

In the name of God,
Brothers and Sisters,
Members of the People's Assembly,

Today, we inaugurate, with God's blessing, the second session of the legislative part of your august assembly. This year coincides with the 25th anniversary of the Revolution, which transferred the people from revolutionary law to constitutional law.

Since your first session, you have faithfully expressed the will of the people who chose you to be their honest representatives in the People's Assembly. Much has been accomplished by you in the past 94 morning and evening meetings that have stretched until they have almost merged in this new session. It is an event which highlights the experience whose democratic framework is defined in the constitution.. defined in a totally responsible government answering to the People's Assembly, that has full rights of complete supervision. I attest that I followed the events that occurred under this dome and the dynamic endeavours of the Assembly's committees with great satisfaction and profound confidence that our democratic aims have found the right course for a healthy interaction between the various viewpoints. It has made

me very happy, having been placed in the seat of responsibility as head of the united Egyptian family, to see that the Assembly's leaderships has given the opposition the opportunity to express itself freely.

Moreover, the opposition can play its role, without any restriction other than adhering to the constitution, which is our arbiter in the arena of freedom and democracy. Your Assembly has ratified the largest budget in the history of Egypt, whose volume in services and resources reached the amount of L.E. 7050 million with an increase of L.E. 1076 million over its forerunner. It is worthy to note that the rate of production has satisfactorily augmented, thus indicating that the correction of the economic course is proceeding according to its set plan, facing up to the worst wave of inflation suffered by us and the entire world at present. The new budget will be submitted to you in this session and will embody new dimensions for increasing services allocations, providing more working opportunities, and stepping up the rate of production. It will endeavour to keep pace with the continuous and enormous efforts exerted to escape from the present bottle-necks, and to cross successfully from the phase of suffocation to a phase of economic balance, in order to fulfil our aspirations for development and prosperity. Meanwhile we are fulfilling our commitment to supply our heroes and defenders of the country, the Arm-

ed Forces, with all their requirements, as to money and arms, in their great liberation epic. It is a commitment to destiny, and they are the choicest among our brothers and sons, standing in the front ranks of the struggle, full of courage, manhood and daring. It was they who made possible the victories of October, which they offered unstintingly to our generation and future generations.

Brothers and sisters, Members of the People's Assembly,

Let us stop for a while and search our souls. Where do we stand today with regard to our experiment ?

Here, in this hall, you have issued the party law, which is a legislative announcement of a new step on the road to a sound democratic life, a looking forward to a free interaction among views, as well as a sincere confidence in the need of the one family to listen to the views of everyone then choose, without fanaticism or prejudice, what is better for the group and in the interest of the majority.

From these premises also you issued the law organising the relation between owner and tenant, after long well-briefed debates ; you also amended the law of foreign and Arab investment and Free Zones in consolidation of the open-door policy, then social insurances were extended to include any insufficiency in

employment or resources ; you raised the minimum limit for pensions.

Yours was not just slogans but practical accomplishments for the sake of political and economic democracy in our land. I will not try to review now what you have discussed and accomplished, because in your report for the last session is ample proof for all, that the national action is on its true constitutional course, adhering with great honesty to all the constituent elements of the concept of popular representation ; from the viewpoint of legislation and supervision and speaking out freely on all events or challenges facing us.

Brothers and Sisters, Members of the People's Assembly,

I have told you before that the democratic experience is still taking its first steps, but they are firm and steady steps, and this is a historic fact. There are four characteristics for our struggle to establish a sound democratic structure, which prove the firmness of this structure :

First : Realizing a balance between the individual and society.

Second : Emphasizing religious values.

Third : National unity and social peace.

Fourth : Arab unity.

All this is being conducted seriously, clearly, factually and ambitiously. The May 15

Revolution which rectified the course of the mother Revolution of July 23 was not just intended to depose individuals from their position in the government. This could have easily been done by a decree. The purpose behind it was to reconstruct the leadership positions, and it was a serious popular declaration announcing the end of the rule of the individual in any post. It was a historic turning point representing a radical revolutionary change in the method of governing, and the relation between ruler and subjects. Most of all it was a crowning of the sovereignty of the people through the sovereignty of law. The May 15 Revolution eliminated all the structures of government created by the centres of power, through which they ruled by force and not by law. It also eliminated those rulers who commandeered the State authority to protect and perpetuate their superiority over all laws. Such an abnormal situation disfigured one of the main principles of the July 23 Revolution : that of establishing a sound democratic life.

It was an abnormal picture of a tyrannical minority of dwarfs who, because of their powerful positions, were equipped with a false right to cancel human existence and humiliate the dignity of man with unjust decisions, standing above all supervision and not accounting to anyone.

However, this great people was patient and never acquiesced to injustice or oppres-

sion but was always on the look-out for the hour of deliverance. Then the May 15 Revolution took place, and within moments, all those false thrones and strongholds were demolished to the roots : those strongholds which they thought would protect them for generations. It cancelled all those imported slogans by which they wanted to drug the people and impose on them, as a false creed based on materialistic desires, the ambitions of rancour and the conflicts of primitive instincts.

The May 15 Revolution heralded the birth of a new society, a society that does not raise false slogans but accepts the permanent constitution as being the ruling law, and the legislation applied to both the rulers and the ruled alike. It is a society that took an oath on announcing the constitution before the whole world, asserting its historic commitment to freedom, dignity and the sovereignty of the law. This oath says : « We the people of Egypt, in the name of God and by His assistance, pledge indefinitely and unconditionally to exert every effort to realise freedom for the humanity of the Egyptian man, realising that the humanity of man and his dignity are the lights which guide and direct the course of the great development of mankind for the realisation of its supreme ideal.» The Constitution goes on to say that : «Man's dignity is a natural reflection of the dignity of the nation, now that the individual is the

cornerstone in the edifice of the homeland, the land that derives its strength and prestige from the value of man, his work, dignity and strength.»

