

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SECURITY OF POLAND IN 1990s IN PROGRAMS OF THE POLISH PEASANTS'S PARTY¹ (PSL) AND THE CONFEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT POLAND (KPN)

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Abstract: Considering the scope of changes for security of Poland since its political transition of 1989 and understanding of possible many dangers associated with this process, one must remember that the major concerns at the transitional period did not only refer to the military, political and institutional matters, but similar anxiety has been placed on economic and social safekeeping of Poland. It is in these plannistic spheres of doctrinal agenda a sanctuary for Poland was supposed to be worked out with a new model for its well-being, stability, and other forms of security. The authors in following article analyze some of the forgotten discussions, in reference to, not generally well remembered, political parties' doctrinal programs and not always pragmatic outcome, but having at least an impact on thinking about a process of state security planning, as in case of the Polish Peasant's Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe – PSL) and Confederation of Independent Poland (Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej – KPN). At the given moment of such conceptualization its evaluation was not possible and would not be objective enough. Only with current analysis we can see that some programs were based on a wishful thinking. Nonetheless, they are important, since presenting an overview of mental evolution of thinking about the general state security.

Keywords: Poland, PSL, KPN, political parties, party program, transformation, security, politico-economic security.

From the perspective of over twenty years since the political transformation of Poland, when we analyze the ideas on state security, we can notice that the discussion is very often in reference not only to the political or military matters, but in a same context to socio-economic security of citizens and the State. In reference to political system's changes and its impact on socio-economic sphere of security, it is worth noticing the original source of plans for the transformation of most of the political, economic and social areas in a country. This is allowing a relatively objective analysis without value appointed and opinionated bias of current times about forming past. This is why the bibliographical sources analyzed are based mainly on programs and

¹ The other name for this party in English is the Polish People's Party (this is how it is used at the European Parliament), however the authors believe that the "Polish People's Party" is not a proper translation for Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL). It leaves out in its meaning the agrarian tradition and countryside major constituency. Perhaps, a better yet name in English would be the "Polish Agrarian Party", however, since we do not find this name in official documents or web pages, we use a more traditional version.

documents stemming out of the sources of those given times with almost chronicle like memento of issues discussed.

Taking into account the political parties of Poland with some interesting doctrines pertaining to political development of a country, agenda of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN – Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej) and Polish Peasant's Party (PSL – Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe), has its analytical merits. The Confederation of Independent Poland dates its origins to the 1970s and in its ideology originally focused on the value of independence from the Soviet Union. The Polish Peasant's Party is considered to be a post-communist organization, since it was stemming out of the United Peasant's Party (ZSL – Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe) incorporating wholly its structures and taking the assets. This party then was not only the strongest among the agrarian parties in Poland's political landscape but also had the most members of them all.

Presentation of aforementioned parties' economical agenda in its original development, as pertaining to security of Poland, seems to be necessary by proving that the party programs in this case do not necessarily go along with the political goals party wants to be associated with. At the beginning it must be mentioned, that in a case of Confederation of Independent Poland, its economical agenda was part of a more general outline called "An Intervention Plan for Saving of Poland's Wealth". It was a specific offer of socio-political remodeling differing from those offers presented by the other political parties programs. This conception of an economic system would take into account an exchange of a centralized planning system for a market economy, pluralistic ownership of a capital and means of production, with an advantage for the private sector.

This implied the assurances of equality for all the economic players and equal opportunity of competition in domestic and foreign markets. Achieving of these goals would require deep adjustments not only in industrial policies but also at the levels of state institutional structures. This meant cuts for almost all ministries and modifications in functioning for the others. From the existing ministries only the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industries would be kept. The economic policy was supposed to be planned and coordinated by one ministerial body – the Ministry of Economy, however excluding the ownership of state property. This was to be reserved for the Ministry of State Treasury in addition to the rest of legal functions of the Ministry of Finance. The rebuilding of state industry and entire economy was to be based on domestic market's enlargements.

