

NIXON CAUTIONS THE ARABS NOT TO ATTACH CONDITIONS TO LIFTING OF OIL EMBARGO

President Warns Europe Rift Can Bring Troop Cut

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WASHINGTON, March 15—President Nixon warned the European allies today that failure to cooperate with the United States in political and economic fields could lead to a substantial cut in American military forces based in Europe.

Asserting that "the Europeans cannot have it both ways," Mr. Nixon said that the Atlantic alliance could not expect Washington to maintain forces in Europe at their present levels if the Common Market countries "gang up against the United States" in political and economic areas.

At the same time, he told a Chicago audience in his nationally televised question-and-answer session that his policy of improved relations and negotiation with the Soviet Union was vital to prevent "a massive crisis" that might produce a nuclear confrontation. [Question 8, Page 12.]

Defending his personal contacts with Soviet leaders, Mr. Nixon said, "It's far better to have the voice of the President of the United States heard from within the Kremlin than on the outside, because those walls are mighty thick, I can tell

you."
"So therefore," he went on, "let's continue to talk to them so we won't have to fight them."

Mr. Nixon hopes to make a return trip to the Soviet Union in June. Secretary of State Kissinger goes to Moscow on March 24 to hold preliminary talks about Mr. Nixon's visit.

But while Mr. Nixon seemed pleased about American relations with the Communist powers, he was clearly irritated over the sharp words of recent weeks and months with the nine members of the Common Market, all of whom have been allies of the United States in the postwar world.

The problem has intensified in recent weeks because of Mr. Nixon's desire to go to Europe next month on the 25th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to mark what became known last April as "The Year of Europe."

He has hoped to sign two declarations of principles: A security pledge with the other 14 members of NATO, and an economic-political document with the Common Market, whose members, except for Ire-

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land, all belong to the North Atlantic organization.

Mr. Nixon said that while the NATO document "has gone forward on schedule," he has written Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany that the Market declaration "has not gone forward."

Then, suggesting that he might not go to Europe at this time, Mr. Nixon added: "We face the situation that, therefore, if the heads of government were to meet at this time, for example, in the month of April, we would simply be papering over difficulties and not resolving them." [Question 14.]

Mr. Nixon had written Mr. Brandt last week, and the German leader responded in a conciliatory manner, both German and American officials said earlier this week Germany now holds the rotating chairmanship of the Market.

Mr. Kissinger had several times complained publicly about the problems raised by the effort of Market countries to unite politically, but in a way that he regarded as dividing

rather than strengthening the Atlantic alliance.

In recent days, however, he had sought to reduce the sharpness of the exchanges and he pledged the United States to work to resolve any differences.

Officials Surprised

Mr. Nixon, however, seemed to raise the rhetorical level in his remarks, and this surprised some State Department officials who had thought the emphasis at present was aimed at diplomatic conciliation rather than on confrontation.

In particular, Mr. Nixon touched on the sensitive issue of the level of American force in Europe.

There are 315,000 American troops in Europe, and officially the Administration has pledged not to reduce that number except as part of an agreed mutual cutback with the Russians.

But Europeans have long suspected that Washington might unilaterally reduce the size because of pressures in Congress to do so.

"As far as security is concerned," Mr. Nixon said, "the United States is indispensable to

the security of Europe — not only our presence in Europe, but also the fact of our nuclear strength." [Question 14.]

Market Issue Involved

He then linked the levels of the forces in Europe to the dispute with the Market by saying that unless an agreement was reached "on both the security and the economic and political fronts" Europeans and Americans will go their own ways.

"I can say one thing," he declared, "I have had great difficulty in getting the Congress to continue to support American forces in Europe at a level that we need to keep them there." [Question 14.]

"In the event that the Congress gets the idea that we are going to be faced with economic confrontation and hostility from the nine, you will find it almost impossible to get Congressional support for continued American presence at present levels on the security front."

American officials have been irritated with the fact that the NATO document calls the alliance "indivisible," but that the Market countries, led by France,

refuse to permit the word "partnership" in their declaration.

Although Mr. Nixon did not single out France, Mr. Kissinger and other Americans have made it clear that their dispute was primarily with Paris.

They have argued that the other Market countries, in an effort to achieve political unity, have tended to go along with the French. The major divergence from this occurred at the recent Washington conference on energy where Britain and West Germany led the rest of the Market into a break with France and support of the United States.

At present, talks between the United States and the Market have been postponed while the Administration decides how to answer a new Market draft declaration.

Mr. Nixon said that he believed "we will work out" the differences "but I think it's very well for all nations in the world to understand that the day of the one-way street is gone."

It was unclear from his remarks whether he had definite-

ly decided against going to Europe next month, or was still hopeful. A State Department official said the likelihood of an April visit was getting dimmer, because time was running out.

On improving relations with the Russians, Mr. Nixon was asked why the United States seemed "to be making all the compromises."

He denied this was so and stressed that efforts to improve ties did not mean, the United States approved the policies of either the Soviet Union or China, but that it was necessary to prevent "a runaway nuclear arms race." [Question 8.]

On the question of trade liberalization with Moscow, he argued that depriving the Russians of credits will not change their policy—"It will have exactly the opposite effect."

"Nobody I know will question my credentials with regard to the Soviet system and my disagreements with it," he said. "I would also say that however I have learned that it's much better to have your voice heard within the Kremlin than outside. [Question 8.]