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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Brigadier General Brent Scowcroft
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

SUBJECT : Foreign Reaction to the Watergate
Developments

1. The official reaction abroad to these developments has, not surprisingly, been scarce. Most foreign leaders have declined to comment and are keeping their thoughts on it very much to themselves. They are undoubtedly following it carefully but withholding decisions until they are more confident of its implications.

2. In contrast to the guarded official reaction, media coverage, especially in Europe, has been extensive. The attached paper, prepared by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, reviews this coverage.

3. No other distribution is being made of this paper.

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EDWARD W. PROCTOR
Deputy Director for Intelligence

Attachment:
As stated

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FOREIGN RADIO AND PRESS REACTION TO WATERGATE DEVELOPMENTS

S U M M A R Y

1. While West European official spokesmen have been circumspect, the successive public disclosures of developments in the Watergate case have sparked increasingly heavy West European radio and press reportage and comment, with British and French reaction the most extensive. The reaction has been generally critical of the President's handling of the affair, scathing in criticism of his White House aides, and apprehensive about the impact of the case on U.S. foreign policy. There have been widespread expressions of concern that the President's effectiveness in foreign affairs may have been impaired at least temporarily, as well as some speculation that he may be tempted to take some precipitate foreign policy action as a means of recouping his prestige at home. Their unsparing criticism aside, a number of European commentators have viewed the public disclosures as a vindication of the American political process and confirmation of the vitality of democratic institutions.

2. In the Far East, reportage and comment has been especially extensive from Japan, where newspapers broke with the normal practice of carrying foreign news on inside pages to give front-page prominence to developments since 28 April. Admonitions against concentrating too much power in the hands of White House aides and praise for the role played by the U.S. press predominated in Tokyo press editorials. Both in harshly critical and in sympathetic editorials, there was a pervasive concern about possible repercussions in the international arena.

3. Saigon, Seoul, and Taipei reaction has been notably circumspect. No mention of Watergate has been heard in any official South Vietnamese broadcast since at least mid-April, and press comment has been noted in only three Saigon papers. Seoul radio has relegated most of its reports on the subject to the end of its newscasts, and the official news agency has limited its coverage to reporting headlines in Seoul newspapers. Taipei radio has reported Watergate developments in its newscasts, but the CHINA NEWS AGENCY has maintained a blackout on the subject. A single available press commentary said "we do not like to attach too much importance to this incident" but went on to deplore the "scandal." Other Asian reaction has been scattered, including Delhi press comment focused on doubt as to the credibility of the

President's statements and on the potential weakening of his ability to govern. Two Thai papers editorially praised the President for refusing to cover up the issue.

5. Comment has been monitored only from Cairo in the Arab world. Egyptian papers argued that the methods used by the Administration in domestic matters extend to U.S. relations with other countries and commented that the Watergate disclosures do not promote confidence in U.S. promises, plans, or statements. Limited Israeli press comment saw the President's opponents as unduly inflating an affair that would not have raised such a furor in Israel.

6. There has been little reportage or comment from Africa. Nigerian reaction was especially critical. Limited Latin American comment has been critical from Panama, Chile, and Argentina, mixed from Colombia, and laudatory of the President from Brazil.

7. Washington's two partners in summit diplomacy have carefully stayed aloof from the Watergate situation. Peking is still ignoring it entirely. Moscow has never mentioned the President's 30 April address. Its first news story since 29 April, when PRAVDA reported FBI Director Gray's resignation, was a report on 5 May that Richardson was to replace Kleindienst. By contrast, most of Moscow's East European allies have reported the Watergate developments promptly and commented on them, though not at the authoritative level of press editorials. East Germany and Czechoslovakia have continued to air the harshest comment, while much more limited Polish and Romanian coverage has been notably sympathetic to the President's handling of the affair. Yugoslav reaction has been restrained and marked by a focus on the possible international implications--an aspect muted or ignored in the Soviet bloc comment.

8. Hanoi and Liberation Radio have carried an increasing daily flow of reports on Watergate since 24 April. Hanoi offered its first extensive analysis in a two-part radio commentary in Vietnamese on 7 and 8 April, judging Watergate a "great political loss" for the President that threatens not only his prestige but also "his leadership of the nation."

9. Havana has continued to follow the Watergate developments closely and to comment in a caustic vein. It has not, however, developed a major anti-U.S. propaganda campaign around the subject. One broadcast on 10 May found the involvement of "Cuban counterrevolutionaries" not surprising in light of the President's alleged relations with such groups and his "important role" as Vice President in planning the Bay of Pigs invasion.

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WEST EUROPE

West European spokesmen have remained largely noncommittal at the official level. The media have reported official reactions limited largely to public expressions of confidence in the United States or private assurances discounting a Watergate backlash on U.S. foreign policy. News reports and editorial comment, however, have increased as the disclosures relating to Watergate have mounted, with the heaviest coverage monitored from the British and French press.

