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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name EUROPEAN AND SOVIET AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE, NSC
: RECORDS

Withdrawer
SMF 10/31/2007

File Folder GORBACHEV STATEMENTS

FOIA
S2007-080

Box Number

90907 *RAC 9*

RATNESAR

13

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
44646	TRANSMITTAL SHEET	WASHFAX MESSAGE RECEIPT	1	10/14/1986	B1 B3
44650	TRANSMITTAL SHEET	WASHFAX MESSAGE RECEIPT	1	10/14/1986	B1 B3
44652	TRANSCRIPT	GORBACHEV NEWS CONFERENCE <i>R 9/20/2018 M2007-080/</i>	33	10/12/1986	B1 B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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44646	TRANSMITTAL SHEET WASHFAX MESSAGE RECEIPT	1	10/14/1986	B1 B3

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DECLASSIFIED

NLRR M07-080 #44652
BY fw NARA DATE 9/20/18

CURRENT LISTING OF: T2398:3
SLUG TAKE 10 OF MANY — 001 (GORBAC
CATEGORY:FEIS1

10/09/86 10:11 PAGE: 1
DATE: 10/12/86 23:59:49
STORY: 018

///E' IS DISAPPOINTING.

LD1:0217

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) BUT I WOULD SAY THAT I WOULD NOT CALL THIS MEETING UNSUCCESSFUL. ON THE CONTRARY, IT WAS STILL A STEP IN THE COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT DIALOGUE AND IN THE QUEST FOR SOLUTIONS. TO BE SURE, IN GENERAL, THE SOLUTIONS THAT WE ARE SEEKING ARE NOT EASY ONES. THEY ARE THE SOLUTIONS TO DIFFICULT MATTERS AND SO LET US NOT SOW PANIC AROUND THE WORLD. BUT AT THE SAME TIME IT MUST BE SAID THAT THE WORLD MUST KNOW EVERYTHING THAT HAPPENS SO THAT IT DOES NOT FEEL THAT IT IS A DETACHED OBSERVER. THE TIME HAS NOW COME FOR ACTION BY ALL FORCES.

(ABC CORRESPONDENT, IN ENGLISH FOLLOWED BY RUSSIAN TRANSLATION)
ABC CORRESPONDENT IN MOSCOW (ROGERS). MR GENERAL SECRETARY, I DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY, WHEN YOU AND PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON REDUCING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE SOVIET SIDE DID NOT AGREE TO RESEARCH ON SDI. SURELY YOU SAID ALL THE TIME IN GENEVA THAT YOU ARE READY TO PAY A HIGH PRICE FOR REDUCTIONS IN THESE WEAPONS. AND NOW WHEN SUCH OPPORTUNITIES WERE ACHIEVED, YOU MISSED THEM.

(GORBACHEV) YOUR QUESTION INDEED CONTAINS AN ELEMENT OF CRITICISM AND SO I SHALL ANSWER IT IN GREATER DETAIL. FIRST, THE PRESIDENT CAME EMPTY-HANDED AND WITH EMPTY POCKETS. AND I WOULD SAY THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION BROUGHT US THE TRASH FROM THE GENEVA TALKS. AND IT IS ONLY THANKS TO THE FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET SIDE THAT WE WERE ABLE TO REACH VERY MAJOR ACCORDS -- THEY HAVE NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY DRAWN UP, I SHOULD STIPULATE -- ON REDUCING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS AND ON MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES AND, NATURALLY, WE HOPED THAT IN THESE CONDITIONS -- AND I THINK THAT THIS IS PERFECTLY UNDERSTANDABLE TO A POLITICIAN; TO A MILITARY MAN AND SIMPLY TO AN ORDINARY PERSON -- THAT IF WE SIGN THESE TWO ACCORDS ON MAJOR REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS THEN CARE SHOULD BE TAKEN THAT NOTHING SHOULD HAPPEN THAT MIGHT WRECK THIS DIFFICULT PROCESS WHICH WE HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING FOR DECADES. AND THEN WE POSED THE QUESTION, ALL THE TIME, OF THE FACT THAT WE ARE IN FAVOR OF CONSOLIDATING THE ABM TREATY. IT HAS ALREADY PLACED SALT-II IN DOUBT AND NOW IN REYKJAVIK WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE ABM TREATY DEAD AND BURIED -- AND, FURTHERMORE, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND GORBACHEV. AND THAT WILL NOT HAPPEN.

THE WHOLE WORLD WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND US. AND I AM CONVINCED OF THIS. CONVINCED, AND EVERYONE WHO IS SEATED HERE, EVERYONE IS CONVINCED OF THIS THAT IF WE SHOULD GO ON TO START ATTACKING THE

1 ABM TREATY, THE LAST MECHANISM THAT HAS DONE SO MUCH, AFTER ALL, TO RESTRAIN THE PROCESS OF THE ARMS RACE, THEN WE ARE NOT WORTH ANYTHING AS POLITICIANS. BUT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO PRESERVE THIS. IN CONDITIONS WHEN DEEP REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE BEGINNING, WE THINK THAT THIS TREATY SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED. AND WE PROPOSED A MECHANISM FOR CONSOLIDATING IT, BY REFRAINING -- FOR 10 YEARS, OVER WHICH WE WOULD TOTALLY REDUCE THESE NUCLEAR, RATHER ELIMINATE THE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL OF OUR COUNTRIES -- BY REFRAINING FROM EXERCISING THE RIGHT TO ABANDON THE ABM TREATY. BUT DURING THAT TIME TOO NO ONE SHOULD BE TEMPTED, NEITHER THE SOVIET UNION, TO OVERTAKE AMERICA IN SPACE RESEARCH AND, SO TO SPEAK, BREAK OUT, GAIN MILITARY SUPERIORITY, NOR SHOULD AMERICA DO LIKEWISE WITH REGARD TO THE SOVIET UNION. WE SAID WE FAVOR LABORATORY RESEARCH AND TESTING, BUT OPPOSE TAKING THESE RESEARCHES AND TESTING OF ABM SYSTEM PARTS -- SPACE ABM SYSTEMS -- INTO SPACE. THIS IS OUR DEMAND. AND SO OUR DEMAND IN THIS CASE WAS ALSO CONSTRUCTIVE, MINDFUL OF THE POSITION OF AMERICA. IT WOULD RECEIVE, SO TO SPEAK, IF IT WAS AGREED, THE POSSIBILITY, AS PART OF CONTINUING LABORATORY RESEARCH, OF ADDRESSING HER QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SDI PROGRAM; BUT WITHOUT GOING OUTSIDE THAT FRAMEWORK AND WITHOUT ANY ATTEMPT TO CREATE A SPACE ABM DEFENSE. I THINK THAT THE LOGIC HERE, AS CHILDREN SAY, IS IRON. SOMETIMES IT IS NECESSARY TO LEARN FROM CHILDREN, TOO. LET'S GO OVER TO THE WOMEN.

(UNIDENTIFIED JOURNALIST, IN ENGLISH WITH SIMULTANEOUS RUSSIAN TRANSLATION) IN LIGHT OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED HERE IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS, DO YOU INTEND TO SHARE YOUR THOUGHTS AT THIS CONFERENCE, AND PERHAPS TELL US SOME OF YOUR THOUGHTS IN THIS FIELD?

(GORBACHEV) I THINK THAT THIS HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM....
(INTERRUPTED BY INDESTRUCTIBLE VOICE) WHAT?

(UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER) WHAT INITIATIVES WILL THERE BE AS FAR AS WESTERN EUROPE IS CONCERNED?

(GORBACHEV) I DIDN'T UNDERSTAND THE TRANSLATION THEN. NO. JUST A MINUTE. WHAT?

(MORE)
13 OCT 0328Z MJO

CURRENT LISTING OF: T2404:3
TUG:FAKE 11 OF 14 — 001 (GORBACHE
CATEGORY:FBIS1

10/09/86 10:11 PAGE 1
DATE: 10/13/86 00:07:22
STORY: 019

///A MINUTE. WHAT?

LD130244

(TEXT) (UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT) WITH REGARD TO WESTERN EUROPE, DOES THE SOVIET UNION PLAN ANY INITIATIVES, AFTER WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN REYKJAVIK?

(GORBACHEV) IN THE FIRST PLACE, I THINK THAT WESTERN EUROPE HEARS WHAT I AM SAYING. AND IF IT WOULD THINK, CAREFULLY STUDY THE PROPOSALS WE HAVE TABLED, THEN IT WOULD SEE THAT THESE PROPOSALS ARE IN THE INTERESTS OF WESTERN EUROPE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT WE COULD TAKE AN INDIFFERENT ATTITUDE TO THE INTERESTS OF WESTERN EUROPE, IN WHICH THE SHOOTS OF A NEW WAY OF THINKING ARE PUTTING DOWN ROOTS AND IN WHICH RESPONSIBILITY IS GROWING FOR THE PRESERVATION OF OUR EUROPEAN HOME, FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF OUR EUROPEAN HOME. NOW YOU, PLEASE, NO, LET'S HAND OVER TO THE WOMEN AGAIN. HOW DIFFICULT IT IS TO GET THROUGH TO A WOMAN!

(NEWSWEEK MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT SPEAKING IN ENGLISH, FADING INTO RUSSIAN TRANSLATION) NEWSWEEK MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT: I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW OF THE INTENTIONS OF AND POSSIBILITIES OF YOU COMING TO WASHINGTON. YOU SPOKE ABOUT THE NECESSITY OF REACHING A NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS, ESPECIALLY ON ISSUES RELATING TO MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER REACHING SUCH AN AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO FOR YOU TO VISIT WASHINGTON?

(GORBACHEV) I THINK THAT IN SPITE OF ALL OF TODAY'S DRAMATIC TENSION WE HAVE NOT MOVED FURTHER AWAY FROM WASHINGTON, BUT RATHER CLOSER. IF THE PRESIDENT AND THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION FOLLOW UP MY INVITATION TO CONTINUE STUDYING EVERYTHING DISCUSSED HERE IN REYKJAVIK, AND IF THE ADMINISTRATION CONSULTS THOSE CIRCLES IT CONSIDERS NECESSARY TO CONSULT IN AMERICA, THEN I THINK THAT ALL IS NOT YET LOST. BUILDING ON WHAT WE HAD HERE IN REYKJAVIK, POSSIBILITIES EXIST FOR REACHING AGREEMENTS THAT WOULD MAKE A MEETING IN WASHINGTON REALISTIC AND NECESSARY AND POSSIBLE, AND IT COULD BE A SUCCESSFUL ONE. WE HAVE NO (?DOUBTS) ON THAT SCORE.

