
LOCAL DECISION MAKING III



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FOREWORDS

Local Decision Making seems to be one of the most characteristic topics of contemporary democracy in both the theoretical and practical sense. From the perspective of social and political sciences it is a field of relations of people and a part of the political system. It is also important to study local decision making from the cultural and economic point.

The changing situation of the municipalities and states is the starting point of the articles in this book. Values can be seen in different ways on the local and national level. The aim of the municipalities is deliver a good quality of life residents. Our question is then: Could the municipalities in Europe produce welfare for all residents? Could the municipalities produce equality between people? What is the role of the municipalities in both the national states and international relations?

This book is based on the course "IP-Programme Local Decision Making", arranged in Kortrijk, Vives University of Applied Sciences, Belgium, 23.3.- 5.4.2014. Other partners of the IP-course were Inholland University of Applied Sciences, Rotterdam, Netherlands (host in 2012); Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic (host in 2013), Togliatti State University, Togliatti, Russia; Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen, Scotland, United Kingdom; University of Humanities and Economics in Lodz, Poland and Karelia University of Applied Sciences, Joensuu, Finland. During the IP Local Decision Making course, we have made lots of new friends. This will be seen through the articles in our book.

We start this publication with greetings from the manager of our LDM course, Pieter Jan Esselbrugge. He organised all three years of the IP. We would all like to thank Pieter Jan from his hard work and friendship. We hope that our co-operation will continue in the future.

We decided to divide the book into two parts. We start with writing from LDM partners and secondly incorporate material from friends of LDM. The book examines local decision making phenomenon from the viewpoint of different authors. The first article includes cultural viewpoints and a summary of the experiences we collected in Kortrijk, 2014. The second article is based on political systems, their networks in the contemporary world and its influence on the decision making process. The third article studies the situation of municipalities in more depth. The question is then, could we find a suitable size for a municipality and what are the most important municipal services for the residents. The fourth article considers civil transport in big cities.

The second part of this book starts by explaining the idea of decentralisation of power within a European context alongside the legal basis for the functioning of local governments. The second article presents the legal framework of local government based on international and European law. The third and last article discusses foreign policy.

We would like to thank all participants of LDM-project as well as the friends of LDM. We have had a marvellous three years co-operating with students and staff of the various universities. We particularly want to thank those authors who have contributed articles to this book.

During the sunny days of Lodz, 11.9.2014

Anna Liisa Westman and Edyta Pietrzak

GREETINGS FROM THE MANAGER OF **LOCAL DECISION MAKING INTENSIVE PROGRAMMES**

I am very proud to introduce you this third and the last book from our Intensive Programme that focused on Local Decision Making. The book has been edited in Finland and Poland with some language checking from Scotland. It is a good example of how strategic partnerships have been stimulated and realized. Academics in Finland and Poland have deepened their cooperation through this and earlier publications.

Escaping out of the daily HEI (Higher Education Institute) routine to an IP is a perfect opportunity to learn in a new, intensive, interactive and often surprising way. The primary focus of this project was on decision making on the local level. Different solutions and problem solving techniques for the same questions resulted in an overview of general directions of the decision making process in the participating countries. Every year this resulted in practical recommendations to the Board of the City that hosted the project. A presentation of practical recommendations was given in 2014 to the Board of the City of Kortrijk, Belgium from each of the five IP LDM perspectives: political participation, urbanization, economy, sustainability and social cultural development. Previous work covered Rotterdam (2012) in The Netherlands and Brno (2013) in Czech Republic.

In Kortrijk the essence of what political participation means, how people really can influence their surrounding neighborhood, has been stimulated during this IP. A strong focus on modern and local mobility has been realized. The importance of industrial production for the economy has been demonstrated. Awareness of declining service level of public institutions e.g. care, safety has been highlighted. Mutual understanding and respect was developed during the process from waste (non-value) to art (value).



The aim of the IP was to stimulate the awareness about local decision making in the consciousness of the inhabitants of European cities in general and students in particular. The strong multidisciplinary approach in the project provides a more comprehensive perspective on Europe. The visit to the Centennial Great War in Ieper Belgium made a major impression on both students (having the same age as the soldiers) and their teachers.

Furthermore the IP LDM is an initiator to future project partnerships. During these three years new inspiring projects have been initiated by the participating HEI's.

These three years of managing the IP LDM has given me a great sense of achievement. Each city should be proud of its diversity, culture and background. Coming from an ambitious start in 2012, we now should be humbly satisfied with the three-year-outcome, where the attitude of everyone involved can be characterized as "open to positivity".

Most of all, an IP provides every participant with a better insight into European cooperation and understanding.

I want to thank all the participants for their contribution.

Pieter Jan Esselbrugge

Program manager IP LDM, Inholland University for Applied Science Rotterdam



PART I

PROJECT
PARTNERS

Arthur van der Ham works as a lecturer at Inholland University of Applied Sciences, Rotterdam Netherlands with both the faculties of Law & Security and Finance. In 2011 he was one of the initiators of the Intensive Programme Local Decision Making 2012–2014. His interests focus on frontiers either by searching for equality of both sides or even by acting so boundaries will blur: in performing for university or arts, in gender behavior, in (non)verbal communication, in public versus private. This year he has more working hours on voluntarily projects than in paid employment. It included the open air movie festival Pleinbioscoop, the Poetry International Festival week. For the past six years, he has also jointly organized an official concert in his own house at number #162 during the Opera Days Rotterdam, where a private environment becomes a public one for a short while; work and life balanced well.



YES I AM
YES WE ARE IN
YES IT DOES
YES IT IS
YES OKAY
YES OH YES

Abstract: Four levels of local in the case of Rotterdam are introduced, with stories, activities and examples from past, present to future. From large to small(ler), the article takes you into abstract or more detailed projects, all for the benefit of the city. At the end, even an individual house is taken in to show that, even there, decisions can be made with local consequences.

Key words: blunt, resilient, city-initiative, district committee, trust, talent, yes.



I. King Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands [2014] said to be deeply touched “diep geraakt” by the heartbreaking personal stories of the people that have lost their loved-ones. People whose lives are a wreckage. Their grief, their swoon and their despair cut us through the soul.

YES I AM -THE NETHERLANDS-

In this first part of six I will expose the way I encounter four levels of localness in the Netherlands: city, area, district and neighbourhood. In figure 1 these four levels in between country and home are shown, the colours represent the flags of The Netherlands as red white blue and of Rotterdam as green white green.

Country	YES I AM	NETHERLANDS Belgium ¹ Finland ² [next to]
City	YES WE ARE IN	ROTTERDAM Amsterdam The Hague
Area	YES IT DOES YES IT IS	SOUTH BANK North Bank
District	YES OKAY	FEIJENOORD Charlois IJsselmonde
Neighborhood		KOP VAN ZUID Afrikaanderwijk Katendrecht
Home	YES OH YES	MY HOME number # 162 #102 #164

FIGURE 1. Four levels of local between my country and home

¹ Brel 1959. In one of his songs Belgium (especially Flanders region where Kortrijk is situated) is called the flat country (het Vlakke Land).

² Finland has often been a pivotal testing ground of new European ideas in democracy and equality.

During the Intensive Project Local Decision Making IP LDM the main pedagogical and didactical objective was the strong multidisciplinary approach. On the spot learning has been introduced in order to stimulate students of seven European Higher Education Institutions HEI more actively and to meet the character of the city of Kortrijk ... street level interviews, impressions/photos, doing 'a nap' as part of the lecture (Esselbrugge et. al. 2013). My interest during on the spot learning was focused on observing students and their tutors as a way of explaining that global communication is more than text in the English language, to the majority of the IP-students a second language. Although human kind is sensitive, we still need to be invited to use all senses: seven students of the culture group from seven countries, after having walked the Buda-island using their noses, ears, hands, eyes and been talking to island residents, took the opportunity to create a piece of art, a sculpture that combines the concepts of waste, social cultural development and island. All the necessary material was local: a bottle, cans, a poster, a shoebox, a broken hairweave.

As a student in 1981 and 1983 I was fortunate to travel to the German Democratic Republic and to visit the Humboldt University in East-Berlin, Unter den Linden. As early as 1672 pastor Müller said that people who travel widely ... are affected by new philosophical ideas³. To me, after having read Erasmus' people are not born but bred⁴, over the decades the philosophy of Friedrich Wilhelm Christian Carl Ferdinand von Humboldt has become my didactical credo: Ausgewogen Bildung zielt auf die Entfaltung aller menschlicher Kräfte, nicht nur das Verstandes, sondern auch der Einbildungskraft, oder Phantasie und Wahrnehmungsfähigkeit. Zu dieser Bildung ist Freiheit die erste unerlässliche Bedingung.

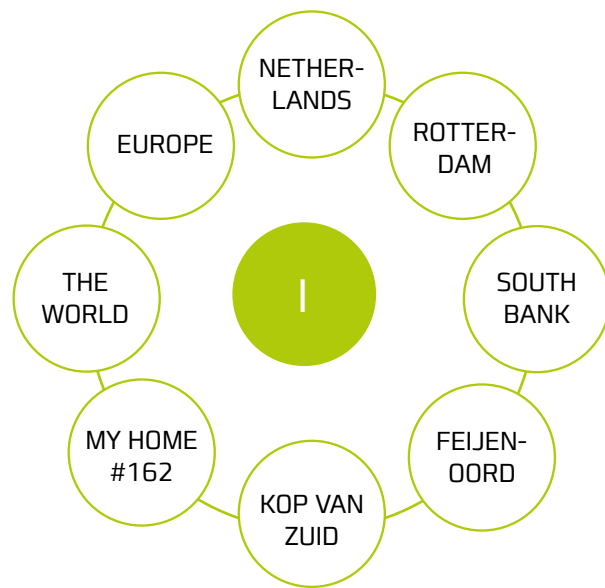


FIGURE 2. My space (Modified by Beckmann 1948 ... space is the Palace of the gods)⁵

³ Johannes Müller, Lutheran pastor Hamburg Germany.

⁴ Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, writer & philosopher as in Erasmus huis Rotterdam.

⁵ Fully: time is an invention of man and space is the Palace of the gods.

For this reason I want to take the reader on a journey where stories and activities of four levels of localness will be tapped. As shown in figure 2, as a citizen or resident I am connected to eight entities: I am European, a citizen of Rotterdam, a resident of district Feijenoord. Today's actuality concerning the MH17 in mind (MH stands for Malaysian Airlines, in July one of their airplanes was shot down in Ukraine with 193 of the 298 deceased being Dutch), I have chosen to begin with the Netherlands and will work clockwise towards my home, number #162. Any space is dear to me, but because of the focus on local, the wider world will be excluded from this article.

Blunt, according to the cambridge.org dictionary, means saying what you think without trying to be polite or considering other people's feelings⁶. Oh yes, the Dutch can be blunt! We have had a Minister of Finance Jan Kees de Jager who sometimes opened his conversations or negotiations with the line I am Dutch, so I can be blunt. But to me being blunt is being honest. One needs to know or to be aware though when bluntness can be used. One might consider if the recent United Nations speech by Dutch Foreign Minister Frans Timmermans is either blunt or eloquence, sticking to the rules of classical rhetoric, when he described those who acted disrespectful to the belongings of the MH17 victims as "despicable".

11⁷. Shocked and sad [Rutte 2014]. The opening words of a one-page announcement in all Dutch newspapers on behalf of the Dutch Administration and **yes I am** shocked and sad. Two hundred and ninety eight people of which 193 Dutch passengers have died July 17 in a plane tragedy in Ukraine. CNN stated that a lone bugler sounding the traditional military farewell "Last Post"⁸ marked the arrival Wednesday in the Netherlands of the first dead from the crash of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 [Pearson and Yan, 2014]⁹. On the Inholland University of applied sciences internet homepage I read the news that one of our colleagues, along with her husband and their son were amongst those who have died. "She also worked to bring attention to another side of tourism, the 'backstage' stories behind the destinations: the lifestyles and perspectives of the local population".

The Netherlands is on the verge of taking sides in this catastrophe, of showing its face; of using, if necessary, blunt language. The Netherlands needs to dare to decide on taking the lead in the investigation, on sanctioning. The process of decision making is perceptible when one takes notice of the outburst of information and (side)stories in the media; 24 hours every day since the beginning July 17. To decide is not an easy process. To show consistency as the first country of the European Union is not easy either,

⁶ All definitions are taken from <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british>.

⁷ The interludes are a reflection on the actuality while writing this article, having a connection to the entities or used terms.

⁸ Last Post is being heard in a ceremony every night at the Menin Gate in Ypres / Ieper Belgium to commemorate World War I.

⁹ It was also said on global broadcast: today all the world is Dutch.

but it should be the character of the Dutch Administration with its Prime Minister Mark Rutte¹⁰ as a new leader in a global context. These summer days to me are filled with listening to stories of people being shocked, angry, desperate, sad but powerful sometimes too. Some food and drink that goes along with listening helps, so does watching movies, reading out loud poetry, listening to music or even playing it, reminiscing together on shared history. If one has the courage and takes the time to listen to the immense amount of personal stories, richness opens. Humboldt's Bildung in practice!

In their book *The Spirit of Cities: Why the Identity of a City Matters in a Global Age*, political scientists Daniel A. Bell and Avner de-Shalit (2011) already have shown that one can draw upon the richly varied histories of ... global cities, as well as upon novels, poems, biographies, tourist guides, architectural landmarks and the authors' own personal reflections and insights. But: Rotterdam is not in their book, so let us take a deeper look. To open up an associative connection between what I have learned during the IP and this article, quotes in the green parts are the ones that I remember vividly¹¹. All have been done by colleagues of partner HEI or other participants during the IP LDM 2014 at VIVES Kortrijk in Belgium or elsewhere in Flanders like e.g. the cemeteries at Ieper.

” We should learn from history, from stories
Koen Vandemaele – VIVES University of applied sciences Kortrijk Belgium
Krystof – private guide cemeteries of World War 1 Flanders Belgium

YES WE ARE IN - ROTTERDAM -

In this second part, I will explore how Rotterdam as a city shows resilience despite having the image of being boring. Resilient means able to quickly return to a previous good condition. Yes, in the opinion of a lot of Dutch citizens and foreign tourists, Rotterdam is a boring city because: a) too little cultural, sporting and artistic venues or nice restaurants and nightclubs to visit; b) a real number two city being way behind Amsterdam (like Antwerp behind Brussels or Munich behind Berlin); c) all there is to see or do is too many miles out of the so called 'city', a city-without-a-heart, no Centre, no downtown¹², a car is needed in automotive Rotterdam. The best-known work of the Belarusian-born sculptor Ossip Zadkine is in Rotterdam: *The Destroyed City* (1951–1953), representing a man without a heart, a memorial to the destruction of the Centre of Rotterdam in 1940 by the German Luftwaffe. World War II started for Rotterdam on May 14th, 1940 at 1:29pm with a fifteen-minute bombardment, leaving

¹⁰ PM Mark Rutte described the behavior of those at the crash site as utterly disgusting

¹¹ As interpreted by the writer, for quotes are not written statements but oral.

¹² Hatch 1964. *Downtown*, sung by Petula Clark When you've got worries all the noise and the hurry seems to help I know, downtown.

an inner city with only a few buildings like the City Hall and Laurenskerk (church). A local initiative with lights in the pavements makes visual the demarcation line¹³ of the bombing. But, ask the opinion of foreign visitors of each year's NSJ North Sea Jazz festival, IFFR International Film Festival Rotterdam, Poetry International Festival Rotterdam (the #1 of its kind in the world), classical music Gergiev Festival or the Opera Days Rotterdam, and they'll reply: "unique", "awesome", "in my top 5 list of cities".

Rotterdam has now been ranked 8th in the Top 10 Cities to see in 2014 by Rough Guide. It also made the top 10 in the list of 52 Places to Go 2014 according to the New York Times: First-class architecture in the Netherlands' second city. Post-World War II reconstruction has changed the face of one of Europe's largest ports, where striking, cubed architecture gives shape to the most modern skyline in the country. But it is not yet complete (Mala 2014). **Yes we are in** is what was heard in several places like the museums or theatres, let's open to the world, be welcome. But what in abstract or in detail is visible to citizens of the decision making process on the local level? Economist Edward Glaeser (2011) in his book *Triumph of the City* proves that cities are actually the healthiest, greenest and richest (in cultural and economic terms) places to live. New Yorkers, for instance, live longer than other Americans ... and city dwellers use, on average, 40 percent less energy than suburbanites. Rotterdam is a member of the Clinton Climate Initiative, that implements programs which create and advance solutions to the root causes of climate change...while also ... creating jobs, and growing economies. Examples of climate projects are green roofs or water storage 2014 or very creative operation Stone break, a cooperation of municipality, conservationists and scientists: no stones but grass in private gardens¹⁴.

Keeping the New York Times statement in mind, it is encouraging to read what Mr. Ahmed Aboutaleb, Mayor of Rotterdam, the first Moroccan-born Mayor in a big European city said: "creativity is in 2030 still a pillar of Rotterdam, culture is of the highest value in the profile of a (ny)city. Rotterdam needs to think big like the English term the city"¹⁵. The necessity of a future for Rotterdam needs to be highlighted as often as possible in trade travels, conferences or local incubators all over the world. Rotterdam used to be known as the city where the money is earned¹⁶, a working(class) city –boring! –, while as Amsterdam is the city where the money is spent –fun? –. So what local decisions have been made so far to set the right future for Rotterdam? Let us look at three examples:

1. *Maasvlakte 2*: since 2004 the Project Organisation Maasvlakte 2 has been responsible within the Port Authority for the construction of the port expansion into the North Sea. Maas is the river that passes through Rotterdam; *vlakte* means plain; *Maasvlakte* therefor meaning the (newly in sea created) plain at the end of the river Maas! The port has been augmented with new land, taken from the sea. Container terminals and storage tanks are the first settlements (Chinese, Russian, and Dutch).

2. *Stadsinitiatief* (City initiative): in 2011 the Rotterdam City Council organised a city initiative, an administrative instrument for public participation to encourage reform. Inhabitants of Rotterdam were called to present projects for the revitalisation of the city, to enrich the quality of life in city projects. €2.5 to 4 million from the city initia-

¹³ In Dutch language "de Brandgrens" ; "grens" is Dutch for frontier.

¹⁴ Title of the 2014 Architecture Biennale Rotterdam was Urban by Nature.

¹⁵ Aboutaleb 2013 in Raat, F. de. *Blik op de toekomst* (Looking to the future).

¹⁶ Popular old saying, year unknown fully: the money is earned in Rotterdam, divided in The Hague and spent in Amsterdam.

tive is set aside annually for project implementation. Winners are 2012 *Luchtsingel*, a wooden pedestrian bridge in the sky, 2013 *Schaatsbaan*, a half open skating track and 2014 Watersport in Rotterdam-Centre, waves in the canals to surf on.

3. A new Central Station CS, ready for the 21st century logistics, similar to something I heard in a meeting at the local City council in Toronto (Canada) earlier this year “a pivotal area”, an outgoing area for the young at heart, with creative settlement *Schieblok* and jazz venue *Bird*. This new CS is, for many, the first access to the city Centre and needs to be the “business card” of Rotterdam.

Pain point for Rotterdam: statistics in research into the state of Rotterdam show that it is the poorest of the big four cities in the Netherlands (the others being Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) (van Rhee and Roode 2013). Rotterdam and the South area is either top or bottom of the most of the negative indicators, t: early school leaving, youth unemployment, (social) housing for the middle class that now leaves for adjacent towns. Rotterdam is a city with a small upper income class living in wondrous apartment buildings like *Montevideo* or *New Orleans* with a predominant number of lower income households leaving almost no middle class in between. These extremes are also been made visual in last local elections: largest party is the nationalist right wing PVV and second the social-democrats PvdA, leaving minorities for Christian-democrats CDA and liberals VVD. Services like public libraries and swimming-pools, social income “*bijstand*”, primary schools, musical education or culture in general have budgets that have been reduced, sometimes drastically. But to express our resilience: Rotterdam is creative in finding new solutions to address new problems.

ple of NPRZ are working hard to meet these goals, in close cooperation with many other actors & organisations e.g. *Z40*, a group of 40 companies in the area South offering internships or working experience.

Since spring 2014, *BoZ! Bewoners op Zuid!* (Residents on South) is a group of residents housed in the southern area, who are concerned but also hopeful for their area and therefore as a group asked or unsolicited give advice to the NPRZ. By the end of summer 2014 BoZ! will introduce its slogan *Mijn Zuid*¹⁷ (My South) with a combination of a business card and a postcard showing the residents and the buildings for people make the city, not (only) the buildings¹⁸. But it is not easy inviting residents to stand up for their opinions (they certainly have, but do not expose in a formal way). BoZ! Has an important local role, **yes it does**.

These three years of managing the IP LDM has brought project management a sort of pride: each city should be proud of its diversity, culture, background. Coming from an over-ambitious start in 2012, we now all should be humbly satisfied with the three-year-outcome, where the attitude of each person involved during three years can be characterised as: **open to positivity**.

FIGURE 3. Recommendation for future measures to the National Agency, May 2014 by its project manager P.J. Esselbrugge.

