



MEDIA REACTION REPORT

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 U.S. Alliances After Vietnam Takeover
 No. 35 (May 1, 1975)

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Le Monde **Frankfurter Allgemeine**
叻報 **BR** **EL TIEMPO**

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Summary

Foreign media opinion divided on the outlook for the U.S. as a world leader following the final Communist takeover in Vietnam.

Commentators agreed that the U.S. would henceforth be reluctant to defend nations of unproved stability, and that this "more critical view of all kinds of foreign commitment... has naturally provoked further anxiety... among foreigners who receive American aid or depend on American commitments" (The Times of London).

Many observers in East Asia forecast an American retreat into isolationism and deemed imperative a reexamination of their relations with the U.S. This prospect was discounted by some influential West European observers who saw the U.S. keeping its commitments and looked for an American renaissance, with greater strength springing from more clearly defined interests.

Speculation about Moscow and Peking reaction divided between those who feared immediate Communist pressure on vulnerable points--South Korea, the CSCE--and those who saw longer-range interests restraining such impulses.

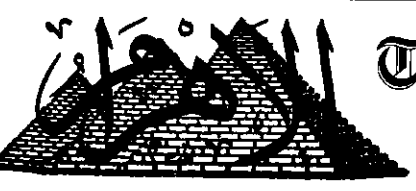
Soviet media were jubilant over the Communist victory but were restrained in references to the U.S. role in Indochina.

Peking media spoke of "U.S. aggression... U.S. imperialism" but did not report any official PRC condemnation of the United States.

The
Economist

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The Daily Telegraph



ПРАВДА

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London Headlines

British media led with the Communist takeover in Saigon. These were among lead story headlines in major papers:

"VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST FORCES TAKE OVER 'HO CHI MINH CITY'"

(The Times)

"HANOI'S MAY DAY TRIUMPH"

(The Daily Telegraph)

"QUIET END TO WAR FOR VIETNAM"

(The Financial Times)

"SAIGON GIVES IN WITH A SIGH AND A SMILE"

(The Guardian)

Observers divided on the question of the defeat's effect on future American foreign policy and the degree to which Congressional limitations might hamstring Administration attempts to create a new and effective approach to world problems.

"U. S. Humiliation at Saigon Pullout"

Washington correspondent Fred Emery reported in the independent Times that "bleak, embittered and confused reactions arose across the U.S. today as Americans awoke to hear that Saigon was now Ho Chi Minh City. The Administration was worried about South Korea being the next test for the U.S., informed sources confided....

"There is deep humiliation felt at high levels over the manner of the desperate, chaotic pullout from Saigon. "

"Congress Seeks Criteria for Future Commitments"

The paper remarked in an editorial that "Americans are naturally anxious to avoid making the same mistake again somewhere else. This has led them to take a much more critical view of all kinds of foreign commitment, and this has naturally provoked further anxiety...among the foreigners who receive American aid or depend on American commitments....

"Congress is probably now very close to believing that any government which needs actual American troops to save it is a government not worth saving. But Congress has not yet reached the same conclusion...about governments which ask for American weapons and financial aid. It appears to be groping its way towards a set of criteria by which candidates for this type of commitment can be judged."

Of the strategic and diplomatic questions by which the Congress might test such "candidates," the paper cited as "perhaps most important, Are the government and people of the country united in wishing to defend themselves with American help? This was the criterion too often neglected in the past, but which Congress lately applied with increasing skepticism to South Vietnam, and is now beginning to apply also to South Korea. If a country fails this test, passing the others is unlikely in the long run to help it."

Yesterday the paper's immediate reaction to the fall of Saigon was that the Communists "must want not merely the defeat of the United States but its complete humiliation. They must have decided to break not merely the resistance but also the dignity of their Vietnamese opponents. That is now achieved."

"U.S. Will Take Years to Recover"

The conservative Daily Telegraph yesterday judged that "America has received a fearful jab in the face, from which it will take years to recover. The terms on which the Communists are ending the war are finely calculated to extort the last drop of humiliation...."

