In the name of God,

In fact, I am speaking to you this time without having a written speech beforehand, nor did I prepare any notes. The only thing I have at hand is the note-book in which I keep a record of all meetings that take place, whether on the political level or on the level of the executive, namely, the Council of Ministers, or even the sessions of talks which take place when we have visiting delegations.

I prefer, this time, to speak to you with an open heart because it is necessary that the people should know everything, and the whole truth in an open, ordinary and natural way without any preparation.

During the last twenty-four hours, you must have felt that there is something in the air. But I would like to start the story from the very beginning, until I come to the last twenty-four hours.

It all began as soon as I returned from Ben-},
in the Egyptian delegation, I had with me both Hussein El Shafei and Ali Sabry. The Libyan delegation comprised President Moammar El Kazzafy, and with him, the members of the Revolution Command Council, while the Syrian delegation was formed of President Hafez El Assad and three of his colleagues from the Regional Command. We met there, in Benghazi, and as in most meetings, there were disagreements, and discussions took place and we finally ended up by signing the agreement which we announced. Then I came here and announced this agreement to you from this very place.

What was the basis of this agreement concerning the tripartite union state? As we all remember, when the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser returned from the Arab Summit Conference held in Rabat in 1969 — which ended in failure and in the result known to us all — to Tripoli, he met with President Moammar El Kazzafy and President Numeiry. Before that, whenever we discussed Arab union, after our experience of unity with Syria, we were always agreed that any new union must observe the lessons we learnt from the unity with Syria. Thus, the Union of the Arab Republics took the form we believed was suitable and which was agreed upon during President Nasser’s life. We decided that this was the form it should take to begin with, and then later it could be improved.

This form made it possible for us to have a strong unity. The three Presidents of the Arab Republics and the Arab League, one of which is the Union, elected from among the three the President of the new state which includes all the Arab states. This new state would have a constitutional assembly, namely a Constituent Assembly to elect from among the three Presidents of the Arab Republics. This assembly, namely the Constituent Assembly, would have a constitution. It would have a Council, which was basically concerned with the Arab state’s general policy, economy, production.

When President Nasser returned to Tripoli he had with him a delegation, namely, the presidents of the Arab Republics. And he discussed the matter with President Numeiry, saying that for the Sudan to participate in the Arab Union because he was still busy with the war and reconstructing the state and the economy; and also a people in a state which, all over the Arab world, have been economically ruined and...
This form means that each State retains all its attributes: its President, Government, Parliament, Army and all its institutions. It then forms a strong unity. Then, at the top, a Council of the Presidents of the Republics is formed and they elect from among themselves the President of the new state which is formed of the group of the said states. This new state, too, will have a legislative assembly, namely a national assembly. It will also have a constitutional court; and the Presidential Council, which will be formed of the Presidents under the chairmanship of one of them, will be basically concerned with matters relating to foreign policy, economy, peace and war, and security.

When President Nasser returned from Rabat to Tripoli he had with him the formula of this agreement, namely, the agreement of the Union of the Arab Republics. At that time, the three Presidents discussed the matter. Our friend and brother, President Numeiry, said that it was not then opportune for the Sudan to participate in such a project because he was still building its political organisations and reconstructing the State, as he took power in a state which, all of us know, was in ruins due to the actions of the previous parties — a state economically ruined and politically disintegrated with a people in a state of political division. President
Numeiry wanted time until he would be able to correct these conditions. Then, the Tripoli Charter was approved by the three Presidents and was signed as a first step towards the establishment of the Union of the Arab Republics.

Now I pick up the thread of my talk. When I came back from Benghazi; but, first, when we were in Benghazi, Ali Sabry opposed the establishment of this union and the agreement. He told me so. I told him that this was his view, but in all my movements and actions, I was prompted by one consideration, namely, the battle. I do what the battle necessitates without any hesitation whatsoever.

The mere existence of understanding between two Arab States worries Israel; a mere understanding, let alone a union or a unity. Syria was satisfied with us and with the battle. The entire Syrian people are mobilised, especially after the brilliant corrective movement that has been undertaken by President Hafez El Assad. The whole of the Syrian people stand as one man, with a single will, for the battle.

I told him: «You may disapprove if you wish. There is nothing to it. We will go back and the approval will be sought in the Higher Executive Committee of the Arab Socialist Union, and then at the Central Committee as written down in the agreement. We can discuss this and have even more.» And if there were two or three or more, we reach an agreement.

We cannot begin to think about the establishment of a union. The truth, I was at a meeting of the Arab Socialist Union. We do not, or after hearing; we are not hearing of anything new. The living in the same house has his own affairs, and disagreements. However, for the conflict. Ali Sabry had some reservations, which the agreement terms of the agreement, was a very
agreement. The discussion will be open. We all discuss things, each one has his own views. We have even in the past discussed matters upon which there were approving and disapproving views, and we reach a conclusion in the end.

We came back to Cairo and I asked for the convention of the Higher Executive Committee to begin ratifying the statute or the agreement for the establishment of the tripartite union state. In truth, I was surprised; for the first time, at the meeting of the Higher Committee, whether during the time of the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser or after he had left us, I was surprised by something new. As I said, we disagree; even brothers living in the same house may disagree. Everyone has his own opinion. Disagreement is not a fault and disagreement for the general good is required. However, for the first time, I found a strange conflict. Ali Sabry was the first to speak. He put aside the terms of the agreement and said that he had some remarks to make about the method by which the agreement was concluded as well as the terms of the agreement. What I did not expect though, was that it was not a discussion due to contradicting opinions or one as to which is better, or an objective discussion of the issue at hand. It was a very strange operation; it was obviously a
question of conflict; a conflict by all means and methods and by stigmatising, not only myself, but other delegations with us, in a way that could not possibly be accepted by anyone. All this is recorded, for the microphones were on the table and not under it and the session is recorded.

In fact, I was completely astonished; this was the first time I realised that there was a state of conflict. A long time ago, before the Revolution, I knew about the political manoeuvres of the parties. During that period, which I lived through, I knew about these methods and ways — what they did when they wanted to foil an agreement or to push someone to manoeuvre against someone else or to stigmatise him, how they resorted to manoeuvring, beating around the bush and to using methods which can only be described as dishonest.

In fact, I was taken by surprise. Then the discussion continued. I said that we were in a situation in which we had to define opinions. I consider that this agreement is for the battle and that its starting point is the battle. I believe that something which serves the battle I would exert anything for, even my blood, without any hesitation. Our sons are ready to sacrifice their blood in the battle and I considered that this is the moment to define our stands especially since I realised that there was
by all means and not only myself, but in the way that could be done. All this is recorded.

abolished; this was the state of the Revolution,
res of the parties. I told them: << Well, since we have defined matters in this way, we shall continue to pursue our democratic course. We have disagreed; so, the next step is to go to the Central Committee. There, at the Central Committee, we will put forward this agreement.»

