

Mikhail
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**Bringing Out
the Potential
of Socialism
More Fully**

Warsaw, July 11, 1988



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of Socialism
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**Speech by the General Secretary
of the CPSU Central Committee
in the Sejm
of the Polish People's Republic**

Warsaw, July 11, 1988

Novosti Press Agency Publishing House
Moscow 1988

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ПОЛНЕЕ РАСКРЫТЬ ПОТЕНЦИАЛ СОЦИАЛИЗМА

Выступление Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС
в Сейме Польской Народной Республики

Варшава, 11 июля 1988 г.

на английском языке

Цена 10 к.

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The high Sejm,
Esteemed comrades and friends,

I want to thank you wholeheartedly for the invitation to address you, the plenipotentiary representatives of the Polish people, and for the words of greeting from the Marshal of the Sejm.

Our visit to the Polish People's Republic and the talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski have only just begun. But the traditional atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodwill in which they are taking place and our shared approaches to fundamental issues instill confidence that they will result in yet another important step along the road of developing Soviet-Polish relations.

We have come to Warsaw on the eve of the anniversary of Poland's Rebirth, an event of crucial importance in the centuries-long history of the Polish people.

The past decades have been both stormy and fruitful, and in many ways dramatic for your country. But their main outcome is obvious.

Today Poland has what it had been denied for so long in the past— independence and national statehood, and its secure, rightful borders. Modern Poland is a developed industrial power, a respected scientific and culture centre in Europe and a vigorous participant in international life.

The Soviet Union takes note of all this with a feeling of sincere and profound pleasure. We are all for a strong socialist Poland.

And not only because we want to have on our western borders a flourishing Polish state which is friendly towards us, but also because the stable development of the Polish People's Republic is of much importance both for our common security and for European politics as a whole.

As your friends and allies, we wish the Polish people happiness and prosperity.

We are linked by a centuries-long history. There is no denying that this has not been a simple history but one which has known complicated turns and conflicts. But it rests on the firm foundation that has been created by many generations of our peoples and is rooted in the joint

struggle by revolutionary and democratic forces against the ruling classes.

The lines of Russia's and Poland's historical development do not just intersect. In many ways we share a common fate.

The struggle by revolutionary democrats and Polish patriots against czarism was a common struggle. Inseparable ties link the workers', the social democratic and then also the communist movements in Russia and Poland.

Poles took an active part in the revolution of 1905 and made a big contribution to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The struggle by the Soviet and Polish peoples against fascism, a struggle made sacred by blood, will live eternally in the memory of generations. The post-war socialist construction is another vivid page in our common destiny.

Much could also be said about the tremendous experience, the profound mainstays of our cultural and spiritual ties, which have exerted such a powerful influence on the development of mutual understanding, trust and friendship.

Our entire joint history confirms that the Soviet and Polish peoples have always gained when they have worked together, when they have struggled shoulder to shoulder "for our freedom and yours", and vigorously interacted in the development of their countries and on the international arena.

I want to assure the Deputies of the Sejm that the Soviet leadership will further do everything to protect and strengthen the close bonds linking our fraternal socialist countries, Soviet people and Poles.

Today Poland is going through difficult times. The dismantling of the old and obsolete, the search for ways of overcoming the accumulated economic, social and political problems, the formulation and implementation of the strategy of the socialist renewal of society—all this essentially and in the main is similar to what we in the Soviet Union are now doing.

In effect, world socialism has entered a period of far-reaching changes.

The new social system has existed for more than 70 years; for more than four decades it has been an international phenomenon. At its roots are the ideals of freedom and equality, and the striving for a better life.

And socialism has given its answer to these questions.

It has put an end to exploitation, ensured a rapid economic and cultural start, created an unprecedented system of social security and a new way of life.

It has experienced complex periods during its course of development, but it has proved the irreversibility of its transformations. And its experience has become a part of humanity's world practice.

Today time poses us the following question: What should be done in order to advance more vigorously, to tap more fully the possibilities inherent in socialism, to give it a second wind?

The history of any socio-economic system is a lengthy and difficult process of development by way of evolution, transformation and sometimes also social upheavals.

In this respect socialism is no exception and it sees reforms as a genuine alternative to crisis and stagnation, an imperative factor of self-development and self-improvement.

Each party is independently searching for ways of transition to the new quality of socialism and there can be no common recipes or mechanical copying in this. On the other hand, there is an obvious similarity in what is paramount—in the very understanding of the need to renovate socialist society.

