

A REDISZTRIBUTÍV MECHANIZMUSOK NÉHÁNY SAJÁTOSÁGA ÉS HATÁSA A HELYI KAPCSOLATRENDSZERRE

A gazdaság koordinációs mechanizmusai és azok aránya a gazdasági fejlődés során jelentősen változtak és változnak napjainkban is. A modern gazdaságokban különös hangsúlyt kap a piaci és a redisztributív mechanizmusok viszonya, azaz a piac és az állam szerepe. A tervgazdaságokban a redisztributív mechanizmusok, illetve azok kizárólagossá tétele, majd reformjai olyan viszonyokat teremtettek, melyek korlátozták az alulról jövő kezdeményezéseket, a helyi kapcsolatrendszerek kialakulását, fejlődését. A centralizált irányítási rendszer figyelmen kívül hagyta a településszintű kapcsolatrendszerek gazdasági növekedést ösztönző hatását, és háttérbe szorította a helyi erőforrások potenciális lehetőségeinek kihasználását. A településszintű érdekeltség hiánya és a jövedelemelosztás, illetve jövedelemújraelosztás mindenkor rendszere eltorzította a helyi kezdeményezéseket, nem vette figyelembe a települések helyi sajátosságait. A túlzott mértékű redisztribúció mellett megjelentek ugyan a helyi szintű együttműködések a különböző szervezetek és a lakosság, illetve a helyi tanács viszonyában, de ezek elsősorban az egyre nagyobb hiány csökkentésére irányultak. Ma, amikor az önkormányzatok szükségszerűen az állampolgárok és közösségeik, illetve a helyi kapcsolatrendszerek fejlődésében érdekeltek, olyan viszonyok között kezdik meg működésüket, amikor hiányzik az önkormányzatok gazdasági alapja és ugyanakkor az állampolgárok és a szervezetek is elszoktak az autonóm, önálló felelősség és kockázatvállaló cselekvéstől.

DIE KOMMUNALE FINANZIERUNG UND WIRTSCHAFT IN UNGARN

Das im Jahre 1990 verabschiedete Gesetz für Selbstverwaltung gab den Gemeinden neue Möglichkeiten für die lokalen Initiativen. Dabei wurden aber den Gemeinden die wirtschaftlichen Mittel zur Selbstverwaltung nicht gewährleistet. Die Verteilung und Neuverteilung der Finanzmittel ist immer noch von Proportionen zentralistischer und redistributiver Art geprägt, die aus der alten Verteilungsstruktur übernommen worden sind. Die proportionale Änderung am Verhältnis zwischen dem zentralen und lokalen Haushalt setzt die Gemeindeverwaltungen heute noch mehr in eine Zwangslage als je zuvor, die Gemeinden fühlen „das Vernachlässigtsein“ oft stärker als die Selbständigkeit.

Bei der Entwicklung der Selbstverwaltung in den Gemeinden soll in der Zukunft auf die regionale Zusammenarbeit, Beziehungen und Aspekte mehr Wert gelegt werden. Die makroökonomischen Änderungen, und die Rechtslage der Gemeindefinanzverwaltung können dazu beitragen, daß der regionale Aspekt in der kommunalen Politik und Finanzierung immer mehr oder gleichrangig an die bevorzugte Stelle der Ministerien tritt.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN HUNGARY

Zoltán HAJDÚ

1. Introduction

The economic, social and political reforms that started in 1988 and were taking place at greater speed since 1990 have completely transformed the whole system of government. The new system of public administration was one of the most important requirements of Hungarian socio-economic change. Although these reforms are partly based on the propositions of the European Charter of Self-governments and partly on the traditions of public administration that were dominating until 1949. They were mostly affected by those political opinions that were framed in the period of transition.

In the process of administrative reforms local independence got a greater appreciation, and the idea of territorial and local social organization with the necessity of local government forming had a primary importance. Territorial integration was less important and was taken away in the hierarchy of interests.

2. The main features of the Hungarian Act of Self-governments

On August 3rd the Hungarian Parliament passed the Hungarian Self-government Act. The Act grants and protects the autonomy of local communities and provides the necessary conditions for their independence and democratic organization. The revival of the old system of self-governments can facilitate the democratic decentralization of Hungarian public administration.

Rural and urban self-governments and the self-government of Budapest and its boroughs as well as county self governments have an independence in acting and making decisions in local public affairs. It is only the Constitutional Court or other courts that can change local government decisions and only in case of abatement of law.

