

more optimistic frame of mind argue that Gorbachev's subsequent statements on these themes have been much more frequent and forceful than Brezhnev's. He speaks with what appears to be much greater conviction. For example, in a speech delivered in Prague on 10 April 1987, Gorbachev stated:

The interdependence of the present-day world is such that all peoples are similar to climbers roped together on the mountainside; they either can climb together to the summit or fall together into the abyss. To prevent a fall from happening, political leaders must rise above narrowly conceived interests and recognize the entire dramatic nature of the present situation.¹¹¹

Gorbachev's emphasis on mutual security and the interconnection between Soviet and American security does break new ground and is, potentially, of greater significance. He has stressed this theme on numerous occasions. For example, after the 1985 Geneva summit, he expressed his "profound conviction that less security for the United States of America compared to the Soviet Union would not be in our interest, since it could lead to mistrust and engender instability."¹¹² Similarly, in an interview with the French Communist newspaper *L'Humanité*, which was reprinted in *Pravda* on 8 February 1986, he said that "there cannot be security for the USSR without security for the U.S.A."¹¹³ Statements such as these have caused Robert Legvold, the director of the Harriman Institute for Soviet studies at Columbia University, to remark: "This is a historic juncture. Gorbachev is the first Soviet leader to link national security to mutual security, to argue that the USSR cannot achieve security at the expense of its main rival."¹¹⁴

The optimists are mindful of the tactical and manipulative elements in Gorbachev's peace campaign, and they recognize that he

¹¹¹ *Pravda*, 11 April 1987, p. 2. Also see the speech that Gorbachev delivered on Soviet television, as published in *Pravda*, 19 August 1986, p. 1.

¹¹² *Pravda*, 22 November 1985, p. 2.

¹¹³ *Pravda*, 8 February 1986, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ Quoted in *Time*, 27 July 1987, p. 28.