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FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

SPECIAL MEMORANDUM

FOREIGN RADIO AND PRESS REACTION TO
PRESIDENT NIXON'S MIDDLE EAST VISIT

for official use only 21 JUNE 1974

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SUMMARY

NONCOMMUNIST WORLD

Egyptian comment, stressing the change in the U.S. attitude toward the Arabs as a result of the October war, placed great emphasis on the "legitimate rights" of the Palestinian people and took satisfaction in the reference to Palestinian "interests" in the joint statement on the visit. Egyptian comment on Israeli reaction to the U.S.-Egyptian agreement on nuclear energy decried "Zionist" attempts to thwart the improvement of U.S.-Arab relations, and Egyptian Foreign Minister Fahmi called for Israel to sign the nonproliferation treaty, as Cairo has done, with the warning that if Israel were to conduct an atomic test Egypt would do the same. After the President's visit to Israel, Cairo press comment cautioned that unlimited U.S. supply of arms to Israel was no longer justified and held Washington responsible for curbing Israel's "expansionist" ambitions.

Saudi Arabia's King Faysal and Jordan's King Husayn expressed appreciation of the President's visit, both making clear their preoccupation with the problems of the Palestinians and of Jerusalem. Syria, maintaining a low-key approach to the Presidential tour, was the only Arab host not to broadcast the text of the President's remarks. President al-Asad, like the other Arab leaders, placed emphasis on the Palestinian "struggle."

Israeli media, giving the President's tour wide publicity, displayed ambivalence, both welcoming the visit and expressing concern that improved U.S.-Arab relations not develop at the expense of American-Israeli ties. The announcement on U.S.-Egyptian cooperation in nuclear energy prompted wide reaction in Israel, with Foreign Minister Alon first offering assurances to the Israeli public but later stating that concern had been expressed to the United States and expressing displeasure that Israel was not informed in advance.

Other noncommunist world reaction to the visit was cautious about the practical results, and in many quarters apprehensive about the long-term hazards introduced through the U.S. agreement to provide both Egypt and Israel with nuclear power aid. West European media stressed the trip's positive implications for Watergate, and emphasized the unresolved Palestinian issue and the impact of the Middle East visits upon the President's imminent Moscow summit visit.

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Among Asian noncommunist countries, Japan's media provided the most extensive reportage and comment on the trip, seeing a "breakthrough" in U.S. relations with the Arabs but pointing up concern over the Palestine question and expressing dismay over the spread of nuclear technology to the area. Australian official and press comment gave special attention to the nuclear issue, criticizing President Nixon for increasing the hazard by the new agreements. Limited available African comment also laid stress on the nuclear issue. Available Latin American reaction was generally favorable, but limited in volume.

COMMUNIST WORLD

Moscow media gave brief, factual reportage on the President's trip, with TASS and the central press providing fuller, if selective, coverage of some speeches in Cairo and Damascus and of statements concluding the visits to Egypt and Israel. Scanty comment has been confined primarily to PRAVDA's weekly international reviews and Arabic-language talks on the "unofficial" Radio Peace and Progress. The sparse coverage of the visit, together with oblique indications of concern, suggest Soviet indecision as to how to handle the tour. The emerging approach seems to be one of accommodation to the idea of a new U.S. relationship with the Arabs, while seeking to credit the Soviet Union for new directions in American policy through Moscow's pursuit of detente.

Moscow at the same time has pointed out that there has been no lessening of U.S. support for Israel, and that the Arabs do not want the new Arab-American relationship to replace their "traditional" ties with the Soviet Union. Soviet comment has also stressed the benefits of detente in connection with Middle East developments, portraying a joint U.S.-Soviet role in containing the October fighting, convening the Geneva peace conference, and achieving the disengagement agreements.

Moscow's East European allies generally saw no basic change in U.S. "imperialist" aims in the Middle East, but viewed the trip as reflecting greater U.S. awareness of Arab power in the area. Limited comment saw in Secretary Kissinger's Salzburg press conference threat to resign a reaction to attacks by U.S. opponents of detente.

Asian communist reportage and reaction to the President's trip was limited and generally low key. Peking confined its coverage to factual NCNA reports focusing on the Egypt and Syria visits, and has

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not yet acknowledged the U.S. pledges of nuclear power aid to Egypt and Israel. Peking comment prior to the visit saw in it evidence of U.S. strength vis-a-vis Moscow prior to the scheduled Moscow summit visit. Vietnamese communist media provided very sparse coverage stressing alleged U.S. duplicity and giving play to Palestinian statements of defiance. North Korean and Mongolian People's Republic media ignored the visits.

Cuban communist reaction, predictably harsh, stressed the themes that Watergate and U.S. imperialist ambitions in the Middle East were behind the trip and expressed doubt that the Egyptian welcome for the President was genuine.

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T. THE MIDDLE EAST

HOST COUNTRIES

EGYPT Before President Nixon's arrival in Egypt and throughout his stay in the Middle East, Egyptian media and officials expressed optimism about the visit and welcomed it. The President's activities in Egypt were given blanket media coverage, from Cairo radio's live relay of his arrival on 12 June to the live relay of his departure for Saudi Arabia on the 14th. The speeches exchanged between Nixon and as-Sadat were broadcast live, with President Nixon's remarks in English followed by a translation into Arabic. The speeches were repeated in Arabic in subsequent newscasts. The visits by President Nixon to various historic points also received wide coverage.

A theme common to both official and media reaction was that the U.S. stand toward the Arabs "has changed considerably since the October war." A Cairo radio news analysis on 12 June said: "This visit reflects the extent of the change that has taken place in U.S. diplomacy toward the Middle East crisis after the October war." An AL-AKHBAR editorial on the 12th, as cited by Cairo radio, said that the masses will welcome not only Nixon, but also as-Sadat, since he was "able to change the U.S. Government's policy."

Citing Egyptian officials' comments on the visit, the MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY (MENA) on 12 June said that First Deputy Prime Minister Dr. 'Abd al-'Aziz Hijazi described Nixon's visit to Egypt "as a sign of appreciation for the Arabs," and quoted Foreign Minister Isma'il Fahmi as saying that the visit is "the direct outcome of the October war." On the 13th MENA reported that Egyptian papers featured the "great official and popular welcome accorded to the first U.S. President to visit Egypt" and highlighted the speeches exchanged between Presidents as-Sadat and Nixon. Reviewing the Cairo press, MENA said that AL-AHRAM concluded that Nixon's visit was "an opportunity for translating the U.S. President's appreciation of President as-Sadat into definite commitments to remove the causes of tension in the area and to achieve the goal of a just peace." AL-AKHBAR was quoted as saying that "peace is the fulcrum of President Nixon's visit to Egypt" and the Middle East.

Egyptian statements and comment were careful to assert the emphasis Cairo places on the "legitimate rights" of the Palestinian people, with President as-Sadat declaring in one speech that the "political solution and respect for the national aspirations of the Palestinians are the essence of the whole problem." Cairo radio commentator

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Muhammad Sharaf on 16 June noted that the clause in the U.S.—
Egyptian statement referring to the "rights" of the Palestinian people "aroused significant world-wide interest" because in that clause the United States recognized "in an official document" that the Palestinians are entitled to "their full legitimate rights." Sharaf called this an important step toward "sound treatment" of the Palestinian cause. AL-AHRAM on the 17th, according to MENA, noted that in important Arab consultations President as-Sadat had been and would be holding after the President's visit, he explained that his talks with President Nixon were primarily aimed at securing a declaration of the U.S. stand toward the Palestinian issue as "a political problem and not a problem of refugees."

There has been extensive comment from Egyptian media and officials on Israeli and "U.S. Zionist" reaction to point three of the U.S .-Egyptian statement on "nuclear energy." Foreign Minister Fahmi in a 16 June press conference reported by MENA described a "rabid campaign" launched by "U.S. Zionist circles" over Egyptian-U.S. cooperation on the peaceful use of atomic energy as "an organized campaign" to combat the improvement in relations between the United States and Egypt and the Arab world. Fahmi asserted that the U.S. circles were basing their reaction on certain statements by Moshe Dayan, but said that Dayan had "concealed certain facts." The foreign minister added that the nuclear power facilities Israel already had, or was negotiating for with the United States, were the same as those in the U.S.-Egyptian pact. Fahmi declared that if Dayan and the Israeli officials did not want atomic weapons introduced in the area, they must sign the nonproliferation treaty. In an AL-AKHBAR interview reported by MENA on the 18th, Fahmi said that Egypt could produce an atomic explosion "if Israel introduces this horrible weapon into the area," and added that Egypt had signed the nonproliferation treaty "but it will not ratify the treaty unless Israel joins it."

Cairo press comment assessing the results of the visit has viewed it, as AL-AHRAM said on the 14th, as a new peace opportunity.

AL-JUMHURIYAH on the 16th, according to Cairo radio's press review, said Egypt had achieved several important political gains for the Arab cause, such as an "official U.S. commitment" to the need for a just and permanent peace. AL-JUMHURIYAH explained that while the President "noticeably avoided" making any detailed U.S. commitment toward the Middle East issue in his speeches, this was due to the fact the present task was to establish common understanding and agree on general principles.

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In the wake of the President's visit to Israel, AL-AHRAM observed on the 17th that while the President realized that peace in the area "and the stability of oil exports" were dependent on an overall solution, such a solution must realize the Palestinians' "legitimate rights" and Israel "must recognize the reality of the Palestinian homeland." The United States, AL-AHRAM said, must now "prove that it can be independent of Israel" and give preference to what serves not only U.S. interests but the interests of peace in the area. In an article on the 18th, AL-AHRAM recalled the President's statement in Israel that peace, as well as fighting, required courage, but a courage of a different kind. If the United States was serious about the establishment of peace, then it was capable of giving Israel a lesson in the other kind of courage, AL-AHRAM said, adding that the unlimited supply of U.S. arms to Israel "is no longer justified," and the United States "becomes responsible" for ending Israel's "expansionist ambitions" in the

Some comment affirmed that Egypt's new friendship with the United States would not develop at the expense of Cairo's relations with Moscow. AKHBAR AL-YAWM chief editor Mustafa Amin was cited by MENA on the 15th as declaring that "we will not buy U.S. friendship by selling out Soviet friendship, but rather will simultaneously maintain the friendship of the two superpowers." A Cairo Voice of the Arabs commentary on the 12th welcomed the President's visit as evidence of the "vital and constructive role" to be played by the United States, but another Voice of the Arabs commentary the same day emphasized that American-Egyptian realtions did not "shut the door" to "any other international power." While praising the "practical outlook" of the President and Secretary Kissinger and stressing Cairo's "confidence" in their stands, the commentary pointed out that there would be no friendship with one party "at the expense of another party."