It's planned gain was to be linked with increasing rate of revenue for both, the individual consumers and economic enterprises. Such action required a governmental stimuli for trade and industry financed by two main sources: moving the quota limits imposed on governmental spending to economic sector and privatization or selling of national assets. The operational factor for industrial policy was to be based on creation of legal, financial, organizational and ownership spheres of planning.

The first feature of industrial policy was to be a fast disclosure of failing branches and giving directions towards an industrial development. Failures would be put on limits and liquidated, the others expanded. The developing branches with key importance for industry, such as industrial machinery and energy devices, electronics, computer science, military and air industry, farming and grocery productions, as well as housing, were in focus. Development programs were to complement the traditional industry, such as mining and steel industry. Harmonization of the state and private factories was to be done by the General Commissary of Industry, within the Ministry of Economy.

During the transformation process the state would continue reduced means of production and open an umbrella over the domestic capital against the foreign competition. As it was planned, the first visible effects could take place after the three months, economic growth after the six, production increase after a year, unemployment diminishing in mass after the two years' period, and finally, achieving the normal functioning system adjusted to the structures and mechanisms of the European and world industrial output, after the three years. The quality of life level was to be at the 40-50% of the European Economic Community.

The PSL in respect to industrial policies would take straightforward stand criticizing current state actions and propositions aimed toward an overcoming recession. The industrial policy in that view had imposed on a state responsibility for fighting the state and semi-state factory failings. The way to accomplish an improvement of economy could be done by the reorganizational processes and adjustments towards a free market economy, however with the instruments of possible interventions in hand. State's moving away from the economical process, opening it toward a free acting market economy was consider in its opinion, too fast. As it was stressed out, the necessity for an active industrial politics using different instruments such as tax deductions, credits facilitations, duty, exchange rates, export subsidies and import compensatory payments, had to be in place.

Focusing on the most important industries and branches of economy able to develop and compete on foreign markets would enable the economy to pick up its pace, as it was believed. In addition, the complex debt payments for industrial factories, lowering credit rates and alleviating monetary restrictions was to be put in place. The Poland's economic market was not to be open for an outside competition but shielded by the State, especially in a domestic production area. Such actions would promote economy's jump-start with an addition of higher internal demand and export. The cost of the changes could not allow for the rising unemployment and social poverty. The wide shielding of the state would have to take place, also including protection of the unprofitable factories, in special cases².

² *Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe: Żywią, bronią, gospodarują – dokumenty programowe*, Warszawa 1993. See also, *Program polityczny i społeczno-gospodarczy Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego*, Warszawa,

The agrarian policy in economic program of PSL was its main priority, of course, and holistic in scope. In its significant features it was aimed at stopping of the countryside's pauperization, since its inability to adjust and cope with new mechanisms of a changed political system. That was one of the reasons why this agrarian party criticized the government for things not done to safe screen the poorest regions of a country. It was requesting not only a security for its traditional constituents but also requesting that the agriculture should be of a foremost importance in economy and its status of the past should be rebuilt. Hence, discussing the mechanisms of a free market economy it was also expecting the solutions of a centrally planned utilities. This entailed that a control of agrarian issues in free market economy should be facilitated by the government, more than in that of other branches, and include state interventionism.

The scope of this interventionism at the times of political and economic systems was to be as wide as possible and include among the others: support for the development of the countryside's and farming infrastructure, stabilizing agrarian production, stimulating and advancement of agrarian growth. On the general economic level, according to the view of its members, the government should guarantee minimal buying prices for produce and meats, allowing for the preferential credits for the infrastructure, planning for the farms' development and buying of current assets, direct grants for advancement, social security and infrastructure, controlling of custom policies disallowing importing of meats and produce, if it can be grown in Poland, minimizing fluctuations in the business cycle, ensuring the stability of the relationship of agricultural prices in a given production cycle³. At the same time this party was advocating the agriculture based mostly on the dominant, strong family farms, supported and supplemented by double employment of farmers in agriculture and other fields (especially in the South-Eastern and Central parts of Poland), together with the co-operative farms and State farms. It was a strong opponent of the returning in any form to the capitalistic agriculture, as run in a past by the nobility. Similarly, it had a negative stand towards the selling of farmlands and fixed assets to foreign buyers. The program also included tasks of restructuring of the countryside, de-monopolization and construction of market relations. The program included compassionate wording while talking of economic privileges for the countryside, however devoid of any educational element associated with this.

