

European part of the Soviet Union has not been increased by a single missile, by a single plane during the past 10 years.

I will say more. We are prepared to reduce the number of medium-range nuclear means deployed in Western areas of the Soviet Union as compared to the present level but, of course, only in the event no additional medium-range nuclear means are deployed in Western Europe.

I also want to confirm solemnly that the Soviet Union will never use nuclear arms against those states that renounce the production and acquisition of such arms and do not have them on their territory.

Motivated by a sincere desire to take the years of efforts to achieve military detente in Europe out of an impasse to show an example of transition from words to real deeds, we have decided, in agreement with the leadership of the German Democratic Republic and after consultations with other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, to unilaterally reduce the number of Soviet troops in Central Europe. Up to 20,000 Soviet servicemen, a thousand tanks and also a certain amount of other military hardware will be withdrawn from the territory of the German Democratic Republic over the next 12 months....

Lying ahead, as is known, are ... important talks on SALT-III. We are for commencing them immediately after the SALT-II Treaty enters into force. Within the framework of these talks we agree to discuss the possibilities of limiting not only intercontinental but also other types of armaments...."

Confidence building

Soviet President Brezhnev's disarmament proposal to Europe also included the following "confidence building" measures to be taken by both sides:

- To announce maneuvers of land forces earlier than has been done previously and to announce maneuvers of more than 20,000 men in advance.
- To forbid troop exercises of more than 40-50,000 men.
- To prevent naval and air maneuvers in the vicinity of other CSCE countries (all of Europe, plus the United States and Canada) which belong to the opposite military bloc.
- To preannounce not only military exercises, but troop movements of more than 20,000 men.

U.S., Britain respond

Within days of Soviet President Brezhnev's announcement, the response came pouring out of the U.S. and Great Britain. Here is a selection.

Carter: 'effort to disarm our allies'

From President Carter's press conference Oct. 9:

Our allies and we are carefully assessing the significance of President Brezhnev's statement. However I'd like to point out that what he's offering, in effect, is to continue their own rate of modernization as it has been, provided we don't modernize at all.

They have had actual reduction in launchers the last few years. They've been replacing their old SS-4's and SS-5's with the SS-20, not on a one-for-one basis; the old missiles only had one warhead. The SS-20 had a much greater range.... They have also replaced all older airplanes with the Backfire bomber. So it's not quite as constructive a proposal as at first blush it seems to be. I think it's an effort designed to disarm the willingness or eagerness of our allies adequately to defend themselves. In my judgment the decision ought to be made to modernize the Western allies'

military strength and then negotiate with a full commitment and determination mutually to lower armaments on both sides....

I might point out that Chancellor Schmidt said, I believe yesterday or the day before, that a prerequisite to a decision by our NATO allies to take these steps, which he considers to be vital for the security of NATO, is the passage of SALT II.

Kissinger: 'split the allies'

Washington Post, Oct. 9, reporting a speech by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the American Bankers Association convention in New Orleans: ... Citing a speech last week in Berlin by Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev, Kissinger warned that it was "designed to split our allies from the United States."...

Kissinger said a "new reality" of the 1980s will be reduced strength of American military forces compared with the Soviet Union. For this reason, he said, the strategic arms limitation treaty must be coupled with "significant increases" in U.S. military spending.

NATO: no 'freeze' in Brezhnev's favor

The Financial Times, Oct. 8: ... The NATO allies yesterday made it plain they would reject any Soviet

France promotes peace from Atlantic to Urals

Under the leadership of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, France has been promoting a policy of peace in Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals"—a policy that has implications for the developing sector and the Middle East in particular. Closely coordinating with the Federal Republic of Germany, France is determined to silence the calls emanating from Henry Kissinger's circle for an arms buildup and a dismantling of what remains of U.S.-Soviet detente by wrecking the SALT II agreement.

This is why Giscard took his entire government—nine ministers in all—to West Germany for a summit meeting with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in the first week of October.

The two heads of state ended their summit by

issuing a statement that was an unequivocal demand for the passage of the SALT II agreement by the U.S. Congress. The two leaders stipulated that allegations concerning the presence of Soviet troops in Cuba are not an excuse for stalling or vetoing the treaty accord.

The presence of French Defense Minister Bourges in the delegation signified the resolve to work out the best defense arrangements for Europe. An agreement was reached to call for a Pan-European conference on disarmament, a proposal put forward by Giscard and approved by the Soviet Union.

Also discussed were:

Energy: France is lending Chancellor Schmidt support for his stand for nuclear development in West Germany—and all of Europe—and have suggested a revamping of the Euratom treaty. Speaking on West German TV after the summit, Giscard posed the debate around nuclear energy in terms of a reduction of living standards versus nuclear development. On the oil issue, Giscard pushed for West German agreement to Industry Minister Giraud's plan to control the Rotterdam spot market.

European Monetary System: The two countries reached an agreement to limit West German interest rate increases and to better coordinate central bank

proposal that might entail "freezing" the present arms balance in the Warsaw Pact's favor.

NATO's carefully worded reaction, hurriedly agreed between the 15 member-countries of the alliance and issued from its Brussels headquarters, was in response to Mr. Leonid Brezhnev's weekend offer of a reduction in the Warsaw Pact's medium-range nuclear strike forces...

"Such negotiations," the NATO text reads, "would have to be based on the principle of equal rights and security, and should not serve to contractualize the current inequality."

'Mr. Brezhnev's ploy'

The Baltimore Sun, editorial, Oct. 9:... Mr. Brezhnev's purpose is to derail the NATO weapons modernization plan by stirring political dissent in the European democracies. His weapons are deception and fear. Thus his withdrawal promise, a propaganda ploy without military significance, was combined with a brutal warning—if West Germany accepts U.S. Pershing II surface-to-surface missiles and long-rang cruise missiles "it is not difficult to imagine what consequences would await her if this weaponry were ever put to use."...

NATO should give Mr. Brezhnev the only kind of

answer he understands by going ahead with deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles.

A Soviet intervention...

The Guardian, London, Oct. 8:

... After Mr. Brezhnev's latest intervention, the big question is whether Chancellor Schmidt will want to reopen West Germany's agreement to join in the modernization program before exploring the new Soviet proposals. He will be under heavy pressure from the Christian Democratic opposition to do no such thing. But sources close to him suggest that he may be tempted to argue that, at a time of exceptionally weak American leadership, the European members of the NATO alliance must take seriously both Mr. Brezhnev's proposals and his threats...

Reluctantly, some leading West German politicians seem to have concluded, after a first reading of Mr. Brezhnev's Berlin speech, that the Soviet leader in his physical decline is in far better political health than President Carter.