

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES OF THE TRANSFORMATION IN HUNGARY

REGIONALNE RAZLIKE V SPREMINJANJU MADŽARSKE

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Abstract

UDC 911.3 (439)

Regional differences of the transformation in Hungary

During the spectacular collapse of the political system in the socialist countries of Europe in 1989 the Hungarian society was an exception in the revolutionary transformation, because of the general resignation and relative passivity of the people. These changes had a great impact on the Hungarian economy, especially on the rearrangement of foreign trade relations, restructuring of the industrial regions of Hungary, regional differences in agriculture and on tourism.

Izvleček

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Regionalne razlike v spreminjanju Madžarske

V času spektakularnega razpada političnega sistema v socialističnih državah 1989. leta je bila madžarska družba posebnost v primerjavi z revolucionarnimi spremembami drugje, saj je bila zanjo značilna splošna resignacija in relativna pasivnost prebivalstva. Te spremembe so imele velik vpliv na madžarsko gospodarstvo, še posebej na preusmeritev zunanje trgovine, prestrukturiranje industrijskih območij, na regionalne razlike v poljedelstvu in na turizmu.

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SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The 1989 spectacular collapse of the political system in the so-called socialist countries of Europe and the opening of political boundaries were generally viewed in the East and West equally as a revolutionary transformation. An exception may have been the Hungarian society, where some groups of intellectuals were the driving force of the transformation and the 'revolutionary masses' of the socialist terminology were rather spectators than protagonists of the events. Our renowned poet, Sándor Csoóri, called the Hungarian transformation 'a fatigued revolution', because resignation and relative passivity were characteristic of the people's behaviour.

This was chiefly the result of the fact that after the 1956 revolution the Hungarian society experienced a gradual transformation. Although there have been attempts to block this 'bourgeois' development, for instance in the years of 1972 and 1982–1983, but these efforts to revert progress always failed, since the society could not be forced back to the classical system of planned economy from which other socialist nations could hardly step out before 1989. The relative openness of the Hungarian economy and society did not increase only within the country after the 1968 attempt at reform, but also in its external relations Hungary became more and more closely linked with the Western countries.

In the official policy of the last 15 years socialism became an empty façade and the socialist nature of the society was only embodied in state celebrations and symbols. The actual economic and social management had already been taken over by a qualified elite, whose ideals were the copying of western civil society and the related life-styles. As a result, the so-called reform communists and various groups of the true opposition joint forces in the accelerated transformation (1988–1989). These groups appear in the present-day parliament and represent the overwhelming majority of the population – even if there are remarkable variations in the practice of policy-making.

For the society, the political transformation seemed to be the last stage, a consequence of the socioeconomic process which existed hidden in the social life of Hungary after 1968. Therefore, no large street demonstrations were needed, no violence had to be employed to force political changes. Recognising the necessity for a political transformation, the former political elite either 'escaped forward' through reforms or withdraw from the way or established itself in the economy. The opportunity for the latter was created by the various forms of entrepreneurship, joint ventures in the early 1980s, which served the so-called preliminary privatisation.

The gradual splitting of political and economic power allowed a fair way of retreat for the previously ruling political elite and the gradual transformation of ownership contributed to political compromises.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN SOCIOECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

1. In industry the collapse of the Eastern, particularly of the Soviet, market induced a deep crisis. As it is known, the Soviet Union decreed barter transactions to be stopped in 1990, did not allow the exchange of goods and did not pay for Hungarian consignments in hard currency. As a consequence, a debt of one billion USD accumulated on the Soviet side against Hungary. In reaction, the Hungarian party stopped exports from the East (first of all, from the Soviet Union) and attempted at expanding Western exports, but this is hindered even now by the general recession. The Western exports are obviously unable to compensate for the decline of the receiving capacity of the Eastern markets. Consequently, production in engineering, vehicle (bus) manufacturing, heavy chemical industry, communications technology and some food industry branches reduced 25–33 per cent between 1989 and 1993 and this led to mass unemployment (650,000 unemployed in early 1993).

The rearrangement of foreign trade relations and the transformation of the product structure affected those industrial areas of Hungary which

- produced unilaterally for the COMECON markets;
- used obsolete technology and
- produced goods which cannot be sold on the world market.

