In the name of God.

Brothers and sisters,

I should have liked to come to you before now to meet you and the masses of our people and our Arab Nation, but my duties have been such as you know about and have always wished me to undertake. I am confident that you appreciate and understand them. I felt that you were with me in every opinion I formed, and that you, and our people and our Arab Nation were with me in every decision I took. All of you were with me in every responsibility I have undertaken as an expression of the will of the Arab Nation and the destiny of a people.

I found it fitting to come to you today to speak to you, to the masses of our people, to the peoples of our Arab Nation and to a world concerned with what occurs on our territory because it is closely connected with the most dangerous causes of humanity, namely, the cause of war and peace, for we do not consider our patriotic and national struggle as a local or regional phenomenon. For the area in which we live, with its civilisation, its strategic role, is situated in the very heart of the world, and in the midst of its action. Because these are major events, and developments are successive and decisions fateful, I should like to deal directly with what I want to talk to you about. I will concentrate on two major points: war and peace.

First, war. I do not think you expect me to stand in front of you in order that we may boast together about what we have realised in eleven days; the most dangerous, magnificent and glorious days of history. Perhaps the day will come when we shall together, not to glorify ourselves and boast, but to remember, to study and teach our children and grandchildren and the successive generations the story of our struggle, the bitterness and sufferings of defeat and the sweet taste of victory and its hope.

The day will come when we shall recount what each of us has done in his position, and how each one carried out the charge entrusted to him, and played his role; how the heroes of this people and the Arab Nation went out in a dark, pitch-black period carrying the torches of light, pointing out the road so that their Nation could cross the bridge between despair and hope. The time for all this will come. I am sure that you agree with me that we have duties and responsibilities to which we should devote all our time and exert all our efforts.
I should like to state the following:

First: As regards myself, I have tried to fulfill the pledge I made be
god and before you exactly three years ago. I pledged before God
before you that the liberation of the national soil was my first commit-
ment in loyalty to our people and to the Arab Nation. I pledged before God
and before you that I shall spare no effort and shall not hesitate to
any sacrifice whatever it may cost me, so that the nation may reach a
position in which it is able to raise its determination to the level of its as-
pirations. I have always believed and will always believe, that aspirati-
on without determination are a form of day-dreaming. My love of, and lo-
yalty to this homeland refuse that we become victims of the mirage of
dreaming or lose ourselves in its fog. I pledged before God and before
you to the world that the 1967 setback was an exception and no
rule. This emanated from my belief in our history that has extended over
7 thousand years of civilization. I looked forward to aims which I pro-
positive the struggle of our people and Arab Nation would attain, con-
firming their great principles and conceptions.

I pledged before God and before you that our generation would
hand over their flags to the succeeding generation hanging at half mast
or suffering humiliation; we shall deliver banners hoisted on dignif-
flag-staffs, though they may be wet with blood. We have kept our hope
raised high in the sky while our foreheads were bleeding and tortured with
pain.

I pledged before God and before you not to delay the propitious
moment; not to venture or loiter. The calculations were exhausting and
responsibility enormous. But I was aware as I have often reiterated,
you and to the nation, that such was my destiny and I bore it willingly.

I pledged before God and before you and I have faithfully tried
to fulfill my promise while seeking God’s help and asking for your trust a
that of the Arab Nation. I thank God.

Second: Everything was dependent upon the determination of the
people and the volume and depth of that determination.

We could not have done anything and nobody could have done an
ingthing had it not been for these people and this Arab Nation.

The night was long and oppressive, but the people never doubted that
day would dawn. I say without presumption that history will record
on behalf of this people, that its setback was not a fall, but merely a shor
lived stumble; that its movement was not effervescence, but a lofty rise. Our people have exerted boundless efforts, made unlimited sacrifices and manifested unending awareness.

But there was something more important than all this, greater than effort, sacrifice and awareness: the people kept their boundless faith. This was the dividing line between setback and defeat.