SAUDI ARABIA The Saudi radio provided extensive reportage on the President's trip throughout the area and particularly his stay in Jiddah, but there was no monitored comment on the visit. Riyadh radio on 14 June reported the banquet given by King Faysal and later broadcast recordings of the speeches exchanged by the king and President Nixon, whose speech was carried in English with passage-by-passage Arabic translation. Faysal in his speech declared that "the injustice and aggression inflicted on the Palestinian people is unprecedented in history." He expressed Saudi Arabia's faith that the United States would work for peace, adding that "we believe there will be no real and lasting peace in the area until Jerusalem is liberated and returned to Arab sovereignty, all the occupied Arab territories are liberated, and the Palestinian Arab people recover their right to their homeland and to determine their own fate."

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Prior to the President's visit, the Saudi radio on 8 June had reported a statement by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs as-Saqqaf stressing the significance and usefulness of the visit, and on 15 June it carried an interview with the U.S. ambassador praising the "historic" trip. On 14 June, just before President Nixon's arrival, Riyadh radio carried the comments of Foreign Ministry Under Secretary ash-Shaykh Muhammad Ibrahim Mas'ud. Noting American preparedness "to change its policy toward the Arabs," Mas'ud said: "America realized that its interest lies here, and it therefore has opened a new era." He continued: "All that the Arabs hope is that the United States will stand by justice and right." On the President's visit to Saudi Arabia in particular, the under secretary said that it "confirms and crowns the new American policy."

SYRIA Syrian media maintained a low-key approach to President Nixon's Mideast tour. The radio carried reportage on the President's arrivals, departures and contacts in the Arab countries, but no mention of Nixon's stop in Israel was monitored from any Syrian source. On 14 June the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY reported that four "prominent members" of the Syrian Communist Party refused to participate in the reception for the President. The INA report was not carried by Syrian media.

During the Syrian leg of the President's tour, no live relays were monitored from Damascus radio. A radio report gave details of the arrival ceremonies for the "great guest" on the 15th and briefly reported the talks between the two presidents and departure of the "prominent guest" the following day. Damascus broadcast an announcer-read text of President Hafiz al-Asad's banquet speech on the 15th, in which al-Asad talked of the struggle of the Palestinian people who "have been displaced for 26 years." Al-Asad said that peace in the area was impossible "without a real and just solution to this cause." He told President Nixon: "We hope that your visit to the Syrian Arab Republic will constitute the beginning of a new era in relations between our two countries." The radio noted that President Nixon replied to al-Asad's speech, but gave no details. Later newscasts featured announcer-read quotations from the President's speech.

Damascus radio on the 16th carried an announcer-read text of a statement to the press by President al-Asad which said: "As we understand it, the agreement on the disengagement . . . constitutes a first step and an indivisible part of the just overall solution of the question—a solution which cannot exist without" Israel's

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withdrawing from all occupied Arab land and the rights of the Palestinians being secured. Al-Asad also announced the decision to restore U.S.-Syrian diplomatic relations. Following the text of al-Asad's statement, the radio carried a report on President Nixon's remarks to the press. The Syrian news agency on 16 June carried an apparent text, in Arabic, of Nixon's statement. In reporting the departure ceremonies for the Nixon party on the 16th, Damascus radio did not mention the President's next stop, Israel. On the 17th the radio reported the President's arrival in Jordan and covered his activities there and his departure for home on 18 June.

Damascus radio on the 17th briefly reported that the raising of the U.S. flag over the U.S. embassy was "celebrated today" following restoration of diplomatic relations. No press comment on the visit was reviewed by Damascus radio, but MENA, in a Damascus dispatch on the 15th, said the Damascus ATH-THAWRAH frontpaged photographs of presidents Nixon and al-Asad and "devoted banner headlines" to the visit.

JORDAN Amman radio carried in-depth reportage on all of
President Nixon's stops in the Middle East. Both radio
and press comment on the visit, although minimal, praised the Nixon
visit and U.S. efforts for peace in the area. Amman radio quoted
the Jordanian newspaper AR-RA'Y as saying on 10 June that the visit
shows the "highest degrees" of American policy interest. The radio
again quoted AR-RA'Y on the 12th as warning that the accusations
against Dr. Kissinger concerning Watergate were a threat by "forces"
trying to direct American foreign policy. On the 15th Amman reported
AR-RA'Y's praise of the President's visit to Cairo and the joint
statement issued there.

In an unattributed commentary on 16 June, Amman radio commended U.S. efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, but stressed that peace was impossible without Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, "especially Jerusalem," and without Israeli acknowledgment of Arab rights. Another unattributed commentary carried by Amman radio on the 17th repeated praise of U.S. peace efforts and the necessity for Israeli withdrawal.

On 17 June Amman radio carried a live relay of President Nixon's arrival. The radio later carried a live relay of speeches exchanged between King Husayn and Nixon at a banquet; both men spoke in English, and there was no Arabic translation. Following the relay the radio returned to a studio-originated broadcast for an announcer-read Arabic text of Husayn's speech. Presumably no Arabic version of

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Amman broadcast an Arabic-language report of the Nixon speech, and also carried the text of the joint statement issued on the visit. The departure ceremony was relayed live over Amman radio, including the speeches exchanged in English by the two heads of state. Arabic-language reports on both speeches were carried on later newscasts. After the President's departure, Amman radio reported various social activities and tours attended by the Presidential party on 18 June, including a military ceremony.

ISRAEL Israeli media featured voluminous reportage and comment on the Presidential visit to the Arab countries and similar treatment of his stay in Israel. All of Nixon's public speeches in Israel were carried live in English by Israeli radios, followed by a brief announcer-supplied summary in Hebrew. Hebrew texts of Nixon's speeches were carried on subsequent radio newscasts as well as in the Israeli press.

Comment on the trip was ambivalent, expressing both welcome and concern that improved U.S.-Arab relations not develop at the expense of Tel Aviv's ties with Washington. In Jerusalem radio's 10 June press review, HAZOFE was cited as looking forward to the forthcoming visit with "hope and trust," while SHE'ARIM called the visit part of the process in the "realization of establishing an American empire in the Middle East on the ruins of the British empire."

NASHA STRANA, HADASHOT ISRAEL and NOWINY KURRIER warned Israel to be careful that the U.S. rapprochement with the Arab states is not "at our expense." Commenting on the President's welcome in Egypt, DAVAR on the 13th, according to Jerusalem radio, saw a "political friendship" being formed between Washington and Cairo and hoped that it would not be "at the expense of the old friendship with Israel."

Jerusalem media indicated that among the top issues on the agenda for the President's talks in Israel would be further aid and the problems of Soviet and Syrian Jewry. Thus, a Jerusalem radio correspondent noted on the 12th that economic, rather than political issues, would dominate the talks. Likud leader Begin's request that the Knesset discuss Syrian and Soviet Jewry in connection with the forthcoming Presidential visit was reported in an English-language broadcast of Jerusalem's international service on the 11th. The radio carried a recorded interview with Foreign Minister Alon on Begin's request, in which Alon asserted that American efforts "to aid Syrian Jewry during the Presidential visit to Damascus would be facilitated" by the Golan disengagement agreement. A Jerusalem radio broadcast later that day quoted Alon as saying that the "special position" won by Nixon and Kissinger in Damascus would enable them to make "humanitarian demands" for the release of Syrian Jews.

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Jerusalem radio on 13 June featured an interview with Ambassador Dinitz on his arrival from Washington to prepare for Nixon's visit. Asked about the dangers for Israel from a U.S.-Arab friendship, Dinitz replied that, on the contrary, U.S.-Israeli relations should be strengthened by "furthering U.S. interests in the Middle East."

On 14 June Jerusalem radio carried a government statement "thanking" the United States for its traditional aid to the state of Israel. The statement concluded that the government "hopes that the Presidential tour will help the Middle East countries to overcome their hostility and aggressive tendencies."

Following the Cairo announcement of U.S.-Egyptian cooperation in the nuclear energy field, wide-scale and varied reaction was reported from Israel. Information Minister Aharon Yariv was quoted by Jerusalem radio on the 14th as confirming that Israel was also negotiating for U.S. help in that field. Yariv said that the U.S.-Egyptian agreement meant nothing more than "American aid to Egypt for the production of electricity from nuclear reactors."

Foreign Minister Alon commented on this subject in an interview carried by Jerusalem radio on 15 June. Asked if he was "worried" by the U.S.-Egyptian agreement, he said: "When the reference is to nuclear power stations and nuclear fuel . . . under agreed supervision, there is no danger in that." Alon's views were described as "irresponsible" and "liable to seriously harm Israel's security" by Knesset member Shemu'el Tamir, as reported by Jerusalem radio. "In the wake of the many repercussions" from the U.S.-Egyptian cooperation, Alon spoke again on Jerusalem radio on the 15th. He said that he was "neither pleased nor frightened" by the agreement, and added that even if it were only for peaceful reasons, "it is much too soon . . . there is as yet no economic justification." Alon also expressed displeasure that "we were not informed . . . in advance."

On the 16th Jerusalem radio reported a special meeting of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee with the foreign minister, precipitated by the committee's "concern over the U.S. agreement with Egypt." Jerusalem papers on 16 June, as reported by Jerusalem radio, welcomed Nixon to the area and hailed U.S. efforts for peace, but continued to convey concern over the U.S.-Egyptian pact.

