

## **Oświadczenie premiera Tadeusza Mazowieckiego - Tekst angielski**

Mister Speaker, Honourable Chamber!

I wish to present a framework programme and the composition of the proposed Government. I am hereby addressing all of my fellow Poles!

It is my conviction that a clear majority of Poles concur regarding the goals we should pursue, for they cherish in their hearts a shared ideal of our homeland.

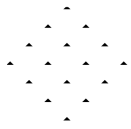
We all desire to live with dignity in a sovereign, democratic, and law-abiding state, one that everybody – regardless of their worldviews and ideological and political diversity – can consider their own.

We want to live in a country with a sound economy, one where it is profitable to work and to save money, and where meeting our basic material needs entails no anguish or humiliation. We want a Poland that is open to Europe and to the world; a Poland which, with no inferiority complex, contributes to the creation of material and cultural goods; a Poland whose citizens will feel they are welcome guests in the other countries of Europe and the world, and are not deemed troublemaking intruders.

I stand here as a man of Solidarity<sup>1</sup>, loyal to the heritage of August 1980. I view this heritage primarily as society's great collective cry for subjectivity, for the right to decide our country's future, and as the readiness to act with determination and in solidarity to achieve these goals. The heritage of August '80 also includes the ability to overcome disputes and divisions, the ability to seek partnerships, and the renunciation of thinking in terms of retaliating for the past and settling the score for the wrongs committed.

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<sup>1</sup> Tadeusz Mazowiecki (1927–2013) – in August 1980 he was a member of the expert team cooperating with the Inter-Factory Strike Committee in Gdańsk. He was an advisor to Lech Wałęsa and the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union 'Solidarity' (NSZZ „Solidarność”), and was editor-in-chief of the weekly Tygodnik Solidarność. Later he was a member of the Citizens' Committee under Lech Wałęsa and took part in the 1989 Round Table negotiations.



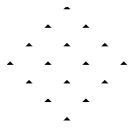
The fact that a premier whose background is in the Solidarity movement stands before this Honourable Chamber exemplifies how much has happened, and that we all have had much to ponder and much to come to terms with. This could never have come about without severe, menacing shocks for the nation, if the main political forces operating in our country had not evinced imagination, good-will, and a sense of responsibility for Poland. The role of the Church was also irreplaceable in this respect.

Today we in Poland face two major challenges: the political reconstruction of the state, and the need to lead the country out of economic disaster.

I am aware of how dire the situation is. I well know how hard it will be to reconcile these two objectives and implement them simultaneously. The new Government will be acting under the threat that the building of democracy in Poland, having barely been commenced, may fail at any moment in the face of a collapsing economy.

I am convinced that our enjoyment of regained political freedoms will not last long if we fail to avert economic catastrophe. Without tangible change in everyday life, Polish society might possibly conclude that democratic institutions are pointless.

We reject a political philosophy asserting that economic reforms can be launched over and against society, above people's heads – one that pushes democratic change aside. Poland can be lifted out of the mire only by a society of free citizens and through the policies of a government enjoying the trust of a clear majority of Polish citizens. Thus, it is of critical importance that the citizens reevaluate their attitude toward the state.



The experiences of our recent history compelled a considerable part of society to conclude that the state formed after the [Second World] War was not an institution serving the nation.

The ideal of that state was to organize social life in all its aspects. It was the state's desire to rule not only over people's actions, but over their minds as well. That philosophy is still prevalent in the structures and acting principles of many an institution of public life even today, as it is in our very mentality and established customs.

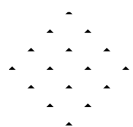
And yet today circumstances exist that allow us to overcome the situation in which the good of the nation was trumped by the interests of the state. However, it is now the organs of state authority – the Government, in particular – that have to take the initiative and rebuild society's trust in the state.

Our objective is that of a state which will establish a secure framework for individual and collective existence, and one which defines only the limits of the freedom of individuals and communities of citizens. Whilst recognizing the value of human enterprise, the state envisioned will not leave its weaker or socially vulnerable members without care.

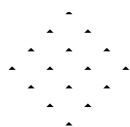
Honourable Chamber!

The logical and necessary consequence of the principles here presented, and upon which the state should rest, is the pursuit to build our state upon the foundation of law.

The law cannot be an instrument wielded by the state apparatus, or any other political group, to exercise rule over the citizenry.



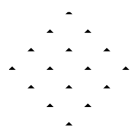
At the same time, citizens are to respect the binding laws. We shall strive to accelerate the work on new modifications in criminal law, particularly in criminal procedure, as well as in misdemeanor law, all of which have to meet the requirements of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Amendments will also be made to the right of defence and the right to trial by court. Work shall also be continued on changes in civil law. The reform of the law on the judicial system is urgent. The Government's legislative initiative in respect of setting up a National Justice Board will serve the purpose of ensuring the independence of the judiciary. Moreover, we intend to table initiatives for regulating the law on assemblies. We shall also strive to extend judicial review to all administrative decisions. It is a matter of profound importance that work be undertaken on a new and democratic constitution. It is the Government's intention to actively contribute to this effort. We are also facing the extremely difficult effort to develop a relationship between the Parliament and the Government whereby the efficient functioning of executive organs will be assured, with the surpassing role of the Parliamentary Chambers ever being respected. The basis of our attitude toward the Parliament is the conviction that the Government's efficacy will depend not only on the formal acceptance, but also on the moral support of the Chambers, and the opportunity to draw social authority from them.