BRITAIN Watergate has become the major, continuing story for the British radio, television, and press. It was making frontpage headlines in the London press before the President's 30 April speech and has since become an even bigger story. British correspondents in Washington have provided daily reports on each new revelation, including developments relating to the Ellsberg trial, the Vesco contribution, and the charges of CIA involvement. The subject has figured prominently in letters-to-the-editor columns.

The press in general has conveyed feelings of shock and dismay and has expressed concern over the possible repercussions within the United States and throughout the world. The DAILY TELEGRAPH, a staunch supporter of the President during the Vietnam war, declared in a 30 April editorial that the President's "behavior as this crisis mounted has been such as increasingly to undermine faith not only in his own competence but also, however hesitatingly, in his own integrity." Reacting several days later to the President's new guidelines on executive privilege, the paper cautioned that "no one should claim that any conversation about Watergate is confidential." It added that the President "would be wise to forswear any right to executive privilege in any of the Watergate hearings."

An editorial in the 6 May SUNDAY TELEGRAPH likewise criticized the President's use of executive privilege saying that "Chappaquiddick pales into insignificance in comparison with Watergate." After deriding the President's television speech as "the pathetic patter of a third-rate car salesman," the editorial warned that reliance on executive privilege would "further and perhaps fatally erode the fast-diminishing confidence of the American people in the competence and integrity of their President. That is too high a price to pay for the safety from legal impeachment which an imposed silence may secure."

Peregrine Worsthorne, the prominent rightwing journalist who has been highly laudatory of President Nixon in the past, also had harsh words for him. In a lengthy article, also on the editorial page of the 6 May SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, Worsthorne wrote: "If it took a peculiarly insensitive and arrogant king to shock American opinion into doing something about the excessive power of the monarch, so it may be that there had to be a peculiarly insensitive and arrogant President to do the same for the modern powers of the White House." What Watergate displays so eloquently, Worsthorne continued, "is the seamy side of power, its squalor and poverty of spirit, its moral corruption and sheer ugliness."

The London TIMES, in a 2 May editorial on the President's speech, wrote that Watergate "is indeed a bad business and a dirty business, but it is not unique. It is not unique, but it is very dangerous." Sharply attacking the President's White House associates, the editorial said: "These young men with their Pepsodent smiles and their football ethics--their 'name of the game is winning' beliefs--were not fit people to be around the White House, not because they were wicked men, but because they were only half men. They are not a species only found in the United States--there are plenty in London--but they are totally unsuited to politics and are usually lacking in judgment, humor or compassion. For a great political party to allow such men to be so near the top is a sign, oddly enough, that the morality of old Joe Kennedy has prevailed." The TIMES went on to suggest that the President felt more secure with second-rate subordinates, "partly, one would suppose, because the second-rate offer in the short term an unqualified loyalty that better men do not give." It is characteristic of "an insecure or self-centered man," the TIMES added, "to demand such loyalty, and characteristic of such loyalty to betray the master's true interests in support of his supposed wishes. It is the loyalty of the men who murdered Becket."

An article in the 6 May SUNDAY OBSERVER, by Michael Davie, also impugned the competence of the President's advisers. Watergate, he wrote, "shows how the American system throws amateurs up into positions of power." Davie went on to say that Watergate had exposed a major flaw in the American political system--the absence of any "rapid way of removing, without a massive convulsion, a President who has lost the confidence of the people." This theme has been reiterated in most of the British papers.

The British papers all expressed concern over the possible impact of the case on U.S. foreign policy. The 2 May GUARDIAN, in an editorial entitled "The Stench of Watergate," wrote: "This is not the most auspicious time to pursue Dr. Kissinger's fruitful

suggestion for a new Atlantic charter. Mr. Nixon would be wise to let the dust settle a bit, assuming that he believes it will eventually settle. This is a sad consequence of Watergate: Mr. Nixon's policies have had much success, notably with China and Russia, but a pause is now inevitable." The FINANCIAL TIMES declared on 2 May that the ability of the Nixon Administration to take a firm and consistent line on international issues "will inevitably be weakened until the Watergate affair is satisfactorily wound up."

An article by Gordon Brook-Shepherd in the 6 May SUNDAY TELEGRAPH typified British comment on Watergate's impact on foreign policy: "What it amounts to for us is this: In America they are reviving the old jibe about Mr. Nixon not being the sort of man you would buy a secondhand car from, but we in West Europe may soon be buying something far more important than that from him--our life insurance policy in the literal meaning of those words. The President cannot complain if now, more than ever before, we resist any attempts of his to draw up that policy too quickly or insert too much fine print at the bottom." The article went on to say that what will worry the Kremlin most is "the uncertainty, not only about Nixon's own future, but about the future of his policymaking style and methods."

