Honourable Members,

Mr. Speaker of the Assembly,

I want to have with you, as I had with the people, a heart-to-heart talk. For, the occasion, indeed, does not call for oration. Hence, allow me to speak to you from this dais.

In the name of God,

“Our Lord! make not our hearts to deviate after Thou hast guided us aright, and grant us from Thee mercy, surely Thou art the most liberal Giver”.

(The Holy Koran)

Before beginning my talk to you, and completing the remaining part of the story, I wish to tell the people through you, for I do not want to tell you alone, but to tell the people through you, that the session to which the Speaker of the Assembly has referred — the one which you have held on the spur of the moment and at which you took decisions the next day, inspired by your emotions and will — I wish to tell you, as I shall recount
later in my speech when I shall tell you the remaining facts, that you have realised in this session a wish that had been cherished by Gamal Abdel Nasser. For, through your spontaneous sense, derived from the sense of our unerring people, you have rectified what Abdel Nasser insisted upon rectifying. I shall tell you about it.

But today my talk should be at the level of the events of the hour, and at the level of the responsibility we all bear towards the people, the people of July 23, the people of June 9 and 10 and the people of May 15.

Brothers and sisters, we now wish to look forward to the future, as the future is more worthy of our attention. When we look towards the future, there is nothing but the battle. The battle is more worthy of our concentration. We wish to pursue Gamal Abdel Nasser's march. It is our march. We wish to open the way before the push of the people's working powers, the freedom-makers, the upholders of socialism and pioneers of unity.

We do not want to dwell much on what happened in those 24 hours of last week, though I shall speak to you a little about it, but we should not dwell too much upon it. For a few hours, we were exposed to the danger of deviation from the path of Gamal Abdel Nasser, our leader, the people have not gone away. Our line, after all, is deeper and more secure.

I shall speak to you a little about the rectification that occurred in the events of May 15 last week. Anwar El Sadat expressed the fact that the people's will existed.

This is a battle. We should not waste time. We should pursue our revolutionary course determined for the people of July 23, 1952, the Suez War and the victory of the Charter of the Statemor the Statemor the will of the people.
the rectification undertaken by the people on May 15 last week does not create a new leadership for Anwar El Sadat; its value and soundness lie in the fact that it gives the leadership to the alliance of the people's working powers.

This is a start without which we will err; and we should never err. This is a landmark which we should put before us, a banner that we should raise high over our heads so that we may not err or stray and so that others may not err or stray.

In simple words, we are on the road, on the march — we are constantly and continuously proceeding towards our objective to which we are committed and pledged since the victory of the Revolution in July, 1952, to the victory of patriotism in the Suez War of 1956, to the victory of socialism in the glorious laws of July 1961, to the victory of the Charter of the National Action in 1962, to the victory of June 9 and 10, 1967, to the victory of the Statement of March 30, 1968, to the victory of the will of the free man, the victory of May 27.
15, 1971. These are the milestones on the road, banners to hold before us, so that neither we nor others may err or stray.

Our sole preoccupation today is and must be the battle, and the battle only.

Therefore, I want to talk to you about the battle at the beginning of my speech which I shall divide into two parts: first, the battle; and second, building the new state — and then the conclusion.

As I told you at the meetings of the Parliamentary Body, I say to you, I am very proud of you. It was decided, as investigations disclosed, and I am not by this touching upon the investigations for they are in the hands of the Public Prosecutor, I say that it was decided that the meeting of the Parliamentary Body be another form of the havoc I told you about and which happened at the Central Committee. They met, made decisions and distributed roles. All this is clear in the investigations that are going on now and they are falling one by one exactly like autumn leaves. Only one thing prevented them, as I told you in my talk about the tape recordings, they were afraid to raise anything because your will would have crushed them.

New things are disclosed every day, grave and painful aspects are being revealed, but we shall face them with fastness, girding the people.

I returned to the Parliament July 10, 1967, we are not by this touching upon the investigations for they are in the hands of the Public Prosecutor, I say that it was decided that the meeting of the Parliamentary Body be another form of the havoc I told you about and which happened at the Central Committee. They met, made decisions and distributed roles. All this is clear in the investigations that are going on now and they are falling one by one exactly like autumn leaves. Only one thing prevented them, as I told you in my talk about the tape recordings, they were afraid to raise anything because your will would have crushed them.

New things are disclosed every day, grave and painful aspects are being revealed, but we shall face
them with the will of God Almighty, the steadfastness, genuineness and awareness of our people.

I return to the battle. As I told you, here at the Parliamentary Body, since the first day after 1967, we are marching in two parallel lines, the first line is the military build-up and the second is the political structure.

