

# The Yom Kippur War

## Introduction

At 2 p.m. on 6 October 1973, the Jewish Day of Atonement—Yom Kippur—the combined forces of Egypt and Syria attacked Israel simultaneously. In the south the Egyptians crossed the Suez Canal, in the north the Syrians invaded the Golan Heights. The Government of Israel was taken by almost complete surprise—only in the early hours of that day had the imminence of war been recognized, and only at 9 a.m. had the order to mobilize the reserves, the bulk of Israel's forces, been issued. Evidently, this did not allow sufficient time for mobilization and transportation to the front.

Both the Egyptians and the Syrians had initial successes, gaining territory and inflicting grievous losses, particularly on the Armored Corps and the Air Force. After a few days, on October 9, a successful counter-attack was launched in the north. A parallel counter-attack in the south, aimed at “transferring the war to enemy territory,” failed conspicuously, however.

It was only during the night of October 15/16 that the first Israeli troops were able to establish a bridgehead west of the Canal. On the afternoon of October 16 the Knesset, recalled from recess, met for its first sitting since the outbreak of the war. The beginning of the sitting was delayed for a few minutes, until Golda Meir felt absolutely certain that it would not be detrimental to the safety of the troops west of the Canal if she were to mention them in her statement.

## Sitting 461 of the Seventh Knesset

16 October 1973 (20 Tishrei 5734)

**The Speaker, I. Yeshayahu:** I hereby open this special Knesset Session....Let us all stand in silence and recall with broken hearts the hundreds of our heroic soldiers who fell in the bitter battle against the enemy who forced this bloody war—which is still continuing—upon us, stealthily and deviously initiating it on the sacred Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur).

Our casualties, like those who preceded them in Israel's other wars since the establishment of the state and beforehand, sacrificed themselves so that others might live and the freedom and independence of our people and state continue. We bow our heads in sorrow and pain in the face of their undaunted courage and supreme sacrifice. On behalf of the Knesset and the Israeli nation we extend our condolences to the bereaved families.

(The Knesset Members stand in memory of the fallen soldiers.)

We pray for the recovery of the wounded...and hope that our prisoners of war will return to their homes and families speedily and in good health. To our soldiers who are still fighting, on land, sea and air, we send our warmest wishes for fortitude, for the sake of our nation and our people. The eyes of all Israel everywhere...turn to you in trust and hope. The hearts of all of us trust that the Rock of Israel will scatter before you the enemy that has risen up against us, in the words of the prophet: "I bring near my righteousness; it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry: and I will place salvation in Zion for Israel my glory."

### The Government's Statement on the Situation

**The Prime Minister, G. Meir:** Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, since the Day of Atonement, for the past eleven days, we have been engaged in a cruel war. This war was forced upon us on two fronts simultaneously. Fierce battles were fought in which the IDF displayed the full force of its strength and courage. Showing both ignorance and viciousness, the enemy chose to launch his attack on the Day of Atonement, the holiest day of the year for Jews, knowing that many of our people were engaged in prayer in synagogues then. Because of his ignorance, the enemy did not know that when lives are at stake laws may be broken. We will not forget the wonderful and stirring sight of thousands of young men leaving the synagogues quietly, still wrapped in their prayer-shawls, and soon afterwards setting off with their military packs on their backs. They went to their units at the fronts accompanied by prayers for the welfare of all our soldiers and a deep faith in the victory of the IDF and the future of the Jewish people. Our soldiers fought like lions. The nefarious attack was checked. The enemy received heavy blows, but the war is still continuing. There is not a day without fighting. And every soldier who falls in battle is precious not only to his family but to us all. The effort to check the enemy has caused many precious losses.

I will not go into details about the situation on the various fronts now. I will only say that on the Syrian front we have overcome the aggressors, pushing them back to behind the ceasefire lines. The Syrian army has taken a beating and our forces have crossed the ceasefire lines. An Iraqi division which participated in the fighting suffered heavy losses at our hands. The IDF struck at Syria's strategic infrastructure. But the fighting on the Egyptian front is still continuing.

