

no working paper which embodies the possibility of our sitting down to negotiate with the PLO. And that does not exist here in any form. Consequently, in my view this working paper is reasonable, even good.

Finally, we are not talking about a working paper or an agreement which will serve us alone....If we really want to attain a peace agreement with the Arabs...we must be ready to determine operative procedures which will be acceptable to both sides within a possible framework of peace negotiations....Since the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee reviewed this subject yesterday, and will undoubtedly do so again...I see no point in proposing to transfer this subject to committee....I therefore propose that the subject be removed from the agenda. We will discuss it again, both in the plenum and in the Committee, when there is something to discuss.

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The Vote

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|----------------|----|
| Those in favor | 41 |
| Those against | 28 |
| Abstentions | 7 |

(The proposal to remove the subject from the agenda is adopted.)

Knesset Visit of Egyptian President Sadat

Introduction

In January 1977 Jimmy Carter assumed the Presidency of the U.S. From the beginning of his term he declared that the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference, designed to achieve a comprehensive solution of the Israel-Arab conflict, constituted one of the principal foreign policy objectives of his administration.

Preparations for that resumption were interrupted when Yitzhak Rabin lost his parliamentary majority; they were resumed once Menachem Begin had been installed as Prime Minister, following the elections. A principal stumbling block was the question of Palestinian representation. Against the Arab summit resolution of Rabat 1974 to the effect that the PLO was the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arabs," stood the unequivocal refusal of the government of Israel to have any traffic with that organization, whose declared aim was the destruction of the State of Israel.

An open rift between the governments of the U.S. and Israel was avoided when Foreign Minister Dayan, in the course of a visit to Washington, referred to a working paper calling for a joint Arab delegation, including Palestinian Arabs not officially known as members of the PLO.

Even thereafter the going was difficult and slow. Some Arab governments did not react to the working paper, others proposed amendments. Procedural obstacles seemed to pile up, and the likelihood of a conference being convened before the end of 1977, as promised by Carter, receded rapidly.

On 1 October 1977, following a rapidly convened meeting of the foreign ministers of both countries, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. published a joint declaration calling *inter alia* for Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in the course of the Six Day War and for the recognition of the legitimate rights of Palestinian Arabs. It was the most far-reaching document subscribed up to that date.

However, rather than hastening the convening of an international conference, the apparent willingness of the U.S. to admit the U.S.S.R. as an equal partner in the Middle East, without having consulted the parties in the region, increased President Sadat's misgivings and thereby contributed to a dramatic change in the history of the prolonged conflict. On November 8, President Sadat, in the course of a speech to the Egyptian parliament, declared his willingness to go to the ends of the earth, "and even to the Knesset in Jerusalem," in order to save a single Egyptian soldier from being wounded. A few days later he had in his

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Sitting 43 of the Ninth Knesset

20 November 1977 (10 Kislev 5738)

The Secretary-General of the Knesset, N. Lorch: Their honors, the Members! (The Knesset Members rise and applaud the President of the Egyptian Arab Republic, Mr. Mohammed Anwar Sadat, and the President of Israel, Ephraim Katzir.)

The Speaker, Y. Shamir: I hereby open the Knesset sitting. Knesset Members, this sitting has been convened under clause 65A of the Knesset's rules of procedure, at the request of the government and in accordance with the decision of the House Committee of 8 Kislev 5738 (November 1977).

Knesset Members, permit me to open this special sitting with a verse from the Book of Books: "And it shall come to pass in the days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the midst of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob: for he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for our law shall go forth from Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people, and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Knesset Members, in the spirit of the Prophet Isaiah the son of Amos, I extend a warm welcome to our distinguished guest, the President of the Egyptian Arab Republic, Mr. Mohammed Anwar Sadat. With joy and admiration we accepted his offer to come to the Knesset and address you. We will listen to him eagerly and with hope in our hearts.

I hereby invite his honor the President to address the House. (The Knesset Members applaud the President of Egypt.)

The President of Egypt, A. Sadat: (Translated from the original Arabic.) In the name of Allah, distinguished Speaker, gentlemen, permit me first of all to express my sincere gratitude to the Speaker of the Knesset for having allowed me to address you on this occasion. I would like to begin by saying, peace and the mercy of the Lord be upon you, and

all of us, if it be God's will. May peace be upon everyone on earth, both in Arab countries and in Israel, and everywhere in the whole wide world which is embroiled in bloody battles, which is shaken by sharp divisions, which is subject to the threat of destructive war from time to time, by wars which make one man kill his fellowman. In the final event, in the ruins of what man has built and the remains of the corpses of man's victims, there is no victor and vanquished. In actual fact the true vanquished is man, the highest of God's creatures, man who was created by God, in the words of Ghandi, the emissary of peace: "in order to walk upright, build his life and serve his God."

I have come to you today, with both feet planted firmly on the ground, so that we may build a new life and establish peace for all of us on this land, the land of God. All of us, Moslems, Christians and Jews, all worship God, and God alone. Accordingly, what God has commanded us is love, truth, honesty and peace.

I justify all those who received my decision to come to your parliament, when I made my intentions public, with astonishment and even confusion. The surprise led some of them to assume that my decision was merely a verbal maneuver intended to deceive world public opinion; others even described it as a political tactic designed to disguise my intentions of embarking on a new war.

I will not conceal from you the fact that one of my aides in the Ministry of the President of the Republic contacted me late at night after I had returned home from the People's Assembly and asked me with concern: and what will you do if Israel really does extend you an invitation? I replied quietly: I will accept it immediately. I have already said that I am ready to go to the ends of the earth. I will go to Israel, because I wish to present the full and complete facts to the nation in Israel.

I justify all those who were astonished by my decision or doubted the genuineness of the intentions underlying it. No one imagined that the President of the largest Arab country, which bears the heaviest burden and the prime responsibility for the subject of war and peace in the Middle East, could announce that he was prepared to go to the enemy's country when there was still a state of war between us. Even more than that, when we are all still suffering from the consequences of four cruel years during thirty years. And above all, when the families of the casualties of the October 1973 War are still enduring the tragedy of widowhood and orphanhood, of having sacrificed fathers and sons who fell in battle.

Similarly, as I have already stated, on the subject of this decision I did not consult any of my colleagues or my brethren the presidents of the Arab countries, or the countries involved in the conflict. Some of them, who contacted me, even evinced opposition after I had announced my decision, because there is a situation of doubt and disbelief in the hearts of the Arab countries, including the Palestinian nation, on the one

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Sitting 43 of the Ninth Knesset

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The Secretary-General of the Knesset, N. Lorch: Their honors, the Presidents! (The Knesset Members rise and applaud the President of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, and the President of Israel, Ephraim Katzir.)

