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PRESIDENT AS-SADAT ADDRESSES 3D FIELD ARMY

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[Speech delivered by President Anwar al-Sadat to the men of the 3d field Army in Suez on 7 June--recorded]

[Text] In the name of God. [applause] my sons, officers and men of the 3d Field Army. It is with much love and pride that I convey to you and to your brothers in all the branches of the armed forces the greetings and admiration of your people. Had it not been for your performance in Ramadan--October--we would have met in bitterness to swallow the pain and humiliation. But your performance and that of your brothers in all branches of the armed forces was most splendid. As a result of this performance, we are now meeting on such occasions to celebrate one of Egypt's greatest and most distinguished holidays. This is the day when Egypt's sons in the armed forces restored dignity, honor and pride to Egypt and to their Arab nation and taught a lesson to those who used to refer to themselves as an invincible army. You established your independent identity in this victory when you held Kibrit for more than 3 months. Kibrit was one of the points along the Bar-Lev line which fell into your hands. Even after the Israeli infiltration through the bulge, you held on to Kibrit, which had fallen to you. Kibrit was well fortified and there were tanks and all kinds of weapons in it, but it fell into your hands within moments. The Israelis tried for 3 months to retrieve it but failed.

Your performance was independent and splendid, as was the performance of the 2d Army, which destroyed the [Israeli] armored brigade in 20 minutes. Each of you has established his identity and has performed. In the end, Egypt is your mother, and your mother Egypt and the Arab nation is your nation. Your nation is proud of you and your performance. Your nation has regained its place as number six in today's world. The whole world is now aware that the Egyptian fighter has mastered all of the arts of traditional and modern warfare and that the will to fight, which was most splendidly manifested in Ramadan--October, will always remain the shield and sword of Egypt and the Arab nation. God willing.

Yesterday, I spoke to your brothers in the 2d Army. I concentrated on the initiative in my speech yesterday. You might have heard this speech. I told you, and your people through you, about everything that has happened regarding the initiative from the time that it was a mere idea. I explained all the circumstances beginning with the time before the initiative was even contemplated right up to the present situation. I summed up this situation before your brothers in the 2d Army, saying that our mind and heart will remain open and that if there are any signs or details [ay 'alamat aw ayyat tafsilat] in the Israeli stand which are worth sitting down and discussing, we will do so as long as there are new elements.

However, if the Israeli position remains unchanged and does not contain any new elements, then it will be futile to sit down and talk before this change occurs.

I have summed up our policy line in two points. The first is Israel's withdrawal from all the territory occupied in 1967 and equally from all fronts--from the Sinai and the West Bank as well as from Gaza and the Golan. The second point is that the Palestinian question should be solved, not as a refugee or humanitarian problem, but primarily as a political problem.

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Today I want to talk to you, as I promised yesterday, about our domestic front. God Almighty has so willed that what has happened in the past 2 weeks began here in this very hall and on this very date last year. I remember that I explicitly told you here, 1 full year ago, that it is imperative for us to forge ahead in the battle to build the Egyptian man through dignity, security and honor. This battle must be the goal of all of us. We are still doing this despite the attempt which was made by some persons on 18 and 19 January 1977, when they tried to divert our march from its sound course. They thought that I would go back on democracy and revert to imposing dictatorship on this country. Their action had absolutely no effect on the measures which we have taken and on which we have agreed to build our homeland on the basis of freedom, the freedom of man and the dignity of man. I explicitly set forth my goal in this hall. I had also said: I have not opened the concentration camps, I have not formed military courts and I have not resorted to martial law. However, I have left the matter up to the public judiciary to say its word. The history of these persons began with 15 May [1971]. I am talking about the Marxists here. The history of these persons began with 15 May when we eliminated the centers of power in Egypt and closed the detention camps forever after 40 full years, before and after the revolution. The permanent constitution was then issued in September 1971 and other events followed in 1972. In July of that year, I ordered the expulsion of the Soviet experts from the armed forces, and in October 1973 I issued the order to you, and you performed your task in the best possible and most splendid manner, as admitted by our foes before our friends. And this achievement is enough to make the 3d Army proud.

This was exactly what I said to you 1 year ago. I also said: I have noted your steadfastness in the bulge, particularly in Kibrit. In those days there was a small minority in Cairo with shaky nerves. God willing, your people have been and will continue to be proud of you and your action. But among every people we find a few persons, that is, a clique, whose souls are consumed by bitterness or whose existence is dominated by defeatism. Or it could be that they are concerned about their standard of living.

I spoke to you last year in this place about this clique and this minority when I said: The Egyptian people and the Egyptian forces were not shaken by the bulge. I said that those who were shaken were those agents and the rancorous cliques in Cairo--and I was then laughing. The broad popular base, as it has always done, believed in you before and after October during the battle of the bulge and throughout all the phases of the fighting. The only exception was a small clique to whom I referred yesterday when addressing the 2d Army. Those are the agents and the rancorous cliques.

I said all these things to you last year. I even said more. I said: We have granted you freedom and you have set the sublime example of voluntary sacrifice. You sacrificed for Egypt, for Egypt's freedom and Egypt's dignity. This made the whole world respect you and respect your Arab nation.

In today's world and here, the example is set for these politicians who think that the hands of the clock can be turned back. I tell them: Here is some advice. Do not try to do this because the hands of the clock will never be turned back. I then said: We will never go backward.

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As for the freedom of the press, it was imperative for us to pay the price. When I granted this freedom after 40 years, they surged forward as if freedom of the press meant nothing more than criticizing and launching attacks. You once heard me speak of some foreign ambassadors who had asked: When will the revolution erupt? They asked this question in view of what our press had been saying and publishing about mistakes and deviations, as if there was absolutely no construction going on in the country. This is a regrettable thing and I cautioned the Journalists about it. However, and despite all these things, I will not go back on the freedom of the press. I also said in this hall a year ago: The surprising thing is that next 23 July, that is 23 July 1977 [as heard], we will be celebrating the 25th anniversary of the revolution, while you have lived up to the trust placed in you. Therefore, I address the politicians in Egypt and tell them: Take the example from here, from your armed forces. There were deviations in our revolution which we corrected. After this, the armed forces handed over the people's revolution to the people. What is prevailing now is the supremacy of law, the state of institutions and the constitutional legitimacy, which has replaced the revolutionary legitimacy. Let no veteran or new politician try to exploit this situation which we have arrived at after 25 years of struggle, battles, building and efforts. No professional must exploit this situation, particularly not those whose nerves were shaky during the war.

I also said last year, in these very words: After the October battle nothing was left but freedom of the press. I granted the press full freedom. There had been no such freedom for 40 years before 1974. There was no such freedom even in the era of the parties which are now speaking up, maintaining that the prerevolution era was an era of freedoms. This is not true. All of us know history and know about the press laws which the majority party at that time--the Al-Wafd Party--submitted to the parliament to satisfy the king and the palace. Some people are now trying to turn the clock back and reinstate the Al-Wafd Party. I told you all this a year ago, and I have repeated it to you in order that your people can hear, through you, what we spoke about last year and can hear an explanation of what has happened as we meet this year.

You have been loyal to your country, the Arab nation, the people and the future generations. You have been loyal in your performance. In your capacity as part of Egypt's armed forces which carried out the 23 July Revolution 26 years ago, you have also been loyal to your people, your history and to future generations. After 25 years of the revolution and for the first time in history, the revolution was returned to its original owner--the people. This was done through constitutional legitimacy after terminating the revolutionary legitimacy. It was done in complete freedom and under circumstances in which there were no detention camps and there was the supremacy of law. It was done without the adoption of any extraordinary measures--custodianship, confiscation or any measure which detracts from man's dignity. Indeed, the measures which were adopted at one time or another were rectified by the 15 May Revolution. The 23 July Revolution remained the mother revolution and the starting point in Egypt's modern history and in the building of modern Egypt.

As I told you, it was imperative a year ago to carry out what has happened over the past 2 weeks. This is so because I have said this to you, and all the people have also heard what I told you here a year ago.

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My words are written and recorded in the newspapers and in history. What occurred 2 weeks ago should have been carried out a year ago. It was delayed for a year.

To explain things to you, it is imperative for me to go back a little. After the 1967 defeat, we all lived with bitterness, wounds and pain. We experienced these things in the armed forces, among the people and in every home throughout the land of our sacred and green valley, in our desert and everywhere. Your people lived in anticipation of the hour of salvation. They put their complete confidence in you, in their armed forces, despite what had happened in 1967. This is because--as I had previously announced and recorded and as history had recorded--the 1967 defeat was not sustained because of your combat performance. It happened because Egypt's armed forces were not given the opportunity to fight. You have never been the reason for the defeat. I have announced this to your people, to the People's Assembly, and at all meetings, and it has gone down in history, because it is fact. You have absolutely never figured as a reason for the defeat.

As I have said, your people had confidence and still have confidence in you and in the fact that you will definitely help them. In those days, in the wake of the 1967 defeat, that was your people's position. However, there was the small minority that gloated over everything. They gloated over the defeat, although it had been sustained in their land and country and in their Egypt, exactly as it is the Egypt of all of us. However, the only thing rancorous souls can live on is hate, bitterness and envy. This small minority gloated over their people. With God as my witness, I say that even before the October battle, the popular base never lost confidence in you for a single moment, never.

Then I assumed responsibility in 1970 following 'Abd an-Nasir's death. I announced that my first objective was the battle; it was imperative for us to avenge ourselves. All the people were unanimous in their belief in me, except for the members of this envious minority, and every one of them disbelieved me for reasons of their own. I began to suffer. I visited you here before the October battle. I visited you in July and on various occasions, and I personally followed the preparations which were being made for the battle at the very time when this small minority wanted me to use the defeat as a takeoff point for the achievement of their objectives. Who were these people? They were the Marxists and those elements in whose hearts the spirit of defeatism took root. They began to curse their army and their armed forces and to cast doubt on everything, on all of our achievements and on the fact that the battle would be waged.

In 1971 they went to the universities and tried to incite the students. In 1972 they resorted to the same method--demonstrations and attempts to carry out acts of sabotage in this country. While we were silently and discreetly preparing for the battle, they were describing us as defeatists and liquidationists and saying that we would not fight. They heaped more abuse on the Egyptian armed forces. They said that the Egyptian armed forces were not efficient and lacked the capacity to confront Israel's invincible army. Some of them wrote about the futility of the battle. You complained to me when I visited you here about such writings. The pilots in Bilbays complained to me about those writers, who were full of a spirit of defeatism and who were driven by grudges. The pilots in Bilbays complained to me.

