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Dear Comrades!

The Polish delegation listened closely to the speeches by the delegations of the fraternal countries on the first point of the agenda. We fully agree with the profound appraisal and conclusions presented by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

The basic conclusion of our discussion is that the foreign policy adopted by the Warsaw Treaty member-states is profoundly correct. The international situation in Europe and the whole world fully confirms this.

During the time that has elapsed since the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague, we have made significant progress in consolidating the positions of the socialist commonwealth, in consolidating European security and the whole process of European détente. As we keep emphasizing, this process is based on the fact that the conditions favorable to socialism and peace have become more solid. These conditions are determined by the dynamic development of socialist and communist construction, the increasing level of the socialist commonwealth's economic and military potential and the consolidation of our unity.

The progress we have made together represents a fundamental turn in the international situation. This trend has reached its fullest potential in Europe.

The process of normalizing inter-state relations between the FRG and the socialist countries has reached its conclusion. The Soviet Union not only signed the first agreement with the FRG but also gave constant fraternal assistance regarding every treaty and agreement that we signed with the Federal Republic of Germany. This led to the [FRG's] final and full recognition of the inviolability of European borders and to its acceptance that the European political and territorial order is unchangeable. This means that the basic conditions for peace and security on our continent have been realized.

Intellectually, we are successfully exerting influence upon the work process of the European Security Conference in keeping with the guiding principles that we adopted within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. This is also our great success. We are also making our influence felt in the right direction at the arms and troop reduction talks in Vienna.

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<sup>1</sup> Excerpt from the Hungarian transcript of the meeting at  
<http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/collections/colltopic.cfm?lng=en&id=18172&navinfo=14465>.

Unfortunately – as some politicians have noted – when Romania raises amendments at the Vienna arms reduction talks, they read completely differently than the socialist countries' draft. I want to stress that trust between the socialist countries is closely linked to the close coordination between all our states. The absence of such coordination does not serve mutual trust.

As for the European Security Conference, our delegation agrees with the views and conclusions that the Comrades have expressed and that are contained in the draft declaration. We must aim at accelerating the closing phase of the security conference and holding it at the summit level. As far as the closing documents of the CSCE are concerned, we believe they will have to contain the following elements:

First, the inviolability of borders and the acceptance of the principle of territorial integrity. This is especially important.

Second, recognition of the fact that cultural cooperation, the exchange of information and humanitarian contacts can work successfully only on the basis of the fundamental principles of inter-state relations, especially on the basis of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs and on the basis of respect for each country's laws and customs.

Finally, we must strive to institutionalize the conclusions of the European security conference in the form of an all-European consultative organ dealing with questions of security and cooperation.

Such a principled approach, along with flexibility in questions of lesser importance, should make it easier to bring the European conference to a successful conclusion. In this regard, the socialist countries will need to work out their program of activity for the post-conference period in due course. I am thinking about the tendencies toward developing both bilateral and multilateral relations. I concur in the view that consultations on these matters are becoming necessary and a meeting between the Warsaw Treaty's foreign ministers would be useful.

Regarding the talks in Vienna, we think we should stay on our course and put the stress on reducing the armed forces of the *Bundeswehr*. This is necessary for military, political and moral reasons. I think that we can count on the understanding of broad segments of the public, even in the West, with regard to this question.

Comrades! Based on the general principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders, all of our countries have broadened their bilateral relations with the European capitalist states and thus deepened the general process of European détente. This was the point here. For my own part, I want to focus on the Scandinavian region, among other things, in connection with Prime Minister Palme's recent visit to Poland.

We think that this is the region where we must move ahead the most in establishing the conditions for peaceful coexistence. This is facilitated by its immediate vicinity to the socialist countries, Finland's policy of active neutrality, and Sweden's traditional neutrality; the leadership role of the social democratic parties and the strong position of the communists are also significant. At the same time the main condition is the very active regional policy of the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR under the slogan of "the Baltic, sea of peace and peaceful cooperation" and the active support of this policy by the other socialist states. We have really achieved a lot in the Baltic in both multilateral and bilateral relations. The treaties we have just signed on the protection and exploitation of the Baltic's natural resources are of great importance, which will assist in the creation of a complex system of peaceful cooperation between the Baltic countries. Undoubtedly, we will have to strengthen every positive tendency in this region in the future, which is important from the perspective of European security and cooperation. Poland will continue to cooperate actively with regard to this question. We are closely observing the social and political processes going on within them. Now after the death of President Pompidou – this involves particularly France – important changes are also occurring in other countries, including Great Britain.

