

NIX AD

# U.S. SEEKS 'NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER' TO RESOLVE STRAINS WITH EUROPE; URGES 'PRINCIPAL' ROLE FOR JAPAN



Henry A. Kissinger addressing members of The Associated Press here yesterday. At left rear is Herbert G. Klein, director of communications for the executive branch.

Associated Press

## KISSINGER SPEAKS

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### Address Is Unusually Frank About Recent Problems in West

NYTimes

Henry A. Kissinger said yesterday that the United States planned to build "a new Atlantic charter" with its European allies this year to overcome the economic, military and diplomatic strains that have developed in the alliance recently.

In a major policy address to the annual meeting of The Associated Press at the Waldorf-Astoria, Mr. Kissinger spoke with unusual frankness about the problems that have arisen as the West European nations—as well as Japan—have become stronger and more inde-

pendent of the United States.  
"There have been complaints

*Text of the Kissinger address is printed on Page 14.*

in America that Europe ignores its wider responsibilities in pursuing economic selfinterest too one-sidedly and that Europe is not carrying its fair share of the burden of the common defense," President Nixon's adviser on national security said,

#### Europeans Criticized

"There have been complaints in Europe that America is out to divide Europe economically, or to desert Europe militarily, or to bypass Europe diplomatically," he said. "Europeans appeal to the United States to accept their independence and their occasionally severe criticism of us in the name of Atlantic unity, while at the same time they ask for a veto on our independent policies—also in the name of Atlantic unity."

In a question period after his address, Mr. Kissinger said "it is a brutal fact" that the North Vietnamese have "cynically" violated the important clauses of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement.

He did not disclose what steps the United States might take, but indicated that the Administration would not permit transgressions to continue without an American response.

#### Problem for Government

"The profound problem we face as a nation today is whether we should sign an agreement and when it is totally violated act as if the signature, which was then endorsed by an international conference, should simply be treated as irrelevant," he said. He said the Administration wanted nothing but "the observance of an agreement, freely negotiated."

Mr. Kissinger, who received a standing ovation before he began his speech, said that Mr. Nixon was "embarking on a personal and direct approach" to the leaders of Western Europe to deal with the political, military and economic questions in Atlantic relations to vitalize the alliance. He said that Japan should also share in this process as a "principal partner."

Noting that 1973 has been called "The Year of Europe," Mr. Kissinger said, "The United States proposes to its Atlantic partners that, by the time the President travels to Europe toward the end of the year, we will have worked out a new Atlantic charter setting the goals for the future."

Mr. Kissinger's speech stressed the view that America's allies

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were taking the United States for granted, while not showing enough understanding of Washington's problems.

After citing the problems that have arisen in the different fields, he made the following assertions about American policy toward achieving a new "unifying framework":

¶The United States will continue to support European unity, and will make concessions to its further growth, but will expect to be met in a spirit of reciprocity—an allusion to the economic problems that have arisen between the United States and the Common Market.

¶The United States will not unilaterally withdraw from its defense commitments in Europe, but "We expect from each ally a fair share of the common effort for the common defense."

¶The United States will continue to seek a relaxation of tensions with the Communists "on the basis of concrete negotiations" in the common interest and welcomes the participation of its allies in the East-West dialogue.

¶The United States "will never consciously injure the interests of our friends in Europe or in Asia," but expects in return "that their policies will take seriously our interests and our responsibilities."

¶Citing energy problems as an example, he said that the United States wanted to work cooperatively on "new common

problems" and that while "this could be an area of competition, it should be an area of collaboration."

¶Just as Europe's autonomy "is not an end in itself," so the Atlantic community cannot be "an exclusive club." Japan must be "a principal partner" in what he called "our common enterprise."

**New Approach Urged**

Calling for a new approach by the allies to the problems spawned by the "dramatic transformation of the psycho-

logical climate in the West," Mr. Kissinger said, "We cannot hold together if each country or region asserts its autonomy whenever it is to its benefit and invokes unity to curtail the independence of others." In the economic area, Mr. Kissinger noted that the United States had given strong backing to European unity. He said, "We assumed, perhaps too uncritically, that our common interests would be assured by our long history of cooperation."

He said that instead of bring-

ing Europe and the United States closer together, Europe's economic success has produced "a certain amount of friction," and that there has been "turbulence and a sense of rivalry" in monetary relations.

**Sense of Direction Needed**

"The gradual accumulation of sometimes petty, sometimes major economic disputes must be ended and be replaced by a determined commitment on both sides of the Atlantic to find cooperative solutions," he said. Calling for the European and

Japanese political leaders to recognize the dimensions of the problem, Mr. Kissinger warned that if future trade and monetary talks were left solely to experts, "there will be no overriding sense of direction."

"It is the responsibility of national leaders to insure that economic negotiations serve larger political purposes," he said. "They must recognize that economic rivalry, if carried on without restraint, will in the end damage other relationships."

On defense matters, Mr. Kis-

singer said that because the West no longer held nuclear superiority, it had become necessary to maintain an expensive and complex system of "flexible response" involving both nuclear and conventional forces.

He said that this task had become more difficult because the lessening of tensions had "given new impetus to arguments that it is safe to begin reducing forces unilaterally."

"All governments of the Western alliance face a major challenge in educating their

peoples to the realities of security in the nineteen-seventies," he said, stressing that Mr. Nixon was "adamantly opposed" to unilateral cuts in American forces in Europe.

**Uneasiness Noted**

In the diplomatic field, Mr. Kissinger noted the improved East-West relations, but said that some allies had expressed "uneasiness" that superpower diplomacy "might sacrifice the interests of traditional allies and other friends."

He said that the United

States had been "scrupulous" in consulting allies, but some allies "have seemed unwilling to accord America the same trust in our motives as they received from us or to grant us the same technical flexibility that they employed in pursuit of their own policies."

The United States is now often taken to task for flexibility where we used to be criticized for rigidity," he said.

Mr. Kissinger said such strain "underlines the necessity to articulate a clear set of common objectives with our allies."