

**TRANSCRIPTS OF ANWAR EL-SADAT AND MENAHEM BEGIN ADDRESSES TO
THE ISRAELI PARLIAMENT**

JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

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[Text taken from the New York Times, 21 November 1977; Jerusalem, 20 November (Reuters) -- Following is a transcript of the address by President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt to the Israeli Parliament today. The simultaneous interpretation from the Arabic was done by a parliamentary interpreter.]

**SADAT: WE TRULY WELCOME YOU TO LIVE AMONG US IN PEACE AND
SECURITY**

In the name of God, Mr. Speaker of the Knesset, ladies and gentlemen, allow me first to thank deeply the Speaker of the Knesset for affording me this opportunity to address you.

As I begin my address I wish to say, peace and the mercy of God Almighty be upon you and may peace be with us all, God willing. Peace for us all, of the Arab lands and in Israel, as well as in every part of this big world, which is so beset by conflicts, perturbed by its deep contradictions, menaced now and then by destructive wars launched by man to annihilate his fellow men.

Finally, amidst the ruins of what man has built among the remains of the victims of mankind there emerges neither victor nor vanquished. The only vanquished remains always a man, God's most sublime creation. Man, whom God has created, as Ghandi, the apostle of peace puts it, to forge ahead, to mold the way of life and to worship God Almighty.

I come to you today on solid ground to shape a new life and to establish peace. We all love this land, the land of God, we all, Moslem, Christians, and Jews, all worship God.

Under God, God's teachings and commandments are love, sincerity, security, and peace.

I do not blame all those who received my decision when I announced it to the entire world before the Egyptian People's Assembly. I do not blame all those who received my decision with surprise and even amazement -- some gripped even by violent surprise. Still others interpreted it as political, to camouflage my intentions of launching a new war.

APPROACHED BY WORRIED AIDE

I would go so far as to tell you that one of my aides at the presidential office contacted me at a late hour following my return home from the People's Assembly and sounded worried as he asked me:

“Mr. President, what would be our reaction if Israel actually extended an invitation to you?”

I replied calmly:

“I would accept it immediately. I have declared that I would go to the ends of the earth. I would go to Israel, for I want to put before the people of Israel all the facts.”

I can see the faces of all those who were astounded by my decision and had doubts as to the sincerity of the intentions behind the declaration of my decision. No one could have ever conceived that the president of the biggest Arab state, which bears the heaviest burden and the main responsibility pertaining to the cause of war and peace in the Middle East, should declare his readiness to go to the land of the adversary while we were still in a state of war.

We all still bear the consequences of four fierce wars waged within 30 years. All this at the time when the families of the 1973 October War are still mourning under the cruel pain of bereavement of father, son, husband, and brother.

As I have already declared, I have not consulted as far as this decision is concerned with any of my colleagues or brothers, the Arab heads of state, or the confrontation states.

Most of those who contacted me following the declaration of this decision expressed their objection because of the feeling of utter suspicion and absolute lack of confidence between the Arab states and the Palestine people on the one hand and Israel on the other that still surges in us all.

Many months in which peace could have been brought about have been wasted over differences and fruitless discussions on the procedure of convening the Geneva Conference. All have shared suspicion and absolute lack of confidence.

But to be absolutely frank with you, I took this decision after long thought, knowing that it constitutes a great risk, for God Almighty has made it my fate to assume responsibility on behalf of the Egyptian people, to share in the responsibility of the Arab nation, the main duty of which, dictated by responsibility, is to exploit all and every means in a bid to save my Egyptian Arab people and the pan-Arab nation from the horrors of new suffering and destructive wars, the dimensions of which are foreseen only by God Himself.

After long thinking, I was convinced that the obligation of responsibility before God and before the people make it incumbent upon me that I should go to the far corners of the world -- even to Jerusalem to address members of the Knesset and acquaint them with all the facts surging in me, then I would let you decide for yourselves.

Following this, may God Almighty determine our fate.

BOLD DRIVE TO NEW HORIZONS

Ladies and gentlemen, there are moments in the lives of nations and peoples when it is incumbent upon those known for their wisdom and clarity of vision to survey the problem, with all its complexities and vain memories, in a bold drive towards new horizons.

Those who like us are shouldering the same responsibilities entrusted to us are the first who should have the courage to make determining decisions that are consonant with the magnitude of the circumstances. We must all rise above all forms of obsolete theories of superiority, and the most important thing is never to forget that infallibility is the prerogative of God alone.

If I said that I wanted to avert from all the Arab people the horrors of shocking and destructive wars I must sincerely declare before you that I have the same feelings and bear the same responsibility towards all and every man on earth, and certainly toward the Israeli people.

ALL VICTIMS ARE TO BE MOURNED

Any life that is lost in war is a human life, be it that of an Arab or an Israeli. A wife who becomes a widow is a human being entitled to a happy family life, whether she be an Arab or an Israeli.