Whether the Government will function in accord with society's expectations will depend on the critical evaluation of its propositions and measures, as well as on the smooth efficiency of legislative work. Within the scope defined by the Constitution, the Government shall collaborate with the President<sup>1</sup>. The authority of the state requires this. Such collaboration is particularly important today, in order to successfully carry out Poland's reforms. The Government wishes to work together with all the political parties and groupings represented in the Parliament. We find ourselves in a completely new situation, one in which all the political forces must rethink their roles anew, along with their attitudes towards the state and its institutions – for the state is becoming of general and surpassing value. This process is not an easy for anyone, though necessary it is. On the one hand it concerns the PZPR<sup>2</sup> [the Polish United Workers' Party], and on the other those who have been part of the opposition. Departure from the identification of one party with the state is not a single act, but rather a complex process. This process should not be hindered. On the contrary, anything that fosters the democratic recipe for political life, a model that offers equal rights and opportunities to everyone, should be promoted. Another complicated task is the transition from fighting against the state – the latter having been placed above all of us – to treating it as our own state. Here, too, this process should not be hampered – nor should it be perceived as a threat to the stability and functioning of state institutions.

<sup>1</sup> Wojciech Jaruzelski (1923–2014) – was a communist general of the Polish Army, and long-standing Minister of Defence in communist Poland. He was First Secretary to the Central Committee of the ruling Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) in 1981–89, and chaired the Council of State (1985–89). On July 19, 1989, he was elected President of the People's Republic of Poland (renamed the Republic of Poland as of December 31, 1989) by the National Assembly, and held that office until December 22, 1990 – the day he was replaced by Lech Wałęsa, elected President by popular vote.

<sup>2</sup> The Polish United Workers' Party was established in 1948 as a communist political party to rule the authoritarian state and its centrally controlled economy. Subordinate to the Soviet communist party, PZPR strove to control all possible manifestations of social life.



And so we will all have much to learn all over again. It should also be assumed that various political forces will emerge and coalesce out of the hitherto opposition. The Government needs to develop a legal framework for this process and foster its natural course.

Hence, the attitude toward those political formations, both larger and smaller, which have remained outside the Parliament is a matter of importance even today. For these organizations are also facing the need to choose a place for themselves within the process of change that has been gathering pace in Poland.

I stress that this also concerns those radical forces which have demonstrated their dissatisfaction with what was resolved at the 'Round Table' negotiations<sup>1</sup>.

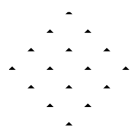
Such dissatisfaction may prove a creative force, so long as it exhibits a sense of responsibility for the difficult matters we all are confronting.

The time we have entered upon is a time when it is not words, but the measures we take to draw Poland out of crisis and to make avail of our grand opportunity to rebuild Poland as a state, that ultimately will count in the judgment of history.

Today in Poland there are many social organizations that have existed for a long time, along with numerous others that have formed recently, thanks to the regained right to associate. The Government shall support their development, respect their independence, and show understanding toward their efforts. Without the intent of supplanting them, however. A further task of momentous import is to create an authentic territorial government in Poland.

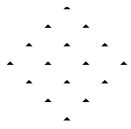
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<sup>1</sup> The Round Table negotiations were a series of talks between representatives of the opposition, mainly the Solidarity movement, and members of the governing camp, attended also by societal associations and observers from both the Catholic and the Lutheran churches, held between February 6 and April 5, 1989 in (and outside) Warsaw. The negotiations were meant to draw up the principles for the democratization of the social system and improvement of the economic system. In the final documents concluding the talks, it was agreed that the country's political and economic system would be reformed in an evolutionary fashion – the bases being that of political pluralism, freedom of speech, autonomy of the judiciary, strong territorial government, democratic procedures for appointing/electing all the representative bodies of state authority, unrestrained development of ownership structure, and development of market-driven relations and competition. The principle of pluralism for trade unions was also established.



