

In the name of God,

Mr. Speaker,

Brother Citizens, Members of the National Assembly,

I deemed it my duty towards our people in Egypt whom you represent, and towards our Arab nation in whose struggle our people here in Egypt represent the vanguard, to come to your august Assembly to talk to you about what I know, and you know, as being the question of our sacred struggle and the action undertaken by us in this connection, as well as our responsibility towards it from now on. This is because I believe that the whole truth equates with full responsibility, and since the responsibility is being borne by the whole nation, it has therefore the indisputable right to the whole truth.

It is for this reason that I ask your permission to summarize before you all the facts related to our position today. I do not do this just to recall what has taken place, but I do it so that we may all remember, reassure ourselves and feel confident in the accuracy of our calculations and the decisions which we base upon these calculations.

Brothers,

In my statement to you now I shall divide my speech into three parts so as to draw before you a complete and clear picture. The first part will deal with our basic commitments in a cause which represents to us the most honourable cause because it is the most just one. The second part will deal with our continual action, by all means, in order to protect our basic commitments since we have borne the responsibility for them until now. The third part will deal with our conception of the forth-coming steps as imposed upon us by the values which we represent and the principles in which we believe.

First : Our basic commitment : Brethren, we will not deny before ourselves nor before others, that our nation faced a serious setback on June 5, 1967.

We lost a battle and had the honour and courage to face the setback and also face the others with the reality. We did not deceive or delude, we refused to bury our heads in the sand like ostriches, or pretend that the arrow directed against us did not wound or cause pain.

We admitted that we lost a battle, but at the same time we have shown, out of conviction, that we did not lose the war. This was not

pretence on our part, it was the reality concerning the will, the potentialities, the powers and the preparedness of our nation.

The fait accompli, at a certain moment, cannot change the face of the great truth if we can spotlight this truth and if we possess, in the moment of danger, the strong nerves that can bear the chock and distinguish between what is shallow and casual and what is natural and deep that has the powers of perseverance and continuity.

We have lost a battle in the war between us and Israel, this is possible but we did not lose the whole war because this is contrary to nature, history and progress. The living evidence to this was the stand of the masses of our Arab nation behind our immortal leader Gamal Abdel Nasser on the 9th and 10th of June 1967. This stand was not a passionate outburst, it was a genuine expression of the nature of things. The precise interpretation of this was that the Arab masses told Gamal Abdel Nasser -- never mind a stumble on the road. Let us stand up, start anew and proceed together believing in God, in ourselves and in the possibility of achieving victory, ready to bear all its costs and responsibilities.

Since that day Gamal Abdel Nasser defined our conception or our basic commitments in two points which were accepted by all. The people gave all that they had of money, work and blood in their upholding of these two points, which are as follows :

One — The necessity of restoring all territories occupied since the 1967 aggression and the inevitability of withdrawing all occupation troops from them. These territories as Gamal Abdel Nasser enumerated them before the masses of our nation are, Arab Jerusalem, the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, the Syrian Heights and Sinai. We shall never accept any bargaining concerning our land, for the land of any people represents their national honour, as Gamal Abdel Nasser told you in this very place.

Two — The necessity of protecting the Palestinian people's rights not only because we cannot and it is not in our power to speak on their behalf but also because we cannot concede or give anything up in their name.

We shall not be the generation that gave up the Palestinian people's rights. If we are not able to restore more of them, then we shall not, at least, bear, from the national, historical or conscience point of view, the responsibility of giving up any of these rights.

These were, and still are, our basic commitments ; they will, with

God's will, remain as such. Nobody and no circumstances will ever change these commitments since faith in them is stronger than all circumstances. For these are not merely the rights of a nation but also the exigencies of destiny.

Second : Our endeavour to secure the abiding by our basic commitment has not ceased during the past years neither on the battlefield against the enemy nor in spelling out the realities of these commitment before the entire public opinion nor in the attempts to cooperate with the world community in order to find an outlet that could maintain peace on justice and inspired by the principles of international law.

Our Armed Forces will not spare a chance of engagement with the enemy even in the worst circumstances. The battle of Ras El Esh took place only a few weeks in the wake of June, 1967 and our naval units were in combat with the enemy's units and sunk « Eilat », one of the major pieces of its fleet, during the very same year.

Artillery engagements with enemy positions started in 1968 and the following year, that is 1969, witnessed the Canal-crossing operations to attack the enemy fortifications and to combat, face to face, the Israeli troops.

In 1970, our air defence units were engaged with the enemy in a battle that was meant to be fierce and furious and during which the enemy's friends in the United States of America meant to secure for him superiority and air domination. Nevertheless, the enemy sustained considerable casualties in July of that year.

The sacrifices of the civilian masses of our people were great. The enemy held the three main cities : Suez, Ismailia and Port Said, hostage at the mercy of its artillery. The people of the Canal Zone paid the greatest and the noblest price ever paid by patriots for their country.

All the forces of the nation were massed behind the front with their labour, production, unanimity, consciousness, faith and patience attaining records which could never be reached except by deep-rooted, great nations well-aware of the values of freedom, and human civilisation.

We were fully aware of the fact that the great conflicts in this modern age and their means can never be restricted to the field of battle or limited by the boundaries of nations. This is why we came out to the world at large explaining our viewpoint, and presenting the face of right and the truth.

The crisis also proved that the socialist peoples front, the group of non-aligned countries and the solidarity of the three continents, Asia, Africa and Latin America is a strong front along which extends a solid and strong national liberation line.

The crisis has shown that right has its advocates whatever the consequences. The remarkable change in Western Europe's attitude is evidence of that ; an attitude undoubtedly influenced by France's policy since the beginning of the crisis until now.

During this time, and with all our good intentions, we exerted every effort possible for true co-operation with the world community represented in the United Nations in order to find a solution to the crisis before it reaches, with its effects, a stage when it would be difficult to offset its dangers to world peace.

In this respect we had specific steps ; we accepted the U.N. Security Council Resolution issued on November 22, 1967. We provided — sincerely and honestly — every assistance to Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the U.N. Secretary General's special envoy who was assigned the mission of following-up the implementation of the Security Council Resolution. We were in constant contact with him especially during the first year and a half of his mission during which he found himself making interminable tours in the capitals of the Middle East without achieving any results. He was obliged after all these efforts, to freeze his mission temporarily.

In every international gathering and at every world conference our call was a call for peace, that carried only one condition — a just peace — without which peace cannot exist or last.

In contrast with this action on our part, the enemy, on its part, did the following : It used to procrastinate and evade answering any question put to it about its true intentions. It was clear all along that it insisted upon refusing to implement the Security Council Resolution, and it was trying constantly to find a lee-way to absolve itself from the provisions of the Resolution. It continued its aggressive policy which took the form of launching rabid and bitter raids against factories and schools in Egypt, camps in Jordan and airports and villages in Lebanon, as well as killing, imprisoning and torturing the patient strugglers in the occupied land, as if it was let loose in the world without any deterrent or fear from punishment.

