Fellow-citizens,

The mobilisation of the political leaderships present at this meeting in which we participate today constitutes a great power in its representation of the faithful, patient and struggling masses of our working people who are capable by their work, faith, patience and struggle to face the big test which is imposed on them and on our nation.

I have not come to you, brethren, to conduct an enlightenment campaign, for the struggle is that of the people, and the people are the force which leads and directs it. I have not come to you, brethren, in a campaign of full mobilisation of our masses because our
masses are fully mobilised. The people do not need enlightenment or mobilisation. They feel the pain as any man does when part of his country is occupied.

Our people do not need enlightenment or mobilisation because they are the fathers of history, its motive power and creator.

I have not come here, brethren, to address the people but to hear from them... I have not come here to inform the people of a previously adopted decision concerning future steps; I have come to receive inspiration for such a decision from them. The measure of our power is the determination of the people, and the measure of our capacity is the will of this people.

Brothers,

Gamal Abdel Nasser always said that the people are the leaders and teachers of this nation. This was never so clear in my mind, with all that it means to me, as it is now when circumstances have placed me in the position of responsibility after him. I was aware of it, but now the whole matter goes beyond feelings and emotions, it is the practical experience of true responsibility.

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Practical experience has shown that no leader or leadership can take a decision and be sure of that decision, whatever may be its importance, except on one condition, namely, its full awareness of the will of the people.

Brethren,

Only in this way can the leader and leadership take any decision... and the responsibility increases by the very nature of the overall war. The overall war is not merely an army fighting another army, or a fighting front confronting another front... an overall war is a war everywhere. Weapons in this war are not limited to machine-guns, rifles, submarines and planes, they also include machines in the factories, ploughs in the fields, and extend to human behaviour itself, and the feelings of each one in every house... It is the war of the entire nation... the war of the whole people. Danger is everywhere and each person is exposed to it.

The final decision remains in the hands of the people because the land, the freedom and the will-power is theirs, and theirs too is the fight and, God willing, the victory.
I have come to you, brethren, to listen to you, to sense what you want and to be imbued with further energy and hope... At the same time, I want you to know all that is taking place... Gamal Abdel Nasser taught us that the people are the bearers of the responsibility... They are the leaders and we must put all the facts before the people.

President El Sadat said: «I came to Tanta in 1969 when Gamal Abdel Nasser honoured me by asking me to come here and explain to you the coming stage for 1970... the objectives and the plan of the enemy, as well as our objectives and our plan. We met here in Tanta and talked with all the leaderships of Lower Egypt and what we expected for 1970 took place. The Israeli enemy, with American support, attempted to make the first six months of 1970 a year of victory for Israel and for America by waging a decisive battle taking advantage of their air superiority. They began the air battle. We all remember the meeting which President Gamal Abdel Nasser called for late in 1969 and which was attended by all politicians and military men. They came to the conclusion that our enemy would attempt, through his air superiority, to strike the home-front.»
A short time later and on December 25, 1969 when President Nasser was in Rabat, Morocco, Israel did not wait for 1970 and started attacking us with its air-force. On that day, December 25, from 8 a.m. until 4:30 p.m. 264 Israeli aircraft raided us. In the June 1967 aggression only 220 Israeli aircraft were used in the battle.

On December 25, Israel dropped thousands of tons of bombs on our positions in the Canal to make its air-superiority felt, in order to undermine the morale of our forces on the fighting line preliminary to its move to the home-front, to the people, after destroying the military front.

President El Sadat explained the enemy’s plan during that stage saying: «Israel built its plan on one declared viewpoint. On December 31, 1969 the Israeli Chief-of-Staff Haim Bar’Lev declared that Israel succeeded in smashing the military force of the Arab armies in the 1967 war but failed to realise its objectives.

Why did Israel fail to realise its objectives? Because of the people who resisted and rose on June 9 and 10... the people who were
determined to continue the march and obliged Gamal to remain in his position to lead the battle.

In 1970, Bar'Lev said that the Arab peoples' resistance should be hit from within, in order to realise the political objectives of Israel.

At that time President Gamal Abdel Nasser answered him from the Khartum stadium during the celebrations of the Independence Day of the Sudan on January 1, 1970. »

President El Sadat added: « With the beginning of 1970 the air battle began to take another form. I remember that on December 25, our sons on the front recorded the most glorious and magnificent examples of heroism... For eight and a half hours our forces were subjected to raids... 264 planes coming in successive waves to raid us and not one person left his position on the front.

