peace: what good has that attitude done you? Precious resources have been wasted to finance the cold and hot war against Israel. Since 1952 Egypt alone spent more than 4 billion dollars on establishing its military force and its war machine. During that period all the Arab countries and Israel spent more than 10 billion dollars on military needs. That sum would have been enough to rescue a great many of the peoples of the region from poverty and sickness and to lay the foundations of widespread economic and social progress. The time has come for the Arab nations to do some soul-searching, which may perhaps persuade them to prefer peace and progress to hostility and bloodshed. At this moment I will even go so far as to say that peace will surely come to our region, even though it tarries, because all of us, throughout the region, need it.

To the leaders of the West and the East I would like to say from this podium: competition between the Powers and the Blocs has played no small part in intensifying the arms race in the Middle East and the continual increase of tension in our region. For years we appealed for international action to further peace in our region and demanded the cessation of the arms race with the object of attaining the mutually-supervised disarmament of the countries of the region. We demanded that the territorial and political integrity of all the countries of the region be guaranteed. To my regret, our requests were fruitless. There is a lesson to be learned from this.

Since the beginning of the present tension views have been expressed as to the need to broaden the Government and its parliamentary base. When I felt that the testing time was approaching—on the battlefields—I took the initiative of establishing a wide Emergency Government, and invited Gahal and Rafi to join it. By now you all know that the negotiations have borne fruit, and I welcome the expansion of the Government.

Taking the emergency conditions into account, the Ministers involved were informed of the decision and appointed to their positions three or four days ago, before their appointments had gained the approval of the Knesset. I regret to hear that my colleague Moshe Dayan has left already...and I understand why he was in a hurry to go.

I am confident that the new Ministers have realized, in the last few days more than ever, how strong is the military force we have been developing over the years since the establishment of the state, and especially in the last few years. A mighty, powerful and able force, which is not behind in scientific and technological developments, has been established. The new Ministers saw the IDF being mobilized and I am sure that they were deeply impressed by the first-rate planning of the General Staff as well as by the IDF's battle capacity. I am sure that this force will lead us to victory, and the expansion of the Government will strengthen us in our course and enable us to overcome all obstacles.

Commemoration of IDF Casualties and Congratulations on Victory in Battle

Introduction

Within six days the IDF gained resounding victories on three fronts. The Egyptian Army and Air Force were smashed and the whole of the Sinai, this time right up to the Suez Canal, was occupied. Jordanian forces were compelled to withdraw beyond the River Jordan. In the last two days before the ceasefire decreed by the U.N. Security Council came into effect the Syrians were pushed back from most of the Golan Heights beyond Kuneitra, the provincial capital. It was in this abruptly changed situation, in a new mood, that the Knesset convened for the first time after the war.

Sitting 183 of the Sixth Knesset

12 June 1967 (4 Sivan 5727)

The Speaker, K. Luz: Knesset Members, I hereby open the first Knesset sitting in united Jerusalem. Congratulations!

Let us remember our glorious dead, who gave their lives that the Jewish nation might live on the soil of Israel.

(The Knesset Members honor the memory of the fallen by standing.)

The blood we had shed till now was not enough to enable us to live in peace in our land. Once again the soil has soaked up the lifeblood of our heroes. Our renewed covenant with our land, a covenant of faith, labor, sweat and blood, is an everlasting one.

The Jewish people will always remember the glory of its heroes and will mourn the splendid youth, joyous courage and dedicated will of its sons who fell in the difficult battle.

Bereaved parents, widows, orphans, relatives of the heroes, no words can express the terrible tragedy of the loss of your loved ones, but no sacrifice has brought salvation as much as theirs has. Be comforted in their victory.

To the IDF, the Chief of Staff, Major-General Rabin, the planner and commander of the campaign, his aides, the IDF's generals, whom I have invited to be present at this sitting, to all the soldiers and officers, we extend the heart-felt congratulations and gratitude of every citizen of Israel and every Jew throughout the diaspora for your fighting strength, courageous spirit and readiness to lay down your lives.
To our Government and the Prime Minister, Mr. Eshkol, who was also Minister of Defense until the outbreak of hostilities, and to his aides, we extend our blessings and our thanks for the perseverance and ability with which they led our Army, by strengthening it, equipping it with the best weapons and creating the conditions for its outstanding military ability.