"It is world Communism's biggest victory, the free world's biggest defeat. Every country in Asia is now making its adjustments. What about the European members of NATO? Can they go on as if nothing has happened?"

"Uneasiness in ANZUS"

The paper carried a Washington-dated report that "rumblings of uneasiness in the wake of America's Indochina debacle were heard in Washington last week during the 24th annual meeting of the ANZUS pact, it was learnt yesterday."

"Delegates from Australia and New Zealand were nettled by being lectured by Dr. Kissinger about how the future of the

Pacific area would be determined by the three great powers, China, Russia and the U.S....

"The Australians and New Zealanders wanted more assurances than they got about what American reaction would be in the event of radical upheavals in Indonesia threatening their interests. Participants at the meetings said there were several 'stony silences.'"

"Ford Will Now Stress More Realistic Policy"

The paper's Washington correspondent, Stephen Barber, stated that "the debacle in Indochina has ensured that President Ford will now give top priority to the framing of a more realistic American policy in Asia....

"Some American officials feel that Peking may...conclude that America is no longer a reliable military counterforce in the Western Pacific to offset Russia's seapower and influence in Hanoi. The Chinese, therefore, might encourage Japan to build up its already considerable and growing seapower."

"China Sees More Positive U.S. Role in Asia"

On a somewhat different note, Peking correspondent David Bonavia argued in The Times, cited above, that "China will regard the fall of Saigon as enabling the U.S. to play a more positive role in Asia in the future. The Government has not commented officially...but its position has been made clear over recent weeks.

"Rancor at the American role in Indochina has long since given way here to regret that the U.S. could not have extricated itself earlier.... The Chinese feel that the U.S. has other and more pressing obligations in the world, notably in holding the balance of power against the Soviet Union in Europe and elsewhere. Nor would they see any harm in a closer relationship between Japan and the United States."

"Defeat May Not Greatly Affect U. S. Goals and Commitments"

The independent London Financial Times today carried an analysis of the post-Vietnam mood in this country by U. S. editor Paul Lewis. He found "several good reasons...for believing that America's defeat in South Vietnam may not greatly affect the country's traditional goals and commitments in foreign policy, and that all the Administration's dark musings about a new age of isolationism are more than a trifle overdone....

"In the first place, the defeat has simply not been accompanied by any kind of a great debate about America's role in the world today, or the trumpeting of any particular foreign policy doctrine...

"The overwhelming sensation is of relief....Just as France's withdrawal from a lost cause in Algeria paved the way for a very active foreign policy, so could the end of America's Vietnam adventure."

Lewis judged it "clear as daylight that the U. S. is not going to go to the rescue of any more small underdeveloped allies trying to repel a Communist invasion--or even to send them military aid." He observed that "even though Russia and China have been careful not to exploit America's problems in Vietnam so far, they could not restrain the North from going for a military victory--and it remains to be seen whether they will be able to prevent North Korea from making a similar test of American will power on the Asian landmass.

"But the main point that must be made about the post-Vietnam era in domestic terms is that America had already been losing its appetite for a global foreign policy before its defeat in Vietnam.... This does not mean the U. S. will go isolationist.... NATO will remain intact, and the trade negotiations will go ahead. The U. S. and its European allies still have the strength and ability to make reasonable arrangements with Moscow in the disarmament negotiations.

"The real effect of Vietnam is likely to make itself felt in a continued tussle between Congress and Executive that may well survive next year's election and the legitimization of the Presidency."

"Unled Congress, Unsure Administration Could Bring Isolationism"

The liberal Manchester Guardian observed that in the United States "the urge to retreat into isolationism will be strong and could well find strong expression in Washington where the Congress is unled and the Administration apparently unsure of itself....

"The rest of the world--the Soviet Union included--must hope devoutly that the evacuation of Saigon will not be followed by other retreats."

"Vital to Us That U.S. Use Intelligence, Energy"

The conservative London Daily Mail suggested that "the American defeat in Indochina may well turn out to be the biggest shift in the geography of power since Churchill and Roosevelt gave Stalin what he wanted at Yalta.... We are all in for a very uncomfortable and challenging few years." It speculated that the Communists "must be tempted to try a snap attack on South Korea.... They will try to walk all over us at the European security conference.... They will continue to try to persuade the Americans to withdraw the GIs from Europe in exchange for purely token reductions in their own frontline forces....