The Confederation of Independent Poland had their own vision of agricultural policy (contained in the PIRG⁴). It was confronting the one implemented at that

październik 1990 oraz III Kongres PSL, *Uchwała programowa*, Warszawa, XI, 1992.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ *Plan interwencyjnego ratowania gospodarki – Program gospodarczy KPN*, in: I. Słodkowska, *Programy partii...* (part 2), op. cit., p. 261-264.

time by the government. It proclaimed that the agriculture should be treated as primary section of the national economy based on the family farms. The government should employ a protective duties, reduce the financial burden of the village, run the system guaranteed by the State, create the cheap credit on investment objectives and improve the quality of production. The idea was to create free market for food products by eliminating monopolistic mechanisms in the economy and agricultural processing. This was to be achieved by privatization and administrative actions. The State should stimulate the development of small-scale agricultural processing, for example, by exempting them from taxes for three years. The aim was to make full use of the agricultural land area. For this purpose, land areas were to be allowed for a free circulation on the market, and State owned Polish Agricultural Farms (Polskie Gospodarstwa Rolne – PGR) permitted for privatization or if necessary for land division. At the same time, the state should totally respect the ownership of the land, including the inherited, bought from the State or derived from the land reform. Foreign individuals and businesses were to be allowed only to lease the land under terms of the lease register. In any case, preference should be given to private activities, and preference also given to cooperatives, based on experience from the interwar period. The State was considered as an engine and the guardian of those changes due to lack of market mechanisms⁵.

The aim of the structural policy in the program proposal was a free market economy diversified with the KPN idea of the form of ownership, and with the advantage of private capital. In its opinion, the rebuilding of economic configuration should adapt Polish economy to existing structures in highly developed countries. It was a different idea than that of the PSL, where the implementation of structural policy was the main objective, striving for a regulated market economy with a mixed form of ownership. Regulatory tools, in this case were to help the State, with significant legal assistance in the economy⁶.

In the assessment of the PSL, developing a free market economy would require a program for privatization of part of the property of the State. It was implied that this, however, could not be forced, freestyle or an artificial privatization, but be a part of a process. In this process one must make sure not to dispossess the nation of its wealth, and plan must be duly prepared. This was to be done slowly and with the acceptance of the working class. A fundamental way to the development of private property should be the creation of new businesses. This also assumed long-term coexistence of private and public sector.

This process should be duly prepared in order not to dispossess the nation of its wealth. Its implementation idea implied a gradual changes in unison with a will of

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ *Uchwały III Kongresu PSL*, Warszawa, XI, 1992.

working class and peasants. A fundamental in the development of private property should be the new businesses development. It assumed long-term coexistence of private and public sector. Forcing of State-owned companies to collapse, often because of the ideological factor and not of the necessity of adaptation for new economic system was considered to be harmful for the country. The only general principle accepted was the economic effectiveness. However, this was not to be applied universally. Production areas of key importance for the national economy and national defense in this program would remain under strict State control.

The Polish Peasants Party discussing the common forms of privatization was against creating of private properties through national investment funds. It believed that this leads to concentration of private ownership in hands of a small groups of owners. In this opinion, the better form of privatization was through workers or peasants shareholding. In the area of the agricultural economy the plan was to provide one-third of the State owned farm land production in danger or already in a state of bankruptcy for workers enfranchisement. The other parts, for selling or lease to individual farmers. The farmers' participation in the privatization of the agro-food industries was to be expanded mainly through the sale of the shares.