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They incited the students. They also tried to incite the workers, the workers of Egypt who recorded a bright picture on 18 and 19 January 1977.

The workers of Egypt and the rest of the Egyptian people, with the exception of this spiteful minority, represent the domestic front which is defending your backs.

They tried to stage demonstrations in the universities. You know that in 1971 I closed the detention camps forever. I liquidated the custodianships. I abolished all the extraordinary measures. The permanent constitution was introduced. The state of institutions and the supremacy of the law came into existence.

Their aim was to make me go back on all this and to resort to dictatorship again so that they could tell the world: Do not trust As-Sadat's words because he has promised democracy but has reverted to dictatorship.

I know that they are a few spiteful elements, both the Marxists who have grown up under the protection of the Soviet Union and the defeatists who sometimes exploit the name of 'Abd an-Nasir and at other times exploit anything and any suffering in an attempt to recover their lost position.

These spiteful Marxists and defeatists are a small, insignificant minority. They do not want any accomplishment to take place in this country. The Marxists want a Marxist state. The opportunists want dictatorship and autocratic rule so that they can dominate the people as they did before through extraordinary measures, intimidation, custodianship and so on.

As I have told you, they are a small minority. They incited the students in 1971, 1972 and 1973. Before the battle, I suffered, but, as I told you last year, I will not go back on democracy. They want to deceive the people into believing that I will go back on my promise about democracy.

I say that they are a very small, insignificant minority, because the popular base, as I have told you, during and after the defeat and up to the October war continued to have confidence that you would take revenge. In the October battle, the sentiments of your people became apparent in a most splendid way. This is still true today and, God willing, will be true until doomsday.

I have tolerated many abuses. But I have always tried to prevent the evils of this group from affecting the broad popular base. In doing so I resorted to the law, because I have not and never will go back on democracy. I resorted to the law. I did not reopen the detention camps, although I had the right to do that and even more, because I was preparing for the fateful battle--your battle. In the event I discover something in the domestic front that is not protecting your backs or is trying to stab you in the back, I will strike at it. I say and I repeat: Any person in the domestic front, whatever his position or however loud his voice, who tries to stab you in your back, I will strike at with absolute violence. There is no argument about this. [applause]

However, at that time the matter did not require me to strike. No. What I am enthusiastic about and pride myself in and what makes you proud of me is the fact that throughout the revolution and after the corrective revolution we provided the Egyptian people with the freedom which they lacked for many centuries of foreign rule, Mameluke's rule, Turkish rule and the rule of the Muhammad 'Ali family.

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Throughout these periods, the Egyptian people were oppressed. After the 15 May Revolution, which corrected the 23 July Revolution, our people have been living under one of the most splendid democracies they have ever lived under. I am proud of this. This is why I will not go back on democracy, because it is the pride of all of us.

However, they tried everything. I did not respond. I resorted to the sovereignty of the law. The students were referred to the prosecution. I removed those elements, particularly journalists, who were distorting the image of their country. I removed 120 of them. I did not cut off their livelihood or send them off to remote institutions to earn their living. No. I transferred them to the Information Department. I said that perhaps this will serve to deter them. Why? Because some of these journalists, who are still around today, have been and still are contacting foreign correspondents to give them a [false] picture, which is then circulated abroad. On 1 January 1973 I gave orders to Marshal Isma'il to prepare the plan. In February 1973 we were at the general command of the armed forces looking over the sand table model. In March 1973 I gave the first alert order to prepare the forces for battle. Training in combat tasks then began according to the plan we reviewed on the sand table model with all the commanders of the armed forces in February 1973. After the alert order was given in March, training began. You all lived through this period, because you are the ones who carried it out and entered the battle. At this time, while all this was taking place in total secrecy, this minority was telling the foreign journalists: Egypt is collapsing; we expect a military coup to take place in Egypt any time; Egypt is an unstable country; Egypt is finished and will not fight; As-Sadat only wants to sit in power and why should he fight? He will not fight. This is the campaign which was being launched.

A foreign correspondent wrote three articles in a British paper early in 1973 giving the impression that Egypt was finished politically, militarily and economically. He wrote three similar articles in the American paper, the New York TIMES. All this happened in 1971 [date as heard] when we were working, as I told you. The foreign correspondent who wrote in the New York TIMES was in contact with the group of the opportunist journalists and writers here in Egypt. He wrote three articles in the New York TIMES, telling the American people. American people, there is no longer anything called Egypt. Why did he write this? It is because these rancorous persons believed that they could change the course of events by such a method or have a share again [in running the country]. I did not heed any of this. I referred the students to the prosecution and the journalists to the Information Department. I said then that I was preparing for the battle but they did not believe me. I had been saying this since 1971, but they did not believe me. Nor did this minority believe me in 1973. However, I can tell you what I depended on then and am still depending on. I depended and still am depending on the broad base, which represents more than 95 percent of your country's population. They are the good people. They are your good and honorable relatives. More than 95 percent of the population had confidence in me and believed every word I said. This part of the population had confidence in you because it knew that you would get revenge one day. This is why I did not heed these persons. There was no reason for me to adopt any measures. However, I will never hesitate to strike most violently at anyone who might threaten the domestic front or attempt to hit at the armed forces while we are waging the battle of liberation and reconstruction.

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I will not show any mercy at all. Democracy does not mean irresponsibility, carelessness or an attempt to sow hatred among the people by making a person hate his brother or making a person in one place hate his colleague in another place.

I paid no heed to this. When I spoke at the People's Assembly last week, you heard me talking about the Cairo of 1973 and the Cairo of 1978. What is the explanation of this? When I speak about the Cairo of 1978, I hope it will not occur to anyone that I am talking about all 8 million inhabitants of Cairo. I am actually referring to certain loud voices which are attempting to mislead. But rest assured, my sons, that your base, which represents 95 percent of the population, has unconditionally and unreservedly supported you during and after the defeat, and before, during and after the battle, and that nothing will ever shake that base. Why did I refer to the Cairo of 1973 of which I spoke to you? The elements with loud voices in Cairo tried at that time to distort the image of Cairo. These elements do not represent Cairo, which has a population of 8 million, 99 percent of whom are honorable people. The remaining 1 percent are the rancorous ones, but their voice is loud in Cairo because they include writers, journalists and opportunists. They also include officials in the state departments who are trying to spit venom.

They only account for 1 percent of Cairo's population, but their voice is loud. Anyone who had read the three articles which were written in the British GUARDIAN and the three other articles which were written by the same writer in the New York TIMES would have gotten the impression that Egypt was finished politically, militarily and economically, that there would be no battle or anything else, and that the situation had collapsed.

I then laughed, as I have told you, because we were proceeding to implement the plan and were proceeding with the training necessary to carry out the plan. Then the day came in October when you carried out your splendid performance which changed all the values. The pre-October-1973 world will always go down in history as different from the post-October-1973 world. This is final. Your performance had gone down in history.

As you remember, in 1974, after the battle--we waged our battle in October 1973 and we carried out the first disengagement of forces in January 1974--I immediately granted full freedom to the press for the first time in 40 years--and without any strings attached. They are claiming that the freedom of the press existed during the era of the parties. It is a pity that they should mislead the people and falsify history. Why? Because things are written. The papers and the books of this era are available and those who had lived through that era are still alive and they have given their testimony. The only time the censor touched the newspapers was when I indicated he should do so in February 1974. That was after the first disengagement of forces, which took place in January. As you have heard me say and as I have told you here, they thought that because they were given freedom after 40 years, they thought that freedom meant they should cast doubt on everything. They depicted things in such a way as to show that there were only deviations and mistakes in Egypt. What had happened? We were just emerging from our misery and we were shouldering burdens which could crush mountains. We were just emerging from our splendid performance in our battle which dazzled the whole world. We were emerging to rectify things. Yes, there are mistakes, failures, difficulties and tendencies to get into ruts in the public services. But these are things left over from the 1960's. They did not originate in the 1970's; they go back to the early 1960's.

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We are reforming and the reform process is going on. For instance, you have heard about the aluminum complex which I recently visited in Naja' Hammadi. It occupies an area of 5,000 feddans. It represents modern Egypt. This complex includes dwellings for the workers, engineers and employees. The complex is in a desert which you have heard me call the (?Al-Hayy) Desert. It is called (?Al-Hayy) because it is a desert which has been turned into a paradise. The aluminum complex was established and its sales for 1 year paid for the cost of establishing it. Do you know when we began to build this complex? Around the beginning of 1973, while I was preparing with you for the battle, while I was facing the baseness and absurdities of the rancorous persons and the Marxists and their attempts to pressure the domestic front, I was also facing the two superpowers.

At that time the United States stood solidly behind Israel--and I was confronting the United States. The Soviet Union was outrightly pursuing a particular policy toward me--and I was confronting the Soviet Union. All those things occurred in 1974 and, in the midst of all these things, we began to build the aluminum complex. In just 1 year, the revenue of the complex paid for the cost of its establishment. After all these things, as you know and as you have heard, Egyptian aluminum has become world famous for its good quality and purity. This is why it is being sold at prices higher than that charged for any other aluminum. It is like cotton, for which the prices are paid in accordance with the grades of cotton. Our aluminum was produced in the most splendid manner. Who carried out this process? May God rest his soul, an Egyptian man, a layman and a peasant. He built this whole lofty edifice.

We did all this while being exposed to the abuses of these scoundrels and while we were preparing for the battle and confronting the United States and the Soviet Union.

In 1978, this year, I saw the same behavior being repeated. The astonishing thing is that the same elements are foolishly behaving in the same way toward me. The Marxists have dominated the leftwing here. As you know, we established democracy here with three wings--right, left and center. In a democracy in the world or anywhere in the world where genuine democracy exists, political life does not contain more wings than right, left and center. We began the experiment and parties were established. The elements which existed in Cairo in 1973 were the Marxists, the opportunists who exploited the name of 'Abd an-Nasir and the rancorous. I called this group the bubbles, because they are above the surface and are worthless, while the popular base is safe and sound.

