

« ... The tasks of the coming stage — I think can be defined as follows :

First — The battle first, second and last. By battle I do not mean just the fighting. I mean the total liberation of all the Arab lands occupied by the 1967 aggression. For, if we do not liberate these lands, this means that we have submitted to the Israeli, imperialist enemy and those behind it. There is nobody in our nation who would accept the liberation of only part of the occupied lands and the relinquishing of another part. An acceptance of this cannot be called a middle-road solution, for there is no such thing as a semi-submission.

As to the sacred principles, the holiest of which is the integrity of nations, the relinquishing of any part means the relinquishing of everything.

We want peace. The only condition we make for peace is justice; for, if peace was not conditioned with justice it would not be peace but an acceptance of the **fait accompli** that has been imposed by the force of aggression — a thing which we can never accept.

If we were to accept relinquishing a part of our homeland, it would mean — without self-deception — that we would be prepared to relinquish any principle whatever.

For any nation, its land is its honour. If this is forsaken, everything else would be easy to forsake. Hence, the battle is the first of all tasks which have priority in the forthcoming stage. Everything should be subordinated to it. Action at home and abroad should be subordinated to it. Our amity towards friends and hostility towards our foes should be based upon it. Its requirements and requisites should come before any other. Let it be known to everybody here at home, in the nation and in the whole world, that in this matter we do not bargain, we do not trade nor do we bid or outbid. We ask for peace based upon justice. At the same time, we are also protectors of peace based on justice.

Second — Behind the battle-front we have economic and social work which should not cease for one second; for besides the battle we should not forget that the aim of our Revolution is originally the establishment of life for our people. For example, we did not build the High Dam in order to fight; rather we fought in order to build the High Dam.

The battle of economic and social construction is thus closely connected with the fight in the battle-field. The battle is an honour to the homeland, and the battle of economic and social construction is an honour to the citizen.

In the new stage — and in detail — we have to complete and achieve the following :

- 1 — To complete the base of heavy industry as a principal aim. This is being done now, represented in the iron and steel complex that is under construction at a cost of L.E. 350 million; the new petro-chemicals complex which will be begun, costing L.E. 100 million; the phosphate complex, which is being constructed at a cost of L.E. 45 million, and the aluminium complex costing L.E. 40 million. In addition, there is the Suez-Alexandria petroleum pipe-line which will soon be put into effect.

The completion of the heavy industry base is the guarantee for rendering our economy an industrial one in the first degree, which is the true yardstick of progress in our age.

- 2 — The fulfilment of the big process of transformation in scientific agriculture. The first

indications of this process already appeared in our output of grains and we must continue in order to realise self-sufficiency in this field.

I believe this can be realised in a period ranging between 3 and 5 years. Besides the completion of the process of transformation in scientific agriculture, we must also pay attention to the industrialisation of agriculture. Moreover, we have a vital duty to carry out in the process of reclaiming new lands, beside exploiting the land which has already been reclaimed during the last years since we started our organised work in conquering the desert. In this respect, every drop of the water of the High Dam must leave its effect on our land, fertile, good and prosperous.

- 3 — The electrification of the whole of Egypt must be one of the most cherished of our goals. For electricity will illuminate the face of Egypt and push the wheel of action in every part of it. Our present production of electric power is on a par with the European rate; but our consumption of the energy which we produce is not yet complete.

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Third — Modern socialist states are essentially states where the actual and potential resources are socially administered for the people; administered in such a manner as to ensure the development of the productive resources in the society as well as the sound utilisation of the human potentialities that are aware of the people's aspired goals. Thus, the success of the state is judged by the success of its administration.

Our studies have shown that 25% of our potentialities are wasted due to various reasons attributed to the problem of administration such as contradiction in competences and lack of efficiency.

If we can lay down an advanced conception of state administration, and if we can save what is now wasted, then we have no doubt that we shall be able to face the challenge of the age, particularly since there is a responsibility of a special and severe character that we shall be confronted with immediately following the end of the war, namely, that of reconstructing the ruins caused by war especially in the Suez Canal area.

Fourth — We have to give considerable attention to the political structure so that the process of building this structure may not be merely a completion of a shape, but rather a drive and a genuine content for this drive.

In this context, we have to afford the opportunity — within the framework of a strong alliance of the forces of the working people — for the practice of democracy as the safeguard for the right path.

When we speak of the authority of the alliance of the forces of the working people, this implies that we are for the rule of the forces of the working people.

In its essence, government is a selection from amongst several possibilities which have thoroughly and comprehensively been surveyed and after the advantages and disadvantages of each of these possibilities have been cleared up. He who is to undertake the process of selection must make an assessment of the uses and disadvantages and to decide, eventually, by his own free will. In other words, if government is to be based on selection, this selection must necessarily constitute an open and free dialogue aimed at achieving truth and righteousness.