Innocent children who are deprived of the care and compassion of their parents are ours. They are ours, be they living on Arab or Israeli land.

They command our full responsibility to afford them a comfortable life today and tomorrow.

For the sake of them all, for the sake of the lives of all our sons and brothers, for the sake of affording our communities the opportunity to work for the progress and happiness of man, feeling secure and with the right to a dignified life, for the generations to come, for a smile on the face of every child born in our land -- for all that I have taken my decision to come to you, despite all the hazards, to deliver my address.

I have shouldered the prerequisites of the historic responsibility and therefore I declare on 4 February 1971, that I was willing to sign a peace agreement with Israel. This was the first declaration made by a responsible Arab official since the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Motivated by all these factors dictated by the responsibilities of leadership, on 16 October 1973, before the Egyptian People's Assembly, I called for an international conference to establish permanent peace based on justice. I was not heard.

I was in a position of man pleading for peace or asking for a cease-fire, motivated by the duties of history and leadership, I signed the first disengagement agreement, followed by the second disengagement agreement in Sinai.

A DURABLE AND JUST PEACE

Then we proceeded, trying both opened and closed doors in a bid to find a certain road leading to a durable and just peace.

We opened our heart to the peoples of the entire world to make them understand our motivations and objectives and actually to convince them of the fact that we are advocates of justice and peacemakers. Motivated by all these factors, I also decided to come to you with an open mind and an open heart and with a conscious determination so that we might establish permanent peace based on justice.

It is so fated that my trip to you, which is a journey of peace coincided with the Islamic feast, the holy Feast of the Sacrifice with Abraham -- peace be upon him -- forefather of the Arabs and Jews, submitted to God, I say, when God Almighty ordered him, not out of weakness, but through a giant spiritual force and by free will to sacrifice his own son, personified by firm and unshakable belief in ideals that had for mankind a profound significance.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us be frank with each other. Using straightforward words and a clear conception with no ambiguity. Let us be frank with each other today while the entire world, both East and West, follows these unparalleled moments which could prove to be a radical turning point in the history of this part of the world, if not in the history of the world as a whole.

LET US BE FRANK

Let us be frank with each other, let us be frank with each other as we answer this important question: How can we achieve permanent peace based on justice? Well, I have come to you carrying my clear and frank answer to this big question, so that the people in Israel and the entire world may hear it. All those devoted prayers ring in my ears, pleading to God Almighty that this historic meeting may eventually lead to the result aspired to by millions.

Before I proclaim my answer, I wish to assure you that in my clear and frank answer I am availing myself of a number of facts which no one can deny.

The first fact is that no one can build his happiness at the expense of the misery of others.

The second fact: never have I spoken, nor will I ever speak, with two tongues; never have I adopted, nor will I ever adopt two policies. I never deal with anyone except in one tongue, one policy, and with one face.

MOST SUCCESSFUL METHOD

The third fact: direct confrontation is the nearest and most successful method to reach a clear objective.

The fourth fact: the call for permanent and just peace based on respect for United Nations resolutions has now become the call for the entire world. It has become the expression of the will of the international community, whether in official capitals where policies are made and decisions taken, or at the level of world public opinion, which influences policy-making and decision-taking.

The fifth fact, and this is probably the clearest and most prominent, is that the Arab nation, in its drive for permanent peace based on justice, does not proceed from a position of weakness. On the contrary, it has the power and stability for a sincere will for peace.

The Arab declared intention stems from an awareness prompted by a heritage of civilization, that to avoid an inevitable disaster that will befall us, you and the whole world, there is no alternative to the establishment of permanent peace based on justice, peace that is not swayed by suspicion or jeopardized by ill intentions.

In the light of these facts that I meant to place before you the way I see them, I would also wish to warn you, in all sincerity I warn you, against some thoughts that could cross your minds.

Frankness makes it incumbent upon me to tell you the following: First, I have not come here for a separate agreement between Egypt and Israel. This is not part of the policy of Egypt. The problem is not that of Egypt and Israel.

An interim peace between Egypt and Israel, or between any Arab confrontation state and Israel, will not bring permanent peace based on justice in the entire region.

Rather, even if peace between all the confrontational states and Israel were achieved in the absence of a just solution of the Palestinian problem, never will there be that durable and just peace upon which the entire world insists.

NO PARTIAL PEACE SOUGHT

Second, I have not come to you to seek a partial peace, mainly to terminate the state of belligerency at this stage and put off the entire problem to a subsequent stage. This is not the radical solution that would steer us to permanent peace.

Equally, I have not come to you for a third disengagement agreement in Sinai or in Golan or the West Bank.

For this would mean that we are merely delaying the ignition of the fuse. It would also mean that we are lacking the courage to face peace, that we are too weak to shoulder the burdens and responsibilities of a durable peace based on justice.

