INTERNATIONAL

British puppets prepare Armageddon

At dawn on Feb. 17, the entire world entered a new strategic geometry whose end point is full-scale thermonuclear war between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As the morning sun rose on that day last week, the armed forces of the People's Republic of China crossed the northern border of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in what has since shown itself to be a massive full-scale invasion of that nation. From that point on, despite the wave of disinformation flowing from Peking and from Western sources characterizing this incredible adventure as "limited in time and space," the only relevant issue before the world is whether the Soviet Union will intervene in support of its Vietnamese allies and whether the U.S. in turn will act in support of its newfound "allies" in Peking.

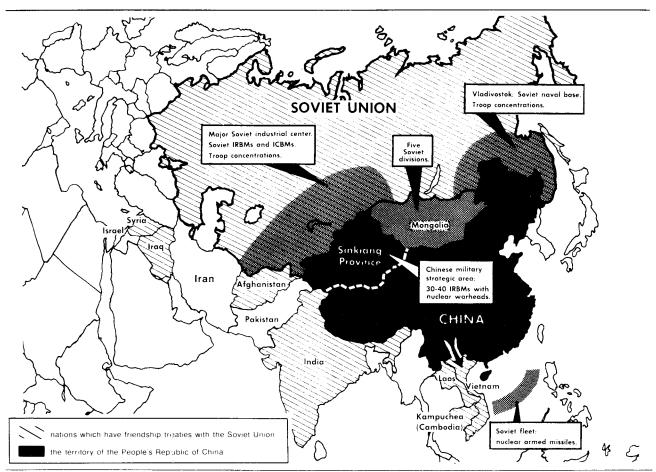
The illusions of the State Department and the National Security Council to the contrary, the Chinese invasion can only result in a complete defeat of the Chinese and the total determination of Vietnam and the Soviet Union to ensure that outcome. As our accompanying strategic assessment details, the Soviets and Vietnamese will not commit the Truman mistake of the Korean War and hold their MacArthurs back from the military necessity of striking at the staging areas of the Chinese troops behind the border. The use of Soviet tactical nuclear weapons is not unlikely, including preemptive destruction of the 30-40 Chinese Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile (IRBM) sites scattered in the border areas of Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Manchuria and Northern Tibet.

Confronted by the hostile and war-seeking encirclement represented by the active alliance of Peking with Washington and London, the Soviet response to that threat is best indicated by the consistent Soviet reference to the present situation as a replay of the Nazi invasion

of Poland, with China playing the role of the Nazis and the British playing the same role as they did then in urging the Nazis to "go East." Should the West choose to act again as Chamberlain did at Munich, and in particular should Western Europe and Japan choose to capitulate to Anglo-American pressure, then Moscow will have virtually no political room in which to continue a war-avoidance course.

As we go to press on Feb. 23, the battlefield situation in Vietnam is rapidly developing into a major engagement of Chinese and Vietnamese forces at several key points, with Chinese forces regrouping and being reinforced for a major drive into Vietnam. The main Chinese assaults are focussed at Lang Son, the provincial capital which sits astride the route through Friendship Pass from China into Vietnam; at Mong Kai, the town along the coastal plain of the Tonkin Gulf; and at Cao Bang, another provincial capital west of Lang Son and some 18 miles deep into Vietnam. The Chinese are suffering heavy casualties with Radio Hanoi reporting 20,000 Chinese killed or wounded, 150 armored vehicles destroyed, and 14 Chinese battalions put out of action. The Chinese casualty level reflects the use of the semi-"human wave" tactics of the Korean War era, utilizing the Chinese manpower advantage to compensate for the vast technological and command superiority of the Vietnamese Army. So far the main divisions of the Vietnamese Army have not been heavily deployed; local and regional forces are still taking the brunt of the Chinese attack.

The battlefield situation is complemented by the open signals of Soviet readiness to intervene militarily should the Vietnamese require their assistance. A reinforced Soviet naval squadron is now in the Gulf of Tonkin. The latest addition is a heavy Soviet cruiser, the "Admiral Senyavin," whose weaponry includes nuclear warheads.



How the Vietnam-China war will go nuclear

See article page 16.

On board the cruiser, the largest in the Soviet fleet according to Japanese sources, is the commander of the Soviet Pacific Fleet who has also command of all Soviet forces in the Eastern region. Japanese sources simultaneously report that Soviet forces have been mobilized along the Chinese border, in Sinkiang in the west, in Manchuria in the north, and in Mongolia, with accompanying troop movements. This follows earlier reports coming from Soviet journalist Victor Louis, known to be a Soviet "leak," that their forces have been placed on "No. I alert status" and all leaves cancelled for Soviet forces. The latest news includes reports that four Soviet air transports, presumably carrying materiel supplies, are on their way to Vietnam.

