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DEVELOPMENT OF THE LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF
TWO SYSTEMS AS EXPRESSED IN THE DECISIONS OF THE XX
AND XXI PARTY CONGRESSES

- USSR -

By I. A. Kirilin

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- USSR -

[Following is a translation of an article by I. A. Kirilin in the Russian-language periodical Voprosy istorii KPSS (Problems of the History of the CPSU), Moscow, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1960, pages 155-166.]

The cornerstone of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government is the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence and economic competition of the two systems--socialism and capitalism. It is this principle which determines the essence of the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The policy of peaceful coexistence signifies the repudiation of war as a means for resolving issues between governments, the obligation of all states not to attack or to violate the territorial integrity and sovereignty of one another in any form or under any pretext. It presupposes also the repudiation of any interference in the internal affairs of other nations for the purpose of changing their governmental structure or way of life, or for any other motives. The principle of peaceful coexistence signifies also that the political and economic mutual relations between nations should be built on the basis of full equality of both sides and mutual benefit.

The imperialist enemies of the idea of peaceful coexistence have sought, over the course of a number of years, to demonstrate that the Soviet Union is setting forth this concept out of tactical considerations, that it is seeking to lull the vigilance of the Western nations for the purpose of attacking them. These malicious anti-Soviet attacks, however, have not achieved their aim. The Soviet Union's persistent struggle for the peace and security of peoples has toppled this myth of bourgeois propaganda. The apologists for a "cold war" policy then began to state that the USSR has changed its foreign policy, and that prior to 1953 it was maintaining an aggressive course; it is only within recent years, they say, that the USSR has set forth the principle of peaceful coexistence. Nor do these fantasies have anything in common with actuality, because from the very first days of its existence our socialist government has conducted a stubborn struggle for peace and for the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. With the formation of the world socialist camp, the doctrine of peaceful coexistence is also the basis for the foundations of the foreign

policies of all socialist states belonging to that camp. The Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Twelve Socialist Nations, adopted at the Conference in Moscow in November 1957, states that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence is the firm basis for the foreign policy of the socialist nations and the reliable foundation for peace and friendship between peoples. (See Dokumenty Soveshchaniy predstaviteley kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy [Documents of the Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties], Moscow, State Publishing House of Political Literature, p. 10.)

* * *

The theoretical basis for the principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the two systems was first created by Lenin even prior to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In analyzing the process of historical development, Lenin was the first of the Marxists to show scientifically that, on the eve of the 20th century, capitalism entered upon the higher and final stage of its development, that of imperialism. Lenin discovered the law of the unequal economic and political development of the capitalist nations in the era of imperialism. Out of the action of this objective law of the development of society, he reached the geniuslike conclusion (since proven by history) of the possibility of the victory of socialism initially in just a few or in only one individual nation. Proceeding from this thesis that various nations would drop away from the capitalist system at various times and that the transition to socialism would take an entire historical era, Lenin came to the conclusion that the prolonged coexistence of one or several socialist states side by side with capitalist governments is inescapable historically. Lenin not only pointed out the scientific inescapability of the existence of governments with diametrically opposite social systems, but even provided the basis for the possibility and necessity for their peaceful coexistence and cooperation in the economic field. (See V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya [Works], Vol. 30, p. 21.)

The principle of the peaceful coexistence of socialist states with states of the capitalist camp was embodied in the very first decree of the Soviet state--the Leninist decree on peace. The Soviet Government condemned war as the greatest possible crime against mankind and called upon all nations at war with each other to cease this bloodletting and to establish a just and democratic peace. The principle of peaceful coexistence, however, was not then adopted by the capitalist states. They organized a military campaign against the young republic of soviets.

In the period of the foreign military intervention and the civil war, all of the Soviet Government's efforts were aimed at securing a transition from a state of war with the capitalist nations to a state of peace. During this period Lenin firmly continued to stand on the

grounds of the possibility and the necessity for the peaceful coexistence of the two systems, and that, as the head of the world's first socialist state, he should do everything possible for the practical achievement of this principle in his relations with capitalist nations.

In Lenin's struggle for the affirmation of the principle of peaceful coexistence, it fell upon our entire Party to overcome not only the opposition of the imperialist powers, who had refused to recognize the nation of socialism and who cherished the hope of doing away with the victories of the October Revolution, but to overcome also the anti-Leninist views of people within the party--the "Left Communists," the Trotskyites, and the Bukharinites. The latter spoke out against the peaceful existence of the two systems because they did not believe in the victory of socialism in one nation, and preached the theory (inimicable to Marxism-Leninism) of the "spreading" of the revolution.

In the most tense period of Soviet Russia's struggle against the interventionist forces, Lenin, in his letter to the American workers of 23 September 1919, declared the readiness of the proletarian republic for economic cooperation with bourgeois governments, and with all possible determination emphasized that this cooperation should take place in the course of an entire period, "when a number of socialist and capitalist states would exist side by side" (*ibid.*).

It was in December of that same year (1919) that Lenin proposed that the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopt a resolution to read: "The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic wishes to live in peace with all peoples and to direct all of its efforts into internal construction in order to place production, transport, and public administration on the basis of a soviet structure, which has been prevented hitherto by the interference of the Entente and its blockade of hunger." The Congress adopted this resolution and called upon the Soviet Government "to systematically continue its policy of peace, and to adopt all measures necessary towards its achievement" (*ibid.*, p. 209).

In carrying out the Communist Party's foreign policy course directed at peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Government demanded repeatedly during the civil war that the governments of the USA, Great Britain, France, and other nations cease this imperialist piracy against the Soviet Republic, and proposed the establishment of peaceful relations with them. In the period from August 1918 to December 1919 alone, 11 peace proposals were made. The imperialist powers, however, keeping up their bestial hatred of the socialist state, did everything in their power towards its destruction.