The communist MORNING STAR published material on Watergate almost daily and, like the major papers, mostly in front-page stories. General Haig's appointment produced a banner headline entitled "Bombing General Moves Into White House." The MORNING STAR also seized upon Watergate as an opportunity to demand Ambassador Annenberg's recall on grounds that he had given too much financial support to the President and to "a system which is rotten to the core."

Bernard Levin in the 8 May TIMES came to the President's defense and reproved British critics for displaying "gleeful hysteria" over Watergate. Levin praised the President's achievements in foreign and domestic policy as greatly overshadowing anything he might be criticized for in the Watergate affair. Levin's article drew a response from Labor MP Michael Foot, who suggested in a letter to the editor in the next day's TIMES that Levin's credentials as a political analyst were suspect and that his efforts to assist "a United States President in trouble" would probably add considerably to the latter's anxieties.

FRANCE Watergate emerged as a major issue in the French press following President Nixon's 30 April speech, with the main emphasis placed on the view that the President had lost credibility in the eyes of the American public. LE MONDE was particularly critical of what it described as the President's role

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in "the amateurism, incompetence, and ineptitude which have turned a sordid story of seedy espionage into an 'affair' which is shaking the pillars of justice." On 2 May the paper commented that whether one believed the President or not, "he will have to confess to a series of errors of judgment in order to exculpate himself." Correspondent Jacques Amalric asserted in the 8 May LE MONDE that the President appeared to be "less concerned with justice and truth" than with "using all his powers to further limit the inquiry." An editorial in the 6-7 May issue of the same paper commented that the President had shown in his White House appointments "mental blindness which tomorrow may be called criminal weakness, and this will weigh heavily on what remains of his future as President."

LE FIGARO was somewhat less harsh in its treatment of the President. In the only monitored direct French press reference to the international impact of Watergate, a 7 May commentary by correspondent Leo Sauvage stressed the tremendous political difficulties confronting the President and observed that he will likely be handicapped in his foreign policy by "the ball and chain tied to his ankle marked 'Watergate.'"

On the 7th L'AURORE summed up the disclosures on Watergate with the observation that the "different clans" involved in the affair were selfishly trying to extricate themselves: "Hoping to protect themselves and to lessen their responsibility, some of them are even trying to allege that President Nixon is likely to be directly responsible." Exploring the implications of the disclosures, LE FIGARO on the 8th questioned whether events would "inexorably lead to the implementation of special impeachment procedures." It predicted an "ebb" in U.S. public opinion and declared that "the very people most responsive to the campaign on the newspapers can tomorrow or after suddenly feel angry at them and blame the critics for having jeopardized national unity."

The communist L'HUMANITE restricted itself mainly to reportage on the President's speech--which correspondent Claude Kores described on 2 May as "unconvincing"--and General Haig's appointment. The paper also emphasized the various U.S. opinion polls recording the President's decline in public favor. And it scoffed at other newspapers for "daring to praise U.S. democracy under the pretext that it has not been possible to smother the Watergate case."

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WEST GERMANY Prior to the President's 30 April address, coverage of Watergate in West German media was confined largely to brief, factual reports. In an exception, an article by publisher Rudolph Augstein, of Hamburg's weekly news magazine DER SPIEGEL, said that President Nixon "will probably go down in his country's history not only as the audacious China politician but also as the Watergate President, whose personal regime produced the most shameful consequences of cynical use of power."

The West German press began to concentrate on Watergate developments on 2 May. The general thrust of editorial comment was typified by Hamburg's DIE WELT, which declared on 2 May that "no matter how you look at this sensational case, Nixon's position has been weakened." The Cologne radio prefaced its 7 May press review with the statement: "After the new escalation of the Watergate scandal, commentators are beginning to ask themselves whether the position of President Nixon himself is now threatened." The commentary went on to assert that the newly issued guidelines on executive privilege were widely regarded as an attempt to silence White House aides and as an admission of Presidential weakness."

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, noting the possibility of international repercussions, said in an editorial on the 7th: "Twilight has been cast not only on the person of Nixon but on the President's office as well. Viewed from this angle, Watergate takes on frightening dimensions for the entire Western world. For Richard Nixon is not some unimportant government chief but the most powerful man of the Western alliance, holding an office that seemed to take good care of the Western world's central values." The editorial added: "It is to be hoped that the Watergate affair will be cleared up completely even if this should turn out to be most painful for the present holder of the office."

Oberndorf's SCHWARZWÄELDER BOTE also speculated on the possible international fallout: "What will happen when, a few weeks from now, Nixon receives Soviet party chief Brezhnev for negotiations of the greatest importance for the FRG and Europe? And what would happen if Nixon on that occasion should be tempted to seek an advantageous course of the talks only to cause his involvement in a domestic scandal to be forgotten?"