When this Assembly took its decision on June 10 and authorised Gamal Abdel Nasser to carry out the military build-up, and the political structure, since the first moment, the Assembly's decision was on June 10, 1967 — on June 11, 1967, Gamal Abdel Nasser began establishing the military build-up once again. During five months, we were able to carry this out and by November 23, 1967, we had completed the first defence line to defend our country against anything. This was done in five months only — strenuous efforts and sweat on the part of our sons in the Armed Forces, which we shall remember throughout history. Not only that, but during these five months in which we were suffering the bitterness and pains of defeat, they conducted the battle of Ras El Esh, and when the details of this battle are related to you, we will all feel proud of our Armed Forces and our sons, despite the pain and bitterness of defeat.
Before this line was established on November 23, 1967, in October «Eilath,» the biggest warship belonging to the Israelis, was hit. For the first time in the naval history of the world, a ship was hit by a missile, and this was recorded on our behalf in the history of the world.

The military build-up was progressing. Gamal Abdel Nasser had set a time-table for the preparation of the forces. On November 23, as I told you, the first line had been completed. Behind the line, preparation for the rest of the forces was started. Here, I must mention to you, to the House of the People, and as representatives of the people, and bearers of Nasser’s message which some claimed to have carried and whom you expelled from your ranks, I must mention to you here that it would not have been possible to proceed with the build-up without the aid of an honourable friend, the Soviet Union. Then came the year 1968 and its well-known incidents occurred. The President had completed setting the time-table for the military build-up. He began planning for the reconstruction of the political set-up. Then the incidents of 1968 occurred which certain elements attempted to exploit. He announced the Statement of March 30 and elections were held for the Socialist Union from the base to the summit.

At the conclusion and the parallel to each proceeding event, persons of the drop of blood, streaming for two arms, streaming in a high wave, we shall record after the battle, do not wait the battle.

When the base penetrated, I penetrated to it later on. Irregularities Nasser made him. The military build-up reconstruction was in the war of step forward increasingly capable. Then came
At the same time, both the political construction and the military build-up were proceeding, parallel to each other. The military build-up is proceeding even more powerfully and our sons — our sons of the Armed Forces — are contributing every drop of blood towards it. There is work and training for twenty-four hours. They are given modern arms, strenuous training, continuous work, all done in a high spirit of dedication. One of these days we shall read about all these things in detail, but, after the battle with the help of God, as our sons do not want to say anything except after they end the battle.

When the political structure was built, from the base to the summit, irregularities were perpetrated. Remember this, for I shall come back to it later on — in the latter part of my address. Irregularities were perpetrated and Gamal Abdel Nasser made a record of them and kept it with him. The march went on. It did not stop. The military build-up went on, and the political construction went on until we embarked in 1969 upon the war of attrition. Our Armed Forces gained a step forward every minute. They were being increasingly consolidated — becoming more effective, more capable, more dedicated and more confident. Then came the glorious Revolution of the Sudan.
on May 25, 1969, followed by the glorious Revolution of Libya which took place on September 1, 1969, though our enemies thought that the liberation trend had come to an end, that we were about to be besieged and isolated and ready to be finished off. But we continued our march until the year 1970 came. I have already told you at the meeting of the Parliamentary Body the details of how the air raids in depth had begun, how the Israeli plan was laid down with America's assistance, towards the end of 1969, to finish us off by means of the Israeli air superiority, during the first six months of 1970. You may also remember that I told you about the beginning of this new strategy and plan on December 25, 1969, when they came with 264 planes, whereas on June 5 they raided us with only 210 or 220 planes. But on December 25, 1969, they raided us with 264 planes; and the raids went on from 8 a.m. till dusk at 4:30 p.m. without affecting us at all. They did not affect our forces, our plans, the morale of our Armed Forces or of our heroes. Not at all. On that day, the President — may God rest his soul — was in Rabat. As I told you before, when the raids ended at 4:30 p.m. — having continued from 8 a.m., with a concentrated strength of 264 planes and having thrown all sizes and kinds of timed and other bombs — I issued my orders that day for our rocket batteries to change their plan.

The Israelis were shamed by their bombs yet they came, they had to reconnoitre again. In other words, our so-called victories, all this in the first six months of 1970 continued from morning to midnight all night, our rocket batteries were never shirked. Then the year 1970 — and the raids went to the South and to the North, always hold for the honourable friend to protect the Israel and we undertook it. All our companies, the construction of the L.E. completed L.E. words, we were
Revolução 1, liberação about finisher, until the tail of now the assistant off by the first timer that strategy, they came decided us December 30 p.m. Effect our Forces the President went to the Soviet Union. As I told you, we must always hold for the Soviet Union, the place of the honourable friend. They gave us SAM-3 missiles to protect the hinterland; and here, in our country, we undertook in 40 days a task that could not have been undertaken except by one of the major powers. All our companies and engineers worked on the construction of the new positions. Within 40 days they completed L.E. 40 million worth of work; in other words, we were spending L.E. 1 million a day.
The work was completed, the SAM-3 missiles were in place and the raids in depth stopped towards the end of February, 1970. We have put up with all this. But, being keen upon peace, you may recall that President Gamal Abdel Nasser addressed a message to President Nixon in his speech delivered at Shubra on May 1, 1970, in which he told President Nixon that the United States may either be unable to pressure Israel — and I am ready to believe you if you told me so, though I have my own view on the matter — or, by the arms, economic assistance and all kinds of aid which you give to Israel, you are supporting the occupation of our lands in which case we consider you as partners in the aggression perpetrated against us. After this came Rogers’ initiative and there was the ceasefire. I told you in detail, at the meeting of the Parliamentary Body here, about that stage which ended with the ceasefire for the first time, then for the second time in November, after the death of the President, then our abstention — by a decision of our own — from firing.

