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Introduction

The present report has been published within the framework of the Friendly Neighbourhood Forum program founded by the Batory Foundation. The aim of the program is to create a communication platform for actors from Poland, Lithuania and Russia (the Kaliningrad District). It is addressed to those already involved in cross-border cooperation as well as those interested in getting involved. The intensification of cross-border cooperation is the long-term objective of the program.

The authors' aim is to present the state, directions, scope and barriers to Polish-Russian cross-border cooperation in the years 1990-2003. The subject has already given rise to a large number of publications, but there has been need for an all-embracing report addressing all the relevant issues and focussing on all the actors involved. The present publication hopes to fill this gap by focussing on the activity of local government, NGOs, business actors as well as cultural and academic institutions. Presenting this information in a systematic and coherent way is important from the practical point of view. We hope that the report can serve as a springboard for reflection about the future of Polish — Russian cross-border cooperation and help bring down the barriers this cooperation all too often encounters. Poland's accession to the EU and the introduction of visas gives rise to difficult, new questions about the future of cooperation.

Many of the advantages procured by cross-border cooperation are unmeasurable because they have to do with social and cultural relations. The rise of interest in cross-border activities in recent years however, has mainly stemmed from the fact that they bring economic benefit to border regions. Many publications, including the Warmia and Mazury voivodship strategy, mention cross-border cooperation as an important factor in regional development. Describing the part played by cross-border cooperation in the economic development of the border regions has thus also been one of the authors' aims. In our opinion however, it is as dangerous to overemphasize economic development as it is to underemphasise it. We have tried to present a realistic account of cross-border cooperation as it relates to economic growth, so that realistic conclusions about the future of economic contacts could be drawn.

The report draws its definition of cross-border cooperation from the European Charter of Border and Cross-Border Regions, which defines cross-border cooperation as neighbourly cooperation between contiguous regions or supranational cooperation between regional or local governments, organizations or institutions representing border regions.

The above definition draws attention to an important aspect of cross-border cooperation, namely the neighbour relation of cooperating regions. Cross-border cooperation is a special case of regional cooperation, which includes international cooperation between regions that do not border one another. Since the Polish territorial and administrative reform of 1999, almost all of the border with Kaliningrad has belonged to the Warmia and Mazury voivodship (two kilometers along the Vistula Spit belong to Pomerania). This was a conscious decision on the part of the 1999 reform-makers, who were thus seeking to eliminate rivalry between neighbouring voivodships working with the Russian enclave (a phenomenon that existed prior to 1999). The present report accordingly focusses on cooperation between the Warmia and Mazury voivodship and the Kaliningrad District. The voivodships of Pomerania and Podlasie are not Kaliningrad’s direct neighbours (we have kept to the Charter definition of border regions), which is why they have not been discussed here in detail. There are of course examples of interregional cooperation whose effects have been greater than those of strict cross-border cooperation, but the authors of the present report were concerned to explore the significance of direct border proximity for regional development.

The definition of cross-border cooperation we have accepted also mentions activities undertaken by non-governmental representatives of local communities (entrepreneurs, town and village inhabitants, etc.). This is a wider understanding of cross-border cooperation than that proposed by the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities or Authorities (the so-called Madrid Convention), which treats only regional and local government and self-government units as subjects of cooperation. It should be kept in mind though that the work of local and regional authorities has a special, indeed a double status, because on the one hand, they are cooperation subjects in their own right, and on the other, they coordinate, support and give direction to cooperation efforts undertaken by business and local communities.
The report has been put together by the Borussia Cultural Community Association, which has for many years now been involved in working toward the intensification of Polish — Russian cross-border contacts. Representatives of diverse local circles were invited to work on the report. We would like to thank all those who contributed to the making of this publication. Our thanks goes out to the Customs Office in Olsztyn, the Olsztyn Municipal Office, the European Integration and Foreign Cooperation Department of the Marshal’s Office in Olsztyn and last but not least, to the Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre. We would also like to give special thanks to Dr. Ewa Kulesza, who has led this initiative.

The Editors
Chapter I

International Interest in the Kaliningrad District

1. The Kaliningrad Question within the Context of EU Enlargement

Grzegorz Gromadzki

The "Kaliningrad question" in international politics has to be looked at from two sides. First, the Kaliningrad District, as part of the Russian Federation, belongs to the Baltic Sea region. The situation of this Russian enclave should thus be looked at from the perspective of cooperation with other Baltic states. Second, problems related to the Kaliningrad District are part of Russia's relation with the EU. It must be kept in mind that they sometimes become part of a larger political game between the EU and Russia.

It is only by appreciating the combination of factors cited above that we can get a good understanding of Kaliningrad's place within international politics, especially in the context of EU enlargement.

During the 1990s, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kaliningrad underwent a period of emancipation from its Cold War condition. After the Second World War the Baltic region became a highly militarized buffer zone between the USSR, its satellites and the West. It is for this reason that the Baltic nations resolved to pursue an agenda of cooperation after the Cold War (such an agenda could not, for obvious reasons, have been pursued before). 1992 saw the foundation of the Council of the Baltic Sea States, which brought together on equal terms the member states of NATO, a number of neutral observer states, Russia, Poland and three former Soviet republics, Lithuania among them. One of the major goals of the Council in the 1990s was to reduce the number of Russian troops stationed in the District.

The most important event of the middle of the 1990s was Finland and Sweden's accession to the EU in 1995, which was to strengthen the EU's role in the international politics surrounding the Kaliningrad question. In 1997, Russia's neighbour, Finland proposed the so-called Northern Dimension, which became official EU policy one year later. The area covered by the Northern Dimension fully corresponded to the area occupied by members of the Council of the Baltic Sea States. The ND also included Kaliningrad.

The next important event in the second half of the 90s was the EU's decision to begin accession negotiations with countries along the Baltic Sea coast: Poland and Estonia in 1997, Lithuania and Latvia in 1999.

It is important to note that during this time the number of Russian troops stationed in Kaliningrad was significantly reduced, which led to the gradual waning of the so-called hard safety principle in international discussions about Kaliningrad. In 1997 the Russian government dissolved the Special Kaliningrad Defense Area, handing over control of its military units to the Baltic Fleet.
The Kaliningrad question resurfaced in talks between the EU and Russia at the beginning of the 21st century in the wake of the EU's decision to admit Poland and Lithuania. With Poland and Lithuania's accession to the EU Kaliningrad would become a Russian enclave within the EU's borders. In an effort to dispel Russian uncertainty about the consequences of Poland and Lithuania's accession, the European Commission published a communiqué entitled "The EU and Kaliningrad" (2001), in which it proposed an agenda for cooperation between the enlarged EU and Russia (Kaliningrad). For their part, in their development strategy for the years 2000-2010 (published in 1999), the Russian authorities suggested Kaliningrad become a pilot region in the cooperation scheme between Russia and the EU. At the same time there was talk, in the Russian document, of letting Kaliningrad remain self-sufficient within the new EU environment.

At this time there was also disagreement about transit through Lithuania (to become an EU member state) between Kaliningrad and Russia. In 2002, the transit question was the major item in talks between the EU and Russia. A deal was finally struck during the autumn of 2002 regulating transit through Lithuanian territory.

In 2003, talk of Kaliningrad abated suddenly, largely due to the fact that the transit question had been resolved. The cause of this abatement can also be sought in the overall stagnation of talks between the EU and Russia, already making itself felt at the last EU-Russian summit, held in Rome in November 2003.

The events of the last decade show that the EU has been the main institutional actor in the Kaliningrad debate. The vision of the Baltic as the EU's mare nostrum is becoming reality and it is hard to imagine international cooperation involving Kaliningrad without a major role being played in it by the EU. The Northern Dimension has no doubt played a part in shaping EU policy, aimed above all at eliminating potential and real threats to the EU's soft security.

The increasing importance of the EU in the Baltic Sea area is gradually leading to a decrease of the role of the CBSS (Council of the Baltic Sea States), especially in the "big politics". The CBSS has fulfilled its initial aim, which was to establish cooperation between the countries of the region. It also made a contribution to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia's integration with the EU and helped these countries establish relatively good relations with Russia, including the District. However, the CBSS remains a very useful forum for regional cooperation, overseeing NGO, local government and academic cooperation.

Other organizations, like the Council of Europe or the OSCE, played a relatively small role in the politics surrounding Kaliningrad. Only in 2002 did the Council of Europe address the question of Kaliningrad more closely. The Council's interest was largely sparked by disagreement over the transit question. The OSCE on the other hand, was only truly active with regard to Kaliningrad at the beginning of the 90s, when the major issue was the reduction of Russia's military potential in the region. These organizations still played an important part however because they included Russia as a member (also a member of the CBSS), who was thus able to express itself about Kaliningrad within an institutional framework.

One of the major problems in the last two decades has been Russia's changing stance with regard to the future of Kaliningrad. On the one hand, the Russian authorities declared themselves ready to cooperate with the EU (making the District a pilot region, for instance), but continued to seek self-sufficiency for their enclave, for example by making plans to build a power plant that would fully cover the District's electrical power needs. Moscow was frequently emphatic about the District's belonging to Russia, although the issue of territorial status change for Kaliningrad had not been raised by any country. Russian declarations of control over Kaliningrad point to the central administration's fear of attempts at emancipation by the District, which many politicians feared would come about as a result of closer cooperation with the EU.

The central Russian administration has to take a stance on the future of Kaliningrad and determine to what extent the District's unique geographical situation should have bearing on whether a special policy gets developed with regard to it. Unless Russia works out a concrete strategy that goes beyond statements about the "pilot region" it will be impossible for Russia and the EU to achieve anything. The character of Russia — EU relations will have great influence on what becomes of the region. The situation, at present, is not very hopeful. An impasse in the relations between the EU and Russia is also possible in the years to come, which does not bode well for cooperation between the EU and Kaliningrad.

The EU, for its part, needs a clear policy with regard to Kaliningrad, which should continue to be part of the Northern Dimension. After the accession of the new countries the objective of this policy should be above all to establish the best possible type of relation with Russia with respect to those of its regions that border the EU. The Eastern Dimension, proposed by Poland, should include Belarus, the Ukraine and Moldova. It would do well to draw a clear distinction between the geographical reach of these two political conceptions (the ND and the ED) in order to avoid unnecessary disputes within the EU.

Action with respect to Kaliningrad should be the domain of the European Commission as well as individual EU member states, especially those along the Baltic Sea coast. Their initiatives should be correlated
in order to avoid unnecessary doubling. The funds for these initiatives should come both from the EU budget and the budgets of member states, including the new members, especially Poland and Lithuania.

Building civil society within the Russian enclave should be the EU’s prime objective with respect to Kaliningrad. This issue however is often marginalized in international discussions. But in the case of ex-communist countries, the founding of civil society is a necessary precondition for carrying out social and economic reform. The existence of civil society in Kaliningrad is a sine qua non condition of stable cooperation between the District and the EU.

The question of civil society aside, the EU should do more to include Kaliningrad in a wider network of regional cooperation (partnerships between local governments, NGOs, etc.). An important task is the building of a better infrastructure connecting the EU to the District (roads, ports — especially passenger terminals, airports, border crossings, energy networks). The building of these connections should be pursued even if it is not completely justified in light of current needs. Lack of appropriate infrastructure is still one of the top barriers to the development of contacts with the Russian enclave.

In order to co-finance such programs, the EU could create a Kaliningrad Investment Fund which would work much like the ISPA (Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession), the Union’s existing aid program.

In order to guarantee good relations it will also be necessary to establish visa-free traffic between the EU and Kaliningrad. Abolishing the visa requirement for citizens of Kaliningrad could take place within the framework of a general Russian — EU agreement (including all nationals of the Russian Federation) or a restricted agreement applying to just the citizens of the enclave.

2. EU Financial Support to Kaliningrad

Ewa Romanowska

The TACIS program is the institutional tool through which the EU funds economic and political change in Russia. Since 1991, 1500 projects receiving subsidies amounting to 2,46 billion euros have been carried out in Russia. About 40 million euros were spent on Kaliningrad (of this, about 30 million prior to 2003). Since 1999, Kaliningrad has been one of the regions receiving the greatest amount of aid. A regional TACIS office was opened in Kaliningrad in 2001.

The first TACIS project (also with financial support from the British Know-How Foundation) was implemented in Kaliningrad between 1992 and 1995 and had to do with agriculture. In 1994, as a result of consultations between the European Commission, the Kaliningrad administration, the federal government of Russia and EU experts, a 6-project package worth 8,1 million ecu was approved (the budget was subsequently raised to 9,5 million ecu). The projects dealt with technical support to the fishing industry in Kaliningrad (Irish partner, 1,5 million ecu budget), building energy security in Kaliningrad till 2010 (1,3 million ecu), the creation of a support centre for joint-stock companies (Irish partner, 1 million ecu budget), the development of Kaliningrad’s transport system (partners from Germany and Denmark, 2 million ecu budget), raising the quality of education at the Economics and Administration departments at the Kaliningrad State University (1,2 million ecu budget), the development of a free-trade zone (Irish partner, 2,5 million ecu budget). These projects were all completed before 1998.

An important actor involved in projects within the TACIS framework was the Kaliningrad State University. Between 1997-1998, the university implemented a project called “Creation of a Global Strategy for the Socio-Economic Development of the Kaliningrad District” (with a French partner). The university also participated in projects dealing with raising the level of English courses (Irish and British partners), ecological education (Danish and Swedish partners), and improving the quality of teaching in economics and administration at the university.

Between 2002 and 2003 nine large-scale TACIS projects (with budgets of over 500 000 euros) with a total value of 16,297 million euros were realized in Kaliningrad. The projects dealt with regional development, energy safety, ecology (including water resource management), the enlargement of the port of Kaliningrad, building the customs office laboratory, health, border crossing security (enlargement of the Bagrationovsk — Bezledy crossing). These projects were mostly co-implemented with German partners, but partners also included firms from Denmark, Finland, Holland, Ireland and Great Britain.

Poles and Lithuanians also took part in some of the projects financed by the EU within the framework of interregional and cross-border cooperation programs. The European Commission Communiqué to the Council of Europe¹ (“The European Union and the Kaliningrad District”) states that in the years 1990-1999 Poland was mainly involved in providing support to regional and cross-border cooperation, while Lithuania was involved in activities concerned with stopping the

¹ Mitteilung der Kommission an den Rat, Die Europäische Union und das Kaliningrader Gebiet, Brüssel 17.01.2001, KOM (2001) 26 endgültig
spread of HIV as well as the development of civil society and education.

3. The Activity of Different Countries in the Kaliningrad District

Ewa Kulesza and Ewa Romanowska

Since the opening of the border with Kaliningrad, the District has been the object of interest from many countries, especially those in the Baltic Sea area. Efforts on the part of different countries to establish diplomatic institutions in Kaliningrad bear proof to this. Poland, Lithuania, Sweden and Germany currently have consulates in the District. In addition, a section of the Embassy of Belarus, a chancellery of the Consular Section of Latvia as well as honorary consulates of Greece, Croatia and Iceland have been opened.

The activity of different countries in the District takes many forms. A distinction can be drawn between economic and not-for-profit activity (by federal and local governments and NGOs). A distinction in the sphere of economic activity can further be made between foreign trade and foreign investment in the District.

Foreign trade with the District reached the level of 2,69 billion USD in 2003, of which 0,55 billion USD was due to export from Kaliningrad. Since the beginning of the 90s the District's top trade partners have been Poland, Germany and Lithuania. In 2003, about 43% of the enclave's trade was with these countries (19,2% with Germany, 14,6% with Poland, 8,8% with Lithuania). It must be kept in mind that there is also much illegal trafficking between the District and Poland and Lithuania. Out of the nations mentioned above, Germany carries the greatest share of exports to Kaliningrad (435,2 million USD in 2003). Poland comes next with 346,7 million USD. Lithuania's exports only amount to 201,6 million USD, however given its population and economic output the figure is very impressive. The other countries maintaining economic contacts with Kaliningrad are mainly Baltic countries, and lately mainly Sweden. In 2003, Sweden's import from Kaliningrad rose to 95,7 million USD, which placed Sweden in first place on the list of importers. South Korea, Iran and Brazil were also active in trade with the region in 2003. It is worth noting that trade with countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States only amounts to a few percent of the region's trade.

The District of Kaliningrad was not particularly attractive to foreign investors in the 90s. It is estimated that foreign investment per inhabitant was about 25 times smaller than in Lithuania and 17 times smaller than in Poland. In the second half of the 90s, average annual investment amounted to about 21 million USD, which is 21 USD per inhabitant. The beginning of the XXIst century saw a withdrawal of this negative tendency. The years 2002-2003 saw record highs in the area of investment: 47,7 million USD in 2002 and 56,2 million USD in 2003. The most active investors in 2003 included Cyprus, Germany, Holland and Switzerland. In the previous years, the US, Lithuania, Great Britain, Austria and Israel had also been active. Polish entrepreneurs were not particularly active in the 90s (annual investment amounting to only a few percent). There has been some improvement since 2000 (20,3% percent of the total). Polish entrepreneurs' abstention from investing in Kaliningrad is viewed as a negative phenomenon endangering the position of Poles on the Kaliningrad market in the near future.

Before moving on to a discussion of non-profit activities in Kaliningrad it should be said that it is extremely difficult to set their number. Only some examples of initiatives by Denmark, Germany and Sweden (who are most active in this respect) have been described in this report. The examples have been chosen to reflect the scale and nature of the support lent by the aforementioned countries.

Danish interest in Kaliningrad stems mainly from concern about the natural environment and the desire to give grounding to democracy (and thus achieve political stability) in the Baltic Sea region (the Danish island of Bornholm is only 250 km away from Kaliningrad). Humanitarian aid is also an important aspect of Danish involvement.

In the 90s the Danes implemented about 50 projects worth about 10 million euros (this involvement has not abated in the XXIst century: 2,5 million euros were...
invested in 2002 alone). A number of these projects were carried out by the Danish government. The legal basis of this cooperation is an official agreement between the Kaliningrad District Administration, the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs and the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Danish-Russian cooperation in the sphere of ecology is made possible by an agreement signed by the Danish Environmental Protection Agency and the Russian State Committee for Ecology and Environmental Protection as well as an agreement between the Russian Ministry of Fuel and Energy and the Danish Ministry of Energy and Ecology. The Danish government promotes the Russian enclave in Denmark. For instance: Copenhagen hosted so-called Kaliningrad Days, which included a conference of 40 representatives from political and business circles as well as an exhibit of products from Kaliningrad.

Between January 1990 and March 2004 the Danish government realized 9 projects worth 31.6 million Danish crowns in Kaliningrad (Denmark’s contribution amounted to 22.5 million Danish crowns). Seven of these projects dealt with environmental protection, one with strengthening democratic institutions and one with strengthening business-related institutions. The ecology-related projects dealt with changing the lighting system of lighthouses (introducing eco-friendly and power-efficient solutions), the re-design of industrial complexes, an energy security plan for Kaliningrad and sharing Danish expertise with regard to more effective sources and uses of power (workshops for employees of power plants and administrative workers, information campaigns on the possibilities of using wind power in Kaliningrad).

Other Danish projects in the area of environmental protection in Kaliningrad have included:

- preparation of the technical design for a sewage plant in Gvardeysk;
- support to the building of a hot water disinfection device in Gusev; three projects dealing with upgrading the heating system in Gusev (training workshops for administrators, isolating the heating network, installing water-heating devices);
- preparation of the technical and financial plans for the modernization of the water supply and drainage system in Kaliningrad (the biggest ecological project carried out in the District and co-funded by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development);
- preparation (in co-operation with Poles) of a model for administering the quality of water in the Vistula Lagoon — "Water monitoring in the Kaliningrad District" (1.2 million euro budget);
- organization of courses raising the competences of ecology teachers and ecologists — project realized within the framework of cooperation between the Environment School in Esrum (Denmark) and the Kaliningrad District Ecological Centre;
- construction, near the village of Kulikovo, of the first wind power plant in Kaliningrad, 1998 (the biggest wind power plant in Russia, worth 2 million euros, was built on the same site in 2002).

The Danish government also supports activities related to the social sphere. Thanks to aid from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Day Care Centre for Elderly People was opened in Kaliningrad in 2003 (1 million Danish crown budget).

Another Danish government project deserving special attention is the "Modernization of the Russian Tax Administration", implemented by the Central Duty and Tax Office (2.9 million Danish crown budget).

Also involved in projects in the Kaliningrad District are local Danish authorities, especially the authorities of the county of Bornholm. The county and Kaliningrad signed an agreement in 1998. A three-year cooperation program was approved at the time, anticipating the realization of five main tasks:

- creation of a Centre for Social Work;
- support to the Kaliningrad Regional Centre for Workforce Reinsertion for Former Members of the Military;
- workshops for administration workers responsible for international cooperation;
- modernization of the fishing industry;
- energy security for rural areas.

The Kaliningrad Centre for Social Development and Education and the Social and Psychological Centre were created with the support of the county of Bornholm (1.35 million Danish crowns).

Contacts with organizations and the government authorities of Bornholm were also established by NGOs from the District, especially within the framework of the "Bornholm — Baltic Island of Education" program. The program has made it possible to train ten groups from Kaliningrad in public property management, health and social services.

Other local Danish authorities are also involved in cooperation with the District. For example:

- the authorities of the county of Fyn co-financed the project "Andrologics (method for teaching adults) and developing training programs for entrepreneurs" (250 000 euro budget, 2002);
- in 1995, the town authorities of Alborg in cooperation with the German town of Bremerhaven...
open the European Ecological Centre at the Kaliningrad city hall (see section below) and organized a workshop on how to write and administer projects (170 000 euro budget).

Danish NGOs are also active in the Kaliningrad District. Among the more important projects realized by NGOs in the years 2001-2003 is the BRIDGE Rehabilitation Centre, realized by the National Children’s Aid (2.6 million Danish crown budget).

An analysis of German-Russian cross-border cooperation reveals that the most active contacts with Kaliningrad are maintained by Brandenburg, Schleswig-Holstein and Bremen.

Brandenburg and Kaliningrad have been partner regions since the signing of a memorandum on agricultural and economic cooperation in 1994. A protocol on cooperation between the Kaliningrad District administration and the government of Brandenburg was added to the memorandum in 1999. Moreover, on May 5th, 2001, the Brandenburg Landtag officially began to cooperate with the Kaliningrad Duma (already cooperating with Schleswig-Holstein).

Cooperation with the German regions encompasses humanitarian aid, culture and academics (including youth exchanges). For example, the Gesamthochschule Wilhelmshorst mit angegliederter Primarstufe in Potsdam is involved in interschool exchanges with Kaliningrad schools. The government of Brandenburg supports the Temporary Children’s Home as well as the Elderly People’s Home in Sovyetsk (repair of kitchen and plumbing system, purchase of furniture, clothing and toys for the children). Brandenburg entrepreneurs helped create the Kaliningrad Centre for Innovation and Technology operating for the benefit of Kaliningrad entrepreneurs.

Cooperation also takes place between cities. The Berlin borough of Berlin-Lichtenberg has been cooperating with Kaliningrad since 2001 (youth exchanges and economic cooperation). Co-operative projects have been carried out by the Centre for Cooperation and Intercultural Contacts (in 2001: "Prussian Elegies: Tilsit — Königsberg/Kaliningrad — Berlin", in 2002 "The City of Two Faces" and in 2003 "Dialogue: Cities — People — Generations").

Many German NGOs also work with the District. They include: the Anthropos Association, the Brandenburg Youth Section of the National Sports Union, the Russo-German House, Drug Addict Aid Snamenka and the Aid to Romania and Other Countries association. Anthropos helps Kaliningrad children’s homes, boarding houses, schools (including art and music schools), municipal libraries and the psycho-neurological clinic in Gromov (Slavsk region). Recent projects realized by Anthropos include: help to orphans aged 2-16, the opening of a nature protection station in Gromov, modernization of the municipal library in Kaliningrad. The Brandenburg Youth Section of the National Sports Union wants to spread the ideas of tolerance, acceptance and responsibility among Kaliningrad youth through athletic events. Its activities include creating meeting places for youth, promoting and supporting youth-founded youth organizations and including young people in the creation of civil society. It has been ten years since the Russo-German House became engaged in cultural, economic and social exchanges between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Russian Federation. Its activities include the organization of language courses, trade workshops, work with youth, humanitarian aid, preventive health, environmental protection and promoting civil society. The house also organizes cultural events (concerts, exhibits, meetings) and conferences. Brandenburg NGOs are also involved in helping drug addicts. In 1999, the Drug Addict Aid Snamenka organization built and equipped a rehabilitation centre for drug addicts in the Nesterov region. The centre is to serve as a model for similar projects on Kaliningrad territory. The Aid to Romania and Other Countries association supports humanitarian aid organizations in Kaliningrad.

The first contacts between Kaliningrad and Schleswig-Holstein were established in 1990. In 1999, the two regions signed a memorandum on cooperation mentioning the following disciplines: agriculture, health, schooling, higher education, public safety, culture, humanitarian aid and public administration.

On the regional level cooperation with Kaliningrad is carried on by three ministries. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has implemented over 100 different projects in Kaliningrad, including student and doctoral exchanges as well as help in equipping the Kaliningrad police. The Ministry of the Environment, Nature Protection and Agriculture organized six-month agricultural internships for students of universities and trade schools. The Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Culture has co-organized cultural events with partners from Kaliningrad. In 1995, the Schleswig-Holstein Information Office, whose main objectives are to promote the German region and represent its interests in the enclave, was opened in Kaliningrad. The office also coordinates the execution of partnership agreements between Schleswig-Holstein and Kaliningrad. It supports youth education as well as business contacts between Germans

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1 The Free Hanseatic City of Bremen comprises the city commune of Bremen (543 000 inhabitants) and the city of Bremerhaven (125 000 inhabitants) 56 km away.

2 Since 1994, Schleswig-Holstein has been creating a network of offices whose aim is to deepen partner and regional cooperation in the Baltic Sea area. Offices have also been opened in Gdańsk, Tallin, Malmö, Vilnius and Riga.

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and citizens of Kaliningrad, carries on research activities, coordinates the visits of Schleswig-Holstein representatives, helps to implement bilateral projects (mainly EU-funded) and acts as an information point for entrepreneurs, institutions and other actors. In 2003 the office organized three-week internships for administrative employees from Kaliningrad.

Agriculture is an important area of cooperation between Schleswig-Holstein and Kaliningrad (the two regions have similar agricultural conditions). Cooperation with regard to agriculture is carried on by the information office, the Christian Albrecht University in Kiel (which has a partnership with the Agriculture Department of the Kaliningrad State University) as well as agricultural schools.

Cooperation also takes place on the level of counties (German Kreise). Pinneberg, Rendsburg-Eckernförde and Schleswig-Flensburg are involved in organizing humanitarian aid among other things (the Rendsburg-Eckernförde county organized 8 aid transports to Kaliningrad between 1991 and 1998).

On the level of cities, cooperation between Kiel and the cities of Kaliningrad and Sovyetsk (since 1992) is worthy of mention. The cities of Lübeck and Preetz also cooperate with the District.

Contacts between schools and higher education institutions have grown in scope in recent years. Among those cooperating are: the Auguste-Viktoria Schule (Flensburg), the Carl-Maria-von-Weber-Schule (Eutin), Europaschule Christian-Timm-Realschule (Rendsburg), Gymnasium Wellingdorf (Kiel) and Kieler Gehrtenschule (Kiel).

Cooperation also carries on by Schleswig-Holstein NGOs. These cooperation projects usually have to do with humanitarian aid, education and culture. The year 1992 marked the official beginning of cooperation with Bremerhaven (Bremen), but unofficial cooperation reaches back to 1990 (humanitarian aid for the enclave). During the "Aid to Kaliningrad" action, a transport with food and medicine was sent and help was extended to the pediatric hospital. In the fall of 1992, Bremerhaven municipal employees helped organize a collection of articles and funds for the inhabitants of the Kuron Lagoon area, while German doctors and nurses hospitalized patients of the children's hospital in Kaliningrad. The total amount of humanitarian aid offered between December 1990 and October 1993 was 900 000 Marks.

In 1992-1993 German firms from Bremerhaven and Bremen built the Information and Consultation Centre on Kaliningrad in Bremerhaven (closed in the mid-90s) and a conference centre in Kaliningrad. They also funded two internships (a few weeks each) for two specialized medical doctors from Kaliningrad. 1992 saw the creation of the Bremen Hanseatic Office in Kaliningrad, whose goal was to develop trade with Kaliningrad and to serve as an information centre for German firms wanting to establish contacts with Russia.

The Bremerhaven-Kaliningrad partnership has given rise to many projects, many of them concerned with environmental protection. Projects have included: the technical securization of the Kaliningrad gas distribution system and help in dealing with ecological catastrophes (including oil spills). Bremerhaven was a co-founder (along with the Danish city of Alborg) of the European Ecological Centre in Kaliningrad, whose activities include the diffusion of knowledge and expertise in the fields of environmental protection, energy supply, transport and municipal transport. The centre also strives to spread ecological awareness among Russians, for example by organizing workshops for teachers on methods of disseminating knowledge about environmental protection (workshops held in 1997, 1998, 1999). Within the framework of one project, a number of used bicycles were donated to a Russian school (some of the bicycles were also sent to the Kuron Lagoon, where they can be used by tourists). The centre also monitors the quality of air. English language courses (in connection with the possibility of getting funds for ecological projects) are also organized. The centre has worked out a marketing strategy and published an information brochure in Russian, English and German for the Kaliningrad zoo. The centre is also involved in resolving social problems touching elderly people, drug addicts (help in enlarging an existing rehabilitation centre) and homeless children.

Sweden is also among the nations most active in the Kaliningrad District. In 2002 alone Swedish aid to the enclave amounted to 3.5 million euros.