Constance's SÜDKURIER struck a positive note in observing that "U.S. democracy and its press remained fully able to function" during the furor over Watergate. It continued: "Things that

are routine in communist and other dictatorships make headlines in a living democracy. Independent critical journalists are not afraid to expose bad things even if the highest offices and persons are involved."

ITALY. The Italian press has covered the Watergate developments closely, making frequent use of U.S. press comment and reports of American public reaction. Milan's CORRIERE DELLA SERA has been running almost daily dispatches from its New York correspondent reporting the general skepticism in the United States about the President's avowed "strategy" of making a "clean sweep" of the Watergate case. Like many other Italian papers, the Milan daily in its 4 May issue stressed the possible impact on the President's ability to govern "with the necessary authority and effectiveness" if the crisis is not resolved.

In a similar vein, Turin's LA STAMPA on 5 and 6 May expressed hope that the affair--said to have "irreparably damaged the Presidency"--will restore "honesty and discipline" to U.S. politics. The paper was also hopeful that General Haig's appointment to the White House staff would lead to a major government reshuffle. Discussing the international implications, LA STAMPA warned on 6 May that the Watergate case was "encouraging isolationism and protectionism" in the United States; had already incurred the hostility of Congress; and would complicate U.S. foreign relations.

The communist L'UNITA's coverage of Watergate since the end of April has consisted mainly of reports by its Washington correspondents on repercussions of the continuing disclosures. A report on the President's speech in the 3 May issue called it an attempt to placate the public and restore the credibility of the Presidency and the Administration.

OTHER COUNTRIES. Austrian media have provided extensive reportage of the Watergate developments but little comment. The President has been mildly criticized for having responded to the crisis belatedly and only after massive public pressure. While the noncommunist press has generally given the President, as DIE PRESSE put it, "the benefit of the doubt" about his personal involvement in the affair, the communist VOLKSSTIMME seized on the President's new guidelines on executive privilege as "a clear admission of guilt." The 26 April papers quoted the leaders of the two major Austrian political parties as saying the affair "has harmed U.S. international prestige." An article in DIE PRESSE on 9 May stressed

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the urgency of a quick settlement of the affair in view of the President's forthcoming talks with Brezhnev and counseled restraint on the part of the Democrats. Observing that "not only Nixon but America and its institutions are currently being put to a hard test," the paper declared: "Any feelings of revenge for the election defeat are suicidal under these circumstances."

In Switzerland, the NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG on 7 May was critical of the new White House guidelines on executive privilege on grounds that they would only nourish suspicions that the President had something to hide. In the next day's issue the paper took up the question of Moscow's reaction, saying the Soviet Union had chosen to remain silent because of the importance it attached to Kissinger's Moscow visit and adding that the Kremlin probably regretted the Watergate crisis, partly because it had been portraying the President as "a not altogether bad strong man of America."

The Swedish and Finnish radios carried brief news reports on the President's television address and the resignations of the top White House aides. Helsinki radio also reported the security measures undertaken by FBI agents in the White House following the resignations of Ehrlichman and Haldeman. Neither radio, in monitored broadcasts, had commented directly. In Denmark and the Netherlands, the communist press ridiculed the President's speech in particularly vitriolic terms, charging that it had failed to resolve the growing domestic political crisis.

ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

JAPAN The Watergate affair became the top foreign news topic in Japan on 28 April when Patrick Gray resigned as acting head of the FBI. Publicized official reaction, however, has been limited to a brief 1 May remark by Chief Cabinet Secretary Susumu Nikaido who said that he did not think Watergate would affect Prime Minister Tanaka's plans to visit Washington this summer.

Foreign news is usually published on the inside pages of the Japanese-language press, but on 28 April ASHAI, MAINICHI, YOMIURI, and SANKEI gave front-page play to dispatches from their correspondents on Gray's resignation, and TOKYO SHIMBUN and NIHON KEIZAI--the latter primarily a journal of economic news--reported the resignation on page two. Selective front-page

coverage continued with ASAHI and YOMIURI reports on General Haig's White House appointment; ASHAI, YOMIURI, MAINICHI, TOKYO SHIMBUN, SANKAI; and NIHON KEIZAI coverage of the President's remarks on testimony by White House officials; and various reports in the papers of John Dean's accusations, disclosures by TIME magazine, and the proposal for a special Watergate prosecutor.

Admonitions against concentrating power in the hands of "politically inexperienced" aides and praise for the role played by the U.S. press predominated in Tokyo newspaper editorials on the subject. An editorial in the 2 May ASHAI termed Watergate a "grave scandal" and argued that President Nixon "waited too long" to deny White House involvement. Noting that the President had achieved great diplomatic successes in the past, the editorial asserted that it "will not be easy for him to restore the credibility and prestige that have been drastically damaged both at home and abroad." ASHAI lauded U.S. newsmen for overcoming "strong White House pressure" and continuing their "persistent probing" of the Watergate affair. Asserting that "all the details of this unprecedented, dismal scandal have not been uncovered," an editorial in the English-language DAILY YOMIURI on 2 May concluded that the Watergate affair cannot diminish the Nixon Administration's achievements in international affairs but that "the stain on the moral integrity of the Administration may take a long time to fade."