When the raids ended and I was informed of it — because the President was then in Rabat — I gave an order for the missile batteries to change their positions because tons of still effective time and delayed action bombs were scattered around the place.
Before the dawn of December 26 all the missile batteries were moved from their positions. Super-human efforts were exerted by our sons whose endeavours exceed the ordinary heroism of mankind. The day shall come when we can talk of these things in detail.

Then President Abdel Nasser returned from Rabat and the battle began to take another shape. The enemy left the first line and started his attack on the second line... on Tel El Kebir, Inahass, Wadi Houf and Helwan. The Israelis claimed that they were hitting at a distance of 10 and 5 kms. from Cairo. When they said that Egypt's sky was open to them, they were in effect waging a hot psychological war, actually wishing to make us believe that there was no further hope and no longer any use in continuing to resist. When the enemy found his attempts at hitting the first and second lines fruitless, as foreign correspondents have seen by themselves, Israel started the third stage by bombing Abu Zaabal factory. Its aim was to select a civil establishment with a large gathering of workers to cause heavy damage so as to shake the morale of the people and spread despair among them. In this way Bar'Lev estimated that Israel could achieve victory.
When the Israelis raided Abu Zaabal factory the blow was to land five minutes later in order to shell the train carrying workers for the change of shift. In this way they could have killed 800 workers instead of 80... The whole world turned against them after this raid, and far from being intimidated the firmness and faith of our people increased as well as their hatred towards those who supply Israel with aircraft and pilots and American-made bombs.

We are increasingly determined and insistent to fight. President Gamal Abdel Nasser said that Abu Zaabal was the first step in a series of events that would take place in the coming six months. Sick with influenza and with temperature in Moscow 20° or 25° below zero Abdel Nasser still left for Moscow on his secret trip of January 22.

The day will come when I shall reveal to you the story of this trip and the five days which he spent in Moscow because, I consider it is the right of the people to know all about them.

On the day of President Abdel Nasser’s arrival in Moscow, Shadwan was hit... Our sons...
in the navy, army and air-force were heroic in the battle of Shadwan, and the day will also come when I shall put before you the details of this battle.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser returned from Moscow after concluding an agreement with our Soviet friends to supply us with new missiles for the protection of our vital targets and the depth of our home-front.

After the President's return at the end of January new acts of heroism were shown not only by our Armed Forces but also by the Egyptian engineers and workers... the workers of Egypt who built the pyramids and the honourable and simple farmers.

Our engineers, workers and organs worked for 40 days and we spent L.E. 1 million daily on building the missile bases by Egyptian hands, Egyptian design, and Egyptian engineers as any big nation accomplishing a work which might need years of labour.

Our Soviet friends kept their word...

After hitting Abu Zaabal factory, one of our vital targets, the President felt that the day would come on which they would shell our other vital installations in order to undermine
our home-front, but he knew his people well and wanted to safeguard all that our engineers and workers had built because it was a national wealth and preserving it was more important than anything else.

Our Soviet friends were true to their word... Immediately following the establishment of these bases the missiles were ready to be installed. I say the facts must be clear before the people.

When the President asked for the new missiles our sons needed 8 months' training in the Soviet Union. But it was not reasonable to leave the country in this state of affairs and the enemy needed only 6 months until mid 1970 to bomb our establishments and installations in the depth of the Republic. Therefore, the President asked for the missiles and their experts and our Soviet friends accepted.

Then come the Americans and talk in their propaganda about the Soviet presence and the Soviet occupation... Shall I leave my targets to be bombed while I have friends who are ready to help me? When during World War II Churchill as Britain's Prime Minister and Roosevelt as the U.S. President ran to Moscow to ask Stalin for help — there was
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nothing wrong with that. When we ask the

Soviets to help us in defending our country,

then we have sinned, but when they do the

same thing it is considered legal. They act as

though they are our trustees, whereas we got

rid of any kind of trusteeship since 1952.

During the three years following the ag-

gression, President Gamal was psychologically

and physically exhausted; he worked for 24

hours and did not give himself any rest at all.

He felt his responsibility and his loyalty to

the soil of his country.

On March 15, he recovered without any

medicine, because the missiles were installed.

Starting from the end of March 1970 we could

have said: as England had won the air battle

from Hitler, we also won the air battle from

America and Israel, the battle in which they

wanted to destroy our civil establishments

and our home-front.

After that America directed its wrath

against the front-line in the Canal, Israel be-

gan its concentrated air raids during which

it dropped thousands of tons of bombs. Some

of these raids lasted for 17 hours daily on

our sons in the Canal. It was an angry reaction

from a state with a population of 2.5 million
spending on a war with a cost that a major power would find difficult to underwrite. Neither England nor France nor both together can afford the price of bombs ranging from half a million to 1 million dollars daily besides the price of aircraft and the other costs of the war.

