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Summit Aftermath: Atlantic Outlook

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## SUMMIT AFTERMATH AND ATLANTIC OUTLOOK

### Summary

Estimates of developing Atlantic Community relationships dominated post-summit comment in foreign media yesterday and today.

--Milan's Corriere della Sera judged that "on the whole, Europe recognizes the partial failure of the Nixon-Brezhnev talks and feels less oppressed by the fear of a rigid Soviet-American world partnership. The quest for a European 'identity' may now become less difficult."

--Le Quotidien de Paris felt a "West Wind Over Paris" and decided that the Giscard-Schmidt "Bonn summit has just confirmed the Atlantic trend of French diplomacy."

Commentators speculated on the outlook for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in the wake of the Moscow meeting and Secretary Kissinger's European consultations.

The Stuttgarter Zeitung carried a correspondent's view that "the Americans... prefer a meager partial conference result to failure, which is unavoidable if the Europeans negotiate too ambitiously."

The Manchester Guardian insisted that "the NATO powers have to decide if they are prepared to go along with a Soviet public relations exercise or...make Moscow sweat and keep up the pressure for concessions."

Observers continued to divide in their assessments of the Moscow summit.

Lord Chalfont wrote in the Times of London that "the superpowers are moving towards...a counterforce strategy," and termed it "self-perpetuating insanity."

El Espectador of Bogota, however, pointed out that "there were no secret pacts; the rights of smaller countries were not compromised and there was no pact that would work against any country, no matter how small."

Moscow radio beamed a commentary to this country asserting that "there is reason to believe...that the blame for there having been no agreement signed on offensive weapons may be laid at the doorstep of the U. S. military establishment."

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Milan: "The Fact of U.S. Leadership"

Italian media sought indications of political change in developments following the Moscow summit, including Secretary Kissinger's consultations in Europe and the French-West German meeting at Bonn.

A foreign news analyst of independent-conservative Corriere della Sera of Milan remarked that "we are witnessing a change on the international scene.

"France is now meeting with Germany and accepting the fact of U.S. leadership in the West and in Europe.

"On the whole, Europe recognizes the partial failure of the Nixon-Brezhnev talks and feels less oppressed by the fear of a rigid Soviet-American world partnership. The quest for a European 'identity' may now become less difficult. "

"Renewed U.S.-British 'Special Relationship'"

Yesterday, a London correspondent for the paper speculated that "on a strictly political level, the Moscow summit communique has special value in London. Although extremely modest, the U.S.-Soviet nuclear accords...are of particular interest to Great Britain since it has bilateral nuclear agreements with the U.S.

"The Atlantic consultation feature gives rise to speculation. If Wilson is whispering to his EEC colleagues that a symbolic token is all that he requires in order to represent himself before his own electorate as a victor, he must be whispering a different story to Kissinger.

"This must be the case because the renewed 'special relationship' between Great Britain and the U.S. is not only based on a business solidarity as a result of the oil crisis but also constitutes a most precious outpost from which to watch what is happening in Europe and to intervene if it should become necessary. "

"Talks in Bonn and London Caution Inflation Threat"

The foreign news editor of the Christian Democratic Party's Il Popolo of Rome considered today that while the "Nixon-Brezhnev summit confirmed that there was no valid alternative to detente, current talks in Bonn between the President

of France and the West German Chancellor as well as Secretary Kissinger's informative London visit confirmed that inflation is the shadow threatening the world's political balance today.

"It is the termite that can cause the most solid and efficient political systems to crumble. British Government leaders sounded persistent cries of alarm the other night in their talks with Kissinger. The British generally agree on the importance of detente, of East-West relations and disarmament; but for them (and we believe for Europe and the entire Western world), financial and economic matters as well as problems of oil and raw materials are more important."

"From High Diplomacy to Watergate"

A Washington correspondent for left-of-center La Stampa of Turin remarked that "there is a sort of showy symbolism in Kissinger's sudden move from grand diplomacy to the witness chair. It is a warning to him that no matter how many miles the President and his Secretary travel around the world, Watergate will always be awaiting them upon their return... Officially, Kissinger is only a witness in the Ehrlichman trial. But in the fast-paced American judicial system, the witness chair can become the defendant's bench in a matter of hours..."