The sovereignty of the law is not required solely as a warranty for the freedom of the individual. We have long suffered from the slogans which overwhelmed the will to work — we have many times imagined ourselves to have accomplished things which we hadn't because we talked and clamoured to the point that we believed our own talk, completely oblivious to the fact that we had reached a state of inertia and inflexibility to the extent that we were on the point of retrogressing. Those clamorous alien slogans had even become a tool threatening and terrorizing any concept or viewpoint, a tool for accusation capable of fabricating accusations. Many a noble citizen resorted to silence, while other honest citizens whose hearts were filled with love for Egypt remained in isolation ; while many potentials and capacities preferred to stand by and watch as mere spectators.

Brothers and Sisters,

Having had the courage to criticize ourselves and amend our ways, we ask those who claim to be the inheritors of the July 23 Revolution, if they have the courage to criticize themselves, and mend their ways as we did.

In this context, I do not differentiate between those who claim to be the inheritors

of the July 23 Revolution and those who claim to be the torch bearers of the 1919 Revolution. Can they match our courage which we demonstrated by rectifying the July 23 Revolution by the May 15 Revolution? They are only clever at out-biddings and manoeuvres which might have been acceptable in the past but are categorically inadmissible today, tomorrow and all throughout our succeeding generations.

Brothers and Sisters, our democracy has proved to be a serious structure based on fulfilling our hopes through work ; and not by words and slogans alone.

The elections to your venerable Assembly were an honourable manifestation of the soundest democratic application known to parliamentary life in Egypt since 54 years. You took those seats through free, honest and clean elections on behalf of the ruling millions ; those millions who created democracy in this country and protected it by adhering to the principles of the July 23 Revolution and May 15 Revolution, those people who taught the everlasting October epic with all dignity.

Constitutions throughout the world include texts on freedom and democracy. Hundreds of rulers throughout history have raised the slogans of freedom and democracy, but the knowledgeable people, whether conquered or free, know of the numerous crimes

which have been committed in the name of freedom and democracy. We thank God Almighty that the time has come when we are able to meet on a serious and truthful basis. We are only deceiving ourselves, if we imagine that we can deceive others, nor will we win the respect of others unless we respect ourselves. Our democratic experiment proved to be a code of law and honour, a charter for government and development observed by the ruler as well as the ruled, and a safety valve for the success of the experiment, so that it could reach its utmost aims and aspirations, which is respect of the humanity of man. What added to the seriousness of the experience was its clarity. There was no beating about the bush, no glamorous words, no planning and no justifications by spurious philosophisings, no descriptions that project the seeming significance and conceal the underlying sense, and no high-sounding and ambiguous terms beyond the understanding of the masses.

We do not speak in two languages nor do we use double-faced politics to deal with the fate of a nation. We do not call for political democracy in certain terms, then turn and obstruct it with others, nor do we preach economic democracy with certain words and then rent it to pieces with others.

We do not establish social democracy on a maze of slogans leaving it indistinct and

without specific qualifications, so that the maze would lead to deliberate double meanings, both in the structure and the sense.

This was our condition when the Charter was Marxized. They played on the interpretation of the international description when they applied it to socialism, thus leading to calculated twists in interpretation, analysis, and application.

Democratic socialism in our permanent Constitution emanates from the four fundamental principles we are committed to in our struggle for the establishment of a sound democratic structure, as I said before, which are first : achieving a balance between the individual and society ; second : emphasizing the religious values ; third : national unity and social peace, and fourth : Arab unity.

Our clear aim is to realise an equitable balance and an organic link between the interests of the individual and those of society, between the citizen's material needs and his needs for spiritual values.

This clear path is distinct from the Marxist-Socialist and capitalist ideologies. We do not ignore personal freedom and individual incentives as is the practice in Marxist-Socialism, because liberating man socially and economically cannot be complete without political democracy which believes in individual freedom and encourages with incentives all

initiatives and creativity. In the absence of freedom of opinion and the sovereignty of law bureaucracy, which dominates the means of production, tends to form an autocratic class with unlimited authority. Nor can we ignore the cruel instances of exploitation and the vast differences in incomes of individuals created by capitalism.

Now I would like to broach with you the subject of the Taxation Law that will be submitted to your august assembly during this session. In fact, I asked that the Taxation Law be the first item to be taken up, during this session, on account of its basic significance in our social democratic system.

I wish to be absolutely clear regarding the new Taxation Law in that we wish to achieve social justice, as it was willed by God in the Surah of Iron (of the Koran). God Almighty says: «Believe in God and His messenger and spend of that whereof He hath made you trustees; and such of you as believe and spend (aright), theirs will be a great reward.» In our creed, the riches are the riches of God.

This is why I call upon you, as willed by God, to replenish this earth. He required us to be trustees of these riches, and I request you to set down the rules for settlement and distribution (of the wealth) among men 'aright' as willed by God Almighty.

This should be the basic philosophy of the Taxation Law. The rich should bear the burdens that the poor are unable to carry. I tell you frankly that I am aware of my responsibility and fear God. I fear God and dread his reckoning as to why as stipulated by the jurisprudence, I did not take from the excess of the rich to aid the poor. I want you to keep this in mind when you study the Taxation Law.

We want justice among our countrymen so that the able would carry (his share of the burden) and the poor would enjoy a respectable life. This is not charity from the wealthy, but an obligation, a right and a duty. I have no objection, whatsoever, that anybody should enjoy the bounties granted him by God.

In my capacity as guardian of the people, and I am saying this before you all, I am ready to do as Omar Ibn El Khattab once did, by taking half the possessions of every ruler. I therefore want you to lay down the Taxation law, so that we may re-write life on our land on the basis of truth, justice, and the dictates of Almighty God. We harbour no envy, or malice against anyone, nor do we transgress against anyone. In this context, I would like you to know that I have no intention whatsoever of resorting to seizures, detention or to confiscations, or for that

matter anything of what took place in the past, Never ! I shall resort to what is far stronger than that. In my capacity as the guardian of this people, and Almighty God has willed that I undertake this trust ; I ask you to take this into consideration when laying down the Taxation Law whereby the burdens be divided equally among all people so that the wealthy bear the larger burden, while the needy bear a lesser burden, or nothing at all. Above all, we must be aware of a conspicuous fact, which is one of the bases of this system we have chosen for ourselves, and that is : That the division of the burdens of the Egyptian family be a fair one, as no discrepancies should be tolerated in the division of wealth. Otherwise our nation shall be fair ground for hatred, bitterness and envy ; and that we shall never accept.