Since last Monday's Knesset sitting, which was held on the first day of the fighting, we have been as dreamers, for every hour we received news of conquests and acts of heroism. This week, which towers like a mighty peak over the plateau of life before and after it, produced mighty events in the history of our people, the spiritual elevation of the nation in Zion and expressions of volunteering in the diaspora.

May the sparks of spiritual exaltation remain in our hearts as a hidden fire which will move and help us to strengthen the state spiritually and materially, enhancing the life of the nation and renewing the immigration of large numbers of Jews to Israel.

We look forward to the great day when there will be peace with our neighbors and lasting peace in our region and the whole world.

... The Prime Minister's Statement on the Political and Military Campaign

The Prime Minister, L. Eshkol: Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, a week ago the fateful campaign began. The existence of the State of Israel, the hope of generations and the vision which had been fulfilled in our time, was in the balance. Now, a week after the Knesset's last sitting, which was held in the midst of the bombardment, we are gathered to hear that victory is ours.

The enemy's assault has been repelled, most of his strength has been destroyed, his military machine has been broken and the bases of his aggression have been eliminated. The threat of war has been lifted from the country. The skies above our heads are safe. The danger to Jerusalem, the Coastal Plain, the northern settlements, the Negev and Galilee as well as the farms by the Strip has been removed.

The IDF rules the Sinai Peninsula as far as the Suez Canal, the West Bank of the Jordan and the Golan Heights. There is free passage through the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Elat. Jerusalem is united. For the first time since the establishment of the state Jews can pray at the Western Wall, the relic of our Temple and our historic past, and at Rachel's Tomb. For the first time in our generation Jews can pray at the Cave of Machpela in Hebron, the city of the Patriarchs. Indeed, in us has been fulfilled the verse: "For thy work shall be rewarded...and thy children shall come again to their own border."

In the midst of victory we bow our heads in sacred veneration of the memory of those who fell. Many hundreds of soldiers of the IDF and civilians gave their lives for victory. I know that there is no consolation for the grief of the individual and the family. Each person is a whole world. I would like the bereaved families to know that the casualties fell for something than which there is nothing more just or essential. I would like them to know that in their deaths they bequeathed us life. On behalf of the entire nation, the Government and myself, allow me to say that we share your heavy sorrow. We will remember our dear sons, the courageous soldiers and officers of the IDF, who went ahead, who sanctified our nation and our country in their lives and their deaths. They join the chain of heroism and self-sacrifice of those who gave their lives for the country, a chain which will never be broken.

To the wounded we wish a full and speedy recovery and return to an active, fruitful and useful life. Anyone who has seen our wounded men in the hospitals—and I have—cannot fail to be stirred by their courage and endurance. We are eternally grateful to the doctors, nurses, workers and volunteers, and especially to the doctors who came as volunteers from abroad to help in the sacred work of healing the sick. May God give you strength!

Members of the Knesset, these have been days of awe. Our nation will remember them forever. They were days of spiritual exaltation. The entire nation was mobilized to fight for its existence and its hope. Everyone felt that he had to contribute his share, and each person did what he had to.

Over the years, in the face of the continual threat from our enemies, we were obliged—and did—build the IDF's defensive and deterrent strength, investing enormous resources in readying and equipping it. The IDF is a mighty fighting force, as the world discovered, because of its high standard, because of its first-rate soldiers and officers and, above all, because in the heart of every soldier and officer beats a sense of mission to the nation and the country. The IDF is the army of the nation. When it fights the entire nation fights. When it fights it expresses every period of Jewish history. When our army fights it does so for the redemption as well as the survival of the nation.

The nation withstood the test because it was united, because at the crucial moment it was able to concentrate its efforts and act as one. The nation withstood the test. Hundreds of thousands of youngsters and immigrants, acting in ways both great and small, each one in accordance with his age and abilities, proved that their roots in Israel are eternal. As I travelled the length and breadth of the country, I was very impressed to see children filling sandbags and doing every kind of work they could. It proved that the spirit of the nation derives from the spiritual revival of the state. We saw that we were not merely the in-gathering of the exiles, we were an old-new nation, a united nation,
which has arisen and been forged by fire into one Israel, combining all
the tribes, all the communities and groups, those who came from abroad
as well as those who were born here. A nation has arisen which is ready
to make any effort and sacrifice to assure its mission.

