

tion. It is therefore all the more willing to listen to you today, Mr President, because you are the bearer of a message of peace and hope. Yours is a cause in which the European Parliament takes a passionate interest. And we are honoured that you have chosen to address today, through their democratically elected representatives, all the peoples of Europe, to convey to them your hopes and also to indicate the part which you would like to see them play in the creation of an area of peace in the Middle East.

Mr President, our views may differ on the ways and means of carrying through this great undertaking. But

when both countries and governments are inspired by an identical resolve to attain the same goal of peace, there is surely no need for us to dwell at length on differences of opinion about the methods to be followed. The dialogue in which you are today inviting us to take part will surely transcend all our differences if we have a shared resolve to attain the goal that we have set for ourselves. There is no doubt in my own mind that this will be the case and, with that deep conviction, I call upon you, Mr President, to address the European Parliament.

(Loud applause as President Sadat walked to the rostrum)

Speech by President Sadat

Inch Allah!

Madam President, dear friends, I should like to say a few words in French and a few words in German to express my gratitude for the honour that has been bestowed upon me by giving me the opportunity to address you and address the European people. And then after that I shall be giving my speech in English.

(F,D) Madam President, dear friends, I wish to express how deeply I appreciate your kind invitation. I shall speak to you with absolute frankness in the hope that our meeting here today will mark the beginning of a lasting dialogue. This dialogue will enable us to lay the foundations of the new partnership which I shall propose today. I greatly welcome the contribution which each of us can make.

I would ask you to convey to the people of your countries the greetings of the Egyptian people. I wish you every success in the service of Europe and of all the countries of the world.

Madam President, dear friends, thank you and the whole people of Europe whom you represent for affording me this opportunity to meet you and share with you some thoughts on matters of common interest.

At the outset, let me convey to you a message of friendship and amity from every Egyptian. It is certainly a moment of historic significance that we are meeting together at this crossroad to ponder matters of great concern, not only for our peoples, but also for mankind. It is an historic event because we share a tremendous mission and a unique responsibility to improve the quality of life for our generation and the generation to come. This is the lesson of history and such is the dream for a better future.

For several centuries, our forefathers realized, through their vision and historical awareness, the necessity for building bridges of cooperation and interaction among nations. The school of Alexandria, with its library that

dates back to 300 years BC, saved the legacy of Athens and enriched human knowledge with the synthesis of Neo-Platonism. The treasures of the Greco-Roman culture were preserved and annotated. Such scholars as Athenasius, Origen and Clement of Alexandria added generously to our intellectual experience. A few centuries later, the light of the Christian mission spread from our part of the world to Europe, forging a solid foundation for a new set of spiritual values and a new conception of the rights of man.

The advent of Islam added a new dimension to this evergrowing interaction. Mindful of the universal brotherhood of man according to the true Islamic doctrine, Muslim scholars felt duty bound to preserve the Greek and Latin treasures, either in their original form or translated into Arabic, the language of the Koran. Hence, the works of Averroës (in Arabic, ibn-Rushd), Avicenna (in Arabic, ibn-Sina) and Avempace (in Arabic, ibn-Badidja) became Europe's main window on Greek philosophy and mythology. When Aristotle's book *Secretum Secretorum* was first published in Europe, it was a translation from Arabic into Latin by Roger Bacon. Islamic universities in the Middle East and Europe were the greatest centres of knowledge and intellectual freedom. The contribution of Egypt, home of al-Azhar University, to this process is a fact that needs no elaboration.

The central article of faith in Islam is that mankind is one Community, a Community of believers upholding the same values and ideals.

Let us listen together to what God has told us in the Koran, speaking to our Prophet Mohammed: 'Those who believe in that which is revealed unto thee, and those who are Jews, Christians and Sabeans whoever believe in God and the Day of Judgement and does right. . . surely their reward is with their Lord and no fear shall come upon them nor shall they grieve'.

Islam should never be judged by the misguided and ill-conceived action by some who claim to adhere to this great faith. Islam is a religion of tolerance, not fanaticism,

(Applause)

a faith of love, not hatred, and integral system based on order, rather than chaos. An Islamic revolution is, and should be by definition, an act of mercy and justice. First and foremost it is the embodiment of human dignity and freedom.

History has taught us, dear friends, that there is no substitute for cooperation and coexistence. The bitter conflict that erupted over Jerusalem proved to us the futility of war and the fallacy of exclusive control over that city which is sacred to all believers. As such, it should remain forever the symbol of peace and harmony. The Arabs and Muslims, who were the custodians of that holy city for centuries, realized their obligation to keep it open to all the faithful regardless of creed or nationality.

(Applause)

We must receive this tradition and set in Jerusalem a model for human fraternity and togetherness. While the city must function as an integral unit for the benefit of all its inhabitants and visitors, the historical as well as legal and spiritual rights of all believers should be respected. I hereby urge you to join with us in a determined effort to achieve such a goal.

