In the name of God,

Brothers and Sisters, members of the Egyptian family, and members of the People's Assembly;

What can I say, after this great people have said their word; what can I declare, after the lofty millions have demonstrated their will; and what can I record after the masses have registered the magnificent and immortal images of a civilised people creating life on the basis of love, and establishing freedom and peace on our land and all the land of God in order to realise the humanity of man, preserve for our children and every other child in any spot of the world, the smile of hope, aspiration, prosperity and progress, and protect the lives of these children against the treachery of those who would trade in sufferings. What can I say to our people, the people of Egypt, the people of heroism and sacrifice, the people of October whose stature rose to achieve the most magnificent and sublime civilisation any people on God's earth can aspire to.

What can I say to our people other than bow my head before them in thankfulness and
gratitude, and kneel down to God who made
me a son of this people: This head will never
bow down but to this people, and no one will
ever kneel down but to God. What can I say
to our people, the people of the Egypt of
martyrs and sacrifices, which gave man every-
where the most courageous examples of hero-
ism and manliness.

What can I say to a people who carried
the burden of the entire Arab nation stretch-
ing from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arab Gulf;
the heaviest of burdens of self-effacement and
altruism, to the point of privation from food.
Our people experienced the most cruel suffer-
ings with the humility of true believers and
the faith of the patient expecting no return or
thanks from anyone. In fact, they are repaid
in poisoned shafts of accusations and slander-
ous ingratitude.

What can I say to a people after hundreds
of millions throughout the world, for consecu-
tive days, held their breath, and looked on
with fascination and awakened sentiments and
awareness at the old and civilised people of
Egypt as they relayed the historical message,
calling for freedom and peace while building
the great bridge that will convert devastation
and demolition to erection and construction,
turn the fields of ruins and corpses to towers
ringing with the message of love and life.
God who made man every- nation stretch- ed from the Arab Gulf; effacement and 
ation from food. cruel suffer- 
believers and 
no return or 
repaid 
slanders.

after hundreds 
for consecu- 
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sentiments and 
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archical message, 
while building 
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life.

What can I say to a people after it was told by the entire world «You are a brave and courageous people. You are the rescuers of life from the enemies of life, you are a great and valiant people».

What have I got to say other than thank the peoples of the entire world who learned the truth about us and our real nature twice: once on the immortal October Sixth, when the world witnessed that we are not a motionless corpse, that need not be reckoned with in the fight for liberation. They know that we are true fighters, ready to shed our blood for the liberation of our land and the dignity of man. The second time is the acknowledgement of the world today that we are overwhelming it with love and peace for the happiness of man and the good of the earth.

Brothers and Sisters, sons of the Egyptian family and members of the People Assembly.

The current occurrences following the historic trip of peace to the land of Jerusalem is but the outcome of the October War. The victory of October has been complemented today. We waged the war to liberate the land and to win recognition for the rights of the Palestinians, so as to achieve peace. There can never be peace with the land usurped or the Palestinian right denied.
The whole world, East and West, bears witness to our military victory in October, and the fighting capability of our soldiers. The October War is now being studied in all military institutes all over the world. No invincible power stood in the way of our fighters, nor even the «long arm» which threatened to reach to our depths. The Egyptian flag flew over the liberated land after staging the greatest armed assault in history that penetrated through fire, flames and terror. By God's will, the Egyptian soldier was capable of crossing and destroying the mightiest armed fortress stretching along 170 Kilometres, which they claimed could not be destroyed except with an atomic bomb. The Egyptian soldier proved that the determination embodied in the power of right, the resolve of men and the boldness of heroes is more powerful than all the atomic bombs.

We demonstrated before the world, and the world testified to that, that the sons of the Egyptian Armed Forces performed a miracle. I would like to tell you, that the Israeli commanders whom I met in Jerusalem expressed to me, with the full military respect due from one to another, their high esteem for the performance and magnificent capacities of our heroes. It is a testimony by an adversary, and it is the right of our sons in the Egyptian Armed Forces to know it. The names of Vice-President Hosni Mubarak and of General Gamassi were the subject of all respect.
The question remains, however, why did we go to war? Why did we sacrifice our sons? To battle with death so as to give Egypt life? Our youth, who are the life blood of this country? Why did we sacrifice the greater amount of our national income? We even sacrificed our daily bread, and we are still sacrificing, so that we may purchase sophisticated weaponry, while we are in dire need of every single resource, no matter how little its value? We went to war, only when all efforts for peace had failed.