But our sons gave the most magnificent example of steadfastness until the ceasefire in August 1970.

The American initiative called for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution and the temporary suspension of fighting for 90 days.

We accepted the Security Council's ceasefire resolution and we have no objection to reaching a peaceful settlement.

But the late President's motto, raised since the beginning of the battle — «What is taken by force can only be restored by force» remains unchanged three and a half years later. However we have no objection to reaching a peaceful solution, but on condition that we do not give up one inch of Arab territory or the Palestinian people's rights and without losing our dignity. We are prepared to exert all our efforts so that the president of the Philippines, Mr. Ferdinand Roxas, can realize that the independence of a people was built not only on time and the G
all our efforts for peace. But the enemy thinks that we are a defeated nation obliged to pay the price of its defeat. When Dr. Mahmud Fawzy went to the United States to offer condolences for the death of Eisenhower he realised, by talking with them, that their logic was based on the idea that we were defeated and that we are to behave as such.

When the United States Navy received a crushing blow from the Japanese Air Force at Pearl Harbour in 1941, and, at that time, we were in the Armed Forces and lived through these events, and saw the entire American fleet crushed in a matter of half a day — by the end of December 1941 the United States no longer existed in the whole Pacific Ocean, it was wiped out from there and limited to its proper boundaries.

When this happened, the United States was not told that it was a defeated nation, it was not told to reach an agreement with Japan. However, what they deem lawful for themselves, they consider unlawful for others. Why didn't they come to an agreement at that time?

Then there was Britain at Dunkirk, and the Germans who arrived to a point only 15
Kms. outside Moscow, without the Soviet people giving up, only three years later the Soviet army was inside Berlin. They are certainly using a twisted kind of logic with us. Now they have Sisco who is in charge of the case and who says that the talks with Jarring will resume and that we should be ready to make concessions. What concessions are we expected to make, when our hand is occupied? Concession is the logic of the defeated and the resigned. Let them apply this logic to Japan and Germany which were really defeated in war. We are trying in vain to bring this home to them.

When we say that we will not agree to the extension of the ceasefire, they say that we want war.

We do not want war nor do we want to cause commotion in the world; all we want is to liberate our territory. If they wish to deal with us as a defeated people we shall prove to them that we are not to be defeated.

Another high-ranking American official met our permanent representative to the United Nations, Dr. Zayyat who was with me before yesterday, and told him that the Egypt-
ian people do not wish to resume the fighting, or to extend the ceasefire period. They are fed up with the whole situation!

There is a story connected with this incident. In 1956 when we received the famous tripartite ultimatum which we rejected and severed our relations with Britain, the British Embassy was besieged and the British staff awaited their repatriation. This happened for the first time after the end of the rule of the British Embassy over Egypt. At the time, the Eastern Affairs Counsellor of the British Embassy climbed the Embassy fence and, speaking in Arabic, asked one of the Egyptian employees working there to cash him a cheque at the time when the British and French aircraft were bombarding us. The Counsellor also asked the employee, from over the fence, whether demonstrations had stirred in the city, and was surprised when the latter answered in the negative. He believed that the people would revolt, re-establish the parties, and then the Revolution would end altogether. They had naturally obtained their information about our people from their own habitual sources.

The same idea prevails in the United States today. A responsible U.S. official told
Dr. Zayyat that the Egyptian people are getting tired and do not want to resume the fight. He told him to seek for some other means to reach a solution and to make concessions.

Now I have here before me all the leaderships of Lower Egypt and I can ask — Are you tired of the battle?

The reply was a resounding negative from the hundreds of thousands of people present who repeated the rallying cry « We shall fight — we shall fight — we shall fight ».

The President went on to say: « I would like to answer them by a second point. They said that Egypt should not come out stronger from the battle because this would pose a threat to the presence of the United States in the Middle East.

We have come out stronger. This they used to say in 1967. But we held out after the aggression economically, politically and militarily. We expended L.E. 40 million in 40 days in 1970. These funds we did not beg from anyone as Israel does; this money came from our work, strife, earnings and crops paid for by workers, farmers and employees from our
They believed that the 1967 blow meant the annihilation of all powers of liberation in the Arab nation. However, the Sudanese and Libyan revolutions were launched and the Tripoli Charter was signed by four Arab States in order that we may establish the first nucleus for Arab unity based on sound, pre-studied scientific foundations. Thus, economically and politically we have proved to be strong.