I have come to you so that together we shall build a durable peace based on justice to avoid the shedding of one single drop of blood by both sides. It is for this reason that I have proclaimed my readiness to go to the farthest corner of the earth.

Here I would go back to the big question: How can we achieve a durable peace based on justice? In my opinion, and I declare it to the whole world, from this forum, the answer is neither difficult nor is it impossible despite long years of feuds, blood, faction, strife, hatreds and deep-rooted animosity.

The answer is not difficult, nor is it impossible, if we sincerely and faithfully follow a straight line.

You want to live with us, part of the world.

In all sincerity I tell you we welcome you among us with full security and safety. This in itself is a tremendous turning point, one of the landmarks of a decisive historical change. We used to reject you. We had our reasons and our fears, yes.

We refused to meet with you, anywhere, yes.

We were together in international conferences and organizations and our representatives did not, and still do not, exchange greetings with you. Yes, this has happened and is still happening.

It is also true that we used to set as a precondition for any negotiations with you a mediator who would meet separately with each party.

Yes, through this procedure, the talks of the first and second disengagement agreements took place.

Our delegates met in the first Geneva Conference without exchanging direct word, yes, this has happened.

PERMANENT PEACE BASED ON JUSTICE

Yet today I tell you, and I declare it to the whole world, that we accept to live with you in permanent peace based on justice. We do not want to encircle you or be encircled ourselves by destructive missiles ready for launching, nor by the shells of grudges and hatreds.

I have announced on more than one occasion that Israel has become a fait accompli, recognized by the world, and that the two superpowers have undertaken the responsibility for its security and the defense of its existence. As we really and truly seek peace we really and truly welcome you to live among us in peace and security.

There was a huge wall between us which you tried to build up over a quarter of a century, but it was destroyed in 1973. It was the wall of an implacable and escalating psychological warfare.

It was a wall of the fear of the force that could sweep the entire Arab nation. It was a wall of propaganda that we were a nation reduced to immobility. Some of you had gone as far as to say that even for 50 years to come, the Arabs would not regain their strength. It was a wall that always threatened with a long arm that could reach and strike anywhere. It was a wall that warned us of extermination and annihilation if we tried to use our legitimate rights to liberate the occupied territories.

Together we have to admit that that wall fell and collapsed in 1973. Yet, there remains another wall. This wall constitutes a psychological barrier between us; a barrier of suspicion; a barrier of rejection; a barrier of fear, of deception; a barrier of hallucination without any action, deed, or decision. A barrier of distorted and eroded interpretation of every event and statement. It is this psychological barrier which I described in official statements as constituting 70 percent of the whole problem.

Today, through my visit to you, I ask you why don't we stretch out our hands with faith and sincerity so that together we might destroy this barrier? Why shouldn't our and your will meet with faith and sincerity so that together we might remove all suspicion of fear, betrayal, and bad intentions?

AN EDIFICE OF PEACE

Why don't we stand together with the courage of men and the boldness of heroes who dedicated themselves to a sublime aim? Why don't we stand together with the same courage and daring to erect a huge edifice of peace?

An edifice that builds and does not destroy. An edifice that serves as a beacon for generations to come with the human message for construction, development, and the dignity of man.

Why should we bequeath to the coming generations the plight of bloodshed, yes, orphans, widowhood, family disintegration, and the wailing of victims?

Why don't we believe in the wisdom of God conveyed to us by the wisdom of the proverbs of Solomon. [Mr. Sadat went on to quote extensively from the proverbs.]

Ladies and gentlemen, to tell you the truth, peace cannot be worth its name unless it is based on justice and not on the occupation of the land of others. It would not be right for you to demand for yourselves what you deny to others. With all frankness and in the spirit that has prompted me to come to you today, I tell you you have to give up once and for all the dreams of conquest and give up the belief that force is the best method for dealing with the Arabs.

You should clearly understand the lesson of confrontation between you and us. Expansion does not pay. To speak frankly, our land does not yield itself to bargaining, it is not even open to argument. To us, the nation's soil is equal to the holy valley where God Almighty spoke to Moses. Peace be upon him.

We cannot accept any attempt to take away or accept to seek one inch of it nor can we accept the principle of debating or bargaining over it.

I sincerely tell you also that before us today lies the appropriate chance for peace. If we are really serious in our endeavor for peace, it is a chance that may never come again. It is a chance that if lost or wasted, the resulting slaughter would bear the curse of humanity and of history.

What is peace for Israel? It means that Israel lives in the region with her Arab neighbors in security and safety. Is this logical? I say yes. It means that Israel lives within its borders, secure against any aggression. Is that logical? And I say yes. It means that Israel obtains all kinds of guarantees that will ensure these two factors. To this demand, I say yes.