The Soviet people, under the direction of the Communist Party, defeated the interventionists and the internal counterrevolution, and won their right for the existence of the socialist state. Having defended its freedom and independence in bitter battles against international imperialism, the Soviet nation won a victory of world historical

importance, having demonstrated its growing strength, which its enemies had now to take into consideration.

Thus, the first sudden attack of the imperialist camp upon the socialist state was repulsed, and the bourgeois governments were forced, contrary to their efforts to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, to recognize the Soviet nation and to enter upon peace talks with it. Thus was achieved that well-known balance of power, which Lenin characterized simply as a breathing period and as nothing more serious than that. "We have," he said, "a new period, when our basic international existence within this net of capitalist states has been won" (V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, Vol. 31, p. 385).

Having put an end to the foreign military intervention, the Soviet nation then did everything possible to retain and strengthen the peace which had been won at so great a price from the capitalist nations. At the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Lenin declared: "We shall with all our force defend peace in the future, we shall not hesitate to make serious concessions and sacrifices in order to defend that peace" (V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, Vol. 33, p. 123). He emphasized that the possibility of the existence of a socialist republic in a capitalist encirclement, in the political and military respect, was already a fact (ibid., p. 126). Lenin pointed out that its existence, in the economic respect, was just as possible. Thus in an interview with the American correspondent Lincoln Hiram in February 1920, Lenin said: "I do not see any reason why a socialist state such as ours cannot have unlimited business relations with capitalist nations. We are not against the use of capitalist locomotives and agricultural machinery, so why should they be opposed to the use of our socialist grain, flax, and platinum? Socialist grain has the same taste as any other grain" (Kommunist, No. 15, 1957, p. 12).

Lenin linked the problem of the economic cooperation of the socialist state with capitalist nations together with the question of peaceful economic competition between the two systems. In rejecting a policy of aggression, and in declaring the basis of the foreign policy of the socialist nation to be a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, Lenin emphasized with full force that the outcome of the historic "argument" between socialism and capitalism should be decided not by war, but by peaceful economic competition.

In 1921, when our nation shifted to peaceful socialist construction, Lenin pointed out that now "we shall demonstrate our chief influence upon the international situation through our economic policy." "In this field the struggle has been shifted to a world-wide scale. If we resolve this task we shall then win out for certain and once and for all on an international scale" (V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, Vol. 32, p. 413). Lenin was convinced that, in a competition between socialism and capitalism, the socialist system would be the victor, as it is the most progressive system of social structure, opening before mankind an unprecedented range for the development of his creative and moral forces, and providing him with the very highest of living standards.

The possibility and the necessity for the peaceful coexistence of the two systems was based by Lenin on the presence of objective factors which constitute the law of development of the historical process. He included as first among these factors the need for economic ties between states. Lenin pointed out "there is a force that is greater than the hopes, will, and decision of any inimical government or class, and that is the force of general, peaceful economic relations, which will compel them to enter into such relations with us" (V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. 33, p. 129). These "general, peaceful economic relations" are what comprise the economic base of the peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the two systems.

An important objective factor which dictates to the capitalist nations the need to coexist peacefully with socialist nations is the weakening of imperialism. This has found clear expression in the fact that, as a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, its greatest power--Russia--has fallen away from the capitalist system. The world has split into two opposite systems--socialist and capitalist. The October Revolution laid the beginnings of the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism. It set into motion hundreds of millions of workers of the colonial and dependent nations, which had started off down the path of the struggle for national liberation from the yoke of imperialism. Together with this, the socialist revolution in Russia brought forth a mighty revolutionary movement within the imperialist states themselves. These powerful revolutionary forces, joining into one, dealt imperialism a fatal wound, fettered the imperialist aggressors, and forced them to abstain from military ventures against the nations of socialism and to enter into peaceful coexistence with them.

The contradictions between the imperialist nations, preventing them from unifying their forces in the struggle against the socialist system, are playing an important role in the weakening of imperialism and the creation of the prerequisites for the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. These were of particularly great significance in the period when the USSR was the sole socialist government in the world. "We were able to be victorious up to this time," Lenin said, "thanks only to the serious dissension between the imperialist powers and thanks only to the fact that these dissensions were not just chance disagreements within parties, but were a very profound and ineradicable difference in economic interests among the imperialist states, which, in defending private ownership of land and capital, cannot conduct that rapacious policy, under which their efforts to unite forces against the Soviets proved futile" (V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. 31, p. 436).

The decisive objective factor forcing the capitalist nations into peaceful coexistence with socialist states, is the strengthening of their economic and military might, and their international influence as peace-loving powers. True, in the first years of its existence the Soviet nation was weaker economically and militarily than the imperialist states. In return, it immeasurably surpassed them in a moral-

political respect. The workers and peasants of the Soviet republics, thanks to the unity hammered out by the Communist Party and by dint of their whole-hearted devotion to their socialist motherland and the fraternal aid of the workers of all nations, defeated the horde of interventionists, although the latter were well armed and supplied with everything necessary to carry out the intervention.

In citing the results of the civil war, Lenin pointed out that the imperialists, had they been united, might have won a victory over us comparatively quickly, because we were immeasurably weak as far as materiel was concerned. But our enemies did not win out, nor will they ever win out, Lenin emphasized, because as far as morale is concerned, i.e., in the sense of alignment of the actual force of all classes in all states, we are stronger than all of them" (V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, Vol. 31, p. 385, and Vol. 33, p. 125).

