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KISSINGER CALLS FOR QUIET DIPLOMACY TO AID HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT WARNS AGAINST REPRESSIVE PRACTICES Seen As Hitting J-V, Stevenson Amendments By Helen Silver

WASHINGTON, July 15 (JTA)--In the second of two major foreign policy speeches in less than 24 hours, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger stressed today that the United States pursues a moral policy in the interests of human rights but does so "quietly, keeping in mind the delicacy of the problem and stressing results rather than public confrontation." The Secretary made these remarks in his address this afternoon before the Upper Middle West Council at the Madison South Hotel in Minneapolis.

In an address last night in Milwaukee, Kissinger warned against any moves by the UN General Assembly to oust Israel. (See separate story.)

In his address today he declared: "We have used and we will continue to use our influence against repressive practices. Our traditions and our interests demand it, but truth compels also a recognition of our limits. The question is whether we promote rights more effectively by counsel and friendly relations where this serves our interests, or by confrontation and discriminatory legislation."

His remarks were seen as a direct reference to the Jackson-Vanik amendments incorporated into the 1974 Trade Reform Act which links U.S. trade benefits to the Soviet Union and other Communist bloc countries to their emigration practices with regard to Jews and others; and the Stevenson Amendment which set a \$300 million ceiling on Export-Import Bank credits to the Soviet Union.

The Secretary declared, "We must also assess the domestic performance of foreign governments in relation to their history and to the threats they face." He said, "We do not and will not condone repressive practices."

Restrictive Legislation Raises Problem

But, he said, "The attempt to deal with those practices by restrictive American legislation raises a serious problem, not because of the moral view it expresses--which we share--but because of the mistaken impression it creates that our security ties are acts of charity. And beyond that, such acts, because they are too public, too inflexible and too much a stimulus to nationalistic resentment, are almost inevitably doomed to fail." He said that "painful experience should have taught us that we ought not exaggerate our capacity to foresee, let alone to shape, social and political change in other societies."

The Secretary outlined the "principles that will guide our action." These are: "Human rights are a legitimate international concern, and have been so defined in international agreements for more than a generation; the United States will speak up for human rights in appropriate international forums, and in exchanges with other governments; we will be conscious of the differences between public postures that satisfy our self-esteem and policies that bring positive results;

we will not lose sight of either the requirements of global security or what we stand for as a nation."

RUMANIA SEEKS FLOOD AID FROM ISRAEL

JERUSALEM, July 15 (JTA)--Rumania has asked Israel for extensive aid to help repair damage caused by recent floods in that country, the government disclosed today. The Rumanian Charge d'Affaires, Gheorge Roata, met last night with Commerce and Industry Minister Haim Barlev to convey his government's request for phosphates, seeds, animal feed, irrigation piping and electrical equipment. He also asked for long-term credit facilities, apparently to help cover the cost of the requested aid.

Barlev, who visited Rumania last year, expressed his profound sympathy for the Rumanian flood victims and said he would pass on the aid request to the government for consideration. Rumania is the only Communist bloc country that maintains formal diplomatic ties and trade relations with Israel.

HOUSE GROUP BEGINS HEARINGS TO REASSESS U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

WASHINGTON, July 15 (JTA)--The House Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy began a series of high-level hearings this afternoon to aid in the national reassessment of U.S. future foreign policy. Ambassador Averell Harriman was the first to testify before the committee chaired by Rep. Lester Wolff (D, NY).

Other witnesses scheduled to testify next week include former Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Henry Cabot Lodge; former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg; former Undersecretary of State George Ball; Gen. Maxwell Taylor; and foreign policy expert, Prof. Hans Morgenthau. The hearings are part of the Administration's reassessment of its global policies, particularly in the Middle East.

Wolff called the hearing "the first in-gathering of major American decision-makers since the 1965 Fulbright hearings.... These hearings should be an historic occasion. We have contacted for the initial series the key policy-makers of the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon years as the best men and women qualified to help present policy-makers re-define our aims; review the issues, and reassess our role in the world."