(QNN CORRESPONDENT SPEAKING IN ENGLISH, WITH SUPERIMPOSED RUSSIAN TRANSLATION) PETER RYAN, CABLE NEWS NETWORK. MR GORBACHEV, YOU SAID IN YOUR SPEECH THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN SHOULD THINK ABOUT THE SITUATION AND CONSULT WITH CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. DO YOU THINK THAT AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION WILL BACK UP THE SOVIET APPROACH IN THIS REGARD?

((GORBACHEV) LET'S WAIT AND SEE.

(RUDE PRAVO CORRESPONDENT) (WORDS INDISTINCT)

(GORBACHEV) WELCOME TO YOU! WE RECENTLY HAD A GOOD MEETING.

(RUDE PRAVO CORRESPONDENT) (WORDS INDISTINCT) I HAVE A QUESTION FOR YOU AS A POLITICIAN AND LAWYER. WHAT, IN YOUR OPINION, ARE THE PRIORITIES IN HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THE NUCLEAR AGE; AND WHAT ROLE CAN THE HUMAN FACTOR PLAY IN RESOLVING ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE?

(GORBACHEV) YOU KNOW, YOU'RE A REAL PHILOSOPHER! (LAUGHTER) I CAN ONLY SAY THAT I ONCE STUDIED PHILOSOPHY TOO, AND HAVE STARTED TO STUDY A BIT AGAIN NOW. I THINK WHEN WE TALK ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, WHAT WE DISCUSSED TODAY, FIRST AND FOREMOST, WAS THE QUESTION OF PRESERVING PEACE AND DEFELECTING THE NUCLEAR THREAT FROM MAN; THAT IS THE SUPREME PRIORITY. THERE WILL BE PEACE, THERE WILL BE LIFE — WE WILL WORK IT OUT SOMEHOW, BECAUSE WE ARE SITTING HERE, FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD, DISCUSSING THE MOST URGENT ISSUES. WE ARE PEOPLE AFTER ALL. THERE ARE MORE AND MORE EDUCATED PEOPLE IN OUR WORLD, EDUCATED PEOPLES. AND THAT IS WHY I THINK THAT THE PEOPLES WILL WORK IT ALL OUT.

AND THIS IS WHY I SAY THAT — IF I UNDERSTOOD YOU CORRECTLY — WHEN WE SPEAK OF HUMAN RIGHTS, I SHOULD PUT THE INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHT TO LIFE FIRST.

(MORE)
13 OCT 0331Z MJO

CURRENT LISTING OF: T2408:3
SLUG: TAKE 12 OF 14 — 001 (GORBACHEV)
CATEGORY: FHS1

10/09/88 10:11 PAGE: 1
DATE: 10/13/88 00:21:35
STORY: 020

//10 LIFE FIRST.
LD130304

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) THAT IS THE FIRST THING, AND THE SECOND — YOU MENTIONED SOME REVERSE CONNECTION. CAN SOMEONE REMIND ME? (INDISTINCT WORDS IN BACKGROUND) AH. THE HUMAN FACTOR, WHAT ABOUT IT? I THINK THAT IN A NUCLEAR AGE — AND IT IS PRECISELY HERE THAT I SEE A MANIFESTATION OF THE NEW THINKING — WARS, NUCLEAR WAR AND THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR POSE THE QUESTION OF THE ROLE OF THE HUMAN FACTOR IN A NEW MANNER IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND PREVENTING WAR, FOR TODAY THIS WAR WILL AFFECT EVERYONE, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHERE IT STARTS. FOR THIS REASON IT SEEMS TO ME JUSTIFIED AND NATURAL.

IT IS ONLY ILL-WISHERS WHO CONSIDER THAT ALL ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS, EVERYONE WHO COMES OUT IN DEFENSE OF PEACE, ARE THE PRODUCT OF MOSCOW'S INTRIGUES, HIRELINGS OR PEOPLE SUBORNED BY SOCIALISM AND SO FORTH — THIS IS NOT SERIOUS, AND THE PEOPLE ARE NOW WORKING THINGS OUT. IF WOMEN, CHILDREN AND MEN OF ALL AGES ARE RISING TODAY AND JOINING HANDS AND DEMANDING AN END TO THIS DANGEROUS TENDENCY, WHEN THE WORLD IS MOVING TOWARD THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR, I THINK THAT MOVEMENT WILL GROW, AND THAT THE ROLE OF THE HUMAN FACTOR IS INCREASING CONSIDERABLY. IS GROWING.

(IZVESTIYA CORRESPONDENT) IZVESTIYA, MOSCOW. THERE HAS BEEN MUCH AND FREQUENT TALK IN THE WHITE HOUSE THAT THE MAIN DANGER FOR THE UNITED STATES IS THE SOVIET INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES. WE PROPOSED IN REYKJAVIK TO ELIMINATE THIS MAIN DANGER TO THE UNITED STATES WITHIN 10 YEARS. WHAT IS YOUR IMPRESSION? WHY WAS THE OTHER SIDE NOT READY TO REMOVE THIS MAIN THREAT FROM ITS COUNTRY?

(GORBACHEV) YOU HAVE VERY RIGHTLY ASKED THIS QUESTION. THE U.S. SIDE HAS BEEN USING IT FOR MANY YEARS IN ORDER TO SHOW THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT IN A MOOD TO WORK SERIOUSLY FOR DISARMAMENT, FOR HALTING THE ARMS RACE, THAT IT DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT AMERICA'S CONCERNS, AND SO ON. AS YOU SEE, WE HAVE COME DOWN TO THE MATTER, AND INDEED WE PUT THE QUESTION VERY SHARPLY. THERE EXISTS THE TRIAD, ALREADY RECOGNIZED, GENERALLY RECOGNIZED BY US AND BY THE AMERICANS — SO THE WHOLE TRIAD OF STRATEGIC ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED BY 50 PERCENT IN THE FIRST 3 YEARS. THIS IS A LARGE STEP. BUT WE AT THE SAME TIME SHOWED AND TOLD THE AMERICANS THAT WE TOO HAVE OUR CONCERNS, AND PARTICULARLY ON THE FOLLOWING SCORE: THE FACT IS THAT 70 — OR PERHAPS — IS THAT RIGHT?

(UNIDENTIFIED VOICE) YES, YES.

(GORBACHEV) TELL MR. AKHROMYEV, 70 PERCENT OF STRATEGIC FORCES ARE STATIONED ON SUBMARINES IN AMERICA, 850 MULTIPLE WARHEADS OR MORE?

(UNIDENTIFIED VOICE) 856

(GORBACHEV) 656 MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETED WARHEADS. AND AFTER ALL, SUBMARINES SAIL AROUND THE SOVIET UNION, IN ALL SEAS AND OCEANS. SO WHERE WILL IT STRIKE FROM? THIS IS EVEN WORSE THAN A LAND BASED HEAVY MISSILE. SO, YOU SEE, IN GENERAL THIS IS ALL TALK. WHEN THEY DO NOT WANT TO RESOLVE QUESTIONS, THEY LOOK FOR PROBLEMS, OBSTACLES. BUT THESE OBSTACLES HAVE BEEN REMOVED, AND THIS IS THE IMPORTANT THING. AND INDEED AN INTERESTING QUESTION IS THE FACT THAT WE HAVE EMBARKED ON SUCH A LARGE STEP, HAVING IN ADDITION REMOVED ALL THE PROBLEMS CONCERNING MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES WHICH HAVE STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES — THE PRESENT PERSHING AND FORWARD-BASED WEAPONS. WE HAVE TAKEN THESE OUT OF THE EQUATION, SO TO SPEAK, WHEN IT CAME TO RESOLVING THE QUESTION OF STRATEGIC MISSILES. THIS INDICATES OUR GOOD WILL. BUT THE AMERICANS, NEVERTHELESS, FAILED TO MATCH US. I THINK — I'M COMING BACK TO THIS YET AGAIN — THAT THE AMERICANS THINK THEY WILL BREAK OUT INTO SPACE AND ACHIEVE MILITARY SUPERIORITY AND WILL IMPLEMENT THE IDEA OF ONE PRESIDENT WHO SAID THAT HE WHO RULES SPACE WOULD RULE THE EARTH. WE CONTINUE DEALING WITH IMPERIAL AMBITIONS. BUT THE WORLD IS NOT LIKE THAT. THE WORLD DOES NOT WANT TO BE A FIEFDOM OF THE UNITED STATES. IT WILL NOT BE A FIEFDOM OF THE SOVIET UNION. EACH COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT TO MAKE ITS OWN CHOICE, FOR ITS IDEOLOGY, FOR ITS VALUES. IF WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE THIS THEN THERE ARE NO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THEN THERE IS CHAOS AND LAW BY THE FIST, YOU UNDERSTAND. WE WILL NEVER AGREE TO THIS.

(MORE)

13 OCT 0348Z MJO

///, GREE TO THIS.

LD150317

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) AMERICA IS PROBABLY VERY NOSTALGIC ABOUT THE OLD DAYS WHEN IT WAS MIGHTY, WHILE WE ALL EMERGED FROM THE WAR WEAKENED. IT HAD BOTH ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SUPERIORITY. THERE IS EVIDENTLY SOME NOSTALGIA, BUT NEVERTHELESS WE WOULD WISH THAT OUR AMERICAN PARTNERS ACCEPT THE REALITIES. THIS IS WHAT THEY SHOULD DO, OTHERWISE WE WILL MAKE NO PROGRESS IN THE SEARCH FOR CORRECT SOLUTIONS, IF THE AMERICANS DO NOT START THINKING IN TODAY'S TERMS AND PROCEED FROM PRESENT-DAY REALITIES.

(BULGARIAN TELEVISION CORRESPONDENT) BULGARIAN TELEVISION COMRADE GORBACHEV. (5-SECOND BREAK IN TRANSMISSION) ...UNDERSTOOD YOU, THESE TALKS ARE NOT BEING STOPPED, AND I ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION, WILL BE TO LOOK FOR SOLUTIONS FOR THE ISSUES (?THAT HAVE NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED.)

(GORBACHEV) YOU ARE RIGHT.

(BULGARIAN TELEVISION CORRESPONDENT) DO YOU THINK THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION WILL BE GIVEN THE SAME KIND OF INSTRUCTIONS BY THE U.S. LEADERSHIP AFTER REYKJAVIK?

(GORBACHEV) I HOPE SO. I HOPE THAT THIS WILL BE SO.

(UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT) ONE WOULD LIKE TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE. IN WHAT WAY, IN YOUR OPINION, WILL THE OUTCOME OF THE MEETING IN REYKJAVIK AFFECT THE PAN-EUROPEAN PROCESS?