Gebiedscommissie or district committee is a new level in local governance Rotterdam. Since the March 2014 local elections, area South has three of these district committees: *Charlois*, *Feijenoord* and *IJsselmonde*. At the end of the year the three district committees each will have a district plan with items brought up by the residents, spoken out in several meetings in all different neighborhoods of each district during the spring. These meetings have been visited by lots of people, showing how much they care about the street and environment where they live. In the South area, Feijenoord is in the Centre of the three districts and is connected to the north of Rotterdam by bridges (Erasmusbridge is the 21st Century logo of the city). Jazz venue Lantarenvenster sloganed at its opening October 2010 [we are] over the bridge, stating that now the people of north should do so too! Most people (still) think that ‘the city’ is on the north side, but the new Rotterdam shows that actually the river Maas with both riversides being connected is the new City Centre. North houses the city hall, the main theatre, classical concert hall Doelen, the main library, the first open shopping area in Europe for only pedestrians called Lijnbaan, the Erasmus University, all based on the period of growth after WWII. South has most of the port facilities, the Court, Feijenoord stadium, Ahoy’ sports arena & concert hall, Luxor musical hall and Lantarenvenster concert hall for jazz and international film festivals, Inholland university of applied sciences and several modern multinational-head-offices, merely based on this 21st century. District Feijenoord then can be split up in eight neighborhoods; Inholland University and

¹⁷ Ham, van der 2014. Photos of card by cultural entrepreneur Erik Dullaert, poet Ronny Margulies and Arthur van der Ham.

¹⁸ Title of the 2012 Architecture Biennale Rotterdam was Make City.

” Local tax will increase if we want to keep the same level of services, so who wants to co-operate with Joensuu?

Anna Liisa Westman – Karelia University of Applied Sciences
Joensuu Finland

YES IT DOES -SOUTH BANK-

In this third part, I will explore how the South area, coming from being the “bad part” of the city is growing into the better –and in future time could be best– part of the city! *Pact op Zuid* (Pact on South) was a joint additional-investment program with a € 1 billion annual budget over ten years for Rotterdam South until 2015. It involved housing corporations, the Rotterdam municipality and towns on the south side. The pact was attached to existing initiatives and took care of adjustment, tuning and especially intensification of measurements. In 2012 its successor *NPRZ National Programme Rotterdam Zuid* began. *NPRZ* focusses on four main local topics: school, housing, work and safety & security. All four have SMART goals with quantitative indicators e.g. early school leaving needs to reduce by 20% or 20.000 houses need adjustments. The peo-

my home number #162 are in the one that is called Kop van Zuid (Head of South, head in the meaning of on top of the area/map). It is one of the richest of the eight: walk 200 meters and you are in a different neighborhood, all having their strengths and opportunities. An outstanding initiative is A View with a Room, a cultural multiannual project by Eric Dullaert, where thinkers and artists are invited to give their look on South from a high-altitude work studio. These residents help developing a full-fledged city Chronicle of one of the most metropolitan and at the same time neglected areas of Western Europe: South.

” Building a network is easy, but breaking it down [ever again / partially] is not¹⁹

Edyta Pietrzak – University of Humanities and Economics Lodz Poland

YES IT IS - FEIJENOORD -

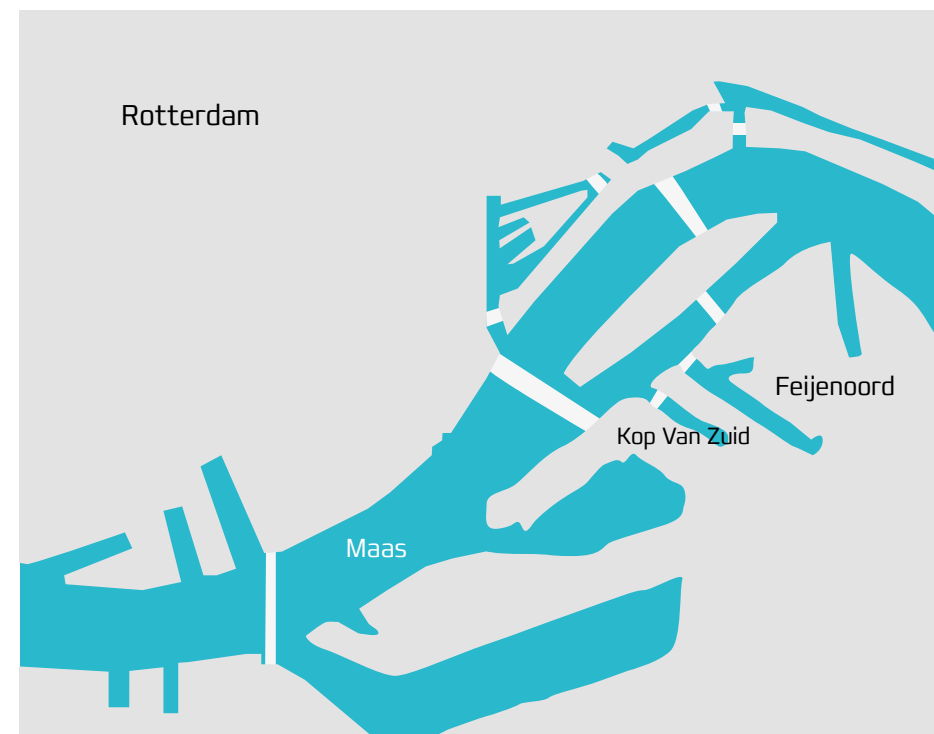
In this fourth part, I will expose how a district can be known far better than surrounding districts: Feijenoord either does not mean anything to someone or one knows that it is the football club in Rotterdam. This summer the World Cup was held in Brazil. For the first time in decades the football club that provided the most players in team Holland was not Barcelona or Ajax Amsterdam but Feijenoord, where once Ruud Gullit played too²⁰. Especially the invitation of the young ones of team Feijenoord like Stefan de Vrij (now Rome) and Bruno Martins Indi (Porto) tells us something about Rotterdam: it is the city of the big four with the largest potential of young people. A positive indicator! These young men, now playing on the highest level, once used to play on streets in Feijenoord and attended schools there. The Feijenoord Academy has proven to be the best in educating players! **Yes, it is.**



Picture 1. Finnish students with their shoes off, like feeling at home!

¹⁹ After the news : Turkey has blocked access to Twitter [and YouTube], hours after Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan vowed to close down the social media platform. March/20/2014. Today, he is the 1st democratically chosen President of Turkey

²⁰ Players like Robin van Persie, Dirk Kuijt, Jonathan de Guzman, Jordi Clasie, Daryll Janmaat, Terence Kongolo are 'Feijenoorders'



Picture 2. City, area, district, neighborhood, a river MAAS to cross

How about education in Rotterdam in general? One positive sound is that primary schools have longer hours with music and sport in the curriculum. But having read that high schools have a larger percentage of early leaving than in other major cities, local programs must help to address this. The downside of this early school leaving is problematic at a street level: what will these boys and girls do all day long? In the Dutch language the term *hangjongeren* (loitering of youth) is often used. Therefore managing director Aruna Vermeulen of *Hip Hop House Rotterdam* has been awarded the *Laurenspenning* because hip hop and Rotterdam belong together ... at school you have to take off your cap, at home you must take off your shoes, everywhere you must... here you may²¹. But without saying or having proved that there is a connection, criminality (by youth?) in Feijenoord is a big issue: a) burglary in houses especially during the day, when residents have gone to work or to school; b) destruction of gardens, bicycles, cars, all other sorts of belongings; c) people in parks, public transport and street corners feeling unsafe. Lots of energy is needed.

Feijenoord to me is like an oyster: possibly ugly looking on the outside but a pearl on the inside. Trust means to believe that someone is good and honest and will not harm you, or that something is safe and reliable; I have trust in the residents and space of Feijenoord. On the local level programs have been started. A good example is district

²¹ Vermeulen 2012. On RTV Rijnmond radio television Rotterdam.

fathers (*vaders en zonen*) who walk during the evening through the streets and are willing to address to young people, the sons, when their behavior is not that tolerable. These fathers are older men, coming from different cultural backgrounds but all living in Feijenoord and knowing their community. One of the goals of NPRZ –helping the parents raise their children well– needs plenty of people to willingly to actively support these projects on a voluntary basis. Rotterdam, area South and district Feijenoord, more than anywhere else, needs to take care of its children: at school, at home, at work, in a safe and secure environment.

III. Send my children home²² is what a Dutch mother addressed emotionally to president Putin, to be seen in the media all over the world. The very day of writing this part, July 23, is the day of national mourning in remembrance of the victims of the plane crash in Ukraine. It's the first day of national mourning since 1962. Hundreds of thousands people were standing for hours on the side of the national roads next to where they live in the bleaching sun, waiting for the procession of 40 cars carrying the first 40 coffins of the victims. A great respectful **welcome home** to the ones we commemorate. How huge a contrast with other National Welcomes the Dutch have experienced: the liberation of the Second World War 1945 or the winning of the European Championships football 1988, both where happiness was the emotion; now it was sadness that united the Dutch people.

While reading the above, listening carefully to that mother on television, the awareness of local initiatives focused around children needs more visibility, for a city has to take care of them. Good district examples are *Children Zone* and *Summer Sailing Camp* in Feijenoord or single mothers and their children that benefit from *living collectively* in Hoogvliet (another Rotterdam district). Specific attention to *Back to School*, asking parents at the end of summer to come to school with their children by bicycle instead of them sitting on the backseat of a car, because although having wonderful bicycle lanes, Rotterdam is an automotive city!

” Mobility in spatial perspective;
no more cars, start riding a bicycle
Maria Stepanova – Togliatti State University Togliatti Russian Federation

²² Fredriksz-Hoogzand, 2014. Whose son Bryce and his girlfriend Daisy ...were killed when the plane was shot down, on NOS national television broadcast Netherlands.

YES OKAY - KOP VAN ZUID -

In this fifth part, I am getting closer to my home. In the past two decades *Kop van Zuid* (Head of South) as a newly built neighborhood where once was the dynamics of the port, now 25 miles west to the sea, has shown **the new Rotterdam**: 21st century architecture bringing in new residents with money to spend and booming venues like *Hotel New York* where in WWII people left for 'the new world', discotheque *Graansilo* (also *Now&Wow*) in a former industrial grain elevator (recycling of old port buildings) or *Lantarenvenster* where the art house movies are shown and top Jazz music is played. Besides that, Inholland University made a statement with its transparent building by architect Erik van Egeraat specifically in this part of Rotterdam with its diversity of young people. Rotterdam has residents from over 174 different nationalities. The manifestation of this diversity is the waving flags of their countries on the *Maasboulevard*. But if any tourists visit Rotterdam, e.g. by cruise ship, they normally go for a one day trip to *the Kinderdijk mills*, to cities like Delft or Leiden or even Amsterdam or they go see the flowers at *de Keukenhof*. **Yes okay**, they simply skip Rotterdam! Even Dutch people might visit Rotterdam only for its modern architecture, fewer explore the richness of its culture. The Netherlands' biggest building, a new 'vertical city' called *De Rotterdam*, [is] alive with cafés and restaurants, heralding a new dawn for the high-rise area. Locals have dubbed it "Manhattan on the Maas" (Rough Guide 2014). From my desk at Inholland University, I can watch this astonishing vertical city, being an interesting object for my faculty of Safety & Security Management Studies: hotel, house, work and leisure in one building; this must be a safe place to live and to work and play?

Buurt Bestuurt is a new way of working together where citizens are actively included in the process of the improvement of their living-situation in their own street and bordering streets. Its committee has three partners: residents, police and local authority. Together they decide what problems in their streets should be a priority. *Buurt Bestuurt* is helpful in making the wishes of residents visible identifying what critical areas of concern. Together with another resident and the district agent (very approachable) I have helped starting up a *Buurt Bestuurt comity* for my *buurt of the Kop van Zuid* with the name *Stadstuinen* (City gardens). Twelve streets with two parks and two harbors, where connecting the residents in several meetings and a visual inspection of the neighborhood (*schouw*) every year are the first achievements.

” Christmas lights in the streets is easy culture,
BUDA-island is not
Christine Depuydt – former culture alderman city of Kortrijk Belgium

YES OH YES - MY HOME #162 -

In this last part I will explore that after establishing four levels of localness, a fifth level might be introduced: my home! Sometimes knowledge and hard work can form the basis of achievement, but I would like to add the key words talent and yes. Talent is a natural ability to be good at something, especially without being taught, while yes is used to express willingness or agreement, to me the most positive word in the Dutch vocabulary²³!

” Depasses les frontières – cross borders / frontiers

Euro metropolis group Kortrijk - Doornik - Lille

My home at number #162 is a nice apartment at the Kop van Zuid. More than that, I can experience the feeling of home at several other places or platforms where I spend lots of my time. If I dare to be more specific: I feel at home in my neighborhood, district, area, city, my country, basically wherever I am. My intention as a result of this is that my guest, student, audience in general, feels at home. During my last international lecture all were asked to take off their shoes (if they wanted to) and put them on *the Buda Island* that has been carefully constructed with simple items like thread of wool, photos, newspapers and long play records on the floor of the room, a *storytelling floor*. The idea of walking on socks or barefoot (no shoes) was given to me a year earlier by Finnish student Taina Hiltunen, making me implicitly understand the importance of a basic feeling like a safe environment as at home. Furthermore if possible I would like to perform my lecture in an environment where the performing arts are business as usual; actually any open space will do as on the spot learning: a theatrical environment, not reminiscent to a classroom with rows of chairs and tables in-between. And surprisingly: talents of all kinds bubble up easily over there!

Historian Buursink, winner of the 2012 essay prize of the newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* (New Rotterdam Courant business paper) with its topic *Van wie is de stad?* (To whom belongs city?), wrote in his essay *De reële bestaande en noodzakelijke stad* (the real existing and necessary city) that city is a breeding place of economic, cultural and political innovation; diversity is a concept that is city-like and a status-quo is a real threat. I am most grateful to Casper Vogel, Opera Days Rotterdam Board Member, who in 2007 gave me the opportunity to co-organize one official concert in my house. This year Russian soprano Anastasia Kutina was singing Prokofiev on lyrics by poet Anna Akhmatova for local guests: neighbours, colleagues (#162 is opposite Inholland University), people from BoZ!, citizens of Rotterdam. Making local decisions came to

²³ Yes: in Dutch “ja”, to be pronounced as “ya”. If a Russian says “ya”, this means I.

²⁴ Bransford and Johnson 1972 / Pichert and Anderson 1977.

a personal level, a house as a private environment was converted for an afternoon into a public one, proving that global communication is far more than text (as claimed in the introduction!). Visitors sat close to each other, on someone else’s lap, chairs crisscross the room. I am fascinated by the rhythm of my house, as cinematographer Rainer Werner Fassbinder said about the rhythm of the language of Alfred Döblin’s *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. Berlin: as dear to me as Rotterdam, as a student in 1981, to the present day as a resident of Europe.

All three elements (home, work and play) can be local, are local! Would not that be a great start for a new research: where does local begin and where does it end? In March 2014, after having been working in Russia where I had heard the word referendum “референдум” for the first time, I read in the newspaper about a report in the Journal of experimental psychology: imagine while learning that you are somewhere else²⁴. Dare I suggest that a classroom is any place where you are able to learn? And that home is any place like in the Talking Heads song *This must be the place*: Home is where I want to be, but I guess I’m already there. Come to the island and find your shoes back, lie on the floor or sit down again and you are allowed to TAKE A NAP FOR FIFTEEN MINUTES and focus on the day that has been ²⁵.

” Something is a problem when there is too much of it, for instance cars

Jef Tavernier – VIVES University of applied sciences Kortrijk Belgium

There are never too many stories Jef, and there is never too much grief for lost ones in general or of MH17 specifically. Finally, to you dear reader:

writer: The door of #162 is open for you, so is the door my classroom. Kate Bush might be heard singing *Man with the Child in his Eyes*²⁶.

You are welcome!

Reader: **Yes?**

Writer: **Oh yes.**

²⁵ Final words of the writer in his lecture “Rough guide to a nap”, Buda Island Kortrijk Belgium April 2014.

²⁶ Bush 1978 I hear him before I go to sleep and focus on the day that has been.

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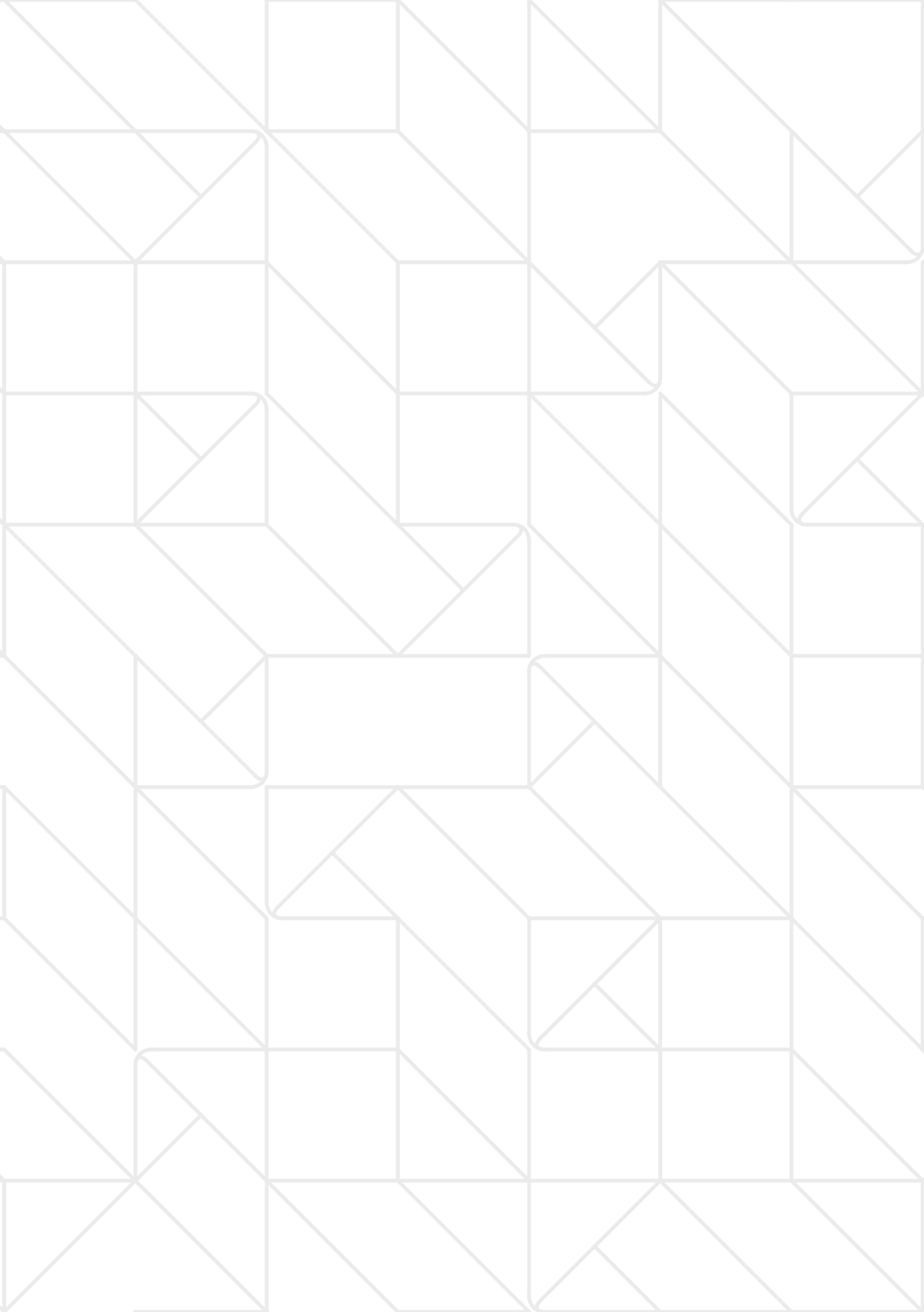


POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND NETWORKS

AS A BACKGROUND OF LOCAL DECISION MAKING

Abstract: From the perspective of political science the subject of political decision-making is a part of the broader context of political systems. Therefore, the article presents issues related to the general theory of political systems, its components and typology factors. However, since we have to deal with transformations of social and political reality through globalization processes and the growing complexity of social and political life. The approach to political systems has changed. Currently, the latest political science literature talks of political networks, which are more flexible. Therefore, the second part of the article is devoted to the issue of networks as a specific example of the political system.

Key words: political system, political network, globalization



Theory of political systems

Systems theory is the transdisciplinary study of systems in general, with the goal of elucidating principles that can be applied to all types of systems at all nesting levels in all fields of research. The word “systems” is used to refer specifically to self-regulating systems that are self-correcting through feedback. Self-regulating systems are found in nature, including the physiological systems of our body, in local and global ecosystems, in climate and in human learning processes. A system is any entity, which has parts that connect with each other. It has cohesion and covariance. We need to remember that almost anything can be viewed as a system.

A political system is a system of politics and government. It is usually compared to the legal system, economic system, cultural system, and other social systems. It is also a complete set of institutions, interest groups such as political parties, trade unions, lobby groups and the relationships between those institutions. We can add here yet the political norms and rules that govern their functions as constitution, election law etc. (Wojtaszczyk & Jakubowski 2007, 431).

There are a several definitions of political systems, for example: A political system is composed of the members of a social organization who are in power. A political system is a system that necessarily has two properties: a set of interdependent components and boundaries toward the environment with which it interacts. It is a concept in which

theoretically regarded as a way of the government makes a policy and also to make them more organized in their administration. A political system is one that ensures the maintaining of order and sanity in the society and at the same time makes it possible for some other institutions to also have their grievances and complaints put across in the course of social existence.

There are numbers of attempts to classify political systems. For Aristotle it is the steering mechanism, which controls the ship of state (Aristotle 2001). He has created typology consisted by six of the following political system and divides possible forms of rules as positive and negative. He also asked the basic question regarding to this issue: Who rules?

