INTERVIEW

granted by

PRESIDENT ANWAR EL SADAT

to Editor-in-Chief of the Kuwaiti «Assiyassa»
Newspaper

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Mr. Ahmed Al Garallah, the Editor-in-Chief of the Kuwaiti «Assiyassa» newspaper began his interview with President El Sadat by saying:

"Certainly there were many who put their hands on their hearts when President Mohamed Anwar El Sadat assumed power in Egypt ... There were many Western and Arab Leaderships writing and warning ... But certainly now the President has become an international figure representing moderation and the new Arab logic, to the extent that he is now described in the West as a man of peace.

During this period the President applied a certain form of political thought like any politician, he presented many causes, knowing that he may lose them at present, but will win them again in the future ... There were those who strongly opposed him, but at the end, his viewpoint proved to be the right one ... For instance, his full conviction that the Middle East game is a one-hundred per cent American game.

Every time, I met with President Anwar El Sadat, I used to find myself charged with observations and queries concerning
the internal situation in Egypt, and the Arab world, since the President is in a very sensitive position from the local and national points of view.

So, hail with me President Mohamed Anwar El Sadat, and let us begin, a kind of controversial talk with him, and as usual, he will open his heart to us so that we can come out with fruitful conclusions.

Question: Mr. President, I have been in Egypt for eight days now, during which I met with a number of the representatives of the People's Assembly, Engineer Sayed Marei, writers, senior journalists, and some of the public. I discovered that they all want you to be frank with the Arab world concerning what is happening in Egypt. They also say that you refrain from talking on this question. So, do you have anything to say now?

President: I have much to say... But first allow me to thank you for the kind words you used to introduce me... My answer is that not only Egypt, but our entire Arab nation is living in a state of regeneration after October 6. Prior to October 6 we lost the confidence of the world, and, even worse, we lost our self-confidence... As our Arab brothers in every Arab country have known and have read, the defeatist and pessimistic wave, as well as the psychological warfare undermined our morale altogether... Then came October 6, and what we are living now is, in fact, new birth pangs of the Arab nation, in its movements, understanding and tactics, especially after the Arab nation had found itself, as psychologists say... Nations are exactly, like individuals; whenever a nation or an individual finds itself or himself, such a moment is considered a turning point, in the sense that a great deal of good may accrue thereof, while if it is misunderstood, much harm can come of it.
For that reason, I am saying, today, that the Arab nation, and the Egyptian people at the core are suffering new pains of birth giving. As you have seen and felt here in Cairo, there is full freedom in every aspect of life here... Detention camps were closed four years ago... All political prisoners received full amnesty, and sovereignty of the law is now prevailing.

We have embarked upon a new stage in Egypt, and perhaps this experience will be attentively viewed by our Arab brothers everywhere... As regards foreign policy, we got over the stage of slogans and outbiddings, and initiated the stage of full maturity, in the sense that we should study and analyse every cause with all its dimensions... We cannot isolate ourselves from the world, and in the meantime we cannot address the world with a language other than the language accepted by our age.

From this point we began our political line which some might misunderstand, but as long as we are fully convinced that we are assuming the responsibility, we shall continue in our line, God willing... As I am accustomed, I shall always lay the bare facts before my people and before the entire Arab nation.

In the internal sphere, we are undergoing a new experience much bigger than the one that is being carried out or had been carried out in the field of foreign policy... We are setting up a state of institutions now in Egypt, and I am really proud it has already been set up... The debates you hear about in the People's Assembly, and calling the Ministers to such a difficult account by the Assembly, are but a clear evidence that the constitutional institution is performing its duty, and demonstrating its full character in the best way... Therefore, the executive authority is existing in full form... Regarding the political organisation, we are considering its evolution in a way to serve the current stage through which Egypt and our Arab nation are passing, so that it may be
an access for other stages to follow ... Our new experience is being applied on every aspect of life ... For example, we formed a committee headed by Vice-President Hosny Moubarak to write the history of the revolution since 1919 and up to the 1952 Revolution, and another sub-committee for the study and investigation of the reasons of the June 5th defeat.

So, as you see, the political field in Egypt is like a beehive, there is movement in every direction ... For instance, we are very active in the diplomatic field, and the diplomatic battle is going on successfully as a substitute for the military one until it proves useless.

In the internal sphere, a completely new build-up and a new experience are being undergone on the basis of true democracy and sovereignty of the law in the state of institutions, side by side with preserving national unity and social peace.

Question : Mr. President, from the economic point of view, would you like to say something to the Arab world?

President : Yes ... I am not accustomed to hide facts from my Arab brothers, as I am also not used at all to ask for anything, because, according to our criteria, we the peasants who grew up on the soil of this land, it is extremely difficult for us to ask anybody for anything. Nevertheless, the Cabinet laid down the true figures of our debts before the People's Assembly, and with extreme frankness they are more than L.E. 2400 million ... What really bothers me is the question of liquidity. For seven years before the battle we were drained of every drop of blood in our veins ... Why? Because we were living on our own economy, not like Israel which receives a cheque from the Jews of the world, and then cashes it from the bank ... But we were spending from our flesh and blood. ... As I told my Arab brothers in October 1973, our economy
reached rock bottom ... Allow me, here to direct my thanks to the Arab brothers in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the Arab Emirates and Qattar and our brothers in Iran who all hurried to help us ... Our problem is quite a difficult one ... As I said, during the seven lean years before October 1973 we drained every drop of blood in our veins ... Now we need an operation of blood transfusion ...

We did not die nor did we become completely bankrupt, we just need a blood transfusion. We have our own agriculture and industry, in addition to the Suez Canal and the Sinai oil which we finally recovered and which are now contributing in the new build up of this country.

As of the beginning of this year, that is, a few days ago, I believe we began to be self-sufficient in oil after we regained our oilfields in Sinai, and are on our way to export a small part of our production, after giving back the oil our Arab brothers helped us with after October 1973.

The total revenue from the Suez Canal and the restored oilfields is estimated at about 600 or 700 million dollars annually. The problem we are facing now is that we need liquidity in order to properly finance the plan, and boost the wheel of production, because our plan is not based on consumption but on production. So, if we can obtain this liquidity and a reasonable period of grace, only then can we surmount the crisis we are living ... Our plan includes projects mostly of the kind known as dollar projects, in the sense that they can be sold at any time and anywhere, such as fertilizers, cement and sugar... In this respect, we formed a company with our brothers in Kuwait for the exploitation of Alexandria gases.

All these are commodities we can sell at any time. Thanks be to God the picture is not that dim, we are just passing through
a critical stage. We have the fundamentals upon which we can rely, foremost among which are the Suez Canal and the oil surplus. Our major problem is that of liquidity and how we can repay the short term loans the interests of which ranged between 20% and 22% last year. We were able to repay some loans from the aid we received from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Arab Emirates, thus avoiding interests of L.E. 60 million we used to pay annually. There is still another part of these loans we have to repay in 1976 so that we can finish with these interests altogether and initiate the stage of reconstruction and production. In that case, and even before the end of this period of grace, our production would be restored to a position where we can re-imburse all our debts.