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Jerusalem radio on the 16th gave live coverage of Nixon's arrival at Ben-Gurion airport, including President Katzir's welcoming speech in English and Nixon's reply. The radio also reported briefly on the initial U.S.-Israeli talks. Returning to live coverage, Jerusalem radio carried the two presidents' speeches, given in English, at a banquet in the Knesset.

Jerusalem radio on the 17th carried a report on Secretary Kissinger's press conference in Jerusalem, with further details provided on subsequent newscasts. Information Minister Yariv was quoted by Jerusalem radio on 17 June on his reaction to remarks by Kissinger. He repeated Israel's stand "not to negotiate" with the Palestine Liberation Organization and also said that a Palestinian state between Jordan and Israel "would endanger Israel."

A radio correspondent's report on the U.S.-Israeli statement on the visit was broadcast by Jerusalem radio on the 17th; the text of the statement was published the following day in the Hebrewlanguage papers DAVAR and HA'AREZ. The departure ceremonies on the 17th were covered live by Jerusalem radio.

In its review of the Israeli press for 17 June, the radio noted that "satisfaction" was voiced over the President's promises to "continue to stand by Israel," but that concern was growing over the U.S.-Egyptian agreement, about which Nixon said "not one word." Following the President's departure, Jerusalem radio on the 17th reported that the Likud and Mafdal factions submitted a no-confidence motion to the Knesset "because of statements" on the U.S.-Egyptian nuclear power agreement. The opposition parties said that while "experts believe there is a real danger. . . the government spokesmen have caused serious damage by their statements and affected the prospects for foiling the agreement."

Prime Minister Rabin held a press conference on the 17th, carried live by Jerusalem radio, in which he summed up Nixon's visit as having "symbolic" and "practical" significance. Rabin praised the visit on the grounds that it furthered U.S.-Israeli relations and the prospects for peace in the area. Jerusalem radio on 18 June quoted the Israeli press as summing up Nixon's Middle East visit "with mixed feelings." The radio noted that the papers drew attention to the U.S. promises of long-term "security and economic" aid, while voicing mounting concern over a possible "nuclear arms race in our region."

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OTHER ARAB COMMENT

THE PALESTINIANS

Reaction from some Palestinian factions,
particularly as reported by Iraqi media, has
been predictably hostile to the United States' Mideast policy and
has made digs at the Arab regimes which received the President.
Voice of Palestine programs using Baghdad and Algiers radio
facilities expressed strong opposition to the visit, while the
clandestine Voice of Palestine ignored the trip except for sparse
reportage on major events, particularly references to the Palestinian
issue. The Cairo Voice of Palestine on the 18th reported an "official
Palestinian source" as warning that the "Zionist enemy's security
pledge by Nixon will not be achieved," a statement also reported by
the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY (INA). In its only other monitored commentary
on the visit, the Cairo Voice of Palestine on the 19th criticized
King Husayn, calling his reliance on President Nixon "futile."

A Baghdad Voice of Palestine commentary on 12 June proclaimed that "the ugly face of imperialism will not be beautified by as-Sadat's praise," and a day later another commentary declared that the President's motives for his visit were to show "certain parties and states of the world that the Middle East is within the U.S. sphere of influence" and "to cover up for the Watergate scandal."

An Algiers Voice of Palestine commentary on the 17th defined the American idea of peace in the Middle East as ultimately based on "Arab recognition of the Zionist entity in Palestine." The commentary called for establishment of a Palestinian state on "all occupied Palestinian soil" and warned that U.S. efforts to impose its concept of peace as well as the Zionist concept of peace would "lay the foundations for war" instead of peace. The radio had noted on 14 June that the Egyptian-U.S. statement had said that "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East must take into account the interests of the Palestinian Arab people." An Algiers Voice of Palestine commentary on the 19th called the Israeli raids on Lebanon that day the result of a "strategy which was endorsed by President Nixon during his visit to occupied Palestine." Noting that all Arab fronts had "ceased fighting" the enemy, the commentary said the Palestine front now has to "shoulder with its people and revolutions the consequences of the disengagement agreements."

INA on 14 June cited an official of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—the General Command—as criticizing at a press conference in Baghdad the "21-gun salutes fired in Arab capitals for those who supplied the U.S. planes that three weeks ago exterminated an—Nabatiyah camp and other camps of our people."

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Another official of this fedayeen organization was reported by INA the same day as asserting that the Nixon visit was "evidence of the level to which political affairs have deteriorated," and warning against a dangerous "imperialist, reactionary and Zionist plot" aimed at expanding U.S. influence in the Arab area.

Tripoli radio on 15 June broadcast a joint statement on the visit to Libya by Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasir 'Arafat; it declared that the Arab nation would not be deceived by "attempts at misleading and plotting by U.S. imperialist circles trying to liquidate the Palestine question and exterminate and obliterate the Palestinian personality." The Libyan and Palestinian revolutions, the statement said, would resist all "capitulationist solutions," and al-Qadhdhafi and 'Arafat in the statement pledged to "escalate the Palestinian armed struggle."

IRAQ, LIBYA Reaction to the President's visit by Iraqi, Libyan SOUTH YEMEN and South Yemeni media was characteristically and predictably negative, critical, and severe, both in regard to the President and the United States as well as those Arab regimes who welcomed the "archimperialist." Iraqi and Libyan media provided daily reportage and comment. The Baghdad newspaper ATH-THAWRAH, organ of the ruling Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, described the welcome of the "colonialist executioner" by the "compromising Arab regimes" as disgraceful. It maintained that true Arabs would always deal with "Nixon and his Zionist gang" with steadfastness and struggle, rather than diplomacy and submission. An article by the newspaper's "Observer" contended that "the leader of U.S. imperialism was coming to our homeland like a conqueror." Baghdad radio's Arab affairs editor said the President was not a man of peace, and that the Iraqi people were angered by his presence in the Middle East. The radio often cited the security measures taken by the host governments as a true indication of the feelings of the Arab people. The Iraqi Communist Party newspaper TARIQ ASH-SHA'B argued that the visit was part of a plan to divert the progressive regimes from their antiimperialist efforts and drive a wedge between them and the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

Libyan media also adopted a defiant position, castigating the President and questioning his intentions. Tripoli radio commented that the President was posing as a peacemaker to guarantee the existence of Israel and increase U.S. influence in the Middle East. Some of the strongest language appeared in the newspaper AL-FAJR AS-JADID, whose views were disseminated by the Libyan news agency. The paper implied that there was no place in the Arab world for the President except in a grave or an inferno. Arab "kowtowing before the American god of war,"

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the paper said, was "a defeat in the worst form." The Libyan news agency's political commentator described the U.S. offer of nuclear aid to Egypt as a trick designed to justify giving Israel nuclear weapons.

South Yemen's Aden radio echoed many of the same critical themes. The radio denounced the visit as a reflection of U.S. interest in maintaining influence in the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf area. Saudi leaders were accused of briefing the President on arrangements to topple the regime in the PDRY. The Aden newspaper 14 OCTOBER suggested that the United States was reformulating its policy in the area to enable Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Iran "to create a new balance against the liberation and democratic movements of the people in the area."

Major and favorable interest in the Nixon visit was LEBANON expressed by Lebanese public spokesmen. Several high officials, including the acting prime minister and the defense minister, indicated they were hopeful that the visit would contribute to the peaceful resolution of the Middle East problem. Lebanese Minister of State Shadir stated that the visit reflected a historic change in U.S. policy to insure the establishment of a balance between the influence of the United States and the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the Arab states and Israel on the other. Lebanon's diverse newspapers reflected a broad spectrum of criticism and praise. Those newspapers with close ties to the more radical Middle East groups tended to assess the visit in highly critical terms, while other papers ranged from great enthusiasm to mild criticism. The latter papers were generally in agreement that the ultimate results of the trip would be beneficial. Unusually sharp criticism was contained in pro-Iraqi and pro-Libyan papers, and in AN-NIDA, the Lebanese Communist Party paper.

Monitored Moroccan media, while closely cover-MAGHREB, OTHER STATES ing the President's trip, did not comment extensively. The newspaper LE MATIN published several increasingly enthusiastic articles praising Nixon's political courage. The anti-Nixon and anti-Kissinger campaign directed by the powerful "Zionist lobby." LE MATIN wrote, has not prevented Nixon from pursuing his new Middle East policy. In a similar fashion, a Moroccan press agency commentary paid tribute to Nixon's "courageous stand" in charting a new foreign policy line in the face of "increasing Zionist control" in the affairs of state. At the same time, however, it emphasized the necessity for the Arabs to preserve relations with the Soviet Union on a "firm basis." The agency's press review on 18 June said the President's trip remained the main international affairs topic in the papers, and noted that papers had pointed out that the President had "issued a disguised warning to the Arab countries about the Palestinian guerrillas" during his visit to Israel.

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Tunisian reaction to the President's trip was generally favorable, while stressing the need to settle the Palestinian problem. The Destourian Party's French-language paper L'ACTION emphasized the "exceptional importance" of the tour, asserting that the U.S. attitude toward the problem of the Palestinians "has definitely changed." The paper saw this as the first time in over a quarter of a century that there had been hope of a "just and lasting peace," but it emphasized the "enormous difficulties" ahead. The party's Arabiclanguage paper AL-'AMAL called U.S. recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians "decisive," but noted that this recognition was "not lacking in ambiguities." Regardless of the importance of President Nixon's contacts on his visit, the paper said, an "appreciable" number of "fundamental" problems have been left unresolved.

Algeria's response to the trip was not as vitriolic as the reaction of Arab radicals but the limited available comment was infused with strong reservations about U.S. policy and critical evaluations of U.S. intentions. Algiers radio commented that President Nixon's avoidance of the Palestinian question meant that no progress had been made on the basic reason for discord. The French-language newspaper of the ruling National Liberation Front, EL-MOUDJAHID, published news agency reports but provided little comment. The NFL's Arabic-language newspaper, ASH-SHA'B, published an editorial asserting that the President's claims about pringing peace constituted a "veil" concealing U.S. aims to "dominate and exploit" the region. The paper scorned U.S. claims of neutrality and contended that U.S. words were in glaring contradiction to deeds.