Lenin not only laid the foundations for the possibility and inescapability of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems, he also pointed out the means and methods for strengthening and developing this coexistence. He pointed out that, with the appearance of the Soviet Union, there was born a new diplomacy, conducting a policy on the scientific basis of Marxism, on sober consideration of the actual forces answering the vital interests of all workers. The peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union is one of the most important factors active in the direction of peaceful coexistence.

Lenin considered recognition of equal rights of the two opposing social systems as the basis for relations with capitalist nations. He saw in it the sole correct way out of the difficulties, chaos, and the danger of war under conditions of the coexistence of the two systems. It was for this reason that Lenin welcomed the conclusion of the Treaty of Rapallo between the RSFSR and Germany in 1922, in which the real equality of the two systems of property ownership was set into law, and which recognized only this type of treaty as the normal one in relations between the Soviet Union and capitalist states. (See V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, Vol. 33, pp. 319, 320.)

In speaking out for peace with all nations without exception, Lenin considered it particularly important in international relations to devote a great deal of attention to the interests of the various peoples (natsii), as only such a policy can eliminate grounds for conflict, eliminate mutual distrust and the danger of any sort of intrigue, and create the confidence without which neither peaceful relations between peoples nor the successful development of all that is valuable in modern civilizations is at all possible (ibid., p. 349).

Lenin attached an important role in the strengthening of peace on this basis to the establishment of friendly relations with the largest capitalist nations, above all, with the USA. Along with this, he particularly emphasized the need for observing the principles of nonaggression, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for

sovereignty. "Let American capital not bother us. We will not bother it," Lenin said to a correspondent of the American newspaper New York Evening Journal in February 1920 (V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, Vol. 30, p. 340).

Lenin attached great significance to the development of trade and business ties on the basis of mutual benefit in the strengthening of peaceful relations with capitalist nations.

As the principal adherent of peace and peaceful relations, Lenin particularly valued real, concrete steps in this direction, and derided pacifist chatter, phrases, and avowals not supported by deeds. It must be kept in mind, he said in an interview with an Observer correspondent, that pacifist phrases, talks, and avowals, sometimes even vows against war, resound throughout the world in unusually great number, while we see very little readiness to take actual steps, even the most simple ones, to guarantee peace in the majority of states, particularly, modern civilized states. We should like to see, in this and in similar questions, fewer such declarations, comradely promises, and magnificent formulas, and more straight forward and very clear decisions and measures which would really lead to peace, without even mentioning the complete removal of the danger of war" (V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya, Vol. 33, p. 349).

The peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union, based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, has been conducted and is being conducted undeviatingly by our government despite the opposition of the imperialist powers.

But the existence of the objective prerequisites for the peaceful coexistence of the two systems, and the desire of the Soviet Government to live at peace with the capitalist nations did not mean that the latter would maintain the same sort of policy in their mutual relations with the Soviet Union. With their sober approach towards an evaluation of the actual situation, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government knew that the imperialists would do everything they could to destroy this socialist government so hated by them, through either a direct military attack upon it by trying to use any military conflict provoked by them to drag the Soviet Union into war. Under these conditions, the struggle of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for peaceful coexistence boiled down, practically, to a struggle for a peaceful breathing space, in order to make that peace last as long as possible.

Thanks to the Soviet Union's persistent struggle for peace, this peaceful breathing space lasted 20 years. It was utilized with great effectiveness by our party. Under its direction, the Soviet people restored the national economy destroyed by World War I, the civil war, and the foreign intervention, and successfully constructed a socialist society. Great achievements were attained in an economic competition between socialism and capitalism. The Soviet Union was converted into a mighty socialist power, with economic and military potential and political influence with which the imperialist aggressors could not reckon.

The victory of socialism in the USSR, however, was not a final one. The Soviet Union was not guaranteed against the danger of the restoration of capitalism with the aid of foreign aggression.

The attack of Hitler's Germany upon the USSR put an end to this peaceful breathing space. The war, prepared by the forces of world imperialist reaction and begun by the fascist aggressors, had as its most important aim that of the destruction of the socialist state, enslavement of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and resolution of imperialist contradictions at the expense of the USSR. But these aims were not fated to be fulfilled. The heroic Soviet people not only defended the freedom, honor, and independence of their socialist motherland, but also made a decisive contribution towards the destruction of the danger of fascist enslavement which hung over the peoples of all nations.

Formed during World War II was an anti-Hitler coalition, headed by the USSR, which played an important role in the victory over fascism and the organization of the postwar peace. Thus life itself once more confirmed the correctness of the Leninist thesis on the possibility of the cooperation of states with various social structures. True to its vows to Lenin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the new historical conditions which unfolded following World War II, developed and enriched Leninist teachings on peaceful coexistence.

* * *

A great contribution to the development of Leninist teachings on the possibility and necessity for the peaceful coexistence of two systems with differing social structures, is the basically new thesis expressed by the XX Party Congress that, in our modern era, there is no fatal inevitability of war.

This does not in any case signify an incompatibility with the Marxist-Leninist thesis that, so long as imperialism exists, war is inevitable. In its time, this thesis was absolutely correct. As is known, this thesis was expressed during a period in which, first, imperialism was the all-encompassing world system and, second, when social and political forces, which were not interested in war and which spoke out against it, were poorly organized and had not the means to compel the imperialists to desist from war. Under these conditions, the imperialist powers had the opportunity to unfold two world wars without obstruction. At the present time, also, so long as imperialism exists there continues to exist the economic basis for war which is inherent in its very nature. Under today's conditions, however, there exists the possibility of preventing a new world war and of counteracting the unfolding of so-called local wars by the imperialists.

This most important theoretical conclusion was made on the basis of a profound analysis of the radical changes which have occurred, following World War II, in the position of political and economic forces on the international scene.