Who rules?	Positive	Negative
One	Kingship	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

Table 1. Aristotle's forms of government (Aristotle 2001).

Functionally political system may be defined in different ways. For David Easton as authoritatively allocating values (Easton 1953). For Harold Lasswell determining "who gets what, when, and how?" (Lasswell 1990).

In general we can state that the whole system works thanks to smaller parts called subsystems. Institutional subsystem is consisted of organizations, institutions, government, political parties and group of interest. Regulational subsystem consists of norms, standards, laws and traditions. Communicational subsystem is made of relations between elements of whole system. And functional subsystem is based on functions and roles executed by elements of the system: regulation, mediation, adaptation and innovation. Environment of the political system can be internal – consisting of economic systems, social systems and elements of culture and external - international relations.

Among components of political systems we can distinguish: constitution, the most important document of the state, government which can have different forms, head of the state, parliament, administration, territorial – administrative division and political parties. If we know something about those components we also know the political system we analyse (Wojtaszczyk & Jakubowski 2007, 431).

In the structure of a political system we can distinguish: an institutional approach which describes theory that focuses on developing a view of institutions - the way they interact and the way they affect society; structural – functionalist approach in order to understand a political system, it is necessary to understand not only its institutions (or structures) but also their respective functions.

Easton model of political system

David Easton proposed that a political system could be seen as a delimited and changing series of steps in decision making (Easton 1965).

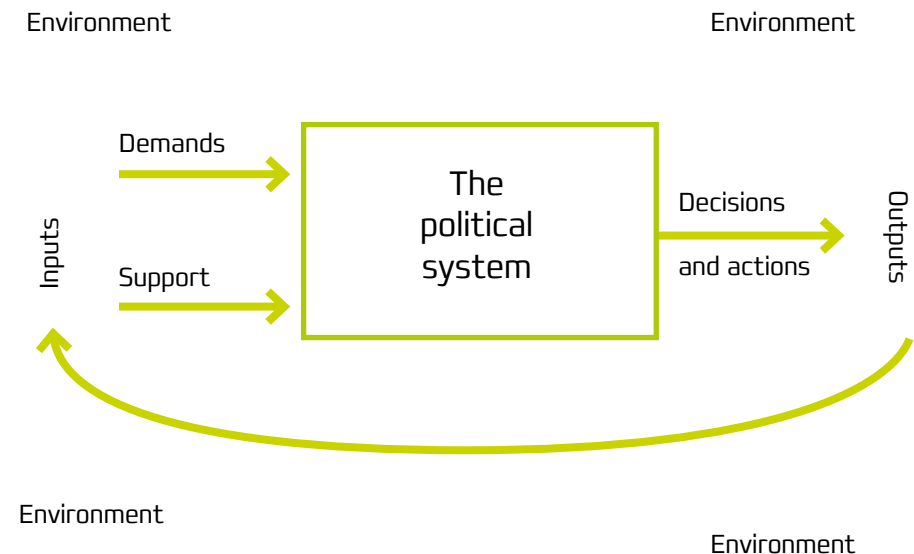


Figure 1. Scientific Imaging and Imagination (Easton 1965, 32).

Simplifying his model we can say that changes in the social or physical environment surrounding a political system produce "demands" and "supports" for action or the status quo directed as "inputs" towards the political system, through political behaviour. These demands and supporting groups stimulate competition in a system, leading to decisions or "outputs" directed at some aspect of the surrounding social or physical environment. After a decision or output is made (a specific policy), it interacts with its environment and, if it produces change in the environment, there are "outcomes." When a new policy interacts with its environment, outcomes may generate new demands or supports and groups in support or against the policy ("feedback") or a new policy on some related matter. Feedback leads back to beginning and it is a never-ending story. If the system functions as described, then we have a "stable political system". If the system breaks down, then we have a "dysfunctional political system".

Almond and Powell model of political system

In the 1960s, political scientists Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell introduced a structural-functionalist approach to comparing political systems. They argued that, in order to understand a political system, it is necessary to understand not only its institutions (or structures) but also their functions (Almond & Powell 1966).

Function	Definition	Actors involved
Political recruitment	Getting people to fulfil all the political roles associated with the political system from voter to government leaders;	Parties
Political socialization	Forming positive attitudes, values, beliefs and opinions which maintain or sustain the political system;	Parties / Media
Political communication	Transmitting politically-relevant information to citizens;	Parties / Interest groups / Media
Interest articulation	Expressing/ making demands upon the political system;	Parties / Interest groups
Interest aggregation	Selecting demands and combining them into a manageable number of major alternatives;	Parties
Policymaking	Taking demands and converting them into the authoritative decisions of the political system;	Parties / Interest groups
Policy implementation	Administering or putting the decisions into effect;	Parties / Interest groups

Table 2. Almond's and Powel's functions of political system (2014).

Almond and Powel (2014) also insisted that these institutions, to be properly understood, must be placed in a meaningful and dynamic historical context. This idea stood in marked contrast to prevalent approaches in the field of comparative politics — the state-society theory and the dependency theory. These were the descendants of David Easton's system theory in international relations.

Political systems of our times

For Max Weber the range of each state is limited territorially. This does not necessarily rely on the nation but a cultural community. For Ulrich Beck, the state has to be extracted from the theoretical framework of nationalism (Weber 2002, 667). Globalization has led to a redefinition of government restrictions (Beck 2005, 84). David Held has shown that the classical theory of power centered on the nation-state, from the time when the most important elements of the social structure became simultaneously global and local, was deprived of sense (Held 2004). Jürgen Habermas also believes that in today's "post-national constellation" the legitimacy and processes will be increasingly relocated in the transnational realm. Zygmunt Bauman created the theory of policy in a globalized world; Saskia Sassen describes the processes of transformation of society in a "global cluster" (Sassen 2006).

The political system is a network of relationships of power between the actors/ agents of political, social and non-governmental organizations from which emerges a balance of power in the form of decisions, laws, rules and institutions. Political governance shapes the political activities and new ideas and goals. Politics is the process of the formation of social relationships in order to exert political influence. The evolution in the complexity of this system can be seen in institutions such as political parties, interest groups competing with each other for votes, influence, resources. All this takes place in a symbiotic environment where system operators adapt to the actions of other entities to form stable standards and repetitive behaviours, such as elections, law, and political practice. Survival and success in such system depends on the circumstances and the environment. Democracy in this approach is dynamically adapting political regime of functioning between rigid order and total chaos. The evolution of democracy as well as other complex systems is an open process extending in correlation with the environment and changing to survive.

Networks

Networks are not a special form of society established in the twenty-first century, they reproduce the basic valve life of each type. They are a common model for all forms of life (Capra 2001, 9). Archaeologists and historians find the network as the backbone of society's most ancient civilizations. Standing out spectacular thanks to the flexibility (the conversion with the undergoing changes in the environment, while preserving their objectives), scaling (the ability to expand and contract without causing major disruption) and vitality (promotes the fact of not having a single centre, and many nodes which could reproduce goals and instructions on a rhizome) (Castells 2013, 35). The network is the message - so Castells titled one of the chapters of *The Galaxy of Internet, Reflections on the internet, business and society*.

The rapid spread of the Internet was around 1995 when the World Wide Web became a mass medium. At that time there were about sixteen million users of computer networks. This had grown to four hundred million by 2001 (Castells 2003, 13). Human activities are based on communication and the internet is changing the way we communicate. It has an impact on our lives, just as we affect it and its development by how we use it, creating a new kind of socio- technical relations (Castells 2003, 15).

A network is a set of interconnected nodes and it has no centre. Nodes may be of varying relevance for the network and increase their importance for the network by absorbing more relevant information and processing it more efficiently. The importance of a node depends from its ability to contribute to the network's goals. However, all nodes of a network are necessary for the network's performance. When nodes become redundant or useless, networks tend to reconfigure themselves, deleting some nodes, and adding new ones. Networks process, flows, which are streams of information between nodes circulating through the channels of connection between nodes. Networks cooperate or compete with each other. Cooperation is based on the ability to communicate between networks. This ability depends on the existence of codes of translation between the networks (protocols of communication), and on access to connection points (switches). Networks work on a binary logic: inclusion/exclusion. Within the network, distance between nodes tends to zero. Between nodes inside and outside the network, distance is infinite, since there is no access unless the program of the network is changed. Thus, networks are self reconfigurable, complex structures of communication that ensure at the same time the unity of the purpose and the flexibility of its execution, by the capacity to adapt to the operating environment" (Castels 2004, 2-4).

In the context of complexity, we can distinguish a characteristic type of network called “small worlds”. They are characterized by the phenomenon of accumulation, because the relationships between the members of these communities are based on a close friendship. “Small Worlds” are composed of a plurality of interconnected densely “clusters”, which once again are connected to the other “clusters” with “bridges” occurring when a representative of one group is known by representative of the second group.

An important factor influencing the network is the distribution of power. It may be a measure of the popularity of one of its point / actor who is the more attractive the higher her /his popularity across the web. The connections or a friendship between participants from many different sectors is the strength of the network. It is Mark Granovetter concept (Granovetter 1983, 303–233), which notes that the contacts may be close (“strong ties”) and further (“weak ties”) and these “weak ties”, which are the bridges to the outside world and being mostly unseen. A network of small worlds is a global phenomenon, and every day we are focused on local relationships that lay certain uniqueness. They are based on additional acquaintances with less likelihood that they will know each other, and thus the information obtained as a result of such contacts may be new and inspiring (Watts 2003, 83). It turns out that the distance or the intensity of the interaction between two points is less social and more frequent if both points are nodes than when only belong to the same network. Networks are open structures, dispersing without restrictions and integrate into their frame new nodes as long as they are able to share the same communication codes such as the action.

A relationships connection in the network and between networks defines the phenomenon of “cascade”. It may be in the form of “the tides”. Something adopted in one place can get elsewhere because “racking up” may be about the dynamics of the cascade and something small can arise something big (Watts 2003, 229). A similar dynamics takes place in the case of technical innovation, all fashions, political revolutions, crises and crashes.

The essence of the network is the connections between its different parts. In social terms to the interrelated entities as senders and receivers of information relate to theories of communication. **Therefore, in the analysis of the network reference point are relationships between entities** (the nature of the communication between people, groups and organizations) **and not the actors**. In terms of policy, it means a relational understanding of power, which becomes an attribute of individuals or groups existing in the interaction. **Power is situational and here is a dynamic and potentially unstable phenomenon**. The relationship of one actor/agent to another may take the form of force, coercion, but also docility and acquiescence, may change and reverse (Knocke 1994, 9). Network analysis of the political system shows that power is simply a derivative of the position of the different actors involved in the social structure and comes with a network of relationships regardless of whether the individual actors themselves realize it or not. **Therefore, even small changes in the network structure can lead to spectacular changes in its global structure**.

The network is a collection of interconnected nodes, which some call a “centres”. Each component of the network is the node and its features depend on network programs and interact with other nodes. Together to the adoption information and effective processing of their importance nodes in the network grows. All nodes in the network are necessary for its operation, when the role of one of them wears network reconfiguration occurs involving the removal of specific nodes and acquiring new ones. Networks exist and function only as components, and the unit as a whole is a network rather than individual nodes. In social life networks make communication

structures that are arrays of contacts and allow flows, or streams of information moving channels connecting the nodes. As images of the collective interests and values of the network cooperate or compete with each other (Catsells 2013, 32–33).

Castells believes that networks operate according to the logic of its network, which changes the results of social, economic and cultural processes (Castells 2007). Consequently, economic activity sets the knowledge processing information, while determining the production processes and the competition, whether or not they are in a company or country region (Rothert 2008, 123).

In culture “webbyness” emerges as the flexibility and fluidity of symbolic communication organizing around the electronic media. In the political arena it operates under the aegis of expanding communication networks. In the information age political space becomes the media. They are a source of information; factor in the formation of opinion and political behaviour, and the sites of political parties and a bridge connecting them with the society.

Traditionally focused on the perception of the state of world power, it allows us to specify the location of the boundaries of society and power in the global era. Power relations existing in certain social structures and their spatio-temporal structures are no longer placed on the national level, but also at the global and the local level. In connection with this change are the boundaries of society and power relationships and references that go just beyond the national level (Fraser 2007, 7–30).

Complex systems

In the analysis of complex systems, it is important to investigate the behaviour of a network of people, groups, organizations and other agents/actors life. The network provides the context for the various actors/agents, and the relationships and interactions between them determine the structure of a larger system, which results in the organization (Rothert 2008, 15). Adaptation of the state to this new environment may also include coordination of social systems. Then we can distinguish between the so-called “old rule” state control of the central government, and the “new governance” that is, analysing the coordination of formal and informal interaction under public - private. In the first model in the centre of interest is the state, political institutions and link between state interests with the interests of other actors. The second model focuses on society and how to coordinate activities and self-governing networks and various forms of partnership (Rothert 2002, 15).

In this context, the process of governing changes to “self-organizing Inter-organizational networks” (Rothert 2008, 18). The concept is broader than that of the government, because it also includes coverage of actors / agents, NGOs and the boundaries between the private and the public. Such governance is a dynamic process between network elements caused needs, sharing of resources and negotiation purposes. The State still remains a political entity, although its role has changed. It becomes a mediator or hub to enable collaboration among the participants of the system. It retains a central position, but not centralized. Such concepts of governance refer to the global and massively transform the world order. It does not mean a world government but rather the emergence of political coordination mechanisms of these issues, which cannot be solved by a state or organization on a global level. It is coordinated action by the state and other power structures operating outside national borders, which appears as “rule the world, not rule the world” (Rosenau 2000, 181).

Analysis of complex systems allows a new look at phenomena such as globalization of social and political sphere. The complex system comprises a whole being is more than the sum of its parts (Holland 1995, 11). What “pushes” the system to change and

as a result to the goal is feedback. The essence of the theory of complexity is adaptive system that features order of interrelated parts that can potentially be autonomous actors/agents. This autonomous activity of the system affects the operation of other units and produces a model of behaviour. This may be in the nature of routines, but can also be of a change appearing at the time when there is a need to prepare new behaviours (Rothert 2002, 141). We cannot compare complex system to the chaos. In a state of chaos its dynamics can lead to feedback affects, which are disproportionate to the cause. And in the self-organizing complex systems, quantitative changes come to a critical point and there is a qualitative change in them. Complex systems are therefore not chaotic but balancing on the brink of chaos, between order and disorder. Politics is a complex and dynamic system adapting and creating ever new power structures characterized by nonlinearity and the feedback effects of compression.

Conclusions

Networks are characterized by trust, cooperation, interdependence and self-organization, autonomy and self-management. They may be based on control of governments and shape the environment in their own way and thus create their own policies. We can say that the political system is a network of relationships of power between the political authorities, civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations from which emerges a balance of power in the form of decisions, laws, rules and institutions (Rothert 2003, 51). This network is here the context for individual participants of the public sphere and the relationships and interactions between them determine the structure of a larger system, which results in the organization. Manuel Castells believes that networks create new social morphology and a new type of social structure. They operate according to the logic of its network (Rothert 2008, 15), which changes the results of social, economic and cultural processes (Castells 2007).

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A NEW MUNICIPALITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Abstract: The focus of this article is in the municipal fusion processes; reform of the local authority structure and service provision agreement in Finland. The main questions are: Could we find a suitable size and duties for a municipality? What are the most important municipal services for the residents? How should we develop the structure and services of the municipalities? What kind of benefits or challenges are in the municipal fusion processes? The City of Joensuu and five other municipalities around it are cited as examples in this article. The literature is mainly drawn from the social- and political studies, governmental documents and legislation. This study argues that there is no single approach and no one size way to produce welfare services for all municipalities in Finland. The civil society, financial situation of a municipality, culture and population determine what kind of municipality is suitable for its residents. Social and health care services as well as education and infrastructure are the most important municipal services. The political parties have different viewpoints how to organise municipal work. Right wing politicians want to buy and privatize more than those on the left wing. The financial difficulties of the municipalities force all politicians to find new solutions to produce welfare services and create new kind of municipalities.

Key words: municipality, fusion process, welfare services



Introduction

The civil society creates political systems, as Edyta Pietrzak (2013) argues in her article. It supports organisations like political parties and municipalities. (See Easton 2013.) Globalisation influences social, political and cultural climates in the municipalities as well as to the civil society. The Nordic countries are currently implementing the reform of the local municipal and regional structures. The history of local self-government in Finland goes back until 1800s and it is protected by the constitution (L731/1999). The Constitution (ibid.) and the Municipal Act (L365/1995) determines duties of the municipalities. In addition there are numerous other statutes which order or advice work in the municipalities. These give deeper advice and orders for social- and health care, education, land-use planning, how to build infrastructure, building, environment etc. The State does not have any unlimited rights to interfere in the activities of self-governing entities, for example, by introducing special legislation for municipalities.

“Municipalities are responsible for providing their residents with statutory basic services. By enacting laws, the State has the right to participate in decision-making on the provision of basic municipal services. The most important of these are social welfare and health, education and culture, the environment, and technical infrastructure. Basic municipal services provide residents with fundamental security, a sound basis for everyday living, and a social safety net. Basic services are mainly financed through municipal taxes, central government transfers to local government, and fees charged for services.” [Suomi.fi 2014.]

Finland is the state where people are mainly living in sparsely populated areas, like in the City of Joensuu (See Hiltunen et.al. 2012). If we compare this with EU, over 56 % of the population in the 27 Member States of the European Union (EU) lives in rural areas, which cover 91 % of the territory. That is why rural development is an important policy area. Farming and forestry remain crucial for land use and the management of natural resources in the EU's rural areas, and as a platform for economic diversification in rural communities. The strengthening of EU rural development policy is, therefore, an overall EU priority. The development of world, European Union and Finnish society has created need to develop municipal structure and services. In addition the population of Finland is aging. (See EU to Local Level 2014.)

Work is transforming into cheap labour. Unemployment and poverty are growing phenomenon. As a result, the Finnish Parliament has decided to launch a large-scale development reform of the municipalities. The reform will be carried out across the Finnish state. The aim is to create effective municipal structure, which is economical also. In addition the aim is to create robust municipalities, which are enough large to provide basic public services. (Kuntarakennelaki 1698/2009) At the end of 2013 municipalities had to propose their solutions to the Ministry of Finance about how they would organise the delivery of welfare services. (ibid.; see L478/2013).

Political Discussion form A New Municipality

The present municipal reform started strongly through a project named PARAS (The Best) (Minister of the Interior 2014; Kunnat.net 2014). The main idea of PARAS was the development the structure and services of the municipalities. It started in 2005 and continued until the following year. The main aims of the projects were:

- » to study how to produce service, what kind of organisation is the best one to produce services, are the services available, what is the quality of the services and how these services can be financed
- » to evaluate cooperation with other municipalities and state on the local and also on the national level
- » to study the opportunities to restructure municipalities so that they are working more effective and economical way
- » to develop best practices to produce welfare services
- » to calculate duties and costs between municipalities and state
- » to plan normative and legal changes (Ministry of Interior 2014; Kunnat.net 2014.)

The following figure 1. shows (highlighted) the position of local self-government in the structure of the public administration. The apex of the Finnish public organisation is the Parliament of Finland. The legislation starts from the Constitution (L731/1999). Central government consists of ministries and other agencies. Municipalities have their own right to decide their organisation and work themselves. The biggest self-government area in Finland is Åland. It was established after the Second World War as a nonmilitary area and has its own legislation.

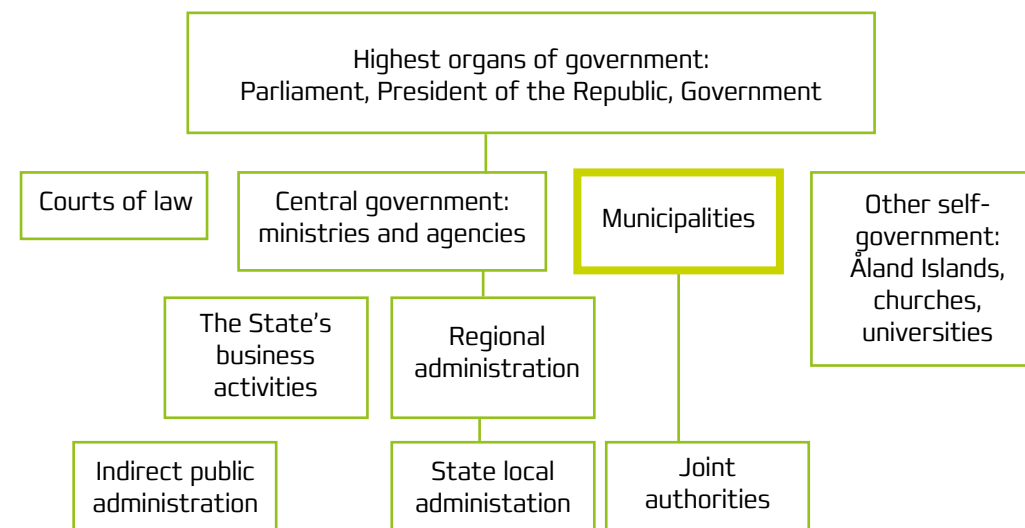


Figure 1. Public Administration in Finland (Suomi.fi 2014).

