

SUDAN

TEXT OF NUMAYRI SPEECH ON FEDAYEEN ACTION IN NATION

Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic 1803 GMT 6 Mar 73 M

[President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri's address--presumably live]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Brother compatriots. In all our meetings together, we have accustomed ourselves to having heart-to-heart talks and to using frank, open and truthful language. We have nothing to conceal from the people. The people are the masters of truth; they have the say in things; and they have the authority.

Brothers, we have lived together through the ordeal that was imposed on us. The ordeal was preceded, coupled and followed by events which I owe it to the people to place before them without any distortion. Our people have paid a high price of their feelings and nobility. The people should know why.

The people have given generously without asking for gratitude and have given dearly and greatly. They have shouldered their full Arab responsibilities, both in their actions and in their giving.

Despite the violent reactions caused by the events of last week locally and internationally and though these events took place at a time when we were preparing to celebrate our greatest festival, I preferred not to speak to you before the investigations had been completed justly and correctly in respect of all that happened or before the contacts which had begun with the states and organizations concerned had been completed. This is why he had refrained from replying to your legitimate questions in regard to what has happened.

The talk about what has happened, brothers, must begin with an important reminder about Sudan and the Palestine question, in whose name your land's sanctity was violated, your government was placed in an embarrassing situation and your laws were violated.

Our attitude toward the Palestine question is well known. It is an attitude which has neither been the result of any pressure nor dictated by it. Sudan's attitude has not been an attitude for show for the purpose of bragging and oneupmanship. It is an attitude emanating from conviction in the justice of a cause, and from a faith in the comradeship of struggle among peoples. Your attitude, brothers, is well known and has been witnessed since 1948, when your soldiers moved into the heart of the fire out of their own free will and when your sons and brothers were martyred at Al-Falujah and Beersheba and 'Iraq al-Manshiyah. The Sudanese people have never been known to be a waiting people but a people which take initiatives and make generous offers. The Sudanese people need no invitation cards to give to the Palestine question, because the Palestine question is theirs. The Sudanese people do not wish to brag, because this is contrary to their nature and history. Had our people been a bragging people, they would have bragged about the martyrdom of 20,000 fighters of their men within 1 hour as they defend Palestine against the enemy without any help from anyone and without crying for help.

Your contemporary history, brothers, provides yet another proof. The May revolution has announced its attitude toward the Palestine question clearly, leaving no room for questioning or doubt. We have defined our attitude as we saw it since the beginning of the 25 May revolution.

In your name, I explained matters in detail in my speech at [name indistinct] on the fifth anniversary of the black day of the setback. I spoke then of the lack of the unified Arab aim and the unified Arab vision and the unified Arab plan. These things have caused the Arab states to lose the initiative and have led fedayeen action to act in a muddle without planning, tactic, or aim. My talk then was a Sudanese vision of an integrated Arab action.

Our honest cooperation with the Palestinian resistance, above all the Fatah organization, has been within the framework of this view and understanding of the revolution. [words indistinct] We have provided it with unlimited means of lodgings. We have insured for it the right of movement inside and outside Sudan without restrictions. We have given it the right of transmission through the radio and publication media without censorship and even in a manner that I do not think any state in the world can accept. We have done all this and for this reason we have received no little blame from certain Arab countries for the disparagement that they have incurred. My reply has always been that for the sake of revolutionary fedayeen action we would even accept the criticism that is leveled at my government. Our aim from all this has been to economize efforts and mobilize resources for the sake of the Palestine cause, for the sake of the refugees in the camps, for the sake of those who have been dislodged from their land, for the sake of the orphans and widows and for the cause these have; besides their legitimate right to return to their land and determine their future by themselves.

For the sake of this, we also went to the Arab League. We went searching for useful means for gathering the Arab nation [words indistinct]. We went to talk about purification of the Arab atmosphere, forgiving all the harm that had befallen us from our brothers. We went to talk about a plan for a unified Arab action in which the Palestinians would have an organic role--a plan in which roles would be distributed and duties defined and which would set forth rules for commitment and discipline. What we said in Cairo, we said in Khartoum. What we committed ourselves to at the Arab League, our government began to implement. We do not have different measures for weighing things, we do not speak with a fork tongue, and we do not deceive God or ourselves.

In this atmosphere, which less than 2 months ago we cherished in Cairo as having been purified, and at a time when we began to talk about an Arab-Palestinian plan, we were caught unaware by the events which took place in Khartoum. I can only describe what happened as a criminal act which has nothing to do with revolutions and bravery. There is no risk in entering a country which opens all its doors and windows to you. There is not the least sense of gratitude in choosing to fight a battle in a country which gives you all its resources at a time when this country was celebrating the first anniversary of its biggest victory in its contemporary history and in choosing as a battlefield the embassy of an Arab state which has not given meager support. It is not heroic at all to detain a few unarmed men while you are heavily armed and to use them in bargaining for demands which you know are impossible and then to slaughter them like sheep and keep their bodies for about 24 hours in a manner not allowed by religion and not accepted by morals.

What was the outcome of all this act? What was the outcome of all this bloody act, citizens? The world's resentment and indignation at the treacherous and criminal attack on an innocent plane over Sinai and the barbaric attack on refugee camps in northern Lebanon has disappeared and melted.

Even some of the friends of the Arabs, who spoke no evil, found themselves forced to express regret and condemnation.

They have even speeded up the end of their comrades in the prisons of Jordan whose release they thought they could secure. This is because they aroused the (?anger) of those people among the Arabs most able to save these comrades. Those responsible for this operation could have won the sympathy of these capable people through quiet contacts and not through (?force).