Brothers and Sisters, Members of the People's Assembly,

Our permanent constitution has devoted its second part to prescribing the basic constituents of the Egyptian society, socially and economically, clearly and specifically. This clarity and specification cannot sustain any confusion of principles or equivocation of events. Our constitution has moreover laid down all the guarantees upholding the right of the citizen and his freedom to enjoy a sound democratic life. If the principles I have mentioned which are the result of practice

and hardship and not of books and theories, are these four principles that formulate the characteristics of our Democratic Socialism ; we shall therefore in the experiment of implementing and practising democracy, never violate this clarity, or allow these measures of the application of democracy and the bases of implementing it to be a cause for any intellectual prevarication in the incorporation of its goals.

The application as well as the scientific and democratic studies in our nation, shall be subject to precise detailing and classification in the light of the basic and general principles specified by our constitution. I do hope, brothers and sisters, members of the People's Assembly, that those qualified amongst you, will not be sparing with your opinion and experience in contributing to these scientific studies, that shall highlight the landmarks for the constitutional authority in our nation, so that both the legislative and the executive authorities, under the sovereignty of the law, shall further contribute to the strengthening and distinction of the experiment.

Brothers and Sisters,

We denounce terrorism in all its forms both internally and externally. If our denunciation of terrorism in the international sphere arises from our conviction that the rights of people will not be realized by cowardly in-

dividual acts which assault the lives of the innocent and the unarmed and menace the humanity and civility of believers ; if this is our attitude toward external terrorism which has escalated in the last few years and became an insult on the brow of modern man and brought civilised man back to the age of piracy, then our attitude towards internal terrorism goes beyond denunciation to the adoption of decisive, preventive, evictive and counter measures, and severe accounting. No one can escape — neither the coward nor pretender nor the hired agent — who encroaches upon or threatens the rights of the people or causes them to retrogress.

I declare before your honourable Assembly that any encroachment on democracy will not undermine it, because democracy is not deficient and will not be incapable of severing any evil and contaminated hands which believe conceitedly that they can inflict oppression and persecution. Any threat which the freedom and security of this people may be exposed to, is an unforgivable, in fact a heinous crime, because the victim is not one individual or group, but the entire people. To threaten democracy by means of terrorism or bloodshed is to aim at destroying the strong fortress built by the will of millions to safeguard their security, safety, dignity and well-being.

The democracy of the millions is capable, with legislations and the power of the law, to crush mercilessly any threat to it. You all remember the events of January 18 and 19 of this year, and the events which took place due to the religious group which used religion as a means to impose a certain system of opinions or certain ideas on this people. They attacked one of our greatest thinkers. I want to be very clear here: Any attempt by any group, whatever their belief or persuasion, any acts of terrorism or attempts at imposing (a certain will) on this country will be met with great severity and repression, as I have told you previously. On January 18 and 19 a small group rose to exploit the rabble then one of the big powers, namely, the Soviet Union, said in a broadcast that these acts represent a «popular uprising.» These attempts were aimed at burning the capital and the consumer communities and plundering their goods, at a time when we were complaining from inflation and the supply crisis. They burnt buses, while we were complaining of shortage in buses. They burnt the State utilities. If they and their agents here regard this as a popular uprising, then they are very much mistaken. We will deal with this in a very decisive and violent manner. I will never allow any group to impose upon this people anything they do not want or to propagate atheism among this people, whose faith runs

in their blood. You have heard me in the past condemning these acts and saying that he who has no faith can never be trusted. I am repeating it to you now so that it may be recorded in your Assembly. No atheist will ever be put in a position or post which can affect or influence the formation of public opinion, or the ideas of this people, as long as I am here. This does not mean that I will be antagonistic to anyone at all. But, as I said, I am fearful of the day of reckoning, being the guardian of this country now. I am anxious to fulfil the trust and carry on the message. I will never relinquish it even if it means going into the streets myself and fighting for it. We are a people whose faith is a part of our very being and we can never allow any power, whatever it may be, to shake this faith or to try in devious ways to deviate our coming generations from this faith, which was the case in other countries. I will never allow this to happen and I am saying it clearly so that it may be recorded in your Assembly, and so that it may be a clear and declared policy. I repeat that no atheist will occupy in this country a position which could influence the formation of public opinion of the masses, or in any way affect the formation of our coming generations. Any rash or mad attempt by anyone who believes he is capable of causing us to retrogress will end in the complete failure of its black ambitions, and will be

made to feel the sharp bite of the law. The people are always the stronger, and enlightened democracy will never be befouled by the bats of darkness.

Democracy is the supreme word ; it is the will of good, construction and peace ; it is the rule of the people, by the people and for the people. Who can then stretch his imagination so far as to believe that a cowardly or a dark conspiracy for sabotage, or an attempt to impose matters unacceptable by the very nature and soil of this people is stronger than the will of the millions, by which the land was liberated in one of the most glorious epics of heroism and honour. The will of the Egyptian man has been liberated so that he can now make his own decisions, determine his destiny and have the upperhand over his land by virtue of right and law.

Perhaps this small minority, even this very small conceited and perverse minority which is found in every society, does not deserve from us all this commentary and elaboration. Nevertheless, I preferred to make this frank and explicit clarification, because we are now embarked upon the stage of implanting democratic traditions, side by side with the process of establishing democracy. The solid and deep-rooted traditions we are now implanting are our own responsibility before this generation and the coming ones. Fore-

most amongst these traditions which are further fostered by responsible practice and application, is the sovereignty of the law, which the Permanent Constitution defined as not only a necessary guarantee for the freedom of the individual, but, meantime, the only basis for the legitimacy of power; the sovereignty of the law, whose existence, while ingraining right and legitimacy, imposes the protection of the law against the enemies of law, and with the force of law.