The re-privatization issues raised in PSL rather a disturbing motion. Its position in this regards was unambiguous in asserting that the agrarian reform after the WWII and nationalization of privately owned farms should be considered indisputable from the legal position, and not questioned. Returning of farms to previous large land-owners would be seen contrary to society's majority interests and regarded dangerous. In this case the past was to be separated from the future. Exceptions were to be made only in cases arising from violations of existing law, and apply however, only to the living owners and shouldn't violate the concern of the present interests. Returning to previous owners of the farm land or manor-palace land, could be done only if there was a breach of previous laws, and did not apply to objects of general community interests, or did not become a museum and the state investments did not exceed 50% of its value. On the issue of possible compensations and their different scopes and forms the party in its program did not take any position⁷.

The privatization program proposals of KPN consisted of several elements for implementation. The some of those contained preferences for the created and emerging private enterprises. As it was stated, this could be done through a diversified range of reliefs or exemptions. This differentiation was dependent of course on the type of business. This was addressed particularly to small enterprises in both the manufacturing and trade and services. The second provided the solutions for privatization of State-owned establishments, dividing them into four principal groups, in terms of regulatory functions in the economy and society.

⁷ Ibid. See also, *Program polityczny i społeczno-gospodarczy PSL*, Warszawa, X, 1990.

Some of these companies (with the “national” in name) operating in different fields of mining, energy, metallurgy, defense industry, rail transport, or others of this type, were not intended for immediate and total privatization. However, a limited sale of their shares was not to be totally forbidden. It was considered that in case of its availability, specific forms of management for commercialized enterprises and the principle of selling shares would be specified according to the legal rules and regulations. The responsibility for privatization would still be in hands of the State, presenting its explicit stance, for the crew or the public to see in a manner of a public tender.

In its striving for completion of municipal property privatization by a quick sale of municipal residential housing and others, as well as its land parceled into plots, it was considered a privatization in terms of shareholding for citizens and the workers and privatization of the treasury bills. This party made an allowance in its program for selling out the shares of the privatized enterprises to general public or the company staff, although it was afraid of possible abuse and speculations arising from this. That was the reason for thinking about out a plan of a different scope – a partial rise in wages using privatization treasury bill was being considered. In this case this could be used for buying shares, and also buying shares with monthly or other rates. Confederation of the Independent Poland was against the general governmental plans of a widespread privatization. In addition to a declaration of non-infringement on property purchase from State owners or from the land reform in the programming document, a party did not speak of a restitution⁸.

According to KPN, the banking, fiscal and monetary policy in the economic program should undergo substantial reorganization. In opinion of its member, banking policy, of that times, would postulate creation of self-governing and independent of government, another official State bank – the Polish Bank, as the only bank authorized to issue State reserves storage. Treasury Minister should make the entire reform of the banking system following the solutions from economically developed countries. In this view, one should ease monetary policy allowing more outflow of money within the economy (one of the conditions of a plan to expand the internal market). Also, the direct money growth on the market and keeping the balance by the governmental overseers, so as not to run into inflationary loop, was considered. The fiscal policy in KPN generally calls for the reduction and simplification of taxes. To do this, for the new system one should eliminate most dualistic taxes on the basis of the new system: from value added and income. The first should be so designed as to stimulate economic development and promote (with tax write-offs) individual activities for the protection of the health, social welfare, culture and ecology. The

⁸ *Program interwencyjnego ratowania gospodarki Polski – Program gospodarczy KPN*, op. cit., p. 249-253.

proceeds from the tax were to be directed to fund economic development. The second tax would cover current expenditure of a State. The proposed system would provide for various types of relief and tax write-offs⁹.

