

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev:

Dear Comrades!

In the name of the Soviet delegation, I heartily greet the meeting's participants. I would also like to express my sincere thanks to our Romanian friends for their hospitality and their hard work in organizing this meeting. One can say that we have already become acclimatized to Bucharest. We have already had good negotiations with Comrade Ceaușescu, and one can, in our opinion, be satisfied with the results.

Before I turn to the issue of the agenda for our Political Consultative Committee, I would like to note with satisfaction that it has become an everyday practice for our parties and states to work together. Our recent meetings at the party congresses of the fraternal parties, during the Berlin Conference and in the Crimea, along with our official visits and negotiations, have allowed us to keep consistently up-to-date regarding matters that concern all of us and to strategically discuss current international problems. It goes without saying that bilateral contacts cannot substitute for collective meetings.

Our exchange of views here at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee provides us with the opportunity to come to a deeper understanding of the current situation in the world and to agree upon our next, coordinating activities in international affairs.

Two-and-a-half years have passed since the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw. If I were to name our most important achievement during this time, it would be this: We were able to bring about détente and to shape a more secure and lasting peace. A very important step along this path was the successful conclusion of the all-European Conference – an idea that our countries already put forward in Warsaw in 1965 and then consolidated here in Bucharest in 1960 [sic; 1966].

The time that has passed has also been marked by many other common events, which clearly show that our course toward détente is creating favorable conditions for positive changes in the world. These include the overthrow of the fascist regimes in Portugal and Greece, as well as the deep political crisis of Francoism in Spain. They also include the remarkable success of the Communist parties in several capitalist countries.

They also include the victorious conclusion of the national-liberation struggle by the peoples of Indochina and the thwarting of the conspiracy against Angola. Now, Angola has been admitted to the UN as a member state. They also include the new

upswing in the liberation movement in Southern Africa and the continued strengthening of the group of socialist-oriented states.

All of our parties have thoroughly analyzed and assessed world developments at their recent party congresses and the plenary meetings of their central committees; both the achievements of our agreed-upon course of action and the obstacles encountered on the road to détente have been analyzed objectively. Very recently, as you know, such an exercise was conducted at our party's October plenum. This certainly does not exempt us from comprehensively analyzing the complex set of issues arising from the current international situation in its entirety. I will therefore take the liberty of addressing just a few key problems.

Wherein, in our opinion, does the peculiarity of the current situation in international life lie? I think it is connected with the tough ideological-political confrontations about the nature and the future prospects of international détente. The effects and consequences of this détente process between the two systems have emerged very clearly, and they are highly varied in nature. They are varied, of course, not because détente offers advantages only to the socialist countries and is detrimental to the capitalist countries, as the imperialist proponents of a return to the Cold War underhandedly claim. Indeed, the easing of international tensions creates favorable conditions for the peaceful economic development of all countries. The essence of the matter, however, is to what extent one wants to and is able to exploit the opportunities that present themselves.

For the socialist countries – and all of us have repeatedly said this in our declarations and also in our documents – détente represents an opportunity to solve the problems of constructing socialism and communism and raising the standards of living of our peoples even more rapidly and securely.

As for the governing circles of the imperialist camp, their positions on these issues are contradictory. On the one hand, they find themselves obliged to go along with détente. In this regard, the changed correlation of forces in the world in favor of socialism and growing public pressure are having an impact. On the other hand, however, they are trying to slow down the development of détente and to limit the scope of its effectiveness.

This attitude is determined above all else by the fact that for the influential military-industrial complex – i.e., the militarists and arms manufacturers – the arms race is a source of horrendous profits and constitutes the basis of their influence on the politics of their country and others. They are holding on to all this with all of their might. The chatter that expanded arms production raises the level of employment and is mitigating

the effects of the economic crisis is pure demagoguery. In the West, too, this is being recognized more and more.

Finally, there is another important aspect: the decreased danger of war makes it more difficult for the reactionary imperialist forces to suppress the developing revolutionary movement under the pretext of an external threat. That is why the imperialist powers, as they continue the arms race, are trying at the same time to shift the blame onto others by accusing the socialist countries of armament increases, although they know very well that this is a lie. To the same end – namely, to place effective obstacles on the path to détente – much noise is being made about so-called human contacts, and attempts are being made to interfere in our countries' internal affairs.

