

cause of his fall from grace in 1964) and that many Western observers even now fail to appreciate fully. It is true, of course, that the term peaceful coexistence had been used on occasion by Soviet officials since the earliest days of the regime. However, prior to Khrushchev, it never enjoyed any great prominence and it lacked any real operative significance for the conduct of Soviet foreign policy.

Under Stalin, the meaning attached to the term peaceful coexistence was sharply limited and tightly circumscribed. Peaceful coexistence meant no more than an armed truce, the absence for the moment of war between two deeply antagonistic social systems. It did not imply the possibility — or even the desirability — of meaningful co-operation between East and West.

It was this restricted conception of peaceful coexistence that Khrushchev explicitly criticized at the Twentieth Party Congress. He stated: "We believe that countries with differing social systems can do more than exist side by side. It is necessary to proceed further, to improve relations, strengthen confidence among countries and cooperate."<sup>50</sup> Later Soviet commentaries developed this line of thought further. An editorial published in *Kommunist* in 1957 enthusiastically declared:

For them [the Soviet people] this Leninist principle [peaceful coexistence] is the general line of foreign policy. Coexistence is not only the absence of war between the two systems, but also peaceful economic competition between them and constructive cooperation in the regions of economics, politics, and culture. The Socialist states proceed on the basis that given contemporary conditions it is fully possible to work out a concrete and real program of broad economic cooperation between the two systems, including the expansion of trade, joint assistance to aid the industrialization of the underdeveloped nations, the accomplishment of joint projects for the transformation of nature, etc.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, No. 4, 1956, p. 11.

<sup>51</sup> "Leninskii kurs na mirnoe sosushchestvovanie," (editorial), *Kommunist*, 1957, No. 11, p. 5.