After the July hearings, the subcommittee will reconvene in September to call a broad spectrum of witnesses from the present policy-makers, writers and scholars. The new subcommittee was formed with a specific mandate to study and articulate foreign policy alternatives when the International Relations Committee was reorganized earlier this year from the old Foreign Affairs Committee. (By Helen Silver)

20 ARRESTED DURING MASSIVE RALLY AGAINST U.S., KISSINGER

U.S. Embassy Window Smashed During Rally
By Yitzhak Shargil

TEL AVIV, July 15 (JTA)--Eleven persons remained in police custody this morning out of more than 20 arrested last night in a massive demonstration against the United States and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger which ended with the

stoning of the U.S. Embassy here. Police said that one of those in custody was responsible for smashing an Embassy window as mobs surged toward the building and were blocked by truncheon-wielding riot police. No injuries were reported.

The demonstration, which drew an estimated 15,000 people, one of the largest in Tel Aviv's history, was sponsored by Likud, the younger elements of the National Religious Party and a variety of other groups and ad hoc committees. opposed to further Israeli withdrawals in Sinai. Their anger was vented more against alleged American pressure and Kissinger personally than against the principle of an interim settlement with Egypt.

Addressing the crowd which had assembled, with police permission, in Tel Aviv's municipal square, Menachem Begin, leader of Likud's Herut wing, demanded that the government stand fast on its principles and refuse to succumb to American pressure. He called on the government not to give up one inch of territory unless Israel's counter-demands are met to ensure the integrity of its defense.

One group, calling itself the "Committee Against Withdrawal From Abu Rodeis," set up a two-way radio to communicate with workers in the Sinai oilfields and relayed to them a resolution adopted by the demonstrators not to abandon the oilfields which are essential to Israel's economy and security. Other groups communicated similarly with settlements in the Jordan Valley and on the Golan Heights. The participants included the Greater Israel Movement which demands the annexation of all the administered territories and the "Committee of Women for Israel's Security."

Protest Against U.S. Pressure

They waved scores of posters and banners protesting American pressure and denouncing any withdrawal. One banner said, "Americans Beware-- K (Kissinger) is a Soviet Agent." Another said, "If Territory is Not Important-- Tell it to the Arabs" and still another: "Dr. K, We Shall Not Win You Another Peace Prize With Our Blood."

A large force of municipal police, re-enforced by border police units, was on hand to prevent clashes with "doves" should they have attempted to interfere with the demonstrators. But no clashes occurred. The demonstration was angry but orderly until masses of people started marching westward toward the Tel Aviv beachfront where the U.S. Embassy is located on Hayarkon Street, a neighborhood of luxury hotels. The police had not issued permits for a march in that direction and a majority of the crowd was dispersed by border police and mounted patrolmen.

But several hundred shouting demonstrators, many of them wearing yarmulkas, managed to push their way to the seashore. They were halted outside the Embassy compound by a heavy cordon of police and began hurling curses and stones at the Embassy.

The police made their arrests at that point and the crowd dispersed leaving the street littered with stones. The only damage to the U.S. Embassy building was a smashed window. Police maintained a heavy guard around the compound through most of the night but apart from small knots of people on street corners, the demonstration was over and no further incidents occurred. Hayarkon Street was open to normal traffic this morning but police barricades remained around the Em-

bassy compound.

ISRAELI ENVOY, PROMINENT FRENCH PERSONALITIES ON TERROR DEATH LIST By Edwin Eytan

PARIS, July 15 (JTA)--Israel's Ambassador to France, Asher Ben Natan, was on the death list of a wanted terrorist known as "Carlos," according to a communique issued by the Ministry of Interior last night. The potential victims also included prominent personalities in the press, theater, banking and sports worlds who were not identified by name in the communique and several Jewish entertainers, including the singers Enrico Macias and Rika Zarai.

The lists of persons who were targets for assassination were found among the documents of Michel Moukbaral, a Lebanese terrorist who was shot to death last month along with two French police officers who he led into the Paris flat of the mysterious "Carlos." A third police officer was seriously wounded. "Carlos" escaped.