The State started PARAS-project in 2007. The aim was to develop the structure and services of the municipalities. The project worked mainly on the area of social and health care. The project of PARAS (Kuntaliitto 2014; The Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities) stated that it is not possible to define the optimal size of municipalities. It has been evaluated by the project named ARTTU (2007–2012, see Kuntaliitto 2014.) Typically the size of municipality is measured by the number of the residents or land-area. Municipalities have different kind of duties, social and welfare services, regional development, security and empowering democracy and transparency in the public life. The optimal size varies according to the tasks. Many municipalities are working together for producing services. Nowadays it follows the idea that “the big is beautiful and effective”.

It is not reasonable working method to push all municipalities into a single model due to cultural and geographical situation of a municipality. The source of livelihood is different in the different areas. Also the population can be shrinking or growing. For example there are municipalities whose livelihood is mainly mining while others are business centers or farming communities. There are urban or sparsely populated municipalities. That is why one municipality may benefit from a merger while another may not. Trust between municipalities is not strong. Reform process can offer benefits, but could the municipalities believe that. Some municipalities can benefit, but others may not benefit from the reform process. In the media there are irrelevant details and argument used to support or reject reform process. It should be remembered that all municipalities have their own history – sometimes very strong, sometimes weaker. The diverge development of the municipalities continue. Spending of welfare services is growing. The urban regions are rising while the countryside population is in decline.

If the fusion of municipalities does happen, it costs. The municipalities only achieve savings and benefit from fusions over the longer term. The question of civil society and democracy is also a major question. Large municipalities leave residents with fewer opportunities to influence the local political decision making as the organisation of all municipalities, Kuntaliitto (Local and Regional Authorities) argues:

“Further, larger municipalities often establish subsidiaries, which are further away from democracy, and procure more services from outside their own organization.” [Kuntaliitto 2014.]

In everyday life of the municipalities service structures and management are under construction. Only by developing these duties will real benefits be achieved. However the size of a municipality does not always support effective and economical service provision. Transformative leadership of the municipalities becomes a key concept. Development paths are selected based on the history, culture and political ideologies of the municipalities. It is important to note that the daily works of municipalities are in the hands of officials and workers. This demands equal leadership and a positive attitude towards transformation. In that way the staff of the municipalities are the key resource when creating a new structures. Social and health care is the largest area in the municipal service production. It needs to find new solution to produce these services. Diversity of the municipal structures is present and should become more permanent. We cannot find one solution to all the municipalities of Finland in delivering welfare services. (Kuntaliitto 2014.) Municipal merger is not the only way to develop services. It may not even be necessary.

The study of Meklin and Pekola-Sjöbloma (2013) shows that the changes in municipal boundaries can involve the abolition of a municipality, adjustment of its boundaries, or the ceding of separate enclaves. Changes can be implemented if they:

- » Help to make services more accessible to the area's residents
- » Help to improve their living conditions
- » Help to improve the operating environment of the area's businesses or enable the municipalities involved to function more efficiently and economically.

Changes in municipal boundaries can be done if it is clear that at least one of the conditions can be met. There are also a number of other conditions laid down in the Act on Local Authority Boundaries (A1698/2009) that can be a sufficient justification for territorial changes at local level (see Local Finland.fi 2014; Ministry of Interior 2014).

Political discussion around the municipal reform is taking place in all the Nordic Countries. The three biggest parties in this discussion in Finland are the National Coalition, the Centre Party and the Social Democratic Party in Finland. The National Coalition (2014) wants to have quick fusion process. The fusion process has been in the hands of Minister, who is the member of the National Coalition Party. The Ideology of the National Coalition party (2014) is to transform public services to private ones. The argument is that the public sector in Finland is too large and ineffective.

The Centre Party (2014) has mainly created the municipal structure in Finland with the Lutheran Church and with the Social Democratic Party (2014). They state that Finland's municipalities are self-governing entities, which, under Finnish law, have the right to decide on their own matters. They do not accept that the State can order municipalities fusions.

The Social Democratic Party wants bigger municipalities. This means larger land-areas and population. However the Social Democratic Party wants the municipalities

- it means the residents of the municipalities and the municipal politicians - to decide their own solutions. Welfare and other services produced by the municipalities themselves are on the agenda of the Social Democratic Party.

Other parties, like Finns (2014), follows the ideology of the Centre Party and the Left Alliance (2014) the ideology of the Social Democratic Party. The main aim in transforming process is to deliver better services and more efficient administration (Lähteenmäki-Smith 2012, 32).

ARTTU - research project has evaluated the transformation process of municipalities (Kuntaliitto 2014; Meklin & Pekola-Sjöblom 2013) as well as Kaisa Lähteenmäki-Smith (2012, 31-32). Her (ibid.) study of the municipal reforms argues “most interesting topics of Finnish local authorities”. Firstly she sees that service provision is very important. Social and health care services as well as opportunity to have education need to be made available to the residents of the municipalities. The quality of those services should be “good enough”. What defines “good enough” is not debated. Secondly, residents participation will be support by grass root democracy. In this topic Lähteenmäki-Smith (ibid.) does not discuss political participation, though it is a basic fact creating municipal organisation and services. In addition, governance must be transparent. Thirdly, industrial policy and employment should be balanced between supply and demand. The forth aim is that municipal finance and resource management, for example taxation, local culture and leadership will be developed. The fifth objective is housing, planning and environment. Municipalities should have good housing services, infrastructure and environment. Transparency is seen as the cornerstone of the western democracy. It is inside the White Book of the European Union also (CEC 2001).

Challenges of the municipalities in the North-Karelia area

When we are comparing the most important issues presented by Kaisa Lähteenmäki-Smith (2012) and the situation in the city of Joensuu, we find that finance, aging and unemployment are the most challenging problems. If the municipality cannot reorganize its organization and services the municipal tax per cent will be 29.75% by 2029. Residents also need to pay property taxes for the municipality and some additional fees for the services. Predictions in neighboring municipalities is as follows: Outokumpu 31.5%, Kontiolahti 26.75%, Liperi 32% and Polvijärvi 32%. In the Region of the North Karelia the prediction of future tax percent in 2029 is 29.5% and in the whole Finland 19.38 %. In 2012 over balance of the budget was 173 €/person in Joensuu, but in the neighboring city of Outokumpu -299 €/person, and in Liperi -384 €/person. The Municipalities of Kontiolahti claim to have a surplus in 2012, 878 €/person and Polvijärvi +1317 €/person. All municipalities on the region of North Karelia has an average over-balance in 2012 of 198 €/person and in the whole Finland 1276 €/person. However this figure is too small for developing municipalities to offer welfare services in their present form. Income tax paid finance in Joensuu is 61%, Outokumpu 54%, Kontiolahti 65%, Liperi 57% and Polvijärvi only 40% in 2012. This means that the State needs to finance the rest of the municipal consumption (Statistics Finland 2014, statistics 2012). It has been suggested that we look at the budget by different way: by the way who is winning and who is suffering (see for example Westman 2013).

The population of Finland is aging very fast. In the North Karelia it is even more rapid change. By 2030 there will be double amount of the residents over 65 years old. This means that the municipalities need to have more social and care workers and additional finance for social and health care. At the same time the workplaces are moving

to the states with cheaper labour. This means that the municipalities have less and less money to finance services. Unemployment is also a growing phenomenon. That is why politicians want to cut service production and achieve mergers between municipalities. This hope was present in the political discussion 2012.

According to the Statistics of Finland (2011) there were 335 municipalities in 2011. The aim of the Finnish government was then that they would be reorganized so that at the beginning of 2014 there would be under 100 municipalities in the whole country (Westman 2012, 52). There are still 330 municipalities 1.1.2014 (Statistics Finland 2014). They still have over 500 tasks to do (Hiironniemi 2013). That is why Ministry of Finance (2012) has studied the tasks of the municipalities. It has developed "The Basic Public Services Programme 2013–2016" (Ministry of Finance 2012). The aim of it is to find solutions as to how the municipalities are operating with environment, services and finance up to 2017, including taxation (tax revenue, central government transfers, income taxes, corporation taxes, property taxes etc.) and expenditure. The finance of the municipalities is seen as a part of the public sector with the State. The aim is to identify which tasks are important which functions can be transformed for example to the private sector.

A New Municipality

PARAS-project developed three theoretical model to reorganise municipalities. The models are Basic municipality model, District scenario and Regional municipality model. In the Basic Municipality there are 20,000-30,000 residents. Municipalities are responsibility to offer most of welfare services. Hospitals are organised on a voluntary basis with the co-operation of the municipalities and state. On the political discussion this kind of model can be seen suitable for the countryside municipalities in the sparsely populated areas. If we compare present political discussion, this model is supported from the Centre Party and Social Democratic Party.

District scenario, which I call District municipality, consists of 100,000-200,000 residents. The idea is to organise social and health care by economics as well as other duties of the municipalities. In the Finnish context it means that smaller municipalities are joining to the bigger cities creating a district municipality. For example in the context of Joensuu city, it means that the municipalities Outokumpu, Liperi and Polvijärvi join to the city of Joensuu. If we compare present political discussion, this model has been supported mainly by the National Coalition.

The idea of Regional municipal it is to have a fusion with 20–25 municipalities. In a New Municipality, old municipalities are "suburbs" or "local units". Taxation will organized in this model on the regional level, not on the local – municipal - level. Welfare services are organized on regional level. If we compare present political discussion, this model has not been supported outside Capital area. Only the City of Helsinki with right wing municipal politicians, is discussing on this kind of solutions.

The model of David Eason's (2014) society and politics explains how the society, citizens and present political-administration system influences each other. There are strong connections between the civil society, political decision making and residents of the municipalities.

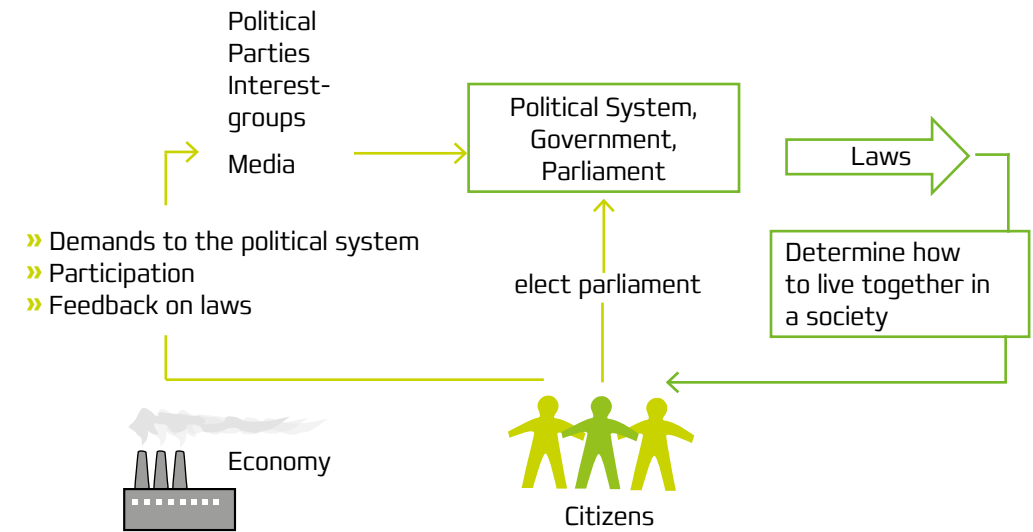


Figure 2. The model of David Easton's society and politics (2014)

When we are studying the model of political system of Easton (2014), we can notice that the municipal residents demand and support the political system by their opinions. Local culture and history influence their views. The municipal politicians want to control decisions which satisfy their voters. In that way the outcome of the political decision making has roots in the civil society. Political and social environment of the municipal politics from the local and global level influences the feedback which politicians give to the residents of the municipalities and civil society.

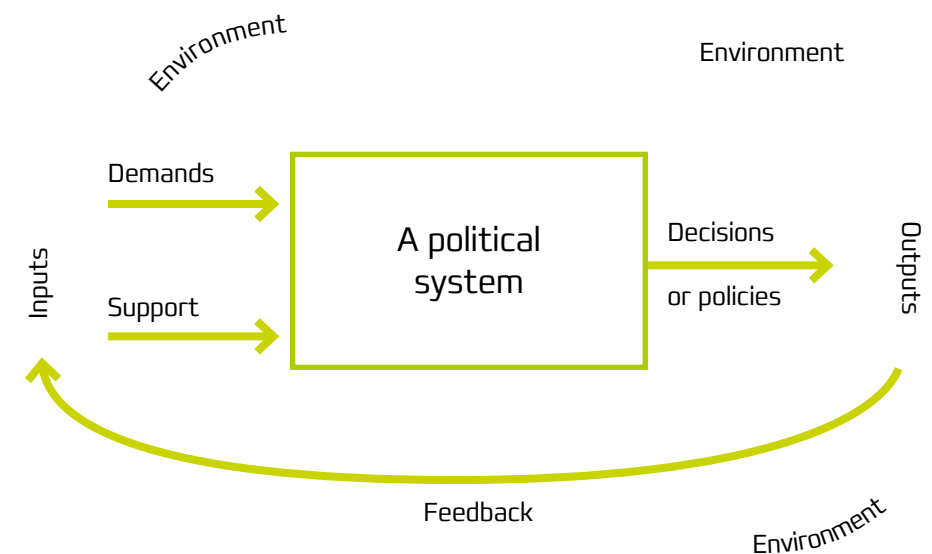


Figure 3. The Model of Political system by David Easton (2014).

The Study of Eero Laesterä and Tuomas Hanhela (2012)

“... shows that the threat of financial difficulty targets all municipalities in the 2020s, and that at least a third of those will face serious financial strain during the decade. This necessitates a broad readjustment. As a result of this development the differences between municipalities will increase and cause lack of loyalty between them. According to the study, current municipalities will form five groups in the future, 1) municipalities with increasing financial difficulties; 2) growing urban municipalities; 3) readjusted municipalities; 4) consolidated municipalities; and 5) municipalities, which depend on state subsidy.”

In addition, this kind of development influences residents of the municipalities. The municipalities are just for its residents as Edyta Pietrzak (2013, 16) has found in her study:

“The individual [citizens, residents of the municipalities] is the key component in a civil society, everything else is of secondary importance. If we would like to identify the most important elements of the civil society we would also have to focus on transparency of the public sphere, rationality of the public sphere [public reasonableness], public opinion and political participation. [Pietrzak 2013,16]”

Katja Holkeri and Sirpa Kekkonen (2012) has studied the future of Finnish government with Austria, Sweden, Scotland (and other parts of the United Kingdom). The study (ibid.) is considering if the change is more a permanent condition than a passing situation in the all studied states. That is why municipalities and municipal politicians need to understand changing world and to be sensitive to changes which are going all the time. For that Ministry of Finance (2014) have done Basic Public Service Program 2014–2017.

Conclusion

In the municipalities PARAS-project started the large development in the social and health care. Now, the local and regional reform processes are going on in Finland as well as in the other Nordic States. The development projects will be seen as ways to develop structures of the municipalities, services, customer-orientation and leadership as well as administrative structure. However there is no one ready-made path for development of municipalities, though some examples can be found from the studies (see Lähteenmäki-Smith 2006; Laesterä & Hanhela 2012; Ministry of Finance 2012, 2014).

Local and Regional Reform processes create needs to discuss more from civil society (see Pietrzak 2012, 2013). If the state and the municipalities cannot offer enough welfare services for their residents, the civil society will organize them. People's free will to help each others in the difficulties is growing. However civil society cannot work without the State.

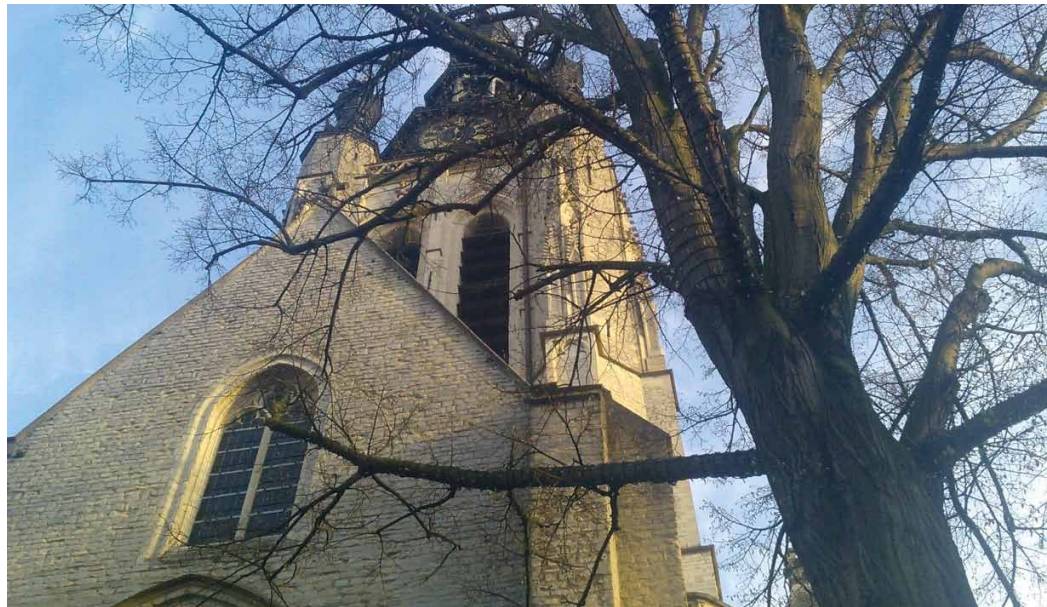
“... the idea of civil society with the state, is called social-democratic and [it] concentrates on the thesis that civil society cannot function without state's help. It is the state that must control conflicts, fight against inequality of different groups, prevent exclusion and promote political freedom and pluralism [Pietrzak 2012, 16].”

In the context of Finland in general and municipalities of North Karelia in particular, we can think that civil society means more residents participations in the public life, even so that they are taking care from some welfare services like old care or day-care. However, we can ask if this kind of “new work of civil society” is the phenomenon of liberalism? Could we think that this kind of “voluntary care work” leads to the class society? When the municipalities are in financial difficulties, the politicians are discussing the responsibility of individuals to look after their own families. Can this kind of development lead to the solution that the unemployed people or women are pushing back to voluntary work without salary? At least the importance of civil society is growing up!

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URBAN DEVELOPMENT FOR ENHANCING CITIZEN'S TRANSPORTATION MOBILITY IN RUSSIA

Abstract: This article focuses on the problems of transportation mobility. Nowadays the Government of Russian cities tries to solve the problems in this field. The most effective steps for improvement can be highlighted in the example of Moscow. What is the overall strategy of solving traffic problems in Moscow? What measures are being taken by the Government of Moscow to improve the mobility of citizens?

Key words: liveability, sustainability, problems, public transport, pedestrians



Most cities in the world develop public transport and create opportunities for citizens to seamlessly and continuously move as a matter of priority. The notion of “citizen’s mobility” is defined by variety, comfort, speed and security of transportation and is identifying the standard of living. Development of intermodal transport infrastructure and high-speed public transport lines, creation programs for calculating the optimal path and tariff menu, upgrading rolling stock, innovative solutions for the optimisation of street space and the organization of transport hubs as public spaces can help to increase the capacity of cities and improve the mobility and quality of movement by public transport.

At the same time residents must provide a visible alternative to the visual image and a spacious, opened and environmentally friendly city and to develop pedestrian traffic as a healthy, economical and convenient way to get around the city. Attractive images of public transport is composed not only of ergonomic design, technology and aesthetic appeal, but also of the quality of communication with the city users, explaining the city’s initiatives in this area, policy transparency, collect feedbacks.

Russia as a whole country and, especially Moscow, are attempting to answer the questions: What should we do to create a liveable city for people, not for cars? What should be done to the citizens who choose public transport as most economical in terms of time and cost, comfortable and fashionable alternative to the private car?

Transport problems in Russian cities

Problems of transport mobility are common for many regions of Russia. They are most acutely visible in major metropolitan areas such as St. Petersburg and Moscow. Moscow is an experimental field in various areas, including improving transport mobility. As the President of Russia noted, if mobility problems can be solved in Moscow, the experience can be applied to other cities of Russia (President of Russia 2010).

The largest cities in Russia suffer from negative impacts of transportation across the entire urban area. Typical examples include: chronic traffic congestion resulting in continuous noise and air pollution, as well as in creation of unfriendly environment for pedestrians; large areas and buildings dedicated to parking which disperse human activities and often lead to urban decay. These ways of land use and urban environment stimulate greater use of private automobiles which leads to further increases in congestion and blight, thus creating the “vicious circle of urban transportation”. Heavy reliance on private cars causes some serious national problems, including excessive energy consumption and oil imports that result in many countries facing major trade deficits. In the long term, this condition is being increasingly recognized as a major cause of global warming and a barrier to sustainability.

Urban transportation analysts who discussed this relationship of auto-oriented urban environment and liveability of cities have named this problem the “collision of cities and cars” (Vuchic 1999). There are also problems of transportation systems that are not so global but do create discomfort for its users: unreliable services cause uncertainties in travel and require longer time allocations; low service quality and time loss due to street and highway congestion; accidents causing deaths; injuries and damages which are globally estimated to be more than twice greater than quantified user losses due to congestion; inadequate transit services which stimulate people to use cars, thus aggravating traffic congestion; walking and using bicycles is sometimes neglected and made unpleasant by vehicular traffic and violation of parking rules; low quality pedestrian path surfacing, the lack of ramps on pedestrian crossings, preventing the passage of the pillars with road signs and outdoor advertising, the poor quality of the engineering infrastructure (failed drainage system and so on).