One of such zones is the heavy industrial belt of NE-Hungary, which was in a privileged position for decades (Ózd, Miskolc, Tiszapalkonya). The situation in this region is further aggravated by the unfavourable conditions for economic upswing: the infrastructure is backward, there are masses of untrained workers, the industrial plants are obsolete and even the conditions for farming are disadvantageous.

In contrast, restructuring in the Central industrial region (Budapest) and in the processing industry of Transdanubia (Győr, Székesfehérvár, Veszprém) has accelerated, because the relatively developed infrastructure and better geographical accessibility attracted more foreign capital (GM – Szentgotthárd, Audi – Győr, Suzuki – Esztergom etc.)

The economic restructuring and the conditions of market economy seem to strengthen the differences in the level of development between the regions, since regions with better endowments start a more rapid development, at the same time, the state resources to help backward areas catch up are missing.

2. Regional differences in farming also seem to increase, particularly in relation to the transformation of ownership. The relatively strong large farms in the Great Hungarian Plain, which had until now safe markets in eastern countries, are less in favour of the transformation. They observe difficulties in marketing only recently, when with dropping real incomes the internal market got also weaker. Taking advantage of their monopolistic positions, the large farms could always raise prices following industrial prices, but with the reduced receiving capacity of Eastern and home markets large-scale overproduction emerged. Calcula-

lations show that agricultural production should be reduced to one-third in order to restore balance between production and market. This is obviously not in the interest of large-farms specialised for mass production.

The large agricultural farms in areas with poor natural endowments are in an even more severe crisis, because after state subsidising stopped, cooperative farms became unable to pay. These farms of NE-Hungary and hill regions have ever been dependent on state subsidies. This may be a reason that the members of these cooperatives consider their existence safer in smallholder's farms and more people claim their land back in these regions. Another contributing factor is that unemployment is greatest in these areas, where industry is also in crisis.

The changes of ownership in agriculture, the rearrangement of farm organisation bring numerous social conflicts to the surface. The conflicts spring from the 'socialist' division of labour which used to divide white-collar and blue-collar work sharply in the large farms.

Since the 1960s a well-qualified agricultural elite took shape and began to manage large-scale agricultural production. They were closely intertwined with local and regional politics and at the same time undertook a kind of mediating role between politics and manual workers, who were in majority in the rural society. These qualified agricultural intellectuals reorganised the cooperatives into producing-processing-marketing units, where manual workers and others could receive extra incomes from the second economy. This division of labour and closed plant structure was favourable for the agricultural intellectuals, but unfavourable for manual workers, who had lesser chance for social rise. The younger generation in this group judged rural life a dead end and this resulted in large-scale emigration from the villages. As a result, the rural society broke into parts in the years between 1975 and 1985.

It is supposed that the former qualified agricultural elite and the new group of agricultural entrepreneurs would form the social basis of agriculture under market economy.

3. Tourism became a success story of economic transformation, particularly after the opening of borders.

Between 1975 and 1990 the number of foreign visitors to Hungary grew fourfold and reached 25 million people per year. The increase was not gradual, but reacted to political-economic developments (exchange rates); the decline in the number of visitors in 1982–1983 was connected with strengthening conservatism in politics. There was also a minor drop in 1988, when the impact of internal uncertainty in the wake of political liberalisation could be traced. The unambiguous changes in the direction of internal and external policy then stabilised and even further increased the number of visitors from abroad.

Half of those entering Hungary are so-called tourists, i. e. according to the official statistics: visitors who do not spend more than one night in Hungary. Since every third family has a relative in a neighbouring country, in the year of political turn every second tourist visited relatives; that leaves 5.5 to 6 million entries into Hungary with 'pure' touristic purpose in 1989. Naturally, most of the visitors of relatives come with a recreation purpose, to buy goods, use services, so present themselves as consumers contributing to touristic incomes. It occurred especially in 1990, in the year after the revolution in Romania, when

travelling to Hungary became free of restrictions, that the number of visitors of relatives multiplied.

A quarter of visitors are so-called day-trippers, who come to Hungary for one day. A major part of them arrive for shopping, although after 1989 the number of short business trips also increased, considering that today there are more than 20,000 Hungarian-foreign joint ventures with mostly Austrian, South-German or North-Italian interests.

