

In the Name of God,

As previously agreed, under all circumstances we were to exchange views upon the adoption of each new decision, making a clean breast of things, and so I now lay everything before you.

It was my belief that this is your right, the right of the people, to know everything. Also it is my belief that everything is principally your responsibility, and that every decision is primarily with you and by you.

I have observed this practice ever since I assumed responsibility. I learned, by experience, more than that. I learned that when we carry a burden, we carry it together. When we carry a burden together, heavy loads become light. Popular participation not only provides securities and responsibilities but also illuminates the way. Then each of us knows which way he is going.

Brothers and sisters,

All of us remember that the populace came out on June 9th and 10th, 1967 to express their steadfastness. Then on Sunday, July 9, 1967, only one month after our battle with the enemy, an Israeli armoured brigade moved towards Kantara-East. Our Command followed this movement and made its calculations. There was news from the United Nations and other sources confirming that the Israelis wanted to cross to the western bank.

the Knesset, and was heard by Mr. Rogers. I wished that he would react to this lesson, rather than challenging us.

Again, I return to the battle... What is the battle today, and what is the situation?... It can simply be said that Israel really acquired a military victory in June, 1967. Yet, it could not conquer the will of the Arab Nation. It is true that it acquired a military victory, we do not deny it... How did it acquire that victory? There will be a time later, when we discuss this issue... but it had a military victory.

However, has that victory led it to impose its will and terms over the Arab Nation? In other words, was it what we call: strategic victory, through which it could really achieve its objectives? No! It did not achieve its objectives at all. It acquired a military victory, but it was unable to acquire a strategic victory, by which it could achieve its objectives. It can never acquire such a victory, by which it can achieve its objectives, unless it conquers the will of the Arab Nation.

This is why their psychological warfare started reaching their height at the present time. They are still living through the arrogance of the military victory they scored, the cheap victory from which emanates their statements every day. One day it is delivered by Mrs. Meir, the next by Yigal Allon, the third day by Abba Eban and the fourth by Weizmann — Dozens of statements. Once I was asked why I did not reply to these statements since this is a psychological warfare.

As a matter of fact, I replied, but not to Israel. I do not wish to enter into a discussion with Israel and

with more Phantoms. But in addition, Mr. Rogers, the U.S. Secretary of State, declared to the whole world without any shame, that though the balance of power is in favour of Israel, they would supply Israel with more Phantoms. This is premeditation as explained in our criminal law.

My speculations were right when I stopped everything. There was premeditation. I saw Mr. Rogers, while he visited us here in Egypt, and our talks were, in fact, very frank. At the end of these talks I didn't hide the fact that his attitude was very clear and he was very understanding. I say this same Mr. Rogers stood on the 1st of January to declare that they would supply Israel with more Phantoms, even though they know that the balance of power is in favour of Israel. In the battle which took place in India and Pakistan, the United States lost its round. So it wants to say to the whole world through the escalation of war in Vietnam and the challenge it exercises in our area by giving Israel more Phantoms, that it is a big power and accepts any kind of challenge, etc.

Never did I expect such a stand on the part of Mr. Rogers, particularly as we had met here and talked to each other with full frankness. I thought that instead of throwing such a challenge at us and the Arab Nation... not against us alone... but against the whole Arab Nation where they have interests, he should react to the public reprimand addressed to him by Mrs. Meir in the Knesset, and which stirred commentary all over the world. Such a lesson of open rebuke was addressed to the U.S. Foreign Secretary Rogers by Mrs. Meir in

America is a principal party in this battle. This is quite evident.

The area in which we live — extending from the Ocean to the Gulf — comprises more than 70% of the world's oil potential, this is the energy and medium of technology in all corners of the world today.

This part of the world contains more than 70% of the world's oil reserve and America needs that. America is certainly a partner in this connection. But she was brazen enough so that Mr. Rogers, a man whom I thought to be understanding, could state on January 1st that they (the U.S.) would give Israel further supplies of Phantom aircraft although they knew that the balance of power was not endangered and was in fact in favour of Israel. This took place at a time when I hoped that he would retaliate to the public reprimand and reproach which Mrs. Meir gave to him in the Knesset before the whole world.

My comment on this is that if America's motive in this respect is linked with domestic elections, I say it, and declare it frankly so that they may hear it in America, that we do not by any means accept that election campaigns and party compromises be undertaken at our expense. We absolutely reject this.

If Mr. Rogers meant by this statement — which is naturally backed by President Nixon — to intimidate us and to wage a cold war against us as an act of terrorism, we are not intimidated by terrorism and we reject that terrorism. If Mr. Rogers made that statement in an attempt to imitate his predecessor, the late

the leaders of Israel. I shall not enter into discussions with them or hold negotiations, as they and the Americans want me to do. I replied to their guardian, President Nixon. I actually sent him a letter telling him that the Israeli statements had reached the point of «impertinence». I used this exact expression, and told him to tell the people of whom he was a guardian to hold their tongues and stop the statements they were making.