We went to war, after the Big Powers, all the powers, had closed the doors of peace in our faces. We waged war only when the whole world had turned a deaf ear to our calls for peace, which we made in all sincerity. They turned their backs with erroneous ideas that we were weak, and that we were a lifeless corpse, immobile and incapable of mobility for the next fifty years. We went to war, after we had reached a stage which I repeatedly described as «To be or not to be». As you probably remember, I had told the Chiefs-of-Staff of the Armed Forces, at the secret meetings in preparation for the war, and which you have registered, that it is far nobler for us to die while liberating every inch of our land, in this state of «no war and no peace» which they would have us live in, as humiliated slaves.

This is our responsibility towards the generations to come, to set before them the
example, and to honour them with the knowledge that their fathers lived like men and died like men.

I would like to confess to you, that I was not overcome by vanity not even whilst we were at the peak of our victory, not when our valiant, victorious forces were destroying one position after the other, liberating one stretch of land after the other. Other feelings were pervading my being; I wanted to see green plants in the place of lifeless matter; I wanted water so as to create life and not blood which would take away life. I wanted man to live and build, and not to destroy with weapons. I do not want any woman to become a widow, nor a child become an orphan, nor a man to lose his son, for there can be no happiness for one at the expense of the suffering of another. This is what I said at the Knesset. Every person lost at war is a human being; and this was the reason why I came to this rostrum, to your honourable Assembly, on October 16, 1973, when we were at the height of victory, to call upon the world to hold an international peace conference.

Our call for peace did not come at a time when we were striving for security, disgraced with defeat or shattered. Our call for peace was directed to the whole world in fulfilment of our national message, and in adherence to the teachings of our religion and all other religions.
Our call for peace was not an escape from responsibility nor an inability to find an option: On the contrary, it was a commitment of our responsibility and decision-making ability. Following this call, the fire died down, and the international community issued a resolution providing for the convening of the Geneva Conference. Then the first and second disengagement agreements were implemented. We adopted our policy of extending the hand of friendship, cooperation and peace to all countries of the world, until the recent talks held by President Carter with all the parties to the conflict last September, with a view to convening the Geneva Conference. It was then that I noticed that everything began to change. Artificial and fabricated obstacles began to be placed. When peace began to besiege Israel from every side the high walls of doubt, fear and lack of confidence deeply rooted in the minds appeared clearly. All this served to portray peace as a period of truce, after which there would be destruction once again and renewed fighting. This produced what I described at the Knesset as a psychological wall between us, which made cautiousness dominate every word, stubbornness neutralise every step, and fear destroy every effort exerted; discussion over every word last for months and agreement on one statement became an impossibility.
If this was the case we were still deciding on procedural matters and form, then how was the situation going to be when we broach the core of the issue? It was then that I started thinking of a way out.

Only God knows what I passed through in searching for this way out, and only he knows that I was inspired by the feelings of our people in each thought and in each contact.

I was under strain for many days and weeks. Disputes over a word, or a paper. Calling this an American paper or an Israeli-American paper. It was a new vicious circle inside which we were straying neglecting the crux of the matter. I did not cease to think of a way out until I came to this hall. I had reached the most difficult decision; and I declared before you and the entire world that in order to protect everyone of my sons, I was ready to go to the end of the earth, to the Knesset in Israel, to lay before them all the facts, to say the word of right, justice and peace; thereby breaking the wall of doubt, fear and mistrust, and let God will be thereafter.

I declared my decision and was willing to bear my responsibility before you, my people, and before history. I did not for one moment doubt that the decision would give strong repercussions or that it would not be easy to as-
When I declared my resolution, I was fully convinced, and believed that even if it were to be my last task as President of the Republic, I would do it and came to you, the legitimate authority, to submit my resignation. I strongly believed that it is the most sacred and holy mission, despite my expectations that it would arouse altercations, outbiddings and haggling by some people.

