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14 November 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: DCI Meeting with President-Elect's Staff

On 13 November the DCI met with Messrs. Meese, Casey, and Allen at his EOB office. The DDCI, Bob Gates, and I were also present.

1. The DCI raised the question of providing the PDB. Mr. Meese requested that we begin to supply the PDB to the President-elect at 716 Jackson Place beginning next Tuesday. Governor Reagan will be in town through Friday and will then return to California. We should continue to supply the PDB in California beginning on Saturday. The Governor will be in Washington for the week of 8 December and possibly for another week in January. In this connection, we were asked about secure communications. We told them we had secure communications to an office in Los Angeles, but not to any area near the ranch. They told us they wanted to keep their operations in Los Angeles; and that they would prefer that any classified material or communications be handled in our installation. We agreed to look into the questions of secure phones both in Washington and Los Angeles. (I subsequently determined that the Los Angeles office has a secure phone and that one is available for installation at some location in Washington; we have not yet determined a location.

2. The DCI showed our visitor the PDB and described its function, making the point that the PDB is done to the President's specifications and we would hope to use the period between now and inauguration to determine how the President-elect would like it done. The only comment made was that a larger typeface would probably be in order.

3. They asked that in addition to the clearances that we had provided for the three of them we should clear Wineburger, Taft, Ikle, and Deaver. We noted that while they had SI/TK clearances, they did not yet have any of the operational clearances or the security briefings that go with them. It was left that we would work this out as well.

4. We then discussed briefings of the President-elect. The DCI provided a proposed agenda (Attachment A). It was agreed that we would give two briefings to Governor Reagan when he is in Washington next week. The first one will consist of a description of the organization and functions of the Community and CIA plus the [redacted] in the attachment. We subsequently determined that this will be given 25X1

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between 0945 and 1115 on Wednesday. On Thursday at the same times we will provide a briefing on the first three topics of "II". When Governor Reagan returns in December, we will brief on "V" and the remainder of "II". The specific arrangements for these briefings will be made later. The possibility was also raised that briefings on material in "IV" might be briefed to Governor Reagan in California. It is unclear to what extent "III" will be treated in appropriate places in the substantive briefings and to what extent it will be dealt with under "V". Mr. Casey also raised the possibility that the DCI might be asked to brief his policy committee when it meets in Washington on Friday of next week.

5. There followed an extended discussion on particular legislation and budgetary issues that concerned us in the immediate future. It was agreed that the DDCI would provide a paper to Allen on our legislation requirements. We were told that on budget issues the DDCI should deal directly with Wineburger and it was made clear that the intelligence support of the President-elect and his immediate staff was to be handled through Allen and not through the transition team. The link will be from me to Allen. More generally, Meese asked that we prepare our "wish list" for the new Administration.

6. The DCI also suggested that they might wish to come out for breakfast or lunch to meet with the Agency leadership. They expressed an interest in doing it if they had time at some later date.

7. I also provided to them an FBIS memorandum on foreign reaction to the election. (See Attachment B).

25X1

Richard Lehman
Chairman
National Intelligence Council

Attachments
A & B

Distribution:
1 - D/OCO
1 - Transition File
1 - C/NIC Chrono

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Categories of Possible Intelligence Briefings for President-Elect

I. Current issues with near term policy implications.

Poland
Iran-Iraq war
Iran - hostages
Afghanistan
Nicaragua - El Salvador
Middle East - Israel, Saudi Arabia

II. Longer term issues fundamental to US foreign policy.

Strategic force balance
NATO-Warsaw Pact military balance
Soviet economy
State of NATO Alliance
China - economy, leadership

III. Current operational involvements.

Afghanistan
Iran
China

IV. Current issues with policy implications in the midterm

Zimbabwe
Kampuchea
Lebanon
World energy situation
Philippines
Pakistan
Yemens
Somalia
Turkey
Morocco

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V. Background on intelligence

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Special Memorandum

FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION
TO THE 1980 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

For Official Use Only

12 NOVEMBER 1980
FB 80-10046

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This report is based exclusively on foreign media materials [redacted] without coordination with other U.S. Government components.

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION TO TO THE 1980 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION TO THE 1980 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

HIGHLIGHTS

Moscow's public reaction is designed to hold out prospects for an improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations under the Reagan administration. Characterizing the election outcome as a rejection of President Carter's policy toward the USSR, Moscow commentators have conveyed to the Soviet domestic audience a generally reassuring view of the probable impact of the Reagan presidency on U.S. international policy.

East European reaction has paralleled Moscow's in discounting the significance of Governor Reagan's hardline reputation and in accenting the view that realism and self-interest will steer the new administration toward policies compatible with constructive East-West relations.

West European editorial opinion has divided along traditional liberal-conservative lines while generally welcoming what is seen as a likelihood of greater consistency in U.S. foreign policy. A number of West German, French, and British commentators have questioned whether Governor Reagan will be sufficiently sensitive to the European viewpoint, discerning in some of his past public positions on issues like SALT and the Middle East a potential for discord between the United States and Europe.

In the *Middle East,* Egyptian comment has echoed President as-Sadat in coupling praise for President Carter's contributions to the peace process with assurances of Cairo's desire for continued cooperation with the United States. Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and several of the Gulf states have reaffirmed support for existing ties with Washington while calling for a "more objective" U.S. approach to the Arab-Israeli question. Israeli media, registering guarded optimism about prospects for U.S.-Israeli relations, have speculated that the Reagan administration may revive the dormant "Jordanian option" in an effort to accelerate the peace process.

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Iranian Prime Minister Raja'i's assertion that "there is no difference between Reagan and Carter" set the tone for Tehran comment. Iranian assessments of the outlook for the hostage issue range from claims that the election outcome will have no impact to a suggestion that "more time" will be needed to solve the problem because of the impending change in administrations.

Beijing's low-keyed response to Governor Reagan's election has reflected cautious hope that the new administration will not allow differences over the Taiwan question to impede progress in the PRC-U.S. relationship, which the Chinese regard as strategically essential. TAIPEI has welcomed the election outcome, foreseeing an improvement in both the atmosphere and the substance of Taiwan's relations with the United States.

In *Northeast Asia* generally optimistic comment from Japan has been tempered by expressions of concern that divergent views on trade and defense issues may hinder U.S.-Japanese relations as the new administration's policies unfold. South Korea has welcomed Governor Reagan's victory as opening the way for a possible strengthening of the U.S.-ROK security relationship, while an absence of Pyongyang comment squares with earlier signs in North Korean media that the regime may be adopting a more flexible approach toward the United States.

Southeast Asian reaction features Thai comment welcoming perceived prospects of a more vigorous U.S. role in shoring up the region's security. Hanoi, preoccupied with its hostility toward Beijing, has speculated that the Reagan administration's Taiwan policy may set back U.S.-PRC cooperation--a relationship Hanoi propaganda decries as threatening Indochina's security.

African reaction has revolved around an expectation that the new administration will adopt a more sympathetic attitude than its predecessor toward the regime in Pretoria. South African commentary has evinced cautious optimism on this score, while the media of a number of the black-ruled regimes have registered apprehensiveness over a perceived likelihood that the new administration will favor South African apartheid and curtail aid to developing countries.

Latin American reaction has run the gamut from coolness in Panama and defiance in Nicaragua to optimism on the part of conservative regimes of the Southern Cone, which foresee a more sympathetic U.S. attitude toward their internal policies and problems. Relatively restrained Cuban commentary, largely avoiding the kind of invective that marked Havana's propaganda during the campaign, has emphasized the difference between campaign rhetoric and what a U.S. president does when he takes office.

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION TO THE 1980 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

SOVIET UNION

Moscow has responded publicly to Governor Reagan's election by holding open the prospect of repairing U.S.-Soviet ties. Premier Nikolay Tikhonov's harsh criticism of U.S. policy in a speech two days after the election suggests that the Soviet leadership has no illusions about immediate improvements. But Soviet media have kept Moscow's options open by characterizing the election as a rejection of the Carter Administration's policies toward the USSR and by reassuring the domestic audience about the president-elect's probable impact on U.S. policy. By noting Governor Reagan's professed interest in arms control dialogue in postelection commentary while saying little about SALT II, Moscow appears to be holding out the possibility of further talks without Senate ratification of the treaty.

The only authoritative reaction to the election beyond President Brezhnev's pro forma congratulatory message came in Tikhonov's 6 November address in the Kremlin. Tikhonov professed Soviet interest in cooperating with the United States and expressed the hope that the new administration will "exhibit a constructive approach to questions of relations between our countries." His diplomatically correct remarks on bilateral relations were almost overshadowed, however, by his searing indictment of U.S. foreign policy, including its ppurported efforts "to solve international problems from positions of strength."

The image Soviet media have projected thus far of the President-elect's probable course in office has demonstrated Moscow's decision to withhold judgment. Soviet commentators have seen a trend toward moderation in the Governor's statements at the close of the campaign, noted that his policies will be determined more by "objective" factors like the balance of power than by personal proclivity, and asserted that election rhetoric is an uncertain guide to the actions of a sitting President. Soviet media have further nourished hopes for a normalization of the U.S.-Soviet dialogue by interpreting the presidential election as in part a rejection by the electorate of President Carter's alleged turn away from detente and cooperation with the USSR. PRAVDA's New York correspondent Tomas Kolesnichenko on 7 November illustrated Moscow's cautious optimism about the election results by reporting that Governor Reagan's statements had become more "moderate" toward the end of the campaign but adding that only "time and concrete actions" will show whether his statements truly represent a "sober view of the future."

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Moscow's recent public commentary on arms control has projected a willingness to negotiate with the Reagan administration while leaving undefined the status of SALT II. Premier Tikhonov declared Moscow's continued interest in agreements "reducing or prohibiting" strategic arms in his 6 November speech but did not mention the SALT treaty. Soviet commentators have not reiterated since the election Moscow's stress on the importance of Senate ratification although that position was reaffirmed as late as 28 October in a TASS news agency commentary.

Moscow's handling of the President-elect's statements on arms control, both before and after the election, reflects the same flexible posture. Soviet media often reported Governor Reagan's expressions of willingness to negotiate on arms control before the election while appearing to take in stride his expressed opposition to SALT II. PRAVDA's Kolesnichenko took the same approach in his postelection analysis by reporting that the President-elect had come out "against a nuclear catastrophe and for talks with the Russians" in the 28 October televised debate without mentioning his position on SALT II. Moscow so far has conspicuously ignored the President-elect's statements on U.S.-Soviet negotiations since the election, including his expressed support for the principle of "linkage" between arms limitation talks and Soviet international behavior.

WEST EUROPE

West European leaders have publicly expressed confidence about the prospect of good relations with President-elect Reagan and his probable circle of policy advisers. Editorial opinion has divided along traditional liberal-conservative lines but has generally welcomed what is seen as the probability of greater consistency in U.S. foreign policy. Some commentators have voiced concern that the President-elect's image as a forceful leader could foretell difficulties for relations within the Western alliance if he fails to appreciate European sensitivities.

On questions of policy direction, commentary in Europe's conservative press has been generally hopeful that there will be vigorous U.S. counteraction to Soviet policy around the world. Other papers, however, have expressed concern that the President-elect's declared positions on such questions as the Arab-Israeli conflict, U.S.-Soviet relations, and SALT II could cause conflict with key European allies. Some have also seen potential discord over NATO's defense modernization and the task of apportioning the expense equitably among alliance members. Most editorial opinion has tempered such expressions of concern with

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suggestions that Europe will await the President-elect's choice of a cabinet and specific foreign policies before offering a definitive judgment.

