

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN BY W. H. B. ...

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

A BRIEF REVIEW
1955-65



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS
Moscow 1967

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FIRST PRINTING 1967

ВНЕШНЯЯ ПОЛИТИКА СССР

На английском языке

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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INTRODUCTION

This book contains a popular account of the principal Soviet acts of foreign policy in the post-war period. It is meant for the general reader and does not lay claim to being an exhaustive investigation of any international problems. The writers devoted themselves mostly to elucidating the Soviet Union's struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for the triumph of socialism, for the national liberation and the sovereign rights of the peoples, for enduring peace and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The second Russian edition, of which this is a translation, appeared in 1965. New, very important events have taken place in the world since its writing, which are naturally omitted. The intenseness of international life is one of the distinctive features of our time. This is quite understandable. The spread of socialist and communist ideas, the immense scale of the national liberation movement, the sharpening of class contradictions in the capitalist countries and other relevant socio-political processes which unfolded in rapid succession have had a strong bearing on the development of international relations. Furthermore, the number of states, the subjects of international relations, is increasing continuously in our time. Today, more than 120 states, twice as many as in the early years after the war, participate to one extent or another in world affairs. Last but not least, modern communications have made the establishment and development of all sorts of contacts between states considerably easier.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ranks among the most important events that influ-

enced life in the Soviet Union and its foreign policy in the past twelve months. The Congress evidenced that the Leninist foreign policy of the USSR is steady and unshakable, and that the line of the CPSU in foreign affairs is consistent and faithful to principle. The scientifically realistic approach of the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government to the complex developments of international life, the persevering and insistent efforts to resolve the external political tasks of the Soviet state paved the way to a further consolidation of the Soviet Union's international contacts and its greater prestige in the modern world.

The Congress stressed that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is centred, together with that of the other socialist countries, on securing peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism; on cementing the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, of their friendship and fraternity; on supporting liberation and revolutionary movements, on the development of solidarity and all-round co-operation with the young developing countries; on promoting the principles of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems; on repulsing the aggressive imperialist forces and delivering mankind from a new world war.

Lately, the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government have been concentrating more of their attention on the economic development of the USSR, proceeding from a scientific analysis and taking into account the objective laws governing economic development. The recent Soviet measures of improving economic management are a fresh projection of the Leninist principles of socialist construction, based on a combination of material incentives to individuals and on the strong public-mindedness of the Soviet people. The new Soviet five-year economic development plan for 1966-70, adopted by the 23rd Congress, is to secure a big advance in communist construction. This plan provides for a rapid uplift of social production, for its greater efficiency, securing a further considerable expansion of industry, greater productivity of labour, high and stable rates of agricultural development and, by this token, a substantial rise of the living standard in the Soviet Union.

In these five years, the aggregate Soviet social product is to increase by 40 per cent, the main production facilities

by more than 50 per cent, the national income by 38-41 per cent, and the real income per head of population by 30 per cent. In 1970, the Soviet Union will produce approximately 840-850 thousand million kwh of electric power, 345-355 million tons of oil, 124-129 million tons of steel, 62-65 million tons of mineral fertiliser, 7.5-7.7 million television sets and 5.3-5.6 million domestic refrigerators. The grain output will increase 30 per cent.

Absence of war is the principal condition for the effective progress of communist construction. Yet the likelihood of a war has increased of late. The rulers of the United States, and their allies, have greatly strained the international situation. The big offensive launched by the imperialists against the forces of democracy and socialism is highlighted by the aggressive war the United States is waging against the people of Vietnam, and by its escalation, by the interference of US imperialism in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic and other Latin American countries, by the dogged imperialist efforts to split the anti-imperialist front of the peoples, by the efforts to impair the solidarity of the peace-loving forces in various regions of the world, etc. Mankind could well have been plunged into the abyss of war by now if the forces of imperialist aggression were not restrained by the might of the Soviet Union, all the socialist countries and other peace-loving states, and by the consistently peaceful Soviet foreign policy. As heretofore; all the acts of Soviet foreign policy in 1965 and 1966 were prompted by the wish to avert a war and reinforce the security of nations. At the 20th UN General Assembly, the Soviet Government submitted two important projects dealing with the two most urgent problems of contemporary international affairs. The first was a draft for a Declaration on the Impermissibility of Interference in the Internal Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty. The project urged the General Assembly to issue an earnest call to all states forthwith to cease, and in future refrain from, any actions representing armed or any other interference in the internal affairs of other states, and any other actions aimed against the righteous struggle of peoples for national independence and freedom. It called on "all states to take guidance in their international relations in the principle of mutual respect and non-interfer-

ence in internal affairs for any motive, whether economic, political or ideological". The Soviet project was a reassertion in more specific terms of the United Nations Charter provisions obliging UN members to refrain in their international dealings from the threat or use of force and prohibiting any and all interference in the internal affairs of states. The stipulations of the Soviet project were also consistent with the decisions of the non-aligned countries, including the states of Asia and Africa, passed at the Bandung, Belgrade and Cairo conferences and aimed against the imperialist policy of interference and aggression.