In my speech before you here at the National Assembly, on February 4, I called upon the international community, and on America as being the one that supplies Israel with everything from the loaf of bread to the Phantom aircraft — I called upon it to play its role as a big power, and to define its position in this affair. I offered an initiative in this, and we were preparing the international navigation. In return, they offered an initiative or separate initiatives. I explained, and I asked you for the first time — when we opened the Suez Canal to international shipping — that we mean that we are going for Western interest, for our good, for the question of the Suez Canal to be a partial or separate solution which we will not open it.

The month of February is coming by. We replied to him and we will reply to him and to the international community through all means.
I offered an initiative. I said we were offering an initiative in order to push the case forward. We were prepared to open the Suez Canal to international navigation in order to get the question moving, in return for which Israel should begin the first stage of withdrawal within the framework of the time-table of full withdrawal under the auspices of Jarring and the United Nations. They tried to twist the offer and to interpret it as a partial or separate solution, or an agreement on its own. I explained our position frankly in April. I said, and I am saying again before you today, and for the first time so that the whole world may hear — when we say we are willing to open the Suez Canal to international navigation, this does not mean that we are anxious to open it at any price. No. We are facilitating things for the world, and for Western Europe in particular; and we are showing our good will towards peace and want to get the question moving. But if this is understood to be a partial or separate solution, or that it is a solution which we want at any price, then we shall not open it. We would rather fill it up.

The month of our abstention from firing went by. We replied to Jarring whereas Israel did not reply to him and got stubborn. Our political mobility through our initiative and our acceptance of
the document which Jarring had sent to us, as opposed to Israel's abstention and taking the attitude which it took, exposed it to the whole world.

When Rogers came to me — and I have already told you this in the Parliamentary Body — the first thing he said to me was: «I have come and I am not asking for anything from Egypt, because Egypt did everything it had to do.» I say this and the whole world, as well as Mr. Rogers, are hearing me. «I am not asking for anything from Egypt, because Egypt did everything it had to do.» he said.

Well, let us speak about the initiative. On the first of May I announced our conditions for it. I am now declaring before you that we are still prepared for it, but on the conditions which we have declared — which are not conditions, in fact, but a test of peace. If there are genuine intentions to seek peace, then our offer should be understood and fulfilled; but if the intentions were otherwise, namely, to beat about the bush and water down the issue so as to use the opening of the Suez Canal as a means of freezing the issue for years to come, I told you that we would rather fill it up. We do not accept such a thing; and what we say is clear.

As for the stand of each of the Big Four Powers, I shall review them with you again. I have stated that France, founded on justice and obligations towards the world, is hearing me. As for the stand of each of the Big Four Powers, I shall review them with you again.

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Since the establishment of the State of Israel residuated with its national security, and even after the defeat — as I have stated in the Parliamentary Body — the communists have supplied us with a contract, as to make the recovery of territorially and economically so-called Palestine impossible without the surrender of the State of Israel.

I stated that France stands towards the world, founded on justice and obligations towards the world, is hearing me. As for the stand of each of the Big Four Powers, I shall review them with you again.
have stated before you at the Parliamentary Body that France's stand is an honourable one, based on justice and on its belief that it is a big power with obligations towards world peace and not towards the supremacy of the law of the jungle in our world.

As for the Soviet Union, I need not explain its stand to you since we all know and feel this stand. Since the early days of the cause, the Soviet Union has been standing with us, politically, economically and militarily. During the black days of defeat, when even some of our relatives rejoiced over our defeat — as I explained to you in the Parliamentary Body — the Soviet Union acted differently. It supplied us with new arms without asking us to sign a contract or settle the accounts. It did this so as to make us stand on our feet, politically, militarily and economically. It acted honestly and honourably without imposing any conditions.

I stated before you here at the Parliamentary Body that Britain's attitude had completely changed, with its acceptance to participate in the international security forces, despite its knowledge that Israel resisted this. Moreover, I stated here before you that we welcome this courageous attitude adopted by the Conservative Government and the establishment of an independent policy for Britain.
Then there is the attitude of the United States. Rogers came and I related to you here — and through you to the people — the details of what took place. As I told you he started by saying that there is nothing more to ask of Egypt, because Egypt had given all it could. We place the truth before you and through you to the people; we are working within the limits of two aims, no relinquishing of an inch of our land and no bargaining over the rights of Palestine.