Moscow – the liveable city

Since the beginning of 2013 Moscow Mayor Sergei Sobyenin (The official portal of the Major and Moscow Government 2014) has introduced a new program for the development of the capital “Moscow – liveable city”. It was approved in the autumn of 2013 as the base document for the capital over the next five years. Moscow’s Government has chosen seven priorities for development of the city; the first of all is Mobile City.

Historically the transport strategy of Moscow focuses on automobile transport (Moscow Urban Forum 2012). The hierarchy of importance of the urban environment participants in the transport strategy up to the present time puts parked cars in first place and moving cars second, the third place is given to public transport and pedestrians are last. Cyclists are not taken in the account as members of the movement.

In accordance with the implemented program “Moscow – liveable city”, the priorities should be switched in the opposite direction: the first place of traffic priority should be given to pedestrians and cyclists, and then public transport, moving cars will be in the third place, and in last place parked cars. There are more than 4,5 million private vehicles in Moscow; during peak hours around 80% of city dwellers are using public transport.

According to Sobyenin (The official portal of Major and Moscow Government 2013), a lot has been achieved in the past two years to develop the transport system, enhancing subway lines for 13km, building six stations. The total goal is to build 150km of subway lines and 70 new stations by 2020. In addition, a project of modernization of suburban rail links is reducing the interval between peak commuter trains to five minutes. Passengers will also be able to change from radial directions on small railway ring. As noted by Sergey Sobyenin, the volume of transport by rail has potential to be increased from 600 million to 1 billion passengers per year.

Work will be done to improve transport hubs: more than 250 points, this year alone 150. Surface transport purchased new low-floor buses and trolleybuses. In 2014–2015, Moscow trams also purchased a new generation of cars. This year’s new menu has agreed to simplify transferring from one mode to another, Sobyenin said, adding that the modernization of the system will continue. Six highways are to be reconstructed this year: Leningrad, Warsaw, the Kashira, Yaroslavl highway and highway Rublyovskoe - Balaclava Avenue. The reconstruction of the Moscow Ring Road has also taken place. “Only until 2020 road network in Moscow will be increased up to about 400 km,” - said Sobyenin and said that over the past two years 70 miles of new roads have been built.

Restrictions on the movement of trucks, video registration systems and ordered parking mechanism are supposed to restore order to the roads. According to the transport program most of the funds, 62 percent, will be dedicated to development of public transport, 31 percent will be spent on the road network, 3 % for the development of garage construction and arrangement of parking spaces, 3 % for the development of traffic management systems and 1 % to solve the remaining problems. The main activities of the program are as follows: creating new walking and cycling routes; construction of more than 160 km of new metro lines and 79 new metro stations; using new generation train in the Metro; ensuring the schedule, speed and driving comfort. This includes ground public transport reformation, including organization of dedicated lanes; replacing ground public transport to low-floor buses, trolley buses and trams; modernising suburban rail and passenger transportation on the Small Ring of Moscow Railway; constructing and reconstructing of city roads; organising more than 250 modern transportation hubs; creating additional parking spaces and storage of vehicles.

As the result of these conversion city will have following positive changes:

1. The time spending on travelling around the city will be reduced to 25-30% daily.
2. Number of people living beyond the walking distance from the Metro will be reduced from 23% to 7%.
3. Ground public transport waiting time in peak hours will be reduced from 8 to 5 minutes.
4. Public transport average speed in peak hours will be increased from 11 to 18 km/h, up to 30 km/h on dedicated lines.
5. Occupancy of public transport will be reduced to 20% from 5.4 to 4.5 people per 1 m².

Creating new walking and cycling routes

First of all, the emphasis on the creation of hiking trails is at the historical and administrative centre of Moscow (Moscow Urban Forum 2012). General zoning, suggesting priority pedestrian streets in the city centre, adjacent to the Kremlin, and the most attractive for tourists and within the boundaries of the Garden Ring is planned to create comfortable and safe spaces for pedestrian traffic, but with the preservation movement of personal and public transport. Integration of the “inner ring” involves the creation of secure land and underpasses, traffic islands, intelligent traffic lights, etc. In 2012 a brand-new pedestrian zone Stoleshnikov was organised Lane - Kamergerskiy lane - Kuznetskiy Most Street (to the street Rozhdestvenka) - Rozhdestvenka Street (to the street Pushechnaya).

Interconnectivity zones suggest pedestrian linkages throughout the central part of Moscow, as well as an easy pedestrian access to major transport hubs and improvement of their territories. It should be noted the measures already taken to create a comfortable environment for pedestrians for the territory of transportation hub - “Square of Three Stations” (Leningrad, Kazan, Yaroslavl): illegal trading facilities was demolished; supply line arranged taxi and parking for private car parking was created; sidewalks was paved with elegant and durable tile and granite; places for recreation and meetings was arranged; street lighting was improved; accessible environment for disabled people and other people with limited mobility was created.

One idea is to create streets and areas of “Weekend” (Moscow Urban Forum 2012). Created infrastructure that enables quick access for transport to stop at the central streets of the city overlap during the holidays, or even during the summer months for the unimpeded access of pedestrians.

One solution which has been discussed by the Moscow government in consultation with the renowned architect Ian Gale (Gehl Architects. Unlocking Moscow’s urban treasures 2013), improved the situation with recreational areas in the centre of Moscow. So a lively and actively used transport artery evolved, thanks to the Government of Moscow and the project of the architectural bureau WOWHAUS, a beautiful promenade and communications zone - Crimean embankment.

The participation of educational institutions in urban planning is one of the trends of the last 3 years. Graduate School of Urban Studies and Planning, as well as the Moscow Institute “Strelka” and MARSH (Moscow Architectural School) actively initiate development of new methods of urban design. Many of them run programs aimed at finding initiatives among the population; these people are holding workshops explaining how to implement their ideas.

These institutions began to work with public on bicycle paths in Moscow. Moscow Architecture submitted 135 circuits - separately for each of the 10 administrative districts and separately for each of the 125 districts.

In many cities around the world bike has been a legitimate part of the public transport for long time. Moscow is just starting to take steps in this direction. Muscovites now have several million bicycles, which are still mainly used for outdoor activities. Every year number of those who use the bike for everyday trips around town - to work, to study, in other cases - grows.

By the end of 2013 there were 500 bicycle parking organized. In 2012 108.7 km bike-ways, in August 2013-124.9 km and at the moment the total length of 166.9 km of bicy-

cle paths in Moscow I established, so growth was 54% of bicycle paths per year. There is a problem of incomplete coupling cycle routes, but work on it all the time is conducted, residents take an active part in this.

Residents bring an ultimatum to discuss the details of top-down solution, not its necessity. In addition, this process is practically eliminated by independent experts and locals reasoned proposals on alternatives development prospect.

Now there are indications that that this trend will spread around the rest of Russia. The main priority is the design of the bicycle space - an arrangement of bike paths connecting the adjacent areas, recreational areas, as well as providing local interconnection. Priority in the development of the scheme is to provide transport accessibility, safety when driving on the bike, including flow separation of cyclists and pedestrians. Currently, the city has 146 km of tracks, most of which are located in parks; they are separated or run along the hiking trails. In 2014, will equip the 136 km of bicycle paths in the pilot districts: Central District - 36 km, Inc.-South-West - 55 miles, Zelenograd - 30 km, Mitino - 15 km, as well as planned bikeways along the floodplain Jauzy - 18 km to the design in 2014 and improvement in 2015.

In 2013, 1045 bicycle parking places were organized, 10 of 450 seats, they are arranged near transportation hubs and major places of attraction citizens, such as business centres, theatres, libraries, as well as a significant number of educational institutions. Bicycle parking is equipped with protected intercept parking at subway stations. In 2014, in the following years it is planned to develop the program and provide both temporary and closed and guarded bicycle parking near major transport hubs of the city, as well as the arrangement of storage space for bikes in intra territories. Also in 2013 a system of urban bike rental was established, a total of 75 stations were established for 550 bicycles. More than 20 thousand unique users have benefited from the rental system: from June to October committed 70 thousand rental sessions, which is a total of 47 thousand hour. Next year the geography of the rental stations network will be expanded within the Third Ring Road, to increase the number of stations to 300 units, accommodating a total of 4 to 5 thousands bikes. (The official portal of Major and Moscow Government 2013)

In 2011-2013 few tens of kilometres of bicycle paths are in parks and on the streets are equipped, more than 10 thousand of parking spaces for bicycles were equipped near Subway stations, educational institutions and in other places. The city centre is equipped with 50 bike rental stations with more than 500 bikes to the end of July, will be open to 100 stations for one thousand bikes in total.

Improvement in the field of public transport

Until 2020 the framework of metro development will solve the following problems: Decreasing proportion of the population living outside the walking underground to 10% through the construction of new lines in the peripheral areas of the city. The length of the Moscow metro will increase by 1.5 times; reducing the average number of cars during peak hours will be reduced by 13.5%; the construction of the extension and radial metro lines beyond the Moscow Ring Road and construction of the Third interchange circuit; conditions for travellers with limited mobility will be improved; wireless internet will be installed transmitters in cars; security and increased levels of anti-terrorist protection of passengers will be improved; comfort tube rides through the issuance of rolling stock on the line of the new generation will be enhanced, upgrading of the ventilation system, the introduction of modern forms of fare, renovation of the lobby and escalators; the illegal trade in the 25-meter zone from the entrance to the subway will be discontinued; average times in the queue for tickets during peak hours will be reduced

to 2 minutes; acquisition of rolling stock for the underground will be based on principles of the contract life cycle, including maintenance services from the manufacturer. (Moscow Urban Forum 2013.)

In 2011–2012 13km of new lines was developed alongside 6 new metro stations. The length of subway lines in the period from 2013 to 2020 will increase by 145 km, the number of stations – 69 units. The increase in the length of the underground and the purchase of rolling stock is planned to build 18 stores. This is the largest construction in the history of the Moscow metro.

Creating additional parking spaces and storage of vehicles

The car park of the capital is growing, which is chronically short of available spaces. In 2011–2013, in the courts, on the roads and in the garages of capital there were more than 800 thousand cars. (The official portal of Major and Moscow Government 2013.)

This allows you to reduce the flow of vehicles on the radial arteries of the capital during rush hours in the morning and evening; arrange parking and reduce congestion in the centre; make a more predictable journey to the centre by car (the ability to calculate the time, guaranteed availability of parking spaces). All profits from the paid parking go to the beautification of the city centre. Money received from drivers are spent on repairing the facades of buildings, landscaping, installing new benches and other projects that will make the centre of Moscow more comfortable and beautiful.

The right to have free parking cars stays with operational services, disabled, war veterans, residents of the houses in the area of paid parking (from 20:00 to 08:00 for free, in the rest of the time – for a fee of \$ 3 thousand rubbles per year), motorcyclists and moped and scooter owners and owners of electric vehicles. Free parking spaces are created outside social institutions. Parking costs EUR 1 per hour.

Each day more Moscow residents are using the paid parking service within the Boulevard Ring. The idea of expanding the project to the Garden Ring limits is now supported by 41% of the respondents, first of all residents of the Garden Ring and the Boulevard Ring, but even beyond this area the number of people who like the idea is quite large. Those who support the expansion of the paid parking zone vote to include the entire area within the Garden Ring believe that, thanks to this measure traffic situation in the area will get better, with less traffic jams; the opponents complain about the high prices.

The traffic situation within the Boulevard Ring is assessed better than within the Garden Ring (Russian public opinion research center 2013). For instance, 56% of the respondents are not satisfied with the average traffic speed within the Garden Ring while in the case of the Boulevard Ring the same answer gave 48% of the respondents. Similar opinions were expressed about the possibility to park a car (58% and 49% respectively). One of the key improvements with the introduction of paid parking in the Boulevard Ring district (mentioned by the respondents) is better organization of parking in the area (26%).

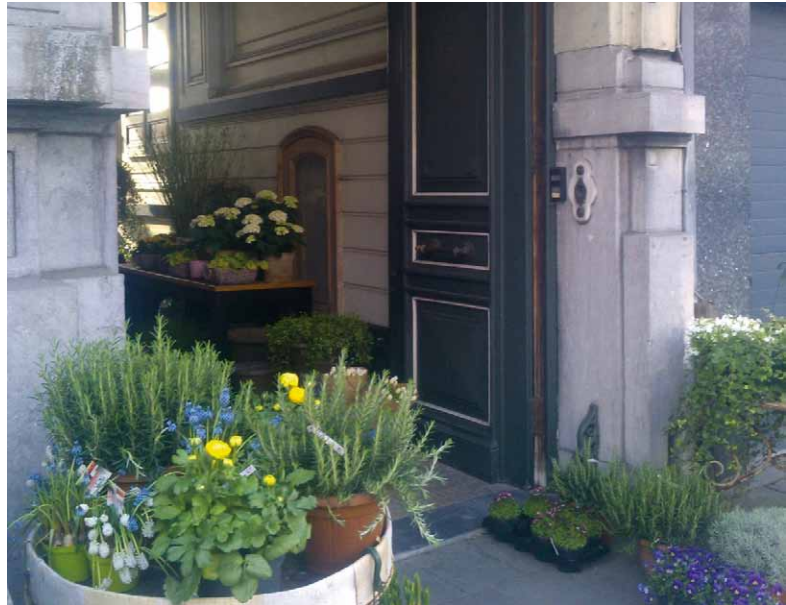
The share of Moscow residents who use paid parking within the Boulevard Ring is growing: in one month the number of users of the new service increased from 44% to 50%. At the same time, the share of those who never used paid parking earlier and are not planning to use it in the future goes down (from 40% to 31%).

In the recent month people's attitude to such method of payment for paid parking as a mobile app for cell phones/tablet computers has improved significantly: the share of those who express a positive opinion about functionality of this service increased during the month from 10% to 27%. Parking meters have also had positive response from people who paid for parking with parking cards (from 15% to 38%) and bank cards (from 23% to 34%). Payment by SMS is another popular method of payment with one of the highest scores (growth to 39% from 31%). The expansion of the paid parking project to the Garden Ring limits is supported by 41% of the respondents. Supporters of the expansion explain their attitude, first of all, by being convinced that thanks to this measure traffic situation in the area will get better, with less traffic jams.

In May 2014 a pilot project was launched for organisation of free parking on Sundays and public holidays throughout the paid parking area, the results of which will determine the feasibility of implementing this initiative. Park and ride will be built outside Moscow, near metro stations. At the facilities of parking spaces in the central part of the city of Moscow will include power chargers for electric vehicles. In this case, the Government of Moscow in 2013 approved the decision, according to which placing electro mobile transport on urban sites of parking spaces is free of charge. It is planned to create more than 1.200 free parking spaces at public facilities by the end of 2014 (hospitals, kindergartens).

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PART II

PROJECT FRIENDS

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DECENTRALISATION AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF A DEMOCRATIC RULE OF LAW

Abstract: Decentralisation of power is considered to be one of the main conditions for the existence of a democratic rule of law. As for the principles it represents the opposite of centralisation. A key element for the functioning of a decentralised structure is to have the specified entity guarantee financial independence and to have their own sources of income and the ability to make independent decisions about how the spending of financial resources. The article discusses issues concerning the legal basis for the functioning of local government in Europe and presents conceptual apparatus related to centralisation and decentralisation as the principles of organisation of public administration.

Key words: local government, public administration, centralisation, decentralisation



There is no doubt that one of the basic canons of modern States is to adapt the functioning of the administrative apparatus for the proper exercise of the tasks of the public, i.e. the creation of broad organisational framework for their implementation. The contemporary perception of the position of Member States through the prism of functions that should be achieved triggers the need to make changes in the system of governance, involving the transition from centralised and monolithic power, towards a more pluralistic and decentralised. Multilateral and expanding the range of tasks of the modern State of forces on the decentralisation and makes the establishment of territorial self-government is not only an act of good will of the State and central authorities overruling focusing on you (Kamiński 2014, 53-55). More decentralisation of the Executive-and as far as possible and other authorities is, according to many pundits, one of the major conditions considered conducive to the preservation and consolidation of democracy “deal with it” a strong democracy (Saint-Quen 1991, 7-11). These observations are an attempt to answer the question, what exactly the considerations and reasons have decided to develop within the sphere of action of the Administration in the second half of the 19th century and in the 20th century and of the fulfilment of administrative apparatus of the modern, democratic States.

In the science of administrative law, centralisation is a way of organising the administrative apparatus, in which lower-ranking authorities are hierarchically subordinate to (business and personal) the senior authorities. Centralisation, by definition, implies dependence on the parent bodies. The lack of independence of the lower degree shall be expressed in the permissions

of the parent to the appointment and dismissal of the head below. In addition, lower-ranking authority does not have the greatest number of spheres self-determination, a senior body has, in turn, unlimited opportunities to intervene in the activities of subordinate bodies using commands, guidelines and other acts targeting. Centralisation of a public authority in relation to the functioning of democracies today seems to be a thing of the past.

The opposite of centralisation is decentralisation. It describes the way in which the administration of the Government bodies (as well as local government authorities) is not hierarchically subordinate to the higher levels (Government authorities). Decentralisation and the dynamics of the evolution of the democratic political system and is widely adopted in the Member States of the European Communities.

Decentralisation is the legal establishment of a certain degree of autonomy in the settlement of specific issues and causes, first of all, the replacement of the management between the authorities at different levels by the ratio of supervisors. Surveillance measures may vary depending on the nature and position of the administrative units. Interference with higher authorities may take place only in the forms provided for by law (Nowacka 1997, 15-21).

Developing the thought of Bardhan & Mookherjee, Koza (Koza 2012, 192) rightly notes that "...decentralisation is most commonly seen as an essential element of participatory democracy, which gives citizens a chance to present their preference and the choice of representatives, of progressing in accordance with the will of the voters. In addition to actual results in terms of policy, the actual effect on the economic prosperity and universal participation, appreciated it is also in charge of promoting a sense of autonomy of citizens, improving social governance and reduction of separatist behaviour of the various regions" (Koza 2012, 192). In addition to the absence of the so-called hierarchical relationships as a condition necessary for decentralisation, the key element for the functioning of the decentralised structure is to have a certain entity guarantees independence financing activities. It needs to have their own sources of income and ability to independently decide how to spend their financial resources.

In analysing the issue of centralization vs. decentralisation of financial, you should be aware that it should not be seen in *abstracto*, in any legal system, institutional or constitutional visions. With regard to regional or local authorities, you should reckon with the election of a more general and basic concept of Creole, adopted by the economic and political power in a given period of time. With the need to choose between two types of possible solutions, which with some simplification can be represented as follows:

– Efforts to extend the scope of the functional independence and territorial decentralisation [broad-based decision-making powers and powerful and numerous sources of revenue]:

–The pursuit of central control to ensure the protection of the interests of the State and how wide to compensate for differences in economic development of the local units [Chojna-Duch 1998, 331-332].

Flejterski and Ziolo (1998, 80) underlined that decentralisation is a complex process, having reflected in terms of subject and relevant. "Decentralisation actions in terms of subject-find authors – focus on units, for which the central authority has made the delegation of their powers, and are addressed on the behaviour of rational proportions between the Government and local government: regional and local level.

The criterion of the judges and of the areas of competence subject to the decentralisation and primarily concerned: public finance, public administration, political discretion, rules and control powers entrusted to the administrative units of the State".

The primary goal of devolution is to transfer expertise e.g. State authority bodies of the units of local government, elected in a democratic way by the local communities. As a general rule, meaning a way to organize the administrative apparatus, in which there are no hierarchically subordinate bodies to down level higher degree, and self-reliance of this first set only specified law of surveillance measures. As noticed Pokładecki (2012, 83) decentralisation is "the result of conception-ideological processes, political efforts flowing from the development of human civilization. Its beginning is determined at the turn of the 18th-19th century". It is precisely in this period was the concept of decentralised State, whose essence lies in the process of passing through the centers of the central authority and competence of the lower tier structures (Izdebski 1997, 138).

The principle of decentralisation of public authority and participation by local government in carrying out a substantial part of the public tasks, it is a constitutional principle of organisation and system of many modern countries. Placing them in individual Constitutions unambiguously indicates that decentralisation is relatively stable, a stable of political culture.²⁷

Modern forms of decentralisation you can systemize in five groups:

1. The local government units of primary [communal, one states],
2. Two-tier local government,
3. The Regional Council
4. Autonomous Decentralisation characterized by the division of the whole of the national territory in the autonomous regions-while still retaining the system of local government in the lower tier units,
5. Federalism [Domagała 1996, 10].

The basic and most important form of decentralised administration is the regional and local authorities, which is a form of exercise of public authority separate and independent from the State associations under public law, which, by law, is composed of all the inhabitants of the territory (Dąbek & Zimmermann 2005, 8). Local Government performs the specified task acts on its own behalf and on their own responsibility, acting the same immanent part of the modern democratic State of law, in which execution of the tasks of the public on the basis of the principle of decentralisation should be the basic canon of political thinking (Pokładecki, 82).

In accordance with the modern concepts of territorial self-government, it functions as an essential element in the system of public administration, the purpose of which is the implementation of public tasks in a wide range. Separate Government entities can quite freely create its own policy, and their activity remains under State control, but this is limited to the operating principles in accordance with the law, and its scope and measures are defined by statute. It should be stressed that the independence of the European decentralized administrations as a primary-subject to full legal protection.

²⁷ Judgment of the Constitutional Court 4.5.1998, K 38/97, OTK 1998/1/31.

Subjected municipalities may defend their rights against infringements on the part of other actors (governmental authorities, trade unions, foundations, etc.) in legal proceedings and be complaints to the courts of ordinary, administrative or constitutional, as well as challenge administrative acts, supervisory activities and statutes, if you violate the rights protected.

