S P E E C H

by

PRESIDENT ANWAR EL SADAT

to

THE A.S.U. CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(March 27, 1976)

In the name of God,

It was natural, as we are passing through this historical decisive phase in our development, that we should meet. We have already met at a unified session of the People's Assembly, after which I met the members of the Armed Forces, and once again in the three governorates which formed the battlefield (of the October War) I met the sons of those governorates who are active in the national causes and are engaged in the organs of the Arab Socialist Union. It was only natural that we should meet here at the Central Committee, especially so after having received the working paper submitted by the General Secretariat of the Central Committee.

Before embarking on a detailed study of this paper with you which in actual fact sums up the course which will be defined with regard to the political action in the coming stage — I would like to point out certain matters. I would like to say that we are now living through one of our most glorious battles, despite all the difficulties facing us. We are facing economic difficulties and
old pile-ups, and all demand that they should be eliminated within one hour while some people demand that they should be wiped out in one moment. Despite all this, and as I have already said, we are living through one of the most glorious moments of our struggle.

To-day we hand over the July 23rd Revolution and the May 15 Rectification Revolution to the people — we hand them over legitimately and constitutionally from the widest approaches of democracy.

To-day and since five years back there are no detention camps. There are not, and God willing, there will not be any detention camps. What will prevail is the sovereignty of law in meaning and in effect. Our nation today is a nation of institutions and we have actually put in practice our institutions effectively and with efficiency.

The most important thing is to correct these errors. On the whole, the practice was magnificent. Today, while we are living politically among the countries of the world and within the borders of our Arab nation, in which we resemble the heart, we are also living through one of the most glorious moments in our life. There was a time when our relations with our Arab brothers were shattered, as well as with a large group of the countries of the present-day world. However, today as Arab brethren and within the Arab family, we are working together. In October 1973, it became evidently clear to the entire world that in times of hardship, we are as one nation, one man and one feeling. The military performance of your Armed Forces, and by using the arms available at our disposal, foremost amongst which was the oil weapon, we were deserving acknowledged by the world as the Sixth Power of the present-day world.

This was not achieved through force or pressure, or through
within them we struggled out and we did so as the result of our struggle to achieve our May 15 legislative and other legitimate rights and guarantees.

We did not have enough living and working conditions to educate our people. We therefore set up camps. We did not have enough housing and schooling and medical services we have moved to improve the life of our people.

On the basis of this we were living in the border regions, where we are fighting for our life. The borders were closed during the Six Day War and within a month of the war. Then, in 1973, it became clear that we had to face the problems of hardship. The armed forces in the military were the primary means available for the defense of our land and our people. The most important weapon was the human weapon, the human weapon of the people. We were living in the camps, the People's Assembly was meeting in the camps. We published essays or publicity; but it was accomplished through our fighting performance, which proved our competence and our capacity to use the most up-to-date weapons and assimilate all the means of modern technology.

We can now demolish all the feelings of fear and defeatism, which at one time spread throughout the whole of our Arab nation. The whole world looked upon us with pity which intensified our pain and bitterness because they believed we were helpless.

We changed all this in October 73, and as I said before, we exported all what we formerly suffered by way of pain and disruption to Israel — for there is no place for it among us today.

We must overcome the economic difficulties — difficulties in livelihood, in the standard of living. Today we are following a new line — laying down the foundation of a new structure, completely new. The entire world is applauding Egypt's attitude, Egypt's performance and Egypt's position, not only in its Arab nation but in the whole Middle East and also in the world balance. From the military viewpoint I have already told you what our Armed Forces have done during the October 1973 war. Not enough has been written about this but as any great historic action its effects are being revealed daily throughout the world, from the economic, political and military viewpoints.

As I said before, the pre-October 1973 world has changed completely and we now have a new world.

I explained before the People's Assembly the economic difficulties we had to face. I would like to clarify this point even more by giving you some figures because there are those who did not fully grasp the matter or the magnitude of our burden and responsibilities. You heard me say that when the Premier and his colleagues the Ministers of Economy, Finance and Planning put
the whole economic picture before I had thought that our shortage was nearly 4,000 million dollars and I considered this reasonable and that in a few years we would be able to make up for it. Then I realised that this figure was in sterling pounds, or two and a half times what I had thought. In other words, we would have to really work and sweat over the next five years in order to overcome this problem with the assistance of our brothers and friends in the world, namely the Arab nation. Last year I thought the shortage was easy, 4,000 million dollars. I sent to Saudi Arabia and immediately they sent us 600 million dollars; Kuwait sent 500 million dollars. In a very short time we were able to get 11 billion dollars and overcome the difficulties of 1975.

This year when the Prime Minister presented me with the situation and I found that it will extend for several years and will be in sterling, I was taken by surprise. As I told you, I called in foreign experts because I wanted to verify the situation and I am determined that whatever the matter, we are going to face it and we are going to solve it.

The world experts actually took part with us in studying the situation. They affirmed what the Prime Minister and his assistants had arrived at. I was extremely happy because there was no differences in opinion; on the contrary, the proposed solutions were identical. This was the reason behind my last tour of the Arab countries. I visited six Arab countries and explained to them the entire situation frankly and in all honesty.

We agreed to set up a fund, but this fund will not spare us from work, sweat, effort and production.

When I say that we are going to adopt austerity measures I do not mean by this the low-echelon classes at all. On the contrary, I asked the Prime Minister to try in the forthcoming stage to solve
the problems of the working classes and junior employees who are suffering many hardships. We have to solve their problems and we are on our way to doing so. However, austerity should be applied to all aspects of life, to the large incomes and even to the style of consumption, because our style of consumption really needs it.

The plan will be submitted to you and to the people frankly and in detail. Everyone is entitled to say his observations regarding it... However, there will remain always one important thing, namely, that we need five years of work, production, sweat and effort in order to consolidate our economy once and for all, and in order to establish the structure we aspire to, which will realize before anything else prosperity for the broad base. So far for economy.

As I have told you, this stage we are passing through is a glorious one. I have already reviewed the situation politically, militarily and economically.

Now, we are about to embark on a whole democratic life from its widest doors. I thank God that in the past years, since I began my term of office up to this moment, I have never said anything I did not mean. Not once, for I always say what I mean.

Some may not believe this at the time, but the time will come when they will be compelled to believe, because of the facts submitted, as facts alone are the only answer to any confusions and doubts. Only facts and accomplishments can answer any doubts, and not the writing of essays or propaganda, which in time vanish leaving behind only the performance and accomplishments.

Again I repeat that we are entering democracy from its widest door, and by this I am referring to the paper I submitted in 1974.

Then came 1975, but due to numerous circumstances and the great changeables around us, we were unable to adopt a decision with this respect.
This year, the Committee which discussed the future of political action in Egypt convened to reveal the most gorgeous picture of democracy before the people on both television and in the broadcasting services. In an atmosphere of freedom, anyone who had an opinion or wanted to introduce a forum came forward and spoke up freely and frankly.

The Committee for the Future of Political Action in Egypt reached the decision which it in turn submitted to the People's Assembly. You were present at the meeting convened in the People's Assembly when I proposed approval of the first report, which was unanimously accepted by an overwhelming majority of the Committee. This was the establishment of three forums. Or let us call them three organisations instead of forums so as not to confuse anyone. These three organisations represent the Right, Centre and Left; and I do not think any democracy in the world has more than those three trends. This is why I repeat once more that we are entering democracy from its widest door.

I have submitted this to the People's Assembly and in the presence of the Central Committee, instead of calling for the formation of a constituent assembly to decide on this matter. For I believe that the fora or organisations should not be established by virtue of a decision whatsoever, but by virtue of the popular will. Therefore instead of calling for the formation of a constituent assembly we submitted the matter to the People's Assembly which equally represents the legislative authority and is directly elected by the people, and which undertakes the total legislative practice in our country. Consequently, I have asked for the approval of the People's Assembly in this connection. Following this approval of the People's Assembly, there remain the details concerning the establishment of these organisations within the framework of the Arab Socialist Union.
In this connection I would like to point out certain basic points:

First: this absolutely has no bearing whatsoever on the alliance of the people's working forces; neither the theory of the alliance nor its concept. What we are concerned with at present is the modality of the democratic practice within the framework of this alliance. It was clearly evident from the previous practice, and there was a kind of unanimity on this point, that diversified opinions must not find their way into the Union, but there can only be the single opinion.

It was imperative that we rectify our course, as we did through the May 15 Rectification Revolution in 1971, and similarly as we did with the promulgation of our Permanent Constitution also on May 15, 1971. It was imperative for us to correct the course of the political democratic action within the framework of the alliance, which is the Socialist Union.

Concerning the theory of alliance in itself, the alliance of the people's working forces — formed of farmers, workers, soldiers, intellectuals and national capitalism — no one can cast doubt on it nor undermine or attack it because this is a reality. It represents national unity in the best manner.

