SPEECH

by

PRESIDENT ANWAR EL SADAT

before officers and soldiers of the Second Field Army at

the evacuation camp in Ismailia

(March 22, 1976.)

In the name of Allah,

Brothers and Sons,

It really gives me great pleasure to meet here with the commanders, soldiers and officers of the Second Field Army. Yesterday, we were at Kantara East, symbol of the heroism of the Second Army, not only for your people but for the Arab Nation and the world at large. Last time I met with the sons of the Second Army, was before the battle, in this very place.

Today, we meet after the battle, since I could not meet you in June last year because we were celebrating one of our victories, namely the reopening of the Suez Canal. Today I meet you, in fact, it makes me very happy to communicate to you, to each of you, the love of your people, their faith in you and the high esteem in which they hold you; this is true not only of your people, but of the entire Arab nation as well.

During my last tour where I visited six Arab countries, everywhere they were proud of you, of the performance, planning, the
fighting spirit and the miracle manifested in a few hours, one which proved to the enemy and to the world the exact opposite of what they had always, unjustifiably thought of us, namely that we were incapable of fighting. You have changed the course of events.

By virtue of your persistence and marvellous deeds, the Arab nation has become the Sixth Power in the world of today. If there is a gratitude to be expressed, it is to you, if there is a greeting to be extended, it is also to you and the pride that we feel, is because of you. Then came the day of the battle. It turned out that we lost no opportunity whatsoever, and we still maintain the initiative in our hands, we had it even prior to the first disengagement in 1974. In 1975, of our own free will, and thanks to our own arms, we re-opened the Suez Canal, an action taken to reward your performance, by which you set a magnificent example to the whole world and to the Israelis in particular.

Today as I meet you, I tell you that only last month, was the second disengagement agreement implemented, and Israel pulled out beyond the passes.

In June 1974, if you remember while I was inspecting the Second Army forces, I promised you that there will be no going backward, never.

The first disengagement was then taking place. Since then we have never met. Today we are together while the second disengagement agreement is being carried out, and the Israelis are withdrawing beyond the passes as a step towards the fulfilment of the process of liberation of the whole of Sinai, and also of the entire Arab land. Today, I meet you to congratulate you as we reap the fruits of your sacrifices, of your performances and of your deeds. There are further fruits of which I will talk to you.
In 1976, the six years of my term of office will come to an end wherein, thanks be to God, I have achieved the utmost I could, backed by your support and that of the broad masses of the people.

Thanks be to God, the achievements are boundless and we are rightly boastful of them. First and greatest of these achievements is the October battle which has actually changed the course of everything in the world of today.

The post October 6 world differs from the one prior to October, from the political, military and economic points of view, and as regards balances of power. All this was changed because of your marvellous performance.

Yesterday, I was in Kantara East where the new ministers took the Constitutional Oath on the land of the battle, so that they may witness the wonder of your valiant deeds; and so that they may learn how the team spirit caused the success of the October battle, with the contribution of our sons of the Armed Forces in all divisions fighting, with perfect coordination and cooperation.

Thus, all these factors combined resulted in a victory that dazzled the whole world. I wanted the ministers to come to this land so that their work for reconstruction would be perfectly compatible with the performance undertaken in October, and which restored the world's faith in us, our faith in ourselves and our position as an Arab nation which, by the recognition of the entire world, had recently emerged as the Sixth Power after the heroic action you have taken; and after the Arab Nation had used oil as a weapon.

Something no less important than what took place in October is about to take place now. The vanguards which conducted the July 23 Revolution were your armed forces. They handed over the
trust, clear, strong, and the banners proudly flying were handed to the people who are the true owners of the Revolution, the true owners of the responsibility and of life on this land.

In my last speech at the People’s Assembly, I thanked God that, 24 years ago, and in July 23, 1952, I announced the Revolution, and on March 14 of this year, I was the one to hand back the trust in full to the people’s representatives, and to their armed forces.

It is through political and democratic practice and the six principles of the Revolution that the latter was realized, despite all the obstacles which stood on its way and the battles we had to wage.

I thank God that your glorious deeds in the October war put everything in its proper place. It has even opened a new page for your people and your Arab nation to start building anew, a new understanding and a new life of construction, sacrifices, and the love and values inherent in us and characteristic of the Arab nation. That is why I tell you that what is taking place today is just as important as the October battle, namely that the Revolution is handing back the trust in full to the people, after having achieved the six goals, and after the Revolution corrected its course by launching the May 15 Revolution. We were not in need of anyone to rectify its course, we assumed this role ourselves.