In view of the PSL the banking policy came down to the fact that the entire system should be recapitalized. This is because in opinion of its leaders, the government's previous policy misread the monetary and credit data (about expensive or poor credit) brought the risk of a total collapse. The strengthening of the organizational status of banks (in particular of the cooperative banks) should be of the most importance, in addition to the increase of equity. The main responsibility for this process should lie in the hands of Government and the NBP. Monetary policy must be fundamentally changed, in this opinion, because it is the cause of the economic collapse. The money supply should be increased in large for the market availability, and be followed by cheap loans for investments, since money supply in relation to the gross national product was too small. As it was believed, such policy will not lead to inflationary processes but be rejuvenating for the economy. In addition to this, the taxing system should be constructed in such a way so as not to destroy the indigenous production and become a relief, if necessary, leading to the placement of the economic surplus in investments and technological progression. Different enterprises should have varied rotary taxes, moderately progressive with tax deductions e.g. for investments. Taxing of wages above the norms should be abolished, and also those whose income is lower than the minimal subsistence figure should be exempted from taxes. Taxing of the individuals living off the temporal contract employment should take into account the status of the taxpayer's family. Within the taxing system, there must be a possibility of tax deductions directed towards the improvements in education, culture, social assistance, and others¹⁰.

Monetary policy was seen by the Polish Peasant's Party through a scope of its impact on the economy of the country, and in the assessment of its members it was going in a wrong direction. In general, this would amount to a criticism of the artificially maintained value of a "dollar" against Polish "złotówka" (PLN). The argumentation was that the internal convertibility not only deepens the recession but can also cause an outflow of foreign exchange resources, usually spent on consumer targets. Therefore, the dollar exchange rate should be gradually adjusted to the rate of inflation and the State should control the balance of payments. The KPN also had seen this issue in a criticism towards the government, suggesting a new monetary policy.

It evaluated the entire monetary system negatively, in a similar fashion as the PSL, for maintaining artificially too low the value of a "dollar" and therefore a negative

⁹ Ibidem, p. 247 and 257.

¹⁰ *Program polityczny i społeczno-gospodarczy PSL*, Warszawa, październik 1990. See also, *PSL – Żywią, bronią, gospodarują – dokumenty programowe*, op. cit.

impact on the condition of the economy. It did advocate the system of free money exchange rates and values compared to the mean value of “złotówka”. Its emission would be controlled by the Polish National Bank preparing for the task at least half a year in advance and creating in meantime the Stabilizing Fund. During this time the created “Bank of Poland – BP” would emit a so called “weak currency” equaling the one thousand PLN (of the current value). Cash flows would be carried out in a “soft” currency, with a parallel in circulation coins and banknotes by the BP and NBP¹¹.

When it comes to social security policy in the program of the KPN, its members believed that the total reconstruction is necessary and economic transition period must provide a specified level of benefits for the people. This meant that “every citizen has the right to be provided by the State or municipality the minimal base for decent conditions of life”¹². Unemployment benefits should be established on the same level and comply with a social security minimum. The persons whose life is in danger of material submission should receive different add-ons from the government. It should also create the possibility of additional income, for example by launching various public works, for those unable to cope with the economic change¹³.

The PSL in terms of social security program shows great attachment to the previous system’s policy, with great caution regarding the various plans for its remodeling. The main task of social policy is, as it was believed, the stability of the subsistence guarantee for all citizens with a good functioning system of social services¹⁴. It postulated the necessity of the economic protection by the State for the families and people of lower financial standing and statutory boundaries for public income diversification. The scope of family benefits “should be closely combined with employment policy and demographic policy (preference for large families)” a unemployment benefits should exceed the statutorily defined subsistence¹⁵.

Social policy in the economic program of KPN was of big significance and the range of discussion included, inter alia, housing policy, unemployment or workers’ wages and taxing. In its essential element it referred to the need of social security reform. When in question the of the pension insurance schemes and retirement the party called for the decommissioning of the monopoly of Social Insurance Institution and to ensure that everyone can choose the insurance company. It was understood that those employed or engaged in economic activity will be subjected to compulsory insurance for social care and health, assistance in cases of random accidents for

¹¹ *Program interwencyjnego ratowania gospodarki Polski – Program gospodarczy KPN*, op. cit., p. 257.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 271.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Program polityczny i społeczno-gospodarczy PSL, przyjęty przez III Kongres PSL*, Warszawa 22 XI 1992.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

working or retired. The contribution will not exceed 25% of the obtained earnings, and the differences in benefits will be due to differences in the amount of contributions or voluntary additional insurance. All the privileges would be liquidated with the exception of war and freedom combatants.