Beyond that we declare that we accept all the international guarantees you envisage and accept. We declare that we accept all the guarantees you want from the two superpowers or from either of them or from the Big Five or from some of them. Once again, I declare clearly and unequivocally that we agree to any guarantees you accept because in return we shall receive the same guarantees.

In short then, when we ask what is peace for Israel, the answer would be that Israel lives within her borders, among her Arab neighbors in safety and security, within the framework of all the guarantees she accepts and which are offered to her.

But, how can this be achieved? How can we reach this conclusion which would lead us to permanent peace based on justice? There are facts that should be faced with courage and clarity. There are Arab territories which Israel has occupied and still occupies by force. We insist on complete withdrawal from these territories, including Arab Jerusalem.

I have come to Jerusalem, the city of peace, which will always remain as a living embodiment of coexistence among believers of the three religions. It is inadmissible that anyone should conceive the special status of the city of Jerusalem within the framework of annexation or expansionism. It should be a free and open city for all believers.

Above all, this city should not be severed from those who have made it their abode for centuries. Instead of reviving the precedent of the Crusades, we should revive the spirit of Omar Emil Khtab and Saladin, namely the spirit of tolerance and respect for right.

The holy shrines of Islam and Christianity are not only places of worship but a living testimony of our interpreted presence here. Politically, spiritually, and intellectually, here let us make no mistake about the importance and reverence we Christians and Moslems attach to Jerusalem.

Let me tell you without the slightest hesitation that I have not come to you under this roof to make a request that your troops evacuate the occupied territories. Complete withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied after 1967 is a logical and undisputed fact. Nobody should plead for that. Any talk about permanent peace based on justice and any move to ensure our coexistence in peace and security in this part of the world would become meaningless while you occupy Arab territories by force of arms.

For there is no peace that could be built on the occupation of the land of others, otherwise it would not be a serious peace. Yet this is a foregone conclusion which is not open to the passion of debate if intentions are sincere or if endeavors to establish a just and durable peace for our and for generations to come are genuine.

As for the Palestine cause -- nobody could deny that it is the crux of the entire problem. Nobody in the world could accept today slogans propagated here in Israel, ignoring the existence of a Palestinian people and questioning even their whereabouts. Because the Palestine people and their legitimate rights are no longer denied today by anybody: that is nobody who has the ability of judgement, can deny or ignore it.

It is an acknowledged fact, perceived by the world community, both in the East and in the West, with support and recognition in international documents and official statements. It is of no use to anybody to turn deaf ears to its resounding voice, which is being heard day and night, or to overlook its historical reality.

Even the United States of America, your first ally, which is absolutely committed to safeguard Israel's security and existence and which offered and still offers Israel every moral, material, and military support -- I say, even the United States has opted to face up to reality and admit that the Palestinian people are entitled to legitimate rights and that the Palestine problem is the cause and essence of the conflict and that so long as it continues to be unresolved, the conflict will continue to aggravate, reaching new dimensions.

In all sincerity I tell you that there can be no peace without the Palestinians. It is a grave error of unpredictable consequences to overlook or brush aside this cause.

I shall not indulge in past events such as the Balfour Declaration 60 years ago. You are well acquainted with the relevant text. If you have found the moral and legal justification to set up a national home on a land that did not all belong to you, it is incumbent upon you to show understanding of the insistence of the people of Palestine for establishment once again of a state on their land. When some extremist ask the Palestinians to give up this sublime objective, this in fact means asking them to renounce their identity and every hope for the future.

I hail the Israeli voices that called for the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to achieve and safeguard peace.

Here I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that it is no use to refrain from recognizing the Palestinian people and their right to statehood as their right of return. We, the Arabs, have faced this experience before, with you. And with the reality of the Israeli existence, the struggle which

took us from war to war, from victims to more victims, until you and we have today reached the edge of a horrible abyss and a terrifying disaster unless, together, we seize this opportunity today of a durable peace based on justice.

THE NEED TO FACE REALITY BRAVELY

You have to face reality bravely, as I have done. There can never be any solution to a problem by evading it or turning a deaf ear to it. Peace cannot last if attempts are made to impose fantasy concepts on which the world has turned its back and announced its unanimous call for the respect of rights and facts.

There is no need to enter a vicious circle as to Palestinian rights. It is useless to create obstacles, otherwise the march of peace will be impeded or peace will be blown up. As I have told you, there is no happiness [based on] the detriment of others.

Direct confrontation and straightforwardness are the shortcuts and the most successful way to reach a clear objective. Direct confrontation concerning the Palestinian problem and tackling it in one single language with a view to achieving a durable and just peace lie in the establishment of that peace. With all the guarantees you demand, there should be no fear of a newly born state that needs the assistance of all countries of the world.

When the bells of peace ring there will be no hands to beat the drums of war. Even if they existed, they would be stilled.