They said that there was no need to go to the Central Committee with that disagreement; that we should hold a meeting of the Committee to discuss the matter once more. I said that we have had enough discussions; but, the mode of the discussion itself was regrettable. The level of the discussion was below that of the responsibilities decreed by positions which we hold. So, it would be better to go to the Central Committee and pursue our democratic methods.

We went to the Central Committee. All the
members of the Central Committee were supposed to take part in the discussion. At the beginning of the meeting, indeed, I said that we should give the Central Committee members a chance to tell us their views about the agreement. I explained the agreement and said that it was an integral part of the battle, an integral part of our very being and fate, as well as the fate of future generations; because, in the course of the history of this area, in which we live, it was exposed to invasions time and again. I told them we could take two recent examples, as well as the third example which we are living through.

The two earlier examples are those of the Tartars and the Crusaders. When our region was exposed to the Tartars, they swept with their forces through Central Asia, burned down Baghdad and burned their way through to Syria. It was not possible to rid this area of their invasion except through unity between Egypt and Syria. This was an example from history. The second invasion to which this region was exposed was the Crusades which continued for 80 years. This invasion took place here in our country and our region. It was seemingly fought in the name of the Cross, but in fact it was a colonialist invasion which aimed at occupying the region. The same thing happened.
At the beginning of our relations we should give others a chance to tell their story. I explained this as an integral part of our very being, our history of this area, and take two recent examples which we are supposed to invasions time to time from Bagdad and Jerusalem. It was not possible for them to invade our region except through those of the Taurus region was exchanged with their forces from Bagdad and Jerusalem. It was not possible for them to invade our region except through our borders. This was an example of the Crusades which invaded our region took place. It was seemed to be the Cross, but in fact it was aimed at occupying the area. It was recorded in the annals of history, and it is still being written in history books, that had it not been for the union of Syria and Egypt under Salah El Din, it would not have been possible to rid the area of the Crusades. I told them that in the third invasion, the Zionist one, we cannot say how long it may last. God only knows; but it is our duty to prepare ourselves. We must not prepare only ourselves, but we must prepare for our future generations. We must lay down the sound basis, and take this into account. I believe that the battle through which we are living today makes it incumbent upon us to seek first some form of unity with Syria, in particular. Why? Because this is the lesson which we have learnt all through our history; and because Syria and Egypt — as Ben Gurion once said — constitute the two jaws of the pincers closing on Israel. In their midst, Israel is like a nut in a cracker. I explained this to the Central Committee. I also explained the letter and spirit of the agreement. I explained that each State was to retain its entity, completely, in order to calm certain sensibilities, deriving lessons from what happened in the past. But, on the top levels in peace and in war, we stood together and would coordinate our policies together. We would use our resources together; as we would also use the depth afforded by our countries in the interest of the battle. I
said that we, in the three countries, were fully agreed upon this. Indeed, we were most enthusiastically and sincerely agreed; whether on the part of Libya, Syria or ourselves.

Then I invited the members of the Central Committee to give us their views; but I was met with a commotion down in the Central Committee; I did not take too much notice really.

Ali Sabry said he wanted to speak. I said well, but we should let the members of the Central Committee speak so as to have the views of some members of the Central Committee and some members of the Higher Committee, and the discussion could thus proceed. For, we had already had a seven-hour discussion in the Higher Committee. In fact, before opening the subject to the Central Committee, I stated frankly that we had differed at the Higher Committee; and that it was for this reason that we brought the matter to the Central Committee for discussion.

Ali Sabry insisted on speaking, so I gave him the floor. He started in the same way as he did in the Higher Committee. His talk involved the revelation of secrets about what went on between him and the Heads of State or members of the Revolution Council.

And I wish he was utilising the very content of which I have explained I talk about other commotion among the Central Committee in an

I took the opportunity and they said: I will speak himself out the floor and by the time elapsed since the

When these talk
Well, let’s hear some Committee before the
interval. After the I resume.

So we gave the member of the Central Committee, Dr. Ab
International Law, some previous hours had
they were given they would have ex
And I wish he had been telling the truth; but he was utilising it towards a certain end.

I tried to stop him and ask him to stick to the very content of the agreement or the accord just as I have explained it and presented it and not talk about other things. Then there was further commotion among the members of the Central Committee in an unseemly manner.

I took the opinion of the Central Committee and they said: let him go on. So I left him to speak himself out. Diaeddin Daoud also took the floor and by the time he finished, four hours had elapsed since the beginning of that meeting.

When these two speeches were over, I said: Well, let's hear somebody from amongst the Central Committee before the meeting is adjourned for an interval. After the interval, the meeting was to resume.

So we gave the floor to Dr. Mustafa Abu Zeid, member of the Central Committee and Professor of International Law. Addressing the whole Central Committee, Dr. Abu Zeid, being a professor of International Law, said he regretted that the four previous hours had all been in vain. He said if they were given the floor from the very beginning they would have explained the matter.
He added that Ali Sabry was dwelling on one thing, and attacking and expounding one thing, whereas the project put forward to us and which the President has explained was a completely different matter.

He went on: Let’s discuss clauses, for this is another thing. This is what we call a contractual agreement; a number of States which are to take up a certain shape, to rally at the top level in a certain form, to take upon themselves certain commitments to be carried out in a battle, in peace or in economy or in anything else. This is provided for in the law.

Anyway, Ali Sabry was speaking and launching an open attack. It was an attack which was tantamount to stigmatising and adopting a dishonest way.

He mentioned a federal union. But this would be similar to the United States or the Soviet Union, that is, all having one army and so on; whereas this was quite a different thing.

So, I told the Central Committee if we had given the floor to the Central Committee we would have saved three, four hours and avoided this stigmatisation and that way of handling things which we suddenly found, namely, a process of political manoeuvres, that is, destiny of the whole of the countries, while we were in a conflict.

I adjourned the meeting later, to return later, to return to the entire Higher Executive Committee. Mohsen Abul Nour, the Minister of Industry, and Hassanein Heikal, members of the Higher Committee.

While we were leaving me, let us not continue to postpone it, and we performed to examine the matter. It is now clear, after what was said, that there is no doubt that there is no doubt in the very essence of the Committee to examine this.

I told them that the subject and in the meeting I must hear it for the first time. I must hear it for the first time.

They insisted that I continue the meeting etc., and postpone it.

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I told them that I believe in the essence of the subject and in the agreement itself, that I want to listen to the will of the Central Committee and I must hear it for we had heard only one person.

They insisted that there was no need to continue the meeting that evening because of the tension, etc., and particularly because it was clear manoeuvres, that would make us overlook the destiny of the whole nation, forget our responsibilities, while we were in office, and would involve us in a conflict.

I adjourned the meeting and said that we shall return later, to resume the discussion. Above, the entire Higher Executive Committee met in Abdel Mohsen Abul Nur’s office. Present with us was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mahmud Riad, Hassanein Heikal, Sami Sharaf as well as all the members of the Higher Executive Committee.