The ideas contained in the projected Soviet declaration flowed from the very essence of socialist foreign policy. They drew on a realistic appreciation of the processes unfolding in the world today and on the chief trends observed in the foreign policy of the imperialist states, primarily the United States. The Soviet project won overwhelming support in the United Nations, and 57 Asian, African and Latin American countries became co-authors of its final text which was passed by a vast majority vote.

The other important project submitted by the Soviet Government to the 20th UN General Assembly was the draft of a Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Although the non-proliferation problem is by no means new, it has been made more complicated recently by the larger number of countries capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons, and still more so by the intention of the Western powers to create a NATO nuclear force in which the West German revenge-seekers, who are clamouring for an armed revision of the map of Europe, are to have a front seat.

The Soviet non-proliferation treaty draft stipulated that states possessing nuclear weapons should undertake to refrain from putting these weapons in any shape or form—directly or indirectly, through third parties or groups of states—into the possession or at the disposal of states or groups of states that do not possess nuclear weapons, and to refrain from granting these states or groups of states the right to participate in the possession, disposal or use of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union suggested that signatories to the treaty who do not possess nuclear weapons should, for their part,

undertake not to develop, manufacture or prepare for the manufacture of nuclear weapons either on their own or in collaboration with other states, either in their own territory or in the territory of other countries, and not to seek access to nuclear weapons in any shape or form—directly or indirectly, through third parties or groups of states.

The nearly four-weeks-long discussion at the 20th General Assembly proved that the Soviet initiative was fruitful. It was backed by more than 90 UN member-countries. The General Assembly passed a resolution urging all governments to expedite the conclusion of an international treaty without such loopholes as could enable "nuclear or non-nuclear powers to disseminate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form".

New important proposals designed to firm up international security, were also submitted by the Soviet Government to the 21st UN General Assembly. Due to the fact that the Western powers, primarily the United States, are seeking to defy the clearly expressed recommendations of the 20th General Assembly and secure loopholes in the non-proliferation treaty for ultimate access to nuclear weapons of non-nuclear NATO member-countries, above all the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet Government proposed that the 21st General Assembly appeal to all states to abandon actions impeding agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the Soviet Union submitted drafts of resolutions concerning the implementation of the declarations on non-interference and the dismantlement of foreign war bases in the Asian, African and Latin American countries, which are purposed to promote practical measures easing international tension.

It is one of the prime tasks of Soviet foreign policy to strengthen the socialist community, the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Relations between the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have become much more lively of late, marked by earnest discussions of matters of mutual interest. Shed of fanfare and ostentation, Soviet contacts with the socialist countries have helped to analyse the current situation objectively and exhaustively, to surmount difficulties encountered in the process of socialist

construction, and to resolve all problems in the interest of the socialist community as a whole, as well as that of each individual socialist country, on a basis of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. In the course of 1966, Party, Government and parliamentary delegations headed by leaders of the CPSU and top Soviet statesmen visited nearly all the socialist countries. For their part, delegations of many socialist countries visited the Soviet Union. In their talks, the Party leaders and statesmen devoted much of their attention to co-ordinating the foreign policy of the socialist states. For all the complex and contradictory nature of contemporary international relations, they have borne out convincingly that the foreign policy and diplomacy of the socialist countries plays an immense role as an active and independent factor of world politics. The leaders of the socialist countries also discussed further co-operation, expansion of friendly contacts, a wide range of international questions and the situation in the world communist movement.

Facing up to the fresh aggressive gambles of the imperialists, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries devoted due attention to military co-operation and took measures to reinforce their defence potential. The Bucharest conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty countries in July 1966 highlighted a fresh expansion of co-operation among the socialist countries. The conference made an exhaustive analysis of the prevailing world situation and framed a set of concrete proposals whose implementation could have a most favourable effect on the future of mankind.

Important negotiations between Soviet statesmen and the leaders of many Asian and African countries took place in 1965 and 1966. Pride of place at these parleys went to tasks prompted by social developments, such as the further consolidation of the revolutionary forces of our time in the struggle against US aggression, against imperialism and colonialism of all shapes, and against racism, that offspring of the man-hating ideology of imperialism. In reference to the US aggression in Vietnam, which is a grave threat to peace, a joint Soviet-Egyptian communique said in the autumn of 1965: "Both sides declare that the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has got to cease forth-

with and the 1954 Geneva Agreements have got to be observed."