GREAT BRITAIN British press reaction to Governor Reagan's victory ranged from cautious enthusiasm to expressions of grave concern. As on the continent, the common theme of interest was the likely effect of a Reagan administration on U.S.-European as well as East-West relations.

The DAILY TELEGRAPH was unabashedly enthusiastic in its 6 November editorial, hailing the election as a "mandate" for change in American policy both at home and abroad. The editorial noted approvingly Governor Reagan's stance in favor of boosting allied military strength to "meet the Russian threat" and warned against "any illusions" about the considerable time and effort needed to achieve this goal. The paper did caution, however, that unless some of America's European allies--notably FRG Chancellor Schmidt--adjust to the Reagan presidency and take advantage of the opportunities it offers, "disastrous transatlantic tensions could occur."

Commentary in THE TIMES was more restrained in welcoming the Reagan victory and focused on the problems that face the new administration. Its 6 November editorial pointed out that Governor Reagan is on the "same ideological wavelength" as Prime Minister Thatcher, but it added that such broad similarities of approach "do not guarantee" agreement on specific issues. The editorial singled out the Middle East and relations with the Soviet Union as two areas of potential difficulty with the allies but concluded on an optimistic note, maintaining that with a "strong team of advisers" Governor Reagan could create a sound government of "shrewd commonsense." The FINANCIAL TIMES editorial the same day also stressed the issue of U.S.-Soviet relations and urged the President-elect to "urgently" acquaint himself with the "views and predicaments" of his European allies. Cooperation between Europe and America, the paper said, will be "essential" to the success of any American foreign policy.

Both THE GUARDIAN and THE OBSERVER offered more pessimistic assessments of the President-elect's victory. The 6 November GUARDIAN editorial concluded that the election victory was "in many senses a negative one" that revealed "chasms of illogic." As for Europe, it asserted, "we can only watch and wonder," realizing that the "world may shortly be a bleaker place." A followup editorial in the same paper on the 10th raised the possibility that U.S.-European differences on such issues as paying for NATO's military buildup and relations with Moscow could

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further weaken the alliance. The weekly OBSERVER said on the 9th that the international consequences of the change in administrations were "less clear cut" than its domestic impact but confessed to a "deep disquiet" about the new administration's Third World policy inclinations. The European allies would do well to remind the new president, the paper concluded, that when his fellow countrymen elected him, "they did not also elect a world of Republican design, just for Americans to live in."

WEST GERMANY West German media initially appeared as surprised by Governor Reagan's decisive victory as Bonn's America experts reportedly were. However, the West German press has offered a generally optimistic assessment of Governor Reagan's impact on bilateral relations. Most commentators have held that the United States will be a reliable ally under a Reagan administration and that the President-elect himself will be more "predictable" than his predecessor--a leadership quality publicly associated with FRG Chancellor Schmidt. Hamburg's DER SPIEGEL wrote on the 10th that Bonn has anticipated a narrow Democratic victory but after Governor Reagan's "triumph" wanted to quickly establish contacts with the new President so as not to be "surprised" by U.S. actions "as it was four years ago." A 6 November editorial in Bonn's DIE WELT saw good prospects for Governor Reagan's relations with the allies, saying that "common positions" were possible if the new President convinced Europe that U.S. policy had become a "respectable, reliable, and predictable quantity."

Some of the skepticism about Governor Reagan voiced in FRG media before the election continued to surface in postelection commentary. Several papers spoke of the President-elect's perceived lack of experience in foreign affairs, a problem some suggested could be overcome by drawing on the services of former officials like George Schultz, Henry Kissinger, and Alexander Haig. The director of DEUTSCHE WELLE maintained that Governor Reagan had "realistic and experienced" people around him who would not be "easy partners" but would be "reliable allies." The FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE and Munich's SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG both agreed that Reagan's choice of advisers would be the first test of his political qualifications.

Other commentators voiced concern over the President-elect's perceived policy inclinations. A FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU editorial on the 6th maintained that Governor Reagan is "less troubled by doubts and thus more predictable" than President Carter but said that U.S. allies should be aware that the "good old America" Governor Reagan wants to reawaken was a "rather patriarchal being." The sad thing about this nostalgia for the "orderly world of yesterday," the editorial concluded, is that

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the trend in the world is in the other direction. Hamburg's DIE ZEIT, in a 7 November editorial, expressed concern over the President-elect's intentions regarding issues like arms control and advised the allies to "fasten their seatbelts, because the transition period will not be free of turbulence." The SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG was concerned about the "valuable time" that might elapse before Governor Reagan learned the "limits" of U.S. power in the world.

FRANCE France, like West Germany, has generally welcomed the election of Governor Reagan as a precursor of greater consistency in U.S. foreign policy. Some press comment has suggested that the election result could also benefit France's own role in world affairs. LE FIGARO suggested on the 6th that Governor Reagan's election had evoked a certain "sympathy" along with apprehension and that there was every reason to believe that a Reagan administration would be a more homogeneous, solid, and predictable team than President Carter's. FRANCE-SOIR's 7 November editorial seemed particularly pleased with the election, characterizing the President-elect as a "symbol" of an America emerging from a long period of humiliations.

In contrast to a number of other European papers, LE MATIN on the 7th found promise even in the Governor's stance on SALT and the Middle East. The French Government, the paper maintained, "never approved" of the SALT negotiations and felt that the President-elect would likely "take another look" at the diplomatic process in the Middle East--thereby opening up the prospect for a French role in future negotiations.

At the same time, some French comment has shown concern that the President-elect's leadership style could also be a source of potential U.S.-European discord. The Paris daily LE MONDE has been particularly vocal in this regard, expressing fear in its 7 November editorial that the Governor holds a "simplistic" view of the U.S.-European dialogue that could easily become a "U.S. monologue." An article in LE MONDE on the 6th suggested that Paris was all in favor of the President-elect's perceived intention to reassert leadership, "provided it is leadership over the United States."

The weekly L'UNITE expressed concern that the reemergence of men like Kissinger and Haig into leading positions in a Reagan administration would "take us several years into the past," while the French communist daily L'HUMANITE urged the French Government to act to deter the "insane plans" expressed in Governor Reagan's election speeches.

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ITALY Italian public commentary polarized along party lines, with the warmest comments coming from the right-of-center parties and cooler reaction coming from the left of the political spectrum. Italy's news agency ANSA reported on the 5th that political leaders had varying but generally cautious reactions, ranging from neofascist party leader Almirante's praise for Governor Reagan's "rightwing victory," through the guarded hope for closer U.S.-European partnership expressed by Christian Democrat official Piccoli, to the concern expressed by Italian Communist Party foreign affairs spokesman Pajetta that U.S. policy might toughen at a time when detente is "at a low ebb."

As in West Germany and Britain, Italian commentators focused on the effect that President-elect Reagan's views on relations with the Soviet Union and the role of Europe within the Western alliance would have on Europe's freedom to maneuver. Some voiced concern that a return to a "Kissingerian" bipolar world would mean a loss of the European "autonomy" that was seen to have emerged under the previous administration. LA STAMPA's Arrigo Levi said that Europe "cannot hide certain fears" about the President-elect's views on the arms race and his "pro-Begin" stance on the Middle East, expressing the hope that as President he would be "more flexible and moderate" than as a candidate. The communist daily L'UNITA was less hopeful, with PCI leader Bufalini commenting on the 6th that the election presaged an "increasing rigidity" in international relations that would work to the disadvantage of the Italian working classes.

GREECE, TURKEY, CYPRUS Greek and Greek Cypriot papers have cited President Carter's "inability" to deal successfully with domestic and foreign policy problems as the reason for his defeat and have cautioned that the new administration is unlikely to alter what they view as Washington's pro-Turkish stands on Cyprus and territorial disputes in the Aegean. Implying that the President-elect will not risk upsetting the tenuous balance in the Aegean by pushing for a resolution of Greek-Turkish differences, the progovernment Athens paper ACROPOLIS on 6 November reported that he had already identified Turkey and Greece as "valuable allies" and said that his administration would like to help reduce tensions between them. The rightwing, progovernment Nicosia daily O AGON cautioned that it would be "politically naive" either to celebrate or to mourn the election and, asserting that President Carter had not kept his promise to Greek Cypriots, added that "by now" Cypriots should be convinced that the change in U.S. administrations "does not change to the extent that it affects us."

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The Turkish press has generally viewed Governor Reagan as pressing for a stronger NATO alliance and for hardening relations with the Soviet Union. The liberal press has viewed this prospect--and the possible effect of Turkey's forward position in the alliance--with apprehension, while the conservative press has generally reacted favorably.

OTHER COUNTRIES Spanish reaction was sharply mixed, with conservatives hailing Governor Reagan's election and leftwing leaders expressing their dissatisfaction. Barcelona's LA VANGUARDIA quoted Spanish Foreign Minister Perez-Llorca and Popular Alliance leader Iribarne as assessing the election in very positive terms, with the foreign minister saying that he felt Governor Reagan would be a "marvelous president for relations with Spain." The paper also reported that Spanish socialist leader Gonzalez and communist party chief Carrillo were disturbed by the election result, with Gonzalez stating that detente would be "adversely" affected and Carrillo suggesting that international tensions would be "intensified."

Scandanavian reaction was cool and in some cases strongly negative. Danish comment was the most favorable. Copenhagen's BERLINGSKE TIDENDE reported Prime Minister Joergensen as saying he thought "close and friendly" ties between Denmark and the United States would continue under the new President. Swedish commentaries reflected general disapproval of the election result and concern for a deterioration in the international climate, particularly on security issues. Stockholm's DAGENS NYHETER concluded that Governor Reagan's victory makes life "less secure." The generally cautious Norwegian official reaction prompted Oslo's ARBEIDERBLADET to maintain that it had "nothing good" to say about the new American President and that Norway's politicians should have said likewise.

Austrian comment focused on the scope of Governor Reagan's victory and generally expressed cautious optimism based on the assumption that he would pick advisers well versed in foreign affairs. The KURIER gave the President-elect good marks for his record as Governor of California, while the ARBEITER ZEITUNG took consolation from the example of former President Nixon, who showed, the paper said, that a conservative president "need not be harmful to world politics." The communist VOLKSSTIMME expectedly took a dim view but drew hope from the fact that the strength of the "socialist camp" meant "imperialists" cannot do as they please, even with "a Reagan as figurehead."

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EAST EUROPE

Moscow's East European allies generally have followed the Soviet lead in reacting cautiously and with guarded optimism to the U.S. election results. The East Europeans for the most part have expressed confidence that President-elect Reagan's policies once he is in office will be more restrained and moderate than some of his campaign rhetoric. Romania and Albania, often slow to react to international developments, have not commented on the election thus far, although Bucharest has published a greetings message to the President-elect. Yugoslovia, which found in President Carter a firm supporter of its independence and nonaligned policy, has taken a cautious wait-and-see attitude in assessing the implications of the Reagan presidency.

POLAND Warsaw has been generally optimistic about Governor Reagan's election, most commentaries indicating that the new administration would be likely to pursue moderate policies toward the Soviet bloc. The Warsaw daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY on 6 November maintained that the President-elect's electoral program should not be considered a forecast of his policies in this regard. The paper added that despite President-elect Reagan's "baggage of cold war rhetoric," it would be difficult to imagine any breaking off of the East-West dialogue. Similarly, Warsaw radio commentaries on the 8th and 9th foresaw "no violent turnabouts" under President-elect Reagan and said that he would probably pursue traditional Republican policies, including negotiations with the Soviet Union. Among the few criticisms from Warsaw, PAP on the 5th cited "concern" about Governor Reagan's rejection of SALT II and promises to boost defense spending, and Warsaw radio on the 7th called some of his foreign policy advisers "hardline."