In 1978 the picture changed a little, but the aims were the same. The picture changed in that new forces entered the scene. Parties had been formed, although I warned you here before that we will not accept the return of old parties, and I mentioned the name of the Al-Wafd Party in particular. We launched the 23 July 1952 Revolution because the Al-Wafd Party had been more eaten through by corruption than any other party. Had a communist revolution taken place after Cairo had been set on fire, as was being planned, it would have resulted in all of them being massacred and wiped out. We did not massacre anyone after the July 1952 Revolution. We did not massacre anyone and the revolution took its course. When deviations took place in this revolution, we corrected them ourselves. We did not need a revolution from outside to correct the deviations. This is the first time such a thing has happened in history.

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I have warned that the old parties cannot come back because everything has changed after 25 years. The outbreak of the 23 July Revolution simply meant that the exploitation of the broad base of the Egyptian citizen by the big landlords, pashas, and feudalists, so they can spend the money in Europe or buy Aubusson carpets for their homes, had ended. The broad base of the Egyptian people had attained its rights.

When we say today that we have a supply problem, this problem does not affect the rich people. The supply problem affects the broad base. All the work today, after the 23 July Revolution, is aimed at the broad base of the people and not the top class of landlords, feudalists, pashas and the like. I warned that such a thing is useless.

The Marxists in 1978 are in a better situation than in 1973. In 1973 they had no party or political wing recognized by the state. In 1978 they have a political wing, and not only a political wing and a party, but also a newspaper.

The Al-Wafd Party, which called itself the New Al-Wafd party, was also established. I did everything I could last summer to make these people understand that there can be no going back. I spoke to you a year ago and expressed my opinion then before the party was established. It was useless. The love for leadership and prominence, and regrettably the hate which accumulated from the past, the glitter of rule and of being in the limelight make people forget and imagine that 25 years of the life of the people and the revolution can be ended, and everything can return to what it was before.

They started saying that there was democracy before the revolution, that there was freedom before the revolution and that there was a press before the revolution. It is as if we of the revolution have abolished everything--as if everything has become bitter, while before the revolution it was all milk and honey.

We have the history. Why must we falsify facts? We have the history there. Pomposity is futile. Why is it futile? Because the regime in Egypt since 23 July 1952 does not work in the dark. We work in broad daylight.

There were deviations; I rectified them on 15 May 1971. The state of institutions has been established. The supremacy of the law has been established. Freedom of the press has been established. The dignity, security and safety of the individual has been established.

Moreover, we have the newspapers, magazines and books which were issued before 1952. Everyone can read them. Why then this pomposity?

In Cairo the communists controlled the leftwing and issued a newspaper.

The recent step taken by the New Al-Wafd Party to dissolve itself is a real farce. The people have decided that the politicians who corrupted the political life before 1952 must step aside and leave the democratic march to the new generations, the latest of which is the October generation, which is us.

When the people say this, this means that these old politicians must leave and disappear from political life. However, their dignity must be preserved; there must be no custodianship. They must not be insulted, arrested or detained. They must not be stopped from earning a living, and their life and dignity should not be interfered with.

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When the people said this, the great farce occurred.

When the people said: The old generations must step down and the new generations must take over, the Al-Wafd Party, which represented the majority before our 1952 revolution, the Al-Wafd Party dissolved itself--as if the party belonged to one man.

When these old politicians found that they would not be able to engage in politics because the people had decided this in the referendum, the entire party dissolved itself. This step was really stupid and ridiculous.

However, it is important for me to say, because your people is hearing me also now, my sons--it is important for me to say that here and in this place and with you, my sons, I drew attention to this a year ago. I said: "There will be no return to the past because it is the byword for personal grudges and personal leaderships. I said this verbatim here a year ago. After 1 year the New Al-Wafd Party dissolved itself. During this 1 year, several of those whom I call spiteful people rushed to join this party, hoping that they and the New Al-Wafd Party would achieve something now that an end has been put to hatred and opportunism.

I do not know how the leaders of this party think. When the people decided to exclude those who corrupted the political life before 1952--and the revolution broke out to eliminate this corruption--the leader of the party adopted a step which meant "either I or no one."

This is the concept which we want to abolish. Parties throughout the world are based on theories and programs. The theory of the right is known. The right is represented by capitalism and takes several forms. The center is represented by a kind of socialism between capitalism and communism. The left is communism.

As for the left, its elements in some countries are Marxists and in other countries social democrats, as is the case with our country.

Party and political action are not whimsical. We must discard the old method which the 1952 revolution came to remove. We must discard the juggling of old time. We must renounce the parties which are ruled by one man according to his aims and motives and whose aims are influence, showmanship and grabbing of power.

In today's world a party would declare: Here is my plan for building the country. The party explains how the country is to be built and what the economy and the policy will be. The party explains whether its policy line will be alinement or nonalinement, membership in a bloc or pacts, or a repudiation of all these things.

Political action is no longer what it used to be; that is, political action is no longer carried out according to the old concept. This is why the 23 July Revolution emerged. In fact, I was watching the bandwagon and the people who were trying to take the country back to the past and to the state of the pashas, feudalism, landlords and opportunists. I was surprised because these people include persons whom I had seen in the past. I was surprised. The 23 July Revolution told the people, and this was then confirmed by the 15 May corrective movement: People, you have absolute freedom and you are the masters of your destiny. The time has gone forever when a peasant's son must be a peasant and a worker's son a worker, without any other opportunity ahead of him.

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No, there are now equal opportunities. This has resulted in the fact that among the sons of the impoverished peasants university professors, officers, engineers, and doctors. In my own village we were the only ones who were educated. Now there are doctors, engineers and officers in my village, and some of my villagers are in university. What is this owing to? It is owing to equal opportunities.

We are telling the people: This is your policy. Beware. Do not give it up. I am surprised that a small faction educated at the expense of the country is now reverting to slavery and insisting on going back to the slavery of the pashas. I believe that all of these people deserve our hatred.

In 1978, as I have told you, I mean in 1973, by God, the left was not recognized and it worked underground. Despite the depravity, shamelessness, excesses, the casting of doubt and the attempts they had made at the university and elsewhere, this was no longer the case in 1978. The left then became a wing. It was recognized by the state, and it had its newspaper. The left was joined by the reactionary right or the New Al-Wafd Party, which is deeply involved in hatred. Suddenly, in the past 2 months, around the beginning of 1978, a campaign--exactly like that of 1973--was launched. In this campaign it was said that Egypt was finished. This thing was also said in the foreign newspapers through the foreign correspondents and according to the same method which was used in 1973. It was said that Egypt was finished economically, politically, militarily and every other way. The regime was finished. All the officials were thieves. Doubts were cast on every human being. I investigated and found out that this story was being repeated in the same way as in 1973. What new elements did I find involved in their campaign? The Marxists were stronger because they controlled the leftwing and were recognized by the state. Well, we said that the left should be an Egyptian left, not a Soviet left, and they had their newspaper. The New Al-Wafd Party joined in the battle and the left formed a coalition with the right. The extreme right joined forces with the extreme left. But over what? Over casting complete doubt on everything--casting doubt on the country, the regime, the rulers and our achievements. My God, there is nothing like figures, because essays are futile; figures speak for themselves. The figures are available to us and the government presents them to the People's Assembly. You all can see that our People's Assembly is totally free and no one interferes with it. On the contrary, the assembly members even overdo things. Everything can be discussed and everything is open.

As I have said, these are the old methods of the Al-Wafd Party. The spreading of rumors, the casting of doubt and the defaming of the regime and the government are old Al-Wafd methods. It is just as if the English, the king and the same corrupt parties of the pre-23 July period are all still with us. These are the same methods of defamation and undermining. They are not content with doing this at home. The parties gather the foreign correspondents for a press conference--thanks to democracy and party life--to defame Egypt and to say that the situation is bad and so forth. When they did that in 1973 I removed the journalists responsible and transferred them to the Information Department out of concern for your battle and for the people in the rear. I told them: You stay there. Things proceeded well. They have the right to call a press conference, as they indeed did. The party of the left yesterday or the day before yesterday invited the foreign correspondents to a press conference and excluded the Egyptian journalists and told them: We are this and that, and so forth and so on. This is the party's right, because it is a party and this is part of its political activity.

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The Al-Wafd Party is the same. The party members got together on the basis of hatred, bitterness and the attempt to defame every honorable man and to say that no achievements have been made in the country. You have seen through my various visits the potential of this country. Our potential is unbelievable, in land, water, people and everything. It is necessary to have certain programs and plans.

For example, you may remember 2 years ago that the only talk in the papers was about [the shortage of] chicken. Poultry breeding was included in our program. Today, people in some places complain that the companies we have set up, and the merchants, are working with the chicken producers in an attempt to manipulate the prices because chicken has become abundant. Why is this? Because poultry breeding has become part of the food security plan.

It will take until 1980 to overcome the bottleneck we are in. Why? Because we neglected agriculture and turned to industry in the past 25 years, although agriculture is the basis of our economy. Before the population was not so big, but now we are increasing by 1 million people annually. The result is that what we produce is not enough to eat. Therefore, it is necessary to have programs and plans, and this takes time. We have the land, the water and everything. We have brought in new technology and we are using it, for example, in Al-Mullak, Aswan and As-Salihyah. The potential is unbelievable. Poultry breeding went on without anyone realizing it. By 1980 everything will be available. We are not making plans just for the period up to 1980 but for the period up to the year 2000, so that no one will come as I did, and find there is no food and the country is not producing its own food. The plans are going ahead. Egypt must produce all its food apart from wheat, which we will import. Egypt must produce all its food, apart from wheat, and even export some of it by 1980, God willing.

Why should all of this be the subject of defamation and suspicion?

There is a new kind of irresponsibility. Some people believe that democracy means that anyone can use abusive language. One stands in parliament and uses abusive language. Is this the kind of example we are setting for the people? Are we teaching the people shamelessness and rudeness? Journalists contact foreign correspondents. I say before you to the foreign correspondents in Egypt: Nothing published abroad will harm us, because it will not affect us. Their continued contacts with the elements of rancor will be useless to them. Why? Because the truth will inevitably come out.

Any attempt to contact these rancorous persons in order to distort Egypt's image will lead nowhere in the end because we will tell any person who commits anything against Egypt: We thank you, but we do not want you with us. Write whatever you wish from your own country. I also say that I do not ask them to campaign for Egypt. None of them has campaigned for Egypt. What has campaigned for Egypt is Egypt's own performance; it is your performance in October, the peace initiative, Egypt's word, Egypt's place, Egypt's position and Egypt's weight in its Arab nation and area. All this has reached the outside world and the people outside know it. Therefore, we do not care for what they write, but there must be discipline and commitment. We will not tolerate shamelessness. We will tell anyone who writes something wrong: Do not write any more, brother. Go with Godspeed to your own country dignified and honored. We have no time for this nonsense. Go and say what you like about our democracy because we do not care.