WHAT WILL BE ITS FATE NOW?

(GORBACHEV) I BELIEVE THAT AT THIS VERY CRUCIAL TIME BOTH POLITICIANS AND THE PEOPLE OF EUROPE WILL BE UP TO THE MARK. THE TIME CALLS FOR ACTION, AND NOT JUST MAGNILOQUENT STATEMENTS NOT FOLLOWED BY ANYTHING CONCRETE. THE WORLD IS SICK AND TIRED OF IDLE TALK. THE WORLD NEEDS A REAL PROCESS OF DISARMAMENT, OF ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. I THINK THAT THIS TENDENCY WILL BE GROWING. I

CURRENT LISTING OF: T2410:3

10/09/86 10:11 PAGE: 2

I AM ESPECIALLY HOPING FOR WISDOM AND A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY ON THE
PART OF POLITICIANS AND PEOPLES OF EUROPE. (TURNS TO NEXT
CORRESPONDENT) GO AHEAD PLEASE — I MEAN YOU OVER THERE!

(NBC CORRESPONDENT SPEAKING IN ENGLISH, FALLING INTO RUSSIAN
TRANSLATION) (NAME INDISTINCT) NBC NEWS. AM I CORRECT IN
UNDERSTANDING THAT YOU ARE DIRECTLY APPEALING TO OTHER MEMBERS OF
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ACT AS A LOBBY IN ORDER TO FORCE THE
UNITED STATES TO CHANGE ITS OPINION?

(MORE)

13 OCT 0355Z MJO

CURRENT LISTING OF: T2411:3
SLUG TAKE 14 OF 14 — 001 (GORBACHEV)
CATEGORY:FEIS1

10/09/86 10:11 PAGE: 1
DATE: 10/13/86 00:32:10
STORY: 022

///CHANGE ITS OPINION?

LD130329

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV) YOU KNOW, LOBBYING IS WELL-DEVELOPED IN YOUR COUNTRY. WE KNOW THE WAY THE U.S. POLITICAL PROCESS WORKS. PERHAPS THAT IS WHY THE PRESIDENT FOUND IT HARD TO MAKE A DECISION AT THIS MEETING. BUT WHEN IT IS A QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING PEACE, AND NOT SIMPLY STRENGTHENING IT, BUT OF DOING SOMETHING, TAKING REAL STEPS TO STRENGTHEN IT, WHEN JOINT EFFORTS ARE REQUIRED — AND THIS CONCERNS EVERYBODY, NOT ONLY THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION — -I DO NOT THINK OF THE LOBBY SYSTEM; I THINK OF THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND COMMON SENSE OF THE PEOPLES, OF AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE ASSET WHICH IS TODAY'S PEACE, AND OF THE NEED TO PRESERVE THAT PEACE.

FOR THIS REASON, WHEN IN THIS CASE WE START CALLING PEOPLES, MOVEMENTS, OR POLITICIANS WHO CALL FOR PEACE — AND THIS COINCIDES WITH WHAT WE PROCLAIM — WHEN WE START CALLING THEM LOBBYISTS FOR THE SOVIET UNION, I THINK THAT IS INSULTING. PEOPLE WILL IMPLEMENT THEIR POLITICAL AND CIVIL POSITION I THINK THAT WILL BE A CORRECT ASSESSMENT.

(UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT SPEAKING IN ENGLISH, WITH SUPERIMPOSED RUSSIAN TRANSLATION) I WORK IN ICELAND AS A NEWSPAPER PUBLISHER. DID YOU HAVE ANY DIFFICULTIES IN COMING TO THE DECISION TO COME TO REYKJAVIK? THIS IS A NATO COUNTRY, AND AS YOU KNOW THE GOVERNMENT IS IN FAVOR OF HAVING A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE PROCLAIMED IN THE NORTH OF THE COUNTRY. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW YOUR ATTITUDE TO THESE FACTS. THANK YOU.

(GORBACHEV) I WANTED TO END WITH THIS, BUT WILL AVAIL MYSELF OF THE FACT THAT A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ICELANDIC PRESS IS POSING THE QUESTION. I WOULD LIKE TO SAY IN REPLY TO YOUR QUESTION THAT WE WERE THE ONES WHO PROPOSED ICELAND, AND THEREFORE WE HAD NO DIFFICULTY. I ALSO WANT TO THANK THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF ICELAND FOR APPLYING ALL THEIR HUMAN, ORGANIZATIONAL, AND MATERIAL POTENTIAL TO DOING THEIR UTMOST TO RESOLVE THE QUESTIONS THAT NEEDED TO BE RESOLVED TO HOLD THIS MAJOR MEETING. WE ARE GRATEFUL. WE HAVE FELT COMFORTABLE HERE. WE HAVE HAD BROAD CONTACTS. I HAVE LEARNED A PARTICULARLY GREAT DEAL OF INTERESTING INFORMATION FROM RAISA MAKSIMOVNA, WHO HAD MANY INTERESTING MEETINGS IN ICELAND. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS VERY FRIENDLY. THERE IS VERY GREAT INTEREST IN OUR COUNTRY. WE ARE VERY GRATEFUL TO ICELAND AND THE ICELANDIC GOVERNMENT FOR ALL THEY HAVE DONE. WE WISH ICELAND PROSPERITY.

AS FOR THE LATTER PART OF YOUR QUESTION, CONCERNING THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF YOUR COUNTRY WISHES TO DECLARE A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE, WE WELCOME THIS. WE WELCOME THIS, AND REGARD THIS AS A CONTRIBUTION.

DEAR FRIENDS, THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION. I THINK WE HAVE SPENT THE TIME USEFULLY. I WISH YOU ALL THE BEST. THANK YOU. GOODBYE. (APPLAUSE)

NONE OF YOU ASKED: GENERAL SECRETARY, WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE PRESS AT THIS IMPORTANT HISTORIC MOMENT? THINK ABOUT THAT! I'M ASKING YOU THE QUESTION. (LAUGHTER) GOODBYE.

(ENDALL)
13 OCT 0400Z MJO

11

Current listing of: T2330:3

10/09/86 10:11 Page:

STRICTLY OBSERVED, THAT THE DEVELOPMENT (RAZRABOTKA) AND TESTS OF
SPACE WEAPONS SHOULD BE BANNED, AND THAT ONLY RESEARCH AND TESTS AS
PART OF LABORATORIES ARE ALLOWED. WHAT DID WE MEAN BY THIS?

(MORE)

13 OCT 0134Z LY

Current listing of: T2330:3
Slug: TAKE 5 OF MANY -- 001 (GORBACH
Category: FBIS1

10/09/86 10:11 Page: 1
Date: 10/12/86 22:01:11
Story: 010

///A DISCUSSION BEGAN.
LE130102

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) BUT IT TURNS OUT THIS IS BAD AGAIN, IT DOES NOT SUIT THE AMERICAN SIDE AGAIN; THEY HAVE BEGUN ONCE AGAIN TO INVITE US TO AGREE TO INTERMEDIATE OPTIONS, TO KEEP THE AMERICAN MISSILES IN EUROPE, AND THE SOVIET ONES IN EUROPE, OR SOME PART OF THEM. THERE COULD BE A COMPENSATORY AMOUNT OF ASIA. IN GENERAL, THERE WAS MUCH SAID.

WE SAID TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: MR PRESIDENT, WE CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW YOU CAN RENOUNCE YOUR BRAINCHILD, THE ZERO OPTION, WHICH YOU YOURSELF PROPOSED AND WHICH WE ARE TABLING NOW IN ORDER TO MEET YOU HALFWAY, RECOGNIZING THE CONCERNS AND TAKING THESE CONCERNS INTO ACCOUNT IN OUR PROPOSALS.

IN THE END THE DISCUSSION LASTED UNTIL TODAY, A SHARP (OSTRAYA) DISCUSSION, AND WE TOOK THE FINAL STEP. WE STATED THAT WE WERE PREPARED FOR THE FOLLOWING VERSION: WE SHALL ELIMINATE AMERICAN AND SOVIET MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE. ON MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF UNDER 1,000 KM WE SHALL FREEZE THEM AND START TALKS. AND IN ASIA WE SHALL HAVE 100 WARHEADS OF MEDIUM MISSILES AND, CORRESPONDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE 100 WARHEADS ON ITS TERRITORY. WE ALSO REACHED AGREEMENT TO SIGN SUCH AN AGREEMENT ON THIS. THIS WOULD SUIT EVERYONE, I THINK -- THE SOVIET UNION TOO, EVEN THOUGH IT IS ALTOGETHER AGAIN A MAJOR CONCESSION AND IS NOT SO EASY FOR US TO ACCEPT. BUT WE MUST START MOVING. I HAVE MENTIONED THIS MORE THAN ONCE: WHAT IS NEEDED ARE BOLD, ORIGINAL DECISIONS. IF WE TAKE THE ADVICE OF PAST EXPERIENCE ALL THE TIME, EXPERIENCE THAT BELONGS TO A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT TIME, WITHOUT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT WHERE WE ARE TODAY AND WHERE WE WILL BE TOMORROW AND THE POSSIBILITY THAT TOMORROW WE MAY BE COMPLETELY UNABLE TO START A DIALOGUE -- PARTICULARLY A DIALOGUE ON THESE BURNING QUESTIONS THAT WORRY THE WHOLE WORLD -- THEN WE JUST HAVE TO START SOMEWHERE.

WE HAVE STARTED OUT ON THIS, UNDERSTANDING THAT THESE WERE NOT EASY DECISIONS FOR US. IT WAS -- WE REACHED AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION.

REGARDING THE FACT THAT WE ARE READY TO MAKE DEEP CUTS IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND TO GET RID OF THE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL OF MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES, WE PUT THE QUESTION LIKE THIS: IF WE ARE ENTERING A CONCRETE STAGE, THE ACTUAL ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR

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WEAPONS, THEN THERE MUST BE AT LEAST COMPLETE CLARITY FOR BOTH SIDES OF TWO QUESTIONS: FIRST, MONITORING. NOW THAT WE ARE EMBARKING ON THIS STAGE, WE SUPPORT TRIPLE MONITORING, MONITORING THAT CAN PROVIDE COMPLETE CONFIDENCE ON EACH SIDE THAT NOTHING CAN HAPPEN THAT WOULD LET US DOWN, SO THAT IT COULD TURN OUT TO BE TRAPPED, ENSNARED. WE ARE FOR ANY FORM OF MONITORING AND ARE READY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS. THIS QUESTION WAS REMOVED FROM THE TABLE IN VIEW OF OUR POSITION. AND WE SHALL INDEED NOW STRIVE FOR SUCH MONITORING, IF WE EMBARK ON THIS PATH.

