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**Brezhnev Links Relations
With U.S. to War's End**

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MOSCOW, Dec. 21—Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Communist party leader, condemning the renewed American air war against Hanoi and Haiphong, declared today that the future development of Soviet-American relations hinged largely on what happened on the issue of ending the Vietnam war.

His warning to Washington came during a major address at celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union.

Attacking China much more sharply even than the United States, the 66-year-old Soviet leader told colleagues from a dozen Communist countries that Moscow had offered sev-

Excerpts from Brezhnev's speech are on Page 10.

eral times to sign a treaty with Peking outlawing the use of conventional, missile and nuclear forces against each other. The repeated rejection by Peking of such proposals in their secret talks, he said, made a mockery of its declared fears of a Soviet military threat.

Much of Mr. Brezhnev's broad-ranging, three-and-a-half hour speech was devoted to recounting domestic achievements over the last half century. But it also included an important sur-

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vey of Soviet progress in achieving accommodation with such Western powers as France, West Germany and the United States that hinted at possible new openings.

For the first time, the Soviet leader suggested that the time had come to seek "a basis for some forms of business relations" between the West European Common Market and Cocon, the East European economic bloc, a likely to find favor on both sides of Europe. And he indicated greater openness than previously to Western pressures for wider exchange

of people and ideas between East and West.

On the new round of talks with the United States in strategic arms, Mr. Brezhnev observed that "it would probably be a good thing if we gave thought to how we could pass from limiting armaments to their gradual reduction, and also to establishing some kind of limits on their qualitative improvement." This was the first public advocacy by a Soviet leader of qualitative restrictions on nuclear arms in months.

The generally moderate attitude toward the Western powers suggested that the break-off of the Vietnam talks in Paris and Washington's sharp increase of the air war had come as a surprise and prompted the Soviet leadership to insert tough language on Vietnam.

Evidently embarrassed and

clearly irritated by Washington's latest tactics in Vietnam, Mr. Brezhnev denounced the war there as the longest and dirtiest in American history and said that "like all peoples of the world, the Soviet Union angrily and resolutely condemn these acts of aggression."

But more than 5,000 people in the Kremlin Hall of Congresses heard him go on to maintain the Kremlin's interest in helping to bring about "a just peace settlement" rather than building up for a new round of fighting. He also checked off the steps taken toward improving relations with Washington during and after President Nixon's visit to Moscow last May and expressed Moscow's readiness to go ahead with new negotiations on reducing forces in Central Europe and further limiting strategic arsenals.

At that point he issued

his restrained warning about Vietnam:

"If the two countries—the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.—will really follow the course charted jointly during the Moscow negotiations, then we think new substantial steps in the development of Soviet-American relations . . . may become possible during further contacts. However—and this should be clearly emphasized—much will depend on the course of events in the immediate future and, in particular, on what kind of turn is taken on the issue of ending the War in Vietnam."

Although Moscow has taken the Nixon Administration sharply to task over Vietnam in the last few days, this was the first time that the Kremlin leadership had suggested that failure to reach a settlement could jeopardize the trend of Soviet-American relations.

Later in the day, Washington came under much sharper attack from Truong Chinh, a ranking member of the North Vietnamese leadership who heads Hanoi's delegation to the Soviet celebration.

In all, 11 foreign Communist countries were represented, including Moscow's six Warsaw Pact allies plus Yugoslavia, Cuba, Mongolia, North Korea, and North Vietnam, as well as the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and a number of neutral countries. China and Albania did not send delegations.

The North Vietnamese delegate, pointedly thanking the Chinese as well as the Soviet Union and other Communist nations for their support, accused the United States of having demanded a "change in the essence of the already agreed-upon points" of the cease-fire

that was to have been signed in late October. He said that Washington had used the interim to "feverishly speed up and intensify the delivery of arms and war materials to South Vietnam, introduce military personnel there under the guise of civilian instructors, and reinforce the puppet clique of Thieu" as well as to renew "crazy bombings of the thickly populated regions of North Vietnam."

Mr. Chinh called upon other Communist powers to issue a demand that the United States immediately sign the cease-fire agreement, adding weight to speculation that the Communist gathering here will end with a joint declaration aimed at pressure on Washington to suspend the bombings of North Vietnam and to accept an agreement whatever the objections of the Saigon Government.

Mr. Brezhnev looked much more fit than six weeks ago when he reappeared in public after a month's absence and moved with obvious difficulty. Today he spoke for two hours and 20 minutes in the morning and then, after a 30-minute break, for more than an hour in the afternoon. He seemed agile as he mounted the rostrum, suggesting that he had largely recovered from whatever ailment had afflicted him earlier in the fall.

His attack on China, sharper even than that he made recently in Budapest, was aimed at winning support for the Soviet position before a sympathetic audience of other Communist rulers, party leaders from such non-Communist countries as France and friendly neutral leaders.

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