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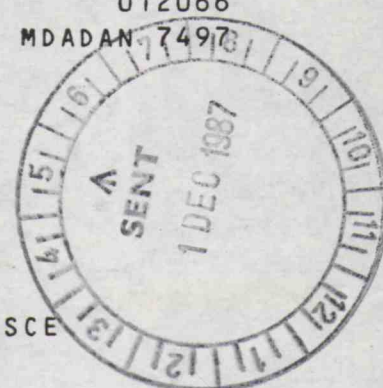
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US/SOVIET SUMMIT: GORBACHEV'S INTERVIEW WITH NBC

1. ON THE MORNING OF 1 DECEMBER TASS PUT OUT WHAT IT DESCRIBED AS THE FULL TEXT OF GORBACHEV'S INTERVIEW WITH TOM BROKAW OF NBC TV, RECORDED ON 28 NOVEMBER AND SCREENED BY NBC ON 30 NOVEMBER. THE INTERVIEW WILL BE SHOWN BY SOVIET TV ON THE EVENING OF 1 DECEMBER. THE TEXT IS PRESUMABLY AVAILABLE TO YOU. THE FOLLOWING ARE COMMENTS ON POINTS OF INTEREST HERE.

2. THE INTERVIEW MOSTLY READS WELL. GORBACHEV HAD ARMED HIMSELF WITH A STRONG DEFENSIVE LINE, FOR EXAMPLE, ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WE CAN EXPECT HIM TO BE SIMILARLY EQUIPPED FOR HIS MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. EARLY IN THE INTERVIEW, HE SEIZED THE INITIATIVE FROM BROKAW AND RETAINED IT FOR MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION, FOR EXAMPLE REFUSING TO LET BROKAW HAVE THE LAST WORD ON SDI.

US ATTITUDES TO THE SOVIET UNION

3. GORBACHEV MADE SKILFUL USE OF THE CORRESPONDENCE RECEIVED HERE FROM THE UNITED STATES ('80,000 LETTERS THIS YEAR FROM AMERICANS, THAT IS A THIRD OF ALL FOREIGN MAIL COMING INTO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE') IN ORDER TO EXPRESS A SHARED CONCERN ABOUT TENSION IN THE WORLD.

SOVIET HISTORY

4. IN A LONG PREAMBULAR STATEMENT ABOUT THE NEED FOR AMERICANS TO UNDERSTAND SOVIET HISTORY, GORBACHEV SLIPPED IN REFERENCES BOTH TO NEXT YEAR'S MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN RUSSIA SEMICOLON AND ALSO TO THE BALTIC STATES ON WHICH THERE HAS BEEN A SHARP REACTION HERE TO RECENT ACTION BY THE US CONGRESS TO COMMEMORATE LATVIAN 'INDEPENDENCE DAY' (18 NOVEMBER). GORBACHEV WRAPPED UP THE BALTIC STATES AMONG



THE SEVERAL NATIONS WHICH NOW MAKE UP THE SOVIET UNION, COMMENTING THAT THE PEOPLES OF THE BALTIC REGION HAD AN 'ORIGINAL' HISTORY WHICH WAS 'NOT SIMPLE BUT SUBSTANTIAL'.

#### ARMS CONTROL

5. ANSWERING BROKAW'S QUESTION ABOUT APPREHENSION CONCERNING THE VULNERABILITY OF WESTERN EUROPE AFTER THE INF AGREEMENT, GORBACHEV GAVE A FRANK ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF 'A CERTAIN ASYMMETRY BOTH IN FORCES AND IN ARMAMENTS' AND SAID 'WE ARE PREPARED TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THAT WITHOUT DELAY' AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. IN A SECOND ANSWER, HE REITERATED HIS PREPAREDNESS TO TACKLE THE QUESTION OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES. HE WAS NOT ASKED ABOUT CHEMICAL WEAPONS, AND DID NOT TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE THE SOVIET LINE ON CW, OF WHICH WE HAVE RECENTLY HEARD MUCH. GORBACHEV DID NOT GIVE FIGURES FOR THE NUMBER OF MISSILES TO BE DESTROYED BY THE SOVIET UNION UNDER THE INF AGREEMENT. THIS HAS STILL NOT BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE SOVIET MEDIA'S REPORTING ON THE AGREEMENT, ALTHOUGH KARPOV HAS GIVEN THE FIGURES TO THE PRESS AND ENGLISH TASS HAS CARRIED THEM.

6. GORBACHEV SOUGHT TO DISPEL THE IDEA THAT TIME WAS RUNNING OUT FOR FURTHER ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS WITH THE PRESENT US ADMINISTRATION, SAYING MOST EMPHATICALLY THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE TO DO A LOT OF WORK WITH THIS ADMINISTRATION.

7. ON SDI, GORBACHEV INITIALLY CONTINUED THE RECENT SOVIET LINE THAT THE ISSUE WAS NOT SDI BUT OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE ABM TREATY. HE INTENDED TO TALK ABOUT STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THE ABM TREATY AND BELIEVED THAT THE QUESTION OF SDI WAS 'NOT A SUBJECT FOR NEGOTIATIONS'. HOWEVER, FOLLOWING FURTHER QUESTIONS FROM HIS INTERVIEWER, GORBACHEV THEN DEPLOYED A NUMBER OF FAMILIAR SOVIET ARGUMENTS AGAINST SDI (THOUGH NOT IN THEIR SHARPEST FORM), AND OBLIQUELY SUGGESTED THAT SDI WAS ONLY SUPPORTED BY A MINORITY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THAT TO PURSUE IT WAS THEREFORE NOT DEMOCRATIC. UNDER FURTHER PRESSURE, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS ENGAGED IN BASIC SDI RESEARCH, BUT CLAIMED THAT THIS ONLY RELATED TO ASPECTS COVERED BY THE UNITED STATES SDI PROGRAMME AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT DEPLOY SUCH A SYSTEM.

