

**L. Brezhnev's Concluding Speech at the Crimean meeting,  
31 July 1973**

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Personal, top secret!

CONCLUDING SPEECH

OF COMRADE L. IL. BREZHNEV AT THE CRIMEA MEETING  
(A shorthand transcript)

July 30-31st 1973

Dear Comrades,

With your permission I will allow myself to turn your attention for a while to some particular moments.

First of all, I would like once again to thank all of you, to all brotherly parties, to their central committees, personally to you, my dear comrades and friends, for your active participation in the work of this meeting. I say this because at this meeting each of you made a thorough analysis of the international activities, shared the experience of his work and characterized the significance of our common successes. We are unanimous, we synchronize our moves and what is particularly important - we manifest unity on the issues, which constitute the essence of our policy.

Now, allow me to focus on those moments, with which I would like to complete my first statement. I would like as well to make a few comrade remarks of principle character on what the comrades, participants in the meeting said.

Comrade Ceausescu spoke about the contribution of the Chinese leaders in the decreasing of the world tension. Of course, every one of us can have his estimate. However, I think that the facts attest to the contrary of what Comrade Ceausescu spoke about. I touched on this issue in my statement and will not repeat myself. I will only say that I share the viewpoints and the estimates of the other comrades who made statements on this issue.

Speaking about the international meeting of the communist parties, as far as I understood, Comrade Ceausescu defended the principle of not criticizing other parties. Have I understood correctly? I personally want to express my opinion on this question. What is this - an unwillingness to be principle? If we all acted so - that is, we did not criticize, it seems to me that our movement long ago would have got stuck in opportunism. The communists were always able to stand up for and to defend their ideas from slander, distortion and so on, which obstruct us to move forward.

Comrade Ceausescu spoke as well about certain steps in the direction of simultaneous dissolving of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. I think that this perhaps is unacceptable in the current situation, when NATO obviously is intensifying its activities both in relation to armament and in relation to policy. This is well known. The other comrades who made statements here, underlined the significance of the consolidation of

the Warsaw Pact and Comrade Ceausescu as if did not argue this. As far as the proposal of Comrade Ceausescu is concerned, about consolidation of the political cooperation in the bounds of the Warsaw Pact, we can, of course, only agree with this proposition and welcome it.

[...]

All of you expressed a wish, and we agree with it, for an announcement in the press about the results of our work. All comrades got acquainted with the project of this announcement; it seems to me, twice. I myself as you see, because of pressure of work, could not thoroughly develop each paragraph. In the end, a last version came out, which, it seems to me, can be approved. But Comrade Ceausescu expressed certain doubts in the possibility it to be approved in this form. Now we had an openhearted comrade talk with Comrade Ceausescu and we reached an agreement.

I congratulate you, comrades, with the big success in our work. I wish you health and happiness. I think that this meeting will help all of us to get better our bearings. I will report in detail to our Politburo about all statements of the comrades, so that afterwards we can proceed to practical implementation of what we spoke here.

*[Translated by Julia Cherneva; Edited by Dr. Jordan Baev]*