I told this quite frankly to President Hafez Assad when I visited Syria three days before going to Jerusalem.

Today I stand before you, brothers and sisters, after I made this historic trip in order to present an account for my actions. Thanks be to God, the primary and major objective of the peace trip was achieved, namely that all the barriers of doubt, mistrust and fear were shattered to pieces, and we and they began to adopt a civilised conduct, concomitant to the leaders’ responsibility before their peoples and the coming generations, the claimants of inalienable rights to a noble and secure life. We agreed to move from the stage of threat with fire and force to that of dialogue with right and truth; and from the language of cannons and death to the discussion of every word leading to a peaceful life. I did not ask for peace from a weak or shaky position, but you all heard
me say to the members of the Knesset that in its endeavours to establish a just and durable peace, the Arab nation does not move from a weak or shaky position. On the contrary, it owns the components of power and stability which make its word emanate from a true will towards peace ... I also said that our land is sacred, and they have to give up altogether the dreams of invasion and expansion and the belief that force is the best means for dealing with the Arabs. I also told them that they had to absorb very well the lessons of the confrontation with us because expansion will do them no good as long as we accept no bargaining over our land, and our right to our national and sacred soil is indisputable. No one of us accepts or has the power to give up or bargain over one inch of this sacred land. You, all the world including the people of Israel, heard me say this before the Knesset ... I also declared that we insist on complete withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories including Arab Jerusalem ... No peace will ever be established or maintained as long as the land of others is occupied, and no peace will be achieved without the Palestinians and the recognition of their right to establish and return to their own State. I even said that if we reach peace agreements between Israel and the frontline countries and leave the Palestine cause unsolved, this is no peace ... All these points were clarified in
my meetings with the Knesset committees and in the deliberations with the parliamentary groups.

I told them that they were faced with difficult decisions which they had to take and could not evade. We were first to take the decision that has no precedent in history. I concentrated (my speech) on seeking a true and radical solution to the problem.

I told them we wanted the land; that it was our right, and they replied that they wanted security. I told them they had the right to that outside the realm of expansion.

I told them we wanted the Palestine State and a solution to the Palestinian problem concerning its land. They said they wanted to defend their country from danger. I told them that they were entitled to that.

Finally, we came to the agreement that the October War would be the last of the wars, and that our means to settling all problems would be to sit round a conference table and negotiate, one civilised man with another. If we do not reach a decision, I will return to you, so that we decide together.

Brothers and sisters, the outcome of the talks I held with the responsible officials and members of the various political blocs is this:
First: No responsible Israeli will doubt the veracity of the Arab desire to reach equitable peace.

Second: There was a unanimity in Israel and in the international sphere that Israel should take the initiative in response to the big step I took.

Third: The true facts of the cause are now clearly known to Israeli public opinion, without falsification or deceit. The most important point that is clear to every Israeli now, is the right of the Palestinian people to establish their State on their land and to return to it; not to threaten Israel but to exercise their natural right to a secure life within the national entity they seek.

Fourth: The Arab position won an international support we could have never attained in tens of years, whatever might the efforts we exerted.

Fifth: A great number of responsible Israelis became convinced that the Arabs would never accept any solution that did not include the liberation of the Arab land occupied in 1967, and the establishment of the Palestine State.

Sixth: The visit did not result in the squandering of any legal or historic right of the Arab nation. The legal status between us and Israel is still the same as prior to the visit.
The procedures and the events that took place can never be interpreted as an acceptance on our part for situations we had previously rejected. You observed that in my speech before the Knesset, I made it a point of stressing the fact that we strongly adhere to our right in an Arab Jerusalem and that we do not recognise it as part of Israel.

Some may say, if the legal situation is still unchanged, where is the change then? The answer is that the change occurred in the psychological atmosphere dominating the problem, which gave us hopeful prospects for putting an end to the wars and sufferings in the region and made it possible for a just peace to be attained. Termination of war depends on the realisation of the subjective terms laid down, that are the indispensable basis of reaching this end.

Seventh: As I was careful not to place the Egyptian people under any commitment that might affect their legal and historic rights, or that might restrict their present or future movement. I certainly did not commit any Arab party to anything. I even volunteered on more than one occasion to point out that I was not talking on behalf of any of the Arab brothers, so as not to bind them with any commitments that might affect their rights.