Monitored Sudanese, United Arab Emirates, and Yemeni Arab Republic media confined their coverage to reportage on the President's visit.

Iranian, Greek, Turkish, and Cypriot media carried extensive reportage on the visit, but the only available comment here was monitored from Teheran radio and clandestine stations broadcasting to the area. Teheran hailed the U.S.-Egyptian rapprochement and dwelt at length on the wisdom of Egypt's recent policy changes.

The clandestine Radio Iran Courier carried a brief talk saying that Nixon's main objective was "to establish a stronghold in the Arab world." The radio also noted that "reactionary sources" have been lauding the Nixon visit in an effort to "hide" the Soviet Union's work for peace in the region. The Turkish-language clandestine station, Our Radio, described Nixon's visit as a "so-called display of peace" and noted that while Nixon talks about peace with the Arabs he continues to give financial support to the Israeli Government and has not given up his "bloody plans against the peoples of the Middle East."

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II. OTHER NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

WEST EUROPE

The news media of France, Great Britain and West Germany provided extensive reportage and comment on the President's trip, some comment viewing the trip as a breakthrough toward peace and other comment seeing it as an escape from the troubles of Watergate, but most agreeing that only time will tell if anything tangible has been achieved.

FRANCE French media reaction was cautious but generally optimistic in assessing the positive achievements of the President's trip, while presenting overall favorable impressions of the popular and official welcomes accorded the President throughout his visits. A 19 June editorial in LE MONDE stated that in all the countries the President visited he received a welcome that was "either cordial or triumphant, depending on the situation." It attributed the Arab and Israeli leaders' decision to put aside their misgivings about aspects of U.S. policy toward their respective opponents to their awareness of "the material means" at U.S. disposal. The communist L'HUMANITE introduced a sour note by quoting a Libyan paper which asked why the President was being feted when he had been "primarily responsible" for denying the Arabs victory over Israel. Israel's muted "detachment and certain cynicism" in the face of the enthusiastic Arab welcome was dictated, according to LE FIGARO on 17 June, by a desire to "play along" with the President as "better preparation" for his USSR trip.

The Palestinian question dominated much of the French comment. LE FIGARO asked if President Nixon was "not coerced by as-Sadat" into including in the U.S.-Egyptian statement a reference to "the Palestine people's legitimate interests." The same paper also noted that the communique with Jordan mentioned Resolution 338, whereas King Husayn had "constantly" referred to Resolution 242 in his banquet speech. L'HUMANITE wrote that King Faysal "appeared all the more vehement" in his demand for consideration of the Palestinians' national rights in light of his traditional position as "one of the most faithful U.S. allies." A Paris radio dispatch from Damascus on the 16th noted that al-Asad's statements to President Nixon did not stand on protocol in stressing that peace is not possible without a "just and real solution" to the Palestinian problem.

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Other Paris comment tended to view the President's trip in relation to its effect on Soviet attitudes. Paris radio correspondent Jean Claude Mangeot commented on 12 June, for instance, that the Soviets "were very interested" in the trip since, in "reopening its doors" to America, the Middle East "is confirming the leadership of the United States." And a radio commentary by Edouard Sablier on 13 June noted that by deciding on rapprochement with the United States, the Arabs were taking "a calculated risk" of "irritating their Soviet ally."

A striking feature of the French press coverage was that, after the first day, little if any reference was made to the domestic difficulties of President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger. Similarly, Paris radio did not stress the Watergate aspect to any great extent. Notable exceptions included a Michel Anfrol dispatch from Washington on 10 June which commented that the President had left for the Middle East "to forget his worries over the Watergate affair," and a report by radio commentator Edouard Sablier, who noted on the 13th that the Arab leaders "are perfectly aware of the good turn" they are doing the President and who emphasized as-Sadat's statement that Nixon's dismissal would be viewed in the Arab world as a "tragedy."

L'HUMANITE on 18 June expressed reservations about the lasting effects of the trip, stating that "the battle for a just peace in the Middle East will be far from over once the projectors of Mr Nixon's spectacular have been switched off." In a similar comment L'AURORE of 19 June, as reported by AFP, said that in the end, after all the "fanfare and spectacular ovations," no prospect of a "genuine solution" had become clear.

UNITED KINGDOM After an initial flurry of editorial comment on Kissinger's Salzburg press conference, the British press relied heavily on prominently displayed reports from its own correspondents and REUTER dispatches in covering the President's trip. The TIMES reported extensively on the "rapturous welcome" in Egypt, declaring that the agreement signed there "emphasizes the strides made by Washington in the Middle East." Although the OBSERVER labeled the trip a "gaudy triumph," most papers expressed concern over the "problems and dangers ahead," particularly that of the Palestinians.

A highly favorable TIMES editorial of the 15th, though warning that the new U.S.-Arab relationship could be threatened by Israeli intransigence over the withdrawal issue, noted that the

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Soviets "can hardly be expected to view Mr. Nixon's triumphal progress through the Middle East with unalloyed pleasure." The DAILY TELEGRAPH, traditionally the most pro-Nixon of all British papers, in an editorial on the 17th, claimed that through Kissinger's and Nixon's Middle East travels, the United States "has scored for herself and the West as a whole the first global success for many weary years." The same issue nevertheless prominently reported negative U.S. and world reaction to the trip, an example of which was supplied by its Damascus correspondent, who stated that objections to the trip "did not come entirely from pro-Russians. I was told some of Sadat's more sophisticated friends felt he was pinning too many hopes on an American President hopelessly weakened by Watergate."

WEST GERMANY West German media comment as usual covered a broad spectrum, but highlighted the three themes of Watergate, the Palestinian issue, and the placing of nuclear reactors in the Middle East.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, reviewed by the Cologne Deutschlandfunk, editorialized on 14 June that the foreign policy successes of the President stand in almost "fantastic contrast" to his "domestic calamities," and noted that Nixon wants to present his critics at home with a President "cheered abroad." Likewise, NEUES OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG of 17 June, also reviewed by Deutschlandfunk, saw the man "plagued by Watergate worries" "revived" by millions of cheering Arabs. The Muenster WESTFAELISCHE NACHRICHTEN of 19 June, reviewed by the same radio, called the cheers greeting the President "balm" for him personally and an indication that a "Watergate-weakened" America can still play its part in world politics.

In contrast, the prestigious FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG termed it "unfair" that the trip should be viewed by many, in light of Watergate, as a "possible relief" for the President on the "foreign affairs frontline." In a comment on 18 June, reported by Deutschlandfunk, the paper congratulated the "much-chided" Nixon for considerably mitigating the dangers of the Middle East "powderkeg" and concluded that he can be counted on in the future as well. Similarly, a Mainz radio commentary of the 18th said the President's trip had improved the "climate and sentiment" even if no "direct and concrete" steps toward peace had been taken. Earlier on the 5th, setting the stage for the visit, an editorial in the same Frankfurt paper had concluded that the United States now has "greater influence" than the USSR "on the Nile" and that the "American word today in nearly all of the Arab Orient wields more

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weight than during the turbulent sixties." The editorial concluded that "it is in the common interest of the Western world that the leading Western power puts in a self-assertive appearance in the Middle East."

Some comment cautioned against expecting too much from the trip. The Ludwigshafen RHEINPFALZ of 17 June, reviewed by Deutschlandfunk, noted that the "most difficult" problems have not yet been solved and pointed to the Palestinian question as capable of spoiling the Middle East situation. The Dortmund RUHR-NACHRICHTEN of the same date points to the Palestinian question and the problem of the Old City of Jerusalem as being "nearly insurmountable obstacles." HANNOVERSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG on the 13th, as reported by the same radio, noted that Nixon was a man who loved "grand words" and commented that if his "fine words," like those in Cairo calling his visit a "great historical turning point," are not followed by deeds, the Arabs' "disenchantment" will be all the greater. DIE WELT, in an editorial on the 18th, pointed to the President's acknowledgement of the legitimate interests of the Palestinians as a "concession" which the Arabs will insist on being fulfilled.

The 17 June Duesseldorf RHEINISCHE POST, in discussing the promise of U.S. nuclear aid to Egypt, is reported by Deutschlandfunk as questioning whether the moderate as-Sadat might not one day be replaced by a "hatemonger" like al-Qadhdhafi and speculating that Nixon had possibly left a "timebomb" on the Nile. SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG of 19 June accused the United States of setting an "ill-boding circle into motion" in an effort "to please all its Mideast customers," where MUENCHNER MERKUR wondered whether the United States would in the end receive what the Soviets received for their assistance--"a kick."

ITALY Although Italy's acute domestic problems tended to dominate the front pages and editorial columns of Italian newspapers during the trip, two major papers, Turin's LA STAMPA and Milan's CORRIERE DELLA SERA, published daily factual dispatches from correspondents on the trip. Both papers agreed with CORRIERE's Ugo Stille that, regardless of the alleged domestic implications, the President's trip pursued largely positive aims "intended to symbolize and strengthen the turnabout" recently achieved in U.S.-Arab relations. A generally expressed view was that the trip had shown the United States to be "the real power in the Middle East."

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Both papers agreed that the trip was a blow to Soviet influence in the Middle East, but they differed in assessing its impact. Igor Man asserted in LA STAMPA that the USSR was "not humiliated," where—as CORRIERE commentator Sormani insisted that the trip was "a serious slap in the face for Moscow." Frescobaldi, in CORRIERE, took a reserved position, stating that the President's "journey of peace" had been "not a point of arrival but one of departure."

The communist newspaper L'UNITA expressed suspicion of the President's motives, declaring that the trip pursued the "obvious aim" of "strengthening the Presidential image" at home. Its unattributed dispatches also expressed doubt that the trip would contribute to a settlement in the Middle East, emphasizing particularly—as did noncommunist newspapers—the uncertainties remaining on the Palestinian issue.

