
GEOGRAFICKÝ ČASOPIS

54

2002

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THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF POLISH-SLOVAK SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS

T. Komornicki: The geographical aspects of Polish-Slovak socio-economic relations. *Geografický časopis*, 54, 2002, 3, 4 figs., 2 tabs., 10 refs.

The subject of the study is contacts between Poland and Slovakia, which are discussed in the context of the theoretical models depicting bilateral socio-economic linkages, as well as the underlying factors influencing the geographical differentiation of these kinds of ties. This is followed by a spatial depiction of selected issues which may be considered indicative of the intensity of bilateral contacts, that is Polish-Slovak foreign trade, Slovak tourism in Poland and the direct linkage between the two countries via public transport.

Key words: economic linkages, foreign trade, tourism, transport links, Poland, Slovakia

INTRODUCTION

The concepts of geography and space rarely appear in research into cooperation between the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Those researching political science have become accustomed to carrying out analyses at the level of whole countries, while economists work on macroeconomic bases, or else on the economies of individual enterprises. Unfortunately this is not an isolated case, either, as a similar lack of any geographical conceptualization is visible in work describing Poland's contact with the EU. This despite the fact that Brussels places strong emphasis on regional issues. Yet it is above all in this period

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of economic transformation and European integration that it would seem worthwhile to learn which regions in different countries enjoy the strongest foreign linkages. Or, to put it another way, which regions are already part of European socio-economic space. No less important are questions about the directions of international linkages, the infrastructure upon which these linkages are founded and the adequacy of this infrastructure in the new geopolitical and economic situation in which the given region finds itself.

A particular case of the analysis of international linkages at regional level would be the study of the geographical structure to socio-economic contacts between two selected countries. In the case of the present study these will be contacts between Poland and Slovakia, which will be discussed in the context of the theoretical models depicting such bilateral linkages, as well as the underlying factors influencing the geographical differentiation of these kinds of ties. This will be followed by a spatial depiction of selected issues which may be considered indicative of the intensity of bilateral contacts, that is Polish-Slovak foreign trade, Slovak tourism in Poland and the direct linkage between the two countries via public transport. It is of course true to say that many other indicators of the intensity of bilateral contacts exist, but their analysis is most often hindered by the limited availability of source data expressed in regional terms.

Thus, the data presented on Polish-Slovak trade in goods derive from the Foreign Trade Information Centre (CIHZ), being based on the Single Administrative Documents collected at borders. Data on arrivals of foreigners have in turn been obtained from the Central Command of the Border Guard, while information on their overnight stays within the country have been extracted from publications of Poland's Central Statistical Office (GUS). The analysis of the direct links by public transport was in turn carried out using data from the Ministry of Transport and the Maritime Economy, as well as on the basis of current timetables. The regional analysis in Poland was performed at the level of the 49 "old" voivodships (i.e. those existing until the end of 1998). This was justified in relation to aspects both technical (the availability of statistical data) and substantive (a much more precise spatial portrayal than would have been obtained by studying the 16 new larger voivodships which have taken their place).

The study thus bases itself upon data gathered in Poland which give a relatively full picture of the situation as regards the spatial breakdown of Polish-based contacts with Slovakia, as well as the transport routes used therein. Of course, the full analysis of the matter in hand would need to be supplemented by information on the spatial distribution of cooperation with Poland within Slovakia. However, it is clear that such a full analysis could only appear in cooperation with the Slovak side.

MODELS OF BILATERAL LINKAGES AND THE FACTORS SHAPING THEM

Socio-economic linkages between two given countries are characterized by different levels of spatial concentration. Furthermore, this concentration may be different in the two countries, as well as in regard to the transport network linking them. This matter may be presented synthetically by reference to 6 basic models of bilateral linkage (see Fig. 1):

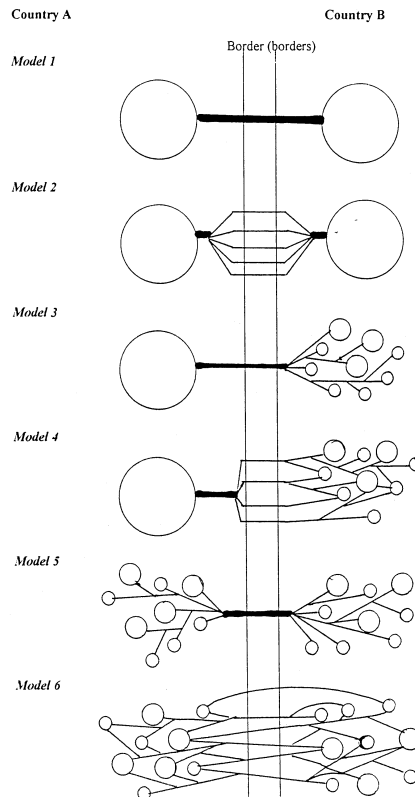


Fig. 1. Models of the concentration of bilateral socio-economic links

- Model 1 – a bilateral spatial concentration of socio-economic links with the partner, as well as concentration of the transportational links utilized,
- Model 2 – a bilateral spatial concentration of socio-economic links with the partner, along with dispersed transportational links,
- Model 3 – a unilateral spatial concentration of socio-economic links with the partner, as well as a concentration of the utilized transportational links,
- Model 4 – a unilateral spatial concentration of socio-economic links with the partner, as well as dispersed transportational links,
- Model 5 – a bilateral dispersal of socio-economic links with the partner, as well as a concentration of utilized transportational links,
- Model 6 – a bilateral dispersion of socio-economic links with the partner, and dispersal of the transportational links utilized.