In what do these changes consist? They consist in the gigantic growth in the power of socialism, and the critical weakening of imperialism. "The principal feature of our era is the emergence of socialism from the boundaries of one nation and its conversion into a world system" (N. S. Khrushchev, Otchetnyy doklad Tsentral'nogo Komiteta Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza XX s'yezdu Partii [Regular Report of the Central Committee CPSU to the XX Party Congress], Moscow, State Publishing House of Political Literature, 1956, p. 6) -- as was noted in the Central Committee CPSU report to the XX Party Congress.

Up until World War II, the Soviet Union was the sole socialist state, with about 17% of the territory, about 9% of the population, and up to 10% of the world production. After World War II, as the result of the defection of new nations from imperialism and their entrance upon a socialist path of development, the world system of socialism was formed, a system which now has over one third of the world's population and one fourth of its territory. At the end of 1958, socialist nations were responsible for over one third of the world's industrial production; to them belonged about one third of the world's production of pig iron, steel, tractors, wool fabrics; 47% of the coal mined; almost 40% of the world production of timber; about 40% of the world's cotton-fiber resources; and almost one half of the world's grain resources (Pravda, 28 November 1959).

Of extremely important significance in the growth of the world system of socialism are the achievements of the Soviet Union, where socialism was fully and completely victorious. Thanks to the advantages of the socialist method of production and the inexhaustible creative energy of the Soviet people, the USSR produced achievements of world-historical importance in the construction of Communism; in developing economics, science, and culture; and improving the general well-being of the workers. Whereas in 1913 Czarist Russia was responsible for 3% of the world's industrial production, and was fifth in the world in the production of industrial goods (after the USA, Great Britain, France, and Germany), the Soviet Union at the present time holds second place in the world (after the USA) in the volume of industrial production, and in 1958 was responsible for about 20% of the world's production of industrial products.

The Soviet people, thanks to the constant concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for the development of science and engineering, were the first to launch artificial earth satellites and cosmic rockets, thus laying the foundation for the conquest of the heavens by man, and have attained great successes in the peaceful use of atomic energy. With the growth of the economic might of the Soviet Union, its military might--guarantee of the security of all the nations of the socialist camp and a decisive factor in the maintenance of general peace--continues to increase also. In a speech given at a reception for Soviet journalists on 14 November 1959, N. S. Khrushchev

declared that the Soviet Union possesses mighty weapons, but that "these weapons are in the hands of the greatest peace-loving state in the world, and in the hands of the Communist Party and of our people, who are defending peace. They are formidable weapons against those who wish to start a war. They are, therefore, a support in the struggle for peace" (N. S. Khrushchev, Sovetskaya pechat' dolzhna byt' samoy sil'noy i samoy boyevoy! [The Soviet Press Should Be the Strongest and Most Militant!]. Moscow, State Publishing House For Political Literature, 1959, p. 8).

The tremendous successes of the world socialist system are a consequence of the advantages of the socialist over the capitalist system. These advantages find clear expression in higher rates of development of the national economy of the socialist states as compared with those of the capitalist nations. These higher rates of development are part of the general law of development of socialism, which have found confirmation in the experience of all nations of the socialist camp. The average annual rate of increase of industrial production throughout the entire camp of socialism over the past 5 years (1954-1958) was 11%, while that of the entire capitalist world was less than 3%. Industrial production of the socialist nations in 1958 increased by 5 times over that of its prewar, 1937, production, while that of the capitalist nations barely doubled.

The strength of the socialist camp consists not only in its economic might, but in the monolithic unity of the peoples of the socialist states, in their fraternal friendship and cooperation. Socialist nations build their mutual relations on the principle of a full equality of rights, on a respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, and on noninterference in the internal affairs of others. But these principles do not exhaust the entire essence of the mutual relations between them. An inalienable part of their mutual relations is fraternal mutual aid, in which are manifested the principles of socialist internationalism.

Embodied in this fraternal mutual aid of the socialist nations is a new type of international relations, peculiar only to the socialist world. The cooperation and mutual aid of the peoples of the socialist camp, side by side with the defense of socialist attainments and the territorial integrity of their nations from the encroachments of the imperialists, has as its aim the strengthening of the power of the socialist camp and the facilitating of a general upsurge in their economy and culture and, on this basis, the all-possible improvement of the material and cultural level of the workers. A component part of this mutual aid is the rendering of aid to nations saddled with a backward economy as their inheritance from capitalism, so that these can catch up with the leading socialist states as quickly as possible, in order to permit all socialist nations to emerge into the higher phase of a communist society more or less simultaneously.

A different picture may be observed in the imperialist camp. The defection from the capitalist system of a number of nations of Europe and Asia, and their entrance upon the socialist path of development, has led to a sharp narrowing of the sphere of domination of imperialism, and has deprived the capitalist nations of important sources of raw material, markets for the sale of their products, and spheres for the investment of capital, which cannot help but bring about a deepening of the general crisis of the entire capitalist system. The defection from capitalism of new states, and the formation of a world socialist system is the principal feature of this second phase in the general crisis of capitalism, which began during World War II.

The situation of the world capitalist system after World War II also became considerably complicated as a result of the fact that, in the colonial and dependent nations, there developed a mighty national liberation movement, which raised the question of the complete liquidation of the colonial system of imperialism.

In the postwar years, in addition to the great Chinese people and the peoples of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, over 700,000,000 persons have cast off colonial enslavement. As a result of a persistent struggle against imperialism, the peoples of Indonesia, India, Burma, Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, the Sudan, Iraq, Morocco, Tunis, Ghana, Guinea, and other nations have won their freedom. Still remaining in colonial enslavement are about 150,000,000 people, who are waging a tenacious struggle for freedom and independence.

