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GISSINGER: U.S. DOES NOT CONSIDER ITSELF IN CONFRONTATION WITH USSR; WARNS SOVIET NOT TO PROVOKE ONE

By Joseph Polakoff, JTA Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25 (JTA)--The United States warned the Soviet Union today in unmistakable terms not to provoke confrontation between them over the Middle East war but also spoke of opportunities for cooperation to bring peace with justice to the area through the United Nations. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger offered both the arrows and the olive branches in a news conference at the State Department that was broadcast live by radio and television throughout the world. He spoke in the name of President Nixon and his Administration.

Kissinger's comments came in the wake of a note from the Soviet government addressed to Nixon that the Soviet Union would use its own troops in Egypt to enforce the cease-fire unless the U.S. joined in a united police movement. But Nixon, acting with the unanimous opinion of the National Security Council, Kissinger said, rejected the threat of unilateral action, and this morning at 3 a.m. alerted the American armed forces throughout the world for possible movement to oppose the Soviet intrusion into the Arab-Israeli war.

In a preface prior to being questioned by reporters, Kissinger reminded the Soviet government that "there are limits beyond which we cannot go" and that the U.S. "would resist any attempt to exploit the policy of detente." It is easy "to start confrontations," he warned, "but in the age we are in we must know what will be in the end."

In his 45-minute press conference Kissinger said that the U.S. does not consider itself in a confrontation with the USSR over the Middle East and believes the two superpowers can still work together to bring Israel and the Arab states into negotiations for a permanent settlement. He stressed that the "United States does not favor and will not approve sending of a joint Soviet-United States force into the Middle East." Kissinger added that "the United States is even more opposed to the unilateral" interjection of the military forces of any other power, "particularly a nuclear power," under any "guise" into the area.

Meanwhile Nixon announced that he would postpone his press conference that was scheduled for tonight due to continuing developments in the Middle East, and Soviet Communist Party Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev announced that he too, would postpone his press conference that was also scheduled for this evening.

Earlier in the day Rep. Carl Albert, House Speaker, said that the alert was "only precautionary" and that "the overwhelming emphasis" on the Mideast by the United States "is on diplomacy." Albert spoke after a meeting of Congressional leaders with Nixon this morning.

UN Adopts Resolution On Peace-Keeping Force

Meanwhile, the United Nations Security Council resumed this afternoon a meeting which began yesterday. The session adopted by a vote of 14-0 with the People's Republic of China again not participating, a resolution introduced last night by eight non-aligned Council members. The

resolution called for the immediate creation of a "United Nations emergency force" for the Mideast composed of personnel of all UN member states excluding the Big Five.

It also specified that "an immediate and complete cease-fire be observed" and that battle forces be withdrawn to positions held Monday when the first cease-fire resolution was approved. Israeli Ambassador Yosef Tekoah said the resolution is accepted by Israel as a first step toward establishing the policy which Israel had called for, mainly cease-fire, negotiations and peace.

Mohammed el-Zayyat, Egypt's Foreign Minister, asked for the Council session last night because, he said, Israel was violating the cease-fire and Egypt wanted American and Soviet forces sent to the fighting area to end Israel's purported violations. Tekoah, addressing the Council, denied the Egyptian charge and said the cease-fire was in effect on both the Syrian and Suez fronts.

(A Rumanian government statement, issued in Bucharest today, proposed creation of a buffer zone between Israeli and Arab forces. United Nations observers or peace-keeping units would be assigned to keep the fighting forces apart, according to the Bucharest broadcast. The statement said a two-mile wide buffer zone would create a good atmosphere for negotiations between Israel and the Arabs.)

U.S. Prepared To Lend Assistance, Personnel

Kissinger, in his press conference, stressed that the U.S. stands on the strict observance of the cease-fire as adopted by two Security Council resolutions this week. He said the U.S. will support, give all assistance to and even contribute some personnel to the United Nations truce observer force that will report to the Security Council on cease-fire violations and aid in part in the humanitarian and other concerns. The U.S., he said, is also prepared to agree to an international force to be sent to the Mideast under UN auspices providing it does not contain any of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Kissinger said the resolutions creating the cease-fire for the first time in 25 years have called on the parties involved to negotiate a settlement. He said neither Israel nor the Arabs nor the U.S. and the USSR can allow this "opportunity" to be missed. He said as late as yesterday afternoon he and Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin discussed the site and participation for talks.