HUNGARY The moderate Hungarians similarly took a cautiously optimistic stance toward the President-elect. The party daily NEPSZABADSAG on 6 November, according to MTI that day, portrayed Mr. Reagan's foreign policy aims as being tempered in the White House by all kinds of foreign pressures--West European pressures for detente, Third World pressures for independence and nonintervention, and "open Chinese antagonism"ttoward Mr. Reagan. The same paper the next day found reasons for cautious optimism in the President-elect's assertion that world peace is his top priority, his fairly broad array of foreign policy advisers, and the fact that other conservative Republicans became more moderate in office.

EAST GERMANY Limited East German commentary also expressed a cautiously optimistic stance toward a Reagan administration, while focusing criticism on outgoing President Carter. A 5 November radio commentary by Washington correspondent Horst Kaeubler

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portrayed the election as a "protest" against President Carter's domestic policies and "catastrophe" of a foreign policy and defended Governor Reagan against his opponent's charges that he would pursue an adventurous foreign policy, saying in this regard that President Carter himself had "pursued a policy of military adventures." East Berlin domestic service commentator Albert Reisz on the 10th said that "we will have to wait and see" about President-elect Reagan's policies. He added that the U.S. allies in West Europe expect Washington to "finally renounce seeking military superiority" because it will touch off a new arms race.

BULGARIA Like much of the other East European and Soviet comment on the election, Sofia comment has not professed to see the prospect of major changes under the new administration. The army paper NARODNA ARMIYA on the 6th described the election outcome as a "formal change only" and said that the "acute" U.S. foreign and domestic problems "will not be solved by the personnel changes." Sofia radio on the 5th portrayed the election results more as reflecting widespread dislike of President Carter than support for Governor Reagan. A radio commentary the same day maintained that despite the President-elect's call for a "position of strength," U.S. fiscal problems will compel him to reconsider any big arms buildup.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Prague, often outspokenly critical of the United States, has spiced its reporting of the election with some harsh commentary on the President-elect's alleged hardline policies. For example, Prague radio commentator Tomasek on 9 November cited as "cause for concern" Governor Reagan's "totally unrealistic conditions" for talks with the Soviet Union and his comments on the PLO. Similarly, a Prague foreign radio broadcast on the 9th said that some of the President-elect's remarks "leave little room for excessive optimism" and that the names of some of his foreign policy advisers "smell of cold war." At the same time, the party daily RUDE PRAVO on the 6th expressed hope that the realities of the White House and moderating forces in the Republican Party would prompt Mr. Reagan to take a "sober and cautious approach" to the world.

YUGOSLAVIA Belgrade has reacted warily to the change in administrations but has expressed hope that the close U.S.-Yugoslav relations characteristic of the Carter years would continue under Governor Reagan. A 6 November Zagreb radio report by commentator Milika Sundic noted that bilateral ties under President Carter were "both correct and friendly" and asserted that "Yugoslavia is very interested in continuing to develop and promote all-round cooperation on the same principles with the new U.S. administration, too." Reflecting Yugoslavia's usual sensitivity to any perceived slights, Belgrade radio correspondent Goran Milic on the 5th said that while the Republican platform contains a standard statement of support for Yugoslav

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independence, "it is perhaps an uncomfortable fact thattthis statement is included in the paragraph on American-Soviet relations." But Milic, like several other Yugoslav commentators, foresaw "no great turns" in foreign policy under a Reagan administration. In another note of disapproval on foreign affairs, Zagreb radio commentator Ante Kesic on 8 November called the President-elect's stance on the Palestinians "very rigid" and criticized his "degrading" of the PLO to a terrorist organization.

MIDDLE EAST, IRAN

EGYPT Initial Egyptian reaction to the election results emphasized Cairo's appreciation for President Carter's role in the Mideast peace process and Egypt's desire for continued cooperation with the United States. In a 5 November speech President Anwar as-Sadat paid tribute to President Carter for his "sincere and honest effort" to secure peace and his attitude toward "bilateral relations," which "flourished in a manner which no one could have imagined." As-Sadat congratulated President-elect Reagan for "his people's confidence in him" and declared that the "issue of peace" will always require a "basic U.S. role in it to produce its fruits." In remarks to Cairo's MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY the same day, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali proclaimed Egypt's belief that the Camp David accords will continue as the basis of U.S. policy and repeatedly stressed the point that the U.S. role as a "full partner" in the Middle East peace process is "extremely vital."

Egyptian papers generally followed President as-Sadat's lead by expressing gratitude for President Carter's efforts to achieve a Middle East peace while emphasizing that Egypt's relations with the United States are a matter of policy not based on individuals. For example, Cairo's AL-AKHBAR observed on 6 November that Egypt's policy toward President-elect Reagan is one aimed at working for the sake of peace that does not "accept any reversal or deflection because a certain person has gone and another has come." On 7 November AL-AHRAM's chief editor observed cautiously that it is "premature to analyze Reagan's internal and external policies" and that past experience has taught that "statements by presidential candidates during the election campaign do not necessarily represent the final policy which that president will carry out when he enters the oval office."

Egyptian Vice President Husni Mubarak was quoted on 7 November as saying that the election results had no effect on Egypt's willingness to provide temporary military facilities to the United States.

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The 7 November AL-AHRAM favorably highlighted President-elect Reagan's "clear desire to establish a balance between the two superpowers in the Middle East area" and stressed the compatibility of this desire with Egyptian objectives. "In this area in particular," AL-AHRAM said, "there is common ground between the U.S. President-elect's views and Egypt's declared and clear policy."

OTHER NORTH AFRICAN COUNTRIES — Reaction to the election from Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria was restrained, although negative in tone. Commentary focused on U.S. policy with regard to the Palestinian question and other Middle East issues. A 5 November Libyan broadcast speculated that President Carter's defeat would be the "beginning of the end" of the Camp David accords. On 6 November, the Tunisian news agency quoted the view of the independent Tunisian paper LE TEMPS that as a result of Governor Reagan's election the Arab world "has to act without any vain hope of seeing a change in the U.S. attitude in favor of the Arab cause." The Algerian response was even more pessimistic. The Algerian radio on the 7th asserted that the President-elect's position on the Palestinian issue "augurs unconditional support for Israel and contempt for the Palestinians' right to self-determination." The Algiers daily ASH-SHA'B on the 6th concluded that "all U.S. presidents are the same in their hostility toward the Palestinian people and all just Arab causes." The Moroccan radio has not been heard to comment on the election, and Moroccan King Hassan's congratulatory message to President-elect Reagan avoided Middle East issues and stressed the "ties of friendship and cooperation" existing between Morocco and the United States.

ISRAEL — Israeli reaction to President-elect Reagan's victory has been cautiously optimistic. Asked whether Governor Reagan's victory was good for Israel, Prime Minister Menahem Begin said that while every Israeli must find his own answer, "we are hoping for the better." Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir expressed a similar hope that there will be "very fruitful cooperation" between Israel and the Reagan administration. Shamir was also cited in the 10 November HA'ARETZ as voicing the expectation that the new President would adopt the view that Israel was important to the United States from the strategic viewpoint. Deputy Prime Minister and Democratic Movement leader Yiga'el Yadin, in a 9 November interview on Jerusalem radio, noted approvingly that President-elect Reagan's declarations, promises and remarks are often "similar and convenient" to the "national consensus" in Israel. Begin and Shamir were generally noncommittal when asked to comment on Governor Reagan's campaign statements and the prospects for their implementation.

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Suggestions of some Israeli concern over possible differences with the new administration have included "wary opinions"--expressed, according to a 9 November Israel Defense Forces radio report, at that day's Israeli cabinet meeting--over the possibility that the Republican administration might base its opposition to the Soviet Union on Egypt and Saudi Arabia instead of on Israel. Earlier, Israeli media had noted speculation that the new administration would make an "effort" to include Jordan's King Husayn in the peace process, and opposition Labor Party leader Shim'on Peres told a 5 November press conference that Governor Reagan's election was "likely to advance the Jordanian option." According to the 6 November JERUSALEM POST, Prime Minister Begin declared in the Knesset that the "Jordanian option" does not exist. But on 10 November he told a MA'ARIV interviewer that while Jordan has "so far refused to join the peace efforts," if it agrees to do so, "we will sit together around the negotiating table."

On the subject of the autonomy talks and possible changes in their scope or momentum as a result of the U.S. elections, Begin declared, according to a 5 November Jerusalem radio report, that there is "no reason for the talks to stop until 20 January, when the new President takes office." He added that he was "convinced" that the new President and his advisers will work for the implementation of the Camp David agreement. But Foreign Minister Shamir told YEDI'OT AHARONOT on 7 November that he "did not see a disaster in the slowing down or cessation of the autonomy negotiations for several weeks or months owing to the reshuffle in the White House."

PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

The PLO has strongly criticized President-elect Reagan's positions on the Palestinian issue and on the PLO's role in representing the Palestinians. The PLO's clandestine radio "Voice of Palestine" initially reported "violent" Palestinian reaction to the election results and warned of Governor Reagan's "perilous statements and aggressive campaign platform against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation." Subsequent comment claimed satisfaction with the prospect of having now "a sure enemy rather than a false friend" in the White House and has called for heightened opposition to President-elect Reagan's PLO stance. A relatively less strident, albeit uncomplimentary, appraisal of President-elect Reagan's views on the Palestine problem appeared in the 8 November issue of the London Arabic-language newspaper ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, which frontpaged a statement by a PLO representative there. Governor Reagan's characterization of the PLO as a terrorist organization, the statement said, "has shown complete ignorance of the Middle East conflict in general and the Palestine problem in particular." The PLO official expressed hope, however, that Governor Reagan will have received

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"better information and advice on U.S. policy regarding the Middle East and on U.S. economic interests in the area by the time he is inaugurated." "Closing the door to the PLO now," the official added, "means opening another door to war."

LEBANON President Ilyas Sarkis, in a 6 November cable to President-elect Reagan, and Foreign Minister Fu'ad Butrus, in the Lebanese Government's initial 5 November comment on the election, stressed the need for the President-elect to devote attention to Lebanon's struggle to maintain its territorial integrity and affirmed Lebanon's support for the "legitimate rights" of the Palestinian people. Beirut media have been otherwise reserved in their attention to the election. The rightwing Lebanese Phalangists' clandestine radio "Voice of Lebanon" carried extensive reportage on the election returns but has not carried significant comment on the election's effect on the Middle East. The Israeli-backed "Free Lebanon" forces of Major Sa'd Haddad, in broadcasts by their clandestine radio, reacted in a decidedly favorable manner to Governor Reagan's election. In a 6 November statement, Haddad stated that the new President could be counted on to "help the free Lebanese to purge their country of the Syrian and Palestinian occupiers."

JORDAN Jordanian media have expressed varying degrees of cautious optimism about the election, describing it as a blow to the Camp David approach but voicing concern at what is perceived as President-elect Reagan's pro-Israeli positions. A hopeful view of a changed U.S. Middle East policy under a Reagan administration was expressed in the 6 November AD-DUSTUR by Information Minister 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah, who favorably assessed President Carter's defeat as "the downfall of one of the pillars of Camp David." The minister went on to express hope that the new President would maintain a "balanced sense of justice" in his Middle East policy.