As you heard me saying before, the future of political action in Egypt shall be based, as I previously explained at the People’s Assembly, on the fact that the Head of State represents the safety-value and the arbiter, he represents the father in the State who sides only with the masses of the people. Then there are the authorities, the executive authority, the legislative authority, the judiciary authority, to which we add another: the Press and its re-organisation.
Later, the different platforms will take on sound democratic practice so that we can avoid centres of power, individual role and the negativism that marked the past period. To avoid all this we have to place the trust in the hands of the people, allowing them free political practice and full democracy.

You heard me say that, now that we have handed over the trust to the people, the role of the Armed Forces at present is the preservation of constitutional legitimacy, the Constitution, today, is the solid wall we must safeguard, because the Constitution confirms all the gains we obtained and abolishes all the negative aspects of which we often complained in the past stage.

The Armed Forces’ fundamental task is the liberation and the protection of the country’s boundaries, and full preparedness 24 hours of the day in defence of the homeland, both here, and all over the Arab nation.

Through political practice, the platforms will later, and in a sound manner, be transformed into parties based on true democracy. You have to hold on to constitutional legitimacy, that is, no one should ever think of doing away with this Constitution. Rather, you should be keen on performing your military duty, preserving your sanctities, protecting your borders and conserving your Arab values.

You heard me in my speech referring to the fact that the current economic situation is the result of the years of steadfastness and the accumulations preceding them since nearly 1962. Accumulating problems were postponed year after year, always hoping that in the next year, things will be better, and our problems will be solved.

Then came 1967 and what happened had happened, thus adding more to our problems during the years of steadfastness, until you valiantly assumed your responsibility in October 1973.
Thus, it was only natural that we should consequently, be faced with the difficulties from which our economy is suffering at present, because the last Cabinet had not then presented me with the entire economic situation.

Later, the Prime Minister, the ministers of economy, finance and planning acquainted me with the whole situation. It was teeming with numerous troubles which resulted from the problems heaped up, not only after 1967, but in fact since 1962. Our economy had to follow the normal path of any economy, so that we could accomplish the tasks we took upon ourselves to achieve in realisation of the principles of the July 23 Revolution, and so that we may not give up any of our gains.

Our economy had to be set right. I am always optimistic in this connection, thanks be to God. I am optimistic as regards getting over this stage. After my tour of the six Arab countries, allow me to communicate, on your behalf and on behalf of the entire people, our greetings and thanks to our Arab brothers in the countries I visited, for the readiness they showed to stand by Egypt, to help it overcome its economic situation and to start the process of guiding our economy upon its proper path.

Throughout my term of office, which will come to an end this year, many decisions were adopted. As you might remember, in 1971 there was the decision to get rid of the centres of power.

In 1972, there was the decision concerning the dismissal of Soviet experts, followed by the glorious October battle decision. In 1974, I took two decisions, one was with respect to the diversification of the sources of weapons, because after my decision in 1972, whereby the Soviet experts were sent out of the Armed Forces, the Soviet-Egyptian relations have been, and still are marked by continuous tension. Though there were periods of 'detente' in
between, yet, as I told you before, it was evident to the world, and to the Soviets that the decision concerning the expulsion of the Soviet experts was not at all on account of our agreement with America. We are free in our actions, since we attained our independence by going through ferocious battles, and we shall never forfeit it whatsoever. The decision concerning the experts was only part of our strategy aimed at the preparation for the 1973 battle, for had there been one single Soviet present on the Egyptian land during the 73 battle, victory would have been simply attributed to him, since the Jews were in the habit of attributing any victory we achieved in an air battle during the war of attrition to the Soviets, while defeat was attributed to us.

Thus I had to lay down my own strategy, when Field Marshal Ahmed Ismail said that we were victorious, I was certain we were so, both in performance and in deeds.

I repeat to the Soviet Union; we shall never give up our free will nor our independence. Similarly, we reject the tutelage of any power, whatever it may be. We are free to decide. Hence my two decisions, the first concerning the diversification of our sources of weapons, and we have actually started to acquire them from sources other than the Soviet Union. Why? It is because I found the Soviet Union, prior to the battle, abundantly supplying Syria with all sorts of weapons. I had no objection to this at all, on the contrary, I appreciated this attitude on the part of the Soviets, since we were in for a battle. Still, following the battle, even before it came to an end and prior to the ceasefire on October 22, the Soviet Union had already compensated Syria for its losses.