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There is a strange campaign of irresponsibility in the People's Assembly. Some members are deliberately behaving shamelessly and cursing others. There are journalists who provide material for the foreign correspondents. There are writers who write cursing Egypt. The fact is that they receive 1,000 pounds monthly for cursing Egypt. These people want a good standard of living, so they curse Egypt in order to receive 1,000 pounds monthly while living here enjoying democracy, security and safety. Nobody here in Egypt can attack anybody else.

The 18 and 19 January incidents will not be repeated. If they even think about repeating them, I will turn the incidents against them. In other words, their own blood will be shed because my people must live in security, tranquillity, peace and under the supremacy of the law. Discussion should be expressed through dialog, not through attempts to impose bloody activities to intimidate the people. I will show them no mercy but will spill their own blood in the streets. [prolonged applause]

This is the Cairo of 1978. As for the Marxists with you, sons, the truth is that, as you recall, I spoke here last year and said that anyone who has no faith cannot be trusted. I said no Marxist can be entrusted with any post in the information or culture media which influences the people or in the press or any leading position in which he can harm the masses. I told you this a year ago. I have been telling you for the past 2 weeks that I am 1 year late. Why am I 1 year late? It is because I hoped that each person would understand his responsibility toward his country. It is also because I knew that there might be the odd ones in the one family I am building, but in the end we are one family and the odd ones might return to the family fold. Regrettably, however, there are base human instincts which man cannot resist. The only remedy for this is punishment, severe punishment.

This is what has happened. What did the people say in the referendum? They said four things. First, they said that the communists must not occupy leading positions which influence the people, the upcoming generations or the youth in a manner conflicting with the heavenly religions. This is not something new I am saying. I said it here to you my sons in June 1977, 1 year ago. I was 1 year late in implementing this. Secondly, they said that the leaders of the old parties, which corrupted political life before 1952--thus bringing about the outbreak of the revolution--and which we destroyed finally, must not enter the political life with us because our democracy is now pure.

Thirdly, the people said: Those who had been sentenced in the case of the centers of power, those who had tortured people and those about whom we have heard all these things are to be isolated from political life. Not one of them should come in the future and say: I will join and work in political life. A party would then rally around him or he would join a party. They would adopt him and he would then become a ruler. These are three of the things which the people have said.

As I am telling you, I am 1 year late. I should have presented these things to the people a year ago. As for the Marxists you have here, I said: Those who have no faith cannot be trusted. I also spoke here about the New Al-Wafd and the old parties. I spoke here a year ago. To be more specific, I read to you what I had said. I am 1 year late. As for those who were involved in centers of power, well, this is something natural. In other words, there is no place for any of these people in a pure democracy.

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The people said a fourth thing: The press is the property of the people. As I have told you, the press in Egypt has passed through certain circumstances. It was owned by individuals and parties until the 23 July Revolution. The press continued to be owned by individuals for some time after the 23 July Revolution. It was then nationalized. I am now saying that the press should be owned by the people. Why do I say this? I have spoken to you about the Cairo of 1978 in which there are elements of the left and of the New Al-Wafd Party, around which the begrudged and opportunistic people have rallied. One of the things these elements want to exploit is the democratic atmosphere. In other words, when the parties law was promulgated, it gave them the right to publish a newspaper without a permit. Do you know what had to be done before the revolution in order to get a newspaper published? Applications had to be made to the Publications Department and to the Interior Ministry. It was an unbelievable process to get a license to publish a newspaper.

We promulgated the parties law in the fall because we were advocating the supremacy of the law--and we have meant and will continue to mean what we have said and what we will say. If we do not mean something, we will say that we do not mean it. When I do not want something, I will tell the people and I will tell you: No, I reject this thing. But as long as we advocate supremacy of the law, then there will be supremacy of the law.

The parties law says: Every party which is recognized by the state under the parties law will have the right to publish a newspaper without asking for anyone's permission. Indeed, the Arab Socialist Party of Egypt began publishing a newspaper without a permit; the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party--the Marxists--began publishing a newspaper without a permit, and the third party, the Socialist Liberal Party, began publishing a newspaper without a permit. Why? Did they do so because the supremacy of the law exists? They got no permit from the Publications Department nor from the interior minister and nobody opposed them, absolutely not. Well, what has happened? We have all seen the newspaper of the Marxists. This is nothing but a hate sheet; a surprising process of hatred. As I told your brothers in the 2d Army yesterday, the surprising thing is that I should carry out the peace initiative and that Russia alone should oppose it. Why did Russia oppose my initiative? Because Russia is not in the picture or because this process was not carried out via Russia. Well, I did not carry out this initiative through the United States. As you have read in news dispatches, when the U.S. President heard of the initiative, to use the very English expression, they say he was stunned [As-Sadat uses the English word "stunned"]; he was left open-mouthed. That was the U.S. President. When I carried out my initiative, I did not ask the United States or the Soviet Union to help me. This is a purely Egyptian initiative, as when I embarked on my first initiative in 1971. In 1971 our relations with the United States were severed, and we still entertained some hope toward the Soviet Union at that time. Despite this, I did not contact either the Soviet Union, with which we then had contacts, or the United States.

The same thing applies to the latest initiative. Indeed, as the dispatches say, the U.S. President was astounded when he heard of my initiative. No, the Soviets said: No, this is a sell out of the cause and a separate solution.

As you recall, they used the words "a separate solution" to attack us after the first disengagement agreement, after the second disengagement agreement and after the initiative. They also incited Syria and the Palestinians to say the same thing.

When the American correspondents go to the Syrian president to interview him, he says:

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I am in favor of a peaceful solution. They tell him: But what As-Sadat is doing is a peaceful solution. He says: No, he will conclude a separate solution. They tell him: As-Sadat has suspended the Jerusalem talks and has declared a million times that he is not after a separate solution.

Moreover, if I was after a separate solution, there was no need for me to make my initiative or to visit Jerusalem. There was no need for anything. If the Jews were to learn tomorrow that I wanted a separate solution, they would come running to sign.

The last time Israeli Defense Minister Weizman visited me, 1 and 1/2 months ago--I say this for the sake of history and the whole world and Israel and everybody who is hearing me--Weizman told me: We are prepared to reach a solution with you. We have no demands in Sinai. We make no claim on you at all. Just sign with us regarding Sinai. I told him: Sorry, Sinai is not the problem. The Palestinian issue is the problem. [applause]

The vice president and War Minister al-Jamasi were sitting with me.

Weizman--he can hear me now--tried most persistently. I told him: Sinai is not the problem. I am not afraid about Sinai. When I went to your Knesset, I told you: I have not come to ask anything from you. Sinai is my land and country and I will take it. I have come to you for peace, in order to build peace.

I told him: By God, if I were sure that this separate solution would bring about peace in the area, I would go for it.

You recall that when I embarked on my initiative, I did not embark on it because I wanted a separate solution or because I had become fed up with war. I embarked on it from a position of strength. I applied the principle which I explained in the People's Assembly in November. I said that if we can achieve our aims and recover all our lands without a battle and without my sons, the soldiers and officers, shedding a drop of blood, I am ready to go the ends of the earth, including the Knesset. I said this in November.

I said I am ready to go the ends of the earth, including to the Knesset, if we can achieve a just peace that will return the lands without a battle, without resorting to war. Why? Because I am concerned about the blood of every soldier and officer of mine.

Why did I say that I would do this? Because in October, when I gave the orders to you, you dazzled the whole world, my sons. You carried out my orders in the most splendid way to the extent that Dayan stood here in Sinai facing the 3d Army and wept before the foreign correspondents, saying: We cannot dislodge the Egyptians an inch.

This is Dayan, their defense minister, who was gripped with arrogance and who thought of himself as another Rommel of the desert.

I am saying this because I know what you will do when I give you the order.

What is wrong with this if there is a possibility of achieving a peaceful solution without my sons getting killed? I am not a warmonger and I am not after personal glory. I want to build the country. I do not want a single one of my sons, soldiers and officers, to be killed, as long as we can achieve our aims through diplomatic solutions in which we obtain our full rights.

I told Weizman: If peace can be achieved through a separate solution, I would have signed it with you and declared it to the whole world because my aim is peace, not Sinai.

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I also told him: He is hearing me now and the whole world is hearing me--I told him: Even if you conclude peace with Egypt, peace with Syria and peace with Jordan without solving the Palestinian problem, there will be no peace, and after 5 years we will have another war. I am after real peace in a sense that the October war will be the last of the wars. As I told Weizman over a month ago, we are prepared for peace and we are prepared for security, but as far as land and sovereignty are concerned, I am sorry. Clearly we are prepared to give peace; we are prepared to give security; we are prepared to be neighborly. But we are not prepared to give up 1 inch of land or make the slightest concession as far as our sovereignty is concerned, and we shall refuse to do that under all circumstances.

This is the situation which faced the Soviet Union. Because it was unable to say anything, the Soviet Union came out with the idea that we are seeking a separate solution. The Soviet Union pushed Syria and the Palestinians to say the same. I have tried very hard to tell them that we are not seeking a separate solution. Did I say that because I was afraid? No, I am not afraid. You know and the whole world knows, by God, that I do whatever I see is in the interest of Egypt and will fulfill Egypt's historical responsibility. The splendid job you did in October was done not for the sake of Egypt alone, but for every Arab as well. After the October battle every Arab raised his head high. They acknowledge this. Your blood, my children, is what did this. Therefore, we have a responsibility to fulfill.

I told Yasir 'Arafat: Listen, curse as much as you like. I know that the Russians and Syrians have pushed you. But you must know that whether you curse Egypt or not, Egypt knows its historical responsibility toward the Palestinian issue, because it is a fateful Arab issue that involves us, too. I told him: We will pay no attention and will not be bothered.