This is our economic position in all frankness.

**Question**: Following your visit to the United States, a consortium was declared for the support of Egypt combining Iran, Saudi Arabia, the States of the Arab Gulf and America too. What happened in that respect?

**President**: The consortium you are talking about is between America, West Germany, Japan and Saudi Arabia, and was lately joined by Kuwait which assisted us last year. We also received aid from Saudi Arabia and Iran at the end of last year. As for America, West Germany and Japan, we did not receive anything at all.

**Question**: Mr. President, there is an economic deficit in your budget besides Egypt's debts. So, from the economic point of view, if the projects of public services are given to foreign companies as it happens in some other states, would not that be a possible solution for the problem?

**President**: We are not rigid, nor prejudiced or head-strong. We are rather, ready to understand and discuss everything that
can serve our economy in the open-door policy, and will approve without hesitation, what we consider in our interest. The Ministerial Council has full power in this respect. It is not only that the private sector is required to play an active role, no; without the least embarrassment, I say that we need an operation of blood transfusion to our veins because our blood was drained and dried up from sufferings and bleeding during the past period.

**Question**: For that operation of blood transfusion to be undergone, would you like it to take the form of aid or loans from the Arab countries, or joint ventures between you and the Arab countries?

**President**: We are ready to accept the three forms. If it is aid, we shall be very grateful to our Arab brothers. We are also ready to receive any kind of loans, and I shall not say that I shall repay the instalments from the output of agriculture and industry, but from the revenue of the Suez Canal and the oil surplus which is estimated at about 600 or 700 million dollars. So, when I give an annual figure of 500 million dollars we can repay, it will not be a problem to borrow 2, or 3 or 4 billion dollars because I can, for sure, repay 500 million dollars annually after re-opening the Suez Canal. By the way, the first ship to pass through the Canal after reopening it was a new Kuwaiti one. I saw it anchoring in Port Said, and I was told that it was the first ship or in the first convey that would pass on June 5. Before the closure of the Suez Canal in 1967 the number of ships transiting therein ranged between 55-60 ships daily. After reopening it the number of ships ranged between 20-50, but thanks be to God, we reached the old average of 55 ships daily in the last month of December, with more tonnage, because the size of ships became bigger than it was in 1967. So, the position of the Suez Canal is not only good, but beyond the imagination of any man. I welcome any kind of aid,
and am ready to accept loans or joint ventures. Perhaps the pipeline is the best example in this respect, because at one time my Arab brothers offered to finance the pipeline with its value of 400 million dollars but I refused saying that I would prefer it to be joint project. This was exactly what happened, and we initiated the project with 50% for us and 50% for our brothers in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The project is almost finished and we shall reap its fruits very shortly, the same goes for all joint ventures.

**Question**: After the military crossing you achieved a political crossing, now there is some talk about an economic crossing as you are preparing yourself for the coming presidential campaign. The question here is; in case the President fails to fulfil an economic crossing, would that lead, in its turn, to the failure of his political crossing? What would you say to this if you take into consideration that you guarantee freedom of opinion?

**President**: There is no doubt about it. It is an undeniable fact that freedom of opinion is guaranteed to all. You have lived among us, and can judge for yourself whether there is full freedom or not. I cannot visualize the economic position in that way, in the sense that had we been unable to transcend the economic obstacles, we would also fail to carry out a political crossing at home. I am very much of an ascetic on this point. But the picture is different here. It is not that there are mistakes committed by the Government in our economy which have led to this result. Not at all. It is the result of a blood drainage operation on our economy all through the seven years prior to the battle. Now, and for two years after the battle, we have been endeavouring to remedy this economy.

Anyone else including myself, may find himself in the same situation. By God, I would be extremely happy if anyone else
were to take over... At least I would wake up in the morning with no problems in my head, or how to tackle the supply problem, what to do with America and Russia, and how to deal with what is going on in the East and West of the Arab nation... I would be relaxed... I wish they would take such a heavy burden and responsibility away from me... Our major problem is one of time.

Thanks be to God we are pursuing the right path. As I said, very frankly and simply, we need three or four billion dollars in the next two years.

I go to my Arab brothers or any other state and tell them, "I shall give you 500 million dollars annually, the Suez Canal revenue, and you give me 4 billion dollars to solve my problems». I must do this, and any one else should do the same in order to solve our problems... Nevertheless, we are not a bankrupt country, nor one without foundations or suffering a collapse in our economy... Absolutely not.

**Question**: Mr. President, have you talked to the Arab world concerning this question of the four billion dollars you need now as an economic support?

**President**: In a few days the Prime Minister will pay visits to some Arab countries with a view of exploiting the whole situation to them, what we have, and what we owe others... Then, the matter will be left to them.

**Question**: Were there any kind of preliminary talks with them? And did they show their good will?

**President**: Until this very moment, it gives me great pleasure to admit that our Arab brothers fulfilled their commitments every time we contacted them... But the problem signifies more and that is why I authorised the Prime Minister to lay down the whole picture before the Arab leaders.
Question: Mr. President, during your visit to the United States you conducted an economic dialogue with the Americans. Have you started putting its results into effect, or are they still under study?

President: No. We began putting these results into effect, and you can take a list of the projects already implemented from the Prime Minister.

However, it is only natural to counter some obstacles in the economic field, some of which are of our own making. Why? Because during the past twenty years we were completely closed on ourselves, and all our laws and life were formulated according to this closed position. By being opened up now, it is natural to find some difficulty. As regards investors, there is also some kind of argument especially with investors in small enterprises. Today, our economy does not need small enterprises, but rather big ones. However, we are going well on our way. Two or three days ago we, ultimately, closed Port Said as a free port, the same as Singapore and Hong Kong. We are on the threshold of the right path, we only need some time. As a matter of fact, there is an excellent response from America and Western Europe in all fields.

Question: Mr. President, can it be said that the open-door policy is an abolition of the socialist ideology in Egypt?

President: No. Absolutely not.

Question: Or of the method of nationalisation which the Political Administration applied in the past.

President: This is what some are trying to attack us with. They say that we abolished or are on our way to liquidate socialism. No. What we are saying is that socialism, in its essence
which we see and which is provided for in the Charter, can be expressed in two words: sufficiency and justice. Sufficiency in production, and justice in distribution. Let us stop using such big words as scientific socialism and so on. Let us speak very simply in the difficult circumstances through which our people are going. The area of land on which we live is very limited. Though we are now utilising every drop of the Nile water after the construction of the High Dam, we are still living on 4% of our land, and the remaining 96% are desert of which large areas can be very well exploited. As I said, our socialism means sufficiency and justice.

Sufficiency is increase in production, and justice is fair-distribution of production. Our socialism has another characteristic, namely, it does not call for the ownership of means of production as scientific socialism does. No. In lieu of the ownership of means of production in Marxism, our socialism says «No to domination».