The Interior Ministry's communique said the documents contained accurate descriptions of the security facilities surrounding the Israeli Embassy here, identification of Embassy vehicles, the deployment of guards in front of the Embassy and the movements of Ambassador Ben Natan. Extra guards are now plainly visible at the Embassy. Jewish organizations in Paris are continuing to take what their spokesmen describe as normal precautions. The police said they have not increased security measures to protect the organizations because they believe those now in effect are sufficient.

While the police did not identify most of the persons on "Carlos'" death list or the reasons why they may have been singled out for murder, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency learned that they included former Minister Jacques Soustelle, who is known for his pro-Israel views and the editorial offices of the right-wing periodicals "Minute" and "L'Aurore."

Role Of Terrorist Ring Described

The Interior Ministry identified "Carlos" as Venezuelan-born Illich Ramirez Sanchez. He is described in the communique as the man who headed the terrorist ring responsible for the two attacks on El Al planes at Orly Airport Jan. 13 and 19, the earlier attack on the famous "Drug Store," a Jewish-owned establishment on the Champs Elysee, and other acts. Sanchez or "Carlos" is the object of a manhunt in at least a half dozen countries.

The communique described Moukbaral as the logistics officer of a still unidentified extreme left-wing organization which carried out attacks and kidnappings in Western Europe, particularly in France and Britain. The documents indicated that he had participated in most of the terrorist attacks although his job was to provide arms, money and forged identity papers for the terrorists. Moukbaral was killed by "Carlos" because, apparently having defected, he led French counter-intelligence officers to the latter's hideout.

WARNING TO UN AGAINST OUSTING ISRAEL SEEN AS MEANING OF KISSINGER'S SPEECH IN MILWAUKEE

WASHINGTON, July 15 (JTA)--A high State Department official said last night that one purpose of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's Milwaukee speech was to warn the United Nations General Assembly against any attempt to oust

Israel next fall. Although in his address yesterday to the University of Wisconsin's Institute of World Affairs, Kissinger did not mention Israel by name, the official, briefing reporters here, noted that the Third World or non-aligned nations succeeded in suspending South Africa from the General Assembly last year and was considering similar action against Israel this year.

Kissinger was clearly referring to such moves when he warned that "if the UN begins to depart from its charter where suspension and expulsion are clearly specified prerogatives of the Security Council, we fear for the integrity and the survival of the General Assembly itself and no less for its specialized agencies."

At another point in his speech, Kissinger observed that "the coerced are under no compulsion to submit. To the contrary, they are given all too many incentives simply to depart the scene.... Such incentives are ominously enhanced when the General Assembly and specialized agencies expel member nations, which, for one reason or another, do not meet with their approval."

Seen As Reassurance To Israel

Although the Secretary's warning was an oblique one, it was seen by many observers as constituting a reassurance to Israel of continued American political support, especially as Kissinger spoke barely three days after his meeting with Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin in Bonn. Israel is known to be seeking commitments of American political, economic and military assistance as part of the quid pro quo for the territorial concessions the U.S. is urging it to make in the interests of a new interim settlement with Egypt in Sinai.

Kissinger was sharply critical of UNESCO, which voted sanctions against Israel and excluded it from its regional groupings and of the International Labor Organization (ILO) which has recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization. He did not refer directly to those actions. However, he spoke of those agencies as having been "heavily politicized" and diverted from the constructive tasks for which they were created. He came down hard on the UN-sponsored World Food Council in Rome "where the very nations who desperately need and would most benefit from food assistance threatened to abort its work by disruptive tactics unworthy of an international organization."

Kissinger also assailed the "lopsided, loaded voting, biased results and arbitrary tactics" which threaten to destroy "the utility of the General Assembly both as a safety valve and as an instrument of international cooperation." The Secretary delivered his speech against a background of growing concern at the United Nations in recent weeks that an Arab-led move to suspend Israel could bring about an end to the UN in its present form.

SPECIAL LATE NEWS

EGYPT ANNOUNCES IT WILL NOT RENEW MANDATE IN SINAI

UNITED NATIONS, July 15 (JTA)--Egypt announced tonight that it will not agree to renew the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) mandate in Sinai after its expiration July 24. The decision was announced in Cairo by Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy and a message to that effect was sent today to UN Secretary Gen-

eral Kurt Waldheim. There was no official comment available from Israeli sources in Jerusalem.