On the southern front the war is still in full swing. After the initial battles our forces succeeded in the defensive stage. Two days ago there were extensive tank battles and the Egyptian offensive was checked. There are indications that the enemy's initiative has been stopped. As

we speak, IDF forces are also operating on the western side of the Suez Canal. You do not expect to receive a detailed account of the IDF's battle plans from me...The nation sends its best wishes to the IDF, its soldiers and officers.

Our people have fought and are fighting with the utmost courage. Fighting of that kind can be grasped only if one remembers the nature of our youngsters, only if one understands that our people know that they are fulfilling an historic Jewish mission as the continuers of a Jewish tradition of defending their homes, families and country. The IDF units in the fray are displaying not only first-rate fighting ability, resourcefulness and courage...but also the highest level of comradeship and devotion; our defenders are convinced of the justice of their war.

The IDF is not only the army of the people in the deepest sense of the term. Every home in Israel is intimately linked with the entire IDF as well as with one or several of its close relatives serving in our Army. At the same time, not only the family of fighting men, but the rear, the entire nation, is one loving, concerned family. Hundreds of families whose loved ones went out to defend the nation and the country have received the bitterest news of all, that their son, husband, father or brother will never return. I do not have the courage to try to comfort them. I will only repeat our truth: they are all the sons of all of us. The pain is felt by us all. Some of our soldiers have been captured by the enemy. I would like to make it clear that we will not accept any ceasefire agreement which does not include the return of all our prisoners of war. Some of our soldiers are missing. We must not lose hope that they will be found alive. To the wounded we send heartfelt wishes for a full and speedy recovery. Dear families, the assurance of our nation's existence is still subject to the painful fact that our wonderful, brave and pure sons must serve as its defense wall. When peace comes, it will be because of them. May we all be worthy of them.

Knesset Members, who can dare deny the fact that Egypt and Syria launched the vicious attack on Israel? Will there once again be those who would dare deny the truth that the responsibility for the terrible war in which we are currently engaged rests on the Governments of Egypt and Syria? I repeat this fact because even in the midst of the fighting we are concerned about the moral dilemmas and the ethical, human and political responsibilities which governments accept when they decide to embark on war and bloodshed. The Governments of Egypt and Syria will not be cleansed of the shame and consequences of this responsibility.

The Arab countries massed immense forces for the attack. I will give you the main figures for the Arab armies up until October 15. Egypt had 650,000 soldiers, 650 planes and 2,500 tanks. Syria had 150,000 soldiers, 330 planes and 2,000 tanks. Iraq (only as regards its part in the war) had 230 tanks and 3 fighter-plane formations. Jordan (as regards

its part in the war) had 80 tanks. Morocco (as regards its part in the war) had 1,500 soldiers with armored vehicles. In the area of ground-to-air missiles, Egypt had 150 SAM2, SAM3 and SAM6 batteries, Syria had 35 SAM2, SAM3 and SAM6 batteries. Egypt had 2,000 cannon of 120 mm. or more, and Syria had 1,300. We have received information indicating that additional Arab countries are about to send forces of various sizes to join in the war against Israel.

One does not need a vivid imagination to assess what Israel's situation would have been had our borders been those of 4 June 1967. Anyone who cannot imagine such a shocking situation is invited to turn their attention to what happened on the northern border in the Golan Heights during the first days of this war. Syria's aspirations were not limited to liberating a given area, but including reinstating the batteries of guns directed against the settlements in Galilee as well as putting anti-aircraft missiles in position so that its forces could invade the center of Israel. Neither does one need a vivid imagination to assess what would have happened to Israel if Egypt's army had defeated the IDF in the Sinai and advanced towards Israel's borders. I will not waste the Knesset's time by quoting the statements made by the Arab leaders and their spokesmen regarding the objectives of the despicable attack they initiated. We have no doubt that this is a war for Israel's very existence....

