

**Speech by the First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party and  
Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Poland, Comrade  
Wojciech Jaruzelski, at the Meeting of the PCC of the Warsaw Treaty Member-  
States**

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Esteemed Comrades!

Since the last meeting of the PCC, there has been significant progress in disarmament. I am referring first and foremost to the liquidation of Soviet and American medium- and short-range missiles, the one-sided reduction in armed forces by the USSR and other Warsaw Pact states, and the positive developments in the reconvened Vienna negotiations.

The proposals by the Warsaw Pact Organization demonstrate to our partners that we are ready to take major steps in disarmament based on reciprocity and equal security. Thanks to our attitude, the decision on so-called modernization has been postponed. The offer for negotiations made by the Warsaw Pact member-states has been accepted, albeit with hesitation and resistance.

Precisely because of these positive developments, it remains necessary, not only to be vigilant and ready to defend ourselves, but also to act decisively to turn the Warsaw Pact's proposals for disarmament into reality.

This meeting of the PCC will doubtlessly be a very important step in that direction.

The summit meeting in Brussels appears to us to be the first serious attempt at a response to the Soviet proposals. Of course, we register the continued presence of

remnants and clichés of the "Cold War." On the other hand, we also register the accentuation of the political and non-military role of NATO, which means in our opinion that chances for a reduction in the military component of international relations are becoming visible on the horizon. International controls, confidence-building measures and the cultivation of various contacts all serve to support this change.

In recent years, two important factors of the CSCE process have shown a marked strengthening: the politico-military and the humanitarian factors. Cooperation in the areas of commerce and technology – the so-called “Basket II” – is still very unsatisfactory. Certain socialist countries continue to be the victims of discriminatory practices.

This makes our efforts at integration all the more necessary, including the preparation of a more attractive plan, also for the West, for cooperation in the areas of the economy, trade, science and technology, particularly with a view to the 1990 CSCE conference on economic cooperation in Bonn.

We are in favor of a pragmatic approach to economic relations with the West, based on reasonable principles in terms of trade and credit policy. We should seek to attain even before 1992 conditions for cooperation that underscore the open character of the European Economic Community, something which the 12 EEC member-countries have repeatedly declared in their principles.

In terms of Poland’s relations with the West, the Federal Republic of Germany occupies a special place.

Like the other socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, we are striving to strengthen the trend toward détente in the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. We are thankful that the talks Mikhail Serge’evich Gorbachev recently held during his visit to this country will significantly strengthen these tendencies.

For the future of Europe, it is of key importance that the Federal Republic of Germany makes a larger contribution to the strengthening of European security. Of course, the first step in this regard has to be respect for the inviolable territorial and political realities of postwar Europe that arose on the basis of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements.

The latest declarations by some leading government representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany that clearly negate the results of the Second World War; the growth in ambitions for a Greater Germany; and the influence of neo-fascist forces, along with revanchist invectives – all of these are new alarm signals that should worry us.

Since the beginning of this year, we have been conducting negotiations in Bonn at the level of plenipotentiary representatives of the heads of government. The results to date cannot be considered satisfactory. In particular, the Federal Republic is still unprepared to develop relations with the People's Republic of Poland in a way that proceeds logically from the historical facts of the years 1939 and 1945; instead, it still points to so-called precedents with regard to a number of [other] socialist countries. Poland, however, does not view them as precedents, given their peculiar ethnic and historical nature.

Comrades! The dialectics of historical transformations bypass nothing and nobody. This principle applies to the socialist countries as well. The nature of the changes that are taking place there is a result both of national and historical conditions and of disproportions in the level of social and economic development. Therefore, they naturally follow a course that is uneven and differentiated. This is an objective phenomenon.

In view of this, the NATO strategists are betting on centrifugal tendencies and are trying to treat each individual country of our commonwealth differently. We do not harbor any illusions. The long-term goal – to disintegrate and weaken the socialist order – remains unchanged.

The more manifold the decisions taken by the individual socialist countries, the more closely they must work together in the alliance; the more openly they must inform themselves about the problems of the fraternal parties and peoples; and the more extensive the contacts between ordinary citizens must be.

Three years from now, Western Europe will have already attained a very high level of integration. In this forum and also at the meetings of the highest representatives of the member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, we have repeatedly stressed that the process of integration is progressing considerably more slowly on our side than in the West. We must resolutely change this trend.

With redoubled energy we must seek new substance and new forms for our cooperation. A good, but not sufficiently widespread example is the creation of joint production and trade enterprises, stock corporations and banks with mixed capital. The unprecedented intensification of Polish-Soviet cultural exchange and the vacation exchanges between Poland and the German Democratic Republic, in which hundreds of thousands of young people are involved, as well as the trilateral environmental treaty between Poland and its western and southern neighbors, are evidence that the new thinking has now also entered the sphere of relations within our commonwealth, a fact that we register with satisfaction.

Esteemed Comrades!

Allow me, in conclusion, to briefly present a number of problems and events in Poland. We are aware that they are a matter of interest and worry in the fraternal parties and countries.

Despite numerous efforts on our part, the social and economic crisis in Poland continues. Its causes are of a varied nature – both objectively and subjectively. However,

the fact remains that the living conditions of numerous groups of working people remain difficult. This naturally has a negative effect on the prevailing mood and makes for a complicated political and psychological climate. I do not wish to deal with this topic in more detail because that would take more time. I think there will be an opportunity to do so tomorrow, during our working meeting.

Today, I would just like to stress that the decisions we recently took were based on the real situation, that they accelerated the processes of democratic transformation.

At the beginning of this year, the 10<sup>th</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party outlined the directions and goals of the present stage of socialist renewal. This applies also to the expansion of the political and parliamentary structures of the People's Republic of Poland. We knew and know of the dangers that these decisions will bring with them. On the other hand, they also provide opportunities. In particular, we count on the fact that by including the opposition in the joint proceedings, by sharing responsibility with them, it will make it easier to find a resolution to the unusually complicated problems, especially in terms of the domestic economy, and to preserve the national economy from the consequences of political conflicts.

The elections to both chambers of parliament, even if the results were not favorable to the PUWP and its coalition partners, have presented a possibility that the situation in Poland can develop without confrontation and that the party and the pro-socialist forces can retain decisive influence over Poland's future development under conditions of contradiction and class conflict.

We stand firmly by our internationalist duty. Therefore, we will see to it in particular that among the multifaceted palette of political forces that constitute the new parliament, there is complete clarity about the issues that are fundamental to Poland's security and thus to all of our allies. Our country is and remains a member of the socialist commonwealth, a stable link in the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

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2005), p .647.]*