

Nixon's Russia, China Trips Made Peace — Kissinger

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Nixon's Peking and Moscow trips made the Vietnam settlement possible, according to Henry Kissinger, which in turn frees the United States to work even more actively for a new global relationship.

Kissinger also used his "theory of international linkage" to define the role expected of China and the Soviet Union in making the Vietnam peace last.

"Whether the peace is fragile or not," Kissinger said Thursday, depends in part on the Vietnamese; it depends in part on outside countries."

The presidential adviser added during his first major broadcast interview, with CBS diplomatic correspondent Marvin Kalb, that "I don't trust the good will" of the parties.

A LASTING PEACE depends in large part "on the actions of the Soviet Union, the Peoples Republic of China and on the sort of relationship we'll be able to establish with North Vietnam."

What this means for Moscow and Peking, Kissinger said, is for them to see what massive military aid to Hanoi means. "In terms of the incentives" such shipments lead to resuming the fighting.

This also holds true for the United States, the presidential adviser acknowledged, but he pledged strict adherence to the cease-fire agreement signed Jan. 28 which limits the American military aid to Saigon.

The Communist allies of Hanoi should play such a placid role, Kissinger said, because "we're bound together by one basic fact—that none of us can survive a nuclear war."

In explaining the over-all U.S. motives, the former Harvard political scientist said Nixon "felt that we had to end the war on honorable terms so that we would be free to be taken seriously in the conduct of other events."

According to Kissinger, "When this administration

came into office four years ago, Vietnam was really our national obsession. It was almost the only foreign policy that was being actively debated

"THE PRESIDENT held the view from the beginning that we had to change the emphasis of that concern" and this, he said, led to the Moscow and Peking summits and the arms-limitation agreements with the Soviets.

"Now," Kissinger said, "the end of the Vietnam war frees us to concentrate even more actively on the constructive steps" already under way.

In more narrow terms, of the immediate chances for peace, Kissinger told Kalb, "The biggest task is now to move a generation that has known nothing but war toward an attitude of peace."

This is the chief motive for his trip next week to Hanoi, Kissinger said, "to establish a new relationship . . . to establish some sort of ongoing dialogue, to work out machinery for exchanging ideas."

Once this is done, items such as economic aid for reconstruction and possible diplomatic relations can be considered, Kissinger said.

On other matters, Kissinger made these points:

—There is no connection between the release of American prisoners from North Vietnam and a cease-fire in Laos and Cambodia.

Under the terms of the settlement, the first POWs are due out by Feb. 11, while "we have reason to believe that there will be a formal cease-fire in Laos soon" but at an undetermined time. In the meantime, the United States will continue to observe an unofficial cease-fire in Cambodia.

—"We will continue that degree of military assistance (to South Vietnam) that the agreement permits and which is made necessary by the military situation."

In this regard, Kissinger agreed there was a legal basis for a statement made by South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu in another CBS interview that American air power could be used against North Vietnam.

"We have the right to do this," Kissinger said. "It depends on the extent of the challenge, on the nature of the threat, on the circumstances in which it arises."

Still, it would be "irresponsible for us at this moment to give a precise check list to potential aggressors as to what they can or cannot safely do."

—The resumption of the bombing of the North in December and the use of B52s was determined by the need "to bring home, really to both Vietnamese parties, that the continuation of the war had its price."

The North Vietnamese were not negotiating seriously and Saigon was becoming more rigid, Kissinger said, so the North was bombed and Gen. Alexander Haig was sent to Saigon "to make very clear that this did not mean that we would fail to settle on the terms that we had defined as reasonable."

—Vietnam's chief negotiator, Le Duc Tho, is "a man who has never known tranquility." He is a man driven "by a certain missionary zeal."

In a more general discus-

sion of world politics, Kissinger said the 19th-century concept of a balance of power is invalid now, and that is the key to his linkage theory.

"No nation can make its survival dependent on the good will of another state," Kissinger said, "especially of a state that announces a hostile ideology."

"So you must have a certain equilibrium of strength in order to retain some freedom over your fate"

"Now what this administration has attempted to do is not so much to play a complicated 19th-century game of balance of power, but to try to eliminate those hostilities that were vestiges" of the Cold War.

Then of Vietnam, Kissinger said:

"When Hanoi realized that (American) foreign policy could not be blocked by the Vietnam war forever, and when we realized that there was more to Asia than Vietnam" a peace agreement became realistic.