It is obvious that the concentration may in reality be complete (e.g. where the source of all linkages is a country's capital) or partial (where linkages are concentrated in several of the largest centres or industrial districts, or else confined to near-border areas).

As to which of the aforementioned models of bilateral links may be regarded as optimal, everything depends on geographical factors (above all the distance

separating the two countries, and the natural environment), as well as geopolitical ones (affiliation with the same or different military and/or economic groupings). In the conditions of countries neighbouring with one another and at the same time engaging in negotiations over EU membership (as in the case of Poland and Slovakia), it would seem that Model 6 is the most favourable one for both parties. Of course, this does not mean that identical links with Slovakia should be characteristic of all the regions of Poland (something which is not possible). However, the strengths of these links should remain a function of the demographic and socio-economic potentials of the different areas.

The studies so far conducted in regard to Poland's linkages with other countries (Komornicki 2000, Rogocki 2001) may be said to have revealed the following main factors conditioning the geographical differentiation of bilateral relations:

- *geographical distance* – a factor mainly of significance for countries bordering onto one another, and ensuring that links in border areas are of course relatively stronger than those of interior areas,
- *historical linkages* – as exemplified by the elevated level of contacts with Germans in those regions of Poland once forming part of Germany, and as often mediated indirectly via, for example, the diffusion of familiarity with a given foreign language,
- *the distribution of economic activity*, with foreign trade being engaged in first and foremost by centres of major economic potential, as well as those involved in the exploitation of raw materials. (The seats of firms are also the most frequent destinations for business trips),
- *the configuration of the transport network linking the two countries*, with regions of good transport linkages with the defined partner also most often having above-average social and economic linkages – an example here might be the former Polish voivodship of Chełm, bordering with both Ukraine and Belarus but having border crossings with the former only and consequently witnessing a 1997 share for Ukraine within exports of over 50 % (as compared with a share of less than 2 % for Belarus),
- *the permeability of borders*, with the directions in which goods and people move between countries being configured in such a way that the crossing of borders of limited permeability is avoided: an example might be provided by Polish-Lithuanian linkages, wherein the goods and passenger traffic is almost entirely confined to the direct border between the two countries, in spite of the fact that the shortest route between the capitals Warsaw and Vilnius is actually the one leading via Grodno and Belarus (Komornicki 1998 and 1999),
- *the distribution of centres attractive to tourists*, as a factor playing a particularly major role in bringing in tourists from such distant countries as the USA and Japan (in Polish conditions),
- *the distribution of foreign direct investment*, which usually generates greater foreign trade turnover (both imports and exports), as well as more frequent business trips,
- *the location and concentration of institutions of the governmental administration*, in reflection of the natural tendency for some bilateral linkages to involve contacts between authorities at another level – something which usually leads to the increased importance of the two capitals in mutual relationships,

the effectiveness of promotion, something which is very much a potential factor in the conditions of Central European countries; as well-thought-out promotional action engaged in the second country may attract both foreign investors and tourists to given regions.

The precisely-defined aims of the present study include the quest for answers to questions regarding:

- the model of bilateral linkage from among those mentioned which best corresponds to the geographical structure of Polish-Slovak contacts; as well as the extent to which this structure is analogous to those observed in contacts with the European Union,
- the factor from among those mentioned which plays the greatest role in shaping the geographical structure of Polish-Slovak contacts.

POLISH-SLOVAK TRADE

Poland has a negative balance of trade with Slovakia, as it does with most member states of the European Union. At the same time, Poland is a more important trading partner for Slovakia than Slovakia is for Poland. As of 1998, some 5.9 % of Slovak exports were directed to Poland, while the corresponding share taken by Slovakia in exports from Poland was of just 1.2 %. However, these proportions are a reflection of the absolute sizes of the respective economies and markets. Nevertheless, the branch structure where exports are concerned would again seem more favourable for the Slovak side. Raw materials (specifically hard coals) continue to play a major role in exports from Poland, while the Slovak side does not offer Poland products processed to a very high degree. A key role in exports north of the Carpathians is in fact played by the output of the Slovak metallurgical (steel and aluminium) industries, the fuel industry (fuel oil and diesel) and the chemicals sector (polymers and hydrocarbons). Nevertheless, the list of imports from Slovakia does extend to such items as washing machines and televisions, as well as paper, books and tyres (GUS 1998 and 2000). The consumer goods exported from the Polish side in turn include furniture and cars above all, as well as cleaning agents. Most of these articles reflect the locations in Poland, or else Slovakia, of plants in fact belonging to multinational concerns. The result is that the consumer in the given country is often not even aware that the goods purchased have been brought in from Poland or Slovakia. That said, in analysing the goods structure of Polish-Slovak trade exchange it may paradoxically be noted that investments by Western concerns favour such trade. Exceptions testing the rule here are the long-established export of Polish furniture to Slovakia, as well as of Slovak paper and books to Poland. The printing of Polish publications in Slovakia became popular prior to 1990. Overall though, Polish exports to Slovakia are more varied than those from Slovakia to Poland, and only a few kinds of goods account for exports worth more than 5 million USD.