Just like other socialist countries, we attribute certain significance to the dialogue with the Vatican. The Vatican's positive stance toward the issues of European security and cooperation and its relations to the socialist countries, which are marked by realism – all this has its own significance and weight.

I think we are making gradual progress in loosening up the discriminatory economic policies of the EEC with regard to our countries. On this point the resistance is particularly hard and is shaped by economic and political reasons. At the same time, by sticking to the common line worked out in the Comecon, coordinating our activities and increasing our pressure through bilateral relations, through international organizations and at the European conference, we will eventually disburse the resistance in this field as well.

Soviet-American relations are significant for progress in European détente. It is well known that the improvement of these relations have made things easier with regard to the

European Security Conference and other issues as well. Soviet-American talks and agreements are of course of tremendous significance for international relations as a whole and also from the perspective of linking other regions to détente. Poland appreciates the wise and farsighted measures the Soviet Union has introduced in its policy toward the United States. We want to support this policy actively with similar measures of our own.

The Comrades have spoken broadly about the situation in the Middle East and Vietnam. We agree with the appraisals presented by Comrade Brezhnev regarding these matters. For my own part I want to emphasize that we regard Poland's participation in the special UN forces in the Middle East to be a complex and important mission, which we are carrying out on behalf of and in the interests of the entire socialist commonwealth. As far as Vietnam is concerned, I want to use this occasion to thank the Hungarian comrades as much as possible for their close cooperation in the International Committee<sup>2</sup> in which we are working together. The position of the International Committee will become even more complicated since the United States will probably remain the only state that finances it.

Comrades! In our last meeting in the Crimea last year, we asserted that our main task currently is to consolidate the progress we made in the field of international détente and to make this process irreversible. We still fully agree with this. It goes without saying that it is not easy to reach this goal. We need a more persistent, common struggle. This necessity arises from the real situation.

Thanks to our active policies, the imperialist and reactionary forces are on the defensive; not only are they giving up resistance but they are also trying to launch a counteroffensive wherever they can. One example is the tragic situation in Chile and the complex situation in Latin America and in some respects in other regions.

The military-industrial complexes are consolidating their rule in some capitalist countries. Despite all the economic and political contradictions between the leading capitalist states, the military organization and potential of the North Atlantic Treaty is not only surviving but is growing intensively. In addition, there are strong tendencies within the capitalist camp to grow stronger through processes of integration. The EEC already consists of nine states, and they are promoting and partially carrying out plans to put political and military integration on the same footing as economic integration. This poses a real danger to European détente and the European situation in general. We must actively resist these plans.

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<sup>2</sup> Transl. note: International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam (ICCS).

Moreover, there is a revival and intensification of radically anticommunist, reactionary and nationalistic tendencies in the West European countries. These forces are attacking the communist parties and their alliance with the socialists ever more openly. This is obviously a manifestation of an unfolding crisis; with the help of these forces imperialism is trying to suppress growing social dissatisfaction and distract attention from economic and political difficulties.

This can be seen in many countries and especially in the FRG, where the nationalistic, right-wing forces have great influence, especially within the Christian Democratic opposition. They are waging a constant battle against the GDR and its correct policies and are striving to misrepresent the content and meaning of [the FRG's] policies toward the other socialist states, including Poland. For a long time, they have been using so-called humanitarian questions to this end. The government of Chancellor Brandt, which began the process of normalization with the socialist countries, is in our estimation intent upon moving further down this road. Of course, this requires a solution of the existing problems and a deepening of the normalization process. This is our position, and we are consistently working in this direction.