I was aware of this from the very first day when I assumed my responsibilities. I willingly accepted what God had laid on my shoulders. I knew that the faith of the people was the base. If the base was intact, all that was lost could be recovered. The ground we had lost, we could gain once more.

Despite the many aspects, some of which were natural and others artificial, on account of the psychological warfare launched against us, I kept asking myself and others, every day: "Is the base intact?"

I was confident that no psychological warfare, however fierce, could affect the solidity of this base. As long as the base was sound, all would be well, and everything else would only be a storm in a teacup.

I do not deny that we faced many difficulties, real difficulties with regard to services, supply, production, and also political action. I knew the truth but I was not in a position to explain it. I knew that we were trying to make life acceptable to the people, and at the same time we had to prepare for what could happen. I was also certain that the day would come when the truth would become clear to others as it was to me. And when the truth became clear, people would understand and appreciate it. I thank God.

Third: There were clear-cut indications of a split in the conscience of the entire Arab Nation. I considered this natural owing to ideological and social reasons which were aggravated by the bitterness of the setback. There were those who asked me and asked themselves: "Can the Arab Nation face this difficult test in this state of disruption of its conscience?" I often said that this disruption, apart from its natural reasons, reflected a contradiction between reality and hope and that there was nothing to fear from it. Moreover, I always believed that there could be no remedy or rest for the conscience of the Arab Nation unless it confronted the moment of challenge facing it. Sometimes I was not ready to enter into useless discussions as to whether we should get rid of this disruption first and then confront the challenge, or whether we should accept the challenge in spite of these signs of disruption.
My assertion was that nations could not reveal themselves and prove their mettle except through the carrying on of a struggle.

The awareness of a nation and its discovery of its capacities are commensurate with the size of the challenges it meets.

I do not deny that social and ideological differences exist. This is the course of the movement of history. But all the same I know that when great nations confront major challenges, they are capable of setting their priorities with the utmost clarity.

I fervently believed in the soundness and solidity of the call to Arab nationalism. I was aware of the various reactions which move the course of a nation. But I was confident that unity of action would dominate all forces, all sectors and all currents, as it would be generally realised that this event is not a contest between single persons, but a struggle between the extermination and the survival of an entire nation. I thank God.

Fourth: I knew well the mettle of our Armed Forces. My talk about them was not a forecast or a prophecy. I came out of the ranks of these Forces and have experienced their traditions. I had the honour of serving in their ranks and under their banners.

The record of these Forces was magnificent, but our enemies, old and new imperialism and world Zionism, concentrated their efforts against this record so as to undermine the faith of the people in its armour and sword.

I never doubted that the Armed Forces were the victim of the 1967 setback and not its cause.

It was within the power of these Forces to fight, in 1967, with the same courage and valour they have fought with today, had their military command at that time not lost its nerve following the blow against our Air Force which Gamal Abdel Nasser had warned of, or had it not issued an order for general withdrawal from Sinai, without Nasser's knowledge.

These Forces were not given the opportunity of fighting for the homeland, its honour and soil. They were not defeated by the enemy; they were exhausted by conditions which gave them no chance to fight.

I participated with Gamal Abdel Nasser in the process of re-constructing the Armed Forces. It was then my destiny to bear the responsibility of carrying out this build-up and of assuming the supreme command of the Armed Forces. The Egyptian Armed Forces have performed a miracle,
by any military standard. They have given themselves completely to their duties and absorbed the whole age in terms of training and arms, science and capability. When I issued my order to them to repulse the provocations of the enemy and curb his arrogance, they proved themselves capable of doing so. These Forces, after receiving their orders, took the initiative into their own hands, taking the enemy by surprise, and, with their quick movements unbalanced the enemy. I should not be exaggerating if I were to say that military history will pause for long to examine and study the operation carried out on October 6, 1973 when the Egyptian Armed Forces managed to cross the difficult barrier that the Suez Canal poses, when they stormed the strong Bar-Lev fortifications line and set up bridgeheads on the eastern bank of the Canal after unbalancing the enemy, as I have said, in six hours. The risk was enormous and the sacrifices were also great. But, the actual results of the first six-hour battle of our war were magnificent. The enemy lost his balance and remains unbalanced until this moment. The wounded nation has restored its honour and the political map of the Middle East has been changed. If we say this in dignity — (and some dignity is faith) — it is our duty to state here in the name of these people and the entire Arab Nation, our full confidence in our Armed Forces, in their officers and soldiers who carried out the plans with fire and blood, in the faith and scientific knowledge of these Armed Forces, in their arms and their ability to make the best use of their arms.

