

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES



Ihor Mykhaylyshyn

*Ph.D in Law,
Associate Professor at the Faculty of Law,
Uzhhorod National University*



Peter Trachuk

*Ph.D in Law,
Professor of the Department of Administrative,
Financial and Information Law,
Uzhhorod National University*

UDK 342.25(4-11)+342.55

Abstract. The article examines the theoretical and methodological approaches to the analysis of local self-government in Eastern European states. Based on the analysis of local self-government in the states of Eastern Europe, due consideration is given to the issues of the establishment of democratic states, its historical backgrounds and the development of civil society. The issues of regionalization as an extreme form of a decentralized unitary state are brought to attention. The objective factors concerning the relationship between the state and the local government on the subject of economics and financial support are reviewed.

Keywords: *local government, self-government, democratic state, civil society, regionalization, decentralization, financial support.*

Introduction

The global process of the forming and developing of state organization and local self-government was quite lengthy and contradictory. As a result of centralized state formation there has been the so-called "split within public authority" divided into two systems of social organisation: the state - centralized, and the municipal (local) - decentralized.

It is common knowledge that, in the process of evolution of society, public authority materializes as institutions arising from the needs of social development. It takes form of local or "municipal" power, which originates from the times and conditions of administrative and territorial reforming of cities and other types of communal and tribal settlements. Alongside with the process of creating the state, there was the formation of law – through the transformation of customs and traditions, giving the regulatory and legal nature of court decisions, as well as the practical consolidation of normative acts of local authorities that are binding on the instructions of officials. Moreover, this process was carried out both at the state (centralized) level as well as the level and within the limits of local self-

government (municipal government). In addition, the formation of local government systems was often associated with two distinct social problems: on the one hand, the so-called "vertical" organization of state power, and on the other, its interconnections with various urban and rural communities and the local population of various settlements. There were the circumstances that determined the author's interest in a comparative historical and legal research of the process of formation and development of Eastern European municipality.

Current state of research. Some aspects of theoretical and methodological approaches to the analysis of the nature of local government and self-government, the formation of local government in Eastern European countries were studied by such scientists as Avakyan S.A, Mozokhin A.G, Cherkasov A.I, Vydrin I.V, Kokotov A.N., Ivanov V.I., Kutafin O.E., Fadeev V.I., Yeremyan V.V., Barabashev G.V., Novikova S.S., Tranin A.A. and others.

The aim of the article is to study the issues of the organizational and legal foundations of the organization and activities of local government and self-government in the states of Eastern Europe, theoretical and methodological approaches to the comparative analysis of the nature of local government and self-government.

Research results and discussion. Before turning to the analysis of the institution of local self-government in Eastern European states at the present stage, it is necessary, in our opinion, to show the historical backgrounds of not only the establishment of democratic states, but also their current sociopolitical status.

The collapse of the Soviet block in 1989 was the "detonator" of revolutions and systemic reforms in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. As a result, in the late 1980s - early 1990s for the third time in the twentieth century, the direction of the social development of these countries had changed: civil uprisings for the revival of human rights and freedoms destroyed the system of "real socialism" and initiated liberal and democratic changes [1, p.66]. The specifics of these transformations were the deepening of the processes of a democratic society, which found expression, firstly, in the rejection of communist stereotypes and, secondly, in the ever-increasing participation of citizens in the management of state and public affairs. [2, p.57].

Social transformation in Eastern European states has shown that overcoming the socialist past is in many cases accompanied by a return to pre-socialist norms and values, breaking public relations of the time and the formation of new ones. All this is reflected in

the constitutional acts of the studied states. The leading positions in the results of economic, political and state reforms are occupied by Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. These countries can be characterized by common approaches to the formation of new international relations, an orientation toward Western military and political alliances, integration into pan-European structures, resulting in the admission of these countries to NATO, and in May 2004 to the European Union. Such Eastern European states as Bulgaria and Romania, although they contain new signs of social development, are still overcoming the economic and political crisis and stagnation. However, in the light of the prospects of rapprochement of these states with the European community, the issues of organization and formation of management (at both state and local levels) become actual theoretical and practical problems. Local government in the post-socialist states of Eastern Europe is inextricably linked with the processes of establishing a democratic regime, resulting in the formation of a new legislative framework, governing the organization and activities of the municipal institutions of these states. A common problem for all countries in this region is "a very difficult problem of determining the powers of local self-government with central authorities and departments representing interests in the territory of local communities" [3, p.164].