The two greatest processes taking place in the political life of peoples after World War II--the victorious procession of socialism and the unprecedented (both in scale and force) national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries--stepped up sharply the collapse of imperialism. Of tremendous influence in speeding up the collapse of the imperialist system is the further building up of contradictions between the capitalist nations and between the capitalist governments themselves.

In the postwar years the exploitation of the working class and the lowering of the standard of living of the workers of capitalist nations have increased sharply. In the period from 1950 through 1958 alone, the cost of living in the Federal Republic of Germany rose by 19%, in France by 57%, in Great Britain by 47%, and in the United States by 20%. The scourge of the workers of the capitalist nations is mass unemployment, depriving the families of the unemployed of a crust of bread. According to official figures, the percentage of unemployed at the beginning of 1959 was: in Canada, 8.9%; Italy, 8.9%; Belgium, 7.2%; United States, 6.1%; and West Germany, 5.6% of the entire gainfully employed population. In connection with this, the struggle of the working class against the capitalist yoke is becoming ever more active and persistent, with the number of strikes rising, and with the proletariat speaking out ever more decisively on basic political questions.

The bourgeoisie are doing everything possible in order to destroy the political and social victories of the workers, won in prolonged and persistent struggle. In a number of countries, the Communist parties have been outlawed, the rights of trade unions curtailed, and laws introduced forbidding strikes. But all of these measures, directed against the working class, are not producing and cannot produce the desired results. The proletariat of the capitalist nations, led by the Communist and workers' parties, is carrying on a persistent struggle for its vital rights, for democratic freedoms and peace, and for socialism. Despite the persecution and repression, the influence of the Communist and workers' parties on the broad masses is increasing ever more. Whereas on the eve of World War II there were 4,000,000 persons in the ranks of Communist and workers' parties, some 33,000,000 Communists are now struggling under the banner of Marxism-Leninism throughout the entire world.

The economic struggle between capitalist nations for supply markets and for spheres of influence is flaring up with even greater force at the present time. The USA, which became stronger during the war and the postwar period, is losing its monopoly over the world capitalist market as a consequence of the growing opposition of other nations, primarily Great Britain, but also West Germany, France, and Japan. Thus capitalism is steadfastly moving to encounter new economic and social shocks.

Capitalists are going all out in seeking to avert the inexorable process of the weakening and collapse of the imperialist system. To this end, a monstrous arms race is being conducted, all types of aggressive blocs and alliances--aimed against the socialist nations--are being formed, a "cold war" policy is being waged, and a course drawn which is bent on the suppression of the workers', democratic, and national liberation movements. For the sake of preserving their domination and their profits, the imperialists are prepared for the most monstrous of crimes against mankind, up to and including starting a new world war in which nuclear weapons would be used.

How can we avoid war?

The XX Party Congress, in formulizing its thesis on the possibility of preventing a new world war under modern conditions, has answered this question. It pointed out the unprecedented growth of the forces of peace in the postwar period. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that, with the development of human society, an ever-increasing number of people are drawn into conscious historical activity, and their activities are beginning to have an ever-greater influence upon the course of historical events. The XX Congress emphasized that, right now, when the mighty camp of socialism has made its appearance and is being strengthened, the struggle of the peace-loving social and political forces can play a decisive role in preventing war.

Personification of the conscious, active beginning in the struggle to avoid war, is the peace-loving foreign policy of the nations of the camp of socialism. Possessing almost a billion people and rich resources, the camp of socialism possesses material strength sufficient to dampen the aggressive, feeble impulses of anyone seeking to violate the peace. The camp of socialism is exercising decisive influence on international relations, directing them into the path of peaceful development. It represents an inviolable bulwark of peace, a new factor in international relations such as history has never before known. "The fortune of mankind lies in the fact," N. S. Khrushchev said at the 31 October 1959 session of the Supreme Soviet USSR, "that in our time the great scientific discoveries and technical achievements of the world were uncovered and are being developed rapidly by a socialist system, with a striving for peace inherent in socialism. The more rapidly the forces of the socialist nations grow, the greater the possibilities for the retention and the strengthening of peace." (See N. S. Khrushchev, O mezhdunarodnom polozhenii i vneshney politike Sovetskogo Soyuza, Doklad na Tret'vey sessii Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR [The International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union. A Report to the Third Session of the Supreme Soviet USSR], Moscow, State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1959, p 6.)

The forces of peace have grown significantly in connection with the appearance on the world scene of a group of peace-loving states which have declared nonparticipation in military blocs a principle of their foreign policy. To such nations belong, first of all, the majority of the new states of Asia and Africa, which have been formed as the result of the victorious conclusion of the liberation struggle against colonialism. They consider, and justly, that their inclusion in aggressive military blocs and in the merry-go-round of arms races will not only interfere in the strengthening of their political independence and economic construction, but will lead, inescapably, to the restoration of the former colonial regime under a new mask.

As a result of this, there has been formed on the international scene a broad zone of peace, including both nations of the socialist camp as well as nonsocialist nations adhering to a peace-loving foreign policy. This zone encompasses a tremendous area of the earth's sphere and the majority of the people on our planet.

The workers' movement within the capitalist nations has now become a tremendous force. A policy of militarism is inherently foreign and profoundly inimical to the working class. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class, expressing the basic interests of the workers, have declared the struggle for avoiding war their paramount task.

Finally, the partisans of the peace movement, which is now the broadest and most massive movement of modern times, uniting hundreds of millions of people regardless of their political views and convictions, reached an historically unprecedented scale following World War

II. Under conditions in which the destructive force of military equipment has reached the point where entire states can be wiped from the face of the earth, all peoples are struggling for peace and against the danger of war with even greater determination.

