NUMAYRI SPEAKS ON RELATIONS WITH EGYPT 25 MAY

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[Speech by Sudanese President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri on the 12th anniversary of the May revolution at friendship hall in Khartoum--live]

[Excerpts] I hail in your name, brothers, the visiting military, workers and womens delegations [applause] which have come to participate in the glory of these moments. I hail in your name the military delegations which have come from fraternal and friendly states to participate with us in the glory of this occasion. I hail the delegation of fraternal Qatar. [applause] I hail the delegations from the friendly countries of people's China, the United States, Federal Germany and the Republic of France.

I have said again and again, and I will repeat again and again, that if oil

gushed forth in our land in rivers, whatever its volume, it would be but an addition to our wealth and not a substitute for our immortal wealth—agricultural and animal wealth. Brothers, oil in the Sudan will not be a luxury commodity. It will not be a luxury for a minority and it will not be a manifestation of wealth for some people at the expense of all. Brothers, oil in the Sudan, whatever its volume, will be for all of Sudan, and all the Sudanese, buttressing their efforts and stimulating their actions for the welfare and prosperity of all.

Brothers, we are still moving in this field. Multiple efforts at prospecting in the east, south, west, north and central parts of the country are taking place. We have progressed along the road of investment [word indistinct] in what has so far been discovered. Studies have been completed for the pipeline and for the Kosti refinery, which was scheduled to absorb quantities of oil that have already been discovered and which will result in self-sufficiency for the southern and western parts of the country.

However, in conjunction with the completion of construction of a refinery, recent discoveries of new wells that have recently been explored have achieved--praise be to God--quantities of oil that will result in self-sufficiency for Sudan. Hence, the yields from any new discoveries will provide surpluses that will be available for export. [applause]

The vacuum between hope and the fulfillment of hope is one that can only be filled by work and patience. With work and patience we will achieve our desired goal of self-sufficiency, abundance, happiness and prosperity, God willing.

Free revolutionary compatriot brothers: The issue of integration between Egypt and the Sudan cannot be seen apart from the struggle of the people of the Nile Valley, which has been going on ever since this ancient people established the basis of the first civilization witnessed by history.

The formula for integration between Egypt and the Sudan is not a merely a job of the governments—rather, it is a question of the will of the people of the two countries. Although the formula for integration between Egypt and the Sudan is, in form though not in substance, an agreement between governments, it is nevertheless the will of one people, who ignored differences between the governments, demanded integration, forgot the temporary slackness of purpose and insisted on it. Thus the decision of the central committee to support integration.

Therefore, I still ask and demand from my brother Anwar [as-Sadat] that our efforts should be integrated so as to repair the disunity caused by the [Aswan] High Dam despite its great potential, a disunity which broke the ancient human bonds in the Sudanese-Egyptian An-Nubah region. What we must do in Egypt and the Sudan is redevelop the dam area and the banks of its great lake. Our duty is to return life to this area—not for any economic benefit, however great, but rather for the national benefit presented by the bonds and ties linking the people of the Nile Valley in Egypt and the Sudan. The depth of the relations between the Sudan [and Egypt] can never approve of or agree to a vacuum.

Therefore, what is also required of Egypt and the Sudan is joint action to activate human interrelationships and intertribal activities in the Red Sea area. I believe that the achievement of this on the river banks and near the sea coast should have absolute priority as the basis and starting point of integration. Brothers, in the coming stage we look forward to concrete measures to meet the needs of Sudanese and Egyptian citizens, a matter which affirms and does not negate the correspondence of feeling and interests of the two peoples. The coming stage should see a rail link between Halfa and Aswan, the construction of a road between Aswan and Halfa, the activation of water-borne transport on the dam's lake, the completion in paving of an overland route between Port Sudan and (Barmis), the removal of all restrictions on individual travel, the transfer of capital and manpower between here and there and conformity of investment conditions and ownership by a Sujanese in Egypt and an Egyptian in the Sudan. [applause]

The very close links between Sudan and Egypt, the potential for integration between Egypt and Sudan and the bonds of kinship, history and destiny linking the two peoples permit me to address you and say: Brother President as-Sadat, Egypt cannot separate itself from the Arab nation [applause] because Egypt, by virtue of its vast size, its large population and economic potential, its effective presence in the African Continent and the Islamic nation, its effective weight in international affairs--Egypt, by virtue of all these potentials for the Arab nation, the Arab destiny and the Arab future--by affiliation we are on the side of the Arab nation and Egypt in destiny belongs to the Arab nation, because Egypt belongs to the Arabs and it can never belong to others.

It is the arena of their struggle and they are the essence of its role. They are the affirmation of its leadership. They are the embodiment of its leadership. They are partners with her in sacrifice. They are companions on the battlefield. She was there and they were hers. She will continue to be theirs and they hers until the truth is confirmed and all the Arab territories are liberated [applause] and the Arab will is liberated from [words indistinct]

I say to my brother President as-Sadat: Today you are here in Khartoum, the capital of steadfastness which received Nasir following the 1967 defeat [applause] to affirm to him, the Arab nation and the entire world that a transient setback does not mean permanent defeat.

