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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.
Series F: Life in Israel, 1956-1983.

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Speech notes. Central Conference of American Rabbis seminar.
"Yom Kippur War and Aftermath." 1973-1974.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

Saturday, Yom Kippur, 6.10.73

13:00 Returned from synagogue
 14:10 First siren
 14:25 Second siren
 14:45 First news
 Syria and Egypt attacked in Golan and Sinai
 Sirens were real alert, not practice, Israeli forces in battle.
 15:15 Neighbor came to listen to radio
 Subsequent announcements indicated:
 a) Civil defense regulations - water, first aid, tape windows, go to shelter when siren sounded up and down; all clear - one minute continuous.
 b) Partial mobilization - coded names of units. *Rocket Sirendive*
 c) Public transportation started 15:00 *meat Pot*
 d) Civil transport urged to keep off the roads. *Beautiful women*
 e) No traffic lights tonight. *Woolen thread*
 f) Police called to posts - in uniform *litst fire*
 g) Hospitals called in staffs - went on war emergency footing - refused civilian cases unless emergency.
Military Events
 Full battle, air, sea and land
 Air battle over Kiryat Shmoneh
 Grenade thrown at jeep in Gaza at 11:00 - one dead, two wounded.
Political Events
 Syria and Egypt declared emergency
 Eban kept Kissinger informed
 Nixon announced Sixth Fleet activities normal.
 Russian airlift of their personnel from Egypt and Syria
 15 - 16:00 Reassuring of Charles who was very frightened.
 16:00 Inspection of shelter - Charlie *ben-dav*
 16:15 Movement of vehicles on street
 trucks begin to pick up soldiers
 16:30 Talk to young children on balcony of next house
 "Papa was mobilized."
 Next door neighbor, husband contractor, his trucks were mobilized.
 Broke fast early, to be prepared.
 17:00 Performed chores - packed knapsack for shelter; prepared tubs
 of water; put first aid stuff in basket near *door*.....
 18:00 Full civil defense regulations in effect - no lights, all shutters closed.
 Egypt announced ten planes of hers down.
 Pentagon announced all activity of Sixth fleet was routine.
 Astar and Roslie both called.
 18:15 Radio: Golda made speech; five minutes; voice tired; read
 TV: with eyes down on paper; even when she came to paragraph-
 "Citizens of Israel" - no flash.
 Contents: Known to our intelligence, they were concentrating
 forces, we turned to political forces in world to inform,
 and to seek prevention. We have no doubt of our victory.
 This is not first time under fire, there will be *many* hardships.
 18:45 8 Egyptian helicopters down at Ras Sudar.
 19:00 Lorie Hecht turned up, someone had told her that Syria had declared
 war on Egypt. She stayed on couch for the night.
 19:30 Another visit to shelter with Joe Goldman - made date to go down in
 morning to clean, fix lights etc.
 21:15 Walked parents to King David Hotel - through blacked out streets -
 no traffic - one man jumped out of small truck to ask where Rubin
 Academy was, he had red mobilization ticket for someone.
 Hotel lobby was unlighted, only desk, Crowd milling around.

(2)

21:45 Upon return from hotel, received NY call from Norman. Reassured him we were OK.
22:00 Dayan newscast
22:30 Andy called; Steve mobilized - she won't come to work in morning

Sunday, 7.10.73

07:00 Heard first news of day:
Heavy fighting - Syrians being halted - all beachheads on Suez near waterway - Four Egyptian boats sunk with missiles - Egyptian commandoes are operating deeper in Sinai - Damascus radio says Israel attacked.
Herzog made analysis: on Egyptian side, 2000 tanks, 1500 guns, 700 planes, $\frac{1}{4}$ million men: on Syrian side, 2000 tanks, 5 times as many men in Six Day War. We are still in stage of blocking action. will go over to counter attack later.
State Department wants Cease fire; Sixth Fleet not on alert; no UN meeting yet called; this action kills 242.
Israel Cabinet met last night to hear reports, Jordanian army on alert. Libya accused Jordan of dodging responsibility.
Lod Airport closed
Schools closed
Temperature unseasonably cool - Jerusalem 23-15°
All children worked in the shelters; David did great cleaning job; Grandpa helped shovel dirt; Joe Goldman kept swearing at Baruch Zion; FF and Malka cleaned out toilets.

16:00 FF took Mrs. S. home, also brought back 2 sochnut mattresses. On way back from Katamon, Haga painted her headlights black.

17:00 Went to Mahane Yehuda to buy straw mattresses for shelter
All closed except selling lulavim and etrogim.

18:45 Newscast:
Wiped out 10 to 11 bridgeheads
400 tanks crossed-violence of battle diminishing.
One Israeli tank hit 17 Egyptian tanks.
Air superiority in northern part of Sinai.
In Golan air force providing cover to tanks.
Also air strikes deep in Syria
Tank battles still in force
Balance in Golan shifting to Israel.
24 year old tank officer wiped out fifty tanks and trucks.
West Germany and Britain called for UN meeting
Pentagon estimates that Israeli aim is to preserve air superiority.
Sixth fleet Independence ^{plus} destroyers moving from Athens to Crete
Bourguiba warned his people not to hurt Jews as happened in the Six Day War
Bourguiba promised troops in a few days time
In US thousands of volunteers and found appeals.
IAI working day and night to try and repair aircraft
Iraq spoke to Egypt and Syria, offered planes
TWA and Swissair request to operate into Israel - refused.

19:15 Test in house of people going down to shelter
20:45 Second newscast
Egypt admitted she started ground attack because expected sea attack
Israel bombed targets in Egypt as well as Suez and Golan
Herzog, greater part of ~~the~~ Syrian army committed.

Major portion of Israeli forces now being mobilized.
 Not yet committed. By tomorrow it will be a tired Syrian army
 having sustained heavy losses, facing fresh Israeli forces.
 400 tanks have crossed canal. Situation very fluid.
 In last few hours IAF went into action and destroyed the ten of
 eleven bridges.
 Egypt attacked in order to gain local success.
 Crucial point can yet take a number of days to develop.
 Its a major war.
 Our resources are not yet deployed.
 We are blocking and stabilizing the front, first.
 This is a wise policy.

Soviet union places guilt on Israel.

Washington waiting for developments, but angry at Russians having
 advance notice of hostilities and not informing him.

US Jews reacting strongly in favor of Israel.
 El Al special schedule.

Blackout being observed more strictly second night.
 In Jerusalem bakeries produced 4 times normal ammount of bread.

21:00 Took Charlie and Hilda to hotel
 22:00 Watched Jordan TV news
 22:45 Third newscast:
 35,000 tourists in country - staying
 Synagogue in Mea Shearim organising group of 100 to say
 prayers non-stop until war is ended.

Monday, 8.10.73

04:00 Norman called from New York
 Message from Stanley re Suzi
 I asked him to call my kids
 Robbi had messages from several friends
 08:45 Avni called to say my gold coins were mailed to POB 92
 09:00 Joe Goldman having hard time with Baruch Zion
 09:30 Went to office
 Andy's husband called to Suez
 Billy Gross called to shmira on beach near reading station
 Lisa said Herzl Eliav's son wounded in eye and chest
 in hospital in Afula.
 Periah Avnon called for Yaacov's medicine - said he and car
 mobilized.
 11:00 Steve came into office, hasn't been sent
 thinks he might go to Eilat or Sharm.
 12:00 Old City, Goldman and I - Arabs - Buying straw mats for shelter floor.
 Many Haga men with rifles.
 13:30 Lunch Intercontinental whole family.
 15:00 Registered at Haga Office, volunteer driver.
 16:00 Afternoon talk with Hirsch
 17:30 Eban speech UN Assembly

Egypt 3000 tanks, 2000 guns, 1000 planes, 600,000 men
 Syria 1000 tanks

We would have been fools to have withdrawn earlier
 without peace, we shall return to cease fire line of 5.10.73

18:00

Newscast

Nixon tried to enlist Brezhnev in joint resolution
 Lebanon asked Arab ambassadors to restrain terrorists.

1900

Elazar Press Conference - Moshe Pearlman and Yehuda Prihar
 700 persons attending. He very good. Gave name to war
 in answer to Al Rosenfeld - War of Day of Judgement.

a) Paid great tribute to יצחק רבין

b) First stage Sat and Sun- נא'ם they advanced
 we blocked.

c) Monday - we mobilized and now we are going into second
 stage יצחק רבין

d) This is serious war but we are advancing and causing
 heavy losses. Hundreds of tanks in both fronts

20:30 p.m.

Beirut radio reports Syria lost 500-600 tanks

BOAC forced down by Yemenite fighter

Reserve troops will be paid 100% salary

30 Arab residents of Lydda offered cars and themselves to
 police

Egged resuming service to administered territories

22:45

Massive counter offensives going extremely well

Syrians pushed back to original lines

Coming days will determine how far we go

In UN US trying to persuade Russia to go along with resolution
 to return to lines of Oct. 5

Allon said decision to wait for attack was wise and
 unanimous.

WJ Congress Goldman said Israel could count on his support

In New York UJA raised 25m in 2 days, since Yom Kippur

Even stronger support than in Six Day War.

23:15

Received telephone call from Haga to report at midnight
 for duty tour in city.

Tuesday, October 9

0001

Reported to Haga HQ - Beit Sefer Schmitt

4 hour duty driver

Schmitt school - small rooms - stone floors

maps - several telephones - kumkum.