I explained this to Rogers with the utmost frankness, and as I said on May 1, I met him with an open mind and heart, despite what I had in mind about the 17-hour raids, in which the bombs were American-made, the planes American-made, while half the pilots were of dual nationality, both American and Israeli; in spite of all this and for the sake of peace, to prove this to the entire world, and to satisfy my conscience towards our heroic sons on the Canal today, whom when I met I had to restrain and keep back by force in order to preserve their lives.

I met Rogers with an open mind and heart. I am in favour of keeping things cool and not heating up the situation. I know what I want; no relinquishing of one inch of our land, no bargaining over the rights of Palestine, and let us speak frankly with an open mind and heart.

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We had a long discussion of two hours and a half, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs was with me. I told him I am not asking anything of you since you have not been to Israel yet, but when you do go, I am asking you to define the attitude of America after you return to the United States. The attitude of the other three Big Powers is clearly defined today.

What is left is the attitude of America. We should not ignore the fact that America is a basic element in the problem, since it supplies Israel, as I said and continue to say, from the loaf of bread to the Phantom. Rogers went to Israel and sent Israel's declarations. We analysed these declarations in a meeting with Dr. Mahmud Fawzi, the Prime Minister and Mahmud Riad, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. El Sayed Hussein El-Shafei, the Vice-President, was with us. I gave instructions to the Deputy-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs to send our reply today immediately following this meeting, to the United States upon the following bases before you, for the people and the world at large.

The problem of opening the Suez Canal is not a separate case, nor a partial settlement. It is merely one of the stages of the complete withdrawal and of the time-table for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution.
We will not accept any discussion on the crossing of our Egyptian forces to the Eastern Bank of the Canal.

We will not accept prolongation of the cease-fire indefinitely as long as there is one foreign soldier on our territories — our territories previous to June 4 with regard to us and the entire Arab territories.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs prepared a reply which immediately following the meeting will be delivered to America, asking it to determine its position. We have had enough of exchange of memoranda.

Rogers came to us and heard our words. He saw us and we discussed everything with the utmost frankness, from the heart and with open mind. He went to Israel and saw them.

It is now up to America to determine its position clearly.

The question is one of war or peace and does not need, any more, the exchange of memoranda, philosophical discussions or playing with words. This has come to an end. What we will send today, on the bases which I have told you about, will define our attitude. The United States should define its position frankly, before the world. The
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United States must know that a state which com-
prises two and a half million persons, namely Israel,
does not possess the components of a state, because
it lives as a parasite, depending on a cheque of
$500 million or $1,000 million that it receives from
time to time. It cannot perform what it does with-
out the support, the consolidation and the help of
the United States. America must know of this.

I told Rogers — and I hope that he does not
mind the fact that I am revealing this secret, but
I must disclose it before you and I might have said
it before the Parliamentary Body — that I do not
accept that they should say they are convincing
Israel. I do not even accept that they exert pres-
sure on Israel. I formally demand that you inform
President Nixon, since we are speaking about peace
and since you came, saw for yourself and realised
that we are really serious in seeking peace, that
we are asking President Nixon to wring Israel, but
seriously, if we are talking about peace.

If they want peace, then we are for peace. As
for what Israel said, according to Sisco, this does
not mean anything to me, since Israel is still drunk
with pride over its victory, and still suffering from
Nazi megalomania, living in dreams and fancies of
the past. All this is of no importance to me. What
is important to me is that the United States define
its position since we are now facing historical positions which must be accurately defined, as it is a question of peace or war.

This is the first part in which I wanted to talk to you about the battle. As I told you, immediately after our meeting, Mahmud Riad, Deputy-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, shall submit the reply to the United States on the bases which I have just told you about, so that everything shall be clear to you and to the people.

Let me proceed to the second point — that of building up the state. I said on May 1, that side by side with the military build-up and with political action which runs parallel to the military build-up and whose results have appeared to us and which is greatly supported by military action and our Armed Forces in the past stage, our Armed Forces have changed the political action and made it all the more felt, and made our position better understood; besides this I am saying there is a basic line which we must not ignore, but which we must follow parallel with the two other paths: the battle and political action, on every front.

This is the construction of the modern state which must be based on science and faith at the same time and we are marching in this way.

I consider that in our history the state consolidates the bases of the state and that the state building the state, and which must be based on science and faith at the same time and which we are marching in this way.

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same time and with the same strength with which we are marching along the other two lines.

