

## SUDAN

### NUMAYRI ADDRESSES NATION ON FOREIGN, DOMESTIC ISSUES

Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic 1930 GMT 11 Mar 74 M

[Speech by Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri in a broadcast talk "between the people and the leader", from the presidential palace in Khartoum--live]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, revolutionary free brother compatriots, I convey to you the greetings of the immortal May revolution. My date for frankly speaking to you has been delayed for some time. However, my excuse for this is that I have been with you throughout the past weeks doing my continuous political work here in Sudan--in the first national congress of the SSU, in the SSU Central Committee and in several meetings with the popular organizations of the revolution--and abroad--in Saudi Arabia and in Egypt where the meeting of brothers took place establishing a perpetual relationship between Egypt and Sudan.

Nevertheless, I was anxious to talk to you and to meet with you in the program of frankness and disclosure of facts. I was told that the [first] national congress and the dialog, discussions, debate, criticism and [words indistinct] representing the forces of the alliance [of the working people] that took place in the congress could serve as an alternative to talking frankly and to the disclosure of facts in this program. But I have not [word indistinct] this. I was told then that the Central Committee is an arena in which all questions and opinions are presented. But I was not convinced because this meeting represents the method of direct dialog between you and me. I want this meeting to be a platform from which you ask me any question you wish. I will answer the general questions myself and will refer the questions which fall under the purview of others to them to discuss and answer either directly through the mail or through the various information media.

This [monthly] meeting will continue to be held even after the establishment of the People's Assembly because of my eagerness to keep my contact with you direct and constant and because of my eagerness to make this meeting spontaneous and without protocol or restrictions.

I want to speak today and first to review the general trends of the accumulating letters and the questions contained in them. Some of these questions continue to be of a basically personal character and some continue to ask about the change in the executive and political bodies, what has been and what has not been accomplished by it. The questions in this respect center on ministerial change. I think I have answered this question in my speech on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the medical college. On that day I said that change itself is neither required nor desired. However, change is inevitable and necessary in certain circumstances and in circumstances which we can sum up as follows:

1. If the competence of the minister in the performance of his duties is below the required standard in specific situations in which he has proven his failure, this does not require a complete ministerial change.

It requires one of two measures. The first measure is that the minister have a degree of honesty that prompts him to admit his failure and ask to be relieved. The second measure is that I relieve him of his duty without defaming him.

2. If the minister, through his views, has proven that he is in the wrong position and is more useful and beneficial in another place, his transfer from one ministry to another to serve the public interest in the first place is important.

3. If the minister is charged with drawing up the bases of work in a specific ministry and for a specific time that is previously fixed, his completion of the work marks the end of his assignment to the work in the ministry.

The presidential system approved by the country's permanent constitution has defined the positions of the ministers as assistants to the president of the republic, each in the field of his specialization. Therefore, their posts are primarily executive and not political posts. The responsibility of the ministers is not a collective responsibility but a personal responsibility. Each minister is personally responsible to the president of the republic and to the People's Assembly. This responsibility to the People's Assembly and to the president of the republic is also under the control and supervision of the political organization [the SSU].

Free brother compatriots, I will now turn to the more urgent question today. This question has been reiterated here in Sudan, abroad and in more than one Arab capital. Some are asking: Why have the integration agreement between Sudan and Egypt? And, is it a beginning for the establishment of an axis through which Sudan would confront the fierce campaigns of attack currently coming from an Arab capital? I say with all frankness and truthfulness that the integration between Egypt and Sudan is a historic inevitability which is above all casual circumstances, persons and regimes.

Brothers, if there are some who are asking here or there: Is the integration between Egypt and Sudan an axis? Then I say loudly, no. It is not an axis and cannot possibly be an axis because Egypt and Sudan believe that Arab solidarity is one of the requirements of the phase militarily, economically and politically in order to cope with the circumstances of the battle which has not been concluded and which will not be concluded before the occupied Arab lands are restored and the rights of the fraternal Palestinian people are regained. I say it is not an axis because Egypt and Sudan are twin brothers. Both believe that the future of the Arab nation depends on its cohesion, not on its division into opposing, feuding, or [word indistinct] factions. Integration between Egypt and Sudan is the only road for a secure future of the Arab nation. I also say that it is not an axis because Brother President as-Sadat, who only waged his battle and the battle of Egypt and the Arab nation after purifying the Arab atmosphere and the Arab relations, does not accept, and we do not accept, that we should establish a joint structure for Egypt and Sudan on the debris of a more comprehensive structure which we both feel should embrace the entire Arab nation. I say again that it is not an axis because Sudan, which has realized its greatest victory by achieving domestic unity through relations of amity and fraternity with its brothers in the continent, and which is moving in the continent raising the flag of fraternity, does not accept and will not accept to be a cause for or a party to axes which would disintegrate the cohesive front.