Our political structure has undertaken its responsibilities most remarkably during the difficult periods we have been through and we have to spare no effort towards cementing the structure so that it may also be able to assume its responsibilities in

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Fifth — The United Arab Republic is for unity with its faith, its endeavours and in each goal it is seeking to achieve. It does not look upon Arab unity as a mere demand of history, but rather as a necessity, above all, for the future and for destiny.

From these springboards, the faith of the United Arab Republic will never falter concerning the fact that the Arab nation is but one nation, sharing the same freedom, the same progress and the same aspirations for the future.

Our people firmly believe that he who tries to cast doubt regarding the goal of unity, undermines the possibility of the survival of the Arabs and the continuity of this survival. Also, survival in its positive sense should be tantamount to life and freedom. Among all our objectives, the objective of unity is the one that provokes the heaviest counter-attacks. This is in itself a pointer to the genuineness of this goal.

In the meantime, this is an incentive which induces us to defend it adequately.

The best we can do to defend this objective is to protect it not only from enemies but from those who falsely claim to adhere to it, while in fact they

are manoeuvring in the interest of unstudied and unwise adventures.

On these bases, the Cairo Agreement was reached between the Tripoli Charter States, namely, the Arab Republic of Libya, the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and the United Arab Republic in order to establish the nucleus and solid base for an Arab future created and formed by a conscious, free and liberated will.

Sixth — We are a part of this universe. We form, through our human civilisation in its history, and through our continuous struggle in its liberation and progress, an effective part — a part that does not live as a parasite on the whole, and which refuses to live as a parasite on anybody, it is a part that gives as much as it takes, that acts and reacts.

To clarify this, it is enough to mention our role in the national liberation movement, the movement of non-alignment and the movement of social liberation in the three continents — Africa, Asia and Latin America.

We hold fast to our independence, our nationalism and our free opinion towards the problems of war and peace, and this in itself does not make our position that of isolation and disinterestedness; ours

is a position of struggle which definitely puts us on the side of independence and social freedom.

Our enmity to imperialism upholds independence and social freedom. Our enmity to imperialism is not fanaticism; it represents a just war against imperialism on the side of independence and social freedom.

Our friendship with the Soviet Union is an alignment to it, not a criterion, an alignment on political and social grounds and not with the Soviet Union's attitude of solidarity, against imperialism. The development of Israel, of its expansion and of its territorial acquisitions and of its territorial expansion in addition to its stand against imperialism at the same time a stand against imperialism.

Seventh — We are opening the horizons of peace and a new world will not be

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is a position of struggle and militancy because this definitely puts us on the side inimical to imperialism.

Our enmity to imperialism is an attitude which upholds independence, nationalism and political and social freedom. Our enmity to Israel is not racist fanaticism; it represents one of the fronts of our war against imperialism resulting from our stand on the side of independence, nationalism and political and social freedom.

Our friendship with the Soviet Union is not an alignment to it, it is rather, and with the same criterion, an alignment to independence, nationalism and political and social freedom. Our friendship with the Soviet Union is, at the same time, an attitude of solidarity, gathering all forces inimical to imperialism. The denunciation by the Soviet Union of Israel, of its expansionist and aggressive ambitions and of its terrorist role in this region, in addition to its stand as our friend, is at the same time a stand against imperialism and the tools of imperialism.

Seventh — We have to lay ourselves open to the horizons of progress. For, barriers in our new world will not be between colours or races, but

between progress and backwardness, while the world moves at great speed.

We cannot satisfy ourselves with talking about science without actually delving in the world of science; otherwise it would be as if we were satisfied with diagnosing the problem without remedying it.

More than anyone else, our only hope is pinned upon science. And more than anyone else, we need to make use of science. This is a necessity which does not only arise from the identity of our present with our past civilisation but also from the identification of our broad aspirations with our real accomplishments.

The first step to be taken along this road is to move with our education, as soon as possible and beginning with the next scholastic year, from the remnants of the 19th Century to the horizons of the atom and space age.

Eighth — The youths represent the future, and we must give the youths today as much of our potentialities as the future deserves to be given.

Today, the youths are in need of two things: a dialogue between the different generations rather than a conflict between them — a dialogue through

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which the experience and responsibility should be handed down. They also need unlimited hope. The most dangerous thing is for our youths to feel that their hopes in their fatherland are restricted.

Ninth — Through digesting and comprehending the above, we can safely say that we shall be able to build upon this land a modern state where science and technology are not spoken about merely as slogans, but where science and technology become the mode of action and a practical means of reaching the goals of a society faced with great responsibilities and greater aspirations ».

November 19, 1970