It is important that through the efforts of our parties the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism is being revived today, that the perception of socialism as a variegated process that is constantly being enriched by the creativity of the masses and changing in accordance with new realities is gaining wide acceptance.

We are convinced that it is only through democratisation that we can make vigorous advance, tap the tremendous potential of the socialist system and the entire wealth of the human personality, and build a society with an advanced economy, science and technology, being at the same time a very humane society.

What is the value of technological progress if ethical standards become hollow and morality is eroded with its advance?

A worthy aim is to create such social conditions as would organically blend economic, scientific and technological progress with social justice and morality, and with the wealth of man's spiritual being.

Herein lies the political and, if you like, philosophical essence of the process which has become known in my country as "perestroika".

The 19th All-Union Party Conference ended its work in Moscow less than two weeks ago. I would be accurate in saying that the entire country felt a personal involvement in all that was taking place during those days in the Kremlin.

I have no doubt that you, too, showed an interest in the course of the Conference and are familiar with the resolutions it adopted.

What, in our view, are its most important results?

First of all, the Conference demonstrated that perestroika is increasingly becoming a vital cause for Communists and for millions of Soviet people.

The very atmosphere that reigned in our Palace of Congresses patently showed how drastically the country had changed during the past three years.

We have discarded without regret the routine of the past when "absolute truths" were proclaimed from speakers' rostrums and all that remained for delegates to do was to applaud and vote "yes". Today the times are different.

The lively, and at times pointed, discussion that developed at the Conference concerning fundamental questions of the Party's policy and the methods of its implementation made it possible to compare a broad spectrum of views, identify pressing issues and determine more precisely how to conduct matters further.

In our opinion, this is a good and healthy process which shows signs of the revival of the revolutionary spirit that imparted such strength to the Party during Lenin's times.

The question of reforming the political system was central to the Conference's work. I must tell you frankly that we did not immediately arrive at the understanding that it was necessary and even inevitable. We were brought to this understanding by lessons of the past, life itself and the experience of the first stages of perestroika.

The planned acceleration of socio-economic development, the radical economic reform and all our other endeavours to renew society will obtain a strong foundation and a guarantee of irreversibility only if this work is joined by the mighty forces of democracy and the people's socialist self-government.

And this is the crux of the reform of the political system.

The idea is to fully overcome the alienation of working people from power, to reliably consolidate their civil rights, offering them the possibility to satisfy diverse interests and encouraging them to display initiative.

In other words, to implement in reality Lenin's most important behest: socialism is not created by commands from above; it can only be a result of the live creative activity of the masses.

While rejecting over-centralisation and the associated bureaucratisation, we are for a strong central authority: no modern society can exist without this.

But it must be an authority that is genuinely democratic, functioning within the framework of its competence which is strictly defined by law; an authority that is accountable to the people; an authority that is trusted and is regarded as one's own.

The concept of the reform adopted at the Conference encompasses the entire range of political institutions and defines in a new way the role and correlation of the Party, the Soviets, the state bodies, and public organisations.

The correct delimitation of functions between the Party and the state is a key demand of the reform.

An abstract approach to this question may create the impression

that any changes in the role of the main elements of a political system will inevitably benefit one of them to the detriment of the other. In reality this is not so.

In the past our trouble was that, on assuming their functions of day-to-day management, Party organisations substantially weakened their ability to deal with their main task—to play the role of society's political vanguard. As for the Soviets, as they lost real powers, they became weaker and lost their prestige.

The reform will make it possible to utilize the creative potential of both the Party and the Soviets and to draw the entire population into running the affairs of the state and society.

One of its prime aims is to form a rule-of-law socialist state in which abuse of office and voluntarism will be rendered impossible and in which the triumph of law and order and democratic principles will be reliably ensured.

One of the main directions given by the Conference delegates to the Party leadership was to start the implementation of the adopted programme without delay.

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee will be held this very month and start putting the entire set of measures envisaged by the Conference into practice.

These are the questions that are now on the agenda. When solving them we consider it imperative to take into account anything relevant in the experience of socialist countries. We hold a high opinion of the experience of our Polish friends.

The high Sejm,

The winds of change are purifying and strengthening Soviet-Polish relations. They are beneficially influenced by our bilateral efforts and by the work that has been done lately by the governing parties of socialist countries on a multilateral basis.