There need be no doubt, for instance, that next year in Belgrade we will be confronted with just such an attitude, for the politicians of the West have made no secret of the fact that they want to exploit the planned meeting in order to present the socialist countries with some sort of bill for their alleged failure to implement the Helsinki Final Act. In other words, they will act and conduct themselves in a way that is consistent with the ideological campaign that has been unleashed during the past year or year-and-a-half, whose main goal has been to revive the myth of a communist threat and of the aggressiveness of the Warsaw Pact.

Many facts have shown that they sense this and need it very badly, so to speak, in order to paralyze the revolutionary movement in their countries; in order to divert the attention of their peoples from the profound crisis in which they find themselves, and to justify a further escalation in the arms race and arms production. What should our course be under such conditions? Or is it a matter of thwarting these speculations and stemming this wave of reaction?

Our firm, clear, and constructive standpoint will help maintain and strengthen the tremendous respect and vast influence that the socialist countries have won as a result of their uncompromising fight for peace and security. In this regard, much will depend upon the coordination and conformity of our actions.

It is important that we draw the international community's attention to initiatives that are in keeping with the spirit of Helsinki and concern the vital basic interests of all peoples, and show that it is precisely our socialist countries – and first and foremost they – that are indeed working to consolidate security and to develop peaceful cooperation among all states. Of greatest importance, of course, are initiatives in the field of disarmament.

We were right to stress these issues in the declaration of the Political Consultative Committee. We are indeed standing on solid ground here, Comrades, for if we consider as a whole all the proposals that we have introduced and presented individually and collectively in the recent past, then we have every reason to say that we have a broad, comprehensive and at the same time realistic program to fight for disarmament.

Our parties, together with the comrades from the other European countries, succeeded in creating, through a unified and concerted effort, a common platform for disarmament activities. Without a doubt, Comrades, the adoption of this platform by a forum as competent as the Berlin Conference of European Communists is a great success.

The Soviet Union considers it necessary to continually embrace new initiatives for curbing the arms race and, as everybody knows, it presented a set of concrete proposals to the 21<sup>st</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly. On the whole, these proposals elicited a strong and positive reaction. Eighty-eight states supported the proposal to conclude a treaty on the renunciation of force. Only China and Albania voted against it.

I want to take this occasion to thank the leaders of our fraternal countries once again for their support for these actions. Basically, these are our joint actions. We will fight persistently for the realization of the proposals that we submitted and fight patiently and persistently among the masses as well as at the diplomatic level. That is what is called for and is needed here.

But now that we are all gathered together here, it is fitting that we take yet another significant step in the struggle for peace and security in Europe and beyond this continent. This step will show the entire world once again what an active policy for peace the Warsaw Treaty Organization is pursuing, what an active force for peace this Organization is. By this I mean our joint appeal to all states participating in the all-European conference. I mean our joint proposal to sign a treaty on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons against each other. I am convinced that such an appeal will be heard loud and clear around the world and will rouse all the forces of reason and peace to renewed activity.

Briefly with regard to the negotiations in Vienna:

The Western delegations now have the floor, but for the moment they remain silent. So the question arises: What to do? Demonstrate endurance and wait for our partners' next move, so to speak, or take the initiative again and put together new

proposals? We are leaning toward the opinion that it would be profitable to refrain for now from any new initiatives in all the negotiations – all the more so since the proposals we have submitted are well-grounded and convincing.

Indeed, what reaction can we expect if we take yet another step to accommodate the West? In the present situation, we can hardly count upon an equivalent response that would facilitate a quick agreement. It is much more likely that a concession on our part would be taken for granted or even seen as proof of the success of the tactic of putting pressure on us. It thus seems reasonable not to hurry, but instead to make use of our current arsenal, which is far from being exhausted, in order to put political pressure on the other side and to make it broadly and convincingly clear to the world that our proposals in Vienna are just and constructive. In this sense, we will probably all have to concede self-critically that in terms of propaganda we are still far from having done everything possible. For it is a fact that our position is not sufficiently known in the world, and there are many misperceptions regarding our proposal.

A few words regarding the negotiations on strategic arms limitations:

As our comrades know, the Americans have been blocking them for almost a year, actually since our last meeting with Kissinger in Moscow this January. Now that the presidential elections are over, one could imagine that new prospects will presumably emerge at the negotiations in Geneva.