On account of the importance of coal exports to Slovakia, it was Poland's former voivodship of Katowice that was of greatest importance in trade between the countries in 1997 (see Tab. 1 and Fig. 2). Beyond it, it is true to say that Warsaw and Płock (exporters of oil products) have been joined by the voivodships of the south-east as major exporters, though most goods still come from

the “second line” – that is the former voivodships of Katowice, Kraków, Tarnów and Rzeszów, as well as of Opole, Wrocław and Legnica (along the Frankfurt-am-Main – Wrocław – Kraków – Kiev transport corridor). With their lesser economic potential, the voivodships directly on the border are not as important. Also taking relatively large shares in export were the former voivodships of Lublin, Tarnobrzeg and Kielce. Relatively small shares of the overall value of exports have been those taken by the urban-industrial agglomerations “deeper” into the country (with the exception of that of Warsaw). North-eastern and north-western Poland did not basically participate at all in the bilateral trade in goods, though even the biggest exporters to Slovakia cannot really be said to have attached great importance to it as a destination, since the country was a destination for only 8.4 % of exports from Płock voivodship, 4.7 % of those from Tarnów and 3.4 % from Krosno (Komornicki 2000).

When compared with the sources of exports to Slovakia, the destinations of 1997 imports to Poland from that country are seen to be distributed rather more evenly (Tab. 1). The significance of Warsaw is greater than that of the Upper Silesian Industrial District (the two receiving 26 and 17 % of exports by value respectively). More important roles as absorbers of imports were also played by voivodships on the border, as well as those in the north-west (particularly that of Poznań, which accounted for 2 % of imports from Slovakia). Further rather large shares for Slovak exports among all imports were the 6.4 % noted in Tarnów voivodship, and the 6.3 %, 5.2 % and 4.3 % noted for those of Krosno, Przemyśl and Nowy Sącz respectively.

As Table 1 shows, visibly positive 1997 trade balances with Slovakia were only noted in four of the former voivodships, namely those of Katowice and Legnica (exporting raw materials), of Płock (fuel) and of Elbląg. Breaking even are the voivodships of central and eastern Poland, that is those not playing a more major role at all in trade with Slovakia. The voivodships in south-eastern and north-western Poland show negative trade balances, as do those centred around the major agglomerations. The most unfavourable situations from the domestic points of view were those of the Warsaw, Łódź, Wrocław and Nowy Sącz voivodships. From an overall deficit in trade with Slovakia equal to 205 million USD, some 85 million was accounted for by the Warsaw voivodship, and a further 25 million by that of Wrocław.

An analysis of Polish-Slovak trade in relation to the border at which the final customs clearance takes place reveals that the share by value of goods crossing the direct border is remarkably small (only 78 %, as compared with the 94 % noted for the Czech Republic, for example). This reflects the fact that almost 20 % of exports by value proceed from Slovakia to Poland via Czech territory. More than a quarter (26 %) of trade with Slovakia takes place via just one border crossing in Chyżne (along the transport route between Kraków and Budapest), while even more (as much as 29 %) passes via the railway crossing point in Muszyna, and a further 17 % passes along the Katowice – Vienna corridor, with transit via the Czech Republic. Further places in the ranking are taken by the Przełęcz Dukielska and Barwinek border crossings (along the Rzeszów-Miskolc corridor), which account for 9 %, as well as the road border crossings in Zwardoń and Łysa Polana (each accounting for 4.5 % of bilateral exchange), and that in Chochołów.