I consider that building the state serves and consolidates the battle. When we talk about building the state, we should take into consideration all that had taken place in the past whether before or after 1967 or on May 14. We want to build the new society which we desire for ourselves — the society of freedom and dignity, the society in which every individual feels secure for his day and morrow and for his sons who come after him. When we come to build this society, I think that the right start should be laying down the permanent Constitution. Before explaining to you my view concerning this, I would like to say that our Constitution should emanate from our reality and our soil here. We possess an experience of 19 years. The July 23 Revolution has passed through experiences, ordeals and crises and come out victorious and strong, thanks to the solidarity of the people. We have traditions that were laid down throughout thousands of years. We have, before and above everything, the Message of Faith. We have learnt that if all human beings sought to hurt someone whom God is not willing to hurt, they would never be able to hurt him. We have learnt from the Message of Faith that our land is good, undefiled.
and deserves from us to love, cherish, defend and die for it. We have also learnt that today's world is submerged, under the name of science, by currents that have taken peoples to the brink of a terrible materialism wherein values and morals have been lost. We cannot live without values and morals because faith is part and parcel of our religion. When laying down the Constitution — and it is you who will be charged, as I have just told you, with the task of laying down the Constitution — we should go back to the village, our origin, and know that there is «shame»; for we have been taught there in the village, that there is something called «shame».

We know that there are limits to everything, the reins are never left loose. We all know that in the village, when the head of the family is a firm man, the family is respected in the village. We also know that the village is always one spirit, when a death occurs, any wedding is postponed so that the others' feelings are not hurt by hearing sounds of festivity. We know that when someone needs to plough his land, his neighbour takes his own cattle and plough and goes to work with him and helps him. I want the Constitution to be made that way, not for each village, but so that all of Egypt can become one village. In this way, there shall be no place for shame or looseness. Morals and fidelity renders paid; and be punished, because you the Constitution was his opinion, you with your dish. You must formalities in all the constitution.

I would firm the I would love protection of and create, including labourers and in the fifty per cent.

I would close relations with political freedom.
and fidelity, fidelity is essential — anyone who renders a service to this country must be fully repaid; and anyone who harms this country must be punished. I am stating my view and my hope, because before I leave this Assembly, I will send you the authorisation to establish a permanent Constitution for the Republic. As a citizen stating his opinion, I will place certain points before you with the Speaker of the Assembly, to be at your disposal while laying down the Constitution.

You must also seek the assistance of all the potentialities in the country, from the Universities and all the categories, while you are laying down the picture of the future we desire in the coming Constitution.

I would like the Constitution to state and affirm the Egyptian affiliation to the Arab Nation. I would like the Constitution to stipulate the protection of all the socialist gains, to strengthen them and create suitable conditions to widen their range, including the percentage stated for farmers and labourers in the Charter, in the People’s Assembly and in the elected assemblies on the various levels; fifty per cent at least.

I would like the Constitution to stipulate the close relationship between social freedom and political freedom. If Man does not feel safe about his
loaf of bread, how can he have any political freedom?

The Constitution must stipulate that socialism is the base of all relationships in society and the State, and that the State is ruled by the law as are individuals. No decision or procedure can be taken, whatever the authority issuing it, away from the supervision of the law.

I would like the Constitution to organise popular impeachment in a way to guarantee the people’s protection of their principles, their morals and their socialism.

We shall never forget the lesson of May 15; the people were the protectors, and the bulwark; they were the ones who stood firm, reformed and rectified on May 15.

I would like the Constitution to stipulate that the law safeguards the right of every citizen to resort to justice. If the citizen cannot afford to go to court, the State must bear any expenses involved in order to make this possible.

I would like the Constitution to see to it that the people participate in the administration of justice through the jury in a manner to ensure the democracy of justice everywhere. There should be a jury made up of the citizens of the location or the area in order to enlighten him so that the people that they hold.

There should be balance of all the things which concern the entire society — such as what happened about last Friday with such a problem lose our way.

Whenever a decision to the people a straight away.

The people should their vision and apt to know everything. For as passed their judgments to divert the made exercised this right.
area in order to help justice, to help the judge, to enlighten him and to expose to him all circumstances so that the people may participate in the judgement.

The Constitution should guarantee for the people that they be the master and have the upper-hand.

There should be a constant control and surveillance of all the government bodies and the people should be referred to in all the important issues which concern their interests and the interests of the entire socialist community through a plebiscite — such as what happened and what I have told you about last Friday. This should be our principle, and with such a principle ensured we would no longer lose our way.

Whenever anything happens, let us put it up to the people and let the people have their say straight away.

The people should be the judge because, through their vision and their genuineness, the people are apt to know everything and to distinguish everything. For as of old, was it not the people who passed their judgement on those who attempted to divert the march? The people have actually exercised this right since long.
The Constitution should stipulate that all power emanates from the people — as represented in their elected assembly through free and direct elections — and from the elected people's assemblies at all levels.