Eighth: Many of the pressure groups that side with Israel in other countries have been
fully mobilised: some of them are even exercising pressure on Israel itself, and the dimensions of this change will be tangible in the next coming weeks. Queries might be raised regarding the tangible results we reached by this bold step and it is a well justified query. In answer, I would like to say I never thought that we would reach an overall settlement of the conflict in two days, nor did we intend at all to conclude a separate agreement with Israel, and if this was included in our calculations it would have been easily done. Within these limits, it was not anticipated nor expected that we reach an agreement regarding all the aspects of the conflict, but we were able to reach an agreement with the Israeli officials on the following points:

- That we all meet in the conference to study in all earnestness and seriousness the subjective problems and not waste our time in procedural problems.

- That our starting point in discussing the security theory required by Israel; that this logic in the studies carried out, should be far removed from the idea of usurping territory or annexing it, and confined only within the limits of affording security for all, under just circumstances.

That was a summary of what took place in Israel. And today I have come to you and you heard me say that the basic goal, and
the greatest, is the removal of the psychological barrier, which has left behind, among other things, and has given way to doubt, anxieties, fear, mistrust, and the hysteria that seizes one party at the mere mention of the other party's name. It would have been completely impossible to begin at Geneva, as I have said before, whilst we harboured these feelings for one another. You heard me say that we had disagreements during the second disengagement, and Dr. Kissinger would leave from Tel Aviv to Alexandria to change a word, or insert a comma. That was all, naturally, the result, or the psychological barrier between us.

Moreover, worse than that, what I had expected did happen.

At a meeting with the Israeli Defence Minister Eiser Weizman, he asked me why were we going to attack them during the past ten days. I replied in the negative, and told him that they had started manoeuvres, and in accordance to the line we have adopted since the October War, and as a civilised country aware of its responsibilities, General El Gamassy also started manoeuvres in the same strength. He showed me his intelligence reports which said that we were going to face a sudden attack, and he was extremely nervous about it. I assured
him that this was not so, but that we shall immediately retaliate against any action on their part. When they started manoeuvres, El Gamassy started his manoeuvres also and on the same scale. I told him also that there was a previous incident, when they had sent an electronic pilotless plane to the west bank of the Canal and it evaded our defences. On the same day, El Gamassy sent two Egyptian planes with pilots over Israeli positions. This is what I mean by the psychological barrier between us.

Ten days before my visit, they were extremely nervous and tense. They have been so ever since the October War, after the magnificent performance of the Egyptian officer and soldier and after the accomplishments of the Egyptian military.

This also explains what the Israeli Chief-of-Staff meant when he said that my initiative of going to the Knesset could be a sort of deception to cover up a new attack.

Strategic and tactical deception is permissible and I have a full right to do it, but morally I never deceive anybody.

In 1971, I made an initiative from this rostrum, the gist of which was Israeli withdrawal from the East Bank of the Canal to the passes in return for the clearing of the Canal and reopening it for navigation, as a
first step in a time-table for withdrawal which
Gunnar Jarring would discuss with the parties
involved.

I asked Dayan, who was Defence Minister
at the time, why they did not believe me when
I presented my initiative in 1971.

He said we waited, and you declared after-
wards that 1971 was the year of decision. Then
1971 came to an end and no decision was taken.

However, he said, we did not take this
seriously, otherwise the 1973 war might not
have taken place. Then I asked him about
1973, when I was calling for mobilisation as
part of my deception strategy and each time he
would retaliate, but the third time he did not
respond which was the decisive time. He
answered saying that we never believed that
you could take action. In fact, he told me about
an incident which took place two days
before the attack, that was on October 4 and
5. They felt that there was something in the
air. They launched their satellites and used
all the modern electronic apparatuses they
possessed.