Took home men whom I replaced - no other transport
 available. Payot, Tzitzit, took him to Tel Arza

On way back in Machane Yehuda picked up two high school
 boys who had volunteered to work all day at Angel's

bakery. They told of American and other foreign
 volunteers from among tourists

Took them to Beit Elisheva. Returned to Haga

Drive through dark streets, eery, Almost

full moon made it interesting. Animated conversation

among six people for an hour: military situation:

cost of living: building houses: no-one smoked.

Big fat fellow, tough from Katamon, poured hot water out of

kumkum, put in petel powder, made cold drink. Captain

came in later, gave him hell, said acid in power could

ruin the coil. Kumkum was only for hot water. Captain

took sleeping bag and left, big fellow saved face in front of all the others by going out and pouring out petel juice. Returned and started to talk about the war. Then long period of silence between 2 and 3pm news. Don't really know purpose of this whole exercise, but everyone here obviously feels satisfied by doing it. Absolutely nothing happened. Simply that the HQ was being manned. One telegram was called in. Major in charge, uniformed and armed, telephoned a reply to someone. One of men on 12-4 shift was part of a group of 6 who divided up the day's watch among them - four hours each. Apparently the HQ needs 5 to 6 men at all times, in case of trouble.

Morale is strange feeling, hard to know what creates it. But obviously just sitting around talking and drinking coffee in company of others, all of whom feel they are 'on watch' is enough to do it. The world of action is outside but somehow inside as well.

Few drifted off to sleep, on benches in neighbouring rooms. Snores were heard

Three of us were left. The telephone girl, Varda, the shift fellow and I. We drank a last coffee and I took him home.

10:30

Went to buy Sukkah with FF and Charlie and Hilda.

09:00

Newscast: Naval battle off Delta - also Ras Muhammed. Reinforcements came across Canal during night. Artillery duels in Golan. Terrorists crossed near Metulla two killed. Russian immigrants arrived before dawn. US Jewry performing fantastically, money-blood-volunteers-political rallies, etc.

12:00

Put all handwritten notes in order for Andy

13:00

Carried wooden partitions home

15:00

Returned to office saw Mrs. ^{Kacik} Newman

18:00

Golan-armored clashes, our planes attacking in Golan also Sinai. Damascus attacked, UN observer and family killed. Herzog: Syrian army has taken heavy losses, but has not broken. Cabinet meeting - 7th since fighting started. Compulsory loan to pay for war, tanks put out of action are being repaired and sent back.

1. Security Council
2. McGovern defended (?) Syrian and Egyptian attack
3. Many volunteers, non Jews
4. Tank to tank fighting on the Golan with the help of air
5. Four Syrian helicopters shot down over Golan
6. Air attacks on enemy concentrations in Sinai, both sides of the canal.
7. Herzog says we are now in *nefarade*
8. Over 400 immigrants from Russia arrived this morning, some mobilized immediately
9. Group of Christian tourists from Germany arrived today.
10. Travel organisation in US wired they are planning to send groups whose plans are made.

(6)

20:30

Yariv press conference

1. We gave initiative to enemy
2. Numerical disparity is showing
3. On Syrian front price in men and equipment
We are today almost back at the Lilac Line - and caused heavy losses but not broken. We are still going to fight on this front, we are going to bomb and finish Syrians shelled our settlements with Frog missiles. We today bombed Damascus, certain installations. Today Syrian front is stable.
4. Egyptian front different - we have strategic depth but quantity disparity is heavy.
We have been able to form a line approximately 6-8 km from Canal. This gives us a firm basis. Time ahead is not easy there will be lots of fighting. It is not going to be an easy war. Did not give numbers of casualties
True that Egypt has prisoners. We have evacuated mott's of the Bar Lev Line. We had air losses from missiles.

Seen in King David - Lobby full of tourists who really didn't follow most details.

Wednesday, October 10, 1973

10:00

Went to Mahane Yehuda to buy Etrog and Lulav
Took Charlie and Hilda for tour of the city

13:30

Newscast:

Navy HQ of Syrian bombed, also inside Egypt.
Herzog! I am satisfied we are making progress according to plan. Our pressure is beginning to be felt by the Syrians. Some unhit tanks are being abandoned by their crews. Egyptian forces are split on both sides of the Canal. Russia urges all Arab states to join. US banned Eastern Med. to its shipping as a war zone. Lydda open - all airlines flying. Traffic across Jordan borders normal. Public transport will operate on Shabbat and Hag for essential workers. World wide demonstrations in support of Israel, even in France. and England, where the governments are not pro-Israel
700 tanks sent to two fronts
40-50 Katyushas fired in settlements in north
Reserve generals called up to active duty.
Schools will close for Sukkot.

15:00

Built Sukkah with family. Good project.

17:00

Ezra called to say Fred had talked to Meyerhoff who had made firm commitment of one million for our project.

18:00

Beautiful time explaining holiday to kids - getting their answers - quiet ceremony - full moon shining through leaves on roof; ate noodle pudding

20:30

Tried to calm Mari down, she worried about boyfriend in Sinai
Golda on TV: Golan in our hands, settlers return - Syrians are back behind their old cease fire line. Also south basic change and we are pushing back the enemy. But the war is not over, it will be more than six days. There is a steady stream of Russian equipment. We must not despair. There is a big change in our situation, and the war will end in our victory. Planes continued to work, bombed airfields in Egypt and Syria
Syrian announced that she would make another attack in Golan.

(7)

Malik walked out of UN when Tekoah spoke.

21:30 Bella Manacher called - sick - wants to go home
21:30 Took Charlie to hotel and Miri to campus
21:30 Nahum arrived
22:30 Helen Goldman called to say hello to Bensleys
22:30 Leonard Bell called to say the men who were really working
the campaign in the cities were 'my boys'. Said 100 m. would
easily be reached - asked for analysis of the situation.
I gave it. He wanted it for his speeches. Said 1290 wasn't
offering strong direction.

Thursday, October 11

12:30 To Museum with family- met friendly *group* from Portland, *Oregon*.
14:30 Lunch at King David
15:30 Ride in surrounding hills with Charlie and Hilda.
1800 News:
Syrian border, we pursue beyond
Many Syrians surrendering - fatigued
Herzog says 800 Syrian tanks destroyed.
Manpower ratio at start of war was 12:1
Group of Arab ambassadors in Moscow gave thanks to Gromyko
No change on Sinai front
19:00 Charles Ribicoff called - to encourage, said fundraising was
in high gear.
20:30 Newscast
Ten km inside Syria - second line being strengthened
Syrian command is in dilemma. Dayan visited Golan and seemed
pleased. 11 Syrian and Egyptian planes down.
800 tanks killed. Bombed 8 fields in Syria.
Sinai no change.
Herzog was asked, what is decisive point in north? no clear
answer.
No decisive point in Sinai war either.
Egyptian forces being reinforced
We devote night time to repairing damaged equipment.
Egypt not breaking out of its beachhead, doesn't seem to
be interested in advancing. Just holding.
Unconfirmed report that 48 Phantoms will be replaced to Israel
from Germany.

Friday, October 12

- 09:30 Took kids and Charlie for long Tiyul.
Rapaport monument: down to Eshtaol, Burma road, picnic.
- 17:00 Joe Goldman came with request to help find his son Leonard, (Physicist at Negev Research Institute) who is missing for four days. Left New York on Sunday, 7 for London and hasn't arrived yet, in Israel. I tried to call Benad Avital in London.
- 20:30 News:
Our forces met Iraqi forces, inside Syria
29 Syrian planes down today.
In Sinai- local artillery to tank battles.
2 Egyptian planes down.
TV crew captured a wounded Syrian tank man.
Homs still burning
Kissinger told his press conference that Israel intelligence asked US intelligence if latter anticipated outbreak of war.
US replied negative.
- 21:30 Discussion of trip to Golan in anticipation of Charlie's return to US and usefulness there. either go with Astar or with arrangements made by Vinitsky.

Saturday, October 13

- 11:00 Charlie and Hilda went to Natanya to lunch with Edelstein and to collect clothes from Caesarea.
- 12:30 FF and I went for walk, looked at Maskit, walked through Ethiopia street, wound up in Mea Shearim.
- 13:30 Air raid siren - worried about kids, got tramp home - kids missing - shelter full of neighbours and men from synagogue across the street. All clear in five minutes. Error? Organised the shelter - brought lots of stuff down.
- 14:00 News:
Iraqi force destroyed, 80 tanks Is ael bombing of Syrian fields is interfering with Soviet deliveries.
Rep Ford nominated US VP.
Lydda Airport operating full on Shabbat
Don't send cream cakes to soldiers.
- 15:00 News:
Herzog, 50% Syrian air force destroyed.
Sapir, Laskov, Dultzin went abroad to raise money.
Public in Israel buying war bonds.
- 17:00 News: Diplomatic efforts all made to end war
Amman announced she is protecting Southern front of Syria
Syrian ambassador in Paris says that Phantom with US markings and Vietnam trained pilot was shot down near Damascus.
Dultzin announced on departure that Jews in world would raise \$1 milliard-3 x more than in Six Day War
- 18:00 News. No significant changes on front.
Intensive air support of land action
Cameroon cuts relations
Sapir announced on departure that up to now war has already cost more than \$3 milliard. Contractor in Kiryat ONo bought H100,000 war bond. Mayor Warsaw pledged one month's salary.
- 20:30 Mahat
Golda interview - 600 correspondents. many questions.

1. No answer on supply of equipment from US.
"will tell you all secrets after the war"
2. Sarcasm for British neutrality - French mediation
3. "Do you regret decision not to preempt"
yes and no, yes because fight would have been easier
no - because at least we don't have to answer to that charge.
4. Condemned Russia for not even being interested in ~~XXXXXX~~ welfare
Arab
5. We will have victory - no doubt - after hard fight.
6. No new ideas, after this war, how to get neighbours to negotiating table.

