

## MUMAYRI DISCUSSES ARAB UNITY, AFRICAN-ARAB RELATIONS

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[Radio speech by Sudanese President Numayri in a program entitled "Between the Leader and the People," broadcast on 12 August at 1945 GMT--recorded]

[Excerpt3] The defunct Sudanese Communist Party has issued a statement on the occasion of what it called "the 19 July corrective revolution," meaning the sinister July conspiracy. The statement, as issued, was printed in Beirut and was published in one of the communist newspapers which is sold in the Lebanese capital.

What does the statement say? What is it preparing for the Sudanese people? What is new in its quiver? The statement is published in a newspaper called BEIRUT, a daily newspaper called Beirut. What does the statement say? The statement says, verbatim: "An extensive popular movement, with manifold aims and paths, full of energy and offers, looks forward with confidence to the vanguard role of the branches of the Sudanese Communist [word indistinct] Party in organizing popular resistance for a daily struggle and evoking the latent potentials of the masses at their various levels, through petitions and memoranda (and through) strikes and sit-ins. This same (?movement) enjoys unlimited support and sympathy from world democratic public opinion and international solidarity.

The statement of the defunct Sudanese Communist Party goes on: "The reactionary defection of 22 July has ended any remnants of tolerance or leniency and the [word indistinct] of middle course solutions, by which the political movement in the Sudan was distinguished. The class and social conflict has entered a new, bloody, acute period. [Words indistinct] Every battle, big or small, should offer its sacrifices."

Brothers, I ask: What are they aiming at? Which sacrifices? And [words indistinct] at the hands of whom and by whose weapons? Are they instigating a new massacre that will be an extension of their glories in the guest palace? I ask: Why weapons? And again, weapons for whom? Weapons for the masses of the toiling people who have rejected the communist ideology and condemned it more than once?

I declare, frankly, that the tolerance of the revolution cannot bridge the gap and show leniency toward that which cannot be treated with leniency. The revolution cannot be [word indistinct] for new adventures. Our eyes are watchful: we will stop and we will never permit a repetition of the tragedies which have occurred, whatever the cost and whatever the sacrifices.

Free revolutionary brother citizens, I have received many messages from people asking what is new in Libyan-Sudanese relations. I have received many messages enquiring about Libyan-Sudanese relations. My response is that on the part of Sudan there is absolutely nothing new. We are for Arab solidarity. We do not seek enmity, nor do we strive for it.

We stand firmly by our principles, clinging to our declared views in disputes when all is quiet. There is no unity, no federation, no merger and no fusion but rather there is coordination within the framework of a more comprehensive Arab entity and in the service of the greater Arab aim of liberating the land and guaranteeing the rights of the people of Palestine. [sentence indistinct]

I spoke to you in my previous discussion with the people, about the initiative of Col al-Qadhafi. Through our ambassador in Tripoli he sent me a message in which he asked for an end to what he calls "campaigns" and for an effort to restore relations between our two countries to their normal and natural state. My reply, which I announced in my talk with you last month, was that we do not seek enmity, neither are we supporters of (?immediate) merger or unity. Arab unity is a strategic aim to be determined by the people of Sudan alone, without trusteeship, without [word indistinct] and certainly not through high level decisions dictated by leaderships [as heard].

(?I said) we are prepared to unconditionally open a new chapter to confirm our good intentions; stop the radio and press campaigns against the people of the Sudan, their leadership and revolution; and expel the agents and mercenaries from the Libyan territories. I was also prepared to receive a Libyan emissary here, in Khartoum, to discuss possible means of clearing the atmosphere between the Sudan and Libya.

A representative from Col al-Qadhafi arrived in Khartoum a few days ago. I met and had talks with him, reiterating what I told you, nothing more or less. I spoke about the battle which has not yet ended. I spoke about the Sudan and its role in the Arab nation and its role in the African continent. I talked with him about the special nature of the relationship that binds the Sudan with Egypt. I told him that the battle, in my view, was still in its initial stages and that it had not yet reached a conclusion that demanded that we lay down arms; that the most powerful and most durable weapon available to our nation against the Israeli enemy was solidarity, Arab solidarity, that weapon for which there is no alternative if we are truly determined to achieve victory. All this answers the question of what is new in Libyan-Sudanese relations.

Brothers, I will now consider the question asked by some people about the reason for Sudan's acceptance of the postponement of the Arab summit conference, which was scheduled to be convened on (?3) September in Rabat. My response is that the aim of the Arab summit conference is the same as that of summit meetings among nations big and small throughout the world, that is to be a place of agreement and not a platform for disagreement. If unity of aim is always required the Arab nation, then at this stage an urgent glance is needed at what is happening inside the Palestinian entity and then a review of the [word indistinct] international reality. In addition, we must consider the heavy material and moral losses which the Israeli enemy suffered during the glorious October war.

All this does not make the renewal of the conflict a remote possibility, but a probability that can materialize and assume concrete form at any moment, at any time and anywhere in the Arab homeland. The Israeli enemy, who were forced to retreat for the first time in their history by the pressure of the Arab weapons and the Arab might, are still oscillating between the voice of justice--which calls on them to surrender to the Arab rights--and a fresh plunge into new adventures to restore a balance to their collapsed theory--the theory of Israeli security--which was eliminated on the great day of crossing [of the Suez Canal].