At a press conference in Cairo, Fahmy said Egypt would not order the withdrawal of the UN peacekeeping forces until after the Security Council has convened to consider the matter even if that takes place after the July 24 deadline. He said that Egypt wanted the UN to take economic sanctions against Israel.

The Egyptian Foreign Minister accused Israel of utilizing the presence of UNEF as a stalling tactic. "While Egypt does not consent to further renew the mandate of UNEF she is not against the proper use of the force," Fahmy was quoted as saying in reports reaching here.

He said "Egypt objects to the use of the force and its presence by Israel as a means to maintain the state of no war, no peace and the perpetuation of the occupation of Egyptian territory in defiance of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and accepted norms of international law."

Fahmy said that while Egypt was angered by the lack of progress in reaching an interim agreement with Israel, it was still prepared to negotiate through the United States for a further Israeli withdrawal in Sinai. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt agreed on April 24 to a three-month extension of the UNEF mandate. Until today, it was generally assumed that he would agree to a further extension after July 24 as long as negotiations continued for an interim accord.

ARMS SALE TO JORDAN FOUGHT

WASHINGTON, July 15 (JTA)--Several Congressmen yesterday introduced legislation in Congress to bar the Administration's proposed sale of more than \$350 million worth of anti-aircraft missiles and guns to Jordan.

"We have not in the past, and would not now, object to military assistance and/or sales to Jordan in reasonable amounts," Rep. Jonathan Bingham (D,NY), a leader of a group of 10 House International Relations Committee members co-sponsoring the legislation, said explaining that "the presently proposed sales package is, however, so large as to substantially affect the military relationship between Israel and Jordan."

Congressman Benjamin Rosenthal (D,NY), Bingham and other critics charged that the sale of the mobile "Hawks," Redeyes" and Vulcan" guns would enable Jordan to join in an attack on Israel by providing a protective umbrella for Jordan's advancing tanks and troops. The Ford Administration told Congress it intends to sell \$260 million worth of "Hawk" anti-aircraft missiles and \$90 million worth of rapid "Vulcan" anti-aircraft guns to Jordan. Other items of the sale include several hundred "Redeye" shoulder-launched anti-aircraft missiles.

Rosenthal, who is leading the fight against the sale, told the House, "It is the ideal weapon for guerrillas and airport terrorists." He also charged that Congress had been misled about the size and contents of the sale first disclosed in May. At that time it was reported that the sale would amount to \$100 million worth of arms.

JERUSALEM (JTA)--A group of 120 Montreal Jews, all United Israel Appeal-Keren Hayesod activists, arrived here last week bearing with them checks amounting to \$125,000--the proceeds of this year's annual "March to Jerusalem" which occurred last May in Montreal. The money will be used for the KH youth center near Jerusalem.

PROBE CENTRALITY OF ISRAEL AND CENTRALITY OF JUDAISM IN ISRAEL-DIASPORA RELATIONSHIP

By David Landau

JERUSALEM, July 15 (JTA)--An attachment to Israel, largely built on sentiment and a consciousness of the Holocaust, cannot become a substitute for Judaism, Prof. Gerson Cohen, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Conservative), told a seminar on "Israel and World Jewry" held here last week. A dimension of greater centrality is required, Cohen insisted--namely, the centrality of the Jewish people.

He opened a session of the seminar devoted to "The Centrality of Israel." The three-day seminar, attended by Jewish scholars from around the world, was held at the home of, and under the patronage of, President Ephraim Katzir. The press was not invited to attend the seminar. The real center of Jewish life must be Jewishness, Cohen continued. This would generate multiple loyalties--to the land of Israel, to the people of Israel, and to the Torah of Israel.

This view was challenged by Prof. Yitzhak Greenberg of City College of New York who asserted that the Holocaust had made Israel's centrality a fact. It had brought to an end diaspora Judaism in the sense of a way of life which took exile as normative.

After the Yom Kippur War, Greenberg continued, voices had been raised in America suggesting that American Jewry must prepare for Jewish survival no matter what happened to Israel. This view had been stillborn and treated with derision, Greenberg said. Israel had inaugurated a major new cycle of Jewish history characterized by Jewish sovereignty and self-determination, he added.