While we were sitting in the lounge, they told me, let us not continue the discussion today, let us postpone it, and we propose that a committee be formed to examine the drafting of the text since it is now clear, after what Dr. Mustafa Abu Zeid said, that there is no disagreement whatsoever on the very essence of the subject, but let us form a committee to examine the text.
that the discussion took a noisy and irregular form in the Central Committee hall, like any gathering which we may find despicable when we see it doing that.

I wanted, in fact, to continue the discussion that night and to define the positions as they had been defined in the Higher Committee. Why? Because we were to go to the people after that, a method that I shall always follow. The decision rests upon the people, first and last.

They felt this and they kept referring to the committee and so on.

Finally we agreed to form a committee and that after two days the Central Committee would meet again. The Committee was formed from members of the Central Committee while we were sitting upstairs, as I told you, with all the members of the Higher Executive Committee in addition to Mahmud Riad, Hassanein Heikal and Sami Sharaf. Then Shaarawi Gomaa told me that he hoped I would consider what Ali Sabry had said as if it had not been said, and to settle matters, etc. I replied that if there was anything directed against my person I would be ready to forgive it. I told him this while Ali Sabry was sitting beside me. But with this method followed by Ali Sabry at the meeting and formed a method that I shall always follow. We formed a committee and after two days the Central Committee would meet again. The Committee was formed from members of the Central Committee while we were sitting upstairs, as I told you, with all the members of the Higher Executive Committee in addition to Mahmud Riad, Hassanein Heikal and Sami Sharaf. Then Shaarawi Gomaa told me that he hoped I would consider what Ali Sabry had said as if it had not been said, and to settle matters, etc. I replied that if there was anything directed against my person I would be ready to forgive it. I told him this while Ali Sabry was sitting beside me.
meeting and for the first time, we are resorting to a very new thing in politics that we have done away with since July 23. I told Shaarawi that the method of Ali Sabry was a destructive method and I cannot be a hypocrite. Before all of you, the members of the Higher Executive Committee and all the attendants, I am saying that if this method for destruction and manoeuvring is going to be the new method, I shall bring it down on the heads of everybody so that I might keep the pledge and trust to the people. I am not ready to forsake the trust. This was frankly said before all.

We formed the committee and came to the second meeting. The whole thing was ridiculous. The committee had not touched the draft except in so far as some « technical words » were concerned. It said in its report that it was a question of « technical phraseology »; but the essence of the draft remained untouched. After a short discussion, some members of the committee asked that we should take a vote. When I asked for the vote, I was surprised to see the hands of all the members of the Central Committee raised in unanimous approval!

Well, the essence of the draft remained the same. The changes were concerned with technical and legal wording, but not the essence of the sub-
ject. What was then the reason for what happened at the previous meeting and, paradoxically, at the present one? Unanimous approval — how strange! Yet, it was indeed regrettable since it reflected a dishonest picture.

One day before the meeting which voted unanimously in favour of the agreement, Shaarawi Gomaa contacted me and said that Ali Sabry was prepared to visit me at home and apologize, then come to the Central Committee and declare before its members that he withdrew all what he had said and ask for its deletion from the minutes.

I said: "No". I said I was going to the Central Committee, though I did not know that arrangements had been made for the unanimous vote, as it was arranged otherwise before. I told him that we were going to the Central Committee where I would like to listen to the opinion of everyone. I said that we should leave the question until after a decision was taken on the agreement, then we would discuss the matter and see what is to happen; because the method used — as I told the members of the Executive Committee in the presence of the Foreign Minister, Hassanein Heikal and Sami Sharaa — was a destructive method which I could not accept at all as a political method of action that we could use.

I told him that I was not interested in the draft committee. I told him that I did not discuss it, it was arranged strangely enough. This is the first thing I said, but it was concluded.

The second point was that if I allowed Ali Sabry to never be able to tell the people, I would never be able to think of building a political future. I considered organizing a future without destruction and choosing the battle in which I would be able to tell the people what I had decided.

No. It was absolutely impossible for me not to tell the people and to reconstruct the truth, to tell the people in a way that the people in a
I told him that we were going to take the vote on the draft after it had been discussed by the committee. But, as I told you, the committee did not discuss it much and the vote was taken; and strangely enough, it was unanimously favourable! This is the first part of my address, the part dealing with the tripartite union state and the way it was concluded.

The second part came later. In fact, I thought that if I allowed that method of action I would never be able to be faithful to you as a people. Yet, I consider myself responsible, first and last, before God Almighty and the people, not before anybody else. So I found that the said method could not be allowed to go on, especially as we are engaged in the battle in which we are involved, and the battle of building a modern state, as well as building our political future and political traditions. We cannot start by resorting to political manoeuvring, strife, destruction and using dishonest methods. I said, No. It was a matter in which the people must have the last say. But how? I did not intend to tell the people of what had happened. I am telling it to you today in view of what has passed during the last 24 hours. But I did not intend to recount it to you, though I wondered how to bring the people in as a judge. So I said that the Arab
Socialist Union was the formula which we should all uphold as the alliance of the forces of the people, and in order to exercise our political democracy. Neither the multi-party system, nor the one-party system are fit for us. Through our past experience, we came to the conclusion that the alliance of the working forces of the people — within the framework of the Arab Socialist Union — was the best political framework within which we could work and exercise democracy in our country; hence we have to preserve it. Yet, we have also to lay down sound traditions for it so that we may not in the end revert to the party-system which I told you about, and resort to dishonest means so that the criterion of success would be how to excel in opportunism and manoeuvring or how to get together a group of people to form a «corner» or cook up a certain operation in order to reach a specific goal. No, we must eliminate all this, so that it will be a question of discussing matters on the basis of views and counter-views.

We may differ but eventually we must reach a solution. For, if our difference is based on the general interest and on the issue at hand as well as on national interest we must eventually reach the best solution. And, as I have told you, to differ is quite lawful as long as a free discussion is maintained. So I said the only way is to rectify this through free elections, and I hold new elections from the bottom — up and not from the top — down. Free elections must be held on June 9 and 10 in depth for the masses of J... on their own. Thanks to the steadfastness we have gained power and the... on June 9 and 10 in depth for the masses of J... on their own. Thanks to the power and the... on June 9 and 10 in depth for the masses of J... on their own. Thanks to the...
which we should stir forcés of the political democracy, nor the one-
through our past conclusion that the Socialist Union — work within which we
b Socialist Union — cracy in our country; Yet, we have also to
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have told you, to
 as a free discussion
only way is to rectify
this through the people. Thus, it is imperative to
hold new elections for the Arab Socialist Union right
from the basic units in the village — at the bot-
tom — up to the Higher Executive Committee. New
elections must take place. Frankly speaking, these
elections must not be run like the last time, and
you understand what I mean. No, there must be
free elections. I want the electorate to include the
masses of June 9 and 10 who went out in the streets
on their own free will and were not egged on to
do so. They went out and refused to give in.
Thanks to them, we were able to achieve the stead-
fastness we maintain today, as well as the military
power and the overall change from a bitter defeat
on June 9 and 10 until nowadays, we can claim raids
in depth for raids in depth and napalm for napalm.
I said I would personally supervise these elections
and I will be ruthless with anybody who may
attempt to rig these elections. These elections are
to take place from the bottom to the top in order
to have a sound organisation. Then the new Cen-
tral Committee will have to draft a new statute for
the Socialist Union. This statute should provide
for controls in a manner to avert political manoeu-
vers such as those I have related to you and which
have culminated in what has taken place lately. In
this way, we would protect our country against
such things whether we are involved in a battle of
destiny, similar to what we are now engaged in, or even in the ordinary days of peace. This has always been my practice; that is to rectify what happened through the people. I will adhere to this practice. Everything that may go wrong will be rectified through the people and not by taking measures, though I have been obliged to take certain measures during the past twenty-four hours. I will tell you why I had to do so and against whom these measures were taken.

