



SCHWEIZERISCHE VERTRETUNG
REPRÉSENTATION SUISSE

in / à Warschau

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| Datum | 18.12 | 18.12 | | | |
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| EDA | 14.12.90 | 10 | | | |
| Ref. | 1 024 - 12 | | | | |

. EDA, Politische Abteilung I

EVD, Bundesamt für Aussenwirtschaft

EDA, Direktion für
internationale Organisationen

EDA, Direktion für Entwicklungs-
zusammenarbeit und humanitäre Hilfe

Ihr Zeichen
Votre référence

Ihre Nachricht vom
Votre communication du

Unser Zeichen
Notre référence

Datum
Date

532.9 - LP/sk

11.12.1990

Gegenstand / Objet **Konferenz der "Poland Group of 24",
Warschau, 23. November 1990**

1. Ausgangslage

Auf Einladung von Minister Prof. W. Trzeciakowski, Verantwortlicher für die Auslandhilfe beim Ministerrat der Republik Polen, hat am 23. November 1990 ein ganztägiges Treffen der "Poland Group of 24" stattgefunden, an dem auch ein Vertreter der EG aus Brüssel teilgenommen hat. Die einzelnen Länder waren i.d.R. durch ihre Botschafter und den zuständigen Mitarbeiter vertreten.

Am 15. November fand ausserdem auf Einladung des ständigen Vertreters der EG in Polen ein kurzes Vorbereitungstreffen statt, bei welchem einige eher formale Ablauffragen erörtert wurden.

2. Ablauf der Konferenz

Nach der Eröffnungsansprache des polnischen Ministerpräsidenten T. Mazowiecki erläuterte Herr Minister Trzeciakowski die zentralen Punkte der polnischen Haltung bezüglich Orientierung und Prioritäten der ausländischen Hilfe in den Jahren 1991/92. Im Anschluss daran sprachen Vertreter der einzelnen Fachministerien und verdeutlichten die konkreten Prioritäten für ihren jeweiligen Fachbereich. Diese Präsentation beanspruchte fast den ganzen Vormittag sowie einen Teil der Nachmittagssitzung. Dazwischen und im Anschluss daran äusserten sich verschiedene Ländervertreter zu einzelnen Aspekten / Fragen der vorgestellten Prioritäten und Vorschläge. Diese eigentliche Aussprache fiel zeitlich und inhaltlich ziemlich knapp aus und beschränkte sich vornehmlich auf Fragen des weiteren Vorgehens. Von schweizerischer Seite wurde der Wunsch geäussert, dass die polnische Seite in Zukunft eher sektorspezifische Zusammenkünfte organisieren würde, an denen diejenigen Länder teilnehmen könnten, die sich für die Arbeit in diesem Bereich

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speziell interessierten. Dieser Vorschlag wurde allseits gut aufgenommen. Erste sektorielle Konferenzen können demnach bereits im Laufe der 1. Hälfte 1991 stattfinden.

3. Polnische Prioritäten für 1991/92

Aus der Beilage geht hervor, wo die polnische Regierung kurz- und mittelfristig die Prioritäten für den Einsatz der ausländischen Finanzhilfe sieht. In ihren Vorschlägen ist die polnische Seite vom früheren sektoriellen Ansatz bei der Prioritätenfestlegung zu einem sog. **problemorientierten Ansatz** übergegangen. Dabei steht die Schaffung einer neuen institutionellen Ordnung, welche marktwirtschaftlichen Anforderungen genügt, zuoberst auf der Prioritätenliste. Die notwendigen Massnahmen reichen dabei von der Schaffung eines Kapitalmarktes, über den Aufbau eines Versicherungssystems bis zur Einrichtung eines funktionierenden mehrstufigen Systems der Lokalverwaltung. Alle diese Institutionen und viel andere mehr gilt es in Polen in äusserst kurzer Zeit aufzubauen und zu konsolidieren. Bei dieser Aufgabe ist sowohl technische als auch materielle Hilfe des Auslands erforderlich.

Eine weitere wichtige Priorität liegt bei der sog. grossen und kleinen Privatisierung, bei welcher vor allem die erstere vom Umfang her eine Mammutaufgabe darstellt. So wurde an der Konferenz von polnischer Seite betont, dass beispielsweise für eine Privatisierung nach britischem Muster ein Zeitraum von 440 Jahren nötig wäre, um alle bestehenden Staatsbetriebe zu privatisieren.

