

NIXON SAYS SOVIET AND U.S. DEFINED PACT ON MISSILES

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Details of Interim Accord
to Be Settled, Message on
Foreign Policy Reports

A WARNING TO MOSCOW

President Declares He Will
Increase Arms Outlays if
Russian Build-Up Goes On

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WASHINGTON, Feb. 9 —

President Nixon, in his third annual foreign policy message to Congress, said today that the United States and the Soviet Union had reached an accord on the outline—if not yet the details—of an interim agreement on the limitation of strategic arms. He said such an agreement could restrain the arms race without jeopardizing either side's security.

Mr. Nixon warned that if, in the absence of an accord,

Excerpts from Nixon message
will be found on Page 20.

the Russians continued their intensified missile deployment and threatened to upset the current balance of power, he would not hesitate to increase spending on American strategic weapons.

The major focus in Mr. Nixon's 95,000-word State of the World report was on United States relations with the Soviet Union and China. The document also covered nearly every area of international life, sometimes with only a broad-brush approach but often in significant detail.

'Civilized Discourse'

Major points in the report, which bears the title "United States Foreign Policy for the 1970's: The Emerging Structure of Peace," included these:

¶There are "serious grounds" for believing that a fundamental shift in Soviet-American relations may occur, but Mr. Nixon said it was unclear whether the Russians, engaged in a vast arms build-up, had undertaken a major policy shift or were making tactical moves for their own advantage.

¶In the meeting with Soviet leaders in May, the President said, he hopes for concrete agreements beyond arms control and bilateral matters, including an understanding on limits on the arms flow to the Middle East and on curbs on big-power rivalry in such areas as South Asia, plus a discussion of measures to reduce tensions in Europe.

¶The President conceded that Japan had every reason to be shocked by his unilateral economic and diplomatic initiatives last summer, but he did not apologize for the moves, which he said were necessary. He said that by the end of last year confidence had been restored and he applauded Japan's assumption of greater responsibility in Asia commensurate with her economic power.

¶Mr. Nixon reported con-
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tinued progress on all fronts—pacification, Vietnamization and economic reform—in Vietnam, while noting that the enemy might be preparing for a major offensive. He stressed the flexibility of his eight-point peace proposal, but insisted that he would not abandon the Saigon Government or prisoners of war to the enemy. He pledged to secure the return of the P.O.W.'s through negotiations or "other means." [Page 21.]

Mr. Nixon said there were serious grounds for believing that "a fundamental improvement in the U.S.-Soviet relationship may be possible." But he said that it was unclear whether there had been a permanent change in Soviet policy "or only a passing phase concerned more with tactics than with a fundamental commitment to a stable international system."

'Concrete Arrangements'

In his meeting with Soviet leaders in May, Mr. Nixon said, he hopes for "concrete arrangements of benefit," which, besides arms control and bilateral matters, would include an understanding on avoiding an inflammation of the situation in the Middle East, a curb on big-power rivalry in such areas as South Asia and discussion of measures to reduce tensions in Europe further.

Summing up the "watershed year" that had just passed, the President said that the United States, despite sharp problems with Japan and with its Western European allies, had achieved "a more balanced alliance" with its friends. The forthcoming trips to Peking and Moscow are evidence of "a more creative connection" with America's adversaries, he added.

A sense of achievement pervaded the document—an attitude underscored in Mr. Nixon's brief radio address to the nation this morning on the message.

He said in the radio address that various "breakthroughs toward peace" took place last year because his Administration had consistently "stopped reacting on the basis of yesterday's habits and started acting to deal with the realities of today and the opportunities of tomorrow."

In an example of his rhetoric, he said that his current eight-point Vietnam peace plan was "the most generous peace offer in the history of warfare."

The report also contained a section on "disappointments" during the year. The most important, Mr. Nixon said, was the failure to end the Vietnam war. He also noted the inability to prevent the war between India and Pakistan, the continued tension in the Middle East, continued disagreements in Latin America, the diminishing foreign aid available for Africa and the inability of the United States to keep Nationalist China in the United Nations.

The report's discussion of the status of the 27-month-old talks on the limitation of strategic arms—the so-called SALT talks—was closely linked to the current balance of power in the world and to the determined Soviet effort to accelerate its deployment of land-based and submarine-launched missiles.

Crucial Milestone Foreseen

After noting that the Soviet Union had improved its forces "in virtually every category of strategic offensive and defensive weapons," Mr. Nixon said the United States was "approaching a crucial turning point in our strategic arms programs."

"If the Soviet Union continues to expand strategic forces, compensating United States programs will be mandatory, he said. "The preferable alternative would be a combination of mutual restraint and an agreement in SALT."