The State of Israel withstood the test, knowing that it bore the hope of
the entire Jewish people. The unity of our nation has been forged anew
during these days. Jews throughout the diaspora identified with the
state, with the heart of the nation. Thousands of our people came to our
help, from both near and far. Hundreds of thousands, millions, both
Jews and non-Jews, all over the world, were ready to help us in our
struggle, in any way. And those who were unable to help were with their
country in spirit during the battle. Just as the country was elevated and
strengthened, the unity of the Jewish people was reinforced. Jerusalem
was united, and all Jews were brethren.

The last four weeks have been a time of tension and trial. The first
three were filled with tension, expectancy and searching, while the
fourth was one of trial and action....On Independence Day immense
Egyptian forces began crossing the Canal and moving towards the Is-
raeli border. Within three days those forces were drawn up facing our
border, and then Nasser demanded the withdrawal of the U.N. Force
from Sharm el-Sheikh, the Sinai and the Gaza Strip. On 23 May 1967
Egypt announced the closing of the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping
and international shipping bringing strategic cargoes to Israel's south-
ern port of Eilat.

After the Egyptian ruler had annulled the international arrange-
ments which had been in effect for the last ten years, he publicly
announced his intention of wiping Israel off the map. As we have since
discovered, on May 27 the Commander of the Egyptian Air Force issued
a secret battle order to his pilots to prepare for a surprise attack on Israel.
Nasser signed a military agreement with Hussein on May 30 and with
Iraq on June 4. These agreements, in addition to that between Egypt and
Syria, completed the encirclement of Israel which was intended to en-
able a sudden attack on Israel from all sides.

On June 3 the Commander of the Egyptian forces in the Sinai issued
an order of the day to his soldiers ordering them to prepare to attack Is-
rael and describing the expected results "of this special moment" as "of
historic importance for the Arab people." How prophetic!

Upon the advance of the Egyptian troops into the Sinai Peninsula I
ordered, with the consent of the Government, the initial mobilization of
the IDF's reserves. As the threat grew greater the mobilization was ex-
panded and our preparations intensified. On May 29 I informed the
Knesset that the IDF "is ready to foil the enemy's plans on all fronts and
borders." I took that opportunity of telling the Egyptian ruler that "this is
not the first time he has been carried away by his imagination and seen
himself the victor before doing battle." I added that "he should remem-
ber that his illusions were soon dispelled, as we saw." I told the IDF: "By
virtue of your steadfastness and ability to defeat the enemy in any con-
ditions the Government of Israel can face the serious decisions it must
make calmly and confidently, in accordance with our great and grave
responsibility for the peace and security of the state."

Last Monday, 5 June 1967, seven or eight Egyptian divisions, two of
them armored, were drawn up along our borders; there were 900 tanks,
200 of them facing Eilat, their object being to cut off the southern Negev;
along Israel's eastern border there were 60,000 Jordanian soldiers and
300 tanks; the Jordanian Army was placed under Egyptian command
and Egyptian commando units and Iraqi forces had reached its terri-
tory. 50,000 Syrian soldiers were ready to attack on our northern border
with Syria, and along the whole border there were cannon and mortars,
embedded in cement and iron, dug in and entrenched, the result of the
work of years. 600 Egyptian, Jordanian, Syrian and Iraqi planes were
ready. Egyptian air sorties were flown over Israel during the days prior
to June 5.

The moment of decision came. As the Egyptian forces moved to-
wards Israel's border our forces went out to repel the enemy's aggres-
sion. Aerial and armored battles began. In a radio broadcast a few
hours later, I announced: "We will not attack any country which has not
waged war on us, but anyone who attacks us will encounter the full
force of our capacity to defend ourselves and defeat his troops." Despite
that clear warning, the Jordanian forces, which were under Egyptian
command, began attacking and bombarding us all along the line, and
especially in Jerusalem. A great deal of blood was shed in Jerusalem.
At the same time the Syrians began attacking our northern settlements
from their entrenched positions in the Golan Heights. By Friday, June
8, Israel's forces had defeated the enemy in the Sinai, the Gaza Strip, all
of Jerusalem and the entire West Bank.