Every single weapon Syria used up in the war; in addition to the enormous numbers of tanks it lost, all had been replaced before the ceasefire came into force.
Whilst the Soviet Union was generously making up for Syria's losses in equipment, it refused to replenish our own, despite the fact that we were not getting it for free. In all frankness, the Soviet Union absolutely rejects the word 'replacement', while inconsistently it claims that it sides with the Arabs, with their steadfastness and so on and so forth. If this is the Soviet's attitude indeed, then one may very well wonder as to whether there is an Arab nationalism in Syria whereas it is not to be found in Egypt. After the battle, I had two urgent things to do: one was the necessity of replacing the arms we lost, and the second was to develop our weapons for the post-battle stage and the stage following it so that we would not once more fall prey to the illusions Israel had for long instilled in the minds of the world.

We had to achieve progress in our military force, so I resolved to diversify the sources of arms. I then reached the second decision in 1974 of the open-door policy, not only with respect to finance, but also to develop our culture, our thoughts and to enhance our civilization.

All the time before the war, we set up an iron curtain, or rather an iron fence around us, thus isolating ourselves from the rest of the world and from the modern technologies that are constantly being developed in the world. I will never rest or feel secure until I put in your hands the most modern weapons in the world. That is why I told you, before waging the war, that I would provide you with as much of the most modern of arms as I possibly can. I also affirmed that I shall never demand anything beyond your human capacity, or beyond the arms you have at your disposal.

I must state with all pride that you did very well with the arms that you had, for you added to them your splendid performance, your spirit and your faith.
You bridged the great difference between Israeli weapons and ours, you made up for it with your blood, with your performance and with your dedication.

Today, if I do not supply you with all what is new in the world, we would never be able to achieve progress, that is why, I attempted to diversify the sources of weapons. My decision for the open-door policy was for us to keep pace with the latest developments in the world. The Israelis owned an early warning station, and it was hit at the very beginning of the fight, by the air force as you know; yet it is essential to have access of all modern arms.

We, too, had an early warning station from the Russians, but you all know how backward it was. Nevertheless, when I decided to have the Soviet experts withdrawn, the Russians insisted that we must not operate the station ourselves, even though it was far from modern as you all know. When my decision, about their experts was taken, they insisted on withdrawing the station, along with the Russians who were manning it. I offered to buy it explaining to them that manning it was no problem, since it was not technically up-to-date. They withdrew it. I asked for it in an official letter just before the war, and they answered that it was still in an experimental stage. I entered the war without it.

Today I got you temporarily the most modern early warning station in the world. It is the station President Ford agreed to sell us last year. It is entirely Egyptian, and the crew operating it are Egyptians. As for the civilian American experts I agreed to have in our country, they are here as witnesses, because I do not trust the Israelis, so let there be witnesses. As for the station we bought it is Egyptian, it will be operated by an Egyptian crew, in accordance with the most modern technology in the world.

I wish to have access to the world and to its new technologies in all fields, such as agriculture where there are new technologies...
which could double crops. We also need to know the latest developments in industry, when progress is being made almost hourly, while we were cut off for quite sometime. We only had the Soviet Union to turn to and to take from, whereas the Soviet Union itself had concluded an agreement with Western Germany to obtain the latest technologies of the West, which they did obtain over a period of two or three years.

I do not deny the fact that the U.S.S.R. stood by us, that it helped us build factories and built the High Dam with us.

That is no reason for me to sell over Egypt's free will or her freedom, just because they helped us build the Dam.

My two decisions of 1974 were that of diversifying the sources of arms, and the open-door policy, both complement one another. We can never isolate ourselves today from the rest of the world, nor can we move backwards, never ... If the Arab nation goes backwards again, it will suffer the same fate as that of the Red Indians in America. We shall lose our land and our homes, and will be treated by the Israelis as the Red Indians were treated by the Americans. We shall never again accept to be left behind. That is the reason for my 1974 decisions; and we have already received arms from the West, just as we are opening up into the entire world.

By the time we came out of the battle, all our public services were completely worn out; what you hear about the telephones, water networks; and about the housing problems are all true. They are problems, but problems which have been accumulating since 1962, because then, we were giving our whole attention to development, leaving the infrastructure aside. We thought it best to first build and construct, then we would use the revenue from these achievements to improve public services.
Unfortunately, in the midst of these anticipated projects, we were struck by the tragedy of 1967, yet we proceeded with the tasks we had set out for our country, drawing upon our own life blood to do so, while Israel consolidated its budget yearly with aid from America and from the donations of the Jews all over the world.