Democratic practice through the Arab Socialist Union in the last period took the form of the supremacy of the single opinion. This led us along a course full of pitfalls.

I would like to state here that those who attempted to exploit the Central Committee or the Union at all stages for realising objectives other than those of our country have not succeeded. In fact I would like to say that the Socialist Union was wholeheartedly with me in the October War. You heard me say that when I summoned all the secretaries in August, 1973 at Borg El-Arab,
one and a half or two months before the war, and held a very
lengthy meeting with them, I told them then that we were to wage
the War. No one in the country ever knew and nothing leaked
out. Each secretary returned to his place and remained there be-
fore, during and after the War. We have to admit that the Social-
ist Union performed its role in the best possible manner.

In times of crises as well, the Socialist Union performed its
role well. There were some who tried to take advantage of the
A.S.U. out of personal motives but the Central Committee on the
whole was sound and never responded to these motives or con-
flicts. There were some who at one time believed that they could,
through the Union's organisations, make use of these conflicts and
overpower the will of the people so that the centres of power
may continue to practise absolute authority and so that sequestra-
tion, detention, the absence of the sovereignty of law, personal
whims and suspect trends may also continue, in an attempt to lead
the country towards a certain direction. The Socialist Union never
responded to these attempts in the past. I am saying this in sup-
port of the work of the Socialist Union while we are on the thresh-
hold of a new stage and a new practice.

After the decision of the People's Assembly, which is the legis-
lative authority in our country and the constituent assembly of
these organisations or forums, it is up to us to lay down the de-
tails and guarantees of this practice so that we may pursue the
three main objectives of the theory of alliance, namely, national
unity, the inevitability of socialist solution, the gains of the work-
ers and farmers and social security.

Through these three main objectives the Socialist Union shall
become the crucible and the framework comprising the three or-
ganisations, taking into consideration that these three main ob-
A very serious threat to national unity is the leakage of our economic resources to the benefit of the Socialists and the Communists. This has become its main objective. I shall speak about each objective in detail.

With regard to national unity, I believe that in our country there is not a single citizen who contends the fact that in this particular stage and the stages to follow, we should strongly hold onto our national unity. A part of our land is still occupied, we are still in the midst of a battle, that is the economic battle which I consider exactly parallel to the military battle for the liberation of our land. Our forthcoming economic battle in the five years to come is no less grave than our battle for the liberation of the occupied land. We are in the process of consolidating our economy once and for all, God willing, by laying down for it sound, strong and firm bases whereon a structure can be set up. I do not believe anyone can ever object to national unity. On the contrary, it is incumbent upon us during the present stage and in the future, to show concern for and preservation of the national unity. When the national front is subjected to dissension from within, any calamities are likely to happen and any course is apt to deviate.

A case in point is Portugal which, after 40 years of dictatorship, has leapt into darkness with the emergence of the party system. In my assessment, I consider it a leap into darkness. I am pleased that this was referred to in the report of the Committee for the Future of Political Action in Egypt, and also in the General Secretariat paper here. I am of the opinion that we should avoid this leap in the dark, from a dictatorship directly to a multiparty system. It is an erroneous operation whose results are clear in Portugal where national unity is in a shambles, each party fighting against the other. It is really amazing to see the government forced to seize a broadcasting station because one of the parties has already occupied it. It is because of this that I say that practice which actually stems from the reality of our ex-
perience and from that of the stage we are in, is alone capable of guiding us as to the modality of establishing organisations.

How will the parties be established and what are its guarantees? We never leap into the unknown or into darkness, instead we calculate our steps beforehand, because as I said before, we still have two grave battles to wage — the liberation of our land and making a sound economic progress both of which are of extreme importance, and cannot withstand outbiddings, dissension or discord. This is what led me to affirm before the People's Assembly that we can never move a step forward while our face is turned backward, that is live the battles of the past and abandon the building of our future, which comprises the two critical battles of liberation and economic structure. This is with respect of the national unity, and I do not think anyone has the least doubt to cast an objection to those two points.

Second: the second point is the inevitability of the socialist solution and the gains of the farmers and the workers. As you probably heard, the discussions that took place in most parts of the Republic were quite liberal, whether before the Committee here, in every club or anywhere else.

Some of us have forgotten that after July 23 Revolution, a radical change occurred in this country. This perhaps is what gives me cause to laughter when the U.S.S.R. sometimes describes our system as being «non-capitalist». Some of our brothers here in Egypt also use this expression when defining socialism.

I laugh, of course, but certainly everyone is free to express whatever he imagines. However, there is a fact which should be realized, that a radical change took place two months after the July 23 Revolution, when all the parties refused the principle of the limitation of ownership.
Prior to our acquaintance with the U.S.S.R. or before having any relations with it whatsoever, we promulgated the Agrarian Reform Law in order to alter the whole of the social framework, as the 1952 Revolution was and is in fact two revolutions in one — a political revolution and a social revolution.

The social aspect required a reform in the social framework which was founded on false bases, because the royal family owned one third of the cultivated land and the rest, which is six million feddans, were for the people to live on. In this way, a third of the land was owned by the royal family, while several hundred individuals owned more than another third of the land (some used to own two thousand and even four thousand feddans), and other extensive areas of land were at one time owned by some sixteen foreigners living in our country. All of this was a reason enough for us to effect an overall change in our social structure.

The inception of the Revolution was not merely for the sake of achieving independence or death, because our struggle began long before that time. The July Revolution came in order to realize both independence and reforming the social structure on a sound basis, so as restore to the wide majority of our people, who had lived a life of deprivation before the Revolution, those workers and farmers who constitute 90% of the people, their rights and to re-instate them in their proper place.

Some people who are still living with the mentality of the pre-revolution era do not realize that a radical change has taken place. No individual and no power can possibly revoke this situation whatsoever. They cannot appreciate this fact, but they are excused because they have lived in a period whose features are still alive in their minds. They are incapable of assimilating the new concept which began with the July 23, 1952 Revolution to the Rectification Revolution then to the present day.
We are living in a free and secure country. Everyone has the right to his beliefs but the absolute majority realize and understand the transformation which occurred after the July 23 Revolution with the reshaping of the unbalanced social structure. It used to give everything to half per cent of the people, and the broad base of the people had next to nothing. All that has changed and no power on earth can cause us to retrogress. That is why I refer to the inevitability of the socialist solution.

There is another point which should be mentioned, and that is that we are living on 4% of our area while 96% of our land is desert. Our population is increasing rapidly every year as a result of the medical care provided by the state. Before the Revolution, we had the greatest infant mortality rate due to the lack of medical care. Now, after the Revolution and after the medical care, we have the highest birth rate in the world, about one million annually, living on this narrow area of land.

In the last cabinet reshuffle, as you have noticed, I asked the Prime Minister to appoint a Minister of State as well to the Ministry of Rehabilitation, because we must expand in the desert. We must escape the limitations of the 4% of our area and reclaim areas from the 96%. It is a vital field for our expansion, opening the way for the creation of completely new cities.

I was delighted when certain people from the oil companies and El-Barkuki from the Petroleum Organisation told me that water was found in the desert while they were digging for oil. I consider that water found in deserts is as important as petroleum because water renders the founding of cities and agriculture viable. It opens vistas for new societies and limitless land. In this respect, we can go ahead with anything.

That is why I have asked that the founding of new cities, especially outside the 4% on which we are living in the Nile Valley,
should be affiliated to the functions of the Ministry of Rehabilitation. Another thing which should be affiliated to it, is the horizontal land reclamation, i.e. expanding the reclamation of the desert land. After this they would be handed over to the Land Reclamation Ministry in order to distribute them. However, supervision of the reclamation operation should be under the control and supervision of the technicians whose occupation is contractions, which come under the competence of the Ministry of Rehabilitation. Without this, we are going to explode within our boundaries.

Concerning the inevitability of the socialist solution, how can there be equal opportunities if the case remains the same as the pre-revolution era; if admittance to universities is limited to those who can pay and jobs are given to those who have connections. never. The revolution grants equal opportunities to everyone.

Today you enter the university on the basis of your grades and no longer because you are the son of such and such a person or the relative of another. The secondary school grades are computerised. It is the computer which decides, according to the set rules, which faculty the student will enter, whether engineering, science, arts, etc., according to his grades and irrespective of who he is. This is also one of the things which some have been unable to accept until now but which they will have to accept because we will never go backwards concerning this matter. It is impossible for anyone or any power to take away from the broad base and the people the rights they have already been given, those 50% who constitute the workers and farmers. Our brothers of the pre-1952 Revolution are unable to accept this matter. Perhaps with their logic and considering the kind of life they led before 1952 they may have reasons to justify their feelings. But this has become inevitable and we shall never go backwards on this matter.
They say that the farmers and workers could be represented through parties, political organisations or forums and that there is no need at all for the 50% representation. This is wrong, it is going back in history. The farmers and workers took 50% and rightfully so because they were the majority who before the July 1952 Revolution were never heard. They have deservedly taken their place because it is they, particularly the farmers, who provide the people with everything — from food to men, leaders and cadres. It is the farmers who provide us with all this, for even the workers themselves are the sons of the farmers. No one can say today that we can go back on our words concerning the 50% to the workers and farmers, as it is their incontestable right. If this rate is removed they will no longer be heard as was the case before the 1952 Revolution. The Revolution changed the social structure. The socialist gains are many more than the 50% and than free education, for the State is committed to the broad base of the masses. Today, the State subsidizes bread with L.E. 600 million stabilising its price at P.T. 0.5. The same policy is applied to sugar, oil and other basic commodities. This is because the majority of the people are from the broad base. The State has intervened here and we can never rescind our commitments. There have been more socialist gains. We cannot have justice or apply the principle of equal opportunities except with the inevitability of socialist solution. This is the second principle.