Local governments are enabled to deal with any local affairs that do not legally fall into the jurisdiction of any other local authorities. In this case local governments are entitled to act at their discretion, they can fulfil any tasks that is not against the law and interferes with the performance of their compulsory duties and tasks.

Legal regulations provide local governments freedom in their organization and disposal over their properties, they can use their incomes for their own purposes, they are enabled to enter into ventures, join other self-governments and any regional, national and international organizations. Local governments (rural, urban, Budapest and its boroughs with territorial, county governments) can have different competence and duties. This is partly because the functions that self-governments fulfil depend on local demands, potentials and partly because the Act can impose more duties on urban self-governments with greater rights.

The Act of Self-governments grants freedom and independence in local government cooperation based on mutual interests. Local governments have extensive duties in local

service provision like drinking water, public education, health and social services, public lighting, public road maintenance, cemeteries etc. They should also ensure the rights of national and ethnic minorities.

Beside primary functions the Act may prescribe granting higher public services and authorities but in this case it should ensure the necessary conditions for local governments in order they could fulfil their functions.

For the fulfilment of public services local governments are entitled to organize various institutions and companies. Citizens have the democratic rights to elect representatives into municipal corporation by local elections.

The representative's body forms an organic administration to facilitate local government activities and the fulfilment of administrative functions.

Local governments are entitled to form different (administrative, institutional management and representative) associations. Such associations have great importance especially in small villages.

The Act defines the conditions of forming new settlements, the ways of their joining and separation and the process of giving town rank to a village. From our point of view it is important, that giving the rank of town to a village depends on its development and spatial functions. This means that the rank of town is given to settlements having central functions in the spatial division of labour. Settlements with more than 50 000 population may be given the title of county rank. Towns of county rank fulfil local self-government functions and with some alterations territorial administrative functions too. These principles can be applied to the General Assembly of Budapest but because its special administrative role there is a special act on its detailed regulation.

The Act defines county governments as territorial governments to perform all the functions that do not fall into the jurisdiction of local governments. Their special duty is rendering regional public services covering almost the whole territory of the county.

Local governments have a disposal over their properties, they have a freedom in making decisions about their incomes and expenditures. Their income consists of several different items (private revenues, institutional revenues, local taxes, central and other financial funds etc.)

The Act determines and differentiates the relationship between central and local governments. They are regulated by the Parliament, the President, the government, the Home minister and other ministers.

A new element of the Hungarian public administration system is the state audit office. This was created by the results of a political agreement. State audits are the legal supervisors of local governments but their legal rights are limited to the legal supervision of self-government decisions. They are enabled to act in official matters in the first instance and to apply for legal remedies in civil administrative proceedings conducted by the local mayor or the chief borough head official in a town of county rank or a parish clerk in the first instance.

3. Local-territorial administrative reforms

The definitions of different administrative categories and functions were primarily based on settlement size categories. (The Act provides that settlements under 1000 are to establish notary districts, it defines the minimum population of large villages in 5000.

The process of local elections also depends on population number. Settlements under 10 000 population can directly elect their mayor, while in settlements with over 10 000 the mayor is given a mandate by the representatives' body. Towns of county rank should have minimum 50 000 inhabitants.

In the period of the latest local elections the administrative network of Hungary consisted of 165 towns, 2905 villages, 19 counties and one capital. The local council system was extremely complicated. Beside county councils of Budapest there were 1629 local councils in Hungary. Out of the total 1439 village councils there were 807 independent and 632 joint councils. 277 settlements had a rank of large village. There were no local councils in 1484 joint villages. As a result of special administrative linkages 50 joint townships over 17 towns were formed. The foundation of a new local government system should be based on the network of joint townships. In most cases the joint council system was a forced construction and consequently the partner had a "subordinated role". There were cases when villages were joined together just because this was the precondition of getting the rank of town. These partners later were not inflicted by the blessings of urbanization.

The separation of village joint councils started in 1987 and this process was speeding up in the early 1990s. On January 1st 1990 there were 1420 village councils in Hungary while in the election period their number increased to 1439. These joint councils had to make their decisions in very different economic social and political context and they were several times affected by different political and individual factors.

Out of villages with joint councils 529 notary districts were formed with the participation of 1526 villages by the February of 1991. Although these processes do not take place in the same way in different counties but there is a general tendency of forming notary districts in villages that formerly had joint councils and they need only an independent body of representatives that can make decisions in the most important matters. In Zala county for example 62 notary districts were formed with different settlement structure from 61 joint councils. In other counties this process took place in different way.