The Speaker, Y. Shamir: I hereby open the Knesset sitting. Knesset Members, this sitting has been convened under clause 65A of the Knesset's rules of procedure, at the request of the government and in accordance with the decision of the House Committee of 8 Kislev 5735 (18 November 1977).

Knesset Members, permit me to open this special sitting with a few verses from the Book of Books: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

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But I am speaking to you with complete frankness. I reached the decision after protracted thought and deliberation and I know that it is a great risk. But if the almighty and gracious Lord has ordained that I should bear responsibility for the Egyptian nation and share responsibility for everything that concerns the fate of the Arab people and the Egyptian nation, it follows that the first obligation in that circle of responsibility is to exhaust every possibility of removing the disasters arising from destructive, murderous wars, whose outcome only God knows, from the Egyptian nation and the Arab people. After pondering the matter at length I was convinced that adherence and loyalty to my responsibility before God and the nation impelled me to go to the very ends of the earth, and even to come to Jerusalem and speak to the Members of the Knesset, the representatives of the Israeli nation, about all the truths and facts of which I am convinced, in order then to leave you to decide for yourselves by yourselves. After that, may God do with us as He wills.

Ladies and gentlemen, there are moments in the lives of nations and peoples when it is the duty of everyone with intelligence and the ability to see and understand things correctly to look beyond the past, with all its burdens and complications, in order to take a bold leap towards new horizons. Those who, like us, carry the burden of responsibility should be the first to summon the strength to make fateful decisions which meet the situation. We must all rise above all expressions of fanaticism, self-delusion and outdated theories of superiority, and the most important thing is that we must never forget that only God never errs.

In saying that I wish to remove from the entire Arab people the disasters inevitably arising from new, painful and dreadful wars, I also wish to tell you quite frankly that I feel the same emotions and responsibility for everyone in the world, and certainly for the Israeli nation. Every soul destroyed in war is a human soul, and it makes no difference if it is Arab or Israeli. The woman who has been widowed is a person who has the right to live in the bosom of a happy family, whether Arab or Israeli. The innocent children who lose the love and care of their parents are the children of all of us, whether they live on Arab or Israeli soil. We bear a great responsibility for them and for ensuring them a pleasant present and a good future.

For the sake of all that, in order to protect the lives of our sons, our brothers and our sisters, for the sake of the development of man and happiness, in order to give him the right to live honorably, for the sake of

our responsibility to the generations to come and for the sake of the smile of every baby born on our land—for the sake of all that I have decided to come to you despite all the risks and to address you directly.

I have borne and still bear the burden of historic responsibility, and consequently I stated several years ago—on 4 February 1971, to be precise—that I was prepared to sign a peace agreement with Israel. That was the first such statement made by an Arab in a responsible position since the start of the Arab-Israel conflict. Because of all those motives deriving from the responsibility of leadership, I said on 16 October 1973 before the National Assembly, that is, the Egyptian parliament, that we should call for an international conference at which a permanent and just peace would be decided upon. At that time I was not in a situation which required me to ask for peace or a ceasefire, but because of the motives arising from the historical responsibility of leadership we signed the first Disengagement Agreement and, subsequently, the second Disengagement Agreement in the Sinai.

We began knocking at open and closed doors in order to find a way towards a permanent and just peace. We opened our hearts to all the peoples of the world so that they would understand our motives and objectives and be convinced that we really and truly wanted justice and peace. With all those motives I decided to come to you with an open mind, heart and will, in the hope that we might build a true peace based on justice.

Fate has decreed that the peace mission should fall on the great Moslem feast, the blessed feast of the sacrifice, when our blessed father Abraham, the forefather of the Arabs and the Jews, put his fate totally in God's hands, not out of obedience but out of tremendous spiritual strength and free will, in order to sacrifice his offspring. He did this out of an impulse based on a deep, firm faith in the highest ideals, which grant life the deepest content. Perhaps this coincidence embodies a new content for the souls of all of us, and perhaps it will become a genuine hope, the message of confidence, tranquillity and peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us be open and speak frankly and clearly, without any circuitousness. Let us be frank with one another at a time when the whole world, both East and West, is watching these rare moments which may be a substantive turning-point in the historical process in this part of the world, and perhaps in the whole world. Let us be open in giving our answers to the great question of how it is possible to attain a stable and just peace. First of all, I have come to you with a clear and honest answer to this great question so that the nation in Israel might hear it, as well as the whole world and all those whose genuine calls for peace have reached my ears, in the hope that at the conclusion of this historic meeting there will be the results for which millions of people hope and pray. Before giving my frank and clear answer I would

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like to assure you that it rests on a number of facts which no one can refuse to acknowledge.

The first fact: one person cannot be happy at the expense of someone else. The second fact: I will not use ambiguous language. I have not conducted, nor will I conduct, a dual policy, I will negotiate only in a straightforward, above-board way. The third fact: direct confrontation and direct communication are the closest and best ways of attaining a clear aim. The fourth fact: the call for a permanent and just peace based on respect for the resolutions of the U.N. has become the property of the whole world and the international community, whether in the major policy-making capitals or in general public opinion, which in turn influences policy and decision-making. The fifth fact, which is perhaps the most important and the clearest: the Arab people does not work for and aspire towards a stable and just peace from a position of weakness or exhaustion but quite the contrary, from a firm basis of strength and stability which makes what it says derive from a true and frank desire to attain peace, a desire which arises from a genuine esteem for culture and in order to avert certain disaster from ourselves and you and the whole world. There is indeed no alternative to a decision to attain a just and stable peace which will not be rocked by storms, will not be overshadowed by doubts and in whose path there are no twists or bad intentions.

In all frankness, I would like to warn you of these facts, which I sought to lay before you as I see them. I warn you of things which might come into your minds. The obligation I feel to be open impels me to tell you the following:

1. I have not come to you to sign a separate agreement between Egypt and Israel. That is inconceivable in Egypt's policy. The problem is not Egypt and Israel. No separate peace between Egypt and Israel or between any of the countries of conflict and Israel will bring a just peace to the entire region. Moreover, even if there is peace between all the countries of conflict and Israel, without a just solution of the Palestinian problem the just and stable peace which the world urges us to attain cannot be established.

2. I have not come to you to seek to achieve a partial peace, i.e., to conclude the state of belligerency at this stage and then defer the entire problem for a later stage. That is not the fundamental solution which could lead us to a stable peace. In this connection, I have not come to you in order to reach a third disengagement agreement in the Sinai or the Golan Heights or the West Bank, because that would mean that we were merely postponing lighting the fuse to the future. It would also mean that we lacked the courage to stand face to face with peace and that we were too weak to bear the burden and responsibility of a stable and just peace. I have come to you so that together we may build a permanent and just peace and so that not another drop of blood need be shed on either side.