"In the last resort, our defense must lie in ourselves...but it remains vital that the Americans should use their immense leverage with intelligence and energy."

"America Will Revive and Surprise the World"

The conservative Daily Express noted "the conventional wisdom that the U.S. will now withdraw into itself, an introspective giant, powerless to stand by its friends anywhere," but declared, "That is not how great powers behave: After a major defeat they tend to make their next stand much tougher. That was what Russia did in 1914 and what Britain did in 1939.

"The reviving America, which is going to surprise the world, will be determined not to be humiliated anywhere again. That is the real lesson of Saigon."

Paris: "Vietnamese Rejected a Cultural Graft"

No French newspapers were published today.

Independent Le Monde asserted yesterday: "This is the end of an era... The Vietnamese masses... rejected a foreign 'cultural graft'... and that bloody page having been turned, another one is being opened under difficult circumstances because a negotiated transition in Saigon is now out of the question... General Minh arrived too late."

"U.S. Failed to Heed Eisenhower"

Richard Liscia wrote in intellectual-left Le Quotidien de Paris:

"The Americans will now have time to ponder their error. It was both political and military. No amount of fire power can overcome in guerrilla warfare. The U.S.' intervention was disastrous for the Vietnamese and for itself. The U.S. would not be humiliated as it is today if it had heeded Eisenhower's view that the U.S. is not in a position to wage war in continental Asia..."

"U.S. Antagonized Allies and Disregarded Third World"

Washington correspondent Adalbert de Segonzac wrote yesterday for moderate-left France-Soir:

"A generation of young Americans was sacrificed for nothing. This is now the epilogue of 21 years of intervention in Vietnam which caused wounds so deep that it will take years to heal them in the U.S...."

"The American public has lost faith in its leaders and in their traditional clarity of vision.... The U.S. has disregarded the interests of its traditional allies in Europe and has antagonized the third world.... As Henry Kissinger sternly said in a televised news conference Tuesday night, the first task for the U.S. will be to redefine its defense perimeter in the Pacific by means of negotiations with the interested countries."

"A Shadow Over the Bicentennial"

Financial Les Echos observed: "Whatever the scope of bicentennial ceremonies next year, they will be darkened by a shadow, the memory of the sacrifices made in Indochina and of the humiliating failure which resulted from them."

"U.S. Chose Corrupt Police Regime Over the Third Force"

Widely-heard commercial Europe One radio said yesterday, "The U.S. bears the main responsibility for the present situation. By choosing, after the Paris accord, to support a corrupt police regime with its dollars and huge arms deliveries, it spoiled the only chance for a democratic and non-aligned third force... The Communists have achieved their purpose. They wanted total victory and they have got it..."

Rome: "Relations With Asian Allies Hedged With Doubts"

Emanuele Bonfiglio wrote in yesterday's conservative Il Tempo of Rome:

"It is not solely a matter of losing South Vietnam so soon after Cambodia. If it were only a question of two military defeats, serious though they are, the power and prestige of the U.S. would not be so damaged as to raise doubts for allied leaders and governments about the ability of the U.S. to guarantee their protection. But what has happened is much more disquieting.

"America has clearly hinted that at this time it does not have the power to fulfill its commitments. Its relations with its Asian allies are hedged with understandable doubts."

"U.S. Should Choose the Right Commitments and Keep Them"

U.S. correspondent Aldo Rizzo of center-left La Stampa of Turin asserted, "America has been defeated in a bad war, its first defeat." He said that if the U.S. wished to sustain its power, it could only do so "not by isolating itself from the world but by choosing the right commitments and keeping them."

"U.S. Could Not Adapt to a Guerrilla War"

Tito de Stefano wrote in center-left Il Giorno of Milan that "the tragedy in Vietnam has shown that no power, even America, can claim the role of policeman of the world, that U.S. power is not unlimited and that the U.S. could not adapt itself to a guerrilla war in Vietnam..."