22:00 Isaac Stern played on TV, after explaining that he was in Rotterdam, when war broke. Cancelled his tour (Yugoslavia etc) came here, because this is only place he could be. His music was his prayer.

Sunday, October 14

Trip to Golan Heights, past Kuneitra on road to Damascus

- 06:45 Left Jerusalem with Charlie
- 08:00 Left Tel Aviv on bus, accompanied by Meno Mila, in uniform of ~~צה"ל~~, with group of ten people, first civilians to visit Golan, aside from Media people.
On way, looking at map, suddenly realized that Kibbutz Gvat, (which was hit by Frog missile - 500 kg warhead) is right near Ramat David, which was probably the target.
- 10:30 At Ginossar ran into Shlomo Behar (briefing officer - Lt. Col in ~~צה"ל~~) who described Golan attack as three main fights, one at Rafid, one at Khusniye, one north of Kuneitra.
We now have air superiority but are careful because of their missiles. We lost Herman.

Ramat Hamagshimim

Lt. Col (medic) Emanuel Shapiro boarded bus - "call my wife"
He was at Northwestern U. as Assoc. Prof. of Pediatrics.
Used protectzia, left NY Saturday night - arrived in Israel Monday, found his unit in Golan on Tuesday. This is field hospital. Told of wonderful attitude of wounded soldiers - no complaining. Two worst cases were transferred out by helicopter - otherwise by ambulance down to Afula Hospital. Saw his field unit, bus with stretchers, underground treatment room.

Their position attacked by Katyushas, which he described as horrible because of noise. One doctor killed, two wounded, 12 first aid men wounded.

His mother (in Tel Aviv) did not know that he was back in Israel.
Read a note found in a cake sent for his wounded soldiers:
"Holiday greetings - may whole house of Israel be well - Mother!"
Anonymous prayer for all.

In this kibbutz is also Yeshivat Hagolan. Rabbi came on board bus, after the doctor, very dignified, white shirt, clean, white beard - spoke of Bnei Akiva movement, belief in Torah and military service. Students are scattered, but hope to reopen Yeshiva as soon as possible. Imagine - a Yeshiva on the Golan!

General battlefield sights and sounds all day long. Especially near Napach - several T62 tanks - dead bodies, smell, flies. Hundreds of burned out tanks scattered all over fields. Saw and heard shelling, aerial dogfights - aerial bombing of Hermon - four shells fell few hundred yards from us.

Went along the Tap line to Kuneitra - past it - on road to Damascus. Main fighting was about 10 kms ahead of us.

Funny sight - small tender driving fast, past Kuneitra, with big sign, EXPRESS - CARMIEL TO DAMASCUS.

20:00 Newscast:

Returning from Golan, in dark, heard broadcast telling of casualties - very grim feeling - personally felt happy surprise at low number - 656 dead - only name was Aluf "Albert" Mendler. Rest of broadcast: 2 Mirages shot down in Sinai, given by Libya to Egypt - thus putting France on side of Arabs. Egyptian forces tried three times to break out of pocket, lost 200 tanks.

Monday, October 15, 1973

AMERICAN JEWISH

Dayan TV interview (best vet of all which have been given, including Golda, Elazar and Yariv):

Purpose of this war at this point, is to destroy the enemy forces.

Israel has to continue building her state until Arabs drop idea of trying to destroy her.

It was not a mistake for Israel not to start the war. He spoke of great admiration and gratitude to US

656 dead, 2000 wounded.

This is a harsh war, heavy in blood and long in days,

Iraq has called up reserves.

Russia has stepped up arms deliveries

Nato warns Arabs that oil embargo would be considered unfriendly act by West.

So far \$350 m. to voluntary war loan

Bonds Organisation will raise \$642 m. (full cost of development budget)

UJA will raise 750 for Israel and 150 local = 900

Someone (Sapir?) quoted as saying war cost \$200 m. per day

Manhattan Rally of 30-50,000 addressed by Eban, Javitz.

15:30

Meeting in Bank Tsfachot called by Jerusalem Emergency Committee - turned out to be for fundraising for Voluntary Warloan. *123 over*

Rabin didn't come

Dinstein came instead

Paul Kollek chaired

Teddy rambled a bit - said 68th regiment, largely Jerusalem reservists - bore an unusually share of casualties at the Bar Lev line; said 200 senior municipal employees pledged a month and a half salary to voluntary loan, in addition to 7% obligatory pay roll deduction; said this meeting was for scattered individuals among the Anglo Saxon immigrants who are not in organised frameworks; said he was going from this meeting to another of contractors, where big money was expected; called on me to speak.

I asked what was expected - our own contributions? - gladly. What else - no answer.

Privately I asked Paul what he wanted - he asked me to

start the pledging. I asked what level he wanted - he asked what I could do - I said \$10,000 - he said that was low. I didn't speak and sat down.

A woman spoke first and pledged \$250.

The meeting was bad. NO DIRECTION, INSPIRATION or GUIDANCE and was over in 15 minutes. No one spoke, no one led. Kitty Falk bought \$100,000.

I spent next couple of hours working with AACI people to get some ideas for tomorrow's meeting with Moshe Mann and Paul K at Bank.

- 17:30 Met with Ezra and Dick - again a non directed meeting - nothing systematic - talking about many subjects at once.
- a. Dick wanted to talk about fears that our fundraising would be interfered with. I said I really didn't know how to gauge it. We would have to see. When I wrote to people I had seen in the September trip, to try to pin down commitments, if they replied they had given the money away to the war, we would know there had been an effect. If not, not.
 - b. I wanted to inform Ezra that I had learned from Yohanan Beham of the conversation re matching funds from Sapir, to which I was violently opposed. Separation of church and state had to be a vital issue with us, distinguishing us from the orthodox politico-religious complex. Also matching funds decreased potential contributions. Main principle was not to negotiate such matters without me. Ezra apologized.
- 20:30 Newscast:
US sending arms officially
Allon: our war aim is to break enemy strength.
Russian airlift - 280 flights.
North: broke through Iraqi defense line - Syrians regrouping around Damascus.

Tuesday, October 16

- 10.000 Spent all morning in Bank Tfeehot, with people, planning parlor meetings. Paul Kol'ek asked me to chair. I tried to organise. Lots of distraction from people who were speaking, in unguided fashion, all over the map. Finally got things going systematically.
- 16:00 Continued at Steinberg Center working on lists did most of handwriting myself with Henry Weil, Geoffrey and Steve Adler,
- 20.00 Continued at Geoffrey Prager's - finally got a scheme finished. There will be four parlor meetings - Sat and Sun next. Omarya Building (Sam Krupnick); Prager house; Ramat Eshkol; (Rosenweig in charge) and Bet Hakerem, (Irving Schirmer in charge). Also Mizrachi and Labor Zionist meetings in the works. Moshe ~~Bank~~ from Bank, very good man.

Wednesdy, October 17

- 09:30 Agmons' office in Kirya in Tel Aviv at request of Alexandroni and Agmon, to give them any thoughts and advice about the campaign. Was happy to do so.
Setting: Many phone calls, much action, people in and out.

Usual interruptions, seemingly disordered but I suppose eventually everything gets covered.

When I arrived meeting was in session with Yadlin, Benno, Gitter, Dovrat, some others, on voluntary war loan.

Sitting in corner was Israel Kargman of ~~XXXXX~~ of Knesset Finance Committee.

Wandering in was a bewildered old contractor, Ginsberg, to be solicited for War Loan. He protested he couldn't commit without his brothers. Agmon pitched that his purchase would be the most important in the industry. The arguments on all sides sounded familiar. Déjà vu - in a different language.

Alexandroni said they wanted to get ideas from me, and help in writing a fact sheet. I said I would do anything they wanted.

My ideas:

- a) Set up a campaign command center in Israel, directed by an impressive person, acceptable to Sapir, Dultzin, on this side, and Bonds-UJA on the other side. This center has two purposes - to encourage (inspire) and to inform. *Suggested to Alexandroni he was best person to be in charge*
- b) Open direct telex links to most important 58 cities in the US (and other cities in the world if you want to) to send daily message, in two parts, in line with the two objectives above. Human interest stories can inspire, (like discussion in Knesset on War Loan, where it was suggested that families that had lost a soldier should be exempt from obligatory loan, unanimous decision was "no". Everyone pays, even those who have sacrificed life also.)
- c) Send large map, covering both fronts, to be widely distributed.
- d) Send weekly packets of photos.
- e) Send weekly video tapes from fronts.
- f) Send weekly Ayan and Eban video tapes
- g) Emphasize constantly that this is going to be a long war, 1948 style.
- h) Explain financial burden which Israelis are carrying.
- i) Mobilize lots of Reserve generals to send over.

Nachman Karni briefed:

1. Crossed canal, other side of Bitter Lake, to destroy missile sites so our air force can work. Sharon seeking to widen a front on the coast. If this doesn't work we will cross some other place, some other time.
2. Firefight with Jordanians - destroyed 20 tanks, we will not publish, they can publish if they will.
3. US supply line works very well.
4. There may be something in Sadat's hints about using missiles, that would be a fantastic escalation. Range is 550 km. i.e. Haifa.
5. About 30 small commando groups all over Sinai, hard to root them out.

On road back from Tel Aviv saw a tractor with sign on it - "What, me again?"

17:00

Meeting with Richard Scheuer at his house, to get up to date on building plans, and inform him of what I did, and of need to be kept informed.