The legal basis for the functioning of modern local government in Europe is the European Charter of local self-government, taking into account the specificities of national political solutions. It forms the basis of local democracy. This, together with the European Charter of citizens' rights, the European Social Charter and the European Charter of Cultural Relations is the common European standards for the protection and development of the rights of local governments. The European Charter of local self-government was passed by the Council of Europe—the largest and the oldest European political organization, standing guard over the rule of law in Europe—in Strasbourg on October 15, 1985. After many years of work carried out by the Permanent Conference of European municipalities and regions (The Standing Conference of Local and Regional Authorities), the Charter came into force on 1 September 1988. The provisions of the Charter are sufficiently General to take account of the specificities of the local government in the country, its cultural heritage and distinctiveness of the local Board. However, it considered the right of municipalities to local government as a sort of a fundamental right against State-owned centralization and protection against totalitarianism at the same time guaranteeing the right authorities for their representative bodies in free, universal, direct, equal and secret elections.

The European Charter on local self-government practically coincided in time with the socio-economic and political changes between 1989-1991 in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Shaped historically, Western European democratic organizational structural-solutions were the substantive basis for work by the States of the former “Eastern bloc” through the concept of the Organization of public authority.

The cards are reflected in the legal order of the democratic European countries. For constitutional principles of organization and operation of the local government, please refer to the chapter of Des regional/local authorities, authorising (XII) the Constitution of the French Fifth Republic (La Constitution du 4 Octobre 1958). The fortress of the Republic's territorial communities are municipalities, departments, regions, communities and, in particular, the status of the overseas community. They are called upon to take decisions on the full range of competences, which can be better implemented at their level, and under the conditions provided for by law to exercise his Administration. They are freely selected by the Council and have the right to issue legislative acts in order to carry out their powers.

Similarly, issues of local Government shall decide the Basic Law The Federal Republic of Germany (Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland vom 23. Mai 1949), which, in article 28, inter alia, States that people must be at the level of the Länder, municipalities, districts and delegations, selected in the General, direct, free, equal and secret elections. (...) Municipalities must be ensured the right to regulate all matters relating to the local community on their own responsibility under the law. Also associations of municipalities have in accordance with the laws within the framework provided for them, the statutory terms of reference, the right to self-government. Government guarantee also includes ensuring that the basics of their own financial responsibilities and territorial autonomy, administrative and organizational.

Also the Constitution of Italy (La Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana, 22 dicembre 1947) firmly situates its provisions of local communities, recognizing and supporting the local government, which embodies in the activities of the departments subject

to the most extensive decentralisation of administration and adapts the principles and system of its legislation to the requirements of local government and decentralisation (article 5).

A lot of space that is the Constitution of the Republic of Poland III (Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z 2 kwietnia 1997.) is also territorial. In accordance with the Constitution, local government is one of the “public authorities”, and its authorities are “public authorities”. The Constitution of the RP provides that “the territorial system of the Republic of Poland ensures the decentralisation of public authority” (article 15, 2), and regional and local authorities, in accordance with Art. 16. Act. 2 - participates in the exercise of public authority, and in which the set an important part of the public task the local Government performs in his own name and on its own responsibility, which clearly confirms the formula of a democratic rule of law.

A characteristic feature of operating in today's political systems is their local and territorial multi-grading. For some this is the granting of autonomy to the top in the structure and the largest territorial units of local government. The evolution of State structures is followed by new forms of State-building or rather old modelling ground. “The process of decentralisation is of very varying severity, depending on the degree of intensity of the regional trend, General reforms or autonomous, which are influenced by multiple factors. (...) It is clear that any solution to the regionalism has the characteristics of the data to a particular case and it appears impossible to duplicate existing schemes in other Member States, and difficult to make use of them” (Domagała 1996, 16).

For some, explanation for such institutional solutions can be used to acknowledge that you are not developing local communities, but it is their kind of culmination, composed of State, community, territorial and national. Far advanced decentralisation allows activating citizens and their lively participation in the processes of forming social order and centralization leads to the decline of activity, which can be stimulated later only by coercion, which from the top preclude its effectiveness in the long run. Therefore, increasing the scope of the freedoms and subjectivity for individual communities and territories is the only way to the smooth functioning of the social system (Misiura 1991, 101-124).

In the largest countries, although there are exceptions, the most common practice is a three-tier division. In this case, decentralisation and self-management often take qualified form of autonomy.

The concept of the autonomy of modern politics is defined as “the principle of limitation of the scope of the interference of the authorities of the Member State in the cases reserved to the competence of the bodies selected by the minority political and it is treated as an expression of the will to protect the specific interests, especially those of cultural groups, which due to their size, and the ensuing weakness of representation in Parliament or Government, are not able to use in order to achieve their own interests the democratic procedure of deciding by a majority” (Leksykon politologii 1995, 26-27).

Contemporary Western European countries are seeing a general trend towards devolution of Government to local government units extending the activity area of municipalities in addressing public needs. Growth of municipal self-government tasks raises, in turn, the need for cooperation and the creation of local unions at higher levels.

Although the principle of decentralisation is one of the key features of the functioning of the rule of law, democracy influences the body, however, decentralisation may not be, in fact, understood as an end in itself. It boils down not only to the establishment of appropriate legal standards, the relevant institutions and their requirement, but equally for its efficacy determines the content of the social institutions covered by decentralisation will be filled by local communities. Decentralisation, which is not accompanied by the awakening and development of local social activity where there is

no effective social control and effective supervision of the State, i.e. decentralisation without genuine local democracy and without State (Government), the correction mechanisms of the rule of law, is inflammation (Piekara 2003, 718–719).

Please note, however, that the centralization and decentralisation in principle never and nowhere does not occur in its purist form, because there is no structure of a fully centralized or fully decentralized. The same centralisation and decentralisation is not an end in itself but only a means to an end, which is the ability, opportunity and motivation to make the right decision and the proper functioning of the administrative apparatus.

In conclusion, let me point out the advantages and disadvantages of decentralisation, from the point of view of its doctrinal assumptions. The undeniable advantages and benefits should include:

- » ability to perform the tasks assigned to it, giving it greater influence in shaping local and regional policy,
- » increase public awareness and creativity [citizens begin to turn in the action of local government, knowing that the fate of their community depends on them],
- » democratisation, empowerment of local units producing in the consciousness of the inhabitants of broadening the scope of freedom,
- » the possibility of collective action in terms of meeting needs means people become more engaged and skilled,
- » strengthened social ties increase the social inclusion of the inhabitants and their collectivity
- » the decrease in the melt, which is the hierarchical relationships, are often the source of low efficiency of administration,
- » increase in culture administration
- » reduction by efficient mechanisms for local democracy-conditions of centralistic-bureaucratic dysfunction.

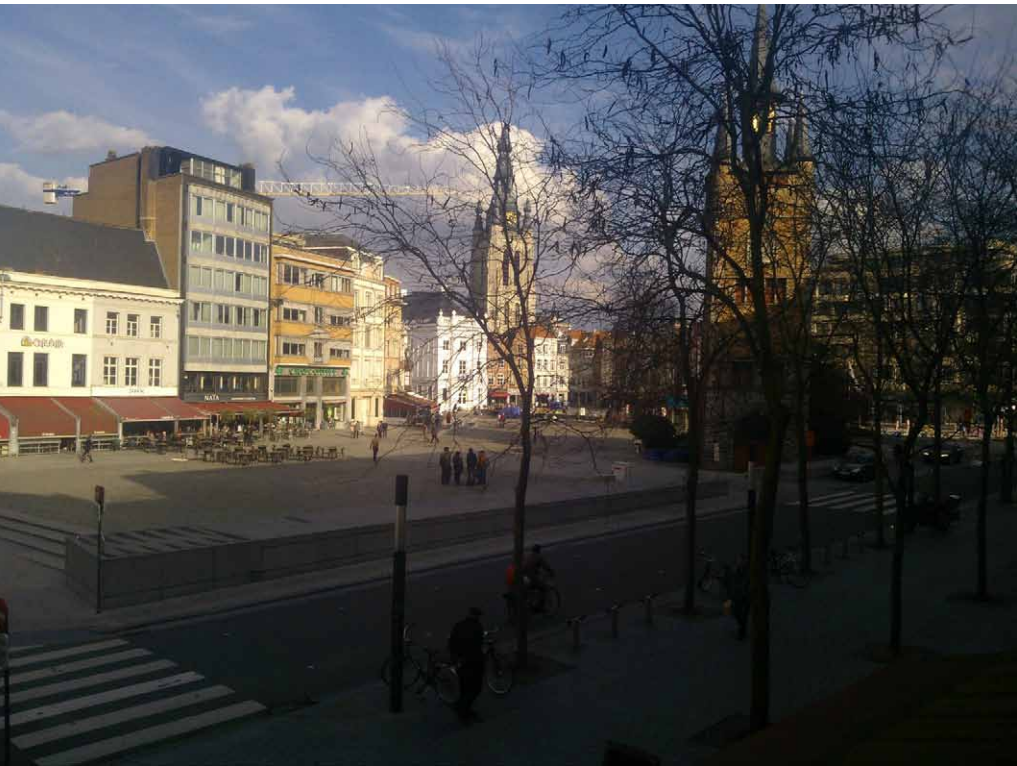
As the disadvantages of decentralisation usually indicates that:

- » it leads to a preference for local interests over the general interests of the State
- » there is [or could be] a lack of coherence of field camera,
- » there is a danger of inaction unpopular, though necessary, especially if the authorities making the choice are dependent on re-election,
- » there are problems with the Division of competences in relation to the centre,
- » efficiency can be reduced with the duplication of some functions leading to the risk of cost increases [Leoński 1999, 10].

In conclusion, it should be noted that the principles of centralization and decentralisation as a policy regime of public administration are relative, coexist and are carried out in different ways. This does not change the fact that decentralisation is crucial for the functioning of any modern democratic State and self-governing local communities contribute to the existence and perpetuation of civil society.

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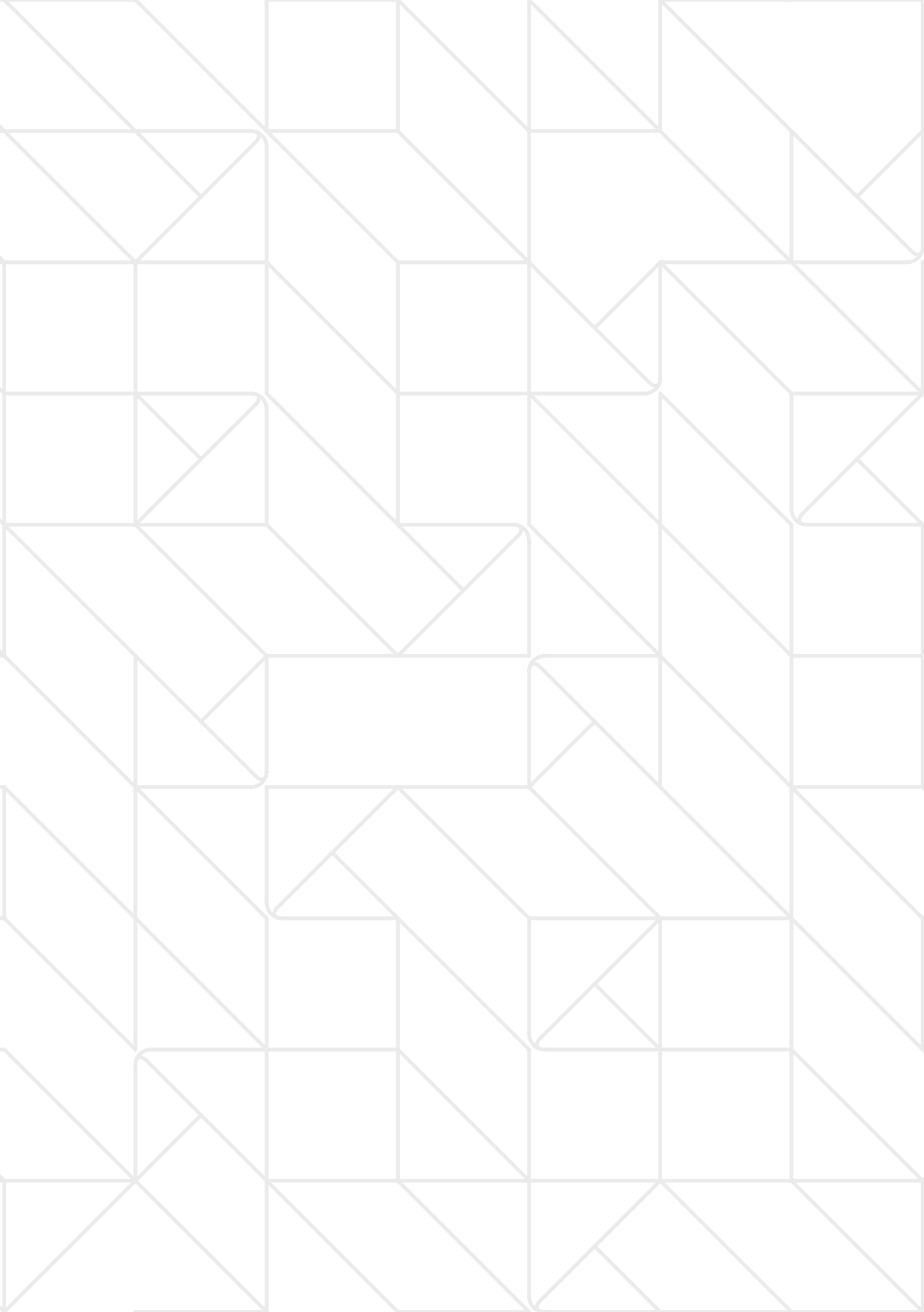
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THE MUNICIPALITY AS BASIC UNIT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN POLAND

Abstract: The main purpose of this article is to explain the essence of local government in Poland starting from its genesis. The author tries to show how the notion of local government and municipality is understood in Polish doctrine and law. She also tries to present the legal framework of local government in Poland based on international and European Law standards. The most important part of the publication are the presentation of the changes which took place in local government as a result of the reform in 1998. It should give the reader a sense of the result of this reform of territorial administration which was the establishment of the voivodship government administration based on a decentralized model, resulting from the principle of territoriality, and the fusion of the biggest number of units and subjecting them to the supreme authority of the voivodship governor in the area of voivodship.

Key words: local government, municipality, Poland, reform 1998, decentralized model of administration



The genesis of local government in Poland

Local government has a long tradition in Poland with roots in the Middle Ages. It played a special role in the towns established on Magdeburg law in the thirteenth century. The oldest unit of local government was a municipality, while the basis of territorial administration of the Polish Kingdom was local government of nobility²⁸. In former Poland the equivalent of municipality comprised of one village was a cluster²⁹. In the period from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century the municipality constituted the basic unit of territorial division and, in a limited range, it was also a local government at a village (Duda, Orłowski, 1999, 57).

The main authority of local government was a chamber of nobility. In 1717 an attempt was made to abolish the local chamber of nobility rule. It did not mean any change in practice. The reason for this was to avoid establishing that authorities that could take over the tasks of existing regional assemblies. Such authorities were appointed only by Four-Year Parliament in 1789. These were: the ordinal committees, civil-military committee which was appointed in 1765 years to organize some matters in royal cities, using experiences of the Commission of Good Order (Ibid. 314). In cities in turn municipal councils were created, also called magistrates with Mayors at the helm. These authorities rarely were chosen in the elections. The situation in this area changed only concerning the royal cities on the basis of the Law from 1791.

²⁸ Initially the monarch's representative in the team lands, then gradually more and more official earthly, first of all judicial tasks, but also the royal property manager.

²⁹ The word "cluster" was also used to denote the inhabitants of a parish or layers of the urban poor.

However, in the free cities there were existing assemblies composed of property owners and, selected by magistrates with presidents or mayors at the helm. The magistrates were created also as a local government in cities of a higher tier. The country was divided into twenty-four districts called departments, which served as areas for higher tier action department assemblies. A representative of each department sat in the Parliament as a representative of the bourgeoisie. The rural local government acted within the clusters, and its authority was a mayor firmly subordinate to the owner of a village. During the uprising in 1794 an attempt was made to create public administration in villages. The head of the guard was a person appointed by the ordinal committee. Further modernisation of the old Polish model of territorial administration was stopped by the third partition of Poland (See Bogucka & Samsonowicz 1986, 146).

On the Polish lands the organisation and the system of local government looked different and were the result of political solutions implemented by the partitioning powers. Generally, a local government in the Prussian and Austrian annexations was dominated by the municipality which was composed of one village. In the Russian annexation after 1864 a cluster was introduced as a lower-tier unit in the rural collective municipality, which is as the equivalent of today's village council (Szreniawski et.al. 1995, 51-56; Izdebski, 2011, 54-56).

After regaining independence in 1918, Poland faced the problem of attempting to harmonize the political system. Although the introduction of single political solutions in the field of local government throughout the country was an important issue, huge cultural and economic differences between various parts of Poland slowed down the process for a long time.

Provisions of the March Constitution from 1921 declared only a uniform three-gradual system of local government (at the tier of municipality, county, state) throughout the country. The gradual process of liquidation of the inherited political system and creation of the conditions for the development of local governance started. Local government gained full constitutional status in 1933. Uniform local rules were then introduced throughout the country, by the so-called the "Act of merger", which united the mosaic of different organisational forms of local government in individual areas (Bogucka & Samsonowicz 1986, 54-56). The act maintained the functioning of municipalities which were composed of one village as well as collective forms. In this form the rural communities functioned until the reform³⁰ of 20th March 1950 (Journal of Laws, 1950 (14) 130), the result of which was local government was abolished for a period of 40 years. Liquidation of local government institutions stopped the historical continuity of the existence of local authorities (see Ajnenkiel 1975, 140). The functions of the local government were performed by the national councils throughout the country, which were modelled on the Soviet system, but their actions were contrary to the idea of local government. The reform of the national councils in the years 1972-1973 caused the reorganization of the structure of local administration in the state. In place of

³⁰ As a result of the reform it was abolished the duality of terrain administration. The national councils were created as local organs unified state power in municipalities, cities and districts of major cities, districts and provinces. The Councils were elected by people and had to operate on the basis of statutory powers, as well as instructions and guidelines of the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the relevant ministers. It should be remembered, that both clusters and municipalities, from 1950, were unified state authority and not a local government. This also applies to municipalities. (See Duda & Orłowski.1999, 57).

the existing presidia, councils as the executive and managing authorities were introduced single authorities (Tłuczek 1997, 68 and next) In the 1980s the growing need for radical economic and constitutional changes became undeniable and pointed the way towards reconstruction of local government. The commonly known transformation of the political system in 1989 led to changes in the Constitution and the creation of a new constitutional basis for the introduction of local government and its involvement in exercise of public power. During the spring of 1990 the Parliament made another change in the Constitution and passed a package of bills on the new local governance system. Local government has become a real entity and economic life of local politics.

The concept of the municipality and local government in Poland

The model of local government adopted in Poland, first as a result of the municipal reform, then as the so-called reform of political state in 1998 with modifications from 2002 and 2005, refers, as we know, to many traditions of the Second Polish Republic. As a legal entity a municipality is created through appropriate procedures and in the form prescribed by law. It is not an autonomous institution of the state. It is separated from the framework of state law. At the same time it is a form of decentralized administration. In performing their own tasks, it is a subject liable only for the law, not the guidelines and instructions of missions. In this regard, a legal position of municipalities should be distinguished (as local government units) from the situation of government authorities (e.g. voivodeships or tax authorities), which are elements of a centralized government, obligated to use not only laws but also service instructions and guidelines (Borodo 2012, 39).

The local government acts of 1990 and 1998 indicate the mandatory nature of local government. Art. 1 paragraph 1 of the Act of 1990 states: "the inhabitants of the municipality formed under the law of self-governing community"³¹. It may be added that in local government - in contrast to public law corporations representing various professions (e.g. chambers of doctors, bar associations, etc.) - its members cannot be excluded from it.

The notion of municipality is submitted in accordance with art. 1 paragraph. 2 of the Act, both with the previously mentioned local government community as well as the relevant territory. A municipality – local government community by virtue of law involves the commune of the inhabitants who settled its territory. A municipality which performs the public tasks on its own behalf and on own responsibility, shall have a legal personality. Its independence is subject to judicial protection. Municipality inhabitants shall make the resolutions in the popular vote (by the elections and the referendum) or

³¹ Provision of the Statute of the municipality that the population in terms of ethnicity resides creating a self-governing community, is not a political solution, which should be in the act of law. That is what people inhabited town, does not remain in any causal relationship to the system of the municipality in its statute. See more: sentence of the Supreme Administrative Court in Wrocław, SA/Wr 1499/00, ONSA 2003 Vol. 4, 12.

via the authorities of the municipality (commune council, mayor or president of the city)³². The task of the municipality is to meet the needs of the local community (e.g. health care)³³. A country cannot, except in cases specified by law, encroach on the sphere of its activity³⁴.

In a constructed statutory definition the following elements can be found: 1) a municipality is a community, i.e. local assembly that directly is to be the subject of rights and duties. 2) A municipality is an association of local government. It is meant to include its organisational structure and its scope of action, powers and the whole or at least the basic core of the population living in the area. 3) A municipality shall have a legal personality (Szewc, Jyż & Pławewski 2005, 20).