Imperialist reaction, frightened by the growth of the movement for peace, is doing everything possible to weaken the might of this movement. Its agents are resorting to various subterfuges for this purpose, are seeking to raise doubts among the masses as to the struggle for peace, and to sow an attitude of fatalistic doom and pessimism. Opinions are disseminated whose essence boils down to this: that the mass of people of the capitalist nations cannot play a significant role in the struggle for peace, inasmuch as problems of war and peace in the nations of the imperialist camp are decided by the governments, which express the interests of the exploiting classes.

But history demonstrates that the struggle of the working class and other social forces against imperialist wars has more than once presented a serious obstacle to the military adventures of the aggressors. Serving as an example of this might be the declarations made by workers of the entire world under the slogan of "Hands Off the Soviet Union!," which played an important role in cutting short the imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union. And this was at a time when the forces and means directed against war were yielding to the forces and means of aggression. Under today's situation, the significance of the struggle of the masses against war has increased immeasurably; the role of the international movement in the defense of peace would be difficult to overestimate.

After World War II, the imperialists started over 10 "small" wars (Korea, Vietnam, Suez, etc.), but thanks to the resolute struggle of the socialist camp and of all peace-loving forces for the maintenance of peace, the efforts of the aggressive forces to kindle the flame of a new world war came to naught.

The growth in the forces of peace is the logical and natural process of the social development of our time. This process finds clear embodiment in the further strengthening of the might of the world socialist system, in the world-wide historical achievements of its competition with the world capitalist system, which will facilitate, to a tremendous degree, the fulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR over the period 1959-1965, as adopted by the XXI Party Congress, as well as fulfillment of the national economic plans of other socialist states. As a result of the realization of these plans by 1965 or perhaps earlier than that, the socialist economic system will produce over one half of the world's industrial production. Thus will the superiority of the world socialist system over that of the world capitalist system be realized in that most decisive sphere of man's activity--material production.

This will be a victory of world historical importance for socialism in its peaceful economic competition with capitalism, a victory which the great Lenin envisaged back in the first days of the Soviet state's existence. It will lead to a new radical change in the correlation of forces on the international scene, to the further growth of the forces of peace and the weakening of the forces of war. Proceeding from an analysis of these changes, the XXI Party Congress, confirming the correctness of the thesis formulated by the XX Congress of the absence of a fatal inevitability of war, introduced a new thesis to the effect that from the moment the world socialist system surpasses the world capitalist system in material production, there will be born the real possibility of excluding world war from the life of society as a means for resolving international problems, even prior to the complete victory of socialism on earth and through the retention of capitalism in part of the world.

The conclusions of the XX and XXI Party Congresses on the possibility of avoiding war at the present time, and of its exclusion from the life of society in the very near future, is a further expansion of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the actualness of the struggle for the confirmation of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. They provide an optimistic and strictly scientific prospect for all peace-loving forces speaking out against war. Of extremely practical significance, side by side with this, is the conclusion drawn by the XX Party Congress and expanded in the speeches of N. S. Khrushchev since that Congress, that the peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist systems, in our time, has become an historical necessity and a real fact.

Taking into consideration the unfolding correlation of forces on the international scene and the level which military technology has reached in its development, Marxist-Leninist science notes that under present conditions there is no other path for the development of relations between states with differing social and political systems save peaceful coexistence. "There are only two paths," N. S. Khrushchev declared at the XX Party Congress, "either peaceful coexistence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third path." (See N. S. Khrushchev, Otchetnyy doklad Tsentral'nogo Komiteta Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza XX s"yezda partii [Regular Report of the Central Committee CPSU to the XX Party Congress], Moscow, State Publishing House of Political Literature, 1956, p. 39.)

The camp of socialism and all peace-loving peoples do not want war, and so far as they have the opportunity to decide the fate of the world, then the only real path to follow in international relations remains that of peaceful coexistence alone.

But the existence of political forces and the material means capable of preventing war does not at all mean that we can rest upon our laurels. The militant imperialist circles of the Western powers, who are interested in war, have not as yet put aside their schemes. In

their hands are considerable material force, plus political and military levers, and there is no guarantee therefore that they will not bring these into action and will not start a war. The XXI Party Congress emphasized with full force the fact that "at the present time the possibility of war being started by imperialism still exists, and we should not underestimate the danger of war. All socialist nations and all peace-loving forces should therefore maintain great vigilance, and step up their struggle for the retention of peace." (See Materialy vneocherednogo XX s"ezda KPSS [Materials on the Extraordinary XXI Party Congress, Moscow, State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1959, p. 158.]

To the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union--the mightiest power of the socialist camp--belongs the most important role in the struggle for the maintenance of peace and confirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR is no fortuitous phenomenon in the life of the Soviet people, predicated on some sort of diplomatic concepts or on the economic and military weakness of the Soviet Union. Our motherland is one of the strongest powers of the world, economically and politically. The peaceableness of the Soviet Union stems from the internal nature of the USSR's triumphant social structure, and is conditioned by the action of the basic economic law of socialism, the principal feature of which is satisfaction of the constantly increasing requirements of its entire society through the uninterrupted and rapid development of socialist production on the basis of advanced techniques.

Destroyed forever in the Soviet Union are those causes and premises which, under capitalist conditions, lead to war and the conducting of an aggressive policy. The economic basis of the USSR is the socialist system of economy and socialist ownership of the means of production. In distinction from capitalist nations, the Soviet Union does not have the social classes and social groups which would be interested in war as a source of profit, thanks to the destruction of the exploiting classes.

