



daily news bulletin

Published by Jewish Telegraphic Agency 165 West 46th St. New York, N.Y. 10036
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Vol. XLII - 57th Year

Wednesday, February 20, 1974

No. 35

DAYAN SAYS HE WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE NEXT CABINET Decision Hits Israel As A Bombshell

TEL AVIV, Feb. 19 (JTA)--Defense Minister Moshe Dayan has decided not to participate in the next Cabinet. He informed his close friends within the Labor Party of his decision and it was confirmed today by one of them--Transport Minister Shimon Peres--who told the Labor Knesset faction that he was authorized by Dayan to convey his decision to the Party. Peres intimated that Dayan's decision was prompted by criticism against him within the Labor Party.

Dayan's decision came as a bombshell amid Israel's current political turmoil and its effects on Premier Golda Meir's so far fruitless efforts to put together a new governing coalition could not be immediately gauged. Dayan said only last week that he would not resign from the caretaker government under pressure from his critics because that would be tantamount to confessing responsibility for Israel's military deficiencies at the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War. He said at the same time, however, that he would not serve in a new government unless that government had absolute confidence in him.

There is no new government, but apparently Dayan was convinced that he does not enjoy the full confidence of his own party. He has been the target of bitter attacks within the Labor Alignment, notably from Mapam and its affiliated Hakibbutz Haartzi movement, but also from various Labor MKs. Many of them publicly endorsed a one-man campaign for his ouster conducted by a Yom Kippur War veteran, Capt. Mordechai Ashkenazi, outside the Prime Ministers Office last week. The MKs who signed Ashkenazi's petition calling for Dayan's resignation were not reproved by the party.

Far-Reaching Political Implications

Dayan's move may have far-reaching political implications. The Defense Minister would be a key figure in any Labor-led coalition government and his refusal to participate in the next Cabinet could fracture Mrs. Meir's Labor Party. There was speculation here tonight that Dayan's old faction--Rafi--would pull out of the party if Dayan did. Without Rafi, Labor would lose its slim Knesset majority. Some circles expressed the view that Dayan's disclosure of his decision not to join the next government was a dramatic move to propel the Labor Party toward a national unity coalition with Likud.

Dayan has differed with the Labor Party leadership's position against a national coalition and his views are shared by his former Rafi colleagues. He refrained from pressing them until now because he thought the decision was Mrs. Meir's to make and didn't want to put forth obstacles in her path toward a new government. Mapam has made it clear that it would not join a government that includes Likud.

Likud leader Menachem Begin appeared elated at the news of Dayan's decision. He told reporters at the Knesset today that Dayan's move climaxed the crisis of confidence in the country. He said it proved that the Labor Party no longer enjoyed the nation's support despite its numerical majority in the Knesset. If

Mrs. Meir cannot produce a government by the Wednesday deadline, President Ephraim Katzir should call on Likud to attempt it, Begin said.

When Dayan's decision was announced, the NRP was embroiled in a stormy internal session over whether to accept a compromise on the "Who is a Jew?" issue. After hearing the news, Zevulun Hammer a leader of the NRP's "young guard" proposed that the party adopt a resolution refusing to join any coalition government that did not include Dayan. The NRP meeting continued on through the night and there was no report of its outcome. (By Yitzhak Shargil.)

FRANCO-LIBYAN PACT CALLS FOR EXCHANGE OF ARMS FOR OIL

PARIS, Feb. 19 (JTA)--France and Libya today signed an agreement providing for the continued sale of Libyan oil to France in exchange for French technical know-how, industrial help and the construction of an unspecified number of nuclear reactors. The agreement was signed here this morning by French Premier Pierre Messmer and Libyan Prime Minister Abdel Salam Jallud.

The Franco-Libyan agreement is believed to include secret clauses providing for the sale of sophisticated French-made weapons, including the F-1 Mirage fighter bomber and air-to-ground and ground-to-air missiles. French sources indicated that the agreement which will ensure Libyan oil supplies to France for some 10 years, is worth some \$60 billion.

The agreement, these sources say, also provides for French know-how and investments in manpower in building Libya's telecommunications, transport telephone and cable network and agricultural development. A joint Franco-Libyan communique released after the signing of the agreement says that France will also construct and help Libya run a number of nuclear reactors which will be used for peaceful purposes. Jallud, who paid a six-day official visit to France, left this afternoon.