The forces of Egypt and Syria, supported by other countries...set out to reach the borders of 4 June 1967 and thence to destroy the State of Israel. The Arab rulers claim that they merely wished to reach the borders of 4 June 1967, but we know what their true intentions were...and must make this clear to the world....

The U.S.S.R. seeks to benefit from the war against Israel. We still recall the ignoble part it played in creating the conditions which led to the Six Day War...and the ensuing developments. The Soviets rehabilitated, trained and equipped the Egyptian and Syrian armies....In early 1970 the U.S.S.R. established fighter-plane squadrons and batteries of ground-to-air missiles in Egypt. In August 1970 it advanced them to the Canal area. In addition, the U.S.S.R. trained and prepared the Arab armies to attack...giving them extensive aid as well as a constant flow of materiel during the actual fighting....The U.S.S.R.'s policy has not been merely unfriendly, it is irresponsible as regards Israel, the region and the world.

A great deal has been said about a ceasefire....To date no such proposal has been made to Israel...probably because the Egyptians and Syrians have not yet taken a sufficient beating....When this happens, "volunteers" will doubtless rush forward to rescue them by proposing a ceasefire, accompanied by frenetic activity at the U.N. and the Security Council. As in the past, however, the ceasefire will depend on the strength of the IDF.

On the ninth day of the war we learned that an elite Jordanian armored brigade comprising 80 tanks had been sent from Jordan to Syria and placed at the disposal of the Iraqi command. I think it is superfluous to stress that we have no desire to clash with Jordan, and are still convinced that it is in Jordan's interests not to engage in another war with Israel. Jordan has announced that it is "tying Israel's forces up along the border in order to aid the Syrians," and we have drawn the attention of certain political circles to the gravity of statements of this kind, which could lead to unforeseen developments....

As in times of danger in the past, once again an embargo has been imposed on arms shipments to Israel....France is adhering to its embargo, despite the fact that Libya's Mirage planes are being used against Israel, as we predicted would happen....Britain has also held up supplies which we urgently need. All this gives rise to thoughts about the cynicism and hypocrisy of the world's policy when a small, besieged and embattled country is involved. As always, and particularly now, the friendship and aid of the U.S. is dear to us....We have no doubt that the U.S. Administration is concerned by recent developments, committed as it is to a policy of peace....We are convinced that the U.S. desires Israel's good and that its friendship for us is not at the expense of the just interests of other countries, including the Arabs. We are trying to make our needs and policy clear to the U.S. As always, we appreciate the warm identification and the help of U.S. Jewry in this difficult time. On behalf of the Israeli nation, I express our gratitude to the U.S. President and people who, in accordance with the American tradition, have helped a country which is battling against aggression.

In view of the massive quantities of weapons reaching the Arab countries from the U.S.S.R...the U.S. has responded to our requests for arms....We do not want anyone to fight for us, but we are entitled to aid in our self-defense....Taking into account the huge forces confronting us, we must make a supreme effort to finance the costs of the war....We have therefore decided on a war loan which will be imposed on everyone by law, in accordance with the principles of social justice, i.e., persons with higher incomes will pay more than those with lower incomes.... We have also appealed for war bonds to be purchased in amounts over and above those required by law...and I am pleased to note that there has been an encouraging response from the entire nation. All the money thus collected will be used for the war effort....

As far as this is possible, we do not wish to neglect vital aspects of our economy. World Jewry has helped us in this...once more showing its solidarity with us in times of need...and undertaking to fund our social and development budgets....I would like to note the display of identification with the state of its Arab citizens, expressions of volunteering being found in every sector of the population, from remote villages in the north to Beduin encampments in the Negev....Ours is a democratic

country. Freedom of speech and criticism are embedded in Israeli society. In the situation in which we find ourselves questions are inevitable. There is always room for criticism....The day is not far off when we will be free to deal with that in the Knesset and elsewhere, but I hope that we all—Government and Opposition alike—will not divert our attention now from the main national effort, and that in everything we do and say we will adhere to the central point, our national existence and unity....