On October 6, precisely at noon, they fi-
nally decided that nothing was going to take
place, because the army ammunition trucks
were making continuous trips to the Canal
area.
I told him that all the ammunition was in its proper positions five months before the battle, I did not transport it in lorries because they could have tracked it, but by train, and it was stored in our depots there. We talked all this. I can say now that ten days ago, a slight error in calculation, or in the balance of the existing psychological barrier, which came to being as a result of the sudden blow our Armed Forces dealt to Israel thereby winning the full respect of its commanders, and which makes us not believe each other, but rather suspect every move on each others' side; I say this error could have dragged us into a new war. I always believed that in such a situation as we were living in; anything could have happened involuntarily, and at the end each party would say that it had no hand in what had happened; but it was all due to that barrier of doubt, suspicion and fear of deception. For this reason, I went to the Knesset, addressed Israeli public opinion through it, and placed before them all the facts and dimensions of the problem.

Today, Syria is inciting the Palestinians as usual; although you have heard me say it here, and I even told the Knesset and the Israeli people, that even if peace treaties were signed between Israel and each of the confrontation nations, without the solution of the Palestine problem, there can be no peace.
But the Palestinians, as always, and I really visited them after visiting Jerusalem and meeting our Arab kinsmen in the Arab Jerusalem, reproach me for visiting Jerusalem.

But I am proud of having done so. For ten years no one paid any heed to these deprived people who live under Israeli occupation. Arab women, our daughters, came to see me when I was at the Rock Dome Mosque and asked me to intercede for their husbands and sons who were in prison.

Let the night-club and radio-set freedom fighters and militants, let the Palestinians ask themselves who is it who aimed the bullets at them? Was it Egypt? Who is it that honoured every utterance made, without equivocation or deceit? We did not ask for the transformation of a party in the Palestine Liberation Organisation, as Syria and others did. We do not have a narrow partisan outlook, as is the case in Syria. The Palestinians well understand what is intended for them. When I was visited by the Western Bank Palestinians who lived and continue to live under Israeli occupation for ten consecutive years, when the Imam of the Aksa Mosque, the first of the two Qeblas and the third Islamic sanctity, was performing the prayers of the feast, he said: «Had you not come the world would not have heard of us,» and the prayers would
not have been broadcast. For the prayers were on television throughout the world and hundreds of millions in Europe and America and even Australia viewed and listened to the Imam's explanation of the cause to me in the Aksa Mosque. Then came these biddings and trading. They did the same in the first disengagement. Who was and still is behind all this? You remember in the second disengagement I related the story of the Soviet Ambassador who met Yasser Arafat and went to Syria where he handed the Syrian leaders a report on the second disengagement agreement saying that these were the declared provisions and these the secret ones.

He said that Egypt had sold out and denied the cause and that it was aiming at an individual solution. The second disengagement agreement was concluded and it appeared that there were three secret agreements which I never wanted to reveal because it is in my nature to deal in honour not in deceit. Of the three secret agreements, which they have forced me to disclose, two were concerned with Syria and the third with the Palestinians. The first agreement concerning Syria provided that America shall pledge to me in the second disengagement that Israel shall not attack Syria. The second agreement provided that a second disengagement shall take place on the Syrian front as the one that took place on the Egyptian front.
For the prayers throughout the world, Europe and America and listeners of the cause to... Then came these countries, which did the same in 1967. We were and still are members in the secret talks, the story of Yasser Arafat and the Syrian request. These talks were the declarations, the secret ones.

I told out and denounced, aiming at an immediate disengagement. At that time, it appeared that the agreements which they have forced upon us were deceitful. Of the subjects, they have force-d withdrawal, withdrawal, etc. I told him to do it the way they wanted, either geographic committees or ad hoc committees, anything was alright by me. We do not have the time to lose over deciding on the kind of committee or on whether the project is Israeli or American, thus neglecting the crux of the cause, namely the territories occupied in 1967 and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

I am only telling you this now because even at the height of our victory, as I told you, I thank God that our victory was over our fears more than anything else.

The third agreement concerning the Palestinians provided was that there shall be no settlement for the Middle East problem without the Palestinians.

I do not know what the Soviet Union is telling them now, but I regret to say that the Syrians are definitely pursuing the same line as before. President Assad sent me his envoy who came to discuss an Israeli-American paper or an American paper I do not know which, I told him that whatever the paper, I was going to Geneva anyway.