HEATH EXPRESSES SYMPATHY FOR POWs

LONDON, Feb. 19 (JTA)--Prime Minister Edward Heath, in a letter to Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits, has expressed concern for Israeli POWs in Syria and said that the British government has been urging Syria to release their names. "The British government has several times been in touch with the Syrian government on this matter," Heath wrote, "and we have urged them on grounds of humanity, at least to provide a list of names." Heath said that "the best hope of progress in this sad situation must now rest in a successful outcome to the military and political negotiations taking place at this moment. I earnestly pray that success may come soon and allow the prisoners and their families to be reunited."

KISSINGER GOING TO THE MIDDLE EAST TO TRY TO ESTABLISH DISENGAGEMENT TALKS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19 (JTA)--Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger will go to the Middle East next week to try to establish disengagement talks between Israel and Syria. President Nixon, who made the announcement today to reporters in the presence of Kissinger and the Foreign Minis-

ters of Egypt and Saudi Arabia--Ismail Fahmy and Omar Saquaf--with whom he had just concluded a 90-minute meeting in the Oval Office, said Kissinger's objective was "getting talks started as soon as possible." He described disengagement talks on the Syrian front as the immediate problem in the Middle East.

State Department spokesman George Vest announced later that Kissinger would leave for the Mideast next Monday. Vest said he would visit Damascus and Jerusalem and other capitals in the region, but did not specify the order of the visits or the other capitals. It was believed that the latter are Cairo, Riyadh and Algiers.

Vest would shed no light on the puzzlement of reporters who recalled that only yesterday Kissinger had indicated he would not visit the Middle East again until some sort of a "framework" developed for Israeli-Syrian disengagement talks. Informed sources here intimated that there may have been some shift in Syria's attitude toward disengagement which was conveyed to Nixon and Kissinger by Fahmy and Saquaf. But there was no hint of what that shift might be--if it exists at all.

Vest told reporters that Kissinger was "in steady touch" with Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz and was also "in touch" with Soviet officials--but only "in touch." He said he knew of no consultations with the Russians, indicating that Kissinger was merely keeping them informed of developments.

No Mention Of Arab Oil Embargo

Nixon said the talks covered "mutual problems regarding a permanent settlement" in the Middle East and "normal relations, economic and otherwise, with countries of that part of the world." Neither the President, Kissinger nor the two Arab ministers made any direct allusion to the Arab oil embargo and all four declined to answer reporters' questions. But Saquaf remarked that "We feel hopeful something will happen soon for the benefit of the U.S., the Middle East and the world as a whole."

Nixon did not respond when asked by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reporter if he had "any good news today." The question was prompted by Fahmy's affirmative reply when he was asked by a reporter yesterday if he and Saquaf would have "good news" for the President when they met with him. Fahmy and Saquaf said they agreed with Nixon's summation of their meeting but gave no concrete details. The President indicated that Kissinger's trip to the Middle East was at the express request of the two Arab foreign ministers who conveyed the wishes of the governments of Syria, Egypt, Algeria and Saudi Arabia on that subject at the Arab meeting in Algiers last week.

Nixon said the Secretary of State will go to the Middle East after his visit to Mexico City this Thursday-Saturday for talks with Latin American foreign ministers. Saquaf, who addressed the President as "my friend," said the White House meeting was "a very good and constructive discussion" and that "the President summarized everything." Fahmy said he hoped the Israelis and Syrians would start working on disengagement with the U.S., actively participating as it did on the Egyptian front with success. He said he was "pleased" that "the U.S. will continue to work for a permanent and just peace for the benefit of the countries of the area."

Fahmy and Saquaf, who arrived in Washington Saturday night from Paris, met with Nixon after a series of meetings with Kissinger over

the weekend. As they posed with the President for photographers before starting their meeting they were heard discussing with the President the Islamic summit meeting to open Friday in Lahore, Pakistan. The foreign ministers of 30 Islamic countries arrived in Lahore today to prepare an agenda for the meeting which reportedly includes "the liberation of Jerusalem" and support for the Palestinians. It is not known whether there was any further discussion of the Lahore meeting between Nixon and the Arab ministers today. (By Joseph Polakoff)

MUM IS THE WORD

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19 (JTA)--White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler refused today to answer reporters' follow-up questions on President Nixon's meeting with Ismail Fahmy and Omar Saquaf, the Foreign Ministers of Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Ziegler said he had been instructed by Nixon, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and the other participants in the meeting--meaning the Arabs--to add nothing to the President's statement after the meeting.