AND THE SECOND QUESTION: IF WE ARE STARTING TO UNDERTAKE THE PRACTICAL LIQUIDATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS, STRATEGIC POTENTIAL, AND MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES, THEN A QUESTION ARISES THAT EACH SIDE MUST HAVE A GUARANTEE THAT IN THAT PERIOD NEITHER SIDE MUST DO ANYTHING TO ACHIEVE A MILITARY ADVANTAGE AND OBTAIN THE RIGHT TO DICTATE. I THINK THIS IS A VERY JUST AND LOGICAL FORMULATION BOTH FROM THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY POINT OF VIEW. FROM THE POLITICAL VIEWPOINT, IF WE BEGIN TO REDUCE ARMAMENTS, THEN WE MUST TAKE CARE THAT ALL THE OBSTACLES THAT EXIST TODAY AND STAND IN THE WAY OF THE CREATION OF NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS, HAVE TO BE NOT ONLY PRESERVED BUT ALSO STRENGTHENED. IS THIS A CORRECT FORMULATION? IT IS INDEED BOTH CORRECT AND LOGICAL. FROM THE MILITARY VIEWPOINT IT IS INDEED NECESSARY TO ENSURE THAT IT DOES NOT HAPPEN THAT BOTH SIDES REDUCE THEIR NUCLEAR POTENTIAL, BUT THAT WHILE THE REDUCTION IS IN PROGRESS, ONE SIDE SECRETLY SEIZES THE INITIATIVE AND ACHIEVES MILITARY SUPERIORITY. THIS IS INADMISSIBLE. I SAY THIS WITH REGARD TO THE SOVIET UNION, BUT WE ALSO HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEMAND THIS FROM THE AMERICAN SIDE.

IN CONNECTION WITH THIS, WE PUT THE QUESTION THIS WAY: IN THIS SITUATION WHEN WE COME TO THE STAGE OF A REAL, PROFOUND REDUCTION AND THEN IN 10 YEARS -- AND THIS WAS HOW THE WHOLE SITUATION APPEARED TO US AT THE MEETING TODAY ON THE SPECIFIC POINTS -- WE CONCLUDED THAT IN 10 YEARS WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO LIQUIDATE THE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; AND DURING THIS PERIOD IT IS NECESSARY NOT ONLY NOT TO WEAKEN THE MECHANISMS, PRIMARILY THOSE SUCH AS THE ABM TREATY, THAT HOLD BACK THE ARMS RACE, BUT TO STRENGTHEN THESE MECHANISMS. AND OUR PROPOSAL BOILED DOWN TO THE FOLLOWING: THAT WE STRENGTHEN THE OPEN-ENDED ABM TREATY BY THE SIDES MAKING IDENTICAL PLEDGES THAT IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS THEY WILL NOT USE THEIR RIGHT TO ABANDON THIS TREATY. AND THESE ARE THE VERY 10 YEARS WHEN THE REDUCTION OF THE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL WILL BE TAKING PLACE. IS THIS A CORRECT, LOGICAL FORMULATION? IT'S LOGICAL. IS IT A SERIOUS FORMULATION? IT IS. DOES IT MATCH THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES? IT DOES.

AND AT THE SAME TIME WE STRESSED IN OUR PROPOSAL THAT IN THIS PERIOD OF 10 YEARS ALL THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE ABM TREATY SHOULD BE

IF WE WERE TO MEET IN WASHINGTON, I COULD NOT FOR A MOMENT ALLOW MYSELF TO LET THAT MEETING FAIL. AND WHAT, IN THAT CASE, SHOULD PEOPLE THINK, IN GENERAL, IN THE USSR, IN THE UNITED STATES, AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD?

(MORE)

13 OCT 0152Z LY

Current listing of: T2333:3
Slug:TAKE 6 OF MANY -- 001 (GORBACH
Category:FBIS1

10/09/86 10:11 Page:
Date: 10/12/86 22:10:06
Story: 011

//MEAN BY THIS?

LD130103

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) WE KNOW THE ATTACHMENT OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION AND PRESIDENT TO SDI. THE POSSIBILITY OF, OUR CONSENT TO THE CONTINUATION OF AND TO THE POSSIBILITY OF LABORATORY TESTS GIVES THE PRESIDENT THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSUMMATE RESEARCH AND ELUCIDATE WHAT SDI IS AND WHAT KIND OF AN ANIMAL IT IS, ALTHOUGH FOR MANY PEOPLE, US INCLUDED, IT IS ALREADY CLEAR WHAT IT IS.

AND THIS IS WHERE, COMRADES, A REAL ROW STARTED, CONCERNING THE TWO APPROACHES OF WORLD POLITICS, INCLUDING ON SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE STOPPING OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE BANNING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION, THE PRESIDENT, INSISTED TO THE END THAT AMERICA SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO TEST, RESEARCH AND TEST, EVERYTHING THAT RELATES TO SDI NOT ONLY IN LABORATORIES BUT ALSO BEYOND, INCLUDING IN SPACE. WELL, WHO WOULD AGREE TO THAT? A MADMAN!

BUT MADMEN ARE USUALLY WHERE THEY SHOULD BE, FOR TREATMENT; AT ANY RATE, I DON'T SEE THEM IN LEADING POSITIONS, ESPECIALLY AT THE HELM OF STATES. AND TO THINK WE WERE ON THE VERGE OF TAKING MAJOR HISTORIC DECISIONS, FOR HITHERTO IT WAS ONLY A QUESTION OF LIMITATION: WE HAD TAKEN THE ABM, SALT-1, SALT-2 ETC DECISIONS.

AND THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION, AS WE NOW REALIZE, HAVING COME TO BELIEVE IN ITS TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE, IS TRYING TO CUT ITS WAY THROUGH SDI, TO MILITARY SUPERIORITY; IT HAS EVEN GONE SO FAR AS TO BURY THE ACCORDS, WHEN WE HAD ALREADY AGREED THAT THEY ONLY REMAINED TO BE SIGNED, THAT WE ONLY HAD TO MAKE, AND GIVE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE TREATIES TO BE DRAFTED, PRACTICAL INSTRUCTIONS AS TO HOW THEY SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED, AND EVERYTHING COULD HAVE BEEN SIGNED IN WASHINGTON: IT DISRUPTED ALL THAT.

I TOLD THE PRESIDENT WE WERE MISSING AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY. NEVER BEFORE HAVE OUR POSITIONS BEEN SO CLOSE. THE PRESIDENT, SAYING GOODBYE TO ME, SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED AND THAT FROM THE VERY BEGINNING I CAME, HAD INTENDED, NO DOUBT, HAD COME WITH AN UNWILLINGNESS TO SIGN THESE TREATIES, TO FIND AGREEMENT, ACCORD. WHY DO YOU ON ACCOUNT OF ONE WORD DISPLAY SUCH HARDNESS IN YOUR APPROACH, SO TO SPEAK, TO ANYTHING TO DO WITH SDI AND THE PROBLEM OF TESTS, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING OF THESE PROBLEMS?

I DON'T THINK IT'S A MATTER OF A WORD. NOT A WORD, BUT SUBSTANCE. THIS IS PRECISELY THE KEY TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS IN THE MIND OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION.

IN MY OPINION, WHAT IT HAS IN MIND IS -- AS I CAN NOW ALREADY SEE -- WHAT THE U.S. MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX HAS IN MIND. IT IS THIS THAT IS IN POWER. AND THE PRESIDENT IS NOT FREE TO TAKE SUCH A DECISION.

WE TOOK BREAKS, DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD, AND, I SEE, THE PRESIDENT DID NOT RECEIVE SUPPORT. AND THIS IS WHY OUR MEETING WAS BROKEN OFF.

IT FAILED WHEN WE WERE ALREADY CLOSE TO REACHING HISTORIC RESULTS.

SUCH IS THE DRAMATIC SITUATION WHICH CAME ABOUT AT THIS MEETING. (HERE FOLLOWS 1-MINUTE BREAK IN SIGNAL FROM RELAY; MOSCOW TELEVISION DISPLAYS REYKJAVIK CITY SCENE)

...AND EVN THOUGH OUR DIALOGUE WAS A DIFFICULT ONE, IT NEVERTHELESS CONTINUED AFTER GENEVA, SO I TOLD HIM MY POINT OF VIEW IN REGARD TO WHAT OUGHT TO BE THE NATURE OF OUR MEETING IN THE UNITED STATES DURING MY VISIT. YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THIS POINT OF VIEW.

IT IS NOT A CONDITION, BUT IT IS RATHER AN UNDERSTANDING, I THINK, SIMPLY OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY -- BOTH MINE AND THAT OF THE PRESIDENT -- WHICH DICTATES HOW THE FUTURE MEETING IN WASHINGTON SHOULD BE APPROACHED. WE NEED A SUCCESSFUL MEETING: IT SHOULD REALLY LEAD TO PERCEPTIBLE RESULTS AND FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES, AND STEPS, AND ESPECIALLY IN SUCH A BURNING ISSUE AS NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL, THE PREVENTION OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

I TOLD HIM IN LETTERS, AND SAID TO HIM AT OUR MEETING: YOU AND I, MR PRESIDENT, MUST NOT ALLOW OUR MEETING IN WASHINGTON TO FAIL. THIS IS WHY I ADVOCATED AN URGENT MEETING BETWEEN US -- WE DO INDEED HAVE SOMETHING CONSTRUCTIVE TO PUT FORWARD IN ORDER TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT AND GO INTO THE WASHINGTON MEETING WITH SERIOUS PROPOSALS AND SERIOUS SOLUTIONS.

Current listing of: T2345:3
Slug:CORRECTION 002 (GORBACHEV NEWS
Category:FBIS1

10/09/86 10:11 Page:
Date: 10/12/86 22:38:56
Story: 015

LE130208

PARAGRAPH TWO, LAST LINE, SHOULD READ///THINKING IN THE NUCLEAR
AGE. (NEW GRAF) I WANT///(CORRECTING TYPO).

LAST PARAGRAPH, LINE SEVEN, SHOULD READ///IN GENEVA -- DURING
WHICH, AS I TOLD///(CORRECTING TYPO).

13 OCT 0234Z LY

Current listing of: T2389:3
Slug:TAKE 8 OF MANY -- 001 (GORBACH
Category:FBIS1

10/09/86 10:11 Page:
Date: 10/12/86 23:44:52
Story: 016

///FOR YOUR ATTENTION.
LD130157

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) AFTER SUCH A DETAILED SPEECH, SUCH AN ADDRESS, ARE THERE STILL GOING TO BE QUESTIONS? THERE WILL BE? WELL, LET'S GO, LET'S SIT UNTIL DAWN! YES, PLEASE, YOU.