These negotiations have an auxiliary function. Usually, details are agreed upon at these negotiations. Questions of cardinal importance, however, are agreed upon by other ways and means.

Surely, even in the history of the USA one there has never been such a shameless hunt for votes by the candidates. They have made promises without thinking about the consequences, for the sole purpose of trumping their rival. As a result of this courtship at any price of all manner of reactionary groups, including émigré organizations, the ship of American politics is clearly tending toward the right.

Of course, the new government will hardly go so far as to freeze relations with the socialist countries. The Americans have made this clear through available channels. Carter has also announced this publicly in general terms. As far as we are concerned, we will, of course, fight for the fulfillment of the commitments the USA's president made during our meeting in Vladivostok in 1974.

Another very important battlefield for and against détente is the realm of economic relations. Reactionary groups in the West, particularly in the United States, are trying to transform international economic relations into a tool for exerting pressure on our countries, into a tool for torpedoing the solidarity of the socialist community.

In this respect, the imperialist states have lately been acting more in concert with each other and are coordinating not only their economic strategy but also their tactics and concrete moves.

Take, for example, the issue of the establishment of official relations between the CMEA and the Common Market. The leaders of the EEC, as their response to our initiative shows, are purposely avoiding establishing relations of equality with the CMEA; are narrowing the scope of these relations and are at the same time trying to use their bilateral connections with individual socialist countries to acquire a lever for exerting economic and consequently also political pressure. It is no secret that they intend to exploit their credit policy to this end.

Taking all of this into account, we obviously have to continue also in the future to work out coordinated, agreed positions with an eye to this whole story. It seems to me that we have found the correct approach regarding the development of international economic cooperation in our declaration. In it, we clearly voice a desire to develop ties in the fields of trade, business, science and technology, but at the same time we make it unmistakably clear that nobody has the right to make these ties dependent upon some sort of concessions.

It goes without saying that this is not just a matter of firmly rejecting unjustified demands and supporting the normalization of relations of economic exchange. The strength of our position consists in presenting new, constructive ideas that fully correspond to the spirit of the Final Act. I am referring in particular to our proposals for holding consultations of the entire continent on issues of energy, transportation and environmental protection. It is clear that such consultations would benefit our cooperation in Europe as a whole and help contribute to an improvement in the political climate.

Our organizations are now preparing several concrete proposals regarding these ideas on behalf of our CC. It will surely be appropriate for the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance to review these proposals.

I would also like to stress the importance of increasing the coordination of the external economic activities of our countries within the CMEA framework, especially

with regard to the leading capitalist states. We should put together a long-term conception for these relations, including our interests, prospective interests and real possibilities, as put together by our countries, and determine the joint measures necessary to increase the effectiveness of our economic cooperation with the West.

Currently, a particularly pressing matter is our collaboration in the ideological sphere. We have all noticed that imperialist propaganda has been subjecting the socialist countries to a coordinated campaign for influence.

A major thrust of this hostile campaign is the issue of the so-called “third basket.” The bourgeois mass media are unscrupulously falsifying the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki Final Act and are demagogically demanding of the socialist countries basically nothing more and nothing less than that we renounce important principles underlying our social and political order. And all of this is occurring with an appeal to human rights, freedom, independence, and other such things.

The organizers of these hostile ideological campaigns are quite aware of the fact that they will not succeed in attaining or compelling any concessions in this area. But they are banking on placing artificial obstacles on the path to détente and the development of truly comprehensive cultural cooperation. They fear such cooperation to the very depth of their souls.

Here, too, our position is clear and constructive: if one were truly to account for what has been done in terms of developing humanitarian contacts and relations, there is no doubt that the comparison is favorable to us.

At the same time, we must in my opinion get the message across even more strongly that any interference in our internal affairs is inadmissible. There can be no cooperation if it is not based upon strict respect for sovereignty and is not a voluntary matter based on equal rights. Clearly, this message will be well-received and refute convincingly the fabrications of our ideological opponents.