The Government shall intensively cooperate with the Sejm and the Senate in the work on creating the legal and material conditions for the formation of territorial authorities, so that local government elections may be held within a shorter timeframe than envisioned. The emergence of local government is intrinsic to our hope of releasing the enormous civic energy that until recently has been trammled by the sense of powerlessness vis-à-vis the state bureaucracy and centrally issued directives. Autonomous decision-making, an independent administrative apparatus, and property of their own will provide local communities with the opportunity to develop. The efficiency of the Government's work will be conditional upon the loyalty of the state apparatus. It is not the Government's intention to carry out a mass replacement of public officials and civil servants. In selecting personnel we shall apply only the criteria of expertise and competence, along with loyal execution of instructions received from the state authorities. Thus, we shall reject being guided by partisan considerations. All Polish citizens must have equal rights in pursuing access to state service. An important part of the state apparatus is that of the services whose mission is to safeguard the security of citizens and the state. We perceive the Militia<sup>1</sup> as a service that, within the confines of the law, ensures public order, thereby giving citizens a sense of security. We have understanding for the difficult, often dangerous work of its functionaries. At the same time, however, we discern the need for a thorough reform that needs to take place in connection with the democratic transformation taking place in the country.

<sup>1</sup> The Citizens' Militia (Milicja Obywatelska, MO) was a state police formation active in Poland during the communist era (1944 to 1990).



The size and the role of the Security Service<sup>1</sup>[SB] has also to be altered, given the ongoing democratic transition and reinstatement of civil rights.

It is our desire that the Polish Army draw upon the best of its traditions, and serve solely the homeland and the nation.

The worldview and political beliefs of its officers and other soldiers should be private matters, ones that do not affect their service or careers in any way.

The Government wants to strengthen the respect, traditional in our society, for soldierly duty. We shall endeavour to humanize military life and service.

In both the armed forces and the Interior Department conditions should be created for the fitting participation of representatives of various socio-political forces in setting the policy and evaluating the operations of military bodies.

Honourable Chamber!

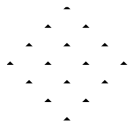
This Government wants to speak the truth and enable freedom of speech to all fractions of public opinion.

An open, two-way flow of information must be established between the Government and society. We want public opinion in Poland to influence the affairs of the state, and so we shall listen attentively to the public's voice. The development of the press is not to be regulated administratively – and the role of censorship must be further restricted. Access to radio and television, as a right, must be equal for all. Radio and television will be pluralistic. The time of restricting the freedom of Polish journalism is now over. Indeed, the time has come for its grand role in shaping society's political culture.

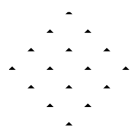
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<sup>1</sup> The Security Service (Służba Bezpieczeństwa, SB) was an organ of state security operating in communist Poland from 1956–89 as part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its field units.





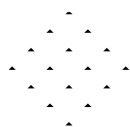
There is no free country without free trade unions. In respecting union rights, the Government will strive to establish a partnership with various factions of the labour movement, that the potential of the country accord with the needs of workers. This is not going to be an easy task, given the current economic difficulties – and so we count on understanding from all the labour-union movements. I promise that the Government will treat the affairs of working people with the utmost import. As Premier, I shall remain mindful of my own background in the trade-union movement. Honourable Chamber! The Polish state can be neither ideological nor confessional. It must be a country where no citizen is discriminated against or favoured for his or her worldview or political convictions. Religion, which calls on us to lead decent and honest lives and teaches responsibility for one's fellowman and solidarity with others – particularly, those in need – constitutes a universal value for society, as well. In arduous times – as we are indeed experiencing today – when we need to summon the deepest and noblest human feelings, we especially strongly sense the significance of religious motivations.



The Catholic Church has performed a momentous role in regaining the rights to which the nation and its citizens are entitled, as well as in establishing dialogue, at pivotal moments, between the authorities and society. The Government intends to cooperate with the Catholic Church and with all the other denominations in Poland. Freedom of religion is a natural and inalienable human right, and any attempt to violate it is to be condemned. Poland is a country, and the homeland, not only of Poles. We share this land together with members of other nations. We want them to feel at home here, and to cultivate their language and enrich our community with their cultures. Honourable Chamber! The political changes in our country were initiated a year ago, in May, by the young workers of Gdańsk<sup>1</sup>. They were patient and held their heads high as they were leaving the Gdańsk Shipyard. And they were also resolute once they returned. In August they claimed their rights<sup>2</sup> again. They maintained sufficient faith and hope, and intelligence too. Their success progressed slowly. And this is why I believe, today, in the patience, energy, and tenacity of young Poles taking action. I am addressing them with special fervor, that they keep the faith. I call on those who are still at school, those who are at the outset of their careers, those building families. Those radical young people who feel repudiated, and wish to express attitudes of objection with respect to what is happening around them. Those who, following years of study, now find it hard to see the meaning of work, who have waited for years to get a home, and for whom going abroad seems the best opportunity for their lives.

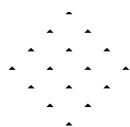
<sup>1</sup> May 2, 1988 saw the outbreak of a strike at the Gdańsk Shipyard that was supported by college students from the Tri-Cities (the Gdańsk-Sopot-Gdynia agglomeration). The protesters demanded that Solidarity be legally registered, but because talks ended in fiasco and the Militia threatened to pacify the strike, the protest came to an end on May 10.

<sup>2</sup> In July and August 1988, Poland was again swept by a wave of strikes. As a result, the government proposed convening a 'round table' meeting with representatives of various social milieux.