By so saying, we do not mean that the force of law would turn into a force of repression and oppression. This is not, and will never exist or be. We call for the protection of law with the force of law against any form of repression or oppression threatening this legitimate authority before which the ruler and the ruled, the strong and the weak, the capable and the incapable are all equal. Thus, justice is secured for all, and equal opportunities are provided for all, law being the most supreme of all authorities. Our democratic structure is alert and vigilant, and the efforts of further incorporating the structure in the country will not divert its attention from a conscientious, cautious and vigilant look out and awareness of all that is going on around it. It is a vigilant and vigorous structure, always ready to wrench out any evil and repel any aggression.

Brothers and Sisters, Members of the People's Assembly,

The vigilance of this lofty democratic structure is one of the components of its ambition ; ambition to achieve more democracy — as democracy offers numerous and vast horizons every step towards which makes the structure more solid and firm. Proceeding to achieve more and more is always an evidence of the strength and solidity of the set up. We shall never renounce democracy, meanwhile we are not standing still. Life means continuous progress and growth. The ideas, talents, skills and capacities of man need to be explored for the fulfilment of a better and more prosperous life. We are seeking the healthy climate ensured by democracy, and the umbrella of security and safety established by legitimacy. The more our life develops and attains more social progress and economic stability, the more the democratic set up will further develop in order to cope with the requirements and exigencies of progress and stability. Development always brings with it new problems which can only be solved through an ideology free from all restraints, save commitment to the Constitution and the people's interests. An ideology can never be liberated except through confrontation between two conflicting opinions when all the torches will be illuminated, all the dimensions

of the road will be crystal-clear ; and this is the democracy we aspire to attain through our ambitious experiment.

We have moved from the one-opinion system to a system of multiple views. This developed further to the idea of fora or organisations, then we progressed until we established parties representing the three political trends in any society. Your Assembly issued the party law to shield the infant experience from the conflicts of anarchy or divisions in the one family. Some of these regulations are linked to the duration of the legislative period. The idea behind that is to take slow but sure steps. We do not like slogans, neither are we fond of showing off with emotional or fortuitous excesses.

The local government is also progressing with sure steps, which matter proves the authority of democracy over every part of our country. There is no longer an executive authority on any level which is not subject to popular supervision. Therefore, for the sake of our vigilant ambition for more democracy, the sound practice is the true safety valve to protect this ambition from any vacillations, setbacks, or ambiguity. Protecting our ambition against pitfalls gives it a double push.

Brothers and Sisters, Members of the People's Assembly,

This is your historic responsibility. Democracy has chosen you to be its first soldiers

in the struggle for development and progress. You, in whom the people have put their trust and chose to establish their will, you bear the greatest burden in those great years of rebirth. The people are demanding from all of us a full responsible application. The Constitution has granted this application all the guarantees and the opportunities to perform the functions of legislation and supervision. It has even gone so far as to entrust the representatives of the people with the decision of choosing the highest position of responsibility. The People's Assembly has the right to nominate the President of the Republic. You have the right to suggest laws and to decide upon the general policy of the State and the economic and social development plan. You also ratify the general budget, and your approval is essential in order to change anything in the general budget. The Cabinet is responsible to you and it is your right to decide the responsibility of the Prime Minister or to withdraw your confidence from him, or from any one of his deputies, or the ministers or their deputies. The methods of supervision delineated in the Constitution are varied and multiple and applicable to anything over which the people want to exercise their authority ; the right to question, to be notified, submitting a general issue for discussion, expressing certain desires, and the fact-finding committees which the Constitution entitles

ed to examine any activity in any general organisation or executive organ. They are empowered to collect evidence, question anyone and obtain any pertinent documents.

These wide prerogatives endowed to the authority of the People's Assembly with assurances of parliamentary immunity, meanwhile barring any other authority, including the President, from dissolving the Assembly unless through a resolution reached by a popular referendum, all this gives a free hand to constitutional practice, that applies to every official and every decision. I have noticed while perusing a report of the former session's agenda, that the number of questions has doubled, in addition to the request for notification and the queries. It all asserts the soundness of the democratic experience. Nevertheless, I would like to state that we desire to consolidate this experience by strengthening the authority of control. If I want to express public opinion in this connection from my position of constitutional responsibility, I would say that the people while calling upon us to exercise popular control, having voted for those whom they deem worthy of their confidence; nevertheless our people require this control to be effective and conducive, fulfilling the aims for whose purpose it was enacted, namely protecting public labour, public money and civil positions from shortcomings, violations or corruption. These aims will never be

achieved without a total earnest commitment, exigent accuracy, studied preparations and precise research. The parliamentary immunity granted to the member of the Assembly is the counter-balance for his being subject to blame as a result of a slip of the tongue, the utterance of a random word or expression which might exceed the situation. It is meant to give the member self-confidence while exercising the responsibility of control. But that which strengthens the people's confidence in that the People's Assembly is performing a full session ; that which makes the people confident that their representatives are actually exercising all the powers of control and discharging all the obligations of constitutional control rightfully, is when the questioning is based on sound facts that may culminate in a motion of accusation or lack of confidence.

Only then are responsible control and sound practice asserted. Moreover, the confidence of the people is thus strengthen in the democratic experience, making room for the development of deep-rooted traditions.

The democratic experience will not evolve unless actual public control is assumed. We do not wish the texts of the Constitution to be mere written words or just high-sounding slogans. Our experience is serious, clear, vigilant and ambitious .Therefore, I call upon you

all, the majority as well as the opposition, to safeguard the dimensions of the democratic experience from all those who would impugn its seriousness or mar its clarity. I reiterate that no official is above questioning and no citizen is above the law. However, we must safeguard the responsibility and the sovereignty of the law from any rash emotions or opposition for the sake of opposition, or support for the sake of support, or slander for the sake of partisan interests. All this is a method which afflicted the false democracy prevalent before July 23rd Revolution, submerging it in destructive manoeuvres so that the rule became a scurrying for the seat of government, by any means or any price. It was the people who paid dearly for this and the price was their own interests and development.