In extending their contacts with the African and Asian leaders, Soviet statesmen attach great importance to the role of the newly free countries in current international relations. In the interest of the common struggle against imperialism, Soviet diplomacy studies the proposals and recommendations of the independent Asian, African and Latin American countries most closely, and accepts them frequently as a groundwork for further negotiations. On many occasions, Soviet representatives at international organisations and conferences withdrew their own proposals and agreed to amendments or compromise projects submitted by independent Asian, African or Latin American countries on the assumption that the passage of the compromise proposal will, in the final analysis, serve the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. At the 20th General Assembly, for example, the Soviet Union backed the resolution co-authored by the United Arab Republic, India, Burma, Mexico, Ethiopia, Nigeria and a few other non-aligned countries, calling on the 18-Nation UN Disarmament Committee to expedite "the negotiation of an international treaty banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons".

The Soviet Union is a convinced supporter of African unity and Afro-Asian solidarity. It favours the idea of convening a second Afro-Asian conference of heads of state or government, which would reaffirm and develop the principles adopted at the 1955 Bandung Conference and, moreover, work out a joint Afro-Asian platform in relation to the more important contemporary international issues. The Soviet Union announced its readiness to participate in the conference and to work in every way for its success. The preparations for the conference and the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of 45 states in late October and early November 1965 in Algiers, revealed that the overwhelming majority of the Afro-Asian states attaches great importance to co-operation with the Soviet Union in safeguarding the freedom and independence of the peoples and in maintaining world security. The question of the Soviet Union's participation in the Afro-Asian conference was viewed in a positive light at the Foreign Ministers' meeting. The

Soviet Government treated with understanding the decision of the Foreign Ministers to postpone the conference, considering that the time of the conference has to be set by the majority of the Afro-Asian countries in conformance with the specific situation.

When the armed conflict broke out on the Indo-Pakistani frontier in the autumn of 1965 and the situation in South Asia grew explosive, the Soviet Union declared its wish to assist a swift settlement of the armed conflict between India and Pakistan and applied its energies to stop the bloodshed. By its consistent and fair attitude, the substance of which was set out in messages of the head of the Soviet Government to the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, in TASS statements and other documents, the Soviet Union helped to restore peace in South Asia and frustrated the forces that wished to intervene and blow up the conflict.

Acting on its firm conviction that peaceful and good-neighbour relations accord with the basic national interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan, the interests of peace in Asia and the rest of the world, the Soviet Union offered in messages of September 17, 1965, its good services in organising a meeting of the top leaders of the two countries in Tashkent or any other Soviet city. If the two countries so wished, the messages said, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR would participate in the conversations. The proposal of the Soviet Government was duly accepted and the Tashkent Conference in early 1966 proved an important phase in the accommodation of the Indo-Pakistani conflict. The Tashkent Conference, its results and the acclaim sounded all over the world, testified to the deep trust enjoyed by the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state and to its enormous prestige.

International developments in 1965 and 1966 bore out again the practical significance of the peaceful coexistence policy in the day-to-day handling of the relations the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries maintain with the countries of the old world. Taking note of mutual interests and analysing international affairs, the Soviet Union worked for normal diplomatic relations with the capitalist states and strove to settle all questions in dispute on a realistic basis. What the Soviet Government accomplished in this

context has given rise lately to new factors of stability on the international scene.

The advancement of good-neighbour relations and co-operation with the Scandinavian countries and Finland, with the southern neighbours of the USSR, with France and Italy, and with other states, is fresh evidence that the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence is effective and viable.

At the same time, the Soviet Government has announced repeatedly that co-operation with colonialists old and new is out of the question. The Soviet Union will not co-operate with any capitalist power that commits aggressive acts against any other country and thereby undermines world peace and the security of the peoples.

"Our Party and our Government," said the Report of the CC CPSU to the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, "categorically reject the absurd standpoint that the Great Powers can build up their relations at the expense of the interests of other countries and peoples. All countries, big and small, have the same right that their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity should be respected. And nobody has the liberty to violate this right."¹

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states rests invariably on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation and reflects the communist ideology.

Firmness and adherence to principle in upholding the Marxist-Leninist foundations of the political course followed by the Soviet state, realism and a profoundly scientific approach to all the exigencies of international life, flexibility and sense of purpose in settling the practical issues of world politics—these are the cornerstones of Soviet foreign policy.

¹ 23rd Congress of the CPSU, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1966, pp. 45-46.