I should like to say briefly that our people can now feel safe and secure after the period of fear. They are now armed with a shield and sword. I should like to draw your attention to the northern front, where the great Syrian army is engaged in one of the most glorious conflicts of the Arab Nation under the firm and faithful leadership of President Hafez El Assad.

I should like to say to our brothers in the northern front: «You have fulfilled your promises, you are the most honourable and faithful of friends, you are brave fighters. You have waged war like real men and shown the perseverance of heroes. It would have been impossible to find companions in arms who could have inspired us with more confidence and more courage than those companions alongside whom we have had the honour of fighting against one common enemy, the enemy of the whole Arab Nation.

Together, we have been the vanguard of the war; together we have suffered its ferocity and together we have paid a very heavy price for it with our blood and our resources. We shall continue fighting, challenging
...destiny itself, and we shall be accompanied by our brothers who called upon one another to come to the battlefield. We shall all pay in sweat and blood until we reach an objective which we and our nation approve of at this dangerous stage of our continued and connected struggle.

Brothers and sisters,

All this was concerned with war; now we come to peace. When talking of peace, we should remember, while others should not pretend to forget, the real reason why our war broke out. Please allow me to state some of these reasons clearly and explicitly before you.

First: We are fighting for the sake of peace — the only peace which is worthy of the name, that is, peace based on justice. Our enemy often talks of peace, but there is a vast difference between the peace of aggression and the peace of justice.

It was David Ben Gurion who laid down for Israel the theory of imposing peace. Peace cannot be imposed, and any such talk is a threat of waging war or an actual waging of war. The great error of judgement on the part of our enemy was that he imagined that the force of terrorism could safeguard peace.

Today, and in the battlefield, the futility of this theory has been proved. It has been proved that if it was feasible owing to the weakness of a people at one period of time, it would be of no use once these people gathered their strength.

I really do not know what David Ben Gurion would have thought had he been in command in Israel today. Would he have been able to understand the nature of history, or would he have remained in a position contrary to history as we see Israel's leaders doing today?

Peace cannot be imposed, and the peace of a fait accompli cannot stand or last. Peace can only be established on the basis of justice. Peace cannot be imposed by terrorism, however ferocious it may be and whatever the arrogance and folly of power may have pictured to the enemy who went very far in both, not only during the last six years, but during the last 25 years, that is, since the Zionist state was established by usurping Palestine.

Today, we should like to ask Israel's leaders, where is the theory of Israeli security which they attempted to apply sometimes by violence and at other times by brute force for twenty-five years. This theory has now been smashed and destroyed.
Our Armed Forces today are challenging their military power. Now they are engaged in a long, protracted war. They are faced with a war of attrition we can bear much better than they can. The interior of their country will be exposed if they imagine they are able to intimidate us with threats to the interior of the Arab lands. I should like to add, so that they may hear in Israel, that we are not upholders of extermination, as they allege. Our Egyptian missiles, of the Zafer type, which can cross Sinai, are now on their pads ready, with one, signal, to be fired to the very interior of Israel. Since the first moment of the battle, we could have given the signal and issued the order, particularly since their empty arrogance and conceit has brought upon them more than they can bear. But we realize the responsibility of using certain kinds of weapons and we control ourselves. Yet, they have to remember what I said and still say: an eye for an eye, a tooth for tooth and interior aggression for interior aggression.