However, it seems obvious that each Eastern European state, relying on historical and national characteristics, builds its own model of local government, the methodological basis for which is the European Charter of Local Self-Government in 1985.

The Institute of Local Self-Government has found consolidation and regulation in almost all of the new Basic Laws of the post-socialist Eastern European states. So, in art. 2 of the Bulgarian Constitution, adopted on July 12, 1991 by the Great People's Assembly, states that the Republic of Bulgaria is a state with local self-government [4, p.394]. "Territorial

self-government is the main form of organization of public authority on the local level," is provided for in Art. 70 of the so-called Minor Constitution of the Republic of Poland (Constitutional Law "On Mutual Relations between the Legislative and Executive Authorities of the Republic of Poland, as well as Territorial Self-Government), adopted on October 17, 1992. The current Constitution of the Republic of Poland, adopted by the National Assembly on April 2, 1997, on territorial self-government to which Section VII is dedicated [5, p.716]. In Hungary, unlike other countries of Eastern Europe, the principle of continuity of the Constitution can be traced, which operates even when one social system is replaced by another. Thus, at present, the Constitution of 1949 is in effect in the Republic of Hungary, as amended in 1989, with subsequent amendments and supplements, in which Law LXI "On Local Government" of 1990 included Chapter IX "Local Self-Government Bodies". Under local government, in accordance with paragraph 42 of the Hungarian Constitution, is described as: "an independent, democratic decision of local public affairs concerning communities of voters, the exercise of local administrative authority in the interests of the population" [6, p.539]. The Constitution of the Czech Republic of December 16, 1992, which was developed and adopted as early as the Czech Republic became part of the Czechoslovak Federal Republic, in Art. 8 establishes the principle of territorial self-government, using, in the fair opinion of S.S. Novikova, "both the positive experience of the post-war development of European democratic states and the experience of "pre-Munich Czechoslovakia"", other historical traditions of self-government in Czech lands [7, p. 497].

The Constitution of the Slovak Republic of September 1, 1992 imparts great importance to issues of territorial self-government, evidenced by the fact that Chapter 4, devoted to self-government, follows Chapter on rights, freedoms and economics, but precedes Chapter on legislative power. It seems that the legislator thus "makes an attempt to unite the individual with significant rights and freedoms, public authorities (in the person of local self-government) and state power" [7, p.109].

It should be noted that the concept of local self-government is not used with the basic laws of Eastern European states in mind only

in the Romanian Constitution of November 21, 1991. However, an analysis of the provisions of Section 2 of Chapter V gives grounds to conclude that the term "local autonomy" used by the Constitution is identical in meaning to the concept of local self-government [8, p.5].

The institution of local self-government is one of the aspects of the manifestation of the constitutional principle of power separation, recognized in the Constitutions of democratic states as a fundamental principle of the organization and activity of the state mechanism. Thus, according to Article 8 of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, the state power is divided into legislative, executive and judicial. The same norms are established in the Constitution of the Czech Republic (Art. 2), the Republic of Poland (Art. 10). In the Constitutions of Romania, Hungary and Slovakia, the principle of separation of powers is only implied, although separate chapters (sections) are devoted to regulating the status of each state body and their competence is clearly designated.

According to Kenneth Davey, a professor at the University of Birmingham, the term "local government" in the post-socialist countries of Eastern Europe was used repeatedly to "distinguish between local democracy and local administration on behalf of the central government", and the original local government legislation was mainly aimed at "ensuring the political autonomy of local self-government and the separation of the state parties where the previous system of national committees was reliably implemented"[9, p.83].

At the same time, "autonomy" is considered by K. Davey as the ability of local representative bodies to make independent decisions regarding the management of local services and influence the development of local economy. "This finds a place, at least in three measurements: 1) the amount of power with which local authorities are vested; 2) the adequacy of their resources to fulfill these responsibilities; 3) the extent of their discretion in the exercise of their powers and the disposal of their resources.