The Soviet Union has no need to seize the lands of others. It possesses tremendous territory and great resources of useful mineral deposits. The planned conduct of its economy and the uninterrupted improvement in the solvent demands of urban and rural workers facilitate a normal supply of manufactured goods. Eliminated from the Soviet Union are those principles which give rise to inescapable economic crises in capitalist nations--a way out of which the bourgeoisie continues to seek, as a rule, through foreign political adventures.

Thanks to the successful realization of the Leninist policy on nationalities, the peoples of the Soviet Union have created an example of fraternal friendship and cooperation among themselves hitherto unknown to history, and have thus eliminated forever the policy which, under capitalism, builds up the prosperity of the economically and

militarily stronger states through the oppression of weaker states, and through destruction of the national independence of other peoples.

On the international scene, the USSR is incapable of conducting any policy other than a policy of peace and cooperation between all peoples of the world, and recognition of the right of every one of them to an independent state existence and noninterference in their internal affairs. The Soviet people also need peace because they can build a Communist society, develop their economy, and increase their material and cultural level only under a durable peace.

New confirmation of the peace-loving aspirations of the Soviet Union is to be found in the adoption and introduction at the present time of a Seven-Year Plan, whose peaceful bent even the enemies of Communism cannot help but notice. R. Nixon, Vice-President of the United States, after having visited our nation, admits that "the resoluteness of the Soviet Union in seeking a better and richer life is cause for great hope," because "such a life can thrive only under conditions of peace and mutual cooperation between nations and peoples" (Pravda, 10 December 1959). The policy of peaceful coexistence being conducted by the socialist nations is receiving the ever greater acknowledgment of the peoples. It found its expression, in particular, in the proclamation in June 1954, by the prime ministers of the Korean People's Republic and India, of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, subsequently supported by 29 Asian and African nations at a conference in Bandung held in April 1955.

Events of recent months demonstrate that, among the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, there can be noted a certain shifting towards recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence, as witnessed by a recent speech made by C. Herter, the U. S. Secretary of State.

This recognition signifies that peace between nations on the basis of the peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism, proposed by the great Lenin and so steadfastly refused by the imperialist powers over the course of a prolonged period of time, now has become an historical necessity because of the tremendous achievements of world socialism.

Comrade N. S. Khrushchev pointed out at the Third Session of the Supreme Soviet USSR that "peaceful coexistence in our time has become an actual fact, and not some sort of request or wish. It is an objective necessity stemming from the situation in the world today, from the present stage in the development of human society. The two chief social systems which now exist on earth both possess weapons which would have fatal consequences were they to be put to use. He who now speaks of nonrecognition of peaceful coexistence and argues against it, is actually speaking out for war." (See N. S. Khrushchev, O mezhdunarodnom polozenii i vneshney politike Sovetskogo Soyuza. Doklad na tret'ey sessii Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR [The International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union]. A Report to the Third Session of

the Supreme Soviet USSR, Moscow, State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1959, pp. 7-8.)

If the peaceful coexistence of the socialist system with the capitalist system in our time has become an historical necessity, then on what basis is its realization possible? The XX and XXI Party Congresses answered that question, pointing out that the sole correct basis is not to resort to war as a means of solving international problems, not to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations for the purpose of changing their political and economic structure as well as ideological views, and to develop cooperation on the basis of peaceful economic competition. The essence of these theses, in short, boils down to this: we must coexist on a reasonable basis while creating the conditions for coexistence in accordance with a principle "according to which each nation would select for itself and borrow from his neighbor that which it itself thinks it needs, without any pressure of any kind" (ibid., p. 8).

Achievement of these principles of the coexistence of states with differing social and political systems urgently requires that an end be put to the "cold war," that normal good-neighbor relations between socialist and capitalist nations be strived for, and that there be eliminated from international relations everything which the "cold war" gave birth to and which creates the threat of an armed clash.

The Soviet Government is decisively and persistently introducing its Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, opening the way to peace between states, mutual understanding, consideration of the interests of one another, and to wise mutual concessions and compromises.

All the world knows the practical steps taken by the Soviet Union in the interest of mollifying international tension. In the past 1 1/2 years alone the Government of the USSR has introduced such proposals as the proposal to cease nuclear weapon tests, the creation of an atom-free zone, the liquidation of the consequences of World War II through the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, the calling of a conference of heads of state to review the more pressing international problems, and universal and total disarmament. Much has been done to improve the Soviet state's relations with the largest capitalist nations--the United States, Great Britain, and France, thanks to which the first cracks appeared in the ice of the "cold war." A particular important and far-reaching step in the direction of a radical improvement in relations between the USSR and the United States and the general lessening of international tension, was the visit to the United States of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers USSR. The exchange of opinions between N. S. Khrushchev and President Eisenhower on a number of important international questions brought about a certain degree of mutual understanding, rapprochement of points of view in the evaluation of the developing situation as a whole, in the approach to certain specifically important questions, and in the recognition of the need to improve relations between the USSR and the USA. Of great

significance was the putting down into a communique of the joint point of view of N. S. Khrushchev and Eisenhower that unresolved international problems should be resolved not through resort to arms, but through peaceful means, through talks. In such a way, the ruling circles of the United States officially agreed with the principle which the Soviet Government has always espoused.

In the course of his visit throughout the country, comrade N. S. Khrushchev brought to the consciousness of the American people the great truth of the great socialist power. He earnestly exhorted the people to fight unstintingly for peace and peaceful coexistence, and to develop friendship and cooperation between the United States and the USSR. The historical significance of the Chairman's trip to the United States lies in the fact that there is now being cleared a path for an about-face in Soviet-American relations on the basis of mutual understanding, peace, and cooperation. Since the relations between the two largest world powers are of tremendous significance for international relations as a whole, this step serves to create the premises for the triumph of the principle of peaceful coexistence throughout the entire world.