Wednesday, October 17 cont

- 17:00 Meeting with Dick Scheuer re timetable. He expects to get sketches, site plan, etc. from Saffie by mid-Feb. This means no chance of shovel in ground in 1974.
TIMETABLE - mid-1975 for construction to start. In this case I said I would print brochure without waiting for actual sketches, - but abstract.
I asked to be put on Saffie distribution list.
- 19:00 Talk with Paul Kollek who asked me to help organise the Jerusalem properly. Said the committee was too polite and didn't want tough tactics. He wants me to push.
- 20:30 Alexandroni called to say my ideas this morning were very interesting and I should be the one to carry them out. He thanked me very much and said he would talk to Sapir when latter returned.
- 20:30 Telecast:
Pictures of tank battles in Sinai, visit of Dayan, also Elazar who said battle must be hard. When asked to define length of time he refused.
Tank battles in Syria
Katyusha rockets in Kiryat Shmona
Loading US ships in Norfolk with supplies for Israel
Kosygin reported visiting Cairo
Isaac Stern playing hospital

Thursday, October 18

- 0:8:30 Meeting with Paul Kollek re organising the Jerusalem campaign.
- 16:00 Meeting at home of for same purpose. Made suggestions for priming, pre-soliciting, publicity, etc. Offered help of Anglo-Saxon volunteers to help Israelis.

Friday, October 19

- 08:30 Meeting at Bank Tfachot to check status of various meetings planned: Mishav OK for Saturday night; Prager OK for Sunday, also Bet Hakerem and Bayit Vegan, Ramat Eshkol in trouble. This must be more carefully prepared. Told chairman Ray Rosensweig (formerly of Savannah) he was not buying enough.

News.

We are on West Bank of Canal.
North Korean pilots in Egypt
North Vietnam advisors in Syria.
Sam 7 - salvos of 4 and 8
Defence Department says any quantity of arms to retain balance.
Congress very strong behind Israel
Kosygin in Cairo(to arrange a cease fire)
Russia-American working toward a consensus on cease fire with Russians softening on insistence that Israel withdraw to pre 67 lines.
Hussein visited Jordan troops in Syria
Dayan visited task force in west bank of canal.
Tanzania breaking relations with Israel.

12:00 Meeting with Dick Scheuer, re soliciting his family and Mrs. Ungerleiter. Re his family, he felt "pop" not much interested in Jerusalem project, but rather in New York Re. Mrs. U. he said he would start on her.
I suggested he ask for 1/2 million especially for library.
Dick Hirsch was present during solicitation.

20:30 news

Penetration 20-25 km westward into Egypt from canal.
Destroyed installations - and fighting enemy counter
attacks. They lost 70 tanks both sides of canal and
20 planes.
10 missile batteries destroyed and some captured intact.
Elazar says situation is going better.

In north combined Syrian and Jordanian attacks.
900 wounded men have already been returned to battlefield.
Some American and ballistics experts have
arrived with equipment.
Nixon asked Congress for \$2 billion credit.
Russia wants cease fire and no damage to detente.
Libyan oil exports to US cut off

Saturday, October 20

16:00

Sam Rothberg called, said it was terrible that UJA
wasn't calling me to work - Bonds wanted me. I said
I wouldn't leave Israel while war was on; and I wouldn't
go to US for Bonds when UJA hadn't asked me.
He asked for help in Canada.

19:00

Mishav meeting - Teddy spoke. Uncertainty about 150
missing Jerusalemites of 68th regiment. Also 50 dead
known. This total is more than Jerusalem suffered
in Six Day War.
Krupnick called cards. Seemed to me to be reasonably
OK meeting.
They got \$257,000 from about 35 pledges (100% participation)
they plan to continue, additional tenants arrive.
Feel the building can ultimately raise 1/2 million.
I had argument with a Mr. Green (penthouse owner,
plus partner of Jesselson in Plaza Hotel) who only bought
\$20,000. In US he and brothers will give \$15,000 to
UJA. He said he must maintain "Torah". Angry at Golda
that in her Aneset speech yesterday she didn't mention
name of God.

Sunday, October 21, 1973

- 08:00 US political news. Nixon fired Richardson and Rickelhams. Cox resigned. Impeachment talk flared up. Will this effect Israel in any way.
- 0900 Meeting in Simon Dolgin's office, to plan Ramat Eshkol operation, Nice people. In another day it will be clearer how many parlor meetings can be organised and exactly where.
- 15.00 Parlor Meeting Prager house. About 50 people present
39 purchases announced for new money ₪270,000. Mood good.
Teddy spoke and Yehuda Avner from FO (good). I chaired and called cards. Bogot kept score. Everyone volunteered except Prof. Milton Rosenbaum, (attitude bad, seemed self important.)
Total so far of Anglo Saxon meetings:
Bank Tfachot 15.10 ₪300,000
Mishav Building 20.10 260,000
Prager 21.10 270,000
Bet Hakerem 21.10 170,000
Bayit Vegan 21.10 120,000
1,120,000
Al Jaffe a \$100,000 420,000
but he wanted to give it 1,540,000
to President
Ramat Eshkol meetings to come next week.
- 18:00 Went to Skirball apartment in Ramat Eshkol to help them organise parlor meeting. Told them "why" and "how" went into great detail and tried to encourage them.
- 20:30 Newscast
We are 80 km from Cairo
We are 40 km from Damascus
- Monday, October 22
- 0900 Started writing letters to people seen during September trip.
- 13:30 Israel accepted cease fire to go into effect 7:00 p.m. tonight (6:52 exactly). Syria and Egypt not yet accepted.
Kissinger came to Israel from Moscow, where he worked out joint US Russian agreement, UN resolution still unclear - what are "appropriate offices" under which cease fire will be supervised. Who are all nations concerned? Does this include terrorists?
Mount Hermon position retaken.
Israel drives into West Bank of Canal goes 30-40 km deep.
- 16:00 Long talk with Dick Hirsch, into dark, about future of his Reform Movement here.
I suggested: 1) UAHC take over and fund - this will be historic move
2) WUPJ raise money vigorously, through small group lay leaders, well organised.
- 20:30 Not at all clear whether cease fire went into effect apparently not. Arab world amazed at Russian position.

Tuesday, October 23

- 07:00 Heavy Fire on west bank of Canal
11 settlements under terrorist attack
Likud is cease fire
Syrian front quiet
UN unclear on cease fire role or machinery
Artillery unit on Canal gave month's salary to buy
voluntary war bonds.
Emotional reports from Sapir and Dultzin on fundraising
Pablo Cassala dead
- 11:00 Shipment of grapefruit for Europe ~~in~~ from Haifa
Civil defense regulations still in effect
- 15:00 Meeting in Hirsch office on question of how to capitalize on Aliyah
in present mood - and how organize program for volunteers
so they would not be wasted here and return disillusioned.
I suggested six or seven tent cities housing 3000 persons each,
para military, with jobs or found or created within an hour's drive
Education, Hebrew, recreation all take place in camp - break
down into smaller units - staff organisation like army - winnow out
those who will remain, long meeting.
- 20:30 Newscast
Golda told Knesset - agreed to cease fire from strength not
weakness - but neither Egyptians or Syrians wants peace, sadly.
If they want to continue fighting, Israel will be ready.

UN to meet at Egyptian request. New Russian resolution calling for
cease fire in place as of yesterday, policed by UN force.

Sea and land battles on Egyptian front, 10 planes shot down.

Elazar, Syrian army is in main destroyed and the Egyptian army
stands before defeat.

On Syrian front artillery exchanges and 10 planes down.

Iraq has rejected cease fire
Jordan has accepted, but sent another division to Syria

Third Egyptian army on the southern front completely surrounded
Egyptian army on northern front is quiet.

Kissinger has called off trip to China.
.....
Election postponed to December 11

Wednesday, October 24, 1973

- 07:00 New cease fire - 7:00 a.m.
Syria will accept also Egypt.
UN observers will supervise
Egyptian third army is subrounded
Israel reached Suez and cut lines to Cairo
Lebanese border active with terrorists
Knesset endorsed cease fire and rejected Likud resolution.
Nixon will give up Watergate Tapes

10:00 David received postcard from soldier who received his parcel.
This kind of organisation creates real (?) between front and res

11:00 Etta Rosen agreed to try to find source in Tel Aviv for selling
some of my coins to get money to pay for War Bonds
I pledged to buy £ 15,000

12:00 My 25th Anniversary coins finally turned up after incredible
prodding - sitting in safe in Avni's office.

15:00 Discussion on voluntary service corps.

18:00 Blackout lifted, felt strange to drive without lights.

19:00 Meeting in Ramat Eshkol worked up by Hank Skirball. £45,000
new money, Nahum spoke.

20:30 news Eban says prisoner exchange is of first importance.
UN observer moving into ~~par~~ position
pictures of Ramat Hamagshimim getting cleaned up.
Hassan of Morocco says Arabs should continue fighting.

Thursday, October 25.

0.9.30 Visit to Greenblatt School in Lifta.

13:30 News Quiet on all fronts
US troops alerted, especially SAC because Russia might send
troops to enforce cease fire.
Soviet airlift tapered off - but seashipments up
US airlift continues - 20 flights daily so far 9000 tons.
Bab el Mandeb still closed
Election December 31.
Direct dialing for soldiers from Egypt.

15:00 Went to Casearea

Friday 26 October.

Quiet peaceful day, fixing pool, house chores etc.

20:30 Uncertainty about Russian intentions to send observers.
Weekend Ha'aretz - many articles on editorial page starting to
ask questions. were we surprised? why no mobilization ?
etc, etc.

Saturday, October 27, 73

10.00 News Quiet on all fronts.
UN force to be created - arguments about who should pay.
Long discussion on British position. Various politicians
attacking others, calling for resignations.

Quiet day round pool with Dr. and Mrs. Salzberger.