When I reached this conclusion, I summoned Shaarawi Gomaa, though I knew he was responsible for what had taken place at the Central Committee. However, it was my opinion, according to my mode of action, that I should not take for granted what somebody tells me about another. Indeed, I refuse to adopt the style whereby I would form an opinion and take a decision based on what somebody may come and tell me about someone else. At any rate, the whole country was aware of this particular question and everybody talked about it. In fact, the country, and the people, talked about Shaarawi Gomaa himself as the person responsible for the «organisation» and the person in charge of what is called «the special organisation» within the Arab Socialist Union, and as Minister of Interior.
There was a lot of talk about this in the country and within the whole of the Arab Socialist Union, especially since the Central Committee had found out the farce which was acted during the first meeting. It was a farce which blotted the history of the Central Committee and of our political action. A very regrettable thing, indeed. However, I declined to condemn him on what others said about him; so, I called Shaarawi Gomaa and talked the matter over with him, and I gave credence to his explanations. I even went further than that. I told him of my plan. I told him that we wanted to rectify the situation; and so my plan was the following:

When we decide to make a reform, we must do it through the people. So, we want to prepare ourselves for elections that will be 100% free. I, myself, shall supervise these elections — from the base right to the top.

The term of the basic units in the Arab Socialist Union had ended two years ago. We postponed the re-election of these basic units in view of the circumstances of the battle. However, three years are still left out of the four-year term of the Central Committee, while the term of the Higher Executive Committee is six years. So, in order to carry out my plan, I thought that the only thing
to do was to refer the matter to the people. For, there is no need for me to say let us have elections from the base to the top, only to find someone come and tell me that I am a man who acts illegally since the term of the Central Committee is four years and that of the Higher Committee is six. It was my view that we should prepare ourselves for a plebiscite which we should propose to the people without telling them about anything of what had happened. We are embarking upon the construction of a new state and upon the battle which shall not be fought by our Armed Forces alone, but by all of us as a people. And as I had said, in every village, every town, every school and everywhere throughout our country, the battle shall be exactly as it is on the front; it shall be in the depth of the country since we know our enemy and his method and we must prepare ourselves for it.

So, if all the people are embarking upon the battle, then we should refer the matter to the people in the form of a plebiscite. We should seek the people's approval in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution which empowers the President of the Republic to refer to the people important matters which affect their interests by holding plebiscites. In this context, I proposed that we should tell the people that we were embarking
upon the construction of a new state and upon the battle, in which all the people shall take part; so we wish them to answer the following question: « Should we, or should we not hold elections for the Arab Socialist Union from the base to the top, so as to bring about a complete fusion between the people and the Arab Socialist Union and prepare ourselves, as a people, for the coming battle in which we shall all take part? » If the people's answer were in the positive, then we would form a committee for the elections and begin forthwith. Moreover I was going to say in the statement which I intended to make that we wished to hold the plebiscite in view of the fact that the term of the basic units had ended one year ago, and notwithstanding the fact that the terms of the Central Committee and of the Higher Committee had so much more time to go. So, if the people were to say «yes» then I intended to form a committee to supervise the elections. The people of June 9 and 10, particularly, were those who should partake in these elections and elect whomever they please, since I am fully prepared to work with whomever the people choose. And so, we would embark upon the battle as one unit.

The second point was that if the people said: «yes» in the plebiscite, I was then prepared to form
a committee to start work immediately on the permanent constitution of the U.A.R., of Egypt, because after joining the Union of the Arab Republics, we will have to go back to our name, Egypt — that is the Arab Republic of Egypt.

The third point — which would follow upon the people's positive vote in the plebiscite — was the decision which I had prepared and told Shaarawi Gomaa about, namely, to hold elections for the youths and feminist organisations. So, at one and the same time, we would hold elections for the Arab Socialist Union from the base to the top, for the youths and the feminist organisations; we would be having a feminist organisation for the first time in our history.

The whole people will be embarking upon the battle, with no distinction between men and women, young or old. We shall all be in the battle. I told Shaarawi Gomaa to prepare himself on the basis of this plan so that we may hold the elections and rectify our positions as well as the statute of the Arab Socialist Union. We would no longer resort to the methods and manoeuvres which we had witnessed and would eliminate, once and for all, all that is opportunist and all dishonest methods in our political action. He said alright, and I gave him my plan, all my plans in full.

Then I went.

Tuesday and Wednesday, I had to do something to be proud of. I divided the responsibilities of the two months we have decided to hold elections for, and so I was able to divide the two days with our fights for the base and all branches of the party and behind the front lines. Indeed, I had to publish them and make sure that the high level of the fight was shown by your solidarity, and that what were the successes we spoke about, and which would make every Egyptian proud. They revealed sacrifice and awareness, and a sense of battle: politically, militarily, and in all its aspects.

They are-listening to me then. I asked General M. S. T. Abd al-Moneim, 'I am really sad. I am really sad. What would I do on Wednesday and how would I do it?' He said that I would not be able to establish anything.
Then I went to visit your Armed Forces on Tuesday and Wednesday last. It was really something to be proud of. I wish I could make the minutes of the two meetings public to the people, for we divided the Armed Forces into two parts, and so I was able to meet in the course of two days with our fighting forces on the front and with all branches of the Armed Forces on the front and behind the front. I so wished to disclose these minutes. Indeed, the day will come when I will publish them and you will then see for yourselves the high level of understanding and responsibility shown by your sons and officers. You will see what were the subjects which they discussed and spoke about, and what questions they asked. It would make every Egyptian raise his head with pride. They revealed a sense of responsibility, sacrifice and awareness of all circumstances of the battle: politically, economically and in all other aspects.

They are listening to me now, and so is Lieutenant General Mohamed Fawzi whom I have put under house arrest in the last twenty-four hours. I am really sad. He was with me at Inshass last Wednesday and heard me when I told the officers that I would not allow any centre of power to be established in this country, in fact I would destroy
it. He heard me when I said to them: "Be confident my sons; look before you to the Israelis and don't look, at all, behind you to the homefront, because I will safeguard its integrity, and if necessary, will deal most severely with anyone who may try to divide your homefront. Don't think about it, leave it to me, and rest assured that 34 million people stand firmly behind you, with their hearts, feelings and all they possess, so that you may win your battle, placing the honour in your hands."