Conceive with me a peace agreement in Geneva that we would herald to a world thirsting for peace. A peace agreement based on the following points:

1. Ending the occupation of the Arab territories occupied in 1967.
2. Achievement of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination, including their right to establish their own state.
3. The right of all states in the area to live in peace within their boundaries, their secure boundaries, which will be secured and guaranteed through procedures to be agreed upon, which will provide appropriate security to international boundaries in addition to appropriate international guarantees.
4. Commitment of all states in the region to administer the relations among them in accordance with the objectives and principles of the United Nations Charter. Particularly the principles concerning the nonuse of force and a solution of differences among them by peaceful means.
5. Ending the state of belligerence in the region.

Ladies and gentlemen, peace is not a mere endorsement of written lines. Rather it is a rewriting of history. Peace is not a game of calling for peace to defend certain whims or hide certain admissions. Peace in its essence is a dire struggle against all and every ambition and whim.

Perhaps the example taken and experienced, taken from ancient and modern history, teaches that missiles, warships, and nuclear weapons cannot establish security. Instead they destroy what peace and security build.

For the sake of our peoples and for the sake of the civilization made by man, we have to defend man everywhere against rule by the force of arms so that we may endow the rule of humanity with all the power of the values and principles that further the sublime position of mankind.

Allow me to address my call from this rostrum to the people of Israel. I pledge myself with true and sincere words to every man, woman, and child in Israel. I tell them, from the Egyptian people who bless this sacred mission of peace, I convey to you the message of peace of the Egyptian people, who do not harbor fanaticism and whose sons, Moslems, Christians, and Jews, live together in a state of cordiality, love, and tolerance.

This is Egypt, whose people have entrusted me with their sacred message. A message of security, safety, and peace to every man, woman, and child in Israel, I say, encourage your leadership to struggle for peace. Let all endeavors be channeled toward building a huge stronghold for peace instead of building destructive rockets.

Introduce to the entire world the image of the new man in this area so that he might set an example to the man of our age, the man of peace everywhere. Ring the bells for your sons. Tell them that those wars were the last of wars and the end of sorrows. Tell them that we are entering upon a new beginning, a new life, a life of love, prosperity, freedom, and peace.

You, sorrowing mother, you, widowed wife, you, the son who lost a brother or a father, all the victim of wars, fill the air and space with recitals of peace, fill bosoms and hearts with the aspirations of peace. Make a reality that blossoms and lives. Make hope a code of conduct and endeavor.

The will of peoples is part of the will of God. Ladies and gentlemen, before I came to this place, with every beat of my heart and with every sentiment, I prayed to God Almighty. While performing the prayers at Al Aksa mosque and while visiting the Holy Sepulcher I asked the Almighty to give me strength and to confirm my belief that this visit may achieve the objective I look forward to for a happy present and a happier future.

I have chosen to set aside all precedents and traditions known by warring countries. In spite of the fact that occupation of Arab territories is still there, the declaration of my readiness to proceed to Israel came as a great surprise that stirred many feelings and confounded many minds. Some of them even doubted its intent.

Despite all that, the decision was inspired by all the clarity and purity of belief and with all the true passions of my people's will and intentions and I have chosen this road.

I have chosen to come to you with an open heart and an open mind. I have chosen to give this great impetus to all international efforts exerted for peace. I have chosen to present to you in your own home, the realities, devoid of any scheme or whim. Not to maneuver, or win a round, but for us to win, together, the most dangerous of rounds embattle in modern history, the battle of permanent peace based on justice.

It is not my battle alone. Nor is it the battle of the leadership in Israel alone. It is the battle of all our territories whose right it is to live in peace. It is the commitment of conscience and responsibility in the hearts of millions.

When I put forward this initiative, many asked what it is that I conceived as possible to achieve during this visit and what my expectations were. And as I answer the questions, I announce before you that I have not thought of carrying out this initiative from the precepts of what could be achieved during this visit. And I have come here to deliver this visit. I have delivered the message and may God be my witness.

I repeat with Zachariah: Love, right, and justice. From the Holy Koran I quote the following verses:

“We believe in God and in what has been revealed to us what was revealed to Abraham, Ishmael, Issac, Jacob and the 13 Jewish tribes. And in the books given to Moses and Jesus and the prophets from their Lord, who made no distinction between them.”

So we agree, Salam Aleikum -- peace be upon you.

BEGIN: ISRAEL DOES NOT WISH TO RULE AND DOES NOT WANT TO DISTURB OR DIVIDE

[Text taken from the New York Times, 21 November 1977; Jerusalem, 20 November (Reuters) -- Following is a transcript of a simultaneous interpretation, from the Hebrew, of Prime Minister Menahem Begin's address to the Israeli Parliament yesterday. The interpretation, distributed by the Associated Press, was done in New York for ABC News.]

Mr. President of Egypt, ladies and gentlemen, members of the Knesset.