This means that our economy draws up and directs its plan to meet the needs of the masses, or what we call the broad base. But let me tell you two words «Socialism», very simply and according to our concept, is an inevitable solution. We are 38 million persons living on an area of 4% and we have increased the arable land by not more than one-third only, and there is no possibility for further increase. For that same reason I was keen on concluding the contracts of the atomic stations for the desalination of the sea water to be utilised for the cultivation of the 96% of the desert land. Let me tell you something. The only solution for the 38 millions to have equal opportunities, justice and social peace; social peace means no class and no bloody conflicts, this is to uphold and apply socialism. We have no other solution but socialism. Socialism which we described from our own living reality here. Regarding what you said about nation-
alisation and sequestration, an end was put to all this once and for all on May 15, and as you see, before the coming presidential campaign.

Now, I am studying the best way to codify the people's gains in our Constitution, the people's constitution, without any form of sequestrations, nationalisation or confiscation save with a proper reparation and according to a court's verdict . . . The sovereignty of the law, the state of institutions, and respect of man's dignity; all this I shall codify very soon.

President: Mr. President; can we possibly say that you regard socialism as a concept and not as a measure, a particular concept that is either equivalent to the prevailing concept in the Western World, namely that you are seeking social justice and peace for your people, or one that might be taken to mean confiscation and nationalisation.

To be frank, Mr. President, I state the fact that some people see in socialism the image of nationalisation, and even of Marxism.

President: As I have repeatedly announced, this is not at all our thought. At a certain stage in our life, our Charter was once turned into a theory of Marxism, but this was erroneous. Undoubtedly, it was a hundred per cent of a failure as an experience. At present, there is an open-door policy newly adopted. Thus, among the basic properties of our socialism are the control over the means of production in a bid to direct them towards the service of our country, as well as for the prosperity of the masses, and not for accumulating the wealth for a minority. Another property characterizing our socialism, as we all know, is religion. Religion is inherent in us, constituting an integral part of our entity and we can accept no other substitute.
That is why our socialism is one of faith. A third characteristic, I had formerly outlined at the inauguration of the People's Assembly in its final session, upon my request to the ministers to promulgate a legislation to be proposed by the government, which is connected with providing the necessary allocations for the security of every citizen on the land of Egypt whether in the city, the village, in the rural or urban societies, in the hamlets, or in the society of nomads. Every individual should feel secure.

This is counted as an advantage of our own socialism. In other words, the State interference is for the purpose of ensuring every Egyptian citizen against disability, illness, old age and death, in order to help him lead an honourable life. We have already gone a long way in this connection insistently demanding that this should take place in 1976 without any delay despite the heavy burdens we bear. Consequent upon this, we all have to share in shouldering our responsibility, as far as each of us can, even if we have to start with a more humble minimum, so as to continue forever along the course of ensuring our people. In the meantime, I consider the overall social insurance operation as more remarkable than all the resounding expressions, or descriptions often used as the landmarks of socialism.

Question: Mr. President, it is clear that, nowadays, there are current economic ambitions. Do you think the economic administration or in other words, the government organs, are capable of achieving this ambition?

President: Certainly, in this country there are limitless capacities and potentials. What is mostly required is that the obstacles laid by the laws and regulations should be instantly removed. This step is to be followed by practice which will take some time. As regards the organs, their efficiency, as well as the required cadres, they are all available.
Question: Mr. President, we would like to move to the foreign or international policy. How do you consider the last Vienna incident in connection to Egypt?

President: It is really a depressing, grievous matter which clearly shows how a few resort to hiring gang leaders to carry out operations of the sort, in a way that badly affects us as Arabs. Why should we force the world to look upon us with the same old view they had of us, as though we had not yet become mature? But thanks be to God, that we in Egypt have become fully mature. Furthermore, we fearlessly, and without any complications, deal with everyone, with the super-powers, and the non-aligned countries alike, as well as with our brothers in Africa and everywhere. We believe that we have the power to say «Yes», just as we have the power to say «No».

Question: Mr. President, in relation to the Vienna and Washington airport incidents, the PLO denies that it had anything to do with them, while Europe believes these incidents were caused by the Arabs. Do you think the Arabs have anything to do with these incidents, or are they falsely attributed to them?

President: After the PLO denied its relation with the above incidents, it is quite evident that it does not approve of it. On the other hand, some Arab leaders contributed to the financing of such operations as that of Vienna, which is akin to the Almaira operations. It goes without saying that a good sum of money had been paid to the Venezuelan to undertake an action that might put the Arabs in an unfavourable position.

Question: What about the Washington incident?

President: I know nothing definite concerning it, but I believe it is most probably a plot devised by Zionism in its endeavour to distort the Palestinian position, but I am only talking of Vienna.
Question: Mr. President, it was part of the Venezuelan Carlos' plan to come to Egypt, together with both the Saudi and the Iranian ministers and ask you to abrogate the Sinai agreement. If this had really happened, what would have been your attitude then?

President: Prior to this, they had attacked our Embassy in Madrid, but the Egyptian Ambassador had explained to them the provisions included in the agreement, and of which they were ignorant, they, not without feeling sorry, found out that they had been misled by their command. As the articles stated in Sinai agreement were not secretly cited but publicly disclosed, there had been a deliberate attempt to twist or falsify the established facts. In the meantime, and along with the incident of attacking our Embassy, they had been plotting to operate a public strike in Kuwait. They believed that by way of arousing emotions and provoking anxieties, they could possibly abolish facts, but they were unaware of the fact that facts can never be concealed. There is nothing to force us to justify our actions, for we are always acting openly and in the limelight. We have but one word, we do not say something inside the rooms and another before the microphone. Let me acquaint our Arab brothers with a deplorable event which had unfortunately occurred during my visit to the U.S. and to Europe, namely that, in London, any demonstration cannot be allowed without a permission. What happened was that our Palestinian and Syrian brothers requested permission to organise a demonstration against me.

The same request was presented by the Israelis. Thus the English Police put the three together in one line and along the same street since they constituted the opposition, which in front of them stood our Egyptian youth, in a demonstration of support, it was quite a sight.

Deep at heart I wished the Palestinians and the Syrians had
not been placed side by side with the Israelis. That is why I say that our Arab nation today is undergoing new pains of birth-giving. I was and am still optimistic and I will always be, God willing. We cannot slip backward into the policies of hysteria, outbiddings, or accusations of treason for the slightest reason. These claims are now rejected and are no longer accepted or allowed after October 6. Even if Carlos had come here and demanded the abrogation of the Sinai agreement, there would have been no response to his request.

**Question**: Mr. President, it is said that the Russians are boosting Syria to spite Egypt. Others argue that President El Assad or Syria consider the game being Russian, while you regard it as being American. Would you kindly, Mr. President, explain this point more clearly?