For that I have said I am prepared to go to the ends of the earth. And this brings me to answer the great question: how do we approach a permanent and just peace? In my opinion—and I say this from this podium to the whole world—the answer is neither impossible nor hard, even though there have been long years of blood vengeance, hostility, hatred and the education of generations in a spirit of being completely cut off from one another and ever-increasing enmity. The answer is neither impossible nor hard if we take the straight course and do so in openness and faith. You wish to live together with us in this part of the world.

I want to tell you quite frankly that we welcome you among us with confidence and security. That in itself is a tremendous turning-point, an indication of a sharp historical shift. In the past we rejected you, and we had our reasons for doing so. Yes, we refused to meet with you anywhere. Yes, we described you as "so-called Israel." Yes, we would attend international conferences or organizations together and our representatives would not—and still do not—exchange greetings with yours. Yes, that has happened and is still happening. We stipulated that at all talks there should be an intermediary who would meet with each side separately. Yes, that is how the first and second disengagement agreement talks were held. Our representatives to the first Geneva Conference, for example, met in that way, without exchanging a single word directly. Yes, that happened.

But today I say to you and to the whole world: we agree to live together with you under a just and permanent peace. We do not wish to surround you, or for you to surround us, with missiles intended to destroy or with bombs of hatred and hostility. I have said on more than one occasion that Israel is an established fact which has been recognized by the world and for whose security and survival the two world Powers have accepted responsibility. And because we honestly and truly want peace there was a very high wall between us and you. You sought to build that wall for twenty-five years. But that wall was smashed in 1973. It was a wall of psychological warfare which was based on hatred and enmity. It was a wall of intimidation by a force which could take the entire Arab nation by storm. It was a wall based on the view that as a nation we had become a motionless body. Moreover, there were those among you who said that even in another fifty years the Arabs would not be able to stand upright. It was a wall which constantly threatened to use force which could reach anywhere, no matter how far. It was a wall which warned us of destruction and loss if we tried to use our legal right to liberate our occupied lands. Together we must recognize that that wall crumbled and was smashed in 1973.

But there is another wall. That other wall constitutes a complex psychological barrier between us and you, a barrier of doubts, of alienation, of fears, of deception, of delusions regarding behavior or actions or decisions, of the cautious and mistaken interpretation of every event and

statement. It is to that psychological barrier, which constitutes 70 percent of the problem, that I was referring in my official statements. I would like to ask you today, during this visit of mine, why should we not extend our hands to one another genuinely and in faith and honesty, to destroy that barrier together? Why should we not unite in our true and genuine desire to put aside all the doubts, fear, treachery and bad intentions as well as the hidden purposes? Why should we not stand as one man, with the courage of men and the bravery of heroes who sacrifice their lives for a higher aim? Why should we not stand as one man, bravely and courageously, in order to build the exalted structure of peace which will endure forever and light the path for generations to follow with the glow of a human mission for construction, development and human benefit? Why should we bequeath to the generations to come the results of bloodshed, destruction, orphanhood, widowhood, the desolation of the families and the sighs of the casualties?

Why should we not believe in the wisdom of the Creator, as expressed in the Proverbs of Solomon: "Deceit is in the heart of them that imagine evil; but to the counsellors of peace is joy. Better is a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, than a house full of sacrifices with strife." Why should we not read together from David's Psalms: "Unto thee will I cry, O Lord...Hear the voice of my supplications, when I cry unto thee, when I lift up my hands toward thy holy oracle. Draw me not away with the wicked, and with the workers of iniquity, which speak peace to their neighbors, but mischief is in their hearts. Give them according to their deeds, and according to the wickedness of their endeavors....Seek peace and pursue it."

Ladies and gentlemen, I will tell you the truth, peace will not truly prevail unless it is based on justice rather than the conquest of the land of others. You cannot demand for yourselves what you deny to others. With all frankness and in the spirit which brought me to you today, I say to you: you must finally abandon the dreams of invasion and discard the belief which says that force is the best way of dealing with the Arabs. You must learn well the lessons of the clash between us and you, and expansion will not help you in any way. If we are speaking frankly: our land is not to be bargained for or subject to arguments. For us, our national land is like the sacred valley where Allah spoke to Moses, of blessed memory. None of us is entitled to or will agree to forego an inch of that land or to accept the principle of bargaining for it.

I will tell you the truth: we have before us today the best opportunity for peace, one which this period cannot offer us again, if we are really serious in our struggle for peace. If we miss this opportunity it will be accursed by mankind and history.

What is peace for Israel? That it should live with its neighbors in the region in peace and security. That is the logic to which I say, yes, Israel should live within the framework of its borders, calm and secure from

all aggression. That is the logic to which I say, yes, Israel should receive every kind of guarantee which assures it those two things. That is the demand to which I say yes. More than that, we know that we will agree to all the international guarantees you imagine and from whoever you wish to obtain them. We know that we will agree to accept all the guarantees you want from the two Powers, or from one of them, or from the five leading nations, or from some of them. I state once more unequivocally that we agree to all the guarantees you receive, and that we will also receive. Thus, when we ask what peace means for Israel, the answer is that Israel should live within the framework of its borders with its Arab neighbors, in tranquillity and security, and within the framework it desires of guarantees obtained by the other side.

But how will this be attained? How can we achieve this result, and thereby the stable and just peace? There are truths which have to be faced bravely and lucidly. There is Arab land which has been occupied by Israel and is still being retained by armed force. We insist on complete withdrawal from these areas, including Arab Jerusalem, the Holy City, to which I came as the city of peace, which was and always will be the living embodiment of coexistence between all the believers of the three faiths. But it is not reasonable for someone to think that with its special position the city of Jerusalem should exist within the framework of annexation or expansion. It must be free and open to all believers. Above all, it is important that this city should not be cut off from those who have chosen it as their permanent dwelling-place for hundreds of years. Instead of inciting the hatred of the Crusades we should endeavor to revive the spirit of Omar ibn al-Hatab and Saladdin, namely, the spirit of tolerance and respect for rights. Places of prayer, both Moslem and Christian, are not merely sites where ceremonies and prayers are held. They are more than that, genuine evidence of our uninterrupted existence in this place, whether political or spiritual.

No one must err in evaluating the importance and respect which we attach to Jerusalem, we Christians and Moslems. Permit me to say to you unequivocally, I have not come to you under this roof in order to ask you to remove your forces from the occupied land. Complete withdrawal from the Arab land occupied after 1967 is self-evident. On that point we can accept no argument, and on that point we will not beg anyone for anything because there is no meaning to any discussions for a stable and just peace and there is no point to any step intended to guarantee our life together in this part of the world in peace and security when you occupy Arab land by force. No peace will be stable if it is based on the occupation of someone else's land. Yes, that is self-evident. It cannot be debated and discussed, if the intentions are good and if the struggle is genuine for a stable and permanent peace for our generation and all those which are to follow.