A more positive view was expressed in a 2 May editorial in the English-language JAPAN TIMES, which claimed that the President, by going directly to the people in his 30 April speech and emphasizing that he had no prior knowledge of the bugging attempt or of the subsequent moves to cover up the matter, had displayed the same "great courage" he had shown in 1952 "when he was accused, as the vice presidential candidate, of having a plush, secret campaign fund." Japanese interest in the Watergate case is particularly keen, the editorial declared, because "the undoing of the American President's influence and prestige in these critical times would be most unfortunate not only for the United States but also for the world at large." The editorial concluded that "undoubtedly, the American people will accept President Nixon's statement of his noninvolvement, for they do prefer to keep the office of the president sacrosanct and beyond scandal." TOKYO SHIMBUN the same day editorialized that Watergate might provide Congress "with a favorable opportunity to apply the brakes to an excessive concentration of power in the White House."

The Japan Communist Party organ AKAHATA charged on 2 May that Watergate developments had exposed the "Nixon regime as willing to do anything to achieve its objectives." The President, characterized as "stubborn and crafty," was charged with attempting to "evade criticism and the attacks against him by sacrificing his aides." AKAHATA on 6 May called the White House a "headquarters for professional spies" and charged that "the U.S. political world is just like a mafia-controlled gangsterdom." On the 8th, AKAHATA said continuing disclosures of Watergate misconduct had revealed that even a former deputy director of the CIA was "entangled in the Nixon Administration's corrupting spying operations. It is inevitable, therefore, that Nixon's responsibility as President will be further probed."

SOUTH VIETNAM South Vietnamese official broadcast media have avoided any reference to the Watergate case since at least two weeks prior to the President's 30 April address. The VIETNAM PRESS bulletin, disseminated by the RVN ministry of information, has carried only sporadic foreign news agency reports on Watergate developments. From 30 April to 9 May, VIETNAM PRESS in English carried four press reports attributed to foreign news agencies, but the Vietnamese-language edition carried only one such report--a brief UPI summary of the President's 30 April speech--on 2 May.

Available comment in the local Saigon press has been confined to three papers, two of them opposed to the Thieu government. The opposition DIEM TIN on 3 May, for example, argued that the Watergate case had become a "notorious scandal unprecedented in U.S. election history." And DAN SONG, published by the dissident An Quang Buddhist faction, related the Watergate case to the local South Vietnamese political scene: "In Vietnam police checks on household members have been conducted daily, frightening elderly parents whose loved ones have reached draft age," but nothing has come to light as it did with Watergate.

The progovernment CHINH LUAN asserted on 9 May that even if the affair does not result in the President's resignation, he will still be in a "weak position," since it will be difficult for the Republican Party to hold its own in next year's congressional elections. CHINH LUAN speculated that this situation might encourage the communists "to try to embark once again on a military adventure."

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SOUTH KOREA Monitored Seoul radio coverage has been limited to Western news agency dispatches and cabled reports by the Washington-based correspondents of Seoul newspapers. Apart from the President's 30 April address, Watergate developments have generally been relegated to the end of newscasts. Brief, factual radio reports have covered all major aspects of the situation--including speculation about impeachment possibilities, alleged CIA involvement, and a possible tie-in with the Pentagon papers case. White House denials of involvement and reports that President Nixon is making great efforts to get to the bottom of the affair have also been reported.

The official news agency, HAPTONG, however, has avoided any detailed reportage on the case, carrying only headlines and editorial titles from Seoul's morning and afternoon newspapers. Representative editorial titles quoted in HAPTONG's 2 May press review were "Nixon and Watergate Scandal" appearing in TONGA ILBO and "America's Good Political Conscience, A Comment on Watergate," published in CHUNGANG ILBO.

OTHER COUNTRIES Delhi radio has broadcast reviews of several Indian newspaper commentaries on the subject, most of them critical of the President's handling of the situation. The INDIAN EXPRESS, the NATIONAL HERALD, the STATESMAN, the TRIBUNE, the HINDUSTAN TIMES, and the PATRIOT focused on reports of doubt as to the credibility of the President's statements, on the potential weakening of the President's ability to govern and exercise moral authority, and on the implications for the viability of the U.S. election system. A 4 May INDIAN EXPRESS editorial maintained that the President "apparently had no choice but to make the kind of statement he did, obviously a bid to salvage his image." The NATIONAL HERALD said it would "be difficult for him to prove that he was kept in the dark throughout."