Lieutenant General Fawzi is listening to me now and knows how the officers very enthusiastically applauded the elimination of centres of power of any kind, as well as the elimination of anybody who may think of dividing our homefront while we are engaged in the battle today.

The aim of America and Israel, our enemies, today, is to win the battle from within and not on the Canal. They seek to win the battle through a conflagration from within so that the homefront may collapse. The members of the Armed Forces are the sons of the people, those who stand on the Canal front are the sons of the people. Is it conceivable that they should leave the Canal front and rush back to their families because of a conflagration in their midst, and thus be unable to fight? I am indeed sorry and sad.

General Fawzi is listening to me now and knows how the officers very enthusiastically applauded the elimination of centres of power of any kind, as well as the elimination of anybody who may think of dividing our homefront while we are engaged in the battle today.

We came Wednesday evening.

I, now, continue my talk which I was interrupted.

At 1:00 a.m., there was somebody knocking at my door. A young man appeared immediately.

I am not engaged in that. It was one who request seemed to me that I could not meet him. I was asked to inquire whether he was available. He was available at 1:00 o'clock. He said there was a very serious message which he said there was
General Fawzi is now listening to me. All the officers are also listening, and Lieutenant General Sadek, too, who is now Minister of War. He was also with us, and is now Minister of War. He is at his office at this moment. My sons on the front, members of the Second Army and other branches of the Armed Forces who sat with me at Inshass are also listening to me now.

We came back from my meeting with them on Wednesday evening.

I, now, come to the third and the last part of my talk which covers the last twenty-four hours.

At 1.00 a.m. I was surprised to be told that there was someone who wanted to meet me. He was a young man and said he must meet the President immediately. People usually come to my house and I usually meet them when I have time, when I am not engaged in official visits or anything like that. It was one o'clock in the morning and the request seemed unreasonable. They told him he could not meet the President, but he asked them to inquire whether he was awake or not. They told him he was awake but could not meet him at one o'clock. He said: «Tell him it is to do with a very serious matter». They told me that someone said there was a very serious matter which he
wished to see me about. Well, what can be so very serious? I told them to ask him what it was about. One has to be very careful. Also I did not want to embarrass him. I could have told him: "Let us see about this in the morning." Nothing very drastic could take place between one o'clock after midnight and the morning. But one is also inclined to think that there may be something serious affecting our position especially as we are engaged in a battle. They told him the President wished to know what kind of subject he wanted to talk to him about and what was the serious aspect of it. The young man said: "Take these two tape recordings and give them to the President to listen to them on a recorder and decide whether it is worth meeting me or not."

I received the two tapes. I had just arrived from the front and I was very happy on that day when I had seen our sons on the front and heard their discussions, realised their understanding, their alertness, manliness, and their sense of responsibility. I tell you when one sees this one feels a sense of warmth.

I was very happy and keyed up. I stayed up though I was tired on that day. I played the first tape and found that it told the story of the first meeting of the Central Committee. Very strange!

I heard someone give a phone account of The tape was recording system of the Min monitoring system in one of the old-time purchases and kept it to the Ministry of D talking telephone calls.

The strange thing was the exact details of the Central Committee, the. However, I noted a strange full details on the tape there were 5 votes against I learned that we were in the Higher Committee — though the Committee are supposed to decide the fate of the these five persons referred to the meeting, they began...
I heard someone giving someone else on the telephone an account of this meeting, word for word. The tape was recorded by the telephone monitoring system of the Ministry of Interior. There is a monitoring system in the Ministry of Interior. This has been going on for a long time, since the days of one of the old-time Prime Ministers who had purchased it and kept it in his office then sent it to the Ministry of Interior to be used for monitoring telephone calls.

The strange thing was that the tape contained the exact details of what had taken place in the Central Committee, told by someone to another. However, I noted a strange thing. There were the full details on the tape, but two extremely serious points caught my attention. First, when we met in the Higher Committee, as I told you, we differed and a vote was taken with the result that there were 5 votes against 3. But, when the five learned that we were going to the Central Committee — though the meetings of the Higher Committee are supposed to represent the highest political level in the country where the decision of going to war, for example, is taken, and where we decide the fate of the country — yet, as soon as these five persons returned to their offices after the meeting, they began to send out their followers,
distributing them throughout the country, to contact the members of the Central Committee in Alexandria, Beheira, Mansura and everywhere to explain to them what happened at the meeting of the Higher Committee and ask them to come to the meeting of the Central Committee and be ready to reject the agreement. There were three days left before the meeting of the Central Committee; and as I already told you, we had not discussed the subject in the Higher Committee because there were dishonest things — dishonest methods — used at the meeting.

I had no notion of the whole thing. I thought that the reaction was spontaneous. We had met in the Higher Committee and then decided to go down to the Central Committee. There was Ali Sabry's talk and the method to which he resorted — and which he wanted to withdraw afterwards but I refused — all this was recorded on tapes which we have today as a record for history, so that nobody may try such a thing again. I thought that Ali Sabry's mode of speech was responsible for the confusion of the members which led them to create the havoc they did. But this was not so. The tape told in detail how the members of the Higher Committee went out to send their followers around to recount all what took place in

the meeting. The object of the agreement, in fact, was all this.

The next scheduled time was the next Central Committee, at which Gomaa had presented the next proposal we had discussed the Central Committee, and had told his chair to let that matter. We were not able to cope with all these things that were sent by the Central Committee. The decision of the Central Committee was...

As for the other members of the first Central Committee, I was there also, and there was a new atmosphere in the other Central Committee, the phone was not a major issue, but a minor one about...
the meeting, but with certain distortions with the object of ensuring the defeat of the union agreement, in perpetuation of the conflict. I did not know all this and took matters normally.

The meeting of the Central Committee was scheduled for Sunday. On Saturday, Shaarawi Gomaa visited me. I told him the meeting will be the next day. He said: Yes. I said that I wanted the members to speak out their views in the Central Committee, and that each one should have his chance; because I considered this a vital matter. We resorted to a method that was unacceptable to me; the method of conflict; so I wanted all these matters to be settled once and for all; that we should be in the clear, and that the Central Committee should participate with us in taking the decision. He answered that the Central Committee was fully prepared and everything was alright.

As I told you, the tape contained an account of the first meeting. It raised two serious points; the first was what I related now, and the second was that the person who was giving the account was a member of the Central Committee whereas the other person to whom he was speaking on the phone was not a member. The friend — who was not a member of the Committee — asked his partner about what the President had said at the meet-
ing. He said that the President had come into the meeting and delivered a speech which seemed to sway the members, but we were prepared, and so we raised havoc after him, shouting: no, no, no, we want to hear Ali Sabry.

All this was recorded on the tape. The more serious part was the member's answer to his friend's question about what the President had said. He told him that the President had said he was not prepared to accept anybody's guardianship over him; that he presented the question for objective discussion, that what was taking place in fact was not a discussion, but a conflict, and he did not accept a conflict and will continue holding the meeting until every member had said his view and précised his attitude frankly. So his friend said: «Then, the President will not retract». He answered: «No, he will not retract». So the friend said to the Committee member: «Make sure that you do not neglect the Broadcasting Service.» He answered him saying: «No, we have taken the Broadcasting Service into our account.»