With regard to the Palestinian problem, no one will deny that that is the heart of the entire problem. No one anywhere in the world will accept today the slogans which have been voiced in Israel ignoring the existence of a Palestinian nation and even asking, where is that nation? The problem of the Palestinian people and its legitimate rights cannot be ignored or denied by any side. Neither logic nor reason can tolerate such a denial or dismissal. It is a fact which has been accepted by international agreement in the West and the East and has gained recognition, sympathy and support within the framework of international agreements and official statements, and it will avail no one to stop his ears to what is said day and night and to close his eyes to this historic fact. Even the U.S.A., your first ally, which is deeply committed to defending Israel's existence and security, which has given and is giving Israel every moral, material and military support, I say, even the U.S.A. has chosen to stand behind the truth and acknowledge that the Palestinian people has legitimate rights and the Palestinian problem is the heart and crux of the conflict, and as long as that problem remains unresolved that conflict will grow and assume new proportions.

I say to you in all honesty: peace cannot be attained without the Palestinians. It is a grave mistake of unprecedented immensity to close one's eyes to that problem or neglect it. I will not continue to describe the events of the past since the Balfour Declaration of sixty years ago. You are well aware of the facts. If you found the legal and moral justification for establishing a national home on land which was not entirely your property, you will certainly understand the insistence of the Palestinian nation on reestablishing its state in its homeland. When some of the extremists demand that the Palestinians abandon that sublime aim, that would mean, in effect, that they abandon their identity and all hope for the future.

I congratulate Israeli voices which have demanded that recognition be accorded to the rights of the Palestinian people so that peace may be attained and guaranteed. I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that there is nothing to be gained from refusing to recognize the right of the Palestinian people and its right to establish its state and return to it.

We Arabs have undergone that experience in the past with you and with the fact of Israel's existence. The struggle went from one war to another, to ever-greater numbers of casualties, until today we have reached the brink of a dangerous abyss and a terrible disaster if we do not utilize the opportunity for permanent and just peace together. You must face reality bravely, as I have done. There is no solution to any problem by retreating from it or ignoring it. Peace cannot be stabilized by making misguided assumptions which the world has rejected and has called collectively for recognition and respect for justice and truth. There is no need to question the right of the Palestinian people. There is

no value in creating barriers in order to delay or obstruct the advent of peace.

As I have told you, there is no happiness at the expense of the misery of others. Similarly, direct confrontation and direct communication are the closest and best way to a clear objective. Direct confrontation with the Palestinian problem and the only language for dealing with it in the direction of a just and permanent peace are embodied in the establishment of a state for the Palestinian people, with all the international guarantees you require. You must not fear a young country which will need the support of all the countries of the world to sustain it. And when the bells of peace ring out, no hand will beat the drums of war. And if such a hand be found, its voice shall not be heard.

Imagine the peace agreement we shall present at Geneva to the world which is hungry for peace, a peace agreement based on the following points: a. the termination of the Israeli occupation of the Arab lands occupied in 1967; b. the fulfillment of the basic rights of the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination, including the establishment of its state; c. the right of all the countries of the region to live in peace within their secure borders, defended by agreed means and which will provide the appropriate guarantees for the international borders, in addition to appropriate international guarantees; d. all the countries of the region undertake to maintain relations among them, in accordance with the aims and principles of the U.N. Charter, particularly the prohibition on the use of force and the solution of disputes by peaceful means; e. the conclusion of the state of war which exists in the region.

Ladies and gentlemen, peace is not signing a piece of paper but rewriting history. Peace is not a competition in order to protect avarice or conceal aspirations. The essence of peace is a tremendous struggle against desires and greed. The experience of ancient and modern history has taught us all that missiles and nuclear weapons do not bring security. On the contrary, they destroy security.

For the sake of our peoples, for the sake of human culture, it is incumbent upon us to defend men everywhere from rule by force of arms. It is incumbent upon us to exalt the rule of humanity and the strength of the values and principles which elevate man.

If I may be permitted to address an appeal to the Israeli nation from this podium, I appeal with the truth to every man, woman and child in Israel and say: from the Egyptian nation which welcomes this sacred mission for peace I bring a mission of peace to you. It is the mission of the Egyptian nation, to which fanaticism is alien, whose Moslem, Christian and Jewish sons live in a spirit of friendship, love and tolerance. It is Egypt which has placed in my hands the pledge of a sacred mission to you, a mission of security and peace. I appeal to you, to every man, woman and child in Israel, to encourage your leaders to strive for peace, so that efforts may be diverted to the establishment of a mighty

structure of peace instead of building fortresses and shelters buttressed by missiles of destruction. Show the whole world the nature of the new man in this part of the world, so that he may serve as an example of the man of love, the man of peace, everywhere. Tell your sons that what was in the past was the end of wars and suffering. Now there is a new beginning, a new life, a life of love, blessing, freedom and peace.

Ah, every bereaved mother, every widow, every son who has lost his father or brother, ah, all victims of war, fill the earth and the universe with the praises of peace, fill hearts with hopes of peace, turn the song into a living, productive reality, turn hope into a law of work and struggle. Because the willpower of nations comes from the willpower of God.

Ladies and gentlemen, before coming here I turned my entire heart and mind to God, may He be praised. When I prayed the festival prayer in the Al-Aksa Mosque and when I visited the Church of the Annunciation, I asked God to guide my spirit and preserve my great faith, so that this visit of mine may fulfill His aims for a happy present and an even happier future.

I have chosen to deviate from all the rules and precedents known by countries which were at war with one another, despite the continued occupation of the Arab lands. My statement that I was prepared to come to Israel was a great surprise and caused tremendous excitement and even doubts as regards the objective of my coming. Nonetheless, I made the decision in the full belief that I was truly expressing the desires and intentions of my people. I have chosen this difficult course even though many people regard it as the most difficult course. I have chosen to come to you with an open heart and mind. I have chosen to give priority to the efforts being made in the world for peace. I have chosen to come to you, to your House, and put the facts before you, the simple truths, not in order to maneuver or gain something but so that we may walk together through the most difficult struggle of modern times, the struggle for a just and permanent peace. It is not my struggle alone nor that of Israel's leaders. It is the struggle of every single individual in our countries, every one of which has the right to live in peace. This is the conscious and responsible commitment in the hearts of the millions who are awaiting the longed-for peace.

When I announced this initiative many people asked: what do you think can be gained from that visit? What do I expect from it? I will tell you what my reply was: I have not taken this initiative in order to obtain what may be gained during the course of a visit. I have come on a mission and I have told you of my mission. Read the word of the Lord, as spoken by the prophet Zechariah: "therefore love the truth and peace."