The loss of one battle is not the end of the road. I say to you, brother Anwar: You are here in the capital of Sudan, which achieved, in spite of the bitterness of the defeat in 1967, an Arab solidarity that grew to take part in making the Arab victory in the October war of 1973. [applause]

I say to you, my brother Anwar: You are here in the land of the 25th of May revolution, which happened to be the first revolution after the setback. It sparked to affirm the vitality of the Arab nation and their ability to renew their sacrifices. I tell you, Brother Anwar, you were a witness to what Sudan offered, regardless of any consideration of my person. You remember when Sudan waded through seas of blood and fire in Jordan in 1970 [applause] with the aim of saving the Palestinian revolution and Arab solidarity.

Brother Anwar: I tell you I raised my voice a few weeks ago in this very hall at an international conference on Islamic preaching. I said, and said quite loudly, that it is one of the prerequisites of Arab and Islamic solidarity that Egypt is not isolated from the Arab-Islamic nation. [applause] I tell you, Brother Anwar: You have regained Egyptian territory but it is also Arab territory. However, there is still Arab territory under occupation and oppression subject to aggression and injustice. Indeed, more Arab territory is the object of Israeli ambition. My Brother Anwar: I tell you the place of Egypt is in the Arab nation, with the Arab nation and for the Arab nation. [words indistinct]

For all this I want to declare here in your presence that Sudan is ready to participate in any and every Arab effort to call an Arab summit in which Egypt will participate with the aim of [applause] reaching a formula for united Arab action and within the framework of the decisions of the Algiers and Rabat summits.

Whatever differences exist, there still remains a basis for agreement. There is Egypt's commitment to its Arabism. There is Egypt's affiliation to the nation. There is Egypt's concern to regain Arab rights, the Arab occupied territories and, above all, Jerusalem. There is international unanimity about the rights of the Palestinian people. There is a European initiative that complements, not contradicts, Arab objectives. There is an international atmosphere ready for the convening of an international conference to achieve a comprehensive and just peace in the region, with all parties participating. There is a concept in Israel [words indistinct] that it can deal with the Arabs without Egypt and deal with Egypt in isolation from the Arabs.

Brothers, I know that what I am calling for will be misunderstood and misinterpreted. I expect, from now on, radio stations to compete with one another in attacks and commentaries talking about betrayal. [applause] I know that a call such as this will shock those who use Arab differences to further their own ends and those of the international forces for whom they work as agents. I know [words indistinct] and that is what forces me to be insistent in my call and ask everyone who is loyal to his nation and the justice of its cause to join me in this call. The Arab League must play a part in this, and so must the political establishments and popular organizations throughout the Arab homeland.

I know that what I am calling for requires submission to the voice of reason and not to the voice of emotion. There is a need for patience and self-control and the ability to see the darkness of the future within the framework of the present-day experience of our Arab nation.

All parties must rise above the bitterness and wounds of a highly delicate phase in the history of our Arab nation. The voice of reason must prevail over the voice of emotion. Let action in the service of the future of this nation come before all considerations.

You know and I know that the visit of brother President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat will open the door wide to misguided interpretations. There will be talk again about a Sudanese-Egyptian axis to face the colonel's Libya. There will be talk again about an Egyptian military presence in Sudan. There will be a lot of talk about Egyptian air, naval and land bases in Sudan. We shall remain silent as is our custom. Indeed, we shall ignore such talk because the relations of the two countries are above being an axis. The security of the two countries is interlocked deep in both countries, from Juba to Alexandria, without any need for the transfer of bases or the movement of troops. Brothers, we are not in confrontation with the people of Libya nor do we want Libyan territory, for the Libyan people are a fraternal people and the Libyan territory was an arena for the movement of the Sudanese Army and the Egyptian Army—who did not, however, enter it as invaders, but to help liberate it from the fascist occupation during World War II. We are not in confrontation with the Libyan people. We do not want their territory [words indistinct].

What we are in confrontation with is the stupidities of the Libyan rulers, who began by squandering the wealth of the Libyan people and ended by wasting their blood in Chad and elsewhere.

We support stability in Chad. We support national unity in Chad. We support the unanimous African denunciation of the Libyan invasion and demand Libyan withdrawal from Chad. We support international conventions that condemn aggression and denounce intervention in the internal affairs of other states. We shall support Chad until it is liberated from each and every foreign presence and influence. When that is achieved we shall open our hearts and extend our hands once again to cooperate with all for stability, progress and liberation of all our neighbors without exception.

We are not advocates of hostility. We are peacemakers. We believe that our stability is strengthened by the stability of those around us. We realize that the ties of religion, kinship and neighborliness are stronger and more permanent than ambition and self-interest. All that remains is for others besides us to believe in this. Then we shall not be niggardly in sincerity nor hesitate to open a new page appropriate to our ties with the fraternal people of Libya.