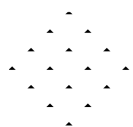


After all it is in our young people that the greatest energy and creative initiative reside. The young need to be assured the freedom to act, and the possibility to express their discontent. The changes in the economic institutions that the Government soon intends to implement will create favourable conditions to act for the entrepreneurial, which means the young, above all. Housing – an issue of extreme importance, particularly for the young generation – today calls for rapid and radical decisions. We are aware that without solving this problem, the distressing phenomenon of young people leaving their country cannot be curbed. This is not merely an economic issue, but a political one as well. I will not make promises to the young generation that cannot be kept. Rather, I wish to stress that the Government will earnestly remove the ideological and political barriers that have been hampering – for reasons of beliefs and value systems – participation in public life. Honourable Chamber! In all areas of art and culture our policy will be the selfsame: to shepherd as little as possible. It is not for the authorities to impose ideological, artistic, or religious preferences on cultural institutions. While recognizing the immense oeuvre of Polish literature and art in exile and the great value of the samizdat<sup>1</sup> at home, the Government shall create conditions wherein all cultural values will become universally accessible.

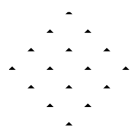
<sup>1</sup> The term samizdat was used to describe underground publications issued in Poland between 1976 and 1990 outside the scope of censorship.



The Government is mindful of the threats posed to culture by inflation, and will counteract those threats to the best of its ability. Together with associations of creative artists, and acting lest no decision be made arbitrarily, we will endeavour to elaborate an efficient subsidizing system. Moreover, we will encourage, by means of tax exemptions, the establishment of foundations and various forms of sponsorship and patronage. Polish science represents a considerable intellectual potential, despite a neglected and out-of-date infrastructure. Any further degradation of science must be prevented. The Government shall promote solutions on behalf of self-governing scientific bodies, shortened paths to career advancement, and fuller opportunities for creative skills and initiatives. We shall also energetically seek to make it easier for scientific institutions to maintain contacts with international science. It is my wish, though, that the ambitions of young, talented scientists and scholars will centre on work for their native country. We will strive to reinstate the complete autonomy of tertiary-level schools. I anticipate that the work on the new draft law [in this respect] will soon be completed, and that the bill will be approved by academic circles. Within the framework of self-governing colleges and universities there will be room for unrestrained development of student organizations. The condition of the educational system is a cause for utmost concern. Years of negligence and underinvestment have taken their toll. The fact that, in spite of such circumstances, many schools provide education of a good standard is to be credited to teachers – people who treat their profession as a vocation and as a service to society. The new Government is fully aware of this situation, and of the debt society has incurred with respect to teachers.



Everything that is really important and socially indispensable in education occurs at the school level. The teacher and the school are for the child, and not the other way round. The way we view the role of schools must change. Matters concerning education need to be regulated by means of a new law on education. We are aware of the perils that pose a threat to the biological existence of our nation. Ad-hoc measures will be taken in regards to the most urgent needs. To solve the problems of health, it is necessary to lay the foundation for a truly social health care programme, one based upon economic principles, self-reliance, and the self-government of healthcare institutions, with the costly bureaucratic barriers presently existing to be abolished. We are aware how poor the condition of our natural environment is. A change in economic strategy and spatial planning and designing is a must in order to prevent further adverse impact on the environment we live in. Determining and then urgently eliminating the most severe threats to life and health is no less critical. A clear picture of accountability needs to be created in the scope of environmental protection. We shall seek the help of the world's advanced countries in protecting our environment. The efforts to resolve the problems facing culture, the educational and schooling system, science, healthcare, and environmental protection call for the assistance and active involvement of the state. The Government will not shirk its role. However, given the dramatic economic situation, particularly with respect to the state's very dire finances, our help will be limited and will not meet the real needs. We expect that bold removal of administrative barriers encumbering the activity of people will incite genuine social initiatives to complement what the state is incapable of doing in these areas alone.



Honourable Chamber!

We are facing the historic task of bringing about breakthrough changes in the economy, ones that will keep pace with the political transformation. This task has to be carried out, however, under extremely difficult economic conditions.

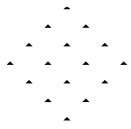
The average living standard is lower than it was ten years ago. The scope of poverty has expanded, and in the countryside and urban areas alike. The economy is in the noose of foreign debt. Production assets are swiftly undergoing exploitation. The breakdown in housing construction is worsening, and this particularly affects young people. The ecological crisis is utterly disastrous in some areas of the country. For the first time since 1982, a steep decrease in industrial output has been observed.

These are but a few elements of the dramatic economic situation bequeathed to the new Government.

Runaway prices and wages, undermining the whole of the economy, has been added to the picture in recent months. Another menace is that of skyrocketing inflation<sup>1</sup>, which may lead to complete economic chaos.

We are determined to bring the process to a halt as soon as possible and make a breakthrough in the country's economic system and situation. Nonetheless, in face of the inertia of the economy, the vast amount of amassed problems, and the unprecedented time pressures, this Government will not be capable of doing everything at once.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Central Statistical Office [GUS], the inflation rate in 1989 was in excess of 251 percent.