There was also to be a health insurance reform, what in this case implied that it was to be connected to system of social security insurance. The packages of health benefits would be guaranteed by law and funded by the State, with the basic service provided for patients by national Health Insurance Fund. The activity of health care institutions would be based on the economic factors and facilitated in operation by a public limited-liability companies in which more than 50% of the shares would be property of the States, 10% of the Health Insurance Fund, and the rest of the shares would belong to the employers of those institutions¹⁶.

The PSL members believed that the first and foremost in importance task of the State was the protection of basic social gains guaranteed by Constitution and statutory law, especially the right to a free medical care and free education for the citizens, free medicine, daycare centers for children, cultural establishments, etc.¹⁷ The financing of social services must be maintained at least at the current level. Pension insurance schemes should be abolished, promoting existing diversification of trade and industry, by introducing a single, guaranteed State pension. The source of funding should be paid for by the contributions of employers and the State injections¹⁸. The diversity of these benefits should arise only from a difference in the amount of contributions or voluntary supplementary insurance. One should also be able to withdraw from participating in the health insurance. Even if the PSL would allow for the temporal payments for health services, ultimately those should be free. The party also demands uniform benefits for agricultural and non-agricultural population¹⁹.

Protection of the environment was seen by both, the PSL and KPN as one of the main conditions for socio-economic development. Both parties had extensive ecological programs in which they would show specific positions relating to existing threats and methods for combating environmental degradation. The ecological program of the KPN assumes, inter alia, the rehabilitation of sites exposed to environmental disaster and atmospheric pollution, using new technological solutions and eco-conversions of the Polish debt into promotion of environmentally friendly products. PSL draws attention to the fact, that the civilization progress should be compatible with the principles of sustainable development. The nature protection

¹⁶ *Program interwencyjnego ratowania gospodarki Polski – Program gospodarczy KPN*, in: I. Słodkowska, *Programy partii...* (part 2), op. cit., p. 271-272.

¹⁷ *Program polityczny i społeczno-gospodarczy PSL, uchwalony przez III Kongres PSL*, op. cit.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

activities should be carried out also through environmental education in society, the creation of an adequate legal system, and proper spatial planning must take into account the appropriate environmental policy. The PSL would also notice that Poland should benefit from favorable conditions for development of ecological farming. The KPN believed that it is imperative to introduce a law protecting the environment and impose the costs of cleaning for the environmental disasters on the offender, regardless of subsequent legal penalties. The issue of environmental protection was of the high priority for both parties and consider a key problem for the future of Poland.

Summarizing the programs or doctrines of both parties focusing on economic development, we can notice some obvious distinguishing factors described, among the others, in this article. In case of the PSL there is quite a strong attachment to parts of the economic mechanisms or of social security existing in previous system. The party generally does not refuse making a change, however, it was opposed to many forms of changes and implementation of a new economic system. Its program was generally addressed to peasants, although it also tried to attract other trade groups disappointed with the effects of previous reforms. It was rejecting another visions of economic development, especially the liberal ones, proposing instead its own, the agrarian program called by its members the neo-agrarian solution. The aim of this conception was creation of the regulated or semi-free market economy, accepting also some elements of the social democratic ideas and socialistic democracy²⁰. It draws, as it claims, from the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, where it finds a confirmation of the principles of agrarianism.

The economic program of the PSL was a patchwork of different ideas of transforming the Polish countryside, but at the same time restricting or in opposition to a new reality. What stands out from this design is protective farming, in order to preserve, or rebuild a privileged position in the economy, as it was in the socialistic past. This would set the party in a role of a defender, perhaps, but not of the real creator of agrarian policy. If we would want to place the PSL in the fixed socio-political current, it would be rather difficult. When we take the economical perspective, they seem to be close to the left, when we look at its historical ideology, they move closer towards the conservatism or the right.

