Chapter III

INTERNATIONAL
POLITICAL RELATIONS
AND THE FOREIGN POLICY
OF SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

Programme of the League of
Communists of Yugoslavia
1958
Tensions and Contradictions in Contemporary International Relations

After the Second World War radical changes took place in international relations because the balance of political and social forces in the world had altered. The world today is something quite different from what it was yesterday. The scope of imperialist activity has been greatly reduced, while socialist and peace-loving democratic forces grow ever stronger. The colonial system has fallen apart in vast territories. A large number of nations has been liberated. Whole continents, which for centuries were under the domination of imperialist states and which until recently were objects of exploitation, have become active factors in contemporary international relations. Fascism, the most reactionary force of the modern world, has suffered utter defeat. Taught by the great experience of two world conflagrations, mankind more resolutely than ever resists tendencies and forces driving it to the brink of a new war catastrophe.

The most reactionary circles of capitalism and imperialism have not yet renounced plans for an aggressive crusade against Communism and the socialist countries. The antagonism between the capitalist and the socialist systems still is the decisive antagonism in contemporary international life.

Imperialist struggle for hegemony continues to present a grave danger in the present-day world. Unequal relations among states and peoples persist and the uneven economic development of the various parts of the world is more and more pronounced. This gives rise to political inequality, too. The old colonial system of world
economy is disintegrating, the forms of colonialism are changing, but the division into industrially developed colonial countries and economically underdeveloped countries, producers of raw materials, still remains. Nor has the urge diminished of a few “leading” capitalist countries to expand economically and augment their wealth by the methods of economic and political domination and by subordination of vast areas of the world.

New forms, those of “neo-colonialism,” are cropping up on the ruins of the old “classic” colonialism. The economic backwardness, poverty and difficulties of various countries, especially of those which have only just thrown off the colonial yoke and are grappling with most serious internal problems, are all taken advantage of for a reposition of economic and political dependence in a new form. A new form is being created by tying the countries receiving aid to those giving it. This is the foundation on which the hegemony of the great capitalist countries is now maintained in the world. The struggle for this supremacy conforms to present international conditions and is often cloaked in slogans of humanitarianism, of care for backward regions, of unselfish assistance, and so on. Yet, the struggle against the new forms of colonialism, domination and hegemony is no less inevitable than was the struggle against the old “classic” colonialism.

The Second World War left many issues unsettled, with their solutions constantly postponed. The peoples of Germany, Korea and Vietnam live divided into states with different social systems, split by artificial frontiers and constituting latent hotbeds of open conflict. In addition, postwar development has produced other controversial international issues which are only aggravated each time an attempt is made to solve them by power policies instead of in accordance with the desires of the peoples concerned for freedom and independence and for securing peace in the world.

The negative consequences of power policies for the general development of the world were felt immediately upon the end of the Second World War. They have gone on accumulating until the present day, causing a deterioration of international relations. Such a policy fosters distrust, encourages various warmongers, speeds armament, and causes the making of various military and exclusive economic pacts, establishment of military bases, stationing of alien troops in foreign territories, growth of military budgets, and the loading of a huge burden of military and other unproductive expenditures upon the shoulders of the working people. Responsibility for this, today and in future, lies not only with individual political circles or the individual originators of such a policy but, to a still greater degree, with the living statesmen who have gone far along this perilous road and insist on continuing their journey, despite the demands of the great majority of mankind which wants equal co-operation and friendship of all peoples and general human progress in peace and security.

The effect of all these antagonisms is the creation of military and political blocs and a renewed general arms race. These by themselves deepen the economic division of the world. Normal and indispensable economic links are not being established; various areas are resorting to autarchic isolationism, and attempts are being made to subordinate economic development to transient political considerations. As a result, free exchange of goods is suffering an extraordinary restriction. This seriously impedes the development of productive forces in various parts of the world and consequently obstructs the economic development of the entire world. Such an economic division of the world still more sharpens the political antagonisms in international relations.

Tendencies to divide the world into blocs hinder the realization of coexistence and run counter to the full independence and sovereignty of nations and states.

Division into blocs hampers any wider cultural and other co-operation among peoples. This, in turn, contributes to mutual distrust and intolerance.