The Broadcasting Service! What about the Broadcasting Service? My attention had already been drawn to the behaviour of the members of the Higher Committee, using the cars and resources of the Socialist Union in order to misguide the mem-

bers of the Centr...
silent had come into the speech which seemed to were prepared, and so shoting: no, no, no,

on the tape. The more's answer to his friend's president had said. He told said he was not preparation over him; that for objective discussion, he in fact was not a disad he did not accept a holding the meeting until view and precised his friend said: «Then, the.» He answered: «No, the friend said to the take sure that you do not Service.» He answered to the Broadcasting Service! What about the my attention had already ur of the members of the the cars and resources of for to misguide the mem-
bers of the Central Committee, as well as resorting to political machinations and manoeuvres, and disclosing the deliberations of the Higher Committee in a distorted manner in order to defeat the agreement, for the sole purpose of embarrassing the President in the conflict with him. All this held my attention; but this part about the Broadcasting Service — the question about whether it was taken into account and the reassuring answer that it was indeed taken into account!

As I was listening to the tape, my secretary who had brought up the tapes from the man downstairs was standing before me. He noticed that I looked up with surprise at hearing the part concerning the Broadcasting Service. So, the secretary spoke to me thus: «Sorry, Sir, for I have not told you that seven days ago, Mr. so and so came here and told me that on the day of the first meeting of the Central Committee, the broadcasting building was surrounded, not by soldiers in uniform, but by secret agents in civilian clothes. He told me that he had learned this fact from a certain office in the Arab Socialist Union; stating that they were prepared in case the President left the Central Committee meeting and went to the broadcasting building to speak to the people, he would have been prevented by the secret agents surrounding the
building and thus prevented from speaking to the people.

I asked him why he had not told me then, and he said that he noted that the second meeting of the Central Committee was actually held two days later and agreement was reached unanimously, so he considered the whole matter closed.

I stopped here at the point when I realised that the secrets of the Higher Committee were being exposed in a distorted way, and under-handed methods such as I explained to you were being used by those who hold the fate of Egypt in their hands — the fate of the country, the battle and our sons on the Canal front. Then there was the siege of the Broadcasting Service. Well, that is a coup d'etat, for this is how I visualized the situation. When the President of the Republic comes to enter the broadcasting building and is told: « No, you cannot enter », and prohibited from going in if he wishes to address his people on a certain subject — that is a coup d'etat!

Yet, I have told you, I had said to Shaarawi Gomaa and to everyone else, that I wanted to solve all my problems through the people and not by exceptional measures. Anything we may disagree upon should be presented to the people and we ask them to judge. They took this Broadcasting Service security organ and used it as they wished.

However, the second tape included the same arguments of the same committee recorded on the spot. They took this recording, and the plan was outlined: << We cannot have risen again. >>

The member of the body explained that a member of the body explained that the member who was speaking because he could not answer the argument of the President. If anyone were placed in a very Assembly would have been destroyed.
ask them to judge. In this way we will accustom the people to play their full role and exercise full control over their fate. I have said this on May 1. They took this fact into account and besieged the Broadcasting Service. It was besieged by my own security organ without my knowledge.

However, I was not yet satisfied and ordered the second tape to be played. The second tape included the same member of the Central Committee recorded on the first tape. The speaker recounts the story of the meeting of the Parliamentary body. He complains that he was unable to carry out the plan which had been agreed upon and said: «We could not attack the President because of the way in which he spoke. The Assembly would have risen against us and killed us all». He explained that a certain person sat behind him — a member of the National Assembly who belonged to the new group which formed this ring. He said that the member signalled to him to refrain from speaking because it was obvious that nobody could answer the arguments put forward by the President. If anyone did answer he would have been placed in a very bad situation, so much so that the Assembly would have risen against such a person and destroyed him. But he was reprimanded, cursed and insulted by the member of the Central Com-
mittee; so the member of the National Assembly, who was a party to this telephone conversation complained about being given such a strong rap, and said he could not do anything. All this was recorded in the voice of persons who are known.

What a state of affairs! The secrets of the Higher Committee which holds the fate of the country in its hands are being distorted, its discussions are being twisted and exploited in a struggle for power — divulged to the people and used in the conflict! And the scene witnessed in the Central Committee: havoc, forming blocs inside it and such abominable acts! A method of action based on provocation, shouting, stamping the floor with feet and the like; things that belong to the basest societies, yet they happened in the Central Committee which is supposed to represent the highest level of responsibility in the whole country!!!

However, I do not want to do injustice to all members of the Central Committee. I hereby announce that those who were involved in this abominable action are today in prison. They are a very few persons who can be counted on the fingers. They are not all the members of the Central Committee. They gave that unrespectable character to the Central Committee, pounding the floor with their feet and shouting, exactly as kids.

did not do this because it is true, and the order is that they are in an...
do when disappointed at a bad cinema show. This is the highest body in the Arab Socialist Union which, according to the Statute of the Arab Socialist Union, is supposed to decide upon the State's strategy.

The broadcasting building was besieged and I did not know, my security organs did not tell me because it was these organs that besieged it in order to prevent the President, if he tried to go in and address the people. Yet, after hearing the two tapes — and as I have always accustomed you and will continue to do so — I wanted to make doubly sure. I did not want to take my secretary's report for granted. So, I asked him about the name of the person who informed him about the besieging of the Broadcasting Service. He gave me the name of a certain person whom I called the next morning. I asked him whether he did report such and such things. He said «Yes». I asked him whether he had heard this from somebody else, but he assured me that he had seen it for himself. The one who told him first had heard about it from inside a certain room in the Secretariat of the Arab Socialist Union, but when he was told, he went to find out for himself and saw the Broadcasting Service actually besieged. After I made sure of what I heard, I estimated the thing as a coup d'État.
Those who besieged the Broadcasting Service could have chosen any person to address the people and say anything, he could say that they have taken over power, or he may have addressed the people or do anything else. So, it was indeed a coup d'état. I have told you before, and I repeat it once more, that I will never give up the trust, nor the responsibility for which the people elected me until the very last moment in my life, and I will defend this trust and this responsibility until death.

I summoned Sami Sharaf and explained to him the whole situation. I told him all what had happened and said: «I had accustomed you, and told you as I told the whole people, that I will never take a decision before first making sure of the facts».

«Today, I am quite sure and I have sufficient evidence. You must go to Shaarawi Gomaa and communicate to him that I have accepted his resignation, and ask him not go to his office at the Ministry of Interior.»

I appointed a new Minister of Interior who came over, accompanied by Dr. Fawzi, and was sworn in, in full compliance with constitutional practice. He went to the Ministry at about 6 p.m. yesterday; and I asked him to lay his hands immediately on the tape because I have over two pieces from the Ministry at the disposal.

I ordered on the tape to be opened.