The latest Chinese escalation, a bombing raid on Soviet supply depots near Haiphong harbor, may make open Sino-Soviet conflict imminent. Soviet sources indicate that if a bombing raid should strike a Soviet ship in the harbor the response will be "all hell breaks loose." The airstrike of the Chinese at the least indicates that the

major battle is now to be joined and within 24-48 hours the entire military situation will undergo a dramatic shift, probably in the form of a Vietnamese counterthrust.

Why have the Chinese done this?

The question that obviously presents itself is why have the Chinese risked the destruction of their country in this risky adventure in Vietnam? While there are internal Chinese dimensions to this, and regional considerations, the only real answer that fits the facts is that China is acting as part of Zbigniew Brzezinski's global "Arc of Crisis." The Chinese in this situation are the trigger on a global confrontation that promises to wipe out the last vestiges of detente.

The geopolitics of the Chinese invasion rest in the determination of the strategic planners of Washington and London who calculated that they could set Peking into motion in a "Pacific War" march that would lead

to a Sino-Soviet war, which, accompanied by the destabilization of the Middle East (Iran, Persian Gulf, etc.), would totally wipe out the last bastions of political forces working for a North-South development and East-West cooperation based solution to the world monetary and economic crisis.

Two parallel processes have been underway since the spring of 1978 (themselves products of a longer process): one is the above war avoidance-economic development course which was embodied in the Euro-Japanese alliance to create the European Monetary System as the axis of a new world monetary system, which had its immediate springpoint in the May 1978 visit of Soviet President Brezhnev to Bonn and the conclusion of a 25year economic pact with West German Chancellor Schmidt. The second process is that of the "China card," or its flip-side variant the American card, which escalated into high profile with the visit in April 1978 of British Chief of Staff Neil Cameron to China where he so blatantly pointed north and proclaimed to his Chinese hosts that there lay their "common enemy." National Security Advisor Brzezinski made his famous visit in May, proclaiming equally fervently the desire to join forces against the "Russian bear" and opening up the negotiations which culminated in the December normalization announcement and the January visit of Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping to the U.S.

The Soviets, as the accompanying spread of their official statements in the last days makes abundantly clear, are perfectly aware of the linkage (to use a favorite Washington term) between the Teng visit and the Chinese invasion. Even if Teng had not so openly proclaimed while in the USA his intention to "punish the Vietnamese" and "teach them a lesson" for their overthrow of Peking's murderous clients in Kampuchea, it is obvious that U.S.-Chinese collusion is on the highest level. Teng sought and gained some form of U.S. assurances of support against the Soviet Union, and the word in well informed circles is that, de facto, a U.S. nuclear umbrella now extends over China. Brzezinski and London (British Industries Minister Varley is at this moment on his way to Peking to finalize British delivery of Harrier war jets and other military equipment) have guided the Chinese carefully to this point with their expressed readiness to move the West into confrontation rather than "appeasement" of the "Soviet menace."

At the point when the Carter Administration stood by silently and approvingly while Teng proclaimed that a "united front against the polar bear" was being formed, the die was cast. The response of the Administration, expressed by State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III and by the President in his Georgia Tech speech, openly excused the Chinese aggression as a response to the "Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea."

The "linkage" formula of "Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea" and "Chinese withdrawal from Vietnam" does not conceal in the slightest the active pro-Peking policy of Washington. Linkage does indeed exist in that the Vietnamese action in support of the Kampuchean rebels who overthrew the Pol Pot genocide regime was based in part on a clear Vietnamese perception that they were faced with a Chinese two-front assault aimed at the destruction of Vietnam, a powerful nation that stands in the way of Chinese domination and control of the entire Southeast Asian region.

The Pol Pot regime, with its 20,000 Chinese "advisors," was carrying out over at least a year and a half period an escalating border war against Vietnam, while exterminating a major portion of the Kampuchean population itself. It is likely that the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime preceded by days or weeks a combined Chinese assault from both fronts and that the rapid fall of the Pol Pot regime forced Peking to attempt to move rapidly and precipitously to try to salvage its war plans against Vietnam through the present invasion.

According to very well informed sources the Vietnamese had anticipated in precise detail the Chinese attack including the expected invasion routes and points of major attack.