The power of a municipality to exercise civil law is limited. Municipalities are not allowed to conduct economic activities beyond their public tasks. The provisions of the Constitution and local government laws of 1990 and 1998 confirm the corporate character of local government. Both the constitution and local government acts indicate that the government takes “public tasks”, and therefore belongs to public administration. The consequence of this is that the power of local government is public power. This fact shows the independence of municipality, district and province. At the same time it has to be pointed out that this independence is a subject of judicial protection³⁵.

A municipality may create auxiliary units: village councils, districts, housing estates and others. A rural administrative unit is an auxiliary unit of the municipality which usually has its seat in a village, but large villages may consist of up to a few rural administrative units. For city municipalities the equivalent of a rural administrative unit is a housing estate (or district). The area, scope councils of the village activity and its authorities are determined by the municipal council in its statutes. In contrast, a district is an administrative division unit of the city governing a part of its territory, streets, housing estates or the common name of a city. The legislative and control authority is a rural gathering of inhabitants. The executive authority, in turn, is exercised by the village leader (chairman of board district), the consultative authority - by the village council (Duda & Orłowski, 1999, 57).

The Constitution of 1997 foresees the possibility of establishing a regional government or a local and regional government, giving some freedom to the legislator. Fulfilment of these constitutional provisions was the adoption of two acts of 5th June 1998. on local government (Art. 164 paragraph 2 of Constitution) and regional county government (Journal of Laws of 2001, 142 item. 1592, as amended).

The Constitution of 1997 foresees the possibility of establishing a regional government or a local and regional government, giving some freedom to the legislator. Fulfilment of these constitutional provisions was the adoption of two acts of 5th June 1998 on local government and regional county government.

Legal personality of local government is the essential legal structure which guarantees independence to individuals. As a result of rights and duties, they may have the right of ownership as well as the use of other property rights. Legal subjectivity of local

government units allows them to use, among others, the right to judicial protection. The cases of this range are governed by Polish legislation that meets the requirements of the European Charter of Local Self-Government. This Charter sets out the rights and responsibilities of self-government, among others, by including the right to manage local affairs, the possibility of using the courts in the investigation of independent action, having its own financial resources, etc. When emphasizing the local government autonomy from the state, it should be indicated that it has a legal personality (article 165, paragraph. 1 of the Constitution and the relevant provisions of the Local Government Act). By the same token, a separate category of property rights has to be emphasized - the property of local government. It is not possible to indicate a widely accepted definition of local government (Skrzydło, 2002, 178).

Definitions differ depending on the author but often only in the detail. Jerzy Starościak summed up this situation perfectly, stating that “the institution of self-government as one way to decentralize the state administration has such a rich literature, that adding some new elements to the determination of what is self-government, is probably impossible”.

There are therefore many definitions of local government, and one of them was developed before the Second World War by Jerzy Panejko. According to him, “the local government is decentralized state administration, carried out by local authorities, hierarchically independent and autonomous within the limits of the act and general law” (Starościak 1960, 53). Panejko determines the requirement of rule of law and decentralisation of administrative tasks, since local authorities were freed from the hierarchical subordination.

Whereas according to Bohdan Wasiutyński local government can be considered “an exercising a part of the state administration by the organizations with legal personality, acting on their own behalf, pursuant to law granted to them under specific state supervision” (Wasiutyński 1928-1929, 94). Although this definition of local government was established in the interwar period, history has confirmed the importance of legal personality, allowing the action on their own behalf. Local government now functions under specific state supervision.

A very pertinent definition of local government was formulated by Teresa Rabska, who said that “local government is a separate social group, defined by the law, whose membership results from the law. Local government is established to perform tasks of the state administration independently, within the limits laid down by law and in forms appropriate for the state administration. It has its own organization established in the representative legislation being under control of the social group that chose it.

The organisation of local government is built on the principle of decentralisation. It acts on the basis of law and remains under the supervision of state authorities. However local government - authorities without state administration organs, are included in the administration as a whole (Rabska 1997, 333). The author therefore takes into account all the constituent elements of the local government, which are: the separation of a corporate nature; the legitimacy of the statutory requirement, the special mode of membership formation, the specialization in the subject field of public administration, independence when making decisions, decentralisation and the democratic principles of organization.

Bogdan Dolnicki assumes that local government is the “unit of a corporate nature, equipped with a legal personality, a public and private character, which chosen in the elections by the authorities performs the task of public administration on the basis of a defined legally independence and governed by the state supervision” (Dolnicki 2006, 21).

As the most pertinent, the classical definition of local government in Polish literature is considered to be that of Tadeusz Bigo, who formulated it the interwar period. It

³² See: sentence Supreme Court, 17.07.2008, II CSK 111/08.

³³ See more: sentence of the Constitutional Court, 12.03.2007, K 54/05, OTK-A 2007/3/25.

³⁴ Cf. sentence of the Supreme Administrative Court in Warsaw, I SA 267/08.

³⁵ Provision of the Supreme Court, 3.09.1998, III RN 49/98, Prokuratura i Prawo Vol. 3/1999, 42.

has been one of the most frequently quoted definitions until today. According to Tadeusz Bigo “local government is the decentralisation of public administration, where the independent entities are corporations set up for this by the acts” (cit. Boć 2005, 190). Its definition was supplemented, among others with the notion that local government is one of types of administrative decentralisation which are legal persons and are distinguished by the possession of rights and obligations, providing them a position equal to government authorities.

To sum up, considering all these definitions it can be concluded that local government is a form of decentralized administration. It is part of a public authority including its residents and territory defined by borders on the basis of country territorial division and performs public tasks independently. These are delegated to it by the State under the law. The main tasks of local government are activities related to education, health services, local finances, public policy, social welfare or environmental protection. The implementation of these tasks takes place in cooperation with a local community and on its behalf. These are their own tasks and they are implemented independently and on their own behalf (Ura 2010, 193).

Local government understood in this way may take different forms depending on the criteria of connections between its members. When the territorial cohesion is the basis for local governments, we are talking about the local government. When the economical connection is the basis of separateness - we are talking about the economic local government. When the relationship is a result of occupation - it is referred to as the professional self-government and so on. Sometimes other forms of self-government, being a specific kind of local government, are in fact its opposite.

Legal basis for the functioning of local government in Poland

The legal basis for the functioning of the local government can be found also in the Polish Constitution and a number of individual laws. However, the Constitution is the most important document in Poland and the seventh chapter of it was entitled “Local government” (Article 163-172). It is worth noting that the basic and the most important articles related to the local government can be found also in the first chapter of the Constitution entitled “The Polish Republic”. Article 15 and 16 recognize local government as a part of the public authorities. Article 5 paragraph. 1 indicates the importance of decentralisation of public authority. It is the expression the subsidiarity principle referred to in the Preamble of the Constitution, especially when it involves the establishment of local government institutions in territorial units division of the country. Article 16 paragraph 2. states that the local government functioning within the territorial units of the state exercises its public tasks on their own behalf and on their own responsibility. In such a case, local government has to possess the appropriate material resources, including primarily the financial ones (Winczorek 2000, 27-28).

The Polish Constitution precludes the possibility to establish only a local government. Municipal government is treated as a basic unit in accordance with Article 164, paragraph 2. It should be noted that it is not the only form of local government as the law is supposed to define other units of local regional or local and regional authorities (Article 164, paragraph. 1). Then the ordinary legislator is appointed to introduce minimum one further level of local government, including at least one regional tier (Izdebski 2011, 99).

In accordance with Article 169, paragraph 2. of the Constitution, the elections of local government authorities have to be universal, equal, direct and take place in a

secret ballot, regardless of the government level. Paragraph 3 of the same article allows the possibility for direct elections also of executive local government authorities. The Constitution therefore permits the choice between direct and indirect elections (which are organized by the constituting authorities) (Winczorek 2000, 222).

The ratified international agreements are considered to be the other legal basis of the functioning of local government in Poland. They are one of the sources of generally applicable law in Poland. The way to harmonize the views of local government’s legal nature was created in the “World Declaration of local government”³⁶ on the XXII World Congress of the International Union of local authorities on 22-26 September 1985 in Rio de Janeiro. It states that “Local government means the right and the duty of local authorities to local regulation and management of public affairs for the good of the community” (Art. 2 § 1 of Act) and that both the principle of local government, as well as the core competencies of local authorities, should be enshrined in the constitution or determined by a statute (Art. 1 and 3 § 3 of Act). Similar provisions are contained in the European Charter of Local Government³⁷ adopted on 15 October 1985 (Journal of Laws of 1994, 124 item. 607)³⁸. Both international declarations include a rule that local governments, by regulating it in the constitutions and national legislations, has become one of the fundamental institutions of constitutional law of a modern state. The scope of constitutional regulations is different in different countries - from expressing only the general principle, to a detailed regulation of functional and organizational principles. However, none of the laws contains an exhaustive definition of the local government, so the effort to define a local government goes back to doctrine. Most often, it was made formulating a catalogue of characteristics³⁹ of the local government on the basis of normative solutions. As two fundamental elements of such a catalogue, there can be

³⁶ Cf. the text Universal Declaration of Local Government was published in addition to the bi-weekly “Economy-State administration” of October 1988.

³⁷ Local self-government with the concept of local self-government from European Charter of Local Self-Government denotes the right and the ability of local authorities, within the limits of the law, to regulate and manage a substantial share of public affairs under their own responsibility and in the interests of the local population. This right shall be exercised by councils or assemblies composed of members freely elected by secret ballot on the basis of direct, equal, universal suffrage, and which may possess executive organs responsible to them. This provision shall in no way affect recourse to assemblies of citizens, referendums or any other form of direct citizen participation where it is permitted by statute.

³⁸ Cf. Filipek, J. Problemy samorządu terytorialnego. In Biała Księga. Polska-Unia Europejska, 33, Warszawa 1995, 8 and next.; Cf.. Szewc, T. Dostosowanie prawa polskiego do zasad Europejskiej Karty Samorządu Terytorialnego, Bydgoszcz 2005.

³⁹ To the important features of local government can be included::

- the law should ensure that specific social groups and elected through their authorities have the right to manage “their” affairs;
- these groups participate in the performance local government mandatory by law (a member of the local government we are under the law, and not voluntarily pursuant to our own statement of will),
- these groups and their authorities perform the tasks of the public administration,
- management is based on the rules of autonomy (decentralization); encroachment in the form of supervision in the activities of local government is possible only in the forms provided for by law and do not alter this independence. (See Leoński 2006, 6)

considered: the subject and object. Local government, tasks and supervision. A local government is created to manage the public administration. Thus, the performance of public administration should be regarded as an object of management. The local government entity creates a local community residing in the area, organized in territorial local government relationship (municipality). The recognition of local government as part of a decentralized structure means that a local government's unit - the municipality, is separated from the whole state administration. The separation is accomplished by the recognition of legal separateness of local interest, and thus granting freedom to the implementation and protection of that interest (Dolnicki 2006, 18–t22).

Of course, this process takes place at a specific legal norm, and the legal norm represents the boundaries of local government's autonomy of action. This independence is therefore not absolute. It is absolute only within the law and within the limits specified in law⁴⁰.

European law affects Polish local government in different ways. First of all, it concerns

- » the norms which are expressed in Article 22 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union [OJ EU L 2012 2012, 326, 1] and in Article 40 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights [OJ EU L 2010 2010, 83, 1.] stating that every citizen of the Union has the right to vote and stand as candidates in municipal elections in the Member State in which he resides, under the same conditions as its nationals;
- » The impact of the Community territorial classification units for statistics (NUTS);
- » The issue of solidarity and economic and social cohesion as one of the objectives of EU's policy, which has been specified in Article 174 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU as an action to reduce the differences in tiers of the various regions' development and the backwardness of the least favoured regions. Implementation of this policy is, amongst others, within the Structural Funds, in which the distribution of local governments plays an important role, especially in the region;
- » The participation of the local and regional government's representatives from Poland in advisory authority of the European Union, which is the Committee of the Regions [Izdebski 2011, 115-116].

Conclusions

The new Constitution carefully specified that the notion of Local government means the municipality - as a basic organizational form of public life. Local government has started to perform some public tasks assigned to it by law, as well as the tasks commissioned by the government administration. It is equipped with independent legal status, giving it legal personality and allowing the judicial protection of its independence. The local government authorities were determined, and also the manner of their

⁴⁰ Cf. Kulesza, M. 1990. Niektóre zagadnienia prawne definicji samorządu terytorialnego. Państwo i Prawo, 1., Niewiadomski, Z. 1988, Samorząd terytorialny w warunkach współczesnego państwa kapitalistycznego, Warszawa, Wyd. Instytut Administracji i Zarządzania.

appointment prescribed. Local government also received the right to possess the municipal property and has been equipped with own income, supplemented by subsidies and grants from the state budget.

The local government, which was reactivated in Poland in 1990, was shaped as a local government at one tier - only at the municipal tier. It has been revived; therefore, the dualistic model of local administration, in which only one of the pillars is the local government. The municipality during the period 1990-98 became a fundamental unit of territorial division at basic tier. While the voivodships are the basic unit of the division to perform the tasks of government administration (Nowacka 2005, 76).

The new political and economic conditions of Poland in 1990s created an urgent need to continue the reform of local government in the direction of the widest possible decentralisation of executive power. What it means is that public services were operating independently and with their own responsibility, not only in local but also in regional dimension. It was exploring the possibility of creating a regional policy, but not the direct management of administrative services. In mid-1998 laws were enacted which introduced a three tier territorial division of the state. The principal units of this division from January 1999 are the municipalities, districts and voivodships. The local government in three tier models is a form of obligation relationship where inhabitants of municipalities, districts and voivodships were created to carry out the tasks of a regional nature by the voivodships to ensure the development of the area and meet the collective needs of the population. The individual units of a local government are formed under the law. In the three tier model municipality is the basic unit, a district - an intermediate unit, and voivodships - the highest level. In the system, the district and voivodships are fulfil an auxiliary role when the municipality primary role. The resulting regime is not hierarchical. The created structures should be treated as complementary and not overlap with each other (Adamiak, Kosiedowski, Potoczek & Słowińska, 49 and next).

The result of the introduced in 1998 by the legislator the reform of territorial administration was the establishment of the voivodship government administration based on a decentralized model, resulting from the principle of territoriality, and the fuse of the biggest number of units and subjecting them to the supreme authority of voivodship governor in the area of voivodship. Consolidation of territorial government administration, however, did not include all of its organs, and the legislator has allowed continuing further functioning of 'non-combined government administration' authorities in the area of voivodship, subordinated to the appropriate central or principle authorities of government administration (Wymyk, 2001, 11, 44 and others; Kulesza 2002, 9, 5 and others)⁴¹.

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⁴¹ Cf. Rychlik, J. Wojewoda jako zwierzchnik zespolonej administracji rządowej. In Chmaj, M. (ed.), Status prawny wojewody", Warszawa 2005, 187 and others.

the area of voivodship, subordinated to the appropriate central or principle authorities of government administration.

Next to the authorities of territorial government administration, a further possible subsystem of public territorial administration can distinguish the authorities of territorial administration units, acting on the principle of decentralisation in the exercise of their legally protected autonomy. The basic division of territorial government authorities can be based on the criterion of function (division into the decision making and executive authorities) and the criterion of the creation body (division into the authorities from the general election and the ones selected by a decision making authorities).

It should also be noted that local government units are not organisational units established by the municipalities, districts or voivodship, including local appeals board (Uniform text. Journal of Laws of 2001, 142, item. 1591, as amended). Admittedly, the Act of 3.8.1990 about local government has established a local parliament at the voivodship tier, but it had no such a character, because it did not come from direct elections and due to the limited powers it did not perform the tasks typical for local government (Tarno, Sieniuc, Sulimierski & Wyporska, 2002, 21–22).

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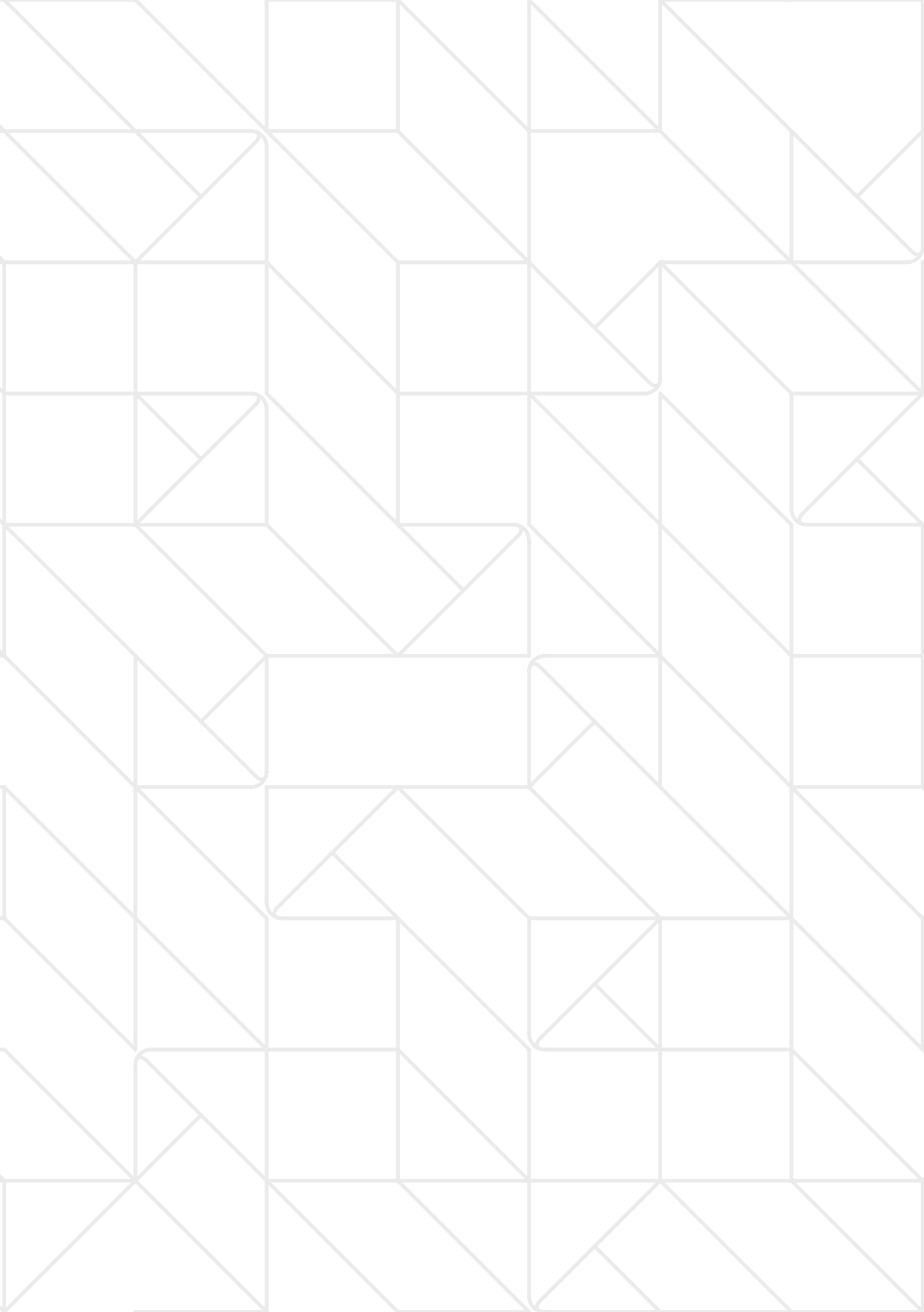


LOCAL POLISH FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS RUSSIA, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Abstract: Political Polish foreign relations with Russia, the United States of America [USA], as well as with the European Union [EU], constitute one of the most important challenges for our foreign policy in terms of local-regional as well as international. The activity of the Imperial Russia, particularly in parts of Ukraine, in the Crimea and the periphery of Donetsk – Luhansk, should lead the reconstruction of political strategy and activity in terms of foreign policy by the Government in Poland. The USA proposed negotiations with Poland to build on our territory the anti-missile shield designed to destroy missiles fired from any enemy of the United States.

This proposal aroused controversy both within the country and outside it. This question I would like to analyse by exploring Polish-American and Polish-Russian foreign policy in a wider perspective. Polish adviser to American President Jimmy Carter's for Foreign Policy, Zbigniew Brzezinski said that American foreign policy towards Russia by President George Bush - Senior after the fall of communism, has been rich in rhetoric and gestures, but empty from the point of view of a geopolitical strategy. Critical appraisal can be applied to the American policy across whole region at that time, for example to Ukraine or even to Polish Republic.

Key words: foreign policy, geopolitical strategy, states, European Union.



What Polish Foreign Policy towards Russia?

Poland faces a big historical challenge namely the confirmation of the will to reform State and “return to Europe” (Kawecka-Wyrzykowska & Synowiec 2004). From this point of view an essential direction for the development and modernization of Member States should be quite closely correlated with the foreign policy strategy, particularly non-EU members, such as Russia. However, the defining foreign policy towards Russia is difficult due to the following reasons:

- » First, despite the wealth of Russian economy, the social crisis is deeper. The structure of the mafia and more dangerous chore oligarchical power block social and political reform.
- » Secondly, the ties to Eurasian identity are still strong and will delay the reform pro-European decisions. The striking example of this is the latest conflict between Russia and Georgia in South Ossetia.
- » Thirdly, I have a feeling that Russia still does not have a clearly defined European policy-and, if so, it's quite veiled, in particular to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

Poland's foreign policy towards Russia took on a special dimension in the years 1989-1991. It was a policy of caution. It was shaped by external factors, such as: resentment, fear of the West before Europe's conflict with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (The Soviet Union), the problems of German unification. Great importance was also placed on the economic dependence of the Polish on the USSR, the Warsaw Pact and RWPG (Encyclopaedia Naukowa 2000). The concept of the policy towards East consisted in maintaining relations with the Soviet Union and each of the republics separately. The test of this double track were the events of 1991, when the Baltic Republic proclaimed independence.