Our aim in this war, which unites the entire nation, is, simply, to repel the enemy's forces on both fronts. By virtue of the wonderful strength and spirit of the IDF, and the Jewish people's identification with Israel, we will attain our aim....We have never regarded war as a way of solving problems in our region. Since the establishment of the state, we have been convinced that negotiations are the only, the shortest and the most efficient way of attaining peace. Now, while the fighting is continuing, we will not go into debates about policy aims and problems. The defeat of the enemy is the precondition for guaranteeing our future. We will concentrate our efforts on repelling and crushing the enemy. For that purpose let us strengthen our unity. When people ask me: "When will it end?" I reply: "When we defeat the enemy." For our part, we will do everything, I repeat, everything, to succeed in the shortest possible time, and our spirits shall not fall. That is the true and responsible answer at this time.

**M. Begin (Gahal):** Mr. Speaker, my teachers, leaders and Knesset Members, our first thoughts are for our sacred, heroic fighting boys. Some people say that the regular Army blocked the aggressor, stopped the enemy, averted the danger. What is the regular Army? It is our children, the boys whose lives have just begun, the youngsters who have not known exile, have not tasted servitude in foreign lands, who were born in freedom. They fought off a cruel foe who sought to kill them and their people, until reinforcements arrived. They are all holy, all heroes, all lustrous with the brightness of the horizon.

Our hearts are with the families of the fallen. We turn to you, our brothers and sisters, in fear and trembling. What value is there in words, even if they come from the heart, in the face of the sacrifice you have made for our people and our country? May God comfort you. The memory of your sons will endure forever in the history of our nation. They, together with their comrades in arms, went out to a war of salvation and redemption. From their sacred blood will spring Israel's deliverance. Their heroism and readiness to sacrifice themselves will serve as an example for Jewish youth not only in this generation but also in those to come. Because of sons such as these did our nation go forth from slavery to freedom; because of them it lives and will live. That is our consolation.

The battle is a difficult one. We must tell our people the truth. The war has not yet ended. We are facing a fateful trial in the history of our people. With God's help we will stand firm, repel the enemy, crush his aggressive strength, destroy his war machine, give Israel security and peace to our people.

Since the third watch of the night our soldiers have been operating on both sides of the Canal. We offer up a heartfelt prayer to the God of our fathers to guard our sons, the splendor of Israel, the highest expression of the renewed heroism of the Maccabees, and that the cry which echoes from generation to generation, ever since Israel went out of the house of bondage to its own land, shall be heard: "Rise up, O Lord, and thine enemies shall be scattered, and they that hate thee shall flee before thee."

In the house of representatives of a free, democratic country, the Opposition expresses a different view, assessment and conclusion. That is its national task and responsibility. There is a time, however, when the Opposition expresses national unity. Now is that time. From noontime on the Day of Atonement, when we recited the prayer of remembrance and joined in our hearts with those who are no longer, who were murdered and slaughtered and burned alive and drowned and slain by an evil enemy while the whole world, both East and West, remained indifferent in the face of all the strange deaths in the heart of Europe; when we recited that prayer, than which there is none holier, on the most sacred day in the Jewish calendar, and were told by the Prime Minister and Minister Galili of the enemy's intention to attack us in the south and the north and try to reach the heart of the country by an armored assault, from that moment on we were resolved in our minds to defer all the questions, and there are questions, about what happened in the period prior to the Day of Atonement, until after the victory, until it has become evident to all that Israel has once again defeated its enemies. During the ten days of the war we have not budged from that position. We shall not budge from it.

What did, and do, our enemies and their supporters want...? On 12 October 1973, Heikal wrote: "I have not seen anyone as happy this week as Vinogradov, the Soviet ambassador to Cairo....On hearing that Soviet weapons aided the Egyptian troops to cross the Canal he said that he regarded this moment as the peak of his term in Egypt." Hundreds of tanks are crossing the Suez Canal, thousands of cannon are spouting fire, soon hundreds or thousands of people will die, and the Soviet ambassador is happier than he has been at any time during his term in Egypt....He knows that Soviet weapons will enable the invading armies to cross Israel's borders and penetrate to its very heart...there to kill, slaughter and destroy....So he is happy....On 23 August 1939, another Soviet ambassador was happy when a secret pact was signed to divide Europe and the world up between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. After so many years, such terrible Holocausts and such dreadful

wars, the episode in Cairo once again repeats the intrigue directed against the Jewish people....