As long as power politics dominate international relations, bloc-alignments will be the result, reflecting the tendencies of aggression or defense. Thus a mechanism is constructed handicapping the free and independent development of various countries. The existence of blocs creates conditions enabling the reactionary forces in individual countries to suppress internal progress under the pretext of external danger.
Under such circumstances one cannot speak of a stable international situation. The instability of postwar development is best reflected in oscillations between tension and relaxation in international relations.

The Historic Meaning of the Struggle for National Independence

The struggle for the strengthening of the equality of nations is nowadays an important factor in the struggle for peace and social progress. This struggle is not incompatible with the broadest international co-operation. On the contrary, it is a condition of the growing rapprochement among peoples, of their further democratic development and a progressive integration of all countries of the world in the economic, political and cultural fields. Successful co-operation and the highest degree of understanding can be achieved only among independent and equal nations.

Of course, the Yugoslav Communists know that today, with mankind tending toward ever greater integration and closer co-operation, there can be no absolute independence for any nation. On the contrary, the trend toward closer co-operation among peoples and toward the unification of the world leads to their growing interdependence.

This interdependence will materialize gradually as a result of common interests and not as a result of the imposed will or interest of any one people or class. Therefore the Yugoslav Communists understand political and economical independence to mean such a status of peoples or states and such relations among them as will make it possible for them to accept, on the basis of their own free will and equal rights, international obligations which correspond both to their own interest and to the interest of other nations. In addition, to the Leagues of Communists of Yugoslavia independence means such relations among peoples as will make it impossible for any nation or state to impose its interest or will on other nations.

Accordingly, the struggle for the political and economic independence of nations under present conditions does not mean withdrawal behind national frontiers but association, rapprochement and, finally, union of fully equal nations in a single world community. All this is the result of the awareness of one's own interests and of the sober reflection of every individual, whatever his language or specific culture.

In fighting for the independence of our country, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia does not think of independence as seclusion or isolation.

The conflict which broke out in 1948 because of the resistance of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to Stalin's policies did not express any desire on the part of the Yugoslav Communists to isolate themselves. It represented their resistance to improper hegemonist policies and practices which, once established, would have done enormous damage to the development of socialism. The resolutions of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties attempted to legalize inequality among socialist countries. They were a negation of the independence of peoples and their freedom in developing socialist relations as a basis for rapprochement among peoples on their path to socialism.

All that happened in 1948 was a gross violation of socialist and democratic principles which ought to be observed in relations between two socialist countries. The lessons of the past years have shown that the development of relations among socialist countries should serve as an example and point to the need of creating better, more lasting and more comprehensive relations among nations. These relations must be based on the principles of independence, full equality and respect for the individuality of each separate country.

Resistance to improper practices in relations among socialist countries - resistance which in various ways has taken place more than once - has revealed the progressive aspirations of the peoples of the socialist countries: to build socialism in accordance with their specific conditions, having in mind the interests of socialism as a whole. To label this policy "national communism" can only be the result of dogmatic or great-power conceptions or of bourgeois ideological influence and intrigue.
The League of Communists of Yugoslavia believes that relations among socialist countries must be cleansed of the negative traits which capitalism has introduced into the relations between the big and the small, the strong and the weak, the advanced and the backward, the white and the coloured, the culturally developed and the culturally underdeveloped countries and peoples.

The Problems of the Struggle for Peace

Contemporary developments show that the catastrophe of a new world war can be avoided. This is possible because of the changed balance of social and political forces in the world and because hundreds of millions of working people have awakened and become politically active. All over the world they are consciously and actively coming out against the cataclysm a new world war would mean. The forces of socialism have grown tremendously. They are a factor of peace and can exert decisive influence on the course and forms of further social development. Many peoples have been liberated and many new states created, all of them wanting peace and representing a positive force in the present international relations. The conviction has also grown that peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems is both inevitable and necessary.

Concrete possibilities exist for the United Nations to obtain a greater role and authority in settling international disputes and safeguarding peace. This organization, despite its present weaknesses caused by the existing international antagonisms, could become an active factor in a democratic mechanism whose function would be not only to prevent war but also to encourage and promote universal co-operation and rapprochement among peoples; that is, an everwidening integration of the entire human community.

