

REPORT ON THE MEETING BETWEEN SED GENERAL SECRETARY E. HONECKER AND L. I. BREZHNEV IN THE CRIMEA, 25 JULY 1978

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BREZHNEV: Allow me, L.I. Brezhnev said, two words on the trials against [Anatoly] Shcharansky and [Aleksandr] Ginzburg. As you know, in the West a true witch dance has been done over these two traitors whose hostile activity was inspired by subversive imperialist centers. The matter went far beyond the importance of the miserable roles which these people actually played. Actually this was an attempt of reactionary circles to test our strength, and we have vigorously demonstrated that any attempts to intervene in our affairs, to blackmail us, and to drive the matter under the pretext of the protection of human rights to the point of creating a legal opposition against the Socialist order, are doomed to fail. I think, he [Brezhnev] said, that this should teach them once and for all.

As always, we have many concerns with regard to international affairs. The situation in the world has not developed badly in the last one to two years. On the one hand important results have been achieved under the conditions of détente, on the other hand we are experiencing an open activation of imperialist forces, their attempts to roll back the position of socialism in the various regions.

Soviet-American relations illustrate this. Speaking frankly, Leonid Ilyich said, the state [of US-Soviet relations] leaves a lot to be desired. Although Carter has moderated his tone after the decisive rebuff we gave him, there is for now no reason to assume that he is willing to eliminate the main matter which has caused the turn for the worse in our relations. I mean above all the arms race heightened by Washington which at the same time is delaying in the negotiations on arms control and the continuing campaign for the so-called "human rights"...

...On the whole one can say that a settlement in the relations between the USSR and the USA is not to be expected anytime soon. Carter is wavering and apparently is listening to the forces to whom détente goes against the grain although he seems to be aware of the necessity to search for agreements with us in the cardinal question of war and peace.

Recently another tendency within the policy of the American administration has been more powerful. I am talking about their efforts to play the "Chinese card". The question now is not any more simply a normalization of relations between the USA and China, but actually attempts of an rapprochement on an anti-Soviet, anti-Socialist basis. This coincides with the efforts of the Chinese to use the "American card" in the fight against the USSR and the other countries of the Socialist community.

The other day we carefully analyzed the policy of the Chinese leadership in the C[entral] C[ommittee] and arrived at the conclusion that it is increasingly reactionary and aggressive in all directions. I am talking above all about the open statements of Beijing with respect to the support for the plans of the revanchist circles in the FRG on the unity of Germany which de facto means the incorporation of the GDR.

No less telling are the contacts overtly exhibited by both sides with Strauß, Kohl, and other rightist West German politicians...

...One of the main methods developed by Washington as well as Beijing is the differentiated approach to the Socialist countries as well as the attempts to drive a wedge between them and to bring them into confrontation with the Soviet Union. For this purpose they are actively taking advantage of the nationalistic dislocations of such politicians as Ceaucescu and make various promises. It is difficult to say something about his behavior. Basically he is a traitor. The devil knows what else will be possible with him. In this connection L. I. mentioned a saying by Stalin on the problem of treason. In one word: We, Erich, draw the conclusion that we have to stick together even more and coordinate even further in proceeding in the international arena. Our leadership is convinced, Erich, that the new course of the CC of the SED in international affairs, your actions for accomplishment of the common line of the Socialist community, are being implemented with continued vigor.