Most editorial comment concentrated on campaign statements made by the President-elect, characterizing them as "pro-Israeli." A 6 November editorial in the JORDAN TIMES stated that "Mr. Reagan joined Mr. Carter in a race to see which of them could adopt the most extreme pro-Israeli (and by implication anti-Arab) position in the battle for Jewish votes." At the same time, the daily noted that it detected certain favorable statements amid the campaign "rhetoric," namely that the United States should not impose a solution on the Middle East and that any settlement should take into consideration the legitimate concerns of all the people of the region. The editorial concluded: The President-elect "has a chance to make a fresh start for America and for all of us." A 9 November editorial in the JORDAN TIMES singled out President-elect Reagan's

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desire for an early meeting with King Husayn as indicating his "awareness" that the Camp David process is "seriously flawed." In his congratulatory cable to President-elect Reagan, broadcast by Amman domestic radio on 5 November, King Husayn reaffirmed his commitment to the "deep friendship" between the peoples of Jordan and the United States and asserted that he was "looking forward" to renewing those ties.

SYRIA Syrian media reaction to the U.S. presidential election concentrated almost entirely on Palestinian and Arab-Israeli issues. In his congratulatory cable to President-elect Reagan, broadcast by Damascus radio on 9 November, President Hafiz al-Asad expressed the hope that the incoming president would "work for international peace based on justice" and that he would understand "the extent of the injustice done to the Palestian Arab people." Media comment evidenced a more pessimistic tone with regard to the election's effect on Arab issues. A 5 November Damascus domestic radio commentary stated that regardless of who is president, "the pact between Israel and the United States will continue and will remain strong." In a strident commentary, reported by SANA on the 6th, the newspaper AL-BA'TH, the official organ of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Syria, characterized the incoming President as "inflexible" and "clearly hostile on the Palestinian issue." The commentary charged that the United States and Israel are merely "permanent faces of one imperialist coin" and that every U.S. administration "adapts itself to the continuous demands and continued interests of imperialism." It concluded by urging Arabs to use "all available and possible means" to confront what it characterized as U.S.-backed "Zionist aggression."

IRAQ Iraqi reaction to the U.S. presidential election was uniformly negative. Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz summed up the Iraqi position in an interview with the Paris daily LE MONDE, published on 7 November, in which he stated: "That election will not alter our relations with the United States, whose leaders, whether Democrat or Republican, support Israel and are hostile to the Arabs. Since that is the case, we have learned not to rely on the statements made by the candidates during election campaigns. Therefore we will wait and see what Mr. Reagan says when he takes office and will act accordingly." An editorial from the Baghdad daily ATH-THAWRAH, carried by INA on 6 November, similarly stated: "There is only one imperialist nature" and "a change of presidents does not mean a change in the course adopted." The editorial asserted that the election of Governor Reagan meant "little for the world's people" and "nothing to the Arab nation's masses" and concluded that no good is to be expected from "this or that U.S. President."

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SAUDI ARABIA A 4 November radio commentary outlined the Saudi position that whatever the outcome of the election, the United States should rethink its past understanding of Middle East issues and take "positive measures to serve the cause of peace and stability in the region." Postelection statements and commentaries continued these two themes. In his cable of congratulations to President-elect Reagan broadcast on 5 November, King Khalid stated that he is looking forward to the President-elect's leadership in working toward "the achievement of justice" on the Middle East issue. The Saudi monarch characterized this process as "the finding of a comprehensive solution which will restore security and stability to the region." A 6 November editorial in the Saudi daily 'UKAZ called the Middle East problem a "top priority" for the new administration. Stating that "principles of peace and stability" should take precedence over any other sentiments, the editorial criticized the President-elect's "obvious sympathy with Israel and his attitude toward the PLO." In spite of reservations, 'UKAZ expressed the hope that after he takes office, the new President will "make the necessary changes in some of his ideas in order to maintain Washington's ties with the Arabs and enable the achievement of the minimum Arab demands in the Arab-Israeli conflict."

KUWAIT Kuwaiti media reaction to the election of Governor Reagan evidenced concern in two major areas--the Arab-Israeli and Palestinian problem and the danger of superpower confrontation in the Gulf region. A 5 November KUNA commentary asserted that President-elect Reagan's "landslide victory" would have "major repercussions" in the region, manifested by "greater support for Israel and an attempt to resist what the Americans describe as efforts of the Soviet Union to control the oil sources of the Gulf." The commentary predicted that the first effect of the election would be the destruction of the Camp David process. Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad as-Sabah, in a statement carried by KUNA on 5 November, stressed his concern that the new American President should understand the Kuwaiti position on "the question of Palestine." A commentary from the daily AL-ANBA', reported by KUNA on the 6th, called for the convening of an Arab summit to inform President-elect Reagan that the return of Jerusalem to Arab control would be "the cornerstone" of relations with Washington. An editorial in the daily AS-SIYASAH on the 6th warned that Arabs control oil needed by the United States and that they will "no longer tolerate U.S. arrogance" with regard to Arab issues. On the question of superpower confrontation in the region, the AL-ANBA' commentary expressed the fear that the election of Governor Reagan would lead to more "fleets and threats of intervention" in the Gulf. Stressing the strategic importance of the region, the commentary characterized it as the scene of increasing competition between the United States and the Soviet Union and urged Arab leaders to unite in the face of this rivalry.

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UAE UAE media assessed the result of the U.S. presidential election solely in terms of its effect on the Arab-Israeli issue. Responding negatively to the election of Governor Ronald Reagan, an editorial in the 6 November issue of the daily AL-KHALIJ asserted that the election was "in the Zionist enemy's favor." In characterizing the Reagan presidency, a 7 November editorial in the daily AL-BAYAN predicted that the President-elect would use Israel "as a policeman in the region" to attack "pan-Arab aspirations" and that he would support Israel's annexation of Arab Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights. The strongest response to the election came in a 7 November editorial in AL-KHALIJ. Criticizing the President-elect's characterization of the PLO as "a terrorist organization," the editorial charged that he had revealed the "intentions" of the future administration and that the only possible explanation was that the President-elect was "telling all Arabs that he is 'with Israel all the way.'" The editorial concluded by calling on participants in the upcoming Amman summit conference to respond to this challenge and set out "on the road to the total liberation of Palestine."

BAHRAIN Bahrain reacted with cautious optimism to the election of Governor Reagan. In a 7 November statement published in AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ, Bahraini Foreign Minister Shaykh Muhammed ibn Mubarak Al Khalifah said: "It appears that Reagan will be a strong President--stronger than Carter--and will make firm and resolute decisions on many issues." The foreign minister expressed the hope that the President-elect would reconsider "unjust promises" such as "the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital" that he made during the campaign. He emphasized the necessity of "a dialogue" with the President-elect that would "look toward the future rather than the past," and called on Arab states to convene a summit to draw up a strategy to deal with stands that could be taken by the U.S. government under the new leadership.

QATAR In the text of a cable carried by the GULF NEWS AGENCY on the 6th, Qatari ruler Shaykh Khalifah ibn Hamad Al Thani urged the President-elect to work for a "just and comprehensive solution" to the Palestinian issue which would be based on "the recognition of all the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." In a more negative vein, an editorial from the newspaper AR-RAYAH, carried by the agency the same day, warned Arabs "not to pin hopes on the new U.S. President," whom it characterized as "dependent on Israel." The editorial asserted that the President-elect has called for Jerusalem to "remain united and the capital of Israel" and that he has "defended Jewish settlements in the Arab territories."

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IRAN Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed 'Ali Raja'i set the tone of Iranian reaction to the outcome of the U.S. elections in an interview carried by Tehran radio on 5 November. In an assertion later echoed by Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani and other Majlis deputies, Raja'i declared that President-elect Reagan's victory will make "no difference whatsoever" to the independent country of Iran. Raja'i also said he believed that Governor Reagan's election success would have "no effect" on the war with Iraq, but in line with regular Iranian claims of U.S. support for Baghdad, he asserted that the incoming President might provide "greater backing" to Iraq. Regarding the U.S. hostages, he maintained that the conditions for their release have been set and it "makes no difference" who governs in the United States." Majlis Deputy Speaker Kho'ini, in an interview reported by Tehran radio on the same day, offered the view that the resolution of the hostage issue will take longer because of Governor Reagan's victory. Ayatollah Khomeyni has as yet made no public statement on the election results or their effect on the U.S.-Iran crisis.

Iranian press comment has picked up the notion that there is no real difference between President Carter and President-elect Reagan and has harshly castigated both leaders. According to a 9 November Tehran broadcast, the Islamic Republican Party organ JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI described President-elect Reagan as "one of the most intransigent opponents of the policy of flexibility with regard to making peace with Iran and handling international issues." The paper concluded that the election will not change "the barbaric and inhumane nature of imperialism."

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SOUTH ASIA

AFGHANISTAN Kabul has paid little attention to the U.S. election but did report the president-elect's press conference on 7 November. Claiming that Governor Reagan "overtly expresses his opposition to the freedom movements and other rights of the world's people," Kabul noted his characterization of the PLO as a "terrorist organization" and his statement on the American hostages that Tehran should have "no hope" of better conditions from him. On 8 November, Kabul domestic radio carried an IZVESTIYA commentary suggesting that the president-elect will face great difficulties implementing his foreign policy.

An Afghan opponent of the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul, the exiled former head of Radio Afghanistan, Sayed Fazal Aqbar, suggested in an AFP report that Governor Reagan's election would be "a good thing for Afghanistan" if the new president were to send weapons to the Afghan rebels.

PAKISTAN In his congratulatory message, President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq welcomed Governor Reagan's election and suggested that the "overwhelming support" he received was a tribute to his leadership and the achievements of his "outstanding political career." Subsequent Karachi comment has stressed that Haq and President-elect Reagan share a "pragmatic" approach to world problems and that the two men have a common position on the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. A 7 November Karachi domestic radio commentary argued that U.S.-Pakistan relations have always been better under Republican presidents and noted that Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi is a close friend of Vice President-elect George Bush.

INDIA The U.S. election prompted widespread reaction in the Indian press, and Delhi has published both comment and messages to the president-elect from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Sanjiva Reddy. Reflecting general Indian dissatisfaction with the election, Gandhi observed that it made "no difference" to India who won the election but that she hoped Governor Reagan would show "understanding" toward India's problems. In her message to the president-elect, the prime minister stressed that India and the United States "share a common tradion of struggle for independence, dedication to democratic ideals, and the spirit of tolerance and understanding."

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Most of the Indian press had predicted a Carter victory, and Governor Reagan's triumph drew expressions of marked disappointment. President Carter had been praised in the Delhi press because he had visited India in 1978, because his policy of compromising with Moscow was considered compatible with the Soviet-Indian Friendship Treaty, and because he had recently persuaded the U.S. Congress to continue supplying nuclear fuel to India. Commentators have expressed concern about Governor Reagan's "anti-Soviet rhetoric." One Delhi commentator on 5 November pointed out, however, that no one in India knew where President-elect Reagan really stands on most issues. The commentator went on to speculate that his public positions would undergo the "sobering" influence of office and he might make some positive moves toward world peace and cooperation.

OTHER SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES Available comment from other countries on the Indian subcontinent has been limited to reports on the messages sent by national leaders to the president-elect. Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman sent his "greetings and congratulations" and expressed his confidence that Governor Reagan's "wise and dynamic" leadership would lead to a further improvement of the already "excellent" relations between the two countries. In his message to the president-elect, the king of Nepal expressed the hope that "friendly relations" between his country and the United States will continue to expand. And Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene sent President-elect Reagan his "warmest congratulations," stating his belief that the "very close ties of friendship and cooperation" between the two countries would be further strengthened during the Reagan Administration.

