

1968 forthrightly stated: "Reliance only on the policy of peaceful coexistence and on the struggle for peace conceals a danger. The political means of preserving peace can be fully effective only if they are based on real strength, first and foremost, military power."⁶⁵

Brezhnev's political style and temperament were very different from those of Khrushchev. He rejected Khrushchev's impulsiveness, wishful thinking, and incautious experimentation. He preferred to move cautiously and incrementally. Khrushchev's enthusiasm led to a one-sided emphasis on his panacea of the moment (such as the virgin lands, de-Stalinization or a Soviet-American rapprochement) to the detriment of other Soviet interests. Brezhnev pursued carefully framed policies which sought to avoid a one-sided thrust in any direction and attempted to address simultaneously a wide range of basic concerns. This, in turn, was coupled with a hard-headed appreciation of the ideological and political costs associated with a too-eager public embrace of peaceful coexistence with the imperialist world.

A major reason, then, for the post-1964 upgrading of the principle of proletarian internationalism and the corresponding down-playing of peaceful coexistence was the wish to reduce some of these costs (for example, to undercut Chinese and Third World charges of Soviet-American collusion and to avoid ideological demobilization at home). However, while the prominence of peaceful coexistence in Soviet pronouncements was reduced and it was given a more restrained formulation, it was definitely not abandoned. It continued to occupy a highly visible place in Soviet discussions of East-West relations. The Soviet government pushed strongly for its inclusion in the 1972 Soviet-American agreement on "Basic Principles of Relations," and an explicit endorsement of peaceful coexistence was added to the new Soviet constitution adopted in 1977.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ N. Lomov, "On Guard Over Peace," *International Affairs*, 1968, No. 2, p. 12.

⁶⁶ The agreement on "Basic Principles of Relations" is reprinted in Roger P. Labrie, ed., *SALT Hand Book*, Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1979, pp. 50-52. See article 28 of the Soviet Constitution, reprinted in Donald D. Barry and Carol Barner-Barry, *Contemporary Soviet Politics*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1987, 3rd ed., p. 337.