Conditions Cannot Be Allowed To Continue

Kissinger said the conditions that produced four wars between Israel and the Arab states in 25 years cannot be allowed to continue. He said the U.S. is making a serious effort to bring about negotiations and he believed the situation was now in a "crucial" state where the "chances for peace in the Middle East are quite promising."

He noted: "Israel has experienced once again the traumas of war" and is being given the opportunity for negotiations that it always sought; the Arab nations have now been assured that the other nations of the world are concerned about their problems; the Soviet Union is not threatened in any "of its legitimate interests in the Middle East"; the U.S. is interested in nothing more than

that the world "is safer and more secure"; and any peace arrived at must be "peace with justice."

Asked about the charge by Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D.Wash.) that the Soviet Union had sent a "brutal and threatening warning" to the U.S., Kissinger replied that Jackson was not "pry" to National Security Council meetings. He said he would not disclose the diplomatic exchanges until the situation was resolved one way or the other. Jackson said of the Soviet warning, that "this is terribly serious" and could bring about a Soviet-United States confrontation in the area. He added "we are right at the brink again," and he urged Americans to get behind the President "in a firm and united stand."

Mutual Interests To Prevent Nuclear War

On the question of detente, Kissinger said the U.S. always considered itself in an ideological and political rivalry with the Soviet Union but felt the two superpowers had a mutual interest in preventing a nuclear holocaust. He said if the U.S. and the USSR can work together to bring about peace in the Middle East then the detente will have proven itself.

At the outset of the press conference, Kissinger went over in summary form the events in the Middle East since the outbreak of war on Oct. 6. He reiterated that the U.S. as well as Israel did not expect the Arab attack and that the U.S. tried to work for a cease-fire and moderation in the area. Kissinger said he went to Moscow last Saturday at Brezhnev's request and that the discussions there developed a formula the U.S. believed was acceptable to all parties and would lead to a "just solution."

BOTH FRONTS ARE QUIET

TEL AVIV, Oct. 25 (JTA)--The first night of the second Mideast cease-fire passed quietly on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts, save for occasional salvos of artillery fire. Israeli forces maintained the cease-fire and while Syria's acceptance of it was somewhat uncertain, Israeli forces were ordered to hold their fire as long as the Syrians did the same.

Three UN observer teams reached the Israeli lines on the road to Damascus today and one team established an observation post on Mt. Hermon. Other posts were set up at Tel Shams on the main Damascus road and a third established itself more to the south. Terrorist activities declined significantly and only one incident of shelling was reported last night. There were no casualties or damage.

On the Egyptian front some relaxation of tension was noticeable but Israeli soldiers continued to dig fox holes along the west bank salient and convoys of trucks continued to cross the canal in a non-stop movement of supplies.

Otherwise the scene is peaceful in the "green belt" along the west shores of the Suez Canal which contrasts sharply with the parched rock and sand of the east bank. This is a region of oases fringed by date palms, irrigation canals, orchards, gardens and tall grass.

Israeli army vehicles are everywhere--tanks, halftracks, self-propelled artillery, civilian vehicles recruited for war and heavy engineering equipment such as bulldozers, tractors and mobile cranes. Army work crews are paving the dirt roads and are broadening Israel's access routes to the west bank of the canal. (By Yitzhak Shargil.)

SENATOR SAYS ISRAEL SHOULD KEEP ALL UNLESS SOVEREIGNTY IS GUARANTEED

NEW YORK, Oct. 25 (JTA)--"Israel should not give back one inch of territory without guarantees that her sovereignty will be recognized and her security assured," Sen. Bob Packwood (R.Ore.) said here last night. The Senator addressed an audience of about 800 business leaders gathered at a dinner at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel to honor William M. Batten, chairman of the Board of the J. C. Penny Co. Batten was presented with the Americanism Award of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith by Seymour Graubard, ADL national chairman.

Denouncing Arab use of economic coercion, Packwood declared that "the United States will not be blackmailed into abandoning such allies as Israel--which has a right to exist--in exchange for oil from its enemies." In this connection, the Senator forecast a new era in international politics in which natural resources such as oil, wheat and soy beans will be used as weapons in a fierce economic competition and he added that those nations unable to compete or who abandon allies will be relegated to second class national status.