Principles on which cooperation in the socialist world is based have been essentially renovated of late.

Well, there have been plenty of good principles in the past. What was lacking was the readiness to abide by them in earnest.

At present, equality, sovereignty and the concerted solution of common problems are becoming an indispensable norm of our relations. These relations are discarding elements of paternalism and are becoming wholly based on voluntary, interested partnership and comradeship.

In assessing the character, scope and atmosphere of the development of Soviet-Polish ties in the most concise way, one can say: never in the post-war period have they been marked by such frankness and interest as today.

This is the weighty result of the policy of the Communist Party of

the Soviet Union and the Polish United Workers' Party and its allies, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party, our parliaments; the result of the contribution of tens and hundreds of thousands of working people in our countries, and of Soviet-Polish and Polish-Soviet friendship societies.

In duly appreciating the work done, we can clearly see that this is only the start of the movement towards each other within the new context of perestroika.

Comrade Jaruzelski and I share the view that, so far, there is still much in Soviet-Polish relations that does not meet the requirements of both sides, does not correspond to their potential.

Having embarked on the path of socialist renewal, we are clearing the way for the development of economic integration and the deepening of the international division of labour.

The latter is especially important. Never before has the fate of socialism been so rigidly dependent on the abilities of our countries to make a technological breakthrough, to attain a qualitatively new level of scientific and technological progress and a new stage of integration.

This issue has acquired a major social dimension according to which people judge the potential of socialism as a social system.

The radical economic changes currently under way in the USSR and Poland will create fundamentally new conditions for economic cooperation in the future.

But we must already prepare for this future today. Here, as we think, the following major problems are moving to the foreground.

Firstly, the traditional structure of our relations, which has served us fairly well in the past, needs to be changed and adapted to the requirements of our times.

In other words, a new pattern of cooperation is required, based on a deeper and more rational division of labour. There is much work to be done by our governments and theorists, and above all economists, on this issue.

Secondly, it is necessary to bring the system of our economic integration, especially its financial aspects, into line with the potentialities of our cooperation.

Of course, the solution of this task should be based along the lines of the CMEA member countries' collective efforts in creating a socialist common market.

Thirdly and finally, it is important to spare no effort in establishing mutually beneficial direct ties between our countries' enterprises and associations and, wherever conditions permit, setting up joint ventures, research institutions and design offices.

Frankly speaking, the progress is so far slower than one would like. It should be accelerated, as required.

Another area of cooperation, no less important, is humanitarian.

Quite recently, there was a view that this sphere is particularly topical in East-West relations, while everything is right in the socialist world. As a matter of fact, advancement in this area is of immense significance for relations among socialist countries as well.

Having signed the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in Ideology, Science and Culture, our parties, one can say, have guessed the very imperative of the times—the importance of promoting spiritual ties among nations.

We are self-critical of our efforts in this direction, catching up on what has been lost for various reasons over the past years.

This applies to direct human contacts as well. New crossings will be set up on the Soviet-Polish border, the possibilities of contacts across the border will be expanded and more railway and air lines will connect our countries. The idea of establishing a ferry between Szczecin and Leningrad is being discussed.

Much is being done to strengthen ties between the Poles living in the Soviet Union and their ancestral homeland, native tongue, culture and so on. The opening of the Polish information centre in Moscow became a big event.

The further expansion and deepening of cultural cooperation, and better familiarisation with the literature, arts and all intellectual achievements of the two countries serve to strengthen trust between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland.

I want to mention specially the endeavours by Soviet and Polish historians to investigate so-called blank spots.

Our joint history is a rich, full-blooded history of two neighbouring peoples. We do have something to be proud of. There are things that have to be revealed and shown more fully.

However, this history also has its complexities, its so-called blank spots. Sometimes notions that are based more on emotions than on strict scientific knowledge form around them.

There is only one road to the truth here: the study of facts, the calm comparison of viewpoints and scientific discussions.

History cannot be replayed, but lessons can and should be drawn from it.

Had it not been, say, for the 1920 war that was dramatic for both sides, had Polish-Soviet relations in the decades between the two wars been different from what they really were, who could say what would be the future turn of subsequent European developments?

Regrettably, Soviet-Polish relations were largely characterised by prejudice, mistrust and tension at that time. This was cunningly exploited by those who were interested neither in a strong, independent

Poland, nor in the establishment in Europe of a collective security system that would create an unsurmountable barrier for Hitler.