Washington correspondent Ugo Stille of independent Corriere della Sera of Milan held that "a dramatic and quick end closed the Vietnam events which for a decade have dominated and lacerated American life, creating a deep political, psychological and moral crisis in the U.S. "

"A Poor Showing in General"

U.S. correspondent Lucio Manisco wrote yesterday in independent Il Messaggero of Rome, "Kissinger made a poor showing at his press conference and the U.S. Government in general made a poor showing during the last 24 hours in Washington. "

Duesseldorf: "U.S. Had Written Off Vietnam"

West German papers did not publish today.

Papers yesterday gave sober and restrained treatment to the U.S. departure from Saigon. Commentators saw the U.S. assessing dangers elsewhere in Asia. They said Europeans would have to make a greater effort for their own defenses.

Pro-Social Democratic Neue Rhein Zeitung of Duesseldorf ran a byliner's piece titled "The White Flag," which declared that "world-power America wrote off the Vietnamese adventure more than two years ago. That Paris agreement signed by Kissinger was no more than an alibi for the U.S. to start making tracks out of the divided country.... There was nothing to change, any longer, in Cambodia and Vietnam. There were only the stages of decline to observe and report. But the guilty conscience remains."

"How to Stop Red Tide in Asia"

Independent General-Anzeiger of Bonn wrote yesterday:

"The U.S. now is seeking to draw sharply constricted lines on the map to delineate where it can best stop the red tide in Asia..."

"From now on, any U.S. President will find it hard to commit blood, dollars, guns beyond 'Fortress America' in some other crisis area..."

"A new iron curtain is descending in Asia..."

"Toward a New American Consensus"

The paper and several others ran the Washington report of correspondent Emil Boelte that "Ford is seeking a fresh start for his country, with the new U. S. world role carefully drawn.... Externally, the first difficulties loom in Thailand and the Philippines.... In South Korea, 18,000 soldiers are stationed. Will the Communists now try to test the U.S. there? That could be a mortal blow to Kissinger's detente policy....

"Domestically, the final withdrawal from Saigon frees America of a burden carried for two decades. An American population deeply split over Vietnam can become one again. In turn, this new consensus should be a source of energy for getting through the hours of weakness...to a period of more robust self-confidence..."

"Communists Will Equate U.S. With Departure From Saigon"

Some writers contemplated Communist exploitation of the Indochina outcome in Europe.

Pro-Christian Democratic Bonner Rundschau carried a byliner's article titled "The Ugly American" in which he predicted:

"It won't be long before Communist propaganda also creates doubts in Europe about U.S. dependability. It would be horrible if so-called 'world opinion' were to equate America with America's departure from Vietnam..."

"No Retreat Into Fortress America"

Independent Stuttgarter Zeitung yesterday ran the report of Washington correspondent Juergen Kramer that "a clear majority of Americans are not even contemplating a U.S. withdrawal behind its coastline. A very carefully prepared opinion poll has just confirmed that fact.

"It is good that Mike Mansfield, who is sometimes erroneously considered an isolationist, has said a retreat into 'Fortress America' is not even up for debate."

Brussels: "Never So Many Setbacks"

Liberal La Derniere Heure of Brussels yesterday catalogued U.S. problems and setbacks, noting that the Americans "have had much cause for concern. The Indochina tragedy seems to be the mishap that makes the cup of bitterness run over. Never in its entire history has the first country in the world suffered so many setbacks at the same time. But it is precisely because it remains the first country in the world that America is tempted, when the wind changes, to hold aloof from the rest of the world... This makes it difficult not to share the impression of the New York Times that the U.S. is simply losing its rank as the first world power."

Copenhagen: "U.S. Will Regain Strength During Election Process"

Independent conservative Berlingske Tidende of Copenhagen asserted yesterday:

"It is very likely that this time the U.S. will not regain its inner strength until the country has been through the political process of creation that takes place with a Presidential election... The essential effect of self-examination will be a new evaluation of the U.S. Far East policy, which will define American obligations so clearly that even Congress will be inclined to approve."