However, we shall take immediate action to alleviate the pressure of inflation. Above all, we intend to propose measures to reduce the budgetary deficit.

It is necessary to resolutely strengthen discipline in tax collection. Many of the enterprises lagging behind in their liabilities with respect to the central budget treat tax arrears as a form of cheap borrowing. This must come to a halt. It is banks, not the budget, that extends credit.

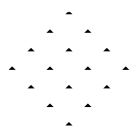
Savings in expenditures is another necessity. These measures will consist in further reduction of subsidies, limiting centrally-funded investment projects, shifting part of the munitions industry to civilian purposes, and limiting the scope of preferential loans.

Measures must urgently be taken to reduce growth in the supply of money in circulation. The Government shall propose restrictions in investment lending.

We shall undertake initiatives to inhibit the decrease in the real value of savings account balances and loan liabilities toward banks.

We shall be forced to strictly apply the binding fiscal sanctions in cases when it is found that remuneration is disbursed by enterprises not in compliance with the regulations in force. Honourable Chamber!

In parallel with ad-hoc measures aimed at counteracting the progress of inflation, the Government shall take steps initiating the transition to a modern market economy – a model well proven by the developed countries.



A Government plenipotentiary for ownership transformations [i.e., privatization] will be appointed. Equipped with an appropriate organizational apparatus, the plenipotentiary will quickly develop a programme and set of principles for transforming the economy's ownership structure. The fundamental principle will be that of open and transparent selling, something that will be available to all citizens, as well as to institutions interested in effective management.

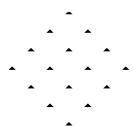
We shall develop solutions to facilitate the acquisition of enterprise shares by their employees. Room will be provided for a variety of other economically efficient forms of ownership. The principle of open and transparent sales will put an end to the occurrences that have been taking place whereby portions of national property are acquired based on informal links, rather than economic criteria.

The legal framework for a stock exchange – an institution that is indispensable for our project of ownership transformation – has to be established in all haste. The necessary organizational steps will immediately be taken to make this happen.

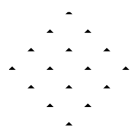
Stifling inflation, abolishment of 'distributionism', introduction of market pricing and convertibility of the national currency, and the continued process of equalizing the rights and obligations across sectors will yield conditions for the state-owned enterprises, far better than at present, to efficiently act. This will enable them to vie in competitive rivalry against enterprises from other sectors. Poland's economy is extremely monopolized; in conditions like these, no market can demonstrate its proper efficiency.

Therefore, we shall take resolute action to remove unnecessary and detrimental organizational structures.

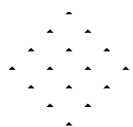




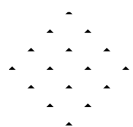
As I have already announced, this will mainly consist in de-monopolization of the structures connected with the food market. The institution counteracting monopolistic practices will be revamped by separating it from the Ministry of Finance and equipping it with the necessary powers. Work will urgently be undertaken on repairing the public finance system, including through a marked reduction of sundry specialized funds. What they do is blur a comprehensive picture of the state's finances, and hinder social control over public expenditures. It is a matter of surpassing significance to prepare a thorough reform of the national tax system, which will encompass the development and implementation of a genuine tax on personal income. The tax's progressive scale will not clash with the basic goal of unleashing the enormous resources of initiative and enterprise, so far dormant in our society. We will accelerate the creation of a banking system as something indispensable in any modern market economy. This calls for changes in the existing banking system so as to render it convergent with what prevails in economically developed countries. Obstacles to the creation of new commercial banks must also be removed. These steps, enumerated as examples, shall initiate the process of transition to a system which, albeit not ideal, among the systems known from experience offers the greatest opportunity for attaining decent and ever-improving living conditions. At the same time, it is a system where, owing to efficient coordination between its links, people can work at a much calmer pace, and much more productively than ever before.



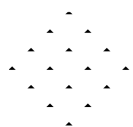
Honourable Chamber! The road to this economic model is blocked by a great obstacle: runaway inflation. As I have stated, the steps we will be taking in the following weeks cannot solve the problem completely, but what they can do is counteract the increasing pace of price rises. Therefore, work is already underway on a package of more resolute measures to stifle inflation. The most basic task is to completely eliminate the inflow of 'empty' money into the economy, as this is what fuels inflation. Resolute and unflagging action in this respect will enable us to abolish administrative control over prices, aside from utterly special exceptions. This, in turn, will enable us to eliminate the mass deficit of goods on the market and the related queues. Ultimately, following a temporary increase, prices should stabilize in short order. At the same time, we are determined to pursue the goal of the zloty's exchangeability, setting it against a uniform and increasingly stable exchange rate. It must be emphasized, however, that the suppression of such severe inflation without serious societal pains and distress, including the bankruptcies of some enterprises and the consequent unemployment, is unknown in the economic history of the world. This is because artificial refinancing of insolvent business entities will come to an end, for the reason that the printing of empty money will finally cease. It is highly likely that these measures may cause a temporary drop in production and, consequently, a further decline of society's standard of living. Nonetheless, once inflation comes under control and the shortages are successfully addressed, a course of economic development based on sound foundations will become possible. No other available option offers a comparable opportunity.