The Vietnamese anticipation was shared by the Soviet Union not only in the immediate period, but certainly as far back as the spring-summer of this past year the Soviet Union perceived that an alliance was being structured with Peking by the Anglo-Americans which threatened to encircle the Soviet Union. Soviet efforts to preserve the structure of detente, particularly through cooperation with France and West Germany, were a direct response to this effort.

The Teng leadership in China has been prompted to this action on the basis of two key factors: the internal instability of the regime and the belief that they could score a quick victory under U.S. protection and that playing their American card would result in complete U.S.-Soviet confrontation, leaving China on the side.

According to Japanese sources, Teng is in extreme difficulty inside China, facing domestic opposition on economic and political fronts. Recent mass demonstrations and riots of youth in Shanghai are indicative of this tension within China. The most revealing fact is that the Peking authorities have banned all wall posters and public discussion of the invasion, have reported almost nothing of the details of the events to their population beyond the first official statement, and done nothing to mobilize their population. An interesting sign of unrest resulted from the first wall poster to appear since the invasion, a six page poster signed "A state employee" which condemned the invasion stressing that China had

isolated itself from the international community. Crowds were reported gathered around the poster.

Teng's personal future now rests on the success of the invasion and the America card policy. The failure of these ventures may mean his immediate downfall at the hands of opponents within leading Chinese circles. The Teng role shows itself even in the command structure of the Chinese forces. Agence France Presse reports that overall command is in the hands of Hsu Shih-yu, the commander of the Canton military region, a top People's Liberation Army commander and a close political ally who protected Teng when he was out of power. The deputy commander is General Yang Teh-chih, head of the Kunming Military Region and a Korean War veteran, also close to Teng. As if to demonstrate the nature of the Teng connection, late reports are that Teng himself is at the scene of the fighting.

— Daniel Sneider

Soviets warn: hands off Vietnam

Accompanying their deliberate military preparations in the face of the Chinese invasion, the Soviet government has made clear — in both its official statement and in radio and press commentaries — that it will not permit the Chinese to gain their sought-after hegemony in Southeast Asia, and, more important, that it is fully cognizant of the combined London-Peking-Washington "arc of crisis" deployment along its entire southern border. Soviet action if and when it comes — will be gauged from that strategic standpoint.

Official Soviet aovernment statement

The following are excerpts of a Soviet government statement broadcast Feb. 18 on Radio Moscow:

On Feb. 17, the armed forces of China invaded the territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Peking's aggression against socialist Vietnam comes as the direct result of the policy of blackmail and pressure conducted by Chinese authorities over a number of years, with regard to Southeast Asia in general and with regard to Vietnam in particular. The Peking leaders declare openly that they want to punish Vietnam, which pursues an independent policy and not only refuses to assist China's expansion in Southeast Asia, but has become a serious obstacle to the implementation of Peking's hegemonistic designs. The top leadership of China does not wish to reconcile itself to the fact that the people of Kampuchea toppled the bloody regime of the Pol Pot hangmen and restored friendly relations with neighboring Vietnam. Using this as a pretext for aggression is a road which, as history has proved, leads the aggressor to an infamous and shameful end

The heroic Vietnamese people, who have become the victim of a new aggression, are able to stand up for themselves this time as they did before—all the more so. because they have reliable friends. The Soviet Union will carry out the obligations assumed under the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Those who shape Peking's policy must stop before it is too late. The Chinese people, like other people, need peace, not war. Responsibility for the consequences of Peking's continuing aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will rest squarely with China's present leadership. The Soviet Union resolutely demands that the aggression be stopped and that Chinese troops be withdrawn from the territory of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam immediately. Hands off socialist Vietnam!

Pravda: U.S. encouraged invasion

In a Feb. 20 article, the Soviet Communist Party daily Pravda said that the Chinese invasion of Vietnam was encouraged by "American friends." The article excerpted below was distributed in advance translation by the news agency TASS. The author's signature, Alexei Petrov, is a pseudonym that usually indicates high-level authorship.