From the military point of view, I would like to reassure you and tell you that during my visit to the front on the second day of the Ramadan Bairam, I met with the commanders of the front. The meeting lasted for nine hours. We all know that before the ceasefire went into effect, our missiles downed a number of Phantoms and Skyhawks. I declared before one and all that we shall never, under any
circumstances, withdraw one single missile from the front.

I asked there the commanders about the clash that had taken place between an Israeli patrol and an Egyptian one, since it was the first time that there was a direct hand to hand fight between the Israeli and the Egyptian soldiers.

The Israeli patrol consisted of forty paratroopers, who are known to obtain the highest level of training in the Israeli army. Our men crossed the Canal and returned with only two prisoners. I asked one of the commanders why our men captured only two out of the forty Israeli paratroopers. The commander replied, saying that they had captured three and one of them died on the way back, and that we failed to rescue the remaining men from the hands of our sons. They called this day in Israel «Sad Saturday» since it was the first time that the Israeli soldier came into direct contact with the Egyptian soldier.

In spite of what the Israeli generals say, we are now strong from the military point of view. Though we were destroyed in 1967, Gamal Abdel Nasser devoted himself to building us up once again.
I would like you to know that the coming war will be a comprehensive war — a war which will not be limited to the front but which will extend to every part of the country, to the villages, the fields, the factories, the streets, the cities and to the houses. We must mobilise ourselves, since the coming war is a comprehensive one. When I say that we came out strong, let me add that the enemy is still strong too, and capable of inflicting losses. However, let me tell you that we will fight this war, whatever the cost, since we are fighting for our land, that is our dignity and honour. We know the value of dignity and honour and we can pay their price. Our enemy will have to pay the price of what we will do. There is no alternative to the coming battle and to paying the price it requires.

The coming six months will be decisive and our responsibilities are specific, namely, not to surrender one inch of Arab territory nor to give up the Palestinian people's rights. If they want peace, we will talk about peace.

Israel wishes to manoeuvre by returning to the Jarring contacts. Whether it returns or not, does not matter one way or another,
since, according to the Americans, its basic aim is to renew the ceasefire.

But unless some serious steps are taken towards peace and a time-table is worked out for the withdrawal we will not renew the ceasefire.

I would like to speak about something that concerns us all. Every citizen should be prepared to take up his right position in the villages, factories, houses, streets and cities in the coming battle which will be a full-scale one. The enemy will move to every direction, therefore, we have to be prepared.

The 1967 defeat was supposed to mean the end of all fighting. However, we are now waging a war of attrition, menacing Israel itself and showing it the dark future before it. We have to be firm and prepared for it.

We are a people who have principles and beliefs with which we have been brought up and which have made us strong in the manner that was shown on June 9 and 10, when the entire people came out in the streets, rejecting surrender and insisting upon the continuation of the battle. This emanated from our beliefs, traditions, principles and from our history.
I want the entire people to act, in the coming stage, according to their principles which take root in their beliefs and in the way they have been brought up. The people should stand together one man, one determined nation, bound by a feeling of love and brotherhood.

We shall fight with the one weapon that can never be defeated — faith. Our faith in God, in our land, our people and in the sanctity of every grain of sand in our country, our faith in the fact that we shall never surrender for it is more honourable for us to die fighting.

We are entering a battle of life or death. In the midst of our darkest days, on June 9 and 10, we stood our ground. In November 1967, Gamal Abdel Nasser on his way to give a speech rode in an open car, surrounded by the entire people, while raids and bombings were going on. Where does this strength come from? No one can take away our strength. With God’s help we shall succeed.

We shall learn all about the electronic war and its tools will be made available to us.

Our sons have mastered the most up-to-
date weapons of modern warfare and its science.

I must state that the Soviet Union, honestly and honourably, provides us with everything, and the Soviet presence is not here to occupy the land, as the Americans claim. We need the trusteeship of no one and I am addressing the Americans. We know what is good for us and what is not.

The aim of the United States is to sow seeds of dissension between us and the Soviet Union.

While we were mourning the death of Gamal Abdel Nasser the Soviet Union brought certain things contracted for 1971, in order to show that it stood by us, while the United States seized the opportunity and launched a campaign against us about the missiles and alleged ceasefire violations. It had almost succeeded in turning the world against us when Mahmud Riad left for the United Nations and reminded the world that the question is that of aggression, and not of missiles, that we are merely defending our rights. American ambition was defeated in this incident.

This is what the Soviet Union did and this is what the Americans tried to do during
Brethren,

I pray to God Almighty that our next meeting will be at a time when we will be celebrating victory. I would like everyone in this battle to be loyal to God, to Gamal, to his battles and principles, to our Arab homeland and loyal to all the values and principles given us by God to build up this land.

May God be with you.