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Dear Comrade Chairman,  
Dear Comrades,

Our current meeting is taking place during an unusually important, historic period. Our parties elaborated at their congresses ambitious programs and plans for further socioeconomic development under the real conditions of a complicated international situation.

Of particular historical importance for the Soviet Union and for all our parties and states was the 27<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of the CPSU. Based on a constructive, Marxist-Leninist analysis, it pointed out the qualitatively new conditions and possibilities and, above all else, brought stimulating impulses and outlined the gigantic tasks in the ongoing process of socialism's development.

At the 27<sup>th</sup> Congress a broad conception was also presented for building the foundations of a comprehensive system of international security in the military, political, economic, and humanitarian realms – a sort of constitution of principles for true and lasting global security.

We fully concur in the insightful assessment of the international situation presented today by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and associate ourselves with the ensuing suggestions and proposals. The Polish delegation also approves the draft Communiqué, as well as the other documents that were previously prepared.

The time that has passed since our meeting in Sofia has seen the consistent realization of the resolutions adopted there. The political and diplomatic initiative for peace lies with our countries. The USSR's stance, presented at the Geneva summit, which expressed the aspirations of the entire socialist commonwealth, enlivened the hopes of all those forces that see the only path for saving humanity from annihilation lies in a return to détente. The serious, constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union, arising from the Leninist principle of coexistence, and the unremitting activity of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev are contributing to the establishment of the belief in ever-broader circles of world opinion that there is a realistic alternative to a policy of tensions and confrontation.

Nevertheless, the “adventuristic stage of imperialism” continues. The United States administration not only continues to irresponsibly shirk any serious dialogue or reasonable compromise, but also – continuing its confrontational course – is creating the basis for a new stage in the arms race. As we can see, it is not easy to stop the momentum of the war machine or to curb the rapacity of the military-industrial complexes.

Moreover, the most recent period has brought forth new facts that bear witness to the USA’s aggressiveness. We have gotten the impression that this is how imperialism’s strategists are expressing their anxiety, reaction to the supreme forum of the Soviet communists and to the congresses of the other fraternal parties. One might say that the “specter” of the 27<sup>th</sup> Congress is “haunting” the capitalist world; the vision embodied in its historic program is vexing and scaring it. Imperialism is afraid of peaceful rivalry and wants to complicate and block the process of the intensification and overall development of socialism.

Washington has been making provocative decisions aimed at torpedoing the chance of an improvement in the international situation. Most recently, this has been demonstrated by the continuation of underground nuclear explosions, the decisions regarding binary chemical weapons, the announcement of the unilateral breach of the SALT-II agreement, and the near-irreversibility of the space weapons program. That is, the current research and development in this field are already so far advanced that the chances of completely halting them are growing ever smaller.

American pressure on the other NATO members is growing. Despite the visible and in some cases even growing divisions and attempts to distance themselves [from the USA] – partly under the impact of public opinion – the USA has been crushing this resistance, compelling anticommunist solidarity, and involving the governments of several West European countries in various American actions. An example of this was the piratical attack against Libya. The USA’s adventuristic policy also encourages and supports all those forces – especially the revisionist circles in the Federal Republic of Germany – that want to undermine the peaceful political and territorial order of Yalta and Potsdam.

The United States is blocking the path to progress in the CSCE process. The aggressive propaganda against the socialist states has not weakened. An especially cynical game is being played with regard to the so-called problem of human rights. The slogan of fighting terrorism is being used as a pretext for combating progressive trends, national liberation movements, and even the governments of sovereign states. Currently,

the problem of true terrorism, especially state terrorism, still awaits a complete evaluation and effective counteraction.

Since everything suggests that Washington's current course is not of an incidental or episodic character, no meaningful change can be expected before the end of the current presidential administration.

Should we thus admit that our policy is not realistic, that our efforts are fruitless? Not at all. Guided by the Leninist analysis of imperialism, we have never had any illusions about its character. At the same time, a Leninist approach requires that we continually seek paths to peaceful coexistence; in the age of nuclear threats this has assumed the character of a supreme commandment.

We are not fatalists. The evolution of events is not a foregone conclusion. Imperialism has had to yield more than once in the face of the strength and resolve of the socialist states and to public opinion and facts that were impossible to ignore.