(Applause)

(Mr Capanna held up a banner with the words 'You must recognise the PLO — no to Camp David')

Rest assured, I have not come here to sell Camp David!

(The House disassociated itself from the demonstration by Mr Capanna by loudly applauding President Sadat)

Dear friends, I strongly disagree with the voices of doom and gloom which predict the collapse of Western civilization. I believe that Europe, with its resourcefulness and rich cultural heritage, is uniquely qualified to play a prominent role in the world of today. The evolution of modern democracy and the industrial revolution which led to present-day technology are great assets that should be fully utilized in order to make the world more secure and just. The degree of unity which you achieved here, in Europe after years of hard work and dedication is certain to revitalize the entire continent and instil in it a new sense of purpose. This unity, which is symbolized by this Parliament, is an inspiration to many nations in different corners of the world.

Let me propose to you, the elected representatives of Europe, the establishment of a new partnership between Europe and our part of the world. I am referring here not only to the Middle East and Africa, but to the Third World at large. Such partnership should be based on a firm belief in the oneness of our destiny and the similarity of our interests. Afro-Asian countries should not be regarded as a source of raw materials or a market for manufactured goods. A healthy partnership should be founded on a code of ethics, because interests alone cannot sustain our existence. 'You shall not live by bread alone.' We must maintain a sense of justice, equality and opportunity for all. Old practices of exploitation and domination should not be allowed to appear again, even in new forms.

We should agree together on a set of principle to guide our interaction and mutual help. Unless we establish a criterion for differentiating between right and wrong... between good and evil, we shall be unleashing the law of the jungle to destroy the very fabric of our collective existence. A narrow view of self-interest would be an invitation to global chaos at a time when we all seek a new world order based on the rule of law and morality. I cannot subscribe to the notion that morality is a concept that belongs to the past.

(Applause)

I was born and brought up in an Egyptian village where morality and spiritual values form the essence of life.

The relationship between the North and the South deserves further attention. The South has suffered much in the past and has legitimate concerns at present. In addition to the accumulated injustices of the past, a new pattern has been emerging of late. The South has become the theatre of devastating wars and warlike actions. This situation should be remedied without delay for our common good. The dialogue which started in Paris in December 1975 paved the way for a more equitable international structure. However, much remains to be done to redress the existing imbalance between the rich and the poor, the developed and the developing, the established and the emerging.

What is needed is not a handout or a charitable contribution. Rather, we propose a healthy partnership based on sharing together whatever we possess of resources, technology and know-how. The transfer of technology is vital for enabling us to overcome the greatest challenge of our time, namely to improve the quality of life and make everyone secure and certain of his future. We want to insure against famines, drought and insufficiency of food. We would like to protect the environment in all Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries before it is too late. We want to improve the quality of education for every child and adult in the

four corners of the world. This is a responsibility we will never neglect.

I propose to you a tripartite agreement for cooperation in this respect between Europe, Africa and the Middle East.

(Applause)

Madam President, if we are to create a new world order, we have to adopt a firm stand against the malaise of foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of Third World nations.

(Applause)

Unless this dangerous phenomenon is checked without hesitation or ambivalence, we will be imperiling all the gains we made in the twentieth century. Nations' independence will collapse and spheres of influence will replace the old colonial system. What is needed most at this point is the strengthening of the non-aligned movement. This requires a strict adherence to the principle of non-intervention. Big powers and their surrogates are undermining the entire world system as they seek to promote their own interests at the expense of nations which have been suffering for centuries.

(Applause)

We are determined to fight this trend to no limit. I urge you to join hands with us.

Let no nation, big or small, arrogate to itself the right to subvert other peoples' way of life. Let there be no imposition, by force or conspiracy, of any given doctrine or socio-economic system. Each and every nation must remain free to choose its own political system without duress or coercion. Let there be no foreign bases on the soil of Third World countries.

(Applause from certain quarters)

Let us put an end to this tampering with nations' security and stability. Let us work together to deter such reckless actions of adventurism and aggression. We should never tolerate any abuse of peoples' freedom and dignity.

(Applause)

Our overriding commitment is the cementing of the structure of world peace. The elimination of the causes of war is a sacred duty which is incumbent on us, individually and collectively. No people are more aware than you of the devastation and suffering that accompanies any war, be it limited or otherwise. Civilized people should settle their differences, not by killing each other, but by reasoning together in a spirit of mutual accommodation and understanding. We will not do ourselves justice or be faithful to our beliefs until we rule out war as a means for achieving national

ends. If men do not learn to live like brothers, they will die like wild beasts.