On October 10, 1990, it signed a "Declaration of friendship and good neighbourhood and cooperation". The signing of this declaration became a turning point in the foreign policy towards Russia: the Member States have mutual integrity of borders, have denounced the territorial claims and then Poland officially aspired to the North-Atlantic Pact [NATO], which met with opposition from Russia and, in turn, turned into a deterioration of relations. Despite the political dilemmas, economic contacts were good (for example, the project agreement was signed gas pipeline Jamal-Europe on gas supplies) (Kupiecki 2000).

Between 1998-1999 there was political instability in Russia. At the same time Poland joined NATO (Krzeczurowicz 1999). Unresolved were, and still are, some historical issues. Russia disputes claims of aggression on Poland 17 IX 1939. By 2000, there was a gentle recovery in foreign policy between Republic of Poland and Russia designed to promote democratisation in the former Soviet Republics on basis of historical problems.

The unofficial visit of the Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski to Moscow on July 10, 2000 became a symbol of improving relations with Russia alongside that of the President of Russia Vladimir to Poland two years later. The Russian President declared a desire to solve the historical problems and redress the victims of Stalinism in Poland. The effect of this was the establishment of the Polish-Russian Commission. In recent years there has been a deterioration in Polish-Russian relations which was reflected in the question of an embargo on Polish products and agricultural products imposed by Russia.

A serious problem in our relations with Russia has grown since the case of Ukraine. Some Russians thought in terms of a "zero-sum game" with the West. A sense of loss in Ukraine significantly affected the evolution of the current Polish-Russian relations.

Polish-Russian relations can have a special role as a bridge between Western Europe, the European Union and Russia. Arguments include cultural proximity of Poles to Germans and Russians, shared history, knowledge of the mentality and language of both neighbours, and a wide range of transit arising from a convenient geographical location.

Economically, this role of intermediary seems to be highly profitable. For many Poles, economic contacts with Russia still means unlimited financial opportunities associated with a large and absorbent outlet, valuable natural resources, and their non-availability for people not familiar with Russian specifics. According to the results of the survey conducted by the Institute of public affairs, up 34% of Poles point to Russia as a country with which Poland should closely cooperate in economic matters. Germany was the second-highest score among respondents⁴².

⁴² A study carried out in the framework of the project the ISP "Poland and Germany". Relationship after the entry into force of Polish accession to the EU "by CBOS on 25-28 November 2005, on a representative sample of 1005 persons over 18 years of age.

There are two possible scenarios for securing the interests of Polish in dealing with Russia. The first is to play a leadership role in Central-Europe defending their interests [mostly congruent with each other] in dealing with the rich Member States of the European Union and Russia. In relations with Russia this strategy would be, for example, include construction of a North-European gas pipeline on the bottom of the Baltic Sea. It is also developing within the Wyszehradzka Group of the common position on the issue of gas trade with Russia.

The second concept of the Polish foreign policy in relation to Russia is tightening cooperation with Germany and France in such a way that, in relation to Russia, our economic and political interests were guaranteed by EU and NATO allies. Certainly getting stronger economic and political integration of the Weimar Triangle would not have a tendency to loosen the EU integration process, but on the contrary would be the basis for future EU initiatives enhancing the development for example, a common energy policy. It would be the basis for a sustainable focus around each other countries from Central and Eastern Europe and the effective construction of the common position in political relations with the Russian State. Poland pursuing these political activities to Moscow based on the support of Germany, France and the United Kingdom could more effectively promote Ukraine in integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures in the context of the few favourable attitudes of Russia in this regard.

The best possible solution for the Polish in its dealings with Russia within the trade natural gas and crude oil as soon as possible would be a common foreign policy and energy of the European Union for the protection of the interests of all member States. The first step could be the design of a cartel of European countries receiving energy fuels from Russia and the establishment of a common price. It will not be easy, but that's what the Polish authorities can really do in the upcoming 2-5 years. It can increasingly work together with other members of the EU, and the main strategy in foreign policy towards Russia should be building a strong alliance with the EU countries and in the case of the supply of energy materials ensure energy security.

The most important issue is, therefore, necessary to subscribe in the Polish common interest of Germany and France in its relations with Russia and the limitation of their bilateral relationship. It goes without saying that this requires on the part of the Polish diplomacy, some kind of compromise. An example of the implementation of the project of a natural gas pipeline on the bottom of the Baltic Sea and other forms of close cooperation of Russia, Germany and France seem to resemble that leaving himself and distancing from the bilateral relations of Russia with some of our EU partners in the future may be extremely dangerous for the Polish.

Eastern policy today is the most difficult and most important issues in the context of our global foreign policy. The dilemma lies in the complexity and in correlation of relations with different countries, because on the one hand, we have, a whole series of countries-former republics of the Soviet Union, to maintain good relationships, on the other hand, is a powerful Russian State.

However, relations with Russia should be crucial because Moscow is the main partner of the world's superpowers. Meanwhile, the relationships between Warsaw and Moscow are very cool, and the Georgian-Ossetia conflict is indirectly, but still with a Polish-involvement completes this relationship. Polish-Russian tensions have been strengthened, especially after the involvement of the Polish on the side of the United States during the Iraq war. Poland is therefore seen by the Russian Government as an obstacle rather than as a partner in international relations. The Anti-missile shield project is also a reason to continue to maintain the status quo of the relationship between those countries. You should ask the fundamental question: what do we gain from the deployment of American missiles? There is no doubt that the main good, what we

need to protect, is the safety of the country. On the one hand, whereas the American launchers offer greater protection from the Pentagon, on the other hand it brings extended tension with Russia. Americans would not be able to fully protect our country from the danger of Russian. For the American administration, Poland is one of the many allies and not the most important. Much more important for Americans are the Russians. They have a huge natural wealth with territory related to the strategic position. Events related to the nuclear test in North Korea, further consolidate the American administration in the belief that only partnerships with big players, such as Russia, provide an opportunity to tackle outbreaks in the world.

Poland is therefore a welcome partner of the USA, but provided that they do not interfere too much with Russia. Relations with Moscow, therefore need to arrange themselves. The main task of the Polish should be not so much elaborate on in another brawl in post-Communist countries, which put good relations with these countries and to build their own strength and optimum efficiency of diplomatic means. Only on this basis can we reach an agreement with the Russians. We need to treat Russia as a civilised nation. Alliance with the Americans is much needed, but only in those borders, where there are dangers from the East. On the Western side Poland should look for such strategic alliances that are strengthening the Germany with Russia and strengthen the interests of Polish over the long term.

Polish political relations with the United States of America

Polish relations with the United States, as well as with the European Union, is today one of the most important challenges for our foreign policy (Grodzki 2009). Poland proposed negotiations to build on our territory the anti-missile shield to destroy missiles fired from enemy of the United States. This proposal aroused controversy both within the country and outside it. Since 1989, the United States has become one of the main allies. They are seen as the main guarantor of national security of the Republic of Poland. This aspect of our relationship with the US is present not only in the context of Polish participation in the Pact the North-Atlantic, NATO, but also in terms of bilateral relations.

Washington's policy towards Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s focused on the integration of the countries of the former Soviet Bloc with NATO and, by supporting the democratic process and economic reforms – for the promotion of their integration with the European Union as soon as possible. Manifestations of American foreign policy to Poland in the 90s were the following decision (Pacula 2008):

- » The Partnership for Peace Programme;
- » The adoption of the law on support for Eastern European democracy;
- » The creation of Polish currency Stabilization Fund (to which the USA contributed \$ 200 million);
- » The cancellation of 70 percent of our debt to Washington;
- » Support in negotiations with the Paris Club.

The United States actively supported democratic transition in Poland. The most symbolic political expression of support was a visit to President George W. Bush on 9–11 July 1989, during which he met both with the representatives of the Communist Government and Solidarity leaders, victorious in the parliamentary elections of June

4. In November 1989 he was enthusiastically received in the USA. The President of Solidarity Lech Walesa; November 15, gave a speech to the combined Chambers of the USA Congress as only the third foreigner in history. In March 1990, the first visit to the USA was undertaken by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The most important issues were the negotiations on German unification in the context of the pursuit of Polish to uniquely to ensure the integrity of the border on the Oder and Neisse and the problems arising from the dissolution of the Eastern bloc. 6 May 1990 US Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Warsaw with a formal invitation to attend the meeting of the Conference of the “2 + 4” dedicated to the issue of the borders of Germany. Washington proved generally favourably to Polish demands during negotiations on German unification and strongly supported Warsaw in negotiations with the Soviet Union on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. In December 1990 a visit to Poland by US Secretary of Defence Dick Cheney, launched military cooperation. Poland expressed strong support for the USA's foreign policy, for example to Iraq after the invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. When the USA broke off diplomatic relations with Iraq, the American interests section was opened in the Polish Embassy in Baghdad.

On July 5, 1992, President Bush attended the solemn funeral of Ignacy Paderewski in Warsaw. In April 1993, the Vice President of the United States Al Gore visited on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto. On 21 April 1993, on the eve of the opening ceremony of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, the new USA President Bill Clinton met with Polish President Lech Walesa, in formulating the idea of NATO enlargement for CEE.

In October 1993, the UNITED STATES provided the concept of “partnership for peace” (PdP) that cooperation with former Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe with NATO. Washington did not want to antagonize the nationalist circles in Russia and was displaying scepticism as to the aspirations for membership in NATO countries in the region. “Partnership for Peace” was put aside for a time the discussion on NATO enlargement, at the same time providing for approximation of the aspirants to the structures of the Alliance. In July 1994, a two-day visit to Poland, during which President Clinton made in a speech in the Parliament, emphasized once again that NATO enlargement was imminent. 12–16.9, September 1994 the training ground Biedrusko near Poznan saw the first military manoeuvres within the framework of the program “partnership for peace.”

The USA position as to the possible NATO enlargement has changed at the end of 1994, in December, the North Atlantic Council ruled on the enlargement of the Alliance to the new democracies of the East and decided to make proper preparations. On 28 September 1995, NATO Secretary General Willy Claes presented the first study on NATO enlargement, and on 5 December, the North Atlantic Council decided to join the intensive consultations, bilateral and multilateral, on the NATO enlargement, at the same time strengthening the cooperation within the framework of the PdP.

On 23 and 25 July 1996, the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate overwhelmingly supported the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act, calling for the rapid adoption of Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia within NATO. A bit earlier in July, Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski visited the United States focussed on the promotion of Polish aspirations for NATO membership. The Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland became members of NATO and Poland reached the primary objective of security policy. Poland was widely regarded as the greatest ally of America on the European continent. A significant success was to organise in Warsaw on 26–27 June 2000 a ministerial conference entitled “towards a community of Democracies” with the participation of representatives of 107 countries. Poland also collaborated closely with the United States in the promotion of human rights at the United Nations. In 1999, the

last time Poland benefited from the funds of the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act implemented by USAID, but was then Polish-American-Ukrainian Cooperation Initiative (PAUCI) using Polish experience to support transformations in Ukraine.

Excellent American-Polish relations Began in the period 2000–2006 after a visit to Poland by , U.S. President George W. Bush on 15–16 June 2001, just before his first meeting with the President of Russia Vladimir Putin. Both Bush and Kwasniewski clearly supported the further expansion of NATO despite Russia's concerns. For the first time discussion at the highest level was also about American plans to build a missile defence system.

After the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 Poland immediately offered US any help in the fight against terrorism. On September 20, President Kwasniewski in a letter to Bush's declared his willingness to cooperate in the construction of the anti-terrorist coalition and participate by Polish troops in military operations in the United States. On the initiative of the President of Poland, Aleksander Kwaśniewski on November 6 in Warsaw hosted a Conference on combating terrorism, in which the Presidents of 16 European countries attended Central and South America. It was adopted a declaration expressing "unconditional support for efforts against terrorism in all its aspects" and the action plan against terrorism. November 22, Kwasniewski has approved the participation of Polish soldiers in the U.S.-led international military operation in Afghanistan. The first Polish units joined the multinational force ISAF in Afghanistan in March 2002. The campaign against terrorism dominated during visits in the United States, Foreign Minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz in December 2001, and Prime Minister Leszek Miller in January 2002.

On 17–19 July 2002, President Kwasniewski as only the second foreign leader during Bush's term of Office by the State visit to the U.S., during which the two Presidents met with leaders of the Polish community in Detroit. Mr. Bush expressed his appreciation for the report by president Kwaśniewski July 5, the Riga Initiative, proposing close co-operation aspiring to NATO - 10 countries (the so-called. The Vilnius Group) with a group of Wyszehradzką. Both Poland and the USA were the hottest advocates further NATO enlargement, as it was decided at the Prague Summit in November 2002.

An expression of the excellent state of relations Polish-American was taken on 27 December 2002 decision to purchase by Poland 48 us F-16 fighter aircraft for the amount of 3,5 billion dollars. on May 31, 2003, US President George w. Bush during a brief stay in Krakow (in the company of Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice) on the way to the celebration of the 300th anniversary of St. Petersburg he met with the President and Prime Minister Kwaśniewskim and Leszek Miller gave a speech at the Wawel Castle, presenting Security Initiative (PSI) Proliferation, with a view to obstructing the transfer of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, focusing on capturing suspects marine transports.

On September 3, 2003 a ceremony was held handing over to Poland 2,400 soldiers and command of the South-Central zone of stabilization in Iraq. Three days later Polish troops in the sector visited us Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. Polish experts were important items in the occupying authorities of Iraq: Professor Marek Belka served from June to October 2003, the head of the Council of the International Coordination of national coalition in Iraq, and in November 2003, he was Director of the economic policy of temporary breakdown of Authority (CPA) in Iraq.

On 26–27 January 2004 a working visit was undertaken in the United States by President Kwasniewski. His interview with President Bush focused on the conflict in Iraq, the visa obligation for the poles and the modernization of the Polish armed forces. The issue of visas was becoming extremely disruptive-Poland considered that

as a close ally of the United States it should be incorporated into the so-called. Visa Waiver Program and thus exempt from visas, especially since all the EU Member States (excluding Greece) were covered by this privilege. Against this background, as well as doubts as to the advisability of the Iraq intervention (March 18), President Kwasniewski publicly stated that the American Administration has put Poland in error on the issue of alleged weapons of mass destruction in Iraq)-drop began in Poland, sympathy for Americans.

In the official Polish-US relations, however, nothing has changed. High frequency was maintained high-level contacts. August 1, 2004 in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising participated took us Secretary of State Colin Powell. In August, a visit to the America by Prime Minister Marek Belka, who met with President Bush and Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld

On 8–9 February 2005 President Kwasniewski visited the United States and met with Mr Bush, after he was sworn for a second presidential term. Once again, the discussion included visas-Bush proposed the so-called Road map to lead Poland to the VWP, among others by starting a Polish media campaign encouraging respect of USA immigration rules and the deletion of American records data on illegal stay at Poles before 1989. The Presidents also discussed, among other things about the situation in Ukraine, where Poland played leading roles in the mediation.

In November 2006, to Polish delivered the first American production of the F-16 combat aircraft, which was the symbolic start of a new era for the Polish air force. In addition, Poland for a long time used the American programmes to support the modernization of the armed forces, such as International Military Education and Training (IMET) and Foreign Military Financing (FMF); for example, in the framework of the FMF in 1995-2007, Poland received 289 million dollars in the form of grants and 3.9 billion dollars in the form of government loans.

In January 2007, Washington formally proposed the installation of elements of the USA missile defence system -10 interceptors with the radar in the Czech Republic. Despite the controversial nature of this program, the Polish decided to treat the offer as an opportunity for long-term strengthening of relations with the world's only superpower.

Created in the aftermath of the victory of the civic platform in general elections in 2007, the Government of Donald Tusk initially showed much less enthusiasm for the missile defence projecting an attempt to appease concerns of neighbours and ask for additional benefits from the United States. In a speech to expose 23 November 2007, Tusk said that the continuation of negotiations will take place after consultations with NATO allies and some neighbours. January 9, 2008, defence minister Bogdan Klich told Reuters news agency that Poland will not agree to the construction of the installation, if the USA. does not assist in the modernization of Polish air defence; January 12, three days before his meeting with Gates, Bogdan Klich in an interview for "daily" called on the USA for the conclusion of a specific agreement with the Polish military, similar to agreements that have a leading U.S. allies, such as Italy and Turkey.

February 1, 2008, foreign minister Radoslaw Sikorski met in Washington with Secretary of State Rice and announced that Poland and the USA had reached an initial agreement on the installation of elements of the anti-missile shield in Poland, in which the United States will help modernize the Polish air defence. March 10, Prime Minister Tusk met in the White House with President Bush, who said that the US would prepare a detailed plan for aid in the modernization of the Polish Army in the framework of the installation of elements of the anti-missile shield.

On August 14, the relevant agreement was initialled in Warsaw, and on August 20, 2008, they signed an agreement that, in the Redzikowie under the Słupsk arise was an American base with 10 bullets over all, and with them the Polish Patriot missile battery

to protect against having 96 foreign combat aircraft and short-range missiles. At the same time, they also signed a declaration of strategic cooperation between the USA and Poland, providing for regular consultations on matters within the framework of the strategic Consultation Strategic Cooperation Group (SCCG).

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Tusk announced the withdrawal of Polish troops in 2008 and October 4 of this year in Diwaniyi ceremony was held to mark the end of the Polish Mission in Iraq. The victory of democratic candidate Barack Obama in the USA presidential election on November 4, 2008 was greeted in Poland with some concerns about the further fate of missile defence.

In the first half of 2009, there were numerous signs that the White House could be pressured by Russia to withdraw the United States from building elements of the shield in Eastern Europe. In a speech in Moscow on July 7, the American President Barack Obama said that: "if I can no longer see the threat posed by Iran's missile and nuclear program, there would be no sense to continue the construction of a shield in Europe." Soon afterwards in Eastern Europe there was the first major voice expressing concern about U.S. policy towards Russia.

Nevertheless, on September 17, Barack Obama announced a change of strategy for the construction of a missile defence system, abandoning the project, by the Bush administration in favour of cheaper, faster alternatives focused on the threat of Iranian missiles and medium range attacks; American officials immediately declared that this project include a role for Poland as a place of interceptors. On 21st October in Warsaw, US Vice-President Joe Biden met with Prime Minister Tusk, at which he assured Polish ready to participate in the new American anti-missile shield project. December 11 in Warsaw they signed a bilateral agreement on the status of forces (the so-called SOFA), governing the stationing of USA troops in Poland, and on May 24, 2010 to Moraga, along with more than 100 American soldiers arrived at Patriot anti-aircraft missile battery, which particularly wanted Polish authorities. On July 3, in Krakow, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visited us taking part in a meeting of the community of democracy, 10, the 25th anniversary of existence, and in the signing ceremony for a Polish-American agreement on the installation of the American anti-missile shield elements in Poland in August 2008.

Conclusions - how many Poland means for the United States and Russia for Polish?

The main effort of American foreign policy is now focused on the war on terror, military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Middle East peace process, political rivalry with Moscow and counters the growing power of China. Officially President Barack Obama talks about an important ally and friendship with Poland, but it's really important for America's relationship with the United Kingdom, Russia, Israel, Turkey, Germany, Saudi Arabia, China, India and Australia.

For Poland enterprise USA should be one of the main areas in which it could be discounted very good Polish-American relations. Both countries are members of major organizations such as the OECD or the WTO (Hurd 2008). Political contacts should be stronger than ever if they are to translate into economic benefits (contracts, technology, and investments) for Polish.

The main problem of the Polish in the field of energy is that they are over dependent on supplies of raw materials from a single source, namely Russia. An alternative source of supply for raw materials may be countries of Central Asia and, above all,

Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan. Polish efforts to gain access to these resources have little chance of success-which is why the role of the USA in the field of energy security is crucial for us. Washington, despite intensified diplomacy has not yet achieved groundbreaking successes in terms of access to raw materials in the region of the Caspian Sea. The United States is still trying to get the opportunity to purchase raw materials from the region.

For Polish Security Guarantee is very important in NATO. Convinced of the security guarantee is based on the content of **article 5 of the Washington Treaty**, which obliges the members of NATO for collective defense in the event of an attack on another country of the Alliance, such as the attack on the part of Russia. It is clear, however, that our security depends largely on the United States, which are the main strength of the Alliance and rightly seen as the guarantor of its effectiveness, particularly against Russia, which is currently an open military conflict and war in the East of Ukraine. The conflict seriously wavered on the threshold of the 21st century socio-peace in this part of Europe.

It is extremely important not to see Russia as an enemy target and strategic business partner. The scale of our goods exports to this country is quite large and in the future it may be one of our basic economic exchange partners. You have to develop a vision for an agreement with Russia and attempt to eliminate the socio-political tensions. Similar is the case with energy security. As soon as no addicted from Russian oil and gas, that's for sure, we will be able to more easily communicate with Russia. Therefore, you should intensify efforts to increase our independence, in order to be able to in the near term to achieve a State of normalization in relations between the analysed countries.

Ending, I would like to point out that civilization socio-political relations between Poland and Russia will not grow by typing in the context of the great imperial and international objectives of the US and Russia but particularly by Polish "far-sighted diplomacy" increase in the number of contacts, economic, cultural, scientific and through all manner of exchanges and the Organization of joint ventures and projects for young people of these countries.

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