Paris: "Improved Chances for Europe"

French media coverage centered on the Giscard-Schmidt meeting in Bonn as indicating a softening of French positions on Atlantic issues.

Both state-run television networks last night aired an interview with the French President in which he underlined the efforts made for a parallel anti-inflation course and economic action between the two countries. The first network concluded that this was "a good example for the other EEC partners" and that "with this spirit Europe has a better chance for survival."

"Atlantic Trend, Softened Positions"

Intellectual-left Quotidien de Paris, under the heading, "West Wind Over Paris," declared today that "the Bonn summit has just confirmed the Atlantic trend of French diplomacy." It said:

"Paris clearly has softened its position on two issues: coordination and cooperation between Western nations on oil--the

French Government today seems convinced that it must be as broad as possible--and non-participation of France in the European group of NATO, which may shortly be reconsidered."

"Joining of French, U. S. Views on Energy?"

Mass-circulation moderate-left France-Soir said today, "On at least two points, France seems to be ready to take easier positions vis-a-vis the U.S. This is highly satisfactory to the West Germans, who certainly accept the idea of an accelerated European unity as long as it is not for the purpose of opposing Washington.

"On the energy problem, there might well be an important joining of French and American theses..."

"Kissinger, Giscard Seek Conciliation"

A byline article in the middle-of-the-road news magazine Le Point, out yesterday, spoke of "a certain change" in French foreign policy. It noted that "quietly, for the past month, the successors of Pompidou and Jobert have worked to rid French diplomacy of the passions which blocked it." It said "the first objective is to regain German confidence and to erase divergencies with the U.S..."

The article maintained that "already France is getting ready to join the U.S. in the oil-consumer group," and it suggested that a formula to make this possible was to transfer the discussions to the OECD. It added:

"Henry Kissinger, who had breakfast at the Elysee last Friday, may not be far from accepting this. His European policy has failed because his eagerness and forcefulness have stung. Now, like Giscard, he has a strong desire for conciliation."

West German Headlines

West German papers today headlined Secretary Kissinger's stopover in Spain and the outcome of the two-day French-West German meeting in Bonn. Headlines included "Spain Strengthens U.S. Ties" (Die Welt of Hamburg) and "Bonn and Paris Agree on How to End EC Crisis. Stability Has Priority" (Bonner Rundschau).

Privileged Status For Spain?

Right-center Die Welt reported that as a result of a "NATO parallel declaration" signed in Madrid, Spain would be included in the Western defense community by way of its alliance with the U.S.

Pro-Christian Democratic Muenchner Merkur of Munich said that by signing the declaration Spain was obtaining protection from the biggest NATO partner without having to make a NATO defense contribution. It judged that the Administration apparently was ready to grant Spain a privileged position.

Comment touching on developments--the Moscow summit, Mr. Kissinger's consultations in Europe, the French-West German meeting--generally turned to concern about inflation, the European security conference and hopes for European unity.

Today's right-center Frankfurter Allgemeine noted that concluding statements at Bonn by President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt "indicate that this meeting will provide a strong impulse toward European unification policy." It noted that "Giscard, Schmidt and the ministers considered anti-inflation policy an indispensable precondition for Europe's economic and political integration."

Bonn's independent General-Anzeiger said yesterday that both the two chiefs of state and their technical experts meeting at Bonn were focusing on "restoration of Europe's economic stability as the key precondition for European unification."

Pro-Christian Democratic Frankfurter Neue Presse today ran a byliner's view that "Schmidt's and Giscard's almost enthusiastic visions of a new European summit should be viewed with reserve. The two will have to meet on a common anti-inflationary platform; otherwise, a summit serves no useful purpose..."