I would also like to draw your attention, comrades, to the following essential factor: all of us believe without a doubt that socialism is indisputably superior in all areas of life, including human rights. However, good ideas take time to reach the hearts and minds of people. In this regard, we must admit that the bourgeois West temporarily has a lead in the area of information technology and is fully exploiting this. Now that public opinion has become – without any exaggeration – an enormous political force, a powerful ideological apparatus is no less important than a solid and stable defense. Clearly, we still

must think this over quite seriously. Concrete steps by the Central Committees of our Parties are clearly required in order to rectify this matter.

Allow me now to make some very brief and compressed remarks about the integration process taking place in the capitalist world, upon which the prospects for the development of the international situation will depend to no small degree. If one considers the state of things in the Common Market and NATO, one must openly admit that the main imperialist groupings have, at least for now, succeeded in overcoming the low point of their recent crisis, even though no substantial improvements in the economy have been registered up until now.

The Turkish-Greek contradictions have lost their edge somewhat; relations are developing between NATO and Portugal, which is being subjected to strong pressure from imperialist circles. The contradictions between the USA and its Western European allies are not being expressed so openly any more. Furthermore, it is significant that the coordination of political activity is being stressed more and more. Working consultations between the heads of state and government of the Nine are taking place under the guise of the Council of Europe, and the foreign ministers are meeting from time to time.

Preparations are being made for the holding of "direct general elections" to the European Parliament in 1978. The main goal here is to coordinate the policies of the Western powers against the socialist states and to fight collectively against all revolutionary forces. This can be seen - with some reservations and some allowances for current historical conditions - as a kind of reestablishment of reaction's so-called holy alliance. We should certainly take account of these aspects in our activities and draw the necessary conclusions.

There is yet another side to this question: It is known that the Italian, French and some other West European communist parties have replaced the slogan of the struggle against capitalist integration with the slogan of the struggle for democratizing the process. They are of the opinion that the actual situation has made this necessary. It is important, however, not to forfeit a class perspective in doing so; one should not forget that the capitalists' integration is not occurring out of concern for the interests of the peoples, but it is instead a means to maintain and intensify the exploitation of workers.

Bourgeois propaganda, however, is feeding the communists the argument that NATO and the Common Market serve as a guarantee, so to speak, of an independent path for the Western communist parties, which we allegedly want to infringe upon. We

consider it necessary to tell our friends in the West openly that the adoption of such misleading ideas is very dangerous.

Comrades, as a supplement to the assessments of the West European countries' politics that were presented at our CC's October plenum, I would like to address two or three additional points that deserve special attention, especially with regard to the FRG.

The fact is that we find ourselves confronted with an increase in the influence of reactionary forces in this country, with a clear revival of militarism and revanchism. Claims to the right to annex the German Democratic Republic – along with attempts to exploit the progress in relations with it, made possible by détente, by putting massive pressure on the Republic – are not diminishing but increasing.

The Schmidt-Genscher Government, with its paper-thin majority in the Bundestag, will be facing even greater pressure from the opponents of détente. Also, in the governing coalition itself, the situation of the Social Democrats has become more complicated, which in the long term can also affect the FRG's so-called *Ostpolitik*. What conclusions can we draw from this?

Decisively exposing the danger of the rebirth of West German revanchism and neo-Nazism will clearly depend upon an activation of our political work with the Social Democrats and our insistence upon a stricter and more consistent fulfillment of the whole complex of the FRG's existing agreements with the socialist countries. Furthermore, we will need to strengthen the coordination of our actions vis-à-vis West Germany, in both the political and the economic realms. That goes, of course, for West Berlin as well. In our opinion, no single attempt by the FRG to skirt the Quadripartite Agreement to the detriment of the socialist countries' interests should be left unanswered or without a response.

The relations of the socialist states with France are, generally speaking, not developing badly, but certain aspects of French politics give pause. I am referring to France's new interpretation of its military doctrine, of which you are all aware, and the noticeable increase in its cooperation with the NATO military machine. We intend to express our concern about these phenomena during our forthcoming meeting with Giscard d'Estaing.

We must also strive for a more active participation by France in resolving disarmament issues.