I say finally that this is not an axis because we are capable of facing alone those who attack us, of confronting the challenge and resisting the campaigns and attempts.

Perhaps I shall speak now in detail after having spoken only in general. After showing patience and prudence, I shall perhaps speak frankly today and say that the side meant by all this is Libya. I do not mean the Libyan people, who are dear brothers of the Sudanese people, I mean the leadership in Libya. Up until today we are still confronting the leadership in Libya with patience and endurance. We are confronting all its attempts and radio and press altercations which have returned the Arab area to the atmosphere before the June 1967 defeat and which were one of its main causes. We are resisting the attempts to gather in the land of Libya the fugitive, renegade and fascist agents, mercenaries and traitors who are said to belong to the Sudanese people. We confront all this, but I am pained at the same time because Libya's attempts have gone beyond the agents and the remnant leaders of the outcast parties to reach some of our youth, who are all in the stage of preparation. Some of them left the country in the aftermath of the Sha'ban plot. Others later infiltrated into Libya and lived there after joining the caravan of the rancorous ones. Some of them were (?brought) from Egypt and elsewhere to Libya. They were given air tickets and tickets to travel by land and they were given promises for better studies.

On their arrival in Libya, they were placed before the choice and the test: Either work against the Sudanese regime by infiltrating the regime to carry out subversive acts, by going to live in Beirut and attack Sudan and its revolution under the pretext [words indistinct] and sometimes under the pretext of the national [wataniyah] front or Nasirism; or work against the Sudanese regime by joining the so-called Arab Revolutionary Army, which is qualified, as has been officially declared in Libya, to carry out subversive acts in Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania and Sudan in order to impose merger unity, not through the method of balloting.

Some gave in, established themselves [in Libya] and continued. Some hesitated and tried to find a release. However, they were confronted with threats. Some of them escaped from Libya to Athens, Malta and Cyprus and are still bewildered as to where to go. They lost the opportunities of study in Egypt after leaving their studies. Nor can they return home without achieving any of their goals. Some of them failed to leave [Libya] while at the same time refusing to give in [to the Libyan authorities]. So they were expelled from their studies and the assistance given to them was discontinued. One of these people is now working in Tripoli as a mason's assistant [words indistinct] to save enough money to travel by bus to Egypt. The majority of them are still bewildered. One of them sent a letter from Athens after escaping from Libya, asking for urgent assistance and a ticket to bring him either to Cairo or Khartoum.

He returned to Egypt but failed to resume his studies there. My request to Egypt to readmit them [Sudanese youth] in its universities was thankfully accepted. There are also others, members of the Sudanese Nasirite organization in Tripoli, led by (Husayn 'Uthman Mansur) who sent a cable on behalf of all Sudanese to the authorities in Libya declaring Sudan's total belief in the third theory [words indistinct] and the revolutionary unity without gradual steps or phases.

A handful of people have staged demonstrations denouncing and shouting slogans against the Sudanese authorities in a comical way.

This has not been the only activity against the regime in Sudan. Some persons have succeeded in infiltrating into the country and some have attempted in various ways to stir up a sedition here. Some have misled and deceived others and some have used the cheapest weapon, namely, money, which could only buy cheap consciences.

I say this in a loud voice, that regardless of all the considerations I believe that the opposition, whatever its aims may be, will continue to be an opposition even if the confrontations were made here at home, and whoever leads the opposition will bear its consequences. However, when this takes place abroad under a non-Sudanese flag and outside Sudanese territory it then becomes an act of agency, opportunism and treason and deprives those under its banner of the honor of belonging to Sudan and of holding Sudanese citizenship.