**President**: The fact that the Russians support Syria is quite evident, not only during and after the October War but even prior to it. If you remember, I took my decision concerning the dismissal of the Soviet experts on July 8, 1972. Ever since that date, that is a year and 2 months before the outbreak of the October battle, our relations with the Soviet Union have been steadily deteriorating. In the meantime, it has bountifully been providing Syria with all its needs in armament. In addition, it had compensated Syria for every weapon it lost in the battle. Thus, even before the ceasefire on October 22 was put into force, the tanks, artillery, and missiles Syria used in the war, had been replaced. And up to our present day Syria is still backed by the Soviet Union. While until this moment, not a single piece of the arms I lost has been replaced. Brezhnev promised to visit Egypt in January, but he didn't. On the other hand, we both agreed that the contracts signed between us should be reimbursed. Accordingly, they began in February and March of 1975 to supply us with goods included in the deals which
were due for delivery since last year. Again this process was halted, and the agreements were not implemented. Consequent upon this, the whole situation was brought to a deadlock, whether politically or economically as I explained concerning the period of grace. It is for every Arab to know that the game of the Middle East area cannot be Russian since the Soviet Union cannot and has not the power to influence Israel, not to mention the volunteers and the people it sends to Israel whereas America supplies Israel, with everything starting with the loaf of bread and butter to the gun and Phantom, thus America alone has the power of influencing Israel. This does not necessarily mean that we should hand over our affairs to America to settle. On the contrary, as I had previously mentioned before the Congress that I am only a friend who is ready to agree with the Americans if they are right, and similarly ready to differ with them in case they are wrong. In this respect the dimensions of this process are so far explicit, but some are striving to show facts outside their true context.

**Question**: Mr. President, what do you think of the internal affairs in Syria?

**President**: I have no details concerning this matter, since, I always believe that the domestic situation is the right of every nation, for each has its own circumstances and conditions. As I do not interfere in the state of affairs of any country, I likewise do not admit any interference by another country in our own internal affairs. But it seems clear that owing to particular circumstances definitely stemming from the interior, have placed Syria in the position of the outbidders. In the light of this new attitude, the Syrians began a series of misinterpretations in connection with our going to the Geneva Conference, in December 1973, and with the first disengagement agreement we signed, which did not prevent them from signing a similar one on the Golan front; immediately
after, they did the same in connection with the second disengagement agreement. There is something not very clear, yet it can be taken for granted that it is a reflection of local circumstances. I would have liked the Arab cause to acquire larger proportions, to be greater than and rather above all these matters, for these is not one of us who does not face domestic problems.

Question: Are you still optimistic concerning your cordial relations or rather the relations you had once with President El Assad?

President: After the first disengagement, I travelled to Syria and visited President El Assad in the airport of Damascus along with the leaders of the Baath Party and the National Front, on my way to Kuwait, that is, one day after the first disengagement agreement was reached. During this visit I told President El Assad before the members of the front that <<no Arab leader or head of state would have joined me in taking the decision for launching the October 6 war, but you did. Because of this very reason I was willing to walk on foot to Damascus if you had asked me to do so>>. I have nothing but feelings of cordiality and fraternity for President Hafez El Assad, and I will always have them, simply because he is the man who put his hand in mine to take the October 6 war decision. It was the decision which has changed the face of history, not only in the Arab world, but in the world at large. But the whole problem resides in the fact that, year after year, it becomes clear that El Baath Party is adopting a line of action which I don't approve. This is what actually compelled me to tell President Hafez El Assad last April in Riyadh that: «I am dealing with you personally, and will have nothing to do whatsoever with your Baath Party, because the experience had been bitter, and the conflict between us is not new». Their concepts and methods do not change, whereas the whole world is changing. As for President
Hafez I still hold him in high esteem, because we are people who have faith in our values and principles, never to be shaken so easily.

**Question**: Mr. President, have you read President El Assad’s declarations to the «Newsweek» a week ago?

**President**: Yes, I read them, but because I care for President Hafez El Assad, and in adherence to the principles I referred to, I am forced not to reply to these declarations, nor will I ever stoop to such a level. It was a shame, I am confident that he regretted it afterwards. Moreover, these are matters which would have had their repercussions twenty years ago, but nowadays they are of no value. To conserve the situation as it is, I prefer not to react to these declarations since they mean nothing to me.

**Question**: Mr. President, what is the position of the Jordanian orbit among the Arab orbits between Egypt and Syria?

**President**: It is really quite strange. In the summer of 1974, King Hussein paid us a visit at the end of which a joint communiqué was issued in which he explicitly recognized, for the first time, the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians, and also that the Western Bank is in his trust, whereas Gaza is in our trust. But the Palestinians were enraged for it was obvious that the Syrian Baath Party had set itself up as the sole guardian of the PLO, despite the resolution we adopted in Rabat which asserted the non-interference or imposition of custody on our Palestinian brothers. After King Hussein’s visit to Egypt, he conferred with President El Assad and they both formed a political-military joint command. Following this, he issued declarations in connection with our second disengagement agreement. Yet it is worth making an issue of it for it is about time to devote our attention to build up a new infrastructure, a state of institutions, to start the construction and rehabilitation of the Canal area, the return
of the evacuees, as well as to reformulate our economic system anew. Thus we are preoccupied with the aforementioned domestic battles, and have no time to brood over the distressing attempts of King Hussein. I still stress the fact that time will eventually bring facts to light, unveiling everything that is hidden.

**Question:** Mr. President, King Khaled has been visiting Syria and Jordan, and certain press information outlined the possibility of holding a limited meeting to be attended by you, President El Assad, King Hussein and King Khaled, all of you to be joined by Mr. Yasser Arafat. Has such a meeting been prepared for?

**President:** I know nothing concerning such a matter. I only knew that King Khaled's visit was connected with the cause of Lebanon. We received no news nor did we have any idea other than this.

**Question:** Mr. President, Egypt is accused of being involved in Lebanon, meanwhile I have had confirmations from here in Kuwait that Egypt did not participate in the current clashes or events.

**President:** We have overtly declared our attitude in this connection, while some condemned Egypt and others blamed it for its indifference with regard to Lebanon. It was not difficult for us to interfere in Lebanon by way of money and arms, in the same manner as others did. But because we ultimately reject this way of dealing and in accordance with our conviction that there is something wrong in the Lebanese formula that makes it incumbent upon the Lebanese themselves to sit together to correct this error, we never thought of interference. Moreover, owing to the still-existing problem between the Lebanese and the Palestinians, it has become imperative for the Lebanese, after reaching the formula required for them, to try in collaboration
with their Palestinian brothers, to work out a satisfactory solution to this problem. On our part, we resent any Arab or non-Arab interference in Lebanon's internal affairs. We are positive that if the intentions are clear and if our brothers in Lebanon show more frankness, they will be able to solve their problems on their own. Thus, putting an end to the crises Lebanon and all the Arabs are now living.

**Question**: Mr. President, it is said that President Franjieh is accused of being behind the escalation of the recent events every time they subsided; there are some who call for his dismissal.