If we add to that that as of this moment the occupied Arab land has not yet been totally purged of the enemy's grip and that Jerusalem is still being held and Palestinian rights are still lost--if we take all this into consideration the prospects for peace do not at all seem balanced against the prospects for a fresh outbreak of the conflict.

For this reason a meeting at summit level should, in my belief, be preceded by a preliminary meeting or consultations and a climate that will guarantee success should be prepared for it. Indeed we should be able to confirm that it is a congregation in which the Arab nation gathers in thought and with a united and unified will. For this reason we supported the postponement of the conference, hoping at the same time that viewpoints will be brought closer and striving with all our effort to unify the Arab will.

Now brothers, I will consider the questions that have been received on Sudan's position regarding the Palestinian cause. In spite of the fact that I do not believe that the question needs an answer, I say that our position on Palestine and the cause of the Palestinian people is not an official position, but one that has been consolidated by tens of stands. [sentence as heard] We have and will continue to support the Palestinian people until they achieve victory.

By virtue of being a partner in the valiant Palestinian struggle, in the name of all of you, I ask the PLO as the legal representative of the brotherly people of Palestine, to be conscious, to be vigilant [words indistinct] that the enemy, at whom our guns should be aimed, resides in our occupied land and is not far from us [words indistinct].

Now, brothers, someone also asks about the Sudan's role in what he called "the expected African defection" with regard to Arab rights. My response is that there is absolutely no African defection and that what has been reported by foreign newspapers are merely serious and repeated attempts to create an atmosphere of sensitivity between the Arab nation and the African Continent. They are attempts that are doomed to failure, because the Arab struggle is [word indistinct] the African struggle. The enemy, an extension of whom we are facing in the Arab world, is only a double image of neo--and old colonialism, which the continent is now struggling to exterminate with all its traces and remnants.

There may be some difference in viewpoints concerning Arab support for Africa following the repeated rise in the prices of oil. However, the difference does not mean a difference in essence. The African Continent and the Arab nation are also endeavoring to overcome this difference. In this sphere, Sudan is playing a role we can be proud of. Sudan has rejected treatment that might distinguish it from the remaining states on the African Continent. Sudan has also relinquished its share of Arab support for the African Continent.

Many people may not know that Sudan, by virtue of its position, is really an advanced outpost that should guard against Israeli influence returning once again to its former position in the African Continent. Sudanese efforts have borne fruit, standing in solidarity and cooperating with the Arab brothers in eradicating Israeli influence from our fighting continent.

We certainly realize that we are facing an enemy who twice made us his target--twice made Sudan his target--once considering Sudan as part of the more comprehensive Arab entity and another time regarding it as an obstacle and barrier against his penetration of and spread inside the African continent. And if by now we have not learned the dimensions of this role and the dangers that come our way and to which we are subjected through it, this does not mean that the danger faces us and [words indistinct] we are always much more in an attacking position than in a defensive one.

Brothers: Sudan, whose role inside the African continent has been confirmed in the last few years, is moving along this road, supporting the struggle of the liberation movements, contributing what it can and more [words indistinct] armed elements. It gives its land, its weapons, its ammunition, and its funds [word indistinct] heroic struggle against their enemies [words indistinct].

We will always side with the African liberation forces until Angola is liberated, until Mozambique is liberated, until South Africa and Rhodesia are liberated.

The Sudanese people are never niggardly with their potential to aid African liberation. Struggling Africa, brothers, has opened up to Sudan, inasmuch as Sudan has opened up to Africa. And soon Brother President Idi Amin will arrive in Amartoum on a brotherly visit to Sudan. Sudan will also be visited by brother Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. At the end of this month I will visit Zaire, and directly thereafter will visit Congo Brazzaville to attend the conference of Central and East African states. Brothers: We are advocates of African unity.

Today, as we look toward sister Ethiopia, we hope that conditions there will soon become stable.

In the last hours I have received letters, which I believe are important, asking about the developments in the Middle East situation and regarding the Arab cause, following the resignation of former American President Richard Nixon. I say to these people that if a partial or complete change in American policy toward the Arab cause has taken place, it was caused by Arab bravery in Sinai and in Golan; it was achieved with Egyptian and Syrian Arab blood on the land of fighting Egypt and on the land of courageous Syria. Furthermore, it was achieved with Palestinian blood within and without the occupied land. It is a change that was wrought by the courageous decision to wage the October war and the onslaught against the Bar-Lev defense line and the Golan Heights. The change was then assured through Arab cooperation, conscious of the wealth of the Arab nation in addition to Arab solidarity.

All these--Arab bravery, Arab solidarity and Arab wealth--as they stand, form an entity which is quite capable of moving again. None of them entered the White House with Nixon on the day of his election. Similarly, not one of them left the White House with President Nixon on the day of his resignation. What I want to say is that the potentials of the Arab forces are alone capable of achieving the just peace they want. They alone are the ones on which the bets should be placed. For this reason, everyone should be reassured that whatever entrances and exits Nixon has made are of no importance to Arab policy or the Arab ability to (? influence world strategy).