Our blessing is sent to the President and to all members of the Islamic faith, in our land and everywhere, on the occasion of this special holiday of the sacrifice.

This holiday reminds us of the sacrifice. This was the first test that the Lord, the Lord of the Lord, placed our father, our joint father, in his faith and Abraham passed this test.

From the point of view of the advancement of mankind, this was forbidden to sacrifice a human being. Our ancient tradition had taught this forbidden practice and to the nations around us, who were in the habit of sacrificing human beings to their gods, and so the nation of Israel and the nation of the Arabs contributed to the advancement of mankind and so do we continue to contribute to human culture until this day.

BLESS THE PRESIDENT OF EGYPT

I bless the President of Egypt and his coming to our country and to his participation in this meeting of the Knesset.

The time of the flight between Cairo and Jerusalem is short. But the distance between them was, until yesterday, quite large.

President Sadat passed this great distance with courage, heartfelt courage. We the Jews, know how to appreciate this courage of heart and to know how to assess it with our guest. For with a courageous heart we were created and with a courageous heart we will live.

Mr. Chairman, this small nation, the remnants of the destruction of the Jewish nation that has returned to our historical homeland, always wanted peace.

THOUGHTS OF REDEMPTION

And when we thought of our redemption, and independence arose, on the 15th of May, 1948, with the proclamation of independence and our state of independence, said Mr. Ben-Gurion:

“We stretch out a hand of peace to our neighbors and to all the nations that are our neighbors and to the English, and call upon them to cooperate in joint mutual cooperation with the independent Jewish nation in our land... A year before that, in the days of the underground, when we stood in the battle for the redemption of the country and of the nation, we showed our neighbors and made clear to them in this tone of language: In this land we shall live together and we shall progress together for-lives-of freedom and wealth. Our Arab neighbors, don't turn down this hand that is stretched to you in peace.”

But it is my obligation, Mr. Chairman, not only my privilege, to decide today and to declare today, according to the truth, our hand that was stretched out for peace was not accepted.

And one day after the arrival of our independence, according to our right that cannot be denied or cannot be discussed, we were attacked on three fronts.

Understand, almost without reference, a few against the many, weak against the strong, that we stood in this test, one day after the proclamation of independence, to choke and destroy the birth and to call an end to the last hope of the Jewish nation in the century of destruction and of redemption.

No, we do not believe in might and we never based our relationship for the Arab nation of strength. The opposite, the strength worked against us.

In all the days of this generation we did not stop in order to stand against the strength that was stretched out to destroy us and destroy our independence in order to destroy our rights.

WE DEFENDED OURSELVES

We defended ourselves -- correct. We fought and protected our right, our honor, our women and children against a repeated test to bring against us the strength, not only on one front, but two.

With the help of the Lord, we succeeded in overcoming the attacking forces and we guaranteed the independence of our nation not only for this generation but for coming generations.

We do not believe in might. We believe in right -- only in right. And, therefore, our hope from the depths of our heart, from then and always, and to this very day, it is for peace.

Mr. President, Mr. President of Egypt, in this democratic house sit the commanders of all of the Jewish underground that fought, and they were required to fight against a worldwide power. And sit here, the electors of ours, despite the fact that forces were raised against them because they defended the...

DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS

They belong to various parties, they have different viewpoints. But I am sure, Mr. President, that I will express the viewpoint of all of them, without any exception, that we have one hope belonging in our heart, one will in our spirit -- in our soul.

And all of us are united in this one hope and longing to have peace -- peace for our nation that has not known peace even one day from the time we started to come back to Zion.

And peace for our neighbors, that we wish them all good and we believe that if we do make peace, a true peace, we shall be able to help one another in order to enrich life and to open a new epic period in the history of the Middle East. A period of growth, of development. Growth as it was in days of old.

Therefore permit me today to indicate what is the schedule for peace according to our understanding.

We seek peace, a full peace, true peace, with true reconciliation between the Jewish nation and the Arab nation.

Not to remember about the...what has happened in the past. There was much blood spilled. Many wonderful, young members of the generation fell on both sides. We, all our days, shall remember our heroes who sacrificed their lives in order that the day may arrive, and this day shall arrive. And we honor the courageousness, and we give honor to all members of the younger generation that too fell.

Not to remember the past even if they are difficult but to be concerned with the future, to our children, to our joint future, because we shall live in this region all together for generations to come. The great Arab nation in its states and its lands and the Jewish nation in its land, Herod's Israel.

Therefore one has to establish what is the schedule for peace. Let us continue a dialogue and negotiations, Mr. President, on a treaty of peace and with the help of God, so we believe with the true faith, the day will come and we shall achieve this with joint mutual respect. And then we shall know that instead of the wars we have stretched out a hand, one to another, and we shall grasp the hand of one another. The future will be bright for all nations of this region.

