In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Mr. Speaker,

Ladies and gentlemen,

God's peace and mercy be upon you,

Peace for all of us, God willing.

Peace for all of us in the Arab lands, in Israel and everywhere in our big globe, beset by its sanguinary conflicts, confused by its sharp contradictions, jeopardized from time to time by destructive wars these wars unleashed by man to annihilate his fellowmen. However ultimately, from among the debris of what man has constructed, from among the remnants of his fellowmen, neither victor nor vanquished will emerge. The vanquished will also always be man, the paragon of God's creations. Man whom God has created as Gandhi, the saint of peace, has put it, « to trudge on earth, building life and worshipping God ».

Today, I have come to you with firm steps, to build a new life and to establish peace. We all on this earth, Moslems, Christians and Jews alike, worship God and nobody but Him. God's teachings and commandments are love, sincerity, purity and peace.

I can understand all those who received my decision, when I declared it before the entire world at the Egyptian People's Assembly, with astonishment, or even complete astonishment. In fact, some shaken by the violent surprise, imagined that my decision was no more than a verbal manoeuvre meant for public consumption and some went a little bit further describing it as a political tactic to cover up my intentions to wage a new war.

I reveal no secret when I say that one of my aides at the Presidential Office rang me up late at night, upon my return home from the People's Assembly inquiring anxiously: What shall we do, Mr. President, should Israel actually extend the invitation?

Replied quite calmly I said: I will accept it on the spot.

I declared that I will go anywhere in the world, I will go to Israel, because I want to lay down all the facts before the Israeli people.

I can find an excuse for those who were astounded by my decision or who doubted the good intentions prompting the declaration of the decision; for who would have ever thought that the President of the biggest Arab
country, which bears the major burden and the prime responsibility for the cause of war and peace in the Middle East, could have made a decision declaring his readiness to go to the enemy's land while we are still in a state of war? In fact, we are all still suffering from the consequences of four internecine wars over the span of thirty years, and the families of October 1975 War victims are still in the throes of widowhood and bereavement for sons and the death of fathers and brothers.

As I said before, I had no prior consultations, concerning this decision, with any of my colleagues and brothers from among the Arab Heads of State, or the frontline countries. Some of them who contacted me after my announcement expressed their opposition, for a state of absolute doubt coupled with a complete lack of confidence still exists between the Arab countries and the Palestinian people on the one hand, and Israel on the other. Suffice it to say, that whole months, during which peace could have been achieved, were frittered away in futile differences and discussions about procedures for the convocation of the Geneva Conference; a state of affairs which underscores mutual misgivings and absolute lack of confidence.

I quite frankly state before you that I took this decision after lengthy pondering, fully aware of the great risks involved in my decision. For if God has destined me to shoulder the responsibility on behalf of the Egyptian people, and to share in the responsibility of destiny as far as the Arab people and the Palestinian people are concerned, then one of the prime duties of this responsibility is to leave no stone unturned to spare my Egyptian Arab people the harrowing horrors of another destructive war, whose extent only God can know.

After lengthy thinking, I came to the conclusion that the responsibility I shouldering before God and before the people makes it incumbent upon me to go anywhere in the world, even to Jerusalem, to unfold before the Knesset members — representatives of the Israeli people — all the facts. I would then leave you to make up your minds, and may God's will be done.

Ladies and gentlemen,

In the history of nations and peoples, there come moments when it becomes imperative for those endowed with wisdom and lucidity of vision, to penetrate beyond the past with all its complications and vestiges, to usher in an undaunted move towards new horizons.
Those who bear like us the responsibility, must be the first to have the courage to take decisions of destiny commensurate with the greatness of the situation. We must all rise above every form of fanaticism, above self-deception, and above hackneyed theories of superiority. It is of paramount importance that we should never forget that infallibility belongs to God alone.

When I say that I wanted to spare the Arab people the horrors of another holocaust, I want also to declare before you quite sincerely that I bear the same feeling and responsibility towards every one in the world, and certainly towards the Israeli people.

Any life lost in war is the life of a human being, irrespective of whether it is an Arab or an Israeli.

The wife who becomes widowed is a human being, entitled to live in a happy family, Arab or Israeli.

Innocent children, deprived of paternal care and sympathy, are all our children, whether they live on Arab or Israeli soil and we owe them the biggest responsibility of providing them with a happy present and bright future.

For the sake of all this, for the sake of protecting the lives of all our sons and brothers;

For our societies to produce in security and confidence;

For the development of man, his well-being and his right share in an honourable life;

For our responsibility toward the coming generations;

For the smile of every child born on our land;

For all this, I have taken my decision to come to you — in spite of all hazards — to say what I have to say.

