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# Kissinger Assails

## Soviet-China Role

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Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said yesterday that the Soviet Union and China helped North Vietnam "to make a mockery" of the 1973 cease-fire accord and "the melancholy fact" is that America's allies also failed to condemn Hanoi.

"Let no ally doubt our steadfastness," Kissinger said, but "let no nation ever believe again that it can tear up with impunity a solemn agreement signed with the United States."

In a major assessment of what he called "our most tragic and immediate problem" in Indochina, Kissinger said the world will closely watch the American reaction. If the United States "responds to adversity with dignity" and with "a constructive" foreign policy, he said, "we can usher in a new era of creativity and accomplishment."

For Americans, there has

been "sufficient heartache for all to share" in Indochina, whether they regarded U.S. policy there as noble, or "a dreadful mistake," Kissinger told a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Kissinger invoked the theme expressed by President Ford last week, that it is time to end the Vietnam debate and to "abide by the verdict of the Congress—without recrimination or vindictiveness."

However, Kissinger also employed the recurring, countervailing theme, that many of America's foreign policy problems are "of our own making."

"The decade-long struggle in this country over executive dominance in foreign affairs is over," said Kissinger. Nevertheless, he

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said, the question that remains is "whether the Congress will go beyond the setting of guidelines to the conduct of tactics."

In his full text, which he condensed in delivery but which remains official, Kissinger reiterated that "Congress should reconsider the actions which have paralyzed our policies in the eastern Mediterranean, weakened our hand in relations with the U.S.S.R., and inhibited our dialogue in this hemisphere."

Kissinger's criticism of the Soviet Union and China yesterday was in marked contrast to President Ford's remarks to the editors on Wednesday.

The President said then in response to questions:

"I don't think we can blame the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China" who supplied replacement war material to North Vietnam, permitted under the 1973 Paris cease-fire accord.

Mr. Ford said, "Unfortunately, the United States did not carry out its commitment" to supply military hardware and economic aid to North Vietnam, and if Congress had not reduced U.S. aid, "I think . . . this present tragic situation in South Vietnam would not have occurred."

Kissinger similarly told the Senate Appropriations Committee on Tuesday that Soviet arms supplies to North Vietnam remained "relatively constant over the years," while it was American aid that was curtailed.

Kissinger said yesterday, however, that:

"We must continue our policy of seeking to ease tensions. But we shall insist that the easing of tensions cannot occur selectively.

"We shall not forget who

supplied the arms which North Vietnam used to make a mockery of its signature on the Paris accords."

Afterward, however, in response to questions yesterday, Kissinger also used language closer to Mr. Ford's:

"Now, we can ask for a measure of restraint from the Communist countries. But I don't think detente has yet reached the point where we can ask them to reduce aid to their allies when we reduce our aid to our allies."

In his expression of disappointment with U.S. allies and other nations, Kissinger said:

"Nor can we overlook the melancholy fact that not one of the other signatories of the Paris accords has responded to our repeated requests that they at least point out North Vietnam's flagrant violations of these accords. Such silence can only undermine any meaningful standards of international responsibility."

The last public appeal of the United States for condemnation of North Vietnam was dated April 11. It was addressed to the Soviet Union, China, Britain, France, Hungary, Poland, Indonesia, Iran and U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim.

The United States also made an unsuccessful private appeal to the Western European Common Market to join in criticism of North Vietnam.

Kissinger's central focus was on what the Indochina tragedy has done in American ability to influence world affairs.

Although he was speaking a day after the Communist-backed conquest of Cambodia, five years after American troops crossed that nation's borders and created a national uproar over U.S. war strategy, Kissinger

made no direct mention of Cambodia.

Reports from embassies abroad, Kissinger said, are "relaying anguishing questions" about "America's competence—constancy—credibility—coherence" in world affairs.

Responding to criticism that he has been overdoing "doom-saying," Kissinger said, "It is fashionable to maintain that pointing to dangers produces a self-fulfilling prophecy," but he said "we cannot change facts by not talking about them."

Kissinger said that "America's commitment to international involvement has always been ambivalent" and "the roots of isolationism, nourished by geography and history, go deep in the American tradition."

After World War II, Kissinger said, the United States was able to develop a broad "internationalist consensus" to support its global interests. But now, as a consequence of Indochina and "other frustrations of global engagement," he said, "some of our earlier impulses have reasserted themselves."

Kissinger said, "We find a deep and chronic self-doubt especially in the large urban centers and especially among presumptive leaders."

Yet, he said, "When one ventures away from Washington into the heart of America, one is struck by the confidence, the buoyancy, and the lack of any corrosive cynicism."

"There is a great reservoir of confidence within America," he said, although there is an "enormous" generation gap.

The younger generation, he said, has been "traumatized by Vietnam as we were by Munich. Their

nightmare is foreign commitment as ours was abdication from international responsibility."

Kissinger scoffed at charges that he has withheld "secret agreements" on Vietnam. "It goes without saying that a commitment involving national action must be known to Congress or it is meaningless," he said.

He agreed that: "One lesson we must surely learn from Vietnam is that new commitments of our nation's honor and prestige must be carefully weighed . . . But after our recent experiences we have a special obligation to make certain that commitments we have made will be rigorously kept. . . ."

Kissinger said "one of the most important lessons to be drawn from recent events is the need to restore the civility of our domestic discourse," which "deteriorated in poisonous contention."

"The American people yearn for an end to the bitterness and divisiveness of the past decade," he said. "Our domestic stability requires it. Our international responsibilities impose it."

## Democratic Hopefuls Criticize Kissinger

United Press International

Three Democratic presidential hopefuls for 1976 attacked the foreign policy of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger yesterday.

In addresses to the nation's newspaper editors, Sens. Henry M. Jackson (Wash.) and Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. (Tex.) accused Kissinger of paying lip service to the concept of bipartisanship in foreign policy but not really seeking to achieve it.

Rep. Morris K. Udall (Ariz.) criticized Kissinger for the "siren song" of saying that America's stature was irreparably damaged by events in Southeast Asia.

The three Democrats addressed the convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Jackson said Kissinger has consistently withheld from Congress vital information about the bargains he has made around the world. Bentsen said Kissinger called for bipartisanship but presented Congress with foreign policy on a take-it-or-leave-it basis "wrapped up with a pink ribbon around it."