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## IMPLICATIONS OF VLADIVOSTOK AND PEKING TALKS

### Summary

Foreign media differed on the state of "triangular diplomacy" following the Vladivostok and Peking talks, but generally agreed that the one concrete result of the latter was the invitation to President Ford to visit China.

--The Times of London judged that Mr. Kissinger's "reputation for wizardry in dealing with Chinese affairs has suffered a setback" because the Chinese "seem to want American concessions earlier than had been expected, if only to show that they will not take the latest Soviet-American understanding lying down."

--Hamburg's Die Welt observed that "surely what Ford and Brezhnev agreed on in Vladivostok must have been making the Chinese doubt that Kissinger's triangular diplomacy was likely to bring much of a payoff to Peking."

--Corriere della Sera of Milan saw Vladivostok casting "a darker shadow over Kissinger's visit to Peking than had been foreseen."

--The National Herald of New Delhi predicted that "Sino-U. S. understanding will be a restraint on the USSR and India, and that... must be one of Dr. Kissinger's aims... China after Mao must be very much in American minds."

Observers saw announcement of President Ford's projected visit to China as "the main, not to say the only, result of Henry Kissinger's visit... a new act of American homage to Mao" (Figaro, Paris).

Frankfurter Allgemeine said it was "an accomplishment of which the Chinese can be proud that they will have managed to bring to their capital two U. S. Presidents ...without sending a single prominent Chinese spokesman to Washington."

Japan's NHK television inferred that "the Ford visit (to China) indicates a U. S. - China move to use the Peking talks as a lever against Soviet diplomacy."

Soviet media comment on the Vladivostok meeting reiterated the judgment that it "not only lived up to expectations but, in fact, surpassed them" (Izvestia, Saturday, as cited by TASS).

\* \* \*

London: "Setback for Kissinger"

British papers over the weekend and today examined aspects of the "triangular diplomacy" involving Washington, Moscow and Peking, pegging their observations to Secretary Kissinger's talks with Chinese leaders and the Vladivostok understanding on negotiation of a strategic arms limitation pact.

Of the Secretary's China visit, Peking correspondent David Bonavia wrote today in the independent Times of London, "Dr. Henry Kissinger's reputation for wizardry in dealing with Chinese affairs has suffered a setback..."

"Had the Americans held Mr. Brezhnev... more at arm's length, the Chinese would probably have shown more patience over the Taiwan issue. But now they seem to want American concessions earlier than had been expected, if only to show that they will not take the latest Soviet-American understanding lying down.

"It is in this light that the invitation to President Ford should be seen. It was all very well for President Nixon to come to Peking without any formal lowering of the level of relations between Washington and Taipei. It would be another matter for President Ford to come three years later without any clear sign in the meantime of American willingness to bow to China's stand on this issue..."

"U. S. -China Relations Need Not Deteriorate"

On Saturday the paper ran an editorial asking, "Must one conclude... that the American-Chinese relationship can henceforward only deteriorate?"

"By no means. In so far as the warmth could have been kept up, Kissinger will have applied the bellows. He was no doubt frank in rehearsing American difficulties in making a move that could lead to the removal of an American embassy from Taipei. Privately he might have considered that with the ruler in Taiwan rising 90 and one in Peking over 80, a change might not be far distant that could lower the tension on each side of the Formosa Strait, possibly easing the American position with it. Faced with such a dilemma, the statesman's motto has often been: wait and see."

"Ford Visit the Only Result"

The conservative London Daily Telegraph's Peking correspondent, Clare Hollingworth, remarked today that "President Ford's proposed visit" to China next year "is the only concrete result of ... Dr. Henry Kissinger's seventh visit to Peking.

"Indeed, the projected Presidential tour of China, coming after the sojourn of the Russian leader, Mr. Brezhnev, in the U.S., constitutes a triumph for Maoist diplomacy."

The paper's Washington correspondent, Stephen Barber, said on Saturday that "Mr. Ford's decision to go to Peking may seem as an attempt to strike a balance in the summitry process."

"China's Security Related to U. S. Power"

Correspondent Henry Brandon, in Peking for the independent London Sunday Times, had these observations in the wake of Mr. Kissinger's visit there:

"No doubt Sino- American relations remain fundamentally stable because they are determined primarily in strategic considerations. They play a part in China's external security and they help to restrain the Soviet Union, if such restraint is necessary..."

