

In this connection, it is especially noteworthy there has been virtually no criticism of past Soviet foreign policy either by Gorbachev or by the scores of loyal publicists who call for new thinking in international politics. Here, too, the situation is in striking contrast to the way that domestic policy has been treated. Brezhnev's mismanagement of the economy has been denounced repeatedly in strong and explicit terms, but not a single one of his foreign policy moves has been repudiated.

It is not just the actual conduct of Soviet foreign policy that is exempt from criticism. Soviet spokesmen do not cite any specific Soviet beliefs or doctrines about international politics that are in need of rethinking. Even more telling, they do not even unambiguously endorse the general proposition that there are, in fact, some Soviet views that need to be re-examined. Through the use of carefully ambiguous formulations, it is platitudinously stated that all nations need fresh thinking in tune with the realities of the nuclear age, but it is never acknowledged that the Soviet Union might have ever made any mistakes or that it needs to update any of its perspectives on international politics.

At first hearing, Soviet calls for new thinking sound like a refreshing change from the stale rhetoric of the past. But upon closer scrutiny, they seem to be saying little more than that the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union has long since adapted to the requirements of the nuclear age and that it is only the continued existence of outmoded thinking in the West that prevents a fundamental breakthrough in East-West relations. Thus, in the eyes of the skeptics, the appeal for new thinking constitutes not a call for new Soviet approaches, but a way of increasing the pressure on the West to alter its policies.

For example, in discussing the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing, Gorbachev stated:

It is now clear as clear can be that the old notions of war as a means of attaining political objectives have become outdated. In the nuclear