You know about the work we are doing now to cleanse our own history of omissions and falsifications. This is a difficult, but necessary process.

We condemn the Stalinist repressions. They are known to have affected many Polish Communists as well. The deportation of Poles from the western parts of the USSR was a violation of socialist legality. This is part of the tragedy that befell our country.

We will continue this work with a view to fully restoring historical justice. Truth and justice may be late on their way, but they cannot fail to come.

You know that the 19th CPSU Conference took a decision on erecting a monument to the victims of the repressions. There is only one truth in history, and it alone can clear the way into the future.

Soviet-Polish relations have traversed a lengthy road in the more than four decades since the war and now have the most promising prospects. Naturally, much will depend on our activity, and on the search for new forms of cooperation beneficial to both countries.

In this connection, I would like to mention an idea of ours. Isn't it the right time to set up a joint public institute for Soviet-Polish studies?

Organised as a foundation, it could work out models of Soviet-Polish cooperation in economics, politics, ideology, science and culture, encourage enthusiasts working in the field and promote the study of each other's languages by as many people as possible.

Having an organisational nucleus with a limited number of founding members, which would be eagerly joined by authoritative figures from both sides, the institute could invite top experts to take part in its work.

Its financial backing, it seems to me, could come from friendship societies, joint enterprises and public organisations.

I'm convinced that this would serve as a magnet attracting brains, and would be an extremely beneficial generator and bank of ideas.

The high Sejm,

We describe these times as crucial. Never before have the conditions of humankind's existence changed so fast and dramatically as in the 20th century.

Never before has the world faced such formidable challenges, such responsible decisions.

In politics, it is extremely important that this specific feature of the present age be taken into account. Old ideas and recipes can no longer be used to resolve its problems.

A new political thinking in world affairs has become an imperative of the times. What is needed is a long-term policy of humanising

international relations, comparable in scope to the revolutionary renewal of socialism.

One may ask: Is the concept of new political thinking really so new, have there been no instances of common sense prevailing in international politics in the past? Of course there have been.

Thus the late 1950s-early 1960s and the early 1970s were marked by short-lived periods of international detente that brought about considerable fruits.

These are the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation, the ABM Treaty, the treaties between the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other, the Helsinki Final Act and several other important agreements. They substantially influenced the overall situation in the world and demonstrated the possibility that international relations could, in principle, be stabilised.

But, unfortunately, they in themselves were not a guarantee against backsliding. The reason for this, I think, was that the processes of detente were not illuminated by a strong strategic idea and were moving in the dark.

Though it was generally recognised that the accumulated military might of the great powers was sufficient to destroy everybody on earth many times over, the sinister meaning of this fact was not translated into a language of specific policy.

It was obvious that the arms race posed a threat to the very existence of humankind, but far from all opportunities to restrain or stop this dangerous process were used in the West or in the East.

The concept of new political thinking made it possible to see things in their true perspective.

The existence of states with different social systems is the reality of today's world. But these differences, this diversity are not, in themselves, the source of the danger. The danger lies in antagonisms, military confrontation and the desire to achieve military superiority.

We are striving to convince political circles and the world public that confrontational thinking, and a rigid opposition of interests are leading us towards a universal disaster.

All members of the international community, including, of course, ourselves, should learn the consummate political art of balancing interests, the art of looking for mutually-beneficial decisions, no matter what complicated problems might be involved.

It is very important in these conditions to clear the ideological struggle of foul play. Psychological warfare and the sowing of mistrust among nations are incompatible with the norms of civilised inter-state contacts.

It is essential to do away with the preaching of militarism, hatred

and enmity, so that differences between countries become a stimulus for cooperation rather than a hindrance to it.

Nations need to know the truth about each other. Western society has a poor knowledge of the realities in the socialist world. The idea that the Communists are the villains who have enslaved their peoples and are sharpening their knives against the free nations of the West has been hammered into the heads of the people there since their childhood.

Our foreign-policy ideas and proposals, especially the processes of perestroika under way in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, glasnost, openness and democratisation, are all definitely smashing the primitive myths concerning socialism.

This is exceptionally important, since false stereotypes prevent one from dealing with things realistically.

Let me also point out that we must abandon our own simplistic approaches in presenting Western realities as well.

It is imperative to see all the diversity, the complexity and equivocality, and the contradictoriness of what is happening in Western countries—in economic, political, social and other spheres.

