

audiences of specialists, provide some indication of the analytical and prescriptive frameworks in which Soviet foreign policy is cast.⁵

2. Objectives

In the early and mid-1970s, it became fashionable to argue that ideology as a determinant of Soviet political behaviour was declining in importance, that the Soviet Union "had arrived" as a status quo actor in international politics, and that it was a state like any other. Its behaviour in the Third World in the mid- and late 1970s, however, called in question the proposition that Soviet foreign policy had lost its fundamentally dynamic, revolutionary and competitive character. This gave rise to the countervailing proposition that the Soviet Union remained an essentially revolutionary actor in the international system, that the Soviet challenge to Western interests was universal in character and that the USSR, for both historical and ideological reasons, was organically expansionist.⁶ The Soviet Union was willing, and increasingly able, to challenge the West throughout the globe, recognizing no spheres of influence.⁷ Any idea that the Soviet Union might favour stability rather than change in certain circumstances, or that it might seek to come to terms with the West in the Third World rather than to supplant it, was dismissed as naive, if not dangerous. It was thought unlikely that the Soviet Union might exercise unilateral restraint.

To judge from the record of Soviet foreign policy, both of these paradigms are flawed. Peaceful coexistence, as this policy has been conceived by Soviet writers and policy-makers, has always combined elements of co-operation and conflict. It has never implied an abandonment of "class struggle" against the capitalist powers or an embrace of an international status quo. As the foremost Soviet academic exponent of the concept put it in 1979:

Peaceful coexistence is the dialectical interconnection, the blending of struggle and co-operation of states with dif-

⁵ For an interesting discussion of the significance of the Soviet professional literature on Latin America, see Jerry Hough, "The Soviet Debate on Latin America", *Latin American Research Review* XVI, #1, pp. 124-143.

⁶ Z. Brzezinski, *The Soviet Union: Her Aims, Problems and Challenges to the West*, in *The Conduct of East-West Relations in the 1980s*, Part I, Adelphi Paper #189 (London: IISS, 1984), pp. 3-5; R. Pipes, "Détente: Moscow's View", as reprinted in E. Hoffmann and F. Fleron, eds. *The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy* (New York: Aldine, 1980), pp. 356, 358-9.

⁷ H. Gelman, *The Brezhnev Politburo and the Decline of Détente* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 207.