These measurements are interdependent. A large amount of authority on local development planning does not really give much autonomy, if budgets in general seem to be inadequate and decisions at the local level are substantially limited to decisions at the state level. There are also trade-offs that are

placed on local bodies of responsibility, such important issues as education, health and social welfare, expand local discretionary law, on the one hand, and diminish it on the other. This reinforces the influence at the local level in relation to the relevant services of greater importance, but the price of this and the pressure to support and maintain national standards usually ends with increased control from central authorities and depends on financial flows.

One cannot but agree with the opinion of I.A. Alabastrova, noting that the transition to a new concept of local government organization in Eastern European countries occurred, unlike many other aspects of reforming their political systems, relatively calm and painless, which seems completely natural. "The organization of local authorities in the form of self-government is most relevant to the tasks of forming a social market economy and a legal state, democratization and decentralization of management processes" [10, p. 5].

Thus, decentralization is the main political content of the functional characteristics of the institution of local self-government in the modern states of Eastern Europe. It is decentralized government that is a necessary condition for the democratization of state power and society as a whole. Therefore, it seems that one of the features of the formation of municipal systems in these states is its close relationship with civil society, which combines the common interest and responsibility on the one hand, the local population, and citizens of a particular state - on the other.

Since the second half of the twentieth century, in European constitutional and municipal law "the problem of decentralization has become particularly pronounced in connection with regionalization" [11, p.88].

In the domestic doctrine there is an opinion that regionalization is not decentralization, since at the regional level there is no real possibility to single out "regional local affairs" that would differ from national affairs traditionally owned by the state. Thus, according to F.P. Benoit, "decentralization does not directly affect the state; regionalization transforms it, transfers part of the rights of centralization to the level of regions" [11, p. 89]. Thus, regionalization restricts centralization by moving power to the field.

In the modern world, signs of regionalization are most distinct in the European Union. The single market assigns domestic EU regions to play a more active and independent role in foreign economic relations. At the same time, the process of liberation of regions from strict control by national governments is observed. Also, the idea to introduce the principles of federalism in all European states, including the unitary ones, is being strengthened. The single market is gradually forming a new economic geography of Europe, which is no longer determined solely by national borders [12, p.145]. The regional component starts to play an increasing role in it. In addition, the activities of the Committee of the Regions of the EU, as well as the Congress of Regional and Local Authorities of Europe under the auspices of the Council of Europe and the various interregional assemblies of the regions of these states, which have their permanent forum, through which their attention can be taken into account at the European level and receive the widest resonance. So, for example, in the framework of the aforementioned Congress, the European Charter on Regional Self-Government was actively developed, by analogy with the European Charter of Local Self-Government.

Strengthening supranational federalization comes to the fact that the states, their components, in fact, share part of their sovereignty with supranational bodies (including issues of financial policy, customs barriers, tariff regulation of foreign trade, etc.).

The process of regionalization greatly stimulates the debate on federalization in European countries. In many of them, in recent years, the regions have been demanding and seeking the legal consolidation and actual granting of much greater terms of reference and competence within the state, regarding financial, tax and budgetary issues, as well as the right to enter the international arena. This led to the fact that the most important characteristic of the current stage of development in Europe is the growth of trends towards regional autonomization and federalization of unitary states. In connection with the strengthening of regionalism with a new ideological content, the principle of subsidiarity, which underlies the internal structure of the EU, begins to form. The EU accession process gives a big impetus to the

development of regionalization in the countries of Eastern Europe, since interregional cooperation (both in the form of Euroregions, as a whole) is called the most powerful everyday tool. Moreover, regionalization in these countries is developing in parallel with the ongoing sociopolitical changes.

Thus, it can be stated that practically all signs of a regional state are inherent in Eastern European states, which is considered as "a state created under the condition of political and territorial regional reform, as a result of which the entire territory of a unitary state is subdivided into large administrative units with independence in political and legislative fields, as well as the right to self-organization" [13, p.302].

Recently, in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, there has been a rather serious social transformation: "... a rapid increase in national consolidation, which characterized these countries and was associated with the ideologies of "national liberation" and "returning to the European family of nations at the stage of the collapse of the bipolar system, and seems to have fulfilled its historical purpose. As the "liberation" occurred completely and irrevocably, and the "return to Europe" is in full swing, the level and intensity of national consolidation in these countries are significantly reduced. The acquisition of national identity in these countries is replaced by an awareness of its common European identity, and the existing set of European ideologies gradually begins to play an increasingly important role in public opinion in Central and Eastern Europe" [14, p.70].