Sunday, October 28

07:00 News ~~xxxx~~ Israel-Egypt officers met to arrange food supplies to
the Third Army. This could be first step toward direct
negotiations. Front quiet. UN officials in place.
Russia wants Polish troops in UN force. US doesn't because
of bad experience with Poles in Vietnam. Force is 7000 men for
six months.

70 unarmed Soviet observers arrived in Cairo to join UN force.
Iraq troops withdrawn from Syria.
Henry K. criticized attitude of Western European nations, except Portugal, which failed to cooperate with US efforts to aid Israel.
US alert is scaled down.
Gasoline prices in Israel up to \$1.14 a litre because of general rise in world prices.
Sudan FM in Peking said Arabs would continue to fight and had new learned unity.

Monday October 29.

Red Cross says Egypt and Syria not abiding by Geneva convention re prisoners. Small fire and commando crossing broke cease fire.
Bar Lev said this would interfere with convoy to Third Army
Saudi and all other states cut Holland from oil because of her support for Israel.
US airlift to Israel continues
US criticism of Germany was rejected by Germany.
Egyptian helicopters shot down over Ras Masalla.
TIME mag says Russia threatened to destroy Israel
Cost of electricity will rise by 30%
Sen. Modale suggested economic aid to Israel
Cairo newspaper rejects Allons suggestion that both sides return to their previous sides of the canal.

Tuesday, October 30

07:00 News US airlift continues 20 flights
State Department rejects US pressure to return to Oct. 22 lines
Golda explains US friendship required Israel to accept cease fire
Egypt is trying prisoner exchange with Israeli withdrawal
Second meeting of I and E officers on POW question.
New Soviet Missile systems SA 9 and 10 - with radar harder to jam.
US angry with Nato countries
US trying to build up Med fleet vs. Russian fleet
UN force 8400 men in position by end of week.

Deep in committee meetings at Bank Tefachot for the War Loan.

Wednesday, October 31

Charles' birthday
More meetings at the Bank

Thursday, November 1

Trip to Sinai, Suez, West Bank of Canal, with Meno Millo and Romano Cagnoni

Friday November 2

D I T T O

Nov. 1973

Themes - to include in longer letter1. SURPRISE

Questions beginning to be asked.

Justice Minister Shepilo called for Dayan's resignation, and also criticized Golda.

The weekend Haaretz (Three weeks after Yom Kippur) has several articles on editorial page - all saying same thing. There are questions to be asked, but this is not yet the time. Boys still missing; no prisoner lists yet; no negotiations yet started; etc, etc.

Questions: 1) was intelligence service inadequate?

2) did they misread Egyptian moves?

3) did they read correctly, and govt fail to interpret properly?

4) did govt interpret properly, yet decide not to mobilize for political reasons?

5) was there no knowledge of Arab soldiers' increased ability?

6) was there no knowledge of destructive ability of SA-6 - or shoulder-held anti-tank rocket?

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

2. "Words of Jews" - will be very destructive - especially with political overtones of an imminent election. It should really be fast-forwarded for ^{at least} a half-year, not two months.

3. 18 DAYS OF FIGHTING - play on "H. -
Life 3 X 6

4. WHEN LIGHTS CAME ON - how it felt.

5. DEFENSIBLE BORDERS - are those far enough away, so that you can trade sand (Sinai) or rocks (Golan) for time - mobilize the reserves - and then strike back. Clearer than ever that defensible borders for Israel mean "the further the better."

6. WAR LOANS - COMPELSONARY & VOLUNTARY

response of ~~the~~ people really excellent. Standard quickly developed of one month's pay for senior officials - and twice for laborers. This in addition to the compulsory - which will begin to be deducted from October salaries.

6. GENERAL OUTLINE

A. ^{SHOCK}~~TRAGEDY~~ OF FIRST TWO DAYS

1. ^{Tragic} Deaths of Thin line of regulars
2. Historic death of myth of invincibility

B. GREAT VICTORY

even more fantastic because of the beating at the beginning. Then fought ~~to the~~ magnificently. Tactics were brilliant. People were angry - Yom Kippur attack was really a surprise, but also a boomerang because it sent an angry people to war.

C. POSITION OF U.S. - OUTSTANDING

1. firm but polite with the Russians. K. never attacked them
2. quietly behind Israel with arms airlift
3. fast work on a cease-fire.

D. EUROPE FAILED

1. France & Britain showed colors
2. Germany to lesser extent (protesting US shipment from Bremerhaven)
3. All rest silent.

E. ONE BENEFIT

This was first joint US-Russia action in Middle East since 1948. Yet almost

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

maneuvered by confrontation (US on SAC
elect) over issue of sending Russian troops
to the area. Finally Russia backed down,
and decided to send small group military
advisers. But 82nd airborne division, as well
as SAC was put on elect.



Questions Being asked about what
happened

HAF notes
4.11.73

- 1) FIRST TWO TERRIBLE DAYS
- 2) QUESTIONS BEING ASKED ABOUT THIS
- 3) REPLY FROM MILITARY VICTORY
- 4) POSITION OF US - OUTSTANDING
- 5) POSITION OF EUROPE - TOTAL FAILURE
- 6) CEASE-FIRE EFFORTS
 - a) UN FORCE ^{getting in place}
 - b) Prisoners
 - c) ^{freedom of the surrounded} third army ~~area~~
- 8) NEGOTIATIONS
Defensible borders
- 7) US-Russian cooperation

a) LIGHTS come on - after
blackout -

but there is ^{much} uncertainty
in the air about the
future -



Six Points of Cease-fire

1. E. & I. agree to observe ^{cease fire} scrupulously
2. Discuss question of return to Oct 22 in framework of disengagement and separation of forces
3. Town of Suez to receive daily supplies
4. Third Army to receive ^{non-military} supplies
5. Israeli checkpoints for Cairo Suez road will be replaced by UN checkpoints. At Suez end of road Israeli officers supervise cargo
6. As soon as UN checkpoints are established, there will be exchange of prisoners.

November 4, 1973

Dear Charlie:

You asked me to give you some feeling of the mood of the people in Israel today, and what I can give you is the synthesis of my own impressions from many sources - talking with soldiers whom one picks up on the roads all the time; newspaper articles and editorials; episodes of daily life; a trip to the Golan with you, while the war was still going on; and a long trip to Sinai and across the Canal into Egypt.

1. As death notices are carried to family after family, the mood remains very heavy. There is the sound of crying throughout the land, and while some people are very brave, others break down. There is also great fear that the death figures may be much larger. No information has been published here since 14 October, when the number of 656 was released. There are complaints in the press here against the government for not telling the people. The government's reply is that they are trying to establish the real figures, as between the dead and the missing. The whole discussion is not healthy. The basic question becomes one of confidence in the government on this most sensitive of all subjects.

2. Mobilization is still in force. No one has been sent home. Every wife and every mother is still waiting. In the city of Suez the other day, I took the telephone numbers of many soldiers, to call their homes, and to reassure their loved ones. In almost every call the mother or wife asked when the soldier was coming home. That was the main question. The army is now trying to give as many 24-hour passes as possible, on rotation. Across the Canal, there is an ex-Egyptian air base, from which some lucky men are flown back to Israel in a couple of hours - others ride busses ten hours in each direction to enjoy three or four hours at home. The other evening I picked up three soldiers in Tel Aviv and took them to Jerusalem. They had been hitch-hiking for six hours, coming down from the Golan Heights, using up the precious hours standing by the side of the road.

The army has huge manpower needs. All borders must be manned, even the quiet ones, like the Jordanian and the Lebanese. A really large force is over on the West side of the Canal, with a tremendous amount of equipment, penetrating as far inland into Egypt as 101 kilometers from Cairo. This is where we stopped at the cease fire. I was at that point and I saw the two tents - one Israeli and one Egyptian - where the officers have been meeting. Another very large force is on the Eastern side of the Canal in

the Sinai Desert, surrounding the Egyptian Third Army, and facing the Second Army, which is very strong, and not surrounded, so it is theoretically free to move, and has a supply link with the Egyptian rear. Large forces are still required in the Golan and on the road to Damascus, and there are forces required in all the Arab towns of the West Bank, especially Hebron and Shechem, although these places have been completely quiet.

All of this, the deaths and the heavy mobilization, still add up to a War mood, even though the blackout has been lifted.

3. On the political side, there is a very strong feeling of sadness, disappointment and frustration. The cease fire was accepted at a time when military progress was being made on both fronts, so that the work of destroying the enemy armies was stopped half way, so to speak, in return for certain promises, and nothing seems to be happening with those promises.

a) The most important is the exchange of prisoners. The delay and stalling in this issue is frightening. It is a simple humanitarian matter - approximately 7500 of theirs for approximately 400 of ours - and it was expressly promised by Kissinger when he came from Moscow to Jerusalem on October 22. He said that he had Russian agreement on the matter as well. So far, no progress.

b) There is the question of the first so-called cease fire date, and the second, October 22 or October 24. Israel's point is that the first date never went into effect because the Egyptians kept on firing. And only on the second date was the cease fire accepted. The U.S. agrees with this and doesn't pressure Israel to "return" to October 22 lines, which really do not exist anyhow, and would be almost impossible to define.

c) If this is so, why does Egypt insist on a return to the October 22 lines, as a precondition for releasing prisoners? What has one thing got to do with another? Are they saying that they will exchange people only for territory?

d) The Arab blockade of the Straits of Bab-El-Mandeb at the bottom of the Red Sea, is as much an act of war as the blockade of the Straits of Tiran at the bottom of the Gulf of Akaba, in 1967. This blockade cannot be allowed to stand.

e) The whole matter of sending supplies to the surrounded Third Army has become a major item of controversy here. People ask by what logic

this should be allowed to continue. I was at the point on the Canal where the trucks are unloaded by Egyptians and the supplies ferried over. The UN officers plus Israeli officers, supervise the operation. I saw fresh pitah and jerricans of water going over. How long should we feed them? And now there is talk of "providing a "corridor" so they can be more easily supplied. The people in Israel find this whole arrangement repugnant. To be so concerned about them, when we cannot even get lists of our own prisoners.