AUSTRIA Most Austrian papers gave prominent coverage to all phases of the trip, particularly to his stay in Salzburg, but editorial comment was relatively scant. Noncommunist press assessments were cautiously optimistic that the trip would help stabilize the Middle East situation, whereas the communist press viewed the trip in stock terms as indicative of a change in U.S. policy toward the Arabs which was "enforced" by the powerful support given them by the USSR and the other socialist countries. Additionally, the Austrian media gave heavy play to Secretary of State Kissinger's Salzburg press conference in which he threatened to resign.

An editorial of the Socialist ARBEITER-ZEITUNG on 13 June, entitled "Uncle Sam in the Middle East," stressed the "heart-warming" reception in Egypt and added that it is a "small miracle" that "the United States has succeeded in being, or becoming, good friends with both sides in a grave conflict." It warned, however, that "Nixon's visit to the Middle East has aroused great, perhaps too great, hopes on both sides," and that "it will take great diplomatic skill to reduce these hopes to a reasonable level." This and several other papers stressed that the main question, the Palestinian problem, still remains to be solved.

An editorial in the independent DIE PRESSE on 15 June stressed the interrelationship between foreign and domestic policy and the negative influence of the President's "weakened domestic position" on U.S. foreign policy, observing that he "is attempting to defend himself against the hydra of the mass media and the consequences of the recklessness of his own staff with the aid of foreign policy." Another DIE PRESSE editorial on 20 June summed up the outcome of

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the Middle East trip as a "mere down payment for peace," declaring that only Brezhnev's forthcoming visit to Arab capitals will give a more concrete indication as to what extent the superpowers have "coordinated" their Middle East endeavors and have perhaps mapped out their "spheres of influence."

A communist VOLKSSTIMME editorial on 12 June, entitled "What Does Nixon Want in the Middle East?," viewed the trip as an attempt by Nixon to outstrip his EC economic rivals in relations with the Arab countries, asserting that since the Arabs used oil as a political weapon a kind of race between the United States and the EC has started. In another editorial entitled "Not Nixon but the Arabs Have Been Successful," the communist VOLKSSTIMME on 20 June depicted Nixon's trip as a "symptom of America's yielding on the Middle East issue," "enforced" by the powerful support given to the Arabs by the USSR and the socialist countries.

OTHER COUNTRIES Portuguese media expressed particular interest in President Nixon's talks with General Spinola.

A Lusitania news agency report on 19 June described the meeting as "historic," and Deputy Prime Minister Sa Carniero in a statement over Lisbon radio on 19 June, commenting that the meeting had "exceeded all expectations," emphasized what he termed President Nixon's statements of "complete support for Portuguese policy and Portuguese positions."

Stockholm's conservative SVENSKA DAGBLADET, in a 12 June editorial, reflected the view of much of the Scandinavian press that Dr. Kissinger's Salzburg press conference threatened to "overshadow" the entire trip. Its coverage went further, however, than most of the Scandinavian newspapers, which on the whole restricted themselves to factual coverage based on press agency reports with only sparse comment. Reviewing the results of the trip in a 19 June editorial, SVENSKA DAGBLADET stated that the President would "not neglect to make the most of" the trip to consolidate his "domestic policy advantage" already gained from Dr. Kissinger's diplomacy, but that this "credit side" should not be regarded as "secure forever."

Finnish comment on the trip was light, but radio reports covered the President's activities throughout the trip. The 19 June KANSAN UUTISET, reviewed by Helsinki radio, called the trip a "positive turn" and a change toward detente, which it characterized as a policy "persistently aimed at" by the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. The paper criticized the "Western reactionary press" for trying to "belittle" the role played by the Soviet Union and said these "partial" though "important" steps toward peace had been possible only with the aid of the Soviet Union.

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ASIA AND AFRICA

JAPAN Japanese media, which carried extensive reportage on the trip, viewed it as a diplomatic success for the United States and the Arab nations. The United States was credited with achieving a breakthrough in strengthening relations with the Arabs, but presumed U.S. nationalistic interests in securing oil supplies, plus uncertainty over the Palestinians, were seen as causes for anxiety. The spread of nuclear technology in the Middle East also evoked comment and dismay. Suggestions that the trip was at least partially motivated by domestic considerations linked to Watergate were widely published.

Editorially, ASAHI said that an attempt to achieve a diplomatic success in the wake of Watergate served as a backdrop to current U.S. efforts in the Middle East but that "more fundamentally," Washington's basic aim was "to pursue its long-term national interest—that is, preventing the risks of a confrontation with the Soviet Union . . . and the danger of losing a stable source of oil supply." On 21 June the same paper concluded its editorial by saying, "With the date of the Geneva Mideast Peace Conference still undecided and the road to peace in the Middle East regarded as stretching endlessly, the fact that the word 'nuclear' has appeared in the first step taken toward that goal leaves us with a deep feeling of anxiety."

A 20 June YOMIURI editorial noting that enduring peace in the region was impossible without a settlement of the Palestinian problem said: "We have been impressed by the progress made so far However, a true and lasting peace has yet to be achieved." The JAPAN TIMES editorial of 19 June, encouraged by the frank exchange of ideas between the President and the Arab leaders, noted that "President Nixon will now be in a more advantageous position in his forthcoming meetings with Soviet Communist Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev. . . "

A 20 June editorial in the Japan Communist Party paper AKAHATA criticized the trip as an effort by the United States to establish "a new alliance with the ruling groups representing national interests in Arab countries, thus dragging the latter into the world strategy of U.S. imperialism. Therefore the United States has made a 'step forward' toward the establishment of a new type of neocolonial rule in this area."

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REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Taiwan media have carried extensive reportage on the President's journey but have offered little comment. Available editorial comment has portrayed the visit as strengthening the U.S. position in the Middle East at Soviet expense. A CENTRAL DAILY NEWS editorial of 10 June viewed the trip as giving President Nixon more "trump cards" to use in his forthcoming trip to Moscow, but predicted that despite current pressure on its position, the Soviet Union will remain in contention in the Middle East. The editorial also pointed out that the visit may "shore up" the President's "deteriorating" position on the domestic front. Taipei Domestic service promptly reported the U.S. announcement of proposed nuclear aid to Israel but avoided

mention of nuclear aid in reporting U.S.-Egyptian agreements.

SOUTH VIETNAM The South Vietnamese press gave President Nixon's trip generally light coverage, with the tenor of comment ranging from cynicism in the "opposition" press to cautious optimism in the "pro-government" papers; there was no monitored radio or television comment. The pro-government papers such as DAN CHU and QUAT CHONG viewed the President's trip as a diplomatic victory, boosting Nixon's prestige and providing some relief from the pressures of Watergate. The opposition press, exemplified by the papers DAI DAN TOC and DIEN TIN, dealt with the trip in cynical and deprecatory terms, claiming that it brought no new results and was aimed at reducing domestic criticism over Watergate. Comment in the independent papers HOA BINH and DONG PHUONG was generally skeptical. The latter observed in an article on the 17th that "President Nixon's trip 'toward world peace' . . . cannot end either in Cairo, Damascus, Tel Aviv or Moscow. Its 'last leg' should be in Indochina, if he is actually determined to create a generation of peace for the world."

OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES

and the press has centered on the U.S. offer to provide nuclear technology to Egypt and Israel. Noting the backdrop of recent muclear tests by India, France and the PRC, comment has underlined Australia's preoccupation with nuclear proliferation and criticized President Nixon's actions as having further irritated the situation. According to a Melbourne radio report, Deputy Premier Gairns on 20 June criticized the President's decision as "most unfortunate" and predicted that it cannot have a helpful effect on Middle East peace. The governor of South Australia on 17 June expressed concern that Egypt might use the nuclear aid to construct a bomb.

Strong comment by Australian officials

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Sparse Indian and Pakistani comment has sidestepped the issue of U.S. nuclear aid to Israel and Egypt, while focusing on the visit as the climax of a remarkable turn of U.S. fortunes in the Middle East since the October 1973 war. A Delhi radio commentary on the 19th portrayed the United States as the chief beneficiary of the visit, claiming that little outward progress had been made on resolving fundamental issues dividing the Israelis and Arabs. said that President Nixon was intent on avoiding contentious issues, hoping to strengthen Washington's position by means of economic and technical assistance, but added approvingly that Arab leaders had persisted in calling attention to the issue of Palestinian national rights. The commentary alluded to the implications of superpower rivalry in the visit, noting that Moscow had felt impelled recently to remind the Arabs of past Soviet support and of historical U.S. backing for Israel. The pro-Soviet PATRIOT on the 16th deplored the fact that Cairo seemed to be turning its back on the past era of Soviet aid and rejecting the heritage of the Nasir period, prefering to "hand over" Egypt's economy to "U.S. monopoly capital."

Karachi radio commentaries have taken pains to balance praise for U.S. Middle East achievements symbolized in the Nixon visit with a warning of Arab determination to achieve total liberation of their lands. A 16 June article expressed hope that President Nixon would use his influence to move Tel Aviv to a "more rational view of existing reality."

Limited Malaysian and Indonesian comment has similarly praised the U.S. achievements, while noting the need for further progress toward a resolution of contentious Arab-Israeli issues. Philippine and South Korean media have not been heard to comment on the visit.

AFRICA The President's trip to the Middle East has been fully reported by most monitored African radios, but few have originated comment. The major point of controversy in the sparse comment thus far revolves around the nuclear issue. Salisbury (Rhodesia) radio was notably outspoken on this issue, recalling the recent Indian test in observing: "How do you stop someone from making gunpowder when you have supplied the ingredients?" An 18 June Nigerian radio commentary also cited the nuclear agreement as creating a "more inflamable" world situation, but it hedged its position by stating that this "should not rule out the use of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes."