Brothers and Sisters,

The covetous party democracy from 1924 to 1952 made it possible to postpone for five months the convening of the first parliament after it was elected, then a decree was enacted, dissolving parliament. This covetous party democracy led to the dissolving of parliament at its first meeting, on March 23, 1932. It enabled the abrogation of the 1923 Constitution on October 22, 1930, then a royal decree was issued four years later repealing the 1930 Constitution. The Constitution of 1923, as stated in its introduction, was a grant bestow-

ed by the King and repealed by the King in 1930 thereby abrogating the 1923 Constitution. Then a constitution was drawn up in 1930, only to be replaced by the King with the 1923 Constitution. This is not how we practise democracy. Our permanent constitution was not granted to us by a King, but emanated from our own free will. It covers all guarantees as well as the rule regulating the relations between the ruler and the people. It is not a donation that can be withdrawn. That was the pattern of our parliamentary system over twenty-nine years, from postponements to repeals against a background of spurious party politics, which corrupted political life in Egypt.

We do not deny that this podium has witnessed honest militants of democracy; neither do we deny that in spite of spurious party politics there were men who rose to safeguard the Constitution and dedicated themselves to responsible democratic practice. But the general system governing the democratic structure could only allow for individual stands, too weak to make any impact. The party system dwindled into a comedy and brought the people to the brink of disaster.

Our desire and aspirations for democracy require a behaviour capable of keeping pace with the serious approach and clarity of the experiment. Domestic rule, brothers and

sisters, in the midst of the existing external, economic and social challenges is a heavy burden, and an overwhelming responsibility. Hence, it cannot be imposed by a leading majority and cannot be contained by the opposition, for the sake of opposition.

Domestic rule is the executive wing of the democratic structure. As such, it needs endorsement emanating from views, thoughts and studies, just as it is in need of an opposition to provide a sound assessment and a thorough checking for any short-comings and deviations. That is, the difficult path of the new pattern of democracy; a difficult path, far removed from covetousness and manoeuvres.

This is the face of the Egyptian family, embracing opinions and counter opinions of each and every one of its sons.

I appeal to you all to provide a strong support to the establishment of democratic socialism. I appeal to all the national trends and ideologies to participate effectively in strengthening our structure and laying strong foundations for our traditions.

I tell you, in all belief and conviction, that if our means, be the democracy of the party system, then our aim must be a democratic and socialist Egypt.

I sincerely hope that the national welfare, the welfare of Egypt and the Egyptian people, will take precedence over any ideologies whether of centre, left or right.

Even if the thresholds of the path be many, our steps from whatever premise they start from should all lead to one path, that of Egypt, and towards one goal, that of dignity and prosperity of the Egyptian people, and their natural right to live in dignity.

This is my appeal to you today, a confirmation of my message on 14 May when I said that our democratic practice is committed to a basic principle, and that is that the high national welfare of Egypt should supersede any party fanaticism.

Brothers and Sisters, Members of the People's Assembly,

There is a final word I wish to address to those who wish to attack this democratic experiment by distorted and defamatory slogans, emanating from bitter rancour and naive understanding. They claim that the parties, as they are presently constituted, were established by a high authority, whereas it would have been more adequate had they been established by the popular base. Those who propagate such allegations deliberately ignore, out of covetousness, the fact that our parties emerged for the first time in our parliamentary life, through free, fair and direct elec-

tions, at which the masses in millions voted for the candidates of the three groups, in the light of their published programmes and principles. Applying the term of party to each group confirmed a fact and recorded a reality, that had become patent since elections began. They also claim that the present parties are but a carbon-copy of the Socialist Union. They say it, although, we totally rejected the one-party rule and the single opinion, despite the diversity of views and ideas which freely found their way to the right channels, and after the promulgation of the Law on the Parties and the provision of the necessary climate for the party press. They allege it, and spread confusion, although the 15 May Revolution has pulled down the structure of a one-man rule in every executive and political organ. So, they speak, because they neither know, nor wish others to understand. Having become rigid in their thought, they could not keep pace with the evolution process, and their envy and bitterness rendered them deaf to the voice of the people, the people who are evolving democracy with further democracy. Brothers and Sisters, Members of the People's Assembly,

You have exerted noteworthy efforts during your first session in the fields of legislation, development and popular control. I am firmly convinced of the propitiousness of this step, while we are laying the foundation of

the structure and developing it through scientific planning, aiming at the society of the year 2000.

The open-door policy afforded us the opportunity of benefitting from all kinds of expertise and adopting the right course to follow in the light of previous experience undergone to acquire this amazing technological progress governing the contemporary world through the weight of science and precise calculations.

Praise be to Almighty God, our people grasped those present-day facts and, fully aware of their interests, they silenced the rigid petrified voices and those who would like to doom us to suffocation behind iron curtains, and revert to the humiliation of dependence, the indignity of slavery and a socialism consisting of distributing poverty.

The people demand so much of you. Their sufferings are more pressing than their aspirations for a far future. They are awaiting quick solutions to their daily problems, and will brook no negligence or delay on confronting problems which can be solved by individual efforts, a will to work and an alert conscience.

The confidence of the people in their representatives in this forum grants them a full right to expect this Assembly and its committees to become an integrated revolutionary

cell, maintaining a sustained rhythm of work to secure speedy achievement and alleviate any suffering made known to the Assembly, through its legal channels. It is the prerogative of this democracy that it is the right of every citizen to express his views before the Assembly, firmly convinced that this is his home and that is his right.

Therefore, I am looking forward with the people to a session of great accomplishments as regards legislation pending from the first session and new legislation called for by the overall planning for economic, social and cultural development in the light of the open-door policy.

Big accomplishments necessitate a collective participation of an integration group committed to the principles of development in which every member must perform his national constitutional duty, so that whoever watches the democratic experience cannot perceive any retreating from the principles of socialist development, which call for an equitable distribution of tasks in any endeavour. We shall never revert to the society of the majority at the top. We shall never fail to honour the toil of those who laboured on our land, the toil of the people and the toil of the rich, the toil of every member of the Egyptian family. To honour the toil of the poor means to alleviate his burdens and to honour the toil

of the rich means to give him due share of the burdens of the country. It is only natural, since we have removed all impeding restrictions from national production and secured every activity against expropriation or nationalization, to promote a society of producers.