And I derive inspiration from the verses of the Koran which say: "Say, we believe in God and in what was handed down to us and handed down to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes, and in what was

given to Moses and Jesus and the Prophet of their sovereignty, and that we accept." And the words of the great God are true.

(Applause.)

The Speaker, Y. Shamir: I give the floor to the Prime Minister.

(Applause.)

The Prime Minister, M. Begin: Mr. Speaker, Mr. President of the State of Israel, Mr. President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Knesset Members, we congratulate the President and all the members of the Moslem faith in our country and everywhere on the occasion of the Feast of the Sacrifice, Id al-Adha. That festival commemorates the binding, when the Creator tested the faith of our common ancestor Abraham, and Abraham proved himself. As regards morality and human progress, that marked the ban on human sacrifice. The tradition of our two nations learned and taught that ban while the other nations around us still sacrificed people to their idols. And thus the Jewish and Arab peoples contributed to human progress, and continue to do so to this very day.

I congratulate the Egyptian President on his coming to our country and participating in the Knesset sitting. The flying time between Cairo and Jerusalem is short, but the distance between the two cities was infinite until last night. President Sadat crossed that distance courageously. We Jews appreciate courage, and admire it in our guest, because we owe our existence and survival to courage.

Mr. Speaker, this small nation, the surviving remnant of the Jewish people which returned to its historic homeland, has always wanted peace. When the dawn of our independence rose on 14 May 1948, 4 Iyar 5708, in the Proclamation of Independence, the founding document of our national freedom, David Ben-Gurion said: "We extend the hand of peace and good-neighborliness to all the states around us and to their peoples, and we call upon them to cooperate in mutual helpfulness with the independent Jewish nation in its land."

A year before that, while still in the underground, facing the fateful battle for the liberation of the country and the salvation of the nation, we appealed to our neighbors, saying: "In this country we will live together and advance together to a life of freedom and happiness. Arab neighbors, do not spurn the hand extended to you in peace."

But it is my duty, my duty, Mr. Speaker, not only my right, to say today that the truth is that our hand which was extended in peace was not taken, and a day after the renewal of our independence, in accordance with our right, which is eternal and incontrovertible, we were attacked on three fronts and stood almost without weapons, a few against many, the weak against the strong, when an attempt was made, the day after the declaration of our independence, to stifle it and also put an end to the last hope of the Jewish people in the age of destruction and revival.

No, we do not believe in force, and we have never based our relations with the Arab people on force. On the contrary, force was used against us. Throughout this generation we have continually been attacked by force with the object of destroying our nation, ending our independence and annulling our right.

We defended ourselves. It is true that we defended our right, our existence, our honor, our wives and children, against the repeated attempt to use force against us, and not on one front alone. It is also true that with God's help we overcame the aggressive forces and assured our nation's existence, not only in this generation but also in the generations to come.

We do not believe in force, we believe in right, only in right, and that accounts for our deeply-held aspiration, to which we have always adhered, for peace.

Mr. President, Mr. President of Egypt, in this democratic House are to be found the commanders of all the fighting Jewish underground organizations. They had to wage a war of few against many, against a mighty force. There are to be found here our senior commanders, who led large masses, large masses, into battles which were forced on them, to the victory which was inevitable because they were defending their right. They belong to different parties, hold different views, but I am sure, Mr. President, that I am expressing the opinion of them all without exception when I say that we have one aspiration in our hearts, in which we are all united, and that is to bring peace, to our people, which has not known a single day of peace since we began returning to Zion, and peace to our neighbors, to whom we wish well. And we believe that if we make peace, true peace, we can help one another in every aspect of life and cultivate a new era in the Middle East, an era of growth and development, of blossoming and fertilization, as it was in days of yore.

Let me, therefore, say today how we understand peace. We seek full, genuine peace with complete conciliation between the Jewish and Arab peoples. We will not sink into memories of the past. There have been wars. There has been bloodshed. Wonderful members of the younger generation have fallen on both sides. We will always bear with us the memory of our heroes who gave their lives so that this day could come, and this day has come. We appreciate the courage of a rival and we give respect to all the members of the younger generation among the Arab nation who fell too. We will not sink into the memories of the past, however hard they may be for us all. We must overcome them. We must look to the future, to our nations, to our children, to our joint future. We must see to it that in this region we will all live together, for generations to come, the great Arab nation with its countries and the Jewish people in its country, the Land of Israel. That is why we must determine what the content of the peace is to be.

Let us conduct negotiations for a peace treaty, Mr. President, as free men and, with God's help, so we wholeheartedly believe, the day will come when we will sign it in mutual respect, and then we will know that the period of wars has ended, that we have extended our hands to one another, that we have shaken one another's hand and that the future is bright for all the peoples of the region. The first thing to do is to sign a peace treaty and annul the state of war.

I agree, Mr. President, that you have not come to us, and we have not invited you to our country, as it is customary to say of late, in order to drive a wedge between the Arab nations. Someone made use of the ancient phrase *Divide et Impera*. Israel desires neither to rule nor to divide. We want peace with all our neighbors, with Egypt, with Jordan, with Syria and with Lebanon. We wish to negotiate—

T. Toubi (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality): Why not with the Palestinian Arabs? Why not with the Palestinian Arabs?

The Prime Minister, M. Begin: Mr. President, my colleague interrupted me, but I am glad this time he did not interrupt you. (Applause.)

There is no need to distinguish between a peace treaty and an end to the state of war. We are not proposing or requesting that. On the contrary, the first clause in a peace treaty is the annulment of the state of war and forever. We want to establish normal relations between us, such as prevail among all nations even after all the wars. We have learned from history, Mr. President, that war is avoidable. Peace is inevitable.

Many nations have waged war on one another, sometimes using the foolish phrase "implacable enemy." There are no implacable enemies. After all the wars comes the inevitable—peace. That is why we seek to establish diplomatic ties, such as are customary between civilized nations, in a peace treaty.

Today two flags fly in Jerusalem—the Egyptian and the Israeli. Together, Mr. President, we saw our little children waving both flags. Let us sign a peace treaty and establish that situation forever, in both Jerusalem and Cairo. I hope the day will come when Egyptian children will wave both those flags. You, Mr. President, will have an accredited ambassador in Jerusalem and we will have one in Cairo, and even if differences of opinion arise between us, we will clarify them in a civilized way, by means of our authorized representatives.