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C H I N A

PRC Beijing's reaction thus far has reflected in an implicit and low-key fashion its hope that bilateral differences over the issue of Taiwan will not be allowed to impair a PRC-U.S. relationship that it considers of vital strategic significance. The essence of this Beijing approach was contained in a PRC Foreign Ministry Information Department statement, released to Western media in Beijing on 5 November and subsequently broadcast internationally over Beijing radio. Observing that PRC-U.S. relations are "very significant to the peace and stability of the world," the statement recalled that relations between the two countries have progressed under both Republican and Democratic administrations in the past and expressed hope that the new U.S. administration will "abide by the principles" incorporated into the 1972 Shanghai Communique and the 1979 communique normalizing relations. Identical concerns were conveyed by Premier Zhao Ziyang in his congratulatory greetings to President-elect Reagan on 7 November and by Vice Premier Yao Yilin in remarks to Japanese journalists the same day.

Beijing's emphasis on the necessity of upholding the principles of the normalization communique goes to the heart of persistent PRC concerns that the President-elect has yet to embrace the normalization accord as the basis for Sino-U.S. relations rather than the Taiwan Relations Act, a document whose legitimacy Beijing has consistently rejected. Beijing comment last August on Governor Reagan's campaign statements on the Taiwan issue sharply and authoritatively protested the President-elect's views on this point and declared that whatever bilateral and strategic advantages accrue from PRC-U.S. relations, Beijing will not compromise on issues of principle on territorial sovereignty. In the only reference to Governor Reagan's views on China policy in current commentary on his election, a RENMIN RIBAO analysis of the election results on 6 November recalled with cautious optimism, as PRC comment since August has done occasionally, that since the public controversy over his position on the Taiwan issue the President-elect has moderated his views and repeatedly pledged to continue the development of friendly relatios with the PRC.

Beijing commentary at the same time has attributed Governor Reagan's election to a strong trend toward conservatism among the U.S. electorate brought about by "deep frustration and dissatisfaction" over domestic difficulties and the decline of U.S. power abroad in the face of relentless Soviet expansionism. A XINHUA commentary on 9 November analyzing the causes of the

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President-elect's landslide victory called the election outcome "a tremendous explosion of the American people's sense of frustration" with the country's domestic and international problems. The party paper RENMIN RIBAO on the 6th similarly laid Governor Reagan's victory to his articulation of an ideological and social "trend toward conservative ideas" among the electorate in response to U.S. domestic and foreign problems.

In attributing Governor Reagan's victory to the American people's frustrations and anxieties, however, Beijing comment has observed that what the U.S. electorate appears to be hoping for is pragmatic, consistently executed policies that soundly address the realities of U.S. domestic and international problems. In noting that President Carter had eventually come to profess views closely paralleling those professed consistently by Governor Reagan on many issues, the 9 November XINHUA commentary suggested that the President's change in mind was "neither firm nor timely enough" and that even during the campaign some of his rhetoric implied this his administration's position was "still business as usual while the Soviet Union continued its aggression and expansion." An earlier XINHUA commentary on the election results, datelined 5 November, cited U.S. press opinion that a change in administration alone will not solve difficulties that require sound, consistently implemented policies. Some PRC comment, in this regard, has pointedly praised President-elect Reagan's ability to be "pragmatic and flexible" in applying his conservative ideological bent, traits that Beijing undoubtedly hopes the new administration will bring to bear not only on U.S. domestic and foreign policies in general but on Sino-U.S. relations in particular.

TAIWAN ROC President Chiang Ching-kuo's congratulatory message to President-elect Reagan, transmitted by Taipei's CHINA NEWS AGENCY (CNA) on 5 November, expressed confidence that under the President-Elect's leadership the United States will "play a more positive role" in advancing the anticommunist "cause of freedom and justice in the world" and that "traditional bonds of friendship and understanding" between the American and Chinese peoples will be strengthened. At the same time the news agency carried on the 6th a statement by Taiwan's governor welcoming Governor Reagan's election but cautioning the people of Taiwan "not to expect too much" from his election and to continue to "demonstrate the perseverance and self-reliance" they have displayed in recent years.

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A CNA commentary on 5 November speculated on specific steps the new administration might eventually take to improve relations between Washington and Taipei within the context of continuing U.S. relations with the PRC, including possible U.S. sale of "more sophisticated defensive weapons" and substantive discussions between U.S. officials and ROC representatives to facilitate "directly" cooperation between the two countries. Subsequently, a commentary broadcast by Taipei's international service on the 9th ridiculed Beijing's "frosty" reaction to Governor Reagan's election, noting that Beijing recognizes the President-elect as "an anticommunist and a man of principle" who in the past has urged that Washington "give Free China the treatment she deserves as a faithful ally." Beijing's protests over the President-elect's views, the commentary advised, are "unjustified" and "can be safely ignored" insofar as it is Beijing that "needs U.S. protection against the Soviets instead of the other way around."

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NORTHEAST ASIA

JAPAN Japanese reaction to the U.S. election results generally reflected the view that Washington-Tokyo ties are sound and will not be basically affected by a change in administration. This optimism, however, has been leavened with concern, as it was at the start of the Carter Administration, that longstanding differences between the two sides on trade and defense issues could again become sore points in the relationship. Japanese officials have generally played up the theme that President-elect Reagan brings special understanding of Japan as a result of his experience as governor of California, a state with many business ties to Japan. But comment has also reflected a perception that the new administration may, at least initially, be tougher in its approach to Japan than the previous one was. Thus a 6 November ASAHI editorial mourned the passing of the "flexible, understanding approach symbolized by the attitude of U.S. Ambassador Mansfield."

Looking beyond bilateral issues, Japanese comment has registered uneasiness over "hawkishness" and "excessive conservatism" in Governor Reagan's approach to economic and foreign affairs. Editorials in all the major Japanese dailies have worried aloud about the consequences of the new administration's stance toward the Soviet Union. The most critical comment, appearing in the 6 November ASAHI editorial, asserted that the "principal concern" is the President-elect's "naivete . . . and obvious lack of knowledge." The conservative SANKEI SHIMBUN, in an editorial on the 6th, voiced misgivings about Governor Reagan's lack of experience in national and international politics. A MAINICHI editorial on the same day professed "great anxiety" over Governor Reagan's "understanding of current affairs."

SOUTH KOREA South Korea has generally welcomed the U.S. election results as a harbinger of a more "realistic" American foreign policy that will lead to a strengthening of the U.S.-ROK alliance and enhancement of South Korean security. South Korean media have cited unidentified ROK Foreign Ministry officials as saying that with the new administration, Seoul's relations with Washington would definitely improve. The press has clearly indicated that South Koreans fully expect that the Reagan administration will cease "interference" in the internal affairs of U.S. allies in the name of human rights and will instead base its policy on a realistic assessment of shared interests. However, an 8 November TONG-A ILBO editorial struck a cautionary note in this regard, warning that a "power first, human rights second" approach on Washington's part will eventually be

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influenced by "traditional" American interest in "moral diplomacy." Favorable comment has also been sprinkled with expressions of concern that the conservative philosophy that seeks to rebuild American military and economic strength could have some negative consequences for South Korea. A 7 November CHOSON ILBO article, citing "economic experts," noted that U.S. efforts to strengthen the economy could lead to the adoption of protectionist trade policies that would adversely affect the ROK economy. And a CHUNGANG ILBO editorial speculated that a deterioration of U.S.-USSR and U.S.-PRC relations could have negative implications for the Korean situation.

NORTH KOREA Pyongyang has not yet originated comment on the election outcome, confining its reaction to a brief, factual report on 7 November. This cautious response is reminiscent of the approach the DPRK adopted following the 1976 election, and it contrasts with the previous North Korean practice of commenting quickly and acidly on U.S. presidential elections. Pyongyang's failure to take a stand on the recent election could reflect an effort to evaluate the implications of a Reagan administration for DPRK policy. Continuation of the silence may reflect North Korea's hopes of encouraging the new administration to consider contacts with Pyongyang. Such restraint would be consistent with the signs of a more conciliatory approach toward the United States that surfaced at last month's Korean party congress.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA, PACIFIC

INDOCHINA Vietnamese comment on the election included speculation that a Reagan presidency might be beneficial in lessening cooperation between Beijing and Washington, a relationship Hanoi sees as a major threat to its security. Hanoi radio on 6 November viewed the President-elect's China policy, particularly his position on Taiwan, as a thorn in the side of Beijing. During the campaign, Hanoi had similarly claimed that Governor Reagan's statements on U.S. relations with Taiwan were causing consternation in Beijing.

Hanoi has not directly commented on the implications of a Reagan administration for U.S.-Vietnamese relations, but it seemed to imply that the new administration might bring a fresh view to the problem. In a 6 November article in the party paper NHAN DAN, Hanoi described President Carter's "hostile policy" toward Vietnam and Indochina as one of the "out-of-date" foreign policy concepts which contributed to his election defeat. In commenting on the Reagan victory, Hanoi has not recalled its criticism last July of the Republican Party platform's call for maintaining a state of confrontation with Indochina.

Lao media have reported Governor Reagan's victory without comment, the Vientiane domestic radio on the 7th merely quoting Western news sources. Similar treatment was accorded President Carter's election four years ago. Phnom Penh media have not been heard to mention the election results.

THAILAND Thailand's extensive, prominent, and favorable coverage of Governor Reagan's victory has reflected its own security concerns in the face of the perceived threat from Vietnam. Setting the tone for press comment, Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon's 5 November message of congratulations to the President-elect expressed confidence that the United States would continue to play a constructive role in the region for "peace stability and progress." In contrast, the Thai prime minister's message to President Carter four years ago had only expressed the hope that the United States would continue to play a constructive role in international affairs. A concern for regional security was also reflected in the 5 November remarks of the spokesman of the Thai Supreme Command on the election. He noted Governor Reagan's pledge to strengthen U.S. military might and expressed the hope that the United States would adopt a "more powerful posture" in Asia.

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MALAYSIA Malaysian comment on the election has reflected uncertainty regarding the impact of the Reagan victory on U.S. foreign policy. A Kuala Lumpur international broadcast in English on 5 November argued that Governor Reagan will "be more sober about war and peace" when he is actually in office. A Kuala Lumpur international broadcast in English two days later, however, claimed that it is still "too early" to decide whether the presidency will moderate the President-elect's "hawkish tendencies."

SINGAPORE Singapore has welcomed the Reagan victory as heralding the resurgence of a strong and assertive U.S. role in international affairs, qualities seen lacking under President Carter. In a more effusive message than that sent to President Carter four years ago, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew sent his "warmest congratulations," praised the President-elect's position on "critical issues of world peace and stability," and assessed the election results as reflecting an American desire for a "strong, consistent, and practical president." In contrast, the prime minister's message to President Carter had only noted his confidence that the United States would maintain the balance of power in Asia. Foreign Minister Dhanabalan, in assessing the impact of Governor Reagan's victory on regional affairs, noted that the new mood in Washington could only result in a greater U.S. interest in the region.

INDONESIA Indonesian comment on the election has reflected mixed expectations about any change in U.S.-Indonesian relations resulting from Governor Reagan's election. Indonesian Vice President Adam Malik maintained that the outcome of the election did not matter because U.S.-Indonesian relations are "good." Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, however, suggested that on the basis of campaign speeches, Governor Reagan's domestic and foreign policies will differ from those followed by President Carter. He expressed the hope that a Reagan administration would continue to pay attention to the developing countries. Indonesian press comment also reflected uncertainty over the direction of U.S. foreign policy. Some commentary expressed concern about the negative consequences of scrapping the SALT II treaty and a stronger U.S. foreign policy role, while other commentary noted that President-elect Reagan would continue to follow the U.S. "strategy of peace" and only the implementation of that policy would differ.