**President**: I think it is natural that any head of state is to be held responsible for every event that takes place in his country. Despite this, I always and still have my conviction that President Soliman Franjieh can put an end to all this by establishing a state in Lebanon, for, unfortunately, there is no state in Lebanon.

**Question**: Mr. President, how do you visualize the end of recent events in Lebanon?

**President**: I admit to you the fact that I consider this problem the only one I find myself unable to solve; in any other problem, even in our struggle against Israel, the US and the USSR: one knows everything and all the variables, except where this problem is concerned. But what is presently happening in Lebanon seems almost incomprehensible; who is bringing the weapons and ammunitions used at a rate of one million dollars daily; who is behind it, and what are the plans designed and in whose interest. Some claim that these plans are aimed at manipulating the Lebanese domestic policy for the realization of certain objectives set by particular parties. Others stress the fact that there is a foreign interference, and I reassert that definitely there must
be for who is financing the conflicting parties in Lebanon, allowing them to continue the exchange of fire, fighting against each other and killing the innocent as well. In order to give my opinion of the situation, the whole picture should appear explicit before me, whereas in fact I can only perceive aspects of bitterness and pain inflicted on our brothers in Lebanon.

**Question**: Mr. President, a good many people are of the opinion that the present-day Arab situation has become a bit gloomy. For instance, if you look at the Moroccan-Algerian present relations, the current events in Lebanon as well as the ambitions directed towards the Gulf area and the Arab Peninsula, you will agree that many are depressed by it. What is your view, Mr. President?

**President**: I am against that. Prior to 1973, we had been suffering from a greater feeling of depression, a deeper bitterness and a more violent feeling of rupture, that is far beyond what is going on in the Arab world nowadays. According to what I say, it is a stage of rebirth so that the newly born nation is to be guided by the modern concepts of the age in which we live, and which throughout tens of years, we have been unable to understand and apply. It is high time to address ourselves to the application of these concepts in keeping with this period of regeneration. It is period for the new reformulation of the Arab mentality, for dealing with the outside world in the language of the age, and a period for tackling the problems confronting us with seriousness and objectivity away from emotions and outbiddings. However, casting a glance on the Arab East and West, I always took it for granted that those living in the West are less emotional but they proved to be the opposite. Despite this, if we bear in mind that we are undergoing a period of rebirth then what has been occurring lately in the Arab world should be regarded as a
natural part of the process. So I would like to comfort you and tell you that I am deeply optimistic because of my firm belief that no one can ever shake the Arab solidarity or the Arab stand manifested on October 6, since its roots have become deeply intrenched into the land, something which makes it difficult for anyone to touch.

Question: Mr. President, how, in your opinion, will the struggle between Algeria and Morocco come to an end?

President: I am very distressed by the situation of the two countries, because I am a friend to both. President Boumedienne fought the war with me, and went as far as buying weapons for me.

King El Hassan too volunteered to send Moroccan troops in the immortal war of Suez. That is why I am in a painful and embarrassing situation. I only fear that the struggle should turn, as it often happens in the East, into a personal problem. The problem would then be too difficult to solve. I am sorry to see this personal element in the struggle even today.

Question: Mr. President, can't you cooperate with them to reach a solution?

President: Well, I authorized our Prime Minister to go to Algeria and Morocco and talk to President Boumedienne and King El Hassan. The Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, who is now visiting Mauritania, will pass by Morocco on his way back to Cairo. We are attempting everything possible. I personally prefer Egypt to try to seek a solution rather than take sides, for both are brothers, and both are dear to us.

Question: Mr. President, it has been said that President Kazzafy and yourself have met secretly, sometime ago, in order to re-establish friendly relations between the two countries.
President: No, this never occurred; on the contrary, his papers have lately been attacking me and my family just a few days ago.

Question: Mr. President, have you succeeded in diversifying the sources from which you purchase your weapons?

President: Yes, I thank God, now the doors are all open before us.

Question: Is the Russian source of weapons no longer as necessary to you as it used to be?

President: No, it is still a necessary source, as most of our weapons are from Russia. Yet, we hope that the open-door policy we are following at the moment, will allow for new sources of weapons. This step of diversifying our sources is inevitable; we suffered from the monopoly on weapons in 1955, imposed by the West following the battle of Gaza on the 28th of February, 1955. This was the direct cause for the deal we concluded with Russia to break the monopoly, this deal was announced in September 1955.

History, I regret to say, repeats itself, and now we have to free ourselves from Russian monopoly on weapons, and open new sources, so as not to be at the mercy of monopoly.

Question: Egypt used to lead a campaign for building Arab factories; has this campaign proved successful?

President: It is proceeding well, and an institution is now being established for this purpose. This institution includes three of our sister Arab countries. It is supervised by the industrial institution, and it is on its way to great accomplishments.

Question: Mr. President, you have long been attacking the Russians, and yet they remain silent, except for some personal attacks published in the Soviet papers. What is the secret of Egypt's power and of your power in this connection?
Question: The establishment of a schedule payment of debts to the Russians seems to have failed?

President: We have only agreed on one year, 1976. The other problems are still pending, the military and financial problems do still exist.

Question: Mr. President, do you think the differences existing between Russia and Egypt will affect its future influence in the Arab area?

President: All I ask and hope for our Arab brothers, is for them to know where the interests of the Arabs lie. They should not just seek traditional friendships nor maintain traditional enmity with America.

We should make friends with those who back our goals and care for our interests. On the other hand, we do not form friendships with those who are in opposition with our goals and interest.

We are, however, still sentimental and emotional — yet, all I ask for during this stage of re-birth, is for us not to be biased to either East or West.

Some said Sadat is pro-America, he has gone to America. Later on, French President d'Estaing paid his visit to Egypt, and we concluded a friendship agreement between our two countries. By the way, this declaration is much more powerful than our treaty with the Russians. Now, as a result of President d'Estaing's visit, Sadat is said to be, not an American, but French.

I do believe that we should, for our own benefit, open our hearts, to all those who show an earnest wish to help us realise our interests.
In order to rebuild the Arab nation according to the contemporary concepts of the age of technology, we should completely stop taking sides. Time has come when the spirit of consciousness and maturity should prevail.

The world has now acquired the proper perspective of the Arab nation, so there is no point in our continuing to take sides. I am really astonished to see some people try to present a wrong image of the Arabs, as being in a crisis and in a tight spot. All this has been exported to Israel in 1973. The crisis, the tight spot, all these belong now to the Israeli society.

I don't know why some insist on bringing all this back; but they will not succeed, because the Arab nation, after the October War, has become mature. Even if this is not apparent today, it will become so gradually.

**Question**: Mr. President, your recent visit to America and the Western nations, resulted, from an international point of view, in your being considered and described by the Western press as man of peace. What, in your view, were the other positive aspects which were not published about this visit, and which the Arab press did not mention?