Thai newspapers have editorially praised the President for assuming responsibility and for refusing to cover up an issue that has "sullied the political history of America" (DAILY NEWS, 2 May) and has exposed "dirty politics" in a country with a traditionally democratic form of government (THAI RATH, 3 May). More critical commentaries appeared in SLAM on 4 and 5 May: The paper accused the President at "grasping at straws to save himself" when he said the Watergate affair showed that the American political system was capable of bringing hidden facts to light through normal processes.

Malaysia's STRAITS TIMES on 2 May carried an editorial expressing confidence the President "will extricate himself, his government,

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and his party from the unholy mess" if he returns "to the traditional method of putting executive responsibility in the hands of ministers, not blue-eyed personal counselors without political or public experience."

The only monitored Indonesian reaction was a 2 May Jakarta radio commentary which speculated that the President would respond to the setback by initiating a new move on the international scene. Mutual and balanced force reduction in Europe was seen as a possible arena for such a move.

While Taipei radio has factually reported Watergate developments, the CHINA NEWS AGENCY has transmitted no reports on the subject. The only available press comment, a UNITED DAILY NEWS editorial on 2 May, said that "as an ally of the United States, we do not like to attach too much importance to this incident." Nevertheless, it went on to say that "the Watergate scandal has more or less exposed the 'dark side of American democracy'" and suggested that the affair may have undercut the effectiveness of U.S. leadership "in opposing communist totalitarianism."

MIDDLE EAST

ARAB COUNTRIES Only Cairo has originated comment on the Watergate developments, with Egyptian broadcasts summarizing articles from the Cairo press. While of all Arab radios Cairo has carried the fullest, most regular news coverage, its accounts nevertheless have been brief. Baghdad radio has given the developments the least attention. It reported the resignation of the President's top aides on 30 April, then ignored the situation until 5 May.

Cairo's AL-AKHBAR observed on 6 May that "these scandals are a lesson that does not promote confidence" in the promises and plans of the U.S. Government or in the statements of U.S. officials. AL-AKHBAR declared that if a nation's basic system is founded on injustice, racial persecution, and armed aggression, and if this system permits the state to deny the rights of other peoples, as the United States denies the Palestinians' rights, then individuals in that state "will find nothing criminal in committing various types of violations." The same paper commented on 7 May that although the U.S. "scandals" are basically domestic, they are in fact part of "the methods of deceit, cheating, plotting, and aggression that the Nixon Administration has resorted to" as official policy since its first days in office. AL-JUMHURIYAH said on 6 May that the revelations in the Watergate affair can

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serve as a guideline for other states in determining their relations with Washington, because it is unlikely that a person who plots against his fellow citizens would not plot against others as well.

ISRAEL Israeli media have promptly reported developments since 28 April, but other than press articles briefly noted by Jerusalem radio on 2 May, there has been no comment. The radio's review of the press said that both HAMODIA' and YEDI'OT HADASHOT believed the President's opponents were unduly inflating the Watergate bugging and found it hard to imagine such a furor over a similar situation in Israel. YEDI'OT AHARONOT said all countries, including Israel, could learn a lesson from the case, particularly from the fact that President Nixon took responsibility even though he was not personally involved and dismissed his top advisers merely because they were under suspicion. There are people in Israel, too, who are "responsible for omissions," the paper added, but they are never dismissed.

GREECE, TURKEY, ATHENS AND TEHERAN RADIOS HAVE GIVEN THE
 IRAN, CYPRUS Watergate case scattered attention in news
 broadcasts, while the Turkish press and
 Ankara radio have provided regular news coverage of developments since 30 April. None of the radios has carried original comment, and there is no available press reaction from Iran. The Istanbul CUMHURİYET on 2 May carried a lengthy report on the case and on reaction to it, including a comment by the London SUNDAY TIMES' Henry Brandon that "for the first time in 23 years I sense a fear that the government may be rotten to the core."

Comment in some Athens papers has viewed the case against the background of the political situation in Greece and the issue of press freedom there. Observing that "domestic political espionage" is a misuse of power, TO VIMA remarked on 2 May that it resulted from the "gradual transfer of political power (and the rule of the people)" to "forces outside the constitution who have the means and power to act without controls." The paper considered the public outcry for a cleanup a healthy sign "which only a democracy can guarantee," whereas "authoritative regimes" can cover up what they wish. With the recent confiscation of the Athens paper I VRADYNI possibly in mind, TO VIMA commented on 4 May that the press should be free not just to say what the authorities would like but also what they do not like.

AKROPOLIS observed on 3 May that the case had taken on such proportions as to endanger, "if not Mr. Nixon's position, at least

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his authority and effectiveness as President." The paper saw the affair as coming at a bad time for the United States, with relations with Europe still "unregulated," the war in Indochina continuing, Middle East news not reassuring, and "continuing gloom" on Wall Street. On the 4th AKROPOLIS asked how the United States could be politically decisive and assert itself at home and abroad under such conditions. It urged Connally, Vice President Agnew, and "others who have not been tainted" to support the President and bring a quick end to the affair.