Packwood stressed that even though a cease-fire may halt the firing, the United States must continue to supply Israel "with sufficient arms not only to defend herself but to negotiate for its peace and security from a position of parity." At the same time, however, he also warned that the United States should not attempt to impose its ideas upon the Middle East nations but should help create conditions enabling Arabs and Israelis to settle the dispute between them. "Any settlement that is unacceptable to any of the parties will not last," he concluded.

NARKISS ASSESSES ISRAEL'S VICTORY

NEW YORK, Oct. 25 (JTA)--Maj. Gen. Uzi Narkiss said last night that Israel's current military victory is far greater than it was in 1967 against the Arab aggressors. Appearing on Channel 5 Metromedia TV, Narkiss told an interviewer that in 1967 Israel was not surprised by a sneak attack and that the hostilities lasted only six days. This time, Israel was surprised and it took the Israeli armed forces two days to counter-attack and take the offensive which it then continued to hold, he said.

Narkiss, who is the special assistant to Israel's Chief of Staff Gen. David Elazar, was asked by the interviewer to assess the fighting capabilities of the Egyptians and Syrians. He responded by noting that many people forgot that the Arab armies in 1948 "fought very well. In 1967, when they were on the offensive they did very well and scored many successes. People only remember the smashing end of our victory and forget that in the first days they fought well. In this war, some of their units also fought well and some very well."

Earlier last night, at a press conference at the Israeli Consulate in New York, Narkiss described the cease-fire as "good for Israel because we are first and foremost opposed to killing." Referring to the Israeli POWs he expressed hope that they will be returned "as the cease-fire takes hold."

Narkiss, who came to this country for a short visit to speak on behalf of the Israel Bond Organization, said that there are some 360 Israeli POWs in Egypt and Syria. He stated that the POWs are being mistreated, especially so in the first few days of the war. He affirmed that Israel has provided "good conditions" for the more than 1300 Arab POWs.

COORDINATED CAMPAIGN TO RAISE \$280 M

NEW YORK, Oct. 25 (JTA)--New York's two major Jewish philanthropic organizations, the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York, and the Federation of Jewish-Philanthropies, announced today agreement on a single coordinated campaign to raise \$280 million in an unprecedented effort to respond adequately to the current emergency in Israel and to assure that local health, educational and social service needs here are met.

Laurence A. Tisch, president of the Greater New York UJA, and Lawrence Buttenwieser, president of the Federation, told a press conference that the organizations--the two largest of their kinds in the United States--will launch the joint drive on Nov. 1 covering New York City, Westchester and Long Island.

The campaign will be known as the "Israel Emergency Fund and Coordinated Campaigns" of the two agencies. The two presidents said that no merger was involved. Of the sum being sought, \$250 million is for the UJA and \$30 million for the Federation. Participants at the press conference were Mayor John V. Lindsay, who called the effort "a landmark campaign," and Sanford Solender and Ernest Michel.

Tisch said the \$250 million was more than three times as much as the largest amount ever raised by the New York UJA. Buttenwieser said that the Federation was suspending its fund-raising for building and capital purposes for the duration of the emergency. They said that coordination of the two campaigns was an important step in mobilizing the maximum philanthropic resources of the Jewish community.

SHAPIRO DEMANDS DAYAN RESIGN

By David Landau, JTA Jerusalem Correspondent

JERUSALEM, Oct. 25 (JTA)--Justice Minister Yaacov Shimshon Shapiro demanded last night the resignation of his Labor Party colleague Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, but Premier Golda Meir reiterated her confidence in Dayan this morning. Dayan issued a statement today declaring that he would remain in office as long as the Cabinet backed him and would ignore demands by individual members. Dayan reportedly submitted his resignation to Premier Meir several days ago but she refused to accept it.

These startling developments on the heels of the fledgling cease-fire marked the first public rupture within the government over who was responsible for Israel having been caught by surprise when Egypt and Syria launched their assault Oct. 6.

The attack on Dayan by a senior minister of the Labor Party was more scathing than anything said in the Knesset this week by the leader of the opposition, Menachem Begin, who assailed Premier Meir Tuesday night for accepting the Security Council's cease-fire resolution charged that the government was responsible for Israel being taken by surprise Oct. 6. Begin addressed the Knesset following a lengthy report on the war and the cease-fire by Mrs. Meir.