The destruction of our forces...leaving the way open for such other objectives as land and political gains...is the foremost aim of Egypt, its supporters and its allies. Had they been successful, what would have become of this brave little nation? What would have become of the surviving remnant of a devastated people? There is no longer any doubt: all that stands between our destruction and the objective of our enemies is our forces. But if, in a holy, defensive war, we destroy our enemies' war machines, no harm will befall the Egyptian and Syrian peoples. They will live, and in peace. No one in Israel seeks to hurt a single man, woman or child in any Arab country. That is the moral, fateful, historic difference between us....

Against the background of this war of salvation and redemption...there have been splendid displays of heroism, aid and humanity, as well as of shame and perfidy. Britain violated its contracts with Israel, refusing to send the equipment needed to prevent those armies from destroying our forces and the surviving remnant of our people....Because England refused to honor the Balfour Declaration and closed the gates to this country in the years prior to the Second World War six million Jews paid with their lives....And now England is withholding equipment which is essential for the defense of the surviving remnant....

The period prior to the Second World War will not recur. A new Jew has arisen here who will fight and, with God's help, be victorious. But for Britain it is another dark period in the history of its relations with the Jewish people....It is a repetition of the policy of appeasement adopted at Munich....The withholding of equipment from a small, embattled country which is facing its enemies as well as the world Power which supports them is a disgrace! I hope that the British people will persuade its Government to change its policy....

France, which we have loved, which is the birthplace of the great revolution, of Jewish emancipation, of Emile Zola, which was our ally only fifteen years ago, not only placed an embargo on weapons for Israel but at this very time continues to send destructive weapons to our enemies, for materialistic reasons....I hope that those Frenchmen who are loyal to the truth, to friendship with Israel and to the love of freedom will convince their Government to alter this disgraceful policy....The policy of appeasement was and remains contemptible when the abandonment of a small country is involved....Do not England and France realize that behind this aggressive policy stands a Power which is interested in breaking through the Suez Canal, linking its navies in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, extending itself throughout the Persian Gulf, gaining control of Somalia and Aden and completely

changing the balance of power between the enslaved and the free worlds...?

In view of these developments we must express our admiration for and gratitude to the U.S...which has grasped that the survival of Israel is at stake....But behind this struggle is the issue of freedom or slavery, progress or bondage, perpetual war or the hope of peace for all nations, great and small. That is the common interest of the U.S. and this small nation. That is also our mutual understanding and aid....We thank the U.S. President, the Secretary of State, our friend Senator Jackson, the overwhelming majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives, and public opinion throughout the U.S., not only among our coreligionists but also among the vast majority of Christians, which has united around this small, brave, embattled nation which is fighting for the highest human ideals....

Our policy is to win the war...and this view is shared by everyone within the nation and in this parliament....We must be united behind our fighting forces. We must be brave in our pain and sorrow....We must make sure that we intensify our firepower, increase by two- three- and four-fold the number of our tanks and their crews, of our cannon and planes, of our personal equipment, so that we can overcome the quantitative disproportion between the enemy and us which has been created by the U.S.S.R. during the last six years....Further, let it be known that aggression annuls any borders which have been crossed, whether as ceasefire or as armistice lines, whether with consent or without it....Once an international agreement has been violated by the enemy and lines have been crossed...they need no longer be honored by the side which has been attacked....This is an established principle in international law...for aggressors must be punished....The fateful battle for our future is still continuing. With the help of the Lord of Hosts we will be victorious and salvation will be achieved through the devotion of the best of our sons....