The reporters had wanted to know specifically whether the Arab oil embargo and the upcoming Islamic summit meeting in Lahore, Pakistan had been discussed at today's meeting in the Oval Office. They also wanted to know if the two Arab ministers had brought Nixon the "good news" that Fahmy intimated yesterday they had for the President. Nixon, Kissinger and the two Arabs ignored those questions when they appeared before reporters after their meeting.

Saquaf meanwhile held a closely guarded press conference at the Shoreham Hotel this afternoon, restricted to a handful of journalists selected by the Saudi Arabian Embassy. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency was informed later by one of the journalists present that Saquaf had claimed that the oil embargo was not mentioned at the Nixon meeting.

He also reportedly said that the key to lifting the embargo lay, in a way, with Syrian-Israeli disengagement talks. The Saudian minister reportedly said that the Arabs made no conditions for ending the embargo but had made a series of recommendations. One of these was that the U.S. should share the \$2.2 billion allocated to help Israel with the Arabs, who he said, were suffering more.

According to JTA's informant, that remark was greeted with undisguised amusement by the reporters in light of the tens of billions of dollars in profits enjoyed by the Arab oil producers because of the rise in oil prices. Saquaf also reportedly said the U.S. should act justly and fairly, help those who suffer and remain neutral and without prejudice in the Middle East. He reportedly mentioned that the Arab oil ministers will meet in 2-3 weeks to make decisions but did not say if they would be related to the oil embargo.

TEL AVIV (JTA)--The last Israel Airforce plane took off from Fayid airport today signaling the approaching end to Israel's occupation of Egyptian territory west of the Suez Canal. The last Israeli ground units will leave the west bank salient this Thursday--Feb. 21--according to the disengagement timetable. The last unit to be evacuated will be the one that was the first to thrust across the canal at the height of the Yom Kippur War four months ago. According to one report, the departing Israeli soldiers will swim the width of the canal. Meanwhile, Israeli and Egyptian teams increased efforts to locate and exhumate the bodies of fallen soldiers still in the battle areas.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES: SOLZHENITSYN'S OUSTER BODES ILL FOR SOVIET JEWISH ACTIVISTS

By Murray Zuckoff, JTA News Editor

NEW YORK, Feb. 19 (JTA)--The deportation of Alexander Solzhenitsyn last Wednesday bodes ill for the future of Soviet Jews campaigning for the right to emigrate. The arrest and expulsion of the Nobel Laureate was the climax of a fierce campaign against him sparked by his latest book, "The Gulag Archipelago," which deals with the Soviet prison camps and Stalin's plot to exterminate Soviet Jewry. According to an announcement by Tass, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet stripped Solzhenitsyn of his citizenship "for performing systematically actions that are incompatible with being a citizen of the USSR and detrimental to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Last Friday, two days after the expulsion, there was an announcement in Washington that a group of Soviet officials will be visiting various cities in the United States as guests of leading business executives. This visit, arranged after Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev was here last June, is an effort to win community support for expanding commercial deals between the two nations as a means of pump-priming their economies. (The 20-member delegation headed by Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Nikolai Patolichev will arrive in New York next Sunday and go directly to Washington for a meeting of the Soviet-American Trade Council on Feb. 26. Afterwards each member will be accompanied to a specific community by his American business host.)

The expulsion and visit, seemingly disparate events, may be viewed as intertwined--if not in point of time then certainly in terms of intent. Neither of the two events take place in a vacuum. There is a basic motivation which links the two together: detente. Both the USSR and the U.S. are impelled toward this end by their respective domestic crises and the international political scene. In the U.S. there is mounting unemployment, an energy crisis, an Administration trying to extricate itself from the Watergate imbroglio and a large section of population suffering from inflation. In the Soviet Union the agricultural sector is in trouble, there is an undercurrent of discontent in some sections of the working class over the inordinate expenditures for military hardware for Russia's Arab clients, there are signs of growing friction between the Communist Party leadership and the military establishment, and difficulties with China. Both the U.S. and USSR are involved in a mutual undertaking to help resolve the Middle East crisis, expand their international markets, find ways to cooperate in scientific ventures and try to limit their military hardware.