He said the paper proposed geographic committees that is an Egyptian-Israeli committee, a Syrian-Israeli committee, etc... However, we wanted committees on specific subjects, for example, a committee on withdrawal, etc. I told him to do it the way they wanted, either geographic committees or ad hoc committees, anything was alright by me. We do not have the time to lose over deciding on the kind of committee or on whether the project is Israeli or American, thus neglecting the crux of the cause, namely the territories occupied in 1967 and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.
Our efforts were crowned with success during the October War in which the performance of our armed forces was superb.

We completed our work victoriously, with the triumph of peace and by sitting together to restore all rights without entering other into new battles. I consider this a moment of victory for us.

This is the reasons why I am not calling anyone to account or pay attention to these specious arguments. We have had enough of all this during the first and second disengagements and the period in between. After the second disengagement I met with President Assad. When he sent me his envoy, as I told you, to discuss matters with me I told him I was agreeable to anything he had to say, not because I am giving up the cause but because I am anxious to go to Geneva, to have Israel come and to state our cause clearly to the whole world. Among the points brought forward was that if we went to Geneva and there were the geographic committees, and if Israel were to sit with each one of us separately, it would take whatever it wanted. I told him that I refused this logic because this was the logic of the Syrian Baath Party. If the super-powers and the whole world sit with me to take from me something I do not want to give up, I will never give it up. Why all these complexities? Why should we presume that Israel will take
this or that from us, that the United States will pressure us or that the Soviet Union will do this or the other? Why should we allow our affairs to be resolved by others? Everyone should have known, the day I came to your Assembly and declared my decision, that since I assumed this position our line has been very clear, namely, that we do not accept mediation concerning our affairs, and we shall never allow anyone to become trustee over our affairs with others.

This took place once after the 1967 war, and I explained to you the circumstances. However, I shall remind you again. Nasser proposed and I agreed with him to try to remove the doubts of the Soviet Union by giving it the right to speak to the United States. This was directly after the 1967 defeat. It was inevitable, because the Soviet Union was the only country selling us arms and which said it was standing with us. As you know, during Nasser’s time, our relations were cut off with the West, the Arabs or any other place. We had the Soviet Union only and they are suspicious by nature.

We told them we do not mind that they speak with the United States on our behalf, we were ready to agree to anything they reach in order to remove their doubts. Johnson, in 1968, before entering the elections, tried to restore relations in a certain method...

The attitude of the American President Johnson was one of malicious joy.
Nasser objected and so did I, but we gave the Soviet Union the right to talk. This is the complex behind all we hear today. However, we shall not discuss abuse and insults, but we shall limit ourselves to the essence of the problem as we always do. It was Abdel-Nasser who gave them that right.

But you all remember that, in 1970, the year he passed away, on May First, Labour Day, President Nasser for the first time addressed speech to President Nixon. Why? We had told the Soviets to talk on our behalf, we had no objection, in order to dissipate their doubts.

But the doubts were not dissipated and it was clearly revealed that the Soviet Union's line was that we should remain in the state of no peace-no war, as according to their calculations as soon as war was over, we would no longer need them.

Why did Abdel-Nasser address a speech to Nixon on May 1, 1970? Because we had our fill, with guardianship and of being required to remain in a state of imbalance; no war-no peace, so that the Soviet Union would manage our affairs.

Abdel-Nasser addressed his speech to Nixon and the Soviets should have realised, had they analyzed the situation correctly, that Abdel-Nasser had withdrawn his license allowing them to talk, on our behalf, our cause, our problem.
did I, but we gave
up to talk. This is the
truth today. However,
innovations and insults, but we
in the essence of the prob-
lem was Abdel-Nasser
himself.

For that, in 1970, the
May First, Labour
for the first time ad-
ressed Nixon. Why? We
killed on our behalf, we
tried to dissipate their

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the Soviet Union's
remain in the state
according to their
was over, we would

I asked them for the deterrence weapons
they had promised President Nasser a year before,
but he died of fury as they failed to honour any of
their commitments. This is why he address-
ed the speech to Nixon, the same year.

When I mentioned the deterrence
weapons they had promised President Nasser,
they were surprised, as they were under the
impression that I had no knowledge of any-
things. But, as I told you, I was completely
briefed about everything by President Nasser,
being the Vice-President of the Republic,

I asked them that they had not honoured
their commitment to the man that had passed
away.