The possibility that certain social problems will appear or become exacerbated will no doubt put the labour-union movement in a tough position. We are aware of this, and are counting on the unions – in being aware of the difficulties affecting the country and the lack of easy solutions – to support the reforms. For these reforms are to lead to a point where we have more to share. The Government shall do all possible to alleviate the discomforts related to bridling inflation. In particular we will focus on developing employment services and institutions facilitating the retraining of employees from enterprises going bankrupt. We shall also create conditions fostering the development of new jobs. The present underdevelopment of commercial network services and small-scale production bespeaks the fact that the economy can indeed absorb a considerable portion of the labour force. We will introduce, or reinforce, other elements of the social safety net, as well – including benefits for those who may lose their jobs. It must be borne in mind, however, that this is all connected with budgetary expenditures and can happen only to the extent that it will not collide with the fundamental objective of choking off inflation. Thus, such assistance will be limited. We clearly discern the need to employ such methods of indexing disability and retirement pensions, and revaluating other benefits, as this will prevent deterioration of the living standard of the most impoverished societal groups and prevent the gap between them and professionally active groups from increasing. Agriculture and the food economy as a whole are beset with difficulties, as well. High inflation and shortages on the means-of-production market are particularly problematic for farmers. Implementation of the economy rescue programme I am presenting will remove these problems. This will not happen at once – but the situation when a farmer cannot buy necessary equipment, despite having the money, will become a thing of the past.



We also clearly discern the urgent need to swiftly take additional measure in support of rural areas. This will include liberalization of land sales. Land ought to go, as soon as possible, to those who can make the best use of it. The unfettered sale of land will enable improvement of the agrarian structure. Moreover, the Government sees the need to develop non-agricultural fields of manufacture in rural areas, so that the potential for employment and the conditions for a dignified life may be created for those who presently work at farms that, from an economic standpoint, are too small. Moreover, this will improve services to rural areas. Lastly, we also appreciate the necessity to develop the gravely neglected infrastructure in the countryside. Honourable Chamber! With its primary goal to effectively combat inflation, the programme of action I am presenting will be arduous, but there is no other way forward. Indeed, each of us must ask: what will happen if resolute action like this is not taken? The indexation money, along with the money paid to state employees, have already prompted a rise in prices, and they will continue to do so. There may come a moment when the increasing prices lead to a dynamic rise in the pay of production workers whose clout is the strongest. These rises will have repercussions, including increased payments made to farmers and the public sector based on the indexation laws.



Together, this may trigger an even greater rise in prices. Meanwhile, this August has seen an increase of 50 percent. For September, economists foresee a 40-percent rise. If this is to continue, we would face inflation in excess of 4,000 percent within twelve months, making a bread-roll cost 1,600 zloties and not 40 zloties. The price of petrol would then be 440,000 per litre. On top of that, there is no certainty that prices will not move even higher month-to-month than they have hitherto.

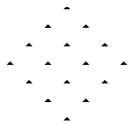
With inflation this high, the incentive to produce wanes, and farmers refrain from selling their grains, which they deem to be of a higher value than the depreciating currency. Sooner or later, such crumbling of production will obviously cause acute social tensions, ones easily precipitating general chaos across the country. Such is the altogether plausible scenario of events, if we are to procrastinate with taking tough, but vital decisions.

Conversely, if we meet the challenge and carry our task through to completion, then – although we shall face a tough time ahead – the opportunity for better organized work will arise for our entire society.

Honourable Chamber!

I wish to express the hope that international financial institutions will lend Poland essential assistance in its endeavours on behalf of a radical stabilization of the economy and thorough institutional reforms.

In face of the complexity of our situation, we are also counting on friendly governments – that they will make it easier for Poland, by means of financial assistance, to pursue its difficult and socially painful reform process. Furthermore, we expect the understanding and support of foreign private banks.



We are aware that the condition for obtaining such assistance is to resolutely implement the severe programme I am tabling. And here I should like to stress the special significance of time, given our situation. I thus want to repeat to our foreign partners: 'He helps doubly who helps promptly'!

We attach great and ongoing importance to our economic relations with the Soviet Union and the other COMECON<sup>1</sup> countries. At the same time, we are vitally interested in close relations with the EEC<sup>2</sup>. We want our economy to be increasingly open to the world.

Honourable Chamber!

The world is watching our endeavours attentively, and quite often with sympathy.

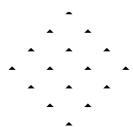
I wish to make it clear to all those abroad who are observing the transformation taking place in Poland that what is happening poses no threat to anyone – nor does it undermine international stability.