But, what is the position concerning the battle and the condition in which we live today, especially after the United States proclaimed at the beginning of January that as a New Year's present, it would provide Israel with Phantom planes — in spite of its supremacy? The battle is still exactly as it was started by the first Zionist Conference in 1897 with the object of establishing Greater Israel extending from the Nile to the Euphrates. They proceeded on with their plan because the Arab side had no plan to confront it. They proceeded to realise their aims starting from the Balfour Declaration, to the establishment of Israel in 1948, to the battle of 1956 and the battle of 1967. As I told the Americans, the battles will continue. I believe, even if we reach a settlement in this stage, I would expect that, after five years, Israel would launch a new battle. Why? Because there is a plan that is being implemented step by step, as I just told you. What is the aim of Israel? It is, as I told you, expansion from the Nile to the Euphrates. It has seized the whole of Palestine and did not stop at that but seized territories of three Arab countries, namely, Egypt, Syria and Jordan. This is the truth about the battle.

Mr. Dulles, in adopting the policy of brinkmanship in order to frighten us... it has been established that the policy of brinkmanship is futile. We do not accept it and have seen it in practise frequently with them and have emerged victorious in our battle with them.

What is the situation in the battle today? It can be summarized in the following: In the beginning, there was the Security Council Resolution No. 242 for 1967 which we still accept and recognise. They said it was a « package deal » and we accepted it, provided that the first article to be implemented was the Israeli withdrawal and the condemnation of the occupation of land by force. We accepted and still accept this Resolution.

What happened to this Resolution and how did events develop? After they declared that the Resolution was a « package deal » and would be implemented as a whole, the United States manoeuvred all last year to reach a separate solution with each of the Arab countries — with Egypt, Syria and Jordan, or rather King Hussein.

When I proposed my initiative, last February... America cheered and said, « This is an opportunity ». Why? As I told the Editor-in-Chief of the « New York Times », Salzberger, the Americans and I have been playing hide-and-peek, for the past eight months. They have something in their mind and I have another. They know what goes on in my mind and I know what goes on in theirs. For the past eight months we've been tracking one another.

I proposed two initiatives, based on a comprehensive Arab solution, not for Egypt alone, but a comprehensive

solution for the entire problem and the problem of peace in the Middle East. They welcomed them. But I happened to know what was in the back of their minds, from the days of Mr. Rusk. At first, the solution was a package deal « by bundle » as we call it in our country. Then started the second step — a solution with each Arab country separately. They said that they would start with Egypt, as Egypt was the bastion and the base. They said if they started with her, they could finish with the rest; and some of them had the agreement ready.

When I offered my initiative, they said: « good and well ». Instead of being a settlement with Egypt, or a settlement with each Arab country apart, they turned it into an Egyptian settlement with Israel, first of all... Well, I was also aware, as I said, of the hide-and-peek game we were playing. I was aware that they were seeking an Egyptian settlement with Israel, first of all. It was possible, after that, to finish the matter in the manner I told you... There was somebody who already prepared agreements with them.

It was another step forward. Thus, it was no more a settlement with Egypt. No... they took my initiative, somehow twisted it, and turned it into a partial settlement with Egypt... not even a comprehensive settlement with Egypt... They moved towards a partial settlement with Egypt. Negotiations advanced, time went on, and they coveted more. It was no more a partial agreement with Egypt. It became a partial settlement of the partial settlement with Egypt. Meaning that I should be very tolerant and accept their offer when they said: « We will reopen the Suez Canal for you », and that

would be all... They even called this settlement « The reopening of the Suez Canal ». I told them that that was enough. After the eight months, I said : « Stop, we have had enough of this hide-and-seek game ». My initiative was, from the start, made on the basis that it would be a step towards a comprehensive settlement with regard to all the Arab territories, not only to Egypt... I said : « No » to them, and, as I announced to our armed forces, last Bairam, I stopped every contact with America, and told them : « Enough with that game of hide-and-seek... I have known what you really want, and you know what I want. I want my land and the Arab land, and wish no more... »

We must go back to the situation today. The United States declared its stand frankly at the beginning of 1972 when it decided to supply Israel with Phantoms, in spite of the fact that the balance of power is not upset and Israel is still superior. This is a challenge directed to us as a people and to the entire Arab nation — whether you like it or not.

I said before that 1971 was the year of decisions. As I said in the beginning of my talk I actually had taken the decision in the presence of all the members of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. My instructions to General Sadek were prepared and put into force until they were stopped at the last stage.