They were the cause why he had delivered
his appeal on May 1st. It was because of them
that he declared, on the Kremlin table, his
acceptance of the Rogers' initiative; a decision
which agitated Brezhnev extremely and
prompted him to tell him how can he accept
Rogers' initiative, an American solution?
Abdel Nasser answered that he would accept
a solution from the devil himself, after all they
had done to him: This is Abdel Nasser and part
of his sufferings which he kept to himself...
Two months later, Abdel Nasser, God's mercy be upon him, passed away. The response of the Soviet leaders about the deterrence weapons was that they were ready to fulfil their promise provided we do not use these weapons except by orders from Moscow. I told them that, first of all, I categorically refuse to have orders from Moscow, and I officially declared my refusal of these weapons; secondly, no one will make a decision for Egypt except its own people and President. These very words were recorded in the minutes of the talks and the witnesses are still all alive... Amongst the Egyptian delegation accompanying me, were some of the centres of power who were their agents and working for them, and they are all, those in prison and the others outside it, witnesses to what I am saying. This is the problem we are encountering today, not the Syrian Baath Party which is instigating the Palestinians. No, there is an alien and vicious hand behind all this.

Exactly as Radio Moscow announced on January 15th and 19th that there was a «popular upsurge» and a military coup d'état in Egypt. When the agents of the Soviet Union or their beneficiaries heard this, they began to repeat it so as to stir up the people. Likewise, Radio Moscow, which gives these agents the go-ahead signal, announced these days I have sold out the Arab cause. I am certain, the Soviet leaders heard my speech in the Knesset
but they did not publish it because their "Pravda" is only a four-page but 60-year-old newspaper, and had they wanted to publish my speech, they would have needed a special edition of 100 pages. So, all Radio Moscow announced was that Sadat has frittered away the Arab rights.

Then Syria went on to pressure the helpless Palestinians and the ensuing other histrionics were displayed. I wanted the Soviet leaders to publish my speech and broadcast it on T.V. to their people then to ask for their opinion. I ask that the same be done by these limited groups known in our Arab world who were struck with hysteria, these who would never consider us favourably what ever we may do or however we may try to please them; but they are worthless. However, what is the link between what Radio Moscow broadcast and the action taken during the second disengagement? They said Sadat had sold the cause, Sadat seeks a separate solution. I told Assad that the word is imported from Moscow, because Gromyko mentioned this word when he was with me in the Barrage and I told him that the Soviets introduced this word in our region and I refuse to hear you say it, that it was intended to cause misunderstanding between us. Moscow is the front which links that line. It is they who are acting today as tough guys and alleging patriotism and Arabism at the expense of the sufferings of our women in Jerusalem

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and the occupied lands who are losing their husbands and sons.

It is rather strange that there are some who fall for that line, for we have our own minds to guide us and lead us.

I regret to say that I had hoped we had finished with all these matters after the October War. The world respected us after the October War; even those whom we fought and inflicted the biggest losses upon throughout the last thirty years vouch today for the Egyptian Armed Forces, for Hosny Mubarak and Al Gamassy. They speak with great respect of us and have come to know the true worth of the Arabs. I really hoped that this would not be the attitude adopted by our brothers, the Arabs, in our present situation. Was this attitude taken because the millions in Europe, America, Australia and the whole world were eagerly following the developments, before, during and after my visit? Is this what is irking them? I really don’t know. The Palestinian rights were stressed before the Knesset and the Israeli people.

For the first time, I was facing them in their homes and quite frankly talked about Arab Jerusalem, the rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of their State.

This has been recorded whether before the Knesset or in the various press conferences.
we held with the Israeli Prime Minister in the presence of the world press.

Unfortunately, some factions in the Arab world are still resorting to altercations, childish absurdities and superficial ideas.

This was never so in Egypt and shall never be. We are always marching forward and are well aware of our targets.