The effect of all these factors during the last few years has been a growing conviction that a new world war is no longer inevitable. This conclusion does not refute the Marxist thesis that imperialism gives birth to crises and wars. It rather points out that the power and the role of imperialist factors have weakened, especially in comparison with the growth of socialist and anti-imperialist forces.

Today the true threat to world peace lies in the continuing arms race among countries already armed to an extraordinarily high degree. This threat is greater today than it has been at any time in the past because the highest achievements of science and technology — above all, of nuclear energy — have been put in the service of manufacture of weapons intended for mass annihilation of humans and universal material destruction.

The policy of a balance of power through armaments, that is, of changing the balance of power by means of the arms race, not only renders a genuine balance impossible — meaning a balance in the sense of a positive stabilization of international relations — but, unless discontinued, leads humanity into a new war.

Men who today manage the greatest economic potential, statesmen who decide on the further use of nuclear energy, face a responsibility no one in the past has faced. Today more than ever it is the duty of the peoples, in the interests of their own fate and the fate of future generations, not to permit anyone to play with weapons which can cause the greatest catastrophe of mankind. Therefore, mankind's only way out of the present antagonisms is prohibition of the use and suspension of the manufacture of nuclear arms; disarmament; and the preservation and strengthening of peace.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia believes that today more than ever a resolute struggle for the protection of peace and for general disarmament is necessary. In this field joint co-operation is possible of all parties and organizations of the labour movement, of all progressive men, of the broadest segments of the population, and of the members of different classes and religions.

Peace in contemporary conditions primarily means peaceful coexistence of peoples and states with different social systems. This coexistence must not be passive, entrenched in bloc positions. It must be active, aiming at a constant widening of co-operation among peoples.
Active coexistence must, above all, mean creation of conditions necessary for a gradual resolution of controversial international issues: for disarmament; for release of enormous resources spent on armaments to raise, instead, the economic and cultural standards of the world; for aid to underdeveloped countries; for constructive peaceful competition in economy, culture, science and other fields among countries with different social systems; and for developing the productive forces of society to a still higher degree through the utilization of all the latest achievements of science and technology.

In accordance with all this, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia believes that an all-out effort is needed to overcome the existing division into blocs which renders co-operation among peoples difficult in every field of social life.

The realism of the policy of peace aiming at the elimination of the division of the world into blocs is based on the knowledge that differences in social and economic systems need not necessarily result in the formation of blocs, despite the fact that forces interested in such a division do exist in the world today. A large part of the world's population and territory stands outside the bloc alignments. Socialist Yugoslavia sees in the independent, non-bloc policies of these countries a contribution to the broadest international co-operation and to the consolidation of peace in the world. Although the policies of the uncommitted countries are not identical, although there are differences in their relations with the power blocs, they are all interested in finding a way out of the present situation by a comprehensive development of co-operation among all countries regardless of their social systems.

The social-economic and political meaning and roles of the existing blocs are different. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia believes that the Warsaw Pact and similar measures of the socialist countries are a natural defense reaction to the creation of the Atlantic Pact and especially to the arming of Germany and the creation of military bloc organizations in Western Europe. Besides, in the last few years the Socialist countries have made a number of steps and proposals toward relaxation of international tensions and thus toward elimination of bloc barriers among nations. However, an effort in this direction is needed on the part of all peoples and all political factors having the interests of peace at heart. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia will strive to have socialist Yugoslavia, which stands outside the military and political blocs, continue her contribution toward this end.

**Active Coexistence**

The policy of active coexistence should rest on respect of independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Active coexistence can be established only in relations among individual states and peoples and not in relations between blocs of countries. There can be no coexistence between blocs. This would not be coexistence but a temporary truce concealing the danger of new conflicts.

The policy of active coexistence is both the expression and the need of the powerful development of productive forces. This development has brought about a factual interconnection of the whole world and a close interdependence of the economies of various countries. And it has made war senseless as a means of solving whatever problems and antagonisms exist among countries, in view of the inevitable catastrophe for mankind through the use of nuclear weapons.