**President**: I shall refer to one example which I believe will be quite ample. I am not positive whether or not our Arab brothers happened to come across the speech addressed to Israel, by Alsop, which was published in the «New York Times».

Well, Alsop is a biased Zionist Israeli from the top of his head to the tip of his toes. You must have watched Alsop, just as the American Congress did, through the satellite Tele-Star, the medium owned by your country, Kuwait. You also saw how we were welcomed in the Congress, and the manner in which we spoke of our problems. We had a resolution adopted by the U.N. concerning the
PLO, and the fact that it should participate in all discussions concerning the Middle East problem, which means that the PLO must go to Geneva.

The second measure taken was to take the Palestine Liberation Organisation to the Security Council following the last aggression. We compelled the world society to accept this procedure as being normal, or rather we did not compel them, for they certainly have their own rational thinking which made them realise that such a procedure was necessary.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation attended the Security Council for the first time in the history. We have done a lot, but I would like to point out what I said to Yasser Arafat, in Riyadh, before President Boumedienne I urged him not to allow anyone who wishes to attack Egypt to do so under borrowed Palestinian colours. There is one other point, I would like to stress to both our Arab brothers and yourself today. I emphasized to Yasser Arafat that the Palestine cause is well-cherished in Egypt and is in safe hands, for the simple reason that we do not renounce our principles, no matter what you do, and no matter how much you shout and oppose; we, in Egypt, shall still cherish the Palestine cause we have a common destiny. Egypt is well aware of its historical responsibility, and is not willing to forego or bargain over this responsibility. You can see for yourself all the clamour and the rows they make for nothing. While, on the other hand, you have what was accomplished in the United Nations, in the Security Council, and all over the world. My trip to the States, prodded Israel to try and make a failure of it, by exerting pressure on the information media in America. Their aim was to change my stand concerning the description of Zionism as being racism; but I refused out of conviction.

The solution is in the hands of America. The problem, however, is the elections year.
Question: How do Americans view the prospects of the struggle between the Arabs and Israel?

President: I would have preferred that, as Arabs, we would convene, like Israelis did in the Zionist conference held in Basle, Switzerland, towards the end of last century. I'd have preferred that we should sit and discuss the strategy, the plan, the action and the visualisation. But, unfortunately, this is not possible and is not to be had. The least that could happen unfortunately, is that we will wake up in the morning to find everything we mentioned published all over the world.

Through my relations with America, I discovered that America holds 99% of the solution cards, and is capable of settling the Arab-Israeli dispute ... But we must accept the fact that 1976 being the U.S. election year, no President can adopt a decision, especially a non-elected President like President Ford.

Since I met Kissinger in November 1973, none of them; Kissinger, Nixon or Ford, broke a promise they made.

Question: Since you met the American people and the big U.S. economists do you believe they consider that the future lies with the Arabs or Israel?

President: Certainly, they consider that the future lies with the Arabs. That was why I said that Alsop's article should be read. I consider it a radical change. The American people want to know the truth, I was truly delighted with their reception and understanding of us. Not a day passed without my being interviewed by the T.V., a broadcasting station or papers. The people's understanding and reaction indicate an obvious change of attitude ... My being invited to a joint meeting of the Congress and Senate shows full consciousness of their interests in this region and
through the Arab nation and full consciousness of the post-October 6 personality of the Arab nation.

But it is regrettable that some of us are fond of stirring up emotional battles or outbidding, just for the sake of addressing the emotions or sentiments of people, forgetting that there is a vital matter that we should all be concerned about — that when we realise a profit somewhere, it should be increased and developed and not left at the mercy of Israel to destroy.

**Question**: How do you visualise the Israeli society at present?

**President**: News agencies are performing this task for me, by explaining the emigration from Israel. All this information is Israeli.

Its economy has completely collapsed, for Israel, from the outset, lived on subsidies, not possessing the components of a state.

The principal components of a state are that it should have resources to pay the salaries of officials. But it never had any. Only following the October War we began to hear of deficit (in Israel), and of the austerity measures adopted. But more important is the disruption that occurred on account of the October War, and the collapse of the Israeli security theory upon which it was based, and which Ben-Gurion described as fundamental for its establishment. This theory toppled completely. They are now in the stage of loss and disruption we were in, before October. They do not deny this, as news agencies carry it. This is why I tell you that I’m surprised that after we exported all this to Israel, some people want to bring it back, but can’t.

**Question**: Mr. President, Israel’s strategy, including the conference in Basle in 1886 was that Israel should extend from the Euphrates to the Nile. Now, as you say, since their position is not normal inside Israel, do you believe that this strategy has changed?
President: This theory, Zionism, is based on expansion. As long as they adhere to it, the principles of Zionism will be observed. This is why Zionism is accused of racism.

Question: Mr. President, Iraq invited Iraqi Jews to return, if they, wished. Do you think other Arab countries could invite oriental Jews in the future, or is the idea a dangerous one?

President: The Arab nation and my people are used to not resorting to emotional operations, aimed for propaganda and information purposes. I study matters calmly and carefully. But up to now I tell you frankly, that I cannot understand what Iraq is doing and do not know its limitations. In my view, everything should be based on a certain strategy or concept. But what is the rest of their concept? I don't know their viewpoint or whether this is one of the emotional operations that burst forth, once in a while, in the Arab nation, mere emotionalism and nothing else. We do not practise these things.

Question: I have some personal questions to ask?

President: Go ahead.

Question: Do you visit the popular quarters (of Cairo)?

President: Yes, I lived and was brought up in Cairo's popular quarters.

Question: How do you visit them?

President: When I leave my house in Guiza, I pass by the biggest popular quarter in Egypt (Boulaq), and return by the same road. Then occasionally, I take my car and drive in these places. There is no place in Egypt where I have no recollections, from the days of my imprisonment, escape and struggle. For instance, when I went to Ismailia I visited the drivers' coffee house.
where I used to sit when I was a driver. In every town there is a drivers' coffee house, so that any one having a consignment for transport would know where to go. I have recollections everywhere: in Shohada, in Denshway, in Tanta, at the shrine of El Sayed El Badawi. But I must be content with my occasional drives, as I cannot practise my freedom like an ordinary citizen.

Question: Mr. President, what are your feelings when driving through the popular quarters you see a bare-footed man or one shivering with cold?

President: I told you I was one of them. I grew up among them in the village. You have listened to my recent T.V. interview. I was reared in a standard under the poverty demarcation line. This is why I feel for them and they for me. I say that if our socialism does not realise insurance against disease, poverty, incapacity, old age and death, we will not have accomplished anything.

Question: Mr. President, following the healthy interval wherein you eliminated the centres of power, there was much talk about corruption in the Army and the Intelligence, talk which proved the freedom granted to the people. Since, you were morally present, what is your view of the past 20 years in Egypt?