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As the trip began, Brazzaville radio on 11 June carried an account from its Cairo correspondent hailing the visit for consolidating Washington's position in the Middle East and giving much credit to Egyptian President Sadat. The Chanaian and Nigerian comment on the same day was less favorable. The Ghanaian state-owned DAILY GRAPHIC speculated that "indispensable oil" was the prime reason for the trip, and the Nigerian radio commentor stressed that the case of the Palestinians must still be resolved, "whatever trick is used to effect a cease-fire between Syria, Egypt, and Israel." Available Nigerian press comment on 16 June, following the President's enthusiastic welcome in Cairo, was more forthcoming. A column in the Benin SUNDAY OBSERVER noted that the "broad mass of Egyptians" seemed to accept the President's peaceful purposes and pointedly called on the Palestinians to join in the movement to shed "old intransigence." And the ENUGU RENAISSANCE WEEKLY stated that "in terms of world politics" President Nixon may have surpassed the achievements of any other president.

LATIN AMERICA

Monitored Latin American media gave continuous coverage to the Presidential trip, though seldom featuring it as top news item of the day. Radio newscasts from Argentina, Brasil, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia, and Central America reported most aspects of the trip on a regular basis, relying on foreign press agency reports. Newspapers treated the trip as frontpage news and featured foreign press agency reportage and radiophotos. The available sample of editorial opinion presented the trip in generally favorable, and sometimes glowing terms.

ARGENT INA Among Argentine newspapers reviewed, only the 19 June CLARIN and the 19 June LA OPINION carried commentarytype items. CLARIN'S editorial noted that President Nixon "could act with considerable freedom" on his trip because "he was not under pressure of worries over U.S. oil requirements and, in addition, he could bask in the fresh U.S. prestige in the region as a result of the spectacular success of his Secretary of State there." While the editorial complained of the neglect of the underdeveloped world in the commercial aspects of the trip, it concluded that the presidential journey "can be considered a positive step to the extent that it consolidates peace, a condition which will objectively spread development to all nations." The LA OPINION article concentrated on the "Palestinian problem" in relation to the trip and noted that the President "avoided a sharp definition of the problem" by "insisting that it must be solved 'stage-by-stage.'"

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BRAZIL JORNAL DO BRASIL, carried frontpage leads on the trip every day from 12 to 18 June. On 13, 14, 15 and 17 June the paper frontpaged radiophotos highlighting Nixon's stay in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Israel. On 15 June the paper ran the text of the agreement between President Nixon and Sadat. JORNAL DO BRASIL'S reportage was taken from various news agencies. In general, the three aspects of the trip which received the greatest attention were Secretary of State Kissinger's press conference in Salzburg, the agreement to supply nuclear technology to Egypt and the President's talks with Portuguese President Spinola.

MEXICO An editorial in NOVEDADES of Mexico City on 4 June linked the forthcoming visit to the Watergate scandal, noting that Nixon's foreign policy was "one of his most effective weapons" in terms of his prestige at home. However, NOVEDADES warned, the President's "struggle" should not be overemphasized. To do so would be to belittle the importance of these "highly meritorious" actions. The paper also saw a relationship to the forthcoming Moscow summit meeting and expressed the hope that both sides would make strides toward achieving a "a sound understanding" and true peaceful coexistence without the cold war and the tensions of the past.

PANAMA An editorial in LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA on 11 June also professed to see a relationship between the President's domestic troubles and the Middle East trip. Calling Nixon "capable and shrewd," the paper guessed that the President "might even survive" Watergate, saying he has taken advantage of the "favorable circumstances" in order to make the trip, a journey made possible in large measure by the successes of Dr. Kissinger. The paper expressed the hope that, as a result of "Nixon's wise decision" to go ahead with the visit, the results would benefit not only the Arab states and Israel, but also the international reputation of the United States and of the President.

The Panama City CRITICA carried a column at the end of the visit warning of the dangers inherent in the U.S. nuclear aid to both Cairo and Tel Aviv. It will be "extremely easy" for Israel, the paper wrote, to change that aid into an offensive nuclear capability, and since the Arabs are not as technically advanced as the Israelis, the Soviet Union "will not hesitate" to provide similar expertise to the Arab states. The paper blamed the United States for seemingly adopting a dual standard: one week criticizing India for testing a nuclear device; the next, providing Cairo and Tel Aviv with a powerful instrument which "undoubtedly" will end up in the military laboratories of both nations.

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III. COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

THE SOVIET UNION

Moscow media provided brief, straightforward reportage on the President's trip, with TASS and the central press offering correct, if selective, coverage of some speeches in Cairo and Damascus and of the statements concluding the visits to Egypt and Israel. Comment has been confined primarily to two successive weekly international reviews in PRAVDA and to Arabic-language commentaries on the "unofficial" Radio Peace and Progress. A dearth of Soviet coverage of U.S. policy statements on the Middle East just prior to the trip, together with the sparse comment on the visit and oblique indications of concern, suggest Soviet hesitancy as to how to handle the tour.

While Moscow earlier scoffed at Egyptian declarations of a change in Washington's Middle East policy, the evolving Soviet approach seems to suggest some accommodation to the idea of a changing U.S. relationship with the Arabs, while taking credit for new directions in American policy by virtue of Soviet influence through detente. Moscow nevertheless is at pains to point out that Washington's support for Israel has not lessened, and to stress that the Arabs themselves do not wish the new Arab-American relations to replace their "traditional" friendship with the Soviet Union.

As the President began his trip, the first intimation of Soviet concern came in Gromyko's Supreme Soviet pre-election speech in Minsk on 10 June. Referring to the "high" prestige of the USSR's foreign policy, Gromyko declared that no important international problems could be solved without Soviet participation and added that "it certainly cannot be solved to the detriment of the Soviet Union's interests."

At the same time, with the forthcoming Moscow summit in mind, Soviet commentators have gone out of their way to play up the benefits of detente. Relating the "new atmosphere" in U.S.-Soviet relations to the Middle East, Moscow has asserted that the relaxation of tension made it possible for the two powers to avoid a dangerous confrontation during the October war, to "take the initiative" leading to the convening of the Geneva conference, and to play an "important role" in the Sinai and Golan disengagement agreements. During the President's trip, meager Soviet comment on the Arab-Israeli issue—without mentioning the Presidential visit—complained of Western press "fabrications" regarding Arab-Soviet relations and portrayed the Soviet Union as a prime Middle East peacemaker.

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COMMENT The PRAVDA international review on 9 June, in Moscow's first observation on the visit, merely noted that a large part of the world press regarded the President's tour, and the possible resumption of U.S.-Syrian relations, as evidence of an American desire to normalize U.S.-Arab relations which had been "undermined" by U.S. support for the Israeli "aggressors." There was no further comment until PRAVDA's review the following week, when the paper noted on the 16th that the Arabs had rightly regarded the United States as "the accomplice of the Israeli aggressors," but that the new international climate provided an opportunity for a change in the nature of U.S.-Arab relations. Indirectly indicating Soviet misgivings over the implications of this change, PRAVDA ascribed to "cold war advocates" a desire to interpret the President's trip "in their own way and use it for a campaign aimed at undermining Arab-Soviet friendship."

PRAVDA displayed sensitivity over what it described as "rightwing press" assertions that U.S. policy would lead to elimination of the USSR's influence in the Middle East. Replying to "Western observers" who were displaying enthusiasm for "'Americanization' of the Middle East," PRAVDA recalled Secretary Kissinger's assurance in his 6 June news conference that the United States had neither the intention nor the capability to eliminate Soviet influence from the region. A foreign-language commentary by Rassadin on the 19th followed PRAVDA's lead in charging that "cold war" supporters tried to exploit the Presidential visit to widen the campaign against Arab-Soviet friendship.

Moscow's Radio Peace and Progress provided an example of initial Soviet uncertainty as to how to handle the trip. An RPP Arabic-language commentary on 10 June carefully avoided any mention of the President's visit in discussing what it called an upsurge of U.S. press interest in the Arab world, evidenced by visits to the area by a "big team of U.S. reporters." On the 17th the radio replayed PRAVDA's remarks of the previous day, and a commentary on the 18th pegged to the U.S.-Israeli statement saw the U.S. affirmation of readiness to provide Israel with weapons and "substantial" economic assistance as encouragement to Israeli occupation of Arab territory. The commentary acknowledged that "certain changes" had occurred in the United States' Mideast policy which gave the Arabs "an opportunity to alter their relations with America" but gave much credit for these changes to the Soviet Union. And in an Arabic-language commentary on the 19th, Radio Peace and Progress claimed that the "positive developments" in U.S.-Soviet relations had given the USSR the opportunity to "actively influence" the U.S. stand on the Middle East, although "despite this" it was evident that American assistance to Israel would continue.

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COVERAGE OF VISIT In limited reports on the various speeches made during the trip, Moscow has tended to play up statements that coincide with its own public positions on the Middle East problem. Thus, an Arabic-language proadcast on the 14th cited Egyptian President as-Sadat as declaring that disengagement was only a step toward solving the issue on the basis of Security Council resolutions. Syrian President al-Asad was similarly quoted by TASS on the 16th as calling disengagement a first step toward a firm peace. The TASS account noted President

Nixon's remark that the first steps already taken were only a beginning, and the task was now to advance step by step toward a just and lasting peace. TASS also cited the President as saying the United States understood Syria's concern over the Palestinian question.

In reporting the U.S.-Egyptian statement of principles, TASS on the 14th made no mention of the fact that the document called for a peace settlement that would take into account the "legitimate interests of all the peoples of the Middle East, including the Palestinian people." The account did note that the statement declared peace could only be attained through negotiations within the framework of the Geneva peace conference. TASS also reported that the United States and Egypt would begin negotiating an agreement on nuclear energy, and that a provisional agreement would be concluded this month on delivery of U.S. nuclear fuel to Egypt.

A 17 June TASS report on the U.S.-Israeli statement also noted that the two countries would sign an agreement on cooperation in nuclear energy and U.S. delivery of nuclear fuel to Israel, and that a temporary agreement on the sale of such fuel would be signed this month. The TASS account focused on the matter of aid, reporting that the President reaffirmed that military deliveries would be continued on a long-term basis and that the United States would give "substantial economic 'aid'" to cover Israel's expenses in maintaining its military potential.