I would like to take this opportunity of noting that despite the fact that
the Jordanian forces shelled Jerusalem, killing and wounding many
people and causing considerable damage to property, we avoided
shelling the city out of consideration for its sanctity and in accordance
with our policy of refraining from harming the civilian population. As
soon as the city was liberated, and before going to the Western Wall, I
summoned the heads of the Christian and Moslem communities and is-
sued the following statement: "Rest assured that no harm will be per-
mitted to befall the holy sites of the various religions. I have asked the
Minister of Religion to establish contact with the religious leaders in
Jerusalem in order to assure appropriate contact between them and our
forces and in order to ensure that they can continue with their spiritual
activities unhindered. From Jerusalem—the symbol of peace for gen-
erations—from the Holy City, to which calm has been restored, I would
like you to join me in calling for peace among all the peoples of the re-
gion and the entire world.” Arrangements were immediately made to ensure that the places holy to Christianity would be controlled by Christian religious leaders and the places holy to Islam would be controlled by Moslem religious leaders.

In view of the continued and heavy shelling of the northern settlements by the Syrians, continually endangering men, women and children, and inflicting considerable damage on the settlements, we were obliged to act in order to silence the Syrian positions on the Golan Heights and the Bashan. By Saturday, June 10 the Syrian Heights were in our hands, and the bases of aggression, which had threatened the northern settlements and inflicted heavy casualties and damage on them for nineteen years with the intention of turning them into piles of rubble, had been destroyed.

During the course of the fighting our forces destroyed some 450 enemy planes and many hundreds of tanks. The enemy’s forces were defeated in the battles, many of them fleeing or being taken prisoner. For the first time since the establishment of the state the threat to our existence from the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and the northern border has suddenly been lifted. In those battles the tens of thousands of soldiers of the IDF fought with unparalleled courage and heroism. They acted with selfless devotion and the spirit of comrades in arms, displaying resourcefulness and sagacity. Officers led their units and threw themselves into the fray. Many of them were killed or wounded as they led their men, their comrades. Soldiers endangered themselves to rescue their comrades from death or capture, even though they themselves were wounded. Because of that dedication and spirit of comradeship we were victorious. Happy is the nation which has such an army.

From this podium I would like to congratulate the members of the Government, the Minister of Defense, the Chief of Staff, the generals of the IDF in the field and in the General Staff, the commanders of the corps and the regiments, all the officers and soldiers of the IDF on land, sea and air. I am confident that the entire nation and army will gladly endorse my special congratulations to the Air Force, to its present and previous commanders, who prepared that superb airborne force.

Parallel to the security developments, we were subjected to an international political campaign. During the first days of the crisis, between Independence Day and Thursday, May 18, the entry of the Egyptian forces into the Sinai was described in various capitals as a demonstrative act. The Egyptian demand for the withdrawal of the international Force was fulfilled hastily by the U.N. Secretary-General without obtaining the consent of the U.N. Advisory Committee or bringing the subject before the Security Council. The world condemned the withdrawal of the U.N. Force, yet no international institution did anything to prevent the impending aggression or remove the Egyptian troop con-
centrations from the Israeli border. The ineffectiveness of the U.N. may have encouraged Nasser to continue on his aggressive course of closing the Straits of Tiran. Even after the closing of the Straits, the Security Council did not ask Egypt to annul this, although some of its members described it as illegal and dangerous.

After the closing of the Straits of Tiran, the U.S. and Britain began political action designed to ensure freedom of navigation there. Israel attached importance to this international action and to the increased opposition to one of the central aspects of Egyptian aggression. It rapidly transpired, however, that Nasser was not satisfied with closing the Straits of Tiran, and intended to destroy Israel. Thus, while the Powers were seeking a solution to the problem of the Straits in accordance with international law, the land battles began. During the three weeks prior to the battles the world witnessed, perhaps for the first time, the true character of the Arab policy of hostility and the blatantly aggressive intentions of the Egyptian ruler, of which we had warned it for many years.