Third: the third principle is social peace. What does social peace mean? Here I would like to pause and explain. I would like to draw two broad lines under the term «social peace» and I would like to talk to you in complete frankness. We are now embarking upon a political practice as there will be a Right, Left and Centre. Any misuse of this practice or in other words any resort to the system of outbiddings of the old parties is harmful to the State. It will take us five years of sweat and toil in order to help
I confess that we are passing through a difficult economic situation with regard to our supply commodities. We have problems of housing; problems concerning the State infrastructure, such as transport. All this is included in the five-year plan drawn up to save the Egyptian economy. It is not only a matter of settling our debts, no, we are building up and developing so that the profit accruing from the process of development will be utilized to amend the shortcomings manifested in the field of services in the past period. These shortcomings actually started in 1962, to-day we are in 1976, that is to say they lasted for 14 years, why? It is because there were ambitious plans which could not be implemented in full; an economic planning ratified every year as it came up. Our defeat in 1967 forced us since then to live on our own economy and on our income alone. In addition there were the expenses allocated for the re-building of our Armed Forces and the military expenses. By 1973, we were completely dried up and utterly exhausted. As I told you before, five days before the battle, I told the National Security Council, whose members are all still alive today, that our economy was below zero. We entered the battle in this state but our Arab brothers rushed to stand by our side and sent us aid.
As I have told you, until Mamdouh came I imagined that the deficit was a matter of a few billion dollars only. That does not present a problem to me because last year when we faced a similar problem, I sent to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Saudi Arabia sent me 600 million dollars as a deposit and Kuwait sent 500 million dollars also as a deposit at once. We solved our problem with one billion and 100 million dollars. Now, it is not a matter of dollars but of pounds, that is two and a half times as much, and it is expected to extend over the next five years.

We are in need of social peace. This means that no one should try to set one sect against the other. No established organisation should try to move a class or a group against another. No one should try to provoke a state of instability because it would mean total ruin. If something of the sort happened, we would not be able to go on with the liberation battle or the construction battle which is based on economy.

In this connection, I would like to say something before you and before our people, and I must say it frankly.

Before the battle, I used to make allowances because our people were rent, and I myself was rent more than anyone else. The spirit of defeatism prevailed in the Arab Nation around us; columnists were writing about such matters, and Israel was waging a psychological war against us. That is why I used to make allowances and to say that all these reactions are the natural outcome of turmoil. But now, after the 1973 battle, and after we have proved our mettle and exported all this (turmoil and defeatism) to Israel, there is no excuse at all for this attitude. I do not and shall not permit anyone to revive this turmoil and conflict... no, not anymore. I shall not accept the sowing of dissension among the people.
It is a self-evident truth that every nation has its problems and difficulties. We have economic problems which I shall sum up in a few words. The main problem is food. We have difficulties concerning food, but we are not starving as El-Kazzafi claims. Far from it. The matter is that we have been paying a blood tax for our nation and for the entire Arab nation even before he was born. We are not starving, but we want to attain a society in which every one feels that he can realize prosperity for himself. This is our aim.

I have laid down a main target: that is in the forthcoming two years, we must produce all our needs of food except wheat. We can only produce part of the wheat needed, but we shall have to import the rest. To be incapable of producing our food is a great shame because we are an agricultural country.

What is happening? What is the matter? The matter is that we depend on the government for everything. That is why there are shortcomings. We want the government to bring us our eggs, chicken and everything while the popular effort remains negative. This is a result of the system applied in the past stage. We should be quite frank and honest.

There is an example of a country that was damaged during and after the war in a manner unequalled in the history of nations, which is Germany. Whole cities and all its industry were destroyed; even the factories which remained after the war were divided between Russia and the Allies. So what remained of the factories after the war was either damaged or distributed; each country taking a share, America, Russia, England and France.

How did the Germans stand up on their feet once more? Germany today is one of the richest countries and the German mark is the highest currency... Could the government alone build all
that? Certainly not. If the government was left alone to re-construct, it would not have finished up till now. But when they received the Marshall Plan, every one: banks, individuals and the entire nation exerted effort and sweat so as to reconstruct the country in the shortest possible time, and they did so and made Germany more new and wonderful than it had ever been before, and they have become the richest nation in modern times. This is the outcome of the open-door policy which I am advocating.

The people's negligence is wrong. Depending completely on the government alone to solve all problems and ignoring the people's initiative is wrong. All these matters caused our people to adopt a negative attitude. When travelling on the desert highway or the agricultural highway we used to meet farmers displaying agricultural products to sell them. Why? Because people wanted to work and produce and that is the essence of the open-door policy.

The basis of the open-door policy is that the government cannot do everything. It is true it shall assume its role fully and will constantly intervene to protect the broad base of the people, as it pays L.E. 600 million in the form of subsidies for food for the sake of the broad masses. Thus, the government shall continuously intervene because as we said we adhere to the principle of the inevitability of the socialist solution. This inevitability means that the objective of any cabinet is to concern for the broad base of the people and not the prosperous minority. Open-door policy is the full utilisation of all potentials inside the country. When everyone to produce, perform and undertake his duty, he will definitely realise a profit for himself and we shall become self-sufficient, particularly in food. But this is no problem, for according to the planning designed, we shall, within the coming two years, produce all the food we need except for wheat. Again wheat constitute
The basis of the open-door policy is that the people should not stand by and watch the government working. I want them to work in the same way as the German people did. That is: both the government and the people, each working in its own field in order to set up the structure required. I am certain that once this is carried out, God willing, it will save us a lot of time, as I do not consider the problem of supply difficult if compared to the rest of the other problems, because it is within our power to solve it. This is not the task of the government alone, but one that necessitates a concerted effort of the whole people. Anyone who is able to participate with the government in this task should do so.

Concerning the banks, much controversy arose about allowing foreign banks to open again in Egypt. I say that these banks are not those of the pre-Revolution era. If you read my July 23 Revolution speech delivered on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Revolution in 1972, you will find that at one time we only possessed Misk Bank whilst the rest of the banks belonged to foreigners who dealt with our economy in the way they saw fit. There was a time after the Revolution when they tried to intimidate us regarding the question of economy, claiming that economy is a sensitive matter, not easy to handle and so on and so forth.

Then when it came to financing the cotton crop in the first year, the banks that were to finance it were all foreign except for Misk Bank. All of them colluded together to put the State in
a corner, using the deposits of Egyptians. We took heed of this matter and we Egyptianized all the banks and insurance companies in Egypt immediately after the 1956 War. The foreign banks which refused to cooperate with us, had to quit the country.

Now, today, I contacted many international banks, I have my reasons for this procedure. Banking procedures in our country, have unfortunately, become similar to State offices. That is wrong! I did relate to you before how Germany was reconstructed after the war. The State started the reconstruction by introducing the Marshall Plan. But the Banks were the most important factor in the building up of a new Germany in that they constantly lent the people who in turn spared no efforts to profit and let the banks profit. Every dollar they received from the banks, they considered as a trust, and this dollar was increased to ten dollars; all this was accomplished through the joint cooperation of people and the banks with the aid of the State which also played its role.

I talked about the inevitability of the socialist solution and said that we should exert all possible efforts to protect the broad base of the people, but this does not imply that the people should be negative and leave the whole burden to the State. We can stand still for a hundred years, until the State achieves something; the problems will eventually increase and no solutions will be reached. This is the main reason for the open-door policy, and my reverting to the international banks. These banks will join as partners, our share being 51%. If this is in the common interest, we shall carry on with this project, if not, we can easily ask them to leave.

Regrettably, operations in our banks have turned into pure office work; this is not banking. The task of the bank is to build up the economy of the country by giving credit and by giving the people incentives for work which will result in profit for the individual, the bank and the country as a whole.
Banks this time came as participants in financing the country and not as collaborators against us as they did in 1952 at the time of the financing of the cotton crop, thinking they would frighten us. I will relate to you the story of Gamal Abdel Nasser, may he rest in peace, when he was Prime Minister he had transferred his salary to one of the banks, Misr Bank, after the foreign banks had quit the country.