TASS on the 16th reported resumption of U.S.-Syrian relations. TASS reports on the U.S.-Israeli and U.S.-Jordanian statements noted the President's invitations to Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and King Husayn to visit the United States, but the invitation to President as-Sadat was not mentioned in TASS' report on the U.S.-Egyptian statement. Other than a two-sentence report on the President's arrival in Jiddah, the visit to Saudi Arabia was virtually ignored. The Radio Peace and Progress commentary on the 19th did cite the Lebanese Communist Party daily AN-NIDA' as reporting the President's statement that the United

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States wanted Saudi Arabia "to be strong" and as pointing out that Washington was interested in strengthening "Saudi reaction" as the mainstay of U.S. policy in the region.

EAST EUROPE

Scattered comment from Moscow's orthodox East European allies--Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland--generally argued that President Nixon's tour signified no basic change in "imperialist" aims in the Middle East, but was undertaken because of "realistic" U.S. awareness of the Arabs' new influence stemming from their successes in the October war and the oil embargo. These countries' commentators also saw a connection between the trip and the President's Watergate-related difficulties at home, reiterating their standard charge that the President's critics are motivated mainly by opposition to detente. Such motives were blamed by Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia for the attacks on Secretary Kissinger, in the wake of the Secretary's Salzburg press conference. The orthodox East European comment also duly included tributes to the Mideast role of the Soviet Union, under Brezhnev's leadership. The tour drew the largest reportorial coverage among East European radios in Hungarian and Czechoslovak media, including almost daily half-minute film clips on Prague TV.

A sizeable volume of Yugoslav comment was uniformly favorable both with regard to the President's tour and to Secretary Kissinger, while the Romanians have thus far refrained from commenting on the trip, limiting their coverage to brief, factual, and implicitly positive reports. Albanian comment, predictably hostile to the President and Kissinger, viewed the tour as symbolizing both conflict and "collusion" between Moscow and Washington.

ORTHODOX Czechoslovia's Bratislava PRAVDA on 13 June, viewing the President's trip as "unquestionably the high point of a demonstration of the 'new' U.S. policy" in the Middle East, charged at the same time that the United States and "other imperialist forces" aimed, as before, at capitalist exploitation and undermining of progressive forces in the area. Dominant in U.S. thinking, the commentary added, was the realization that oil is found in the Arab countries, not in Israel. Another Bratislava paper, SMENA, declared on the 19th that the results of the President's visit to Israel confirmed that there were "no essential changes" in U.S. policy toward the Arabs or its political, financial, and military support to Israel. A Bratislava PRAVDA comment cited by CTK on the 20th linked the results of Nixon's Israel visit to the resumed bombing of Lebanese

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villages and Palestinians, saying: "No small share of the responsibility for this situation lies on the United States, which continues its big military and economic support to Israel, the aggressor." On the 15th, a dispatch from RUDE PRAVO's Washington correspondent predicted that while the President would be welcomed throughout his tour, he would be repeatedly confronted with the "decisive," still unsolved Palestinian problem, first raised by President as-Sadat during the Cairo visit. The dispatch paid tribute to the results of Moscow's "patient and unostentatious diplomacy" in persuading the Arabs to accept a UN settlement.

The East Berlin domestic service on the 18th grudgingly praised the President for pressing Israel into a "change of course" toward a peaceful solution. The commentary doubted at the same time whether the President's influence could be "decisive" on this score. In the meager Bulgarian comment, a Beirut-datelined dispatch in the Sofia party daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO on the 18th remarked at the windup of the tour that, because of continued U.S. support for Israel--exemplified by a promised nuclear reactor--and the U.S. "neglect" of the Palestinian liberation movement, "the problems remain."

While Prague, Sofia, and East Berlin took a largely cynical view regarding allegedly unchanged U.S. pro-Israeli policy, Poland and Hungary were relatively muted on this score. Thus, ZYCIE WARSZAWY on the 12th was favorable in tone in attributing two basic aims to the President's trip: First, to convince the Arabs through aid agreements that the present, more evenhanded U.S. policy represented "a durable change"; and second, to show Moscow, on the eve of the President's trip there, his readiness to cooperate with the USSR in restoring peace to the area. The paper noted in this connection that President Nixon "is known as a consistent advocate of detente and coexistence." And the Budapest daily MAGYAR NEMZET, also on the 12th, praised the timing of the trip--after the troop disengagement agreements and before the next phase of the Geneva negotiations and the Moscow summit -- and predicted that a just settlement could be achieved "if all sides display good will." An 18 June commentary on Budapest domestic TV, while characterizing current U.S. Mideast policy as "a double game," assessed the overall results of the tour as "fruitful" and "successful" with regard to detente and to the President's standing at home.

WATERGATE In pointing to domestic motivations for the President's trip, Bratislava PRAVDA on the 12th stressed that he "is under the furious pressures of the adversaries of detente, and this is reflected in the course of the Watergate affair" and the

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Congressional impeachment deliberations. In favorable tones, the commentary noted that the Middle East trip could divert attention from these domestic matters and direct it toward the Nixon Administration's efforts to complete the transition from a policy of confrontation to one of negotiation. In a similar vein, a talk on the Budapest domestic radio on the 10th remarked that "while the wrangling over the raising of impeachment charges is in progress in Congress and in other forums, the American President is obviously concentrating his efforts on international diplomacy." And the 12 June ZYCIE WARSZAWY also gave the President the benefit of the doubt in commenting that "it would be a considerable simplification to place this trip, as some commentators are doing, merely in the context of the political showdown between the White House and Congress," adding that "its scope and significance reach far beyond Washington." A favorable overall assessment of the tour carried by Warsaw's PAP on the 20th, which highlighted the President's promise of a nuclear reactor to Egypt, concluded that "the visit was undoubtedly a success for Nixon, though it is doubtful whether this success will put an end to the Watergate affair."

KISSINGER The Hungarians, followed by Czechoslovakia and Poland, promptly denounced the charges against Secretary Kissinger which occasioned his threat to resign at his 11 June press conference in Salzburg. Early the next day the Budapest radio carried a comment from its New York correspondent to the effect that, in the U.S. domestic controversy, "the attack is now directed, through the person of the Secretary of State, against the main foreign policy line of the Nixon Administration." A Budapest TV commentary the same day predicted that the possibility of Kissinger's resignation would cast a shadow over the President's talks with both Arab and Israeli leaders. This talk, as well as the government paper MAGYAR HIRLAP the next day, publicized favorable comments on Kissinger by Senator Fulbright and other Congressional leaders.

Subsequent attacks on the Secretary's critics by Polish media culminated in a 16 June Broniarek commentary in the party daily TRYBUNA LUDU. Entitled "Rumors and Insinuations," the article construed the charges against Kissinger as a warning from pro-Israeli elements to the Secretary and President Nixon that they should not lose sight of Israel's interests during negotiations with the Arabs. The article also characterized the charges as "a new stage (since H. Kissinger has been spared up to now)" of the alleged campaign by U.S. politicians, such as Senator Jackson, against U.S.-Soviet detente.

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A Washington correspondent's dispatch published in Prague's RUDE PRAVO on the 14th, while cautioning that speculation regarding Kissinger's guilt or innocence would be premature, denounced the raising of "old charges" against the Secretary at this juncture—at the start of the President's Mideast trip and before the Moscow summit. Charging that the Washington POST played "a considerable part in the anti-Kissinger campaign," the dispatch added that "once it proved impossible to wreck Nixon's trip to Moscow, Kissinger was placed on the firing line."

As the only East European country maintaining diplomatic ROMANIA relations with Israel, Romania was virtually silent about the trip, limiting its coverage to terse reports. Bucharest was characteristically circumspect. By refraining from comment it avoided having to join or break with the other Warsaw Pact countries in their praise of the \$oviet Union's role in the Middle East situation. The party daily SCINTEIA noted in a Cairo dispatch on the 12th that the "normalization" of U.S.-Egyptian relations was taking place "in the framework of important developments which occurred in the Mideast situation, that is, the Geneva conference and the disengagement on the Sinai and Golan fronts." However, it avoided any reference to either the U.S. or Soviet mediating roles. contrasted with a 1 June SCINTEIA article on the Syrian-Israeli disengagement, in which Gromyko and the Soviet Union were given praise equal to that for Kissinger and the United States.

YUGOSLAVIA Belgrade media took a positive view of the President's initiative in visiting the Mideast, but optimism that the visit would serve a about the U.S. attitude generally displayed little concern that the visit might create problems in U.S.-Soviet or Arab-Soviet relations.

Describing the visit as "undoubtedly useful," BORBA on the 11th viewed it as necessary to "disclose the depth and complexity" of the Mideast crisis but noted that its "full significance" would be measured by progress achieved in settling the crisis. On the day of the President's arrival in Egypt, Belgrade radio commentator Milutin Milenkovic pointed out Arab satisfaction with the trend in U.S. relations, citing the opinion of unnamed Arab sources that the United States had "essentially changed its position" on the Mideast situation and was adopting an "objective, and even a neutral, mediating" role between the Arabs and Israelis. Milenkovic qualified these observations by noting that "no real breaking up of the real alliance" with Israel had occurred.

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Belgrade repeatedly emphasized that the Mideast crisis could not be settled without resolving the Palestinian question, and on the 15th a TANJUG commentary singled out as the "greatest result" of the visit up to that time the U.S.-Egyptian statement recognizing the "interests" of the Palestinians. TANJUG pointed out, however, the distinction between "interests" and "a real act of granting recognition to the national rights of the People of Palestine," which "is still rejected in practice." TANJUG raised the Palestinian question again on the 20th noting that throughout the remainder of the trip the President was unwilling to go beyond the Cairo statement. Moreover, it reported that Kissinger's remark in Jerusalem about bringing the Palestinians into negotiations through Jordan had caused Arab "protests" and "may bring about new conflicts and even a more complicated situation in international relations."