A large number of Swedish projects are realized within the framework of EU projects or with the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). In 1991-1999 Swedish aid to the enclave amounted to about 4 million euros. The projects implemented were aimed at economic, agricultural and public administration (including public services) reform as well as preventing the spread of contagious diseases. Examples of programs realized by SIDA include:

- "The Earth Cadaster", the creation of an automated land record system for Kaliningrad (8.8 million Swedish crown budget);
- "Reconstruction of the Water Supply and Drainage System and Environmental Protection in

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6) Agreements were signed between the Land government and the District administration on February 10th, 1999, and between the Landtag and the District Duma on January 31st, 2000.
7) Pinneberg signed an agreement with the region of Zelenogradsk on November 7th, 1990.
8) All of them carried out in 2003.
Kaliningrad", co-financed by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (120 million Swedish crown support from SIDA);
- "Sea Research and Lifeguard Training, Phases 1-5" (7 million Swedish crown budget);
- "Social Services in the Kaliningrad District" (6.3 million Swedish crown budget);
- "Technical and Economic Foundations of the Central Heating System in Kaliningrad" (5 million Swedish crown budget);
- "Tuberculosis Prevention and Control in the Kaliningrad District", co-financed by the WHO (6 million Swedish crown budget);

Environmental protection is an important area of Swedish activity. Within the framework of the "Adaptation of Energy Systems to the Needs of the Environment in the Baltic Sea Region and Eastern Europe" project, the Swedish Business Development Agency (NUTEK) reconstructed the heating systems in Polessk and Pravdinsk. In 2003, the Swedes cooperated with the Kaliningrad Regional Centre for Energy Preservation on the "Energy Bridges" project.

Cooperation between Kaliningrad and Sweden is also aimed at solving the problem of unemployment (the Swedish Office for the Management of the Labour Market cooperates with the Employment Department of Kaliningrad).

The Swedish government is also involved in extending support to small and medium-sized companies. In 2003, it decided to donate 1.8 million Swedish crowns to the opening of the Business Counseling Office in Kaliningrad (project initiated by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development).

The Swedes are also interested in the development of local democracy in the enclave. They have been cooperating on projects devoted to this aim with local governments in the District since 1996. They have concentrated on organizing workshops on local government finance and the management of public assets. In 2002, Sweden launched the "New Bridges" program, the objective of which was to create a cooperation platform for local governments from Kaliningrad and southern Sweden. Five work groups were created in the areas of democracy, the environment and agriculture, social issues, education and culture and business and tourism. A Kaliningrad forum took place in Sweden (2001) and a Southern Sweden forum was held in Kaliningrad (2002). The assumption of the project was that after its termination the Russian and Swedish local governments would continue to cooperate on their own.

Out of the local governments of Sweden, the greatest number of projects come from the region of Blekinge and the area of southern Sweden. Within the framework of an agreement between the Blekinge administration and the Russian State Committee for Ecology and Environmental Protection in Kaliningrad, a "Plan for the Protection of Nature in the Kaliningrad District" has been worked out (project co-realized with the Swedish section of the World Wildlife Fund).

Cooperation is also carried on by the municipal authorities of Malmö ("Mother and Child. Prevention of HIV Spread from Mother to Child", project with a total budget of 200 000 euros), Kalmar ("Development of the Tourism Industry" with a budget of 140 000 euros) and Göteborg ("Modernization of Tram Lines in Kaliningrad").

The authorities of Karlskrona cooperate with the region of Baltiysk. A project to repair the Swedish defense tower in Pilava (the former name of Baltiysk. Pilava was founded by the Swedish King Gustav Adolf II) is currently in the phase of preparation (it is hoped that the tower will become a tourist attraction). There are also plans for reconstructing the old town in Baltiysk, including building a Swedish street where Swedish institutions and foreign firms would have their headquarters. This scheme also includes plans to build an International Training and Recreation Centre on the Vistula Lagoon (Rus. Baltiyskaya kosa). The centre would organize training workshops for public administration employees and entrepreneurs from Russia and countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States. There are also plans for a ferry terminal and a commercial and passenger ferry line connecting Baltiysk and Karlskrona.

In conclusion: the countries most active in Kaliningrad with respect to trade and economics are Germany, Poland, Lithuania and recently Sweden. Important investors also include Cyprus, Switzerland, the United States, Great Britain, Austria and Israel. Germans, Swedes and Danes are most active in the non-profit sector. Most of the non-profit activities have to do with environmental protection and building civil society.
Chapter II

Cross-Border Cooperation at the Local and Regional Level

1. The Legal Basis of Polish-Russian Cross-Border Cooperation at the Local and Regional Level

Ewa Kulesza

The European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, drawn up in Madrid on the 21st of May, 1980 (the so-called Madrid Convention), defines cross-border cooperation as "any mutually undertaken action aimed at strengthening and developing neighbourly contacts between communities and territorial authorities of two or more contracting parties, making agreements and approving arrangements that are indispensable to carrying out the above intentions". The terms "communities" and "territorial authorities" refer to units, offices or organs carrying out local and regional duties, and to others that are considered as such according to the internal law of each country.

The above definition points to two basic characteristics of cross-border cooperation:

- Proximity of contacts (only territories that are in the immediate vicinity of each other are included)
- Regional and local level of cooperation.1

According to the above definition, the subjects of cross-border cooperation include central government and local government authorities, yet the subjects can be understood in a wider sense. The European Charter of Border and Cross-Border Regions defines cross-border cooperation as neighbourly cooperation between neighbouring border areas or foreign cooperation between authorities at the regional and local level, organizations and institutions representing border areas. The Charter says: "Cross-border cooperation between sub-national public and legal institutions and between various groups of people takes place above demarcated country borders and supports peace, freedom and security". According to this definition, cross-border cooperation involves not only actions undertaken by local and regional authorities but also cooperation between entrepreneurs, inhabitants and other subjects from border areas2.

Cross-border cooperation at the local and regional level (between local and regional authorities) should have an appropriate legal basis. The legal basis of Polish-Russian cross-border cooperation at the local and regional level is provided by documents signed at the national and international level (multilateral international agreements such as the Madrid Convention). Only documents signed at the national level will be presented in this chapter.

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2 E. Kulesza, Współpraca transgraniczna jako czynnik rozwoju lokalnego (na przykładzie gmin polskiego pogranicza z Rosją), Toruń 2003.
The first document is the Constitution of the Republic of Poland from the 2nd of April, 1997. Article 172 of the Constitution says: "A territorial government shall have the right to join international associations of local and regional communities and to cooperate with the local and regional communities of other states". Moreover, territorial governments may establish associations. The associations may belong to international organizations to which Poland is a party. Such associations are often the legal basis for euroregional agreements. There are three documents that constitute the legal basis of Polish-Russian cross-border cooperation at the local and regional level:

1) The Treaty between the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation on Good-Neighbourliness, Friendly Relations and Cooperation, signed on the 22nd of May, 1992;

The above agreements authorize governments at the local and regional level to act toward the execution of the resolutions of the agreements without having to gain prior approval at the central level.

Also, agreements on border checkpoints (including the agreement between the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation on border checkpoints, signed on the 22nd of May, 1992) are important for cross-border cooperation.

Territorial governments in Polish and Russian border areas undertake a wide range of activities within the framework of cross-border cooperation. These activities can be divided into three groups depending on their character.

The first group of activities are administrative services, which consist in the administration offering material and non-material services to inhabitants and other subjects. Municipal services, such as education, social welfare, public health and transport can be given as examples of this type of activity.

The second group are promotional and organizational activities. These activities serve the prerogative of local and regional development and include organizing business fairs, spreading economic information and participating in business conferences. It is in this way that local governments coordinate cross-border processes, support and give direction to cross-border contacts established by entrepreneurs, inhabitants and NGOs, while enhancing the economic growth of their own territories.

The third group of activities includes cooperation between border guard, inspection authorities and other types of guard affiliated with the district (powiat) authorities.

## 2. The State Administration and the Local Governments of the Kaliningrad District

Ewa Kulesza

The administrative system in the Kaliningrad District differs from the Polish one, which affects cross-border cooperation. First of all, Russia is a federal country (the Kaliningrad District is one of eighty-nine units in the federation). As a result, Russian districts have a much wider scope of responsibilities than do the Polish voivodships.

There are two organs of authority at the regional level: the District Duma, acting as a legislative organ, and the Governor, acting as the executive chief of the District Administration. Both are elected in public elections. However, they are not themselves government subjects but elements of the state authority structure (i.e. they are subordinated to federal authorities).

The District Duma passes the district statute (the regional constitution), approves the regional budget and social and economic development programs, sets taxes and local payments (that go into the district budget), determines the basis of the organization and activity of the local governments and controls the implementation of the budget. The Governor draws up and implements the district budget, determines the structure of district administration and, most importantly, has vetoing power over the resolutions of the District Duma. The Governor’s position in Kaliningrad is much stronger than that of the Duma’s. As far as cross-border cooperation is concerned, the Governor is the partner and counterpart of the Polish Voivodship Assembly and of the Voivod, because the extent of his powers corresponds to that of the Marshal and the Voivod taken together. Despite a broad extent of powers, the Governor depends on the federal authorities to quite a large extent, which is often a barrier to the development of regional cross-border cooperation between Poland and Russia. Moreover, the Governor does not administer border checkpoints (as opposed to the Voivod), which limits his authority in cooperation.

Another barrier to cooperation is the dramatic financial situation of the District’s budget (high level of debt), which is the result of a long-term economic crisis in the enclave. Lack of funds at the District level
automatically means a bad financial situation for the local governments.

Local government was introduced in Russia by the Constitution of the Russian Federation from the 12th of December, 1993. The organization of local governments fell to regional authorities. As a result, the government structures of the Russian districts differ from one another. In the Kaliningrad District, the first elections to the local governments were held on the 27th of March, 1994.

There are three kinds of territorial government units functioning in the Kaliningrad District:
1. three cities: Kaliningrad, Pionerskiy, Sovyetsk;
2. three city districts: Baltiysk, Svetliy, Svetlogorsk;

In addition, there are units equivalent to Polish auxiliary government units (village mayorships — Pol. sołectwo, boroughs — Pol. dzielnica).

According to the constitution, a local government is an autonomous entity. However, this definition is often not respected and territorial governments are in practice subordinated to state authority organs. This problem also exists in the enclave. Local governments in the Kaliningrad District have a narrow range of powers. They are responsible for education, housing, art and culture, public health, sports and social policy.

The balance of power between the executive (the mayor) and the legislative (the regional or city council) powers in the Kaliningrad District is different from that in Poland. The mayor's powers are extremely wide-ranging, the council's are comparatively small (the mayor adopts a budget). In practice, it is the mayor who determines the policy of the local government. Thus, the mayor is also a political actor in cross-border cooperation at the local level.

3. The Polish-Russian Council for Cooperation between the Northern Regions of the Republic of Poland and the Kaliningrad District

Gregorz Grzelak, Ewa Kulesza

The Polish-Russian Council for Cooperation between the Northern Regions of the Republic of Poland and the Kaliningrad District (Pol. Polsko-Rosyjska Rada ds. Współpracy Regionów Północnych RP z Obwodem Kaliningradzkim FR) is a government initiative aimed at developing regional cross-border cooperation between Poland and Russia. The council functions on the legal basis of the already mentioned Agreement on Cooperation

Map of Administrative Units in the Kaliningrad District

Administrative Units
- regions
- city areas
- cities
between the North-Eastern Provinces of the Republic of Poland and the District of Kaliningrad. The decision to create the council was made at the 2nd Round Table for Cooperation of the North-Eastern Provinces of the Republic of Poland and the Kaliningrad District of the Russian Federation, which took place on the 3rd and 4th of June, 1993, in Olszyn. The first session of the Council took place on the 5th and 6th of October, 1994, in Svetlogorsk.

The council is a work assembly headed by Polish and Russian government commissioners responsible for developing cooperation between the regions of Poland and the Kaliningrad District. The post of the Russian commissioner is filled by the head of the Kaliningrad District Administration (currently Vladimir Yegorov). The Polish commissioner's post is filled by the Polish Undersecretary of Internal Affairs and Administration, who oversees the state department responsible for cross-border cooperation.

In keeping with its statute, the council undertakes action aimed at increasing the efficacy of cooperation, determines new directions and solves problems. The council also draws up development proposals, indicating desirable directions for cooperation and, if needed, makes proposal drafts of bilateral agreements. The proposals and drafts are subsequently submitted to the appropriate organs in both countries. The council also appoints committees (there are 12 at present) dedicated to particular problems. The council meets at plenary sessions during which the committees report on their work.

It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of the 1990s, when the council was being formed, the Kaliningrad District had just opened up to the world. There was an urgent need to settle all issues connected with opening and managing border checkpoints, transport and navigation. A political factor also played a part in the decision to create the council. The Polish side was very eager to see democracy and ties to Europe develop in Kaliningrad. Poland was spoken of as the bridge between the European Union and the enclave. Representatives of Polish local governments welcomed the creation of the council, seeing it as an instrument for solving international problems, indispensable to the pursuit of local cooperation.

It soon turned out that the decision makers with real power to affect the relationship between Russia and Poland remained outside the council and that the state commissioners could only act as coordinators without the power to solve real political problems. The council's effectiveness was further diminished by frequent changes in the Polish commissioner's post and (after 1996) by a cooling of relations with the Polish side, brought about by the new Russian commissioner, Leonid Gorbyenka, at a time when international Polish-Russian relations were generally cool to begin with. Furthermore, Gorbyenka stirred up strong antagonisms between different public authorities in the enclave, which made it impossible to work out a coherent policy with regard to interregional cooperation (including cross-border cooperation). Finally, Gorbyenka made personnel changes to his office, which resulted in the destruction of long-standing contacts between Russians in the administration and the Poles. As a result, the council did not meet from mid-1996 to 1999. Polish and Russian local government employees supported the idea to establish the Baltic Euroregion as a different form of cooperation.

Assessing the work of the council it is necessary to consider the work of each committee separately because the scope of their responsibilities differed significantly. However, it should be said that during the period between 1994 and 1999 the council did not manage to carry out most of its resolutions. The development of border checkpoints was the council's greatest success, yet it failed to solve problems like free navigation on the Vistula Lagoon (via the Pilava Strait) and related environmental problems (also problems linked to the overall management of the lagoon). The council was not successful in protecting and providing financial services to Polish investors in the Kaliningrad District. The attempt to include the enclave in a common Baltic energy system also ended in failure. Mediation between economic actors undertaken by the committees of agriculture and food processing, industry and small and medium enterprise development, did not yield the expected results.

For example, during the period of 1994-1995, a common attempt was made to cultivate colza and broad beans on a small plot of land in the Kaliningrad District. The participating Polish company bore the expenses connected with the purchase of production materials (fertilizers, seeds, etc.) as well as customs duties. However, the Russian partner did not fulfil its obligations due to an allegedly difficult economic situation, which led to the breaking off of cooperation. Transporting agricultural equipment across the border without additional fees posed another problem. Another unsuccessful attempt was also made to cultivate sugar beets in Kaliningrad. The beets were to be processed in a sugar factory in Kętrzyn and transported back to the District. In 1995, the committee for small and medium enterprise development brought forth the idea to create the Centre for Economic Information, which would

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6 The committees work on the following subjects: checkpoints, transport and navigation, finance, industry and trade, environmental protection, development of the Vistula Lagoon, agriculture and food processing, communication, education, science, culture, sports and tourism, crime prevention, energy, fuel resources, employment and labour force migration, urban planning and local government.
collect, process and disseminate information on economic legislation in the Kaliningrad District and Russian entrepreneurs. The centre was not created.

The council was reactivated on the 28th of October, 1999, in Gdańsk. Up to the middle of 2003, three sessions had been organized (the last one on the 17th and 18th of October, 2002 in Svetlogorsk). The current conditions of the council’s functioning are considerably different from those at the beginning of the 1990s and limit the council’s possibilities further still (one could even wonder whether there is still a point to the council’s existence). Today, the presence of the European Union in the Kaliningrad District is clearly visible. Poland no longer needs to serve as a bridge between Moscow and Brussels. Border checkpoints and other issues related to the border (visas, duty fees, etc.) are no longer the internal problem of Poland. The solutions to these problems are often proposed by the EU. Consequently, the relevant decisions are made by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and not by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the home ministry of the Polish commissioner to the council. Experience has shown that the council has limited influence on Polish-Russian trade relations. The council is a platform for local governments, entrepreneurs and other actors involved in cross-border cooperation. Research and trade conferences and fairs result from the council’s work, but this raises the question of whether these activities could not be carried on outside of the council framework. Even the council’s activities with regard to the coordination of cooperation could be regarded as unsatisfactory. For example, business fairs are often organized by the Polish side. This is good on the one hand, but on the other, it testifies to a dispersion of efforts. The Russian side has often said that a single, common, big fair should be organized, bringing more benefit to both sides.

Summing up, the idea to form a council that would serve as a common platform for local actors and central authorities and solve the problems of Polish-Russian cross-border cooperation was fully justified. Putting the idea into practice however, has not led to the expected results, which may in part be due to the limited possibilities of the commissioners. The large number of committees functioning within the council does not help cooperation either. Quite frequently, only the representatives of the members proper (of a given ministry, for example) take part in the sessions. These representatives often have limited powers and are not sufficiently familiar with the problems of cooperation. It thus appears that finding a new formula for the council’s functioning is indispensable.

4. Euroregional Cooperation

Wojciech T. Modzelewski

Cross-border cooperation between Poland and the Kaliningrad District is carried on, among other ways, through the euroregional structures functioning in the border areas. These structures include the Euroregion Baltic (since 1988) and the Euroregion Niemen (since 1987). There are also the Euroregion Lyna-Lawa (tyna-ława) and the Euroregion Sesupe (Szeszupa) still in their preparatory phase.

A euroregion is a formal international association within the framework of which administrative and territorial units cooperate on the local and regional levels. Its objectives and scope of activity are determined by its statute. Most often, the main reason for creating a euroregion is to stimulate social and economic development on its territory, thus improving the standard of living of its inhabitants. Joint action, the sharing of experiences and information as well as common projects relate mainly to areas like ecology, transport, economy, tourism, culture, education, social welfare and border infrastructure. The effectiveness of the projects depends mainly on the financial possibilities of the actors involved, and these in turn depend on their ability to get funds from the EU.

The Euroregion Baltic encompasses the territories of Bornholm County (Denmark), the Lepaia region (Latvia), the Klaipeda region (Lithuania), the districts of Kronoberg, Kalmar and Blekinge (Sweden), the Kaliningrad District (Russia) and the regions of northern and eastern Poland. In terms of territory, it is the largest region of this kind in Europe. The Polish area includes 83 cities and communes (46 in the Pomeranian Voivodship and 37 in the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship) as well as the Elbląg, Nowe Miasto Lubawskie and Nowy Dwór Gdański districts (powiat), all of them members of the Association of Polish Communes, Baltic Euroregion, with its seat in Elbląg.

The euroregional framework makes it possible to acquire funds from the Euroregional Small Projects Fund. The first edition of the SPF (with a budget of 120 000 euros), held in 1999, encompassed 22 projects, including 12 with partners from the Kaliningrad

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4 The analysis presented is the result of research carried out in the second half of 2003, encompassing materials provided by the Association of Polish Communes, Baltic Euroregion, the Niemen Euroregional Association and the Association of the Border Governments of the Lyna-Lava Euroregion. The information also includes the results of a standard survey distributed to representatives of the euroregions.

5 Also called the Curland region.

6 As of December 31st 2003.
The largest group of beneficiaries included commune associations and institutions, cultural centres and non-governmental organizations. The total cost of all the executed projects exceeded 176 300 euros, out of which 108 200 euros came from Phare.

In the second edition, the Euroregion Baltic received 300 000 euros. The second edition saw the implementation of 47 projects, including 27 with Russian partners (57.5% of the total). For the sake of comparison, there were 7 projects co-implemented with Lithuania, 6 with Sweden, 5 with Denmark and 1 with Latvia. The numbers show that organizations and institutions from the Kaliningrad District were the grant applicants' main group of partners. This may be due to the ease of establishing contacts with Kaliningrad (a relatively small language barrier) as well as the proximity of the border, which also had impact on (i.e. lowered) cooperation costs. This becomes even more obvious if we classify the grant applicants according to voivodship: 23 projects were implemented by actors from the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship (bordering the Kaliningrad District) and only 4 by actors from the Pomeranian Voivodship (mainly directing its initiatives toward the northern and western regions of the Baltic Sea).

Half of the projects submitted during the second edition of the SPF included a Russian partner (51 out of 102). By contrast to the first edition, a decrease in the participation of local governments was accompanied by a rise in the participation of cultural and non-governmental organizations. Most of the projects were related to cultural exchange, sports, local democracy, human resource development, economic development and tourism. The cost of the edition reached 467 600 euros (with 281 100 euros coming from Phare), with the average value of one project amounting to 12 300 euros (with an average subsidy of 6 700 euros). The programme did not posit any guidelines with respect to the share to be covered by the foreign partner. This is why we can only talk about the share declared by the foreign partner, which mainly included travel costs to and from Poland, and, in some cases, financing part of the accommodation expenses of the Polish participants on the partner's territory.

The next edition of the Small Projects Fund, running until September 2003, encompassed 15 projects, 13 of which included a Russian partner as their main partner. The remaining two involved partners from Latvia and Lithuania. Two trilateral projects were implemented within this edition: a Polish-Russian-Lithuanian project — "Improving the Organizational Skills of Ecological Leaders from the Baltic Sea Area", and a Polish-Russian-Latvian project — "The Baltic Business and Tourist Information Centre". The Association of Polish Communes, Euroregion Baltic (Stowarzyszenie Gmin RP Euroregion Bałtyk) also led its own project in partnership with the administration of the municipal district of Baltiysk, involving the publication of a report on SPF projects, which allowed the Russians to become familiar with all of the commonly executed SPF projects.

The Euroregion Niemen encompasses the border regions of Poland (parts of the Podlasie and Warmia and Mazury voivodships), Lithuania (the districts of Alytus, Mariambole and Vilnius), Belarus (the district of Grodno) and parts of the Kaliningrad District (the regions of Chernyakhovsk, Gusev, Krasnoznamensk, Nesterov and Osersk). Operating within the region is the Niemen Euroregional Association (Stowarzyszenie Euroregion Niemen), with its seat in Suwałki, bringing together 29 local governments, including the following communes of the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship: Banie Mazurskie, Goldap, Kowale Oleckie, Olecko and the district (powiat) of Elt.

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1. Examples of 1st edition projects participated in by Russians include „The Open Canoeing Regatta” during the Elblag Days (beneficiary: the Polonia Sports Club in Elblag, partners: The Kaliningrad Sports Club and The Vetrungs Sports School in Klaipeda); realized by the Elblag City Hall; „International Ecological Camp for Secondary School Youth from Baltic Sea States” (partners: the Administration of Kaliningrad and Baltiysk, the Administration of the district of Klaipeda); “Small and Medium-sized Business Days” (partners: the Administration of Kaliningrad and the town of Ronneby); „Cultural Meetings of Baltic Cities” held in Elblag (partners: the Administration of Kaliningrad, the district of Klaipeda), Special attention should be given to the Dr. A. Gabrysiak Saint Jerzy Hospice project “Palliative or Hospice Care during Cancer” carried out by Caritas West from Kaliningrad and involving a training workshop on palliative care with the participation of Russian doctors.


3. The administrative costs of the programme amounted to 5% of the total available sum (15 000 euros) with 285 000 euros available to applicants. The maximum subsidy amount was set at 10 000 euros, as during the 1st edition.


6. Examples of 2nd edition projects carried out in 2001 with the participation of Russians include: "Women in Democratic Society" (the "Common Knowledge" Educational Association in Gdańsk and the "Enterprising Woman" Social Organization in Kaliningrad), including seminars and study visits. The Euroregion Baltic Small Projects Fund also financed regularly occurring events such as the "International Days of the City of Bartoszyce" (local government authorities of Bartoszyce, Bagrationovsk and Pionerskii), see section 5.3.3.

7. The more interesting projects included: projects carried out by the Common Association of Lagoon Communes (see section 5.3.3); "The Inter-Commune Association’s Economic Mission: The Malbork — Satum — Kaliningrad Investment Park. The Road to Mutual Cooperation" (local government of Malbork and the Kaliningrad Chamber of Industry and Trade).

8. This was particularly important given the poor quality of information flow between Kaliningrad organizations. It turned out that the Russian Baltic Euroregional Secretariat had no data on cross-border projects executed in the euroregion. The data sent to Baltiysk during the edition only included data on small projects co-executed with Russian partners.

9. Formerly the Association of Polish Local Governments of the Euroregion Niemen (until the 17th of October, 2003).
The Russian share in projects carried out by the euroregion is not significant, which is partly due to the short period of the Russian regions’ activity within the structure (since 2002). There are two projects being carried out in cooperation with Russian partners at the moment: the “Across the Boundary” project (the Museum of Folk Culture in Węgorzewo) and “Lichen Protection on Protected Territories of the Euroregion Niemen” (the “Man and the Environment” Association – Stowarzyszenie “Człowiek i Przyroda” – in Suwałki). Previous projects extending into Kaliningrad (even though Kaliningrad partners were not officially mentioned as project partners) included the first edition of the Godąp Transborder Encounters (Foundation for the Development of the Godąp Region) or the “Regional Cross-Border Cooperation between Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and the Russian Federation in the Context of European Integration — Legal and Organizational Study” (project carried out by the Association of Polish Local Governments of the Euroregion Niemen).  

Another example of bilateral cooperation is the Euroregion Lyna-Lava, still in its preparatory phase. The Association of Border Region Governments of the Euroregion Lyna-Lava, with its seat in Bartoszyce, was registered on the 4th of September, 2003. On the Kaliningrad side, the administrative governments of Bagrationovsk, Gusev, Osersk, Pravdinsk and the city of Mamonovo joined the association. The region of Nesterov also plans on joining. The Polish side is represented by the districts (powiat) of Bartoszyce, Braniewo, Elblag, Godąp, Góżycko, Kętrzyn, Lidzbark Warmiński, Olecko, Olsztyn and Węgorzewo. The association will administer the implementation of EU-funded joint projects dealing with transport, communication, public security, ecology, culture and unemployment.

There are plans to create another euroregional structure — the Euroregion Sesupe, encompassing the Russian borderland (among other areas). The projected euroregion will encompass the border territories of Poland (the communes of Godąp and Kowale Oleckie have already submitted an accession proposal), Lithuania, Sweden, and the Kaliningrad District.

Poland participates in the said euroregions through specially created communal associations bringing together actors interested in cross-border cooperation. This is connected with certain expenses, for example paying membership fees, but it also opens up the perspective of enormous benefits. One such benefit is the possibility of getting EU funds for local projects. Yet, it must be kept in mind that the projects have to involve at least one major foreign partner from the euroregion. This makes it necessary to establish cross-border contacts, which could include contacts with the neighbouring Kaliningrad District.

It is difficult to make a clear-cut assessment of Russian participation in cross-border projects. There are projects in which the Russian partner takes on some duties and cooperates with the Polish grant applicant (project initiator), but there are others in which Russian input is limited to passive participation, for example in common meetings. There are many factors bearing upon Russian participation. Insufficient involvement is often the result of insufficient funds. Another cause is the grant applicants’ frequent treatment of the SPF as a source of funding for their own activities, which often only involve cross-border cooperation to a marginal degree. Inviting a Kaliningrad partner to participate in one’s project is often only a way to fulfil the formal requirements set by the SPF.

By regulating the flow of information and redistributing EU funds the euroregions exert pressure on Polish local governments to search for partners abroad. They thus play an important role in stimulating cross-border cooperation. Moreover, the euroregional structure enables local administrative employees to gain experience in applying for EU grants and programming EU aid. Small euroregional projects especially, contribute to the strengthening of contacts and the formation of lasting relationships between international partners in border regions.

5. The Cross-Border Cooperation

Activities of the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship

5.1 The Administrative Units of the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship

The Warmia and Mazury Voivodship is divided into 116 communes — Pol. gmina (16 urban, 33 urban-rural and 67 rural communes), 19 rural districts — Pol. powiat, and 2 cities with a district status (Olsztyn and Elbląg). The districts include the following communes:

1. the district of Bartoszyce: Bartoszyce [u], Górowo Iławeckie [u]; Biskupin [u-r], Sępólno [u-r], Bartoszyce [r], Górowo Iławeckie [r];
2. the district of Braniewo: Braniewo [u]; Frombork [u-r], Pieniężno [u-r], Braniewo [r], Lelkowo [r], Płoskinia [r], Wilczęta [r];

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60 See Chapter IV.
61 The latter has led to the publication of J. Szymański. The Legal Basis of Polish Transborder and Regional Cooperation with its Eastern Neighbours published by the Association of Polish Local Governments of the Euroregion Niemen.
62 For example, the membership fee in the Association of Polish Communes, Euroregion Baltic was 0.15 PLN per every member of a commune in 2003. The 2004 membership fee is to be 0.18 PLN per inhabitant.
63 As of 2003.
3. the district of Działdowo: Działdowo [u]; Lidzbark [u-r]; Działdowo [r], Płośnica [r], Rybno [r];
4. the district of Elbląg: Młynary [u-r], Pastęk [u-r], Tolkmicko [u-r]; Elbląg [r], Godkowo [r], Gronowo Elbląskie [r], Markusy [r], Milejewo [r], Rychliki [r];
5. the district of Elt: Elt [u]; Elt [r], Kalinowo [r], Prostki [r], Stare Juchy [r];
6. the district of Góra: Góra [u]; Góra [r], Kruklanki [r], Miłki [r], Wydminy [r];
7. the district of Golgota: Golgota [u-r]; Barciany [r], Góra [r], Srokowo [r];
8. the district of Iława: Iława [u], Lubawa [u]; Kiszolice [u-r], Susz [u-r], Zalewo [u-r]; Iława [r], Lubawa [r];
9. the district of Kętrzyn: Kętrzyn [u]; Korsze [u-r], Reszel [u-r]; Barciany [r], Kętrzyn [r], Srokowo [r];
10. the district of Lidzbarski Warmiński: Lidzbarski Warmiński [u]; Orneta [u-r]; Kivity [r], Lidzbarski Warmiński [r], Lubomino [r];
11. the district of Mrągowo: Mrągowo [u]; Mikołajki [u-r]; Mrągowo [r], Piecki [r], Sorkwity [r];
12. the district of Nidzica: Nidzica [u-r]; Janowiec Kościelny [r], Janowo [r], Kozłowo [r];
13. the district of Nowe Miasto Lubawskie: Nowe Miasto Lubawskie [u]; Biskupiec [r], Grodziczn [r], Kurzętnik [r], Nowe Miasto Lubawskie [r];
14. the district of Olecko: Olecko [u-r], Kowale Oleckie [r], Świętojary [r], Wieliczki [r];
15. the district of Olsztyn: Barczewo[u-r], Biskupiec [u-r], Dobre Miasto [u-r], Jeziory [u-r], Olsztyn [u-r]; Dywity [r], Gietrzwałd [r], Jonkowo [r], Kolno [r], Purda [r], Szymbark [r];
16. the district of Ostróda: Ostróda [u]; Miłakowo [u-r], Miłomliny [u-r], Morąg [u-r]; Dąbrowno [r], Gruwald [r], Łukta [r], Małdyty [r], Ostróda [r];
17. the district of Pisz: Biała-Piska [u-r], Orzysz [u-r], Pisz [u-r], Ruciane-Nida [u-r];
18. the district of Szczytno: Szczytno [u]; Pasym [u-r]; Dźwierzuty [r], Jedwabno [r], Rozogi [r], Szczytno [r], Świętojary [r], Wielbark [r];
19. the district of Węgorzewo: Węgorzewo [u-r]; Budry [r], Pozedzdrze [r].