This policy expresses the objective need of the contemporary world for the broadest, all-embracing economic, cultural, scientific and other co-operation. The policy of active coexistence is the only realistic peace alternative to war. It answers the modern needs of the world economy as a whole, because stabilization and further development of the world economy cannot be imagined without an equal and ever wider, normal and free economic co-operation in the general economic progress of the world.

One of the goals of socialism must be the economic unity of the world. This unity must surpass the capitalist-
imperialist forms of the international division of labour. It must be based on an intensive economic development of all the countries of the world, resting on relations of new substance and of much more intensity among all the national economies than has been the case with capitalism.

So conceived, the policy of active coexistence serves to remove the danger of war through international co-operation and consolidation of peace and, at the same time, creates conditions for the quickest possible advance of socialism. The policy of active coexistence inevitably leads in every capitalist country to the checking and weakening of the forces which act as brakes on progress and which, at the same time, harbour the potential danger of provoking a new world war. This policy broadens the basis of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism; reduces the possibilities of hegemonist policies; breaks up the foundation of bureaucratism, and facilitates a more rapid and less painful development of socialist countries. Consequently, far from perpetuating the existing social forms, this policy helps hasten their change.

The interests of both the consolidation of peace and development of socialism require a common struggle of the socialist forces with all the forces of peace for the victory of the policy of peace and active coexistence. Particularly needed today are efforts on the part of all forces of peace and of all countries and responsible statesmen to promote co-operation between East and West. A significant role in this respect falls to the countries which do not belong to either bloc and for that very reason can contribute a great deal to removal of the intransigence of the blocs. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia will also in the future consistently maintain its stand that the foreign policy of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia should serve precisely these ends.

International Economic Co-operation and Problems of Integration

Contemporary techniques of production and the development of productive forces require a growing connection of national economies with the world economy. The general progress of individual countries depends on free international rapprochement and co-operation in economy, technology and science. Shutting oneself off behind national frontiers, autarchy and discrimination arising from ideological or political motives are contrary to the needs of the economic development of the world and harmful to individual countries and the world as a whole.

For these reasons, general and regional economic groupings, insofar as they are founded on objective economic needs and have resulted from fair and equal economic cooperation, are capable of contributing, immediately or in the long run, to the process of integration of the world economy and to the mutual assistance of the nations in the co-ordinated and planned development of their productive forces. In such cases, regional groupings may become the first steps on the road to a broader economic unity of the world.

However, some regional groupings of today bear many negative marks of the sharp division into blocs and of the policies of imperialism and hegemony on the part of the strongest capitalist countries. Frequently, they are turned into instruments of the division of the world, of the support and maintenance of blocs, even of subjecting individual countries to the status of semi-dependence. Progressive efforts in the development of general and regional economic associations therefore must go hand in hand with the struggle against negative phenomena of this kind.

International economic co-operation and integration can be successfully developed only as a free and voluntary linking of the economies of individual countries in accordance with their common economic interests and with the principle of democratic equality. This is the way to obtain a faster growth of productive forces in the world, to introduce some short-term planning into international
economic co-operation, to facilitate mitigation of present-day international antagonisms, to create conditions for aid and assistance to underdeveloped countries in the interest of all, including the whole of the world's economy, and to make possible active coexistence and free progress of nations. Development of economic co-operation on this basis, without discrimination, without restrictions imposed by blocs and without political conditions serving the narrow interests of various countries, is a component part of the socialist way of developing the world's economy.

Considering the existing situation and the various negative traits of the existing regional groupings, socialist Yugoslavia has not joined any of them. However, appreciating the prospective significance of the development of international co-operation and the positive role of the novel elements already contained in the present forms of integration despite their shortcomings, considering also her own economic and political interests and the interests of the economic development and peace of Europe, Socialist Yugoslavia is developing co-operation with the various European regional economic organizations in forms compatible with relations of equality and from the point of view of mutual interests.

Development of Underdeveloped and Developing Countries

After the Second World War, a number of new independent states were born. These are beginning to develop their economies in the times of highly developed capitalism with strongly marked tendencies toward state capitalism, in the period of disintegration of capitalism as a social system and of rise of socialist society. In order to build the economic props of their young political independence, they have to adopt an accelerated tempo of economic development. In so doing, they are compelled to resort more and more resolutely to state controls in their economic life.