A third group is represented by transit visitors, who used to be guest workers from Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece in previous years. Since the mid-1980s, the number of Polish transit visitors, who travel on to Austria, Italy or Yugoslavia and Turkey has grown rapidly. With the breakout of the Balkan war, the size of the latter group was reduced to minimum.

Shopping or better to say 'commercial tourism', which recruits its members from the groups of day-trippers and transit visitors, is the activity during which the visitor does not only bring in goods to meet his own demands but also to sell them in Hungary. The 'imported' goods are sold on the free market by themselves or through mediators. Here mainly goods purchased at reduced price in Berlin, Munich or Vienna are involved, sold in Hungary or transported on to Romania or Bulgaria. The Arabs in Hungary – their number is estimated at 20,000 – play a major part in running the black market of products and currency. Due to the restrictions introduced in the middle of 1992, their activity was forced back.

With looser control on the borders and opening the Hungarian-Austrian border, a legalised form of shopping tourism emerged and induced a positive development in retail trade on both sides of the frontier. On the other hand, an illegal trade with currency and various goods also appeared in which gradually impoverishing social groups of the former socialist countries participate, either as victims or as exploiters of this exchange trade. After 1990 this trade took an 'oriental' nature, which has not been seen in Budapest since the last years of the Monarchy.

One third of the visitors (8 million people annually) entered Hungary across the Austrian-Hungarian border and on the average 4 to 4.5 million Hungarians visited Austria. The latter is without doubt shopping tourism, which in the month after the opening of the border served to satisfy own demands but today private imports are in the fore. The Austrian retail merchants reacted quickly to shopping tourism, but also large department stores (KGM, HUMA and others) extended their capacities along the international road to Vienna and in Burgenland (Oberwart). Although this is a transitional phenomenon, it has to be taken into account that the approach to a different economic structure is slower than expected. Thus the price differences between certain goods may attract – just conforming to the effect of the market – or maintain shopping tourism. This may finally lead to the revitalisation of the previous division of labour between border zones and on the long run may serve a rapprochement between the countries.

There has also occurred an increase in the number of Austrian visitors to Hungary, but it was not due to the opening of the border, since for Austrians no restriction had been in force during the previous years either. In spite of this, shopping tourism also appeared on

the Hungarian side as a lasting phenomenon. Considerable amounts of Hungarian currency leave the country and it is regularly devaluated to keep up export profitability.

The marked shopping touristic character of Austrian-Hungarian border traffic is supported by the weekly distribution curve. Even in periods outside summer holidays, traffic is greatest on Fridays and Saturdays, concentrated on towns in a 30 km wide border zone.

75 per cent of the Austrian-Hungarian traffic takes place on roads and in recent years this has resulted in a massive increase of the number of cars (2,400,000 in 1980) and buses (63,000) to annual figures stabilised at 5,000,000 and 120,000, resp. after 1989.

Although the number of border crossing points has grown recently, the capacities of roads to let through traffic have not increased. Most of the traffic occurs along ordinary public roads; a motorway leads from Budapest to Győr, but the traffic situation between Győr and Vienna has become – particularly during the touristic season - critical.

The traffic loads on the two cities (Budapest and Győr) along this West to East axis is extremely high and has provoked a general feeling of discontent in the circles of local population, but, at the same time, helped urban entrepreneurs accumulate capital rapidly.

The Austrian-Hungarian border traffic affects settlements, first of all towns, in the mentioned 30 km wide border zone. The exploitation level of the commercial accomodation capacities here, particularly those in holiday resorts and spas (Sopron, Bük, Sárvár and others) exceeds 70 per cent, which is close to the level in Budapest. A recent phenomenon is that the rapid rise in hotel prices involved an increased demand for rural accommodation, private homes and summer houses in and around Szombathely. Tourism emerged in villages which were formerly in the closed border zone after opening the border and there is an opportunity for establishing an organised rural tourism. As a result of increasing border-zone tourism, the touristic function, which had been strongly concentrated on cities, tends to be more equally distributed.

In addition to West to East traffic, the North-South tourism has also developed quickly from Poland via Brno-Bratislava-Győr-Szombathely to Graz, Italy and via Ljubljana towards the Adriatic Sea. The further intensification of cooperation between the Central European countries, the Amber Route of the Antiquity could be revived providing a sea gate for small, land-locked countries.