5.2. Cross-Border Cooperation at the Regional Level

5.2.1 Cooperation by the Voivod
Anna Gojło

For over 50 years (since 1989), due to its military character, the Kaliningrad District was hardly visited by foreigners. The first diplomatic visits by delegations from the District and the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship took place in 1956. After the increase of the number of voivodships in Poland, the District also established
contacts with the Elbląg Voivodship (in 1975). The Socialist Russian Republic of Lithuania was a partner of the Suwałki Voivodship. Cross-border cooperation at the time included the exchange of political delegations, youth groups, athletes and cultural ensembles on the occasion of Russian and Polish national holiday celebrations. It was only political and economic transformation in the two countries that led to change in the character of cross-border cooperation.

New legal foundations for cross-border cooperation at the regional level began to be laid in 1991. The first interregional document, signed in Karlskrona in June 1991, was the "Protocol of Intent with regard to Cooperation between the Kaliningrad District, the Elbląg Voivodship and the Province of Blekinge (Sweden)". It was thanks to the initiative of J. K. Oberg, the Swedish ambassador to Poland, that the protocol was signed. It mentioned cooperation on re-building the Kaliningrad — Elbląg route (the so-called "Berlinka"), organizing the Karlskrona — Gdynia — Kaliningrad ferry line as well as ecological projects in the Baltic Sea region. The document was signed by the President of the District Executive Committee — J. Matotchkin, the Voivod of the Elbląg Voivodship — Z. Olszewski, and the Vice-Governor of Blekinge — S. Ingemarsson. Some time after, J. Matotchkin, by then the head of the Kaliningrad District Administration, signed agreements on cooperation with the voivods of Olsztyn (5th of November, 1991), Elbląg (8th of January, 1992) and Suwałki (5th of February, 1992). The greatest achievement of the voivodships at the time was developing the border infrastructure and, what is of equal importance, establishing close contacts (often of a personal nature) with the Kaliningrad authorities. Even now, the relations established then play a significant role in Polish-Russian cross-border cooperation.

The conditions of cross-border cooperation at the regional level changed with the Polish administrative reform of 1999. The biggest change is that since then the southern border of the Kaliningrad District has been shared almost entirely with the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship (a 2 kilometer border along the Vistula Spit belongs to Pomerania). An important problem that emerged after the reform had to do with determining what political organ should be in charge of international cooperation and if the previously signed agreements were still binding.

According to the current legal statute, any type of foreign cooperation is dependent mainly on the government of a voivodship. However, there are still fields of cooperation that depend mainly on the voivod. These include anything to do with the forces the voivod is in charge of (the police or fire brigades, for example), managing border infrastructure (the "Strategy for the Integrated Management of Borders" of 2000 lists managing border checkpoints as one of the voivod’s duties).

Two separate agreements have been signed, regulating cross-border cooperation by the voivod and by the government of a voivodship. These are:

- the "Agreement on Cooperation between the Voivod of the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship and the Administration of the Kaliningrad District of the Russian Federation", signed on the 19th of September, 2001, which regulates cooperation with regard to checkpoints, security, border and customs services, police and natural disasters prevention.

- the "Agreement on Cooperation between the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship of the Republic of Poland and the Administration of the Kaliningrad District of the Russian Federation", signed on the 19th of September, 2001, which lists additional areas of cooperation, including the economy, culture and social welfare.

Moreover, the "Agreement between the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship Assembly and the Kaliningrad District Duma" was signed on the 9th of April, 2002. The agreement elaborates on the scope of cooperation with regard to the economy, culture, and social welfare.

Under the new agreements, activities related to the development and modernization of border checkpoints and checkpoint access roads became the main duty of the Warmia and Mazury voivod. In 1999, the office of the voivod submitted its first project — "Organization and Adaptation of Border and Customs Services and Infrastructure at the Bezledy — Bagrationovsk Border Checkpoint" to the Phare Credo Programme. The project brought attention to the need to adapt the checkpoint to European Union standards. Due to the slow speed of customs processing at the border it was necessary to lengthen the access road. The project was approved by the European Commission and implemented in 2000. The total value of the project was 375 900 euros\(^{20}\). Within the framework of the project, customs officers, veterinary and fitosanitary staff were trained, an information centre was created, a second lane was added to the state road no. 51, where it connected with the checkpoint road, additional lighting and vertical and horizontal signs were installed.

The years 2001-2002 saw work on the preparation of the technical documentation for the enlargement of the veterinary and fitosanitary control unit at Bezledy — Bagrationovsk. The enlargement was carried out between 2002 and 2003. In accordance with decisions made with the EU, Bezledy-Bagrationovsk is to be the only checkpoint on the Russian border with its own veterinary and fitosanitary control unit.

\(^{20}\) 79% of the cost was covered by a Phare CREDO Programme subsidy (295 500 euros) and 21% from the applicant’s own funds (80 400 euros).
Cooperative work in connection with the functioning, modernization and enlargement of checkpoints was also carried out at the Gołdap — Gusev border checkpoint. Upon the completion of preparatory work, the authorities applied for a subsidy to the Phare Social and Economic Cohesion Programme. There were simultaneous negotiations going on with the Russian side to change the status of the checkpoint to that of an international, 24-hour one, allowing for traffic of trucks with a total mass of up to 3.5 tons. The goal was reached and the talks concluded on the 4th of January, 2002. Permission was also given for trucks with a total mass of up to 7.5 tons as well as cruise and tourist buses on the 8th of August, 2002. The expansion of the checkpoint was mentioned in the "Strategy for the Integrated Management of Borders" for the years 2000-2002 as well as 2003-2005. Allowing for truck traffic through the checkpoint entails building a Gołdap bypass and rebuilding the checkpoint access roads. Part of the investment will be financed by the EU — the tender documentation was still being negotiated with representatives of the European Commission in September 2003.

In June 2003, an agreement concerning the modernization of roads and the construction of border checkpoints to facilitate transit between Kaliningrad and Elbląg was signed by the government of the Republic of Poland and the government of the Russian Federation. The agreement is an addendum to the agreement on checkpoints made by the Polish and Russian governments on the 22nd of May, 1992, and anticipates the opening of a checkpoint in 2005.

The renovation of three bridges and a viaduct giving access to the checkpoint access road was completed in 2003 (along the Elbląg — Grzechotki — state border route). There are plans to begin rebuilding the road in 2004 (construction to end in 2005). Adaptation of the road to expressway requirements is to take place in 2006.

The necessary documentation, land and permission to build have already been given for the Grzechotki — Mamonowo II checkpoint. The project will be subsidized from EU funds. Tender negotiations with the European Commission were still in progress in 2003.

On the Russian side, the customs department is responsible for border infrastructure — it is thus the counterpart and partner of the Polish voivod. There are many obstacles to working out a conception for the synchronized development of border checkpoints. Russian and Polish customs authorities frequently meet to discuss the needs of individual checkpoints and the investment plans of foreign investors. The information is then passed on to the voivodship office.

Apart from managing the border infrastructure, the main border-relevant duties of the voivod have to do with the management of security and other types of forces, in particular crisis management forces. Cooperation in this respect involves organizing regular work meetings (several meetings per year), negotiating agreements on mutual assistance and informing the partner about emergency situations.

Cooperation between the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship police and the Internal Affairs Office of the Kaliningrad District has led to the reduction of crime in the border areas. The "Border 2001" operation, carried out simultaneously in Warmia and Mazury and Kaliningrad, is an example of their cooperation.

The Warmia and Mazury voivod's involvement in cooperation with the Kaliningrad District is also reflected in the work of the Polish-Russian Council for Cooperation between the Northern Regions of the Republic of Poland and the Kaliningrad District (the voivod presides over the council's committee for finance, industry and trade). In recent years, the committee has focussed on creating the Polish House in Kaliningrad (bringing together representatives of Polish production and trade companies). Other topics the committee has dealt with included starting up a wholesale food trade with the city of Kaliningrad, cooperation between food processing companies, the improvement of banking services, etc.

Moreover, the voivod contributes to the work of the Polish-Russian Joint Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation, participates in government delegations to Kaliningrad and in the discussions of the Russian Chamber of Industry and Trade.

In discussing the cross-border cooperation activities of the voivod, one should also bring attention to the Voivodship Agricultural Advisory Centre (a budgetary unit subordinated to the voivod). The centre began to cooperate with Russian partners in 1994 and has organized practical training sessions, seminars and fairs. It also mediates between entrepreneurs. From 2000 to 2001 the centre trained 60 people from Kaliningrad in agro-tourism and the structure of agricultural advisory organizations. At the same time, forty more Russians from Kaliningrad visited the "Agricultural A-Z" ("Wszystko dla rolnictwa") fair organized by the centre.

Cooperation between the Warmia and Mazury voivod and the Kaliningrad District Administration takes place

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24 The European Commission confirmed granting 2 million euros under the Phare 2002 Programme.
22 6.5 million euros were granted by the European Commission under the Phare 2002 Programme. A 5 million euro project has also been submitted within the Phare 2003 Programme.
23 See section 5.2.3.
24 The committee has recently mainly worked on preparing a Polish-Russian airline agreement, including the launching of a Kaliningrad — Warsaw airline.
within the framework of existing agreements, but the cooperation priorities are often dictated by the political situation. Currently, problems connected with Poland's accession to the EU are of particular importance.

5.2.2. Cooperation by Services Subordinated to the State Administration

Cross-border cooperation is also carried on by border and customs services that are not subordinated to the voivod but function as part of the state administration (so-called unaffiliated forces).

The Warmia and Mazury Border Guard Unit (Warmińsko-Mazurski Oddział Straży Granicznej) cooperates with its Russian counterpart in protecting the state border through the institution of the Border Commissioner. The institution of the commissioner goes as far back as the "Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of Poland and the Government of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics on Legal Relations along the Polish-Soviet State Border, Cooperation and Mutual Aid with regard to Border Affairs", signed on the 15th of February, 1961. In accordance with the agreement, the governments of the two countries appoint border commissioners as well as their deputies. The posts are held by the commanding officers of each country's border guard (in Poland, by the Commanding Officer of the Warmia and Mazury Border Guard Unit).

The border commissioner's duty is to solve problems connected with:
- opening gun-fire across the border,
- murders, injuries and other types of health damage resulting from cross-border action,
- illegal crossing of the border by unauthorized persons, ships or aircraft,
- damage of border signs and equipment,
- theft, destruction or damage of border property,
- the spreading of fire to the other side of the border.

The Commissioners hold common cross-border meetings and exchange information via post and telephone.

The 1961 agreement was supplemented by the "Agreement between the Border Guard of the Republic of Poland and the Border Military Units of the Russian Federation on Cooperation in Protecting the Common State Border and Controlling Border Traffic". The document authorizes the Commanding Officer of the Border Guard Unit to cooperate in protecting the so-called "green border" and in controlling cross-border traffic. The purpose of cooperation is to ensure the fluidity of border traffic, prevent illegal migration to Poland, put a stop to drug, weapons, ammunition, and explosives trade as well as large-scale trafficking. Moreover, both sides cooperate in identifying people suspected of having a connection with terrorism.

Cooperation between the Customs Chamber (Izba Celna) in Olsztyn and the Customs Office in Kaliningrad was established six years ago. Contacts were initially rare but they intensified after 2001.

According to the agreement regulating cooperation between customs services, the director of the Olsztyn Customs Chamber and the head of the Customs Office in Kaliningrad are to meet at least twice a year. Moreover, the director of the Customs Chamber in Olsztyn nominates a delegate who is to meet with his analogue at the customs service of Kaliningrad at least once a month. The heads of the customs offices in Olsztyn, Elbląg and Elt and are also subject to this requirement (meeting with their Kaliningrad analogues once a month). Meetings take place at least once a week on the level of border checkpoints.

Apart from the regular meetings, meetings are also called in emergencies. One such meeting was called when a long queue of trucks had formed on the Polish side. The traffic jam was eliminated when the Russians brought in extra employees on request from the Polish customs service. Other meeting topics include presenting the state of progress on the construction of checkpoints, new customs control equipment or information systems in use at checkpoints. Information on new crossing regulations and customs control is also presented (including information on standard procedures and document formats). There are also common training sessions organized for the customs officers of both countries.

Cooperation between the Customs Chamber in Olsztyn and the Customs Office and Operational Customs Office in Kaliningrad also includes border crime prevention. Both sides exchange information from their records, including data on cases of trafficking and breaking customs regulations (such as crossing the border on forged documents, etc.). When the information concerns illegal traffic, emphasis is placed on goods such as weapons, narcotics, amber, excise tax products and works with copyrights (every instance of intercepting these is reported to the other side).

5.2.3 Cooperation by the Voivodship Government

Ewa Kulesza

The activities of voivodship governments with regard to cross-border cooperation can be grouped as follows:
- participation by members of the voivodship government and employees of the Marshal’s Office in Olsztyn in the work of the Polish-Russian Council for Cooperation between the Northern Regions of the Republic of Poland and the Kaliningrad District (mainly in the committees for agriculture and food processing, culture, education, health, sports and tourism, employment and social policy);

participation in business fairs and conferences for entrepreneurs interested in the Kaliningrad market (for example the 10th Baltic Economic Forum, held on the 21st of February 2002, and the Eastern Markets Economic Forum, held on the 26th-28th of February, 2003 in Mikolajki; annual fairs in Kaliningrad, for example POLEXPORT);

participation in the activities of the Euroregion Baltic;

sharing experiences with regard to social policy ("Social Aid for the Elderly and Handicapped" — common conference held on the 26th-30th of May, 2003);

organization of "Kaliningrad Days" in the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship (planned for September 2003);

co-organization of events planned by commune governments (canoeing trip organized with the commune of Sępopol, the "Goldap — Gusev" semi-marathon and the Goldap Cross-Border Encounters co-organized with Goldap);

other activities, including support during the creation of the Polish House in Kaliningrad (the company was registered on the 13th of November, 2002).

In addition to the above activities, the voivodship authorities cooperate with the representative of the Kaliningrad District in Poland (several meetings every month) and host delegations from the enclave. The District Representative's Office in Olsztyn is the only office of its kind in Poland. It was officially opened by the Governor of Kaliningrad and the Marshal of the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship on the 18th of April, 2001. The Marshal's Office is in constant touch with the Consul General of the Republic of Poland in Kaliningrad.

The government of the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship together with the Kaliningrad District and the Swedish province of Halland carried out a project entitled "Services Devoted to the Protection of Historical Monuments within the EU Enlargement Process — Improving the Quality of Local and Regional Administrations", to which the government of Sweden contributed 5 900 000 Swedish crowns. The project was addressed to local and regional authorities responsible for the protection of historical monuments, and included specialist workshops. Trilateral cooperation was also initiated by the authorities of the Danish county of Bornholm.

TheWarmia and Mazury Regional Development Agency (Warmińsko-Mazurska Agencja Rozwoju Regionalnego) should also be mentioned in connection with cooperation by the voivodship. The agency is a joint-stock company whose main shareholder is the voivodship government. In November 2001, during a promotion campaign for the voivodship and the Kaliningrad District, the agency organized a two-day conference for small and medium enterprises from Warmia and Mazury, Kaliningrad and Lithuania. The conference, entitled "Cooperation between Small and Medium-Sized Firms in the Border Regions of Poland, Russia and Lithuania as a Development Opportunity", took place in Osieka near Bartoszyce. Fifty entrepreneurs attended. Conference materials were published. The Warmia and Mazury Local Development Agency also organizes economic missions to the Kaliningrad District.

Prior to 1999, cross-border cooperation at the regional level was carried on by the voivods. It was often stressed by experts at the time that a voivod, as the regional representative of the federal government, lacked the legal and economic instruments necessary to the conduct of regional and cross-border politics. The voivodship government was considered to be the rightful subject of cooperation. It was for this reason that during the preparatory phase of the administrative reform of 1999 it was decided that the priorities of cross-border cooperation should be set by the voivodship assembly (Act on Voivodship Government, passed on the 5th of June, 1998).

The reformers of 1999 wanted the role of the voivodship government to be different from that of communal and district governments. The voivodship government was to carry out a limited number of administrative tasks, focussing instead on activities linked to organization and promotion. However, the details of the new territorial government system were never really completely worked out. As a result, structures within the new territorial government system are operating under very difficult conditions and cannot fully fulfil their goals. One of the major problems is that after the introduction of voivodship and district governments, a reorganization of the central administration was not carried out in spite of the fact that its responsibilities had been significantly cut.
This gives rise to conflict over responsibilities between the voivodship and the marshals' offices and sometimes even leads to competition (with each of the competing offices claiming to be "more important"). Moreover, a reform of public finances has not been carried out. Such a reform is urgently needed so that stable material support can be given to the activities of local (voivodship and district) governments. Financial security is the very basis of the idea of local government. There can be no local government without property and a tax income. All of the above shortcomings of the administrative reform have influence on cross-border cooperation.

In spite of the legislators' intention for the voivodship governments to play the leading role in cross-border cooperation, it is the voivod that acts as the main cooperation partner in Warmia and Mazury. The voivod administers border checkpoints, and they are currently the most important cross-border cooperation issue between Poland and Russia. The management of public forces (the police, fire brigades, etc.) is also the voivod’s domain. The very nature of these forces makes it necessary for them to cooperate with their Kaliningrad analogues. The Warmia and Mazury voivod also carries out duties that should belong to the Marshal. He is the head of the finance, industry and trade committee within the Polish-Russian Council for Cooperation between the Northern Regions of the Republic of Poland and the Kaliningrad District, which means that he is responsible for economic matters. Yet cross-border cooperation at the regional level is part of the regional development policy and should be the domain of the voivodship assembly. The Marshal on the other hand, is officially responsible for organization and promotion. The Marshal's legal power however is not sufficient to carry out the tasks that are officially attached to his post. He frequently merely oversees and lends his patronage to events organized in the region.

5.3 Local Cooperation

5.3.1 Cooperation by District (Powiat)

Governments

Wojciech T. Modzelewski

Cross-border contacts are both strengthened and stimulated by legal and organizational regulations. The Act on District Government, passed on the 5th of June, 1998 (text contained in the 2001 Journal of Legal Regulations (Dziennik Ustaw), No. 142, position 1592) lays down the rules for cooperating with local groups in other countries as well as the conditions under which district governments can join international associations. District governments carry out public duties (as specified by the relevant acts) related to education, health, social welfare, transport and public roads, culture and the protection of cultural heritage, physical education and tourism, environmental protection, etc. All of these activities can serve as a potential ground for cooperation with foreign partners. Cooperation may be established by smaller units subordinated to the districts, such as fire brigades, secondary schools, museums, employment offices, family aid centres, tourist information centres, or district sanitation and epidemiological stations.

Current contacts between institutions in the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship and the Kaliningrad District are all fairly recent. Only five years have passed since the administrative reform of 1999 and this is too short a time for significant forms of cooperation to have evolved. It should also be added that the districts of Węgorzewo, Goldap, Olecko and Gżycko have only existed in their present form for the last three years.

What then is the present state of cooperation?

The information in table 1 comes from a 2003 survey study encompassing all of the districts in the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship. Information from secondary and source materials has also been included. Information from a standard survey distributed to district governors (starosta) or their deputies as well as representatives of the cities of Elbląg and Olsztyn responsible for contacts with Kaliningrad, has also been used. The standard survey was distributed in all the districts that had made any sort of contact with Russian partners. The questions mainly dealt with the reasons for making contact, the scope of the established cooperation, obstacles on the Polish as well as the Russian side and ways in which they have been (or could be) overcome. The survey participants were asked about the present and anticipated benefits of cooperation as well as cooperation perspectives after Poland's accession to the EU. All of the surveys were carried out at the same time to ensure the commensurability of results.

Eleven out of twenty-one districts had made contact with partners in the Kaliningrad District (Table 1). Out of nineteen rural districts, nine had begun cooperating, but only four (Bartoszyce, Lidzbark Warmiński, Węgorzewo and Ostróda) had signed bilateral agreements. The district of Kętrzyn had signed a letter of intent. Olsztyn and Elbląg had also signed agreements.

Informal cooperation without any type of formal agreement was declared by the districts of Braniewo, Goldap, Gżycko, Kętrzyn and Olsztyn. Działdowo, Iława, Mrągowo, Nidzica, Pisz and Szczytno had had no contacts with Kaliningrad (which may be attributed to the fact that they do not border it). Most of them however are willing to cooperate with local governments in the Kaliningrad District in the future.

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25 The income of the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship government amounted to 172 600 000 PLN in 2001. 11% of this sum came from its own revenues. By comparison, the income of Olsztyn (the city has the rights of a district) amounted to 349 500 000 PLN.
Ten of the Warmia and Mazury districts belong to the (Polish-Russian) Association of the Border Governments of the Euroregion Lyna-Lawa (Stowarzyszenie Samorządów Przygranicznych Euroregionu Lyna-Lawa) — see Table 1. Elbląg and Olsztyn as well as the districts of Elbląg and Nowe Miasto are part of the Association of Polish Communes, Euroregion Baltic. The district of Elt belongs to the Association of Polish Local Governments of the Euroregion Niemen (Stowarzyszenie Samorządów Polskich Euroregionu Niemen).

The cooperation partners of ten out of eleven Polish districts have been listed in Table 1 (the district of Ostróda did not provide information on the subject).

The district of Bartoszyce, situated along the border with Kaliningrad, established contacts with the Kaliningrad authorities right after its creation. Common meetings took place, for instance during the International Days of the Region of Bartoszyce and the International Borderland Fair, co-organized by the district. The meetings led to the signing of an agreement on free and mutual cooperation with the city and region of Bagrationovsk on the 16th of February, 2001. The purpose of cooperation was declared as "ensuring sustainable economic development and improving the standard of
living on both sides of the border". The agreement anticipates the sharing of experiences, not only with regard to economic development and social affairs but also to the functioning of the local administration and public services.

Cooperation has led to many different types of action. The Community Centre of Bartoszyce together with the cultural centres of Bagrationovsk and Pionerskiy have organized visits by art groups and art shows. Cooperation between the Bartoszyce Youth Cultural Centre and the Music Society of Kaliningrad has resulted in the hiring of Russian instructors to teach music workshops. There is also cooperation between libraries, social aid centres, schools and youth scout organizations. Common youth camps and campaigns (such as the "Youth Against Drugs" event organized in Pionerskiy in January 2002) have also been organized. New areas of cross-border cooperation such as cooperation between children's homes, hospitals and non-governmental organizations, are being sought for. Representatives of Kaliningrad NGOs have already participated in a training workshop on the functioning and new developments in the NGO sector in Poland, organized by the NGO Support Centre in Bartoszyce.

The district also hopes to intensify contacts in the economic sphere. In March 2002, an international conference on the economic dimension of cross-border cooperation in the context of Poland's accession to the EU was held in Osieka. For some years now, there has also been talk of using the wide-track railway connecting Bartoszyce with Kaliningrad to transport goods. In spite of efforts made by local authorities (including the district authorities), the idea has not been put into practice.

Opening the Stopki — Bardo Ostre acqua border crossing on the Łyna River is another interesting initiative (still under discussion). In order to promote the idea, the 1st International Canoeing Trip — "Brought Together by the Łyna", was organized in September 2001. Participants included representatives of commune, district and voivodship governments. The event attracted massive attention from the media. A new water crossing in the district would intensify mutual contacts and, in this particular case, constitute a tourist attraction.

The authorities of the district of Braniewo established contacts with the local governments of the Kaliningrad District with the help of the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Kaliningrad. The annual "Border Encounters" National Minorities Festival in Głębock and annual dożynki (harvest festivals) provided the opportunity for groups and delegations from the District to come to Poland. The events were co-organized and co-financed by the district. In 2002, the Braniewo International Education Centre was co-created with the help of Russian partners. The centre is an administrative unit of the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn. The Baltic Research Centre from Frombork (an initiative of the non-public Humanities Academy in Pultusk) was created in a similar way.

Meetings with representatives of the city of Svetliy in 1999 (having to do with the promotion of Braniewo's businesses) led to visits to Svetliy by Polish entrepreneurs. The authorities of Braniewo and the region of Bagrationovsk are also in an initial phase of talks about signing a partnership and cooperation agreement.

The district of Giżycko established an informal cooperation (in the spheres of education and tourism) with Kaliningrad in 2002. The Kaliningrad curator of education (with the Polish Consulate General and the authorities of the district of Giżycko acting as his intermediaries) invited students from Giżycko schools to Kaliningrad on two occasions. Then in February 2003 Russian students from school no. 40 in Kaliningrad enrolled in Polish classes re-visited Poland and participated in the "Winter Siege of the Fortress of Boyen" (recreational event). Education representatives as well as representatives of tourist firms from Kaliningrad visited the district of Giżycko on the occasion of National Education Day and the "Fortresses as a Tourist Attraction" international conference (co-organized by the district of Giżycko). During both of the events the participants took part in meetings and shared their experiences with the employees of the District School and Educational Institutions Service (Powiatowy zespół obsługi szkół i placówek oświatowych).

The authorities of the district of Godtap informally cooperate with the regions of Ozersk and Gusev. The district, together with the Municipal Cultural Centre in Banie Mazurskie organized the First Godtap — Ozersk International Bicycle Rally in September 2003. The rally participants also took part in parallel events at the Ozersk Days festival. Representatives of Ozersk and the region of Gusev participated in the commune's dożynki (harvest festival) in Banie Mazurskie. The district of Godtap also co-organizes and co-finances the cyclical "Goldap Cross-Border Encounters". There is also cooperation between the local fire brigade and the emergency services of Kaliningrad, including efforts to create a common information system for the territory of the Romincka Forest.

The Goldap-Gusev border checkpoint as well as the Suwałki Special Economic Zone (part of which overlaps...
Chapter II | Polish-Russian Cross-Border Cooperation

with the district) are seen as major factors that could contribute to the economic growth of the region and increase tourist flow. Private buses run daily from Goldberg to Gusev (a connection reactivated in 2003), which is very conducive to both business and tourism.

Cooperation between the district of Kętrzyn and Russia began in January 2001 with visits to Kętrzyn by the authorities of Kaliningrad, Pravdinsk and Bagrationovsk. Representatives of the district and the folk group "Reszelanie" participated in the Days of Pravdinsk, Bagrationovsk and Zelznodrozhnyi. In July 2001, a letter of intent on cooperation between the district of Kętrzyn and the region of Pravdinsk was signed (an official agreement has not been signed). Common activities focus on lobbying to open the Michalkowo — Zelznodrozhnyi border checkpoint (a protest group composed of district representatives used the crossing to pass into Russia in 2001, which attracted widespread attention from the media). A bicycle race — the Kętrzyn — Pravdinsk International Bicycle Rally for the Consul General's Cup — was organized in 2002. In August 2002, a cross-border fishing competition ("Pike Day") took place in Pravdinsk. The Polish Consulate General in Kaliningrad also hosted a presentation of companies from Kętrzyn during its Polish Culture Day. The consulate organized visits to Poland and Russia for Polish and Russian journalists and travel agents. A film crew from Kaliningrad also visited the districts of Kętrzyn, Węgorzewo and Giżycko while gathering materials for a documentary feature on Warmia and Mazury.

The district authorities of Kętrzyn have also organized Polish-Russian events such as tree planting on Earth Day, a seminar on the cooperation of emergency (fire, etc.) services, cross-border emergency intervention drills — "Kotki 2002" (in cooperation with the district of Węgorzewo). Plans for 2004 include organizing an international ice-fishing competition in Pravdinsk, an international outdoor drawing session in Kętrzyn and regulating rivers flowing through the district of Kętrzyn and the region of Pravdinsk.

The district of Lidzbark Warmiński was the first to establish cooperation with a Russian partner, signing an agreement with the region of Bagrationovsk on the 20th of July, 2000. Representatives of the local institutions participate in common events such as the Lidzbark Warmiński Days or the Bagrationovsk Days. The district participates in the organization of annual research conferences and seminars on economic cooperation on both sides of the border. These have included: a meeting between entrepreneurs from both countries, organized in September 2001, and the International Conference on Cross-Border Cooperation between Lidzbark Warmiński and Kaliningrad, held in October 2002. The focus of these events was local business, legal regulations and business development possibilities in the border regions. Russian guests were also invited to participate in study visits to some of the companies in the district. Two exhibits of works by Russians artists were organized at the Lidzbark castle (in cooperation with the Lidzbark Youth Cultural Centre). Visits by art ensembles and sports teams as well as international outdoor art workshops are planned. In addition, the authorities have declared that they will finance visits by Polish secondary school teachers to annual historic conferences in Bagrationovsk.