Second: We did not fight as aggressors on the land of others. We fought, and will continue to fight for two purposes:

The first is to recover our lands occupied since 1967.

The second is to find a means to respect and restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. These are our aims in accepting the dangers of combat. We have accepted them in reaction to intolerable and insufferable provocation. We did not start them. We have merely defended ourselves, our lands and our right to freedom and life. Our war was not for the purpose of aggression but against it.

In our war, we have not violated values and laws approved by the community of nations and stipulated in its Charter which was inscribed by the blood of free nations after their victory over Fascism and Nazism.

We could well say that our war is the continuation of the war of mankind against Fascism and Nazism, since Zionism with its racial doctrine and its logic of expansion through violence and brutality is but a feeble mimicry of Nazism and Fascism — a mimicry which provokes derision and not fear, depreciation and not hatred.

In our war, we behaved in compliance with the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter, not violating them, but acting according to the Charter itself. We behaved with understanding and respect for the resolutions of the International Organisation, whether those of the General Assembly or those of the Security Council.
Brothers and sisters,

The whole world has testified to our right and hailed our courage in defence of these rights. The world is now aware that we did not start the aggression, but initiated the duty of self-defence. We are not against the values and laws of the international community, we are for them. We are not adventurers in war — we are seekers of peace.

The world is now conscious of all that and even before had sympathised with our cause. Today, in addition to this sympathy, there is world respect of our determination to defend this cause. The world's sympathy gave us a feeling of security and now the world's respect makes us proud.

I tell you frankly and honestly that I prefer the world's respect, even without sympathy, to the world's sympathy devoid of respect.

Brothers and sisters,

Only one state differed with the whole world, not only with us but, as I say with the whole world, and that is the United States. She claims that she was surprised when we repelled the aggression. We do not understand how and why she was surprised. She recovered from the shock, but has not returned to reason. It is really regrettable that this should be the attitude of one of the super powers in this age. We expected, or perhaps we hoped, against all indications and experiences, that the surprise would help the United States to reason correctly. But, unfortunately, this did not happen. We have seen the United States emerge from the surprise to the manoeuvre. Her first offer was to cease fighting and return to the pre-6 October lines. We could have become angry at this reversed logic, but we did not become angry because we are confident of ourselves, on the one hand, and want to contribute to the establishment of world peace, on the other. The world has entered an era of detente between the two major powers. We are not opposed to the policy of detente, but we had, and still have, one reservation with regard to it. If we want the world, after the impossibility of the outbreak of a world war, to enter an era of peace, we should bear in mind that peace has not an abstract meaning. Peace has only one meaning, namely that all peoples in the world should feel that it is their peace and not imposed on them.

I should like to say before you and before the world that we want the policy of detente to succeed and be fostered. We are ready to contribute to its success and consolidation; but we consider, rightfully, that this cannot take place while aggression is launched against an entire Arab
Nation strategically situated in the centre of the world and economically in possession of its most important wealth.

Any overlooking of this elementary fact is not only a negligence; it is an insult which we do not accept for ourselves or for the world which knows the importance and value of this area in which we live, and it should now know that this area is capable of giving and of taking away.

Brothers and sisters,

The United States following the manoeuvre which we refused to discuss, particularly after having embarked on the path of right through the force of arms, has resorted to a policy which neither we, nor our Arab Nation, can accept silently. It has set up a quick airlift to carry military aid and assistance to Israel.

It was not enough for the United States that her arms enabled Israel to impede all attempts to secure a peaceful settlement in the Middle East; now she is further involved in that which is more dangerous and more perilous in consequences.

Whereas we are fighting the aggression, whereas we are trying to rid our occupied territories of the nightmarish occupation, she is hastening to the aid of the aggressor, replacing his losses and furnishing him with new equipment. The United States is setting up a naval and air-bridge by means of which she is pouring into Israel new tanks, aeroplanes, guns, rockets and electronic equipment.