Brothers and Sisters,

There remains for me to lay before you and, through you, to the people the whole picture of the external situation. As you must be aware, since the people entrusted me with this responsibility, I pledged myself, feeling confident in Almighty God, in myself and hopeful for the future, to devote all my thoughts and actions to the national, patriotic cause. Nothing is closer to the heart than liberating the soil of the homeland and restoring the legitimate right of brothers of a sister country with whom fate placed us in an indivisible unit showing a common destiny.

Egypt's destiny was and still is to bear the greatest burden in any confrontation between the Arab nation and its enemies or those coveting it. This is a tax that the Egyptian people accept willingly out of conviction, and not surrendering to fate. It is a deliberate choice as they are convinced of the need for struggle, while fully aware of its serious consequences, unlimited dangers and the sacrifices involved, whether material or on the battlefield.

Due to the awareness, history has entrenched in the Egyptian people throughout the ages, and their tremendous civilization background which lays the foundations for all their acts, our people have always been able, even under the direct circumstances, to maintain their clarity of vision, identify the objective and distinguish the basic principle in the course of national struggle from a marginal and transient aspect which does not touch upon the essence of the cause and will soon fall into oblivion. Our people were, therefore, determined to work with all their might so as to achieve our national objective which supersedes all other objectives almost reaching the level of religious rites for Almighty God has ordained us to defend the sanctity of our nation and prevent any aggression against it with all means at our command. Therefore, the true fighter must be able to pursue the struggle, whether for peace or for war. Having determined his objective, he must go forth with steady steps and full awareness of the prevailing circumstances, distinguish between established strategic lines and flexible tactical action. Moreover, the authentic revolutionary does not start his struggle, ignoring reality. He proceeds with a clear vision of reality and a firm determination to alter such, according to his beliefs, principles and supreme interests. Therefore, our nation was true to itself when it waged its glorious battle four

years ago as has been and still continues to be true to its call for peace, and to its desire to establish such in the area. Our ultimate objective is that everyone may live within the borders of his country knowing that his life is his own, his possessions and sanctities secure. He would thus be able to participate generously and wholeheartedly in the evolution and progress of mankind. Your recall that I did not hesitate to confront Israel in my challenge for peace, thus depriving it of its weapon so often raised successfully against us in international organisations. In the international arena, Israel adopted the spurious attitude of the country calling for peace and wishing to put an end to war, violence and destruction. My call for peace preceded the war as it continued throughout it and after its end. I proposed from this rostrum an initiative on 4 February, 1971. I called upon Israel to undertake a partial withdrawal of its troops from the east bank of the Canal as a first stage of a time-table which would then be set for the implementation of the remaining provisions of Resolution 242. In return, I said we would then be ready to begin clearing the Suez Canal in order to reopen it for international navigation in the interest of international economy. When we were at the peak of our great military victory, I proposed to the world once more, from this rostrum, another initiative on 16 October, 1973 in which

I called for the convening of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations in which the representatives of the heroic Palestinian people would take part in their capacity as essential party of the cause. In fact, this initiative gave birth to the Geneva Conference. For the first time, since its establishment, Israel was faced with the necessity of making a choice from which it could not escape nor circumvent. It could not continue deceiving world public opinion claiming its desire for peace and that the Arabs were the ones refusing this peace. Allow me, in this context, to address myself to the latest developments concerning the conference since it is a standing issue both in the Arab and international spheres. It is not an objective in itself but a means which may lead to the achievement of the objective. If we can manage to exploit the strong elements in our possession to force Israel to make a decisive choice : whether peace based on justice and legitimacy or a confrontation of which none knows the dimensions or aftermath. For such a confrontation the Arab nation will dedicate all its material and moral potentials. You know well the successive efforts exerted in the last few months with a view to holding the Geneva Conference as soon as possible and specifically before the end of this year, provided that prior to the conference the appropriate preparations are made to ensure that the objective

of the conference is attained. Such preparations should lead us to achieve a peaceful, just and overall settlement within a reasonable time and prevent the conference from becoming an oratory platform or an arena for exchanging accusations and putting on record positions for propaganda purposes.

It is only fair to say that the United States played a major role in this respect, and that President Carter had devoted much of his time and attention to the problem, and given it priority over many other problems he faces at home and abroad. We shall always remember his attitude with appreciation because it reflects a deep and accurate vision of the nature of the conflict, its regional and international dimensions, and its possible repercussions throughout the world, should it remain unsolved. Moreover, the United States has a special responsibility with regard to this conflict, in view of the diplomatic, economic, political and military aid it gave and it still giving Israel. The most outstanding achievement of President Carter in this context might well be his grasping of the cause of the Palestinian people which Israel, through its lying propaganda and well-known influence within the U.S. society, had succeeded to obliterate and distort for over 25 years. President Carter was able, within a few months, to remove the blindfold from the eyes of the American people, and to place the Palestinian question with-

in its true perspective, whether with regard to its political dimension, that is, the Palestinians' right to self-determination, and to their own homeland, or its humane dimension, namely the need to eradicate the oppression and injustice which befell more than one million Palestinians who were forcibly expelled from their homes and land and compelled to live in painful conditions. The Palestinian question as viewed and explained by President Carter might need, from our point of view, to be developed and clarified and to have some flaws removed. However, this new attitude towards the Palestinian question is the first serious attempt to straighten the course of American policy and lay it on clear-cut principles, in order that it becomes a policy so that it can be easily understood and dealt with and whose future trend can be foreseen. We all know that, following intensive contacts with the parties concerned which started last February in the area, and ended the last week of September in Washington, the United States presented a brief working paper on September 29 dealing with the procedural aspects of the resumption of the Geneva Conference in a manner that will allow the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Palestine people on an equal footing with the other parties. This paper officially codified for the first time the new American approach to the Palestinian question. On 5 October, the United States reformulated

a new working paper under the pressure of a hectic Israeli campaign in which Israel used all its overt and covert weapons on the American arena, and brought shamelessly pressure to bear on President Carter and his aides, to compel them to revert to the stand of total support to Israel, whether wrong or right, as the former President Johnson did in the past, and not to deviate one step from the Israeli position. In the light of these circumstances, it was only natural that we should have our observations and reservations on a paper of that nature. Thus, we did not hesitate, when informed of it, on October 14, to state to the American side our observations on its shortcomings, in all frankness and honesty and out of loyalty to the national objective from which we can never deviate, and to the valiant sons and martyrs of this nation. Meanwhile, a joint Soviet-American communique was issued at the beginning of October dealing with the tangible aspects of peaceful settlement. Certainly, we do not look at these statements and communiqués as revealed words, but we put them in their true perspective as an indication of viewpoints and interests shared by the two superpowers which have a special standing at world level due to their political, economic and military influence. Nevertheless, they cannot dictate their will on any country, big or small, in this last quarter of the 20th Century.