China had been preparing its aggression for a long time. The timing of the incursion into Vietnam was determined by the position taken by some Western powers and Japan. During Teng Hsaio-ping's recent trip to Washington and Tokyo, he bluntly revealed plans to teach Vietnam a bloody lesson. In talks with some of his American friends, Teng went even further and divulged details of these plans. According to the New York Times, the United States was informed about China's forthcoming attack on Vietnam. Official Washington sources reacted to Teng Hsaio-ping's probe the same way the United States is reacting to China's aggression now. Hence, the Chinese could conclude that the Americans would not stand in their way, would go no further than expressing regrets. It could well be the case that Teng Hsiao-ping's American friends decided to be as frank as Teng Hsiao-ping was himself. Some of them too would like to teach the Vietnamese a lesson and punish them for the shameful defeat the American military suffered in Vietnam. Teng Hsiao-ping declared in Washington that China was contemplating an armed attack on Vietnam. The United States declared that for its part, it wished to see a strong China and had nothing against arms deliveries from the West. The two sides reached the conclusion that their strategic interests and many of their objectives coincide.

In the context of China's treacherous aggression against the socialist country, American calls to all sides to show restraint look more than ambiguous, since this call should be directly addressed to China. The aggression has come from China. That aggression is a lesson to those who only yesterday tried to justify China's interverence in the affairs of Kampuchea, and who shed tears over Pol Pot and other associates of the Chinese leadership. The aggressor stands exposed. The Chinese adventurers are acting now against Vietnam just as they did against India in 1962 when they captured part of her territory, which they still occupy.

Radio Moscow: China to plunge world into war

Radio Moscow issued this statement on the Chinese invasion of Vietnam on the evening of Feb. 19 for broadcast into North America.

The Chinese action came shortly after Teng's visit to the United States. It is not clear whether or not Teng informed the United States government of this military action, but he announced in public a punitive strike. The United States attitude seemed to be benevolent. The Chinese read into the U.S. silence a carte blanche for China to do whatever it wants against Vietnam. But in these days you simply cannot invade another country and hope to get away with it, whatever motives that you put forward.

As the Soviet government statement pointed out, any connivance with this act is connivance with the attempts by the Chinese leaders to plunge the world into a war.

Radio Moscow scores Britain

On Feb. 20 and 21, Radio Moscow commented on China's invasion of Vietnam and Great Britain's role in supporting it. This news service believes these statements should be widely distributed.

Commentary by political observer Yevgenyi Babenko, Feb. 20:

... World public opinion regards Peking's impudent aggression against independent socialist Vietnam as an open challenge to the peoples and as a crude flouting of the fundamental principles of international law and the United Nations charter. This attack had not left indif-

ferent a single honest person in the world.

A sharply discordant note was struck against the background of world public protests against Peking's aggression by a Reuters report from London quoting official sources there as saying on Feb. 19 that in two days, after the start of the Chinese attack, Britain was still ready, despite China's invasion of Vietnam, to sell advanced Harrier war planes to Peking. This statement was made immediately after British Secretary of State for Industry Varley had left for a 14-day visit to China. Varley is to sign what is "an important trade pact in the Chinese capital." What can be said in this connection?

Democratic circles, including Britain itself, repeatedly warned about the great danger to the cause of universal peace stemming from the encouragement of Peking's militaristic ambitions. It was also said more than once what lessons should be drawn by some western figures from the Munich deal when Chamberlain and Daladier tried to channel the Nazi aggression in a direction advantageous to them. But the outcome is known to be quite different. Can the lessons of history be forgotten so soon? And at what distance from the British Isles have the Chinese weapons to thunder so that London could understand at last that putting modern weapons into the hands of the Peking aggressors is an extremely dangerous thing.

Comment by Victor Victorov on Feb. 21:

Millions of people everywhere have seen how irresponsibly Peking regards the destiny of the world. Peking is trying to turn countries of Southeast Asia into its domain ...

The United Socialist Vietnam became a serious obstacle on the path of the Chinese expansionist aims. It refused to obey Peking's dictat.

The Chinese aggression against Vietnam was undertaken practically right after Mr. Teng's visit to the United States. Washington knew that China was preparing to attack a neighboring country The United States is conniving with the aggression directly or indirectly....

Yet not only the United States but Britain too is conniving with the great power ambitions of Peking. It is notable that at present when there is Chinese aggression against Vietnam the British Secretary of State for Industry Eric Varley has gone to Peking to sign an agreement for the sales to the Chinese militarists of a large consignment of Harrier aircraft.

As shortsighted politicians in NATO countries supply arms to the Chinese leaders they purposely shut their eyes to the true goals of Peking's provocations. And the Peking rulers have plans not only for the conquest of Southeast Asia. Back in 1958, Chairman Mao Tse-tung declared that in a few years we are certain to build a large empire and will be able to land in Japan, the Philippines, and San Francisco.

Statements from Hanoi and Peking

Here are excerpts from the government of the People's Republic of China's explanation of its invasion of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Feb. 17.