Tab. 1. The 1997 Polish-Slovak foreign trade in the former voivodships

Former voivodships	Export					Import					Balance of trade with Slovakia in thousands of USD
	From Poland to Slovakia			Total from Poland		From Slovakia to Poland			Total to Poland		
	in thousands of USD	as % of export from voivodship	as % of export to Slovakia	in thousands of USD	as % of total Polish export	in thousands of USD	as % of import to voivodship	as % of import from Slovakia	in thousands of USD	as % of total Polish import	
Warszawa	52 120	1.1	16.6	4 847 628	18.9	133 711	0.9	25.7	15 403 199	36.4	-81 591
Biała Podlaska	74	0.1	0.0	95 309	0.4	94	0.2	0.0	40 925	0.1	-19
Białystok	442	0.1	0.1	300 607	1.2	2 319	1.0	0.4	229 433	0.5	-1 877
Bielsko-Biała	8 094	0.7	2.6	1 206 711	4.7	17 725	1.1	3.4	1 669 849	4.0	-9 632
Bydgoszcz	5 879	0.7	1.9	843 400	3.3	12 423	1.5	2.4	805 672	1.9	-6 544
Chełm	323	0.4	0.1	87 053	0.3	42	0.1	0.0	39 776	0.1	280
Ciechanów	329	0.5	0.1	70 286	0.3	1 217	0.5	0.2	221 873	0.5	-888
Częstochowa	7 673	2.5	2.4	305 770	1.2	6 106	1.9	1.2	316 989	0.8	1 567
Elbląg	3 278	0.6	1.0	584 532	2.3	1 259	0.2	0.2	590 882	1.4	2 019
Gdańsk	2 573	0.3	0.8	894 046	3.5	10 511	0.6	2.0	1 793 074	4.2	-7 938
Gorzów Wielkopolski	1 334	0.3	0.4	501 742	2.0	3 850	1.0	0.7	378 226	0.9	-2 516
Jelenia Góra	186	0.1	0.1	275 854	1.1	2 107	0.7	0.4	300 661	0.7	-1 921
Kalisz	2 057	0.6	0.7	336 554	1.3	3 125	0.8	0.6	380 594	0.9	-1 068
Katowice	97 263	3.0	31.0	3 270 505	12.7	90 610	3.6	17.4	2 548 244	6.0	6 653
Kielce	4 481	2.3	1.4	196 216	0.8	6 724	2.3	1.3	295 817	0.7	-2 243
Konin	761	0.4	0.2	195 155	0.8	1 251	0.7	0.2	169 679	0.4	-490
Koszalin	714	0.3	0.2	254 452	1.0	727	0.2	0.1	378 180	0.9	-13
Kraków	12 916	2.4	4.1	847	2.1	19 231	1.5	3.7	1 308 876	3.1	-6 314
Krosno	5 269	3.4	1.7	154 369	0.6	9 207	6.3	1.8	146 116	0.3	-3 938
Legnica	7 252	0.8	2.3	956 530	3.7	291	0.2	0.1	184 100	0.4	6 960
Leszno	547	0.3	0.2	158 574	0.6	769	0.4	0.1	193 194	0.5	-223
Lublin	6 482	1.1	2.1	564 076	2.2	6 032	1.1	1.2	529 923	1.3	451
Łomża	3	0.0	0.0	62 112	0.2	136	0.2	0.0	81 830	0.2	-133
Łódź	5 966	0.8	1.9	733 318	2.9	20 046	1.5	3.9	1 175 062	3.3	-14 080
Nowy Sącz	3 550	2.1	1.1	168 066	0.7	14 167	4.3	2.7	331 666	0.8	-10 617
Olsztyn	974	0.2	0.3	523 189	2.0	7 287	2.0	1.4	372 746	0.9	-6 314
Opole	6 726	1.3	2.1	504 106	2.0	11 485	2.0	2.2	562 700	1.3	-4 759
Ostrołęka	895	0.8	0.3	113 560	0.4	1 131	1.3	0.2	89 563	0.2	-236
Piła	1 749	0.4	0.6	476 650	1.9	1 305	0.3	0.3	431 134	1.0	444
Piotrków	1 219	0.8	0.4	162 377	0.6	1 366	0.6	0.3	232 389	0.5	-147
Płock	19 408	8.4	6.2	230 844	0.9	8 129	0.4	1.6	1 927 148	4.6	11 280
Poznań	2 698	0.2	0.9	1 399 671	5.4	10 341	0.3	2.0	3 152 985	7.5	-7 643
Przemysł	601	0.4	0.2	170 709	0.7	3 813	5.2	0.7	73 199	0.2	-3 213
Radom	1 834	1.0	0.6	189 561	0.7	1 982	0.7	0.4	273 029	0.6	-148
Rzeszów	7 432	1.9	2.4	388 094	1.5	9 934	3.3	1.9	299 292	0.7	-2 502
Siedlce	307	0.3	0.1	107 219	0.4	982	0.9	0.2	110 653	0.3	-675
Sieradz	1 005	0.8	0.3	127 010	0.5	2 582	1.7	0.5	152 567	0.4	-1 577
Skieriewice	593	0.5	0.2	109 754	0.4	648	0.3	0.1	206 187	0.5	-54
Słupsk	730	0.3	0.2	278 146	1.1	2 915	1.2	0.6	244 512	0.6	-2 185
Suwałki	71	0.1	0.0	101 547	0.4	70	0.1	0.0	114 137	0.3	2
Szczecin	1 215	0.2	0.4	650 339	2.5	6 195	0.7	1.2	853 812	2.0	-4 981
Tamobrzeg	4 212	1.5	1.3	287 279	1.1	8 291	4.1	1.6	201 658	0.5	-4 078
Tarnów	20 257	4.7	6.5	429 204	1.7	21 832	6.4	4.2	339 078	0.8	-1 575
Toruń	1 659	0.6	0.5	287 564	1.1	3 317	0.6	0.6	524 614	1.2	-1 658
Wałbrzych	1 114	0.4	0.4	285 265	1.1	6 993	2.3	1.3	301 167	0.7	-5 880
Włocławek	1 081	0.7	0.3	152 153	0.6	1 115	0.8	0.2	135 673	0.3	-34
Wrocław	6 022	1.2	1.9	521 193	2.0	30 499	2.4	5.9	1 294 325	3.1	-24 478
Zamość	467	0.4	0.1	132 249	0.5	2 662	4.0	0.5	66 059	0.2	-2 194
Zielona Góra	2 004	0.5	0.6	440 271	1.7	10 264	2.1	2.0	489 239	1.2	-8 260
unknown	140	0.6	0.0	24 881	0.1	458	0.4	0.1	101 898	0.2	-318
POLAND TOTAL	313 979	1.2	100.0	25 695 545	100.0	519 276	1.2	100.0	42 263 603	100.0	-205 297

Source: own elaboration based on the data from Foreign Trade Information Centre (CIHZ)