Correspondents and journalists in Egypt to this day enjoy the protection, security and hospitality of the Egyptians. For 1,000 pounds a month, there are Egyptian journalists in Kuwait or Lebanon willing to defame Egypt. There are printing houses in Kuwait, Lebanon, Paris and London financed by Al-Qadhafi and Iraq. The Egyptian writer who slanders his country, Egypt, gets what he wants. There are groups in Paris, London, Iraq, Libya and Egypt--five groups in all. I told the people in the referendum that these groups should be summoned by the socialist prosecutor. What is this lack of responsibility and shamelessness? You slander your country for 1,000 pounds. What kind of money is this? This is a contemptible livelihood. Shame. It is even more impudent for the writer who lives in Egypt to do this. In order for him to earn 1,000 pounds to raise his standard of living, he sends material to slander Egypt. People like this are believed abroad. Libya is still slandering Egypt. Regrettably, many elements of the Kuwaiti press, whose inclinations are known, like to slander Egypt. The elements in Paris are all Marxists who left Egypt; they are all known Marxists. They have all been referred to the socialist prosecutor, together with their articles. There is also the London group and the Iraqi group. The Iraqi group was given a transmitting station by Iraq to slander Egypt.

We said in the referendum that the press is the property of the people. We said that such people and people who send material through foreign correspondents to slander their country must be stopped. Irresponsible people should be restricted.

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There should be commitment and ethics. Regrettably, we have a small group which has no ethics. We must teach them ethics. Why? Because we who come from the village know what shame and ethics are. When the country disavows ethics, disaster will befall it. When it adheres to its traditions and nobility and knows what is shameful and knows the values, the country will dazzle the whole world.

I will never forget the period in which every person was afraid to speak in the presence of his brother. A man would be afraid to speak in his own home in the presence of his son lest his son inform the vanguard organization. I will never forget this period. Values were corrupted and were completely lost.

Today, by God, and for the sake of the restoration of values, I will be extremely strict. I do this because anyone who does not want to respond to values is worthless and must be put in his place. This is necessary so our coming generations will enjoy a clean democracy, a clean government, in a clean country, in one family, protected by love, not hate. Never.

Why should the press be owned by the people? Well, my sons, I lived through that period. Many of you, my sons, were not yet grown up when I began working in politics some 35 years ago. I was the contemporary of all these politicians. There is no politician in Egypt, in any old or new party, who does not know me or whom I do not know. I have been in politics for 35 years. There is no journalist who does not know me or whom I do not know, because I have also spent some time working in the press. This is exactly like when I sit down with the drivers at the transport union. I was one of them, that is, a driver, and they all know me in your canal area here. Once I was visiting this area and I ran into a group sitting in Sarabgiyum. I was driving in the car to inspect the land. I met a driver there who was a former colleague and we had worked shifts together. I met him in the coffeehouse there at night and we began to laugh. [applause]

I say the press is the people's property. Why do I say this? With all due respect, and ever since I began working, that is, 35 years ago, the press has not been the people's press, but has belonged to private owners, to parties or to financiers. This is the present practice throughout the world. In Europe, in England, the mother of democracy, the practice for the past 2 years has been for the government to consider ways to help the newspapers. The government gives them money because the newspaper industry is running into difficulties and the country is now poor. Therefore, England's policy will be steered either by the advertisers, who pay for the ads which enable the newspaper to make profit, or by the quarters which finance the newspaper's deficit--and it could be a foreign quarter. In England, the mother of democracy, this practice is being discussed. This is nothing new.

What I am saying is not something odd. This is being discussed at the highest level in the democracies. We will take the lead in this practice, as has been the case with the socialist union and the parties. We said: The state will help the parties. They said: How can this be done and how can the state help the parties? It would no longer be political action.

Well, what is your opinion? I will talk about one of the most authentic democracies. I mean as far as the method of practicing democracy is concerned, namely, the FRG. No one can accuse the FRG of being communist, socialist or any such thing. In the FRG they give DM50 million to the parties so that no foreign states can enter into Germany's party system and recruit spies or agents from the party members.



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We must eliminate everything which impedes the practice of pure democracy, because we intend, as I told you, to correct the democratic course without detention camps, prisons, extraordinary measures or martial law. A good example of this is the taxation law which I returned to the People's Assembly. Why did I return it to the People's Assembly? There are signs of luxury in the country. They are the result of good incomes and not because half of the people in the country are thieves, as they alleged. There are indeed Egyptian factions consisting of very simple people like scrap merchants, butchers or shoemakers who are building apartments.

There is a class of middlemen who benefit from the economic open-door policy. Well, I have returned the taxation law to the People's Assembly because of all the manifestations of luxury. A person may want to ride in a car that is 8 meters long. I have no objection; I do not bear grudges, my sons. I harbor no rancor and I want everyone in Egypt to have one or two cars and a villa. I never bear a grudge. On the contrary, as you will see in all of our new programs and in the new societies and elsewhere, we are turning toward this prosperity, which means enabling the individual to prove himself. But as he proves himself, he should give the state its due. Why is this? Because along with proving himself and riding in an 8-meter-long car, no man or woman in Egypt will sleep as long as he or she remains uninsured against being incapacitated, getting sick or old or dying.

If a worker paid on a daily basis is incapacitated for work, he will not earn his daily pay. Therefore, he and his children will starve. No, I say: Every man and woman in Egypt--and the program is in progress, my sons--must receive a pension in case of incapacity, sickness, old age or death. The circle is on its way to completion--and this is what made me return the taxation law to the People's Assembly. Concerning the affluent people, I cite as an example the English lords--and England is a capitalist state, not a socialist state as we are. Nevertheless, there is no lord who can afford to live in his castle or mansion. They have converted them all into museums. They admit people into these castles for five piasters to see these museums so that their owners can earn an income. Why is this so? Because the Internal Revenue Service taxes them for owning such great castles. The Internal Revenue Service makes them pay for this scenery because justice dictates that all the people should shoulder the burden in an equal manner.

Well, there is now an imbalance in incomes. Certain members of the lower classes now have large incomes, such as the tinsmith, the taxi driver, the mason and others. They all earn 5 to 6 pounds daily. I am not criticizing these people. Never. I mean they are earning the money legally, but they should pay me taxes so that I can insure them when they become sick or incapacitated. Well, now they earn 5 pounds daily. But if they get sick, they will not earn their daily income. Then they will find me and will get the insurance to which they had contributed. I want these persons to participate with us in the insurance scheme. However, these persons have suffered from privation for a long time. Let them enjoy life a little. But as for the other incomes, I say never; I will not allow such incomes to evade taxation while any form of luxury whatsoever exists. If someone wants to ride in an 8-meter-long car, then let him pay me 800 pounds for it. This is necessary. This is how things are. If he does not want to pay, he is free not to; let him then buy a smaller car. In other words, these things must be distributed in a sound manner so that, as I have said, everyone will prove himself and will build for himself, his children and the coming generations while he gives the state its due. Furthermore, we constitute a society that offers mutual guarantees and cooperates. This is what the referendum was about.

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Therefore, they went to the universities and told them there: A purge is upcoming at the universities. What is the reason? The socialist prosecutor will write a report about you and they will purge the universities.

Perhaps you have heard about my meeting with the Alexandria University professor who, regrettably, is mentally deranged. This is known; he is mentally abnormal. However, he caused a great deal of confusion for the university and for the faculty.

Last 18 and 19 January he was caught redhanded and he revealed himself. The case was closed. He had been removed from the university before I assumed power. When I took the reins of government, I reinstated him in the university, because I said: All these things are over. But he continued to behave in the same way. When I reinstated him, he sent me a letter in the form of a long poem. I showed the letter to the university faculty when they were with me in Alexandria last year. I told them: This person who has engaged in slander and in similar things has sent me a letter. Here it is in his own handwriting and it bears his signature. He sent me the letter after I had reinstated him in the university and after I assumed power. As I told you, he stayed at the university until 18 and 19 January, when he revealed himself. He was arrested redhanded. The case was closed.

The Alexandria University professors and all of us, as Egyptians and Arabs, like being humored. For example, we all know that a university professor like this one is in an unsound state of mind. Nevertheless, no one tries to put him in his place because we are more inclined toward courtesy. I say that from now on this must not happen. Everyone hears me. I told you a year ago about things which were fulfilled today. But what I am telling you today will not take a year to be implemented. No, it will be implemented immediately as from today. Actually, it was put into effect after the results of the referendum became known.

The staff of the Alexandria University came to me and told me that this professor is under arrest. Do you know that he is guilty? They said: Yes. Do you know that he is insane? They said: Yes. But the letter he sent me was full of praise. After he was arrested and sent to jail, he sent me a second letter expressing regret. I told them: Here is his second letter. It is in the nature of things here that each group tries to humor the other. As of today, this must end.

I told them then: Well, I will release him from jail, and I will sidestep all formalities and hand him to you now. I told them: You are responsible for him.

I tell this story because I want to say that the lack of responsibility, the undermining of values and the lack of knowledge about what is shameful will not be permitted in any establishment. Perhaps some people told the university professors that I planned to purge the university staff. Unfortunately there are some university professors who do not deserve to be put in charge of our future generations. But these are a very small minority. Nevertheless, I say this before you, because I know they are going to hear it. Every establishment must be responsible for its staff. The rule will be that if anyone commits an offense, whether in the university, union or a place of work, we will say to those responsible: This has been committed by this man. You sit down and decide what to do about him. If they do not decide and they resort to courtesy and flattery and to dodging their responsibility, we will take measures. No decision or measure will be taken in secret. No. Everything will be done openly.

We will intervene and take charge in order to bring that man to account. We will do it openly because Egypt, with its nobility, values and faith, is stronger than any one of these. Egypt's splendor must return to it. This splendor is derived from immortality, values, nobility, faith and tenacity, which no invader of colonialist has been able to undermine throughout the centuries. All the colonialists were assimilated with the Egyptians, whereas the Egyptians were never assimilated.

As of this day, I say that there must be no dodging of responsibility. Every establishment must assume responsibility for its staff. I will not permit the dodging of responsibility or the undermining of the values, tenets or faith of this people.

Every citizen in Egypt must know that whatever the circumstances may be, all honorable citizens--and they are more than 99 percent of the population--must rest assured that Almighty God has taught me to keep my word and not be an oppressor of mankind. Let them all know that I do not change my word, even after 10 years, and that any citizen who violates his commitment to Egypt will be brought to account.

The second thing they should know is that I will never be an oppressor of mankind at all. I hate oppression. Therefore, 99 percent of the Egyptian people must be reassured about their dignity, freedom, security and the supremacy of the law--all this and even more. This will also apply to the remaining 1 percent about which I have spoken to you. I do not change my mind. If this 1 percent is continuing to do what it has been doing since 1973 and has not changed, then I will tell it: No. This is your record for the past 5 years. I will isolate it from the path of pure democracy and from the pure procession of the Egyptian people. [words indistinct]

We thank God that such people, whom we should correct and put in their proper place, do not even amount to 1 percent.