The strengthening of the role of the regions in the Eastern European countries is happening, in our opinion, through the formation and development of local and regional self-government. The process of the formation of local self-government and its ascension to the regional level is presented as one of the most characteristic features in the dynamics of domestic political development in Eastern European states. The consequences of this process are, on the one hand, consolidation of local communities, which begin to feel like an autonomy with their own closed identity, and on the other hand, the managerial elites of these local and regional communities. According to the tendency, the role of the central authorities and the state as

a whole is gradually transforming in their eyes from a defining dominant to a kind of general superstructure, which is intended only to correlate some basic processes (defense, basic monetary policy and some others) and local and regional communities implement on their own.

The processes of decentralization of power and management, strengthening of regional identity stimulates the regions in question to independently enter the external arena. The problems that the regions, as a rule, solve on the external arena directly among themselves, bypassing the state, include issues of cultural cooperation, exchange of experience in day-to-day management, issues of foreign trade in goods and services produced in these regions, as well as the search for investments for large regional projects.

It seems necessary to emphasize that the European ideological environment allows the regions to carry out such external relations both within the framework of direct neighborhood, cross-border cooperation, and at the pan-European level. An important incentive for the external activity of the regions of Eastern European countries are the presenting opportunities for receiving financial support directly from EU structures and funds.

The institutionalization of regional autonomy, as well as the introduction of forms of self-government to the regional level, is also very important for the development of regionalism in Eastern European countries.

Thus, in Hungary, self-government at the regional level was introduced immediately after the collapse of the socialist regime at the turn of the 1990s. In Poland, the decision from this was taken in 1998 by adopting the Law "On the Regionalization of Local Self-Government", the result of which was the introduction of local self-government to a higher regional level, the parallel establishment of an intermediate link between the regions (voivodeship) and the communities (gminas) county and a swift reduction in the number of voivodeships.

In fact, there is a process of erasing the boundaries between the regional authorities and local authorities. However, unlike the latter, the institutions that function at the regional level are the management bodies of vertical subordination, which characterizes them as bodies that execute the decisions of the central government.

In the Czech Republic (as well as in Slovakia), the tendency towards the emergence of regionalism is aggravated by the fact that the provinces, as an intermediate level of organization, were abolished during the entrance of the 1990 administrative reform, with the result that only minor regional government structures remained between the central government and a large number of fragmented municipalities which do not have representatives. All this creates notable difficulties in the organization of management, in particular, the potential of regional structures is often not enough to effectively coordinate inter-municipal development, and to solve all serious problems at the level of central authorities is quite difficult.

Regarding the idea of legal regulation of local government and local self-government in the countries of Eastern Europe at the present stage, it should be emphasized that these issues are regulated not only by the constitutions of the studied states, but also by special laws. However, before proceeding to their study, it should be noted that all six Eastern European states from 1992 to 1999 ratified the European Charter of Local Self-Government in 1985 as a fundamental document containing the common democratic values that are embedded in self-government. For example, the Hungarian Parliament ratified the Charter in 1993, but its norms gained the force of law and became part of domestic law only in 1997. In Hungary, the main special legal acts on local governments include: The law of 1990, later amended in 1994, "On local self-government, which was included in the 1994 Constitution as Chapter IX and a number of other laws concerning local elections, local taxation, on the transfer of certain state property to local authorities [15, p.118].

Ergo, after the creation of the constitutional framework in Eastern European countries, various legal acts were adopted concerning local self-government. Thus, the

domestic legislation of each state at a high level recognizes the right of local self-government and regulates its functioning. Thus, in 1991 in Bulgaria two laws were adopted: the Law "On Local Government and Local Administration" and the Law "On the Election of Members of the National Assembly, Members of Municipal Councils and Mayors".

The main special laws on local (territorial) self-government of Poland are the Laws "On Territorial Self-Government" of March 8, 1990, "On the Election of Representatives to Local Self-Government" of 1990, "On the Division of Powers between State Administration and Local Self-Government" of 1990, "On the local referendum" of 1991, as well as the Law of October 17, 1992 "On the relationship between the legislative and executive authorities, as well as on territorial self-government" (the so-called Small Constitution), the Law "On the self-government of the voivodeship" of June 5, 1998, the Law "On self-government of the district" of June 5, 1998 [16, p. 171].