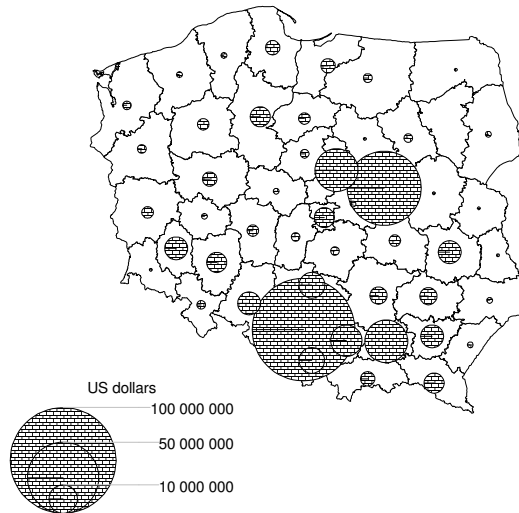


Fig. 2. Polish exports to Slovakia in 1997, by the voivodships then in existence

Source: own elaboration based on the data from Foreign Trade Information Centre (CIHZ) in Warszawa

SLOVAKIAN TOURISM IN POLAND

Poland received 4.5 million person-visits from Slovak citizens in 1998, as compared with 4.2 million the following year. The decline in the numbers crossing the border was associated with a trend towards the evening-out of prices between the two countries, as well as a decline in the profitability of cross-border trade. The border crossing bringing the greatest numbers of Slovaks into Poland is – paradoxically – that between Poland and the Czech Republic at Český Těšín – Cieszyn. This can be seen to be the most convenient route from Bratislava and the whole western part of Slovakia into the interior of Poland. Where the direct border crossings are concerned, the most used are those in Chyżne and Barwinek, followed by Niedzica, Łysa Polana and Chochółów (see Fig. 3). A total of more than 2 million Slovaks (the equivalent of almost half of the population) travelled to the former voivodship of Nowy Sącz in the year 2000.

Data for the overnight accommodation provided to foreigners in Poland are now available for 1998 (GUS 1998). The 4.5 million person-visits involving Slovaks were in fact associated with just 17,000 overnight stays in hotels or other registered facilities. The derived index of 0.4 % for the proportion of foreign visitors making use of the accommodation base was the lowest noted for incomers from any country (alongside the analogous figure for the Czech Republic). The greatest concentration of Slovak citizens who did use the accommodation base was to be noted in the former voivodships of Warsaw and Kraków (Tab. 2, Fig. 4); followed by those around the other large cities of Katowice, Wrocław, Poznań, Łódź and Gdańsk; and finally those in the “border region” as more broadly conceived (that is all of the voivodships in what was

Austrian Galicia at the time of Poland's partitioning before 1918), and in particular those of Nowy Sącz and Rzeszów. In addition, a relatively large number of Slovaks stayed in hotels in the voivodship of Częstochowa. In saying all of this, it needs to be recalled that the absolute numbers staying overnight are very small (only 2355 in the case of the border voivodship of Nowy Sącz, for example, i.e. just over 6 a day!) The regional breakdown for overnight stays makes it clear that the statistics are mainly concerned with business trips (to large cities and to "economic" destinations in the south-east of Poland), tourism (to Kraków and Warsaw), pilgrimages (to Częstochowa) and nights spent on transit, for example in the course of journeys on to Scandinavia. The remaining visits are of brief duration with no overnight stay, or else with stays that are not registered (entailing visits to family or private accommodation). Most of these are directed towards the former voivodships along the border such as those of Bielsko-Biała, Nowy Sącz and Krosno as well as those adjacent to them (of Katowice, Kraków, Tarnów, Rzeszów and Przemyśl). The number of overnight stays is also perhaps lower than in reality on the Polish coast (unregistered quarters) and in the Mazurian Lake District. However, in recalling the low share of Slovaks officially spending the night, it needs to be considered that, when it comes to tourism by Slovaks, by far the strongest links with the neighbour are mediated in the near-border area and within the limits of what was once Galicia province. The Slovak accommodated in Poland officially spends an average of 2.2 nights in a hotel – or an amount of time similar to that noted for guests from Western Europe (the figure for Germans is identical), and markedly higher than that noted for Eastern European visitors. The rather longer stays of Slovak citizens are to be noted in northern Poland, a fact which obviously reflects the distance, as well as confirming the habit of a group of Slovaks to spend holidays by the Baltic. To sum up we can describe Slovak tourism in Poland as a phenomenon still concentrated and strongly dependent on the geographical distance factor.

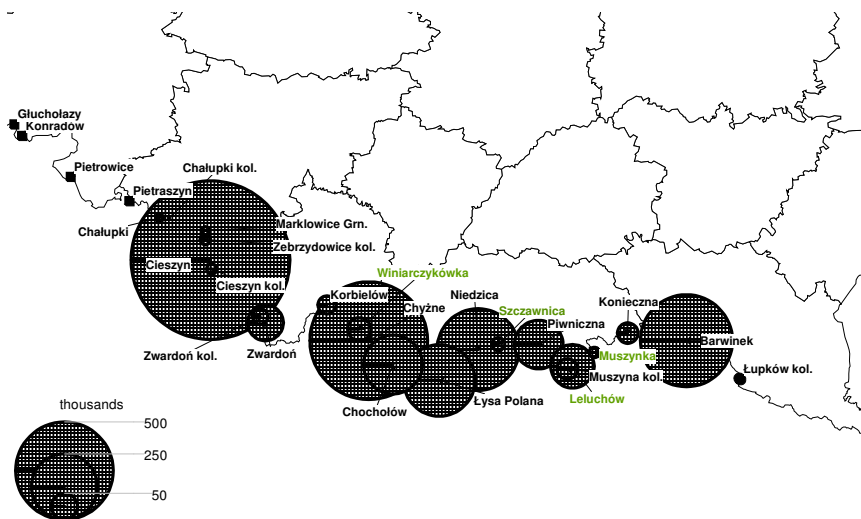


Fig. 3. Arrivals of Slovakian citizens in Poland in 2000, by border crossing
Source: own elaboration based on Border Guard materials