(CZECHOSLOVAK CORRESPONDENT) CZECHOSLOVAK TELEVISION, (?PETR KUCHERA). ESTEEMED MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH, I HAVE THE FOLLOWING QUESTION: YOU HAVE SAID THAT A GREAT CHANCE WAS MISSED HERE IN REYKJAVIK. WHEN, IN YOUR OPINION, CAN A NEW CHANCE ARISE?

(GORBACHEV) YOU KNOW THAT I WOULD GIVE AN OPTIMISTIC ANSWER TO THAT BECAUSE MUCH HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE, BOTH ON THE EVE OF THE MEETING AND AT THE MEETING ITSELF. IF WE, FROM REALISTIC POSITIONS BOTH IN THE UNITED STATES, IN THE WHITE HOUSE, AND IN OUR COUNTRY, IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, THINK THROUGH EVERYTHING ONCE AGAIN AND SHOW REALISM AND RESPONSIBILITY, THEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESOLVE THESE ISSUES IS NOT YET LOST. (GORBACHEV TURNS TO ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT -- FBIS) JAPAN, IF I AM NOT MISTAKEN.

(JAPANESE TELEVISION CORRESPONDENT) JAPANESE TELEVISION, NHK. DOES THIS MEAN THAT THE DIALOGUE WITH THE UNITED STATES, WITH THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, IS CONTINUING, OR DO YOU THINK THAT VERY LITTLE OPPORTUNITY REMAINS FOR A GOOD DIALOGUE WITH REAGAN?

(GORBACHEV) I THINK THAT AT THE MOMENT THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE HAS GROWN EVEN MORE, NO MATTER HOW DIFFICULT IT MAY BE. (GORBACHEV TURNS TO ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT -- FBIS) YES, PLEASE. WELL, I DO NOT KNOW YOU. WHAT IS YOUR SURNAME? AH, KOLESNICHENKO! I'VE READ YOU A GREAT DEAL, BUT YOU HAVE LIVED MAINLY IN AMERICA, SO THAT IS WHY I DO NOT KNOW YOU!

(KOLESNICHENKO) MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH, WHAT DO YOU THINK: WHY HAS THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION DECIDED TO WRECK THE TALKS, MAKING SUCH AN IRRESPONSIBLE DECISION THAT IGNORES WORLD PUBLIC OPINION?

(GORBACHEV) I THINK THAT AMERICA HAS YET TO MAKE ITSELF CLEAR. I THINK THAT IT HAS NOT YET MADE ITSELF CLEAR AND WE FEEL THAT THIS

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WAS SEEN IN THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION. (GORBACHEV TURNS TO ANOTHER
CORRESPONDENT -- FBIS) YES, PLEASE.

(AUSTRALIAN RADIO CORRESPONDENT -- IN ENGLISH FOLLOWED BY RUSSIAN
TRANSLATION) GENERAL SECRETARY, MARK (COLEMAN) FROM THE AUSTRALIAN
BROADCASTING CORPORATION. YOU DESCRIBED MR REAGAN AS BEING IN THE
GRIP OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. DOES THIS MEAN THAT THIS
IS (?THE CAUSE) OF WHAT HAPPENED TODAY, AND THAT IN THE FUTURE THE
UNITED STATES WILL STILL NOT BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE GREAT SUCCESSES IN
THIS FIELD?

(GORBACHEV) FOR ALL THAT THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
REPRESENTS TODAY, AND FOR ALL THE WEIGHT THAT IT HAS IN AMERICA AS
IT IS TODAY, WE SHALL NOT OVERESTIMATE ITS CAPABILITIES. I HAVE
ALWAYS BEEN A SUPPORTER OF THE APPROACH AND EVALUATION THAT SAYS
THAT THE PEOPLE HAVE THE DECISIVE WORD IN ANY COUNTRY, AND THIS
INCLUDES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. (GORBACHEV TURNS TO ANOTHER
CORRESPONDENT -- FBIS) YES, I PROMISED YOU.

(UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT, QUESTION IN ENGLISH FOLLOWED BY
RUSSIAN TRANSLATION) (WORDS INDISTINCT) AS FAR AS THE NEGATIVE
RESULT OF THE MEETING IS CONCERNED, DOES THIS MEAN THAT THE SOVIET
UNION WILL GO ON FIGHTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRESH SPACE PROGRAMS?

(GORBACHEV) I THINK YOU HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE MEANING OF THE SOVIET
POSITION, THAT IF WE HAVE NOW REACHED A STAGE WHEN, BEGINNING A DEEP
CUT OF NUCLEAR ARMS, OF BOTH STRATEGIC AND MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES,
AND WE AND THE AMERICANS WERE ALREADY COMING TO AN AGREEMENT, THAT
WE WOULD DO THIS OVER A PERIOD OF 10 YEARS, THEN WE HAD THE RIGHT TO
DEMAND THAT WE SHOULD BE GUARANTEED DURING THIS PERIOD THAT NOTHING
UNEXPECTED AND UNFORESEEN SHOULD HAPPEN. THIS INCLUDES THE SPHERE
OF SPACE TOO, AND THE DEPLOYMENT IN SPACE OF A SPACE ABM SYSTEM.
BUT -- AND PERHAPS I SHALL OPEN THE CURTAIN A LITTLE OVER OUR
EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS -- I TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT THE SDI DOES NOT
WORRY US FROM A MILITARY POINT OF VIEW. I BELIEVE THAT ONE IN
AMERICA BELIEVES THAT SUCH A SYSTEM CAN BE BUILT (SOZDAT).
FURTHERMORE, WE SHALL HAVE OUR ASYMMETRIC ANSWER IF, IN THE FINAL
RESORT, AMERICA DECIDES TO GO AHEAD WITH IT. THOUGH I DID SAY TO
HIM: MR PRESIDENT, YOU KNOW, THEY'VE MADE ME YOUR COMRADE-IN-ARMS
OVER THE SDI. HE WAS SURPRISED AT THIS, AND I SAID: IT SEEMS THAT
BECAUSE I CRITICIZE THE SDI SO SHARPLY, THIS GIVES YOU THE MOST
CONVINCING ARGUMENT THAT THE SDI IS NECESSARY. YOU SIMPLY SAY: IF
GORBACHEV IS AGAINST IT, THAT MEANS IT IS A GOOD THING, AND YOU GET
THE APPLAUSE AND THE FINANCING. BUT INDEED, THERE ARE CYNICS AND
SCEPTICS WHO SAY: ISN'T THAT A CUNNING PLOY BY GORBACHEV, NOT TO GET
HIMSELF DRAWN INTO THE SDI. BUT TO REDUCE AMERICA TO POVERTY BY IT?

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WELL, YOU CAN WORK IT OUT FOR YOURSELF. IN ANY CASE, THE SDI DOES NOT FRIGHTEN US. I CAN TELL YOU THIS WITH CERTAINTY, BECAUSE TO BLUFF OVER SUCH QUESTIONS IS IRRESPONSIBLE. THERE WILL BE A RESPONSE. IT WILL NOT BE A SYMMETRICAL ONE. WE WILL NOT HAVE TO SACRIFICE A LOT. BUT WHERE DOES ITS DANGER LIE?

FIRST, A POLITICAL DANGER. A SITUATION IMMEDIATELY ARISES THAT INTRODUCES UNCERTAINTY AND AROUSES MISTRUST OF ONE ANOTHER AND SUSPICIONS, AND THEN, YOU KNOW THERE CAN BE NO TALK OF CUTTING NUCLEAR ARMS. IN BRIEF, THIS IS NOT A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT SITUATION WHICH WE NEED TO BE ABLE TO ENGAGE THOROUGHLY IN CUTTING NUCLEAR ARMS. THAT IS THE FIRST THING.

SECOND, THERE IS AFTER ALL A MILITARY SIDE. THROUGH THE SDI IT IS POSSIBLE TO ARRIVE AT NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS. THIS TOO WE ARE COMPETENT TO SAY.

(MORE)
13 OCT 0249Z LY

Current listing of: T7530:2
Slug: TAKE 7 OF MANY -- 001 (GORBACH
Category: FBIS1

10/12/86 22:54 Page: 1
Date: 10/12/86 22:39:34
Story: 014

///THROUGHOUT THE WORLD?
LD130149

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) AND WHAT DOES THIS SAY ABOUT THE POLITICIANS WHO HEAD TWO SUCH HUGE STATES, AND WHO TO A GREAT EXTENT DETERMINE THE FATE OF THE WHOLE WORLD? HERE THEY ARE MEETING, THEY WRITE TO EACH OTHER, THEY ARE HAVING THEIR THIRD MEETING, AND THEY CAN'T AGREE WITH EACH OTHER ABOUT ANYTHING. THAT, I CONSIDER, WOULD BE A SIMPLY SCANDALOUS OUTCOME, WITH UNFORESEEABLE CONSEQUENCES. WE SIMPLY CANNOT ALLOW IT. THIS WOULD CAUSE DISAPPOINTMENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AND NOT ONLY IN OUR COUNTRIES.

AND SO, IN FACT, IT IS THE PLAN FOR HAVING A MEETING IN WASHINGTON, THE QUESTION OF HOW ARE WE TO HOLD IT, AND WITH WHAT RESULTS, THAT PUSHED US TOWARD THE INITIATIVE OF HOLDING A WORKING MEETING HERE IN ICELAND, IN REYKJAVIK, IN ORDER TO GET THINGS CLEAR IN A BUSSINESSLIKE WAY, TO LISTEN TO EACH OTHER ATTENTIVELY, TO TRY TO FIND MUTUAL POINTS OF CONTACT, AND IN GENERAL TO FIND COMMON APPROACHES WHICH WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES, IN THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES, AND THE PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES.

ALL THE SAME, THE AMERICANS HAVE COME TO THIS MEETING BARE- AND EMPTY-HANDED, WITH A MOTH-BALLED COLLECTION, AS THEY SAY, THAT THE GENEVA TALKS ARE ALREADY STIFLING. WE, AS YOU CAN SEE, IN ORDER TO BREAK THROUGH THIS SITUATION, TO OPEN UP THE WAY, TO TAKE THIS PROCESS THROUGH TO A NEW STAGE, AND TO REALLY RESOLVE THE ISSUES, HAVE PUT FORWARD THESE PROPOSALS.

