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## ARAB - ISRAELI WAR

## SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATEMENT PLACES RESPONSIBILITY ON ISRAEL

Moscow media were quick to report the Damascus and Cairo announcements of "Israeli attacks" on 6 October against Syria and Egypt. But the restrained Soviet Government statement, broadcast by Moscow radio some 24 hours after the onset of the fighting, stopped short of explicitly claiming that Israel had initiated the current war. Leaving no doubt, however, that Moscow blames Tel Aviv for blocking a political settlement, the statement repeated the standard Soviet contention that the establishment of peace is impossible without Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied since the 1967 war.

Brezhnev in his 8 October speech at a luncheon for Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka said that the USSR's sympathies are on the side of Egypt and Syria "who want to liberate their lands," and added cryptically that "we are prepared as before to make our contribution toward insuring peace." He prefaced these remarks with an allusion to detente which he said was interrupted in some areas by "new flare-ups of conflicts and tension." In keeping with Soviet practice of not disclosing private communications, Moscow has made no reference to the Nixon-Brezhnev exchange on the 7th announced by the White House. The Soviet Union has shown no interest in a new Security Council resolution, routinely calling for implementation of past UN resolutions, and it has not brought up the possibility of a cease-fire other than to mention the U.S. proposal at the Security Council for appropriate steps to end the fighting.

Moscow, as might be expected, has not broached the issue of military assistance to the Arabs. And while it has noted reports of Sixth Fleet movements and U.S. supplies of materiel to Israel, these have been given no particular prominence. Coverage of developments has included reports of Arab states' pledges of assistance to Egypt and Syria, but Moscow has not publicly encouraged the participation of other Arab states in the fighting.

TREATMENT OF FIGHTING	TASS and Moscow radio were prompt in reporting the onset of the fighting on 6 October, less than an hour after the initial announcements by Cairo and Damascus radios of "Israeli attacks" on Egyptian and Syrian positions. While Cairo's announcement preceded that of
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Damascus by about five minutes, TASS and Moscow's domestic and Arabic services first picked up the Syrian military statement and somewhat later reported the Cairo announcement.

Following the reports that fighting had erupted, Soviet media, including a PRAVDA review on the 7th, claimed that "after careful preparation and mobilization of reserves," Israel attacked Egypt and Syria, and PRAVDA bolstered the claim by saying that "the foreign press had reported this possibility several days running." Soviet media for their part on the 4th, 5th and early on the 6th had noted reports--many of them from Arab sources--of Israeli military concentrations and activity along the Golan Heights cease-fire line and tension along the Suez Canal. Read in a vacuum this might suggest that the USSR had prior knowledge of the Egyptian and Syrian plans to initiate coordinated attacks and were concerned to shift the blame to Israel. But it should be noted that it is not uncommon for Moscow to publicize Arab charges of Israeli military movements allegedly portending attacks on the Arabs.

Extensive reportage on developments since the 6th has been carried by Soviet media, which have primarily cited Cairo and Damascus military communiqués and also presented roundups of world reaction. Scant attention has been given to statements from the Israeli side: TASS on the 7th did report Dayan as calling for wider military actions and on the 9th carried a London-dated dispatch claiming that Israeli leaders were making "instigating militarist" radio statements calling for "expansion of aggression" and annexation of Arab lands.

GOVERNMENT STATEMENT,      The government statement accused Tel  
BREZHNEV REMARKS              Aviv of having recently concentrated  
   armed forces on the cease-fire lines  
with Syria and Egypt, called up reservists, and then "unleashed  
military operations." The statement stopped short, however,  
of charging Israel with initiating the current fighting, and  
other than referring to the Syrian and Egyptian cease-fire lines  
it did not identify the Arab combatants. Brezhnev, in his  
speech on the 8th, spoke even more cautiously of "the war  
which has broken out again." The government statement  
attributed to the Arab states "a lot of restraint and readiness  
to seek a political settlement of the conflict," and repeated  
the standard line that the establishment of peace in the  
Middle East is impossible without "complete liberation of all"  
Arab territories occupied by Israel and insurance of the

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"legitimate rights" of the Palestinians. It contained no hint of any Soviet action, concluding only that if the Israeli Government remained deaf to the voice of reason and continued to pursue its "annexationist" policy and ignore UN decisions, "this may cost the people of Israel dearly." According to TASS on the 10th, Matveyev argued in IZVESTIYA that defense of territorial inviolability and integrity is the inalienable right of every sovereign state; he insisted that the Arab states had demonstrated their readiness for a political settlement but had "never concealed their determination to make use of other means" if Israel did not agree to such a solution.