The fact is significant, Comrades, that precisely in the last few years, as significant progress has been made in state-to-state relations between the countries of the socialist commonwealth and the capitalist countries, the anticommunist campaign has simultaneously intensified. They are exploiting traitors and renegades who were isolated within our countries and within our movement. Various political forces are forging alliances both with the radical right and the radical left in the ideological struggle against socialist countries.

Thus, it is imperative that our parties and countries wage a consistent, unified, coordinated ideological attack. Our party is attributing great significance to the December meeting of the CC secretaries responsible for ideological matters and to the results of the meeting with regarding to party life. This ended in a common assessment and the acceptance of guiding principles. We want to implement these principles consistently. These meetings should take place periodically.

As far as the international situation is concerned, our party full shares the opinion presented here that the Chinese leadership's policy is decisively contrary and inimical to the interests of the socialist commonwealth as a whole and the fundamental interests of peace. This leadership continues to subvert the process of détente, is using all means to undermine the unity of the anti-imperialist front, and is trying to cause a schism even as it allies itself with the most reactionary American imperialist forces. In order to realize its

great-power ambitions, China is trying to halt the détente process in every part of the world, especially in Asia.

In this situation the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives in Asia are increasingly important. Poland lends its full support to the Soviet proposals concerning the creation of a system of security on this continent. The tremendous significance of this problem is obvious from the perspective of the whole international situation.

The recent Fourth Conference of the non-aligned countries in Algeria underlined the positive significance of the movement and the growth of progressive tendencies within it. We think that we should address this in our meeting's document. We must also explain our position regarding the Special Session of the UN General Assembly currently in session. In this session we will support the sovereign right of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to have a chance to exploit their own natural resources. At the same time, we must present in a coordinated manner our countries' main interests regarding energy sources and other raw materials.

Dear Comrades! In identifying our general tasks in the struggle for deepening the process of détente and making it irreversible, we emphasize at the same time that the fundamental precondition for fulfilling these goals is the unity of our countries. Overall, the Polish delegation fully shares the position and agrees with the conclusions expounded by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the other Comrades.

On behalf of the Central Committee of our party and the government of the People's Republic of Poland, I would like to voice my satisfaction with the great progress that we have made in strengthening fraternal friendship and cooperation among the countries of the socialist commonwealth in the past few years. We are fully resolved to conduct an active policy in this direction in the future.

In addition, I agree with the views and conclusions that we must make further progress within the Comecon framework to carry out the complex program of socialist economic integration. We spoke about this at our meeting in the Crimea last year; this is an issue that Poland takes seriously. We decisively support the acceleration and broadening of the program of economic integration; we have our own initiative in this respect, and we support other countries' initiatives. Together with Comrade P. Jaroszewicz, our Politburo, the whole Central Committee and the government, we believe that the forthcoming anniversary meeting of the Comecon in Sofia will have to make important decisions in this regard. We fully support Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's proposal on this issue.



As we deepen the socialist commonwealth's unity, we must simultaneously strengthen the international communist and workers movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our party – as the Comrades are well aware – strongly supports the convocation of a new all-European meeting of the communist parties and the preparation of a new international meeting. All conditions and arguments support the holding of these conferences. These will doubtlessly have a tremendous impact upon the shape of the ideological and political offensive of the communist movement and the consolidation of its unity. We agree with the proposal made by the Soviet comrades regarding the major problems that the European conference must deal with and regarding its convocation without delay.

Dear Comrades! In conclusion, I would like to voice my sincere satisfaction once again on behalf of the Polish delegation that the meeting – as we thought – has confirmed that the appraisals and conclusions expressed by our countries are in keeping with the principle of the continued struggle for European security and détente. I am convinced that we will give voice to this in the closing document from our meeting.

The Polish delegation is satisfied that it is now Warsaw's turn – just like other fraternal capitals – to make a forceful call for the consolidation of security and lasting peace and for the deepening of détente and the development of cooperation. This is sufficiently appreciated by our people, which knows the price of peace well enough and is greatly appreciative of the consistent, unified peace policy of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. Thank you for your attention.

*[Translation from the Hungarian by László Borhi]*