We propose economic cooperation to develop our countries. In the Middle East there are wonderful countries, God created it thus, an oasis, but there are also desert areas, and they can be made fertile. Let us cooperate in that. Let us develop our countries, put an end to poverty, hunger and homelessness, let us raise our nations to the level of developed countries so that they will no longer be called developing countries. I am respectfully prepared to confirm the words of His Majesty the King

of Morocco, who said even in public that if there were peace in the Middle East the combination of the Arab genius with the Jewish genius could turn the region into a paradise. Let us open our countries to freedom of movement. You will come to us and we will visit you. I am prepared to announce this day, Mr. Speaker, that our country is open to the citizens of Egypt. I do not make this dependent on any condition on our part. I think that it is only right and fair that such an announcement should be reciprocal. But just as there are Egyptian flags in our streets and a distinguished Egyptian delegation in our capital and our country today, the visitors will increase. Our border will be open to you, as will all the other borders. And, as I have said, we want that in the south, the north and the east.

I consequently renew my invitation to the President of Syria to follow in your footsteps, Mr. President, and to come to us in order to start negotiations for peace between Israel and Syria and the signing of a peace treaty between the two countries. I regret to say that there is no justification for the mourning they have decreed beyond our northern border. On the contrary, visits such as this, ties such as these, clarifications of this kind, can and must be days of rejoicing, days of exultation, for all nations.

I invite King Hussein to come to us and discuss together all the problems between us. I also invite genuine spokesmen of the Palestinians of the Land of Israel to come and hold talks of clarification with us about our joint future and about guaranteeing human rights, social justice, peace and mutual respect. If they invite us to come to their capitals we will accept their invitations. If they invite us to embark on negotiations in Damascus, Amman and Beirut, we will go to those capitals in order to conduct negotiations there. We do not wish to divide. We want true peace with all our neighbors, as reflected in peace treaties with content such as I have described here.

M. Wilner (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality): You want to distract us from the Palestinian people. The Palestinian issue is central.

The Prime Minister, M. Begin: Mr. Speaker, it is my duty today to tell our guests and the nations watching us and listening to us about the link between our people and this country. The President mentioned the Balfour Declaration. No, sir, we did not take any alien land. We returned to our homeland. The link between our nation and this land is eternal. It began in the dawn of human history. It has never been severed. In this land we established our culture, here our prophets, whose words you quoted today, prophesied, here the kings of Judah and Israel ruled, here we became a nation, here we established our kingdom and when we were exiled from our land because of the force that was used against us we did not forget this country for one day. We prayed to it, we yearned

for it, we believed that we would return to it from the day the words: "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing," were pronounced. That psalm applies to all our exiles, all our afflictions, the consolation of the return to Zion which would surely come.

That right of ours was recognized. The Balfour Declaration was included in the Mandate which was acknowledged by the nations of the world, including the U.S.A. In the preamble to that recognized international document we 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."

What is mentioned is, then, the historical connection between the Jewish people and Palestine, or the Land of Israel, *Eretz Yisrael* in Hebrew, and on the reestablishment of their National Home in that country, i.e., the Land of Israel.

In 1919 we also gained recognition of that right from the spokesman of the Arab nation. The agreement of 3 January 1919 signed by Emir Faisal and Chaim Weizmann read: "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." This is followed by the various clauses regarding cooperation between the Arab state and Palestine. That is our right. Its existence is the truth.

What happened to us when our homeland was taken away from us? I accompanied you to Yad Vashem, this morning, Mr. President. With your own eyes you saw what befell our people when this homeland was taken away from it.

There is no annexation. We both agreed, Mr. President, that no one who has seen what is contained in Yad Vashem with his own eyes can fail to understand what happened to this nation when it was without its homeland, when it was deprived of its homeland. We both read a document dated 30 January 1939 which contained the word "*Vernichtung*," if war were to break out the Jewish race in Europe would be destroyed. Then, too, people said to us: don't take any notice of it. The whole world heard. No one came to save us, not in the nine fateful, crucial months after the statement was made, the statement which was unparalleled by any made by any man ever since God created man and man created Satan, and not in the six years when millions of our brethren, including one and a half million little Jewish children, were destroyed in every manner imaginable. No one came to save us, neither from the East nor from the West. Consequently we, that entire generation, the generation of destruction and revival, swore a solemn oath: never again shall we allow our nation to be in danger, never again shall we permit our

wives and children—whom we must protect even, if necessary, at the cost of our lives—to be within the range of the enemy's destructive fire.

Furthermore, since then, it has been our duty in every generation to remember that certain things which are said about our people must be taken seriously, and for the sake of our people we must on no account accept any advice which counsels disregarding such statements.

President Sadat knows, and he knew this from us before he came to Jerusalem, that our views regarding the permanent borders between us and our neighbors differ from his. But I call on the President of Egypt and all our neighbors: do not say that there will be no negotiations about something. I propose, with the support of the majority of this House, that everything should be open to negotiation. Anyone who says "In the relations between the Arab people or peoples in the region and the State of Israel there are things which should not be subject to negotiation," is taking a heavy responsibility upon himself. Neither side should say the opposite. Neither side should submit preconditions. We will conduct the negotiations with dignity. If there are differences of opinion between us, that is nothing unusual. Anyone who has studied the history of war and the chronicles of peace treaties knows that all negotiations for peace treaties begin from differences of opinion between the sides, and during the negotiations they reach an agreement which makes the act of signing a peace treaty possible. That is the course we suggest taking. We will conduct the negotiations as equals. There are no victors and vanquished. All the nations of the region are equal and each will treat the other with respect. And in that spirit of openness, of readiness to listen to one another, to facts, reasons and explanations, with all the accepted means of human persuasion, let us conduct the negotiations as I have requested and suggest beginning and continuing, proceeding consistently until we reach the happy moment when we sign a peace treaty between us.

We are not only ready to sit down with the representatives of Egypt, as well as with the representatives of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, if they should want this, at the Peace Conference in Geneva, we have proposed renewing the Geneva Conference on the basis of the two Security Council resolutions, 242 and 338. Furthermore, if there are problems between us before the convening of the Geneva Conference, we will clarify them today and tomorrow, and if the President of Egypt wants to continue clarifying them in Egypt, we will be only too happy to do so. If he prefers a neutral spot, we have nothing against that. Let us clarify the problems which need clarification before the Geneva Conference, and our eyes and ears will be open to every proposal and problem raised.

I will permit myself to say a few words about Jerusalem. Mr. President, today you prayed in the house of prayer which is sacred to Islam and from there you went to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. You saw for yourself, as everyone knows, that since this city was reunited there is

complete freedom of access, without any let or hindrance, to the members of all religions to the places which are holy to them. This positive phenomenon did not exist for nineteen years. It prevails for about eleven years, and we can assure the Moslem world and the Christian world and all the nations that there will always be freedom of access to the holy sites of each religion. We will protect that right of freedom of access because that is what we believe in—equal human and civil rights and respect for every faith, every single faith.