Before I leave you, I would like to say again that my meetings with you--my meetings with the 3d Army as representative of all your armed forces--constitute turning points in the history of Egypt. In all love and in all pride, my sons, the procession will continue to be clean, pure and strong as Almighty God wanted it to be, so that all of us may achieve for ourselves, for our children and for the coming generations a country enjoying prosperity, dignity, prestige, loftiness and all the good qualities you have strived for by your splendid performance in October and by your magnificent steadfastness in Kibrit. May God grant you success. Peace be upon you.

AL-JAMASI MEETS WITH REPORTERS IN WASHINGTON

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[Text] Washington, 8 June--Deputy Prime Minister and War Minister Gen Muhammad 'Abd al-Ghani al-Jamasi has affirmed that the Egyptian armed forces support all the decisions made by President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat in the past and will support all his decisions in the future. He added that the Egyptian Army does not and never will involve itself in politics.

General al-Jamasi told reporters today that the Egyptian armed forces supported President as-Sadat when he declared the October war and they carried out the war order. The armed forces, he added, also supported the president when he embarked on his peace initiative and went to Jerusalem.

ISRAEL

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BEGIN, AS-SADAT MAY MEET IN NEW YORK IN NOVEMBER

TA220842Y Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 22 Jun pp 1, 7 TA

[By Arye Zimnuqi]

BF p. N 2

[Text] Prime Minister (Menahem Begin) and President as-Sadat may appear on the same stage on 2 November in New York when they are awarded the "Family of Man" prize by the U.S. Council of Christian Churches.

Begin and As-Sadat have agreed to go to New York for the presentation of the prize, which is given for a contribution to the advancement of mankind. The two were chosen as winners of the respected prize in a poll carried out in 1,700 U.S. churches.

It is possible that President Carter will present the prize to the prime minister and the Egyptian president.

The presentation ceremony will take place at the Hilton Hotel in the presence of 3,000 churchmen from around the United States and senior members of the administration. It is conceivable that the presence of Begin and As-Sadat in the United States at the same time might be taken advantage of to arrange a meeting between the two.

SHARON PROPOSES MILITARY-ECONOMIC ALLIANCE WITH EGYPT

TA211413Y Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 21 Jun 78 pp 1, 2 TA

[By 'Amir Shapira]

[Text] Minister Ari'el Sharon proposes that the Israeli cabinet adopt a new formula in which it would declare its readiness to undertake a military-economic alliance with Egypt, and that only within the framework of such a treaty would any further Israeli proposals, beyond those already submitted to Egypt in the Israeli peace plan, be presented for discussion between the parties.

A proposal in that spirit will probably be raised in the cabinet during the discussion of the Israeli answer to the last Egyptian message, which makes a renewal of the direct talks between the parties contingent on the presentation of new Israeli ideas.

This correspondent has learned that the subject has already been presented to the prime minister, and a hint was given in Sunday's cabinet meeting when the minister of agriculture raised a far-reaching proposal, according to which Israel would first reply to the Egyptian message that was transmitted several weeks ago, and only afterwards would a reply be made to the two questions submitted by the United States.

The military-economic alliance formula between Israel and Egypt is presented by Sharon as a possible way out of the maze in which the negotiations have become entangled, and it is described as an ultimate state of relations, which should be sought in stages. Sharon contends that the process could begin by signing a formal peace contract, after which both sides should develop common elements that would guarantee a state of relations in which the danger of war would disappear (similar to the model of the Common Market countries). A military-economic alliance of this sort is likely, according to this conception, to bridge the gap between a formal and a real peace, and grant the two countries a fool-proof capability to defend themselves.

In return for such an alliance, Israel would refrain from presenting any territorial demands, and would insist on one concession only: the guaranteeing of a situation that would free Israel from the fear of a military conflagration.

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FBIS-HEA-78-121

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## REACTION TO STATE DEPARTMENT STATEMENT REPORTED

TA220800Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 22 Jun 78 TA

[From the Morning Newsreel]

[Text] Initial reactions in Israel to the State Department spokesman's statement are reported by correspondent Sara Frankel:

The United States, as is its wont, is reacting in two voices, say Jerusalem circles. State Department officials scold Israel, and the assistant secretary of state soothes us. Then comes the official communique, and it includes two parts. Basically, the circles say, this is a positive reaction. One part complains that the Israeli replies do not react in full to the U.S. questions; the other part refers to the operational aspect. The United States will continue the talks with Israel and with Egypt and will seek ways to continue the negotiations with the possibility of a renewed shuttle trip by a U.S. personality in the area.

Israel agrees with the second part, but not with the first. Jerusalem is dismayed by the fact that the United States avoids reacting to the replies it received from the Egyptians on the Israeli questions: How does Egypt interpret Resolution 242, and whether it would agree to conduct separate negotiations with Israel. Jerusalem would like to know what the Egyptian replies were, since the Americans do say that they had talks with Egypt regarding the subject of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. What are Egypt's ideas? Jerusalem asks. If one is to judge by As-Sadat's speech this week, one could find in it the Egyptian position regarding the U.S. questions to Israel. As-Sadat told his listeners that with the implementation of the agreement, Jordan would receive the West Bank and Egypt the Gaza Strip, and 5 years later the area would be handed over to the Palestinians. In Jerusalem it is asked whether this was also the official Egyptian clarification to the United States. It is also said here that the United States has suggested to the Israeli Cabinet a reply formula. The Israeli reply does not conform to the U.S. formula, as there are differences of opinion between the two governments. Hence, it is only natural that the Americans are not satisfied, a senior political source told me. Fundamentally, however, the source said, the U.S. reaction is positive.

## FURTHER QUESTIONS EXPECTED DURING MONDALE VISIT

TA211552Y Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1510 GMT 21 Jun 78 TA

[From the Evening Newsreel]

[Text] Government circles in Jerusalem today estimated that the United States will, after the dialog with Egypt comes to an end, address questions of clarification to Israel. This will happen during Mondale's visit in about 10 days. The circles said that so far the Americans have not asked for additional clarifications to those given verbally by Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Ambassador Simha Dinitz. Our political correspondent reports that the accepted evaluation is that Vice President Mondale will, during his visit, ask for various clarifications on Israel's position.

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**FBI-MEA-78-123**

The sources seemed to hint that Begin would not be averse to a sharp rebuke for Weizman administered by his Herut Party or by the Likud as a whole. But the premier would not want the matter to proceed any further than that, and lead to Weizman's resignation.

Weizman himself apparently regrets some of the coarse phraseology he employed during last week in his semi-public attacks on the government's policy and especially on Foreign Minister Dayan.

But he plainly does not intend to desist from his criticism as such, and proposes to continue expressing his own view which favors a softer line.

In MA'ARIV on Friday, the defence minister was reported as telling his friends that Premier Begin's position today was similar to that of Eshkol on the eve of the six-day war. Just as Eshkol then lacked the courage to make war, so too Begin today lacks the courage to make peace, Weizman allegedly said.

**KNESSET LIKUD LEADER AGAINST WEIZMAN'S RESIGNATION**

NC241507Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 24 Jun 78 NC

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[Text] Defense Minister Weizman's criticism of the government stand has sparked a furor in the Likud Party; some called for his resignation. In this interview, the Likud's (Moshe Arens) chairman of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, talks to Shim'on Ayalon about the issues. [begin recording]

[Question] Do you think that Mr Weizman should resign over the remarks over the stand that he took in opposition to the stand of the prime minister and the majority of the cabinet?

[Answer] Well, as I said, there's been a denial that these remarks have been made and, therefore, my position is that they were not made.

[Question] I am not so much talking about the remarks themselves but about the position he had taken by the voting against the cabinet; not the remarks which were attributed to Mr Weizman but over the factual issues as they stand--as you know them.

[Answer] Well, in my own opinion, the defense minister went too far by voting against the government's position. I think he certainly would have been in his right in presenting his own position, in trying to convince the prime minister, and firstly the people in the Likud--and Likud ministers--that it should be his position that would be adopted. But after not having been successful--in my opinion, being a member of the government, on the part of Likud, representing Herut in the government and not just himself personally, I think he was bound--he should have accepted the government's position and given his support in the vote in the government. The fact that he did not do so, in my opinion, is not reason enough for him to resign. And I think if it is his intention and conviction that in the future he will observe the discipline that I think he has to observe within the party framework that he represents and, after throwing out his ideas and supporting his ideas, in the final analysis accept the position as it is being determined either by party caucus or by the Likud ministers in the government, then I think he can certainly continue in office.

[Question] What exactly is happening? Where is the opposition coming from to Mr Weizman? Where is his support coming from?

[Answer] Well, I don't think that there is any way of telling with any degree of accuracy today what the extent of support within Herut is--and I assume that that's what you're referring to--for exceptions that Mr Weizman has taken to the government stand. I don't think that he has any significant support in the party for that stand.

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The NRP's departure would mean the collapse of the Begin government, even should Justice Minister Shemu'el Tamir steer his five supporters inside the Democratic Movement for Change back into the Likud.

Reports from inside La'am, the junior Likud faction, say its leader, Commerce, Industry and Tourism Minister Yig'al Horowitz, is seeking Weizman's removal. It is unclear whether Horowitz will make his move at today's cabinet meeting, but he is seen likely to move at Monday's Likud Knesset faction meeting.

Horowitz is basing his attack against Weizman on the minister's outburst at last Sunday's cabinet meeting when he found himself isolated over the voting on the replies to the U.S. questions. Weizman has since formally denied, through the cabinet secretary, that he called the prime minister and Foreign Minister Dayan "liars." However, he has not denied saying "I am going to prepare the army for war" as he stomped out of the cabinet room.

The defence minister's supporters charge that Horowitz is acting on Dayan's behalf.

A similar demand for action against Weizman has been raised in Herut, reportedly from Agriculture Minister Ari'el Sharon. And Michael Dekel MK has tabled a formal motion censuring Weizman to come up at the Herut Central Committee session set for July second. It has now been put off due to U.S. Vice-President Mondale's visit.

It is learned that, following the scene at last Sunday's meeting, there was a concerted move to oust the defence minister, in which Dayan, Sharon and some of Begin's close supporters reportedly took part.