Cypriot media, both Greek and Turkish, have given almost daily attention to developments in factual news reportage, but the only available comment has come from KHARAVYI, the organ of the Cyprus communist party, and from the opposition paper I GNOMI. KHARAVYI on the 8th, speculating on the possibility of impeachment of the President, claimed that Mr. Nixon was already accountable to the public for "this hideous electronic exercise in brute force." Militating against impeachment, according to the paper, was the fact that many Republicans and Democrats faced the possibility of "an Agnew in the Presidency" as "the 'ultimate evil,' greater than the continuation of Nixon in the White House." The opposition I GNOMI saw the Watergate case as a victory for democracy and the press and, relating it to the Cyprus situation, asked if the opposition and its press enjoyed the slightest freedom to judge and criticize the President.

AFRICA

NORTH AFRICA Tripoli radio has carried almost daily reports on Watergate developments with no original comment, although it did report the 7 May Cairo AL-AKHBAR commentary. There was virtually no monitored reportage from Maghreb broadcasts. The North African press has published generally short, factual reports, usually citing U.S. papers and Western news agencies. The only available direct comment came on 6 May in the Casablanca LE MATIN, which assessed the President's speech as "weak" but as "bringing him credit." Morocco's L'OPINION on 1 May prefaced a REUTER article on the White House resignations with its own observation that the Watergate "political scandal" was still having repercussions that were of interest to both domestic and international public opinion. An article in the Algiers EL MOUDJAHID on 4 May on the President's state of the world message noted in passing that the Nixon Administration "has been badly shaken" by the Watergate affair.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA Monitored Sub-Saharan African coverage has been limited in volume and generally relegated to the end of newscasts, but critical in tone. Comment is available only from Nigerian and Ghanaian media. In a talk broadcast over Lagos radio on 2 and 4 May, President Nixon was judged to be "at the center of the whole Watergate mess," which was viewed as "just one of the usual occurrences of the American way of life" and as puncturing "the illusion of America as God's own country and the bastion of democratic ideals." A Lagos 4 May DAILY EXPRESS editorial said the effects of Watergate were "sufficient to send President Nixon packing" even though he had otherwise enjoyed a "brilliant and enduring career." Ghana's DAILY GRAPHIC, published in Accra, asserted in a 2 May editorial that even the resignations of President Nixon's advisers "can do little to erase the great reverses which the affair imposes on the future of free elections everywhere in the world."

LATIN AMERICA

Latin American radios have broadcast considerable factual news coverage of Watergate developments. Comment is available so far from Panama radio and television and from newspapers in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Colombia.

Panama City Televisora Nacional described the affair as "unquestionably sordid," and the government station Radio Libertad said the President demonstrated a "slippery technique" when he attempted to "skim over the Watergate scandal." An editorial in the Chilean ULTIMA HORA viewed Watergate as a revelation of the "total decadence of the American system" and an example of why the President's image has "deteriorated" in the eyes of the American people. The Buenos Aires LA PRENSA on 3 May published a lengthy dispatch from its correspondent in New York consisting primarily of background material and quotations from the President's critics in the United States. LA PRENSA commented that the "scandal" reached "a new dimension of notoriety" when the President on 30 April accepted "the responsibility for the espionage."

Bogota's EL TIEMPO on 4 May commented sarcastically on what it called the President's "gift for filling his eyes with tears in public" and on the "insolence" of his Administration in the past few months. But more favorable comment appeared the next day in the Colombian EL SIGLO, which said the President clearly had nothing to do with

Watergate because it would have been "completely foreign" to his nature. In a similar vein, an editorial in Rio de Janeiro's O GLOBO on 4 May said Watergate had placed the President's personal position in jeopardy but his dignified behavior had enhanced his personal stature and ennobled the democratic system.

COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

THE USSR Having reported the President's 17 April statement about "major developments" in the case on the 19th and then ignored Watergate until the 28th, when TASS tersely reported FBI Director Gray's resignation and the appointment of Ruckelshaus to replace him, Moscow again fell silent until 5 May. A single-sentence dispatch on Richardson's replacing Kleindienst appeared in central newspapers that day and the next, with no indication that the shift related to Watergate. Soviet media have yet to mention the resignations of any of the White House staff aides or the President's 30 April address.

The sole commentary on Watergate to appear in any monitored Soviet media came at about the same time PRAVDA reported the President's 17 April statement. A commentary in the Quechua dialect, in a radio service tailored for Indian audiences in Bolivia and Peru, used the Watergate case to press the basic, simplistic theme of the Quechua broadcasts--that the "imperialist" system is decadent and corrupt. No mention of the case has been heard in any other Moscow broadcast to any audience.

THE EAST EUROPEAN BLOC Most East European media, having given Watergate developments low-level coverage from the outset, have stepped up their comment since the events of 30 April. There is no comment to date, however, at the authoritative level of a press editorial.