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**I. Raphael (Mafdal):** Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, eternal honor and glory are the lot of our sons and our younger brothers, who were swifter than eagles and stronger than lions, who gave their lives and died the deaths of sacred heroes in repelling and smashing the enemies' assaults....Our hearts are with the bereaved families, the broken parents, the unfortunate widows, the orphaned children, the brothers and sisters, whose homes have become places of mourning. Today, the sorrow of the individual is shared by each one of us, by the entire nation. We extend wishes for a speedy recovery to our dear soldiers who have been wounded in battle and are fighting suffering and pain. Oh God, our king, faithful and merciful healer, heal them of all their wounds and afflictions, and grant them a full recovery.

It will not be long before the annals of the splendid heroism, sacrifice and resourcefulness of our fighting boys, who foiled the wicked schemes of those who sought to surprise us by great force on our holy day, when our people were in the synagogues in prayer and fasting, seeking forgiveness for ourselves and the nations of the world, are written. Much will yet be said, but for the moment silence is golden, for there are questions to be asked....But these must wait for the appropriate moment, after our victory, with God's help....The time will also come for drawing conclusions....For the present, we must close ranks and be united in our attempt to gain victory....

Now, as in the battle for our independence, our slogan must be that the whole country is the front....Throughout the nation, at home and abroad, there have been heartening exhibitions of the volunteering spirit which distinguishes us in our hour of need....In a trice the barriers between left and right, Orthodox and secular, extremists and moderates, fell....Our rabbis have sanctioned fighting on our holiest day when the existence of our people and our state is imperiled. Please take care not to give rise to additional and unnecessary transgressions of our holy law. Israel's Chief Rabbi, Rabbi Goren, the scroll of the law in his arms, is at the front with the soldiers, strengthening and encouraging them. This is a holy war for us....The Lord is surely with us....

We will yet settle our account with an obdurate and cynical world, most of which has once again refused to acknowledge facts and recognize the aggressor as such. We are weary of pointing an accusatory finger at the Soviet Power, which alone is responsible for the absence of peace in our region, having turned it into a huge arsenal...and making use of inferior nations in its own intrigues and disputes....It is responsible for the shedding of the blood of our sons. How can the supposedly enlightened countries of Europe, which witnessed the terrible Nazi Holocaust of our nation in their midst, ignore a fresh attempt to destroy the remnant of our nation by the incited Arab nations and withhold the means of defense from us? We will remember those countries' treacherous behavior to us in our hour of need, just as we will always remember the aid extended by the great American nation and its noble President, one of the righteous amongst the nations.

Men of conscience throughout the world know that we had no intention of launching an attack and renewing the war. We were waiting for peace negotiations, knowing that these would require us to pay a price....This vicious and sudden attack on us must oblige us to think once again about the nature of safe borders. Our obvious intention in this war is to push the assailant back across the lines and smash his aggressive power....In our prayers tomorrow morning we will, appropriately enough, beseech the Lord to save us for the sake of our martyrs and heroes....

**M. Wilner (Rakah):** Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, the nation is confused and astounded. Many families are mourning the death of their loved ones. A great deal of Jewish and Arab blood has been shed. We share in the grief of the widows, the orphans and the bereaved parents. We wish the wounded a speedy recovery. The nation has paid for the resumption of the war in blood and is now being asked to pay in coin. The first thing that the general public...wants is for this bloody war to end....We Communists, as well as many others, believe that the renewal of the war could have been averted, that there were many opportunities for establishing peace between Israel and the Arab countries, but the Government rejected all the various peace initiatives which were mooted in recent years...preferring to perpetuate the status quo of occupation, its intractable aim being to annex the occupied Arab land to the State of Israel and destroy the rights of the Palestinian Arab nation.

This policy...was expressed in systematic activities designed to create facts in the occupied territories. The "Galili Document"...contained no peace plan, merely the intensified colonization of the occupied territories...and constituted a new peak in blocking every path to a political solution of the conflict....The Minister of Defense, Moshe Dayan, has said on several occasions that a peace agreement can be reached with the Arab countries provided Israel agrees to withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967, adding: "I prefer the absence of peace while retaining Sharm el-Sheikh to peace without it." Other Ministers have expressed similar sentiments...while at the same time the neighboring Arab countries voiced their readiness for peace with Israel in return for its withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967.