The district of Olsztyn was the first Polish partner to become involved in the "Lyna — Lava River Estuary" project, involving a modern re-management of the basin of the Lyna and Lava rivers. The Lyna river has unique ecological value and importance for the region. The project is a pilot project initiated by Sweden and subsidized by the EU. Its participants include local and regional administrative units responsible for environmental protection, research institutes and NGOs in the Kaliningrad District, the region of Olsztyn and the Swedish region of Halland (with the participation of experts from the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency). The plan for managing the river basin includes creating an ecological database for the region. The project will provide a platform for further cooperation in the field of natural preservation. Adapting Polish and Kaliningrad water management programs to EU standards should also lead to better water management, better water quality and further ecological and economic development in the Lyna river basin. The district of Olsztyn, like the rest of the districts lying along the river, plays the role of a motor and coordinating force in the project, coordinating the activities of experts and other specialists.

The district of Węgorzewo has signed official bilateral agreements with the regions of Ozersk and Chernyakhovsk and maintains informal contacts with the region of Pravdinsk. The district and its Russian partners cooperate in the fields of tourism (hotel and tourist information exchange, common bicycle and hiking rallies, plans to organize canoeing trips on the Węgorapa river), culture (exhibitions, exchanging information on cultural heritage protection), education (summer youth exchanges with language courses, participation of youth from the Kaliningrad District in events organized in the district of Węgorzewo). Russian guests take part in cyclical events co-organized by the Museum of Folk Culture in Węgorzewo, including the International Folklore Fair, the Węgorzewo Rally, the Węgorzewo Days, performances based on folk customs like "Herody" (Herods) and the "Rite of Spring" and the district dożynki (harvest festival).

Great hopes are also attached to the opening of the Mazury Canal (passing through the district and connecting the Mazury Great Lakes region with water systems in

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30 See chapter IV.
Kaliningrad). The authorities of the region of Węgorzewo participated in the creation of the Mazury Canal Fund, promoting the waterway as well as giving it financial and legal backing. Many presentations of the project have been organized, also on the Russian side. Another local objective is the construction of the tourist border checkpoint of Perły (Rudziszki) — Krylovo. Much has been done to support the initiative (also with the district of Giżycko) and the appropriate decision-making organs in Poland and Russia have been approached. Giving construction licenses to firms that will build the future checkpoint is one of the steps that have already been taken.

In 1994 the city of Elbląg signed partnership agreements with the city of Kaliningrad and the city district of Baltiysk (in the latter case, without any common undertakings to date). Cross-border action focusses on two objectives: building the Grzechotki — Mamonovo II border checkpoint and ensuring free traffic on the Vistula Lagoon and through the Strait of Pilava. The existing sea checkpoint in Elbląg allows for tourist traffic with Baltiysk and the city of Kaliningrad, but building a passenger ferry terminal that would service other ports in Europe remains the target.

Cooperation takes place through official visits to the partner city (delegates from Elbląg were present at the Elbląg Days in Kaliningrad, for instance) and regular work meetings of city representatives. Meetings of municipal service employees and cultural and sports associations have also taken place. Both countries have been represented at fairs and exhibitions organized by the cities. At the end of the 90s, the Elbląg Municipal Office carried out a number of cross-border projects with Russian partners (with a subsidy from the Phare Small Projects Fund)²⁳. For some years now, primary school nr. 25 in Elbląg and secondary school nr. 23 in Kaliningrad have been maintaining close contacts. The city of Elbląg is also the founder of the Association of Polish Communes, Euroregion Baltic, which has its seat there²⁴.

The city of Olsztyn established a partnership with the city of Kaliningrad, signing a five-year agreement in 1993 (extended in 1998 and 2003). Representatives of the mayor of Kaliningrad and of the president of Olsztyn were active in the partner cities from 1995 to 2002, coordinating cooperation with respect to government activities, education (contacts with the Mayor’s Education Office in Kaliningrad, leading to school youth exchanges), sports and culture (the “Kaliningrad 2000” photography exhibit in Olsztyn, organized in cooperation with the Municipal Library). In 2002, an agreement was signed by the city of Kaliningrad and the Gothic Castles of Poland Association (presided over by the city of Olsztyn). There are plans to extend the Gothic Castles of Poland tourist route into the territory of Kaliningrad in order to include the District’s castles. The cities also support the activities of local entrepreneurs by making efforts to improve the flow of economic information. The president of Olsztyn patronizes all the fairs held in Olsztyn and promotes them in the Kaliningrad District. The cooperation is based on long-term agreements such as the “Cooperation Programme of the Twin Cities of Kaliningrad and Olsztyn for the years 1999-2002”, signed on the 15th of January, 1999.

An analysis of contacts between the Warmia and Mazury districts and the Kaliningrad District should also mention the role of associations, such as the Association of Polish Districts, the Convention of Districts within the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship, the Association of the Border Governments of the Euregion Lyna-Lava (registered on the 4th of September, 2003, in Bartoszyce) or the Elk — Gołdap — Olecko "EGO" Association of Districts, Cities and Communes (still in the process of being created). These and other associations have been of great help in exchanging information, coordinating common projects and getting funding. Associations also act as equal partners in talks with local as well as the central government.

5.3.2. Cross-border Cooperation by District Governments — A Survey Study
Wojciech T. Modzelewski

The above analysis highlights several areas of Polish-Russian cooperation. Among these are: culture, education, tourism, local administration, transport, infrastructure and the economy. The main task of district government representatives is to initiate and maintain contacts and to represent their district, while on the practical level, the actual cooperation is carried out by other institutions (some of them subordinated to the district). In the majority of cases, cooperation takes place on the basis of oral agreements with Russian partner institutions of the same activity profile. Cooperation involves the sharing of experiences and information, common organization of events and study visits, business visits during local events, etc. The representatives of the presidents of the cities of Olsztyn and Elbląg responsible for contacts with Kaliningrad visit the District several times a month (the post of the representative of the president of Olsztyn was abolished in 2002).

There are two main types of cross-border contacts: institutional and personal or non-formal. Cooperation usually begins with mutual visits, which provide the opportunity to get to know the partner and to “break the ice”, should there be any. The visits also provide the opportunity to articulate mutual expectations and specify the areas cooperation should focus on. A letter

²³ See section 4.
²⁴ See section 4.
of intent can then be signed, which — it should be stressed — does not oblige the parties to any further agreements (indeed, the whole process may be finished at this point). The future now depends largely on the making of the appropriate long-term plan. Such a plan becomes the basis for developing operation programs and selecting the appropriate means and channels of action.

It is important to set aside funds, although research has shown that this is mainly a guideline for the future. When asked about whether they had reserved funds for cross-border cooperation, the majority of districts (9) gave a negative answer and only 4 declared having set aside funds (a very small portion of their promotion and representation budget).

All of the districts taking part in the survey\(^\text{34}\) view cooperation with Russian partners as a chance to speed up their social and economic growth. Forming a positive relationship with the authorities of Kaliningrad gives a good basis to economic relations. Kaliningrad is often seen as a gateway into Russia, which motivates outside firms to invest there. It is also hoped that investment in Kaliningrad (and in the border regions of Poland) will remedy the problem of unemployment, which is one of the major problems faced by local communities (the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship has one of the highest unemployment rates in Poland).

Geographical closeness is favourable to the establishment of neighbourly contacts, which are seen as natural (“one should always cooperate with one's neighbour and seek mutual benefits”). Districts that have border checkpoints (or await the building of one) are also motivated to cooperate with Kaliningrad. This is confirmed by the survey, which shows that all of the districts along the border cooperate with Kaliningrad, while the six districts not involved in cooperation are all located in the southern part of the voivodship.

The activity of district authorities and local political and business circles is also not without importance. Often, contacts established by the people employed by communes [prior to 1999 — trans.] were continued within the structure of the districts after the administrative reform. Contacts are also "naturalized" by participation in common assemblies (for example, in the work committees of the Polish-Russian Council for Cooperation between the Northern Regions of the Republic of Poland and the Kaliningrad District) or eurorregional structures. The majority of districts (11) also mentioned the significance of the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Kaliningrad. Its activities and attitude were described as helpful, favourable, creating a positive atmosphere and encouraging cooperation. The Consulate is seen as an institution promoting and coordinating the activities of Polish actors in the Kaliningrad District. Only two districts did not attribute any type of role in establishing cross-border contacts to the consulate.

When asked about the barriers to cross-border cooperation appearing on the Polish side, eight districts pointed to legal and administrative barriers and lack of financial resources. In second place came barriers like: limited access to information about Russian partners (mainly lack of information about the activity of Russian local governments) and lack of support from the Republic of Poland (7 answers each). The biggest barriers perceived on the Russian side included: legal and administrative obstacles and lack of support for cooperation from the Russian Federation (11 answers each). Lack of financial resources came in second (8 answers).

In sum, there are three major types of barriers to cross-border cooperation: legal and administrative (incoherence of laws, customs barriers, complicated border procedures, etc.), lack of financial resources (including lack of funds for cross-border projects) and insufficient support from state institutions.

The survey participants also pointed to barriers of a psychological nature (lack of openness, negative stereotypes, xenophobia) and did not attach such importance to knowing the neighbour’s language. When asked about how many people in the local government knew Russian, 7 districts mentioned five or more, 5 mentioned from five to two, and one declared having none. No communication problems were reported and using Russian correctly was said to be of marginal importance ("we're bound to understand each other somehow"). Finally, when asked about which side put up more barriers to cooperation, 7 districts pointed to the Russian side and 6 declared that obstacles existed on both sides. No district laid the whole blame on the Polish side.

It was agreed that the best way to eliminate existing barriers was to amend legal, administrative and financial regulations and procedures. A need to standardize and simplify customs and tax regulations was declared, so that the border per se could cease to be an obstacle. Lack of clear-cut legal regulations with regard to carrying on cross-border cooperation was also mentioned. The survey participants stressed the need to expand border infrastructure and transport facilities through bigger investment by the state in roads, border crossings and terminals. It was also pointed out that the state lacked a univocal policy with respect to the planned building of new border checkpoints.

Contacts with the Kaliningrad District require creating an appropriate political atmosphere. This is because cross-border cooperation is tied to inter-state relations. Polish foreign policy has often neglected the

\(^{34}\) The surveys were conducted in 13 districts.
east. According to the survey participants (11 districts), any political tension on the Warsaw-Moscow line is reflected on the local level, in the rhythm and fluency of work at border checkpoints, for instance. The phenomenon was described in the following way: “the better the official international relationship, the easier local cooperation”. Only two of the districts failed to notice the relationship.

Changes in legal and administrative procedures, the provision of advisory and financial aid and the creation of a cooperation-friendly atmosphere is what the district governments would ask of the federal government. In sum, they demand the right conditions for re-activating the border regions and including their activities in the country’s foreign affairs.

To the question: “Are you for or against intensifying cooperation with Russia?”, all of the districts gave a positive answer. The economic sphere was mainly emphasized — the growth of economic relations could become a solid ground for cooperation in other areas. The pursuit of economic benefit was thus an important motivating factor. When asked about the most important ways in which their district could benefit from cooperation with Russia, the participants listed: help to local entrepreneurs in establishing trade or contacts with Russia (9 answers) and the possibility of applying for common aid or development funds from the EU (9 answers). Developing the local economy and, consequently, increasing the employment rate and level of incomes in the region were also emphasized. Moreover, 8 districts mentioned the development of border infrastructure as well as the development of culture and tourism (8 answers) and more effective environmental protection (5 answers).

Contacts with Kaliningrad are viewed as a good way to get to know the neighbour and bring down unnecessary barriers. But close contacts may be checked when Poland joins the European Union and the eastern borders are sealed. The district representatives were asked to describe the ways in which membership in the EU could influence cross-border cooperation with Kaliningrad. Seven districts foresaw the consequences of Poland’s accession as positive, two as negative. The remaining four districts were unable to express their opinion ("it is difficult to say").

Two aspects of accession were largely pointed to: the local inhabitants’ current view of the process and new opportunities for the region. For people living off border trade, the introduction of visas constitutes a problem and accession appears as a threat. But in the wider perspective, accession brings about long-term benefit. The survey participants often said that with Poland’s accession to the EU, its position will become stronger and it will become an equal partner for Russia. Kaliningrad is often viewed as a gateway into Russia, and similarly, upon Poland’s accession to the EU, the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship may come to be viewed as a gateway into the European Union. The voivodship’s geographical location encourages its inhabitants to view European accession as an opportunity, also to get greater aid from the EU.

The Poles and Russians should now begin to act upon the contacts they have made. Concrete action should be undertaken. It is important to intensify economic cooperation based on solid legal and financial foundations. It is also necessary to form the habit of acting together with the cross-border partners. Present action by local communities may lead to changes in the character of international cooperation in the region, creating a lively and friendly borderland in the future.

5.3.3 Cooperation by Commune Governments

Ewa Kulesza, Ewa Romanowska, Beata Samojłowicz

There are 116 communes (gmina) in the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship, 14 of which cooperate with Russia. More than half of these (11) have signed cooperation agreements.

A survey study was carried out in the first half of 2003 in order to assess the scope of their cooperation. The results are presented below (the city districts of Olsztyn and Elbląg have already been discussed, Lidzbark Warmiński did not submit any information). The present subchapter describes cross-border projects implemented or co-organized by commune governments.

The commune of Banie Mazurskie has been cooperating with the authorities of Osersk since 2001. Projects have mainly been addressed to schools and cultural (community) centres. Major forms of cooperation include: organizing meetings and conferences, youth exchanges, work in connection with opening the Rapa — Osersk border checkpoint. There are plans to discuss government administration, education, culture and sports. Moreover, the commune of Banie Mazurskie promotes its entrepreneurs (mainly food and agricultural) in Russia and strives to create an image of them as reliable trade partners. Apart from the authorities of Osersk, Banie Mazurskie cooperates with the local cultural centre in Osersk.

The commune of Barciany and the administration of Zeleznodrozhniy signed a letter of intent on the 28th of February, 2003. Both parties declared a need for cooperation in the following areas: local government, economy (aid to trade and organizing trade fairs), border checkpoints (opening the Michałkowo — Zeleznodrozhniy checkpoint), culture, health (establishing cooperation between Polish and Russian doctors), sports and education (youth exchanges between primary schools and gymnasiums). A committee was created for each of these areas. The commune authorities are making efforts (talks in progress) to sign an agreement on cross-border cooperation (planned for the beginning of 2004).
The government of the city of Bartoszyce pays a lot of attention to its contacts with foreign partners, particularly with its nearest neighbours — Bagrationovsk and Pionerskiy. "The Development Strategy of the City of Bartoszyce" mentions the cultivation of these contacts. Cooperation takes place in the following domains: sports, education, culture and social problems. Informal contacts between Bartoszyce and Bagrationovsk took place as early as the 70s. Cooperation increased after 1992 with the opening the Bezledy — Bagrationovsk checkpoint. Since then, there have been annual Borderland Fairs. An agreement on cooperation between Bagrationovsk and the rural commune of Bartoszyce was signed on the 16th of February, 2001. Moreover, in November 2000, the city of Bartoszyce together with the rural commune of Bartoszyce signed a "Partnership Agreement between the City and the Commune of Bartoszyce and the City of Pionerskiy". The agreement mentions cooperation in the fields of culture, sports, social welfare and the economy.

Cross-border cooperation between Bartoszyce and its Russian partners takes various forms:

- cooperation between school complex no. 1 in Bartoszyce and school no. 1 in Pionerskiy (excursions, mutual visits by students and teachers, sports competitions, individual contacts, organizing Russian and Polish days in the schools),
- cooperation between libraries (organizing poetry evenings, sharing experiences with respect to working with readers35),
- cultural cooperation (annual borderland craftsmanship festivals, mutual visits during the celebration of city days, exhibit exchange),
- youth scout cooperation (common camps, for example in July 2002 sixty children from the districts of Bartoszyce and Pionerskiy took part in a common camp in Przerwanki),
- cooperation between social welfare centres,
- meetings of the authorities of Bartoszyce and Bagrationovsk during state holidays,
- organizing annual sports competitions (football, volleyball) for the cities’ cup or the "friendship" cup.

Moreover, the Municipal Social Welfare Centre in Bartoszyce cooperates (on its own) with the Work and Social Development Office of the Administration of the Kaliningrad District and with the social welfare units in Bagrationovsk and Pionerskiy. Mutual visits allow for the exchange of information on social welfare. For two years the partners have been taking part in the Small Art Forms Review presented by the local network of social support centres. Owing to the cooperation, the Municipal Social Welfare Centre can apply for financial aid from the European Union — mainly via the Association of Polish Communes, Euroregion Baltic. In the years 2001-2002, the centre received subsidies amounting to 18 600 euros.

Thanks to contacts with the authorities of Pionerskiy, the government of Bartoszyce established contacts with

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35) See chapter IV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Commune</th>
<th>Official Cooperation Partners (date of signing agreement)</th>
<th>Unofficial Cooperation Partners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Banie Mazurskie [r]</td>
<td>the region of Osersk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Barciany [r]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zieleznodrozhniy (letter of intent )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Braniewo [u]</td>
<td>the region of Żelienogradz (1994)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Frombork [u-r]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Goldap [u-r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Kowale Oleckie [r]</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[u-] urban commune, [u-r] - urban-rural commune, [r] - rural commune
Source: Own study.

Table 2: Official and Unofficial Cross-border Cooperation of Communes in the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship
the city of Emmaboda in Sweden. The cities intend to sign a trilateral agreement.

The first contacts between Braniewo and Zelenogradsk were established in 1989. At the time, regular meetings of authorities and entrepreneurs took place. These led to the first trade agreements (barter trade). In the years 1995-2002, the contacts were practically suspended. In 2001, primary school no. 6 in Braniewo and the secondary school in Mamonovo carried out a project entitled "A Green Garden around the School". The project included sports competitions, open air painting activities and theatre workshops, and was co-financed from Phare funds. At the beginning of 2003, the authorities of Braniewo re-established contact with the authorities of Zelenogradsk as well as the government of the city of Kaliningrad. The Consul of the Republic of Poland in Kaliningrad acted as the mediator and organizer of the meetings between them. The contacts led to a meeting of war veterans from Braniewo and the Kaliningrad District at the Polish consulate in October 2003 (a meeting had taken place earlier during a visit to the Russian Soldiers' Cemetery in Braniewo). Talks on the further development of cooperation are planned for the beginning of 2004 in Zelenogradsk. The "Wrzos" and "Tęcza" seniors' clubs also keep in touch with the seniors' club in Mamonovo.

The authorities of Frombork and Svetly have signed a letter of intent on cooperation in the following areas: improving local administration, NGOs, trade (including support to cooperation between local entrepreneurs), culture, education (including youth exchanges), tourism, sports, health, social welfare and ecology. On the 10th of October, 2003, a work meeting aimed at defining the cooperation priorities for each of the particular areas took place. Among the topics discussed were launching a sea connection between Frombork and Svetly, developing youth exchanges in schools and other institutions and common sports events.

The first contacts between the authorities of Goldap and the Kaliningrad District were established in 1990. It was then that efforts to open the Goldap — Gusev checkpoint were launched. The checkpoint opened in July 1995 (the status of the checkpoint was changed in 2002 from Polish and Russian citizens only to that of an international checkpoint, allowing for traffic of trucks of up to 7.5 tons). The government of Goldap is one of the most active subjects of cross-border cooperation. It has contacts with three Russian regions: the region of Nesterov, the region of Osersk and the region of Gusev (all non-formalized). The government is active in culture and sports, and organizes several cyclical events such as the Goldap Station, the Autumn Literature Days, the Jadźwing Race and the Goldap — Gusev Marathon. The government of Goldap also organizes traditional festivities, to which the Russians are invited. The commune authorities also try to inspire other actors in the commune to establish good relations with Kaliningrad. They do this by organizing meetings for local entrepreneurs for instance. There are plans to create a duty-free area near the border. A crucial role is also played by the Cultural Centre and the Foundation for the Development of the Goldap Region, both of which are involved in cross-border projects. There is also cooperation in tourism (tourist trails in the Romincka Forest on both sides of the border have been planned) and environmental protection (efforts to create an international biosphere reserve in the Polish-Russian-Lithuanian borderland).

Culture is the main area of cooperation for Górowo Itawieckie (mainly dance and music ensemble exchange on the occasion of city holidays). Members of the Crafts Chamber also participate in meetings and fairs organized in the Kaliningrad District. In 1996, Górowo Itawieckie signed a trilateral partnership agreement with the district and city of Verden and the region of Bagrationovsk. Trilateral Polish-German-Russian projects ensued. Common youth camps, activities aimed at the reinsertion of unemployed youth (2001) have taken place. The Municipal Office carried out a project entitled "Integration and Reactivation of Youth through International Theatre Workshops and Sports Competitions in Górowo Itawieckie and Bagrationovsk" (with financial support from the EU).

Kowale Oleckie signed an agreement with the administration of the region of Krasnoznamensk in 2001, but their cooperation began as early as the 90s. Cultural contacts had been developed most of all (performances by artistic ensembles) as well as exchanges for students of Russian. Meetings between Polish and Russian entrepreneurs had also taken place. The signed agreement mentions the following areas: environmental protection, trade, services, production, transport, social welfare, development of local democracy, culture, education, sports and tourism. The "Cooperation Programme for the Years 1999-2000+" anticipates the sharing of experiences with regard to the functioning of the local government and management of communal resources, identifying and solving environmental problems, finding a common economic interest area and supporting economic growth, supporting contacts between youth, folk groups, sports organizations and cultural institutions.

The commune of Olsztyn has been cooperating with the region of Polessk since 1998. Action has been directed towards youth, non-governmental organizations, media and people and institutions connected with culture. Thus far, cooperation has resulted in the implementation of a number of interesting projects, such as "Let's Get to Know Each Other — Promoting Partner Communes as a Tool for Local Development" (1999),

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36 See chapter IV.
37 See chapter V.
which was financed by the Euroregional Small Projects Fund (subsidy of 7 200 euros from the Baltic Euroregion; total cost of the project: 10 900 euros). The project consisted of meetings, seminars, collecting data for the "Let's Get to Know Each Other" brochure, performances of artists from Poland and Russia during "city days". A project entitled "The Role of NGOs in Developing and Cementing International Cooperation between Partner Communes" was carried out in 2000 within the framework of the Phare CREDO programme (a subsidy of 24 000 euros; total value of the project: 29 700 euros). The project included training workshops organized for Polish and Russian NGO representatives on organization management, sources of funding and cooperation. An international conference entitled "The Role of the Non-Governmental Sector in the Development of International Cooperation between Partner Communes" brought together representatives of NGOs from partner communes in Russia, Poland and Germany, who signed a declaration on cooperation ("Closer to Each Other"). The Summer Pilot Program took place later that year, consisting in the exchange of school children from the communes of Olsztyn and Polessk (participating were: the school complex and kindergarten in Waplewo and the secondary school in Olsztyn, who financed the exchange from their own funds). Cooperation between small businesses has also been promoted through projects like "Close Encounters — Trade Fairs of Partner Communes" (Euroregion Baltic Small Projects Fund, subsidy of 5 000 euros, total cost of 7 600 euros). Workshops and seminars for entrepreneurs, study visits and trade fairs took place within the framework of the project. A brochure entitled "Small Business" was also published as part of the "Let's Get to Know Each Other" series. The Municipal Sports Club (Olimpia) organized a project entitled "Sport Unites us like the Baltic Sea" in 2001. Football matches, workshops and seminars for young athletes from Poland and Russia took place within the framework of this project (Euroregion Baltic Small Projects Fund, subsidy of 5 200 euros, total cost: 7 000 euros). In the same year, the school complex and kindergarten in Waplewo organized the "Friendship Has Many Names" project with support from the Euroregion Baltic Small Projects Fund (subsidy of 3 000 euros, total cost of 4 100 euros). The project included organizing a festive event in Waplewo as well as an integration camp (including educational classes and excursions) for 20 children from Polessk and 20 children from Waplewo. Sports activities and exchanges of children were continued in 2002. In 2003, the commune carried out the "Artists and Promotion" project, aimed at supporting tourism and economic cooperation and including open-air art sessions (subsidy of 17 500 euros from the Euroregion Baltic Small Projects Fund, total cost of 24 000 euros). The agreement on cross-border cooperation between Sępole and Pravdinsk encompasses disseminating information on the partner region, sharing experiences with regard to local democracy (training workshops, seminars), developing economic relations (organizing a duty-free area), ecology, education, culture, tourism (including the organization of canoeing trips), sports, health, public safety, and support to non-governmental organizations. Both the authorities of Sępole and Pravdinsk (situated just a few kilometres form the border) see their geographical proximity as an opportunity for economic development. The authorities have discussed launching a seasonal goods and passenger checkpoint on the river between Stopki and Ostre Bardo. This would permit the development of tourism along the Lyga and Guber rivers (international canoeing trips, international passenger boats). Opening the checkpoint could also contribute to the development of agricultural production and the food processing industry through the extension of sales into the Kaliningrad District. The local authorities also want to finish building the Mazury Canal joining the Great Lakes region of Mazury with the Pregola river (thus creating a waterway running all the way to the Baltic Sea).

One of the most important objectives of signing the cooperation agreement between Węgorzewo and the region of Chernyakhovsk was to accelerate the launching of the Perły — Krylovo border checkpoint. The signing parties also wanted to cooperate in the area of trade (agricultural and processed products), culture and sports (exchange of children's groups, presentation of each other's artistic achievements). On the 23rd of December, 1996, Węgorzewo and Chernyakhovsk became twin cities. Current contacts mainly include visits by government delegations and art groups (folklore, pop and rock bands, etc.).

The Common Association of Lagoon Communes (Komunalny Związek Gmin Nadzalewowych) is also involved in cross-border cooperation. The Vistula Lagoon is a body of water dissected by the state border (it is known as the Kaliningrad Lagoon on the Russian side). The lagoon is surrounded by the following communes on the Polish side: Braniewo [u], Elbląg [u], Krynica Morska [u], Frombork [u-r], Nowy Dwór Gdański [u-r], Tolkmicko [u-r], Braniewo [r], Elbląg [r] and Sztutowo [r]. The Common Association of Lagoon Communes (established in 1996) includes all of these, with the exception of the city of Braniewo. The aim of the association is to develop a coherent, multi-faceted development policy for the Vistula Lagoon and adjoining territories. Since 1998, the association has been involved in cross-border cooperation, which has led to the implementation of the following projects:

- "Economic and Tourist Development of Communes in the Vistula Lagoon Basin through their Promotion on the Internet" (1999);
Cooperation by Commune Governments

- workshops — working out a development strategy for the lagoon territories (1999);
- "International Bicycle Route around the Vistula and Kaliningrad Lagoon" (2001), publication of a tourist guide entitled "Biking around the Vistula Lagoon";
- conceiving a network of aqua-tourist harbours on the Vistula and Kaliningrad Lagoon (2001), publication of an information guide entitled "Aquatourism on the Vistula Lagoon and in the Neighbouring Areas".

In 2003, signs were placed along bicycle routes around the lagoon. There are also plans to set up a network of educational information stations (with descriptions of protected species) around the lagoon on both sides of the border. The projects are financed by the Phare Small Projects Fund (approximately 117 000 PLN), participating communes (67 000 PLN), the Voivodship Environmental Protection and Water Management Fund (Wojewódzki Fundusz Ochrony Środowiska i Gospodarki Wodnej, 16 000 PLN). In spite of having implemented a number of projects with the administration of the Region of Baltiysk and the Administration of the Kaliningrad District, the Association of Lagoon Communes describes Russian involvement as unsatisfactory ("considerable abstinence from discussing common issues, possibly due to the fact that the Russian side lacks financial resources, while participation in the projects requires concrete long-term involvement"). According to the association cooperation could be aided by creating an organization like the Polish lagoon association on the Russian side. Talks on creating such an association are currently in progress with Mamonovo and Baltiysk.

Summing up, a relatively large number of communes are interested in developing contacts with Kaliningrad. Cultural cooperation is still the most common form of cooperation (the example of Bartoszyce, Goldap, Olszynek, Węgorzewo). The importance of cultural contacts has frequently been emphasized by the EU. The benefits of cultural exchange are unmeasurable but their significance is crucial. Accepting the differences and autonomy of communities living across the border is indispensable to getting rid of stereotypes. Getting to know the other leads to civilized development and better self-understanding. It is for this reason that youth exchanges (above all) should be continued. Young people should not base their image of their neighbours on the negative experiences of their parents. Moreover, Polish youth tends to copy the West — it is important to show them that it is also worth looking east for a change. Finally, cultural contacts are also the foundation of economic cooperation. Here we can quote J. Monnet, one of the founding fathers of European integration, who said that if he could start everything from the beginning, he would begin with culture.

One cannot help but notice that relations between the representatives of Polish and Russian authorities are very positive. Sometimes they even evolve into friendship. Polish government employees claim that the Russians are very warm, open and friendly (they are often referred to as true "Slavic souls").

For many of the communes, plans to open a border crossing on their territory were an important reason to begin cooperating with the Russians (Sępol, Barciany, Węgorzewo, Banie Mazurskie). So far, only Goldap has achieved this goal, i.e. managed to get a border crossing. The determination of the commune's authorities was a significant factor. Many federal level politicians, including the prime minister, had been approached. Checkpoints are viewed as an important spur to economic growth (unfortunately also due to illegal trafficking). Yet trafficking is not perceived as a negative phenomenon by some government employees because it often gives unemployed families the means to survive.

There have not been any significant achievements in the sphere of environmental protection so far. The Russian side is usually blamed for this. Nature pays no attention to state borders, which is why new attempts to cooperate in protecting it are constantly being made (the Rominckaa Forest National Park, the Common Association of Lagoon Communes, etc.).