Oslo: "Asians Worried About Their Future"

Conservative Aftenposten of Oslo yesterday saw the "defeat and loss of face" in Vietnam as "so humiliating for the Americans today that it is impossible to foresee the consequences of it.... The developments in Vietnam have naturally made the Asian people worried about their future."

Helsinki: "Bitterness and Doubt in America"

Independent Swedish-language Hufvudstadsbladet of Helsinki considered yesterday that "the collapse of South Vietnam after the futile efforts of a whole generation" on top of other reverses "cannot leave the American nation untouched. The feeling of bitterness and doubt is lurking."

Tokyo: Hopes for Vietnam Peace and Prosperity

Television networks reported today that peace and calm returned to Saigon after the Viet Cong forces took control of the city. A number of commentators appeared to share the sentiments of moderate Yomiuri, which wrote, "We pray that the Vietnamese people will achieve peace and prosperity by overcoming obstacles although the future is filled with difficulties."

"The End of Big-Power Suppression"

Today's liberal Asahi declared, "The Vietnam war was a war for national liberation from the beginning to the end.... The victory of the Liberation Forces indicates the end of an era of big power suppression of nationalism through strength.... This is the greatest significance of the Vietnam war." It also asserted that "the defeat of the U.S. superpower by nationalism has dealt a major blow to U.S. prestige.... It will require a long time and effort for the U.S. to wipe out the feeling of distrust harbored by many countries toward the U.S...."

Independent moderate Mainichi today carried a front-page report citing Foreign Minister Miyazawa as stating that the Japanese Government would recognize the new Saigon Government if the PRG established effective control over South Vietnam. While the paper blamed the U.S. for "the tragic end of the Saigon government," it indicated that "it will be well for the PRG to remember that their refusal of a negotiated peace will leave a bad impression on the world."

"Spirit of Self-Determination Spreads"

Yomiuri, cited above, noting that "President Ford announced an end to U.S. intervention in Vietnam on April 29," maintained that "this not only indicates the retreat of the U.S. from Asia" but also means "the end of the era of West European control in Asia." The paper saw a growing move toward unity by Asian nations as exemplified by the "Asian forum" proposed by Philippine President Marcos. It added, "The spirit of self-determination which is aimed at the 'settlement of Asian problems by Asians themselves' by eliminating big power hegemony has gone beyond Vietnam and spread throughout Asia."

The paper also carried an article headed "Japan-U.S. Cooperation, or Independent Diplomacy?...Government at Loss," which quoted Foreign Minister Miyazawa as saying that Japan should make a re-evaluation of its Asian policy, taking into account "the great current called an upsurge in the nationalism movement."

Report of Foreign Minister's Views on Cooperation With the U.S.

Today's moderate Tokyo Shimbun cited Foreign Minister Miyazawa as saying that "Japan has taken the view that (the Vietnamese) being forced to subordinate themselves to Communism will probably be unfortunate, and on this point, we share similar feelings with the U.S. The Government has believed that the U.S. motives were not perverse, and has cooperated with the U.S. within the scope permitted by our constitution and our national sentiment. When viewed from the U.S., Japan's cooperation may have been insufficient and unsatisfactory, but it is true that Japan has offered cooperation within the scope of constitutional restrictions. At the present stage where the U.S. efforts have suffered a setback, I think (Japan's cooperation, too) has ended without attaining successful results."

"Distrust in Asia of U.S. Policies"

Yesterday Mainichi, cited above, emphasized that "the U.S. misjudged the basic situation in Indochina, which led to one miscalculation after another.... One miscalculation was that the U.S. believed that the 'Vietnamization program' would enable the corrupt Thieu government to stop the Viet Cong forces from taking over South Vietnam."

The paper also held that "the adverse effects of the Paris agreement worked out by former President Nixon and the subsequent U.S. policy in Indochina resulted in damage to U.S. prestige.... It could be said that the Kissinger diplomacy invited failure because it tried to seek only temporary solutions and left basic problems unsolved."

It concluded that the growing distrust toward U.S. diplomacy would "lead Asian nations to seek more independent policies in the future."