Most of the profit from the opening of tourism after 1989 was drawn by retail trade. Today the size and intensity (turnover per permanent resident) of retail trade is the highest in small towns along the border. These towns along the western (Mosonmagyaróvár, Sopron, Kőszeg) or southern borders (Mohács, Barcs, Nagyberhida, Lenti) have primarily increased their retail trade turnovers taking advantage of shopping tourism.

The presence of shopping tourism is also attested by higher per capita consumption of foodstuffs than in large towns, although in the former the ratio of households with rural lifestyles is higher.

During the touristic season part of the retail trade is realised in street stands, pavilions built in the streets of villages along the main road (e.g. in Abda near Győr). Most of the posts are owned by merchants from towns (Győr) and, therefore, the profit from trading eventually flows to the urban dwellers. The owners pay income taxes to their place of

residence and thus the local governments of small villages do not have their shares of the tax incomes from increased local turnover, only of the ground rents.

The Austrian-Hungarian border traffic also affects Hungarian services, since the low prices of hairdressers, jewellers, dentists and car services attract Austrian clients. The employment figures in small-scale industries do not support this impact, but almost every other artisan makes publicity to his services in German.

The favourable impact of broadening tourism, however, can only be observed in border towns and in the capital. After 1989 the popularity of Hungary's main touristic attraction, Lake Balaton, has declined and seems to shift towards quality tourism; so certain structural changes can still be detected.

The abrupt opening of the border (has) had undoubted negative impacts too, and they can be reduced only slowly and gradually. Such are, for instance, the speculation with currency, smuggling, black market, economic refugees, illegal employment – consequences of the difference in the level of economic development. These phenomena call for a continuous cooperation, between authorities of the countries affected. Paradoxically, this situation would eventually lead to a responsible collaboration and coexistence, which would once make political borders unnecessary.

REGIONALNE RAZLIKE V SPREMINJANJU MADŽARSKE

Povzetek

V obdobju spektakularnega razpada političnega sistema v t. i. evropskih socialističnih državah je bila Madžarska izjema, saj je bila gonilna sila sprememb skupina intelektualcev, medtem ko so bile 'revolucionarne množice' bolj opazovalci kot protagonisti. To je bila prvenstveno posledica postopnega spreminjanja madžarske družbe po revoluciji 1956, saj so bili vsi poskusi vračanja Madžarske v klasični sistem planskega gospodarstva neuspešni, dežela pa se je tudi na zunaj vse tesneje navezovala na zahodnoevropske države.

V uradni politiki zadnjih 15 let je postajal socializem vse bolj fasada, dejansko vodenje gospodarstva in družbe pa je prevzela elita, ki se je zgledovala po zahodni civilni družbi. Kot rezultat tega so t. i. reformirani komunisti in različne opozicijske skupine, ki so združili sile in še danes predstavljajo večino v parlamentu.

Regionalne razlike v socialno-ekonomskem spreminjanju

1. V industriji je propad vzhodnoevropskega tržišča povzročil veliko krizo. Sovjetska zveza je 1990 ukinila klirinško trgovino in ni plačevala madžarskega blaga v trdni valuti, tako da je ostalo prek milijarde USD dolga na sovjetski strani. Madžarska stran se je poskušala preusmeriti na zahodno tržišče, kar pa je bilo težko zaradi splošne gospodarske recesije. V obdobju 1989–1993 se je v nekaterih panogah (strojna, avtomobilska, težka kemična) zmanjšala proizvodnja za 25–33 %, število brezposelnih pa se je povečalo na 650 000 v začetku 1993.

Najhujše posledice so bile v panogah, ki so bile prej enostransko usmerjene na tržišče SEV, ki so uporabljale zastarelo tehnologijo ali proizvajale izdelke, ki jih ni moč prodati na svetovnem trgu. Eno takšnih je območje težke industrije v severovzhodni Madžarski, ki je imelo desetletja privilegiran položaj (Ózd, Miskolc, Tiszapalkonya). Dodatna težava tega območja so neustrezni pogoji za prenovo gospodarstva (slaba infrastruktura, množica nekvalificirane delovne sile, zastarele tovarne in tudi slabe možnosti z kmetijstvo).