Brezhnev on the 8th described the Middle East conflict as a battle between Israel, "the aggressor," and Egypt and Syria, the victims of aggression which strive to liberate their lands, and placed Soviet sympathies with the victims. As for the USSR, he said, it supports a fair and stable peace and "guaranteed security for all countries and peoples of the area which is so close to our frontiers," and added that the Soviet Union was prepared to make its contribution toward insuring such a peace. Brezhnev's reference to peace and security is reminiscent of remarks he made on two occasions in July, when he called on the 10th for "restoration" of the frontiers of the states of the Middle East so that security of all countries and peoples of the region be reliably protected, and when he urged the following day that peace, security, and the state frontiers of all Middle East countries be guaranteed.\*

Kosygin touched on the Middle East situation even more briefly in a speech at Prime Minister Tanaka's 9 October luncheon in which he declared that the "hotbed of war" in the region was the result of Israel's "aggressive hostile policy" toward the Arab states which again led to "aggravation of the conflict." The government statement, he said, denounced this "aggression" and reaffirmed support for the Arab struggle for a fair settlement.

SOVIET SUPPORT      Moscow has been cautious in its public expressions of support for the Arab cause and has notably not repeated past pledges of assistance for the Arabs' "defense." Nor has Moscow given any hint of material assistance to the Arab combatants. Other than publicizing a scattering of the usual statements of support by Soviet public

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\* Brezhnev's remarks are discussed in the TRENDS of 18 July 1973, pages 12-14.

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organizations and international front groups, Moscow has yet to mount any major propaganda campaign. Thus only one meeting of "Soviet workers" to protest the "Israeli aggression" has been reported--in an Arabic-language broadcast on the 8th--and other broadcasts in Arabic have carried some statements by Soviet citizens expressing support for the Arabs.

The Soviet Government statement went no further than to assert that the Soviet Union was the Arabs' "reliable friend," and Brezhnev said that Soviet sympathies were on the side of the "victims of the aggression." According to a TASS report, the "significance" of Brezhnev's remarks was stressed by Gromyko in a meeting on the 11th with the ambassadors of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Algeria and Jordan. TASS said that during the meeting, held at the Arabs' request, the ambassadors conveyed "heartfelt gratitude" for the Soviet Union's "invaluable all-round assistance and support" to the Arab countries fighting against "imperialist Israeli aggression" and upholding their freedom and national independence. At a 10 October Moscow meeting of the World Peace Council Presidium, according to the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY, a message from President as-Sadat was read by the Egyptian ambassador, and the ambassador expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union which "is giving us every means of support in our struggle in accordance with its principles." Accounts of the WPC meeting by TASS and Moscow's Arabic-language service brushed off as-Sadat's message in one sentence and said only that the Egyptian ambassador spoke.

Further Soviet-Arab consultations were disclosed by the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY in a report on the 11th that Iraqi Foreign Minister al-Baqi had been sent by President al-Bakr to Moscow in accordance with the Soviet-Iraqi treaty's provisions for consultations on "important joint matters." INA said al-Baqi met with Podgorny on the 9th and conveyed Iraq's appreciation of the USSR's role in supporting the Arab struggle to liberate the occupied territory. Podgorny in turn said the Soviet Union supports the "Arab nation's just liberation struggle and stands firmly on its side." The foreign minister returned to Baghdad on the 10th with a message from Podgorny to the Iraqi president.

A Brezhnev letter on the 9th to Algeria's Boumediene and other Arab leaders--reported by Arab media but not acknowledged by Moscow--did assert, according to an Algiers radio account, that the USSR was giving "all-round aid and support" to the Arabs in their just struggle. The thrust of the message was to urge

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the other Arab states to assist Egypt and Syria, which "must not be alone in their struggle." Moscow has not openly encouraged the participation of other Arab states. TASS on the 9th reported "similar" decisions by Iraq, Kuwait, Algeria, Morocco and Sudan to place their armed forces at the disposal of the Egyptian-Syrian command, and cited an Iraqi Defense Ministry statement that Iraqi units were taking part in the fighting. An IZVESTIYA roundup of developments on the 10th noted reports of decisions by several Arab governments to give "various kinds of assistance" to the Egyptian and Syrian troops, including the dispatch of Algerian aircraft and Iraqi "military subunits" to Egypt and offers of "resources" by Southern Yemen, Tunisia, Sudan and other states. A Radio Peace and Progress broadcast in English to Africa on the 9th criticized the BBC for "gross threats and incitement" in cautioning that the participation of Arab countries having no common border with Israel in the war on the side of Egypt and Syria was "fraught with the danger of interference of those who sympathize with Israel."