However, it is understood that the NRP cabinet ministers--Burg, Hammer and Abu Hazera--have resolved to block the anti-Weizman design.

The NRP position was spelled out to the Jerusalem POST last night by its Knesset faction chairman, Dr Yehuda Ben-Me'ir, who said his party would strongly resist any anti-Weizman move. "We wish to make it clear that this is not just an internal matter of Herut and the Likud alone, but concerns us too, for it affects the very performance of the government. It is of no less vital interest to the NRP than to the Likud," Ben-Me'ir stressed.

POST: BEGIN HAS NO WISH TO OUST WEIZMAN

TA251312Y Jerusalem POST in English 25 Jun 78 p 1 TA

[By David Landau]

[Excerpts] Premier Menahem Begin does not want to bring about Defence Minister Weizman's resignation, according to sources close to the premier. The sources noted that there is mounting criticism of Weizman within the Likud for his tough criticism of government policy. But they said that, following the defence minister's denial last week of a particularly sharp attack on Begin and Dayan attributed to him by DAVAR, Begin hoped the entire episode would fade quietly away.

Weizman's denial, the sources said, was "a political fact." It represented a measure of readiness on his part to accept Begin's leadership, even though he did not agree with the decision of last Sunday on how to reply to the U.S. questions on the future of the West Bank.

The sources spoke to the POST last night, following Commerce Minister Yig'al Horowitz's (Likud-La'am) call for measures against Weizman.

[Question] I'd like to come now to the American reaction to the decision made by the Israeli Government regarding the questions which America asked. America expressed its regret at the decision. Senator Javits yesterday went a step or two further. He said that he would like to shock Israel, perhaps, into some reaction. What is your opinion both of the American reaction and that expressed by Senator Javits?

[Answer] Well, I am afraid to say that the reaction is mistaken, and I know that Senator Javits is a very good friend of Israel, and a friend of long standing but I think he is mistaken in the view that he's taken. But, of course, the origin of the mistake I think was not in the answers that were provided by Israel and the reaction to these answers from the United States Government, but rather in the very questions themselves. I think, first of all, it's most unusual for one government to present another government with a set of questions and to suggest a set of answers which was the case here. I understand the administration presented Mr Dayan with the answers to the questions. This is unprecedented and unusual and, I think, first of all, it's most unusual for one government to present another government with a set of questions and to suggest a set of answers which was the case here. I understand the administration presented Mr Dayan with the answers to the questions. This is unprecedented and unusual and, I think, certainly not a positive way of discussing issues between two allies--and the United States and Israel are really countries in alliance with each other--but, worst of all, this is not at all conducive to the peace process. I think the administration, I am sure, not with any ill intentions, effectively is bringing about the aborting of the direct peace talks that finally came about between us and Egypt some 7 months ago when As-Sadat came to visit us--a situation that Israel has struggled for 30 years to attain: to come to the point where Arab leaders would talk directly to us, and the administration now is trying to revive negotiations by proxy, serving as a middleman whom we know is, and will continue to be, subject to severe Arab pressures--from the Saudis, both because of the energy crisis and the monetary situation that prevails due to the energy crisis. This can only serve as a disincentive to As-Sadat to carry on or resume the direct negotiations, which he broke up and we see the results. As-Sadat is angry, simply that he'd much prefer to have the United States put pressure on Israel than him returning to the negotiating table and I think the origin of this move was mistaken--presenting Israel with these questions which, of course, was already a form of pressure on Israel. It was my opinion--and I expressed it and I discussed it with the prime minister--that Israel should not have replied to these questions at all. It was clear to me that, regardless of whatever reply Israel provides, it would not be found to be satisfactory by the Arabs and, as a result, would not be found to be satisfactory by the official spokesmen of the administration.

And my recommendation to ourselves, and most certainly to our friends in the United States, in the administration in Washington, is to do everything possible to bring As-Sadat back to the negotiating table. And everything possible, in my opinion, does not include preconditions for negotiations. Negotiations have started, As-Sadat has interrupted them, and I think he must now be urged--and even pressured--to return to the negotiating table.

[Question] Do you think that the formulation--the actual putting up of the American questions to Israel--perhaps was intended to put Israel into a corner?

[Answer] There's no doubt about it in my mind at all. There's no doubt about it and I think we easily understand the reasons for it. I think the conclusions of the administration are mistaken. But the reasons--the background for the scenario--well, we know very well.

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The United States is under pressure by the Arab world and by Saudi Arabia in particular-- because of the energy crisis, because of the cost of oil and the desire to assure a continued supply of oil--and I think the United States mistakenly finds that the only way that it can improve its relationships with the Arab world, increase its influence in the Arab world, assure itself of oil supply, assure itself that the price of oil will not be raised, is by demonstrating to the Arab countries that the United States is putting pressure on Israel and that the United States can attain certain objectives that the Arabs are aiming for, that the Arabs are not capable of attaining themselves and were not capable of attaining with the aid of the Soviet Union. [end recording]

POST: BEGIN'S POOR HEALTH AFFECTS CABINET'S WORK

TA260642Y Jerusalem POST in English 26 Jun 78 p 9 TA

[Editorial] (*Menachem Begin*) *B7 Israel*

[Text] The issue of Prime Minister Begin's health will not go away. *P. N 9*

Mr Begin's personal physician yesterday convened a press conference at which he sought to refute the latest claims, this time by TIME magazine, to the effect that the prime minister was so ill as to be unable to function during recurrent intervals.

It would take an equally prominent cardiologist with the relevant medical data at hand to dispute Mr Begin's doctor. TIME and the other foreign journals who have recently commented on Mr Begin's health were admittedly basing themselves only on impressions obtained from prominent but unnamed Hadassah Hospital physicians who were not attending the prime minister.

But one need not be a physician to dismiss out of hand exaggerated claims that Mr Begin "is well." Anyone who has seen the prime minister lately, or who has watched the cancellation of a number of his public appearances, and the conscious trimming of his public schedule, knows that he is not well.

Last year prior to the elections, Mr Begin's physicians also issued denials of the myocardial infarct which he had suffered. It was not until Mr Begin himself wisely announced the details and severity of his illness that the public learned the truth. As a result there is not a great fund of confidence in the public and political community in doctors' blanket statements.

But whatever the truth about Mr Begin's physical condition, the fact that he is perceived to be ailing is an undisputable political condition. It has weakened his hold on his colleagues in the cabinet and prompted preliminary soundings in the coalition and out about new political alignments.

At the same time however, Mr Begin, as prime minister, is the dominant figure that maintains the present alignment of political forces. These forces have an overriding interest in resisting any cabinet change, even if, like the Democratic Movement for Change, they are not always happy with Mr Begin's positions.

As a result the top level of our political life has become suffused with constant speculation and anticipation of governmental change coupled with a vested interest in denying and preventing it.

Orderly decision-making and cabinet unity under these circumstances is difficult. Denials by physicians won't change that.

V. 27 Jun 78 BF

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(Menachem BB) BEGIN COMMENTS ON HIS HEALTH, EGYPTIAN PROPOSALS

TA270651Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 27 Jun 78 TA

[From the Morning Newsreel]

[Text] Israel will not give in to dictates. This was said last night by Prime Minister Menachem Begin when he completely rejected the Egyptian proposals. This was the first public reference by Mr Begin to the peace program being formulated in Egypt. Last night the prime minister went to the rose garden to attend a meeting of Likud activists in Jerusalem to mark the first year of the Likud cabinet. Our correspondent on party affairs, Sara Frankel, was there:

Last night the prime minister went to the rose garden after having participated in 6 hours of debates. The public awaiting his arrival gave him an enthusiastic, warm reception, interrupting his remarks from time to time with stormy applause. Menachem Begin felt at home last night, with his own people, and this was noticeable immediately when he began speaking. The prime minister spoke first about the state of his health. [begin recording]

[Begin] I am very happy to have been given the opportunity to come to you and prove to you, thousands of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and, in particular, to our communications media, that I am a healthy man. [applause] I do not remember any period when the communications media took so much interest in the health of one man. I will tell you the story: I leave home in the morning, the communications media film me from my right side; I reach the office, the communications media film me from the left; I work in my office and go back home, they film me from the front. In all my life--and I have reached a certain age, I am not a young man--I have never been filmed so much. [end recording]

After this, the prime minister wanted, as he put it, to move over to serious issues. He spoke about the difficulties, the concern and the efforts to achieve peace, but such peace, he said, as will give the people of Israel security. [begin recording]

[Begin] It is hard, that is true, that if you hear such a demand from the south--give up Gaza, give up Judaea and Samaria and then we will hold talks with you on Israel's security problems--thank you very much. [laughter, applause] To this we say kindly, thank you very much. [end recording]

Later the prime minister criticized those claiming that a year had passed since the Likud rose to power and no agreement has yet been signed. I want to ask, he said, a year has passed, and before that, did 29 years not pass? [begin recording]

[Begin] Only 1 year and they are already standing with a watch in their hands. Where is the treaty? Where is the document? Where is the signature? Well, all right, there is a second side. There is an enemy which is maintaining a state of war, which is raising demands, and I want to say here simply: the State of Israel will not accept dictates; the State of Israel will conduct negotiations. [applause] [end recording]

BEGIN-WEIZMAN MEETING SAID TO HAVE BEEN 'COOL'

TA261222Y Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONCT in Hebrew 26 Jun 78 pp 1, 8 TA

[By Uri Porat]

[Excerpt] Yesterday, Prime Minister Menachem Begin told Defense Minister Ezer Weizman that the promises Weizman made last week in his visits to Nabulus and Hebron were under the authority of the Ministerial Committee for Security Affairs and that therefore only that committee is authorized to approve them.

During his visit to Nablus the defense minister granted the demand made by Mayor Bassam ash-Shak'a to permit the municipality to import three generators to increase the electricity supply in the town.

The generators affair has in the last few years become a subject for political conflict between the military government and the inhabitants. The military government demanded that the town be connected to the Israeli electricity system while the inhabitants objected, regarding this linkup as a political act which ties them to Israel.

In Hebron, Weizman granted the demand to permit the return of a physician, Dr Ahmad Hamza (Natsha), who, 2 years ago, was expelled to Jordan for instigating and carrying out hostile activity.

Weizman's responsiveness to the inhabitants' requests has pleased the inhabitants in Judaea and Samaria, and many people praised him for his initiative.