SO I HAVE TOLD YOU WHAT HAPPENED.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? THE UNITED STATES REMAINS AS A REALITY. THE SOVIET UNION REMAINS AS A REALITY. SOME HERO OF ONE OF OUR RUSSIAN WRITERS WANTED TO CLOSE AMERICA, BUT HE COULDN'T MANAGE IT. WE ARE FREE OF THIS COMPLEX. AMERICA IS A REALITY -- AND WHAT A REALITY! THE SOVIET UNION, I CONSIDER, IS ALSO AN IMPRESSIVE REALITY.

I THINK NOW THAT WE AND THE AMERICANS MUST THINK OVER, AND WORLD PUBLIC OPINION MUST THINK OVER THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE WORLD ON THE MAIN ISSUE WHICH IS CONCERNING THE PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES -- THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE, THE QUESTION OF THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR

I THINK THAT I AM NOT EXAGGERATING WHEN I SAY THAT EVERYTHING THAT WE PROPOSED TO THE PRESIDENT MEETS THE INTERESTS OF BOTH THE U.S. PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES. IF IT IS NOT IN SOMEONE'S INTERESTS THEN WE ARE ENTITLED ALTOGETHER TODAY: LET THEM LISTEN TO WHAT THE U.S. PEOPLE, THE SOVIET PEOPLE, AND PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES ARE DEMANDING. I ARRIVED HERE FOR THIS MEETING AND SAID THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR ACTION. IT TURNED OUT THAT THESE WORDS TURNED OUT TO BE PROPHETIC; IT REALLY IS A TIME FOR ACTION, AND NONE OF US MUST WASTE TIME.

WE SHALL ACT, WE SHALL NOT DEVIATE FROM OUR POLICY FOR PEACE, THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ARMS RACE, FOR THE BANNING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, FOR THE SCRAPPING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, FOR AVERTING THE NUCLEAR THREAT FROM THE WHOLE OF OUR PLANET. AND I THINK WE SHALL NOT BE ALONE IN THIS FIGHT.

WELL, I HAVE SAID TO YOU EVERYTHING THAT I CAN SAY TO YOU RIGHT NOW, IMMEDIATELY AFTER OUR MEETING. OBVIOUSLY I COULD SAY MORE, IF I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO THINK OVER MORE EVERYTHING THAT HAS HAPPENED. BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT I HAVE EXPRESSED MYSELF COMPLETELY LUCIDLY AND SPECIFICALLY ON ALL MATTERS. AT THE MOMENT I AM NOT TALKING ABOUT THE FACT THAT WE TOUCHED UPON MANY OTHER MATTERS.

WE TALKED ABOUT HUMANITARIAN MATTERS, AND CAME ONTO SPECIFIC PROBLEMS HERE AS WELL. THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS. TWO GROUPS WERE SET UP, TWO WORKING GROUPS, WHICH YOU PROBABLY KNEW ABOUT. THE FIRST ONE ON MILITARY MATTERS, LET US SAY, WAS HEADED ON OUR SIDE BY MARSHAL OF THE SOVIET UNION AKHROMEYEV, CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF. AND ON THE U.S. SIDE WHO HEADED THE GROUP? NITZE. PAUL NITZE. THEY WORKED FOR 10 HOURS 20 MINUTES, ALL NIGHT. A GROUP ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WAS WORKING, HEADED ON OUR SIDE BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINSITER BESSMERTNYKH, AND ON THE U.S. SIDE, BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE MRS. RIDGWAY.

THEY ALSO HAD AN INTERESTING EXCHANGE. AND THIS -- CERTAIN ACCORDS WHICH WERE ACHIEVED THERE -- COULD BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT. BUT SINCE THE MAIN THING COLLAPSED, THE ENTIRE PROCESS HAS HALTED.

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AS YOU SEE, THE MEETING WAS GENERALLY AN INTERESTING, IMPORTANT MEETING, PROMISING MUCH. BUT FOR THE TIME BEING IT FINISHED THE WAY I HAVE DESCRIBED. WE WILL NOT DESPAIR. I THINK THAT THIS MEETING HAS BROUGHT US TO A VERY IMPORTANT STAGE, AN IMPORTANT STAGE IN UNDERSTANDING WHERE WE ARE. AND IT SHOWED THAT ACCORDS ARE POSSIBLE, POSSIBLE. I AM CONVINCED OF THIS.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION.

(MORE)

13 OCT 0229Z LY

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Current listing of: T7446:2
Slug:USSR: GORBACHEV ADDRESSES REYK
Category:FBIS1

10/12/86 20:53 Page: 1
Date: 10/12/86 20:28:44
Story: 001 (SUB FOR 036 OF

TAKE 1 OF MANY -- GORBACHEV NEWS CONFERENCE
LD122343 MOSCOW TELEVISION SERVICE IN RUSSIAN 1955 GMT 12 OCT 86
(PRESS CONFERENCE ADDRESSED BY CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY MIKHAIL
GORBACHEV IN REYKJAVIK ON 12 OCTOBER -- LIVE RELAY)

{TEXT} (GORBACHEV) GOOD EVENING LADIES, GENTLEMEN AND COMRADES.
I WELCOME ALL OF THOSE TAKING PART IN THE PRESS CONFERENCE. I
THINK THAT ABOUT AN HOUR HAS GONE BY SINCE OUR CONFERENCE, OUR
MEETING WITH U.S. PRESIDENT REAGAN ENDED. IT LASTED FOR SOMEWHAT
LONGER THAN WE PLANNED. OUR BUSINESS REQUIRED THAT TO BE THE CASE
AND IN THIS CONNECTION I WOULD LIKE TO APOLOGIZE TO YOU FOR NOT
ARRIVING IN TIME FOR THE PRESS CONFERENCE FIXED FOR 1800.

YOU KNOW THAT THIS MEETING BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED
STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TOOK PLACE ON THE INITIATIVE OF THE
LEADERSHIP OF THE USSR BUT NATURALLY IT COULD NOT HAVE TAKEN PLACE
WITHOUT AGREEMENT TO SUCH A MEETING ON THE PART OF MR REAGAN.
THEREFORE I WOULD SAY THAT IT WAS OUR JOINT DECISION TO HOLD THIS
MEETING.

IT HAS NOW ENDED. IT IS SOMETIMES SAID THAT THINGS CAN'T BE
SEEN FROM TOO CLOSE IN. I HAVE JUST COME FROM THE MEETING WHICH,
ESPECIALLY IN THE LAST STAGE, SAW HEATED DISCUSSIONS AND I AM STILL
UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THESE DISCUSSIONS AND OF THE IMPRESSIONS LEFT
BY THESE DISCUSSIONS. NONETHELESS I SHALL TRY ALREADY AT THIS FIRST
MEETING OF OURS TO SORT OUT WHAT HAPPENED AND NOT JUST SHARE MY
IMPRESSIONS.

AND YET I THINK THESE WILL BE FIRST IMPRESSIONS, FIRST
APPRAISALS, A FIRST ANALYSIS. THIS WHOLE MEETING WILL STILL HAVE TO
BE APPRAISED. A MAJOR MEETING HAS TAKEN PLACE, AND YOU WILL SENSE
THIS WHEN I TELL YOU ABOUT THE CONTENT OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH WERE
THE SUBJECT OF A VERY BROAD, VERY INTENSIVE, VERY INTERESTED
DISCUSSION.

THE ATMOSPHERE AT THE MEETING WAS FRIENDLY. WE HAD AN
OPPORTUNITY TO SET OUT OUR VIEWS ON DIFFERENT PROBLEMS FREELY AND, I
WOULD SAY, WITHOUT CONSTRAINT. AND THIS MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO
DEEPEN OUR UNDERSTANDING OF MANY MAJOR PROBLEMS OF WORLD POLITICS,

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OF BILATERAL RELATIONS, AND PRIMARILY ON THE BURNING PROBLEMS WHICH ARE AT THE CENTER OF ATTENTION OF THE WHOLE OF THE WORLD PUBLIC -- QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE, OF ENDING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, THE WHOLE SET OF QUESTIONS WHICH ARE EMBRACED BY THIS SUBJECT.

BEFORE I GO OVER TO A DIRECT DESCRIPTION OF THE MEETING ITSELF, THE CONTENT OF THE DISCUSSIONS, THE PROPOSALS OF THE SIDES AND THE RESULTS OF THIS MEETING, I WANT TO SAY, TO EXPLAIN TO YOU, SINCE I HAVE NOT YET HAD THE OPPORTUNITY, WHY WE IN FACT CAME OUT WITH THE INITIATIVE ON HOLDING THIS MEETING.

I REGULARLY READ THE WORLD PRESS, AND I HAVE FELT LATELY WHEN THE QUESTION OF HOLDING THE MEETING WAS DECIDED, WHAT A BROAD REACTION WAS PROVOKED BY THIS ANNOUNCEMENT, THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MEETING. MUCH HAS BEEN SAID BOTH ABOUT THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE U.S. PRESIDENT. BUT HAVEN'T THEY BEEN A BIT HASTY? IS IT NECESSARY? AND WHO YIELDED TO WHOM, AND WHO OUTPLAYED WHOM? AND SO ON.

YOU KNOW, THE GROUNDS WHICH SERVED AS THE INITIAL FACTOR FOR OUR PROPOSING TO THE U.S. PRESIDENT AN URGENT MEETING AND FOR THE DECISION OF THE PRESIDENT, MR REAGAN, TO RESPOND TO THIS MEETING POSITIVELY, ARE VERY SIGNIFICANT, VERY SIGNIFICANT.

(MORE)

13 OCT 0019Z LY

Current listing of: T7452:2
Slug: TAKE 2 OF MANY -- 001 (GORBACH
Category: FBIS1

10/12/86 20:58 Page: 1
Date: 10/12/86 20:41:04
Story: 002 (SEE 041 OF 12

24

// SIGNIFICANT, VERY SIGNIFICANT.
LD:22345

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) I WANT TO RETURN NOW TO GENEVA. WHEN WE MET IT WAS A MAJOR DIALOGUE, A MAJOR MEETING, AND NOW, AFTER MORE THAN A LITTLE TIME HAS PASSED, WE EVALUATE IT AS SUCH. THEN, IF YOU REMEMBER, WE ACKNOWLEDGED THE SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES TO PRESERVE PEACE, AND STATED JOINTLY THAT NUCLEAR WAR MUST NEVER BE UNLEASHED AND THAT THERE CAN BE NO WINNERS IN IT. THIS IS AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF IMMENSE IMPORTANCE. WE ALSO STATED THAT NEITHER SIDE WOULD STRIVE TO ACHIEVE MILITARY SUPERIORITY, AND THIS IS ALSO A VERY IMPORTANT STATEMENT OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THIS PROBLEM.