Nasprotno pa je potekalo pospešeno prestrukturiranje v osrednjem industrijskem območju (Budimpešta) ter v predelovalni industriji v Transdanubiji (Győr, Székesfehérvár, Veszprém), ki je zaradi razmeroma razvite infrastrukture in boljše dostopnosti pritegnila več tujega kapitala (GM v Szentgotthárdu, Audi v Győru, Suzuki v Esztergomu itd.). Izgleda, da je prestrukturiranje gospodarstva in prehod v tržno gospodarstvo povečalo razlike v razvitosti regij, saj so se regije z boljšimi izhodiščnimi pogoji začele razvijati hitreje, državnih sredstev za pomoč manj razvitim pa ni več.

2. Tudi v kmetijstvu so se regionalne razlike povečale, zlasti glede na spreminjanje lastništva. Razmeroma močna, velika državna posestva v Veliki madžarski ravnini, ki so imela doslej zagotovljeno tržišče v vzhodnih državah, pa tudi na notranjem trgu so imele prednost zaradi monopolističnega položaja. Zaradi zmanjšanja povpraševanja v vzhodnih državah in na domačem trgu se bo morala kmetijska proizvodnja zmanjšati za tretjino, da se bo ponovno vzpostavilo ravnovesje med proizvodnjo in povpraševanjem, kar pa ni v interesu velikih posestev, usmerjenih v masovno proizvodnjo.

Velike farme v območjih s slabšimi naravnimi možnostmi so prav tako v hudi krizi, ker so ukiniteli državne podpore, od katerih so bila ta posestva odvisna. To je verjetno razlog, da člani zadrug vidijo boljše možnosti za svoj obstoj v majhnih kmetijah, zaradi česar tod v večji meri zahtevajo nazaj svojo zemljo. Dodaten razlog za to je tudi velika brezposelnost v teh območjih.

Spreminjanje lastništva je razkrilo še številna druga socialna nasprotja, ki izvirajo iz 'socialistične' delitve zaposlenih na posestvih na upravne in proizvodne delavce. Po letu 1960 je visokokvalificirana kmetijska elita prevzela vodenje velikopotezne kmetijske proizvodnje, se ob tem tesno povezala z lokalnimi in regionalnimi politiki ter prevzela vlogo nekakšnega posrednika med politiki in fizičnimi delavci, ki predstavljajo večino v podeželski družbi. Ti intelektualci so reorganizirali zadruge v proizvodno-predelovalno-trgovska podjetja, kjer so lahko fizični in drugi delavci prišli do dodatnih dohodkov, vendar pa je, zlasti fizičnim delavcem to onemogočalo vzpon na družbeni lestvici. Mlajša generacija je v tem videla slepo ulico, kar je povzročilo veliko odseljevanje z vasi, zaradi česar je v letih 1975–1985 ruralna družba razpadla.

V razmerah tržnega gospodarstva bo socialno bazo kmetijstva predstavljala prav ta intelektualna elita, skupaj z novo skupino kmetijskih podjetnikov.

3. Turizem je postal uspešnica transformacije gospodarstva, zlasti po odprtju meja. Med leti 1975–1990 se je število tujih turistov povečalo za štirikrat in doseglo 25 mil. letno. Polovica teh je bila po uradni statistiki na Madžarskem na obisku pri sorodnikih, čeprav so z nakupi in uporabo storitev tudi prispevali k turističnemu prilivu. Četrtnina obiskovalcev so t. i. enodnevni turisti, ki pridejo na Madžarsko za en dan, bodisi po nakupih ali poslovno,

kar se je zlasti povečalo po letu 1989, saj je na Madžarskem danes prek 20 000 mešanih podjetij, večinoma z avstrijskim, južnonemškim in severnoitalijanskim kapitalom.

Druga skupina so tranzitni turisti, večinoma zdomci iz Jugoslavije, Turčije in Grčije. Od sredine 80. ih let se je naglo povečalo število poljskih tranzitnih potnikov, ki so potovali v Avstrijo, Italijo, Jugoslavijo in Turčijo. Z izbruhom vojne na Balkanu se je njihovo število zmanjšalo na minimum.

Nakupovanje, ali bolje rečeno, 'komercialni turizem' je dejavnost, v kateri obiskovalci ne samo nakupujejo, marveč na Madžarskem tudi prodajajo. 'Uvoženo' blago prodajajo na tržnicah, bodisi sami ali prek posrednikov, večinoma blago, ki so ga po znižanih cenah nakupili v Berlinu, Münchnu ali na Dunaju.