After all this, brothers, I wonder: Why all this harmful attack against the Sudanese regime? Did the Sudanese people press for a strong unity with Libya and was I alone against its achievement? Were there not others like me, in Tunisia, for example, who called for gradual unity and for seeking the judgment of the people's will? Did you agree on an immediate merger under the banner of unity and under one system without studied phases and planned programs and without your having an opportunity to express your views through your constitutional and political establishments and then by a popular referendum to say no or yes?

Brothers, money can build roads, bring prosperity, build installations, factories and can bring affluence and prosperity, but it can never be a substitute for the people's will.

During one of his visits to Sudan, a Libyan leader asked a Sudanese citizen about the possible result of a referendum on the merger. The answer by the Sudanese citizen was firm and polite, he said: It would be 50 percent in that case. The other [Libyan leader] said: What if we paid money? The answer by the educated citizen was quick and firm: It would be below zero in this case.

The Sudanese people cannot be bought by money. The Sudanese people will not be lured by worldly treasures. Some dozens of individuals of the Sudanese people might deviate for greediness. These are the remnants of the leaders of extinct parties. But they are never representatives of the people of Sudan.

Our stand was clear after the Tripoli charter. We called for integration as a basis, for coordination as a phase and for the achievement of the national [watanayah] unity in the first place. We said that it is the will of the people which will decide for or against unity.

That was the beginning of the attack against us. Today, how many Arab (?decisions) have passed along our course and how many flags have been raised to complement a flag we raised three years ago. What was the reaction in Tunisia and in other places? Is there any hope for more (?conviction)?

We have shown openness toward the Libyan revolution since the first day of its eruption. Sudan extended every support and backing to it. There, they thought this to be a weakness and began to make conditions. They hinted with money first and then laid down specifications.

We rejected the money and returned it, and laid down our conditions and specifications. Although we wanted the dispute to be purely efforts which do not deny the rights of others to adopt any decision concerning them, we have our blessing to the Confederation of Arab Republics and to the Egyptian-Libyan merger plan. Despite this, we were surprised at his [Al-Qadhdhafi] behaving in our country as though it were an extension of Libyan sovereignty. He came, made speeches and spoke. He attacked the people and the leadership. He put on his head the turban of the teacher and spoke with the tone of history professors. He attacked our domestic unity and our establishments, but we adhered to the tolerant Sudanese traditions of hospitality until the end.

Then the October war came. He sent weird and strange cables, once warning Sudan against disclosing its aid to the battle, once asking Sudan not to consider the Egyptian foreign minister as Egypt's representative at the Geneva conference and once offering through a mediator a unified plan opposed to certain trends in the area.

In all cases, I contented myself with a smile and patience. Today, after all the blatant attempts at intervention and recruitment of agents and after all the radio and press attacks and sabotage work against Sudan at home and abroad, I know my country; I believe in my people. I believe that the Arab nation has gone beyond the stages of adolescent leaderships which try to find a place for themselves without bases qualifying them for any leadership.

Brothers, we are marching on the path; the path of domestic construction, of integration with fraternal Egypt, of support for and participation with the Arab nation, and of solidarity with the African continent. Our eyes are all focused on the enemy. Our fingers are on the triggers. We will not permit any attempt to distract us from our aims. There is still a usurping enemy on parts of Arab and African territory. This is Sudan's battle, it is Egypt's battle, the Arab nation's battle and Africa's battle. [words indistinct]

Exporting rumors, booklets and leaflets and buying hirelings in foreign press houses in Beirut and elsewhere are weapons against which we have been immuned due to their redundancy and ridiculousness. The rancorous and agent frivolars in Tripoli and those behind them are weaving lies. I would like to tell you that there has been no change at all in the positions and bases of the higher commands of the people's armed forces. The people's army remains loyal and committed to the revolution, its principles and objectives. Should there be any attempts to infiltrate the people's armed forces, we would be watching these attempts in order to expose them.

The first vice president of the republic enjoys my confidence and appreciation. In his position, he is performing his task efficiently and capably. There will be no changes in the higher command posts--I mean the ministers--except for what is dictated by the requirements of the phase and unless there is negligence or inefficiency in performance. Ministerial performance is a personal responsibility constantly subject to being brought to account as well as to being followed up in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

The former members of the Revolution Command Council continue to be brothers of struggle. They continue to be brothers of struggle. They performed their revolutionary duty in a specific historic moment. Their standing in the history of this nation will remain and is firm. I still consider them to be my brothers. However, this does not mean that they are an exception to other citizens in terms of distinction or privileges.