"This is one of the reasons why in essence the relationship with the U. S. has assumed dimensions that go far beyond such issues as the liberation of Taiwan.... China's security interests in many ways are directly related to American military power, which enables China to remain comfortable in its defensive stance despite the limitations of its own military power."

Still, Brandon went on, "there is also little doubt that the businesslike reception Dr. Kissinger received in Peking this time was to indicate firstly that the Chinese are irritated by the American failure to disengage more visibly from Taiwan and secondly that China wants to keep its distance in relations with the U. S. and make it clear to the world, especially the developing countries, that the U. S. has no special hold over China."

The liberal Guardian of Manchester and London on Saturday carried the remark of correspondent John Gittings that "whether the Chinese still hope for anything from the Russians...the hint of future momentum in U.S. -China relations should make Moscow take things less for granted."

Vladivostok and the IRA--Metaphorically Speaking

Today the paper ran an article on the implications of the Ford-Brezhnev understanding regarding negotiations of an arms limitation accord; writer James Cameron mused:

"To extend the Vladivostok metaphor to our local situation would suggest that the IRA would be permitted to operate up to and including 55 pounds of gelignite, recognizably packed, provided that the police agreed to carry handguns up to 22mm., and to hang only those terrorists actually caught on the premises of Buckingham Palace."

Frankfurt: "Ford Visit Will Help Peking"

West German papers concluded that the Peking trip had produced low-yield results except for the announcement of a Ford visit to China.

Awaiting details of the Vladivostok agreement, commentators were dubious about its long-range benefits.

The Peking correspondent of right-center Frankfurter Allgemeine wrote today that "Peking wants to use Ford's visit to polish its prestige. It could well use a morale-building big-power summit after talks with Kissinger that in Peking's view yielded little.

"It is clear from the way Kissinger's seventh visit to Peking--expectations for which he dampened in advance--went off that the Chinese are not pleased about the current situation.... But it is an accomplishment of which the Chinese can be proud that they will have managed to bring to their capital two U.S. Presidents... without sending a single prominent Chinese spokesman to Washington..."

"When Ford goes to Peking, he will be bringing, primarily and simply by his presence, the rearguard support...that China still needs vis-a-vis the Soviet Union..."

"Could Not Remove All Chinese Misgivings"

Right-center Die Welt of Hamburg ran its Peking correspondent's assertion that "Kissinger must have shivered a bit in Peking. Surely what Ford and Brezhnev agreed on in Vladivostok must have been making Chinese doubt that Kissinger's triangular diplomacy was likely to bring much of a payoff to Peking...The Secretary of State sought to erase the impression in Peking that Moscow and Washington were returning to superpower policy making, a process in which China, vast as it is, would play only a minor role. But Kissinger could not entirely quiet Chinese misgivings..."

"The Thorn Is the Priority for Moscow"

Independent left-of-center Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich concluded that "it is quite obviously not only and not primarily the Taiwan problem that currently burdens Sino-American relations....The thorn, rather, is the priority that Washington is giving to its relations with Moscow. Well, now Kissinger...knows how things stand."

"China Worth the Trip for Ford"

Washington correspondent Emil Boelte wrote today in independent General-Anzeiger of Bonn that "for Ford, China will be worth the trip." He reasoned that "several things have changed. Recently Peking took a step in Moscow's direction. Brezhnev reacted negatively--which was like a gift falling into Kissinger's lap.

"Then there is the fact that the pattern of the three can change as this or that capital gets new leadership....Given this situation, it makes sense for America to undertake new efforts toward realizing Nixon's clever policy--to attempt to integrate China in the super-states' power field."

Of the Vladivostok agreement on SALT, Frankfurter Allgemeine, cited above, on Saturday ran a report from Washington that Secretary Schlesinger seemed to approve of it "only conditionally."

"Skepticism in Order About Vladivostok"

Today the paper carried the judgment of its military writer, Adelbert Weinstein, that "in the cloudy skies of nuclear danger, a narrow ray of light appears, a beam of optimism--the giants are said to have agreed first to limit, then to dismantle all weapons of extinction. But skepticism is in order. Too many forces are working in exactly the opposite direction from that charted at Vladivostok.... This week we shall be learning just what sort of U.S. concessions achieved the Soviet change of course...."