From 1967, and up till the war in 1973 we were drawing upon our own life blood for all our expenditures, military expenses and money for economic development, or for safeguarding our socialist achievements such as free education, employment for graduates, and equal opportunities of employment to all. Moreover, there were also achievements in the field of public health; Egypt had the highest infant mortality rate, and now, on the contrary, we have the highest population increase rate because with better care, the mortality rate has decreased, and this has to be maintained.

Hence our decision for the open-door policy without complexes. Those who want to cast a doubt on our policies claim that this open-door policy has turned us towards the West. Yet we were neither pro-East nor pro-West, those who make such claims, assume we are pro-East, yet we have always had a free and independent will of our own towards both East and West.

We are opening on the world in order to learn of its progress, new technologies which change every hour and every day.

When we closed up in Egypt, this did not prevent the U.S.S.R. from opening up, concluding agreements with Western Germany, the USA within the framework of detente, thus acquiring new technologies, buying grain to feed the Soviet people. Why is such decision right when applied to them, and wrong when applied to us? No . . . We have our own free will, and are not tied to either East of West.

These two decisions of 1974 were misinterpreted, but we do not care much about that. Those who wish to understand, well and
good, those who don't, are free to do so. We are responsible for ourselves, our life and our future.

In 1975, I took the decision of re-opening the Suez Canal, then we agreed to the second disengagement in September. In 1976, I thought I would finally rest, this being the last year of my mandate; I thought that the only remaining thing for me to do, was to hand back the trust to the people, i.e. the Revolution, but in the form of an integrated, legitimate, constitutional system in full control and in all its dimensions. That which I had begun after the rectification revolution, with what we called the State of Institutions and the Sovereignty of the Law. For the first time, in Egypt in 40 years all detention camps were closed forever; 40 years, the 24 years of the revolution and 16 years before the revolution, detention camps which had always existed, were now closed forever.

All the parties which had governed Egypt, resorted to the use of detention camps, I am one of those who experienced detention and imprisonment during that period; 5 years ago, these camps were closed forever.

Now the State of Institutions was established, with the Cabinet as its executive authority, the National Assembly as its constitutional authority and both exercising their full authority.

The Judiciary had regained its reverence and its full independence. I thought by then that I had reached my goal in 1975 by completing all the tasks undertaken by the July 23 Revolution, which has rectified its own course on May 15 and that all the peoples' institutions had been established.

Up to 76 I felt that even if we had not completed the finish touches i.e.; the sixth principle, which is full democratic life, in 1976 we would achieve it, and I would thus have realized all the principles of the revolution.
President Sadat then talked of the Soviet-Egyptian relations, and reviewed the Soviet Union's present attitude towards Egypt, particularly in relation to the requirements of the armed forces in terms of arms and spare parts. He further said that what had distressed him most was when he sent to India, which has owned a factory for producing Mig-21 for 10 years with licence from the U.S.S.R., to ask for the spare parts we need. I thought the U.S.S.R., may be manoeuvring, so I turned to India asking for spare parts and the overhauling of our planes, since the Soviet Union had informed me that I could not have them overhauled in Russia.

This overhaul was one of the reasons for taking the decision concerning the experts, since before the battle, if you remember, I told you that there were seven written requests on which I had agreed with Brezhnev, they were to be fulfilled before the American elections in 1972, that is within the 8 months following our meeting.

Among these seven requests was the one concerning the overhauling of planes motors, an operation which was to be carried out in our factory in Helwan, whereas the Soviet Union would manufacture the key parts of the planes' factory. In actual fact, told the three Soviet leaders in so many words, in the course of our talks at the Kremlin: «Here are the keys to the planes factory, we are welcome to come and take it, but the overhauling of our planes must be carried out in our country: that is what Israelis are doing now, in their country.

How can we enter a battle, and go the 5,000 km. way for my overhauling, who knows whether the road will be opened or closed by then?»

This was exactly what I said before the battle, in 1971-1972. Unfortunately my words were not heeded. Even worse, for in 1975-1976, the Soviet Union informed me that there was no place
for my planes in the overhauling plan; even 5,000 km. away, there was no place for my planes.