The KPN on the other hand was a party offering rather specific vision of economic development, not very comparable to any other economic doctrines. This doesn't come with surprise, since the rebuilding of the political and economic system in Poland was without a precedent and created a field for a wide variety of proposals. In this party's program some proposals come as a surprise and sometimes as a perplexity (e.g. monetary policy). The timetable for the changes is also

²⁰ PSL – *Żywią, bronią, gospodarują – dokumenty programowe*, Warszawa 1993.

over predictive and out of the ordinary, when proposing the reforms, especially since those were never tested before. Perhaps the program becomes little clearer when we connect the different plans with the goals vested in them. The goals were obvious – the betterment of the life of people living in the post-totalitarian, “homo sovieticus” country.

„Appreciating the heritage of the past, we would like to organize a State whose structure will foster the development of individual entrepreneurship and effectively safeguard the needs in health, environment, culture. It will be deprived of repressive nature, conducive to the development of a massive enforcement-entrepreneurship and improvement of individual ambition. This will prevent the formation of any kind of type dictatorships, fascist and Communist. This State will be neither exclusively social, democratic, market-based but will harmonize all this content into a single whole, subject to human rights. This will be a State of humanistic transformations, in which the instruments of economic development will stimulate the creative alternative of relations between human beings.

This State will neither be socialistic nor capitalistic, it will be a civilized state. Not a pro-budget, or pro-productive, but it will be all for the human values”²¹.

TABLE 1

<i>SELECTED AREAS OF ECONOMIC POLICY</i>	<i>POLISH PEOPLE’S PARTY</i>	<i>THE CONFEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT POLAND</i>
Industrial policy	Adaptation of plants to a free market rules and the protection of the internal market with ability of a State to interventions.	The policy of widening the internal market contained in the Emergency Rescue of Polish Economy Program.
Agricultural policy	A special section of the economy dependent on activities and assisted by the State. Agriculture based on family farms and cooperatives.	The primary section of the economy based on family farms and subject to special protection.
Structural policy	Regulated market economy with mixed form of ownership.	A free market economy with diverse forms of ownership, with private equity advantage.
Privatization and reprivatization	Limited privatization and controlled re-privatization not infringing on the earlier legal developments	Privatization, excluding companies with a key role for the State. The lack of a clear position with respect to restitution.

²¹ *Program interwencyjnego ratowania gospodarki Polski – Program gospodarczy KPN*, op. cit., p. 241.

SELECTED AREAS OF ECONOMIC POLICY	POLISH PEOPLE'S PARTY	THE CONFEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT POLAND
Banking, fiscal and monetary policy	The re-capitalization of the banking system and strengthening its organizational form. Increasing the money supply on the market. Pro-family taxing, moderately progressive with reliefs and deductions.	Reorganization of the banking system on the model of highly developed countries to increase the money supply to the economy. Taxes should be reduced and simplified, and include the possibility of deductions and credits.
Monetary policy	Liquidation of over the course dollar value with respect to a PLN.	Introducing two types of PLN and evolution of exchange rates.
Social policy	The protection of the existing social gains and social system guaranteed by the State.	The reform of the health insurance and pension schemes. Development of social care improvements.
Protection of the environment	The party has a comprehensive environmental program.	The party has a comprehensive environmental program.

Own research based on party programs.