He added, "It is no longer the Americans and the Russians alone who decide on long-range disarmament goals....Where will China stand in a decade...?"

Milan: "Vladivostok Cast Shadow on Peking"

Milan's independent conservative Corriere della Sera on Saturday carried its Far East correspondent's opinion that "Vladivostok cast a darker shadow over Kissinger's visit to Peking than had been foreseen."

"Ford Visit Plan Affirms Friendship and Balance"

On the other hand, Il Resto del Carlino of Bologna took "the announcement of Ford's trip to China as evidence that American friendship toward China remains unchanged...and is still one of the cornerstones of the multipolar balance in U.S. diplomacy." The paper also carried the evaluation of byliner Tito de Stefano that "Sino-American relations are in a state of hibernation."

"Ford Visit in Chinese Eyes"

Turin's La Stampa suggested that "Ford's agreement to resume talks in Peking confirms in the eyes of the Chinese that the U.S. -USSR dialogue is encountering some difficulties."

Pro-Communist Paese Sera of Rome headed a back-page item on the Secretary's return home, "Kissinger Back in Washington Empty-handed."



Paris: "Vladivostok Restarted the Arms Race"

Political observer Raymond Aron wrote today in middle-of-the-road Figaro of Paris that it was now possible, on the basis of statements by President Ford and Secretary Kissinger, "to understand better and judge with more severity the Russian-American agreement on strategic arms.

"I will sum up this judgment in one word: mystification, and even grim mystification...

"In Vladivostok, the breakthrough...did not occur, and they settled the matter without looking for it any further....The Vladivostok accord...far from slowing down the arms race, is starting it up all over again...

"Henry Kissinger contends that a bad agreement is better than no agreement at all and that either of the two could violate the arms ceiling if it wanted to. Well, the second of those propositions is probably true, but the first is questionable to say the least... Russia and America certainly have the financial and industrial capacity to manufacture more missiles; but the question is, would they deploy them in the absence of this accord? "

Aron argued that "the USSR has never spent so much money for its armed forces as during the so-called detente period; everyone understands that this combination satisfies Mr. Brezhnev perfectly, especially since he gets a transfer of U.S. technology in the bargain.

"The reasons of Messrs. Ford and Kissinger are less convincing and appear to me primarily domestic in nature. Bluntly put, detente is popular, the SALT negotiations are popular, and the U.S. has come to accept as dogma the notion that a failure in negotiations is worse than a bad compromise."

"Ford Trip Will Be Homage to Mao Without Reciprocity"

The paper also carried the judgment of byliner Arlette Marchal that on the basis of the joint communique issued in Peking, President Ford's projected trip to China "constitutes the main, not to say the only, result of Henry Kissinger's visit." She reasoned that in Sino-American relations, "the Chinese have probably chosen to be patient, and all the more easily since President Ford's visit will be for them a token of American good will and, above all, a new act of American homage to Mao. In visiting Peking, Gerald Ford in effect repeats the gesture Nixon made in 1972 without receiving any gesture of reciprocity from his hosts.

"As things have gone, in less than a week's time the continuity of American policy has been twice reaffirmed, solemnly and brilliantly: in Vladivostok, toward the Soviets, in Peking, toward the Chinese. Both have agreed to pursue the dialogue initiated by Nixon.

"This is another master stroke by Kissinger. He no longer appears merely as a negotiating magician but almost as a king-maker. Has he not truly confirmed Gerald Ford as President by getting both Brezhnev and Mao to recognize him as such? "

Copenhagen: "No Progress in U.S. -Chinese Relations"

Liberal Politiken of Copenhagen judged today, "The atmosphere surrounding Kissinger's visit was not particularly cordial. Apart from the fact that diplomatic relations are becoming more and more normal, no progress has been made in the relationship between the two states since Kissinger's negotiations last year. Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua still declines the invitation to visit Washington."

Zurich: "Ford Invitation Shows Peking Concern"

Switzerland's prestigious Neue Zuercher Zeitung summarized: "The Americans fear that to break with Taiwan now would reduce their international credibility. For their part the Chinese are remaining firm.... Yet the fact that the new President was invited by the Chinese reveals Peking's interest in keeping relations as least as normal as they currently are."