Als weitere zentrale Prioritätenbereiche hat die polnische Seite speziell folgende erwähnt :

- Erziehungswesen (alle Stufen)
- Umweltschutz (Anpassung an die EG-Standards)
- Erhaltung des kulturellen Erbes, Förderung von Wissenschaft und Forschung

Die Ausführungen der einzelnen Fachministerien nahmen leider nur zu einem kleinen Teil Rücksicht auf diese grundsätzlichen Ueberlegungen von Minister Trzeciakowski. Die Mehrheit der Ministerien präsentierte einfach ihre spezifischen Bedürfnisse, von einer sektorübergreifenden Prioritätenfestlegung oder Abstimmung war kaum etwas feststellbar.

4. Beurteilung

Die polnische Regierung hat offenbar schlussendlich selbst festgestellt, dass sich mit einer rein makroökonomischen Stabilisierungspolitik weder die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung Polens ankurbeln noch langfristig die Inflation wirksam bekämpfen lässt. Die Abwesenheit von Finanzminister Balcerowicz wurde in diesem Zusammenhang in Konferenzkreisen eher als Affront verstanden. Die Vorschläge von Minister Trzeczalkowski zeugen von einigen ermutigenden Einsichten in die Erfordernisse eines erfolgversprechenden Ansatzes zur wirtschaftlichen Erholung und Stabilisierung des Landes. Auch wenn die eigentlichen konzeptionellen Ueberlegungen hinter den Vorschlägen der Regierung trotz allem immer

noch recht vage geblieben sind, markieren sie u.E. doch ganz klar eine Akzentverschiebung in Richtung auf eine aktivere und gezieltere - auch mikroökonomische - Politik.

Diese Tendenz wird mit dem zu erwartenden Sieg von L. Walesa bei den Präsidentenwahlen zweifellos noch an Bedeutung gewinnen. Die polnische Regierung will folglich die ausländische Hilfe nicht mehr unbedingt möglichst breit streuen, vielmehr sollen damit ganz gezielt entwicklungspolitische Schlüsselsektoren im Sinne eines funktionalen Ansatzes gefördert werden.

Dieser an sich sehr positive Ansatz wird aber leider dadurch verwischt als wie gesagt die Fachministerien bisher offenbar noch nicht von ihrem Denken in blossen Wunschkategorien abgerückt sind. Dies hängt natürlich auch damit zusammen, dass in den Fachministerien auf mittlerer und unterer Ebene bis heute weitgehend die gleichen Leuten arbeiten, wie vor der Einsetzung der Regierung Mazowiecki.

Was die Haltung der Geberorganisationen / -staaten betrifft, so wurden auch von dieser Seite mehrheitlich die eigenen Prioritäten in den Vordergrund geschoben resp. wiederholt, was natürlich einen tatsächlichen Dialog über den problemorientierten Ansatz der polnischen Regierung spürbar erschwerte. Von vielen Ländern wurde in diesem Zusammenhang auch ganz klar auf den absoluten Vorrang von bilateralen Abmachungen hingewiesen.

Aus Sicht der schweizerischen Konferenzteilnehmer wurde mit der Initiative der polnischen Regierung zur Einberufung dieser Tagung ein wichtiger erster Schritt in Richtung auf eine Vertiefung und Verbesserung von Koordination und Steuerung der ausländischen Hilfe getan. Dieser Dialog muss nun weitergeführt werden, wozu von allen beteiligten Seiten Bereitschaft signalisiert wurde. Die geplanten sektoriellen Gespräche werden dazu wohl die erste Gelegenheit bieten.

Der Schweizerische Botschafter



(J.R. Gaechter)

1 Beilage

Kopie an:

- Schweizerische Mission bei den EG
- Integrationsbüro EDA/EVD
- EDA, Politische Abteilung I, Herr D. Woker
- EDA, Finanz- und Wirtschaftsdienst
- EDA, Direktion für Völkerrecht
- EVD, BAWI, Herr H.-U. Mazenauer und Herr Escher
- Schweizerische Botschaft, Budapest
- Schweizerische Botschaft, Prag

Priorities and Programming of Foreign Assistance to Poland for 1991/1992

1. Process

Practical experience in coordination has allowed for proper evaluation of mutual limitations and possibilities of effective use of foreign aid. In general categories the process in which we would like to engage the foreign aid can be split into three stages.

a. The first stage consisted of fast emergency aid in the initial period of radical economic and system changes. Deliveries of food and medicaments permitted to ease high market tensions. Stabilisation Fund allowed to preserve the internal exchangeability of the zloty at the stable rate. Combined with consistent, tight financial policy it enabled to control hiperinflation.