As I told you, it was the fogged conditions. The conditions which appeared on Sunday, July 9, 1967 were the same which appeared to me — but in South Asia — and my friend, the Soviet Union, which stands on my side, was in this battle.

The whole subject needs more consideration. It was said by King Hussein that President Sadat would enter the battle without being prepared for it in order to save his face. The question is not that of saving my face. For me, it is a question of the people, my people here, my Armed Forces. It is a question of the Arab land and its future as an Arab nation. So, it is not at all a question of saving my face. It is true I stopped everything. The question is not that of a decision I took that must be put into force and whatever will be will be, and destroy my people, my Armed Forces and our objectives. No, never. I stopped and we are settling matters. Actually, Rogers declared on the 1st January, publicly and instantly and with the full support of the American President, that it is the American policy to give Israel Phantoms in spite of the fact that the balance of power is in its favour.

What is the aim behind my speech to you today ? As I told you, we should in every matter, every decision and every stage, participate together and be clear about the reality of the situation we face.

The past period was not lost. I started at the Presidential Council of the Confederation, together with President Hafez El Assad and President Muammar El Kaddafi, discussing the strategy of our present stage and circumstances. We reached a certain analysis and a certain decision. I am happy to tell you that for the first time in the history of the Arab nation a confederate state has been established — against the will of Israel, against the will of the U.S. and the imperialists who have certain aims in this region. For, the second or

third objective in Israel's strategy is that the Arabs should gather in unity. We broke this objective in Israel's strategy and the Confederate State was set up. The first thing we discussed in the Presidential Council of this State was Israel's strategy. This has been applied since the Conference of Basl in 1897 and is proceeding on its implementation, step by step, until the present day. Where is the Arab strategy to confront this? We worked out a strategy as a base, considering the first Arab union as a foundation. From this starting point we studied the present stage and its requirements.

But I was not satisfied with this... In the past stage, I considered the matter with all the Constitutional institutions in our country... I studied it with the Central Committee, with the People's Assembly, with the Cabinet, and with the National Security Council... The last meeting I held was yesterday, with my friend and comrade in struggle, Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi.

In all these meetings, besides a meeting with the Higher Council for the Armed Forces to make everything completely clear before all the official organisations, on all levels — we recognised the truth of the stage we are going through... In all these meetings, our resolutions have not differed. They were completely compatible, because the nature of the stage is obvious. Simply, fighting has been imposed on us.

I really intended, in giving my speech now, that it should be a warning signal. In all our organisations, starting with the Presidential Council of the Confederate State, to all the constitutional bodies, all those who are

participating in the responsibility, and the Higher Council for the Armed Forces, and the last of all the meetings, which, as I told you, I held yesterday, with my friend Dr. Fawzi — in all these we concluded the same thing... that is: fighting has been imposed on us.

In 1971 we came to that conclusion. But as I already said, after the fogged condition took place, we had to find our way anew.

With America, I have made clear the situation. With the Soviet Union, constant and serious negotiations on the highest level are now underway based on our mutual friendship, based on their stance in our support and based on the treaty linking our country with theirs. These negotiations are held on the highest level and are proceeding constantly in order to face the forthcoming stage.

But as I have already said, my speech to you today has but one motive, that is, a signal of alarm.

The decision in this battle is up to us to take and to nobody else. The responsibility is ours. It is true that we have to investigate everything amongst the current events in the world that may influence our decision, and which may have an impact on the progress of our battle.

It would be wrong if we didn't investigate and calculate accurately.

But, as I told you, the decision is up to us to take and the destiny is ours.

Therefore, I meant to tell you that we are facing a stage of absolute challenge to all that we have lived

for — including principles, ideals, independence, revolution and transformation. Nowadays, all these are facing a challenge, an explicit challenge.

I never speak of Israel. As I said before, I don't consider them of consequence. The principal party is their guardian, America. It conveys open defiance to us in everything : defiance to our existence, defiance to our dignity, our independence, our will, to every value we and the past generations fought to accomplish after the July 23rd Revolution.

This is why I say that we are passing through a stage of challenge. This challenge is not directed toward Egypt alone. It is not directed toward Egypt principally, but to the entire Arab nation as well.

I seize this opportunity to say that my words are the starting signal. I do not speak to people in Egypt alone, but to all the Arab nation, to all responsible Arabs, to every individual in the Arab nation, I address this speech.

The challenge is directed to all Arab individuals, despite the fact that the challengers have interests in Arab nations among us.

I wish to seize this opportunity to say that we are not double-faced. What I say here, I say before the entire world. We are neither double-faced, nor double-tongued.