Tokyo: "Ford Visit a Lever Against USSR"

Japanese media gave prominent coverage over the weekend to the conclusion of the Peking visit and the Sino-U. S. communique.

Publicly financed NHK television inferred that "the Ford visit indicates a U. S. - China move to use the Peking talks as a lever against Soviet diplomacy," and added, "Through the Ford visit, the U. S. intends to assure Chinese leaders directly that there is no change in the U. S. policy of seeking to improve U. S. - China relations."

The commercial TBS television network, reporting that Secretary Kissinger had told Foreign Minister Kimura that "there will be no surprises toward Japan as a result of the Ford visit to China," said this was a hint that "no sudden changes are expected in U. S. -China relations."

"Vladivostok Did Not Affect Peking Talks"

Independent moderate Yomiuri maintained today that "the improvement in U. S. - Soviet relations as a result of the Vladivostok talks fortunately did not affect the China talks. U. S. -China relations also improved as the Chinese side did not apply pressure on the Taiwan problem and President Ford accepted an invitation to visit China next year."

Moderately conservative Sankei stated today that the U. S. wanted to keep itself in an advantageous diplomatic position by maintaining the status quo of U. S. -Soviet and U. S. -China relations while preventing military clashes between the USSR and China. The paper also said, "There are no signs that the Chinese pressed the U. S. on the Taiwan issue.... This indicates that U. S. -China diplomacy has shifted from the dramatic restoration of dialogue to substantial diplomacy which calls for realistic settlement of problems on a one-by-one basis."

A South Korean View

Independent conservative Donga Ilbo, in an editorial headed "Sino-U. S. Talks and Korean Peninsula Issue," wrote last Thursday, "There is a strong possibility for further improvement of Sino-U. S. relations.... We hope China will play an influential role in making North Korea respond to South-North dialogue, bringing peace and stability to the Korean peninsula."

Manila: "Kissinger Stay Presages Developments"

President Ford's projected visit to China led foreign news.

The nationalistic Bulletin Today said "there were no 'breakthroughs'" during the Kissinger Peking visit "but none had been expected in the first place."

Nevertheless, the paper said, "The length of the Kissinger visit in China--five days--and the apparent intensiveness of the talks on the process of normalization seem to suggest some major development in the relations between the two countries will crop up when President Ford visits China next year."

The paper also carried a byliner's assertion that "from an immediate point of view, the U.S. stands to benefit in a squabble between China and the USSR" because "she can play one against the other and gain leverage against either. But in the long run, if detente is to attain its true value (apart from the moral considerations), there has to be a solid agreement among the three powers to preserve the peace."

Hong Kong: "Touchy U. S. -USSR Bargaining Ahead"

The South China Morning Post termed "the extent of commitment by both sides" at Vladivostok as "seemingly impressive and indeed surprising in view of the relatively short amount of time in which the tentative agreement was reached." It continued, "Obviously, Mr. Brezhnev came prepared to compromise with the knowledge that his signature is subject to the ultimate approval of the Politburo in the Kremlin. Mr. Ford, in effect admitted this when he asked Congressional leaders not to disclose the statistical aspect of the agreement because Mr. Brezhnev still needed to consult his colleagues in Moscow."

In concluding, it warned that "the Kremlin's good faith is always suspect and therefore the future points to some touchy bargaining before Mr. Brezhnev goes to Washington next year to put his seal on the proposed ten-year pact."

Bangkok Chinese Press on Peking's Role

Pro-Peking Hsin Chung Yuan Pao of Bangkok, noting Secretary Kissinger's reported remark that the U. S. would take China's views into account in making foreign policy, said Friday that although his statements can be described as a diplomatic speech, they show that today China is definitely playing a leading role in international affairs and the superpowers must pay attention to her views."

Independent Chung Hua Jit Pao echoed this view, adding, "The age of superpower domination of the world is over."

New Delhi: "Nine-Line Peking Communiqué"

Indian commentators over the weekend generally judged that the only positive outcome of the Kissinger Peking visit was the announcement of President Ford's coming visit to China. However, they anticipated that the relations between Washington and Peking would continue to make steady progress.

Pro-Congress Party National Herald of New Delhi and Lucknow stated yesterday that "Sino-U. S. understanding will be a restraint on the USSR and India, and that at least must be one of Dr. Kissinger's aims. President Ford's visit to China will heighten the understanding with Peking. China after Mao must be very much in American minds."