Trust and security are two sides of the same coin. Mutual trust has increased over the past two years and the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles has been signed as a result.

The understandings in principle on a 50-per-cent reduction in strategic offensive arms reached during President Reagan's visit to my country, offer grounds for hoping that nuclear disarmament won't be reduced to a one-time action.

The very prospect of abolishing part of the nuclear might of the Soviet Union and the United States compels political thought to search for new approaches to an issue whose resolution has so far been running into serious obstacles. I am referring to the question of reducing conventional arms and armed forces in Europe.

What are the difficulties there?

In terms of their destructive power and the threat they pose to human existence, conventional arms in the specific conditions of this continent differ little from nuclear weapons.

The Chernobyl tragedy has demonstrated the danger of failing to observe technical and production regulations governing the handling of nuclear equipment.

Should, God forbid, a conventional war break out on the continent, nobody will be able to guarantee that the warring sides won't strike, either deliberately or accidentally, at nuclear power stations. And it won't take many such blows to cause irreparable damage to the entire population of Europe and, for that matter, of other continents as well.

This threat, however, has not yet been adequately reflected in European public thinking.

As far as the governments of the NATO countries are concerned, they have traditionally considered conventional arms as a legitimate component of power politics as well as upheld the "concept of nuclear containment". While paying lip service to the need to reduce conventional arms, they continue, in fact, to build up their military potential.

This goal is also served by the plans for armaments modernisation now being talked of so enthusiastically by the governments of many Western countries. There are too many vested interests in the munitions business. The stereotypes of the pre-nuclear age are too deeply imbedded in the minds of politicians and the military and also, unfortunately, in public mentality.

Such ingrained ideas must somehow be gotten rid of. Let us make it a rule, for example, to look for a balance of force that would be achieved by lowering the level of military confrontation not only in the context of global strategy but in each specific case as well.

We would, for instance, be prepared to withdraw our corresponding aircraft from forward-deployment sites in Eastern Europe if NATO were to agree not to base in Italy the 72 F-16 fighter-bombers that Spain has refused to accommodate.

Another proposal of ours is to create a European risk-of-war reduction centre as a venue for cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. Operating on a permanent basis, it could provide a useful structure to make European peace more reliable.

It seems as if the idea is very much in the air. The Jaruzelski Plan contains much of it, thoughts along these lines have been voiced by the leadership of the German Democratic Republic, and elements of a similar approach can be found in the Jakeš Plan. Nor, we understand, is the idea alien to NATO countries.

The time has come for deeper troop and arms cuts in Europe, and this requires expediting the work in Vienna to hammer out a mandate for opening negotiations both on the reduction of conventional forces and armaments and on confidence-building measures on a European-wide scale.

I have already talked about the proposals we would like to offer for negotiations. I would like to repeat them once again.

We suggest effecting the cuts in three phases:

During the **first phase** all imbalances and asymmetries between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in troop strength and main types of weapons are to be identified and eliminated. This approach could be applied both to the European continent as a whole and to its individual regions, for example, Central Europe, Southern Europe, etc.

In order to identify the imbalances and asymmetries, we suggest exchanging initial data—either before the talks or simultaneously with their commencement—in amounts to be dictated by the agreed subject of the negotiations.

A careful verification of the data, including on-site inspections, is to be effected soon after the start of the talks so as to avoid a repetition of the sad experience of the debates on numbers that once deadlocked the Vienna talks on Central Europe.

Let me note in passing that if NATO shows the readiness, we can discuss the issue of imbalances and asymmetries even before the start of formal talks in connection with the exchanges of data on troops and weaponry.

During the **second phase**, the NATO and Warsaw Treaty forces are to be reduced by 500,000 men each from the levels existing after the elimination of imbalances and asymmetries. The cuts are to be carried out by disbanding military units together with the elimination of their organic arms.

During the **third phase**, reductions are to be continued until such point as the military units of both military alliances finally take on a purely defensive nature.

Effective verification arrangements, including on-site inspections, would be provided for all phases of reductions.

I would like to add to this that we are prepared to come to terms on the priority reduction of tactical nuclear weapons, tactical strike aircraft and tanks not just at the third phase but at the very beginning of reductions.

We support the recent proposal by the joint working group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the states participating in the Helsinki process for creating a zone of trust and security in Central Europe.