END TO STATE OF WAR

The first wisdom in the schedule of peace is the ending of the state of war. I agree, Mr. President, that you didn't come and we didn't invite you in order, as it was accepted in the past few days, in order to establish a treaty with the nations of the Arabs.

Israel does not wish to rule and does not want to disturb or divide. We are looking for peace with all our neighbors, with Egypt, with Jordan, with Syria, with Lebanon.

We wish to have negotiations for a peace treaty...

[At this point there was an interruption from the door.]

Mr. President, my parliamentary colleague of the Communist Party is interrupting me, but I am glad at this price, he didn't interrupt you.

FIRST PARAGRAPH OF TREATY

And there is no reason to distinguish between a treaty of peace and end of belligerency. We do not suggest this. On the contrary, the first paragraph in a peace treaty is the cessation of hostilities.

We wish to establish normal relations between us, as they exist between all the nations, even after many wars.

We learned from history, Mr. President, that war can be prevented. Peace does not have to be prevented. Many nations have had wars between them, and even on occasion have used terms such as eternal enemies. After every war comes the peace.

And therefore we seek to establish in a treaty of peace diplomatic relations between the nations. Today, two flags are flying in Jerusalem -- the Egyptian flag and the Israeli flag -- and we saw together, Mr. President, our small children who were carrying both flags.

WAVING TWO FLAGS

Let us sign a treaty of peace and establish such a situation forever also in Jerusalem and also in Cairo. And I hope and pray that the day will come when the Egyptian children will also be waving the Israeli and Egyptian flags as the children of Israel were waving in Jerusalem these two flags today.

And you, Mr. President, will have an ambassador in our capital and we will have an ambassador in Cairo. And we will even have differences between us. We will discuss them like cultured nations through our accredited representatives.

We propose joint economic cooperation to develop our countries. In the Middle East there are many wonderful countries. The Lord so created them. There are oases and deserts, and it is possible to change the deserts. Let us cooperate together in this area. Let us develop our

countries. Let us raise our nations to the high level of a developed country and let the world not call us developing countries.

And with all respect I am prepared to endorse the words of His Excellency, the King of Morocco, who said publicly that when the peace will come to the Middle East, the cooperation of the Arab genius and the Jewish genius together will change this region into a Garden of Eden.

OPEN TO ALL EGYPTIANS

Let us open our countries to free passage. Come you to us and we shall visit with you. I am prepared to announce, Mr. Chairman, today that our country is open for all citizens of Egypt. And I do not have this depend on any condition. I think it is only right that there should be a joint announcement in this case. That just as there are Egyptian flags in our area, and today an honored delegation in our capital and in our country, may the visitors be many. Our borders will be open in front of them. And all other borders, we wish, in the north and in the south and in the east.

And, therefore, I renew my invitation to the President of Syria to follow in your footsteps, Mr. President, to come to us in order to open negotiations for purposes of peace between Israel and Syria and the signing of a peace agreement between them.

I'm sorry to say there is no justification for the poison that comes from our northern border. Let us change and have such visits and such ties. And visits and events such as that can take place, there can be days of happiness, days of raising the spirit for all nations.

I invite King Hussein to visit us and to discuss with us on all the problems that require discussions between him and us.

And also the legitimate spokesman of the Arabs of Israel, I invite them to come and meet with us for discussions on our joint policies, on justice, on social justice, on peace, on joint mutual respect.

[Other translations indicated that in the preceding paragraph, Mr. Begin referred to "Palestinian Arabs."]

And if they invite us to come to their capitals, we shall answer their invitations. And if they invite us to open negotiations in Damascus and in Amman and in Beirut, in any one of these capitals, we shall go to any of these capitals in order to discuss with them.

We do not want to separate or divide. We want a true peace with all of our neighbors, to be expressed in treaties of peace, on all of the points that I just mentioned.

Mr. Chairman, it is my obligation today to tell our guest, and the ears of all those nations who are watching and listening to us today, of the ties between our Jewish nation and this land. The President referred to the Balfour Deceleration. No, my Mr. President, we did not take strange land, we returned to our homeland. The tie between our nation and this land is eternal.

DIM DAYS OF HISTORY

It began in the dim days of ancient history. It had never been cut. In this land we created our culture, here our prophets prophesied, as you briefly heard. Here the kings of Judah and Israel ruled. Here we became a nation. Here we established our kingdoms. And when we were exiled from our land because of the force that was applied against us, and when we were thrust far from our land we never forgot this land, even for one day. We prayed for her. We longed for her.

We believed in our return from the day on which the words were said, in the words of the Psalmist: When the Lord returned the captivity of Zion, we were as dreamers. Then will our lips be filled with song. And that song applied to all of our exiles and of all of our travels -- the consolation of returning to Zion that would come.

The right was recognized in the Balfour Declaration and was embodied in the League of Nations Mandate. And the introduction to that international document read:

“Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country.”