Mr. Speaker, this is a special day for our parliament and will undoubtedly be remembered for many years to come in the annals of our nation, as in those of the Egyptian nation, and those of all mankind. This day, Members of the Knesset, I offer up a prayer that the shared God of our fathers will give us the wisdom required to overcome the difficulties and obstacles, the inflammatory statements and the insults, and with God's help we will reach the day we long for, for which all our nation prays—peace. In the words of the Psalmist of Israel: "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other," and of the Prophet Zechariah: "therefore love the truth and peace." (Applause.)

(The Prime Minister of Israel, Menahem Begin, and the President of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, shake hands.) (Applause.)

The Speaker, Y. Shamir: I give the floor to MK Peres.

M. Wilner (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality): Point of order....I ask the Speaker to permit all the party groups in the Knesset to express their opinions in brief. Our party group wishes to propose that the Knesset accept President Sadat's proposals that Israel go to Geneva and, on that basis, sign a peace treaty benefiting everyone. Then we will finally put an end to the nightmare of wars and bloodshed.

The Speaker, Y. Shamir: I thank MK Wilner. This sitting has been convened under Section 56 (A) of the Rules of Procedure. At a sitting of this kind there are no conclusions or proposals. The agenda is decided by the House Committee and I therefore have no alternative but to reject your proposal. I give the floor to MK Peres.

S. Peres (Alignment): Mr. Speaker, Mr. President of the Egyptian Arab Republic, Mr. President of Israel, distinguished Knesset Members, I am speaking today not on behalf of the opposition but on behalf of the unity of our nation, because there is no opposition to peace in our nation. Even though there are differing views regarding the possible and desirable settlement, there are no differences of opinion as to the urgent need for a peace settlement.

Our nation is united, Mr. President, as you could feel wherever you went, in its desire for peace, at last full peace, true peace. We are also united in welcoming you to Jerusalem, the city of faith and peace, the

city of hope and prayer. Your coming appears to us as a fresh start, a step taken by a leader of vision, the leader of Egypt, the vanguard of the Arabs, the representative of a long and glorious history, and primarily as a step which must not be wasted.

You displayed courage in taking the risk of overturning old habits and fixed practices and making a fresh start. In war, too, one takes risks, but the chances are always bitter. In war there are decisions, but even victors pay a heavy price. While taking a risk for peace may involve losses, it will not involve loss of life. Your coming symbolizes a new beginning of that kind, and I assure you that we will all try to free ourselves of preconceptions so that we may see things in a new light and against a new background. We will support any step the government of Israel takes to attain a peace settlement and we will continue to make whatever contribution we can so that your visit here constitutes a genuine success, for the sake of our nations, for the sake of peace.

Mr. President, I listened to what you said with great attention. I could not agree to the content, neither as regards peace—we hold a different view—nor as regards the settlement. But all negotiations begin with disagreement. We will listen to you and you will listen to us. We may find a compromise or a third alternative which neither you nor we had thought about previously, and therefore this dialogue from this podium is of such importance. As you stand here, on the podium of our Knesset, together with the Prime Minister of Israel, before the elected representatives of our country, with its Jewish, Moslem, Druse and Christian inhabitants, we feel that we are experiencing a breathtaking moment in the course of history, as hundreds of millions of peace-loving people watch us and follow every moment of this visit.

The eyes of millions of viewers and thousands of years of Egyptian and Jewish history are turned to this podium today. You and we constitute the continuation of a history which is among the oldest in the annals of mankind, a history which has known conflicts and cooperation, a history which is imbued with both suffering and hope. From the peaks of the most prominent of the structures built by man—the pyramids—and from the pages of the most ancient book—the Bible—we are confronted by the penetrating question: will we be able to ascend to the true peaks of human endeavor and emerge from the tribulations of war to the open spaces of peace, as we freed ourselves from the burden of slavery and attained the heights of freedom?

It is not only the distance past which links us, however, but also a great future. The worried eyes of millions of Egyptian, Syrian, Jordanian, Palestinian and Jewish mothers are focused on this podium now, waiting to see whether we can tell them and their sons that there will be no more wars, no more threats, no more bereavement, destruction and refugees, and that henceforth there is a chance that our young people may grow up in an atmosphere which is free from fear, terror and sud-

den disaster. Everyone is waiting to hear that wisdom has defeated enmity, and that the art of statesmanship has overcome military doctrine.

Your very coming here has achieved part of that aim. You and we exist and are speaking to one another. Without yet having resolved the differences between us, your coming has created the chance which did not exist beforehand, the chance that if we are able to invest in peace even some of the efforts we invested in the military sphere, your visit will always be remembered as the beginning we have been waiting for.

Knesset Members, for thirty years we have waited for this moment, for this visit. We always believed that the face to face meeting of the leaders of the nations would create the conditions for a fruitful dialogue and the impetus which would lead to peace. Peace, Mr. President, not only at the summits but also at the roots, of statesmen, of poets, of laborers, of academics, of children, of adults, of us all, in real life, in books, in work. The Prime Minister talked about it. All the prime ministers which preceded him spoke in favor of an approach of this kind. David Ben-Gurion said: "There is no conflict between us and the Egyptian people; we do not want the continuation of anarchy in our relations with Egypt and we are ready to conduct negotiations for a stable peace, cooperation, neighborly relations, in conditions of direct negotiations without prior conditions, without coercion by either side." Sharett and Eshkol repeated the hope that it would be possible "to renew the days of glory when Jews and Arabs contributed together to the culture of mankind." Mrs. Meir said: "I appeal to the President of Egypt as the president of a great nation," proposing "that we meet as equals and make a supreme and joint effort to reach the solution of all the problems between us." Mr. Yitzhak Rabin stated: "I hereby announce my readiness to meet with any Arab head of state at any time, anywhere, for the purpose of peace talks."

Since 1973 we have reached solutions which none of us had predicted. Through the intermediacy of our American friends we agreed to sign various agreements, as you mentioned: the Interim Agreement of 1974 and another agreement in 1975. Those agreements came under criticism at the time. It was claimed that Israel was relinquishing concrete benefits, withdrawing from territory which seemed to it to be essential, while Egypt and Syria were agreeing to things which were basically political: an assurance of tranquillity in the region, the revival of the life of the region, the aspiration to live in peace. We would not have been able to do that had we not believed that Egypt, the Egyptian President and the Egyptian people really and truly wanted peace.

Peace requires that one give credit to attempts at a dialogue, it also requires patience—let us not forget that—and responsiveness to the expectations of many citizens in both countries. It also requires that one rid oneself to some extent of the cost of security as well as of the danger

of war, for the sake of the exaltation of man, the improvement of society, the development of agriculture, the expansion of industry, the advance of science and the amelioration of the standard of living of every single citizen. Like you, we preferred the proposals of the U.S., as brought to us by Secretary of State Kissinger in his roving airplane, to the threatening involvement of the U.S.S.R., which could have contributed to peace but contributed to war instead.