Shapiro accused Dayan of serious failures before and during the latest Middle East war and demanded that he "beg forgiveness" at the grave of the late Premier Levi Eshkol whom Dayan replaced as Defense Minister on the eve of the Six-Day War. Shapiro suggested that he might resign if Dayan didn't, but made it clear this morning that he has not submitted his resignation.

Shapiro, one of the few ministers in Israel's history who himself was forced to resign by

pressure of public opinion last year in the wake of the Netivei Neft Sinai oil scandal inquiry, but who three-months after his resignation was brought back into the government by Mrs. Meir, apparently has no support in the Labor Party at this time for his attack on Dayan. A close confidant of the late Premier Eshkol--whose memory Shapiro defended in his attack on Dayan--told the JTA privately today that he doubted if Eshkol, had he lived, would have thanked Shapiro for his behavior.

Dayan's Future Seems Threatened

Many Laborites resented Shapiro's airing of his feelings publicly instead of taking them to the Premier or to the Cabinet. But this is not to say that eventually, in the future when the fear of war has receded, the Party's own knives will not be sharpened against Dayan and he will be thrown to the wolves as the scapegoat for Israel's failure to obtain early and convincing victory.

At the moment it would be inopportune to drive Dayan out, the Party leaders feel. For one thing, there may be unpleasant and unpopular political decisions which the Cabinet will be forced or urged or required to take in the near future--and it would prefer to take them with Dayan on the inside rather than on the outside accusing the others of weakness. Ultimately, however, someone's head will probably roll over the war and especially the pre-war misassessment. Perhaps it will be that of a general or several officers. But Dayan is the man democratically responsible.

A lot will depend on how Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, the Labor Party "strong man," views the situation. If Sapir throws his weight behind Dayan he will be saved. But if Sapir joins the forces baying for Dayan's blood, the Defense Minister's days will be numbered.

Apart from the weighty political decisions to be taken, another factor weighing with Sapir in these pre-election days is the balance of power vis-a-vis Likud and especially the added popularity and glow of heroism with which Gen. Arik Sharon might emerge from the war. Many people will say that if Dayan is no longer to control the army they want Sharon. The Labor Party's candidate would be Gen. Haim Barlev, who was installed in mid-war as supreme commander of the southern front. But though a vastly competent general, Barlev has none of the charisma of either Dayan or Sharon.

Dayan Issues Statement

Meanwhile, Dayan issued a statement this morning saying: "The Minister of Defense is responsible to the Cabinet and the Knesset for the actions of the Israel Defense Forces and of the Ministry of Defense. He does not consider himself obligated to respond to the personal demand or comments of any individual Cabinet member. If Mr. Dayan did not enjoy the complete confidence of the Prime Minister he would submit his resignation."

Mrs. Meir's office stated later that some days ago Dayan had offered to resign if the Premier no longer had confidence in him. The Premier had assured him that she retained full confidence in him. All the questions and examinations connected with the war, she said, would be carried out in due course within the Cabinet. Now was not the time.

LATE NEWS BULLETIN: UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim announced in the Security Council late this afternoon that some 900 troops from the UN peace-keeping force in Cyprus would be transferred as the advance party of the Mideast force.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

RUSSIA APPEARS TO BE THE BIG WINNER IN THE FOURTH ARAB-ISRAEL WAR

By Joseph Polakoff, JTA Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25 (JTA)--Who won the fourth Arab-Israeli war? Russia appears to be the big winner and China the little winner. But those roles might ultimately be reversed. Everybody else involved lost, including Western Europe. This is the tentative analysis of some diplomatic and political observers here of the results of the Egyptian-Syrian attacks on Israel on Oct. 6. By supplying equipment, advisors and technicians to Egypt, Syria and Iraq and diplomatic support at appropriate moments, Moscow firmly reestablished itself with most Arabs in those three countries as their champion. Propagandistically, the Soviets also pleased their Arab clients by rhetorically whipping and threatening the Israelis at the Security Council and their media apparatus. All this augurs well for the Soviet future in the Middle East. However, without any expenditures and only by propaganda and diplomatic tactics, particularly at the United Nations in New York, China seems to have improved its position with Arab elements like the Palestine guerrillas and anti-governmental forces in Arab countries by arguing that the Soviets did not commit enough resources to the Arabs and that is why the Arabs again failed to overwhelm Israel. Although this line is plainly untenable it may work in the long run for China.

