

KISSINGER REPLIES TO FOES OF POLICY

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He Defends Administration Record and Lashes Out at Critics on Left and Right NYTimes

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WASHINGTON, March 11—Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, in a spirited defense of the Ford Administration's record, lashed out today at a conservative and liberal critics alike, warning that together they could end up "by wrecking the nation's ability to conduct a strong, creative, moderate and prudent foreign policy."

In one of his most acerbic speeches, Mr. Kissinger ranged

Excerpts from the Kissinger speech are on page 4.

widely in his attacks, not only on domestic critics, but also on the Soviet Union, nonaligned nations and West Europeans favoring coalitions with Communists.

Speaking in Boston, where he received the Christian A. Herter Public Service Award, Mr. Kissinger seemed to propel himself into the current Presidential campaign as he vigorously defended the Administration's dual policy of seeking better relations with Moscow while trying to block Soviet military actions in Angola and elsewhere.

The address, however, was probably most significant as a

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summation of Mr. Kissinger's frustrations and grievances over what he called the country's "great foreign-policy problem"—the lack of national cohesion.

"The world watches with amazement—our adversaries with glee and our friends with growing dismay—how America seems bent on eroding its influence and destroying its achievements in world affairs through an orgy of recrimination," Mr. Kissinger said.

The text of his speech was released by the State Department here. Throughout it, Mr. Kissinger avoided using the word "detente" to describe relations with the Russians. The Administration ruled out that word after Mr. Ford said two weeks ago that he did not like it. In a brief question period afterward, Mr. Kissinger was asked what word he would substitute.

"I've been dancing around myself to find one," he said. "Easing of tensions, relaxation of tensions. We may well wind up with the old word again."

Criticism of Congress

In the speech, Mr. Kissinger said that American policies in Africa, the eastern Mediterranean and Latin America, and in East-West relations were "undermined by arbitrary Congressional actions that may take decades to undo."

Elaborating, he said that the intelligence system had been "gravely damaged" by attack; unauthorized leaks had revealed a country "virtually incapable of behaving with the discretion that is indispensable for diplomacy," and the disclosures of bribery abroad had wrought "grave damage on the political structures of friendly nations."

With the main critics of detente—the Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, and the Democratic contender, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington—clearly in mind, Mr. Kissinger said that some critics "suddenly" find that "the Soviets are 10 feet tall and that America, despite all the evidence to the contrary, is becoming a second-rate nation."

"They know these erroneous and reckless allegations to be dangerous, because they may, if continued, persuade allies and adversaries of our weakness, tempting the one to accommodation and the other to adventurism," he said.

Alluding primarily to Congressional critics, Mr. Kissinger said the Administration on the one hand "has been condemned

by one set of critics for its vigorous reaction to expansionism in Southeast Asia, in the Middle East, in Africa and simultaneously charged by another group of opponents with permitting unilateral Soviet gains."

Summing up his concern over domestic disunity on foreign affairs, Mr. Kissinger said:

"If one group of critics undermines arms-control negotiations and cuts off the prospect of more constructive ties with the Soviet Union, while another group cuts away at our defense budgets and intelligence services and thwarts American resistance to Soviet adventurism, both combined will, whether they have intended it or not, end by wrecking the nation's ability to conduct a strong, creative, moderate and prudent foreign policy."

"The result will be paralysis, no matter who wins in November."

"And if America cannot act, others will, and we and all the free peoples of the world will pay the price."

Call for Reconciliation

He called for an end in the bicentennial year of "our divisions" and the beginning of "an era of national reconciliation and rededication by all Americans to their common destiny."

On specific foreign-policy questions, Mr. Kissinger repeated the Administration's policy of pursuing a dual course toward the Soviet Union—"firmness in the face of pressure and the vision to work for a better future."

To the Kremlin, Mr. Kissinger addressed another warning that the Soviet military help to Angola was incompatible with better relations. He said that there had to be reciprocity in the relationship. "It cannot survive a constant attempt to seek unilateral advantage," Mr. Kissinger said. "It cannot survive any more Angolas."

Alternatives Asked

He said that critics of this dual policy had an obligation to provide alternatives, such as how much risk of war they were ready to run by forsaking an easing of tensions.

Potentially, the most controversial foreign aspects of the speech were contained in a section devoted to Western Europe, and specifically the possibility of Communists' either coming to power or sharing it in governments of America's allies.

Recently, the Communist parties in Italy and France, each of which is the second largest party in its country—have stressed their independence of Moscow and have been talked about as possible partners in leftist coalitions. The United

States has opposed such partnerships and Mr. Kissinger in the speech, expounded on the opposition.

He said that whether the West European Communist parties were truly independent of the Soviet Union could not be determined because such a policy happily coincided with the efforts of the parties to be elected to power.

Communist-dominated governments, he warned, would inevitably give low priority to security and Western defense efforts, which are essential not only to Europe's freedom but to maintaining the world balance of power."

This, he said, would weaken Western political and economic solidarity and collective defense. American support for maintaining forces in Europe would also inevitably wane because it would "lack the moral base on which it has stood for 30 years," he said.

Last year, Mr. Kissinger had said that he believed the Secretary of State should remain apart from the Presidential campaign because the office should be seen as a nonpartisan one. But since last month's New

Hampshire primaries, both Mr. Reagan and the Democratic candidates, most prominently Mr. Jackson, have made the Ford-Kissinger foreign policy a prime target and Mr. Kissinger has been singled out for attack more than Mr. Ford.

Mr. Kissinger's aides said today that he decided to speak out in defense of his views and policies despite his prior intention. They said he intended to speak to the issues rather than personalities.

Mr. Kissinger had flown to Boston to receive the Christian A. Herter Memorial for Distinguished Public Service Award presented at today's luncheon in the Statler Hilton Hotel by the Boston World Affairs Council. It honors Mr. Herter, who served as Secretary of State in the last years of the Eisenhower Administration, and as a Congressman and Governor of Massachusetts.

Jackson Assails Kissinger

WASHINGTON, March 11 (AP)—Senator Henry M. Jackson told reporters today that Secretary Kissinger had crossed the line into partisan politics in defense of a policy—detente

—that the President has erased from his vocabulary and that Senator Jackson said most voters suspected.

He said that for the first time in modern history a Secretary of State was "wandering around the country in the middle of the Presidential primaries indulging in partisan politics."

Reagan Responds

Special to The New York Times

MADISON, Wis., March 11—Ronald Reagan today reacted to Secretary Kissinger's implication that he was undermining American foreign policy to achieve temporary political gains. The former California Governor said that he did not believe Mr. Kissinger's remarks were "a valid defense of a foreign policy that has lacked cohesion and coherence." Mr. Reagan said that the policy negotiated away American military superiority to the Soviet Union.

"Now I feel sorry about one thing," Mr. Reagan told reporters, "Dr. Kissinger is in a situation in which his policy began dealing from strength and it deteriorated to dealing from weakness."