"Bonn Fears CSCE Geared to Warsaw Pact Thinking"

Independent Stuttgarter Zeitung yesterday carried a Brussels correspondent's observation that "Nixon and Brezhnev suddenly agreed that the progress achieved at CSCE warranted a speedy end to the deliberations. Under the rules of secret

diplomacy this was a blunt demonstration of U. S. interest.... The Americans, for their part, prefer a meager partial conference result to failure, which is unavoidable if the Europeans negotiate too ambitiously. In Washington's calculations an early end with an empty communique will avoid disaster....

"Bonn's nightmare is CSCE as the origin of a specifically European law of nations tailored to the status-quo thinking of the Warsaw Pact countries."

Die Welt, cited above, today carried a byliner's judgment that "the good will in German-French relations expressed by both sides cannot gloss over the fact that the conference has not yielded anything new for Europe. It was primarily a stock-taking..."

"Kissinger Wants Logical Arrangement on CSCE"

Yesterday the paper carried the remark of byliner Dieter Cycon that "Kissinger was in no hurry to rush home from Moscow. Instead of dealing with his critics in America, he ostentatiously turned to Europe... which underlines that he is a true Atlanticist, perhaps the last.

"It is from this angle that we should view his statements on the U. S.-Soviet talks. He is engaged in both directions. He considers so-called detente with the Soviet Union as indispensable, as strengthening U. S.-European ties. He favors Western Europe's unification and fails to see why it should lead to confrontation with the U. S. This suggests that he is carefully seeking a middle-of-the-road approach to the most important problems of the present--CSCE.

"...He urges Western CSCE participants to agree among themselves on what is inalienable and what is expendable. This is the method by which he achieved compromises in the Middle East. He is against what he calls 'theological' debates. This implies that he is for practicable arrangements in line with the logic of the situation.



"Making European peace dependent on transformation of the Soviet empire or on negation by the Communists of their doctrines would contravene such logic. It would be equally unrealistic if, pretending to act in the interest of peace, one would permit expansion of Communist influence in Western Europe, or compel West Europeans to abandon hope for peaceful reunification and free exchange of liberal ideas..."

West Berlin: "U. S. Seeks Reward From Soviets on CSCE"

Independent Berliner Morgenpost wrote today that "Nixon's and Kissinger's talks in Moscow have shown that American and European conceptions of goals of the European security conference are not quite identical.

"The U. S. is more interested in a quick achievement of the conference than the Europeans, because Washington hopes with a flexible attitude at CSCE to be rewarded with greater Soviet understanding in matters such as slowing the nuclear arms race and mutual troop reductions."

Independent Tagesspiegel declared that President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt had "returned to the true Franco-German relations established by Schuman and Adenauer as the basis for a European community." It added, "Without that basis, which should not be mistaken for French-German leadership in EC, nothing can be achieved in Western Europe."

London: "Kissinger Warned on Oil Crisis"

British comment yesterday centered on Secretary Kissinger's talks with Government leaders in London.

The independent Financial Times reported that "senior British ministers emphasized the seriousness of the international economic situation created by high oil prices and rising Arab surpluses during... talks yesterday with... Kissinger."

The conservative Daily Mail's diplomatic correspondent said, "America was warned yesterday of the 'severe strain' imposed by the continuing oil crisis on the economy of Britain and her European partners. Though there was no explicit mention of the recent American oil and investment deal with Saudi Arabia, the dangers of any one country in the West going it alone were highlighted" to Mr. Kissinger "as likely to create new chaos for others."

"Something Under Way on Tackling Energy Crisis"

The liberal Guardian of Manchester and London carried its diplomatic correspondent's observation that "through the diplomatic smokescreen surrounding the one-day visit of Dr. Kissinger to London can be seen the outline of an important initiative for tackling the world's energy crisis and its financial consequences... The fact that both sides were agreed...to impose a joint blackout on the contents of the energy talks--thus sacrificing any immediate gain in terms of popular politics--indicates that something important is under way..."

Regarding U. S.-European relations in the post-summit period, the correspondent remarked that "a central question to be resolved by the British and Americans is whether Mr. Brezhnev should be allowed to achieve his much desired... summit where the CSCE would come to a spectacular climax in a welter of self-congratulation..."