ALMOST A YEAR HAS PASSED SINCE GENEVA. WE CONSIDER THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS REMAINED LOYAL TO THE PLEDGES IT MADE IN GENEVA. HAVING RETURNED FROM GENEVA, WE EXTENDED OUR MORATORIUM. IT WAS VALID UNTIL 1 JANUARY OF THIS YEAR. ON 15 JANUARY WE MADE A MAJOR STATEMENT SUBSTANTIATING THE PLAN FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY. I WOULD LIKE TO SAY, RETURNING TO THE MORATORIUM, THAT FOR 14 MONTHS OUR TEST GROUNDS HAVE BEEN QUIET; THIS IS EVIDENCE OF OUR ADHERENCE TO THE ACCORDS OF GENEVA AND OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE OF THE WORLD, BECAUSE ALL THESE ARE NOT EASY DECISIONS IF ONE TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION THE FACT THAT DURING THIS PERIOD BLASTS HAVE BEEN CONTINUING IN NEVADA, AND ARE TAKING PLACE TODAY AS WELL. IN JUNE OF THIS YEAR WARSAW TREATY STATES PUT FORWARD A MAJOR COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR A LARGE-SCALE REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS AND ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE. THIS IS ALSO A MAJOR STEP, GIVEN THE CONCERN VOICED BOTH BY THE EUROPEANS AND THE UNITED STATES, WHO ARE THEIR ALLIES -- I MEAN THE EUROPEAN STATES OF THE WEST, OF WESTERN EUROPE. HAVING LEARNED THE LESSONS FROM THE CHERNOBYL TRAGEDY, WE HAVE PUT FORWARD MAJOR PROPOSALS ON THE NECESSITY OF AN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE IAEA IN VIENNA. IT TOOK PLACE, AND YOU KNOW THE RESULTS. THEY ARE VERY PROMISING. WE NOW HAVE AN INTERNATIONAL MECHANISM THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO RESOLVE MANY QUESTIONS IN THE IMPORTANT SPHERE OF NUCLEAR POWER SAFETY. IN OTHER WORDS, WE ARE NOW, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT -- AND I DO NOT BELIEVE I AM EXAGGERATING IN MY ASSESSMENT OF OUR POLICIES, FOR I AM NOT SPEAKING SIMPLY OF INTENTIONS, BUT OF FACTS --

WE HAVE BEEN DOING ALL WE CAN TO AID THE FORMATION OF A NEW WAY OF THINKING IN THE NEAR AGE.

I WANT TO EXPRESS OUR SATISFACTION THAT THE SHOOTS OF THIS NEW WAY OF THINKING SEEM TO BE COMING UP, IN THE EUROPEAN CORNFIELD TOO; THIS HAS BEEN SHOWN, IN PARTICULAR, IN THE SUCCESS OF STOCKHOLM. WE WILL BE HOLDING THE LIST OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS WE HAVE

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CARRIED OUT, TAKING AS OUR STARTING POINT THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE ACCORD WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN IN GENEVA. SINCE I AM SPEAKING OF FACTS, I BELIEVE THAT THE FACTS NOW PERMIT US -- YOU AND US -- TO APPRAISE THEM, AND YOU WILL AGREE, OF COURSE, THAT THIS IS EVIDENCE OF A SERIOUS APPROACH TO THE GENEVA ACCORDS.

NONETHELESS, I AM NOW COMING TO THE REASON WHY WE PUT FORWARD THE INITIATIVE FOR THE MEETING IN REYKJAVIK. THE HOPES FOR MAJOR CHANGES IN THE WORLD ATMOSPHERE, WHICH WE ALL HAD AFTER GENEVA, AFTER OUR MEETING WITH MR REAGAN -- I WOULD PUT IT THIS WAY, IN A MORE CAUTIOUS MANNER, PERHAPS -- BEGAN TO DISSIPATE, AND NOT WITHOUT REASON, I THINK. ABOVE ALL, THIS IS BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET-U.S. TALKS IN GENEVA -- DURING TOO MUCH, AS I TOLD THE PRESIDENT YESTERDAY -- 50 TO 100 VARIANTS ON A WAY TO CURB THE ARMS RACE AND START REDUCING NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAVE BEEN DOING THE ROUNDS. THIS ALONE CREATES DOUBT THAT FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS ARE TAKING PLACE THERE. I THINK THAT YOU AND I ARE PEOPLE WHO ARE, AS THEY SAY, IN THE KNOW. IF THERE HAD BEEN ONE, TWO, OR EVEN THREE VARIANTS, THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN SOMETHING. THAT WOULD MEAN THAT THE FOCUS OF THE TALKS HAD BEEN NARROWED AND THE SEARCH WOULD HAVE BEEN CONCENTRATED ON SOME IMPORTANT AREAS THAT HAD BEEN PINPOINTED. THIS SEARCH WOULD HAVE ENDED WITH SOME SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS AND PROPOSALS TO THE GOVERNMENTS. NOTHING OF THE SORT IS HAPPENING IN GENEVA, AT THE PRINCIPAL FORUM OF WORLD POLITICS. FURTHERMORE, I TELL YOU BLUNTLY, OF LATE THESE TALKS HAVE BEEN MARKING TIME AND HAVE VIRTUALLY ENTERED AN IMPASSE.

(MORE)

13 OCT 0030Z LY

Current listing of: T7460:2
Slug: TAKE 3 OF MANY -- 001 (GORBACH
Category: FBIS1

10/12/86 21:07 Page: 1
Date: 10/12/86 20:54:33
Story: 005 (SEE 042 OF 12

// ENTERED AN IMPASSE.

LD:30009

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) THE ARMS RACE HAS NOT STOPPED. AND, MOREOVER, WE SEE CLEARLY THAT WE ARE ALL APPROACHING A NEW BOUNDARY, AFTER WHICH A NEW TWIST IN THE ARMS RACE WITH UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES, POLITICAL AND MILITARY, IS UNAVOIDABLE.

OUR INITIATIVES, OF WHICH I WAS SPEAKING IN PARTICULAR AT THE START OF MY SPEECH, HAVE, IN GENERAL MET WITH A BROAD RESPONSE AMONG THE WORLD PUBLIC. BUT THEY DID NOT MEET WITH THE DUE UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION.

THE SITUATION HAS WORSENERED. ONCE AGAIN ALARM IN THE WORLD HAS STARTED TO GROW. YET I THINK THAT I SHALL NOT, I DO NOT EXAGGERATE, AND YOU ARE THE LIVING WITNESSES, REPRESENTING ALL CONTINENTS OF OUR EARTH, THAT IN GENERAL THE WORLD IS SEETHING. THE WORLD IS SEETHING AND DEMANDING OF THE LEADERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, AND ABOVE ALL OF THE MAJOR POWERS, AND IN THE FIRST INSTANCE OF THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES, THE DEMONSTRATION OF POLITICAL WILL, RESOLVE IN ORDER TO STOP THE TRENDS WHICH LEAD TO DANGER, TO UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES. IT IS NECESSARY TO DO SOMETHING IN ORDER TO BREAK THE CHAIN OF EVENTS, TO ERECT A BARRIER.

WE HAVE REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT A NEW IMPULSE IS NECESSARY, A POWERFUL IMPULSE, FOR NEW PROCESSES, NEW APPROACHES, AND ABOVE ALL, AT THE GENEVA TALKS. IN OUR VIEW SUCH IMPULSES WERE ONLY ABLE TO RESULT AT THE LEVEL OF A MEETING OF THE LEADERS OF THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES. IT IS PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON, THAT, ANSWERING THE LETTER FROM ~~PRESIDENT~~ REAGAN, HIS LETTER OF 25 JULY, I DECIDED TO INVITE HIM TO MEET WITHOUT DELAY. I SAID THAT THE SITUATION WAS SUCH THAT IT WAS NECESSARY FOR US TO POSTPONE ALL ENGAGEMENTS FOR A DAY OR TWO AND TO MEET, WITHOUT DELAY AND ACCORDING (APPEARS TO CHANGE THOUGHT) AND SAID THAT I AWAITED A SPEEDY REPLY.

THIS LETTER WAS PASSED ON BY COMRADE SHEVARDNADZE TO THE PRESIDENT. AND SO THE EXTRAORDINARILY IMPORTANT MEETING -- OR HOWEVER WE WOULD DESCRIBE IT -- WAS HELD. WE ASSUMED THAT MUCH DEPENDED ON THIS MEETING, BEARING IN MIND OUR ESTIMATION OF IT, THAT HAD PROMPTED US TO TAKE THIS STEP. AND OF COURSE WHEN WE CAME TO THE MEETING IT WAS NOT WITH EMPTY HANDS.

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SO WHAT DID WE BRING TO REYKJAVIK? WE BROUGHT HERE A WHOLE PACKAGE OF MAJOR PROPOSALS WHICH, IF ADOPTED, COULD, INDEED, IN A SHORT TIME, AND REGARDING ALL ASPECTS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT, FOR LIMITING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, REALLY REMOVE THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR AND MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO START MOVING TOWARDS A NONNUCLEAR WORLD. I PROPOSED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT RIGHT HERE IN REYKJAVIK WE SHOULD GIVE BINDING INSTRUCTIONS TO OUR MINISTERS OR OTHER APPROPRIATE DEPARTMENTS TO PREPARE THREE DRAFT AGREEMENTS THAT WE COULD THEN SIGN SUBSEQUENTLY, DURING MY VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

FIRST: ON STRATEGIC WEAPONS. WE SUBMITTED A PROPOSAL TO MAKE A REDUCTION OF 50 PERCENT, NO LESS -- INCIDENTALLY ON THE ASSUMPTION OF TOTALLY ELIMINATING BY THE END OF THE CENTURY THIS MOST LETHAL FORM OF WEAPON.

WE PROCEEDED FROM THE FACT THAT THE WORLD IS AWAITING REALLY MAJOR STEPS, DEEP REDUCTIONS, AND NOT ANY COSMETIC STEPS, SO TO SPEAK, ONLY TO ASSUAGE PUBLIC OPINION FOR A CERTAIN PERIOD. WE HAVE SIMPLY COME TO A TIME WHEN BOLD, RESPONSIBLE ACTIONS, IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, INCLUDING THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, ARE NEEDED. OF COURSE THE SOVIET-U.S. DELEGATION, THE DELEGATIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN SET THE TASK OF PREPARING THIS DOCUMENT, WERE TO ACHIEVE WELL- AND HONESTLY-BALANCED REDUCTIONS IN THE STRUCTURES OF STRATEGIC ARMED FORCES THAT HAVE COME ABOUT HISTORICALLY. THIS CONCERNS THE VERY SAME TRIAD WHICH WAS RECOGNISED RIGHT BACK AT THE TIME OF THE DRAWING-UP OF AND PREPARATIONS FOR SALT-2.