Worthy of the warm support of people in all nations of the world was the proposal on universal and total disarmament introduced by N. S. Khrushchev in the name of the Soviet Government for the consideration of the United Nations. The problem of disarmament is the problem of problems of modern times, and upon its resolution lies the future of mankind. Were the Soviet proposal to be adopted, peaceful coexistence would be firmly secured, new possibilities would be uncovered for the development of economic, trade, and cultural ties, and new possibilities would appear for the regulation of many, now seemingly unresolvable, international problems.

The imperialist prophets of the "from a position of strength" and "cold war" policies, whose aim is the sowing of doubt in the minds of the peoples about the need for peaceful coexistence, state that coexistence under the conditions proposed by the Soviet Union and other socialist states is unrealistic, because it does not call for cessation of the ideological struggle.

Actually, the principle of the peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism does not signify an end to the ideological struggle between them, because we are speaking not of the coexistence of states with identical social systems, but of the coexistence of states with two diametrically opposed social systems, each of which expresses the interests of various social classes: the socialist system personifies the interests of the working class, while the capitalist system represents the interests of the class of bourgeoisie. Going on between these classes is an implacable struggle, both within the capitalist nations as well as on the international scene--between the two social systems. This struggle encompasses all aspects of life: economic, political, and ideological, and is the chief substance of the historical

era we are living in. The struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie was not invented by anyone; it is the natural law of social development, has existed since the appearance of a capitalist society, and will continue to exist until that society is completely destroyed. The dispute between the two systems, which began from the moment the October Revolution was successful in our nation, has not been ended but is at the apogee of its development, and will continue until the time socialism replaces capitalism throughout our entire planet. "Our struggle for peaceful coexistence," N. S. Khrushchev said in a speech to the Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on 1 December 1959, "for a lasting and durable peace is linked inescapably with the defense of the great victories of socialism."

"We have spoken out for, and shall continue to speak out for, the resolution of all controversial or unresolved questions dealing with relations between states in a peaceful manner and through talks. We have sought for and shall continue to seek in the future such paths as would be acceptable to both capitalist and socialist states in resolving controversial questions in order to avert war. But, of course, we shall never yield our ideological principles. We are waging and shall continue to wage an irreconcilable struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideology, for the triumph of the highest ideals of Communism" (Pravda, 2 December 1959).

This does not mean that the socialist states are striving for the destruction of capitalism in order to aid "the export of revolution," as bourgeois propaganda likes to spout forth on the subject. The idea of the "export of revolution" is foreign to Marxism-Leninism. Lenin wrote: "Such a 'theory' would be a complete break with Marxism, which has always refuted the 'pushing' of revolutions which have arisen through the maturing of the sharpness of class contradictions which give birth to revolutions" (V. I. Lenin, Sochineniya [Works], Vol. 27, p 49).

No less strange therefore are the requests made by representatives of the bourgeois world towards nations of the socialist camp that they provide a "guarantee" against the dissemination of Communist ideas in capitalist nations.

Communist and workers' parties would be betraying the working class and the great struggle for Communism were they to repudiate their ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The importance of the defense of the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideology at the present time has particularly increased, because bourgeois ideology as well as representatives of Right Socialist opportunism and modern revisionism are seeking to utilize the lessening of international tension to distort the position of socialist nations on questions of principle involved in the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. They have invented a "theory" about the "organic rapprochement" and "increasing resemblance" between states with socialist and

capitalist structures, about the smoothing over of the differences in the class nature of both systems in the period of their coexistence, etc. Behind all these "theoretical" contrivances are concealed the hopes of certain circles regarding the possibility of changing the social structure in socialist nations, as well as calculations that peaceful coexistence will lead to a weakening of the camp of socialism. Such "theoreticians" should remind themselves that the process of history cannot be turned back, and that their hopes for a change in the social structure in the USSR and in other socialist nations are groundless.

Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, speaking to the National Press Club on 16 September 1959 during his visit to the United States, declared:

"The Soviet Union stands for the development of relations between nations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. These principles were willed to us by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin--the great founder of the Soviet state. We are faithful to those principles. We think that differences in world outlook should not spoil relations between nations. Close economic and cultural ties should be introduced between all nations. This will enable nations and their state figures to better know and to better understand one another. It will facilitate the establishment of mutual faith and peaceful cooperation." (See Zhit' v mire i druzhbe! Prebyvaniye Predsedatelya Soveta Ministrov SSSR N. S. Khrushcheva v SShA 15-27 Sentyabrya 1959 g. ["Live in Peace and Friendship!" The Visit of N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers USSR, to the United States, 15-27 September 1959], Moscow, State Publishing House for Political Literature, 1959, p 70.)

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Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union, of the entire socialist camp and of all peace-loving peoples, the dangerous policy of "cold war" at the present time, under the pressures of life itself, is clearly beginning to yield, gradually giving place to the wise policy of peaceful competition and cooperation between states. Thanks to the strengthening of the peace-loving forces in the world, a situation has been created in which it is possible to speak of the actual possibility of securing a stable peace on earth, of the possibility of entirely excluding war as a means for the resolution of disputes between states.

The chief credit for this belongs to the world socialist system--the inviolable support of peace throughout the entire world. The peoples of the entire world see in its strengthening and development the chief guarantee of the liberation of mankind from the danger of a destructive catastrophe.

Becoming true are the prophetic words of those great teachers of the international working class, K. Marx and F. Engels, that "in contrast with the old society, with its economic poverty and political folly, there is arising a new society, whose international principle will be peace, because every people will have one and the same sovereign --labor!" (K. Marx and F. Engels, Sochineniya [Works], Vol. XIII, Part II, p. 9).

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