4. There is another item which contributes to the feeling of malaise - and that has to do with the circumstances surrounding the beginning of the war. Everyone is aware that there was a breakdown or an oversight somewhere. Was it on the part of the military who were caught unprepared? Or was military intelligence aware of the Arab build up and concentration of forces, passed the information on to the civilian government, and did the error occur there? Why was there no mobilization between Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. Why was not more equipment moved closer to the fronts several days earlier?

There are constant articles and editorials in the press calling for an investigation, and the rolling of heads, no matter whose. Other articles call for waiting until things quiet down - that we should not start now an internal war of looking for scapegoats. But there is a constant nagging feeling that we almost suffered a horrible defeat due to errors of judgment and oversights. And the public is sad that the myth of Zahal's invincibility is broken.

Actually the military victory was enormous, much more impressive than previous victories. The army was badly hit, and surprised and severely mauled during the first horrible few days. To recoil from that situation; to mobilize men and equipment quickly enough to block a further attack; then to go on the counter attack on both fronts so successfully as to cross the 1967 cease fire lines; and penetrate deeply into both Syria and Egypt, was a very major military victory. Slowly the public will come to think of it in those terms, and the sadness will disappear.

In this whole question of who was at fault at the beginning, the public is much more willing to believe that the fault was not the army's but rather the government's. And there are many who feel that this opinion will be reflected in the coming elections.

5. As to the future everything seems clouded in obscurity. No one knows whether to expect possible peace out of this war, or not. Some urge keeping the expectation level low, so there will be no disappointment. Others feel that shooting will soon start again - that the cease fire is too fragile to hold. No one sees a clear path toward negotiations: how do they start - where - and under whose auspices and what conditions? Mrs. Meir is not expected to bring home any clear answers from her trip to Washington.

6. Meanwhile the unbelievable costs of the war go on. Mr. Sapir estimated that the cost of the war during the fighting was \$200 million per day, and the fighting lasted 18 days. And how much less is the military budget during non-shooting days? There is the big question of whether the \$2.2 billion requested from Congress for military aid to Israel will be a credit or a grant. It has not yet been determined. The economy of Israel will have lost 2 billion pounds by the end of this year through loss of production and exports. The Voluntary War Loan, with a first target of 1 billion pounds (on top of another 1 billion compulsory war loan) has already raised more than 550 million pounds. The people here understand that the war must be paid for.

Since I am writing this letter to give you a feeling of the mood here, I will not say anything about the magnificent job you people are doing over there, except to comment that the actions and attitudes of the Jews abroad is the only bright spot in the present Israeli mood (aside from the victory which Zahal snatched from defeat). The people here really respect and appreciate what the Jews outside are doing.

Well, that's about it. The people here know that we are in for a very long, hard political fight, out of which may come no concrete results. There is a kind of a hard grim feeling about the winter ahead. Everyone here will do what he has to, remain in the army, buy war bonds, work at improving the morale, go through an election, and an investigation (or vice versa) and hold firm.

I guess you in your own way will have to do the same - deal with money, and political pressure, and public opinion. So long as we are in this fluid situation, you will want to remain completely on the alert also. I am sure you will.

As ever

7 Nov 73

Dead - 1854

Wounded - 4800

Prisoners - approx. 400

Arab prisoners - 8239 (incl. 643 officers)



8.11.73

from Herbert A. Friedman

Treasury announced

22 billion lirot

required to replace
equipment and to renew the
strength of Zahal.

majority
of this is expected to come
from following sources:

Grant from U.S.	9.2
Help from ^{world} Jews	4.3
War loan inside Israel	2.0
Increased taxes	1.0 +
	<hr/> 16.5

from Herbert A. Friedman

American airlift

14 Oct - 15 Nov. 73

570 flights

22,600 tons

supplies by ship from now on



Rabin Speech at Alkow Parlor Meeting for AACI, November 7, 1973

1. We have not broken Syrian or Egyptian armies - loss of equipment, lots of casualties, but armies still exist.
2. We were surprised on Yom Kippur Day
3. Egyptians control two thirds of East Bank of Canal.
4. Superpowers are committed to maintenance of the Egyptian Third Army.
5. Mandeb Straits Blockade does cut our oil supplies.
6. We can count on US Arms deliveries, and even deterrence of Russians - but there are differences of opinion with US on cease fire terms.
7. In 30 days of war at \$250 million per day, we have spent almost twice the annual government budget.
8. Reasons for Voluntary Loan!
Get more money
Revive spirit of sacrifice
Give example to World Jewry and provide better moral basis to ask World Jewry.
9. Options:
 - a) Resume hostilities
 - b) Long struggle, high mobilization and completely different concept of sacrifices required - harder work, more money.

10 Nov 78
Discussion with Mike Zimmerman, after spending
many days at Belusa

Troops (esp. reservists) blame Dayan for political
failure at beginning - as well as some
military organization failure - because they didn't expect
anything anyway in this area from Elan or Sepir.

Reuma

Episodes in hospitals where wounded turned their
faces to Dayan when he was visiting.

Sharon now real hero.

Many men were already mostly Likud
But now, really anti-government
on other hand, some fear of change.

Army fellows - very courageous - They know
the war isn't over - and feel more loyalty is required.
They are really very brave.

Three military
shells

1. Arabs didn't run away
2. SAM 6 against aircraft - mobile - increasingly effective
3. Shoulder-rocket against tanks

1. Security rather than peace
2. Why are they in a hurry to go to a "peace" conference ?
3. We can't achieve prisoner exchange with Syria.
4. We can't achieve separation of forces with Egypt - that's bad.
5. There may be resumption of fire - they are fantastically equipped.
6. They have money and sympathy - everybody is catering to oil embargo.
7. If we are asked to withdraw we are offered guarantees. Why guarantees if the boundaries we are asked to accept are secure?
8. I hope we will not accept guarantees for insecure borders.
9. This war was a surprise, probably because we didn't want to believe we would have another war so soon.
10. In Syria in 1967 they had 450 tanks - we knocked out 100. This time they had 2,700, we knocked out 1100. Unprepared, with failures, we did ten times better. This time the Syrians had Moroccans, Iraqui, Jordanian soldiers.
11. The Syrians have today almost 2000 tanks, i.e. replacements, which continue. And still we maintain a better line today, than 1967, 40 km. from Damascus.
12. In 1967 Syria started with 95 planes - We shot down 40. This time they started with 410, we shot more than 200. They still have today 250 planes. We feel our air force dominates the sky.
13. In 1967 Egypt started with 1000 tanks, lost 750. This time they started with 2750, and lost 1000. They have 2500 today because of replacements.
14. Last time they had 270 planes - lost 180. This time started with 680 - lost 240. Today they have 560.
14. Today is not 1967. They are using oil ^{to get} ~~for~~ money and as a political weapon. But we can face it. We are on Western side of Canal., and they can't push us back.
War is not over - most of our reserves are still mobilized, can't come home yet.
15. May be another physical war again. We must be prepared for that. We need replacements, which are coming from America - by air and sea. No grounds to complain. They are helping in war. *we don't know what they will do to get peace.*
16. Political struggle is main issue - and we must make clear what boundaries we want for security. We cannot go back to pre-1967 - by no means - or we are doomed. Jordan River, Golan, Sharm are borders we need and if need be, we must fight, and if need be, argue with the Americans.

17. We are at the beginning of a struggle - long and difficult -
if we want to have an independent state as was the Zionist vision.
-

Answers to questions :

1. Strong defense of Golda - she is great.
2. No delay of elections - government should have mandate for the "peace conference".
3. No Russians captured.
4. Egypt has strong forces between Cairo and our forces.
5. We should do everything possible to prevent withdrawal of US support.

NINE GIFTS IN U.K. OF £1 MILLION OR MORE - AS OF 24.11.73

David Lewis	1.0
Gerald Ronson	1.0
John Rubens	1.0
Barney Shine	1.0
Sieff-Sacher Family	1.1
Rothschild	3.0
Wolfson	2.0
Clore	2.4
Archie Sherman	1.5

FROM THE ELECTIONS - FORWARD TO WHAT ?

The elections are over and the results are indecisive. The population turned out in record numbers to vote - yet was fearful of making clear-cut and definitive changes. The ruling Labour Party lost votes because of the popular feeling that it was unprepared for the Yom Kippur War, and the reaction of its spokesman was that the Party was "naturally disappointed but not surprised." Nevertheless people did not reject Labour sufficiently to lower it to second place: they merely punished it and reduced it in power. The election was also a rebuke to the doves of the Labour Party, and strengthened the right wing in general. Labour did receive the largest number of seats in the next parliament (51 out of 120), yet it now has an enormously complicated task in trying to form a government. It will not enter a broad national front coalition with the second largest party, Likud, (39 seats), because of serious differences of opinion on how to settle with the Arabs, as well as ideological conflicts on internal political and economic issues. Therefore, it is attempting to form a narrower coalition, involving the two religious parties (15 seats between them) and the Independent Liberal Party (4 seats).