Moreover, we consider it a positive development that the two super-powers direct their interest to the Middle East problem, as being an urgent and pressing problem that must be given top priority over any other problems. As a result of all these contacts and steps, the way was cleared for the convening of the Geneva Conference on new bases that necessarily differ from the Israeli concepts. We, now, have every reason to be assured that we have catered for the most important and essential factors for the convening of the Geneva Conference on sound bases and ensured its right course. I refer specifically to two major points: First, the genuine and free representation of the Palestine people without any interference from Israel. Second, the consideration of the Palestinian question, both its political and human aspects, within a sound framework, and removed from any ambiguity. If the way to the conference, has been cleared to a great extent, we nevertheless should prepare for it with seriousness and a sense of responsibility. We must not look at it as the end of the way, which it is not, but as an historic opportunity to compel Israel to relinquish the occupied Arab territories, give up its expansionist dreams and stop preventing the Palestinian people from enjoying their right to a free prosperous life in their homeland, like all the other peoples and nations of the world, or else show its true face to the world at large.

As we approach this delicate stage, I must lay before you and before the Arab nation the broad lines which guide us in the liberation process. First, we do not fear any form of confrontation with Israel because we have given it its true size without any exaggeration; neither a ruthless all-powerful force commanding events at will, nor a weak entity with no will of its own. Israel has been restored to its normal size after the glorious October War. We have come to see it as an entity that can be taught to mind its limits and whose aggression can be repelled. However powerful and influential Israel is, and whatever the networks that operate on its behalf and heed its orders on the international arena, we do have elements of power that exceed by far any forces that Israel can mobilize against us. Our background of civilization and militancy enables us to withstand any military, political or psychological attack. We have acquired a knowledge of our opponent and of his methods and are, therefore, able to defeat him under all circumstances. First and foremost we have our own free will that allows us to safeguard our interests and differentiate between what we can accept and what we must reject, whether we accept or reject, we do so in the light of our objective and of our determination to attain it, not out of fear, loss of self-confidence or lack of conviction. In all occasions, we are inspired by our lofty values, deep-rooted heritage and the dignity of our nation.

Second, in all our actions, we provide the Arab nation with the most powerful and effective weapon, that of genuine Arab solidarity, which expresses the belief in common objective and destiny; common interests and a common strategic line, irrespective of different initiatives and approaches which anyone of us considers to be leading to the same goal. It is no secret that I was keen on ensuring an equitable solidarity and on safeguarding it, since the people entrusted me with therein responsibility, even when the possibility of securing solidarity in a word of reality was doubted or questioned by some. There were also those who insisted on classifying our nation according to their own fantasies. They skilfully looked for factors of dissension and disagreement: progressive, reactionary, kingdom, republic. I categorically rejected all those allegations and still do. I also endeavoured to put an end to the polarisation existing in the Arab nation, and still do. Accordingly, no one could be more intent on Arab solidarity than we are, nor can anyone believe in the need for coordinating the Arab stand more than we do or strive in this regard.

It is a pleasure for me to tell you that my visit to Rumania, Iran and Saudi Arabia had co-ordination as its purpose. We are very happy to welcome among us a beloved brother and a valiant militant friend, Yasser Arafat, whom I met in Saudi Arabia. I also co-ordinat-

ed our stands with the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation — the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We met several times to-day and, just before I came here, I received a telephone call from my brother Hafez El Assad and we agreed that I would visit him, God willing, after attending to some pressing matters, to consider together all aspects of Arab co-ordination and commitment.

We have all followed with sadness and sorrow the Algerian-Moroccan conflict, a conflict between two sister countries. As I have said, my objective, since I took up office by the will of the people, has ever been Arab solidarity in all its forms. Previously, when confrontation was virtually imminent, I delegated the Vice-President, Hosny Mubarak, to mediate the situation, and his intervention was crowned with success as we averted a clash.

Since my policy is to secure a sound and strong Arab solidarity, irrespective of differences, I wish to inform you that I intend, God willing, to entrust the Vice-President with the task of mediating on your behalf, and on behalf of Egypt, between Morocco and Algeria to avoid an impairment of Arab solidarity.

The Arab world is presently contemplating calling for a summit conference. As I told you, Egypt does not object. In fact, it welcomes Arab meetings, Arab solidarity and

Arab brotherhood. But I fear that meeting, now, would be untimely, premature, in the sense that we had agreed at the 1st Arab summit in Rabat. Then later at the Cairo Conference on a fixed Arab strategy, based on two principles: The first principle: Recovery of the Arab lands occupied in 1967. The second principle: No compromise over the rights of the Palestinian people, their right to self-determination and to their own state; and that the Palestinian Liberation Organization is the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people.

I fear that, should a conference be convened, there would be nothing new to discuss. We are preparing for Geneva and, as nothing new has developed, we continue to abide by the Arab strategy.

However, should our Arab brother decide to hold that conference, Egypt will not object. In fact, it is proud of the fact that the First Arab Summit was held in its soil, that it hosts the Arab League Seat and that it is ready whenever and wherever Arab solidarity and Arab brotherhood call.

If Arab solidarity is necessary and compulsory among all Arab, it is more so for the Arab countries bearing the responsibility of direct confrontation with Israel. Therefore, we do not spare any efforts for coordination with our comrades-in-arms on the frontline,

we exchange views and opinions with them on all matters having positive or negative reflections on the cause. We shall always abide by this policy.