For some of the Polish communes (Goldap, Sępol, Bartoszyce) the development of tourism is also one of the major subjects in talks with Russians. Goldap is slowly becoming a tourist destination for Russians, yet tourism is still an undeveloped field (cooperative projects exist but have not been implemented yet). One of the reasons for this may be the high prices of tourist services on both sides of border, although change is slowly becoming visible on the Polish side.

The communes also make efforts to provide support to local entrepreneurs searching for contacts with Russians (through the organization of fairs, trips to the Kaliningrad District, etc.). Two communes are also making efforts to open duty-free areas on their territory (Goldap, Sępol).

There is no cooperation in the sphere of municipal services and urban planning laws.

It is usually the Polish side that initiates cross-border cooperation. This does not mean that the Russians are unwilling to cooperate — they simply don’t have the financial means to do so. For example, in 2001 the budget of Bartoszyce was set at 33 800 000 PLN (circa 8 000 000 USD), which amounts to about 300 USD per inhabitant. In Pionerskij the amount was 45 700 000 rubles, which is circa 1 500 000 USD (and about 125 USD per inhabitant). Even when taking the exchange rate difference between Poland and Russia into account, the budget of Bartoszyce was still five times bigger (twice as big per inhabitant). Another reason why Polish local

39 The Polish term refers to someone who is spontaneous, warm and open — trans.
governments are more active is because they have had longer experience governing. They also enjoy more independence than their Russian counterparts.

Creating a common platform for applying for funds from the EU is another reason for signing cooperation agreements. At the not so advanced level of cooperation along the Polish-Russian border, it is not necessary to formalize contacts in order to get funds (as proven by the case of Goldap). Attention should also be directed to Olsztyn, which has been very successful in getting EU funds for cross-border projects.

A negative phenomenon can be observed on the Polish side, namely the dying off of contacts or change of cooperation partners after each election. Changes in top-level posts like those of city mayor or commune governor often entail changes in the administrative personnel, and contacts have to be built all over again. Meanwhile, experience shows that it takes a long time before contacts can lead to serious involvement in common projects.

Federal politics also have bearing on the quality of interregional cross-border relations. The Russians were especially dissatisfied at Poland's adherence to NATO and, to a lesser extent, at its accession to the EU.

Lack of border crossings continues to be mentioned as one of the main barriers to cross-border cooperation. Apart from problems with visas, there are other difficulties with crossing that occur at the border. They have been described in a report published by the Office of the Spokesman for Civil Rights.

Hardly any of the barriers encountered by local governments are of a social or cultural nature. There is however a problem with the mindset of some of the inhabitants of border regions — mainly former employees and inhabitants of the old state-owned collective farms (Pol. PGR). A socially passive attitude prevails among these groups, which makes it very difficult for local governments to introduce new ideas into these communities, not to mention cooperation projects.

6. The Importance of EU Aid in the Development of Polish-Russian Cross-Border Cooperation

Ewa Kulesza

Apart from the Small Euroregional Projects Fund (discussed above), the importance of other EU resources in the development of Polish-Russian cross-border cooperation has not been great.

Since 1994, cross-border projects with the participation of Poles have received support from the Phare CBC (Cross-Border Cooperation) Programme. However, most of the funding from this source (75%) is intended for Polish-German cooperation. The budget for Poland's cooperation with the Baltic Sea region (including Kaliningrad) is about $3,000,000 — $4,000,000 euros per year, including $1,000,000 euros from the Small Euroregional Projects Fund.

Applicants from the voivodships of Pomerania, West-Pomerania and Warmia and Mazury are eligible to apply for funds for cooperation within the Baltic Sea Region. Local governments, non-profit institutions, institutions managing roads, schools, etc., are the main beneficiaries.

In the case of Baltic cooperation, the European Union stresses the following areas: environmental protection (sewage treatment, recycling, management of natural resources, promoting eco-friendly tourism). Projects dealing with municipal infrastructure (providing water, gas or energy), economic development (economic cooperation, services for small and medium-sized businesses, dissemination of technology, tourism), and human resources (education, training, employment, health) can also count on funding.

The project selection process within the framework of the Phare CBC has evolved over the years. In the beginning (1994) the projects were selected in a one-phase procedure. Today, every project has to go through three evaluation phases: a formal assessment (the project is graded according to a special set of criteria), a technical assessment and, finally, a political assessment. The final decision is made by the Baltic Coordinating Committee, consisting of representatives of the marshals, voivods, the Euroregions and the Implementing Authority. Decisions are made on a consensual basis. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration is held responsible for the implementation of the project before the European Commission. The anticipated "cross-border effect" (the effects of the project are to be felt on both sides of the border) of the project is also an important selection criterion.

The Phare CBC Programme has mainly financed projects related to environmental protection. Some of these were implemented on the territory of the present Warmia and Mazury Voivodship, including: the modernization of the sewage treatment plant in Frombork (1997-1998), modernization of the sewage treatment plant and sewage sanitation system in Stare Juchy (1997), modernization of the heating system in Goldap (1997) and the reconstruction of houses in Elbląg's old town.

Phare CBC, being part of pre-accession aid, will expire in 2006. However, the European Union has requested

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40 See chapter III, section 2.1.
41 See chapter II, section 4.
that contracting projects finish before Poland’s accession (after that, Poland will be eligible for structural funds). Thus in 2006, only the last CBC payments will be made.

A few words should also be said about the Phare Eastern Border Programme. The programme finances the building and modernization of border checkpoints and the connected infrastructure as well as projects dealing with sealing the border (support to border guard and customs services, police, etc.). The programme’s annual budget is in the millions of euros. For example, in 2002 it was 54 000 000 euros. The expansion of the Goldap — Gusev crossing (2 000 000 euros in 2002) and the building of the Gzechotki — Mamonovo crossing (6 500 000 euros in 2002 and 5 000 000 euros in 2003) were financed from Phare Eastern Border funds.

On Poland’s accession to the EU, Polish border regions will also be able to benefit from the financial support of INTERREG. The programme was created in 1990 and was the first initiative aimed at developing cross-border contacts within the European Union. Polish regions will be able to apply for funds within seven areas of the programme (whose total budget for the years 2004-2006 will amount to 196 100 000 euros). One of these seven areas is the development of cross-border cooperation between Poland, Russia and Lithuania. In comparison to the Phare CBC Poland — Baltic Sea region budget, the resources for cooperation with Russia and Lithuania will be nearly two times greater (24 100 000 euros will be available for cooperation in the years 2004-2006; 6 700 000 euros in 2004, 7 600 000 euros in 2005, 8 500 000 euros in 2006). Applicants from the voivodships of Warmia and Mazury, Podlasie and parts of Pomerania will be eligible to apply for aid. It is estimated (the operation programme had not been approved at the time of writing the report) that the majority of the funds (about 70%) will go toward projects dealing with the development of technical infrastructure and 25% toward cooperation between local communities. The projects will also have to benefit communities on both sides of the border.

The administrative committee and the secretariat of the Poland-Russia-Lithuania component of INTERREG will be based in Lithuania. They will include representatives from the three countries. The Polish side will be represented by the representatives of marshals, voivods, the Euroregions and the Ministry of the Economy, Employment, and Social Policy (which is to manage INTERREG in Poland). Project selection decisions will be made unanimously. Contact points will be established in all of the marshal’s offices in Poland. The points will provide support to the common technical secretariat in Lithuania (where the applications will be submitted).

The implementation of INTERREG III in the years 2004-2006 will be a test of Polish and Russian actors’ ability to cooperate in terms of managing the EU resources for cross-border initiatives.

7. Conclusions

An analysis of the Polish-Russian cross-border cooperation at the local and regional level invites the following conclusions:

1) In spite of the creation of a legal basis for cooperation at the local and regional level, formal and legal barriers still exist. To a large extent, local authorities in Kaliningrad still depend on the District administration when it comes to cross-border cooperation (signing agreements, for example). The same can be said of the District administration (whose decisions are conditioned by the federal government).

2) Cooperation is also restrained by the fact that local and regional authorities on both sides of the border lack financial resources. It should however be stressed that the situation is worse on the Russian side.

3) The Polish-Russian Council for Cooperation between the Northern Regions of the Republic of Poland and the Kaliningrad District does not really contribute to cross-border cooperation. It has relatively little influence on Polish-Russian government relations, which means that it does not fulfil its mission.

4) The Euroregions stimulate Polish-Russian cooperation by financing common projects. Cooperation within this framework is usually initiated by Poles. Due to limited financial resources, the role of the Russians is often limited to passive participation.

5) Voivodship governments play a small role in cross-border cooperation (their role is mainly limited to patronizing events in the region). In the majority of cases this is also the result of lacking financial resources.

6) The activity of the voivod focusses mainly on the development of border infrastructure. Much has been done in this respect in recent years.

7) Communes (mainly those on the border) are the most active cooperation actors (Bartoszyce, Goldap and Węgorzewo should receive special mention). We can attribute this to the fact that communes have a long tradition of functioning on the Russian side.

8) Cross-border cooperation with the participation of communes has developed mainly in the spheres of culture, education and sports. It has contributed to a considerable development of
interpersonal relations in the border regions of both countries. Economic cooperation however remains limited.

9) The activity of rural districts mainly involves supporting the cross-border activities of subordinate organizational units and co-organizing events planned by the communes. Limited financial possibilities also limit the scope of their involvement.

10) Both in case of communes and districts, the most important motive for signing agreements on cross-border cooperation in recent years has been the possibility to apply for EU aid (Phare CBC and, in the future, INTERREG). Agreements are not indispensable for cooperation (there are examples of actively cooperating units that have not signed agreements).
Chapter III

Economic Cross-Border Cooperation

1. The Economic Situation of the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship and the Kaliningrad District

Ewa Kulesza

The character and extent of economic cross-border cooperation is to a large extent determined by the economic potential of the cooperating regions. In the case of the Polish and Russian border regions, the potential on both sides is very poor.

The per capita GNP is a good indicator of the regional level of economic development. In 2000, it hardly amounted to 13 200 PLN in Warmia and Mazury, compared to the Polish national average of 17 700 PLN per capita. Only 2.8% of the Polish GNP was produced in the region (48.9% of the regional GNP in the sub-region of Olsztyn, 24.7% in the sub-region of Elbląg and 16.7% in the sub-region of Ełk). The share of particular branches in the GNP was: market services — 46.0% (Poland 49.1%), industry — 23.0% (Poland 26.0%), non-market services — 16.7% (Poland 13.4%), construction industry — 7.5% (Poland 7.7%), agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing — 6.8% (Poland 3.8%). The large percentage due to agriculture and the small percentage due to market services is an indication of the region’s economic underdevelopment.

A high level of unemployment is Warmia and Mazury’s greatest problem. In the second quarter of 2003, the rate of registered unemployment was 27.9%. Unemployment is particularly high in the northern territories, inhabited largely by men and women who used to work on state-owned collective farms (Pol. PGR) prior to 1992. This is considered to be the main reason for the large-scale traffic of excise tax products that takes place on these territories.

The Warmia and Mazury Voivodship is not the object of huge interest from foreign investors. At the end of 2001, there were 287 companies with foreign capital operating in the region (one third of the companies registered). 175 of these employed no more than 9 people. The base capital of these companies amounted to 1230,8 million PLN, with foreign capital making up 49% of this sum. There were only 26 companies in which the value of foreign capital exceeded 1 million USD. In spite of this, the part played by income from the export of commodities and services was significant in these companies, and amounted to 33.9% of their total income. The leading countries, from which the capital originated were Holland (120 100 000 PLN), Denmark (105 700 000 PLN) and Germany (93 200 000 PLN). There were only 13 companies operating with Russian capital in Warmia and Mazury that year, and 10 of these did not employ more than 9 people.

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2) Działalność gospodarcza spółek z udziałem kapitału zagranicznego w 2001 r., CSO, Warsaw 2002.
Agriculture and the food industry are the most important sectors of the voivodship’s economy. Abroad, the agricultural produce of Warmia and Mazury is perceived as good quality, ecologically clean and well-packaged. It should be stressed however, that the conditions for agricultural development vary throughout the region. The northern districts (Elbląg, Braniewo, Lidzbark Warmiński, Bartoszyce and Kętrzyn) are well predisposed toward agriculture. It is mainly they that will benefit (by being able to develop their exports) from Poland’s accession to the EU and the inclusion of Polish agriculture in the Common Agricultural Policy.

Tourism is another important branch of the regional economy. Due to the region’s outstanding natural features, tourism is seen as an opportunity for economic development, particularly for the districts of Ostróda, Olsztyn, Mrągowo, Pisz and Giżycko.

Industry is not highly developed in the voivodship. The main industrial sectors are food (mainly meat) and wood (mainly furniture and industrial carpentry). Food and wood processing plants make up about 40% — 50% of the industrial infrastructure. The textile and leather industries make up about 10% — 20%. Other industrial sectors include the chemical, metal, construction and machine sectors’.

Industrial plants are concentrated mainly in the larger cities; trade and services are dominant in the smaller, especially the border towns.

To sum up, alimentary and wood products as well as tourism are the most promising potential directions in which cross-border economic cooperation with the Warmia and Mazury voivodship could develop.

Experts estimate that the GNP per capita of Kaliningrad is only about 75% of the GNP per capita of Russia and about 50% of that of Poland.

In the decade between 1988 and 1998, there was a serious drop in the Kaliningrad GNP, which fell much more than the Russian average (the value of the enclave’s GNP in 1998 was only 40% of its 1990 value, while in Russia it was 50%)5. The recession touched all of the important branches of the economy: the fishing, machine, construction and paper industries, agriculture and transport.

1999 brought an improvement of the economic situation. For the first time in ten years industrial production had risen by 6.7%. This positive trend was sustained in the following years. In 2002, production increased by 8.5%, and in 2003 — by 14.5%. According to Russian statistics, the regional GNP rose by 9% in 2003, with the most important contribution made by the food industry (including spirits production), the fuel and energy industry, the machine and metal processing industry, and the wood industry (including the paper and cellulose industry). The enclave’s industry is concentrated in Kaliningrad (more than 82% of industrial production). Sovyetsk also plays an important part (paper and cellulose industry).

Apart from the rise in industrial production, other economic indexes have also improved in recent years. These include a rise in the level of investment (including foreign capital) and the growth of transport and building services. The improvement of the economic situation did not spread over into agriculture however.

Indicators related to the standard of living are moreover very disturbing (high mortality rate, large number of HIV cases, low incomes). According to official statistics nearly a third of Kaliningrad’s inhabitants live below the poverty line. More importantly, these figures are often much worse than the all-Russian ones. For example in 2002 (as of the 1st of September) the average monthly salary in the Kaliningrad District was 3 710.9 rubles, which is only 82.2% of the Russian average6. Two things should be kept in mind when interpreting these data however.

Firstly, due to the visibly dominant position of the city of Kaliningrad, living standards in the capital are better than in other parts of the enclave. Secondly, the official statistics do not include the black market, which is estimated to make up for 60% — 70% (some would even say 100%) of Kaliningrad’s economy. As a result, the standard of living in the enclave, although still not high, is better than the Russian average. Moreover, the differences between incomes are very big (much more so than in Poland).

The opening of the Kaliningrad borders and the simultaneous dissolution of long-standing economic bonds within the USSR led to an increase in the region’s trade with other countries. Until 1994, the enclave’s foreign trade balance was positive, yet since 1995, the advantage of imports over exports has been growing. As far as the value of imports is concerned, Kaliningrad is among the leading regions of Russia. One of the reasons for this is that Kaliningrad’s economy (industry) is highly dependent on the import of raw materials, fuel and electric energy. In 2003, imports amounted to 2.4 billion USD and exports to 0.55 billion USD.

Poland is one of Kaliningrad’s most important trade partners. The mutual trade figures are shown in Table 1. Since 2001, Poland’s balance of trade with the District has been positive (previously, imports were

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6 А. Хлопецкий, Kaliningrad как “зона свободы”: взгляд изнутри, Kaliningrad 2000, p. 31.

"Rynek — Wschodni Partnerzy”, 2003, nr, 1, p. 29.
higher than exports). In 2003 the value of exports from Kaliningrad to Poland was 346.7 million USD, while imports amounted to 45.4 million USD.

### Table 1: Kaliningrad’s Trade with Poland, 1994 — 2003.

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Value of Trade (in millions USD)</th>
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<td>1994</td>
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<td>2002</td>
<td>370</td>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>392</td>
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</table>

Source: Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Kaliningrad.

There are nearly 500 companies with Polish capital registered in the District, but the actual number of active companies is much lower. The vast majority of them deal with trade or act as intermediaries and do not invest much in the District. According to figures from the 1st of July 2001, Polish members’ input into their companies’ founding capital hardly amounted to 10 600 000 rubles, which made it only 1.09% of the total input by foreign investors.

Restructuring the Kaliningrad economy requires a large-scale investment of capital, which is lacking in the enclave. Foreign investment, which should have stimulated the economy, is not far from what had been expected, but it is also much lower than the Russian per capita figure. The total amount of foreign investment in 1993 — 2001 was 81 900 000 USD. One of the reasons Russians from Kaliningrad get involved in cross-border cooperation is the need to attract more capital to the enclave — through tourism, for example. The Russians are also very interested in the aid programmes offered by Western European countries (and other parts of the world). Polish partners are often already familiar with these programmes and are perceived as a good source of information.

### 2. Polish-Russian Border Traffic

**Ewa Kulesza, Andrzej Maciejewski**

The capacity of border checkpoints is one of the most important factors influencing the development of cross-border economic cooperation, especially in the Polish — Russian case. It determines the amount of illegal trade of excise tax products, which has so far been the most popular form of cross-border economic contacts. It is estimated that in the 1990s about 90% of the people crossing the border were involved in smuggling. Even the smallest change in border crossing regulations (such as an increase in the cost of civil liability insurance) had a relatively big influence on the number of people crossing the border, and in consequence on mutual trade.

#### 2.1. Passenger Checkpoints

**Ewa Kulesza, Andrzej Maciejewski**

From the opening of Kaliningrad’s borders, all the way until 1997, there was a steady increase in the number of people crossing the border annually (see Table 2). In 1998, during a serious economic crisis in Russia (an increase in the price of the dollar unfavourable to Polish exporters and Russians buying in Poland), the trend was reversed. In 1999, the number of people crossing the border increased slightly, yet it still did not reach the pre-1998 level. In 2000 — 2001, the number of people crossing the border dropped, reaching a level similar to that of 1999 in 2002. A considerable drop in the number of people crossing the border was recorded in 2003 (the figure dropped by over 774 000 people in relation to 2002). There were two reasons for this. First, on the 2nd of September, 2003, the Russians significantly raised passenger car insurance fees (they previously amounted to 2 — 3 USD). The new fees for a car with a 1100 cm³ engine on entering the Kaliningrad District were: 17 USD for a stay of 15 days, 26 USD for 30 days, and 60 USD for 180 days. Second, on the 1st of October, 2003, the visa requirement was introduced at the Polish-Russian border. Visas for inhabitants of Warmia and Mazury going into the Kaliningrad District and for inhabitants of the enclave going into the Warmia and Mazury voivodship are free of charge, yet travel agencies charge for mediation in obtaining the visa (usually circa PLN 50). There are additional charges for those obtaining the visa within a few days of the departure (100 USD for same day delivery, 40 USD to obtain it within 2 days, 20 USD within 3 days and 10 USD within 4 days). An additional source of difficulty when applying for a visa to Kaliningrad is the need to submit the original passport and, in the case of a multiple-visit visa, the results of an HIV test. According to data from the (Polish) Customs Office, 757 900 people crossed the border between October and December 2003, and 936 100 people between October and December 2002, so the number of people crossing the border decreased by 19%. One can also anticipate that Polish efforts to join the Schengen Treaty will result in a tightening of visa regulations (a more detailed check of travellers, longer period of waiting for a visa, the need to submit additional documents, etc.), thus reducing the number of travellers.

There are nine checkpoints currently operating on the Polish-Russian state border. Seven of them have passenger...
6) There is a slight difference between the data provided by the Central Statistics Office and those provided by the Customs Office in Olsztyn. The CSO data have been used in this report.

The number of people crossing the border by train (the Braniewo–Mamonovo checkpoint) is not high and in 2002, it made up for only 1% of the whole figure (the percentage had been similar in previous years). The number of people crossing the border by bike is 24 hours.

Presently, the road checkpoint at Bezledy has the largest crossing capacity on the Polish-Russian border. In 2002, 1 910 000 people crossed the border there (688 100 cars were checked in). Bezledy is the best-equipped Polish-Russian road checkpoint on the Polish side. At the beginning of 2004, work on the construction of veterinary and fitosanitary facilities was almost finished and there were plans to start the construction of a

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Table 2: Passenger Traffic through the Polish-Russian State Border in 1994-2002 (in thousands of people)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Poland (from Russia)</th>
<th>Poland (to Poland)</th>
<th>Foreigners (from Russia)</th>
<th>Foreigners (to Poland)</th>
<th>Poland (from Russia)</th>
<th>Poland (to Poland)</th>
<th>Foreigners (from Russia)</th>
<th>Foreigners (to Poland)</th>
<th>Poland (from Russia)</th>
<th>Poland (to Poland)</th>
<th>Foreigners (from Russia)</th>
<th>Foreigners (to Poland)</th>
<th>Poland (from Russia)</th>
<th>Poland (to Poland)</th>
<th>Foreigners (from Russia)</th>
<th>Foreigners (to Poland)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>81</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>1189</td>
<td>1128</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>1513</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>68</td>
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<td>1095</td>
<td>1006</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>1210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>1042</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1132</td>
<td>1145</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GUS.

Table 3: Road and Railway Checkpoints on the Polish-Russian State Border (data as of 1.09.2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polish Checkpoint</th>
<th>Russian Checkpoint</th>
<th>Type of Checkpoint</th>
<th>Type of Traffic</th>
<th>Opening Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gołdap</td>
<td>Gusev</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td>passenger, commercial (vehicles with a total mass of up to 7,4 tons)</td>
<td>24 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gronowo</td>
<td>Mamonovo I</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td>passenger, commercial (from Poland and Russia, vehicles with a total mass of up to 6 tons)</td>
<td>24 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bezledy</td>
<td>Bagrationovsk</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td>passenger, commercial (from Poland and Russia with no limitations, international trucks with a load of up to 8 tons per axle)</td>
<td>24 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartoszyce</td>
<td>Bagrationovsk</td>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>commercial</td>
<td>24 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandawa</td>
<td>Zeleznodrozhniy</td>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>commercial</td>
<td>24 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braniewo</td>
<td>Mamonovo</td>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>passengers, commercial</td>
<td>24 hours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Customs Office in Olsztyn.

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Kaliningrad District. In 2002, more than 95% of the people crossing the border lived no further than 100 kilometres from it. At the same time, 38% of the Poles and 52% of the foreigners lived no further than 20 kilometres from the border (the situation had been similar in previous years).

Presently, the road checkpoint at Bezledy has the largest crossing capacity on the Polish-Russian border. In 2002, 1 910 000 people crossed the border there (688 100 cars were checked in). Bezledy is the best-equipped Polish-Russian road checkpoint on the Polish side. At the beginning of 2004, work on the construction of veterinary and fitosanitary facilities was almost finished and there were plans to start the construction of a

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There is a slight difference between the data provided by the Central Statistics Office and those provided by the Customs Office in Olsztyn. The CSO data have been used in this report.
Customs Office as well as additional check-in lanes for trucks. On the Russian side some additional traffic lanes had been completed by September 2003. The checkpoint is accessed by state road no. 51 (see map).

The road checkpoint in Gronowo is located on voivodship road no. 508 (Elbląg — Braniewo — state border). In 2002, 1,335,200 people and 588,900 cars passed through the checkpoint.

The road checkpoint in Gołdap is accessed by road no. 657 from Elbląg via Olecko and Gołdap to Gusev in Russia. It has the smallest through capacity on the Polish-Russian border. In 2002, it was used by 653,000 people (216,000 vehicles). The checkpoint in Gusev is the most modern of the discussed checkpoints on the Russian side, yet it remains unused to a large extent. For instance, the buildings for customs officers are designed for 300 people but there are only 60 people working there. The Russians built the checkpoint (with the support of EU funds) with the famous Kaliningrad — Belarus corridor in mind. As is known, Poland did not give its permission for the corridor. Work in connection with the modernization of the checkpoint has also been

**Road and Railway Connections on the Polish-Russian Border**
started on the Polish side. The checkpoint infrastructure will be enlarged to twice its current size in the first phase of the enlargement (a mirror replica of the Russian checkpoint will be created on the Polish side). There are also plans to build additional check-in lanes for commercial traffic. A bypass designed for commercial traffic is also planned.

In 2003, modernization (reconstruction of bridges) of the so-called Berlinka road (motorway joining Kaliningrad and Elblag) had been finished. There are plans to improve the surface of the road in 2004. The construction of a checkpoint in Grzechotki-Mamonovo is planned to begin as soon as the work is completed (the Warmia and Mazury Voivod has already announced the tender). The new Grzechotki-Mamonovo checkpoint is going to cover an area of 30 hectares and have an annual check-through capacity of 1 800 000 passenger cars, 300 000 trucks and 30 000 buses. Although the government of Poland has announced that the checkpoint will open in 2005, there is serious doubt about whether the Russians will manage to meet the deadline. 2007 appears a more realistic date for opening the checkpoint.

As has already been mentioned, there is work in progress on the extension of the checkpoint in Bezledy. Although in a few years’ time commercial traffic will mainly pass through the Grzechotki-Mamonovo II checkpoint, Bezledy-Bagrationovsk will play the role of the main commercial checkpoint for the next few years, and thus has to be adapted for the purpose. The adaptation is being co-financed by the European Union. For a long time the EU disagreed with the opening of a checkpoint in Grzechotki, and it was then that the money for the modernization of the Bezledy-Bagrationovsk crossing had been granted.

The coordination of activities between the Polish and Russian checkpoints cannot be viewed as satisfactory. The Russians have enlarged their checkpoint in Gusev and the Poles the one in Bezledy. The Russians renovated the Berlinka road in the first part of the 1990s and Poland decided to modernize it in 2001. Today, the Poles are almost ready to open the checkpoint in Grzechotki-Mamonovo, yet there are enormous delays on the Russian side. Problems related to checkpoints result mainly from lack of unanimous decisions by the Poles and Russians, but there have also been disagreements between Poland and the EU (for example over Grzechotki-Mamonovo II).

The authorities of other border communes (for example Barciany in the case of Michałkowo, Węgorzewo in the case of Perły) have also applied for permission to open checkpoints on their territory, but the actual chances of seeing these projects take off in the near future are slim.

Apart from the above checkpoints, there are also two maritime checkpoints operating in Elblag and Frombork. Both have the status of international checkpoints, the one in Elblag servicing passengers, commercial shipping and recreational navigation, and the one in Frombork servicing passengers and recreational navigation only. Presently, the checkpoint in Elblag is of marginal importance. In 2002, it was used by only 56 people (38 vessels). The Elblag authorities have great hopes connected with the opening of the Pława Strait to foreign ships, which will no doubt lead to the growth of trade and tourism. The checkpoint in Frombork services mainly tourists going to Baltiysk and Svetly by jet boats and tourist ships navigating on the Vistula Lagoon. In 2002, 58 100 people and 520 vessels checked through there.

There are also efforts to open a checkpoint on the Lyna river (the commune of Sępólno)

In 1996, an airport was opened in Szymany (9 kilometres from Szczytno). 907 people (132 planes) used it in 2002, yet the checkpoint is practically not used for transport between Poland and the Kaliningrad District. There are flights from Warsaw to Kaliningrad however.

The amount of border through-traffic is not determined solely by the number and capacity of available checkpoints. Problems with crossing the border from Kaliningrad to Poland also determine the number of people crossing (problems crossing from Poland to Kaliningrad occur rarely). A team of experts representing the Russian Commissioner for Human Rights and the Polish Civil Rights Spokesman carried out an inspection of the checkpoints in August 2000 and completed a report on border-crossing conditions for Polish and Russian citizens. The authors of the report came to the following conclusions:

- There were several types of authorities participating in the border check on the Russian side, including not only border guard and customs officers but also the police, representatives of the local administration, law and order services, ecological services, etc. They acted independently and in a non-coordinated way, which made crossing the border very complicated. Lack of clarity with regard to the division of responsibilities between the units led to an overlap of decisions with no possibility of appeal;
- An unequal treatment of Poles and Russians by the Russian services was also noted. Separate
queues had been made for Polish and Russian citizens (with the Russian citizens being checked faster). The Russian border services also employed a pass system enabling pass-holders to cross the border without waiting in lines. According to the Polish border guard, a few hundred permanent passes had been issued in the District, yet it was known that one-time passes could be obtained from border officers, policemen or a civil agents for a fee (of 5 to 30 USD);

- Travellers leaving Russia for Poland via Bagrationovsk-Bezledy had to wait at a parking lot (the so-called 'frying-pan') before they could approach the checkpoint; the waiting time for a permit to approach (the so-called "kartotchka") was different for the citizens of Poland and Russia. The Russians waited a much shorter time, about 3-4 hours, while the Poles had to wait 12 to 30 hours (sometimes even 3 days); the waiting time could be shortened by paying a special fee (from 5 to 15 USD);

- The Russian police was often very strict in their treatment of Polish citizens. Drivers had to pay severe fines not only for actual but also for alleged driving offences. Sometimes the fines had to be paid in American dollars;

- According to people who cross the border often, organized criminal groups (both Russian and Polish) waiting in the vicinity of border checkpoints (on the Russian side) often extorted a crossing fee from travellers.

