

broken with the theory of the class struggle and have slipped into a position of right-wing opportunism.⁴⁸

Under Khrushchev, the concepts of genuine negotiation and mutual compromise took on a whole new meaning and acquired a new legitimacy. Compromise was viewed not as a product of temporary weakness but as an inescapable feature of the relations between sovereign states. Different states unavoidably had different interests, and the only way they could peacefully exist together was through a process of mutual given-and-take. In the words of Khrushchev:

To put it bluntly, under peaceful coexistence states must meet each other halfway in the interest of peace. The peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems in itself assumes elements of mutual concessions and mutual consideration of interests, since otherwise normal relations cannot be built among states.⁴⁹

The argument was made that through a process of negotiation, the Soviet Union could advance shared interests, especially if it was dealing with "far-sighted" representatives of the moderate wing of the bourgeoisie. In such a process, it was perfectly permissible to make concessions on matters which were more important to the other side than to oneself, in return for reciprocal concessions which promoted one's own paramount interests. Thus, the tactical, manipulative element in the Soviet view of negotiations was greatly reduced.

The significance of these innovations was further enhanced by bringing them together in a newly expanded doctrine of peaceful coexistence. Khrushchev thus became the founder and creator of the contemporary Soviet conception of peaceful coexistence, something that Soviet spokesmen are presently unable to acknowledge (be-

⁴⁸ D. Chesnokov, "Rech' I. V. Stalina na XIX s'ezde kommunistichskoi partii Sovetskogo Soiuza," *Kommunist*, 1953, No. 2, p. 22.

⁴⁹ *C.D.S.P.*, XI, No. 44, 1959, p. 4.