This process was also dominant in the former joint councils of the Hungarian Plain. Local referendums made a decision of terminating the forced unification of joint councils and making notary districts which have a smaller electorate than joint councils.

In Békés county 3 notary districts were formed out of 6 joint councils, while in Csongrád county 4 notary councils.

I have an opinion that this is only the first period in the administrative cooperation of villages. In a short time a new integrational process is going to take place, but before this villages have to experience the failures of their independence too.

Changes in urban public administration were made by the growing number of towns of county rank. The traditional ones (Győr, Debrecen, Miskolc, Pécs, Szeged) were followed by other towns (Figure 1). Their administrative or other functions are different from the county. There are traditions for this phenomenon in the history of the Hungarian public administration. As a result of this, the spatial public administrative linkage between towns and villages can break up, they can live without each other.

The administrative disclosure of towns of county rank creates an administrative vacuum in county administration. In Zala county there is no functional administration without the participation of Zalaegerszeg and Nagykanizsa but in a less degree it is also true in case of Csongrád and Győr-Sopron counties too. The most specific problem of

Hungarian administrative reform is the fact that counties still have the duty of territorial government while they were forced by reformers to fulfil a secondary institutional management at the same time.

Counties have lost their key positions they had in state socialism but their former administrative role and importance they had until 1949 was not returned to them.

A new element of the present Hungarian public administration is the establishment of the state audit office. Hungary is divided into 8 state audit regions while Budapest has its own state audit office and another state audit office with a jurisdiction covering 3 counties. As at the definition of state audit regions the aspects of public administration had a primary importance, these units are to be considered as formal regions and geographical factors are not so important here.