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AUSTRALIA Australian comment on Governor Reagan's election has been generally favorable. A radio roundup of comment in the Australian papers indicated that the press there rejected the campaign image of Reagan as "reckless," portraying him instead as moderate, a good administrator, and able to take advice. The AUSTRALIAN FINANCIAL REVIEW even suggested that it might not be a "drawback" to have a man with "hawkish tendencies" in the White House. AFP reported that Deputy Prime Minister and Trade Minister Doug Anthony has affirmed that Australia would be maintaining the "closest contacts" with the United States regarding the President-elect's commitment to lift the grain embargo against the Soviet Union.

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LATIN AMERICA

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Mexican and most Central American commentators have viewed the election outcome as presaging little or no change in the region. Thus Mexican President Lopez Portillo was quoted by Madrid radio on 6 November as remarking that the United States "is still the same country" and the issues facing the two countries "remain exactly the same." In a similar vein, the director of Mexico's petroleum industry saw Mexico's relations with the United States as unaffected and stated that there will be no change in Mexico's oil programs. Salvadoran junta member Jose Morales Erhlich emphasized that the change in U.S. administrations will have no effect on Salvadoran internal developments and expressed his government's hope that relations with the United States will remain "as cordial as ever."

Notably favorable comment on the election outcome has appeared in Guatemalan media, which have publicized General Romeo Lucas Garcia's expressed belief that U.S. policies toward Guatemala will improve under the Reagan administration. The election outcome was welcomed in Honduran commentary, with the domestic radio predicting that the new administration will give U.S. human rights policies "better definition and a more objective adjustment."

Panamanian reaction, predictably cool, has pointed to Governor Reagan's opposition to the Panama Canal treaties and publicized President Royo's comment that the President-elect's reported pledge to honor the agreements is "unsufficient." The treaties, Royo said, not only must be honored but must be "fully respected without the dickering that the U.S. side has shown so far."

Nicaraguan commentary has emphasized the Sandinista regime's independent policies. Responding to a reporter's question about the Reagan administration's possible curtailment of U.S. economic aid to Nicaragua if the regime does not change its political guidelines, Junta member Daniel Ortega retorted that the guidelines are "very clear," it is "very well understood" that Nicaragua "is no longer a colony of the United States," and "we could care less that Reagan won." But Nicaraguan Foreign Minister D'Escoto, remarking that it is obvious the President-elect is no supporter of the Sandinistas, said it would be "deplorable" if the progress made in U.S.-Nicaraguan relations since the Sandinista takeover in July 1979 were to be set back.

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SOUTH AMERICA The politically conservative countries of the Southern cone have generally welcomed Governor Reagan's victory as paving the way for a more sympathetic attitude toward their policies and problems. Thus Argentine media have publicized cautiously optimistic statements by various officials, including a prediction by the Argentine ambassador to the United Nations that the Reagan administration's position on human rights will be more favorable to Argentina than that of the Carter Administration. Commentators have echoed Argentine President Jorge Rafael Videla's congratulatory message to the President-elect in pointing out that military rule in Argentina derives from the need to combat terrorism and in asserting the government's intent to restore "an authentic, pluralist, stable, modern democracy." Bolivian media have publicized the congratulatory cable from President Garcia Meza, expressing confidence that the President-elect "will give back to Latin Americans their confidence in the shared destiny of the peoples of the hemisphere."

Brazilian political figures, on the other hand, have reacted with studied indifference. Leaders of the ruling party have been quoted as stressing that Brazil no longer depends on the United States and has nothing to gain or lose from the U.S. election outcome.

CUBA Comment from Havana so far has largely avoided the kind of invective that marked Cuban reaction to Governor Reagan's speeches during the campaign, when he was reviled for advocating a harder line toward the Castro regime. In the most substantial reaction to date, veteran foreign affairs commentator Carlos Mora Herman, deputy director of the Cuban news agency PRENSA LATINA, ascribed the "dangerous and reactionary" image of Governor Reagan to campaign rhetoric and observed that the President-elect had moderated the "belligerent and militaristic tone" which marked his early speeches. The campaign wound up, Mora said, "on a muted note--softer, less ferocious and with apparent caution." While noting that the President-elect's foreign policy positions call for strengthening the U.S. "blockade" of Cuba, withdrawing "all" aid from Nicaragua, increasing support for the "repressive" regimes in El Salvador and Guatemala, and opposing the Panama Canal treaties, Mora came back to his central theme that there is a difference between what a U.S. presidential candidate says during the campaign and what he might do when he takes office.

Other Cuban media commentary has been in the same vein and has also echoed Mora in attributing President Carter's defeat to failure of his administration to resolve problems of inflation and unemployment at home.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

African public reaction has ranged from cautious approbation in the Republic of South Africa to muted expressions of concern in a number of black African nations. Editorial commentary in South Africa has evinced pleasure at what is seen as the prospect of a stronger, more anticommunist United States. Official statements from black-ruled African nations have generally been diplomatically correct, expressing hope for good relations with the Reagan administration without prejudging it. Some black African commentary has welcomed the election as presaging a comeback for flagging American prestige. Most commentaries have expressed concern, however, that the Reagan administration may encourage support for South African apartheid, reduce economic assistance to the Third World, and increase U.S. military involvement in Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA South African commentators, imputing to Governor Reagan a relatively sympathetic attitude toward the regime in Pretoria, have also found grounds for optimism in his strongly expressed views on Soviet foreign involvement. Editorial writers and commentators have speculated that the President-elect will reverse what has been termed in South Africa President Carter's "soft" position on both Soviet and Cuban involvement in the continent. THE CITIZEN and other South African papers have discerned a prospect of "greater stability" for South Africa "under the protective umbrella of the United States" but have stopped short of forecasting dramatic changes. The Afrikaans newspaper DIE TRANSVALER typified this caution in observing that "America's self-interest will come first, and the best South Africa can hope for is a generally better climate toward South Africa in Washington."

OTHER COUNTRIES Official congratulations from black African leaders have expressed hope for the development of cordial relations with the United States, in some instances raising such specific African concerns as white minority domination in South Africa and Namibia and the North-South dialogue on restructuring the world economy. These issues have been addressed at greater length in press and radio commentary.

Some press commentators have found grounds for optimism over the likely direction of the incoming administration's foreign policy. Zaire's principal domestic news agency, AZAP, commented that the United States opted for "renewal" in electing Governor Reagan. The President-elect, AZAP said, is "capable of making a decision and sticking to it" and will work to restore American prestige in the world. Even in countries where the media have been more critical, such as Senegal, Ghana and Liberia, commentators have suggested that the new President's foreign policies will probably be more moderate than his past rhetoric might indicate.

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On balance, however, concern has outweighed satisfaction over the election outcome in most sub-Saharan Africa commentary, especially regarding the President-elect's intentions toward the continent. Apprehensiveness over Governor Reagan's attitude toward the South African regime has been registered prominently in comment from Nigeria and has been evident in media comment from Senegal and Ghana. Atypically, the Monrovia daily NEW LIBERIAN went so far as to call on African countries to break diplomatic relations with the United States "if there is the least sign that the Reagan administration is encouraging Pretoria's obstinate attitude."

African media have also questioned Governor Reagan's sensitivity to the needs of Third World nations. The Nigerian radio called President Carter's defeat a "setback" for Africa, since the President has "seemed more sympathetic" than Governor Reagan toward the developing world. Playing a similar theme, the Ivory Coast daily FRATERNITE MATIN stated categorically that "Reagan's accession to power will bring nothing at all to the Third World, and to Africa in particular." Senegal's LE SOLEIL, looking at the Republican platform, concluded: "We must fear for aid to development."

Observers in a number of other African countries have voiced concern over the President-elect's probable military policies. A Brazzaville, Congo, radio commentator said Governor Reagan is "rightly" considered by many to be a "warmonger" and is likely to increase U.S. military involvement in Africa. The GHANAIAN TIMES hoped that the new President will not "rush the world into settling conflicts on the battlefields." Such comment in most cases has been tempered by a deferral of final judgment until the President-elect has had a chance to demonstrate his policies in practice.

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FOREIGN MEDIA REACTION TO THE 1980 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

A N N E X: ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS

Selected illustrative texts of comment appearing in foreign media are reproduced on the following pages. They include authoritative statements by regime spokesmen as well as media comment. Most of the selections are key passages drawn from longer public speeches, newspaper articles, or radio commentaries.

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SOVIET UNION

Premier Nikolay Tikhonov Kremlin address, 6 November Moscow domestic radio

American imperialism and its accomplices are trying to alter the objective course of world development, to violate the approximate equality in the military-strategic sphere. They have entered the path of undermining detente, whipping up international tension, intensifying the arms race, adventurist actions in various regions of the world, and militant anti-Sovietism. . . .

A year ago the United States and its NATO allies adopted a decision to deploy in West European countries new U.S. medium-range nuclear missile systems aimed at targets on the territory of the USSR and other countries of the Warsaw Treaty. This is a very dangerous act. . . .

In the complex current international situation, the Central Committee of the party and the Soviet Government are consistently pursuing a course of peace and detente and doing everything necessary to ensure a peaceful life for the Soviet people. It goes without saying that we cannot help drawing the appropriate conclusions for ourselves in connection with the tendencies in the foreign policy of the United States. . . .

As regards our relations with the United States of America, just as with any other country which belongs to another social system, they can only be built on the basis of equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and avoiding harm to the security of one another. Firmly following the principles of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union has not sought and does not seek in its relations with the United States any kind of unilateral advantages, does not aspire to military supremacy. We are in favor of the development of mutually advantageous cooperation with this largest country in the West, in the interests of both the Soviet and American peoples, in the interests of detente and the preservation of peace. Such a course of ours, free from all short-term considerations, possesses a stable character. In this the fact is taken into account that the state of Soviet-American relations exerts a great influence on the international

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situation as a whole. This obliges one always and in everything to manifest a great sense of responsibility. In connection with this, I would like to express the hope that the new administration in the White House will take a constructive approach to questions of relations between our countries.

PRAVDA article by New York correspondent Kolesnichenko, 7 November

In the heat of the election campaign, many contradictory and sometimes even mutually exclusive things were said. There were sharp and sometimes bewildering pronouncements on international questions which later in the campaign were declared to have been blunders. But the contenders did say some constructive things, especially toward the end of the presidential "race." The Republican Party candidate's statements became more moderate as he approached the finish line. This was particularly apparent during the television debate between R. Reagan and J. Carter a few days before the election. Although R. Reagan did not put forward a concrete program during the debate, his statement that as a man who had been through many wars, he was against a nuclear catastrophe and "for talks with the Russians" made a certain impression (and according to all public opinion polls won extra electoral support). Time and concrete actions will tell whether this was election rhetoric or a sober view of the future.

Soviet radio and television observer Valentin Zorin, 5 November
Moscow domestic radio

As for the course of the future government of Ronald Reagan, who will arrive in the White House on 21 January next year, many conjectures are now being made. First and foremost, however, two things are stressed. One is that a big distinction should be made between the election rhetoric of a presidential candidate and the actual policy of the man when he is in the White House. Second, it should be taken into account that any U.S. president is guided not by any personal ideas and ambitions, but by the realities of the world today and the actual correlation of forces in the world today; and this is undoubtedly true, too, of the future government of President Reagan.

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WEST EUROPE

UNITED KINGDOM

London THE TIMES editorial, 6 November

> [Mr. Reagan's] Administration ought to be one that will take particular account of European judgments and sensitivities. But such broad similarities of approach do not guarantee agreement on specific issues. There are two principal ones which may cause difficulty.
>
> Mr. Reagan has up to now taken a very strongly pro-Israeli line, which would not fit easily with the desire of the governments of the European Community that the PLO should be brought into the process of Middle East negotiation. Then there is the question of Mr. Reagan's attitude towards the Soviet Union. If his foreign policy, either in tone or in substance, has the effect of increasing tension between East and West, this will be a severe embarrassment for his European partners--West Germany in particular.
>
> Much anxiety has been created on this side of the Atlantic by Mr. Reagan's insistence that he would scrap the SALT II treaty and then seek to build up American nuclear superiority as a means of persuading the Soviet Union to negotiate a new agreement.