This effort is fraught with difficulties because the religious parties will drive a harder bargain and because differences exist between the prospective partners. The religious parties are basically opposed to major territorial concessions to the Arabs, while the Independent Liberals are in favor. On another issue, the religious parties are in favor of much stricter definitions of "Who is a Jew", while the Independent Liberals are obviously opposed to this. The religious parties want to revise the basic Law of Return, and invalidate any conversions to Judaism performed anywhere in the world by Reform or Conservative Rabbis. This would cause a serious split in the unity of the Jewish people. Thus the Labour Party is trying to organize a coalition with partners at opposite poles of crucial issues. If this cannot be done - then the coalition may be even narrower, i.e. with the religious parties alone, and with Labour conceding on the "Who is a Jew" definition, which many people feel would be a disastrous concession.

If Labour cannot really form a government, there may have to be new elections, in order to obtain a more decisive vote. Or the Likud group may have to attempt to form a government. At any rate, it is clear that at this moment Israel has a very difficult internal political problem.

Externally, there are the matters of the Geneva Conference, disengagement of forces, prisoners in Syria, daily deaths on both fronts, and the very basic question of war or peace still very much unresolved. There may be war again. Important people fly daily between Jerusalem, Washington, Cairo and Geneva - suggesting, consulting, mediating, trying out various ideas. All this activity necessarily takes time - which, in itself would not be bad, if one had the feeling that the process was leading somewhere. Yet there lurks in almost everyone's mind the fear that the Egyptians are not coming any closer to the one basic question required for a true settlement: i.e. the recognition of Israel's permanent right to existence. And if not, then the seeds are ever present for continued conflict.

In addition to the internal political issues, and the external military ones, the third crucial point is the economic situation. Scores and scores of thousands of men are still mobilized, and the army repeatedly announces that it will require this much manpower for many months to come. Industry recently requested the demobilization of approximately 15,000 key persons whose continued absence from their jobs seriously handicaps production. The army responded by releasing 1600 men.

Incidentally, the Egyptians understand this point very well. The Chief of Operations of the Egyptian General Staff said on January 2: "Our goal is to cause the Israel forces to remain on a status of alert which will make obligatory the continuous mobilization of Israel's youth and out of which will come the definite paralysis of the Israeli economy."

Beside the manpower problem, there are losses of revenue in the major areas of citrus exports, diamond exports and tourism. All export branches are affected, with resultant loss of hard currency; and the internal economy is also affected, so that the GNP growth will undoubtedly slow down. Prices continue to rise for electricity, fuel and even basic foodstuffs; many small businesses are in trouble because their owners are mobilized and unable to care for them; compulsory and voluntary war bond purchases reduce the take-home pay of every worker; and there is a genuine pinch in almost every family's budget.

The last point to be made is that in spite of everything the black mood of depression is beginning to lift. For weeks and weeks after the war, we were all in a terrible mood, a combination of feelings and attitudes stemming from loss of faith in our leadership, despair and uncertainty about the immediate future, confusion as to how to vote, topped off by the pain which came from the death of so many and the agony

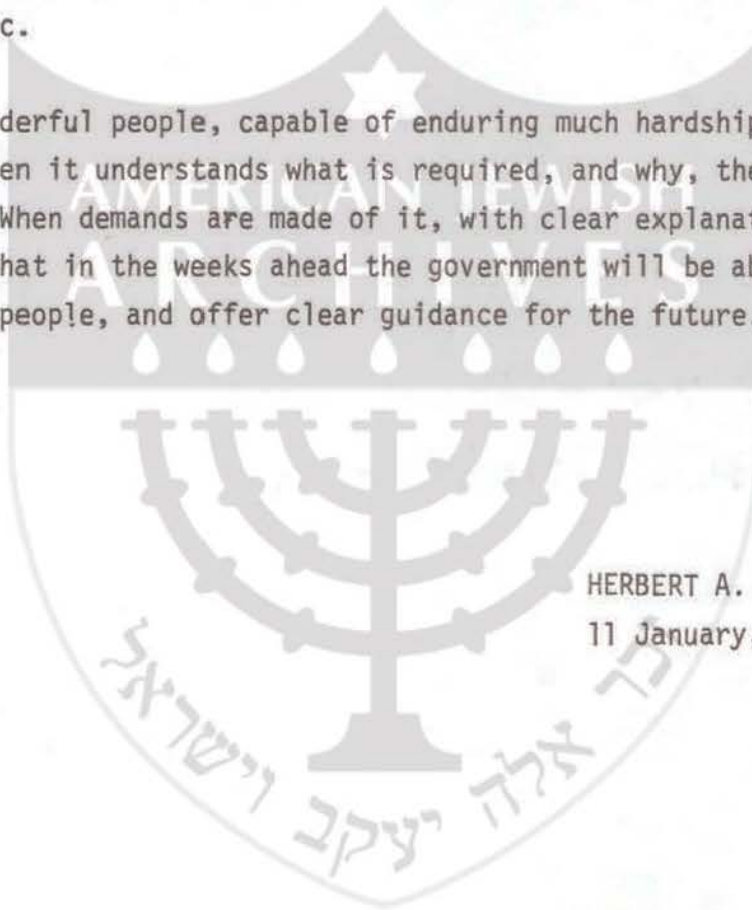
which flowed from the wounds of so many. Every visitor who arrived here during November and December was shocked to find the spirit of the Israelis so low.

Today things seem somewhat better. Nothing in the future looks easy- neither the forming of a government, nor the ending of war, nor the problems of money- yet the people are beginning to catch their second breath, and face the future with that combination of grit, purpose and acceptance of hard reality which has always characterized this Israeli public.

This is a wonderful people, capable of enduring much hardship, willing to offer sacrifice. When it understands what is required, and why, there is no limit to its capacity. When demands are made of it, with clear explanations, it gives all. We can only hope that in the weeks ahead the government will be able to recapture the confidence of the people, and offer clear guidance for the future.

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

11 January, 1974



Period of Transition

Reels 13.3.74
CLAR

String words of charges

Six Day War
War of attrition
War of Terror
from 1967

in 6 1/2 years

Didn't do too
badly on all
4 occasions

1 million troops

5000 tanks

2000 planes

tens of thousands of missiles

Mistakes were disproportionate

Arabs charged

Egypt came out of Y.K. war with a new self-respect
yet with sense of their limitation. E. called
for a cease-fire.

Two nationalisms met in same time & place
and conflicted. Arabs became an army in
charge of a nation, rather than vice versa.
They depended on militarism instead of
creating a balanced society with parliament,
universities, unions.

We too are changing. North Africans are beginning to
emerge as leaders - Russians & American are
coming out of despair.

We must make concessions for peace; yet prepare
for war. This is confusing but necessary.

Tasks:

1. To modernize military strength
2. To negotiate with Arabs - and take risks
3. To equalize Israeli society - close gap
4. To introduce models of life so Jews can live together.

Yair

17.3.74

1. No basic difference in Arab attitudes - They still don't recognize our existence. The most we can expect is a settlement in this or that issue.
2. Only a long process
a) we shall have to make ^{territorial} concessions
b) They shall have to make political concessions
3. We must stay strong
4. The margin between ceasefire & war is extremely narrow. But there is a chance, which we must exploit.
5. Balance of power - we have qualitative edge. They are getting more sophisticated weapons. U.S. produces 360 tanks per year. Russia supplied 2500 Arab losses within weeks after the war. Look at difference between Russia & US ability. We made up for disparity in equipment in Y.K. war by paying with lives.
6. Superpowers in this area - we ^{might} have problems with govt of U.S. We will have difficulties with Soviet.
7. Israeli society. The war showed up weaknesses. We must make an ongoing appraisal. It has started. Are we ready to pay the price of living here - uncertainty about the future. We will pay that price - if our society is value-oriented not material-oriented.
8. The people has a temple potential to survive, in face of all difficulty. We should have faith in ourselves.

9. We should try to find answers to problems of modern technological society by seeking Jewish sources.



SEMINAR AT CCAR - 18 MARCH 1974 - WITH YARIV AND DAFNI ON SUBJECT:
"YOM KIPPUR WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH"

OPENING REMARKS

A. WAR

1. SURPRISE

- A) QUESTIONS:
1. WAS INTELLIGENCE SERVICE ADEQUATE ?
 2. DID INTELLIGENCE MISREAD EGYPTIAN MOVES ?
 3. DID INTELLIGENCE READ CORRECTLY, BUT GOVERNMENT FAIL TO INTERPRET CORRECTLY ?
 4. DID GOVERNMENT INTERPRET CORRECTLY, YET DECIDE NOT TO MOBILIZE OR ATTACK PRE-EMPTIVELY FOR POLITICAL REASONS.

ALL THIS UNDER REVIEW BY AGRANAT COMMITTEE - NOT MUCH POINT IN COVERING THIS QUESTION THIS EVENING - ALTHOUGH YARIV WAS INTELLIGENCE AND YOU MAY WISH TO ASK.

B) GOLDA TO BRITISH DELEGATION 25.11.73

1. THIS IS FIRST WAR WHERE WE HAD THE FEELING (FOR FIRST TWO DAYS) THAT WE MIGHT LOSE.
2. WE HAD LULLED OURSELVES INTO A STATE OF MIND THAT SINCE WE DIDN'T WANT WAR, THE ARABS DIDN'T EITHER.
3. OTHERWISE WHY WERE WE CAUGHT BY SURPRISE ?
THE BEST OF OUR PEOPLE ANALYZED THE INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION, AND SAID THERE WILL NOT BE WAR.

C) DAYAN TO SAME DELEGATION 24.11.73.

THIS WAR WAS A SURPRISE, PROBABLY BECAUSE WE DIDN'T WANT TO BELIEVE WE WOULD HAVE ANOTHER WAR SO SOON.

