

found it hard to believe that he was serious about seeking improved East-West relations. It would appear, however, that within the Soviet leadership there was concern that Khrushchev was all too serious about his quest for a Soviet-American rapprochement and was neglecting other essential Soviet interests. These concerns are reflected in the fact that there was a rapid and pronounced de-emphasis of the concept of peaceful coexistence following Khrushchev's ouster from power in October 1964.

In contrast to Khrushchev, who repeatedly ranked the achievement of peaceful coexistence as the number one goal of Soviet foreign policy, Brezhnev ranked it last.⁵⁵ Within a few weeks of taking over the leadership of the Party, Brezhnev clearly signaled that peaceful coexistence was to be accorded a reduced priority. In a speech marking the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, delivered on 6 November 1964, he pointedly put peaceful coexistence in last place behind such goals as "ensuring the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries," "supporting liberating revolutionary movements," and the "comprehensive development of solidarity and cooperation with the independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America."⁵⁶ Brezhnev repeated essentially the same formulation in his speeches to the Twenty-Third Party Congress in 1966 and the Twenty-Fourth Party Congress in 1971.⁵⁷

Following Khrushchev's ouster, his definition of peaceful coexistence as the "general line" of Soviet foreign policy was abandoned. In an unmistakable repudiation of Khrushchev's statement to the Twentieth Party Congress that "the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence with different social systems has always been and remains the general line of our country's foreign policy,"⁵⁸ it was declared under Brezhnev:

⁵⁵ For Khrushchev's ranking of the goals of Soviet foreign policy at the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Party Congresses, see *C.D.S.P.*, VIII, No. 4, 1956, p. 12 and XIII, No. 41, 1961, p. 7.

Also see *KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh*, Moscow, Politizdat, 1971, 8th ed., VII, pp. 103, 378.

⁵⁶ *C.D.S.P.*, XIV, No. 43, 1964, p. 8.

⁵⁷ *C.D.S.P.*, XVIII, No. 21, 1966, p. 34, and XXIII, No. 12, 1971, p. 4.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, No. 4, 1956, p. 10.