President: I said before, that it is a natural thing that a revolution should adopt certain measures for self-protection, which is a common thing to all revolutions. But I consider that our revolution took longer than necessary to do away with these measures. To be frank, in the sense that, if I was responsible and had been elected President of the Republic in 1956 as President Gamal Abdel Nasser had been elected President for the first time in 1956 and the task of the Revolution Command Council had ended, I'd have applied the measures I applied at present. It was necessary to
change the shaky framework of society by agrarian reform and redistribution of wealth.

But this could have accomplished in a different method. This is my view and estimation. These operations took longer than they should have. This is why, from my position of responsibility, I say that I am correcting all this, at the same time.

Question : Mr. President, whilst in the Operation Room last October were you contemplating a military victory of personal glory?

President : This requires a flash-back. Immediately following my investiture in 1970, I began preparing for the battle, as I was fully persuaded that short of a battle the position would not change and we would remain disrupted. In a T.V. interview I gave our people here and which the Arab nation may have heard I spoke of what I suffered during the last five years and especially the three years previous to the battle from being misunderstood and disrupted which was a natural thing. This is why I never took any measure against the students, the people, or any category. I considered this, the outcome of disruption, since I, myself, was more disrupted than they were.

When I adopted my decision on Ramadan 5th, after my meeting with the Armed Forces High Command, I had previously met the National Security Council and on Ramadan 7, a Tuesday, I signed the combat order for Field Marshal Ahmed Ismail. The battle was to take place the following Saturday. No one can imagine what wonderful sense of satisfaction I experienced.

It was finished now. I was impatiently waiting for Saturday, whatever the consequences. I moved and went to Tahra Palace which I had chosen as the Command of the country with communications leading to all Egypt; in the event communications
would be interrupted. As I said, I did not imagine that the battle would be over without raiding the cities.

I had a most restful sleep during the nights from Tuesday to Thursday, as the burden was lifted off my chest and the awful disruption I, my country and the Arab nation were experiencing was about to end, one way or another. Either we should win or we would be beaten and our people, the Arab nation and the coming generations would say that I died in the front lines and did not give way to despair and to slow death in my bed in Cairo. This was the source of my happiness. I slept normally and got up on Ramadan 10 (October 6). Field Marshal Ahmed Ismail called on me and after performing my morning activities and exercise, we went to the Operation Room and waited. The first message we received from the front was at exactly 2:00 o'clock. Vice-President, Mubarak, the then Air Force Commander, had sent out 220 planes which our troops saw flying low to avoid the Israeli radars. When they saw this, they did not await the crossing order. Most of them crossed, being moved by the sight of the 220 planes that struck their targets at the same time and returned.

Question: Did you inform your wife of the decision for the battle?

President: No. I am not used to mixing home life with my work. The decision was taken between me and President Hafez El Assad. After my meeting with the Armed Forces High Command on Monday October 5, all the commanders of the Armed Forces were informed, but apart from them, nobody knew.

Question: If you happened to be in the Operation Room and learned that a plane formation had hit Guiza where your family resides, another hit Shoubra and a third El Abbassieh, how could you control your feelings?

President: I will tell you a simple matter. In such a situation a person pays little heed to his family when the fate of a
nation is at stake. Vice-President Hosny was responsible for the
defence of all the targets in the Republic and not merely the first
attack. I am not at all concerned with that angle. If any place
was blasted, I would have known that it must have been beyond
Hosni's control and that he would strike back harder. However,
this supposition never occurred to me. My youngest brother Atef
whom I regarded as a son was a pilot. He took part in the first
sortie and died in the first ten minutes of the October War. I am
now proud of him and every time I visit an airport, each pilot
I see is my brother Atef. You may have noticed that I take all
the guests that come to visit me to the Gianaclis airfield and
introduce my sons, the pilots to the kings and heads of state. I
was proud and happy for they carried out my orders better than
was required of them.

Question : Mr. President, every head of state and leader has
his personal feelings. During the operations, what was the sound
you liked to hear most?

President : I had a tape recording with light western music.
Not the modern raucous type. I like the soft waltzes and the
chamber music to which, at times, I would sit and listen. I also
asked Abdel Kader Hatem, the Minister of Information at the time,
to start chorus singing and it was started, I greatly enjoyed the
battle songs.

Question : Has any particular song drawn your attention?
President : 'The Rebaba'.

Question : Among the past victory songs, is there any
particular Egyptian song you like?

President : The battle songs. The ordinary sentimental songs
do not appeal to me.

Question : Political plays are being staged at present. Do you
ask for their recordings or attend them incognito?
President: I only see them on T.V. I have not been to a theatre or to any public place since 1967. I completely cut off entertainments after the '67 set-back. It is only this year that I go out a little, but not to public places.

Question: Did you notice that there are no jokes on El Sadat?

President: Jokes thrive in an atmosphere of suppression. Our people like to philosophise matters and, therefore, retaliate to suppression by cracking jokes. Now there is no suppression. Whenever any one has anything to say, he says it or writes in the papers. Furthermore, he can say what he wants since nothing is forbidden.

Question: People regard your elegance as a manner of enjoying life and others consider it as a manner of enjoying rulership?

President: Elegance is an old habit of mine. Just I select a nice suit, I also select a nice ‘galabieh’, tailored in El Hussein (district) to wear whilst sitting with the farmers. All my life I selected my suits, I have no other hobby. I neither seek riches nor would I like to drop to a level that would disturb me. I have even experienced prison. My family and I lived under the poverty demarcation line. I don’t have a dozen suits, only a few well-tailored ones, and I wear them well, on suitable occasions, just as I like to wear the galabieh well. I am a perfectionist and like to do every thing well, even to wearing my clothes. But it is not enjoying rulership or anything like that. Why then I could have lived in one of the palaces? I am still the provincial arriving from Meet Aboul Kom, from a standard below the poverty demarcation line . . It delights me that now the word ‘fellah’ (provincial) is no longer an insult pronounced by the Turks who ruled us or the wealthy and the aristocratic classes. Now, everyone can be proud of belonging to a ‘fellah’ family. The word fellah has very high significance, at present.
Question: Mr. President, if two lists with names of officials for appointment are brought to you, one bearing the names of your relatives and another. Which one would you approve?