"The NATO powers have to decide if they are prepared to go along with a Soviet public relations exercise or whether they are prepared to make Moscow sweat and keep up the pressure for concessions."

"Russians Were Interested Only in MIRVs"

Today the paper's Washington correspondent, Simon Winchester, reported that "the evidently abortive strategic arms discussion between President Nixon and the Russian leaders last week hit trouble on the very point on which they were reportedly concentrated--the question of multiple warheads."

"According to American sources...the Russians were not interested last week in talking about any major strategic issue other than multiple warheads--and they summarily rejected the single proposal put forward by the Americans to limit their deployment in the future."

"Superpowers Approaching a Holocaust?"

Reflecting in the independent Times of London on the outcome of the Moscow summit, defense writer Lord Chalfont came to "the inescapable conclusion... that the superpowers are moving towards what is called a counterforce strategy" and commented:

"The dangers of this self-perpetuating insanity are appalling... At some stage...there is a very real danger that one side or the other will calculate, probably quite wrongly, that it has achieved the power to destroy its enemy's abilities to retaliate... At that moment, history's biggest and last holocaust will probably take place..."

"The time to fear the Russians and the Americans is when... they are bearing gifts--in this case, to each other."

Brussels: "Detente Marking Time?"

A correspondent of independent Le Soir of Brussels wrote yesterday, "The prevailing impression in Washington after this third Nixon-Brezhnev summit is that detente policy is marking time and that the U.S. President lacks political energy to settle differences within his Administration."

Yesterday's independent De Standaard of Brussels felt that both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev had "demonstrated that they match each other as clever politicians. The American would not ratify accords which would have further undermined his frail domestic position and the Russian did not want to bind himself unconditionally to a man who can be a political corpse."

Brazil: "Impasse at Moscow"

The weekly Brazilian news magazine Veja, out today, said of the Moscow summit that it "failed in the detente's most crucial point, restraint of the arms race.... Nixon did not have much to offer the Kremlin. The Soviets, for their part, were no more generous than the U.S. President..."

The magazine said further that "Nixon and Brezhnev could not overcome the impasse created by Congress...by its demand of free Jewish immigration in exchange for 'most-favored-nation' status."

Buenos Aires: "Peace Advanced at Moscow"

Conservative La Nacion of Buenos Aires observed today that after Ottawa and Brussels, "Mr. Nixon carried with him good cards and solid support. But the Moscow summit, if judged by results, was but a hillock, a small pile of minor agreements.

"Nuclear disarmament remains a cause or pretext for further delays and renewed postponements. The success that President Nixon needed for his battle against the Senate failed to reach its intended high point.

"But despite everything, peace advanced another step... Every hour, day or moment that peace is maintained and the status quo not upset to the disadvantage of the West is cause for the satisfaction of mankind..."

Bogota: "Rights of Smaller Countries Not Compromised"

A correspondent in Moscow for liberal El Espectador of Bogota declared on Sunday that as a result of the third summit "there are documents that augur better times for the way to peace..."

"There were no secret pacts; the rights of smaller countries were not compromised and there was no pact that would work against any country, no matter how small..."

"Agreements Achieved Favoring Peace"

Conservative El Siglo of Bogota said Sunday of President Nixon's achievements that "at the very least a cessation of hostilities was achieved in the Middle East--a feat that people had believed impossible--and agreements of major importance have been attained with the Kremlin that tend to consolidate attitudes favorable to peace..."

Tokyo TV: "Nixon Wants Early Visit to Japan"

Publicly financed NHK television today stated that the Japanese Government will "study the timing" of a Nixon visit to Japan and make arrangements after sounding out the U. S. Government.

Maintaining that the Japanese Government "took a negative attitude" toward the visit "because of the Watergate affair," the network said that the U. S. "has expressed a strong desire for having the President visit Japan in 1974 as stated in a joint communique issued last year." The network quoted a Foreign Ministry source as saying that Japan "will be able to prepare for a visit by President Nixon if the date is fixed between the end of August and early September."