I have borne — and I still bear — the exigencies of a historic responsibility. For this purpose I declared some years back, on February 4, 1971 to be exact, that I was ready to sign a peace agreement with Israel. It was the first declaration — ever to be made by an Arab responsible official since the onset of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Moved by all these motivations which were dictated by the responsibility of leadership, I called on October 16, 1973, before the Egyptian People's
Assembly, for the convening of an international conference to decide upon a just and durable peace. This came at a time when I was not in the position of one begging for peace or seeking a cease-fire.

Moved by all these motivations, which were dictated by the duty of history and leadership, we signed the first, then the second disengagement agreements in Sinai. Next, we tried both the closed and open doors, seeking a path which could lead to a durable and just peace. We bared our heart to the nations of the entire world to enable them to understand our motivations and objectives, and to convince them once and for all that we are advocates of justice and peace-makers.

Moved by all these reasons, I have decided to come to you with an open mind and heart, and with a conscious free will, to establish a durable peace based on justice.

It was by chance that my trip to you, the trip of peace, should coincide with the great Islamic feast, the blessed Kurban Bairam, the feast of sacrifice and self-abnegation when Ibrahim, peace be on him, the forefather of the Arabs and the Jews, entrusted his destiny to God, and turned wholeheartedly to Him, not through weakness, but through gigantic spiritual power and free will, to offer at the altar the core of his heart in sacrifice. He was motivated by unflinching and unshakeable belief in lofty ideals that bestow upon life deep significance.

May this coincidence give rise to new meanings in our souls, and a real hope for the auguries of peace, serenity and security.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Let us be frank with one another using straightforward words and lucid thinking free of all twists and distortion. Let us be frank with one another today, while the whole world is looking up to these unique moments; moments which could be a radical turning point in the course of the history of this part of the world, if not of the entire world.

Let us be frank with one another as we answer the big question: How can we achieve a durable and just peace?

I came to you carrying my clear and frank answer to this question so that the Israeli people may hear it, to have the entire world and those whose sincere voices reach my ears listen to it, hoping that in the end the outcome, expected by millions from this history-making meeting, would materialize.
Before I make public my answer, allow me to assure you that my clear and frank answer rests on several facts, that every one can not help but recognise.

First fact:

Nobody can have happiness at the expense of the wretchedness of others.

Second fact:

I have never spoken, and I will never speak in two different ways.

I have not and will never, adopt a two-faced policy.

I have never conferred with anybody except through one language, one policy and one face.

Third fact:

Direct confrontation and the straight line are the shortest and most successful road to clear-cut objectives.

Fourth fact:

The call for a durable and just peace based on respect of the U.N. resolutions, has been adopted today by the entire world and has become a cogent expression of the international community's will, either in the official capitals where policy and decisions are made, or on the level of world public opinion which influences the processes of policy and decision-making.

Fifth fact:

Which may be the most salient and clear-cut of all facts, is that the Arab Nation is not seeking a durable and just peace from a position of weakness or instability. On the contrary, it possesses all the potentialities of power and stability. Hence its word emanates from a genuine will to achieve peace, a word that proceeds from a civilised awareness that in order to avert a definite catastrophe for us and for you and for the entire world, we have no other alternative but to establish a durable and just peace; a peace that cannot be shaken by storms, or tampered through doubts or shaken by ill and distorted intentions.

Proceeding from these facts, I would like, while wishing to bring you to see the image as I conceive it, to sincerely warn you against thoughts that might occur to you.
The commitment to be frank compels to say the following:

First:

I did not come to you to conclude a separate agreement between Egypt and Israel, for this has no place in Egyptian policy. The problem does not concern Egypt and Israel alone. Hence, any separate peace between Egypt and Israel or between any of the front-line States and Israel is bound to fall short of establishing a durable and just peace in the entire area. Furthermore, it would not be possible to achieve the just and durable peace so pressingly advocated by the entire world in the absence of a just solution to the Palestinian problem even though peace may have achieved between all the front-line States and Israel.

Second:

I did not come to you seeking a partial peace in the sense that we put an end to the state of belligerency at this stage, shelving the whole problem to be tackled at a later stage.

This will not be the radical solution leading us to durable peace. In addition to this, I did not come to you to agree upon a third disengagement in Sinai, or the Golan and the West Bank, for this would only mean that we are postponing the lighting of the fuse to a future date.

It would also mean that we lack the courage to face up to peace and we are too weak to shoulder the burden and responsibilities of a durable and just peace.