I said in front of people and the Press that I have quite shape another few irresponsible political organisations saying that I have about time when the lesson will be to submit appointment.

There is a 30, to which which provided the Central Committee which request that which I for that Minister of Interior for the request that was the excutors is concerned.
immediately on the recording room at the Ministry because I had asked the Minister of Justice to send over two public prosecutors to take over that room from the Minister of Interior and to place the room at the disposal of the Prosecution.

I ordered that the persons whose voices were on the tape recordings be summoned and an inquest be opened. Why? This was for two purposes.

I said it was now propitious to expose to the people and to the Central Committee, whose political shape and prestige was unjustly impaired by a few irresponsible members who tarnished our political organisation and in addition went around claiming that I intended to dissolve it. I said it was about time we exposed this in order to benefit from the lesson which we learned and the prosecution is to submit its report.

There is a provision in the Statement of March 30, to which I am committed before the people, which provides for the appointment from amongst the Central Committee of a National Security Committee which is to review the exceptional measures.

So I formed this Committee, and notified the Minister of Interior. I told him that when the inquest that will be carried out by the Public Prosecutors is completed, the National Security Com-
mittee should receive their report in this connection, because I wanted this Committee — which represents the Central Committee — to inform the Central Committee of what has taken place and how, both in the Executive and the Central Committees. This would reveal how procedures between the two committees were carried out and how things were going on. In this way, the people would be able to judge, and I would then proceed with my plan and hold elections from the base to the top.

In spite of all that has taken place, this does not imply that I would dissolve the Socialist Union. Not at all. Because I have said that the only formula for our political action — the formula we should adhere to — is the Socialist Union. But we have to redress our shortcomings now that we have this evidence in our hands. This evidence should be exposed to everybody and its implications be set before us as a morale and a lesson.

The Minister of Justice has already sent over, since yesterday, two public prosecutors who took over the recording room. The inquest is now under way and the tape recordings are at their disposal. Those in charge of the recording room ordered the tapes to be wiped out; but before they had time to do so the Republican Guard were there. The public prosecutors followed them and the Republican Guard handed over the tapes.

As soon as order, I ordered the Republican Guard to hand the tapes over to the public prosecutors. They are now under investigation.

All this left my committee to communicate to the public.

He told me that Gomaas said that he would resign.

Samir was very concerned that he would not carry on the telephone.
handed them the tape recordings which were intact.

As regards the two persons who issued that order, I have ordered that they be put in prison. They are two senior police officers and an inquest is now under way in this respect.

All this took place yesterday. Sami Sharaf left my office, went to Shaarawi Gomaa and communicated to him my message.

He then rang me up to tell me that Shaarawi Gomaa said that he was at my disposal and that he would stay at home, and that was that.

Sami said that as far as he himself was concerned his nerves were shattered, and he cried over the telephone.

I told him I knew that his nerves could not stand it because the decision was a difficult one. But I explained that when I lose confidence I cannot beat about the bush nor can I lay an ambush. Speaking to him, I said: «I have already told you that I never resort to devious ways and that I tackle things in broad daylight. I have lost confidence, therefore I would not cooperate with Shaarawi. But as far as you are concerned you can carry on». He said he was tired but I told him he could have a rest as long as he wished. He
said that he was at my disposal and put down the receiver.

This took place at 7 p.m. The clock struck, 8, 9, 10 and only a couple of minutes before it was 11 o'clock I received a messenger carrying a message containing the resignation of Sami Sharaf, Mohamed Fawzi, the Minister of Power, Helmi El Said, the Minister of Housing, Saad Zayed, and the Minister of Information, Mohamed Fayek. The messenger said that other resignations were forthcoming and that these resignations would be announced in the news bulletin of 11 p.m.; for Mohamed Fayek, the Minister of Information, and one of those who resigned had his office at the Television and Broadcasting building.

I looked at my watch. It was two minutes to 11 p.m. At any rate, I was going to accept their resignations and I would not have hesitated at all in doing so. But the very measure itself, namely, that they can announce whatever they wish to announce over the radio and that the Minister of Information would do so was, of course, unacceptable.

As a matter of fact, he passed the news item which was broadcast in the 11 p.m. news bulletin and he left his office afterwards and went home.

after making the round over the office, it would bring in the resignations.

But of course, there are no men that Sharaf himself sees himself, himself, himself. If you want to be earlier and you want to be made, you want to do something who does something, and I would do something. But the very measure of designated was, of course, unacceptable.

But back on the deal of efficient and Cabinet had to be capable and efficient and minister.

Indeed men. Even if we never in touch to us. But
after making sure that the item was announced over the radio. They thought that this news items would bring about a collapse, since it included five resignations in solidarity with Shaarawi.

But come to think of it; you, Sami Sharaf — who are now listening in — rang me up and said that Shaarawi was at my disposal and that you, yourself, would do my bidding. Well, I don't mind. If you wanted to resign you could have told me earlier and I would have allowed the announcement to be made because I would not have hesitated to accept the resignation of anybody who did not want to cooperate with me. Not at all. Anyone who does not want to cooperate is free to do so and I would never oblige anyone to do otherwise. But the way in which this was carried out was designated to show that there was a collapse.

But Egypt will never collapse. It has a good deal of efficiencies and capabilities and today a new Cabinet has been formed. This is made up of capable and efficient young men, university professors and ministers from all walks of life.

Indeed, Egypt is full of capabilities and able men. Even the colossal giant, Abdel Nasser, whom we never imagined we would do without, was lost to us. But the people were able to hold on, after-
wards, to carry on and forge ahead. Egypt will survive forever and its people will always regenerate. It has every capability and efficiency to do so.

But there is no point in adopting such a style or behaviour — let alone the behaviour of the tape recordings.

Even worse still, and it pains me to admit, is that during the past ten days, a considerable number of people called on me — particularly after the "affair" of the Central Committee. These included Cabinet ministers who told me that my home was tapped... the private residence of the President of the Republic!... I told them this was nonsense. As it has always been my custom, and as I have told you, I have all my life tried to make sure of things before passing a judgement. «No», I said, «nobody would dare do such a thing. Who could ever think of doing this to me? Sami or Shaarawi? But, after all, these two are in my confidence and know everything about my work and my plans».

Only four or five days ago I had let Shaarawi in on my plan in detail. I told him what I wanted to do concerning the elections and the procedures in this connection.
I usually confide in full, but once I withdraw my confidence, I make a clean cut. I know no compromising nor do I resort to laying ambuses or anything of that kind. This is not my way of handling things.

So I told my informant that I had full confidence in Sami and Shaarawi. I thought that there was no reason why they should think of tapping my calls and conversations.

But I regret to admit that it has been revealed that my study-room at home — at the residence of the President of the Republic — contained a tapping apparatus which was detected yesterday evening. Well, after all that has happened and what has taken place I had to send for an electronic detector and I found that apparatus in my private study-room. So I thought of it and of the scores of thousands of tape-recordings carrying taped telephone calls.