Ignoring China's repeated warnings, the Vietnamese authorities have of late continually sent armed forces to encroach on Chinese territory and attack Chinese frontier guards and inhabitants, causing a rapid deterioration of the peace and seriously threatening the peace and security of China's frontiers. Driven beyond forbearance, Chinese frontier troops have been forced to rise in counterattack.

While recklessly pushing an anti-Chinese policy, the Vietnamese have in the past two years carried out incessant armed provocations and hostile activities in China's border areas. Treasuring the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and exercising restraint and forbearance, the Chinese side has repeatedly given advice and served warning to the Vietnamese authorities with a view to avoiding a worsening of the situation. But the Vietnamese authorities. emboldened by the support of the Soviet Union and mistaking China's restraint and desire for peace as a sign of weakness, have become more and more unscrupulous and kept escalating their armed incursions into China's border areas.

They have concentrated massive armed forces along the Sino-Vietnamese border and repeatedly encroached on China's military territory. They have flagrantly laid mines and built defense works on Chinese territory, willfully opened up with rifles and guns to destroy Chinese villages and kill Chinese soldiers and civilians, plundered Chinese properties and attacked Chinese trains, thus causing grave incidents of bloodshed. In the past six months alone, the Vietnamese have made armed provocations on more that 700 occasions and killed or wounded more than 300 Chinese frontier guards....

It is the consistent position of the Chinese government and people that we will not attack unless we are attacked — "if we are attacked we will certainly counterattack." The Chinese frontier troops are fully justified to rise in counterattack when they are driven beyond forbearance After counterattacking the Vietnamese aggressors as they deserve, the Chinese frontier troops will strickly keep to defending the border of their own country We believe this Chinese position will enjoy the sympathy and support of all the countries and people who love peace and uphold justice

Vietnam's statement

Following are excerpts of a statement the U.S. government monitored and translated from Radio Hanoi.

China has launched an aggressive war all along the border of our country. Early in the morning of Feb. 17 the Chinese powerholders mobilized a large armed force composed of infantry, artillery and armored forces to launch an aggressive offensive on our territory all along the frontier from Phong Thos and Lai Chau to Mong Cai town in Quang Ninh Province. They used longrange artillery pieces to wantonly fire on these cities, towns, densely populated areas and villages in order to launch attacks deep inside our territory.

The local armed forces fiercely counterattacked annihilating many of the enemy and setting afire and destroying many enemy tanks.

The struggle against the Chinese aggressors in the northern border of the fatherland has begun. The armed forces and people of various nationalities in border areas are upholding the heroic determined-to-fight-andwin tradition, resolutely dealing punitive blows to the Chinese aggressors right in the initial battle on the front line of the country.

Europe silent on Chinese invasion

Apart from India — which suffered a Chinese invasion itself in 1962 — world condemnation of the Chinese invasion has been largely limited to the Warsaw Pact nations, and western Communist Parties. Elsewhere, even European nations which are known to fear the consequences of the Chinese action have kept silent or meekly reiterated the London line retailed by U.S. spokesman Hodding Carter and by President Carter himself: The Vietnamese must withdraw from Cambodia, and the Chinese must withdraw from Vietnam.

1. India

The entire Indian nation, from the government to the man-in-the-street, has thoroughly condemned the Chinese aggression against Vietnam. On Feb. 17, the day China launched its attack, Prime Minister Morarji Desai recalled Foreign Minister A.B. Vajpayee from Peking and released a statement expressing "profound shock and distress" over the Chinese action. Desai called for immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from the Vietnamese territory adding that the Peking leadership's action "has created a situation endangering international peace and security"....

Solidarity for the Vietnamese population on a mass level is evident throughout India. The ruling Janata Party, its parliamentary opposition, the Congress Parties (representing both Indira Gandhi's Congress and other Congress factions), the Communist Party of India, and many independents pulled in their supporters for mass demonstrations before the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi. Reports from India also indicate that demonstrations are scheduled before the British Embassy. Indians are acutely aware that British sales of Harrier military planes and the numerous high-level political delegations to Peking by Britain reflect Britain's backing for China's expansionist designs.

2. The EEC

The European Economic Community issued this statement on Feb. 18.

"The nine nations of the European Economic Community are of the view that the development of the situation in Southeast Asia could have consequences for international relations. The EEC asserts its concern. It calls for the establishment of an order in which the territorial integrity and independence of all nations, including especially those of Kampuchea and Vietnam, are secured."

