

traditional Leninist doctrine provided a rationale for the cynical manipulation of the less powerful capitalist states to turn them *against* the leading imperialist power of the day, Khrushchev was elaborating, for the first time in Soviet history, a clear argument on behalf of long-term co-operation *with* the world's most powerful capitalist state. This represented a major transformation in the Soviet worldview.

In keeping with this innovative perspective, the whole process of negotiation between East and West was viewed in a new light. Previously, under Lenin and Stalin, the concepts of "compromise" and "concession" had a strong pejorative connotation. They implied weakness and inferiority. Lenin argued that a skilled revolutionary, just like an experienced general, had to know when to retreat, when to avoid battle, and when to give way before the greater strength of his opponent. Under such circumstances, concessions to the enemy were perfectly permissible. But for Lenin and Stalin, such compromises were always regarded as forced concessions dictated by temporary weakness. They were tactical manoeuvres to gain time, to avoid defeat by superior forces, and to utilize contradictions within the enemy camp. They had no real legitimacy. They did not reflect any common interests, and they were to be renounced as soon as the Soviet Union's temporary weakness had been overcome.

There was little room for meaningful diplomacy in the Stalinist view of the world. It was not believed that there were any misconceptions which could be erased by open discussion, or that there were significant common interests which could be enlarged by patient negotiation. At times, a very temporary conjunction of interests might allow a modicum of co-operation, but this could not last very long or go very deep. Above all, one must never have any illusions about the class-hatred of the enemy. In the words of one of Stalin's leading ideologists, which were published just a few months before Stalin's death:

Leninism teaches that it is impossible to "appease" the imperialists by tiny concessions as is suggested by various kinds of liberals who have