"But under no circumstances will I permit the further erosion of the strategic balance with the U.S.S.R.," he added. "I am confident that the Congress shares these sentiments."

He said that the Russians were undertaking either "major improvements or the deployment of a totally new missile system" and that two new or greatly modified land-based intercontinental ballistic missile systems were being developed.

The Russians have built silos for additional giant 23-megaton SS-9 missiles that could destroy American offensive missile sites, the President said, also noting that in the near future they would have more missile submarines than the United States' current 41.

With this as a background, Mr. Nixon noted that "a consensus is developing on certain essential elements" of a strategic arms agreement.

He said both sides agreed that there should be a comprehensive limitation of the number of antiballistic missile (ABM) defensive systems. Deployments of ABM's should neither provide a defense for the entire country nor threaten the strategic balance, he said.

Agreement on a limitation on ABM's has not been reached, he explained, because the existing Soviet ABM defense network of 64 missile launchers surrounds Moscow while the initial American Safe-

guard program is geared to protect offensive missiles in less populated areas.

The Americans have proposed an asymmetric formula under which the Russians could have 100 missiles for Moscow's defense while the United States would have more for ICBM protection.

Mr. Nixon said that the two sides had agreed that once an accord was reached on details, the ABM agreement would be formalized in a treaty that would require Senate approval.

Throughout the talks the United States has pressed for a comprehensive limitation on offensive weapons as well, but Mr. Nixon indicated that a freeze was unlikely and that there should be only an interim arrangement on the halt of "certain offensive weapons."

Focus on Land Missiles

Informed sources have said that the two sides have decided to postpone action on submarine-launched missiles and are concentrating on land-based ones. Because of that, Mr. Nixon, in his budget, authorized further work on a long-range submarine-launched missile system to keep ahead of Soviet submarine construction.

In his report Mr. Nixon did not rule out an early submarine agreement, asserting that it was "still under intensive negotiation." In an apparent rejoinder to those in the Senate who have argued for a comprehensive treaty or none at all, Mr. Nixon said:

"We must weigh the advantages of prolonging the current stage of negotiations in order to reach agreements on every offensive system against the consequences of allowing the current Soviet build-up to continue, perhaps for a considerable period."

He said that an interim agreement would not impair American security, adding: "Moreover, Soviet willingness to limit the size of its offensive forces would reflect a desire for longer-term solutions rather than unilateral efforts to achieve marginal advantages."

Stressing his preference for the interim agreement, he said it "will be a major step in constraining the strategic arms race without compromising the security of either side." On the other hand, he said, if the negotiations are protracted, that would inevitably lead to an acceleration of the arms race.

"This is a reality of our competitive relationship," he said.

An Agenda for Moscow

On his proposed agenda for the Moscow talks in May, the President listed either an accord on the initial arms agreement or on the issues to be addressed in the second stage—a sign of confidence that an interim agreement would be worked out in the next three months.

Somewhat unexpectedly, Mr. Nixon placed Middle Eastern problems as the second most important item on the proposed agenda. Administration spokesmen have long expressed a desire to get an agreement with Moscow on limiting the flow of arms to the area. In his report Mr. Nixon gave an assessment of the scope of Soviet involvement in Egypt.

In 1970, he related, the Russians deployed some 80 anti-aircraft missiles, several squadrons of Soviet-manned combat aircraft, 5,000 missile crewmen and technicians, and about 11,000 other advisers. Since then, he said, they have introduced mobile anti-aircraft missiles, the advanced MIG-23 fighter and other aircraft. Most recently they have sent TU-16 bombers, equipped with long-range missiles, he added.

President Nixon said that the Soviet Union and the United States could encourage a middle eastern settlement by furthering negotiation.

"The great powers also have a responsibility to enhance, not undermine, the basic conditions of stability in the area," he added. "Injecting the global strategic rivalry into the region is incompatible with Middle East peace and with détente in United States-Soviet relations."

Tensions in Europe

Mr. Nixon said he also expected to discuss in Moscow the prospects for further easing of tensions in Europe. He said the United States favored participation in a carefully prepared European conference on security and cooperation, long proposed by the Soviet bloc. He reiterated that he opposed a unilateral cut in United States forces in Europe.

He said he also hoped to talk in Moscow about insuring stability in other areas of the world—a reference to his displeasure with the Soviet Union's refusal to join with the United States in an effort to prevent the Indian-Pakistani war.

Further economic ties have the best potential, Mr. Nixon said, and cooperation will be facilitated as progress is achieved on major international issues.

In summarizing the year's events, the President laid heavy stress on still-secret correspondence he had with Soviet leaders. He indicated that it helped facilitate the agreement on an improved status for West Berlin and the understanding on the arms talks announced last May 20.