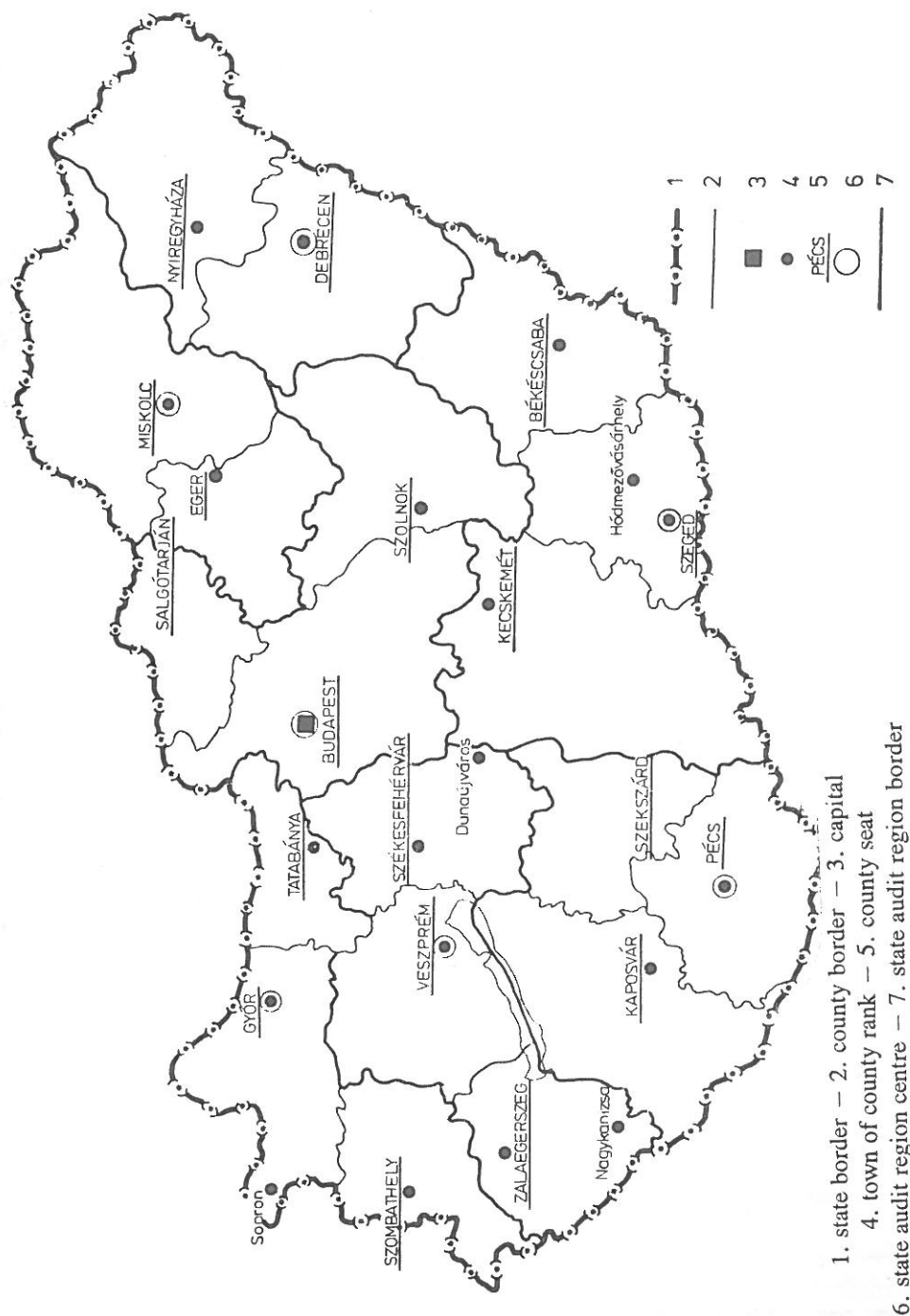
4. Summary

There were a lot of extreme opinions during the evaluation of the Hungarian administrative reform, but I think we can form an objective opinion only after a few years' experience. The results will reveal the strong and weak points of public administration. There seems to be an overestimation in the role of self-governments and this resulted in a dissipation of village governments.

The fundamental problem of the Hungarian administrative reform is the definition of territorialism. The 19 counties of Hungary are still functioning as self-government units but they have been deprived of their functional administration.

The 8 state audit regions serve mainly for legal supervision as there is no territorial integration in Hungarian public administration. That means the Hungarian public administration is on its way to Europe with a democratic local government system but without a real territorial administration except for regions with strong central government.

Figure 1 The territorial structure of Hungarian public administration in 1991



- 1. state border - 2. county border - 3. capital
- 4. town of county rank - 5. county seat
- 6. state audit region centre - 7. state audit region border

A MAGYAR KÖZIGAZGATÁSI REFORM KÖZIGAZGATÁSFÖLDRAJZI PROBLÉMÁI

A magyar rendszerváltás sajátossága, hogy a három oldalú politikai kerekasztal megbeszélések eredményeként kompromisszumos és békés jellegű volt. Még az állampárti parlament fogadta el, vezette át az alkotmánymódosításokat.

Az új társadalmi, politikai struktúráknak megfelelően a szovjet típusú tanácsrendszerrel szemben ismét létrejött a magyar közigazgatási hagyományoknak megfelelő önkormányzati típusú közigazgatás.

Az önkormányzatok (község, város, megye, Budapest és kerületei) rendkívül liberális önszerveződési lehetőségeket kaptak, a magyar önkormányzati közigazgatás – különösen a községi – sohasem rendelkezett ilyen széles lehetőségekkel.

Az önkormányzatok között nincs hierarchikus, alá-, fölé rendeltségi viszony, de az önkormányzatok nagyságuk és igényük alapján különböző feladatok ellátását vállalhatják. A megye elvesztette korábbi politikai és hatalmi pozícióit, valójában középfokú intézményfenntartó társulássá vált.

VERWALTUNGSGEOGRAPHISCHE PROBLEME DES UNGARISCHEN VERWALTUNGSREFORMS

Eine Eigenart des ungarischen Systemwechsels war es, daß es infolge der dreiseitigen politischen Gespräche durch Kompromisse und friedlich erfolgte. Die Modifizierung der Verfassung wurde noch von dem der Staatspartei verbundenen Parlament akzeptiert. Entsprechend der neuen gesellschaftlichen und politischen Struktur wurde anstelle des sowjetischen Rätessystems das den ungarischen Traditionen entsprechende selbstverwalterische Verwaltungssystem zustande gebracht.

Die Verwaltungen der gemeinden, der Städte, der Komitate, sowie von Budapest und ihrer einzelnen Bezirke erhielten eine äußerst liberale Selbstorganisierungsmöglichkeit, die ungarische Selbstverwaltung verfügte – besonders hinsichtlich der Gemeinden – noch nie über solch weite Möglichkeiten, wie jetzt.

Zwischen den einzelnen Verwaltungseinheiten besteht kein hierarchisches Verhältnis, die Verwaltungen übernehmen abhängig von ihrer Größe und ihres anspruchs verschiedene Funktionen. Das Komitat hat seine frühere Machtposition verloren, es wurde eigentlich zu einer Assoziation zur Unterhaltung mittlerer Institute.