I came here to you to build together a durable and just peace and to prevent any Arab or Israeli bloodshed.

For this reason I declared that I was ready to go to the end of the world.

Let me now answer the big question:

How can we achieve a just and durable peace?

In my opinion, and I am declaring it to the entire world from this rostrum, the answer is neither impossible nor difficult, in spite of long years of blood feuds, malevolence, hatred and bringing up generations on complete estrangement and chronic antagonism.

The answer is not difficult, nor is it impossible, if we only were to tread the straight line with sincerity and faith.
You want to co-exist with us in this part of the world, and I tell you quite sincerely: We welcome you among us in all peace and security.

This, in itself, constitutes a sharp turning point, a landmark in a historic and decisive change.

In the past we rejected you and we had our reasons and claims.

Yes,

We refused to meet you — in any place.

Yes,

We used to describe you as so-called Israel.

Yes,

We attended the same international conferences or organisations. Our representatives never — and still do not — exchange greetings.

This took place and is still taking place.

One of our conditions in any talks was a mediator who met each party.

Yes,

On these lines, the first and second disengagement talks took place.

Our representatives at the first Geneva Conference met without ever exchanging a single word.

Yes, this has taken place.

But, I tell you today, and declare to the whole world, that we accept to live with you in durable and just peace. We do not want to encircle each other with rockets ready to destroy or with missiles of feuds and hatred.

I have declared more than once that Israel has become an established fact recognised by the entire world. The two super-powers have committed themselves to security and the safe-guarding of its existence.

And since we really and sincerely want peace, we welcome you to live among us in real peace and security.

We were separated by a gigantic and high wall which you tried to build throughout a quarter of a century, but it was destroyed in 1973. It was a wall of constant psychological warfare which kept smouldering and escalating.
It was a wall of intimidation by brandishing a powerful force, capable of the entire Arab nation from one end to another.

It was a wall that alleged that the Arab nation had turned into sweeping lifeless corpse.

Some of you even forecast that the Arab nation will never rise again in another fifty years.

It was a wall that always threatened us with the use of the «long arm» capable of reaching any position, in the Arab world.

It was a wall that threatened us with annihilation and destruction should we try to use our legitimate right to liberate our occupied lands.

We must admit together that this wall fell and was destroyed in 1973. But another wall remained.

This other wall forms a complicated psychological barrier between us; a barrier made up of suspicion; a barrier of animosity; a barrier of fear of deception, a barrier of doubt about any action or decision; a barrier of erroneous cautious interpretation of every event or statement.

This psychological barrier is what I meant when I said in official statements that it constitutes seventy per cent of the problem.

I ask you today — through my visit to you — why don’t we extend our hands in faith and sincerity, to shatter this barrier together?

Why shouldn’t we agree, in faith and sincerity, to remove together all suspicions, fear, deception, betrayal and hidden motives?

Why don’t we move forward together with the courage of men and the daring of heroes who give their lives for a noble objective?

Why don’t we move forward, with this courage and this daring, to build a noble edifice to peace that protects and does not threaten, that lights up for the coming generations the human mission of construction, development and the dignity of man?

Why should we bequeath to these generations the outcome of bloodshed, the destruction of families and the groans of the casualties?

Why don’t we believe in the wisdom of the Creator as included in the Proverbs of Solomon: «Deceit is in the hearts of them that imagine evil; but to the counsellors of peace is joy». 
"Better is a dry morsel, and quietness therewith than a house full of sacrifices with strife." Why don't we repeat together the Psalms of David "Unto Thee will I cry, Oh Lord. Hear the voice of my supplications, when I cry unto Thee, when I lift up my hands towards Thy holy oracle.

Draw me not away with the wicked, and with the workers of iniquity, which speak peace to their neighbours, but mischief in their hearts.

Give them according to their deeds and according to the wickedness of their endeavours.

Ladies and gentlemen,

To tell you the truth, peace cannot be real unless it rests on justice and not on the occupation of the land of others.

It is not right that you should demand for yourselves what you deny to others.

In all frankness, and in the spirit that impelled me to come to you today, I say to you: You should give up once and for all the dreams of conquest, and the belief that force is the best way to deal with the Arabs.

You should assimilate the lessons of confrontation between us. Expansion will gain you nothing.

So that we may speak clearly, our land is not subject to bargaining nor is it a topic of debate.

Our national and regional soil is to us like the sacred valley in which God spoke to Moses. None of us can, nor would, give up one inch of that soil, nor would we accept the principle of discussing, or bargaining about it.

Let me tell you truthfully: Today we have a good chance for peace, an opportunity that cannot be repeated, if we are really serious in the quest for peace.