Here is an example to give you an idea of how banks became government offices. As a Prime Minister, Gamal's salary was remitted to the bank. Once he was badly in need of L.E. 100. How can he get this sum of money? Certainly from the bank. There is no other way. A person like me, when in need of money can go nowhere except to the bank. So, Gamal sent a L.E. 100 cheque. At that time he had no deposits to cover the amount but his salary was due to arrive to the bank at the end of the month and he was Prime Minister. What did the bank do? Because there was no deposits, they clipped a paper to the cheque saying that they must refer to the drawer and sent it to the prosecutor. They wanted to put him in jail. Was this a sensible thing to do? He was a Prime Minister and badly in need of only L.E. 100 and even if they were L.E. 1000. His salary was to be remitted to the bank. The end of the month was not too far. Being a Prime Minister, he could not have borrowed from anybody. They did not have any sense.

This took place at the 50s, then came the 60s and now we are in the 70s and our banks are a copy of the government offices. Such routine is no good at all in this stage of the open-door policy. That is why I brought the foreign banks to join our banks, give them a push and teach them banking. I will not allow anyone to call this imperialism... no... it is not. We own 51% of these banks.

I do not want any more outbiddings on the social stability of
the country, nor do I want to agitate a class against another. This is a shame. I have told you that before the war I was as hurt as the people, if not more. That is why I used to excuse some actions. In spite of the traffic crisis, which we suffered, some elements pushed some people to damage 40 buses newly bought from Iran. How could they speak of a traffic crisis while at the same time they were damaging the means of transport?

We are embarking on democracy from its wide door. Democracy does not mean the abuse of freedoms or sabotage. This is why from now on, any anarchy or sabotage will be met with severe punishment. This is directed to the Minister of the Interior. It would be meaningless to exhaust myself in asking for one thousand buses, if some boys moved by methods that you all know should come and destroy 40 of the one thousand. No, this is chaos. We are not going to be another Lebanon. We shall never return to the past five years... never.

I received today with deep sorrow a report about a meeting which was held in the Press Syndicate yesterday. The same meeting took place some time ago in the syndicate at times of disruption. They then extended a warning to me stating their conditions that within a defined period of time, the General Assembly will remain in session until their proposed requests are answered. Before I start speaking on this matter, I would like to give a simple background. One day, I worked as a journalist, something which I really appreciate before and after the Revolution. I will tell you two pieces of information concerning what I like and my method of work. At a time after the Revolution, I had been working at El Goumhour Publishing House where we published «El Tahrir Magazine». The House was later faced with financial difficulties. They claimed that the only solution was that those who did not write regularly in the magazine should work as part-timers, believing this might po
ibly offer some kind of incentive. Later, they called for fixing salaries according to the average of the work done by each journalist. Consequently, they made the calculation. It turned out that the estimation of one of the journalists was small whereas he was the bread-winner of a numerous family and also a supporter of one of his relatives or brothers who I think died or left his children in his trust, in brief, he was living in extremely difficult circumstances. The estimation was unjustly calculated for him. One day it was then in 53, 54, as I was taking hold of the House, I received, to my great surprise, a letter from this journalist, with the most abusive assault imaginable. The letter was also couched with defiance, in the most insolent abuse that can ever be. Yet, being a journalist I greatly admired the style as it seemed both elaborate and peculiar. At the end of the letter, he told me this is my address in Manyal El Rhoda, in such and such a street and of such number. He said that he is giving his address knowing that he shall be later imprisoned. Next day, I knew that the estimation was unjustly calculated for him. I was informed of his personal family problem. By that time, three days had elapsed and I am sure the poor man could not sleep because he was waiting for imprisonment. I was happy he couldn’t so that he would not revert to such practices. Then, I dispatched a letter to him. Instead of the police he was expecting, he received a letter from me personally on the fourth day. It was written in my own handwriting, and two lines were included therein: « Come back to your work and do not resort to such actions once again. » The journalist who was called Abd El Tawab Abd El Haii is still alive. The above incident occurred at the beginning of the Revolution at a time when detention camps existed and no one could open his mouth or utter a word. I have related this to show the way I feel as I consider myself a member of the journalistic profession since I worked in the press before and after the Revolution.
The other incident was when the centres of power began to fight me in the first meeting convened after the death of Abdel Nasser. They tried to provoke the public opinion with an article written by the editor-in-chief of «Al Ahram» at the time in which he stated that Abdel Nasser is not a myth and accused him of treason; their object in this was quite evident. This was subject of conflict among the centres of power, who were greatly agitated over the article and claimed that it was an insult to Abdel Nasser and to his standing, and that it was not acceptable. This was their method to test my power. They wished to know my reaction and comments upon my being presented with such claims; they could then be able to decide that I would sit still like an image, merely to carry out their requests. They raised this subject and provoked one of the centres of power so that he brought up the article at the Supreme Executive Committee and gave a marvellous explanation then accused this journalist of high treason — just like that. They presumed that, like before, this journalist would be immediately suspended of his functions and jailed. Instead, I asked them to postpone the discussion of that matter to the next meeting in which I called on the accused, Mr. Heikal; I then asked Dr. Labib Shukair, who had made the accusation before, to repeat it once again before the Committee and the accused. I asked for this repetition before the accused because of the high esteem I hold for the honesty and honour of the pen of the journalist. I spoke about or of the ex-editor-in-chief of Al-Ahram — well, this is my method of dealing with matters...

Now to return to the meeting convened yesterday — they were attacking the Supreme Board of the Press and the Syndicate Board, expressing their dissatisfaction of the payment statute, as though they were the only ones who suffered in the world. We are all in the same boat. I told you that before knowing the real situation, I had no objection to their requests, the budget goes to the People's
Article which subjected Nasser to real reaction against him; they sought up image, subject and journalist were jailed. This matter was handled by Heikal; accusation was false and the cause of all this was the pen of Al-Hurria alone.

They were on the State Board, though all in their situation, People’s Assembly to pass a joint decision with the State. The money belongs to the people and is here to serve the interests of the people. But today, I am faced with obligations of four thousand million pounds for the coming five years, and they come out with these insults.

What distressed me most, and I am now expressing myself as a journalist, is their attack on the Minister of Information. I am now passing an official request to the Press Syndicate to investigate these assaults that are being addressed to the Minister of Information. The ruling system of this country or myself can never allow democracy to give way to abuse and chaos. That Minister of Information, whom they assaulted, was once taken out of his bed, at seven in the morning, to the Citadel jail because he happened to write an essay on ‘Socialism’. He was the one who prepared, two months after my accession to the Presidency, the law for liquidation of sequestrations. I stated this fact in «Al-Ahram» a couple of months ago; I called on Gamal El Oteify in Al-Ahram and asked him to prepare this law of ‘Liquidation of Sequestrations’, which I previously assigned to two of the centres of power, but they did not submit the things I required. Gamal El Oteify prepared the law in just half an hour’s time after my request and he included the points I required, among which was to assign a socialist prosecutor. I then asked him that the law may be distributed to all papers and it was actually announced in December 1970, two months after my accession to the presidency.

Gamal El Oteify is the one who drafted that law. He joined me in drafting the 1971 Constitution. He was the President of the Legislative Committee in the People’s Assembly. I asked them to finish the laws completing the Constitution in order to make our Constitution effective and permanent and he drafted almost all these laws. That is the man who was slandered yesterday. I speak
frankly... we are not Lebanon. Democracy does not equal anarchy. Democracy and Liberty do not mean abuse. Then strange enough just as in 1952, they said that their meeting will extend till they see action taken by the Secretary-General of the A.S.U. in this respect... that is under threat. This strain was prevalent before the October War. I used to find excuses and to treat matters easily and calmly, because both the people and myself were torn. Some groups exploited this attitude, these people who have certain trends we all know and who understand me quite well. Now, they go on saying to the groups that your demands will not be granted except under pressure. They moved them to strikes and they actually were going to organise a sit-in strike in the syndicate.

I declare that from now on any sabotage on private or public property is not permitted. Before you and the whole nation I am asking the Prime Minister to place the economic state before the nation fully and in detail... study it and do whatsoever you want but these trends of pressure to cause harm and strikes should not be given any attention. They are rejected in form and content.

Why should they do so? We are embarking on a difficult five years during which I want to accomplish liberation and reconstruct the country and I am asking my brothers the Arabs to stand by my side, to do something like the Marshall Plan in which America, Japan, West Germany and Iran are participating in order to help us stand on feet once more, but we must prove that we are worthy of that. We must not revert to emotions which lead to strikes, sit-ins and slandering the people in responsible positions.

From now on I shall not respond to such matters. We have the People's Assembly and a legislative authority, today the people have authority. Whoever wants to speak or put forward certain demands may go to the People's Assembly and review the budget.
and if he finds any surplus money, he may take it. I agree that the People's Assembly should give it to him. We spend the money only on the people, it is the people's right... so, let us stop this line of talk.