This meant that each of my motors in need of overhauling was to be set aside, unused. That is why I asked India to provide me with the spare parts which I needed; since India is a non-aligned country and not part of the Eastern bloc. Had it been party to the Warsaw Pact, and knowing the Warsaw Pact with the Soviet Union, I would have understood their reluctance. But India is a non-aligned country ... and four months later, just last month, I received their answer saying that they had requested permission of the Soviet Union, in accordance with the agreement between them and that the Soviets had refused, after a silence of 4 months. I am left for a year and a half without having equipment overhauled, and without spare parts. Thus, for a year and a half, I am left with nothing and the arms I have would eventually be useless. I had to submit a memorandum to the People's Assembly in 1976, so that matters would be absolutely clear. As I always pointed out in each of the crises we lived through, we must pursue the policy of choosing the correct trench. Let us confront whatever may come in our way so long as we are adopting the sound realistic position, or, in other words, so long as we are positioned in the right trench, notwithstanding the fact that we will be facing economic difficulties, economic blockade, such as the one which previously imposed upon us, in addition to a monopolizing of armament.

It is to be noted that this is the second time in less than quarter of a century that we are called upon to break such a monopoly; once against the West in 1955, and the other against the East in 1972-1973. I lived this kind of monopoly battle in 1955 when the West refused to give us arms and the Soviet Union sold them to us. In August 1972, after the Russian experts' incident, I reminded them that we had broken the Western arms monopoly together, and
that there was no reason for them to attempt to re-impose it on us. In less than a quarter of a century, we had to face two battles. Nevertheless, a country determined to maintain its freedom of will and its independence can wage such battles and come out victorious, with the help of God. What is most important is that we must take our position in the right trench, we cannot delude ourselves, nor receive the world with the so-called friendship treaty.

Our relations with the Soviets are unfortunately getting worse, they are not all back to normal. Accordingly, we cannot fool the world nor ourselves; it is better for us to stand in the right trench. I would never have wished to see the day when India, a non-aligned country, join in the armament blockade imposed on me. No, as I said, and God be my witness, before the country and before you, I am not one to come after a year and a half and pretend that this what they have done to me.

All facts should be clarified; we have to maintain our effective strength; to those we must add new weapons, and the new developments which followed the battle.

I would like to inform every citizen of this country and particularly you who carried out the order I gave on the 6th of October in a manner beyond any man's dream; for I did give the order and you implemented it in a way which not only astonished the world, but gave back dignity to the Arab nation and notably to Egypt.

I must tell you that Egypt today has to provide you with the best in modern science, then I can give you an order such as the I gave in October, should it prove necessary to do so, if Israel refuses the peaceful settlement, or tries to set obstacles in its path. You have to be well-equipped and on the alert, so that you deal with Israel, after having exposed its attitude to the world.
I feel that 1976 is the year in which we could round up the situation which emerged after the October War, and that I can hand over the 'trust', and place matters in their true context.

The People's Assembly approved the abrogation of the Treaty of Friendship, and our relations with the Soviet Union went back to normal, and I hope they will remain so, because we do not wish to become enemies of the Soviet Union nor do we seek enmity with anyone. I often said, we befriend those who befriend us, and antagonise those who antagonise us. This is one of the people's main principles in their relations and contacts with the external world.

Before concluding my speech, I have a word to say on the current Arab situation. You heard me saying, as regards the Arab situation at present, it seems that a curse has fallen upon us Arabs, for we never accomplish anything we start out to do.

This is due to many factors, such as immaturity whereas we, in Egypt, thanks be to God, have waged our battle, rectified our state, bringing it to the level of mature states in the world. Moreover, we established the State of Institutions, where full democracy is practised, where institutions assume their responsibility, and where the Armed Forces know their duty well, and carry it out perfectly and fully. That is why I believe we, Arabs, are suffering from a curse, since we never seem to accomplish anything we set out to do. This is a rather complicated situation.

As for Egypt's attitude after the battle, as you can all see and as it is witnessed by the world, this attitude can be summed up in the fact that we should never for a moment stop pushing our cause forward, be it through a peaceful solution, or through military action should the peaceful solution fail.

We should never give Israel a chance to pause and think things over. We have to continuously force it out of our territories, not...
only out of Egyptian territories, but also out of all Arab territories. It is upon this basis that we concluded the first and second disengagement agreements in 1974 and 1975; that is also why we are striving to convene the Geneva Conference, with the participation of the Palestinians as a principal party so that a final peaceful solution may be found, and so that we may fully enjoy the results of the October victory. Foremost amongst these results was the reopening of the Suez Canal, the Eastern Bank of which was one day occupied by the Israelis who claimed half its water, half its revenue if it were to be reopened. But, thanks to your glorious deeds and performance, they were forced to withdraw far back and we re-opened the Canal. A second achievement of the October victory was the second disengagement agreement in the desert and beyond the passes. Yet, this substantial fact is deliberately overlooked by some Arabs who even attack it. I would like to remind those people of Egypt's attitude towards the Arab Nation throughout its history; A case in point is Egypt's attitude in 1956 when the plot of England and France both siding with Israel against the Arabs.