#### AFGHANISTAN AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS

8. GORBACHEV APPEARED TO BE ON THE DEFENSIVE ON AFGHANISTAN,



AND GAVE A STANDARD, UNCONVINCING EXPLANATION OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SOVIET MILITARY CONTINGENT. HIS REFERENCE TO THE DESIRE FOR AN EARLY POLITICAL SOLUTION (WHICH WAS POSSIBLE IF THAT WAS WHAT THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION SINCERELY WANTED) DID NOT BREAK NEW GROUND, AND HE DECLINED TO BE DRAWN ON THE LINE HE WOULD TAKE WITH REAGAN. HE THEN RETREATED INTO A GENERAL REMARK ABOUT REGIONAL CONFLICTS, OMITTING CAMBODIA FROM THE CONFLICTS WHICH HE LISTED. THIS IS PERHAPS SURPRISING IN VIEW OF CURRENT ACTIVITY ON THAT SUBJECT BUT MAY ALSO REFLECT THE AGENDA HE ANTICIPATES FOR HIS TALKS WITH REAGAN.

#### NEW THINKING AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD

9. GORBACHEV REITERATED PREVIOUS THEMES ABOUT THE NEED TO APPLY NEW THINKING TO THE POST-IMPERIAL WORLD, AND TO TACKLE SUCH MATTERS AS DEBT AND ECOLOGY. HIS STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT DICTATE THEIR VALUES OR IMPOSE THEIR WAY OF LIFE AND THEIR SOCIAL CHOICE ON OTHER COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES WAS ANOTHER REFLECTION OF GORBACHEV'S MORE COOPERATIVE APPROACH TO THIRD WORLD QUESTIONS.

#### BERLIN

10. GORBACHEV'S ATTEMPT TO IMPLY, PARTY BY MEANS OF A DELIBERATELY OBSCURE REFERENCE TO THE RELEVANT HISTORY, THAT THE BLAME FOR THE DIVISION OF GERMANY AND THE BERLIN WALL LAY WITH THE WEST REFLECTED OLD THINKING RATHER THAN NEW SEMICOLON AND WAS ONE OF HIS LESS DEFT COMMENTS.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS

11. LIKEWISE GORBACHEV'S VIGOROUS COUNTER-ATTACK ON HUMAN RIGHTS WAS VERY MUCH WHAT WE HAVE COME TO EXPECT. HE DEPLOYED SOME APPROPRIATE DETAIL RELATING TO THE UNITED STATES (ROOSEVELT'S 1944 BILL AND SO ON) IN SUPPORT OF THE WELL-WORN THESIS THAT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS ARE BETTER PROTECTED IN THE USSR THAN IN THE WEST. HIS SUGGESTION THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD TO LIMIT EMIGRATION TO COUNTER AMERICAN ATTEMPTS TO ORGANISE A 'BRAIN DRAIN' WAS PRETTY THIN: AND HIS CLAIM THAT ONLY STATE SECURITY REASONS ('THERE ARE NO OTHER REASONS') LAY BEHIND THE DENIAL OF EXIT VISAS TO THE REMAINING REFUSENIKS WILL NOT DEFUSE THE CAMPAIGN CURRENTLY BEING MOUNTED HERE BY THE REFUSENIKS IN ADVANCE OF THE SUMMIT - NOR, WE ASSUME, THE



PRESSURE FROM JEWISH ORGANISATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE ECONOMY

12. GORBACHEV MADE NO REVELATIONS: WAS DEFENSIVE ON FOOD SUPPLY: BUT REITERATED HIS SUPPORT FOR A COMBINATION OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND STATE ENTERPRISE IN AGRICULTURE. HE ALSO TOOK A CAUTIOUS LINE ON UNEMPLOYMENT AND PRICE RISES (TO BE RESOLVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SOCIALISM AND DONE IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO AFFECT THE INCOMES OF WORKING PEOPLE) - BOTH POINTS WHICH ARE CAUSING POPULAR CONCERN HERE AT THE MOMENT.

INTERNAL POLITICS

13. A STANDARD REAFFIRMATION OF PERESTROIKA, BUT WITH THE GLOSS APPLIED CONSISTENTLY SINCE THE ELTSIN AFFAIR THAT 'WE WILL NOT JUMP OVER STAGES' OR ALLOW 'ADVENTURISM'. WE THINK THIS IS THE FIRST REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT ELTSIN SPOKE TWICE AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENARY.

RAISA GORBACHEVA

14. IN THE LIGHT OF WESTERN PRESS COMMENT, WHICH HAS FILTERED BACK THROUGH BROADCASTS TO THE SOVIET UNION, GORBACHEV'S RESPONSE TO BROKAW'S QUESTION ABOUT HIS WIFE'S ROLE IN PUBLIC LIFE AND HER CONSPICUOUS PRESENCE ON HIS TRAVELS ('WE DISCUSS EVERYTHING') WILL BE HEARD WITH INTEREST BY THE SOVIET AUDIENCE, AND NOT NECESSARILY WITH APPROVAL. THE UNCHARACTERISTIC BREVITY OF GORBACHEV'S RESPONSE PRESUMABLY INDICATED HIS DISTASTE FOR THE QUESTION.

CARTLEDGE

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