In my speech to the Knesset on May 29 I noted how much we had been heartened by the “growing support and encouragement for us in the world.” In the days that followed, that support and encouragement became a flood, engulfing countries, governments and nations, as well as our own people, the Jewish nation, and indicating the extent to which the vision of the revival of Israel had become an integral part of world culture in our generation. In the days preceding the battles the world’s fear for Israel’s existence became a mighty phenomenon which strengthened our position and will continue to do so in the political campaign ahead of us. It is not my intention to disprove false propaganda here, but for the sake of historical truth I would like to repeat that Israel stood alone in its battle for survival, aided by no military force of any country in any way.

I should note that throughout the period of preparation for the war by the Egyptian ruler and his allies, as well as during the fighting, one Power not only failed to condemn their aggressive actions but also aided them politically. On Saturday, 10 June 1967, the U.S.S.R. even announced the severing of its diplomatic relations with Israel, and was followed by Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Today this may not be of any great avail, but it is our international duty to ask the U.S.S.R. how, as a member of the U.N., its avowed policy of settling disputes peacefully fits with giving large quantities of weapons and military equipment to countries which have publicly declared their intention of using those weapons to destroy a sovereign country, and how it fits with its open support for the aggressor during the fighting.

Perhaps now the Soviet leaders will realize that it is their duty to help in the effort to bring true peace to the Middle East. During the last official contact between us we expressed the hope that there would still be re-
lations between our countries on the basis of a deeper understanding of
Israel's problems on the part of the U.S.S.R.

When the State of Israel was born nineteen years ago the Arab
armies sought to destroy it. When we fought and defeated them Armis-
tice Agreements were signed. Those agreements stated explicitly that
they were to be a stage on the path to peace. That is how Israel, and per-
haps not only Israel, regarded them. Over the years, however, it tran-
spired that our neighbors regarded those agreements as a way of gain-
ing time in order to prepare renewed aggression, with the object of
destroying Israel. The U.N. chose to ignore that Arab attitude. The U.N.
Charter makes it incumbent upon the members of the U.N. to refrain
from using force or threatening to use force, and to resolve disputes
peacefully. Nevertheless, the U.N. did not condemn Arab hostility to-
wards Israel which persisted over the years. Thus, for nineteen years
that unique situation continued....All the nations, leaders and represen-
tatives of the world heard the incitement and sabre-rattling of the
Arab leaders against us. They heard, saw and kept quiet.

To the nations of the world we say, do not assume that Israel is pre-
pared to return to the situation which existed until a week ago. The State
of Israel exists and was established by right, yet nonetheless it has had
to fight repeatedly for its right. Alone we fought for our existence and se-
curity and we are entitled to determine what the true and vital interests
of our country are and how its future is to be assured. The situation
which existed till now will not be restored. Israel will no longer be wide
open to acts of terror and murder. We have told the nations of the world
that we look to the future, and to peace in particular, not to the past. We
will observe the cease-fire faithfully, if the other side does so too.

Members of the Knesset, a new situation has been created which can
serve as a point of departure in direct negotiations for a peace settlement
with the Arab countries. The historic contribution which the nations of
the world, led by the Powers, can make to bringing peace to the region is
clear and unequivocal. They must direct their appeals to the Arab coun-
tries, which have made the Middle East a point of tension and a con-
stant battleground for twenty years, rather than to Israel, which has
always aspired to peace....Justice, logic and morality demand that after
almost twenty years the Powers should muster their courage and tell the
Arab countries that the U.N. Charter requires them, as it does every
other member of the U.N., to solve disputes peacefully.

Today our region is at a crossroads. One road leads to peace and
true cooperation deriving from the genuine desire and true interests of
the peoples of the region. The other leads to the danger of continued hos-
tility and all that is implied by the lack of a stable peace. The interna-
tional community faces not only a moral test but also one of political
sense. As soon as the arms race in the region ends—and we have seen
what military equipment was prepared and built over the years by our
neighbors—the more that is done to bring peace in the Middle East
nearer, the greater will be the contribution to reducing international
tension in general.