When we analyze the economic proposals of the two given parties, or any other of those times, we must remember that the proposed changes cannot always be rationalized by the independent doctrinal outlook on politics and their normative stand, but rather by the placing in-between other parties and their propositions. Their economic, agricultural or monetary proposals were often accidental and determined by a general schemes of political system's change, when the final outcome could not be yet predicted. Most likely their own placement and description would be excused by a different explanation. Above mentioned programs are to a lesser or greater extent a polemics and not always a national argumentation taking place in a very unstable political environment, and usually a verbalization of the ideas against the biggest governing parties methods of transformation. Their degree of creativity is low and presented solutions are more in the realm of exploration than certainty. Some of the parties or political groups tried to build their programs on the past or present doctrines of the European economic solutions, usually of the liberal or social democratic persuasion (e.g. Unia Demokratyczna – Democratic Union, Kongres Liberalno-Demokratyczny – Democratic Liberal Congress, Unia Polityki Realnej – Union of Real Politics). It is not of course a straightforward copy or plagiarism but taking a similar direction adjusted by a specificity of Poland's real problems. The specificity of proposed solutions discussed above lies in the fact, that even when philosophically agenda proposes the changes, still their real way of

thinking was anchored in the old system. This was the real danger of irrationalism or not national proposals that, when applied, could create social upheavals or fast degradation to Poland's economy. The PSL was especially prone to this type of thinking but others, like Polska Partia Socjalistyczna – Polish Socialistic Party, Unia Pracy – Labor Party, Socjaldemokracja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej – Socialdemocracy of Republic of Poland, and even Zjednoczenie Chrześcijańsko-Narodowe – Christian National Union or Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej – Confederation of Independent Poland, also had this problem, however to a lesser extent. The main areas of controversy and doctrinal polemics concentrated on privatization, re-privatization, social security and social politics, protection of the internal market, agrarian policies and the structural politics.

Of course the disagreements were not constant. We can observe a unison in thinking when it comes to a general direction of transformation. Mentioned parties did agree that the free market economy is the best solution. They also agreed that the protection of natural environment is of the outermost importance for Poland. However, when it came to details their agreement would be very fragile. And because of that the socio-political situation of Poland of those times resembled a revolution and clash in thinking that could have lead to a social upheavals.

Perhaps from today's political standpoint with major focus on international security problems, this discussion does not seem to fall within the realm of security. In reality however, those problems of Poland were not isolated. Very similar possible dangers could be noticed within a discussion on major transformations in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Poland did stand as an example to many, and if the discussion on those politics described was not rationalized by understanding of dangers by the people of Poland, the face of Europe would be definitively different, in a negative sense.

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SPOŁECZNO-POLITYCZNE BEZPIECZEŃSTWO POLSKI W LATACH DZIEWIĘDZIESIĄTYCH W PROGRAMACH POLSKIEGO STRONNICTWA LUDOWEGO I KONFEDERACJI POLSKI NIEPODLEGŁEJ

Streszczenie: Rozważając zakres przemian, jakie się dokonały w interpretacji zagrożeń dla Polski po przemianach systemowych w 1989 r., warto przypomnieć początki budowania poczucia bezpieczeństwa, co miało miejsce nie tylko w odniesieniu do spraw wojskowych, politycznych i instytucjonalnych, lecz także w równym stopniu wyrażało się w zaangażowaniu w sferze społeczno-ekonomicznej poszczególnych partii politycznych. To w tych przestrzeniach doktrynalnego planowania bezpieczeństwa dominowały polityczne dyskusje. Autorzy przez pryzmat dwóch partii politycznych – PSL i KPN – przypominają niektóre bardziej wyraziste programy polityczne lat 90. XX w., chociaż niekoniecznie dobrze znane w sensie ogólnym, ale mające wkład w proces myślenia o sferach bezpieczeństwa państwa. W chwili gdy były one koncipowane, nie można było praktycznie potwierdzić ich znaczenia, dopiero obecnie, po dokonaniu analizy, można zauważyć, że programy te były nierzadko życzeniowe, ale też pokazują proces ewolucji systemowej na poziomie szeroko ujętego myślenia o bezpieczeństwie państwa.

Słowa kluczowe: Polska, PSL, KPN, partie polityczne, program partyjny, transformacja, bezpieczeństwo, bezpieczeństwo polityczno-ekonomiczne.