It is thus necessary to steadfastly maintain a responsible, principled, and at the same time flexible policy. The Polish side believes that all the basic evaluations, prognoses and conclusions recently worked out by our parties remain valid. The consistent and effective realization of our collective line, coordinated actions, their enrichment through our own initiatives, and solid support for the Soviet Union – this is the essence of our conduct in the international arena.

Our active, peaceful policy is pushing imperialism onto the political defensive, unmasking its true intentions, is gathering valuable political and moral capital, and proving socialism's moral superiority. It is also gradually creating over the long term a qualitatively new political and psychological situation that is more favorable to us. It is freeing up the considerable reserves of realism that still exist, especially in Western Europe, is providing support for peace movements, and is intensifying criticism of the confrontational U.S. policy.

In our assessments and initiatives, we need to take an aggressive and broader approach in reaching out directly to the societies of the Western states. This applies in particular to revealing what the negative stance of the United States administration means in terms of the proposal for a nuclear test ban and the plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

In this context, I would like to return to the anti-Soviet political and propaganda campaign that the West unleashed in connection with the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. We consider it to be our internationalist duty to actively and collectively oppose this cynical game. At the same time, we share the thought expressed not long ago by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev regarding the necessity of creating an international system for the safe development of atomic energy, which foresees, among other things, an operational transfer of information in the case of accidents or problems in nuclear plants and also includes an efficient mechanism to provide rapid interstate cooperation in dangerous situations.

The accidents at nuclear plants that have occurred in various countries, as well as such incidents as the catastrophes of the space shuttle “Challenger” and the “Delta” and “Ariane” rockets, contribute arguments for better demonstrating to public opinion that every technology, even the most modern, can fail; and the more powerful it is, the more horrible its consequences can be.

This applies in particular to the American program for militarizing outer space. In the popular understanding, the danger arising from the stationing, for example, of laser and high-energy-particle weapons in outer space is too abstract because it does not tell them anything. We need to demonstrate more effectively and flexibly that outer space is nowadays closer to Earth and that a threat to humankind may come directly from there. It seems expedient that our countries continue to actively support the proposal announced by Poland from the rostrum of the UN that the most famous experts from various nations prepare a study on the consequences of the militarization of outer space. The voices of opposition and condemnation regarding Washington’s plans for expanding the arms race to outer space can and should grow more vocal with everyone’s participation.

The fundamental goal of détente in Europe is reducing the possibility of military confrontation. We completely support the Soviet proposal for a significant reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments on our continent. The character of this proposal, including the readiness to submit its realization to proper verification, is yet another strong argument that makes it difficult for the NATO states to use evasive arguments to justify their arms buildup.

The People’s Republic of Poland, which has a considerable potential in conventional armed forces, is prepared to actively participate in negotiations and to make an appropriate contribution to realizing this project. We share the view that on-site

inspections must take place on a reciprocal basis and under properly-approved conditions and also that arms control cannot serve as a substitute for disarmament.

Dear Comrades!

The Polish side believes that in continuing our active work in the international arena, we might consider:

- \* Raising – depending on the evolution of the situation – also the alternative idea of a conference between the WTO and NATO states dedicated to the problem of reducing conventional weapons in Europe.

- \* Announcing, during the review conference in Vienna, a proposal to hold a conference of CSCE experts for a general exchange of opinions regarding the causes for the regression in East-West economic relations. One of the main themes of its work could be a discussion of ways to overcome the existing obstacles to scientific and technical cooperation.

- \* Expressing a readiness for an experts' meeting on the threat of terrorism and international cooperation in preventing this horrible phenomenon.

At the same time we also consider it expedient to initiate active contacts at various levels with the states of Western Europe with the goal of countering American pressure and winning over realistic circles to the idea of coexistence and constructive cooperation. The course of the recently-held Bern meeting of CSCE experts has confirmed that an objective, consistent stance can make it possible to isolate the United States to a certain extent and can bring significant political advantages. In our opinion, it is also necessary to continue our efforts aimed at properly fashioning institutional relations between the CMEA and the EEC, along with their normalization between the member-states of both organizations.