These ideas are not propaganda, but are serious and well-considered. We would like to see them treated in the same way in the Western capitals too.

Let us recall the clarity that was introduced into political thinking and public mentality, especially as regards Soviet-American relations, by the Reykjavik summit.

Perhaps then we should convene another, this time an all-European Reykjavik summit, a meeting of the leaders of all the European nations, to discuss just one issue, namely, how to break the vicious circle and ensure the transition from words to deeds in conventional arms reductions.

We are convinced that unprejudiced attitudes, tolerance, openness and honesty are necessary to international policy at the current historical stage.

Dialogue rather than mutual accusations, a desire to understand the other side's interests and arguments rather than ascribing evil intentions to it—this is how we understand civilised relations between states and this is what has guided us in proposing the concept of a common European home for everyone's discussion.

What do we mean by this concept? First of all, the simple idea that despite a multitude of what are sometimes fairly broad differences, all the continent's countries represent a kind of entity, not only geographically, but also politically, economically and culturally.

This statement has nothing to do with Eurocentrism. It is not just a record of a reality that has taken shape over centuries, but is an invitation to take advantage of it for the benefit of all European nations in accordance with their new needs and possibilities and with account taken of the latest scientific, technological and cultural achievements and of the humanistic, moral potential accumulated over the post-war years both in the East and in the West of the continent.

This is all the more important, since in addition to common historical origins there is today the existence of such a factor as a common destiny and future, which depends on the removal of the nuclear, ecological and other kinds of threats.

The project of creating a common European home, to continue this image, should be a common cause for all European states and the widest circle of political currents.

But it is clear to everybody that it can only be based on the ideas of equality, good-neighbourliness and cooperation. Let the selfish, nationalistic, chauvinistic and revenge-seeking ambitions stay in the old Europe.

The Europe of the future should be free from everything that injects suspicion and hostility into relations among nations. Naturally enough, this presupposes respect for the political realities on the continent, which have been sealed in a set of treaties.

And if one wants to draw inspiration from Europe's past, the model for emulation should not be sought in its division or in disputes about borders, but in its community and ties.

From times immemorial, centres surpassing the lands around them in economic and cultural development have emerged on this continent wherever trading routes crossed. Cracow and Kiev, the Hanse towns and dozens of other European cities have sprouted and flourished thanks to the interpenetration of peaceful economic interests.

Developing all-European economic cooperation can nowadays be beneficial not only to the various major trade intersections. The whole of Europe stands to gain from it.

We see a Europe in the future whose Western and Eastern parts no longer bristle with weapons aimed at each other, but, on the contrary,

draw unprecedented benefits from exchanges of goods and values, expertise and knowledge, people and ideas and have learned to see each other, despite all the differences, as partners rather than opponents.

In suggesting that all the European peoples and states build this future together, we by no means separate it from the destinies of other continents and the world as a whole. As internationalists, we cannot be indifferent to the lot of any country or any people.

In today's world, an awareness of the interdependence of the nations' destinies and of their being part of a world community should in general become one of the categorical imperatives of international politics.

The dramas being lived through by contemporary humanity have been spawned by a great number of causes.

These include both the consequences of colonialism and the uneven distribution of productive forces, equipment and knowledge.

These include instances of a people's will for freedom being suppressed and the existence of economic and socio-political underdevelopment which greatly slows down the overcoming of backwardness.

And it is perfectly clear that solving any of the problems facing each nation and all of humanity by military means, weapons and violence is impossible.

What is needed is good will, respect for each other interests and international cooperation. There is no other way.

Esteemed members of the Sejm,

The role of the socialist countries' joint, coordinated foreign policy and its weight on the international scene are growing. New opportunities have opened up for the foreign-policy activity of every fraternal country.

The socialist states are proposing a whole range of initiatives to defuse the military-political tension in the world.

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states slated to be held in the Polish capital at the end of this week will undoubtedly provide further evidence of this common will of ours.

The world is changing. And we, the people living in its socialist part, have every reason to believe that the major changes under way in every sphere of our life correspond to the main trends in world development.

We are now on a very difficult stretch. But we are marching on confidently, drawing lessons from the past and looking forward to the future without fear.

In conclusion, allow me to convey from this high rostrum best wishes to the Communists and working people of Poland, to all the fraternal Polish people.

I wish you, dear friends, success in all your efforts and undertakings for the good of people's Poland, in the name of the socialist renewal going on in your country.





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