In Romania, there are Laws "On Local State Administration" dated November 26, 1991, "On local elections" from November 28, 1998, "On local duties and taxes" dated May 24, 1994 [17, p. 187].

Legal regulation of local self-government in Slovakia is carried out on the basis of the Laws "On elections to local government" of 1990, "On the organization of state local administration" of 1996, "On territorial self-government" and "On elections to regional self-government bodies" of July 4, 2001.[18, p. 220].

Czech Republic issues relating to local government are regulated on the basis of the basic special laws: "On municipalities" of September 4, 1990, "On municipal elections and local referendum in municipalities" of 1990, "On territories, communities, district administrations, on the capital Prague, on elections to regional parliaments, and the competence of the regional authorities "1997. [19, p. 259].

Conclusions

An analysis of the modern concept of local government and local self-government of the six Eastern European states shows that the municipal reform conditionally went through two stages in these countries.

The analysis of the first stage of the genesis of local government and local government legislation in Eastern Europe, covering the period from 1990 to 1997, was characterized by the establishment of democratic municipal systems. In essence, the initial legislation in the field of local self-

government was a reaction to the system of communist government: almost all the first constitutional laws on local government focus on features that are different from the past. So, for example, the Hungarian Law "On Local Self-Government" of 1990 include such features:

- 1) the separation of local governments from central government bodies, which is reflected in the independent status of a legal entity and the right to own property
- 2) the right to conduct calculations in any amount in order to establish independent local self-government and cooperate with neighbors on a voluntary rather than a compulsory basis;
- 3) free elections, based on the principle of competition, within the framework of a multi-party system;
- 4) the absence of hierarchical relations between levels of government and the restriction of supervisory interventions in matters of legality;
- 5) the right of local governments to introduce their own taxes, as well as receive state taxable subventions or subsidies, as defined by regulatory enactments. [9, p. 83].

The second stage of the municipal reform, covering the period from 1997 to 2014, was focused on the preparation and direct integration into the European Union. In general, it was connected with attempts by parliamentarians from Eastern European countries to bring municipal legislation in line with the 1995 European Charter of Local Self-Government, adapting the latter to the internal law regulation. In almost all the countries studied, the first Basic Laws on Local Self-Government were amended accordingly.

Based on this, it is necessary to recognize that in the formation and development of local government and local self-government of the modern Eastern European states, the organization of public institutions in various administrative units, as well as the latter's interaction with local authorities, plays a crucial role.

References

1. Krivoguz I.M. Krushenie «realnogo sotsializma» v Evrope i sudbyi osvobodivshihsy narodov [The collapse of "real socialism" in Europe and the fate of the liberated peoples]/ I.M.Krivoguz // – M.: Politicheskie protsessy na poroge XXI veka, 2001. – S. 66. [in Russian]
2. Eremyan V.V. Stranyi Vostochnoy Evropyi: spetsifika perehodnogo perioda ot sovetsoy sistemy gosudarstvennogo upravleniya k samoupravleniyu [Eastern European countries: from the Soviet system of government to self-government. Transition period and its specificity] / V.V.Eremyan // Materialy seminar, sostoyavshegosya v Moskve 5-7 dekabrya 2000 goda. – M.: Statut, 2001. – S.57-65. [in Russian]
3. Mavlyudov A.A. Mestnoe samoupravlenie kak obschestvennyiy institut: Sotsialno-ekonomicheskaya, pravovaya i politicheskaya model Respubliki Tatarstan [Local self-government as a public institution: Socio-economic, legal and political model of the Republic of Tatarstan]/ A.A.Mavlyudov// Sbornik nauchnyih trudov. – Kazan, 2001. – S 152-175. [in Russian]
4. Konstitutsiya Respubliki Bolgariya ot 12 iyulya 1991 goda [The Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, July 12, 1991]/ Konstitutsii gosudarstv Evropyi, T.1. – S. 394.[in Russian]
5. Konstitutsiya Respubliki Polsha ot 2 aprelya 1997 goda [The Constitution of the Republic of Poland dated from April 2, 1997] / Konstitutsii gosudarstv Evropyi, T.2. – S.716-718.[in Russian]
6. Konstitutsiya Vengerskoy Respubliki ot 18 avgusta 1949 goda. v redatsii 1998 goda.[6. The Constitution of the Republic of Hungary dated from August 18, 1949, edited in 1998]/ Konstitutsii gosudarstv Evropyi, T.1. – S.539.[in Russian]
7. Novikova S.S. Vvodnaya statya k Konstitutsii Cheshskoy Respubliki i Konstitutsii Slovatskoy Respubliki [Introductory article to the Constitution of the Czech Republic and the Constitution of the Slovak Republic]/ S.S.Novikova // Konstitutsii gosudarstv Evropyi, T. 3. – S. 109, 497.[in Russian]
8. Konstitutsiya Rумыnii ot 21 noyabrya 1991 goda [The Constitution of Romania, November 21, 1991] / Konstitutsii gosudarstv Evropyi, T.3. - S. 86.[in Russian]
9. Davey K. Rol mestnoy avtonomii v prodvizhenii demokratii v stranah Tsentralnoy i Vostochnoy Evropyi [The role of local autonomy in promoting democracy in Central and Eastern Europe] // K.Davey/ Vestnik Konstitutsionnogo Suda Respubliki Bilorus.2003.N 2.- S.83, 84.[in Russian]