I have told you about my meeting with Mr. Yasser Arafat, whom we are happy to have among us today, the telephone conversation with President Hafez El Assad and my meeting, two days ago, with King Hussein in order to coordinate our positions and endeavour to achieve a unified Arab position, particularly that we have agreed to go to Geneva as a unified Arab delegation. This will require coordination at all its stages.

Third : We should concentrate in all moves and steps we take on their essence and not deviate therefrom by giving undue importance to their form or become petrified in rigid moulds that have no bearing on the crux of the problem and do not affect the outcome of the dispute.

Since history is the best of teachers, its pages teach us that true revolutionists are those who set themselves a clear objective and seek to achieve it. Whatever the sacrifices involved, they are not deterred by the form or deviate from the crux of the problem they are struggling for.

Whenever the case is a just one, this approach is more evident as in circumstances it

is preferable not to be deterred by form, and waste time and effort over trivial discussions. Therefore, we have vowed not to be halted unnecessarily by matters of procedure and form in order to deprive Israel of its purpose to refuse to play its game and force it into a comprehensive settlement that would directly lead to the crux of the subject, the core and essence of the struggle in a short time, which is Israeli occupation of the Arab lands and violation of the rights of the Palestinian people.

We must reach this goal inexorably and then no one may demand or impose upon us what is contrary to our objectives. In determining our objectives, we did not exaggerate nor were we unfair. We abided by the universal recognition of their legitimacy, by legal decisions and by the criteria between right and wrong accepted by all civilized nations.

I told you about the first and the second working papers sent by America. Israel received them in a state of nervousness and hysteria. Why? Because all the factors of disruption, from which we suffered, prior to the October War, are flourishing in Israel now.

During my recent trip, I told some pressmen in the plane of the chronological order of the steps taken for the meeting of the Geneva conference. When U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance arrived in Egypt last summer, I proposed the setting up of a working commit-

tee. This was not a new proposal, but the pressmen understood it as such and published it. The Israeli Cabinet met to study Sadat's proposal in a state of hysteria to discover a few hours later that there were no new proposals. This reveals the state of nervousness the Israelis are suffering from.

I related how Henry Kissinger, when negotiating with us the second disengagement in September 1975, shuttled often from Tel-Aviv to Alexandria, where I was staying, to change a sentence, a word or maybe a letter; I once told him that these words he came to change were not worth the fuel he consumed, coming all the way from Tel-Aviv to Alexandria. But this is the case with the Israelis.

You heard me say that we care little about procedural methods. Let me state clearly before our people, the Arab nation and the world at large that we are ready to go to Geneva and to sit for the peace talks, despite all the procedural impediments raised by Israel to deprive us of the opportunity by irritating us so that we will say «No», as we used to do in the past. To say «no, we will not go» so that it can appear as the advocate of peace before the world.

I agree to all procedural matters. In the final analysis, when we go to Geneva, Israel cannot prevent me from claiming the territories occupied in 1967, Arab territories. Neither

Israel nor any other power can prevent me from demanding the legitimate rights of the Palestinians and their right to self-determination and to their own state.

This is what Israel is trying to avoid, by raising procedural issues, adding a word or deleting another, releasing an announcement after a meeting of the Israeli Council of Ministers, meant to provoke the Arab world, which they often did in the past, hoping to shatter our nerves to the extent that we will announce the refusal to go to Geneva.

Before you and before the Arab nation, I repeat that procedural matters are of little concern to me. Let Israel indulge in fits of hysteria as it pleases.

Israel dreads Geneva. No Arab needs to dread it. We exported disruption, fear, defeatism, suspicion and doubt to Israel. Whatever has plagued us in the past we exported it to the Israeli society, so why should we try to recover it?

I am ready to go to Geneva. You must have heard me say that I would go to the end of the world to spare an injury to one of our men, much more the death of one. Israel must be greatly surprised to hear me say that I am even ready to go to the Knesset and discuss with them.

Brothers and Sisters,

God be praised, no time is being lost nor

are we at a loss. We hold the reins of the initiative, and no decision is taken except by consent of the people who want us to proceed forward to make up for lost time, and we have lost a great deal of time. The people want us to work rather than talk. The people want us to devote all our efforts to building a new future. Let us not waste time in disavowing the past or shedding tears over accumulated ruins that clutter our course. The will to work is always capable of paving roads, and the toil of man can transform ruins into vast areas for reconstruction.

The way to have a positive influence on people's daily life is to meet their needs in services and to give them a fair return for their efforts. This is the only language that the masses can accept, because it translates words into deeds. Productive and tangible labour is the good seed that grows true hope in the hearts of the masses. True hope is not spurious and deceiving oratory, or justifying and dulling slogans. True hope is the dream of the revolutionary which he hopes to see fulfilled; it is the beacon shining over progressing endeavours.

Praise be to God, the future is full of hope. You have heard about my intended trip to the governorates. I reiterate before you that I will distribute a million feddans during this trip to our sons.

We will be starting work in 10 Ramadan City within two months. Water has been provided, electricity supplied and after two months those who own land may start building. Prefabricated houses' factories have arrived. We are concentrating all our efforts on the supply of foodstuffs. I promise you that by the middle of next year, the achievements in the fields of housing and foodstuffs will be obvious. I promise you that during my next trip, I shall give hope to every citizen to fashion his life and to own part of our beautiful land, our land that is the soundest part of Egypt, in order to give him a sense of belonging. I closely follow the government's achievements in every neglected sector of public utility such as telephones and others. The most modern methods are used to solve these problems in as short a time as possible. Although the government is called up to carry an almost unbearable load, praise be to the Almighty, we are proceeding on the right course. We are nearly through the bottleneck. With the advent of 1980, we shall start to push forward towards prosperity for every citizen on this land.

My message to you, as we are about to start a new working session, is to sow hope... Let the light in... Expel venom and evildoers. By work... by faith... by love.. we shall perform well and evolve a glorious life.

« Our Lord; Cause not our hearts to
stray after thou hast guided us, and
bestow upon us mercy from The pre-
sence. Lo;

Thou, only thou art the Bestower. »
May God's peace be with you,