I wanted to tell you all this in the previous meeting of the People's Assembly but there were so many things to reveal; despite the fact that it was a long meeting. There was our relation with the Soviet Union and all that occurred in this connection. I am drawing clear land-marks. Any outbidding on the national unity or the social peace from the organisations which will be established inside the Socialist Union are not accepted.

In order to make ourselves clear before the nation and all the communities... I know that we are all suffering. I asked the Prime Minister about the laws submitted to the People's Assembly. These laws are going to take from the rich to give to the poor. They will never take from the poor. The matter will be completely settled, even from aspects that may crop up.

From now on we are going to take taxes from everybody. It is the right of the people that everyone should be serious and responsible and no one should revert to such practices as serving notices, strikes and pressure because pressure will meet with no response and here I am telling the Prime Minister before you that there should be no response to anything whatever it be, under pressure, but we shall respond to dialogue.

Once more I talk about the mountain of hatred. Those who are full of hatred are the ones behind all these events. They want us to be submerged in hatred, to be in discord with one another, so as to make use of our troubles to move people against one another and one class against another. No, that is not permitted... We have finished with hatred. Now, we are leading a completely
democratic life, sound application and a correct path. We want to
live in the light. Anyone who has a right to something can have
recourse to the sovereignty of the law. We have no prisons, so
anyone who has a right can talk, converse, search and take his right
from the budget if he finds the relevant item. He can go to the
People's Assembly and ask permission to go through the budget,
by all means, I do not mind because the legislative and executive
authorities are responsible for the operation and they are ready
for anyone to go and see for himself.

The trend that claims that the government would not respond
except under pressure, threats, strikes and sit-ins is over now
and unacceptable. We know quite well that those who are respon-
sible for such matters are not all the leftists but only some of
them. Here I want to ask. What happened in the Soviet Union
when a strike took place and this occurred once only in history?
Tanks entered and swept the area flat by order of Stalin. As for me
I do not use such methods, I shall not revert to tanks. There re-
 mains a strange contradiction; we talk about the inevitability of
the socialist solution and the labourers are protected by law and
we protect the broad base of the people. Yet certain elements are
moving people to strike while I say that in the course of the next
five years a five-minute delay is wrong. It will prevent us from
attaining our target, we would have to suffer the burden of more
depts than we have according to the programme. So let us be frank
and clear and I am always laying bare all the facts before you. The
inevitability of the socialist solution is followed here in Egypt bet-
ter than in any socialist country, at least I have given equal op-
portunities for every human being living in Egypt with respect to
admittance to university while in the socialist countries, only the
sons of the party cadres are admitted and with recommendation
from the party. Even around us those countries which claim to be
progressive and have progressive systems only allow the sons of th
party in universities. I say here in Egypt, every Egyptian has this right and everyone benefits from it. In Nasser's days, his daughter did not get the grades required to enter university, so she did not and my own daughter wanted to enter the Faculty of Economics and Political Science but her grades did not permit that, so she entered the Faculty of Arts which was suitable to her grades... so, I can say that no other country is applying socialism better than we are.

We give equal opportunities; yet we must know that we draw our socialism and our attitudes from the actual circumstances in which we are living; we do not copy anyone's way of living or attempt to attack anyone. Everyone is free to use the procedure that suits his country most: I also am at liberty to choose and follow the most suitable procedure for my country. I am sorry I had to relate this story of the Syndicate, because this is their second manifestation of attacks, the first being just before the war. They took their own decisions and sent me a warning, and my answer was that matters cannot be solved in this manner; that this act was far from expressing liberty or living democracy — it has no other interpretation but chaos.

We then discussed the national unity and the inevitability of the socialist solution and the social peace, which are among the three basic points that the Socialist Union will seek to enforce; it will also notify of any mistakes that may crop up in any of the forums or organizations that we will later name. These mistakes will be solved in a democratic manner just as it was stated in the General Secretariat paper. They should also deal with the details agreed upon, in a democratic manner before the people — each individual should be faced with his faults — we have no exceptional measures.

We have no more detention camps, and we certainly do not
intend to abrogate the freedom of the press. The nation is completely incapable at the moment of doing any reforms. It is true that the payments system in every Press House is deranged, I am well aware of that fact. Now and after the changes that took place in the Press Houses, it is the job of the board of directors to find where the derangement is.

Each Press House can sort of redistribute the payment procedure according to its actual gains and profits from the work it submits. As for getting hold of any sum of money from the State, I regret I don’t have it; I still have debts amounting to four thousand million pounds. If our men of the press came to obtain money, I will not give it to them, because very frankly the money should go to the labourers.

I wish the people to see the Canal zone today and compare it to the filthy dwellings of the evacuees of Port-Said, Ismailia and Suez; my sons were living in completely unhygienic dwellings in Gharbia, seven years away from their families and homes. Those who are living in air-conditioned houses and running hot water should have witnessed the seven years of torn existence of the evacuees. Today, I am giving priority to these people to rest in newly-built homes after spending seven years of helpless wandering. That Port-Said would be a free zone and start to live in prosperity, is not much. These people bore alone the burden of immigration and homelessness. The city of Cairo did not witness one single air-raid while the natives of Port-Said lived in sewage and filth during immigration. Now when the time comes for us to compensate our fellow-evacuees for their endurance, some come up with demands such as a villa and a car. I wish everyone would own a villa and a car, but this cannot be granted in this manner.

I have often said that my vision is based on the fact that we are one big family, and I shall not deviate from this view. More
over, I shall not permit spite to prevail in our society. I have been six years in office, and I have never talked in this way throughout my term, and I have a couple of months more until October, but as of today until October I declare here and now that I shall strike down any source of spite. This is not the way to deal with matters; nothing can be accomplished by this method. The State of Egypt cannot continue to withstand such abuse — never! We are here in Egypt, which today enjoys the respect of the whole world. The big powers and the small respect it and have reinstated it in its right place.

Now let us see what the Press which launched this campaign has achieved. You heard me say that in Kuwait they wondered what was going on in our country and what it had come to. Does our country have nothing better to offer but loose girls, bribery, statements, etc.? Is this our country today? They have given to our country a bad image abroad — and this is a serious matter.

Egyptian journalists gave foreign correspondents a false image of the country in 1972 and in 1973, and they were all surprised when the 1973 war broke out. These correspondents know this truth. There is to this day an Egyptian journalist who abuses and insults his country before foreigners. This is high treason, and there must be a limit to all this nonsense. I uphold and respect law, democracy, and freedom, but chaos, lack of discipline and a press that only seeks and prints sensationalism and that does not give a proper picture of Egypt, this I do not condone.

No one is aware of the great accomplishments from 1974, after we began the disengagement, until today. Why depict our girls in Egypt in this way? It is shameful. From now on until the end of my term of office I shall deal very harshly with all forms of spite.
With regard to the report of the General Secretariat, I don't know if it has reached you, because I would like to state my comments concerning it. It says: «It has been noted from the extensive discussions that took place when President Anwar El Sadat put forward the Development Paper of the A.S.U. in August 1974, from the report submitted by the committee compiling the trends of the dialogue in relation to this development in February 1975, from the decisions reached by the Third General Congress until July 1975, from the outcome of the discussions held by the committees and congresses of the Arab Socialist Union, and the outcome of the discussions of the Committee for the Future of Political Action regarding the content of the President's speech to the Arab Socialist Union on March 14th.

«It has been noted from all this that acknowledgement of the multiplicity of trends and the establishment of forums within the A.S.U., this political organisation which represents the alliance of the working forces of the people, and which is the tool of the alliance, which constitutes a deepening of the entrenchment of democracy and socialism and following-up the national action, which is an affirmation of the powers of this alliance, constitutes a step forward in the deepening of the democratic practice, particularly during the phase of transformation from the individual practice of democracy to the phase of collective practice and organised opposition. Furthermore, the multiplicity of trends and forums that was decided by the Third General National Congress, consolidates national unity since it is based on social realities which cannot be ignored, and moreover does not signify a division in this national unity but simply signifies a difference in opinion with the framework of general consensus. In this general consensus which represents the meeting point of all trends, and which should be adhered to by all forums for the joint interests of all the powers of the alliance, is defined the principles of peace... The A.S.U.
riiat, I don't have to create my comments. From the example: Idris El Sadat (August 1974, from the trends February 1975, from the committees, the outcome of Political to the Arab

Judgement of forums within the alliance as the alliance of the people constitutes the tool of this enhancement of social action, and practice, constitutes the individual and organisa-

The multiplicity of trends and forums gleaned from the outcome of the extensive discussions can be summed up in the presence of three trends concerning the issues of national activities, as defined in the development paper. The first trend is mostly conservative and prefers slow striving; the second trend is motivated by the desire for large-scale change and renovation; and between those two trends there is a majority that wants progress, yet is afraid of leaping forward. Now I would like to change the expression of leaping forward into darkness. The middle trend between the other two, which is the centre, is not afraid at all of advancing forward, on the contrary it has to progress and advance. However, what it really fears is a leap into darkness or into the unknown. Viewed in this manner it would appear reasonable and acceptable. This was recorded in the Chairman's last speech before the People's Assembly, and was approved by it. I want this paragraph to be included, because I have stated that the Assembly's approval is essential, as the Assembly constitutes the legislative authority that in fact represents the popular will. This means that the trends, organisations, or forums, or however you call it cannot be established by virtue of a decree, but through popular will and by those who are directly elected by the people.