Hence the authority of the People's Assembly must be asserted. For your assembly will henceforward be called the People's Assembly (formerly the National Assembly) and the range of its control on the government and non-government institutions must be widened. Its role must be defined as regards the working out and follow-up of the overall plans concerning the political structure as well as social and economic development.

As such, the Constitution must provide for the People's Assembly all guarantees including its non-dissolution during its constitutional term except through a popular plebiscite, when necessary.

As to a decision dissolving the Assembly just like that — No.

The Constitution should also stipulate that government responsibilities be undertaken by institutions which have definite and clear-cut functions. Also, that the authority should be linked to the officials and such a responsibility must be clearly and explicitly defined so as to enable the people's working power to choose between them.

The President, chosen by the people, is to represent their orders. He is to be the instrument of their will. It is he who represents the people's will.

The Constitution should also stipulate that any authority (including the people's will) must be linked to the people's elected representatives.
working powers to hold every official responsible for his functions.

The President of the Republic is the "arbitrator" chosen by the people. He is to receive his orders from the people and to acquire his will from them. It is his duty to safeguard this order and this will.

The Constitution should not endow him with any authority save what is essential to ensure that the people's will shall always be supreme.

He is to follow up the undertaking of the State and political institutions in order to ensure that they are always in the service of the people, responding to their will and bent on realising their objectives.

I would like the Constitution to stipulate a definite term for the political and executive posts so as to ensure constant renovation. I shall begin with myself. As far as I am concerned, I shall not accept another term in office. In this connection, I shall begin with myself.

In the coming phase, let he who wants to prove his allegiance to the people prove it by deeds and not by words or speeches.

I am saying that I shall not go in for another term (in the Presidency) and I want you to adhere
to this in order to provide for fresh blood in all posts right from the highest to the lowest post.

I would like the Constitution to reassert the role of the Public Sector and the cooperative sector, and provide all the guarantees for the Private Sector so as to participate within the framework of the plan.

We have three sorts of ownership, namely, the ownership by the public sector, the cooperative ownership and the private ownership. Therefore, the Constitution must provide for the full protection and safeguarding of each type of them.

I would like the Constitution to assert the principle of «one job for one man.» As regards myself, starting from the beginning of July next — and I am now making it public — everyone who occupies more than one post must prepare himself and realise that as from July 1 next, no man is to occupy more than one post.

I would like the Constitution to provide for the right of every citizen, living on the soil of this country, to a pension in the case of disability. This is to be achieved through expanding the range of social insurances.

I have told you here at the Parliamentary Body that I had announced in a previous speech given at
the Mosque of Al Hussein that before one year will have elapsed every citizen will — God willing — be entitled to a pension.

But, in return, I want every citizen to exert his utmost effort and capability in his work.

I have already promised that half of the proceeds of every new oilfield will go for construction, namely, for building factories to absorb the tens of thousands of our children, our workers and our engineers. A quarter of the proceeds is to be used for amortising our loans, whereas the rest is to go towards the insurance funds. In such a way, no citizen will ever feel the pangs of need or poverty in his old age.

The Constitution should assert the importance of the trade union movement in enhancing development, in view of the labourers' pilot role within the alliance of the people's working powers.

The Constitution should commission the various syndicates and trade unions to work out a «code of morals» which is to govern the undertakings of each and to assert the ethics of our new society.

I want to elaborate and explain this. You may recall that when I was nominated for the Presidency, I received many delegations before my election. Among these was a delegation of journalists. I
told them that I was nourishing a great hope that a «code of morals» must be worked out for the Press.

What was I driving at in this connection? I want this to be provided for in the new Constitution.

As regards the Press, the medical profession, the lawyers and all other syndicates, I want to provide for that «code of morals». This is not to be worked out by the government but rather by the rank and file of the profession itself.

The «code of morals» is to be worked out and the principle of self-punishment is to be practised. In other words, should a physician do something that may impair the honour of the profession, the physicians themselves should inflict punishment upon him. This is also applicable to the pressman who may resort to defamation.

Anyway, I have already stopped that affair of tape-recordings and the scandals involved.

But I do not want the Press to be exploited the next day to print scandals, war of nerves, blackmail and defamation of people. No, our actions must be based upon the morals we learned from the village. We know what is «shame». We treat every person according to his deeds. But we may not, God alone being judge of private life, in trying to defame or wound who hold some office or young man whom I told yesterday, crying. I put letters on the table, security, and the tapes are taken under security by order.

He said of the tapes as they were being used in homes in this country.

Can this be,«errors of people»? figure them and tell me why our Constitution be holding some wrong as to why our Constitution be holding some «code of morals». I support Freedom and a Socialist administration.
God alone being infallible, discredit a man for his private life, in public life, thus our society returning to defamation and tapes once more; people who hold something for others, etc. — no. The young man who informed me about the tapes and whom I told you about, came to visit me yesterday, crying. He said that there were certain matters on the tapes which actually affected public security, and that it existed in every nation. But tapes are taken for matters which affect public security by order of the judge.