The historical connection between the Jewish nation and Palestine known in Hebrew as “Eretz Israel” has been renewed again.

In 1912 and 1919 we also received the recognition of the spokesman of the Arab nation. And in an agreement in January 1919, that was signed by Emir Faisal and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, it was said:

“Mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations is the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab state and of Palestine.”

COOPERATION WITH ERETZ ISRAEL

And afterward come all of the paragraphs relating to cooperation between the Jewish nation...between the Arab nation and Eretz Israel, this is our right.

What happened to us when our homeland was taken from us?

We went this morning, Mr. President, to Yad Vashem. With your own eyes you saw what has happened to our nation when this, its homeland, had been taken from it.

We have both agreed, Mr. President, that he who has not seen with his own eyes all that exists in Yad Vashem cannot understand what has happened to this nation when it was detached from its homeland. And the two of us read a document of 30 January 1939, with the words of destruction: If war will break out, the Jewish race in Europe will be destroyed.

Then it was also said: Don't pay attention. The entire world heard. No one came to ours...to save us.

The many months since the time of that declaration that had never been heard before, since the time that the Lord created man and man created the devil, and in those six years when millions of our people including one and a half million small Jewish children were destroyed, no one came to their saving -- not from the East and not from the West.

And, therefore, we have sworn an eternal vow, this entire generation -- the generation of destruction and rebirths: We shall never again place our nation in such danger.

We shall never expose our women and children -- our responsibility is to defend them, even if necessary at the cost of our lives -- we shall never permit them to be in a destruction.

Since then our responsibility for generations is to remember the specific things said against our nation. We shall take them in the full seriousness. And it is forbidden for us, for the future of our nation, to take any advice that it is not necessary to take such words seriously.

President Sadat knows, and knew from us before he came to Jerusalem, that we have a different position than his with regard to borders between us and our neighbors.

However, I call to the President of Egypt, and to all of our neighbors, do not say that we will not have discussions on anything.

I propose, according to the accepted majority of this Parliament, that everything is open to negotiation.

A serious responsibility is taken by anyone who says that in negotiations between the Arab nation and the Jewish nation there are things that must be taken out of the negotiations. Everything is given to negotiation. No side can say the reverse. No side can offer conditions. It is a pleasure, an honor, to have negotiations if there are differences between us. There is nothing that can be excluded.

He who has learned the history of wars and the history of making peace knows that all negotiations on a peace treaty began with differences between the nations. And through the negotiations they arrived at an agreement that made it possible to sign treaties of peace. And this is the way we propose to go.

And let us conduct the negotiations as equals. There are no victors, there are no losers.

All nations of the region are equal. And each one will have to relate to one another with honor and in the spirit of openness, of readiness to listen one another to the facts and to the points and to the explanations.

With all of the accepted ability to convince one another, let us conduct the negotiations, as I ask and propose, to continue until we arrive at the hour of signing a treaty of peace between us.

We are not only prepared to sit with the representatives of Egypt but with the representatives of Jordan and Syria and Lebanon in a peace conference in Geneva. We have suggested to reconstitute the Geneva Conference on the basis of the two decisions of the Security Council -- 242 and 338.

If there are differences between us relating to the organization of the Geneva Conference, let us discuss and negotiate them today and tomorrow. And if the President of Egypt wishes to receive us in Cairo, or in a neutral place, there is no objection. In every place, let us together clarify, even before the reconvening of the Geneva Conference, the problems that may be related to the reconvening of this Conference.

Our eyes shall be open, our ears shall be open to listen to every proposal -- to every proposal.

Permit me to say a word about Jerusalem. Mr. President, you prayed this morning at the newly reconstituted mosque and then you went to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. You realized that from time immemorial this is the city that has been joined together. There is full freedom --

[Momentary loss of audio from Jerusalem. Mr. Begin was saying there is freedom of movement to and from Jerusalem.]

...Moslem world and for the Christian world and all nations, that forever there shall be free access and travel to holy places.

We shall defend the right of free entry. For in this we believe: equal right of all citizens and with honor and with full face -- with full face.

Mr. Chairman, this is a very special day to our Parliament. And undoubtedly for many years this day will be long remembered in the history of our nation and in the history of the Egyptian nation and perhaps in the history of the various nations around the world.

And this day, with your permission ladies and gentlemen, members of the Knesset, we shall raise a prayer that the God of our fathers, our joint fathers, will give us the wisdom of the heart that is necessary in order to overcome difficulties and pitfalls, to overcome the words of Satan, and the words of evil. And with the help of the Lord we shall achieve, we shall reach that day for which our entire nation is praying -- a day of peace. For verily that day -- the sweet

singer of Israel, King David, wrote about the day -- when justice and peace embraced. And in the words of the prophet Zachariah, peace and justice embraced.