With regard to the three forums, the first can be represented
by the rightists in general, the second can be represented by the centre, which is always the predominant current in our country, while the third would be represented by the diverse leftist current. All these trends would rally together, within the framework of the alliance, around the national action. This conclusion was reached by the committee compiling the trends of the dialogue concerning the development of the Socialist Union. The report of the committee stated that the majority advocated that the forums be established on an ideological basis so that there will be a forum for the right, another for the left and a third for the centre. Again, the majority opinion expressed in the report of the Committee for the Future of Political Action also reached the same conclusion, namely that the programmes of the various forums submitted to the Committee are no more than expressions of the two principal trends on either side of the prevailing trend. However, the three of them revolve within the framework of the July 23 and May 15 principles. The Socialist Union which represents the alliance of the people’s working forces is the crucible that contains these forums put together, whereby these forums are committed to its objectives and philosophy, are formed among its members and move within its framework.

I would like to put this passage before you, give you my opinion regarding it and then you can give yours later: It is true that the Socialist Union, representing the alliance of the working people’s forces, is the crucible that contains all these forums, or in other words it is a framework that embraces them all. This is my own concept of the matter and this is the way I wish you all to envision it with me. Thus, the forums would adhere to the Socialist Union’s objectives and philosophy, for the three forums represent the three basic principles. I am afraid these forums might think that they are committed and this is what made me say that the Socialist Union has no authority. This upset some of you who are
members of the A.S.U. By so saying, I do not mean that its role is over or that it is being shelved, no, I mean that there must be a democratic practice by the three trends and that the Socialist Union is not authorized to impose on any of them a method different from the one you stipulated here and agreed upon, should a forum or trend deviate from the three basic principles. Apart from that, the three trends have full freedom to act within the framework of the A.S.U., as this is stipulated in the Constitution. The Constitution states that the Alliance, which is the A.S.U., is the body through which activity is carried out. However, this does not mean that it should impose restrictions other than the commitment to the three principles we mentioned, namely, national unity and the inevitability of the socialist solution and the gains of the workers and farmers and social peace. Here, I repeat that these forums are committed to the objectives of the A.S.U. and its philosophy, are formed from among its members and carry out their activities within its framework. This view is understood as I have already clarified it.

Now, for another point: if for instance, a forum is set up and anyone outside the Socialist Union wishes to join it, will the Union accept him as a member or not?

I shall give you my view on this point and you can study it at leisure. Anyone who joins a forum becomes automatically a member of the Socialist Union. I will tell you why. The Socialist Union used to be the cauldron that embraced all in membership. Now it is no longer the same. Now the Socialist Union is like a father that has three sons. Anyone who joins one of the sons will also join the Socialist Union. I shall make my remarks and leave you to consider them.

Second: The permanent forums. I said that the forums should play their part in deepening the democratic practice and ensuring
organised opposition. These forums should be permanent and expressive of clear trends in public opinion. This was previously decided by the report of the committee for compiling the trends of the dialogue suggesting the elimination of the idea of temporary forums formed for a specific subject, and supporting the idea of permanent forums that reflect a previously agreed upon intellectual trend. This was also asserted in the report of the majority of the Committee for the Future of Political Action, which stated that the idea of fixed forums, within a political organisation, is merely the idea of organised opposition which believes in the opposing view. I say let us discard the second idea. This diversification of views which are guaranteed to be potent and effective, cannot be so if they are temporary forums, changing from one position to the other. For in that case they are merely a number of individual views not based on a programme and not upheld by organised collective support. The idea of permanent forums means that each of them should have a special programme and its special membership. They should all have the right to run for general and local elections, with their programme and their candidates.

Third: The forums should be classified according to views and not categories or classes. Permanent forums, as determined by the National Congress, may not be classified according to categories or classes, changing according to the labour force represented in the Union. They should be forums for views, since, if each one should represent one of the forces of the alliance, they would serve to deepen class controversies and not eliminate them.

Thereupon, the permanent forums should adhere to basic principles which have generally been approved such as national unity, the inevitability of a socialist solution and social peace, even if they are based on difference of opinion in application.

Permanent forums will practice their political activity within
If one of the forums deviates from one of the three principles, it will be questioned according to the method set by the Supreme Executive Committee. In this context, they have thought of having members from each of the three forums in the Supreme Executive Committee, in addition to the present members, so that the three forums would be represented.

«The level of activities in the first stage:» It might be appropriate, in implementation of the principle of practice which was stressed by the General National Congress and also by the President, that the forums should begin their activities during the first stage, and on a temporary basis at the level of the Central Committee and the People's Assembly, but in a later stage the activity of the forums would be extended to the level of the General National Congress and other Socialist Union levels.

Here I have certain reservations to make. Why should it begin at the level of the Central Committee and People's Assembly alone? What about the people who would like to join from other governorates, who constitute the broad base, till when will their participation be postponed? Do we want to complicate matters and prolong the operation? I am conscious of my responsibility, with only a few months left prior to the termination of my term of office. Let us complete the operation in full at first and then start to practice. I had figured that the operation would be completed in 1975 and we would start to practise in 1976.

It would be preferable, as we see errors in practice which we rectify without abandoning our principles, that you should recon-
sider all this talk. Since the forums will be running for elections next summer, that is, joining the elections with programmes, they barely have time to get in shape for the forthcoming stage. Consequently, I don't see any reason for delay and starting with the Central Committee and the People's Assembly. But try to study how the operation can begin at once.

«Establishment of the forums and their checks: The forum is established upon an application submitted by 10 members.» As far as I am concerned, this makes no difference. It is up to you who are members of the Central Committee, the A.S.U. Parliamentary Committee and the First Secretary to decide. «The founder of the forum should elect a rapporteur from among them, and the rapporteur or his deputy will expound the programme of the forum in a joint meeting of the Central Committee and the A.S.U. Parliamentary Committee, to discuss ratify it and approve the formation of the forum.» I am in favour of this procedure. In order to lend the formation of forums popular legitimacy, the operation should be conducted in view of the People's Assembly and the Central Committee and in their joint meeting. Forums should be established before the two institutions, i.e. the legislative body in full and also the A.S.U. Central Committee. Nobody should be allowed to create sensitivities between the Central Committee and People's Assembly, as I suffered greatly when I was National Assembly speaker, myself. I tried to put an end to it, at the time, but couldn't. Now, I can. I tell you openly that there should not be any sensitivity or anything of this nature, between the Central Committee and the People's Assembly which is the constitutional and legislative authority. Its approval of the forums vests them with popular and constitutional validity.

You can discuss this and any objections I have to make I shall tell you about them. Hence, after the forum rapporteur or his
After approval of the forum, its rapporteur becomes member of the A.S.U. General Secretariat; this is an organisational procedure. The forums will practise their activity openly and in full freedom, within the framework of the basic system of the Arab Socialist Union. I am afraid that the repetition of these words might give the impression that there are restrictions. I shall set no restrictions. The various forums shall be seated on the A.S.U. premises. The three forums should request the use of the premises and they will receive equal treatment. I fully agree to that.

The relations of the forums with one another and with the A.S.U. shall be determined according to the decisions reached by the Supreme Executive Committee. Why don't you give us your suggestions regarding this subject instead of leaving the matter to be decided by the Supreme Executive Committee. It will not be formed now, but will wait until after my return from Germany. Instead of wasting all this time, you could have embarked on your experiment during my visit to Germany, and put this system into practice, and if any errors are committed in application, we can correct them.

The forum should be financed by subscriptions from its members, in conformity with the decision of the Supreme Executive Committee. Still, I am not keen on this word «in conformity with», I want it to be stated frankly and directly from the outset.
«Contributions of any form, be they from individuals or organisations, within the country or outside it, are unacceptable.»

This is a basic and important rule, as we do not intend to give a chance to conflicts to arise within the forums.

In 1973, Moammar el Kaddafi, at the final meeting we held together after having visited the popular organisations, the Council of Ministers, the People’s Assembly and all the newspapers — he stayed 17 days during which he visited all the country — asked me quite simply to break my relations with all the Arabs in the Gulf. The press was carrying advertisements for them at the time and he asked to cancel these advertisements and he was willing to compensate their losses be they three or four million pounds. His attitude was that of an upstart with newly acquired riches. He said: ‘Take three or four millions and do not publish anything for anyone’, except him, of course. That day, I gave him a lesson which I hope he understood, in the presence of the Libyan and the Egyptian delegations.