He said «I entreat you to quickly burn the tapes as they contain matters which could wreck homes in this country.»

Can this be our village morals? To hold the errors of people over their heads and to humble them and tell them, «I am holding something against you!» The conspirators turned out each to be holding something against the other. This is why our Constitution must stipulate for a «code of morals.» It should be written thus, «Chapter on Freedom and Morals» in the Constitution.

Someone might wonder why I spoke of the National Assembly and the Constitution and not of the Socialist Union, and imagine that I intend to dissolve the Socialist Union, as they say.
No, we have selected the formula of the alliance of the working powers of the people within the Socialist Union, which was really the formula attained by Gamal Abdel Nasser, God have mercy upon him, as the most suitable formula by which we could practise democracy. We must adhere to it and insist that the set-up be clean, its institutions clean, and each institution aware of its limits within the Socialist Union statute. More than this, all that has taken place and which is being revealed to me, the operation — according to the latest investigations and without affecting the investigations being conducted by the Public Prosecutor — it came to my knowledge that they wanted to bring about a constitutional collapse in the country. Then what is called the secret organisation would appear and spread chaos in the country and the country would be lost. Every day new incidents are being divulged. I am truly stunned. This is why I asked the Minister of Justice that the Public Prosecutor should come to you, here, after he is through, to the People's Assembly, before the people's representatives and expose the whole truth before you. After this all should be recorded and kept as a record in the Socialist Union, so that each institution in it should know its limits, what has happened and avoid committing errors of this nature. It should remain in the Union as history and constitute a passing experience.

It was beyond me at that time. Prosecutors never put aside now even an inch of their duties. Prosecutors have every right to investigate. For instance, when the Intelligence Branch was abolished, and in the last minutes, I was afraid of death. A tape reading was done a tape reading, which was subsequently put into a picture.

One more incident. The calls of «Nasserism» At the time of the march and the march was being pursued and I told you that Gamal Abdel Nasser have rectified, a lot of rectification has been made, the base to the base, and it is acted upon of which you told me, as our supreme leader.
perience. Every person should know that no one is beyond censure, and would not escape punishment should he err.

It was a frightful picture, but we must put it aside now as the Minister of Justice and the Public Prosecutor are attending to everything and they have everything under their control. What is astounding is that when they went to the General Intelligence Service, they found the picture complete, and in the same way. As I told you, they were all afraid of one another so one person was holding a tape ready against the others in case the operation was successful and thus we had the complete picture.

One more subject is left. Recently we heard calls of « Nasserism » and « Defenders of Socialism. » At the beginning of my speech, I said that the march was progressing and Nasser's line was being pursued. Also at the beginning of the speech, I told you the story of the rectification which Gamal Abdel Nasser had set aside for the future. You have rectified the first part. Now what is the story of rectification ? When elections were held from the base to the summit, irregularities were committed of which you all know. I don't have to tell you, as our solid people know them since they saw
them with their eyes. The President took note of these things and decided that he would definitely rectify them. But as we were embarking on the battle of military build-up, and the war of attrition in 1969, he said this stage would come later but these irregularities have to be rectified.

The President had, in his house, a safe in which he kept his notes and papers. President Nasser, may God's peace be upon him, had a note-book by his bedside because he sometimes woke up at night to put into the note-book ideas and thoughts that came to him. All these notes are there. Only two of these note-books contained the rectification of what happened, and they were in the safe while the rest of the note-books were in his room. However, I know what was in those notes, whether those in the safe or those which were in his room. Forty days or so after President Nasser's death, I was surprised to receive a phone call from Hoda, the President's daughter whom I consider as my daughter; in fact President Nasser's children are like my children to me because I saw them grow up since childhood. Hoda phoned me and said that she wanted to come and see me with her brother Khaled immediately; it was 10.30 p.m. I was surprised but told her to come at once. In fact, this was after the fortieth day, but before that I was unwilling to open the safe.
for psychological reasons. I even avoided passing in El Khalifa El Ma’mun Street because it was still hard for me to believe that President Nasser had died.

Since we were 19 years old, President Nasser and I were colleagues and even more than brothers. After the fortieth day, his children insisted upon opening the safe because he had told his wife and children that the safe, with the papers it contained, belonged to the State. So they came to me and insisted that we open the safe. We opened it and looked through the contents and when I ran my eyes over its contents, I saw the pistol which President Nasser had with him on July 23, but the safe actually belongs to the State. I told them about the pistol; they did not know about it. They found it of a different type and when they asked me, I told them that « this was the pistol your father carried on July 23. You, Khaled, the eldest son, accept this from me on behalf of the State as a present because it is a souvenir; your father carried it on July 23 when he made the Revolution... » I gave him the pistol. As for the rest of the contents of the safe, I told his children there were private papers of the President and others of the State. At that time, Hoda was working as secretary to the President. She used to assist him in
his work at home due to the fact that the President was physically exhausted most of the time. I told his children the safe contained some official papers and private papers. The room had no light at that time because they were painting and cleaning it. I had not much time to, so I told Hoda and Khaled that they could sort out the papers, since Hoda was his secretary. «Keep the private papers; I don't want to see them», I said, «and put the State's official papers together and send them to me». They agreed to do so. All this was after the fortieth day of the President's death. It was a very painful situation for me.