2. SHOCK OF FIRST TWO DAYS

- A. DEATHS OF THIN LINES OF REGULARS AND RESERVISTS ON BOTH FRONTS.
- B. DEATH OF MYTH OF INVINCIBILITY.

3. FANTASTIC VICTORY

- A. MEN FOUGHT MAGNIFICENTLY
- B. SOME TACTICS WERE BRILLIANT
- C. MEN WERE ANGRY - AN ANGRY PEOPLE WENT TO WAR, BECAUSE OF RAPE OF YOM KIPPUR DAY.
- D. DAYAN STATISTICS TO SAME BRITISH DELEGATION:

1967=

1973=

SYRIA: PLANES 95 - LOST 40
TANKS 450 - LOST 100
EGYPT: PLANES 270 - LOST 180
TANKS 1000 - LOST 750

PLANES 410 - LOST 200
TANKS 2700 - LOST 1100
PLANES 680 - LOST 240
TANKS 2750 - LOST 1000

4. POSITION OF U.S. - OUTSTANDING

5. EUROPE FAILED

*Israel lost 400 tanks (Yariv)
only 20% of tank losses were due to hand-held missiles.*

B. POST WAR DEPRESSION

- 1. TERRIBLE PRICE IN DEAD
- 2. DIFFICULTY IN GETTING BACK PRISONERS
- 3. BELIEF THAT THE GOVERNMENT (AND POSSIBLY ZAHAL) HAD FAILED.
MINISTER OF JUSTICE CALLS FOR DAYAN'S RESIGNATION, THEN HIMSELF RESIGNS
- 4. PEOPLE PUSHED INTO CEASE FIRE, THEN ELECTION - NO TIME TO THINK

C. ELECTION

- L. NOT DECISIVE - PEOPLE IN SHOCK, UNABLE REALLY TO DECIDE, "PUNISHED" LABOR PARTY; BUT DIDN'T REJECT IT COMPLETELY.

D. FORMING A GOVERNMENT

- 1. DIFFICULT BECAUSE ALL PROBLEMS SURFACED:
 - A. RELIGIOUS PARTY DEMANDS
 - B. LABOR PARTY INNER SPLITS
 - C. DAYAN-PERES WITHDRAWAL
 - D. FEELING THAT THERE SHOULD BE A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT, WHICH LABOR REJECTED.
 - E. GOLDA WITHDRAWAL AFFECTED BY:

1. ARTICLES CALLING FOR HER RESIGNATION - 'FOR GOD'S SAKE - GO!' "על שם ה' יאמר" "
2. BOOS AT MILITARY CEMETERY
3. WEAKNESS AT POLLS
4. SNIPING INSIDE PARTY, BEN AHARON AND ELIAV AND NO ONE DEFENDING HER
5. ALMOST SUGGESTING UNITY GOVERNMENT
6. DAYAN AND PERES LEAVING

2. SUDDEN RESOLUTION OF CRISIS - THREAT OF RENEWAL OF WAR IN NORTH - DAYAN AND PERES REJOIN - SHE RESUMES HER MANDATE FROM PRESIDENT - GOVERNMENT FORMED - RELIGIOUS PARTIES IN - CABINET ACCEPTED, ALL IN 2-3 DAYS, AFTER ALMOST TWO MONTHS HAGGLING.

3. NEWSPAPER ARTICLE SAID "ASSAD GAVE US A GOVERNMENT"

4. MOSHE SHAMIR SAID; " THE GOVERNMENT WON; THE PEOPLE LOST"

E. MORAL CRISIS

1. WE HAVE BEEN THROUGH A SERIES OF CRISES; MILITARY, INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC, GOVERNMENTAL, WITH AN ECONOMIC YET TO COME; THE WORST OF ALL IS THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL:

- A. NO FAITH IN LEADERSHIP
- B. DESIRE FOR A CHANGE
- C. DOUBTS AS TO THE TRUTH OF ANNOUNCEMENTS
- D. CYNICISM ABOUT POLITICAL PARTY MANOEUVRES

2. THE GREATEST NEED IS FOR A MORAL REGENERATION, A HEALING, A RECAPTURE OF FAITH.

CLOSING REMARKS

A. GREAT CHANGES IN THE WIND

1. GERSHON SHOCKEN, AT MEETING NIGHT OF 9 OCTOBER 1973, WHEN DAYAN SECRETLY BRIEFED THE EDITORS THAT ISRAEL COULD NOT FORCE EGYPT BACK ACROSS THE CANAL, COINED WORD "EARTHQUAKE". THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY HE WROTE THAT USUALLY WHEN ONE REBUILDS AFTER AN EARTHQUAKE, ONE BUILDS DIFFERENTLY AND STRONGER. WE IN ISRAEL BUILT A NEW GOVERNMENT WITH ESSENTIALLY THE SAME PEOPLE IN THE SAME JOBS - AND THIS WILL NOT LAST. THERE WILL BE NEW ELECTIONS, HE FEELS.
2. THERE MAY BE POLITICAL PARTY SHIFTS - FROM LABOR TOWARD LIKUD. THE TENDENCY IS BEGINNING TO SHOW ITSELF.
3. THERE MAY BE CHANGES IN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS. MORE AND MORE THE DEMAND IS HEARD FOR DIRECT ELECTIONS.
4. THERE MAY BE CHANGES IN THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE - TOWARD LIBERALISATION. THE RECENT CONTROVERSY BROUGHT THE LIBERAL POSITION MUCH MORE TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC.
5. THERE MAY BE MORE WAR - THE PATH TO PEACE IS BY NO MEANS CLEARER. NEITHER WISHFUL THINKING, NOR TERRITORIAL CONCESSION, NOR SKILLFUL FLEXIBILITY, NOR WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH THE STRONG THROUST OF THE US SECRETARY OF STATE WILL NECESSARILY LEAD TO PEACE.

B. PERORATION

THERE IS NO MAN IN THE SHORT HISTORY OF THIS THIRD COMMONWEALTH WHO SPOKE MORE OFTEN AND MORE PASSIONATELY ABOUT PEACE THAN DAVID BEN GURION. HIS ABSOLUTELY FAVORITE ~~XXXXXXXX~~ SENTENCE WAS THE ISAIAH PASSAGE. HIS INCESSANTLY RESTATED THEME FOR ISRAEL'S RAISON D'ETRE WAS THAT WE GAVE THE VISION OF PEACE TO THE WORLD AND WE MUST TEACH MANKIND TO PURSUE IT. YET IT WAS THE SAME BEN GURION, WHO, WHEN ASKED WHAT HE CONSIDERED TO BE HIS GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT,, REPLIED THAT IT WAS THE CREATION OF ZAHAL. FOR WITHOUT THAT INSTRUMENT TO DEFEND ITSELF, THIS NATION MIGHT NOT EXIST. "NATIONAL SUICIDE", WROTE NAOMI ZOREA, WHO LOST TWO SONS IN WAR, "IS AN UNFORGIVEABLE ACT."

A REALISTIC, EVEN OPTIMISTIC, VIEW OF OUR FUTURE, IS TO STRIVE FOR PEACE, BE PREPARED FOR WAR, AND AT THE SAME TIME CONTINUE WITH THE BUSINESS OF BUILDING A NATION, STATE AND PEOPLE ALONG ZIONIST THEMES OF IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT, AND RELIGIOUS THEMES OF JUSTICE, MERCY AND SOCIAL CONCERN, THIS IS OUR DESTINY, EVEN CLEARER AFTER THE WAR.

THIS IS GREAT PEOPLE
WE MUST FACE FUTURE UNAFRAID
AND BUILD WITH YOUR HELP

BIOGRAPHIES:

Reuven Dafni - born 1913 in Yugoslavia

1943	Yugoslavia parachute
1945	First Hagana Mission to US
1948-51	First Consul General, Los Angeles Spokesman, Armistice Division, Information Center NY
1960-65	Sports and Physical Education Director
1965-69	Consul General, India
1969-73	Ambassador, Kenya
1974	North American Division, Foreign Office

Aharon Yariv

1920	Born Moscow; came to Israel 1935 High School in Pardess Hanna
1941-46	Joined British Palestine Unit, rose to Captain
1952-1956	Commander, in the IEF, and of Military Staff College Commander, Carmeli Brigade Commander, Golani Brigade
1957-60	Studied in the French War College Later Military Attache in Washington
1964-72	Head of Military Intelligence, Chief Army Spokesman for the World Press
1972-3	Left army, became Advisor to Prime Minister on Military Affairs
1974	Minister of Transport

? Feb-Mar 74

I. WAR - SURPRISE

Victory snatched from defeat
Fantastic strength, of Zahal
Willingness to sacrifice, on part of ordinary men

II. Post-war DEPRESSION

1. Terrible price in dead
2. Belief that the government, and possibly the army, failed.
3. Pushed into a cease-fire, Ben Gura - no time to think.

III. ELECTION

Not decisive - Labor weakened

IV. FORMING A GOVERNMENT

So difficult because all problems surfaced

- a. Religious demands
- b. Labor party inner splits
- c. Dayan - Peres
- d. Real feeling that there should be national unity government

Conclusions

You must love this country with a
great love, for it is yours
You must fear for this country with a great
fear, for there are those who would destroy it
You must shield this country with a great shield, for
it needs much help.

MILITARY

CRISIS

INT'L DIPLOMATIC

"

GOVERNMENTAL

"

ECONOMIC

"

ABOVE ALL, MORAL CRISIS

- 1) no faith in leadership
- 2) desire for change
- 3) doubts as to truth of announcements
- 4) cynicism about political party maneuvers

NEED FOR FAITH, MORAL REGENERATION