On the contrary, international relations based on sovereignty and partnership are more stable than is an order based on dominance and force.

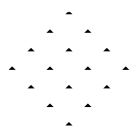
Over the last forty-five years, the history of Poland has largely been determined by tensions and conflicts in world politics. Today, with the Cold War era coming to a close, the opportunity has come to fulfill our national aspirations in accord with the current trends in world politics. It is Poland's desire to co-create a new Europe, and to overcome the post-war division of the world that today has become completely anachronous. Observance of the principle of the permanence of existing borders is the necessary precondition for evolutionary change to happen. At the same time, we believe that borders will be open.

<sup>1</sup> The Council of Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON) was established in 1949 in Moscow in order to coordinate economic cooperation within the bloc of states subordinate to the USSR. The organization was dissolved in 1991.

<sup>2</sup> The European Economic Community (EEC) was a European economic organization which functioned from 1958 to 1993, when it became the European Union.



We wish to make avail of all possible forms of economic and political cooperation, by partaking in existing European organizations. We are also interested in cultural exchange and in the exchange of information and communications technologies, as well as in environmental protection. That we are open to the whole of Europe does not mean we reject our present connections and commitments. If we repeatedly declare that the new Government shall respect the obligations of Poland's alliances, this in nowise is a tactical ploy on behalf of calm. Rather, it stems from how we understand Poland's *raison d'état* and from our analysis of the international situation. Should the day come when European security no longer calls for military pacts, we shall bid them farewell without regret. And we believe this will in fact happen. Today, however, it is important that any and all military pacts and alliances concern only the external security of the contributing countries, rather than their internal political and economic order. We welcome with hope everything that attests to the fact that such an interpretation of international relations is making headway in our part of Europe. The supreme objectives of the state's foreign policy retain their significance under any circumstances, regardless of the political orientation holding the reins of power. We must not demolish anything of what has lent to our national security. The Government I head shall respect the international agreements binding upon Poland and abide by the obligations made thereunder.



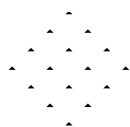
A state must foremost be strong internally. Only then may it be a valuable and respected ally, and only then can the arrangements such a country enters into reinforce its security. This Government will spare no efforts so that Poland, while overcoming its crisis, may become a steadfast component of stability in Europe, especially in our own region.

The foreign policy we will pursue must be reliable and open, as well as responsive, from the standpoint of our national interest, to the changes occurring internationally.

As argued by the hitherto governing camp, the conviction has been common that the relationship between Poland and the USSR is based upon ideological and doctrinal factors, and that it is these factors that ensure Poland's adherence to this bilateral friendship agreement. This argument has been challenged by certain representatives of the Polish opposition.

The mutual relations between a superpower, such as the Soviet Union, with a medium-sized country, as is Poland, constitute an intrinsically complex matter. It is customary that a large power postulates a security zone it defines on its own, which in real life translates into a sphere of influence. A reasonable approach to this issue implies seeking solutions that take into account the interests of that great power, on the one hand, whilst also respecting the sovereignty of our country, along with its unrestrained freedom to shape its own internal order, on the other. It is the desire of the Government I head to base its allied relations with the Soviet Union upon the principle of equal rights and respect of sovereignty. Our alliance will be established on a strong foundation once society has ratified it. There are propitious conditions for that today. This will also open a way toward a reconciliation between our nations that will put an end to the bad experiences of the past, and may prove of far-reaching historical import.





We address our neighbours, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, along with the other countries of our region, offering them our readiness to develop cooperation. We want to free our relations from the fetters of bureaucracy and base them on broader contacts, ones not limited to selected groups or political forces.

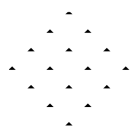
We desire an opening of Poland to Europe and the world. Considerations far from rational have hitherto hindered the proper and full development of our relations, and across all domains. We now must make up for lost ground, especially in regard to our cooperation with the European Economic Community's countries and the United States, as well as the other powerhouses of the world economy.

Restoration of diplomatic relations with the Apostolic See is a historic fact. I also deem it important that we have normalized relations with other states, particularly those with which relations had been severed.

We need a breakthrough in our relationship with the Federal Republic of Germany. The societies of the two nations, theirs and ours, have already pushed much further ahead than have their governments.

We count on the marked development of economic relations, and we want a real rapprochement to happen between us – commensurate with the reconciliation that took place between the Germans and the French. Cooperation, especially economic cooperation, with the newly industrialized countries of Asia, Africa, the Pacific, the Middle East, and Latin America is likewise part of our interest.

The developments that unfolded immediately after the War instilled among us Poles the feeling that our country had been abandoned by the West, and that the West acquiesced to Poland's limited sovereignty. But over the following years, particularly during the recent difficult times, we have seen proof of solidarity and warm feelings from the West.



The time has come for a new approach in our mutual relations. Our full openness to the West is impossible without a full understanding of our problems and aspirations on their part.