Soviet military assistance in the current situation was reported by the Beirut AL-ANWAR, according to a MENA dispatch on the 10th which attributed to "diplomatic sources" a report that the Soviet Union was presently supplying Egypt and Syria with new consignments of weapons and ammunition. The same sources were cited as saying there was constant consultation by Moscow with Cairo and Damascus to coordinate political stands and face military developments.

Soviet diplomatic activity in the Middle East has been noted in Arab media: In Egypt, for instance, President as-Sadat has received Soviet Ambassador Vinogradov at least three times since the fighting began on the 6th. According to Tripoli radio citing Cairo's AL-AHRAM, Vinogradov on the 6th delivered a message from Brezhnev to as-Sadat; MENA subsequently reported that Vinogradov was one of several ambassadors received by as-Sadat on the 7th, and they met again on the 9th.

UN DEBATES, U.S. ROLE      TASS has given only routine attention to the discussions of the situation in the UN General Assembly and Security Council. Accounts on the 9th quoted Soviet delegate Malik as declaring in the council that the situation did not require any new UN resolutions but only implementation of previous UN decisions.

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TASS also noted U.S. delegate Scali's proposal for the return of the sides to positions held at the beginning of the current hostilities and Egyptian rejection of this idea.

Other than the report on Scali's statement, Moscow has made little mention of the United States in connection with the current fighting. The first reference to U.S. Sixth Fleet activity came in an Arabic-language broadcast on the 9th which reported Algerian concern over the attitude of "some Western powers" and the "suspicious movement" of the Sixth Fleet "to the battle zone." And TASS on the 10th reported the Department of Defense as announcing that a U.S. helicopter carrier was to join a task force 500 miles off the Israeli coast. TASS the same day cited Egyptian Foreign Minister az-Zayyat as speaking in the Security Council of reports that volunteer pilots were being recruited in the United States "to fight in the Middle East" and that the U.S. Government intended to supply Israel with 30 additional Phantom fighter-bombers. TASS on the 11th picked up a Virginia newspaper report that the United States "is secretly supplying Israel with arms and ammunition" and an Israeli plane had been loaded with bombs and missiles at a U.S. naval base.

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## EAST EUROPEANS STRESS ISRAELI RESPONSIBILITY FOR HOSTILITIES

Restrained official statements condemning in general terms "Israeli aggression" were issued by Moscow's orthodox East European allies and Yugoslavia. Romania's statement, by contrast, did not charge Israel with aggression and was unique in calling on "all nations" to bring about a halt to the hostilities. East Germany and Czechoslovakia issued their statements in the name of their parties and governments; Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia released government statements; Romania's contribution was an authorized AGERPRES statement. All the statements included a standard demand for Israel to withdraw from the territories occupied in the 1967 war. Messages from Albanian president Lleshi to his Egyptian and Syrian counterparts on the 8th and 9th, respectively, scored the "barbarous" Israeli assault, allegedly instigated by "the U.S. imperialists"--not named in the other East European statements.

The moderate volume of followup East European comment included a Prague broadcast in English on the 8th which said it was "hypocritical" to ask who fired the first shot, since it was Israel which had obstructed a negotiated peace. And a talk carried by the East Berlin domestic service on the 9th denounced as a "transparent trick" Secretary Kissinger's call for "the USSR to show a sense of responsibility" in the present situation.

The official statements by the orthodox allies generally followed the line of the Soviet Government statement in attributing the start of military operations to Israel's constant provocations and military buildup on the cease-fire lines. The most direct charge of Israeli responsibility was in the Bulgarian Government statement, which referred to what it called "the resumption of Israel's aggressive military operations" against Egypt and Syria.