I even found that a telephone tapping equipment was available not only at the Ministry of Interior but also at the bureau of Sami Sharaf. Well, yesterday before Sami left, I told him that I knew that he had a telephone tapping equipment and asked him to put it out of operation immediately.
I gave the new Minister of Interior instructions that nobody will be watched without an order from a magistrate except in case of foreign subversive activities. Locally, however, there must be an order from the judiciary; and I shall myself supervise it. I shall myself supervise the official disposal of the old tapes. All such things must stop, and the people must rest assured. The Minister of Interior told me he will abide by this. Then I told you of what happened, the resignations and what appeared to be a crisis. I do not feel sorry about all this. Even the President of the Sudan, Gaafar Numeiry, who is with us now in the Kubbah Palace, did not sleep all night long yesterday, for he spoke to me at 2 a.m. He boarded a plane at 2 a.m., and when I went to welcome him at the airport, he was asleep in the plane and I waited until they woke him up. He had not slept all night because he was worried.

At the same time, President Hafez El Assad from Syria and Moammar El Kazzafy from Libya contacted me. They asked me what did the Egyptian people want from them to assure its national unity. What could they give to the Egyptian Armed Forces upon which we all depend, as Arabs under these circumstances, so that they may continue to face the battle. I reassured them that it was a storm in a tea-cup, mere nonsense — nothing at all.
However, they were not satisfied. President Hafez El Assad sent the Syrian Vice-President and the Deputy-Premier this morning, while President Moammar El Kassafy sent two Deputy-Premiers and the Minister of Information. President Gaafar Numeiry came this morning accompanied by General Khaled Abbas, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and they are present with us now.

All the people came to say that Egypt is the fortress of Arabism towards which everybody looks for hope, and particularly at such a time during the battle.

This is, simply, the whole story, with all its details. I do not want to comment upon it; I shall leave you — as a people — to draw your own conclusions. But I am stating before you, for the sake of truth and in discharge of my historical responsibility before the nation, that I shall never shirk my responsibility at all. I shall never allow the establishment of any centre of power, whatever its place and however strong it may be. I am now reiterating this; for I have already said it at Inshass before half of the Egyptian Armed Forces who applauded it enthusiastically. I say it again publicly while they — my sons on the Canal — are hearing me together with the whole people, as well as those
who are placed under house arrest and who thought
that they could bring about the collapse of the inter-
nal front and thus realise the objectives of our ene-
emies and strike the rear of our forces. No. They
could not strike. Our people stand solid, thank God.
I did not shirk my trust. I shall never allow the
establishment of centres of power.

I shall propose to the people to conduct free
elections from the base to the top of the Arab
Socialist Union. I shall personally supervise them.
A judiciary committee in my own office, and coun-
sellors from the Ministry of Justice will supervise
every small and big detail — from the distribution
of the election cards; from the basic units up to
the apex of the Arab Socialist Union — so that
we may return a union that represents the people
of June 9 and 10 who have made the history which
we are now living.

Two final words I wish to address to our
people: be reassured. It was a storm in a tea-cup
which blew over. After leaving you now, I shall
receive the new Cabinet which will take the oath.
Your Armed Forces enjoy the highest spirit and
are perfectly understanding. As I told you on May
1, there is bright hope; there is a bright future
notwithstanding the fierceness of the forthcoming
battle. Yes, I am telling you there is a bright hope.

Victory will be on our side, by exerting every effort
be in a peaceful manner. However, the battle in the
front, regardless of my sons to my sons on the
that passed between
even what Sisco said.
All these details I
Forces and before
not shirk my trust.

During the last days, I have
ed to take extraor-
ing those who were
or some of the Nasserites
in touch with the immunity lifted.
the country while

I will not allow the
front, regardless of
my sons at the
tapes and before
will crush anyone
homefront.

I say it again, I
mine the homefront.
Victory will be ours, by the will of God. I am exerting every effort for whatever hope there may be in a peaceful solution; but that hope is very slight. However, we are preparing ourselves for the battle in the meantime. I said this, in detail, to my sons on the front. I told them everything that passed between me and Rogers and Sisco, and even what Sisco said after his return from Israel. All these details I put before my sons in the Armed Forces and before the Parliamentary body. I shall not shirk my trust nor shall I compromise.

During the last twenty-four hours, I was forced to take extraordinary measures, whether regarding those who wanted to bring about the collapse of the Arab camp or some of the National Assembly members. I got in touch with the National Assembly to have their immunity lifted. I could not leave them to destroy the country while the Assembly ponders its decision.

I will not allow anyone to destroy our home-front, regardless of the cost I may have to bear. I told my sons at Inshass, even before I heard the tapes and before all this, to be reassured that I will crush anyone who might try to undermine the homefront.

I say it again; anyone who will try to undermine the homefront and our national unity — up-
held by the people on June 9 and 10 — I will crush him. I will spare no effort in safeguarding our national unity; and if need be, I will crush who would try to destroy it.

Thank God our people have been saved from the saboteurs. It is regrettable that the class which ruled was covetous. The people will never be affected, and the lackeys will never escape punishment. The judiciary will have its word. All the details will be placed before you after the judiciary committee has finished its work, and the National Security Committee has brought before you the complete truth, whether to the Arab Socialist Union with all its levels or the whole people. A last word from the bottom of my heart: I express my thanks to President Moammar El Kazzafy and President Hafez El Assad for their sentiments towards our people here, our Armed Forces and our battle. I can hardly express my gratitude, nor can I find the appropriate words with which to thank our brother President Gaafar Numeiry who is present with us now in this palace.

Though I pressed that he should not come and that everything was normal saying « Don’t you worry, Gaafar, there is nothing the matter », he insisted on coming. He is with us and he came here, to return on the same day. He will return tonight.

I cannot find the words to thank him and to the brother.

I address my greetings, President Hafez El Assad, and the brotherly Armed Forces. I address Moammar El Kazzafy and the sisterly Armed Forces of Libya and their Armed Forces.

I address my greetings to the guest President Gaafar Numeiry who is present here with us now and who insisted on my greetings to the brother President Moammar El Kazzafy and President Hafez El Assad for their sentiments towards our people here, our Armed Forces and our battle. I can hardly express my gratitude, nor can I find the appropriate words with which to thank our brother President Gaafar Numeiry who is present with us now in this palace.

May God guide you and be upon you.
I cannot find the words to express gratitude to him and to the brotherly people of the Sudan.

I address my greetings to President Hafez El Assad, and the brotherly people of Syria and their Armed Forces. I address my greetings to President Moammar El Kazzafy and to the brotherly people of Libya and their Armed Forces.

I address my greetings to our brother and dear guest President Gaafar Numeiry who is sitting with us now and who insisted on coming. I also address my greetings to the brotherly people of the Sudan to whom we are related by ties of blood, and to their Armed Forces. I address my greetings to you, because the storm is over, and there will never be any more storms to impede the march forward. Egypt, God willing, will remain the fortress which nobody will get at, neither from within, nor from without, thanks to the will of these people.

May God guide you; God's peace and mercy be upon you.