If we throw or fritter away, this chance, the curse of mankind and the curse of history, will befall the one who plots against it.

What is peace for Israel?

That it should live in security and safety in the area with its Arab neighbours.

To such logic I say, Yes.
That, Israel should live within its borders secure from any aggression.

To such logic I say, Yes.

That Israel should obtain all the guarantees that ensure for it these two facts.

To such demand I say, Yes.

I declare that we accept all international guarantees you may imagine, and from whoever you may choose.

I declare that we accept all guarantees you may want from the two superpowers, or from the five Big Powers, or from some of them.

I repeat quite clearly, we accept any guarantees you may want, because in return, we will have the same guarantees.

To sum up: When we ask, What is peace for Israel?

The answer will be, that Israel should live within its borders in peace and security with its Arab neighbours, within the framework of all the guarantees it may want, and which are given to the other party.

But how can this be achieved?

How can we reach this result, so as to achieve a just and lasting peace?

There are certain facts that have to be faced with courage and clear vision.

There are Arab territories which Israel occupied, and still occupies, by armed force. We insist on complete withdrawal from these territories, including Arab Jerusalem — Jerusalem which I came to as the city of peace, the city which will always be the living embodiment of the co-existence among the believers of the three religions.

It is inadmissible that any one should conceive special status of Jerusalem within the framework of annexation or expansion. Jerusalem must be a free city, open to all the faithful.

More important than this, this city should not be separated from those who chose it for centuries as their place for living and working.

Instead of awakening the hatreds of the Crusades, we should revive the Spirit of Omar Ibn El Khattab and Salah Eldine — the spirit of tolerance and respect for rights.
Moslem and Christian places of worship are not only for the performance of religious rites, but a living testimony to our uninterrupted existence in this place, politically, spiritually and intellectually.

Here let no one make a mistake about the importance and reverence that we, Christians and Moslems, attach to Jerusalem.

Let me tell you, without any hesitation, that I did not come to you under this dome to request you to withdraw forces from the occupied territories.

Complete withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 is a logical and undisputed matter. No one should plead for that.

Any talk about a just and lasting peace, any step to guarantee our living together in this part of the world in peace and security, while you occupy Arab land by armed force would be meaningless. There can be no peace built on the occupation of the land of others.

Yes.

This is elementary, indisputable, if the intentions are good and the endeavour is earnest for a just and lasting peace for our generation and the generations to come.

As for the Palestine cause, no one can deny that this is the crux of the whole problem. No one in the whole world today can accept slogans raised here in Israel, ignoring the existence of the Palestinian people, and even questioning where is that people?

The cause of the Palestinian people, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, are no longer ignored or denied by anybody.

No thinking mind can conceive that this should be ignored or denied.

It is a reality which the international community, west and east, has supported and recognized in international documents and official communiqués. It will not do anybody any good to turn deaf ears to its resounding voice or to close his eyes to its historic truth. Even the United States of America, your prime ally, which bears the maximum commitment to protect the existence and security of Israel, and which provides Israel all moral, material and military aid, even the United States has elected to face the facts and the reality, and to admit that the Palestinian people have legitimate
rights, that the Palestine question is the heart and crux of the conflict, and that as long as this issue remains unsolved the conflict can only continue to aggravate and to reach new dimensions.

In all faith I tell you that peace cannot be achieved without the Palestinians. It would be a grave error with unpredictable consequences to ignore or brush aside this cause.

I shall not review past events since the Balfour Declaration sixty years ago, for you are well aware of the facts.

If you have found legal and moral justification for the establishment of a national home on land that did not all belong to you, you should all the more understand the insistence of the Palestinian people to re-establish their State on their land.

When some extremists call on the Palestinians to give up this noble aim, they are in fact asking them to give up their identity and abandon every hope in the future.

I hail the Israeli voices that have called for recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people so as to achieve and guarantee peace.

Therefore, I say to you, ladies and gentlemen, there is no use in refusing to recognize the Palestinian people and their right to establish a State and to return.

We, Arabs, have gone before through this experiences with you and with the reality of the Israeli presence. The conflict led us from one war to another, from victims to more victims, until today, we and you, are on the brink of a terrible abyss; a frightful disaster, unless, we seize the chance together, today, for a just and lasting peace.

You should face the reality courageously, as I have faced it.

No problem can be solved by evading it or keeping aloof from it.

No peace can be established by trying to impose fantasy concepts to which the whole world has turned its back, and announced its unanimous call for the respect of rights and facts.

There is no need to enter a vicious circle on Palestinian rights.