A tough political battle is currently being fought in Spain. The USA and the Federal Republic of Germany are striving to integrate Spain into the Western countries' military and political alliance. Obviously, we will have to follow these events attentively and exploit every opportunity to counter these plans, whose realization could have a negative impact upon the Mediterranean region and Europe as a whole. The Spanish government has indicated that it is now prepared to normalize relations with the socialist states. In principle, it would be useful to strengthen our joint presence in Spain. However, in selecting the moment to establish diplomatic relations, we must take account of the interests of the democratic forces of this country and its Communist Party.

Comrades! The significant socio-political changes in the countries of the so-called Third World are having an ever greater influence on the current international situation. Currently, the continent of Africa has taken center stage. With the proclamations of independence of Angola, Mozambique and the other Portuguese colonies, the mighty current of national liberation movements has advanced all the way to Southern Africa, the last bulwark of colonialism and racism.

In our opinion, it is a noteworthy fact that many liberated countries have started down a path oriented toward socialism and, with varying degrees of intensity and consistency, are carrying out significant social restructuring. Of course, it is still too early to draw categorical conclusions about the direction that these countries' social development will take.

The desire of the progressive leaders of the socialistically-oriented states to assess our experience in constructing revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist parties is of particularly great importance. Some of them are approaching our party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and certainly other fraternal parties as well directly, with requests for assistance in training cadres, in studying the theory of scientific communism, in the formation of party training institutions, etc. We are striving to give our comrades' requests the most careful consideration and to meet all these requests. It would be superfluous to say here that this is a matter of the utmost political significance. It goes without saying that especially the socialistically-oriented states urgently need economic aid. However, our possibilities in this regard are quite limited. Therefore, we must exploit the reserves that we have set aside for such purposes most effectively and offer them above all to those countries that want to draw closer to the socialist commonwealth. This requires a particularly careful coordination of our actions and activities, and I believe, comrades, that such a coordination and joining together of our activities should be the object of constant attention in the organs of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Providing the maximum aid possible to countries with a socialistic orientation is our international class duty. At the same time, the development of economic ties and relations with them depends, objectively, on CMEA member-countries' growing need for various raw materials. In developing long-term programs, it will also be necessary to decide upon appropriate forms of cooperation with the socialistically-oriented states. Of course, these economic ties must be truly equal and mutually beneficial and serve the goal of helping these states to overcome their backwardness and to consolidate their economic and political independence.

The issue of economic aid must also be seen within a larger, broader framework. All the developing states are now rightly demanding the establishment of truly equal international economic relations. We are supporting and supporting actively their fight against capitalist exploitation and the plundering of their natural resources. However, as we go about promoting the economic growth of the developing countries with all our might, it is just as important now as it was then to resolutely promote the argument that the historical responsibility for their backwardness lies with the imperialist powers.

I would also like to say a few words about non-alignment. We support the progressive, anti-imperialist tendencies that are evident in this movement. With regard to the most important issues of world politics, the Non-Aligned Movement is a natural ally of the countries of the socialist community. That has been demonstrated clearly by the results of the 5<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo. At the same time, however, it is no secret that certain forces within the Non-Aligned Movement continue to promote the argument, advantageous only to the imperialists, that there are two centers of world power and order, and consider it possible to treat the socialist Soviet Union the same as the imperialist United States.

We must, of course, continue to exploit all possibilities to work together with the non-aligned states in fighting this dangerous and damaging tendency.

In the end, life itself will bring all truly honest politicians of the liberation movements to the realization that it is precisely the socialist countries that are the firmest and most consistent defenders of their just cause. There are countless examples that show this. Perhaps the most remarkable of all is our common position regarding the conflict in the Middle East.

It is a fact, after all, that our countries – despite considerations of temporary advantage — have steadfastly supported the Palestinian resistance movement all these years. We have defended the legitimate interests of the Arab peoples with every means at

our disposal and have provided them with much assistance. And we have done this despite the zigzagging policies of certain states of the Arab East, and despite the often unfriendly and hostile invectives of certain governments that have bowed down before imperialism in the hope of finding solutions to their problems with the West's assistance – especially in keeping their armed forces at a certain level, settling acute economic problems, etc.

I spoke at length about our Middle East policy at the CPSU's plenum in October. Since then, nothing significant has occurred. As before, we are steering a course that is aimed at convening the Geneva Conference, and we will maintain constant operational contacts with the fraternal, allied countries of the Warsaw Treaty regarding this issue.