The network added its view that "President Nixon hopes to realize his visit to Japan in order to establish his diplomatic image following his visits to the Middle East and the Soviet Union... and to visit Japan at an early date before unexpected Watergate developments occur."

Business-oriented Nihon Keizai frontpaged a report today under the heads, "Sounding Out on Nixon Visit to Japan; Ambassador Yasukawa Heading Toward Holding Talks with Secretary of State Kissinger." The report said that although the U. S.-Japan joint communique issued last summer mentioned Mr. Nixon's prospective 1974 Japan visit, "the concrete problem of timing for the visit has not been discussed through diplomatic channels up until the present time."

Moderate Mainichi said today, "It appears that the government leaders, including Prime Minister Tanaka and Foreign Minister Ohira, have firmed up an intention of receiving the U. S. President for the first time in history, meeting Mr. Nixon's wish to visit Japan as an important political scheduling after the Upper House election."

"Situation Changed Since Eisenhower Days"

Liberal Asahi quoted a Foreign Ministry source yesterday as saying that Japan should "sincerely" welcome a visit from Mr. Nixon because "the situation has changed from the days when President Eisenhower's projected visit to Japan was cancelled in 1960."

New Delhi Reports "Harmonious" London Discussions

Today's independent moderate Statesman of New Delhi and Calcutta carried the report of its London correspondent that the discussions there "were by far the most harmonious of Kissinger's current tour and understandably so, since the Labor Government is known to share many of Washington's views on key problems affecting the Atlantic Alliance."

Tel Aviv: "Negative Implications of Moscow Communique"

Yesterday's independent Haaretz of Tel Aviv noted that Israeli Foreign Minister Allon "drew the Cabinet's attention to the negative implications of a change in the wording of this U.S.-USSR summit communique from the preceding one." The editorial said he inferred a downgrading of the concept of "sovereignty and the individual right to existence of each state in the region" because the position of the phrase had been inverted so that it now followed the "over-all rights of the nations of the Middle East."

Dakar: "Not a New Division of the World"

The independent weekly L'Ouest Africain of Dakar declared in its current issue, "A Russian-American agreement should not be construed as a new division of the world. It should lead all countries to aspire to only one objective--progress in all fields, with a special acceleration for the poorest nations which need the sums of money devoted to arms to be employed in humanitarian causes to save the lives of millions of people threatened by the worst calamities."

Moscow Cites Kissinger, Fulbright on U.S. Military Role

In a Moscow broadcast last evening to North America, commentator Vladimir Pozner asserted that "there is reason to believe...that the blame for there having been no agreement signed on offensive weapons may be laid at the doorstep of the U.S. military establishment. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger as much as said this, although in veiled form. Senator Fulbright said it openly last Sunday..."

Pozner concluded: "Insofar as the Soviet Union is concerned, I would stress the absence in this country of any group with economic and financial interests in military production, simply because there exists no private industry. As for

political interests, no responsible statesman anywhere doubts the sincerity of what has now come to be called the Soviet peace offensive.

"The growing momentum generated by each of the three past summits has met with a growing opposition from the quarters I mentioned earlier. And while this momentum increases, giving us reason to look ahead with optimism, it is the duty of every one of us to clearly see the forces that would impede this progress and spare no effort to thwart their designs."

"Irresponsible Campaign to Interfere in Our Internal Affairs"

Pravda commentator Yuri Zhukov was quoted by Moscow TASS in an English transmission yesterday as declaring that the CSCE "can and must without further delay conclude working out the documents in accordance with the directives which were made by foreign ministers of 35 states in Helsinki in the summer of last year." It said Zhukov denounced an "irresponsible campaign" by which "certain people would like to distort ideas of cultural cooperation and get from socialist countries such 'concessions' under the slogan of 'free exchange of people and ideas' as would amount to legalization of interference in internal affairs of these countries and waiving of their social gains and sovereign rights."