Yugoslav comment on Moscow's attitude toward the trip shifted somewhat following the tumultuous welcome given the President in Egypt. A Teslic BORBA commentary on the 11th, the day before his arrival, maintained that the visit was "welcomed" not only by the Arabs and the Israelis but also by the Soviet Union, which saw the tour as a "component and indispensable part of joint American-Soviet efforts to reach a just solution of the crisis through negotiations in Geneva." The Egyptians' enthusiastic welcome for Nixon, however, seemed to raise questions about possible Soviet irritation. On the 17th Zagreb radio commentator Milika Sundic described the Cairo treatment as an "embarrassing episode" which, he said, would be "quickly forgotten, if for no other reason than because it is not in the interest of the United States to upset relations with Moscow." Claiming that Washington-Moscow relations remained not only good "but even better," Sundic predicted that Cairo would do all in its power to "iron out its difficulties with Moscow as soon as possible."

Comment on Kissinger's Salzburg press conference was generally sympathetic. On the day after the news conference TANJUG cited Arab press comment that allegations against Kissinger were the result of a "Zionist conspiracy" aimed at undermining the visit, and Belgrade radio commentator Kosta Timotijevic forecast that Kissinger "has all the chances to survive politically both the present and who knows how many future presidents."

ALBANIA Tirana comment emphasized that the United States had not abandoned its close ties with Israel and that President Nixon was aiming at strengthening Washington's "imperialist" influence in the Arab countries at the expense of Moscow, even though

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the two big powers continued to operate in "collusion" against the Arabs. On the opening day of the trip the Tirana domestic radio, in an unattributed commentary, outlined the President's three main objectives: To present U.S. "imperialism" as "peaceloving" and to gain "political capital at home"; to erase the image in Arab minds of the United States as "pro-Israeli, warmongering and profoundly hostile" to the Arabs; and to "undermine" Moscow's position, just as Moscow was trying to do to Washington. The Washington-Moscow rivalry, however, was viewed as tempered by an "understanding" between the two that fundamental Mideast problems should remain unsettled so that the two superpowers could emerge in the future in the role of "arbiters of the fate of the Arab peoples under the guise of so-called special responsibilities" in the Mideast.

The party daily ZERI I FOPULLIT, in an article carried in full by ATA on the 13th, contended that President Nixon was practically forced to visit the Arab states in order to seek a "disengagement" between them and the United States once he had seen the "dark perspective" both for the United States and Israel following Arab successes in the October war, the oil embargo, and rising public opinion in favor of the Arabs. The daily warned the Arabs to beware of "vain promises for peace" and "various diplomatic maneuvers."

Picking up American press reports on Kissinger's alleged wire-tapping role, Tirana portrayed the allegations as facts. In an unattributed article titled "Kissinger--Participant in the Watergate Scandal," ZERI I POPULLIT on the 11th cited the Washington STAR-NEWS as reporting that "he had failed to speak the truth" in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last September. Although Kissinger's Salzburg press conference was ignored, ATA on the 18th interpreted the Mideast visit as designed to save both Nixon's and Kissinger's "skins,"

CHINA

Peking has thus far restricted coverage of the trip to brief, straightforward NCNA reports that have focused on the President's stays in Egypt and Syria and have given only passing mention to other Middle East stops. Peking has not mentioned the U.S. offers of nuclear power assistance to Egypt and Israel. A 15 June NCNA report on the President's talks in Egypt acknowledged the consolidation of U.S.-Egyptian relations, noted the two sides' declaration of principles, and stressed progress toward bilateral economic cooperation.

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The report indirectly demonstrated continuing U.S.-Egyptian differences over Middle East political questions, citing Sadat's stress on the need for respecting Palestinian national rights while noting the President's acknowledgement that he had not come "with ready-made solutions for these complex problems." A shorter 17 June NCNA report on the President's stay in Syria highlighted the agreement to reestablish diplomatic relations that had capped his talks with President Asad.

A 6 June NCNA article pegged to the White House announcement of the President's Middle East trip had taken pains to portray the journey as the latest step in the successful U.S. advance in the area, at Soviet expense, since the October 1973 war. It had noted Washington's achievements in bringing about the troop disengagement agreements, cited Secretary Kissinger's 4 June testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the United States was determined to strengthen the recent tendency of Arab states to end their one-sided reliance on Moscow, and reported the Secretary's defense of U.S. aid appropriations for Arab nations. Linking President Nixon's Middle East tour with his upcoming trip to Moscow, NCNA had also cited Western press observations that the former trip served to demonstrate a strong U.S. position, while underlining the weakening of the Soviet stances on the eve of the Moscow summit.

OTHER ASIAN COMMUNIST

VIETNAM North and South Vietnamese communist media reported only the barest details of the President's itinerary and played up evidence of alleged U.S. duplicity, in effect warning against Arab cooperation with the United States. The first Hanoi reference to the President's tour came in a 3 June article in the North Vietnamese party paper NHAN DAN, which contended that the United States is pursuing its own unchanged interests in the Middle East. The article recalled Secretary Kissinger's recent diplomatic efforts in the area--saying that the Secretary has presented President Nixon with "a passport to return to the Middle East"--and went on to sarcastically question the portrayal of Kissinger as the Arabs' "friend, as a reliable negotiator who lives up to his promises" and to maintain that Washington is trying to protect Israel and divide the Arab states. The article was critical of Egypt's improvement of relations with the United States, but noted with approval evidence of continuing Syrian circumspection.

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During and after the tour Vietnamese communist media ignored the reception given the President in Arab countries but publicized a statement by Yasir 'Arafat that the Palestinian "revolutionaries" would not lay down their arms until they achieve their objectives. Hanoi media and Liberation Radio predictably reported Israel's retaliatory air strikes in Lebanon after the President's departure and quoted a Beirut paper charging that Nixon had given the green light for the attacks.

NORTH KOREA, MONGOLIA

The monitored Pyongyang radio and KCNA transmissions from North Korea, and Mongolian People's Republic media have not been heard to either report or comment upon President Nixon's Middle East visits.

CUBA

Havana's reaction was predictably negative and keyed to the themes that Watergate and U.S. imperialist ambitions were the prime factors motivating the President's tour. Derogatory comment was included in both the running news accounts of the President's progress and in several more extensive commentaries carried in domestic radio and television programs.

Havana on 11 June carried a Vienna-datelined report on the President's arrival in Salzburg which referred to his attempt "to offset his political downfall brought about by the Watergate scandal," and to the U.S. interest in repairing the effects of the long years of "eroded contacts" brought about by the policy of backing Zionism. Another broadcast the same day stressed "the ostentatious display of security" at Salzburg and quoted Lebanese press comment that the purpose of the trip was "to spread imperialist economic-political influence" among the Arabs.

Among the commentaries, the most pointed and authoritative was a talk by Jose Maria Gonzalez Jerez over Havana television on 20 June. Admitting that the tour represented a gain for Nixon personally and for U.S. goals in the Middle East. Gonzalez summed up the results of the trip in the following terms: The prospect of developing economic-political relations with Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan; the resumption of diplomatic relations with Syria; the strengthening of all kinds of bonds with Israel"; and, as a bonus, "the wealth of wisdom Nixon acquired."

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At the same time, Gonzales stressed the unchanging nature of U.S. interests in the area. Nixon's commitments to the Arab countries—financial aid, investments, and technological aid that included a nuclear reactor for peaceful purposes—were, Gonzalez stressed, much more ambiguous than what he pledged to Israel." Israel, Gonzalez added, was pleased with Nixon's visit, "not because of his tranquillizing words but because of the agreements that were signed."

Gonzalez detailed the general terms of the U.S.-Israeli joint communique. He noted that the condemnation of terrorism "totally suits the theses of Israel," as it sounded a warning to its neighbors, and he asserted that Nixon had spoken of peace "but always in general terms." Gonzalez said Nixon had "evaded" the Palestinian problem in talks with the Arabs. Kissinger "spoke out more clearly" on the issue, Gonzalez added. He pointed out that the Secretary of State's view that the Palestinians should be present at the Geneva talks fitted in with "Israel's thinking."

In conclusion, Gonzalez said the reactionary press tries to make Nixon out as "the arbiter of the Mideast situation and a friend of the Arab people" in an effort to obscure his "direct complicity with Israel's aggression." "Such propaganda," Gonzales said, "clashes with reality" and aims at isolating the Arabs from their real friends, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The clearcut goal of this propaganda is to divide the Arabs and to consolidate imperialist positions in the Middle East, "to the detriment of the Arab people's just cause."

The regional Matanzas domestic service commentator, David Segura Nunez, in a 14 June talk entitled "Allah Bless Nixon," ridiculed the reception accorded Nixon on his arrival in Cairo. Suggesting that the reception that greeted "the Yankee chief of state" was a staged affair, Segura Nunez said: "It is inconceivable that the Egyptians, the same people who have frequently been forced to endure the results of Zionist aggression contrived by U.S. aggressive circles, have a sincere desire to cheer such a notorious and accomplished genocidal felon. . . "

Without mentioning President Sadat, Segura Nunez said it was difficult to speculate "on a leader's conduct in abandoning the scenario of the people's struggle." He added: "We would like to believe no other leaders under any conditions would have allowed this masquerade of the masses. . . " Segura Nunez concluded that "it is not for nothing that Israel is spoken of as the 51st state. . . "

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Guido Garcia Inclan, in his commentary "Letter from Freddy" on 18 June, speculated that Nixon's promises of loans to the Arabs would not be regarded favorably in the U.S. Senate.

Kissinger's role was noted, and sometimes disparaged, in several news reports and commentaries. Havana television and radio on 11 June reported Kissinger's press conference, pointing out that his threat to resign was made on "the eve of Nixon's Mideast visits" and "outside his own country." David Segura Nunez in another regional Matanzas domestic service commentary entitled "Mandrake the Magician in a Spot," on 12 June, scoffed at Kissinger's supposed "unbelievable feats" with regard to Vietnam and the Golan Heights.