2.2. Commercial Traffic Checkpoints
Ewa Kulesza, Andrzej Maciejewski

There are 6 commercial traffic checkpoints on the Polish-Russian border; three road checkpoints (Gronowo-Mamonovo I, Bezledy-Bagrationovsk, Goldap-Gusev) and three railway checkpoints (Braniowo-Mamonovo, Bartoszyce-Bagrationovsk, Skandawa-Zeleznodrozhniy). In the category of road checkpoints, the Bezledy-Bagrationovsk checkpoint is definitely the leading one. In 2002, 72 544 trucks passed through it, while only 640 and 524 passed through Gronowo and Goldap respectively. The Russians are interested in increasing commercial traffic through the Goldap-Gusev checkpoint because of the already mentioned modern facilities that exist on the Russian side there.

There is indication however that Grzechotki-Mamonovo II will soon become the most important commercial traffic checkpoint on the Polish-Russian border. Firstly, it is going to be the westernmost checkpoint and thus the most convenient one for westbound commercial traffic. Secondly, both the Polish and Russian access roads are in better technical condition than the roads giving access to Bezledy-Bagrationovsk.

Out of the three railway checkpoints, two — Bartoszyce and Skandawa — are practically unused. The traffic through Braniowo is not big either, with 1943 goods transports checked through in 2002.

There has been an increase in commercial traffic through the Polish-Russian border in recent years. 68 300 trucks crossed the border in 2001, 73 700 in 2002, and 89 400 in 2003.

Most of the problems having to do with commercial traffic occur on the Russian side (they are often spoken of in the media, for example: long truck queues, drivers’ protests). The border check runs more smoothly on the Polish side because only a part of the formalities is dealt with at the border (most of them have to be settled earlier at Customs Offices placed all over the voivodship, mainly in Olsztyn and Iława). The reverse is the case in Russia (most of the formalities have to be settled at the border), which considerably slows down the rate of checking. However, a new Customs Law, modifying border check procedures, will come into effect in the Russian Federation on January 1st, 2004, which is expected to shorten checking time. Current cooperation between the Polish and the Russian customs services runs very smoothly, yet in spite of this there is very little chance of establishing a common border check. This is due to the large number of different authorities operating on the Russian side (see the report of the Polish Civil Rights Spokesman).

3. Illegal Trade of Excise Tax Products
Ewa Kulesza, Andrzej Maciejewski

Illegal transport and trade of tobacco products and alcoholic beverages was a large-scale phenomenon in the 1990s and after 2000. It cannot be omitted from this discussion.

In 2002, only 99 000 (about 9%) of the Poles crossing the Polish-Russian border stayed in Kaliningrad for more than one day (the figure for Russians staying in Poland is about 82 000, which is about 10%). The percentage of people staying abroad for one day only (nearly 90%) is probably the same as the percentage of people involved in illegal traffic.

In 2002, the number of Poles crossing the border was higher than the number of Russians (more Poles live closer to the border) yet it was not significantly higher. The Poles made up nearly 58% of the travellers. In the previous years, the number of Poles and Russians crossing the Russian border had been nearly equal (see Table below). Both the number of people crossing and the average time of their stay indicate that the Russians are involved in smuggling to the same extent as the Poles. It is mostly inhabitants of border towns that engage in illegal trafficking.
There are two main reasons for the widespread practice of smuggling: big discrepancies in prices of tobacco and alcohol products in Poland and Russia, and a high level of unemployment on both sides of the border.

According to the estimate of the Consulate General in Kaliningrad, the value of the goods smuggled in 2000 was about 200 000 000 USD, and the number of people involved in the traffic about 15 000.

Smugglers quickly adapted to changing conditions of trade. For instance, in 2000, the number of people crossing the border by train increased rapidly (from 30--40 to 300-400 a day) as changes were introduced in the Polish criminal code. In 2002, there was a drop in the traffic of alcohol accompanied by a rise in the traffic of tobacco products (judging by the number of arrests at the border), resulting from the introduction of lower excise taxes on alcoholic beverages in Poland.

Due to the introduction of visas, individual smuggling will probably continue on a smaller scale, yet its disappearance should not be expected. The inventiveness and determination of smugglers has often been a surprise to border authorities. From the federal government's perspective, the number of people that would lose their income due to limitations on illegal trafficking is not big (15 000 families). Yet from the point of view of the inhabitants of border communes the picture is totally different. Putting an end to trafficking is not big (15 000 families). Yet from the point of view of the inhabitants of border communes the picture is totally different. Putting an end to trafficking while not doing anything to prevent the economic collapse of the border territories would deprive the inhabitants of their livelihood. It is difficult to foresee what kind of consequences this may have but it is certain that the interest of these populations should not be disregarded.

### 4. The Presence of Warmia and Mazury Companies on the Kaliningrad Market. Barriers to Cooperation.

*Monika Bielińska, Ewa Kulesza*

In 2002, the value of Poland's exports to Russia was 1 331 800 000 USD (3.2% of Poland's exports). The value of its imports was 4 407 400 000 USD (8.0% of Poland's imports). According to Russian statistics, Poland's exports to Kaliningrad in 2002 were worth nearly 250 000 000 USD. Polish and Russian statistics on commodity trade do not always converge, but it can be presumed that nearly a fifth of Poland's export to Russia is to the Kaliningrad District.

According to the data of the Foreign Trade Information Centre, 1 869 Polish companies imported goods from Russia in the first half of 2003, of which 135 (7.3%) were companies from the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship. There were 3 980 companies exporting to Russia, 250 (6.3%) of which were from Warmia and Mazury. According to the data of the Customs Office in Olsztyn, companies from the voivodship made up 27% of all the importing companies and nearly 13% of exporting companies. Comparing the two sources of data, it is still clearly visible that Warmia and Mazury companies play a vital role in trade with Kaliningrad.

The Olsztyn Customs Office also reports that there were 30 Warmia and Mazury companies that went through the import procedure at the border (importing from Kaliningrad) more than three times in the first half of 2003. There were 129 regional companies that went through the export procedure more than 3 times.

Among the articles imported from the Kaliningrad District to Warmia and Mazury are raw materials and hardly processed materials such as coal (including brown coal), mineral and chemical fertilizers, peat, raw wood, coal gas, water gas (non-oil gases), uncoated paper and cardboard (unprocessed scrolls and sheets), various types of containers, transport and wrapping materials (steel — cisterns, barrels, drums, boxes, cans; wooden — chests, boxes, cages, cable boxes; glass — bottles, jars, jugs, phials, ampoules; Corks, caps and other covers made of synthetic materials). A small part of the import during the period discussed was constituted by fresh and frozen fish (with the exception of fish filets), raw hide and calf hide, sitting furniture, car accessories, machines for processing gum and synthetics.

An important group of goods exported to the enclave included fruit and vegetables such as apples, pears, quinces, potatoes, cabbages, cauliflowers, kohlrabies, onions, garlic, leeks, carrots, turnips, beetroot, celery, radishes and cucumbers. Other food articles were also exported, including meat (also live animals), poultry, sausages, beer, vodka and liquors. A large variety of inorganic acids, hydrogen, noble gases and furniture (including frames, ferrules and other metal furniture parts as well as metal blinds, door, stair and window parts) were also sold. Other articles exported included plaster and plaster articles, concrete and concrete articles, lime, processed building stones, chip boards, containers and transport or wrapping materials made of steel, glass, synthetics (see import).

There was also a small number of dishes, synthetic utensils and tractors.

It is estimated that about 30% of Polish companies operating in the Kaliningrad District originate in Warmia.

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and Mazury. In the 7th edition of the POLEXPORT fair, there were 280 entrepreneurs form Poland, yet only 13 from the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship. This is in part explained by the fact that Warmia and Mazury companies are sufficiently familiar with Kaliningrad companies and do not need to search for contacts.

Between September and October 2003, a survey was carried out among 35 Warmia and Mazury entrepreneurs, who were asked to identify the barriers and the factors bearing upon Polish-Russian economic cooperation. The vast majority of the companies interviewed (31) were only involved in exporting goods to the Kaliningrad District and were not investing capital in the enclave. Fifteen (43%) of the participating companies also conducted business in other parts of Russia.

Limited possibilities of expansion on the domestic market and the need to expand to other markets were mentioned as the most important reason for deciding to begin exporting to Kaliningrad. This was the response given by 25 entrepreneurs, 5 of whom described the Kaliningrad market as being very absorptive. In 7 cases cooperation had been established after taking an order from the Russians. It would seem that in these cases the close location of the companies (just across the border) was of crucial importance. Seven businessmen also claimed that it was the board of directors' belief in the attractiveness of exporting to Kaliningrad that played a significant role. The various types of encouragement extended to exporters were not an important factor (2 responses in favour).

Too few border checkpoints as well as their limited capacity were most often mentioned as barriers to cooperation (37% of the responses). Most of the respondents mentioned the long checking time at Polish customs offices. The next most important group of complaints had to do with problems with the collection of payments due from Russian partners (29% of responses). Thus, lowering the current high cost of transaction insurance was a welcome idea (transaction insurance costs remain very high). 20% of the participants complained about bureaucracy in Russian offices (some even saw a connection with corruption). Another obstacle to business was constituted by frequent changes in the law — two survey participants mentioned changes in the Polish law and five in Russian law. An unfavourable or variable currency exchange rate was mentioned by four participants. Only one of the participants pointed at the high level of crime in the Kaliningrad District. It is worth noticing that five participants claimed that it was the board of directors' belief in the attractiveness of export to Kaliningrad that played a significant role.

An analysis of economic cross-border cooperation between the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship and Russia reveals two forms of exchange: large-scale illegal traffic of excise tax products and legal trade. Given the data on the estimated scale of smuggling (nearly 200 000 000 USD annually), it can be said that this form of 'cooperation' was more important than legal cooperation in the 1990s.

Illegal trafficking does not involve all of the voivodship's communes to an equal extent. The phenomenon is mainly present in the border communes, particularly those located near checkpoints (Braniewo, Bartoszyce, Goldap, etc.). Research carried out by Pentor and Almares on commission from the National Tobacco Industry Association shows that at the end of 1990s, 89% of the cigarettes sold in Bartoszyce had been smuggled in from Kaliningrad. It is difficult to judge the economic importance of smuggling for these border regions because of the nature of smuggling itself. There are no statistical data collected by the communes or districts on the standard of living of their inhabitants that might provide a clue as to the role and scope of illegal traffic. Income generated by illegal traffic is often reinvested to create legally operating companies.

As has already been said, the proximity of the border has important bearing on trade between Warmia and Mazury and Kaliningrad (companies from Warmia and Mazury constitute a significant percentage of Polish enterprises operating in the District). Yet, the importance of these companies should not be overestimated either. In the first portion of 2003, there were 159 companies trading with the District.

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(more than three check-ins at the border), while at the same time there were 105,000 companies registered in the voivodship. In 2001, there were only 13 companies with a share of Russian capital, 10 of which employed fewer than 9 people.

The economic potential of the voivodship is poor. Various studies show that multifunctional regions, those possessing large production plants and a qualified workforce, were the quickest and the most successful at adjusting to the new system. Long-standing infrastructural negligence has had an unfavourable effect on the region. The economic policies of the 1990s in particular, had negative consequences for former state-run collective farms (PGR) many of which existed on the territory of the present voivodship, contributing to an enormous rise in unemployment. All of these factors were important in shaping current economic conditions in the voivodship.

Summing up, although Polish-Russian economic cross-border cooperation is an important source of income for some Warmia and Mazury companies, its scope is too narrow to have an effect on the regional economy. The Kaliningrad District is moreover too weak economically to contribute to an improvement of conditions in the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship. There may be hope in Poland’s accession to the EU and the inclusion of Polish agriculture in the Common Agricultural Policy, which may increase food exports from Warmia and Mazury to Kaliningrad. The Union will probably make it necessary to introduce some qualitative changes into the nature of cooperation: illegal trafficking will become more difficult but legal initiatives will be supported.
Chapter IV

Cultural and Scientific Cooperation between the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship and the Kaliningrad District

1. Academic Institutions

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Cooperation in the sphere of higher education is one of the most important aspects of interregional cooperation between Poland and the Kaliningrad District. One of the advantages of this type of cooperation is its decentralized character, which allows for spontaneous and natural exchange between research and academic institutions.¹

Higher education institutions in the Warmia and Mazury region have for many years now been participating in international projects, also involving universities from the Kaliningrad District. The University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn (Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie) has been the leading player in this respect. The University emerged in 1999 out of the merger of three smaller academic institutions: the Agro-Technical Academy (Akademia Rolniczo-Techniczna), the Academy of Pedagogy (Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna) and the Warmia Institute of Theology (Warmiński Instytut Teologii). UWM currently has projects with the Kaliningrad State University (KSU) as well as the Kaliningrad State Technical University (KSTU).

Cooperation between UWM and the Kaliningrad State University began in the early 90s. In 1992, KSU signed a cooperation agreement with the Academy of Pedagogy in Olsztyn. The beginning of the 1990s saw the birth of the idea to found an international European University incorporating the KSU, the Agro-Technical Academy, the Academy of Pedagogy in Olsztyn and the Police Academy in Szczytno (Wyższa Szkoła Policji w Szczytnie).² The creation of a Polish-Russian university was no doubt an interesting idea, but to this day little has been done to actually carry it out.

Current cooperation between the universities is based on an agreement made on June 19th, 2001. The universities agreed to cooperate on projects related to teacher and student practical training in the fields of Polish, Russian, German and English as well as biology, pedagogy and history, scientific research projects and master and doctoral thesis-related projects.

The Humanities Department at UWM is active in cooperating. Its employees (Eastern Slavonic Studies) have, among other things, participated in conference cycles organized by the Slavonic Studies and Journalism Department (KSU), while the department’s students regularly participate in three-week Russian and Eastern Slavonic language workshops. There has also been cooperation between UWM’s History and International Relations Department and KSU’s Historical Department. Projects have involved the organization of conferences and seminars, common

historical publications and student group exchanges. UWM employees have also participated in a conference on international relations in the Baltic Sea region in the XVIII-XIX centuries, organized by the Kaliningrad side. In 2001, UWM’s Political Science Department launched an interdisciplinary research project focussing on social and political conditions in Kaliningrad and its international environment. The project has led to a number of scholarly exchanges and contacts with KSU’s Baltic Region Studies Department. In June 2001, Russian scholars participated in a conference entitled "Unification and Internal Differentiation in Contemporary Europe" (organized by UWM), and made it possible for Polish scholars to publish papers in Russian-language periodicals. Also worthy of mention are the cooperative efforts of the Sociology Department, whose employees and students (members of the Sociology Student Association) have been sharing their experiences with their Kaliningrad analogue for a number of years.

UWM’s Mathematics and Computer Science Department is also involved in cooperation with KSU. The department and its Kaliningrad analogue have organized a number of conferences and symposia.

Until the end of the 90s, UWM’s Biology Department was also involved in projects with KSU. The cooperation led to student exchanges, field trips (to study the District’s peat-bogs), conferences and publications. The departments are not working together anymore, mainly due to lack of interest on the Russian side.

The other major institution involved in projects with the UWM is the Kaliningrad State Technical University (KSTU), which initially signed an agreement with the Agro-Technical Academy in Olsztyn in 1998. The agreement was expanded in 2002 after the latter merged into the UWM. The agreement mentions cooperation in the sphere of research into machine and appliance potential, the durability of machine parts and the use of new materials and technological processes. The cooperation scheme also involves exchanging teaching and conference materials and publications, writing textbooks and hosting academic instructors from the partner institution. The universities also cooperate in the field of economic research.

It is within this framework that the Technology Department (UWM) and the Shipbuilding and Electrical Engineering Department (KSTU) published a collection of post-conference materials entitled "Efektywność eksploatacji systemów technicznych" ("Technical Systems Exploitation Effectiveness") in 1999, as well as a book entitled "Procesy naprawy maszyn. Teoria i praktyka" ("Machine Repair. Theory and Practice") in 2002. The book crowns a few years’ period of scientific and technological cooperation between the universities and has led to the signing of an agreement on exchanges involving students and staff of the Administration, Agriculture and Environmental Engineering departments. Applied economics, agricultural economics and production in general are the topic of these exchanges. In May 2003, one of the academic employees of UWM’s Administration Department took part in a conference in Kaliningrad. The conference was part of UWM’s activity as a member of the Baltic Sea Region Universities Network.

For a few years now the Geodesy and Land Management Department (UWM) has been working with the Western Division of the Earth Magnetism, Ionosphere and Radio Wave Propagation Institute of the Kaliningrad Academy of Science (Satellite Observatory in Lamkovek). They are using the results of GPS observations to study the dynamics of the ionosphere and their influence on geodesical calculations.

The International Education Centre in Braniewo (Międzynarodowe Centrum Edukacyjne w Braniewie), founded in May 2002, is also a part of the Poland-Kaliningrad academic network. The unit was co-founded by the UWM, the KSU and the University of Turku in Finland. The centre is to function as a meeting place for scientists, artists, cultural figures from Baltic Sea states as well as those affiliated with the universities of the Baltic Universities Network, comprising universities from Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Russia. In addition, the centre has its own study and research programs dealing with the spiritual and material heritage of the Baltic lands. During the 2002-2003 academic year, there were over 200 students registered at the centre, including 21 Russians from Kaliningrad. In 2003-2004, 20 new students enrolled at the centre. As at Viadrina (the European University founded in 1991 in Frankfurt an der Oder), the subject matter of the courses often has to do with the proximity of the border. Courses include Russian language and literature (with elements of English), international relations, education in border regions, and commodity trade studies (concerned with the organization of the national and international commodity trade). The graduates of this last course can go on to work as customs officers.

Students from Kaliningrad are currently only enrolled in the Russian literature and language course with elements of English. The centre currently faces financial difficulty. Its founders assumed it would run on EU subsidies destined to support the idea of building a friendly relationship with Kaliningrad, but so far, the brunt of financial and administrative responsibility has been on the shoulders of the UWM. The rector of KSU claims that the future of the Braniewo
initiative is dependent not only on decisions made by participating universities but also on relations between Poland and Russia.1

There is also a number of non-public higher education institutions participating in exchanges with Kaliningrad.

**The Academy of Computer Science and Economics**, affiliated with the *Society for Universal Knowledge* (Wyższa Szkoła Informatyki i Ekonomii Towarzystwa Wiedzy Powszechnej) in Olsztyń, has a cooperation agreement with the Economics Department at KSU. The agreement mentions the organization of common conferences, student events and teaching exchanges.2 The schools agreed to elaborate a strategy for cross-border cooperation and to describe and evaluate factors shaping the Polish-Russian borderland in the context of Poland’s and other European states’ accession to the EU.3 The representatives of the two institutions frequently express the need for greater cohesion between the voivodship (WM) and the District. The academy and KSU organized 7 international conferences, including: "Economics of the Borderland", Olsztyn, April 9-10, 1999; "The Role and Influence of Academic Institutions on Business Development", Kaliningrad July 27-28, 2000; "The Warmia and Mazury Region, the EU and Our Neighbours", Olsztyn April 5, 2002. They have also published 3 books: W. Bilczak, W. Zakharov, "Ekonomika Regionalna" ("Regional Economics"), Kaliningrad 1999; W. Bilczak, "Ekonomika przygraniczna" ("Economics of the Borderland"), Kaliningrad 2001; and W. Bilczak, "Cross-Border Economics" (in English), Olsztyn 2002. There was also a doctoral thesis defended by an employee of the academy at the KSU Economics Department.4

The second non-public academic institution working with Kaliningrad is the **Prof. Tadeusz Kotarbiński Academy of Computer Science and Administration in Olsztyn** (Olsztyńska Wyższa Szkoła Informatyki i Zarządzania im. Prof. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego). On June 11, 2002, the academy signed an agreement with the Kaliningrad State Technical University, agreeing to pursue common research projects, organize conferences, lectures, student and academic staff exchanges, publish textbooks and cooperate on EU-funded projects. Further plans included carrying out projects and producing materials dealing with the two regions’ mutual economic and trade potential. A survey, addressed to local entrepreneurs (also from Kaliningrad) was conducted within the framework of this project. Local entrepreneurs were asked their opinion on the condition, problems and possibilities of cross-border trade. The results of the survey will be published in 2004. They are intended to help local entrepreneurs and regional authorities to create a borderland business strategy.

The second largest city in the Warmia and Mazury region (after Olsztyn) is Elbląg. It has three higher education institutions: the State Trade School (Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa w Elblągu), the non-public Elbląg Humanities and Economics Academy (Elbląska Uczelnia Humanistyczno-Ekonomiczna) and an outpost of the Bogdan Jański Academy (Wydział Zamiejscowy Szkoły Wyższej im. Bogdana Jańskiego, also non-public). None of them has any type of agreement with institutions in Kaliningrad. However, the Elbląg Humanities and Economics Academy is very keen to establish partnerships. The school’s representatives are in an advanced phase of talks with Russian authorities about signing agreements with the Kaliningrad section of the International University and the Kaliningrad International Humanities Institute. The projected partnerships would include common research projects and academic staff and student exchanges. The Elbląg academy currently employs a small number of academic staff from the Baltic Economy and Finance Institute in Kaliningrad and the Baltic State Academy in Kaliningrad. There are also plans to organize two conferences with guest speakers from Kaliningrad during the 2003/2004 academic year.

In 2001, the **Bogdan Jański Academy Unit in Olsztyn** (Wydział Zamiejscowy Szkoły Wyższej im. Bogdana Jańskiego) hosted a conference entitled "Business Development Perspectives in the Elbląg Region in the Context of Necessary Changes in the Kaliningrad District". The unit’s contacts with the Russian side mainly amount to informal contacts with members of the Russian academia.

The State Trade School in Elbląg (Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa w Elblągu) is not engaged in partnerships with Kaliningrad.

The **Baltic Research Centre in Frombork** (Bałtycki Ośrodek Badawczy we Fromborku) is engaged in scientific cooperation with partners from the District. The Centre is an outpost (founded in May 2001) of the Aleksander Gieysztor Humanities Academy (Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczno-Ekonomiczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztor) in Pułtusk. Its purpose is to research the historical relationship between the Warmia and Mazovia regions.

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3. T. C. Malec, *Wykład Towarzystwa Wiedzy Powszechnej w upowszechnianie wiedzy o Unii Europejskiej a współpraca przygraniczna*, w: Strategia rozwoju współpracy przygranicznej województwa warmińsko-mazurskiego w kontekście integracji z Unią Europejską, Olsztyn b. r. w., s. 39.
It is also engaged in projects with other educational and research institutions in the Baltic Sea region. The Centre and the Kaliningrad State University have an agreement regarding common research, conferences, academic staff and doctoral exchanges. On June 10, 2003, they universities' rectors called a common scientific commission on the Vistula Lagoon. The aim of the commission is to create a basis for educational and other types of undertaking in order to develop the Vistula Lagoon, highlighting its rich natural potential as well as its artistic and historical achievements and focussing on its significance within the context of EU enlargement.10

The foregoing analysis invites the following conclusions:

1. Cooperation between academic institutions in the Warmia and Mazury voivodship and the Kaliningrad District is widespread. Most Warmia and Mazury universities are formally or informally involved in activities with partners from the District.

2. The most common form of cooperation involves organizing conferences, seminars and other types of meetings between academic staff and students. It is also important that Polish professors can do research in Kaliningrad and vice versa, as it allows them to exchange information and to compare results.

3. The most active participant in these exchanges is the University of Warmia and Mazury. Most of the university's 14 departments maintain contacts with institutions in the District. The UWM was the initiator and driving force behind the creation of the International Education Centre in Braniewo, which has a chance of becoming an important platform for the sharing of experiences between Polish and Russian students and academic staff. There are some doubts however about whether it makes sense for Russians to study Russian language and literature in Poland, while other courses, permitting them to get to know Polish language and culture for instance, could be offered. It would seem that the Polish side is not really making the most of the possibilities the Braniewo project offers.

4. It has to be kept in mind that the establishment of partnerships depends both on the willingness of partners and on the availability of funds.11 Russian universities — as opposed to Western ones — have very limited financial resources. Polish universities are also often not viewed as an interesting partner by the Russian side, despite the fact that they usually have better resources and equipment. Kaliningrad universities often prefer to cooperate with even richer Western universities.

2. The Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn (Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie)

Since 1994, the Wojciech Kętrzyński Research Centre in Olsztyn has been engaged in partnerships with the Kaliningrad District. The centre hosts annual seminars on political, economic, cultural and social issues related to the District. The Polish Consul General, representatives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Eastern Studies Centre (Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich) have participated in these seminars. The centre cooperates with the History Department at the Kaliningrad State University, hosts guest lectures by the department's professors and has published their work in Polish translation. The centre's representatives actively participate in scientific and cultural events in Kaliningrad, like the international academic session organized by the Kaliningrad State University to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the District's creation, or the 50th anniversary of the Kaliningrad Archival Service (organized by the State Archives of Kaliningrad).

Since 1994, the centre has been publishing a bulletin entitled "Obwód Kaliningradzki. Przegląd faktów, wydarzeń, opinii" ("The Kaliningrad District. A Survey of Facts, Events and Opinions"). It is the only publication of its type in Poland and contains socio-economic, political and military data on Kaliningrad as well as reviews of Russian and often German and Lithuanian press. One can also find information on foreign affairs (subsections like Kaliningrad-World, Kaliningrad-Poland, Kaliningrad-Lithuania or Kaliningrad-Germany). The material presented is not commented on. The editors only prepare a short introductory article presenting the major issues. In May 2004 the bulletin celebrated its 10th anniversary.

The number of projects the centre initiates with Kaliningrad largely depends on the availability of funds. There are periods when cooperation is more intense due to an inflow of capital.

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10 http://www.wsh.edu.pl
3. Cross-border Cooperation between Cultural Institutions

Anna Gajło

Cultural institutions are legal subjects in their own right, which means that they are not subsumed under laws applicable to communes (gmina) or districts (powiat). They can own property and assets and have their own income. It is for this reason — though they remain subject to the rule of territorial governments — that they merit a separate section.

Cultural cooperation between the Warmia and Mazury voivodship and the Kaliningrad District reaches back to the 1950s. The years 1948-1955 were a dead period, with no border crossing open. There was no cross-border cooperation other than military cooperation. After 1955, two periods can be distinguished. The activities undertaken by cultural institutions prior to and after 1989 differ in nature and number.

Prior to 1989 cultural cooperation with the District was not a matter of "private" initiative but part of the federal program of cooperation with the Soviet Union. It was directly linked to Polish-Russian political relations and mainly involved so-called 'high culture', which meant that it was state-run theatres, orchestras, philharmonics, museums, archives and galleries that communicated. The positive fallout of this situation was that the Polish and Russian cultural elites were able to mingle. The two countries' (or their governments') approval of these activities was of great help to cultural development. There was yearly pressure to increase the number of events and due attention was given to the technical and administrative side of event production.

Political changes in the 80s and 90s led to changes in the nature of cultural cooperation. The new government was not interested in maintaining the same type of cultural contacts. Economic cooperation became the new focus. Those who continued to cooperate with Eastern partners as they had prior to 1989 were soon confronted with a shortage of funds, which the new authorities no longer provided. The financial factor had important bearing on what was to become of the Polish-Russian cultural partnership, both on the Russian and the Polish side.

An increase of bureaucracy in Russia after 1989 currently constitutes another barrier to the transfer of exhibits. Till now, all the exhibitor on the Polish side had to do was transport the exhibit pieces to the border, where they would be picked up by the Russian exhibitor. Presently, all exhibits have to undergo a detailed border check, with every piece having to be examined and documented by the appropriate customs authority, which makes the process very time-consuming and discouraging.

One of the institutions cooperating with Kaliningrad long before 1989 (and continuing to cooperate) is the Warmia and Mazury Museum in Olsztyn (Muzeum Warmii i Mazur w Olsztynie). The museum cooperates in four respects: exhibit exchange, employee exchange, direct contact between museum administrators, participation in the activities of the Association of Museums and Castles around the Baltic Sea. In the 1970s, the museum made initial contact with the Historical and Art Museum of Kaliningrad (the District's main museum), and with the Modern Art Gallery in Kaliningrad in the 1990s. Cooperation is still active in both cases. The Warmia and Mazury Museum and the Historical and Art Museum of Kaliningrad exchange exhibits at least once a year. The employee exchanges of the 80s and 90s also proved to be a worthwhile undertaking, permitting specialists from many areas to take advantage of the partner's resources and to establish personal contacts.

As a result of making contact with the Modern Art Gallery in Kaliningrad (in the 90s), the museums have been able to offer each other: technical aid, consultations, experience-sharing and contacts to other art institutions, the invitation to participate in cultural and scientific events and exhibit exchange. Since the mid-1990s, employees of the Warmia and Mazury Museum and the Modern Art Gallery have been participating in the activities of the Association of Museums and Castles around the Baltic Sea. The association meets at least once a year and has released a publication entitled "Zamki wokół Morza Bałtyckiego" ("Castles Around the Baltic Sea"). A book presenting the most interesting items in Baltic Sea region museum collections is also underway.

A special role in cultural cooperation is played by the Museum of Folk Culture in Węgorzewo (Muzeum Kultury Kaliningrad-Koenigsberg 2002.

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Examples of Warmia and Mazury Museum exhibits shown at the Historical and Art Museum of Kaliningrad: "Graphic Art of the 80s. Searches and Continuations" (1994); "The Gothic Architecture of Warmia and Mazury in the Photographs of Adalbert Guski" (1996); "Plates from the Collections of the Warmia and Mazury Museum" (1996); "Warmia and Mazury Back in Poland" (1985); "The Red Army in Warmia and Mazury in 1945 — Photograph Exhibit" (1988); "Teutonic and Prussian Coins from the XVIIIth to the XXth Century". Exhibits featured by the Historical and Art Museum of Kaliningrad at the Warmia and Mazury Museum: "Russian and Soviet Coins and Banknotes: Koenigsberg — Kaliningrad". A photography exhibit about the history of Kaliningrad (city) as well as exhibits of works by contemporary artists from Kaliningrad have also been organized.

The exchanges were two weeks long (if one employee participated) and one week long (if two employees participated).