Certain contacts with Egypt have been developing. For the moment, however, it is not clear where they will lead. The only thing that is clear is that Sadat's US-oriented policy has not brought the expected results, neither in the political and economic spheres nor in the procurement of weapons. At the most recent meeting between Comrade Gromyko and Fahmi in Sofia, we precisely laid out once again the Soviet Union's position. Let Sadat consider whether or not he can come to reasonable and realistic decisions on this matter.

Permit me now, comrades, to briefly address our mutual cooperation:

As you well know, this is a matter of primary importance for our Central Committee and the CPSU Politburo. We note with great satisfaction that the political, economic, and ideological relations among the fraternal countries of the socialist community continue to develop and consolidate, and that the mechanism of our collaboration is functioning efficiently and smoothly.

I believe that the declaration to be signed expresses quite well and concisely the major directions in which our multilateral collaboration will further develop. This document will, without a doubt, serve us well and demonstrate to the whole world the plans and intentions of the socialist states and further consolidate their political alliance.

Moreover, it is very important that the declaration emphasizes clearly once again our intention not to wall ourselves off, but to further develop fraternal ties to other socialist countries and to strengthen them. I will not take up too much of your time and will not speak about this at length. I do think, however, that the party congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party coming up in December will provide an opportunity for us to

confirm once again our willingness to provide international support to the people of Vietnam in their peaceful construction.

I would also like to take this opportunity to inform you of the results of my visit to Yugoslavia and of our negotiations with President Tito. One can certainly say that good prospects have emerged for intensifying Soviet-Yugoslav collaboration in all areas. We tried to convince Comrade Tito and other leading Yugoslav politicians that it is in Yugoslavia's interest to develop its ties with the socialist countries not only on a bilateral but also on a multilateral basis, especially at the party level, as – for example – our Cuban and Vietnamese comrades are doing.

We must also address the issue of China.

The foreign policy of the new leadership headed by Hua Guofeng has evidently not yet crystallized. We must demonstrate patience and see how events develop, and this is what we are doing. We are not retracting any of our principled assessments regarding the destructive nature of Maoist policies because they are correct. Nor are we in a hurry to assess the actions of the new government. It is clear that the effects of the ballast of hostility that was built up under Mao will probably still be felt for a long time to come. It is important to determine what direction future developments will actually take. Recently, in addition to the flood of anti-Soviet propaganda, information has reached us from Beijing suggesting that the Chinese are proceeding from the possibility of a certain normalization of relations at the state level to the USSR and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth. But we cannot be sure yet if this is really the case. It should also be noted that Beijing is continuing its efforts to approach the socialist countries individually and to set them against each other.

In accordance with the resolutions of the 25<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, we will, nevertheless, do what we can to bring about a turn for the better in our relations with China. This would serve the interests of socialism, peace and all anti-imperialist forces. Time will tell how things will develop.

Last year, comrades, we paid tribute to and commemorated the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of our organization. At the festivities for this glorious anniversary, new and interesting forms of cooperation came about. I am referring to the meetings of our countries' parliamentarians and members of the public and the joint theoretical conference regarding the Warsaw Treaty. I believe it is worthwhile to firmly anchor and further develop such forms of mutual relations.

In our draft declaration, we confirm once again our willingness to consider – under the proper conditions – the simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. This is a necessary political declaration. At the same time, we all recognize – if we look at things realistically – that the path to this goal lies in the all-round consolidation of our cooperation, including our military and political alliance, whose activity is of primary importance for the fate of peace in Europe, but not only in Europe.

This is also the aim of our resolutions to create a Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and a Unified Secretariat. These bodies will make it possible to coordinate our foreign-policy activities even better and more strategically, and to increase the effectiveness of our efforts in the struggle for a lasting and secure peace.

The chief of staff of the Unified Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, Comrade Krupkov [sic; Gribkov] will report to the Political Consultative Committee on our military cooperation. It is clear to all of us that we cannot for a single moment weaken either our vigilance and constant attentiveness or our concern for the combat readiness of our Unified Armed Forces, as long as the imperialist forces continue the arms race.

I would like to conclude my remarks by expressing my conviction that our parties and countries, through their unified and concerted action, will ensure the further consolidation of socialism in the world and will influence international developments even more actively in the interest of our great cause.

*[Translation from the German by Ursula Froese]*