Detente requires first and foremost peace within each camp: stable governments capable of dealing with these problems. The expulsion of Solzhenitsyn may be an effort on the part of the Soviet regime to show that it is in complete control of its social structure. In order to achieve detente with the U.S., the Soviet leadership has to prove that there is a stable and solid leadership, not one embarrassed and humiliated by critics. There is some feeling that the deportation of Solzhenitsyn, rather than confining him to prison, is a sop to detente. If so, then the distribution of sops has a double standard if one considers the fate of the Panovs and the more than 40 Prisoners of Conscience. There is some similarity between the ouster of the dissident author with the situation in the 1930s regarding both detente and the suppression of dissent in the USSR. During the 1930s "detente" between the Soviet Union and the U.S. was also impelled by domestic problems in each country and by the world situation.

In the U.S. there was unprecedented unemployment, massive strikes, left and right-wing movements threatening to topple the government, rampant hunger and starvation. In the USSR the five-year plans were failing to reach their projected goals, forced collectivization of agriculture was creating pockets of resistance against the government, there was widespread famine, and there was mounting organized opposition led by Leon Trotsky to the leadership of Stalin-Kamenev-Zinoviev. Internationally, Nazism was taking hold in Germany, there was a war in the Far East, a civil war in Spain, Italy was attacking Ethiopia, and the League of Nations was impotent in dealing with these events.

Efforts To Seal Crack In Detente

The deportation of Solzhenitsyn has no exact parallel in Soviet history but there are examples that may be useful to recall. In 1929 Trotsky was exiled, the last exile until now. Five years later, following the assassination in 1934 of Leningrad's Communist Party chief, Sergei Kirov, a series of purges, arrests, trials and executions began, and lasted for four years. The trials, parenthetically began one year after the U.S. extended diplomatic recognition to the USSR. The four years of terror can be viewed not only as an attempt to liquidate the Left Opposition led by Trotsky in order to make the USSR more politically acceptable to the West, but also to strengthen the Stalinist regime internally by eliminating critics, thus making it appear a stronger ally for the West. (While the trials against the Left Opposition were taking place a parallel trial against Zionists was also occurring. In 1936 several Jewish officials of Biro-Bidjan were executed.)

The exiling of Solzhenitsyn is ominous beyond the immediate act of silencing a critic by expelling him from his native soil. It is ominous because it tends to reveal the extent to which the Soviet leadership is willing--and capable, even in face of international protests--to go to terminate its own "Watergate" scandal: the revelations about the prison camps. It is ominous especially in terms of Jewish activism because the basis for Solzhenitsyn's expulsion--"performing systematically actions that are incompatible with being a citizen of the USSR"--can be used as a precedent against the activists.

Solzhenitsyn's deportation appears to indicate that the threshold of tolerance for dissidence has been crossed. For the past several years the most organized expression of dissent has been that of Soviet Jews. By their very actions and demands the right of the Soviet government to determine the fate of its citizens has been challenged. The demand for emigration rights created a crack in the Soviet armor and led to world-wide public outcries. The demand for the right to emigrate is also less abstract than the ponderous writings of Soviet intellectuals like Solzhenitsyn, Roy Medvedev and Andrei Sakharov and has had more impact on other Soviet minorities. But the Jews,

by the very nature of their demand, cannot be exiled because exile would be tantamount to giving them their freedom. It is inconceivable at this time to expect that the Soviet government will open up the labor camps and permit the more than 40 Jewish prisoners of conscience to be exiled "for performing systematically actions that are incompatible with being a citizen of the USSR." More likely, what appears to be in store for those Jewish activists not already in labor camps is imprisonment and/or banishment to the far corners of the Soviet Union itself in order to isolate and atomize their struggles.

In addition, there is some feeling that the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn may serve as a warning to Jewish activists that from now on demands for emigration will be viewed more openly as anti-state activity and therefore be subject to greater restraints and reprisals. Moreover, the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn may also be a test case for the future of detente: if high Administration officials remain silent about this, can a discreet and growing silence about the fate of Jewish activists be far behind?

In the efforts on the part of both countries to extricate themselves from their internal difficulties and cope with international problems, the plight of Soviet Jews becomes a negligible and dispensable factor--in fact, an irritant in the body politic of both countries. There is growing apprehension that the future of Soviet Jewry may be sacrificed on the altar of detente. There is also a gnawing feeling in some quarters that the economics of detente are more basic to the social well-being of both the U.S. and USSR than the moral issues involving freedom and the right to criticize.