The independent Indian Express of Bombay, New Delhi, and Madras carried its U. S. correspondent's view of the U. S. - China communiqué as "vague" and "not very encouraging."

The independent Times of India of Bombay, New Delhi, and Ahmedabad, in a report from its U. S. correspondent, said that "the nine-line communiqué is a notable departure from the extensive documents issued on previous occasions when Dr. Kissinger visited China. It apparently reflects Chinese impatience over the slow and cautious American move toward a more meaningful 'detente.'"

The independent moderate Statesman of Calcutta and New Delhi said, "It will be interesting to see whether the Vladivostok agreement will be interpreted by other nations as an example of the responsible nuclear restraint Dr. Kissinger was urging upon India during his recent New Delhi visit."

### Economic Interpretation of Vladivostok

The Indian Express, cited above, carried its Washington correspondent's assertion that "the Ford-Brezhnev understanding merely aims at preventing economic collapse in both countries as a result of an uncontrolled arms race. It is the balance of terror that keeps the peace between them--not dedication to any common goals or ideals. In the coming months Soviet-American relations will be tested anew in the Middle East."

### Dacca: "Millions Will Hail Vladivostok Result"

Editorials in Bangladesh papers last week welcomed the Ford-Brezhnev summit outcome as a "major breakthrough" on SALT. The Government-administered Observer of Dacca, believing "millions the world over will hail the Vladivostok agreement between the U.S. and the USSR," said, "At last the two superpowers seem to be in a mood to follow the dictates of wisdom."

### Pakistan News Play

Major Pakistan weekend papers led with the U.S. -China joint statement. Identical headlines said "Ford Will Visit China in 1975."

### Beirut Views

Pro-U.S. al-Hayat maintained that the "joint communique issued in Vladivostok contained traditional phrases derived from previous statements...."

Pro-Iraqi Bayrut, commenting last Wednesday on Kissinger diplomacy in general, stated that it "is doing its best to profit from the Soviet-Chinese dispute in order to arrest the momentum of the two socialist giants." It elaborated, "On the one hand, Dr. Kissinger tells the Kremlin leaders that the U.S. seeks cooperation with the USSR to repel the dangers threatening humanity, including the 'yellow peril.' On the other hand, he tells the Chinese that Washington will not permit the Soviets to dominate the Far East and that hence it constitutes a guarantee for the Chinese Republic..."

Tel Aviv: "Vladivostok Confirmed Middle East Rivalry"

Independent Haaretz of Tel Aviv wrote Friday that the Vladivostok communique "should be read as a confirmation of superpower rivalry in the Middle East...as a confession of their inability to reach a compromise...as a (confession) that there is a possibility of another violent war in the region... (and that) the super-powers agreed to prevent confrontation between themselves..."

Independent Yediot Aharonot stated Friday that "despite the superpowers' desire to improve their relations and prevent, at this stage, an armed conflict in the Middle East...a limited time for maneuver--until next spring--is left." It added, "There is room to fear that next spring will be a hot one and the military situation will erode even more seriously (than in October 1974)..."

Moscow: "Toward Creation of Nuclear-free Zones"

Soviet media carried further comment proclaiming that the Vladivostok summit not only lived up to expectations but, in fact, surpassed them" (Izvestia, Saturday, as cited by TASS).

Radio Moscow's domestic service broadcast a commentary Saturday evening declaring that the possibility of "setting up nuclear-free zones in Europe and other parts of the world...is becoming entirely real under present new circumstances."

The commentator cited "measures to remove the threat of war and stop the arms race which were designated pivotal points of Soviet-U.S. relations in the communique of the" Vladivostok meeting. He said the results of the meeting "make a constructive contribution to the strengthening of world peace" and that thus "the Soviet Union is making a decisive contribution to the development of detente. This, in turn, also creates favorable conditions for the solving of such problems as creation of nuclear-free zones."

TASS Cites U. S. Press on "No Progress at Peking"

Moscow TASS yesterday transmitted a report that in commenting on Secretary Kissinger's Peking discussions, "American papers are unanimously of the opinion that no apparent results pointing to progress in the development of USA-PRC relations were achieved during his meetings with members of the Peking leadership."