Exhibition of works by Hieronim Skurpski. Paintings, graphic art, drawings (1997); The Polish exhibit at the VII Baltic Graphic Biennale Kaliningrad-Koenigsberg 2002.
The museum also houses a section of the Polish Community Association (Koło Stowarzyszenia "Wspólnota Polska") as well as "Patrimony", a society devoted to protecting the cultural heritage of regions that were once part of Poland (Towarzystwo Ratowania Dziedzictwa Kulturowego Kresów Dawnych i Obecnych "Ojcowizna"). The three institutions have been cooperating with the District since 1992. Their activities involve hosting folk dance and music ensembles, concerts, reviews, art camps, exchanging art, photography and craft exhibits, providing mutual aid in gaining access to historical and ethnographic source materials. They are also engaged in common research projects dealing with culture, history, archeology, folk art and the folklore of the borderland. Their activities include sharing experiences with respect to cultural heritage conservation and hosting hiking and tour groups, including special interest tours. The level of activity has grown in recent years and new funds have become available. In 2001, the Museum of Folk Culture and the administration of the Chernyakhovsk region were involved in a project called "Get to Know your Neighbour". The project, aimed at strengthening cross-border cooperation through the exchange of dance and music ensembles, artists and creators of culture, was financed from Phare funds. In June 2003, young people from Kaliningrad participated in dance workshops and the International Rally in Węgorzewo. In August of the same year the International Folk Fair welcomed the Polish Community Association Choir, the Rosijana Choir from Chernyakhovsk as well as artists from Chernyakhovsk, Kaliningrad and Osersk. Every year, the Węgorzewo museum presents its exhibits in the District. Two exhibits were held at the Polish Consulate General in 2003: "Visions of Poland" and "The Art of Anna Dąbrowska". The museum is currently involved in the "Across the Way" ("Za miedzą") project (since September 2003), subsidized by the Phare Programme as part of the Euroregion Niemen. One of the project partners is the Foundation for the Development of Local Democracy in Gusev. The project will include cross-border cultural exchanges as well as a workshop cycle devoted to cultural patrimony.

Since the 1970s, the Voivodship Public Library in Olsztyn (Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna w Olsztynie) has been cooperating with the Kaliningrad District Academic Library. A cooperation agreement was signed in 1987 and updated in 1994. Forms of cooperation include: study trips for library employees, exchanging and exhibiting collections15, seminars, academic sessions and conferences.16 These activities have given library staff the chance to compare Polish and Russian library systems. The Russians were especially impressed by Olsztyn’s achievements in the field of organizing and equipping branch libraries.

In January 2003, during the Three Partners Forum in Olsztyn, cultural representatives from Poland, Russia and Denmark inaugurated the "Regional Information on the Internet" project. The idea is to create a special internet service featuring information about the EU and the project participants.

Since 2001, the Voivodship Public Library in Olsztyn has been participating in the Public Libraries Mobilising Advanced Networks (PULMAN) project. The aim of the project is to promote modern library technology in Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries.

Representatives of the Municipal Public Library in Olsztyn (Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Olsztynie) have also been sharing their experiences with the staff of the Municipal Public Library in Kaliningrad.

In April 2002, the Municipal Public Library in Bartoszyce (Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Bartoszycach) began cooperating with libraries in the District, especially those in Pionersky and Bagrationovsk. The libraries drew up a common plan for 2002, including a children’s competition to promote books about ecology, an exhibition of the winning drawings, a library staff get-together, meetings with local artists, displays of the most widely read Polish and Russian books.17

Political change did not have a negative impact on cooperation between libraries, which has been growing steadily since the 1980s. It did however have a negative effect on theatres. The Stefan Jaracz Theatre (Teatr im. Stefana Jaracza) in Olsztyn, whose collaboration with Kaliningrad began in the 1950s, now seldom participates in events across the border. Kaliningrad theatre ensembles rarely perform in Poland. In March 2003, the Music Theatre of Kaliningrad appeared at the XI Olsztyn Theatre Festival. It was the only visit by a Kaliningrad theatre that year though.

Political changes also had negative consequences for Polish exhibitors. Yet in spite of massive technical
and bureaucratic difficulties, the Olsztyn Art Exhibit Office (Biuro Wystaw Artystycznych) tries its best to promote Polish culture in Russia and vice versa. It presented its collection of linocuts and wood carvings at the 1998 Baltic Graphic Biennale. In 2000, the director of the Art Exhibit Office was part of the Biennale’s selection committee, which made it possible for 15 Polish artists to have their work exhibited that year. In 2001, the Office held an exhibit ("Art without Borders") of works by artists from Olsztyn’s partner cities, including Kaliningrad. An exhibit of works by Polish artist Wojciech Jerzy Bielecki also opened at the Consulate General of Poland in Kaliningrad in June 2003.

The Cultural Centre in Goldap (Dom Kultury w Goldapi) has been engaged in partnerships with the cities of Gusev, Osersk and Nesterov. Cooperation initially involved the organization of mass events — so-called "City Days" — to which artists and musicians were invited. These events did not take place regularly. For ten years however, Goldap has been home to the annual "Dance Encounters" International Dance Workshops, also participated in by dancers from Russia. The aim of the event is to allow Polish, Russian, Lithuanian and Belorussian youth to form cultural contacts through dance workshops, shows, concerts and integration activities.

From January to October 2003, the "Turning Neighbours into Partners" project was run by the RITA (Region in Transition) Program’s Foundation for Education for Democracy. The project encompassed territorial governments along the Polish-Russian border (the communes of Goldap, Dubeninki and Banie Mazurskie and the regions of Gusev, Nesterov and Osersk). The project was aimed at establishing ties between the partners, encouraging them to brainstorm for new ways to cooperate through study visits, workshops, exhibits, concerts and presentations of activities within the communities involved.

In 1999, the Culture, Sports and Recreation Centre of the City and Commune of Młynary (Ośrodek Sportu, Kultury i Rekreacji Miasta i Gminy Młynary), Elbląg county, and local government authorities from Kaliningrad organized a project featuring minority cultures ("Integrations 99"). Two more projects were organized in cooperation with the municipal area authorities of Baltiysk: "Closer to Nature — Outdoor Drawing", aimed at giving artists the chance to establish personal contacts and share techniques (the project included staging a common happening entitled "The Border Does Not Divide"), and a second project: "Integrations 2001", including concerts, meetings between artists, etc. Both of these were subsidized by Phare (Euroregion Baltic). The cost of the former amounted to 7246,51 euros, with 6561,42 euros spent on the latter.

Also worthy of mention is the "Światowid" Cultural and International Cooperation Centre (Centrum Kultury i Współpracy Międzynarodowej "Światowid") in Elbląg. In 2001, the Centre organized the "Kadyny Art Village" International Workshops in cooperation with partners from Kaliningrad and Osersk. The goal of the workshops was to stimulate and support artistic creativity, promote regional art and create international ties in the Euroregion Baltic. Later that year the centre organized workshops for the disabled of the Euroregion Baltic ("Together in the Euroregion"). Organizations from Klaipeda, Kaliningrad and Naestved (Denmark) participated in the project, aimed at bringing together professionals who use art in their therapy, thus allowing for the sharing of experiences and knowledge. The projects were subsidized by Phare. Representatives of the youth art scene in the Kaliningrad District also participate in the "Bridges" European Artistically Gifted Youth Encounters (2003-2004), the intent of which is to unite young people on their way into the EU. The program includes competitions, exhibits, reviews.

Common activities with partners from the District are also being pursued by the Youth Cultural Centre in Elbląg (Młodzieżowy Dom Kultury w Elblągu) and the Municipal and Communal Cultural Centre (Miejsko-Gminny Ośrodek Kultury) in Dobre Miasto. The first is engaged in co-organizing the Children and School Youth International Art Competition in the Euroregion Baltic: "From the Sea We Come". Children from the Youth Palace in Kaliningrad participate. The Dobre Miasto Cultural Centre organizes the annual "Musical Families International Encounters", participated in by Kaliningrad families. In 2002, the Municipal and Communal Cultural Centre in Olsztyn and the administrators of Polesk organized an international workshop for artistically-gifted children — "Talent Knows No Bounds".

An analysis of cross-border cooperation between cultural institutions invites the following conclusions:

1. The transformation of political power structures in the 80s and 90s had an impact on cultural cooperation. Prior to 1989, cooperation took place in the sphere of so-called "high culture" and mainly involved archives, philharmonics, museums, theatres. In the 90s this model was supplanted by cooperation in the sphere of mass culture with a local/regional grounding (activities engaged in by inhabitants of individual communes).

2. This type of cooperation allows for the coming together of border communities, is conducive to the rise of tolerance and the stimulation of social and entrepreneurial activities and strengthens ties between neighbouring communities.

3. Currently, the intensity of cultural cooperation mainly depends on the degree to which institutions are able to raise additional funds.
4. The Olsztyn media are not involved in cooperation. The Kaliningrad District is rarely mentioned in local broadcasts (or if it is, it is mainly in connection with incidents at the border, the District’s military potential or AIDS), which reinforces the negative picture of Kaliningrad’s inhabitants still predominating in the minds of Poles.
Chapter V

The Cross-border Activity of NGOs

Ewa Romanowska and Beata Samojłowicz

1. NGOs in the Kaliningrad District and the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship

It is difficult to set the exact number of NGOs in the Kaliningrad District. In 2002, there were 1400 of them registered with the Kaliningrad District Justice Department. It must be noted however, that the figure also includes labour unions, political party branch offices, sports associations and even horticultural societies. On the other hand, many NGOs are not registered. Most Kaliningrad NGOs have a regional status, but most are based in the District’s capital. Those with headquarters in Kaliningrad (city) have the best human resource and technical base. Many of the NGOs based outside the capital have problems with access to a telephone or internet connection. They also lack funding on the local level (from local authorities, themselves running on tight budgets). The members of these NGOs are often volunteers.

Depending on the area of their activities, NGOs in the Kaliningrad District can be divided into a number of groups: women’s organizations, cultural societies, children’s and youth associations, national societies, associations of the resettled, human rights organizations, organizations for the disabled and ecological organizations.

The activity of NGOs in the region is financed from Russian as well as foreign sources, both public and private. The most active sponsor until 2003 was the Open Society Institute. A separate program was also financed by UNICEF. Other sponsors include: the New Perspectives Foundation, the Eurasia Foundation, National Endowment for Democracy, World Wildlife Fund, the Charities Aid Foundation, the Civil Rights Foundation, the Robert Bosch Foundation, the European Commission, the governments of Denmark, Finland, Germany and Sweden. There are aid programs offered by the embassies of Canada and the Netherlands as well as the Consulate General of the United States. The involvement of entrepreneurs in financing non-governmental initiatives is still small.

Some organizations are financed directly by foreign founders or partners. These include: a branch of the German Charitable Foundation "Antropos" — offering aid to children’s homes, the "Denta" social association (employing German dentist volunteers), the Catholic Charity Centre "Caritas West", offering humanitarian aid as well as medical and legal advice.¹

There are about 1700 NGOs registered in the Warmia and Mazury voivodship according to a study conducted by the KOLON/JAWOR Association. The number of registered NGOs per 10 000 inhabitants is 11.6, which is high compared to the national average.

¹ I. Dementjew, Organizacje pozarządowe w obwodzie kaliningradzkim i możliwości współpracy z polskimi organizacjami, w: Atlas organizacji pozarządowych obwodu kaliningradzkiego, wydanie II, Kaliningrad 2003.
According to the Elbląg Non-Governmental Initiative Support Association, most NGOs (about 250) are based in Olsztyn (170,000 inhabitants). There are about 170 NGOs active in Elbląg, the second largest city in the voivodship (130,000 inhabitants), and about 80 in Elk (56,000 inhabitants). A number of cities in the region (most of them powiat capitals) are also home to NGOs. They include: Braniewo, Giżycko, Godap, Itawa, Kętrzyn, Mikofajki, Olsztynek, Ostróda and Szczytno. It must be noted that not all organizations are equally active. According to the Social Politics Department of the Olsztyn Municipal Office, there are only about 90 NGOs ‘visible’ in Olsztyn.

The non-governmental sector of the Warmia and Mazury voivodship has not been studied in detail, which is why no definite picture of it can be drawn. Most of the regional organizations deal with the most important issues in the region, including unemployment, hard living conditions, social and political passivity, social exclusion and alienation. One of the original features of the region’s NGO scene is the presence of German and Ukrainian minority associations. In small towns and villages, the only social association, apart from the Church, is often the voluntary fire brigade.

Almost all of the national organizations founded prior to 1989 are active in the voivodship (including the Polish Youth Scout Association, the Polish Red Cross, the Polish Children’s Friends Society, Polish National Television). Moreover, the Elbląg Volunteer Centre is part of the national volunteer network. There are Local Activity Centres (Centra Aktywności Lokalnej) operating in six towns in the region. The region is also home to a few independent sections of the Polish Association for the Mentally Handicapped (Polskie Stowarzyszenie na Rzecz Osób z Upospolitaniem Umystowym).

There are three local funds in the voivodship: the Elbląg Region Local Fund (Fundusz Lokalny Regionu Elbląskiego), the Warmia and Mazury Local Fund in Lidzbark Warmiński, administered by the Foundation for Social Development (Fundacja Rozwoju Społecznego — Warmińsko-Mazurski Fundusz Lokalny w Lidzbarku Warmińskim) and the Nidzica Local Fund (Nidzicki Fundusz Lokalny).

### 2. Polish-Russian Cross-border Cooperation

According to a study by the KŁON/JAWOR Association only 6.9% of Polish NGOs view international cooperation as one of their top three areas of activity. Only 2% of organizations view it as their main activity (the study only includes narrowly defined NGOs, i.e. foundations and associations).

NGOs are one of the main actors in cross-border cooperation on the Polish as well as the Russian side. They have the advantage of being flexible, able to make quick decisions and approach problems in an innovative way. Due to a poor development of structures, NGOs involved in cross-border activities do not have access to large funds.

The study indicates that in the years 1990-2003 twenty-four organizations from Warmia and Mazury (1.4% of the total number) began cooperating with the District.

Organizations on both sides of the border often deal with the same issues, which makes it easier to find project partners. The main difference between Warmia and Mazury and the District lies in the fact that organizations for the resettled constitute a large part of the latter’s NGO scene, while such organizations are practically non-existent on the Polish side.

One of the sectors in which Polish NGOs could potentially excel, as far cooperation goes, is work with the physically and mentally handicapped. The sector is hardly developed in Kaliningrad. Russian organizations expect help from Polish NGOs in developing the Third Sector in the District.

Warmia and Mazury NGOs are not especially involved in projects with Belarus and the Ukraine. This goes to show that geographical proximity is an important factor in the choice of cooperation partners. The authors of the study found information on 68 cross-border projects administered by NGOs. 42 of these were bilateral, the remaining 26 multilateral (for information about the projects, see Appendix).

Most of the bilateral projects were carried out by organizations from Elbląg, Gołdap, Nidzica and Olsztyn. Elbląg deserves special attention, since 8 Elbląg organizations were involved: the Elbląg Association of Social Aid Organizations, the Non-Governmental Initiative Support Centre in Elbląg, the NGO Support Association in Elbląg, the Foundation for the Development of Regional Democracy — Centre for the Development of the Local Self-Government in Olsztyn, "Camp Rodowo" International Youth Convention Centre, the Nidzica Development Foundation NIDA, the "Borussia" Cultural Community Association and the Olsztyn branch of the Society for Universal Knowledge (see Appendix for Polish names). It should be noted that long-term projects with the District are carried on by the organizations that declared international cooperation to be one of their top three areas of activity. The remaining 18 organizations had only been engaged in incidental projects.

The activities undertaken by NGOs differ in scope, scale and type. Most of the projects realized to date have taken the form of seminars, internships, study visits,
workshops, common publications, outdoor drawing or painting sessions, exhibits, database creation.

The main sources of funding for NGO-run projects are:
The RITA Program of the Polish-American Freedom Foundation (administered by the Foundation for Education for Democracy), the Chancellery of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland, the Euroregions Baltic and Niemen and the Stefan Batory Foundation. Individual projects have also been financed by the Royal Netherlands Embassy (the MATRA KAP program). Partners from Kaliningrad can also be included in projects implemented by the German Polish Youth Office as so-called "third country participants". The European Youth Programme also has this type of possibility, though it has to be kept in mind that involvement in these projects is often conditional on meeting formal requirements that are often beyond the reach of a small organization with little experience of international cooperation. Cross-border projects on Warmia and Mazury territory are also financed from local government funds.

The RITA Program of the Polish-American Freedom Foundation has been active since 2001. Three consecutive editions of the program have led to the realization of 160 projects involving 20 countries (18 projects involving the Kaliningrad District: 4 in 2001, 7 in 2002 and 7 in 2003). Fifteen of these projects were realized by organizations from Warmia and Mazury (the remaining 3 by organizations from the Mazovia, Pomerania and Lublin voivodships). The average cost of a 'Kaliningrad' project amounted to 35 000 zloty.

The RITA Program is an example of the steady rise of interest in projects with partners from Kaliningrad. For instance, in 2001 there were 6 projects involving partners from the District (4 on Warmia and Mazury territory) and 12 in 2002 (6 on Warmia and Mazury territory).

The Chancellery of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland subsidizes cross-border projects through the Technical Aid to Transforming Countries program ("Pomoc techniczna dla państw w drodze transformacji"). Two editions of the competition were held in 2001 and 2003. Three projects involving partners from the Kaliningrad District were subsidized, all of them realized on the territory of Warmia and Mazury.

A large number of cross-border projects are financed from the funds of the Euroregions Baltic and Niemen'.

It is the grant-makers who indicate the area that the cross-border activity is to focus on. In the case of Kaliningrad, an important place is occupied by projects devoted to the development of civil society and the Third Sector. Other favoured areas of cooperation are social aid, protection of cultural patrimony and local development. Examples of initiatives in these areas have been described below.

One of the first long-term, multi-faceted projects involving Kaliningrad was "Breaking Through Isolation — Toward a Regional Partnership", inaugurated by the Stefan Batory Foundation in 2000. The project included a workshop for NGO leaders and activists from the District, a study visit and individual internships. The project was realized in cooperation with a local partner, the Borussia Cultural Community Association. The Non-governmental Initiative Support Association in Elblag also participated in the final phase of the project. Most of the activities were carried out on the territory of Warmia and Mazury and involved about 60 people from the District.

The Foundation for the Development of Local Democracy in Olsztyn has also implemented projects, such as publishing an atlas of Kaliningrad NGOs (see Appendix). The atlas contains basic information on the interest area of each NGO, their experience and area of cooperation with Polish partners, and lists a contact person in Poland. Two editions of the atlas have appeared so far (in 2001 and 2003; a new edition is currently underway). Since 2001, the FDLH has also been running a project called "INFRUST — Information and Trust" which has led to the establishment of contact points (in Kaliningrad and Olsztyn) for Poles and Russians interested in cross-border cooperation. A website (www.infrust.org) was also created. By 2003, 116 actors from the two countries (56% from Poland, 44% from Russia) had contacted one of the points. Out of these, 80% were NGOs, 12% — administrative representatives, 5% — schools and 3% — business organizations.

A new initiative whose aim is to extend support to NGO-run trilateral projects is the "Social Initiative Partnership. Germany — Kaliningrad — Poland" ("Partnerstwo inicjatyw społecznych. Niemcy — Obwód Kaliningradzki — Polska"). The grant program will finance local civil initiatives in Kaliningrad, include these initiatives in a wider network of Polish-Russian-German cooperation and promote initiatives concerned with raising the quality of life. The program was prepared by the Stefan Batory Foundation in cooperation with the Robert Bosch Foundation.

NGO cooperation also extends into the social sphere and includes conferences, internships and study visits (mainly to Poland). The "Let's Share Our Experience" project is an example of this type of cooperation. Thirteen internships for social aid government workers from Kaliningrad were offered within the framework of this project. The interns visited children’s and youth activity clubs as well as social aid centres.

Another interesting project dealing with the protection of cultural patrimony was the "Where We Come From" project, realized by the Rural Cultural
Animators’ Society in Jonkowo. The novelty of the project consisted in the fact that its participants were small villages far from the region’s administrative centre.

The "Goldap Transborder Encounters", organized by the Foundation for the Development of the Goldap Region is an exemplary project breaking through the conference — study visit — internships model. Its goals are: to abolish the stereotype of borderland peripheralness through conferences, workshops and cross-border micro-projects such as common action to protect the environment, making biking trails and preparing publications. Participating in the project are: the commune of Goldap, the Russian regions of Gusev, Nesterovsk and Osersk and the Lithuanian regions of Sakiai and Wisztitys. The project has led to the release of a two-language publication entitled "Goldapskie spotkania transgraniczne" ("Goldap Transborder Encounters") as well as "Polsko-rosyjska wspólna przedsiębiorczość" ("Polish-Russian Common Entrepreneurship") — a guide for entrepreneurs intending to invest in Kaliningrad. A third publication entitled "Od Ban Mazurskich do Balwierzyszki" ("From Banie Mazurskie to Balwierzyszka"), about the historical peculiarities and tourist attractions of the Polish-Russian-Lithuanian borderland, is in preparation. An attempt is being made to create something to the effect of an equivalent of the Foundation for the Development of the Goldap Region in Gusev. Plans for bicycle paths on both sides of the Romincka Forest have been made.

NGOs from the Warmia and Mazury region are also involved in disseminating information about the EU (projects run by the Regional Tourist and European Information Centre in Elbląg).

Most cross-border projects in the Polish-Russian borderland are bilateral, though multilateral projects are gradually beginning to appear. The "Borussia" Cultural Community has realized trilateral youth projects. One could also cite the "United by Democracy" project run by the Non-governmental Initiative Support Association in Elbląg, which included a study visit to organizations belonging to the Warmia and Mazury Voivodship NGO Support Network as well as their partners. The program also included internships and a conference.

The most effective and stable projects are usually those that have to do with the general mission of a given NGO. They are also the ones with the highest chance of being continued. The activities of the Borussia Cultural Community are a case in point. Since the 90s, the Community has been involved in organizing exchanges for young people from Kaliningrad, Warmia and Mazury and Germany, bringing together young representatives of nations that were historically all part of East Prussia.

The most frequently encountered barriers to cross-border cooperation have to do with crossing the border (long waiting time, corruption among the border guard, problems getting a visa), bureaucracy on the Russian side, a poor understanding of the philosophy of sustainable development and the role of NGOs, lack of knowledge of the neighbour’s language (or English). NGO representatives also report having difficulty getting funds for cross-border cooperation. This results in part from there being too few grant programs and partly from the organizations’ lack of experience in applying for grants. Moreover, there is still a great disparity between organizations on the Polish and on the Russian side. Polish organizations have wider experience and better technical resources. The organizations that get involved in cross-border cooperation are usually those that have already attained a certain level of institutional development (own office, full-time employees, adequate office and technical equipment), and there are still few of these, even on the Polish side. Lack of fixed procedures governing the flow of information between organizations and program sections is also a problem. Few cross-border projects are based on cooperation between local government, NGOs and entrepreneurs. A common grant policy taking account of the peculiar character of the Polish-Russian borderland would be in order. Studies suggest that grant-makers have a considerable influence on the nature of the projects undertaken.

Summing up, we can draw the following conclusions:
1. Despite the fact that there are many potential areas for cooperation, cross-border projects constitute only a small part of the activity of Warmia and Mazury NGOs.
2. The number of organizations involved in projects with partners from the District has been growing steadily since the year 2000. This growth is strictly linked to the appearance of new sources of funding.
3. Most of the projects are aimed at supporting the development of civil society in the Kaliningrad District.
4. The most popular forms of cooperation include: study visits, internships, seminars and conferences. These activities often do not engage the Russians to a sufficiently meaningful extent (since they are usually the audience and not the speakers).
5. The main barriers to cooperation are: difficulties crossing the border, bureaucracy on the Russian side, difficulty acquiring funds for cooperation projects, lack of information exchange procedures.
Chapter VI

Cooperation between
the Pomeranian
and Podlasie Voivodships
and the Kaliningrad
District

Marcin Chetmniak and Wojciech Kotowicz

1. Cooperation between
the Pomeranian Voivodship
and the Kaliningrad District

The Pomeranian voivodship is located in the
northern part of Poland, along the Baltic Sea coast. Its
area is equivalent to over 18,000 square kilometers,
which is about 6% of the total surface area of Poland.
The population of the voivodship is 2.2 million people,
most of them living in urban areas. The present
voivodship was created on January 1st, 1999 (as a result
of the national administrative reform). It encompasses
the old Gdańsk and Słupsk voivodships as well as parts of
the old Elbląg and Bydgoszcz voivodships. Pomerania
shares a 2 km border with Kaliningrad along the Vistula
Spit. The District of Kaliningrad, lying along the Bay of
Gdańsk (split between Russia and Poland) is the only
international cooperation partner contiguous with
Pomerania.

The main cooperation partners on the voivodship
side are: the voivodship office, the voivodship
parliamentary assembly, the communes of Gdańsk,
Sopot and Gdynia and the cities of Starogard Gdański
and Krynica Morska.

Cooperation between Kaliningrad and Pomerania
reaches back to the 90s. In 1992, the two signed an
agreement regarding cooperation in the spheres of the
economy, trade, agriculture, banking, sea transport,
international communication, environmental protection,
culture, science and tourism. In 1993, the Voivodship
Employment Office in Gdańsk and the Kaliningrad
Regional Employment Centre began cooperating. In
1997, the Voivodship of Gdańsk Assembly and the
Kaliningrad District Duma agreed to pursue interregional
economic cooperation (among other types of cooperation),
which led to the opening of a Kaliningrad representation
office in Rumia.

The Polish administrative reform of 1999 and the
creation of the Pomeranian voivodship made it
necessary to sign a new agreement between the new
territorial unit and the District authorities. One of the
documents outlining the nature of the relation between
the voivodship and the District was the Cooperation
Agreement between the Pomeranian Voivodship
Assembly and the Kaliningrad District Duma, signed on
June 25, 2001. The agreement became the institutional
basis for cooperation between the two regions. It
anticipated cooperation with a view to exchanging
experiences of self-government, information on
regional and local legislation (especially economic,
trade and tourism legislation), organizing workshops for
government administrative staff, mutual aid in building
a civil society.

On February 28, 2002, the voivodship and the
District signed another agreement regarding cooperation
in the spheres of the economy and manufacture,
agriculture, transport, environmental protection, health
and social aid, culture, science, art, sport, tourism, the development of civil society as well as exchange of information on preventing and dealing with the aftermath of natural catastrophes.

The Euroregion Baltic, created in 1998, provides an important platform for cooperation between Kaliningrad and the Pomeranian voivodship. The Baltic Sea States Subregional Cooperation provides yet another. The Subregional Cooperation was founded in 1993 (Declaration of Stavanger). It encompasses the whole of the Baltic Sea region, bringing together 193 regions from 10 countries. The organization’s priority is to stimulate economic, industrial (especially shipping), legal, social and cultural cooperation between the (subnational) microregions of the Baltic Sea area. The common activities of Pomerania and Kaliningrad within the framework of the BSSSC included a conference, held in Kaliningrad in March 2001, at which a large number of cooperation projects were submitted in the areas of social development aid, health and environmental protection.

An important role in the development of cooperation between the voivodship and the District is also played by the Baltic Economic Forum (Bałtyckie Forum Gospodarcze), founded in 1992. The Forum was hosted by Sopot (1994-1998) and Gdańsk (2000-2002), among other cities. The Forum brings together economic and financial actors as well as central, regional and local government representatives from Poland and Russia. The purpose of the Forum is to discuss barriers standing in the way of economic trade between Poland and Russia, to establish contacts and to share experiences.

The Baltic Cultural Centre (Nadbałtyckie Centrum Kultury) in Gdańsk has been the leading initiator of contacts in the sphere of culture. Since 1993, the centre has been organizing international conventions, conferences and festivals. Worthy of mention are: music and art festivals (such as the Baltic Graphic Art Triennale) organized in cooperation with the State Art Gallery in Kaliningrad, and folklore festivals (such as the Festival of the Folklore of Northern Peoples), with the participation of guest artists from Kaliningrad. Since 1995, the centre has also been organizing the Baltic Theatre Forum, a meeting place for actors, theatre animators, critics and directors, also from Kaliningrad.

Academic partnerships are also an important element of cooperation between Pomerania and the District. In 2002, the Kaliningrad State University and the University of Gdańsk signed a cooperation agreement. An active role in this partnership is played by the Geography and Regional Development research unit of the Biology, Geography and Oceanology Department (UG). The unit’s academic staff and their partners at KSU have organized a number of conferences. The last of these — "Geoeconomic and Geopolitical Problems of Co-Operation between Kaliningrad Oblast and north-east Polish Regions" — was held on 20-21 of May, 2003. The Transport and Maritime Trade Institute (UG) cooperates with the Economics Department at the Baltic State Fishing Fleet Academy in Kaliningrad (common research projects, conferences). The Linguistics, Literature and History Department (UG) also maintains contacts with Kaliningrad State University. The Technical University of Gdańsk cooperates with a number of Kaliningrad educational and research institutions, including the Kaliningrad Fishing Industry Technical Institute (academic and research as well as teaching cooperation). In December 1994, the TUG got involved in a project dealing with the conceptual side of reconstructing the Kaliningrad city centre. The Gdynia Maritime University is involved in sharing research and teaching experiences with the Fishing and Industrial Fleet Baltic State Academy in Kaliningrad.

Also worthy of mention are cooperation activities within the Baltic Sea Region Universities Network, created in February 2000 by representatives of 16 higher education institutions, including the KSU, the University of Gdańsk, the Technical University of Gdańsk (Politechnika Gdańska) and the Medical University of Gdańsk (Akademia Medyczna). The initiative serves as a basis for carrying on common research activities (on the Baltic region), academic staff exchanges, and promoting pro-European values.