b. Now we are entering the second stage in which we would like to cooperate with developed countries in the tedious process of transforming the economy and the social-political system into a democratic free market economy. The process that took centuries elsewhere is to be realised in a short time. It is difficult because a system of effective administration structure, high standards of management, developed network of social care and modern infrastructure of services cannot be decreed even by the best jurisdiction. Developed market economy is a complex social-legal structure which must be consciously built by us with the help of foreign assistance. At this stage the foreign aid should support:

- I democratising of the political system in Poland,
- II developing a modern civil society including all necessary organisations and representations,
- III building market economy with its ownership relations, privatisation process and institutions, creating new financial institutions,
- IV stabilisation, restructuring, demonopolising and growth of the economy.

c. This process, should evolve into the third stage ("common adventure"¹) in which our country will integrate with developed countries. Association with the EEC will be a stage in itself and also a tool for this integration. The process should engage governments, administrations, enterprises, universities and social organisations. One of its elements should be financial and economic cooperation, the basis for which are created by the previous stages.

2. Priorities

We have adopted a problem approach in the programming of assistance for 1991/1992. This approach seems as well more suitable for presenting the longer term

¹ Gianni de Michelis

policy of using assistance. Priorities presented in this document are tasks to be solved by the whole Polish economy. Usually they are complex, involving several ministries and other institutions as well as funds other than aid. Division sector by sector has been avoided to make foreign aid an important element in the program of the whole government. Programs and problems mentioned in the text do not cover the whole reform of rebuilding the system and economy but solely the part which is, or should be linked with foreign assistance.

Thus there has not been included the whole problem of inflow of investment and commercial credits, foreign capital investments nor the problem of restructuring and reduction of Polish debt. However, these matters that are of vital importance for the future economic development of Poland and her cooperation with other countries have been taken into account during the elaboration of this document.

2.1 Creating new institutional order

The main aim of the second stage of using foreign aid, assuming continuity of economic stabilisation, should be creating lasting elements of market economy. In practice it means, among others, building institutions and new mechanisms, without which such economy cannot function. The need for creating or adapting these institutions is obvious in every sector. Poland's chance for accelerating the process of putting the mechanism in motion lies in well planned, conscious adapting of selected patterns and experience of highly developed countries. Institutions and mechanisms developed there over long years could be created in Poland faster under the condition that we shorten the evolution process of these institutions.

Strengthening and accelerating the process of most crucial system reform introduced in Poland is put forward as the first target and priority to our Donors. In nearly each case implementation requires training certain number of specialists as well other forms of help such as: delivery of specific goods or equipment, capital, experts' services.

Creating institutions of capital market and securities market is of vital importance. Privatisation of state enterprises cannot be successful without establishing stock exchange and brokers' institutions. There must be developed a network of commercial and investment banks and new investment and insurance funds must be established.

Well functioning, autonomous local selfgovernments are an indispensable element of a democratic country. Success of the reform depends to a large extent on propagating awareness and introducing the society to a system of local democracy and on the success of reform on a local scale.

It is also essential to build a structure of employment offices and a system of social insurance. Unemployment revealed at such a large scale is a new phenomenon in the postwar history of Poland. Highly developed countries have decades long experience in organising offices for employment, registration, counselling, creating retraining opportunities and mobility, that combine fight with unemployment with regional policies.

Starting from the scratch and basing on this experience Poland has a chance to build a network of exemplary employment offices and system of assisting the unemployed.

Other elements vital for the process of institutional changes include creating an authentic cooperative movement linked with deep demonopolisation of structures existing in this field as well as establishing institutions and mechanisms for social dialogue.

2.2 Adapting existing mechanisms and economic entities

In the real sphere efficiency and effectiveness of state enterprises privatisation is fundamental. Both speed and scale of the privatisation planned in Poland have no precedence. Success of the process is relevant not only for Polish economy but also can have an impact on the speed of reforms in other countries of Eastern Europe.

Neither the society, nor the economy should wait long for the positive effects of privatization. Paralelly it is necessary to develop new system methods and to create conditions for all enterprises to start responding to market signals in a fast and flexible way. The enterprises must be exposed to competition, both Polish and foreign.

The demonopolization of many economic actors or segments must be continued. We could mention here the system of distribution (sales, marketing) and storage of agricultural produce, insurance institutions and other branches of the economy. Advanced already are the plans for reforming the health sector. The implementation stage needs however substantial foreign assistance.

Poland has applied for associate membership of the Economic European Community. Having in mind the changes which are to take place in the Community after 1992, Poland will have to speed up the process of adjustment. Among others, the parameters and standards used in Poland will have to be unified, as well as the whole system of reports and statistics. The work, which involves a variety of issues, will have to be carried out in close cooperation with experts in different fields. On the other hand, the adaptation processes, improved customs services and tourist facilities should be accompanied with further improvement in access to markets in highly developed countries.