London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH editorial, 6 November

> Mr. Reagan faces a daunting and growing accumulation of problems, but they do not exceed America's enormous human and material resources if he can fully mobilize them and properly deploy them. . . . Neither the Americans nor their allies should be under any illusions about the effort and time that will be necessary to restore the ravages of detente. Mr. Reagan is no firebrand for insisting on the renegotiation of the SALT II nuclear arms treaty, which the Senate has been refusing to ratify for over a year.

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FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt remarks to Social Democratic group, 7 November DPA

> At a difficult stage in world politics, the American nation has, with an unequivocal majority, desired a change of leadership. . . . We have good reasons for looking forward to cooperation with the new U.S. leadership with confidence and hope. . . . German-American relations as well as those between Europe and North America are determined in the first place by common basic convictions and fundamental interests. . . . This is why a good trustful relationship between Bonn and Washington has existed without interruption since the fifties until the present day, regardless of parties and persons.

Bonn DIE WELT editorial, 6 November

> The new president can rely on more expert knowledge in world matters in the circles around him than Carter ever rallied in the White House. Yet nobody in Europe will underrate the difficulties of the dialogue with a man who, in his judgment of detente policy, disarmament, and arms control, of security as the precondition for a foreign policy that commands respect, deviates at least in inclination from the judgment of the Europeans. . . .
>
> Thus the new Atlantic dialogue cannot and will not be devoid of problems. But common positions are possible if the president convinces the world at large, Europe in particular but above all the Soviet Union, that U.S. policy has become a respectable, reliable, and predictable quantity.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE commentary, 6 November

> The first test of the political qualifications of the new president will be his choice of men for the new administration. To initial expectations can be added the following experience: With the exception of the time that the great President Truman was in office, the Europeans have always gotten along better with Republican than with Democratic presidents. The foreign policy of the Republicans is usually less ambitious and less missionary.

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FRANCE

Paris LE MONDE editorial, 7 November

In his election speeches, Mr. Reagan spoke little about transatlantic relations. However, he said enough about them for people to fear that he might cherish some oversimplified views of U.S.-European "dialogue," deliberately reducing it to a U.S. monologue.

Two areas could deteriorate fairly quickly: detente and the Middle East. In the hard-hitting game which he claims to intend to play with Moscow, Mr. Reagan could be inclined to step up the pressure on the Europeans to align unreservedly with his position. In so doing, however, he would merely widen the gulf and at the same time enable the Soviet Union to indulge in one of its favorite occupations--exploiting U.S.-European differences. . . .

If Mr. Reagan intends to implement the policy on the Israeli-Arab conflict which he outlined during his campaign, there will also be acute friction between the [European] Nine and Washington. Indeed the Europeans, who are convinced that the process laid down at Camp David cannot lead to an all-embracing settlement, intend to revive the diplomatic offensive they began in Venice a few months ago.

Paris LE FIGARO Serge Maffert article, 6 November

What will happen then [under the Reagan Administration]? This is the question which the entire world is asking itself with both a certain apprehension and a certain sympathy. Apprehension because people are wondering whether the man will have the stature needed and whether his temperament will not carry him either too fast or too far. And sympathy because he has an undeniable radiance and because there is every reason to believe a priori that he and his advisers will constitute a more homogeneous and solid--and consequently more predictable--team than Carter's. The world needs to be led both in a steadier and a more confident manner.

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EAST EUROPE

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

East Berlin radio commentary, 10 November

> James Carter signed SALT II together with Leonid Brezhnev, but then he did almost nothing to have the treaty ratified by the Senate; Carter himself took the ratification process off the agenda. It was only in the last weeks of the election campaign that he obviously remembered his signature, but as for the steadfastness of his attitude, the world has had its experiences of four years. . . .
>
> Regarding his elected successor, we will have to wait and see. Surely there are now significant shifts to the right in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, and it cannot be denied that some observers are right who said about the election outcome that the Vietnam trauma obviously has not yet been digested in the United States. It would be premature, I think, to draw conclusions from all this with regard to the concrete policy President Reagan will pursue.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague RUDE PRAVO Washington correspondent Milan Jelenik, 6 November

> If we were to judge President-elect Ronald Reagan according to his campaign speeches, particularly those discussing U.S. foreign policy, we would arrive at a grim forecast. He often attacked Carter's policy, not from liberal positions, but from positions even further to the right. Nevertheless, it is known that the reality of world developments appears different when viewed from the rostrum of campaign demagogy than when seen from the presidential chair, in which--no matter who is sitting in it--it is impossible not to respect the reality of the present world. A sober and cautious approach is also prompted by the fact that the moderates--represented in the past notably by President Ford's Administration and, in its practical activity, by President Nixon's Administration--still dominate in the Republican Party.

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POLAND

Warsaw domestic radio commentary, 5 November

> It is . . . difficult to say at this moment what will be the practical activity of the 40th U.S. president. Like all his predecessors, he has been elected to guard and realize American interests. But what road will he choose?
>
> It is not always possible to rely on earlier statements made during the heated election campaign. For instance, Reagan announced increased armaments and a policy from the position of strength but spoke at the same time about the need to preserve peace. It emerges from the reports of our New York correspondent that there is pressure on Reagan, who represents conservative trends and big business interests, to compel him to adopt a position nearer the center. In any case, there will be a quest for a new road, at least in some spheres of policy.
>
> We must bear in mind, however, that for years relations with the Soviet Union have enjoyed priority in American policy, that the Republicans--maybe because in view of their anticommunism nobody can suspect them of yielding to liberal influence--have emerged as partners in the East-West dialogue and even conducted a policy of detente. Anyway, foreign policy must have a continuity of contacts, and this will no doubt find its expression in the future relations between the United States and East Europe, including Poland.

YUGOSLAVIA

Zagreb radio commentator Milika Sundic, 6 November

> At the beginning of the election campaign, and also a little later on, many of Reagan's statements on U.S. foreign policy were received as an indication of a turn to the right in U.S. foreign policy, but at that time hardly anyone believed that Reagan would win. But now analysts are going with the greatest attention through everything that Ronald Reagan said, and despite the fact that in the second part of the election campaign he was much more cautious, they cannot find that he has renounced anything at all. Nor did he do so in the first statement he made after his convincing victory.

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But as president, Reagan still has enough time, depending on the team he selects, to change his mind or at least to be more cautious in making any of the moves announced during the election campaign, for the things he intends to change are not the work of Jimmy Carter and the Democrats, but--at least with regard to the Soviet Union and China--of Nixon and Ford: in other words, of the Republicans. Let us recall that Gerald Ford, who met with Leonid Brezhnev in Vladivostok, was Ronald Reagan's right hand during the campaign. In other words, it is hard to believe that the newly elected U.S. president, even if he wants to, will find it easy to repudiate the obligations accepted by his predecessors, regardless of what party they belonged to.

The question that also arises is the extent to which the United States' West European allies are prepared to follow a major and sharper change of direction in U.S. foreign policy. They, but not all of them, were prepared to follow President Carter at the time of the Afghan crisis. After all, the situation in the world is so dangerous that no one, whoever he happens to be, will lightly decide to make any moves that would lead to further exacerbation. This would be a risky thing to do, even for so great a power as the United States.

A very important question is that of the attitude which the United States, headed by Ronald Reagan, will adopt toward the Nonaligned Movement. For the time being, there is no answer to this, but the newly elected president may be expected to be more preoccupied with relations with the United States' strong and rich partners, both allies and adversaries, than with striving to understand and accept the aspirations of the countries which belong to neither bloc.

Taken as a whole, there is much uncertainty; and for the time being there is no reason why we should try to decipher all the unknown quantities, for even Ronald Reagan himself has not yet said all that he is to say.

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MIDDLE EAST-IRAN

EGYPT

President Anwar as-Sadat speech, 5 November Cairo domestic radio

> Now that the results of the elections have appeared and the people have elected Reagan president of the republic, it has become necessary for me, on your behalf, on behalf of all our people, and on my own behalf, to hail President Carter for our relationship in two matters: first, the peace process; second, bilateral relations. . . .
>
> At the same time, we congratulate Reagan for his people's confidence in him. I want to say that the issue of peace will always remain in need of the basic U.S. role in producing its fruits. I have no doubt about this. The feelings of the American people, the Senate, and the Congress and the successive U.S. administrations--I have no doubt at all about their commitment to peace and the cause of peace.

Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali, 5 November Cairo MENA

> In view of the U.S. role as a full partner in the all-out and just peace process, whose guidelines were laid down by signing the Camp David accords, we are confident that this full U.S. participation in the peace process is a firm U.S. policy and that it will consequently continue for the sake of achieving the next steps of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty by realizing full autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza in preparation for the time when the Palestinians will determine their fate and future in accord with their legitimate rights. . . .
>
> The U.S. role, in accordance with the Camp David accords, as a full partner in the just peace process, is extremely vital for achieving peace and stability in the Middle East and preserving the interests of the West in the area.

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Cairo AL-AHRAM chief editor's article, 7 November

> It is premature to analyze Reagan's domestic and foreign policies before we know his choice of advisers and secretaries to help him in his administration. Moreover, past experience of U.S. presidential elections has taught us that statements by presidential candidates during the election campaign do not necessarily represent the final policy the President will carry out when he enters the oval office in the White House. . . .
>
> But if we look from the viewpoint of the area in which we live, we can observe that the president-elect has stressed several principal points:
>
> 1. Continued economic and military aid to Israel. . . .
>
> 2. His belief in the need for a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. . . .
>
> 3. Complementary to the previous point, his clear desire to establish a balance between the two superpowers in the Middle East area. He believes that if there is to be detente, it should not be exploited by one party in its own favor. . . .
>
> Obviously Egypt insists on facing up to the Soviet threat to the Arab area and will not remain silent over this. Egypt still insists on giving the United States facilities to use against any sabotage or threat to the Gulf countries or the Islamic countries. . . . Once again we would say that the Egyptian ideas accord with the U.S. president-elect's ideas on the inevitability of establishing an effective balance between the two superpowers in the area around us. Thus Egypt is not biased in favor of the United States against the Soviet Union.

ISRAEL

Jerusalem domestic radio commentary, 7 November

> The turnover in the United States is also likely to change the views held until recently regarding ways to solve the Israeli-Arab conflict and mainly the

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views about the autonomy talks. The new administration will require a lengthy period to learn the problems. The Reagan Administration may adopt the Camp David accords as a means for solving the conflict. But it is already clear that an effort will be made to include [King] Husayn in the process. A special effort will no longer be made to present the Palestinian problem as the main issue requiring a solution in the Middle East labyrinth.

Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin interview, Tel Aviv, MA'ARIV, 10 November

[Question] President-elect Reagan believes that a solution can be found to the West Bank by cooperating with Jordan. . . .

[Begin] We signed the Camp David accords. I am certain that upon his inauguration President-elect Reagan will do his best to implement the U.S. commitments included in the Camp David accords and the appended messages. Jordan so far has refused to join the peace efforts. If it agrees to do so we will sit down together at the negotiating table.