Countering the propagandistic aggression of imperialism deserves particular attention. Our Polish experience in the heated struggle in recent years confirms that it is possible not only to unmask and repel enemy attacks but also to hit the opponent's weak points as well.

Comrades!

The foundation of foundations for realizing our foreign policy and for positively shaping the international situation is the favorable development of socialist construction. This means accelerating development, modernizing, and broadly increasing the attraction of socialism, while, at the same time, demonstrating that calculations for blocking our march into the future or eroding our commonwealth are doomed to failure.

Particularly important for the achievement of our goal is the deepening of socialist economic integration. It would create the possibility that the European countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance will become a particularly strong and self-enclosed economic region that will act -- with the assistance of improved mechanisms -- resiliently, innovatively, and competitively in markets, and will be able to count on an international division of labor to a greater extent than up to now. Taking this into consideration, it would be expedient to consider organizing a special summit session in the near future, dedicated to realizing the aims of the countries of our commonwealth in the fields of economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

All of this will require concrete, daring, long-term advances on many levels in the integration of our scientific and technical potential and those productive forces that play a key role in increased productivity. This indicates the necessity of overcoming various sorts of still sensitive barriers -- most of all, particularism, schematic thinking, psychological extensiveness, and frequently, bureaucratic inertia.

Because of the imperialist economic blockade, especially the embargo in the field of technology, it would be very important to improve the coordination of the anti-restrictions policy of the socialist commonwealth of states. Its essence should be a more effective administration of the technologies and licenses granted to us and the creation of conditions for their rational distribution in accordance with the vital needs of our states and the commonwealth as a whole.

There exists a system of programs for cooperation between the CMEA countries extending beyond the year 2000. That is our great collective achievement. True improvements will be achieved, however, only when the provisions included in these programs find full reflection in concrete agreements and contracts, through which they will become an organic, irreversible element in the life of the socialist commonwealth. Their full realization is a task of historic proportions.

In the last years, Poland has carried out a deep economic, scientific and technological reorientation toward its natural socialist partners. This is above all the result of the realization that socialist integration represents the fundamental lever for

more rapid and effective development. At the same time, we know well that only a country that is firmly embedded in the socialist commonwealth as a fully trustworthy ally may also safely develop relations with other countries to a necessary and reasonable extent.

Comrades!

The historic responsibility of socialism for the fate of humanity and the strengthening of the peace and security of nations indicates the particular necessity of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

Last year, we accomplished much in order to raise the effectiveness of the political structures of our alliance. The formula for sessions of the Political Consultative Committee was enriched, as was that for the working meetings of the General Secretaries and First Secretaries of the parties and the other leading representatives of our parties and states. The decisions adopted in Sofia, as well as on later occasions, brought about an expansion of our existing forms and the initiation of new forms of coordination and mutual consultation in the realm of foreign policy. We should further strengthen this practice by enriching it with new solutions based on the situation and our needs.

The peaceful existence and security of our nations has always relied on its defensive force, whose main and crucial link is the potential of the Soviet Union, with its mighty army.

In light of the threats that exist, we must constantly maintain the defensive capability of our states, the combat readiness of our armed forces and their close collaboration, which the Command and Staff of the UAF<sup>1</sup> is effectively coordinating.

We support the further improvement of our cooperation in the military sphere, in our scientific research work and armament industries, with the aim of more effectively planning and producing new types of weaponry and military technology, which will permit us to meet the enemy's new technological challenges more quickly and at a lower cost. It would also be expedient to improve the flow of operational information about dangerous conflict situations that may arise or that already exist in Europe and around the world.

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<sup>1</sup> Transl. note: Unified Armed Forces.



The People's Republic of Poland and its armed forces will continue to make their valuable contribution to our common defense of our nations' peace and security.

We will continually strengthen the internationalist fraternity of our socialist armies. The experiences gained from our soldiers' close collaboration are a valuable way for our nations' young people to better acquaint themselves with each other and to come closer together.

Dear and Honorable Comrades!

In less than three weeks, the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party will begin.

In laying out the lines of development for socialist Poland, the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party will draw from the treasury of our mutual experiences and from the wealth of the 27<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU and the other congresses of the fraternal parties.

*[Translation from the Polish by Douglas Selvage]*