Free revolutionary compatriot brothers, our foreign policy will remain steady, clear-cut and strongly supported. It is a firm and definite fulfillment of support for the causes of freedom. it is a permanent effort for peace and stability in the world. It restrains us from interference in the internal affairs of other states. It promotes and develops relations with neighbors and solidarity with our brothers in the Arab homeland, the African Continent and the international community. It promotes our relations with sisterly Egypt in a manner that befits the special nature of that relationship. It provides for unqualified support for the cause of Arab rights in Palestine, the liberation of the occupied territories and for the people of Palestine in the achievement of their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own state. It is a call for Arab solidarity and the abandonment of all methods based on axes. It means support for the helpless peoples in Africa in their struggle to escape from the noose of occupation and the yoke of racial discrimination.

Brothers, we are advocates of peace, seekers of peace and makers of peace—of peace based on justice and on the right of all peoples to self-determination. Hence our moves. We will continue our moves to end all forms of conflict in the Horn of Africa. We have already taken a step along this road. Such practical steps continue and we appeal to the brothers in Somalia and Ethiopia to let the voice of peace rise above the drums of war, and to let dialogue become a substitute for other means that do not serve the cause of stability, development and progress for the two brotherly peoples and so that the escalation of conflict in this part of the continent may not be a pretext for international influence and conflict. We support the [word indistinct] of peace which cannot be imposed by force, particularly between brothers. Therefore, the Sudan supports every constructive dialogue for ending the conflict in Eritrea.

Therefore, the Sudan is maintaining and intensifying its efforts to strengthen cooperation and integration among the East African states as a basis and starting point for greater and more comprehensive cooperation involving all the states of the continent. The Sudanese-Kenyan-Ethiopian grouping is a step along this road. It is a grouping that has room for the inclusion of Somalia, Djibouti, Uganda, Tanzania and other states in the area until its fulfills its aims of guaranteeing peace in the region and providing a base for its march along the road of cooperation and integration for the prosperity of its peoples.

Our role in this part of the world is imposed on us by both our principles and interests without any contradiction, because the causes of security and stability are indivisible, particularly among states and peoples which are neighbors and whose land and population intermesh. Therefore, I appeal here and now to the brothers in Uganda to listen to the voice of reason, so that stability prevails in their brotherly country and their energies are directed towards work and struggle for reconstruction under their legal government. We in the Sudan have not stinted and will not stint in the provision of every assistance asked for by the brothers in Uganda. We support their struggle for reconstruction after years of war, conflict and sabotage.

Free revolutionary compatriot brothers, the issue of security and development in Africa cannot be separated from the issue of liberation from foreign influence and racist subjugation on the continent. Therefore, we demand of the states that stood against the independence of Namibia to reconsider their stand, because real independence can be based only on justice and justice cannot prevail when the minority dominates the majority.

Brothers, we in the Sudan participate in and bless every Islamic, Arab and international effort to end the Iran-Iraq war, which can only drain the blood of Muslims and be a cause of danger and international conflict in the area. We appeal here and now to the brothers in Baghdad and Tehran to put an end to the bloodshed and exhaustion of energies and to realize that the division of Muslims and Arabs into camps around them is merely a waste of the energies of the Islamic and Arab nation, whose entire energies and efforts should be directed towards restoring their usurped rights, their occupied land and captured Jerusalem.

Free revolutionary compatriot brothers, we are with the brotherly people of Lebanon for the sake of confirming the maintenance of their independence and unity. By virtue of belonging to one nation and fighting one battle in the same trench, we ask all sides in the Lebanese arena to be unified under the banner of legality in Lebanon, because it is the only basis for national unity. It is the firm guarantee for the liberation of southern Leranon from Israeli domination and for the safeguarding of east Lebanon and indeed all Lebanon against Israeli threats.

Arab differences were the cause of calamity in 1948. Arab conflicts were the cause of the setback in 1967. Receding Arab solidarity which (?surrounded) the victory of October caused the cancellation of some gains of the October war. Therefore, what is required of the brothers in Lebanon and elsewhere in the Arab arena is that their stands should be unified and that they should rise above every disagreement so that Lebanon is not lost as Jerusalem and the other occupied Arab territories were lost.

The voice of the Sudan has been the first and loudest in the search for a formula for unified Arab action and for a commitment to an Arab strategy by which all will abide. Brothers, we demanded this as the indispensable and irreplaceable means of recovering our occupied Arab land. Today our insistence on this demand increases, not for the sake of liberating the land alone but so as to confront the Israeli danger, whose intentions and moves for the occupation of more Arab territories in Lebanon and elsewhere are quite open.

Free revolutionary compatriot brothers, on a day like this and on an occasion like this, the crowning touch must be praise for the people who set off their revolution, the people who stood by their principles, the people who continued their march until their greatest aims were achieved—that is, the unification of their homeland and the confirmation of the unity of their nation.

If glory belongs to the people on the day of glory, then the guards of that givry and

their armed forces and other regular forces [applause] which were their allies at the dawn of the revolution--those who made the dawn on the day of the victory of the revolution and those who, by their affiliation to the people, confirmed their loyalty to the people. Hence, they have been and will continue to be a shield that protects their unity, a citadel that safeguards their gains, an armed guard that sacrifices blood and sweat for the aims of their revolution, so that the Sudan continues forever to be one and so that the Sudanese nation remains always united. Glory to the people of the Sudan and their armed forces and victory to the people of the Sudan through their armed forces.