We are telling America that this does not frighten us. However, before reaching the point of no return both you and we should ask ourselves this question — where to and until when? Where to, when we and not Israel, form the greater part of the Middle East? Where to, when All America's interests are linked with us and not with Israel?

Brothers and sisters,

I have thought of sending a letter to President Richard Nixon stating our position clearly. However, I hesitated for fear the letter might be misinterpreted, and instead I have decided to address to him an open message from here. It is a message dictated by confidence and not fear; stemming not from a weak position but from a real desire to preserve peace and foster the detente.

I should like to tell him that our aims in waging this war are well known and need no further clarification; and if he would like to know our peace demands then I will submit to him our peace project.
First: We have fought and we shall go on fighting to liberate our land which was seized by the Israeli occupation in 1967 and to find means for securing respect for and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Regarding this matter, we accept our commitment to the decisions of the United Nations, the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Second: We are prepared to accept a cease-fire on condition that the Israeli forces withdraw forthwith from all the occupied territories to the pre-June 5, 1967 lines, under international supervision.

Third: We are ready, once the withdrawal from all these territories has been carried out, to attend an international peace conference at the United Nations. I shall try to persuade my colleagues, the Arab leaders, who are directly responsible for carrying on the conflict with our enemy to support me. I will also do my best to convince the representatives of the Palestinian people to participate with us and with the whole international community in laying down rules and measures for peace in the area based on the respect of the legitimate rights of all the peoples of the area.

Fourth: We are willing, at this hour and at this very moment, to start clearing the Suez Canal to open it to international navigation in order to contribute, once again, to world welfare and prosperity. I have, in fact, given the order to the head of the Suez Canal Authority to start this task immediately after the liberation of the eastern bank of the Canal. Preliminary measures have already been taken for the fulfilment of this task.

Fifth: Throughout all this we are not prepared to accept ambiguous promises or flexible expressions which lend themselves to various interpretations, draining our time needlessly and bringing back our cause to the stalemate which we do not accept any more, whatever the reasons of others may be, or whatever the sacrifices required of us.

What we need now is clarity — clarity as regards objectives and as regards means.

Brothers and sisters,

I have said all I have to say, and I sincerely beseech God that all may understand my words in their true meaning and may judge matters correctly. This present time requires the courage and the brains of men. As for us, we are confronting these hours with the reverence of those who are truthful to God, to themselves and to their humanity. These hours
are witnessing battles greater than any waged with conventional weapons, even in the battle of the giants. There are hours in which destinies will be decided and the relationships defined — relationships which will impose themselves on the future while asserting themselves in the present. These are hours in which heroes are advancing and martyrs are ascending to heaven. These are hours filled with interrelated feelings, in which the cries of joy are mingled with other deep feelings — because we wanted and still want justice and not war.

But we demand and continue to claim justice, even if war is imposed upon us.

When the ecstasy of victory filled every heart, between God and myself I knew the price in human suffering which we had to pay for victory. That is why I followed the news of our victories with reverence — because I know what is war.

For He has taught us:

«You have been ordained to fight much against your liking».

In these hours we shall know ourselves, our friends and our enemies. Brothers and sisters,

We have known ourselves and we have known our friends who have proved to be the most loyal and sincere friends. We have always known our enemies and we do not wish to add to their number, but have addressed word after word, notification after notification, and warning after warning, to give everyone the chance to review his doings with the hope that he might abandon his attitude.

But, with the help of God, we are capable, after words, notifications and warnings to deal blow after blow. We shall know when, where and how, to do so if they wish to escalate their movements.

The entire Arab Nation, and I allow myself to speak on its behalf, will not forget the attitudes assumed by various countries during these hours. The Arab Nation will not forget the friends of these hours who stand by it, nor will it forget the enemies of these hours who side with its enemy.

God, be our Helper and our Guide,

God bless our nation and our people,

God, Thou hast promised and Thy promise is true.

«If ye champion God, He will champion thee and entrench thy foot-steps».

God's peace and mercy be with you.