Seoul: "World Is Skeptical About U.S. Commitments"

Today's independent Hankuk Ilbo expressed concern that "Hanoi will soon dominate Laos and Cambodia..." and asserted that "now the nations of the world are skeptical about U.S. commitments."

"Now Is the Time for a New Asian Policy"

Conservative independent Donga Ilbo remarked today, "Now is the time for the U.S. to come up with a new Asian policy of close cooperation with Asian allies.... If the U.S. Administration cannot fulfill its commitments, it will lose credibility among all allies and eventually will become a lonely 'paper tiger.'"

"Fortunate That Ford Stresses ROK-U.S. Treaty"

Middle-of-the-road Joongang Ilbo saw the Vietnam "tragedy" as a "valuable lesson for the U.S. as well as for Asian countries.... We learned from Vietnam that we must be stronger militarily, politically and psychologically."

It went on to assert, "We are concerned about America's Pacific defense system.... The ROK Government and the U.S. Government are urged to reaffirm the importance of ROK security for Asian defense.... It is fortunate that President Ford and other U.S. leaders stress the importance of the ROK-U.S. defense treaty."

Taipei: Papers Urge Strong U.S. Stand Against Communists

With the fall of Saigon, Taipei papers today urged a clear-cut new U.S. policy toward the Communists. The Kuomintang's Central Daily News stressed that any new U.S. Asian policy must reaffirm American determination to have no more retreats, articulate U.S. commitments and take concrete action in backing treaty obligations to restore crumbling U.S. credibility in Asia.

Top-circulation United Daily News today said it was futile to blame the U.S. for the loss of South Vietnam but said Asians must urge the U.S. to 1) condemn the USSR and the PRC for supporting the Viet Cong and flagrant violations of the Paris accords, 2) cancel Mr. Brezhnev's Washington visit and the European disarmament conference, 3) cancel President Ford's Peking visit and other important U.S.-PRC exchanges, and 4) clearly warn against further Communist expansion. Only through these strong commitments, the paper said, can Asian and other free world nations be saved.

Yesterday the China News stated that the U.S. presence in Asia "has kept the Asian peace for a quarter of a century except in Korea, and that exception was the result of an American withdrawal.... This is a time for Asians to speak up, to cite the record and to impress U.S. leaders and the American people with the fact that their participation in containment has kept the aggressors at bay and protected free Asia and the U.S. "

Hong Kong: "A Touch of Euphoria...a Triumph of Communism"

Today's South China Morning Post, in an article headed "The Nightmare Is Finally Over," wrote, "Today, for the first time for an entire generation, there is peace throughout Indochina from the China border to the southernmost Camau Peninsula. For the first time for 30 long years, the people of Vietnam can sleep without fear of sudden death or crippling injury. For the first time since the end of World War II, thought can now realistically be given to making plans for a future that will not suddenly be cut short by a bullet. For the moment, the Vietnamese people can be forgiven a touch of euphoria and relief that the murderous killing and maiming has stopped, but this should not be allowed to obscure the monumental problems that lie ahead."

The paper also carried an article titled "A Total Triumph for Communism" which said, "The forced, unconditional surrender of the South Vietnamese Government to the PRG completes another chapter of Communist expansion in Asia."

Manila: "Less Danger for Us Now"

A Bulletin Today columnist declared today, "Now that the Indochina war has come to a tragic close and the U.S. has formally washed its hands of the Vietnamese and Cambodians, we are really in less danger than during the fighting. The U.S. bases are no longer going to be used as staging area for sorties to the Indochina theater. We are less likely to be an arsenal for U.S. fighting troops in Asia. As a matter of fact, the Americans can abandon their bases here without losing anything--they have lost almost everything already..."

Malaysia: "Real Power of the U.S. Not Destroyed"

The Penang Star wrote Tuesday, "Despite the enormous resources poured into Indochina by the Americans, the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong could not be stopped.... More weapons--the asphyxiation bomb, and even the atom bomb--could have been thrown into the fray, and Hanoi razed, but would the spirit of the North Vietnamese have been eliminated, and the capacity of the South Vietnamese to govern effectively created? Hardly. The basic elements of strength and weakness would have remained."