In contrast, Poland's statement, noting that "hostilities have been resumed," said only that the new fighting was "an obvious consequence" of Israel's occupation of Arab territory and alleged blocking of a settlement. Unlike the statements by Moscow and its other orthodox allies, the one from Warsaw was unique in failing to include an explicit pledge of support for the Arab side. Partially offsetting this omission, PAP on the 10th reported that a message from President Jablonski to Algerian President Boumediene, related to the Middle East fighting, included the assurance that Poland

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"will continue to act as an unfailing friend of the Arab nations." The report said the message was in response to one handed to Jablonski by the Algerian ambassador on the 9th. Another PAP report the same day carried messages of support for "the just struggle of the Arab nations" from the Polish Committee for Solidarity with the Nations of Asia and Africa to their Egyptian and Syrian opposite numbers.

Departing somewhat from Bucharest's neutrality of 1967 the 8 October AGERPRES statement said the latest events demonstrate that Israel's continued occupation of Arab territory constitutes a "permanent" source of tension and "a perpetual danger of resumed military confrontations." The statement underscored the need for an end to military hostilities and the restoration of peace in the Middle East and declared that "all nations have the highly responsible obligation to resolutely act" to stop the conflict. The main points of the statement were reiterated by Ceausescu in a Galati speech the next day. As reported by Bucharest radio, the Romanian president denounced "the escalation of military hostilities by Israel over the Syrian capital," as well as its "military hostility against the civilian population."

#### PEKING, OTHER ASIAN COMMUNISTS ASSAIL ISRAELI "AGGRESSION"

PEKING In 11 October messages to the Egyptian and Syrian presidents, Premier Chou En-lai voiced generalized support for the Arabs and condemnation of the "superpowers" for their "support and connivance" in Israel's "aggression." Chou promised to "unfailingly support" the Arab struggle, noting that it already enjoys "abundant support," and routinely expressed confidence that Arab perseverance and unity would overcome "any difficulties." The premier delivered the messages during separate meetings with the Egyptian and Syrian ambassadors on the 11th, according to NCNA.

Although Chou failed to mention either superpower by name, other Chinese comment has directly criticized Moscow's Middle East policy. Thus an 8 October PEOPLE'S DAILY Commentator article, after a passing swipe at U.S. military aid to Tel Aviv, revived Chinese charges against Moscow on several major points. It asserted that Moscow was providing Israel with manpower by allowing Soviet Jews to emigrate there. The article also charged that Moscow was planning to restore diplomatic relations with Israel and had not allowed the Arab countries to use Soviet-supplied arms to regain lost territory.

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Also on the 8th, the Chinese foreign minister met with the Egyptian and Syrian ambassadors and the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization mission in Peking to express Chinese backing. The Chinese UN representative Huang Hua, speaking in the Security Council on the same day, hailed the Arabs for breaking the "no war, no peace" situation that the superpowers had allegedly been maintaining in the Mideast. Huang declared that any council resolution on the current conflict must condemn Israel, require it to withdraw from the occupied territories, and restore Palestinian national rights.

HANOI North Vietnam expressed support for the Arab cause in a government statement, a NHAN DAN editorial, and other commentaries in NHAN DAN and QUAN DOI NHAN DAN. The 9 October government statement accused Israel of attacking Egypt and Syria and asserted that the renewed fighting was a result of "the policy of aggression and expansion pursued by the Israeli authorities with U.S. assistance and encouragement." In an editorial on the 10th, NHAN DAN maintained that the United States was using Israel as its main instrument in implementing the Nixon Doctrine in the Middle East but that this policy would fail, partly because the United States had been weakened by its defeat in Vietnam. The paper said the United States wanted to impose "neocolonialist rule" as a means of controlling the oil resources in this strategic region. A foreign ministry spokesman's statement broadcast by Hanoi on the 11th assailed Israel for the "criminal" 9 and 10 October bombing of Syrian and Egyptian cities and economic targets.

PYONGYANG North Korean solidarity was exhibited in a Kim Il-song message to the presidents of Egypt and Syria and a NODONG SIMMUN article sympathetic to the Arab position. Kim's 7 October telegram asserted that Israel attacked the two Arab countries at the instigation of the United States and gave assurance that North Korea would support the Arab cause "both materially and morally." But the overall Korean reaction was not as vigorous as in 1967 when a Kim message of support to Arab leaders was supplemented by a government statement, major newspaper editorials, and mass rallies.

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