U.S. HELPED ARABS PREPARE FOR WAR, CONGRESSMAN LONG REPORTS

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19 (JTA)--The eleven Arab countries that joined in the Yom Kippur War against Israel received \$8.952 billion in assistance from the U.S. government and American oil companies in the six years before the conflict, according to Rep. Clarence D. Long (D,Md.). This amount, Long says in statements prepared for presentation to the Congress, is almost two and one half times the estimated \$3.7 billion the military and economic aid that the Soviet Union gave the Arab states and more than four times the U.S. government's credits and gifts totaling \$2 billion to Israel in the U.S. fiscal years 1968-73 that ended last June 30.

Long, however, believes that his estimate of Soviet military aid to the Arab countries "is probably low" since he used as a base the annual average of Arab imports from 1968-71 and Soviet arms supplies "increased substantially in 1972 and 1973 as the Arabs prepared for the October 1973 war," he said. Long, who holds a Princeton doctorate in economics and is a leading member of several Congressional economic committees, compiled the data to support a series of three resolutions he has offered to Congress.

These recommend a Soviet-American conference that would design limits on the flow of arms to the Middle East, deny U.S. government economic assistance to the Soviet Union until it agrees to cooperate for the elimination of international tensions particularly in the Middle East and to curb the system that enables oil companies to pay taxes into the Arab treasuries and then deduct them dollar for dollar from their taxes to the U.S. Treasury.

Long estimated that the oil companies credits for taxes in the six years totaled \$5.7 billion. The Congressman called these credits "invisible foreign aid" and charged that "it is probable that the United States encouraged" massive investments by American companies in the Arab oil countries "by helping the Arabs write appropriate tax laws." (By Joseph Polakoff)

AJCONGRESS LEADER OPTIMISTIC ABOUT FUTURE OF U.S. JEWRY

NEW YORK, Feb. 19 (JTA)--The president of the American Jewish Congress has drawn an optimistic picture of the future of the U.S. Jewish community, citing as one reason the failure of "hate groups" to exploit the energy crisis for anti-Semitic purposes. "The feared backlash against the Jewish community because of the Arab oil embargo has not happened," Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg declared in an address marking his reelection as president of the Congress.

"The epidemic of confrontation between Blacks and Jews is subsiding," he said. "Christian-Jewish relations appear to be even better on the person-to-person level in the community than they are among the official spokesmen of the major religious bodies. These and similar developments bode well for the future of the Jewish community, because they show our society is strong enough to sustain major shocks and even radical change without making any racial, religious or ethnic group the scapegoat. There is grumbling--but we are not hating one another," he declared.

Rabbi Hertzberg spoke at a luncheon session yesterday of the organization's biennial convention in the Roosevelt Hotel. Immediately following the luncheon, 132 of the 500 delegates boarded an El Al jet to conclude their convention with an eight-day "leadership mission" to Israel. The Israel portion of the convention--the first ever to be held by the Congress in Israel--will include meetings with Premier Golda Meir and political, military and educational leaders across Israel's political spectrum.

The convention marked the centennial of Stephen S. Wise's birth with the presentation to Shad Polier, Rabbi Wise's son-in-law and a veteran leader of the Congress, of two leather-bound volumes of a civil rights newsletter prepared by Polier over a 10-year period beginning in the mid-fifties. Howard M. Squadron was re-elected chairman of the Congress' national Governing Council. Stanley H. Lowell was re-elected senior national vice president.

DAYAN TO LAUNCH \$1 B BOND CAMPAIGN

NEW YORK, Feb. 19 (JTA)--Defense Minister Moshe Dayan will fly to Miami for the Inaugural Dinner on March 2 that will initiate the largest campaign for Israel Bonds in the history of American and Canadian Jewry.

More than 2000 Jewish leaders from the U.S., Canada and Mexico will participate in the launching of the unprecedented \$1 billion Reconstruction and Development Bond Issue to help Israel's economy recover from the shattering effects of the Yom Kippur War and to maintain the development program necessary to provide jobs for more than 60,000 new immigrants this year. The billion dollar quota for the 1974 campaign, according to Sam Rothberg, general chairman of the Israel Bond Organization, was adopted at an international Israel Bond conference that was convened in Israel by Premier Golda Meir late last month. Rothberg asserted that Israel's economic future would be in jeopardy without a substantial increase in Bond sales, over and above the \$502 million raised in 1973.