There is no gain in creating obstacles. That would only delay peace, or kill peace.
As I have told you, no one can be happy at the expense of the misery of others. Direct confrontation of a problem and the straight line are the shortest and most practical way to reach the clear target.

And direct confrontation with the Palestinian problem, the only language to deal with it for a just and lasting peace, is the establishment of their State.

With all the international guarantees you request, there should be no fear of a new-born State that would need aid from all the countries of the world for its establishment.

When the bells of peace ring, there will be no hand to beat the drums of war, and if there is any, it shall be soundless.

Conceive — with me — a peace agreement in Geneva, which we herald to a world thirsty for peace.

A peace agreement based on the following:


Second: Achievement of the basic rights of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination, including the right to establish their own State.

Third: The right of each State in the area to live in peace within secure borders guaranteed by agreed upon procedures that would ensure the proper security of international borders, in addition to appropriate international guarantees.

Fourth: All the States of the area should be committed to conduct their relations with one another, according to the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, particularly, not to resort to the use of force, and to resolve any differences among them through peaceful means.

Fifth: Termination of the present state of belligerency in the area.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Peace is not a signature endorsing written lines. It is a new writing of history.

Peace is not a contest in trumpeting for it, only to defend any passions or to conceal any ambitions. Peace, in its essence, is a giant struggle against passions and ambitions.
The experience of ancient and modern history may teach us all that missiles, warships and nuclear weapons cannot establish security, but, on the contrary, they only destroy everything that security builds.

Hence, we should, for the sake of our peoples, for the sake of man-made civilization, protect man everywhere from the rule of the force of arms.

We should elevate the rule of humanity with all the power of the values and principles which promote the position of man.

Allow me to address the people of Israel from this platform. I address this pure and sincere message to every man, woman and child in Israel.

I bring you this message from the people of Egypt, who bless this holy message of peace.

I bring you a message of peace, a message from the Egyptian people who do not know fanaticism, a people whose Moslem, Christian and Jewish members live in amity, love and tolerance.

This is Egypt, whose people have given me this sacred message to convey, the message of peace and security.

To every man, woman and child in Israel, I say, encourage your leaderships to engage in the endeavour for peace.

Let the efforts be channelled to a high edifice for peace instead of building strongholds and shelters, equipped with missiles of destruction.

Give the whole world an image of the new man in this part of the world, so that he may be a model of the man of the age, a man of peace in every position and every place.

Tell your children that the last war has been the final one, the end of suffering, and that what is coming is a new beginning of a new life, a life of love, freedom, peace and prosperity.

To the mother who has lost her son;
To the wife who has been widowed;
To the son who has lost his brother and his father;
To all the war casualties;
Fill the earth and the skies with the hymns of peace;
Fill every heart with hopes for peace;
Let the song be a living blossoming reality;
Let hope be a code of conduct and endeavour;
And the will of peoples from the will of God.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Before I came here, I prayed to God with every beat of my heart, while I performed the Bairam prayers at Al Aqsa Mosque and while I visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, so that He, may give me strength and confirm my faith that this visit may achieve its purpose I look forward to, for the sake of a happy present and a happier future.

I have chosen to depart from all precedents and traditions practised by belligerent countries, although the Arab territories are still occupied. My announcement about my readiness to come to Israel was a major surprise that stirred many feelings, astounded many minds, and though some doubted the intention, despite all this, I made my decision with all the spiritual clarity and purity of faith, in true expression of the will of my people. I chose this difficult course, which in the view of many is the most difficult.

I chose to come to you with an open heart and an open mind.
I chose to give this great impetus to all the world efforts for peace.
I chose to present to you, in your own house, the pure facts, free from bias or prejudice;
Not to manoeuvre;
Not to win a round;
But to win together, the major and most serious battle in modern history.

The battle for a just and lasting peace.

It is not my battle alone, nor the battle of Israeli leaderships alone; it is the battle of every citizen in the land of all of us, who has the right to live in peace.

It is the commitment of conscience and responsibility in the hearts of millions.
When I put forward this initiative many people asked me about my conception of the results of this visit and my expectations. As I have answered those questions, I declare before you that I did not think of making this initiative from the viewpoint of what can be achieved during the visit. I came here to deliver a message, I have delivered the message, and may God be my witness.

I repeat with Zacharia: — «Love justice and peace». From the Holy Koran I quote these inspiring verses: — «We believe in God, in what has been revealed to us, in what was revealed to Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes and in the books given to Moses, Jesus and the Prophets from their Lord. We distinguish not amongst them and to God's will we submit». Peace be upon you.