The Government stopped its ears to every peace proposal, relying on Israel's military superiority and American backing. Consequently, the Government is responsible for the fact that Israel has not attained peace and security...and for the deterioration into war...as we Communists warned would happen....The situation has proved that the Government erred in all its calculations. It has been proved that extensive territories do not provide security, that continued occupation leads merely to continued bloodshed and that the Arab peoples do not accept the occupation of their land. It has been proved that the Government was completely cut off from international developments and revolutionary processes in the Arab world. The Government abandoned Israel's security on the altar of its aspiration to territorial expansion and in order to serve the interests of Washington's rulers, which are those of greedy billionaires, not of Israel. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, has repeatedly proposed a political solution, seeking to establish a just and lasting peace which will assure the sovereign existence, security and rights of both the State of Israel and the Arab countries....

The Government's policy has led to the dangerous isolation of Israel. Even after the resumption of fighting additional countries severed

their diplomatic ties with Israel...The Government thought it could disregard the resolutions of the U.N...but it has been proved wrong in this, thereby bringing disaster on Israel...We Communists are always ready to defend Israel's existence and security and our nation's just rights...But is the present war really one of survival for us, as the Prime Minister has claimed? That is not true. Even now the neighboring Arab countries are prepared to reach a peace agreement with Israel on the basis of justice and the implementation of the Security Council decision...The major world bodies are prepared to guarantee the sovereign existence and security of Israel and all the countries of the region...Thus, the war is to maintain Israel's control of territory belonging to Syria, Egypt and Jordan...

We oppose sacrificing our young men to retain control of occupied territory...and by doing so we are expressing Israel's true national interests. Israeli patriotism is not expressed in the call for incessant wars, for the conquest of Damascus and Cairo and for bringing the Arab nations to their knees with the aid of American imperialists. That summons is one which jeopardizes Israel's entire existence. Let us decide to stop the fighting and establish peace on the basis of the full implementation of U.N. Resolution 242, including withdrawing from the territories occupied in 1967 and recognition of Israel's sovereign rights as well as the legal national rights of the Palestinian Arab people...Only peace will bring security...Let us put an end to the bloodshed and turn over a new leaf in the history of Israel and its relations with the Arab nations. That is Israel's interest, for which we will work incessantly.

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**S. Tamir (Free Center):** Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset...all we have, our entire essence, is concentrated now in the war which has been imposed on us by Moscow via Cairo and Damascus, the darkest, most destructive forces known to mankind since Nazism...Around and among us there is bereavement, the affliction of orphans and widows, the suffering of the wounded, the pain of the prisoners of war; while over against us is the danger no other nation has known as we have: to be or not to be. The recognition that this is the true state of things is the source of our spiritual strength, which has been turned into our might in war...United behind its army and adhering to it in love, hope and prayer, the nation is firm in its resolve to be victorious in order to live and maintain our national unity and heritage...

At this fateful hour we have decided to defer the questions which clamor to be asked and the inevitable clarifications which must be undertaken...We call on the Government to do likewise, until victory is ours...and to refrain from responding to queries which we have refrained from asking. Our unity in battle does not absolve us of our basic duty to define for ourselves, the nation and the whole world what our

aim is in the war which has been forced upon us. In three wars we repelled the enemy and smashed his military strength, gaining an interim ceasefire. Our objective in the Yom Kippur War must be to make peace. And when faced with an enemy who refuses any compromise...making peace means dictating peace.

There is no nation on this earth which yearns for peace as Israel does...and no nation deserves peace as Israel does. The lessons of the past, our obligations to the soldiers, the nation and our national future oblige us to strive for a situation in which Egypt and Syria ask the IDF for a ceasefire in the Yom Kippur War, and that Israel determines its conditions, which will be such as to assure a true and stable peace for our nation.