Egypt and Syria were the big losers. Their armor was smashed and their armies at the point of destruction when the cease-fires were called. Additionally, Israeli forces for the first time stood west of the Suez and took over more territory from Egypt than the Egyptians, even by surprise attack, could hold in the Sinai. Syria was routed everywhere. Besides these military and territorial disasters, Egypt and Syria are more indebted than ever to the Kremlin politically. Israel too is a heavy loser. The manpower that bled and died on two fronts can never be replaced. Funds essential to absorb emigrants and improve the country's general economy again had to be diverted to the wastes of war.

In addition, Israel too has become more tightly embraced by Washington economically, militarily and politically. But who else will help Israel? Western Europe should be interested in standing by Israel as a cultural and strategic ally if not on moral grounds which are ample enough. But most Europeans only pin-pricked Israel and lost prestige by doing practically nothing to lead the way towards ending the crisis.

Israel, however, did not lose in the military sense. Brig. Gen. (Ret.) S.L.A. Marshall, military affairs analyst for the Los Angeles Times, noted that when the third Saturday arrived after Oct. 6 "the Arab armies were at the brink of another total disaster, partly due to a collapse of morale following heavy losses, but owing still more to miserably bad generalship. Their air arm was already defeated." Israel's superb military gains were all the more impressive, even more so than in the Six-Day War, because as Maj. Gen. Uzi Narkiss noted, in 1967 the Israelis were not caught by surprise, whereas this time the Arabs began the offensive in a surprise and sneak attack, but Israel was able to take the counter-offensive and hold all positions.

The United States lost too. As never before the Arab world is bitter against it as indicated by the Arab oil boycotts and the fulminations by Saudi Arabia, the Soviet Union, the Arabs and the unaligned bloc in the Security Council. Now there is loud talk in the United States and Europe for a joint American-Soviet force to keep the Middle East peace which means that for the first time Russians may be in the Levant at the crossroads of the world. (Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger affirmed today that the U.S. would not send any troops to the Middle East and did not approve sending a joint U.S.-USSR force to that area. See P. 1 for complete story.) But observers suspect that Washington also suffered a tremendous psychological defeat in this crisis. The Kremlin, not the White House, called the plays. The Soviets placed the equipment, trained the attackers, laid out the plans and then only hours before the attacks were launched, allowed some of their people to leave ostensibly to indicate they had nothing to do with the attacks. But the U.S. apparently never was informed by their Soviet diplomatic friends of this grim breach of the principles of the Moscow summit conference.

While the U.S. sought to stop the fighting with appeals for restraint in the first days, even while the Israelis were under severe strain, the Soviets stood aloof and only continued testing their new sophisticated weapons on the Middle East ranges. But when Americans began emphasizing that detente was being shattered and more importantly to the Russians when Egyptians and Syrians were reeling backwards, the Kremlin suddenly told the White House it wanted to talk and the White House complied.

The results again were in the Soviet's favor. All that apparently came out of the high level talks was a cease-fire agreement that saved the Egyptian and Syrian armies. There is no sign of a peace settlement with justice for Israel as well as for the Arabs. Now it begins to appear the Russians may be even gaining in their argument that a settlement must be "imposed" on Israel, meaning that Israel must return to the old lines of pre-June 1967 when Nasser thought he would make mincemeat of the Israelis.

Washington is still insisting that Israel and the Arabs negotiate a peace themselves but words that emerge about the diplomatic discussions taking place behind the scenes indicate Washington may decide to accept at least part of the Russian view to impose a settlement on Israel in a diplomatic action that will restore some standing for Washington with the Arabs and save detente at Israel's expense.

ISRAEL TO SUPPLY BLOOD PLASMA TO EGYPTIAN THIRD ARMY

TEL-AVIV, Oct. 25 (JTA)--Israel has agreed to supply blood plasma to the Egyptian Third Army which has been encircled by Israeli forces, an Israeli military spokesman said here tonight. Col. Nahman Karni told correspondents that the agreement followed a request from Cairo through the International Red Cross, apparently after the Egyptians found it complicated to get plasma to the troops.