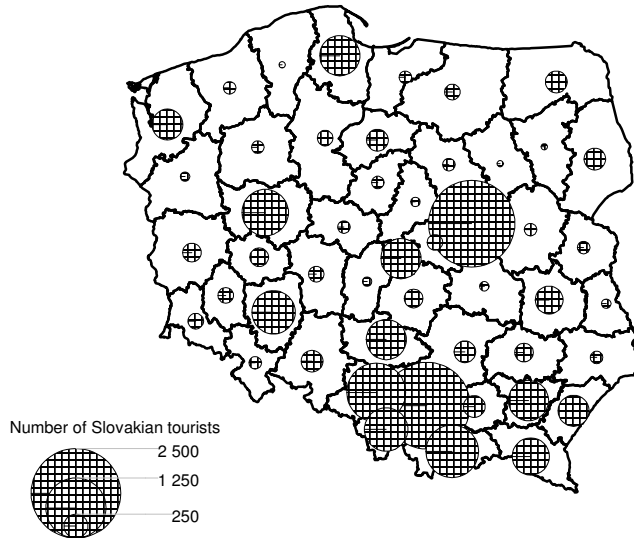


Fig. 4. Slovakian tourism in Poland in 1998, by the voivodships then in existence
 Source: Turystyka w 1998 (Tourism in 1998), 1999, GUS, Warszawa

DIRECT POLISH-SLOVAK LINKAGES VIA PUBLIC TRANSPORT

These linkages offer a good illustration of social interrelationships, since their initiation or maintenance in the era of the free market is a response to the demand for the conveyance of passengers. In this regard, it would seem particularly worthwhile to analyse the system of coach lines, whose specifics ensure that it is most sensitive to changes in demand (Komornicki 1996).

a. Links by air

The direct connection between Warsaw and Bratislava was suspended after several years of operations. Those travelling between the two capitals must at present go via Vienna.

b. Rail links

Listed below are all of the timetabled rail links between Poland and Slovakia:

Warsaw – Katowice – Petrovice – Bratislava – Nové Zámky – Budapest (the *Polonia* Express 7 times a week),

Warsaw – Katowice – Petrovice – Žilina – Leopoldov – Budapest (the *Batory* Express 7 times a week, with certain carriages directly to Bratislava and Košice),

Warsaw – Kraków – Muszyna – Košice – Bucharest (the *Karpaty* Express 7 times a week),

Kraków – Muszyna – Košice – Budapest – Pécs (the *Cracovia* Express 7 times a week);

Kraków – Muszyna – Košice (the *Prešovčan* Express 7 times a week),

Kraków – Zwardoń – Žilina – Bratislava (the *Skalnica* Express 7 times a week),

Szczecin – Opole – Chałupki – Ostrava – Žilina – Leopoldov – Budapest (the *Bem* Express 7 times a week),
 Nowy Sącz – Muszyna – Košice (7 times a week),
 Muszyna – Plaveč (7 times a week),
 Sanok – Łupków – Medzilaborce (14 times a week),
 Zwardoń – Skalité – Čadca (42 times a week),
 Zwardoń – Skalité (7 times a week).

There were thus a total of 126 connections operating weekly in 2001, including 49 by express, with 35 passing through Slovakia en route to Hungary or Romania and 21 having previously crossed Czech territory. Warsaw is a junction for only 21 of the rail connections each week, Bratislava for just 14.

c. Coach and bus links

1998 data from the Ministry of Transport and the Maritime Economy (the most up-to-date fully reliable source) show Poland and Slovakia to be linked by the bus and coach services listed below. Amendments have been made in line with more recent local timetables. The services are:

Katowice – Cieszyn – Martin (3 times a week),
 Krosno – Barwinek – Bardejov (6 times a week),
 Krosno – Barwinek – Stropkov,
 Nowy Sącz – Piwniczna – Stará Ľubovňa (once a week),
 Nowy Targ – Łysa Polana – Kežmarok (twice a week, but no longer running in 2001),
 Nowy Targ – Łysa Polana – Poprad (3 times a week, but only twice in 2001),
 Nowy Targ – Chyžne – Bratislava,
 Nowy Targ – Chyžne – Dolný Kubín (3 times a week; 6 times by 2001),
 Nowy Targ – Niedzica – Košice (twice a week, but no longer running in 2001),
 Nowy Targ – Chyžne – Zvolen (no longer running in 2001),
 Rzeszów – Barwinek – Humenné (5 times a week),
 Rzeszów – Barwinek – Košice (6 times a week),
 Warsaw – Cieszyn – Žilina – Bratislava,
 Zakopane – Łysa Polana – Poprad (14 times a week),
 Gorlice – Konieczna – Bardejov,
 Jabłonka – Łysa Polana – Spišská Nová Ves,
 Katowice – Cieszyn – Martin.