In this battle, there are two indisputable principles. First, there is no relinquishing of one inch of Arab territories. Second, there is no bargaining over the rights of the Palestine people. Let everyone be assured of these

facts, including the Americans who want to make their own solution.

This does not mean that political action has stopped. No, it will continue. However, we wish to make it clear that in this stage, whoever wants to contribute to political action must contact Jarring. We support the last resolution of the United Nations and we support Jarring in his efforts. We are also bound by the above stated two principles. Any work must be done within these principles. But, as I said, the things that were carried out in the lobbies no longer exist.

As for Jarring, a resolution was issued by the United Nations which entrusts him with a certain task. Today, it is the duty of everyone to support Jarring. The countries of Western Europe adopted an excellent attitude towards us by issuing their last resolution. We welcome this resolution as we welcome the initiative taken by West European countries in this field.

We seize this opportunity to express our thanks to France in particular. Though Britain presented initiatives in the last resolution, we believe that the firm French attitude was the crux of this success in Western Europe. However, we thank every West-European State that stood beside us in this resolution and promise them that we would be faithful to any initiative they present. Yet, today it is a question of a fateful challenge to all of us, to the Arab nation and to the Egyptian people primarily — their being the base and the bastion of the Arab nation's struggle.

We want peace, but peace does not prevail by waiving olive branches. We have been taught by history

that peace sometimes is not bought except with blood. We want life, but we are aware that life which is not defended with death does not deserve the name. It would be a life tantamount to non-existence.

Fellow-brothers and sisters,

It is the confrontation for the sake of the land... for the sake of honour, for the sake of freedom, for the sake of dignity and for the sake of peace.

But the confrontation has its exigencies. And I think that it is about time that we get prepared for this confrontation.

There is a goal which must be attained as soon as possible. This goal is to immediately ready the domestic front for the confrontation. I repeat once again: we must immediately ready the domestic front for the confrontation. As to your Armed Forces, you may rest assured that they are actually ready for confrontation... in word, in deed and in action. But what is required of you, today, is that the domestic front should be readied for the confrontation.

I did not answer those who are making statements in Israel, but I answered their guardian, Nixon. They say the coming war will be an overall war, and if Egypt does anything, we shall go and hit it in the depths. The coming battle is not a battle of armies but is a complete and comprehensive battle. Every person in every spot of their land will be in the land of battle — and not only their Armed Forces. If they are saying that, we tell them thank you, we know all that. I tell them if they are declaring that, they must know it themselves,

that it will not be a comprehensive battle on the land of Egypt only, but it will be on their land, too — they who keep saying to the world for 22 years that no one could conquer Israel and that superiority is always on its side, etc...

Once again, I do not address these words to Israel. I am saying them to Israel's guardian, Mr. Nixon, the President of the United States. I would not condescend to enter a discussion with a group intoxicated by ecstasy. They reached the point — as I told you before — where I had to write to President Nixon and say: « Those people whose guardian you are, have pushed arrogance to the point of rudeness. » I shall not reply to them; I speak and I act. If they imagine that there is going to be a full-fledged war, then there is going to be a full-fledged war. But not just here, as was the habit in the past, nor will they move unhindered to their hearts' content in the Arab region. They will face the consequences there in their country.

By this address, brethren and sisters, I wished to say that we are on the verge of an utterly new stage. The internal front should immediately prepare for full readiness, exactly as our military front.

For this sake, I will immediately start my task in the process of readying the internal front for the confrontation.

In the coming stage, I request every citizen and citizeness, every parent, every son, every brother, every sister, and every man living on our land... I request everybody not to ask: What can Egypt offer to him... It is sufficient that Egypt offered all of us life. Every-

one of us should rather ask himself, in the coming stage :
What can he offer Egypt ?

Egypt has given us everything, as I said... She has given us life, hope, dignity and honour... She has given us all this beauty... This blessed, good place, in which we live, has given us everything. In return, we should give Egypt everything, even life... Let us all make our internal front, covering all the land of our people, an extension to the battlefield, not only for the defence of our land, but also for the defence of the rights of our Arab Nation as a whole, and the defence of our existence and the whole Arab Nation.

Brothers and sisters,

I would have liked these days to be happier and more pleasant. But man should face his destiny with faith in God, in his homeland and in his humanity. We have ahead of us many hardships and difficulties. But with God's help we will bear its burdens and sacrifices. Our people will give, in the battle, the living example that they are a great people like their history, their long civilisation and their humanity and ideals.

I depend on God Almighty and on you. I want you to be with me with your hearts and minds, with all the creative power and the will of patience and determination which God has endowed to you.

O Lord ! Let not our hearts deviate after Thou hast guided us aright, and grant us from Thee mercy. Surely Thou art the most liberal Giver. » Our Lord ! make our faith the best and be with us until victory, Thou art the Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.