President: I will answer with a story. Directly after my investiture, I received a report claiming that my elder brother's sons had encroached on their neighbours, with the pretext that they were the sons of the high and mighty. My elder brother was one of the people that attended me whilst in prison and looked after my interests. Nevertheless, the only detention order I signed in my administration was the one to arrest my eldest brother to prove that no one is beyond the law. I will now give you an example of how I select my collaborators, Ismail Fahmi, for instance. He had been pensioned off by the former Foreign Minister, on account of a difference between them. When the Minister was relieved of office, Ismail Fahmi returned as Foreign Under-Secretary. When we resumed our relations with West-Germany he was appointed as Ambassador to West-Germany, one of the major posts of the State. Then he came to see me to take leave for travel. It was the first time I saw him and I gave him the necessary instructions. He told me that he was prepared to leave two days but that as he had heard the cabinet would be reshuffled he asked for permission to stay till after the reshuffle, so that he could answer the questions of German authorities on the subject. I allowed him to do so. At the time, I wanted to start a political campaign. As you may have noticed, we are either engaged in a political campaign or a military one, and never allow the position to stagnate. This is what some of our Arab brothers fail to understand. As I wanted to move the position forward, and was thinking of the 242 Security Council Resolution, I summoned three persons among whom was Ismail Fahmi, being an expert in U.N. affairs, for having worked 12 years there,
and being one of our brilliant and prominent personalities. The second man was the Counsellor of the National Security Council and one of our Ambassadors, now stationed in America. As I had the 242 Resolution in mind, I wanted to know its value for us and what would be the consequences of its annulment and the benefits from its implementation. I asked each to compile a report, and received them. I read the two others first and then Ismail Fahmi’s. His report was the best. I immediately gave instructions to summon him before he left for Germany. Ismail Fahmi’s report was magnificent, revealing an all-round knowledge of the subject. I also like to have the suggestion of a person who compiles a report including alternative suggestions. He was fully acquainted with our position as any step was bound to reflect on our movement which may have in turn reflected on our entire position. At the end of the report he gave his frank opinion saying: «I am not of the opinion that this resolution should be annulled under any circumstance, or for any reason». I gave instructions that Ismail Fahmi should delay his departure for Germany till after the reshuffle. Then appointed him as Minister of Tourism, as Hassan el Zayyat, was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the time, newly appointed and there was nothing against him. But I believed that a man who could submit a report of such weight should be at my side, so that I could summon him, as an expert on the subject. Then the battle started, and as Zayyat was absent in the United States, I appointed Ismail Fahmi as Acting Foreign Minister, and I sent him to Washington where he met Kissinger and Nixon. Whilst he was still in Washington, Hassan el Zayyat returned and as I dislike carrying out ministerial reshuffle while the persons concerned are outside the country, it was then that I appointed Ismail Fahmi Foreign Minister. This is my way of selecting my collaborators.

**Question**: So you evaluate capacity more than personal relations.
President: Relatives are out of bound with me, be they ever so efficient; personal relations can be a corrupting element.

Question: Mr. President, do you see films?

President: I do. In this hall.

Question: What particular film did you like?

President: I liked many films, especially old ones, not the new sex and seduction films. They are disgusting. I like films such as "Sound of Music" and "Waterloo Bridge" by Robert Taylor and Vivien Leigh. These were meaningful films that cost a lot of money. I saw all of the World War II films: the air battles, the tank battles, the Pacific wars, and any of the World War II battles. I used to watch one or two films a day. Until the October battle. But after that I began to watch the old masterpieces, in addition to Egyptian films, of course.

Question: Which of the Egyptian films drew your attention?

President: Unfortunately, I am attracted to old productions, just like in foreign films. They had more technique and perfection. They were purposeful films and not merely for amusement and pastime like the present ones. They treated certain problems in our society and the actors of the past generation were better than the present ones.

Question: Mr. President, some of your adversaries say that democracy is a scenario the dialogue of which was set by the President and executed by Sayyed Marei. What do you say to this?

President: Absolutely not. Before Marei, Hafez Badawi was the People's Assembly Speaker for three sessions out of five. Why didn't they say that he was the executor of the scenario? You can find out for yourself in the country. This is not worth talking about.
Question: Are you satisfied by the practice of freedom, or are people still afraid to practise it?

President: I am perfectly content. As I told you, I am seeking to legalise the Rectification Revolution, laying down its fundamental principles in the Constitution so that there would be no return to the suppression of freedoms, to detention camps and to the absence of law.

Question: What do you intend to make of Egypt?

President: I want Egypt to attain the position for which it is historically qualified, both in the Arab nation and the world. I want every Egyptian to be proud of his country which they are, and very conscious of it, too. To us Egyptians the land means a great deal, and especially the new Egypt. But I want them to be proud of Egypt in this age of technology and sciences, in addition to being proud of its ancient past, dating back to seven thousand years. The first Government and the first civilisation in the world developed in this place. I want them to be proud of the fact that in the year of 1975 and after, Egypt is still at the same level of civilisation and authenticity and is as constructive and progressive. Moreover, every Egyptian should be secure in his present and future, his life, his property and everything.

Question: Mr. President, would you prefer to rule a submissive or an opposing people?

President: It is difficult to decide for it depends on a great deal of things. I never take submissiveness or opposition into account. I look within to see whether I am satisfied with myself or not.

There are two sorts of success which people confuse: an inward feeling of success which you see and feel as you conduct a
dialogue with yourself and as you examine it, and an outward, apparent success, according to the estimation of others. This differs, for one man may be strict while I may not be so and another man may be fond of manoeuvring, which I am not. Therefore, when I score an inward success, I care little about outward success and what people say. As long as I am in harmony or peace with myself, I feel I am successful, whatever the people may be, submissive or opposing. If they understand me, well and good if not, I am a man who learned politics on the street and from A to Z. I know that the day the people will reject me I will not stay for a minute; only artists stay on until they are old and tired and are stoned on the stage. I have no intention of being stoned. When I have an inner feeling of success, I am happy. If the people understand me, well and good, if they don't understand me, I will make a short stay.

Question : Mr. President, Did you ever cry in your life ?

President : Very rarely and only out of rage. My mother died in my arms and I used to love her dearly, yet I did not shed a tear. But rage, at times, drives me to tears.

This happened when I was a young lieutenant in the Signals Corps. I was against the British Military Mission while the Commander of the corps and the senior officers curried favour with them to get promoted and remain in their posts.

One day, the Commander of the Corps summoned me on account of a difference between myself and one of the members of the mission. I went to him under guard and stood before him. He blamed me for the way in which I talked with the member of the Military Mission and at the end, he suspended me. Suspension for an officer meant that we would remove his belt and sit at the mess under guard.
That day I spoke agitatedly to the Commander though respecting the limits of military behaviour and politeness — I am never impolite under any circumstance — but I told him, what I thought then I left the room. Outside I felt tears flowing from my eyes, tears of rage. I have no tears which is not a very good thing for at times tears are restful, especially when one loses a beloved person.

**Question**: Do your children carry the problems of the people to you? Do they transmit the particular problem of an individual in the Egyptian society? How do you deal with it?

**President**: Certainly, they come with problems from universities, the problems of their colleagues. When they go to a visit in a certain place and the people get to know them, they give them petitions or some such things. I see them and study them then they take their normal course. This happens very often.

— The Editor-in-Chief of the Kuwaiti Al Siyassa paper concluded his interview with President El Sadat saying; «I had a meeting with the President some time ago when there was a battle between him and those who opposed his viewpoint in the Arab world. Certain Arab and Western diplomats asked me of my findings and view of the President, to which I replied that the President had a clear view, or that the view was clear to him. During his talk with me, at present, I watched him closely to determine whether the answers came from his heart or whether they were diplomatic and covert replies.

The President was talking with the simplicity of some one who had having previously prepared the answers. But he had not even read the questions.»