(Applause)

The Egyptian people, being a community of believers, have not hesitated to take the most formidable risks for the sake of peace. They did so, not out of weakness, but from a position of strength. Only those who are free of fear and who have faith in God and confidence in themselves possess the power to renounce war and make peace.

(Applause from certain quarters)

We are determined to pursue this noble goal regardless of any obstacles. This is our destiny and our mission.

The answer to present-day anxiety and uncertainty is not clinging to the unhappy past but paving the way to a better future. To us peace is a strategic commitment rather than a tactical manoeuvre. I visited Jerusalem in November 1977. This was a culmination of a process which began since I assumed my responsibility in 1970. Today, it belongs to all the peoples of the region and the world at large. No one has the right to detract from it or obstruct its path. We shall not allow any interference with that sacred process, for it has become an invaluable part of the heritage of mankind.

The peace we work for is a comprehensive one which benefits all nations. When Egypt took the decision of reopening the Suez Canal to international shipping in 1975, Egypt had in mind the interests of all European peoples, together with other nations.

Now that we have taken a pioneering stride on the road to peace, the people that deserve most of our attention are the Palestinian people. As Egypt did repeatedly during the past few years, Egypt urges you to support their right to self-determination and national dignity. This is their God-given right that cannot be denied under any circumstances.

(Applause)

A thoughtless denial of such right is an open invitation to extremism and obstructionism.

The establishment of a Palestinian entity, after a transitional period, would be a positive development to all countries in the region. It poses no threat to the security of Israel. In fact, it is the best guarantee for it. A Palestinian entity, faced with the task of reconstruction and building bridges with other nations, will certainly bear the responsibility of preventing acts of violence and hostility. We should like you to participate with us in persuading both Israelis and Palestinians to accept a formula of mutual and simultaneous recognition.

(Applause)

(Mr Capanna raised a PLO flag)

I would have preferred that you had raised this flag like we raised it in Mena House with all the parties concerned. We raised this flag in Mena House together with the Israeli flag, but no one cared.

(Sustained applause)

We should like you to participate with us in persuading both Israelis and Palestinians to accept a formula of mutual and simultaneous recognition. I think this should be the start of any initiative. We invite you also to take part in additional security guarantees as a European contribution to peace in the Middle East.

Let me repeat, we invite you also to take part in additional security guarantees as a European contribution to peace in the Middle East.

(Applause from certain quarters)

Much has been said about the Jordanian option lately. However, this must not blur the picture or confuse discerning minds. Egypt was the first to call for a Jordanian role in the final settlement. But that role, that Jordanian role, should not negate or replace the Palestinian presence. The problem we are confronting today is one involving the Palestinian people, not the Jordanians. Any attempt to solve that problem while ignoring the existence of a distinct people with a Palestinian identity is doomed to failure.

(Applause)

Hence, we must not evade the problem or lose sight of its nature. Jordan can participate in the negotiations at the proper stage, but not in the absence of or to the detriment of the Palestinians. A premature Jordanian role would be a complicating factor.

Let me give you a very short history of the Jordanian option and the Jordanian role. Immediately after we started the peace process — as you may remember, the October War was in 1973 and the first disengagement agreement had been reached by January 1974 — I met with King Hussein in Alexandria in the summer of 1974. We issued a joint communiqué in which we stated that a certain link should take place between Jordan and the emerging Palestinian State. Moreover, we said in this communiqué that this link should be completed and declared before we convened in

Geneva, and at that time all our efforts were directed towards convening in Geneva. The head of the PLO agreed in principle, but when he returned to Syria two days after agreeing to the principle which I declared with King Hussein, he denied that he had done so, having in the meantime had a visit from the Soviet Ambassador.

I wanted to give you this short history because I wanted you to know that, starting from the peace process in 1974 and after the first disengagement agreement had been reached, I immediately asked for a Jordanian role and I am still asking for it, but not as a prerequisite to a Palestinian role.

(Applause)

Madam President, dear friends, let me seize this opportunity to commend you on your statements on the essentials for peace in the Middle East beginning with the resolution of 15 December 1977. You have properly identified the complex issues and adopted unbiased solutions. On the other hand the Heads of your States have been positive and helpful. We consider the Luxembourg Declaration of December 1980 a turning point which is likely to have a constructive impact on the peace process in the near future. It was a forthcoming endorsement of the gains which have been realized so far and an appeal to all parties concerned to build upon them for the good of all nations.

There are those who get discouraged by the growing challenge of our time. However, I remain optimistic and hopeful. I do believe that it is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness. I can hear the voice of wisdom saying: 'I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart, which shall not be put out'.

For those who aspire to a better world, I have a promise to sacrifice my life for that goal. And for those who suffer from despair and fear, I have a dream of a new dawn that would rekindle hope in every heart. I have a dream of a new world where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved. Together we shall endeavour until the day comes when they beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks.

(Standing ovation)