In order to accomplish what we have started, today, after my meeting with you — exactly as the last time, I am going to ask the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs to contact the U.N. Secretary General and the two super-powers to tell them that Cairo is ready as of next Saturday, God willing, to receive all parties to the conflict, including the super-powers and Israel. We shall ask them all to come in order to prepare for the Geneva Conference. We shall not start the Geneva Conference then allow our discussions to drag for years to come, never — let us discuss the entire issue in a matter of months.

I shall extend an invitation to the super-powers, the U.N. Secretary General and all the parties to the conflict, including Israel, and despite all that I have been saying about the Soviet Union, we shall invite it, so as not to think that we are excluding it from the settlement. But, I am issuing a warning, that
should it try to create obstacles, it shall be committing the most grave mistake, because, I declare before you, here and now, that we shall accept anything that may lead to a just peace, and it is not the Soviet Union or anybody else business.

Concerning the Palestinians, I shall say today, as I said on Ramadan 10, two years after the war — and it was the same situation as today, the Syrians and the Soviet Union behind them were trying to disrupt the Arab line — I shall say to them that we shall once more try to bear up with the representatives of the Palestinian people, we shall try to bear their rashness and liability to be deceived, not only as a response to the Palestinians in our occupied territories and their pleading to me to ignore all such trivialities — this is recorded with their own voices and is being broadcast by Radio and T.V. — but, because Egypt, despite all the abuses, shall never deviate or squander the issues, because to Egypt it is a matter of principles and morals above anything else. Therefore, we shall bear up and forgive.

Concerning the phrase Arab solidarity, which they are trying to make use of today and to which I sent my answer to the Syrian Baath Party, when President Assad's envoy came to me, he was accompanied by a delegate of the party registering every word being said.
Arab solidarity must not be a toy to be wielded by any one in order to impose his opinions. The Syrian Baath have not changed their ways eversince before the war and after it, till this very day. Before anything else, they suppose and suspect treason. About the First Geneva Conference, they said that we had made a deal with the U.S. and went there because they refused to go. They were cornered into their refusal, without being fully aware of the dimensions of the matter; and because we went there, they claimed that Egypt had reached a separate settlement and was going to Geneva just to sign the agreement.

Certainly, they shall say the same tomorrow and after tomorrow and they are still saying it. We do not pay heed to all this, because Egypt shall maintain its Arab commitment.

Arab solidarity does not mean that anybody can impose his will on the other, especially if it were of those mentalities which are petrified, fanatic, narrow, partisan and full of spite.

Arab solidarity does not mean that one party imposes its will. If the others do not respond, therefore, Arab solidarity no longer exists.

The balance of the Arab Nation, as recognised by one and all, is Egypt; the key to war and peace is Egypt, in spite of the fact that I have not been compensated with the
weapons I lost during the October War whereas the Soviet Union has compensated Syria and sent them more than four huge shipments. Israel too was compensated. But, as I told you, that fear only overcame Israel when Gamasy’s made his move. Although I was not compensated I was never angry nor did I attack the Soviet Union, for it is free to sell to whomever it wants or not to sell. I did not ask the Syrians, with the right of friendship at least, to send me spare parts. The Soviet Union wanted my planes to remain on the ground and wanted me to go down on my knees before them.

But I would never do that, Iraq gave us spare parts although it is insulting us today. But we know what Iraq is doing, it is a matter between it and Syria but it is passing through us to reach Syria.

Brothers and sisters, I do not want to go into further details because I wanted by all this to submit to you, the legislative authority, with the rest of the Egyptian Family, a full report on what has taken place; and I will follow it up, whenever there are new developments.

As I have explained, I charged the Foreign Minister to contact the U.N. Secretary General, the two super-powers, the parties to the dispute — the Arab confrontation states
as long as we are capable of achieving peace. You, people of great Egypt, and members of the Egyptian family, this is my vow before you: I shall never give up the strife for peace. We no longer worship the idols of traditional formulae, nor the idols of adolescent thinking and self-deception in our national struggle. We shall crush out these idols, even their ruins and dust. This is my pledge to you — for you I am willing to sacrifice my life to the last breath and with you I shall overwhelm life, God willing, until life triumphs over the enemies of life.

"Our Lord; cause not our hearts to stray after Thou; hast guided us, and bestow upon us mercy from Thy presence. Thou, only Thou, art the Bestower, May God's peace be upon you,