In addition, local timetables for 2001 detailed the following new services:

Nowy Targ – Chyžne – Liptovský Mikuláš (once a week),
 Nowy Targ – Chyžne – Námestovo (twice a week),
 Nowy Targ – Chyžne – Nižná (twice a week).

The above listing does not include the transit linkages with Hungary, or with Austria, Greece and Turkey, whose routes pass through Slovakia, though usually without the right to carry passengers to it as a destination.

The total number of direct bus and coach connections each week cannot be defined precisely on account of the decentralization and privatization of services in both countries. However, if we accept that the average frequency of runs is 3 per service per week, with a total of 16 services operating in 1998, then there are probably something like 65 runs a week, though less than 10 be-

tween the two capitals. The number in 2001 was probably not very different, as the trend towards the termination or reduction of long-distance connections was made up for by the appearance of new local lines (especially in the Orava region).

Tab. 2. Slovak tourism in Poland's former voivodships in 1998

Former voivodships	Number of Slovaks using hotels	Number of nights spent by Slovaks	Average duration of stay
Warszawa	2305	5508	2.4
Biała Podlaska	78	133	1.7
Białystok	185	1156	6.2
Bielsko-Biała	704	1584	2.3
Bydgoszcz	112	250	2.2
Chełm	50	79	1.6
Ciechanów	82	170	2.1
Częstochowa	595	725	1.2
Ełbląg	62	108	1.7
Gdańsk	577	2115	3.7
Gorzów Wielkopolski	56	64	1.1
Jelenia Góra	109	214	2.0
Kalisz	120	211	1.8
Katowice	1146	2185	1.9
Kielce	221	310	1.4
Konin	70	285	4.1
Koszalin	74	196	2.6
Kraków	2425	4829	2.0
Krosno	555	1522	2.7
Legnica	123	307	2.5
Leszno	165	444	2.7
Lublin	329	550	1.7
Łomża	29	65	2.2
Łódź	614	1890	3.1
Nowy Sącz	1015	2355	2.3
Olsztyn	114	282	2.5
Opole	227	461	2.0
Ostrołęka	14	40	2.9
Piła	62	208	3.4
Piotrków	144	441	3.1
Płock	37	54	1.5
Poznań	819	2340	2.9
Przemyśl	415	553	1.3
Radom	40	100	2.5
Rzeszów	645	1262	2.0
Siedlce	72	119	1.7
Sieradz	36	58	1.6
Skiermiewice	133	171	1.3
Słupsk	28	74	2.6
Suwałki	191	95	0.5
Szczecin	391	1161	3.0
Tarnobrzeg	162	237	1.5
Tarnów	231	272	1.2
Toruń	220	379	1.7
Wałbrzych	92	190	2.1
Wrocław	88	134	1.5
Wrocław	728	1248	1.7
Zamość	81	118	1.5
Zielona Góra	154	255	1.7
POLAND TOTAL	16,925	37,507	2.2

Source: Turystyka w 1998 (Tourism in Poland in 1998), GUS, Warszawa 1999

The total number of regular public transport connections between Poland and Slovakia is thus around 190 a week at present. Fewer than 20 of these link the two capitals (cf. as many as 34 out of 57 with Hungary). A decentralization of transport links (and consequent decline in the roles of Warsaw and Kraków as main junctions for connections with Slovakia) was notable in the 1990s (Więckowski 2000 and 2001). To sum up this section we can recognize that Polish-Slovak transport connections could already be partly described by the sixth bilateral model.

SUMMARY

The analysis allowed several main conclusions to be drawn:

- the regions of rather intensified linkages with Slovakia are: (1) the former voivodship of Nowy Sącz; (2) the area of Poland that was once within the Galicia province of the Austrian Empire; (3) the Warsaw agglomeration; (4) other urban-industrial agglomerations,
- the regional differentiation to links with Slovakia would seem to reflect: (1) distance; (2) cultural and historical links (in the Podhale and Galicia regions); (3) the degree of concentration of economic activity (especially in its new manifestation as foreign investment) – a lesser, though discernible, role is played by the factors of contacts at the central (Warsaw-Bratislava) level, as well as of attractiveness to tourists,
- Polish-Slovak trade has not concentrated spatially into the kind of economic linkages noted with such countries as Hungary; indeed the 1990s were more characterized by a steady decentralization of linkages,
- The structure of the interlinkages continues to reserve an important role for transit (of both goods and people) via the Czech Republic – such a state of affairs will only change if substantial infrastructural investments are made,
- European integration may have many and varied influences on the geography of the aforementioned interlinkages, with much depending on the EU accession dates of Poland and Slovakia, as well as of the Czech Republic and Hungary: Slovakia's absence from the EU at a time when the other countries have already joined might lead to a rerouting of (border-free) transit traffic to Hungary via the Czech Republic and Austria. (Irrespective of the timetable, however, integration should not have greater impact upon local and regional linkages, though it is not likely to favour new contacts with regions so far unlinked with Slovakia, which will tend to seek alternative partners in Western Europe),
- in relating the analysed situation to the models of linkages presented at the outset, it can be seen that existing Polish-Slovak contacts (as characterized by their concentration on the Polish side and on the border itself) have reached a stage intermediate between that of model 2 and that of the most desirable model (6), which already applies to the area of former Galicia. The country as a whole continues to show a quite marked spatial concentration of links with Slovakia.