**U. Avneri (Israel Radicals):** Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, the cruel war is still continuing. Our brethren in the north and the south are ready to fight, and at any moment may be called on to give their lives. Hundreds of families have just received the terrible news that their loved ones have fallen. Mothers and fathers, wives and children, fear for the fate of their dear ones. This is not the moment for arguments, although there are great and weighty questions...Israelis of all political views stand side by side facing danger now...they have the right to know that the nation is united behind them...Let the nation, the enemy and the whole world know that we are one people, that we will defend our state, that we are strong and that morale at the rear is high, as high as it is at the fronts...Let the world and the Arab peoples know that Israel's soldiers on both fronts are not imbued with a desire for vengeance...or the conquest of additional territory, though they are confident of their eventual victory. Their sole aspiration—as it is of all of us—is that this should be the last war...Above all, they, and we, aspire to peace, a peace in which we can live in security and justice.

We checked two mighty offensives deploying large quantities of the most up-to-date Soviet weaponry. On both fronts we still stand firm. Once again it has been proved that no geographical lines, mountains, water courses or fortifications...are a substitute for the courage, resourcefulness and fighting ability of our soldiers. The only true security border is the IDF... It is still too early to learn all the lessons of this war...The discussion of the last six years as to ideal security borders, peace and the annexation of territory will be resumed the day after this war ends, but we will not conduct it now. We will only say that there is no substitute for peace...The last ceasefire was the shortest of all, lasting only six and a quarter years...and the ceasefire lines...did not prevent war or bring peace.

Now we must fight and smash the forces attacking us. But even during the war we must remember that our principal aim is not to gain another barren military victory but to achieve one which will be linked to a peace plan initiated by us, particularly with regard to peace with the

Palestinian people....One cannot dictate peace. The very phrase is absurd. Peace must stem from the desire of two peoples to live in peace. The brilliant victory of the Six Day War...did not bring us peace. Let us ensure that when this war ends there will be peace. It does not depend on us alone, but it depends on us too. Let us do everything we can to ensure that this fourth war is our last....

...

**M. Baram (Ma'arach):** Mr. Speaker, distinguished Knesset, on behalf of the Ma'arach, Gahal, Mafdal, Aguda, Independent Liberal, National List, Progress and Development, Po'alei Aguda, Cooperation and Amity, Free Center, Israel Radicals and Moked party groups, as well as Knesset Members Shalom Cohen and Shaki, I hereby propose the following concluding resolution to the debate on the Government's statement regarding the situation:

The Knesset has heard the Prime Minister's statement, discussed it and resolved as follows:

A. In sorrow and love, the Knesset commemorates the heroic soldiers of the IDF, who gave their lives in defense of the nation and the state facing the aggressive forces of the enemy on the southern and northern fronts.

B. The Knesset extends the condolences of the entire nation to the bereaved families. The memory of the sacred heroes will live forever in the heart of the nation.

C. The Knesset extends wishes for a speedy and full recovery to the soldiers who have been wounded in battle and hopes that the prisoners of war may soon return to their homes.

D. The Knesset calls on the entire nation to stand united behind the Army, which is fighting to repel the aggressive forces of the enemy, in order to give Israel victory, security and peace.

**A. Verdiger (Po'alei Aguda):** With the help of the Lord, God of Israel.

**M. Baram (Ma'arach):** E. The Knesset expresses its esteem for all the free nations which stood behind embattled Israel and are helping it in its fight for its freedom and its future.

F. The Knesset condemns the withholding of equipment from Israel, which is defending itself against the aggression of its enemies, by Britain and France, while the enemy receives an ever-increasing flow of arms and equipment from the U.S.S.R.

G. The Knesset expresses its gratitude to the U.S.A., its nation, President, Government and Congress, for their support for Israel and the justice of its war against aggression and attempts to destroy it.

H. The Knesset applauds the stand taken by the Jewish people throughout the world, once again proving its identification with the Israeli nation in this testing time.

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## The Vote

Those in favor of MK Baram's proposal 84

Those against 3

(MK Baram's concluding proposal is adopted.)