2.3. Restructuring the economy

The use of external assistance should be fully consistent with the strategy of economic development of Poland; however, in the period of rapid political and economic changes in Poland as well as in the neighbouring countries, at the time when much of the statistical data and economic parameters are no longer valid, it is extremely difficult to determine such a strategy for each economic sector. It seems justified to draw on the experience of experts in development studies of the major sectors and branches as well as in preparing feasibility studies of larger investment projects. It is the task of the government to ensure intellectual coherence between the economic policy and investments programme, the programme of utilization of foreign credits and the programme of using non-reimbursable assistance.

A very important element in restructuring the economy is to build the necessary infrastructure such as: reconstructing the transport and communications system, supplying water and gas as well as telephones to the rural areas.

It is necessary to support the development of small and medium private enterprises. Such support means, among others, the creation of the necessary financial and services infrastructure.

2.4. Education

Foreign assistance should support activities aimed towards reforming and adapting the educational system to new needs and conditions. The necessary adjustment of university curricula is still to be done. Also primary and secondary schools need to be modernized and provided with teaching equipment, and their teachers ought to be retrained. In spite of the fact that many countries are already taking part in the creation of language teaching colleges, for a long time there will be a shortage of teachers of Western languages in many primary schools.

The new educational needs which emerged due to the economic reforms can also be satisfied, to some extent, by short term trainings organized outside the existing system. Such activities, however, are less effective in long-term perspective.

2.5. Environmental protection

Environmental protection remains one of the most important priorities presented to the Donors. Here, there are two planes of activities. One is to develop and implement a coherent legal and financial system of environmental protection in Poland. The standards and solutions of such a system cannot differ from those existing in Western Europe. There is a need of transfer of the system approach to environmental problems as well as transfer of know-how and technology, especially with regard to the equipment used in environmental protection.

The other plane is the vast need of investment in this hitherto mismanaged and underdeveloped field.

2.6. Areas in danger and humanitarian aid

There are areas which are especially endangered in the process of reforming the economy, while at the same time they are particularly valuable for the Polish nation and contribute to the development and heritage of Europe and the world.

Examples of such areas can be found in culture and the arts. This field is suffering from the strict stabilization policy of the government. It would benefit more than just Polish culture to provide support and protection to these areas.

Last year the list of priorities presented by the Polish government to the Donors did not include scientific research. To exclude it again at the time of reorganizing and

changing the financial system would result in too deep a depression in this sphere, especially in the period of economic recession.

The process of introducing market economy must be accompanied by the programs easing the negative social effects. In spite of the achieved balance of the market there is still a need for support in the form of food, medicines and medical equipment. It is the intention of the government not to request large supplies of this kind of assistance, as was the case last year and in the beginning of 1990. Nevertheless, some supplies for the growing areas of poverty could be managed by charity organizations, the Ministry of Labour or the Ministry of Health.

We cannot exclude the possibility that in the period of major reforms of the taxation system, important restructuring decisions and further reduction of subsidies, expected in the coming year, the market may again go through an unstable adaptation period. An additional factor may be instability in the fuel market. Assistance as supplies of food and other commodities could be replaced by some system of emergency reaction.

3. Procedures

The above presented priorities of utilization of foreign assistance have been presented, in a slightly extended version, by Minister Witold Trzeciakowski at a meeting of the Council of Ministers, where they have been approved. They are in agreement with the government policies so far as well as with the plans of further reform as described in the government document "Principles of socio-economic policy in 1991", to be discussed by the Parliament. The external assistance will support the implementation of this programme.

The list of the priorities serves as a basis for the Aid Coordinator in a series of discussions and consultations with the various Ministries involved. During these consultations the priorities are going to be made more precise, so that they can be easily translated into concrete assistance projects or proposals of cooperation with the Donors.

The knowledge obtained in this way, as well as the mandate of the Council of Ministers are an authorization to consult with the Donors the necessary coordination and utilization of the aid. The "Poland - Group of 24" conference in which the donor countries will participate is an important stage in these consultations.

The last stage of planning assistance for the year 1991/1992 is to prepare jointly with each Donor an indicative programme of how the foreign assistance is to be used. Taken together, such indicative programmes should be fully consistent with priorities of both the Polish and the Donor side. They should also provide a framework for the institutions which create, approve and implement projects involving assistance funds.

Cabinet of Prof. Witold Trzeciakowski
Minister - Member of the Council of Ministers
Chief Aid Coordinator
Warsaw, November 1990