Gamal Abdel Nasser had already sent a message to Syria and Jordan, warning them against entering the battle. Strategically and historically, it was a conspiracy against Egypt and we waged in 1956 war all alone. We well know our responsibilities and that of others; but, unfortunately, they do not seem to know their own responsibilities.

In this war, the 1973 war, and I am repeating these words to you with pride, since you were the ones who made our victory. Had I consented to Syria's and Hafez El Assad's request for a ceasefire, 6 hours after the war had begun, when the Soviet Ambassador handed me the first official request, then the second one next day...
The Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R. later came to Cairo for 4 days, and again made the same request in compliance with Syria’s insistent request for a ceasefire. But I refused.

I remained fighting for 17 days, 10 days of which I was facing America not Israel. But one day I finally said that I would fight against Israel for a whole year, but that I would not stand up to America for one day. The cable exists and was publicly read out. It was with a bleeding heart that I then announced my acceptance of the ceasefire, just because I was not ready to fight against America, and that there was no need to have our Armed Forces destroyed once again.

Let my people call me to account; let the whole of the Arab nation call me to account: this cable was dispatched to Hafez El Assad on the 19th of October, and was officially announced all over the world.

Egypt is well aware of those who try to distort the truth, yet Egypt is conscious of its position which causes the creation of axes in Arab nation by the U.S.S.R.

It is enough to Brezhnev’s last speech at Congress of the Communist Party, when he classified the Arab countries according to their position vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R., in the following order: first: Syria, then Iraq, Algeria, Libya, the P.L.O. and finally, Egypt. Brezhnev says that we are destroying the achievements of the revolution by diversifying the sources of arms, and by obtaining the latest technologies; he forgets our economy drained by the war of attrition; he claims we are wasting the achievements of our revolution. He makes his accusation publicly, and just as publicly, interferes in our internal affairs.

It is really regrettable to find some Arab countries responding to the U.S.S.R.’s policy of creating axes.
We are an Arab entity, we in Egypt, are wholeheartedly on the side of every Arab, we are for Arab goals, for the Arab case. We know our responsibilities towards the Arab nation full well, that is why we never classify the Arab nation into reactionary and progressive countries, but look upon the Arab nations as an entity. Our stand concerning the events in Lebanon is proof to the fact, since we call for every body to keep his hands off Lebanon, whereas the Baath Party is still arming the two warring parties. The casualties of the battle in Lebanon are three times as many as the ones of the October War, all because of a whim of the Baath Party. This situation in Lebanon will end up with the same slogan we called for from the very start.

That was our position as to the events in Lebanon. We refused to be a provider of weapons to Lebanon; like the Baath Party which supplied the warring parties with weapons. We adopted an attitude based on principles, and it is our right to inquire about the source of weapons to Lebanon, about those who are responsible for the massacres, and those who are financing and interfering. We are not the ones; we say everything clearly and frankly and thus we maintain our freedom to move in any direction.

The initiative is in our hands ever since the October War, we have not lost it, for one second. Let those who sow doubt and who indulge in outbidding spare themselves the effort, we shall not respond to such reactionary blackmailing and attempts to provoke the applause of the masses.

The point I would like to stress is that we should not keep on living in the past. As you heard me say in my speech before the People's Assembly, and to the press, in the past stage, our country's position was misrepresented in Kuwait, and they asked me about the nonsense published in our newspapers; it was a hateful
situation. I was happy to see the people follow up this matter, and in the coming few days, we will settle matter with the press, since the press is to become a fully independent fourth authority.

Thanks be to God, we are today better than we were yesterday, and tomorrow, God willing, we shall be better than today.

We intend to progress day after day, and will keep control of our own affairs. We shall never allow the Arab cause to come to a standstill or to regress, we shall always push it forward in order to keep the initiative in our own hands.

I would like to conclude with a prayer to God, while I am here with you, my sons. May God Almighty help me to speak always the truth in the face of the powerful; and may He reserve me from all falsehood uttered in order to seek the approval of the weak.