Hoda telephoned me a week later and told me that she and Khaled wanted to see me at once, and it was 10.30 p.m. I was very surprised but I asked them to come. They told me that when they went to sort out the papers in the safe in order to take the private papers and send me the official papers, they found the contents in a different position from the one we knew; the safe had been opened.

The safe was in Gamal Abdel Nasser's study at his house. I told Hoda on that day if this was true, it would make me change my whole estimates. Who had the keys of this safe? It had two keys,
one with the President's wife and the other with Mohamed Ahmed, Minister of Presidential Affairs. The safe could only be opened with these two keys together and on the day I opened it Mohamed Ahmed and Sami Sharaf were with me and the President's wife brought the key and we opened it with the two keys. Without these two keys nobody can open the safe, because it had a combination lock which nobody can open without a mathematical operation. It needs 7 million electronic mathematical operations in order to open it. No one can really open that safe.

When Hoda came and told me that, I asked them what they did then. They said we closed the safe and came to tell you and we want to report the incident to the Public Prosecutor. I told them it is not you who will report; it is I who shall report, as this safe belongs to the State. Next morning, I called Mohamed Ahmed and Sami Sharaf and we went to the President's house where the wife of the President, Hoda, Hatem and Khaled were present, as well as Mohamed Ahmed and Sami Sharaf. We opened the safe, and at the first instant Hoda asked me whether the papers on the top shelf were in the same state in which we saw them the last time. I told her « no, it is impossible ». Gamal was always neat and methodical, and
when we opened the safe after the forty days mourning period, everything was neatly arranged and in order; that was his method all his life. This time it was obvious that the safe had been tampered with. I sent for the Public Prosecutor while I was in the President’s house, and in a statement issued by the President of the Republic — myself — Mrs. Hoda and Khaled, we asked the Public Prosecutor to investigate who was responsible for opening the safe. Sami then said the President had ordered him to open the safe and tidy it up last September; so he opened it and tidied it up. Mohamed had one key, and the other key was kept by Mrs. Nasser upstairs, yet the safe was opened and tidied up.

The Public Prosecutor came and investigated upon my statement as President of the Republic, because this safe is a State property and not Nasser’s private property. He put in the safe and told everybody that it was State property, and he was particular about everything, all his life.

I asked the Public Prosecutor about the investigation; he said there was nothing at all to it. There was one thing that was sought out of this safe. As I told you, I knew all the papers that were in it. I was informed of everything by him; especially dur-
ing the last year, there was nothing at all in State affairs that was hidden from me. The safe contained the irregularities that had been perpetrated in the elections and which he (President Nasser) was determined to rectify; and the names of those responsible for these irregularities. You took me by surprise. The second day, you rectified the part that pertained to you. There remains for us all, as a people, to rectify the second part, namely, to reconstruct the Arab Socialist Union, from the base to the summit, through free elections to return those whom the people chose; not those whom they have brought in. They know themselves; those whom they brought in know themselves very well.

I am recounting this episode so that you may draw from it your own conclusions, about those who cloak themselves in Nasserism and Socialism, though Nasser’s own safe was not spared during the first forty days after his death.

All this is over. Let us leave all this behind our backs. As I said, you have rectified the first part which Gamal Abdel Nasser wanted to rectify, and you should be on the alert among yourselves.

Today, before leaving your Assembly here, I shall sign in the hall outside a decree for rebuilding the Arab Socialist Union from the base to the
summit, providing the National Congress will meet, with God's will, on July 23, and that the People's Assembly — that is you — shall assume the tasks of the Central Committee until the next Central Committee is elected.

We must march on, build up militarily, struggle politically, and build up our country from within, and build up our political organs on well-established and deeply-rooted traditions and on past experience which we shall put before us as a lesson for each person and look forward to the future. As I told you, fill the people's hearts with hope and, with the help of God, we shall be victorious no matter the sacrifices.

You shall complete the permanent Constitution, God willing, and present it to the people for a referendum. It shall include all that we can ever dream about whether hopes, guarantees or protection. With all our hope in our future, nobody shall ever oppose you in anything. Let it include all guarantees, security and assurance; for we want to enter our battle while building, with hope and joy. We fight and die with hope and joy. We work and build up our economic structure, filled with hope and joy. I want all our life to be filled with hope, work and faith.

May God guide your steps, and peace be upon you.

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