Czechoslovak and, particularly, East German media have continued to provide the most extensive reportorial coverage and the harshest comment. Several East German commentaries were especially critical of the President's personal role. A 4 May commentary in DER MORGEN found the President's assertion of innocence in the Watergate affair "incredible," and a BERLINER ZEITUNG article termed those who have resigned in connection with the affair "Tricky Dick's scapegoats."

By contrast, Romanian and Polish coverage, marked by very limited comment, has been notable for a generally sympathetic portrayal of

the President's handling of the affair. The Polish Government paper ZYCIE WARSZAWY on 3 May, for example, emphasized that Watergate was a crisis for the U.S. political structure but not for the President personally, since he was "emerging from these straits unscathed." The Romanian press on 2 May carried an AGERPRES dispatch which led off by saying the President had given assurances that "justice" will be pursued fully and impartially in the Watergate affair, no matter who is involved."

Czechoslovak, East German, and to a lesser extent Hungarian and Polish media have pictured the Watergate case as exemplifying practices endemic to the capitalist system and have played down its possible long-range ramifications either for the Administration or for the U.S. political system. While East European comment as a whole has avoided broaching the question of how Watergate might affect the United States' international position, a Bulgarian press article on the President's state of the world message did cite U.S. sources for an assertion that the White House hopes for some positive achievements in foreign policy to cover up "all the dirt" surrounding Watergate. By and large, however, Bulgaria's coverage has been sparse and muted, typically following the Soviet lead.

YUGOSLAVIA Limited coverage in Yugoslav media has been restrained and somewhat more serious and analytical in tone than that of Moscow's East European allies. Belgrade radio said the President would now try to convince domestic critics not to capitalize on the Watergate developments in order to minimize their impact in coming talks with Brezhnev and West European leaders and in international forums. A commentary on the results of Kissinger's recent trip to Moscow suggested that the failure to announce a definite date for Brezhnev's U.S. visit may have been related to Watergate.

THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS Vietnamese communist media were slow in reacting to disclosures in the Watergate case, with the first report coming in a Hanoi radio broadcast on 24 April--a full week after the President's statement of the 17th. Hanoi's initial silence may have been related to developments in DRV-U.S. relations or may have merely reflected caution in evaluating the significance of the case. Hanoi's publicity has been confined to routine-level radio and press accounts, with no authoritative press comment. In keeping with the pattern since the signing of the peace agreement, Hanoi's treatment of the President has been devoid of the kind of personal invective that had been a staple of DRV comment during the war years. Reports on Watergate have been critical of the President; but derogatory references have generally been attributed to the Western press.

Since the 24th there has been an increasing daily flow of Hanoi and Liberation Radio attention to Watergate. Typifying Hanoi's relative circumspection, however, Hanoi's first lengthy report, broadcast in Vietnamese on the 28th, cited Western news agencies for the allegations that "Nixon has become furious as his role in the Watergate case is being tracked down" and that "the activities of the White House are virtually paralyzed." Hanoi's reports on the President's 30 April speech included a 3 May broadcast which claimed he had "admitted part of the guilt" and cited U.S. sources for speculation that the President had participated in a coverup and might resign.

A Liberation Radio commentary on 3 May claimed that the "entire ruling apparatus" of the United States was involved in efforts to "rig" the election. The broadcast also cited AFP for a report that South Vietnamese President Thieu is worried about the possibility that the Watergate affair may adversely affect South Vietnam.

A two-part radio commentary in Vietnamese on 7 and 8 May offered Hanoi's first extensive analysis of the affair. Reviewing events over the past year, the commentary judged Watergate to be a "great political loss" for the President and his Administration which "not only threatens the President's prestige but also threatens his leadership of the nation."

ALBANIA, NORTH KOREA An article in the Albanian party's ZERI I POPULLIT on 8 May and limited domestic radio comment since the 4th, while belated, has been typically vituperative. The basic themes were that Watergate is one of many symptoms of the corruption of the American political system and that the President has been "maneuvering" to cover up the facts and forestall further revelations.

Pyongyang's reaction was also vituperative, though it too was belated and low in volume. A limited amount of press and radio comment since 3 May has focused critically on the President's handling of the case and concluded that Watergate attests to the "rotteness" of American society and of the U.S. leadership.

CUBA Havana has continued to report extensively on the Watergate developments and has sustained the caustic tone of its comment. Commenting on the President's 30 April speech, the domestic radio and PRENSA LATINA emphasized that the affair had by no means reached its culmination and that further evidence linking the President himself to the affair would likely emerge. A Havana

broadcast to the Americas on 10 May focused on the "Cuban counterrevolutionaries" involved. It found their participation not surprising in light of the President's "long-standing close relations" with such groups and his "important role in planning the mercenary invasion of Playa Giron when he was Vice President." Havana has not developed a major propaganda campaign around Watergate, however.