It continued, "In actual fact the real power of the U.S. has not been destroyed, only weakened. Although the myth that the U.S. can do wonders has been demolished, much remains that it can do.... For the most part, the peoples of the world are increasingly interdependent. Power lies in cooperation and mutual confidence, not domination. As part of the world community, the U.S. can help provide leadership and continue to retain the world's respect."

Singapore: "U.S. on the Path of Neo-isolationism"

Yesterday's Chinese-language Nanyang Siang Pau of Singapore declared, "As far as Asia is concerned, the U.S. is definitely on the path of isolationism. For Americans, Israel is far more important than Indochina. The emergence of this new isolationism will surely have a great impact on future political developments in Asia. The world now enters a new stage."

Bangkok Radio: "U.S. Does Not Understand Asians"

A Bangkok radio commentator asserted today that the "second American failure in Southeast Asia," the first being the loss of China in 1949, was caused like the first because "the U.S. does not understand Asia and Asians." He added that "the U.S. failure in Southeast Asia was caused by flattering of Washington by its aid recipients--people who wanted American aid dollars for their own pockets."

"Congress and People Must Completely Change Attitudes"

Today's Chao Thai predicted that "the status of the U.S., not only in Asia but throughout the world, will steadily deteriorate in the future, because its allies will feel no trust and confidence in it again. At the same time, its enemies will

have proportionately less fear of it. It seems extremely difficult, or almost impossible for the U.S. to remedy the situation and to regain its lost prestige, unless the U.S. Congress and the American people completely change their views and attitudes."

The pro-U.S. Bangkok World contended today that the U.S. failed to win in Vietnam because four U.S. Administrations, beginning with President Eisenhower, "were mistaken in thinking that they had the necessary skill in Asian politics, or the right kind of army, to defeat North Vietnam and its allies."

It added, "But even in the moment of reckoning, it may help the Americans to remember that this loss was not in its origins a purposeless war. It was a conflict about a matter of substance (that South Vietnam's Government would be chosen by elections) and that matter of substance is closely related to what people still hope the U.S. can do in the world."

"We Thought America Was a Great Friend"

Yesterday, Thai-language Daily Time carried a columnist's assertion that "we can see that America's policy of getting involved with other countries is not out of fear that its friends would become Communist or sympathize with them, but its involvement is for American interests.... Formerly, not only did we think America was a friend but a great friend. Today we can't help thinking that we might be happier if we had not made its acquaintance."

New Delhi: "Damage to U.S. Moral Reputation"

Today's independent Statesman of New Delhi and Calcutta maintained today that it "was not only a war that was lost. Even the loss of what Kissinger regards as American credibility is less important than he thinks."

"Americans have suffered much greater loss by reason of the damage done to their moral reputation.... Complex adjustments will be needed in international relations, especially with neighbors in Indochina and with China and Russia..."

"Victims of Their Own Rhetoric"

N.J. Nanporia, the paper's editor, wrote yesterday, "Despite all the academic expertise at their command. Americans are as far away as ever from understanding the Asian mind. It is not that this mind--as popular fancy in the West seems to have it--is necessarily enigmatic. It seems rather that the American capacity for political empathy is strictly limited..."

Nanporia questioned whether Washington has as yet "fully shown the slightest indication of having grasped where exactly it all went wrong....In no other part of the world have Americans been so completely victims of their own rhetoric..."

Tehran: "South Vietnamese Rout May Partly Absolve U.S."

The independent Tehran Journal today asserted that "the final victory of the Viet Cong in Vietnam is not, in fact, something that has come suddenly in the last few months. The first signs came as long ago as 1968 when President Johnson announced his resignation from active political life because of the Vietnam conflict. Ever since that time, the world has seen the erosion of what little confidence existed in the ability of the Saigon regime to save itself from defeat to the hands of the Viet Cong.

"The sad and tragic debacle of the South Vietnamese abandoning one billion dollars worth of American-supplied arms and equipment in their hasty retreat may in part absolve the U.S. from total responsibility for the ultimate defeat. The U.S. did what it could in the circumstances, but it was the Vietnamese themselves who hastened the process that has been in the making for the last seven years..."