13 OCT 0044Z LY

Current listing of: T7463:2
Slug: TAKE 4 OF MANY -- 001 (GORBACH
Category: FBIS1

10/12/86 21:15 Page: 1
Date: 10/12/86 21:02:04
Story: 006

// PREPARATIONS FOR SALT-2.
LD130010

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) THERE IS ALREADY AN AGREED CONCEPT, AN IDEA ON THIS SUBJECT. WHEN WE BEGAN TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION WITH THE PRESIDENT, WHAT CAME OVER IN RESPONSE WERE UNFITTING, FAR FROM APPROPRIATE PROPOSALS WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ENTOURAGE HAD BROUGHT WITH THEM. HERE AGAIN EVERYTHING THAT HAD FIGURED AT THE GENEVA TALKS WAS BROUGHT OUT: ALL THE LEVELS, SUBLEVELS, A LOT OF ARITHMETIC, IN ORDER TO CONFUSE THE ESSENCE OF THE QUESTION. WE LISTENED TO ALL OF THIS, AND THEN WE PUT THIS CLARIFICATION INTO OUR PROPOSALS: YOU AND WE BOTH HAVE WHAT IS RECOGNISED AS A TRIAD OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS: LAND-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILES, STRATEGIC MISSILES ON SUBMARINES, AND STRATEGIC MISSILES -- RATHER STRATEGIC BOMBERS, STRATEGIC AIRCRAFT WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS. SO TODAY WE HAVE EQUAL NUMBERS OF THEM IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN AMERICA. LET US CUT ALL OF THIS BY 50 PERCENT: 50 PERCENT OF THE LAND-BASED MISSILES, INCLUDING HEAVY MISSILES, WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS SO WORRIED ABOUT; 50 PERCENT OF THE STRATEGIC MISSILES ON SUBMARINES; AND 50 PERCENT OF THE STRATEGIC AIRCRAFT. THE AMERICAN DELEGATION AGREED TO THIS. SO WE CAME TO AN AGREEMENT. AND IN MAKING THIS PROPOSAL -- WE ARE WELL-INFORMED PEOPLE, I AM JUST REMINDING YOU, SO THAT YOU WILL HAVE IT FRESH IN YOUR MINDS -- WE HAVE MADE SERIOUS CONCESSIONS. YOU REMEMBER THAT WHEN WE PUT THIS PROPOSAL FORWARD IN GENEVA WE MADE IT A QUESTION OF A 50 PERCENT CUT IN WEAPONS THAT CAN REACH EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY, AND ALL OF THIS WAS CONSIDERED STRATEGIC. BUT NOW WE REMOVED THE QUESTION OF MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES, WE REMOVED THE QUESTION OF FORWARD-BASED WEAPONS. THAT IS, WE EMBARKED ON AN IMPORTANT CONCESSION ON THE MOST VITAL QUESTION.

THAT IS THE FIRST POINT. THE SECOND POINT IS THAT WE PROPOSED THAT AN AGREEMENT ON MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES BE PREPARED. I PROPOSED TO THE PRESIDENT RENOUNCING ALL THE OPTIONS DISCUSSED HITHERTO -- INTERIM, TEMPORARY, AND SO ON -- AND RETURNING TO THE U.S. PROPOSAL TO ELIMINATE COMPLETELY U.S. MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE AND SOVIET MISSILES IN EUROPE. TRYING TO BRING THE U.S. SIDE TO SEE THE NEED TO ADOPT AN AGREEMENT SUCH AS OUR PROPOSAL, WE HAD ALREADY PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED IN GENEVA THAT WE SHOULD LEAVE ASIDE, AS IT WERE, THE EXISTING BALANCE, THE STRATEGIC POTENTIAL OF FRANCE AND BRITAIN, AND WE ASKED ONLY THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE FURTHER IMPROVED OR INCREASED. THAT DID NOT SUIT THE U.S. SIDE. WE DECIDED TODAY, AT THIS MEETING TODAY, TO CUT OUT COMPLETELY THE QUESTION OF FRENCH AND BRITISH MISSILES IN GENERAL -- TO PUT IT ASIDE. LET THEM REMAIN AS AN INDEPENDENT FORCE; LET THEM INCREASE AND BE FURTHER IMPROVED, ALTHOUGH YOU UNDERSTAND THIS IS A VERY MAJOR POTENTIAL AND WILL INDEED BE INCREASED AND IS AN ORGANIC PART OF NATO'S NUCLEAR POTENTIAL. THIS POTENTIAL IS TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION WHEN ALL PLANS ARE BEING MADE FOR ALL OPERATIONS. WE KNOW THAT FOR A FACT.

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I THINK THAT 99 PERCENT OF ALL THOSE PRESENT CAN ALSO SAY THAT THAT IS THE CASE. BUT IF ONE PERCENT IS NOT CONVINCED OF THIS TODAY THEN IT MUST URGENTLY GET RID OF THAT SHORTCOMING.

WE CUT THIS QUESTION OUT. THERE WAS ANXIETY ABOUT ASIA. FINE, THEN LET US AGREE, LET US GET DOWN TO TALKING ABOUT ASIA IMMEDIATELY. LET US EXPLAIN OUR ANXIETY AND FIND A SOLUTION. ANXIETY CAME OUT IN CONNECTION WITH THE FACT THAT ON THE SIDE OF THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION THERE ARE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF LESS THAN 1,000 KM, WHICH CAN FLY LESS THAN 1,000 KM. WE PROPOSED, RECOGNIZING THIS ANXIETY TOO, THAT WE FREEZE THESE MISSILES IMMEDIATELY AND ENTER TALKS ON THEIR FATE. THAT IS HOW FAR WE WENT.

I DO NOT THINK EVEN THE AMERICANS THEMSELVES EXPECTED THAT OF US. A DISCUSSION BEGAN.

(MORE)

13 OCT 0048Z LY

Current listing of: T7578:2
Slug:TAKE 9 OF MANY -- 001 (GORBACH
Category:FBIS1

10/13/86 00:51 Page: 1
Date: 10/12/86 23:52:35
Story: 017

///COMPETENT TO SAY.
L1130158

(TEXT) (GORBACHEV CONTINUES) IT IS POSSIBLE TO COME OUT ON TO A COMPLETELY NEW STAGE; AN ARMS RACE WHICH IS UNPREDICTABLE, WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. SO THE QUESTION IS ASKED: ON THE ONE HAND WE HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATING TO START REDUCING NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH ARE THE MOST DANGEROUS AND TERRIBLE THING TODAY AND, ON THE OTHER HAND WE ARE SUPPOSED TO BLESS THE RESEARCH, AND CARRY IT OUT IN SPACE, ON LOCATION, IN ORDER TO DISCOVER EVEN MORE MODERN WEAPONS. ALL THIS SURELY DOES NOT TIE UP, IN TERMS OF NORMAL LOGIC.

WE HAVE LOOKED INTO SDI. LET'S GIVE, YOU, YES, NO, YES, YES, PLEASE GO AHEAD. ONE MOMENT PLEASE, THE NEXT ONE, AFTER YOU, THE NEXT ONE, YOU NEXT, YOU NEXT.

(WASHINGTON POST CORRESPONDENT) MR. GENERAL SECRETARY, I REPRESENT THE WASHINGTON POST IN MOSCOW. I WILL ASK A QUESTION IN ENGLISH. (CONTINUES IN ENGLISH FOLLOWED BY TRANSLATOR IN RUSSIAN) YOU HAVE JUST HAD YOUR SECOND MEETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN. AFTER DAYS OF MEETINGS, WHAT KIND OF IMPRESSION HAVE YOU FORMED OF THE PRESIDENT AS A POLITICAL FIGURE? DO YOU FEEL THAT HE SHARES YOUR SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FATE OF THE WORLD?

(GORBACHEV) I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT MR REAGAN AND I CAN CONTINUE BOTH THE DIALOGUE AND ENGAGE IN A SEARCH, AFTER ALL, FOR SOLUTIONS TO MAJOR, URGENT PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THOSE OF WHICH I HAVE SPOKEN.

PLEASE GO AHEAD.

(RASMUSSEN, IN ENGLISH FOLLOWED BY TRANSLATOR IN RUSSIAN) SVEN RASMUSSEN, LAND OG FOLK, COPENHAGEN. DO THE UNSATISFACTORY RESULTS OF YOUR MEETING TODAY MEAN THAT PROGRESS WILL NOT BE ACHIEVED ON THE ISSUE OF PROHIBITING NUCLEAR TESTS AND ON OTHER ISSUES WHICH WERE DISCUSSED YESTERDAY AND TODAY? IS THIS ISSUE OF PROHIBITING NUCLEAR TESTS TIED UP WITH THE OTHER ISSUES WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED AT THESE SESSIONS?

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(GORBACHEV) I THINK THAT I HAVE ACTUALLY ALREADY REPLIED TO THIS QUESTION. WE CONSIDER THAT AT THIS STAGE, OUR CONTACTS WITH THE AMERICANS AND THE PRESIDENT, AND ESPECIALLY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE NOT BROKEN OFF. THE SEARCH CONTINUES AND WILL CONTINUE. AND I THINK THAT WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE HERE IN ICELAND, IN REYKJAVIK, SHOULD ALL THE MORE BECOME A POWERFUL IMPULSE FOR US ALL TO SENSE NOW THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO JOIN THE COMMON STRUGGLE FOR A NORMALIZATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, FOR A SEARCH FOR WAYS TO GET OUT OF SITUATIONS OF IMPASSE, INCLUDING THOSE SUCH THOSE DISCUSSED HERE IN REYKJAVIK; AND, IN FACT, ONE SUCH IMPASSE DID ARISE HERE. I AM AN OPTIMIST. PLEASE GO AHEAD.

(UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER) I SHALL SPEAK LOUDER, WITHOUT A MICROPHONE. (PASSAGE INDISTINCT)

(GORBACHEV) I THINK THAT YOU HAVE CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT YOUR QUESTION, AND THIS IS TO YOUR CREDIT. WHAT I ALWAYS LIKE ABOUT OUR GERMAN FRIENDS IS THEIR ACCURACY IN EXPRESSION, AND OF THOUGHT. I THINK THAT WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN REYKJAVIK, DESPITE THE FACT THAT WE HAVE ENDED OUR MEETING WITHOUT HAVING REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE ISSUES TOWARD WHICH, IT SEEMS TO ME, WE HAD FOUND WAYS OF APPROACHING, IS SAD. IT IS DISAPPOINTING.

(MORE)

13 OCT 0239Z LY