Z zmanjšanjem kontrole na mejah in odprtjem madžarsko-avstrijske meje se je na obeh straneh razvila legalna oblika nakupovalnega turizma, ki prinaša ugodnosti obema stranema. Na to se je navezala tudi ilegalna trgovina z blagom in devizami, v kateri nastopajo obubožane socialne plasti iz nekdanjih socialističnih držav kot žrtve in izkoriščevalci.

Tretjina obiskovalcev (8 mil. letno) pride na Madžarsko prek avstrijsko-madžarske meje, 4–4,5 mil. Madžarov pa letno obišče Avstrijo. Večinoma je to nakupovalni turizem, po odprtju meje najprej za lastne potrebe, nato vse bolj kot zasebni uvoz. Čeprav je to prehodni pojav, lahko razlike v cenah ohranjajo nakupovalni turizem, kar lahko dolgoročno gledano pripelje do revitalizacije nekdanje delitve dela med obmejnimi območji in zблиževanja obeh dežel. V manjši meri se je povečalo tudi število Avstrijcev, ki hodijo po nakupih na Madžarsko.

Za nakupovalni turizem ob madžarsko-avstrijski meji je značilna tedenska razporeditev prometa, ki je največji ob petkih in sobotah in v mestih v 30 km širokem obmejnem pasu. 75 % prometa prek meje poteka po cestah, zaradi česar se je močno povečalo število osebnih avtomobilov (1980: 2,4 mil. avtomobilov in 63 000 avtobusov; po letu 1989 se je ustalilo na 5,0 mil. osebnih avtomobilih in 120 000 avtobusih). Število mejnih prehodov se je v tem času sicer povečalo, vendar pa se zmogljivosti cest niso povečale, kar povzroča kritične razmere, zlasti v turistični sezoni na cesti Győr–Dunaj. To je po eni strani povzročilo nezadovoljstvo domačega prebivalstva, hkrati pa omogočilo podjetnikom naglo kopičenje kapitala.

Turistični promet na avstrijsko-madžarski meji vpliva predvsem na mesta v 30 km širokem obmejnem pasu, kjer so turistične zmogljivosti izkoriščene prek 70 % (Sopron, Bük, Sárvár), kar je podobno kot v Budimpešti. Naglo povečanje cen v hotelih je sprožilo večje potrebe po namestitvah v zasebnih stanovanjskih in počitniških hišah v in okrog Szombathelya. Turizem se je pojavil v vaseh v nekdanjem zaprtem območju ob meji, kar je priložnost za nastanek organiziranega kmečkega turizma.

Hkrati s prometom v smeri Z–V se je razvil tudi turizem v smeri S–J, predvsem iz Poljske proti Gradcu, Italiji in prek Slovenije na Jadransko morje. Krepitev sodelovanja med srednjeevropskimi državami bo stopnjevala pomen nekdanje jantarske poti, ki je pomembna pot proti morju za majhne, kontinentalne države.

Največ koristi od turizma po 1989 ima trgovina na drobno. Njen obseg in intenzivnost je danes največji v majhnih mestih vzdolž zahodne (Mosonmagyaróvár, Sopron, Kőszeg) in južne meje (Mohács, Barcs, Nagyberhida, Lenti). Obmejni promet na avstrijsko-madžarski

meji vpliva tudi na obrtne storitve na madžarski strani, saj nizke cene frizerskih, draguljarskih, zobozdravstvenih in avtomehaničnih storitev privlačijo avstrijske stranke.

Ugoden vpliv povečanega turizma je opaziti samo v obmejnih mestih in v Budimpešti. Po letu 1989 je upadla privlačnost Blatnega jezera, ki se preusmerja v kvalitetnejši turizem.

Nenadno odprtje meje je imelo tudi negativne učinke, ki se lahko odpravljajo le postopoma. To so npr. špekulacije z devizami, tihotapstvo, črni trg, ekonomski begunci, ilegalna zaposlitev. Ti pojavi zahtevajo stalno sodelovanje med oblastmi vseh vpletenih držav, kar bi lahko vodilo k odgovornejšemu sodelovanju in sožitju, zaradi katerega bi politične meje postale nepotrebne.