Beirut: "Showed U.S. to Be Imperialistic"

Independent anti-left an-Nahar of Beirut stated yesterday that "what fell in Vietnam was the pretension that American military presence abroad is for the defense of freedom. What triumphed in Vietnam was the principle that America is an imperialist empire..."

Yesterday's independent conservative al-Jarida wrote, "Twenty years ago, France faced a Vietnamese hell. America exploited France's weakness to throw it out and impose U.S. domination in its place. What America did to France, it did to Britain and all other friendly countries. All these states are gloating today over Saigon's fall and America's withdrawal, because America has never taken an honorable stand toward any weak or small state. All its stands were inspired by its own interest.... Even the Arabs who, in view of what the U.S. symbolizes concerning the rejection of international Communism, never thought that one day they would gloat over America's defeat, have cursed America because it sold them out and conspired against them for the sake of the aggressive state called Israel."

Dakar: "Americans Forsake Those Who Play Their Game"

Government-directed Le Soleil of Dakar ran a byliner's assertion yesterday that the Americans "with their formidable war machine thought they would be finished with Vietnam in a few months. But neither the B-52s, the napalm, nor the bombs got the better of these people of the rice fields. The Americans have taken more than ten years to understand the lesson of history: A people that fights for its liberty will never give up. So today they are leaving Vietnam... as perhaps tomorrow they will leave Korea or Taiwan, for they seem to be adopting this new way of forsaking those who yesterday played their game."

Accra: "Era of U.S. Brinkmanship Ends"

The Government-owned Daily Graphic of Accra wrote today, "We join the peace-loving peoples all over the world to salute the people of Vietnam on their resounding victory over the forces of oppression."

The Government-owned Ghanaian Times remarked today, "American reverses in Cambodia and South Vietnam have not done the U.S. any credit. If anything, it has lost credibility among its friends and allies and this will certainly have consequences in other parts of the world, especially in the Middle East, where the Israelis continue to occupy Arab territories.... The era of American brinkmanship in these parts of the world has come to an end. American diplomacy needs a constant review to face the reality and changes of the modern world."

Moscow Links "Unjust Cause" in Vietnam to U.S. Aid to Israel

Soviet media appeared reluctant to add to the woes of the United States over the Vietnam defeat. In commentaries hailing the "historic victory" of the "South Vietnamese patriots headed by the National Liberation Front," judgments of the "bankruptcy" of U.S. Vietnam policy have lacked the virulent propaganda expressions that have characterized North Vietnamese and even Peking output.

Radio Moscow's Arabic service last evening remarked on the coincidence of Yasir Arafat's visit to Moscow and the "brilliant victory scored by the people of South Vietnam...and now it has triumphed. In the light of this, the Soviet people's solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people takes on special significance....The Israeli aggressors...are still gambling on...the continuing flow of arms and funds from America," but just as the billions of American dollars failed to save "an unjust cause" in South Vietnam, so "the billions Israel obtains from America are also backing an unjust cause...increasing the pain and suffering of the Palestinian Arabs whose homeland has been stolen and who have been left destitute," and thus will ultimately fail.

Moscow TASS coverage of Secretary Kissinger's Tuesday news conference was straight reporting, with some stress on his remarks indicating a U.S. intention to continue developing relations with the USSR.

NCNA reported yesterday that "the U.S. Government in hot haste sent large numbers of helicopters to Saigon to evacuate the last Americans" and with that "the policy of military aggression and intervention against the Vietnamese people U.S. imperialism had pursued for years ended in total failure."

"The People Defeated a Big Imperialist Power"

The agency last evening transmitted an editorial slated for publication today in the People's Daily "warmly congratulating the South Vietnamese army and people on the liberation of Saigon." It said the South Vietnamese people "waged a heroic and tenacious struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and finally won a great victory in the war against U.S. aggression...a glorious example of the people of a small country resisting and defeating the aggression by a big imperialist power." It declared that "U.S. imperialism had launched at different times the most brutal 'special war,' 'local war,' in South Vietnam...in an attempt to force the South Vietnamese people to submit."