The importance of the Pomeranian voivodship for regional cooperation among countries of the Baltic Sea basin is testified to by the fact that organizations like the Baltic Sea States Subregional Cooperation, the Union of the Baltic Cities, the Baltic Sea Tourism Commission and VASAB 2010 have their secretariats in Gdańsk.

Cooperation between Kaliningrad and Pomerania also takes the form of city partnerships. Five urban centres in the District cooperate with cities in the voivodship through the Union of the Baltic Cities. The union was created at a conference in Gdańsk (September 19-20, 1991). It was the first subregional forum uniting local authorities from Baltic states. Gdańsk and Gdynia were among the 32 founding cities. At the moment, the UBC incorporates 100 member cities with a total population of about 84 million people. The UBC statute identifies the union’s priorities as: regional development through the creation of conditions favourable to an economic partnership; organizing meetings, exhibits, academic seminars; carrying on and publicizing the results of research; promoting the historical, cultural and ecological

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1 See chapter II, section 4.
2 Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden, Poland (the West Pomeranian, Pomeranian and Warmia and Mazury voivodships) and Russia (the Kaliningrad District).
Cooperation between the Pomeranian Voivodship and the Kaliningrad District

Cooperation between the Pomeranian Voivodship and the Kaliningrad District

The UBC framework has permitted the establishment of bilateral city partnerships ("sister cities") between cities in Pomerania and the District. Gdynia and Gdańsk are paired up with Kaliningrad and Krynica Morska with Baltiysk.

A cooperation agreement between Gdynia and Kaliningrad (city) had initially been signed on October 27th, 1994. It was replaced by a new agreement making reference to the sister cities conception in July 1997. The document mentions common action for the purpose of establishing direct contact between state, social, trade and business actors of the two cities, with a view to benefitting production, trade, culture, research and environmental protection. The cooperation has led to:

- cooperation between the Gdynia World Trade Centre and the Administration Academy in Kaliningrad;
- Kaliningrad’s participation in the "Neighbours '94" fair and the Baltic Sea Region International Economy Exhibit — "Interbaltic '95";
- student exchanges between elementary schools;
- an intensification of relations between the cities’ Chambers of Commerce and Trade;
- the offer of charitable aid to pre-school nurseries, children's hospitals and homes.

Representatives of the city council of Gdynia also participated in a number of events in the Russian enclave. They were present when Kaliningrad received the Honorary Flag of the Council of Europe (in 1999) and at the celebration of "Kaliningrad Days" (2002). During the economic crisis of 1998, the citizens of Kaliningrad received financial aid amounting to over 26 000 euros from Gdynia. One of the most recent cooperation projects between Kaliningrad and Gdynia was a seminar entitled "United Against Drugs", whose participants included administrative, police and NGO employees from Poland, Russia, Sweden and Lithuania. According to experts, Gdynia (given the number of projects it has implemented or co-implemented) is the chief actor in Pomerania as far as cooperation with Kaliningrad is concerned.

The subregional cooperation between Kaliningrad and Gdańsk (under the Union of Baltic Cities banner) included holding the common presidency of the union's Transport Commission. It is within this framework that the Second Conference of the Ministers of Transport of the Baltic Sea States (February 24-25, 1994) was held. Ministers from 13 countries as well as representatives of international organizations including the EU, the UN and the OECD took part. The participants agreed it was necessary to improve border check procedures at Polish-Russian as well as Russian-Lithuanian border crossings.

The commission also expressed itself favourably about the Via Baltica and Via Hanseatica projects, which involve the creation of a transport corridor through Saint Petersburg and Kaliningrad.

Cooperation between Starogard Gdański and Kaliningrad is based on mutual visits by teachers, students and local government representatives as well as the cyclical "Starogard Gdański — Kaliningrad Economic Forum" held in Starogard.

One of the elements that are no doubt going to have an important influence on interregional cooperation between Pomerania and the Kaliningrad District is the Via Hanseatica project, involving the creation of a transport corridor through Hamburg, Szczecin, Gdańsk, Elbląg and Kaliningrad. The Pomeranian authorities are actively involved in rounding up support for the project (through the VASAB 2010 Plus program). The corridor has wide-ranging implications for cooperation within the context of the South Baltic Arc project, whose aims are:

- to increase trans-national integration, especially with Kaliningrad;
- to further regional development through cooperative action by program participants;
- to support the Via Hanseatica as a land route project but also in connection with the development of maritime infrastructure (ports).

2. Cooperation between the Podlasie Voivodship and the Kaliningrad District

Most active in cross-border cooperation with Kaliningrad are the voivodships bordering it (Pomerania and Warmia and Mazury). But other regions and urban centres have also been working with Kaliningrad for years. Special attention should be directed to the Podlasie voivodship, located in north-eastern Poland. To the north, the voivodship shares a 102 km border with Lithuania. It is bordered by Belarus (240 km border) to the east. The voivodship does not share a boundary with Kaliningrad, however, there are important east-west and north-south routes that cut across it (transit route from Berlin, through Warsaw and Grodno, to Saint Petersburg, and the future Via Baltica highway from Warsaw, through the Baltic republics, to Helsinki).

In 1995, an agreement was signed between the city of Białystok and Kaliningrad (extended in June, 2002). The agreement concerned cooperation in the fields of commercial entrepreneurship, infrastructure, municipal affairs and environmental protection. An important part was also to be played by contacts in the sphere of culture, education and sport. Cooperation results include:
commercial missions of Białystok entrepreneurs to the District; the sharing of experiences with regard to the functioning of municipal infrastructure, public transport and municipal sewage systems; cultural events including an exhibit of Russian art and performances (in Białystok) of the Tamara Bielecka Fashion Theatre from Kaliningrad.

An important role in cross-border cooperation, also with Kaliningrad, has been played by the Regional Planning Office of the Central Planning Office in Białystok (Biuro Planowania Regionalnego, Centralny Urząd Planowania w Białymstoku), which oversaw tasks related to the commercial reactivation of regions bordering the District.

As in the case of Pomerania, special attention should be given to discussing cooperation schemes elaborated within the framework of the Euroregion Niemen.

An important initiative was launched in October 2002 (together with the East West Institute) — the "Euroregion Network", a project aimed at the coordination of common activities in three Euroregions: Niemen, Baltic and Saule, and at creating a Small Business Fund for the region. Project activities include: a study visit to the Carpathian Foundation (Kosice, Hungary); publications on European experiences of interregional cooperation and local experiences of cooperation between Russia and the European Border Regions; a coordinating seminar in Kaliningrad, whose goal will be to elaborate a common action plan and a cross-border cooperation strategy for the Kaliningrad District.

Talks on the future of cooperation between the District and Podlasie are currently underway. A Russian delegation, led by District governor Vladimir Yegorov, including administration, regional government and business representatives from the District, was hosted by the city of Białystok from April 14 to 15, 2003. A statement of intent regarding further cooperation was signed at the Podlasie Voivodship Office. The statement mentions cooperation in areas such as construction, agriculture and fish processing. There were also plans for a tourist bus line connecting Białystok and Kaliningrad.

One of the most active institutions in promoting economic cooperation with the District is the Polish-Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce in Suwałki. The chamber was created in 1992 by Polish and Russian circles. As a bilateral commercial government unit, the PLCC plays a role in opinion making and carries on lobbying activities on behalf of commercial actors interested in taking up economic cooperation with countries of the Baltic Sea region, Kaliningrad and Belarus. The activities of the chamber include workshops and seminars, an information service and database, legal aid, marketing research, reports on specific areas of trade, the organization of commercial missions and exhibits. The chamber, uniting about 392 members from Poland and Lithuania, is currently involved in the preparation of a display featuring Polish publishers, in Kaliningrad.

In 1994, the PLCC launched a complex eastbound export program called "POLEXPORT". The program has included the organization of fairs and commercial exhibits in Augustów, Suwałki and Kaliningrad, among other places. Among the other initiatives and meetings organized by the chamber, the XI Commercial Forum of Eastern Markets (February 26-28, 2003) in Mikolajki deserves special attention. The forum brought together 500 entrepreneurs from several countries, including 68 from Russia (from Kaliningrad, Saint Petersburg, Ekaterinburg, Yaroslavl and Moscow).

An important role in the development of cooperative relations between Podlasie and the Kaliningrad District is also played by the Podlasie Business Club in Białystok, bringing together members from commercial and financial circles. The purpose of the club is to work toward establishing commercial partnerships with potential partners and to open up the Russian market to products from Podlasie. In June 2003, the club hosted a meeting to which the Mayor of Kaliningrad, Yuriy Savienko, and his deputy had been invited. The talks focussed primarily on the development of mutual commercial relations. Savienko declared that the enclave is interested in continuing to pursue regional cooperation with Podlasie and establishing closer contacts with local firms. He laid emphasis on firms providing municipal cleaning services as well as those interested in selling their goods on the Kaliningrad market. The entrepreneurs of Podlasie have also come forth with the idea of organizing technical workshops for employees of Russian motor and construction firms. The Kaliningrad authorities encourage Podlasie entrepreneurs to invest in the tourism industry (in Kaliningrad), especially motels and restaurants.

The Podlasie Regional Development Foundation (Podlaska Fundacja Rozwoju Regionalnego) and the Podlasie Euro Info Centre (Centrum Euro Info) co-organized a mission to Kaliningrad in 1998. Their representatives also took part in promoting the Białystok tourism fair — "Active Holidays" — at the Tourism Fair in Kaliningrad in April 2001.

In addition to Pomerania and Podlasie, actors from other parts of Poland have taken up cooperation with Kaliningrad. This cooperation mainly involves cities.

The city of Łódź cooperates with the capital of Kaliningrad on the basis of an agreement updated in

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Two firms from the Podlasie voivodship have to date undertaken cooperation with firms from Russia. PU-A Astwa from Białystok is interested in opening up an office in Kaliningrad (talks are currently underway). The firm Exclusive from Białystok has also stated that it will begin exporting shoes to the Russian market in the fall of 2003.
March 2002. Economic cooperation with Kaliningrad plays an important part in this relationship. Representatives of Łódź firms often accompany municipal delegations to Kaliningrad in order to establish direct contact with representatives of Russian firms.

In 1998, an agreement with Kaliningrad was also signed by the city of Zabrze. Cooperation takes place in the spheres of culture (performances of the Zabrze Philharmonic in Kaliningrad and of the Russian Credo Choir and Kaliningrad Chamber Philharmonic Orchestra in Zabrze); academic research (conference on the cultural heritage of Saint Wojciech in Central Europe); sport (annual soccer cup funded by the President of the City of Zabrze).

Cooperation with Kaliningrad is also carried on by the West Pomerania voivodship and the cities of Szczecin, Toruń, Racibórz, Ruda Śląska, Środa Śląska as well as the district of Nowy Sącz.

Rounding up the list of cooperation initiatives between the Pomerania and Podlasie voivodships and Kaliningrad, one can draw the following conclusions:

1. Cooperation between Pomerania, Podlasie and Kaliningrad takes place on many levels and in many areas such as: trade, education, transport infrastructure, culture, tourism and sport. The history of these contacts often goes back to the mid-90s. The geographical situation of Pomerania and Podlasie (proximity to Kaliningrad) naturally predestines these regions toward a more active involvement in contacts with Kaliningrad.

2. Cooperation is often based on bilateral declarations and visits issuing in the signing of agreements or supplementary agreements. Local politicians often repeat that the creation of a general framework for cooperation and the articulation of a far-sighted regional development policy is their task, while actual projects should be implemented by economic, NGO, cultural and social actors. Many of the current projects are indeed run by NGOs and academic institutions.

3. The Kaliningrad District is no longer an interesting partner for the remaining Polish regions. Representatives of other border voivodships, districts and communes understandably prefer to cooperate with partners from the countries they border as well as Western European regions. The financial factor is of no small significance here. Contacts with Russia often require a much greater output of financial resources than do those with the regions of the EU.
Appendix

List of Cross-Border Projects Realized by NGOs

1. Bilateral Projects

1.1 Knowledge and Information Exchange

1.1.1 The Elbląg Association of Social Aid Organizations (Elbląskie Stowarzyszenie Organizatorów Pomocy Społecznej)

- "Government, Self-government and Non-governmental Action with regard to Social Policy in Countries of the Euroregion Baltic" — seminar devoted to sharing social aid experiences from Poland and the Kaliningrad District; presentation of effective strategies for preventing the pauperization of society. (2001, Phare Small Projects Programme).
- "Let's Share Our Experience" — 13 internships in Poland for representatives of the Kaliningrad government administration engaged in social aid work; the goal of the internships was to present Polish experiences in dealing with the socially noxious effects of the transition to a market economy (2001, RITA Program).

1.1.2. Non-Governmental Initiative Support Association in Elbląg (Elbląskie Stowarzyszenie Wspierania Inicjatyw Pozarządowych)

- "NGOs Without Borders — establishing contacts with NGOs in the Kaliningrad District, the Warmia and Mazury voivodship and communes of the Euroregion Baltic" — internships dealing with the development and functioning of NGOs in Poland and establishing contacts and building lasting relationships between NGOs; publication of a magazine entitled "The NGOer" (in Russian) (2002, RITA Program).
- Internship for a group of Russians from Kaliningrad (2002, financed by the Russian side).

1.1.3. Foundation for the Development of Local Democracy — Centre for the Development of the Local Government, Olsztyn (Fundacja Rozwoju Demokracji Lokalnej — Ośrodek Rozwoju Samorządu Lokalnego) and the Nidzica Development Foundation NIDA (Nidzicka Fundacja Rozwoju NIDA)

- "Instructor Workshop" (part of the "Trilateral Cooperation in Communes" program) — training a group of Russian instructors in conducting workshops on how to establish contacts and cooperation projects with local government, business and NGOs; publication of an instruction manual in Russian (2002, RITA Program).
- "Local Foundations — A Lasting Model for Trilateral Cooperation" (last phase of the "Trilateral Cooperation in Communes" program) — using the program’s resources to create local development foundations with the help of local government and business actors (2003-2004, RITA Program).

1.1.4. The Foundation for the Development of the Godtap Region (Fundacja Rozwoju Regionu Gołdap)

- "Godtap Cross-Border Encounters" — a cycle of conferences, workshops, study visits, cross-border microprojects, publications (cooperated on by three sectors: local government, companies and NGOs); aims: to abolish the myth of borderland peripheralness, develop local democracy, strengthen Polish-Russian cross-border cooperation and improve information flow between borderland regions (Phare Small Projects Programme, RITA Program, Chancellery of the Prime Minister of Poland and the County Council of Godtap have taken turns financing the project since 2002).

1.1.5. "Rural Areas XXI" Foundation (Fundacja "Wieś XXI"), Parkosze

- "Neighbourly Encounters" — workshops delivered by Russian music instructors to village school teachers from the Braniewo district; aim: to share experiences of animating cultural programs for children and youth (2003, RITA Program).

1.1.6. SASINA Cultural Association in Ostróda (Ostródzkie Stowarzyszenie Kulturowe SASINA)

- "Step by Step Toward a Partnership — Neighbourly Encounters: Ostródia, Gusev, Osersk" — aim: to develop cooperation schemes between NGOs from the district of Ostródia and the Gusev and Osersk regions.
1.1.7. Regional Tourist and European Information Centre (Regionalne Centrum Informacji Europejskiej i Turystycznej) in Elbląg
- "Polish-Russian Cross-Border Cooperation" — international conference co-organized by the centre; aim: to improve conditions of cooperation between Kaliningrad and the Warmia and Mazury voivodship (2001).
- "Eurodemocracy, Poland-Russia" — workshops on the EU for teachers and students from Kaliningrad (2002-2003, Stefan Batory Foundation, Phare Small Projects Programme).

1.1.8. "The Street" Youth Association (Stowarzyszenie Młodzieżowe "Ulica"), Dobre Miasto
- "The Polish-Russian Citizen of Europe" — sharing of Polish and Russian experiences with regard to building local coalitions; presentation of cooperation possibilities between local governments, educational and religious institutions and the business sector, on the example of Poland (2002, RITA Program).
- "Eurodemocracy, Poland-Russia" — workshops on the EU for teachers and students from Kaliningrad (2002-2003, Stefan Batory Foundation, Phare Small Projects Programme).

1.1.9. "Socjal" — Social Aid Association (Stowarzyszenie Pomocy Społecznej "Socjal"), Braniewo
- Meetings aimed at sharing social aid work experiences (financed from own funds and by the Braniewo Municipal Office in alternation since 1997).
- Seminar on international cooperation in the sphere of social aid and social aid politics in Baltic states (1997).

1.1.10. Słupy Village and Area Development Association (Stowarzyszenie Rozwoju Wsi Słupy i Okolic)
- "Big Education in a Small School" — presentation of the Polish educational and public administration reform as well as the results of cooperation between NGOs and the local government. Discussion of ways to re-activate rural communities through the formation of local organizations and turning schools into community centres (2002, RITA Program).

1.1.11. Borussia Cultural Community Association (Stowarzyszenie Wspólnota Kulturowa "Borussia"), Olsztyn
- Study visit to Kaliningrad by local representatives from the Warmia and Mazury region (1992).
- Workshop entitled "Breaking Through Isolation — Toward a Regional Partnership. The Self-Organization of Local Communities. NGOs in the Kaliningrad District" — 1st part of a three-part project carried out in cooperation with the Stefan Batory Foundation (2002, part of the Royal Netherlands Embassy's MATRA KAP program).
- "Friendly Neighbourhood. Internships for NGO leaders from the Kaliningrad District"; 3rd phase of the "Toward a Regional Partnership" project (2002, Stefan Batory Foundation).

1.1.12. Society for Universal Knowledge (Towarzystwo Wiedzy Powszechnej), Regional Office in Olsztyn
- Workshop for unemployed tailors and fashion designers from Kaliningrad in Kętrzyn (1992, commissioned by Burden Moden, Kaliningrad).
- "Small Business" — workshop for the unemployed from Kaliningrad and Olsztyn, including a one-week hands-on traineeship in Olsztyn and a meeting with local entrepreneurs (1993).
- Cycle of meetings with public administration and education representatives from Kaliningrad, organized for the citizens of Olsztyn. Topics included: the social repercussions of unemployment in Kaliningrad, the rise of computer science and computerization in Russia and the Kaliningrad District, the influence of border trade on Polish-Kaliningrad relations, accounting in Russia and Poland — similarities, differences and European standards (1994, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2001).
- Visit to Kaliningrad by a group of unemployed citizens of Olsztyn (nominated by the Olsztyn Employment Office) in order to establish contacts and economic partnerships with Russians. The Kaliningrad Employment Office participated in the project (1993).
- "Entrepreneurs' Forum" in Kętrzyn; 13 Kaliningrad representatives participated; aims: to present changes in the functioning of the Polish market and possibilities for creating Polish-Russian firms and investment projects (1996).
- Three-week Polish language courses for academic staff from the Economics Department (Kaliningrad State University); preparing the academic staff of the Economics and Computer Science Academy (affiliated with the Society for Universal Knowledge) and the Kaliningrad State University for further partnerships (1998, 1999).
- Two study visits to Kaliningrad, Zelenogradsk and Svetlogorsk by members of the Regional Council of
1.2 Advisory and Monitoring Activities

1.2.1. Forum for Local Initiatives (Forum Inicjatyw Lokalnych), Kętrzyn
- Survey study along the Russian-Polish border carried out as part of the "Monitoring the Openness of Eastern Polish Borders" project (2002, Stefan Batory Foundation).

1.3. Culture, Art and History

1.3.1. Disabled People's Advisory Council of Elbląg (Elbląska Rada Konsultacyjna Osób Niepełnosprawnych)
- "By Our Common Lagoon", Polish-Russian outdoor painting. Aims: to establish contacts between the inhabitants of the two border regions through art and a common art workshop, to teach new artistic skills to workshop participants (2002, Phare SPP).

1.3.2. Borussia Cultural Community Association (Stowarzyszenie Wspólnota Kulturowa "Borussia"), Olsztyn
- "Where We Come From" — project consisting of a workshop, a study visit, 9 exhibits in the Kaliningrad District, a multimedia publication. Aims: to protect cultural patrimony and strengthen ties between local communities (2002, Stefan Batory Foundation).

1.3.3. Rural Cultural Animators' Society (Stowarzyszenie Animatorów Kultury na Wsi), Jonkowo
- "Capital for the Future" — workshop for a 10 person youth group. Topics included: the role of young people in creating civil society, youth projects in Poland, the role of NGOs, youth organizations in the Olsztyn area. The second phase of the project involved hosting a study visit by a group of young Russians (2003, Chancellery of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland).

1.4 Youth Cooperation and Exchange

1.4.1. MEM Cultural Association (Stowarzyszenie Kulturalne MEM), Olsztyn

1.4.2. Society for Support to Research into the Cultural Patrimony of Europe (Towarzystwo Wspierania Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy), Elbląg
- "The Scout" — scout rally for scouts from Elbląg and Kaliningrad, including a course for scout leaders (2003).

1.5 Environmental Protection

1.5.1. Alternatywa Eco-Cultural Association (Stowarzyszenie Kulturalno-Ekologiczne Alternatywa), Gołdap
- "Eco-tourism". Aim: to show locals how eco-tourism can be a regional development opportunity. Two workshops on cross-border cooperation with respect to tourism and a cross-border biking trail were held. The route of a biking trail across the Puszcza Romincka (Romincka Forest) on both sides of the border was worked out and a biking manual was written (2003).

1.6. Studies and Databases

1.6.1. Foundation for the Development of Regional Democracy — Centre for the Development of the Local Government, Olsztyn (Fundacja Rozwoju Demokracji Lokalnej — Ośrodek Rozwoju Samorządu Lokalnego) and the Nidzica Development Foundation NIDA (Nidzicka Fundacja Rozwoju NIDA)
- "NGOs in the Kaliningrad District — an Atlas" — publication containing a presentation of Kaliningrad NGOs (2003, RITA Program).
1.6.2. Borussia Cultural Community Association (Stowarzyszenie Wspólnota Kulturowa "Borussia"), Olsztyn

2. Multilateral Projects

2.1. Knowledge and Information Exchange

2.1.1. Non-Governmental Initiative Support Association in Elbląg (Elbląskie Stowarzyszenie Wspierania Organizacji Pozarządowych)
- "United by Democracy" — project addressed to NGOs from the Kaliningrad District and Lithuania; the activities included a study visit and internships for the Lithuanians as well as a Polish-Russian-Lithuanian conference (2001, Chancellery of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland).
- Participation in a conference (in Kaliningrad) dealing with the flow of goods and persons from Russia after the enlargement of the EU. Conference attended by NGO representatives from other European countries, mainly Baltic Sea region countries (2002).
- "Friendly Neighbourhood Forum" — a multi-faceted Polish-Russian-Lithuanian program aimed at strengthening cross-border cooperation between diverse groups including: local government, entrepreneurs, cultural and research institutions, NGOs.

2.1.2. Internauts’ Club (Klub Internautów), Elbląg
- "Baltic IRC-ing" — project aimed at bringing together inhabitants of the Baltic Sea region (Poland, Russia, Denmark and Lithuania) through IRC (Internet Reality Chat); summer workshops and competitions, including a quiz on the Euroregion Baltic (2001, Phare SPP).

2.1.3. Jantar Dance Association (Stowarzyszenie Taneczne Jantar), Elbląg
- "Bridges 2001 — European Dance Encounters" — addressed to dancers from Poland, Russia, Germany and Norway; workshops, dance competition (2001, Phare SPP).

2.1.4. Borussia Cultural Community Association (Stowarzyszenie Wspólnota Kulturowa "Borussia"), Olsztyn
- Participation in a conference on the condition of Kaliningrad NGOs, held in Kaliningrad (2001).

2.2 Culture and History

2.2.1 "Camp Rodowo" — International Youth Convention Centre (Międzynarodowe Centrum Spotkań Młodzieży — "Camp Rodowo")
- International student seminar: "Mazury — the Past, Present and Future of a Multicultural Region". Topics included: history, linguistics, political science, sociology (2003, Robert Bosch Foundation).

2.2.2 Borussia Cultural Community Association (Stowarzyszenie Wspólnota Kulturowa "Borussia"), Olsztyn
- "East Prussia — Its Heritage and New Identity", seminar with the participation of guests from Poland, Germany and the Kaliningrad District (1990, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Polish Ministry of Art and Culture, Voivodship Office in Olsztyn).
- "Borders" — seminar with the participation of guests from Poland, Germany, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus (1994).
3. Youth Cooperation and Exchange

2.3.1. "Self Aid" Social Aid Foundation (Fundacja Pomocy Społecznej "Samopomoc"), Górowo Iławeckie
- Outdoor drawing session for unemployed youth and disabled people from Poland, Germany and Russia (1999, Phare SPP).

2.3.2. "Camp Rodowo" — International Youth Convention Centre (Międzynarodowe Centrum Spotkań Młodzieży — "Camp Rodowo")
- "Human Rights: Get up — Stand up" — international workshops for youth from Belarus, Poland, Russia (Kaliningrad District), Germany and Austria (2003, European Youth Programme).
- "Volunteers Without Borders" — cycle of meetings and seminars for youth from the Kaliningrad District, Lithuania and Latvia (2002-2003, Phare SPP).

2.3.3 Borussia Cultural Community Association (Stowarzyszenie Wspólnota Kulturowa "Borussia"), Olsztyn
- International monument conservation camp in Łyno; restoration of the Łyno World War I cemetery by youth from Poland, Germany, Russia and the Ukraine (1995, German Polish Youth Office).
- Ecology and music camp for youth from Poland, Germany, Russia and the Ukraine in Sorkwity (1995, German Polish Youth Office).
- International youth camp; staging of a street production: "Action without Violence" with youth participants from Poland, Belarus, Russia and Germany (1996, German Polish Youth Office, Stefan Batory Foundation).
- "Historical Awareness among Students from Warmia and Mazury, the Kaliningrad District and Western Lithuania" — socio-historical workshop for 40 students from Lithuania, Germany, Poland and Russia, including a three day trip to Kaliningrad and Klaipeda (Lithuania) (1996, German Polish Youth Office, Stefan Batory Foundation).
- Cycle of socio-historical workshops for students from Berlin, Kaliningrad, Klaipeda, Olsztyn, Wrocław and Toruń, held in Żywy and aimed at identifying the nature of relations between the participants' countries (1997, German Polish Youth Office).
- "Barriers, Bridges, Hopes" — project addressed to students from Berlin, Kaliningrad, Klaipeda and Olsztyn, aimed at building intellectual bridges and overcoming barriers through the exchange of historical experiences and getting to know one another (1998, German Polish Youth Office).
- "Midsummer Night's Dream" — summer workshop leading to the production of Shakespeare's play using elements of street theatre, traditional music and commedia dell'arte, with young people from Poland, Germany and Russia (1999, German Polish Youth Office).
- "Fairy Tale Holidays" — theatre workshop in Szamocin (2001, German Polish Youth Office).
- International ecological camp in Szwalowo. A 30-person group of young people from Poland, Russia and Germany inventoried and monitored the condition of lakes, prepared educational trails and conducted a study of bats in the Iława Lakes and Dylewskie Hills National Park (2002, German Polish Youth Office).
- International ecological camp for youth from Poland, Germany and the Kaliningrad District, involving work for the Romincka Forest National Park (2002, German Polish Youth Office).
- Theatre workshops at the Szamocin Station Theatre; youth participants from Poland, Germany and Russia (Nadezda Theatre from Slavsk). The project involved staging a play (2003, German Polish Youth Office).
- Sculpture workshop in Szczytno (2003, German Polish Youth Office).

2.3.4. Polish Youth Scout Association, Elbląg Section (Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego, Komenda Hufca Elbląg)
- "By Balticum Millenium", Frombork — rally of scouts from Baltic Sea states (2000, Phare SPP).
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Friendly Neighbourhood Forum

The Friendly Neighbourhood Forum is an open meeting place for people, organizations and institutions to whom the idea of friendly cooperation across borders is not an empty phrase and who are willing to work hard to bring it about.

The program was launched at the beginning of 2003 by the Stefan Batory Foundation and the Borussia Cultural Community Association from Olsztyn. The Non-Governmental Initiative Support Association from Elbląg joined in.

Cooperation with Kaliningrad, an enclave of the Russian Federation within the new, enlarged EU, opens up enormous possibilities. The goal of the FNF is to develop these possibilities by encouraging cross-border cooperation between socio-economic actors (local government, institutions, civil organizations, businesses) from the Warmia and Mazury and Pomeranian voivodships, the Kaliningrad District and Lithuania.

The program is a civil initiative and functions as a meeting platform for public administration and civil organizations from Poland, Russia and Lithuania.

In Poland, the public administration (especially the marshals' offices) has traditionally been the main actor in cross-border cooperation. The novelty of the program is that it includes the non-governmental sector in the creation of a system of cooperative links. Civil organizations have the same freedom of movement through all the spheres of public life, while preserving greater freedom of action.

Work carried out within the framework of the program in 2003-2004 included:

- The work of the FNF Secretariat, which carried out tasks related to information and promotion (bulletin, brochures, website), found cooperation partners, serviced work and study visit groups, prepared a conference.
- The work of 7 work groups devoted to the most important areas of cross-border cooperation (business, environmental protection, education, culture, civil rights, administration, tourism and youth) in Elbląg, Olsztyn and Gdańsk.
- Forming a coalition around the idea of the FNF, including institutions, organizations, firms and people interested in the subject matter of the Forum and co-organizing the Forum conference.
- Organizing seminars on topics related to the interest area of the Forum in Elbląg, Olsztyn and Gdańsk.
- Organizing a competition for the best non-governmental, institutional or business initiative related to the idea of the Forum.
- Organizing an international Friendly Neighbourhood Forum conference, which took place in Elbląg in October 2004. The leading topic was Poland and Lithuania's (already members of the EU) experience with regard to cooperation with the Kaliningrad District. The conference included a presentation of the activity of the work groups and a discussion of the main problems faced by cooperation.

The FNF program has been financed by the Stefan Batory Foundation.

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www.fps.elblag.pl