Today the majority of humanity lives in economically underdeveloped countries. These countries abound in vast natural resources and possibilities of development. The economic development of these countries is the basis of their political independence and the material condition of their genuine equality in international economic and political relations. This is one of the foundations of the stability and progress of the world economy.

Consequently, international aid and assistance to underdeveloped countries in the development of their economies is also in the interest of the entire world economy. International aid and assistance can contribute to progress only if given without any military or political conditions and on the basis of democratic relations among countries. This precisely is the great progressive meaning of international economic aid and assistance through collective international action which respects the independence and sovereign rights of the peoples concerned. Such aid and assistance would introduce a fresh element into the present-day international economic relations. It would also, under the prevailing conditions, present one of the strongest antitheses to imperialism, hegemony and war.

Socialist forces are interested in the widening and strengthening of such international action. Socialist Yugoslavia staunchly advocates international action in assisting underdeveloped countries, especially within the framework of the United Nations. However, socialist Yugoslavia resolutely opposes all attempts to use international economic aid and assistance for the achievement of political or military ends. The principle of the Yugoslav foreign policy is international economic assistance without political conditions.

While preferring collective international action, socialist Yugoslavia also takes a positive view of bilateral programs of economic aid, provided they do not jeopardize the sovereignty of the recipient countries and have no political conditions attached.
Tasks of the Foreign Policy of Socialist Yugoslavia

The foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia is founded on socialist principles and on the historic experiences of the Yugoslav peoples and their firm resolve to safeguard at all cost their independence and sovereignty. The purpose of the foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia therefore is to preserve that independence, to serve the interest of a free socialist development of the country, and to contribute to all-around co-operation among nations.

In fulfilling its tasks, the foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia observes the principles of consistency, open diplomacy and independence of attitude.

The independence of Yugoslavia's foreign policy is the opposite of egoism, nationalistic exclusiveness, narrow-mindedness and national seclusion. Yugoslavia is a member of the European and world communities. As a socialist country, she is a member of the socialist world — of the socialist and progressive forces of modern humanity.

In harmony with the general principles of her foreign policy, socialist Yugoslavia continues to exert efforts in developing co-operation and good-neighbour relations with all neighbouring countries regardless of the social and political differences, with them and their relations with the existing blocs. This policy corresponds to the interests of the peoples in this part of the world and contributes to world security and peace.

All neighbouring countries, and Yugoslavia herself, contain various national minorities. To multi-national socialist Yugoslavia, born in the fire of the National Liberation War and Socialist Revolution, all oppression of one people by another is alien. All peoples and national minorities in Yugoslavia enjoy, as they should, equal rights and duties. Yugoslav and other national minorities in neighbouring countries can become one of the richest sources of mutual friendship and inter-state cooperation — if they are properly treated and guaranteed democratic rights enabling them to create institutions through which they can secure free national, cultural and economic development as free and equal citizens of these countries. Also alien to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is the very thought of a forcible change of frontiers as a means of settling minority questions. The League stands for equal democratic, cultural and economic rights of the minorities in its own land — and of Yugoslav minorities in other countries.

In its foreign policy, by advocating active coexistence and removal of the rift caused by blocs, our country will continue to develop all possible activities through the United Nations and to struggle for its universality, thus contributing to the accomplishment of the purpose for which this organization was founded. Without underestimating the negative effects of the international situation on this organization or its frequently one-sided attitudes resulting from this situation, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia believes that, through persistent efforts on the part of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces of peace, this organization could become, more than it has been, the common instrument of the strivings of the peoples for peace and for their rapprochement, co-operation and peaceful mutual assistance and aid.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia will continue to pursue this foreign policy. Co-operating with the parties and organizations of the working class and with democratic, anti-imperialist and national-liberation movements, the League will also make every effort to contribute to the endeavour and desire of all the peoples of the earth to avoid war and render it impossible so that the era of peaceful creative work may begin. The fate of our own peoples, the future of our own socialist development, have never been so intimately linked with the fate of other peoples, with the success of the socialist development in other countries, as they are today.