Our will and our press are not for sale, as is the case in Beirut. The democratic practice does not allow any outside quarter or force to finance, interfere or guide anything. Why should we? We achieved our independence by sweat, blood and struggle and will never surrender it. This question of financing is very serious.

«The Socialist Union can offer the forums financial aid, according to the decision of the Supreme Executive Committee. Again, I do not wish to resort too much to the Executive Committee; try to find your own solutions. » The Socialist Union should also provide them the necessary and possible facilities to practise the activities.»

«Item seven: it is forbidden for any forum to have contact with international or foreign parties or organisations.»
I do not want to say the word hidden but I want to say that I am giving the forum the right to make contacts only they should be through the Secretariat. Our principle is not forbidding but giving that right through the General Secretariat.

The membership of the forums is also an organisational matter which I want you to discuss. Membership is individual and optional. In this respect, I want to add one thing, that is, the Socialist Union will be the framework or the father who has children who are of age so they have the right to act. He gives them all the rights but within the limits of the three previously mentioned principles. There will remain for the Socialist Union the Youth's Organisation, the Women's Organisation and the fourth authority which is the press. As for the press, they can naturally join the forums because they are all of age. With regard to women and youth, they can also join since they reach the age. Concerning the vanguard, they constitute the essence of the A.S.U. because the new generation should be brought up according to a basic culture and after that they can choose what forum they wish to join or to practise from.

Before concluding my speech, there remains one or two important matters to be discussed today. We are encountering and going through a period of economic difficulties, but God willing we are going to come out of it. Many countries are backing us and for the first time, the Arab countries, the whole of Western Europe, Asia, Japan and Iran — they are all ready to participate and support us through. That is why I say that Egypt has never had a position or standing. We have limitless freedom to manage in all fields: political, economic and military. For this reason, we must toil and sweat and build our country as Germany did over five years.
We are not as damaged as Germany was, so God willing in five years' time or even less than that, we shall rebuild our country.

Two matters drew my attention today while I was reading an interview for the leftist forum which will call itself the Progressive Forum... Khaled Mohieddine is here with us. In the interview they were asking Khaled about who should be admitted to that forum, and his answer was: the Nasserites... The Nasserites constitute the base of the whole country and you have heard me repeating, and even most frankly in the last time that I am responsible for everything Abdel Nasser did. I am not saying this as a form of ostentation nor am I trying to win applause. I say it because I mean it. I have asked the People's Assembly to take this responsibility into account and to question it. I am saying this out of many considerations. Today, when I read that the Progressive Forum is talking about Nasserites, I wonder is there other applications beside the Nasserite one! Let it be clear, are there Nasserites with theories other than those applied in the country? The 50% share for labourers and farmers still exists and also their rights. The only change is the open-door policy and that was a necessity. I cannot close the country on itself and build it like the Soviet Union. You say that I chose the easy way and relinquished the difficult one; but no, we are not like the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union extends over the two continents of Europe and Asia and has boundless potentialities. When it closes the country around itself, it can live on its own resources. On the other hand, we inhabit only 4% of our land. We were completely exhausted in 1973 and we are in need of a blood transfusion. We are technologically behind the rest of the world because we did like the Soviet Union and built an iron curtain around our country, claiming that we are developing the country from within. This is one difference. The second difference is that there...
no detention camps, no prisons, no commission of feudalism, no exceptional measures but rather there is sovereignty of law. However, I would like to hear Khaled’s point of view in this connection.

Khaled Mohieddine: As regards the programme, all the programmes were submitted to the Committee for the Future of National Action in Egypt. I believe these programmes are nearly all in agreement with the general policy lines. I refer to Nasserites because in Egypt there are people who claim to be Nasserites. Mahmoud Abu Wafia, in an interview published in El Gomhoriya newspaper, the day before yesterday, said that the Nasserites’ place is in the centre, while I say it is in the national forum.

President Sadat: So you are answering Abu Wafia because he says that the place of the Nasserites is the centre whereas you say it is the left.

Khaled: No, they told me that your platform is nearer to ours. There was no mention of Nasserites at all.

President: This is what I wished to hear, Khaled. The conflict has begun. Please have mercy on the man so that God may have mercy upon you. You have depicted Abdel Nasser as though he stands for nothing but detention camps, liquidation of feudalism and exceptional measures. This is the in thing at present. I am just as involved in all this as Nasser. However, why this term Nasserites? This is not fair. You are being unjust to the man?

Khaled: The same talk should be directed to him. He mentioned the term Nasserites. Had he not said it, I would not have answered. On my part, I want to define this word because whether we like it or not and whether it is right or wrong, there are, in Egypt, people who claim to be Nasserites. We can amend this claim by means of practice.
President: I say to both of you: it is enough; have mercy upon Gamal Abdel Nasser, because all those who call themselves Nasserites were the first to discredit him. All those who claim to be the only ones who know his teachings have done him a grave injustice. When anyone comes and asks about something in Abdel Nasser’s lifetime I always say that I was responsible for it with Abdel Nasser. We were all of us in it together and you were with us, Khaled.

Khaled: In this respect my programme is clear.

President: The reason I am telling you this, Khaled, is that I read it before coming here today and if Abou Wafia had said then I am telling both of you; do not embark on democracy and liberty through a conflict in which you harm Nasser. We have before us countless issues of economy and others with which you discuss, lay down programmes for, say your views about, comment on, and say whatever you want concerning them.

Khaled: We have actually laid down a programme and known that the programme is the criterion of acceptance of a forum. Concerning politics, I have talked about the progressive religious trend and I have mentioned the same issues.

Concerning the meeting of the Press Syndicate, I sat through half the meeting. All those who talked about staging a sit-in were not leftists and I am ready to submit the matter to an inquiry.

President: You have drawn my attention to one point which I was not planning to talk about, but since you did bring it up I will say my comment. There is a rather strange matter concerning the Soviet Union. Let us forget the past and there should be friendship between us and the U.S.S.R. as it is the only way to combat imperialism. Now I ask you what is your opinion with regard to the new relationship between Libya and the U.S.S.R.
one time, Libya had accused the U.S.S.R. of being atheist and irreligious and neo-colonialist. The Soviet leadership, on the other hand, during the years 1971 and 1972, in every meeting we convened, never refrained from complaining of Libya and I used to quell their talk, emphasising that their leader was siding with us, and that we were one state. Now what is the explanation for the Soviet Union's military and economic pressure which it is bringing to bear on Egypt, employing in this not the Eastern bloc nations, but India the non-aligned nation, not to supply us with the spare parts for our planes. At the same time, 11 billion dollars' worth of equipment have been sent to Libya. What, in your opinion, is the explanation for this?

Khaled: In any situation in which the Soviet Union is trying to pressure Egypt I am unquestionably on Egypt's side.

President: Thank you, Khaled, that is all. What I want to tell the people in brief is that we do not have traditional friendships or traditional enmities. It must be well understood that we are the friends of those who befriend us and who respect our will. When it is said that the Soviet Union is the lawyer and the defender against imperialism, we should pause a while. In its behaviour with us, the Soviet Union has acted like a super-power, same as America. In 1955 we broke the arms monopoly imposed on us by America and this year we broke the monopoly imposed by the Soviet Union. History repeats itself. After the 1956 war, we were on the verge of starvation and America refused to give us wheat but the Soviet Union did. In the past few years, the Soviet Union refused to give us but America did. Consequently, there are no such things as ideologies and principles, no, there are the interests of the super-powers, the Soviet Union has its own interests and so does America, and we also have our interests and should not take matters for granted.
When Mahmoud Abou Wafia stood up to say his opinion, the President objected saying that he had not given him permission to talk and told him: «You have received my message through Khaled. Do not start political outbiddings. This is what I want; leave Abdel Nasser alone, have mercy upon his soul because anyone claiming to be a Nasserite is doing him an injustice.»

Then one of the members of the Central Committee stood up and said: «In the name of God, I am Kamal Ahmed, member of the Central Committee; I am not a Moslem brother, nor one of the communists, one of the centres of powers, nor one of those who hate; I am from the top of my head to the tip of my toes deeply convinced of the principles of Abdel Nasser and the July 23rd revolution. I would like to ask your permission to read out a paper in which President Sadat stated on 28 September 1973 that the main characteristics and elements of Nasserism was its living nature and its ceaseless capacity to respond to a movement or a phase, which is normally an extensive and deep human transitional stage. Nasserism is not merely a role to be performed by any one man, it is the great hope in the heart of the nation. It is not the literal opinion, but a concept and experience. What you said regarding some powers which spread doubt around the July 23rd revolution and claim that they are the sons of July 23rd is true. They even try to set up barriers between what occurred on May 15 and July 23. My generation which is the group of 35, and 30 and 40 years of age were brought up and their thoughts and intellect were developed with the revolution in its vast and solid road, to protect the revolution not the personality cult.