Yesterday's meeting between Begin and Weizman was prearranged (even before the last crisis) and was intended to be a discussion of defense issues. It was a tete-a-tete and was described as having been cool.

The prime minister told his associates that he did not intend to dismiss the defense minister, but that the latter must confine himself to matters under his jurisdiction.

#### WEIZMAN, HERUT FACTION APPARENTLY RESOLVE PROBLEMS

TA262042Y Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 26 Jun 78 TA

[Text] It appears that the bumps have been ironed out between Defense Minister 'Ezer Weizman and the Herut faction. A short while ago a protracted meeting of the Likud Knesset faction, which the prime minister and the defense minister attended, ended at the Knesset. Israel's answers to the United States and the remarks by Minister 'Ezer Weizman were discussed at the meeting. Our correspondent Nahman Shay reports from the Knesset [begin videotape]

Prime Minister Menahem Begin came to the Likud faction meeting mainly to listen, but also to make himself heard. In view of the allegations that the defense minister had been misled, the prime minister said: I did not promise anyone that I would adopt one proposal or another. I considered every proposal with the aim of presenting the cabinet with a draft proposal of my own, and that was what I did. The prime minister participated throughout the meeting and paid close attention to the discussion.

'Ezer Weizman said: I believe in a complete Eretz Yisra'el. In my view, Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip are an inseparable part of Eretz Yisra'el. This I have always believed, and I even preferred this belief of mine to my duties in the IDF. The minister made this statement, after members of the faction asserted that he had abandoned, as it were, the principles and ideals of the party.

The minister spoke at length and in a tone of appeasement. He expressed regret over what he had said in the corridors of the cabinet last week. According to reports from the Herut faction, he thus alleviated most of the resentment that had been felt against him.

The faction meeting lasted for about 5 hours. The marathon discussion was attended by most of the faction members. There was deliberately no suggestion to adopt any operational resolution, certainly no confidence or no-confidence vote in the minister. It was emphasized that a distinction should be made between Weizman's expressions against the foreign minister and those against the prime minister, with the faction primarily defending the prime minister. Ultimately, Weizman was requested to implement the rules that result from his membership in the faction as well as in the cabinet. The current debate in the Herut faction has, apparently, come to an end. [end videotape]

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## Details on Meeting

TA270750Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 27 Jun 78 TA

[From the Morning Newsreel]

[Text] The faction supports the cabinet in its peace program and its political moves. This is the text of the resolution which the Likud faction passed last night at the end of marathon discussions held with Defense Minister 'Ezer Weizman. 'Ezer Weizman sat for 7 hours yesterday, first with the Herut division and then with the entire Likud faction, 7 hours during which he heard and also expressed views on the cabinet decision on the replies to the United States, the political negotiations and his reaction to the cabinet's decisions. Our correspondent in the Knesset, Zevi Lidar, reports:

'Ezer Weizman is in favor of Eretz Yisra'el. I have devoted my entire life to Eretz Yisra'el, he said last night, and because of my support for this idea, I had problems in the army concerning advancement and promotion. What I have done and am now doing for Eretz Yisra'el others are not doing today. However, the defense minister thinks, we must stand up at this time to the test of peace in the not unlimited belief in the sincerity of the president of Egypt. As-Sadat, in Weizman's view believes in peace and wants it, not necessarily out of a love for Israel as much as out of a desire to overcome the poverty affecting his country.

The defense minister totally rejected complaints that he is blindly following the Egyptian president's personal charm. He said that when he heard As-Sadat's conditions for peace in his speech to the Knesset, he sent a note to the prime minister, in the middle of the speech, saying that he was going to prepare the army for war. Did any of you say such things then, Weizman asked. He added: I believe in peace. I do not want us to reach a situation where they will accuse us, the Likud, of having led the nation to war. For peace, he continued, one needs a strong army and so I said that I was going to prepare the army. The IDF is indeed stronger than it has ever been before. Since the Yom Kippur war we have procured military equipment worth \$6.5 billion and this is a greater strengthening of the IDF than it underwent from the time of its creation to the Yom Kippur war.

Referring to the cabinet's political moves, 'Ezer Weizman leveled criticism at Moshe Dayan's statements. The cabinet, in his view, made a dangerous move in that it speaks with the United States instead of speaking directly with Egypt. Israel's leaders have always sought direct talks with the areas and along comes As-Sadat and we rush to the United States. How, Weizman asked, was it possible to ignore such a contact? How is it possible that for an entire month the cabinet did not answer Al-Jamasi's message? Along with the criticism, Weizman complimented the prime minister on his leadership and said that he believes and hopes that Begin will bring peace.

The defense minister emphasized one thing: He does not intend to resign. I still have a great deal of work in the Ministry of Defense, he said. Not one member of Herut or the other Likud groups demanded Weizman's resignation. It appears that all of the heavy ammunition prepared against him had already been spent in the communications media over the last few days.

Along with the remarks of support he gained from some Knesset members, he was also criticized. MK Amnon Lin said that he did not accept 'Ezer Weizman's conclusions that As-Sadat wants peace. It is impossible, he said, that the fate of the third temple should be dependent on the defence minister's feelings.

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A similar view was expressed by Yosef Rom, who was relying on As-Sadat's book and who said that the president of Egypt was not in the habit of changing his positions in accordance with needs. Ge'ula Kohen attacked Weizman for the fact that, as a minister, he comes out against the cabinet. It is her assumption, she said, that you run ahead of and beyond the prime minister's peace program. MK Moshe Arens joined with Ge'ula Kohen's criticism, but supported Weizman's view that a link with the Arabs is to be given preference over U.S. mediation. Pesah Grupper came to Weizman's aid and attacked the La'am members who, in his view, are parties to an anti-Weizman plot. He attacked Moshe Dayan, saying that the leaks from the cabinet sessions had been let out deliberately in order to harm Weizman. MK Kaufma, who concluded the debate in Herut, demanded unity and teamwork in the leadership. He expressed full trust in the prime minister's leadership, his political honesty and his path. This mood of support for the cabinet and its political path also prevailed in the session of the entire Likud faction.

Has the Weizman crisis ended? Have the faction members been convinced of his remarks? On this we heard from Herut division member, MK Yig'al Kohen, who initially was one of the chief attackers of 'Ezer Weizman. [begin recording]

[Kohen] I estimate that today's debate in Herut permits a continuation of correct activity, now that the defense minister has heard the comments by the members regarding his statements after the cabinet session, particularly the interviews at the end of the week. The explanations the defense minister gave, together with the approach he expressed, in fact indicate a continuation of adherence to the cabinet's peace program, and, in my view, permit the continuation of the correct work of the cabinet, the faction, concerning the issue we have been debating. [end recording]

TENSION INCREASES IN S. LEBANON BETWEEN UN, MILITIA

TA270806Y Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 27 Jun 78 TA

[From the Morning Newsreel]

[Text] In southern Lebanon relations between the Lebanese militia and UN personnel again worsened after the militia opened fire at units of UN troops from Ireland. They also prevented the passage of supplies to the UN bases. The terrorists have also increased their activity over the last few days in the sector and various signs point to cooperation between them and the UN personnel. Our correspondent in the north, Yehezqel Hameiri, reports on developments in the area:

Fire was opened on the UN units from Ireland as a warning and to deter them. The militia had received reports that the UN units from Ireland were to deploy in the area under militia control. The Lebanese militiamen then hurried to signal to the UN personnel, by firing several rounds over their heads, that they were indeed prepared and would, at any cost, prevent their deployment in the field. The UN troops did not return the fire and opted to dig in at their positions and keep to their bases in spite of the threats by the militia. They are going mad, the UN commanders in the sector said. They are capable of slaughtering us.

The worsening of relations can also be seen in the increased severity of the difficulties the militiamen are making for the passage of supplies to the UN bases in the field. Yesterday, the militia prevented the passage of supplies to units from Ireland and they have again begun to make the passage of supplies difficult for units from Norway, who are concentrated in the eastern sector.

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E G Y P T

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*Begin / Israel*

ATHERTON STATEMENT ON PALESTINIAN PROBLEM REPORTED

NC291340Y Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 29 Jun 78 NC

[Text] Alfred Atherton, U.S. roving ambassador for the Middle East, has emphasized that a settlement of the Palestinian problem is an indivisible part of any Middle East settlement. The United States, he said, is interested in promoting peace in the area on the basis of Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, provided it is part of a comprehensive peace agreement.

Atherton was addressing the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He explained that the current U.S. efforts are geared toward the resumption of peace negotiations between Egypt and Israel and getting other parties to join in the negotiations.

AL-AKHBAR COMMENTS ON BEGIN'S HEALTH, IDEOLOGY

LD291800Y Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 28 Jun 78 p 6 LD

[Editorial: "The Medical Explanation of the Fumbling of the Israeli Government"]

[Text] The article published by the Israeli paper DAVAR regarding Begin's illness deserves thinking about. The condition of health of the Israeli prime minister is reflected in the "condition of health" of the Israeli Government and its policy, as the Israeli newspaper said.

Although the medical report on Menahem Begin's health says that he is fit to carry out his duties, activities and responsibilities, the same report, which covers only the condition of health of Begin, cannot explain the unnatural behavior of the Israeli Government.

The Israeli Government is suffering from increasing divisions and one-upmanship among its members. The phenomenon of rifts in old alliances, the emergence of new alliances and the inability to adopt attitudes consistent with the peace initiative have now become one of the prominent features of the Israeli situation.

We disagree with the Israeli newspaper in using psychological or medical analysis in order to explain the fumbling of Israeli policy. We believe that the cause of division and inability to meet the challenges of peace are not due to the condition of health of the Israeli prime minister but rather to the Talmudic, military and Zionist ideology of the Irgun gang to which Begin belongs and of which he is the leader.

This means that the problem of the Israeli Government's "illness" is primarily in need of historical and political explanation. It also needs a political treatment because the logic of Begin is no different from that of General Sharon, his minister of settlements; nor is it much different from the logic of Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan.

Changing this logic first requires liberating the Israeli people from its influence and impact. Second, it requires further Egyptian and Arab efforts in order to tighten the circle of peace around Begin's government. Third, it requires a U.S. and international stand that will strengthen the moderate currents inside Israel and curb the influence of the "sick" logic of the hardliners who want land, security and peace for themselves at the expense of the holy Arab national interests. This tragedy might push the Middle East toward a situation that would threaten its security and stability.