Diaspora's Influence On Israel

On the subject of the diaspora's influence on Israel's policymaking, Prof. Charles Liebman of Bar-Ilan University asserted that it was minimal. Among the reasons for this, Liebman listed: the diaspora's only limited efforts to try and influence Israeli policies; Israel's own unwillingness to legitimize diaspora influence in its policymaking; the absence of political instruments for channeling diaspora pressure; and the secondary quality of diaspora leadership.

Britain's Chief Rabbi, Dr. Immanuel Jakobovits, urged more effective diaspora-Israeli consultations. He cited the recent Israel government decision to honor Lord Moynie's killers with a state burial. Jewish leaders in Britain had been horrified by that decision, the Chief Rabbi said. They should have been consulted by Israel in advance, he added.

Prof. Nathan Rotenstreich, the Hebrew University philosopher, said the reality of the co-existence between the State of Israel and the Western diaspora was the decisive reality of our generation. The need for support had become a more important basis for the relationship than any other consideration. He felt the discussion should not center on the centrality of Israel but on the primacy of Israel over the diaspora in the Jewish people's scale of priorities.

Roles Should Be Reciprocal

Katzir himself, who delivered a closing address on the last day of the seminar, agreed with many speakers who urged a greater role for the

diaspora in links of all kinds with the State of Israel. The process, he said, should be reciprocal--in that the State of Israel should figure more prominently in all aspects of diaspora life, too. Katzir surveyed the Jewish people's unique ideals and historic goals stressing that the State of Israel could provide a normalized basis and give direction to the realization of these ideals and goals.

The seminar's chairman, Prof. Moshe Davis of the Hebrew University's Institute for Contemporary Judaism, noted that overseas participants in the seminar had tended to speak each of their own diaspora and its special problems. There were many diasporas, he noted, even within a single geographical community.

Davis said the seminar was part of an ongoing effort to attack world Jewry's current problems on a scholarly level. He referred to the previous seminar at the President's home--which had produced the book "The Yom Kippur War: Israel and the Jewish People," edited by Davis himself.

Jewish Identity In USSR

The first day of the seminar had been devoted to problems of Jewish identity, with one of the main lectures delivered by Prof. Zvi Gitelman of Michigan and Tel Aviv Universities. Analyzing Jewish identity in the Soviet Union, Gitelman said the recently held theory that Soviet Jewry was the most assimilated of all had been thoroughly disproved by events. In fact Soviet Jewry, while on the whole thoroughly acculturated, had not become assimilated but had retained its Jewish identity.

Gitelman ascribed this to three causes: Soviet government policy (which establishes official identity and heavily influences the choice of identity by the individual); secular, social, economic and demographic trends; and the perception of Israel. A recent Soviet immigrant to Israel, Alexander Goldfarb, took up this theme, saying that in the USSR nationality is the only identity, and for Jews the only solution was to leave for Israel.

Image Of Jew In Latin America, Arab Lands

The seminar devoted its second day to discussing anti-Semitism. Dr. Haim Avni of the Hebrew University said Latin American Jewry has since the Yom Kippur War found itself facing a new anti-Semitism at the governmental level. Even some of the regimes which are not anti-Zionist or anti-Semitic might be hard put to maintain their positions while at the same time fostering their ties with Arab extremist states.

The noted Israeli Arabist, Moshe Maoz, reviewed anti-Semitism in Arab lands. He pointed out that the previous image of the Jew that was common in the Arab world and was not totally negative was steadily giving way to a totally and absolutely negative stereotype. Jews, Maoz said, had become the central focus of hostility among Moslem Arabs. The great majority of the Arab masses tended to accept unquestioningly the (relatively) new anti-Jewish ideology which was presented to them as rooted in their religion and tradition.

The distinguished Jewish historian, Salo Baron, termed anti-Semitism "a disease of the gentiles." What the Jews did was always wrong to them--and the Jews' actual behavior was not a decisive factor. Anti-Semitism, said Baron, would last as long as there was Jewish minority existence and as long as it could be useful for other purposes.