3. Great Britain

Asked if he would condemn the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, Lord Goronwy-Roberts, Minister of State at the British Foreign Office, told Vietnam's Ambassador to London, Mr. Tran Hoan, that Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea had been a violation of international law and human rights and that her troops should be withdrawn immediately.

A British Foreign Office spokesman announced last week that there had been "no change" in Britain's policy of defense sales to Peking following the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. The two-week visit of British Industry Minister Eric Varley is proceeding as scheduled, and it "remained British policy to consider requests for defense equipment from China on a case-by-case basis."

What Europe is thinking —but not saying

While European leaders have so far been noncommittal in their public reactions to the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, there are indications that they are deeply disquieted by the war threat. Leaders of both France and West Germany, which suffered heavily in the last two world wars and will do so again in the event of a third, last week warned against the "China card" policy and reaffirmed their commitment to détente last week — a policy impulse which may gain more open expression as the world situation worsens.

Following, we reprint excerpts from statements by French President Giscard d'Estaing and West German Defense Minister Hans Apel, now in Washington for consultations. Notably, just two days after Apel's statements Feb. 18, the West German daily Die Welt reported that Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has refused to allow the United States to update warheads on U.S. missiles in West Germany, citing the historic trade agreement between the USSR and the Federal Republic concluded in May 1978. Apel also referenced the agreement as the basis for Europe to benefit from détente in the future.

BRD: We recognize no China card

The following excerpts are from a speech given by the Defense Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Hans Apel, at the Feb. 18-19 conference of the Wehrkunde Association in Munich.

... Today we live in a world with a manifold of competing claims and conflicts ...

This means a two-fold challenge.

First of all, the Western countries must maintain their balance of power with the East, even in the future....

Second, the Western nations must deal with the tasks of global interdependency. This means the construction of a global order of cooperation between industrial nations and the Third World, so that hunger and poverty can be fought together and so that the future of us all can be secured.

... We are against the division of the world into zones of influence according to the East-West conflict and do not (agree with) those people who promise that something good will come out of the present rivalry between the Peoples Republic of China and the Soviet Union, either for Europe or for Asia. On the contrary, we

Germany's stake in detente

One factor underlying German commitment to detente, and increasingly open mootings that NATO may be outdated, is growing West German-Soviet economic ties. The German trade surplus with the Soviets now exceeds its surplus from trade with

Billions of DM Surplus with USSR 3 2 1 0 -1 -2 Surplus with U.S. -3 -4 1974 1975 1976 1977 BRD trade surplus with USSR BRD trade surplus with U.S.

Chart I: Comparison of West Germany Trade Surplus with USSR and U.S., 1974-1977

source: German Bundesbank

the U.S. (Chart I), and the technological composition of that trade is increasingly shifting toward more sophisticated manufactured products that imply longterm economic relations (Chart II).

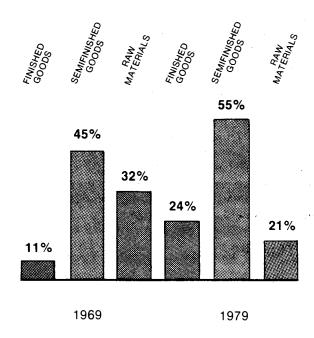


Chart II: Changing face of German Soviet Trade
Soviet Exports to West Germany

(by category)

Germans have an urgent interest in having détente make progress throughout the entire world ...

The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany recognizes no China card.

We will not send any weapons to China. Our position on this question is very clear ... We are not carrying out a policy to postpone a Third World War, but to prevent one ...

Giscard states responsibility to détente

In a wide-ranging press conference on Feb. 15, French President Giscard d'Estaing clarified his country's relationship to the Soviet Union and China. Excerpts from that press conference follow.

The policy of détente forms part of the basic framework of France's foreign policy ...

The only alternative to the policy of détente is acceptance of the risk of war, along with its corollary, the resumption of the arms race ...

... I believe the Soviet leaders consider the cause of peace to be important and do not have any intention of undertaking or triggering any military action likely to affect Western Europe. I might add that this is their attitude, for I know them. It is, moreover, one of the reasons why we are observing a policy of détente with them....

I think that in general, everyone acknowledges that the development of relations with China has to be conducted in a way that does not produce tension or risk in relations with the Soviet Union. In my opinion, we should be more explicit than this, however. We have to show very clearly that the establishment of a new relationship must be conducted in a manner that avoids making it a destabilizing factor in international relations. It should indeed be compatible with the quest for détente and security.