JORDAN

Amman JORDAN TIMES editorial, 6 November

Jordanians, Palestinians and all Arabs will want early assurance from Mr. Reagan that he is prepared to be our friend, that he is serious about not forcing on us a settlement that does not conform with our national sovereignty and national rights, that he is not determined to serve Israel's aggressive and expansionist ambitions at the expense of our national interests, that he is prepared to break away from the subservience of previous administrations to the excesses of racist Zionism, that he is prepared to listen to the voices of moderation and reason who do not want autonomy at the expense of self-determination or "peace" at the cost of occupation and subjugation.

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IRAQ

Baghdad ATH-THAWRAH editorial, 6 November

> There is only one imperialist nature. . . . The change of faces does not mean a change in policy and . . . a change of presidents does not mean a change in the course adopted. . . . Calculations made on Carter's fall and Reagan's victory mean little for the world's people . . . and nothing to the Arab nation's masses and honorable vanguard elements. . . . The Arab nation and its national, pan-Arab and progressive elements do not expect any good from this or that U.S. President. . . . Reagan will pay the bill of Zionist voices which supported him, . . . Reagan's policy on the Arab homeland will not be less malicious or cunning than that of his predecessor Carter.

SYRIA

Damascus SANA editorial, 6 November

> Syria does not side with Carter against Reagan or vice versa. . . . Syria evaluates U.S. policy in light of the Arab nation's pan-Arab interest. . . . When a new U.S. administration assumes power in the United States, Syria does not face it with premeditated judgments based on its stands on individuals. Rather, Syria will adopt a stand on the policy that this administration will adopt in the Middle East and the practices it will resort to.

SAUDI ARABIA

Jiddah 'UKAZ editorial, 6 November

> It must be made clear that the Arab stand, which insists on a comprehensive peace and the need to achieve the Palestinian people's legitimate rights through their legitimate representative, the PLO, must become even more solid to thwart any attempt by Israel to benefit from the situation through the Zionist lobby. . . . We believe that if Reagan learns from Carter's mistakes and can change his views on the Middle East problem, he will strengthen the U.S. role in achieving a comprehensive and just peace based on the principles that the Arab and Islamic nation will never abandon.

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KUWAIT

Kuwait KUNA editorial, 5 November

> Reagan will go to the White House with an attitude of full loyalty to Israel, reflected in promises he made during the election campaign, of deep hostility toward the PLO, and of an inclination to concentrate American military strength so as to firmly challenge, as he puts it, the attempts of Soviet hegemony over the Gulf.
>
> The first tangible result of the unprecedented victory over Carter will be, it is expected, the killing of the Camp David process in the Middle East.

Kuwait AS-SIYASAH editorial, 6 November

> With regard to the Middle East, the new U.S. President will be told that the Arabs are now a real power and no longer tolerate U.S. arrogance. They have been patient; during the election campaign they tolerated all the nonsense and abuse of the U.S. electoral platforms, but they are in control of the nerve of the U.S. stock exchange and own the oil that is important to the United States and its industry. They have proved that they are ready to die when it is a matter of their dignity.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Sharjah AL-KHALIJ editorial, 6 November

> Reagan's election is in the Zionist enemy's favor. . . . With the failure of the "autonomy" talks, the Camp David accords have become purely an Egyptian-Israeli agreement. This will give Reagan and his aides a golden opportunity to replace the Camp David "formula" with another formula, either by heating up the military situation between Syria and Israel through Lebanon or through Israeli annexation of the Golan or by diluting the European initiative to include the Camp David formula.

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IRAN

Prime Minister Mohammed 'Ali Raja'i interview, 5 November Tehran domestic radio

> In reply to the question, What is your opinion about the U.S. elections and the presidency of Reagan? the prime minister said: As we have repeatedly declared, from our viewpoint there is no difference between Reagan and Carter, for both of them are safeguarding the interests of U.S. imperialism. . . . There was a time when this issue [the U.S. presidential election] was of particular significance for such countries as Iran, since our policy leaned on the U.S. Administration. But the policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is an independent one, and for us there is no difference between the election of Reagan or Carter.
>
> The question was then asked: Would Reagan's election as president of the United States at all influence the issue of the hostages, and would Reagan accept the conditions for the release of the hostages?
>
> Mr. Raja'i replied: The conditions for the release of the hostages are embodied in the law passed by Iran's Islamic Consultative Assembly, and this issue concerns our country. For us it makes no difference who governs in the United States. These conditions have been approved by the Majlis, the Imam has sanctioned them, and we will carry them out.

Majlis Deputy Speaker Hojjat ol-Eslam Musavi Kho'ini interview, 5 November Tehran domestic radio

> Answering a question on the probable effect of the presidential elections and Reagan's victory on the issue of the hostages and their release, he said: . . . the predominant issues dictate U.S. policies, and then someone is chosen and imposed on the people of America. In my opinion, Carter's policies were defeated in the United States, and this does not have any effect on the issue of the hostages. But since Carter was already in power, if he had been reelected, we would have concluded the matter sooner. But since Reagan has just taken over the position, resolving this issue will take longer.

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C H I N A

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Foreign Ministry Information Department statement, 5 November

> To establish and develop friendly relations between China and the United States not only accords with the desire and basic interests of the people of the two countries but is very significant to the peace and stability of the world.
>
> The normalization of Sino-U.S. relations is a result of the efforts made by the Republican and Democratic Parties in the United States. While a Republican president was in office, top leaders of the two countries held talks and issued the Shanghai Communique, renovating the direction toward normalizing the relations between China and the United States.
>
> While a Democratic president was in office, the United States and China decided to establish diplomatic relations, opening a new chapter in the Sino-American relations.
>
> On the occasion of Mr. Reagan's election to the U.S. Presidency, we hope that the new administration in the United States will abide by the principles manifested in the Shanghai Communique and the communique on the establishment of the Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations and continue to strengthen and develop bilateral relations.

TAIWAN

CNA news agency commentary, 5 November

> The U.S. relationship with the Republic of China is not expected to undergo any fundamental changes immediately after Ronald Reagan assumes the Presidency of the United States next January, although there may be some improvement in the atmosphere of the relationship.
>
> During the early stage of his campaign, Reagan suggested that when elected President he would try to upgrade the relationship with the Republic of China. His remarks

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have caused strong protests from the Chinese communists and an uproar in the United States. He later clarified his position on the issue and has since avoided any reference to the Republic of China, or China, in his public statements.

According to his own clarification, Reagan would continue to develop a close relationship with Red China. As to the relationship with the Republic of China, Reagan said he would adhere to the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

Whatever Reagan plans to do about relations with the Republic of China probably would not become known in the first few months of his administration. After all, there are other domestic and foreign issues that would require his immediate attention, issues like inflation, arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union, and the volatile situation in the Middle East.

Furthermore, before Reagan takes any steps to improve relations with the Republic of China, he is expected to first seek understanding from the Chinese communists that he would not damage the new relationship between the United States and Red China.

Once Reagan gets around to doing something about relations with the Republic of China, there are a number of things he can do to improve the relationship. To begin with, the election of Reagan itself is expected to restore some sense of mutual trust and mutual friendship between the two countries, which was severely damaged by the Carter Administration because of the manner of its move to switch U.S. diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Peiping. Reagan certainly can take steps to further encourage the restoration of such mutual trust and mutual friendship.

Furthermore, during the past year the Carter Administration has been accused of deliberately humiliating and harassing the Republic of China in order to please the Peiping regime. Such humiliation and harassment are not expected to happen again under a Reagan Administration.

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On the substance of the U.S. relationship with the Republic of China, the latter's requests to purchase more sophisticated defensive weapons from the United States to improve its defense capabilities against a possible Chinese communist attack are likely to fall into more sympathetic ears in the Reagan Administration. Actions by the U.S. Government to process these requests are also expected to be expedited in the future.

It may also be easier for representatives of the Republic of China to discuss substantive matters between the two countries directly with officials of the U.S. Government. Currently most of these discussions are conducted through the American Institute in Taiwan, the so-called nongovernmental instrumentality set up by the United States to handle relations with the Republic of China. Since the staff of the Institute is limited in number and inadequate in terms of expertise, such discussions tend to drag longer than necessary, resulting in the delay of a lot of programs relating to the substantive relations between the United States and the Republic of China.

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NORTHEAST ASIA

SOUTH KOREA

SEOUL SINMUN editorial, 8 November

While advocating a position of strength, Reagan has placed importance on strengthening relations with U.S. allies. Reagan means to enhance the confidence of allies in the United States by consolidating relations with them in order to strengthen the unity of the free world against the Soviet Union.

This is a very realistic approach. In retrospect, Carter's diplomacy caused unnecessary frictions between the United States and its allies by excessively meddling in the domestic affairs of the latter in the name of human rights and morality. Carter's diplomacy has weakened the confidence of allies in the United States by changing U.S. pledges made to them.

It is expected that such realism in Reagan's diplomacy will greatly contribute to the promotion of relations between the ROK and the United States. During his election campaign, Reagan made it clear that he supported the ROK's superiority in military power over North Korea. He also hinted he felt that in order to check the Soviet Union's military power in the Far East, it is necessary to strengthen the functions of the U.S. troops stationed in the ROK. Therefore, it is expected that there will be smoother cooperation between the two countries in the field of security.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

THAILAND

Thai Supreme Command official interview, 5 November Bangkok domestic radio

> The United States should be stronger militarily . . . which should reflect a strong U.S. military position for its allies. . . . U.S. allies in this region will be more confident.

Bangkok SIAM RAT editorial, 6 November

> It appears that while Thailand approaches complete democracy, its security is under threat from Indochina. . . . It remains to be seen to what extent the United States can guarantee the security of its smaller allies. It is noteworthy that U.S. interests in Southeast Asia, particularly in Thailand, are huge and these interests have led the United States to remain in the area for protection. . . . Although war is not expected, we are in the midst of a threatening situation, and Thailand should not be so stupid as to fail to exploit Reagan's new positive U.S. policy.

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LATIN AMERICA

PANAMA

Panama City ACAN report, 5 November

> Panamanian President Aristides Royo today said that a statement attributed to U.S. President-elect Reagan saying he will "honor" the canal treaties that have been in effect for a year is insufficient. The Panamanian President said that the treaties should not only be "honored" but should also be fully respected and implemented according to their letter and spirit without the "dickering" that the U.S. side has shown thus far. The Panamanian President said that the treaties were not a gift granted to Panama but the result of a decades-long struggle.

NICARAGUA

Managua Radio Sandino report, 5 November

> When reminded that Ronald Reagan said during his election campaign that U.S. economic relations with Nicaragua would be restricted if the Sandinista-led government did not change its political guidelines, junta member Daniel Ortega replied: "The Nicaraguan Government established very clear guidelines on 19 July 1979. With these guidelines, it is very well understood that Nicaragua is no longer a colony of the United States. Therefore, we could not care less that Ronald Reagan won the U.S. election."

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A F R I C A

SENEGAL

Dakar LE SOLEIL editorial, 5 November

> Ronald Reagan's election as the 40th president of the United States, beyond its history-making aspect, clearly illustrates a profound American reaction---a reaction of rejection against the loss of a world leadership which was the pride of all America and the whole new world.
>
> Looking at the Republican campaign program we must fear for aid to [Third World] development and for the fate of Africans still under the yoke of apartheid. But let us leave Reagan to savor his victory before asking him questions.

SOUTH AFRICA

Johannesburg DIE TRANSVALER, 7 November Johannesburg radio

> From South Africa's point of view it is international policy directions in the new administration that are going to matter. Here South Africa should be cautious. America's self-interest will come first, and the best South Africa could hope for is a better climate in general in Washington toward South Africa. . . . In a broader sense, an America which is prepared to challenge Russian expansionism would be helpful to South Africa. With the Carter Administration in control one has gained the impression that the President is making things easy for Moscow.

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