M. Wilner (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality): That's untrue.

S. Peres (Alignment): I admit that you are an expert in untruth, but there's no point in interrupting all the time.

Your coming here today puts the procedures and processes which have been customary to date in the shade. The assurance that everything is open for discussion gives your visit genuine, powerful and immediate content. The desire to discuss your proposals in a good atmosphere brings the possibility of achieving a solution nearer. Both you and we will express our views and reach agreement.

I speak on behalf of the Labor movement in Israel, a movement which, from the first day of its existence and till today, has never stopped believing in peace, in good human relations between laboring men at home and in the region. I am convinced that the socialist movements of the world, including the Egyptian Socialist Union, are not purely concerned with classes and trades unionism, but are popular movements which believe that the working man will benefit only when the country in which he lives benefits. Neither are they purely national movements, also being universal and advocating humane and democratic socialism which is resolved to release the individual from coercion, exploitation and discrimination and to liberate nations from bondage and hostility. All efforts must be coordinated to attain one aim: the dignity of man, the justice of society and the peace of the world.

From this podium we must say to one another directly and honestly what has to be done, what concrete steps must be taken now to attain peace. Apart from expressing the views of each one of us and without dismissing any method or approach which might lead to peace, whether it is a gradual policy of step by step, one country at a time, or several simultaneously in one great and comprehensive step, the objective must be permanent peace, full peace, genuine peace with everyone and between everyone, with ambassadors and political, economic and commercial relations, as is customary between countries in the same region.

Peace must be based on direct relations between the Arab and Jewish peoples, without any outside intermediary, without dependence on others, without imported barriers. Each country must live alongside the other, as each individual lives alongside others, along the lines of the framework existing between the countries of Europe or Scandinavia to-

day, having reached a time of close communication, without obscuring their separate identities, after periods of hostility. Mr. President, every nation should decide its identity for itself and should be able to express its identity itself, educating its children in the spirit of its heritage, expressing its views, enjoying freedom of movement, establishing contacts with other countries, respecting equal rights and refraining from turning equality into privilege and difference into violence.

Peace must be based on mutual compromise, unlike war, which is based on a unilateral decision. We will support an honorable and genuine compromise and will not demand a compromise from either side in the sphere of its ability to defend itself. We have said that we will agree to territorial compromises with every Arab country provided they do not endanger our security, just as our neighbors would not want their security endangered. We can all save in the security sphere what we will gain from peace, but there will be peace between us and each one of us will have security. This is important, because we do not want the involvement of foreign forces in our region. We rejected them in difficult times and we do not want them at a time when, as I believe, the chances of peace are increasing.

Peace must create recognized and permanent borders, it must also provide an answer for the refugee problem, and there are refugees on both sides. Approximately one third of Israel's inhabitants came from Arab countries. They are not refugees but residents in every sense of the word. Approximately half the Palestinians currently living in the area between the River Jordan and the sea are inhabitants, and some of them are refugees. By a joint endeavor we can offer them all a new standard of living, a new life in which they are no longer refugees but residents living a normal life.

We are prepared to advance through peace to any settlement which we all find desirable, either with each country separately or with all of them jointly. We recognize the fact that Egypt has a senior position of leadership in the Arab world and the entire region, and that peace can in the final event be based on advanced unity between nations rather than serving as a wedge between them. The unions which led to enmity must be replaced by a new union which leads to peace. As far as can be seen, Mr. President, there is no reason whatsoever why there should be any conflict between us and Egypt. We are convinced that the disputed subjects, and what appear to be disputed subjects, can be settled within a short space of time. The enmity between us was a protracted error. An agreement between us is within our grasp.

There is no reason for the conflict between us and Jordan. We have tasted Jordanian shells, but we have also tasted the open bridges. We regret those shells but we are also convinced that the caravan of peace can cross the open bridges without restraint. We will be ready to negotiate a

lasting peace with the Syrians. A peace agreement can rapidly be reached with Lebanon.

We will not conceal the fact that we are aware of the existence of the Palestinian identity. Any nation may decide its identity for itself, without requiring the approval of another nation, but the Palestinian identity must be expressed without endangering Israel's security—or Jordan's, for that matter, though that is not our concern—and we have already seen how civilized nations have resolved the problem of differing identities within one entity, each group working alongside its neighbor without a solution being imposed by bitterness, with peaceful coexistence, each group under its own leadership and administration within responsible existing political frameworks.

The holy places, the economic needs and the security circumstances all require maximum openness. No border should prevent access to the holy places, no political map should interfere with the economic map and no security need should be involved where the spiritual heritage of our respective nations is concerned.

Mr. President, we are very proud of what we have achieved in Israel. History has been kind to the Egyptian nation, which has not been exiled from its land. History has been cruel to us and we have experienced dispersion, persecution and annihilation. We prevailed by the force of prayer, the yearning for Zion and the love of Zion. Today you are a distinguished guest on the soil of our revival.

We have very great respect for the renewal, revolution and great independence which you and your generation have bestowed on the Egyptian nation and the Arab world. The revival and the renewal released hidden energies which we thought had sunk and been lost in the course of history, but a great deal of energy was also wasted on the hostility between our two countries. Let us emerge from that and unite our forces once more, each one of us remaining true to his course, faith and dream as we do so. Let us cooperate and together make our region the most fertile in the world, the most prosperous society ever known in the region. In the words of the prophet Jeremiah, who spoke two thousand five hundred years ago: "Ye shall not see the sword, neither shall ye have famine, but I will give you assured peace in this place."

It took you less than one hour to get from Ismailiya to Lod. When you emerged from the plane we did not know how our encounter would go. It is difficult to remember another moment in history when, as almost the whole world watched, a distance narrowed and a gulf almost disappeared. This is a great moment in the lives of all of us. We feel that this great moment should also be a moment of truth: we will have to relinquish things which we want and you, Mr. President, will have to relinquish things you want if we are to meet somewhere where we can build peace.

The long and bitter years of hostility entrapped us all. There is no disputed topic between Israel and Egypt which cannot be resolved through peaceful discussions, and we will all do our best to see to it that your dramatic and brave peace mission, a mission which we have long awaited, at long last bears fruit and history records this moment as one which marked the beginning of a new era, the era of peace. May this be an auspicious moment for us all in the Middle East. Let us establish unity for the sake of peace, for peace unites us all. (Applause.)

The Speaker, Y. Shamir: Would the guests in the Chamber and the galleries kindly remain in their places for a few minutes until their honors the Presidents leave the Chamber.

The Secretary-General of the Knesset. N. Lorch: Their honors, the Presidents!

(The Knesset Members stand as the President of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, and the President of Israel, Ephraim Katzir, leave.)

The Speaker, Y. Shamir: I hereby close the sitting.