Debt is a severe problem in our foreign policy. We do not ask for charitable assistance, but rather solicit investment, capital, and technological involvement that will yield mutual benefits. We Poles must repair our economy through our own diligence.

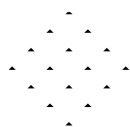
Nonetheless, we want our creditors to be mindful of the fact that the issue at hand is not merely economic, as it involves the success of the political transformation in our country, this being a matter of importance for Europe as a whole.

Honourable Chamber!

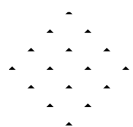
At the initiative of Lech Walesa, Chairman of NSZZ Solidarność [i.e., the ‘Solidarity’ Independent Self-Governing Trade Union], an understanding has been agreed with the United Peasants’ Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD], leading to the establishment of a government enjoying support across the reformatory forces represented in the Sejm.

In electing me President of the Council of Ministers, the Honourable Sejm has entrusted me to form such a government. Based upon my agreement with the President of the People’s Republic of Poland, as provided by Article 37 of the Constitution, I now present to you the following members of the Council of Ministers<sup>1</sup> and request that you appoint: – Leszek Balcerowicz as Vice President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Finance;  
– Czesław Janicki as Vice President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Management;

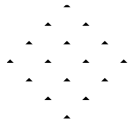
<sup>1</sup> The Mazowiecki Government included twelve representatives hailing from Solidarity (the Premier included), and four each from PZPR and the United Peasant Party (ZSL), plus three from the Democratic Party (SD).



- Jan Janowski as Vice President of the Council of Ministers and Minister-Chairman of the Office for Scientific and Technological Progress and Implementations; – Czesław Kiszczak as Vice President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Internal Affairs;
- Jacek Ambroziak as Minister in charge of the Office of the Council of Ministers;
- Artur Balazs as Minister-Member of the Council of Ministers, to whom I intend to entrust the coordination of the social and civilizational affairs of rural areas;
- Aleksander Bentkowski as Minister of Justice;
- Izabella Cywińska as Minister of Culture and Arts;
- Aleksander Hall as Minister-Member of the Council of Ministers, to whom I intend to entrust cooperation with political organizations, societies, and associations;
- Bronisław Kamiński as Minister of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources; – Andrzej Kosiniak-Kamysz as Minister of Health and Social Care;
- Marek Kucharski as Minister-Member of the Council of Ministers, in charge of preparing the organization of a communications department;
- Jacek Kuroń as Minister of Labour and Social Policy;
- Aleksander Mackiewicz as Minister of the Internal Market;
- Jerzy Osiatyński as Minister-Director of the Central Planning Office;
- Aleksander Paszyński as Minister of Spatial Development and Construction;
- Henryk Samsonowicz as Minister of National Education;
- Florian Siwicki as Minister of National Defence;
- Krzysztof Skubiszewski as Minister of Foreign Affairs;
- Tadeusz Syryjczyk as Minister of Industry;
- Marcin Świąćicki as Minister of International Economic Cooperation;
- Witold Trzeciakowski as Minister-Member of the Council of Ministers, Chairman of the Economic Council;
- Franciszek-Adam Wielądek as Minister of Transport, Navigation and Communications.



I consider it indispensable to carry out, in the immediate future, certain alterations within the government's structure. Due to the unique character of the professions and functions to be fulfilled by means of communication media in a modern country, it is my intent to carve out from what is presently the Ministry of Transport, Navigation and Communications a separate Ministry of Communications. Having deemed legitimate the comments proposed by foresters and environmental professionals, I wish to remove the area of forestry from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Management and make it part of the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources. I also wish to inform the Honourable Chamber that I intend to appoint Professor Jerzy Kołodziejcki as Secretary of State, with the Office of the Council of Ministers, in charge of State field administration. My plans also include the creation of the office of Secretary of State with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the appointment of Bolesław Kulski to that office. For the preparation of the necessary reforms to territorial government, I should like to appoint a special plenipotentiary to the Government. Furthermore, I shall notify public opinion in the near future about the appointment of a new Chairperson of the Radio and Television Committee and a new spokesperson of the Government. I have acquainted myself with the course and outcome of the hearings at the Sejm committees. I wish to emphasize that the composition of the cabinet is that of a team selected in a careful, deliberate, and not haphazard way. Therefore, I request that the Honourable Chamber fully approve of all the members of the Council of Ministers.



Mister Speaker, Honourable Chamber!

We, the people of Poland, must begin a new chapter in our history. We must eliminate hatred, which can become a hugely destructive force, from our mutual relations.

We, as a people, must surmount the sense of hopelessness and confront the challenge of the moment – namely, the tasks of extricating ourselves from economic disaster and reconstructing our state.

The Government, which the Sejm will appoint today, will undertake this twofold task. We do not promise that things will be easy for everyone. However, our nation is in no position to lose, so long as we find the strength to act, the necessary patience, and the will to prevail. Let us be trustful in the spiritual and material powers of our nation. I believe that God will help us in making a great step down the path that has opened before us.     Translated © by Tristan Korecki, Philip Earl Steele