Abdel Nasser has implanted into our thoughts a concept which we must cherish and maintain — the Arab and international circumstances could be pressing, nevertheless we are to act according to our interests within the framework of the said circumstances. Principles are indivisible, and I say I am a Nasserite, and not of
of the four categories I previously mentioned. I do not worship a specific line, or individual; I am a pure Nasserite who worships a principle which I share with a number of people of my generation, who are the true supporters of the July 23rd Revolution and the main cause of its continuity.

**President Sadat**: I am glad to hear these words. I believe you did hear me say to the People's Assembly that it can hold me fully responsible for all what Nasser did. I trust that my situation is now quite clear, and this statement of mine has answered all queries. I only put the blame on those who call themselves Nasserites and put on Nasser's shirt and not his principles among whom is the U.S.S.R. They do nothing but cause prejudice to the man. Well, we effected the May 15th Revolution to rectify the faults of the July 23rd Revolution — this was not done for myself but for the sake of the revolution which Nasser started and I was with him. You must agree there are negative aspects in the experience. The rectification should come from within us and never from outside.

Do you agree to wear Nasser's shirt and imagine there is a Nasserism other than what is in practice nowadays? This is what is manifested in your speech. Brezhnev, too, when he spoke before the Central Committee, said that there were rightist forces in Egypt that attempted to dissipate the gains of the Revolution. Thus, Brezhnev was interfering in our internal affairs. This was one of the principal reasons for my proposal to the People's Assembly to abrogate the treaty.

When I sent an envoy, one of the centres of powers, Samy Sharaf, with a message to Brezhnev, only a few months after my investiture, he told him — these words appeared in a letter in the handwriting of Samy Sharaf which was submitted to me and I referred it to investigation I said: «Keep out the Soviet Union
and the words Samy Sharaf attributed to Brezhnev. «This is what Brezhnev said: 'Sadat is dissipating the gains of the Revolution', in last month's conference. The feeling you spoke of that there is Nasserism, or that there are pressing circumstances, no there are no pressing circumstances. What is pressing upon us is Egypt, Egypt's interest and Egypt's independence, only.

I had told you before that during the three years from 1967 to 1970, the Soviet Ambassador used to visit me every Monday at noon and we would sit and work and appraise. I shall tell you a secret that you do not know. When King Saud returned from America, after our 1956 war, he brought President Nasser a file from the U.S. Central Investigation Agency which claimed that Anwar El Sadat was a Communist agent. Now they say that Anwar El Sadat is an American agent. But I'm an Egyptian farmer grown from the soil of Egypt.

When I oppose America, they make me a C.I.A. file which they keep with Dulles and give to Saud to bring to us here, saying that Anwar el Sadat is a Communist agent.

When I oppose Brezhnev, he stands up and says that there are rightist forces (in Egypt). Yes, there are. We said that we will have complete freedom and not freedom by half. Errors have been committed. Yes they have. In the beginning of the speech you heard me say that those who speak of the pre-Revolution are now outdated and are not keeping up with the radical development they are unable to accept. I object to one thing that Gamal Abdel Nasser's succession should be assumed.

The Soviet Union, that is now mourning Nasser, had put him months before his death in a state that drove him to say before the Soviet leaders in the Kremlin «I have accepted the Rogachev initiative». They should not behave like this with me because I kn...
This is what the Revolution, of that there is no need to put on Gamal’s shirt, leave the man alone; here lies my sole objection.

You have heard me saying in the December 25th speech that Abdel Nasser had worked for the revolution ten years before its inception, from 1942 to 1952. He was the head of the constitutional organisation then the leader of the revolution. Have you heard me saying this or not? And now I am repeating it. I even said do not let us be like people about whom was said: «God’s curse be on a nation among which right is lost.» As I am doing justice to Abdel Nasser in his grave, I hold myself responsible in his place. I am responsible for anything which might be directed to him but I have full right to prevent using his name to attack him.

There is another thing I want to tell you my son, Khaled who spoke before you worked with me three years before Abdel Nasser from 1939 to 1942 and when I was jailed Abdel Nasser took over from 1942 to 1952 and with him were Khaled, Baghdadi and Hassan Ibrahim and all of them were working with me before Abdel Nasser. My only aim is to reveal facts for history, but depicting Abdel Nasser in a manner which makes only a few people capable of interpreting his teachings is wrong and that is what I am opposing because it does wrong to Abdel Nasser.

Someone asked for permission to speak, but the President said: What is this? Do you want to make it an open discussion?

The rest of the organisational matters in the report, it can be discussed by you as a central committee, so as to reach a solution which will be 100% sound democratic practice and you know what I mean; democracy from its widest door and with one aim in mind: the construction of Egypt according to modern technology. We want to construct Egypt on science and faith; these should be inseparable in our country.
By science, I mean the most modern technology and by faith I mean that while flying to the moon, while using complex electronics, while applying the modern technology we should not forget that we belong to the dust of our country which has faith, values and genuineness. We must hold on to our deeply-rooted values. We must admit the word «shame» and reject the word «hatred». This is what I mean when I say science and faith.

I shall not permit battles from the past, nor setting accounts at the expense of the country... no. I have finished with that.

This is what I wished to say in the People's Assembly but I got not chance though I spoke for three hours. I am a witness to what happened throughout 24 years. I announced the inception of the July 23rd Revolution in 1952, thanks be to God, I have lived up to the present day to hand it over valid despite its demerits which you all know. I am handing it over in full through the widest doors of freedom to the owner of the responsibility, namely the people. Again, I repeat that I am responsible for every single event that took place through those 24 hours. Before the People's Assembly I stressed my readiness to be called to account, and I am ready for inquiry. I am telling you more today as I am in a position to visualize matters as they are: this delving into past battles is wrong and so is the settlement of past accounts. Similarly, putting on Abdel Nasser's shirt is wrong, finding pretexts to impair national unity or to permit the entry of alien elements so that they may hit us from within and cast doubt upon us is wrong. I can conceive the whole picture of the situation. Were I not the Head of State and the father of all, as I feel the people say so, I would have gone to court and divulged everything I know, for all history is at my disposal. I have detailed knowledge of the role of every man, and what exactly occurred. I shall sum up what happened in a few words, as a responsible and a Head of State, in
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First place, and as a father, in the second place, I am not in a
position to condemn or to testify against anyone. However, I
admit that the stage in which aberrations and negativism occurred
was rectified by the May 15th Revolution conducted by you, by
the people not myself alone. The entire people were backing me,
came out with me, and together corrected this negativism. What
happened then was due to the nature of the composition at the
time which gave room for the occurrence of these incidents and
even more, whether those cases which are before court or those
which are not.

Let us then not live in the past but move towards the future
and reinstate Gamal in his proper place, he being the man who took
the decision of the July 28 Revolution — and I have related to you
the circumstances that surrounded him then — being the man who
led Egypt and who accomplished great achievements for Egypt.
Furthermore, negativism appeared, and it happened that as a result
of the then prevalent method of rule, centres of power emerged.
But all this is over and done with at present. Since it has been
abolished and the march is rectified, we need not live in the past but
we should move forward, direct our efforts to the two major bat-
tles: liberation and construction, and maintain for every individual
his right and status without hatred and without settling accounts.
The reason for adopting a decision before the Assembly for chang-
ing the press leaderships is my conviction, owing to my readings
in prison which in fact formed the greatest part of my life, that
progress can never be attained without change. If we are to advance,
we have to change. Those who do not renovate their thoughts can-
not bring about any change, whatsoever. Thus, those who would
keep their thoughts unchanged and who refuse to keep pace with
development, should step aside. They are entitled to maintain their
own thoughts for they are our sons and are free to think in the way
they like. Whilst those who are capable of developing, are also
capable of progressing and of shouldering responsibility, since progress is impossible without change. Therefore, if we are to seek progress, change becomes inevitable, a change even in the ways of thought some are living with.

I pray to God to guide your steps to success in the coming stage. In the previous period, they estimated my stay in office would not exceed 4 to 6 weeks, but I spent six years in the chair you chose for me. I lived this stage with all its problems, I cannot portray the full image to you, you are living it with me. The problems starting from the conflicts of the centres of power up till the breaking up of the arms’ monopoly, for the second time over 20 or 21 years. All of this in addition to the pressures exerted upon us by the super-powers.

In all those circumstances we have proved that we possess an independent will-power. We have our own free decision; we have an individual personality; we have a system of our own emanating from the actual circumstances we are living in and the various stages of our development. We shall proceed, God willing, with a free will. We shall continue, through God’s help, to hand over the banners raised in honour, dignity and strength to the generation that will follow us. Though our blood was shed on these banners, yet it was for the sole reason of preserving our freedom and independence and to maintain the freedom of our decision, and of our will-power. It will be an honour for the succeeding generations to have the banners hoisted high, with our blood always telling them to hold their heads high in the sky, and never kneel down except before God Almighty — God guide your steps.