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GEOGRAFICKÉ ASPEKTY POĽSKO-SLOVENSKÝCH SOCIO-EKONOMICKÝCH VZŤAHOV

Pojmy geografia a priestor sa zriedka objavujú vo výskumnej spolupráci medzi krajinami strednej a východnej Európy. Výskum v rámci politológie sa zvyčajne sústreďí na analýzy v rovine celých krajín, kým ekonómovia pracujú na makroekonomickom základe alebo na ekonomike jednotlivých podnikov. A predsa práve teraz, v období hospodárskej transformácie a európskej integrácie, by stálo za to dozvedieť sa, ktoré regióny v rôznych krajinách ťažia z najsilnejších väzieb so zahraničím. Alebo vyjadrené inak, ktoré regióny už sú súčasťou európskeho socio-ekonomického priestoru. Nie menej dôležitá je otázka smerov medzinárodných väzieb, infraštruktúry, na ktorej sa tieto väzby zakladajú a primeranosť takejto infraštruktúry k novej geopolitickej a hospodárskej situácii, v ktorej sa daný región nachádza.

Konkrétnym prípadom analýzy medzinárodných väzieb na regionálnej úrovni by bolo štúdium geografickej štruktúry socio-ekonomických stykov medzi dvoma vybranými krajinami. V prípade tejto štúdie sú to styky medzi Poľskom a Slovenskom, o ktorých sa hovorí v kontexte teoretických modelov, ktoré znázorňujú takéto bilaterálne väzby, ako aj faktory, ktoré ovplyvňujú geografickú diferencovanosť týchto väzieb. Za tým nasleduje priestorové znázornenie vybraných faktorov, ktoré možno považovať za indikatívne pre intenzitu bilaterálnych stykov, t.j. poľsko-slovenský zahraničný obchod, slovenský turizmus do Poľska a priame väzby medzi oboma krajinami vyjadrené verejnou dopravou.

Socio-ekonomické väzby medzi dvoma danými krajinami sú charakterizované rôznymi úrovňami priestorovej koncentrácie. Táto koncentrácia môže byť v dvoch kraji-

nách odlišná aj v súvislosti s dopravnou sieťou, ktorá ich spája. Možno to synteticky znázorniť šiestimi základnými modelmi bilaterálnej väzby: model 1 – bilaterálna priestorová koncentrácia socio-ekonomických väzieb s partnerom, ako aj koncentrácia využívaných dopravných väzieb, model 2 – bilaterálna priestorová koncentrácia socio-ekonomických väzieb s partnerom spolu s roztrúsenými dopravnými väzbami, model 3 – unilaterálna priestorová koncentrácia socio-ekonomických väzieb s partnerom, ako aj koncentrácia využívaných dopravných väzieb, model 4 – unilaterálna priestorová koncentrácia socio-ekonomických väzieb s partnerom, ako aj roztrúsené dopravné väzby, model 5 – bilaterálna priestorová koncentrácia socio-ekonomických väzieb s partnerom, ako aj koncentrácia využívaných dopravných väzieb, model 6 – bilaterálna roztrúsenosť socio-ekonomických väzieb s partnerom a roztrúsenosť využívaných dopravných väzieb.

Doteraz spracované štúdie väzieb Poľska s inými krajinami ukázali nasledujúce hlavné faktory, ktoré podmieňujú geografickú diferenciaciu bilaterálnych vzťahov: (1) geografická vzdialenosť, (2) historické väzby, (3) rozmiestnenie hospodárskych činností, (4) konfiguráciu dopravnej siete, ktorá spája dve krajiny, (5) priepustnosť hraníc, (6) rozmiestnenie turisticky atraktívnych stredísk, (7) rozmiestnenie priamych zahraničných investícií, (8) umiestnenie a koncentrácia inštitúcií štátnej administratívy, (9) efektívnosť reklamy.

Analýza umožnila niekoľko hlavných záverov:

- regióny, ktoré majú intenzívnejšie väzby so Slovenskom sú: 1. bývalé vojvodstvo Nowy Sącz, 2. oblasť Poľska, ktorá tvorila kedysi súčasť haličskej provincie Rakúsko-Uhorska, 3. aglomerácia Varšavy, 4. iné urbánno-priemyselné aglomerácie,
- regionálna diferenciacia väzieb so Slovenskom odráža: 1. vzdialenosť, 2. kultúrne a historické väzby (v regiónoch Podhalie a Halič), 3. stupeň koncentrácie hospodárskej činnosti,
- poľsko-slovenský obchod sa priestorovo nekonzentroval do takého druhu hospodárskych väzieb, ako pozorujeme napríklad s Maďarskom, deväťdesiate roky boli skôr charakterizované trendom decentralizácie väzieb,
- štruktúra väzieb je determinovaná významnou úlohou tranzitu (tovaru i ľudí) cez Českú republiku, tento stav sa nezmení, ak nedôjde k významným investíciám do infraštruktúry,
- v súvislosti s analýzou situácie a modelmi väzieb je zjavné, že existujúce poľsko-slovenské vzťahy (charakterizované ich koncentráciou na poľskej strane a na samej hranici) dosiahli fázu medzi modelom 2 a želaným modelom 6, ktorý už v súčasnosti platí pre oblasť bývalej Haliče.

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