To the Arab nations I would like to say: we were not eager for the
fray. We acted because we had no choice but to defend our lives and our
rights. Just as you have rights to your countries, we have rights to ours.
The Jewish people's roots in this country are as deep as the ocean.
Throughout the generations the Jews in the diaspora maintained their
spiritual and material ties with this country, and were never cut off
from it. Similarly, this country remained true to us, and never gave it-
self to any other nation. It continued to wait for its sons and the ingath-
ering of its exiles. Today the whole world has seen that there is no force
which can drive us out of this land.

This uniqueness of our nation and its ties with this country are un-
paralleled among the nations of the world. Perhaps our victories in the
three wars which were forced on us will finally convince those who re-
fused to acknowledge this basic truth that our ties with this country are
deepener than the sea, because without it our nation has no life. Perhaps
now, when the false hopes of destroying Israel have been dashed, the
Arab leaders will reconsider their approach to Israel and reflect on the
tremendous suffering and losses they have inflicted on their peoples
and which we regret just as we regret our own losses; perhaps they will
realize what precious resources have been wasted and instruments of war
instead of being used for the economic and social advance of their peo-
ple; perhaps they will ponder the benefit which will accrue to all the
peoples of the region from sincere cooperation between them. It is only
through this that the Middle East will take its rightful place in the net-
work of world culture and human progress.

Mr. Speaker, when the state of emergency reached its height the
Government was expanded and a National Unity Government estab-
lished. I would like to note that the expanded Government, and within it
the Ministerial Committee on Defense Affairs, has stood and is stand-
ing up to the test of national leadership. I am sure that through national
unity we will come through the trials ahead of us, being prepared for the
political campaign and seeking peace. May the days to come deepen the
sense of dedication and unity, spiritual exaltation and the bond between
the generations and the entire House of Israel. Israel has emerged from
the trial of fire and blood stronger than before, true to ourselves and
awaiting the future confidently. With the help of the Rock of Israel and its
Redeemer Israel will dwell in safety.

Permit me, Mr. Speaker, to say a few more words. As I stand before
you now I do not feel that I am a representative of my party, even though
it is the largest in the Knesset, but that I am the Prime Minister of a Go-
vernment which has conducted a war and achieved victory. The wings of
victory may bring us a new era of changed values, relations and bor-
Attacks on Jews in Arab Countries

Introduction

The National Unity Government, which had come into being before the war partly in order to wage the war effectively, remained intact thereafter. It took the Knesset some time to adjust to the new situation, almost without any Opposition, except for the extreme, Communist left, whose role in parliament was accordingly enhanced. Some of the debates conducted during this period were intended to a great extent to demonstrate unity, for internal and external purposes. One example of such a debate follows. In the subsequent items, however, there are already signs of the underlying divergence of opinion between the major Coalition partners—a divergence which was to dominate the Israeli political scene for decades to come—concerning the future of the territories which had recently come under Israeli control. For the time being the divergence is low-key, being articulated primarily by the small factions which remained outside the Coalition, at both ends of the spectrum.

Sitting 186 of the Sixth Knesset

21 June 1967 (13 Sivan 5727)

A. Hassin (Ma'arach): Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, almost 150,000 Jews still live in Moslem countries such as Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. When some of those countries became independent certain Jews left for other countries, while those who remained demonstrated their loyalty and expected to be given the same rights as everyone else....This, however, was not borne out by circumstances. The Jews were treated as second-class citizens...subjected to officially-sanctioned harassment and attack...and made a general scapegoat....

In the last few days two Jews were murdered in Morocco, others were tortured and a great deal of property was stolen. In Tunisia many Jews were beaten, including old people and pregnant women, stores were looted and the great and beautiful synagogue was desecrated and destroyed. In Egypt a large number of Jews were imprisoned. They were tortured in ways invented by the Nazis and no one paid any heed to the cries of the young and the old....In Libya Jews were beaten and slaughtered by mobs....We have heard disturbing rumors about the fate of our brethren in Lebanon, Syria and Iraq, where they cower in fear and trembling behind the locked doors of their homes....We have heard that the Jewish community of Aden has been wiped out brutally....Meanwhile the world sits idly by, no country protesting or intervening or even displaying any pity or concern....