10. Alebastrova I.A. Munitsipalnye sistemy v stranah Vostochnoy Evropy: Konstitutsionnye aspekty [Municipal systems in Eastern Europe: Constitutional aspects]/ I.A.Alebastrova // Nauchno-analiticheskiy obzor. – M.: INION RAN, 1994. – S. 5.[in Russian]
11. Tranin A.A. Administrativno-territorialnaya organizatsiya kapitalisticheskogo gosudarstva [Administrative and territorial organization of the capitalist state] / A.A.Tranin //. – M., 1984. – S. 88- 89.[in Russian]
12. Ivanov I.D. Evropa regionov [Europe of the regions]/ I.D.Ivanov // M.: Mezhdunarodnyie otnosheniya, 1998. – S. 145.[in Russian]
13. Ivanets G.I., Kalinskiy I.V., Chervonyuk V.I. Konstitutsionnoe pravo Rossii: Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar [Constitutional Law of Russia: Encyclopedic Dictionary] / pod obschey red. V.I. Chervonyuka //. – M.: Yuridicheskaya literatura, 2002. – S. 302.[in Russian]
14. Barabashev G.V. Munitsipalnye organyi sovremennogo gosudarstva (SShA, Velikobritaniya) [Municipal authorities of the modern state (USA, UK)]// G.V.Barabashev / - M., 1971. – S. 70.[in Russian]
15. Bekeni Y. Evropeyskaya Hartiya mestnogo samoupravleniya i ee adaptatsiya k usloviyam Vengrii [European Charter of Local Self-Government and its adaptation to Hungary]/ Y.Bekeni // Gosudarstvennaya sluzhba za rubezhom. Mestnoe samoupravlenie: reformyi i problemy. Referativnyiy byulleten. 2000, N 1 (32), - M.: Izdatelstvo RAGS, 2000. – S. 118 – 132.[in Russian]
16. Kowalczyk A. Local Government in Poland / Decentralization: Experiments and Reforms/ Local Governments in Central and Eastern Europe. – P. 222-228.[in Russian]
17. Farkash M. Osnovnyie svedeniya ob organah mestnogo samoupravleniya v Rumynii [Basic information about local government in Romania]/ M.Farkash // Organyi mestnogo samoupravleniya v stranah Tsentralnoy i Vostochnoy Evropyi i SNG: Antologiya opisatelnyih materialov . – Institut samoupravleniya i gosudarstvennoy sluzhbyi, 19943.(perevod s angl.) – S.187.[in Russian]
18. Nemeč J.,Berik P. Local Government in Slovakia / Decentralization: Experiments and Reforms. Local Governments in Central and Eastern Europe. – p. 301-306.[in Russian]
19. Lacina K., Vajdova Z. Local Government in the Czech Republic/ Decentralization: Experiments and Reforms. Local Governments in Central and Eastern Europe. – P.259.[in Russian]