Furthermore, the avenging of the martyrs of the Libyan plane--a revenge whose responsibility falls on all Arabs--should take place in the Israeli skies and not on Sudanese territory. Revenge for the martyrs of northern Lebanon should take place on the land of aggression and not in the embassies of the brothers. An assault becomes a proper punishment when it is inflicted not on an unarmed diplomat, but on (?the policy of aggression).

Brothers, the massacre at the Saudi Embassy has ended. In my opinion, as I have already said, it is a clear, evident crime committed in the land of Sudan to which the laws of Sudan apply and which can be tried by Sudanese courts in accordance with republic decrees. I will ask justice in our country to take its course [words indistinct]. The court's verdict shall be honest and its sentence shall be fair and its punishment shall be in accordance with a sound standard.

But, brothers, the facts I have gathered--I will not reveal all these facts to you for the sake of the investigations--these facts, which are numerous and (?startling), make the Black September operation a matter of secondary importance compared to other basic questions, such as the work of the Palestinian organizations in Sudan, the Arab states' relations with each other and the hard efforts by some citizens as agents for those who seek to distort the victories of the revolution, if not to undermine these victories.

The preliminary facts which I want to share with you brothers are that the head of the Fatah office in Khartoum has been the brains behind this operation, as proved by the documents he wrote with his own hand and which he left behind in his office before fleeing aboard a Libyan plane to Tripoli on the day of the incident. A cable which was found instructed him to be in Tripoli by 1 March.

The man who implemented the operation was the second man in the Fatah office. He is the same man whose voice you heard every evening over Radio Omdurman addressing you over the air without control or scrutiny.

The car used for transporting the eight participants in the operation was a car belonging to the organizations.

This is not all I want to say. This is not what worries me. What worries me is what was revealed by the numerous documents that have been found. All these documents are now in the hands of the investigators. These documents have revealed that the Fatah office had initiated a watch on some embassies and even on some state officials and had been following their steps and movements.

They had recruited commercial agents to write daily reports about the activities of the trade unions, students and the farmers in Sudan and not in Israel.

These documents have also shown their periodic contacts with elements hostile to the regime in Sudan and some of them outside Sudan. These dissenters are headed by a man who fled from a position of responsibility for fear of being brought to task for the (?crimes) he committed, which are all punishable by the public law, which was the receiving of commissions abroad and the smuggling of money and the divulging of the highest economic secrets of the state and state documents to quarters outside the country.

Evidence has also been seized proving the radio transmitter was used to serve the outlaws in Eritrea. The messages discovered by the investigators--I still have not recovered from the shock at their contents of contempt for my people and insult to what I am most proud of, namely, the Sudanese (?soldier)--include a message in which the sender says to certain Eritreans gathering on the eastern borders of Sudan that a military patrol consisting of a number of officers had been sent by the command to that area on an ordinary reconnaissance trip on the Red Sea coast. The message says: A group of high-ranking enemy officers is going in your direction. Kill them secretly so that you will not be in an embarrassing situation.

This is strange. The Sudanese Army has become the enemy. The Army of Sudan, whose sons have had faith, have gone out and struggled for God with their funds and their souls, is the enemy. They [the Palestinians] are not to blame because the steadfast Palestinian people would never say this, and the genuine Arab ethics would never condone this.

The diary of events in which the absconding director of the Fatah office recorded his daily activities has proved that all his efforts were concentrated on the regime in Sudan, on sabotage in Ethiopia, on meetings with the opposition and on casting doubt on (?your leadership).

If all these fact are added to the fact that this incident occurred in Sudan, which is not the most American-frequented Arab country nor the most accomodating to their interests, it all becomes a matter aimed against Sudan and aimed at humiliating and embarrassing Sudan, a humiliation and embarrassment which cannot possibly be beneficial to Palestine or the people of Palestine. It serves the interests of those spiteful ones in the Arab homeland who are unhappy about the revolution's victories and their mercenary and half-Sudanese agents here.

They have sought to himiliate Sudan by violating its territory, and to embarass it by assaulting those whom we are committed to protect by tradition and values. They go in their attempts at embarrassing us to the point of driving a wedge between Sudan and its neighbors as was evident in the plotters' eagerness to include the Ethiopian ambassador among the (?the slaughtered ones). On that day, the day of the incident, or the attack, there were two suspect communications with the Ethiopian Embassy in the name of the Saudi Embassy in which the speaker insisted that the Saudi ambassador was eager for his Ethiopian colleague to attend the reception [words indistinct]. All this is on record.

Brothers, as I have said before, the question now is a question of joint Arab action and fedayeen activity in the Arab homeland. We delude ourselves when we talk about joint Arab action at a time when we embark on intrigues against one another. We are being hypocritical at heart when we talk about clearing the Arab atmosphere at a time when we spread the venom of division in every Arab country. We [word indistinct] the Palestinian people when the means made available for their liberation are used in fighting for issues which, however (?we feel and sympathize with them), are in order of priorities not supporting our prime cause.

The real challenge for the Palestinian resistance and for every Arab is the liberation. Liberation is first and last. Liberation begins in the Golan Heights, on the sands of Sinai and the West Bank of Jordan, not on the hills of Africa.

When we classify the Arab regimes either according to infantile ideological views or according to the false illusion that we are guardians of the Arab nation, we forget that the battle does not differentiate between a reactionary dinar and a progressive dinar.

For the sake of Palestine, some of those who have been classified as reactionary have and continue to be the biggest Arab givers at a time when the Arab nation's only gain has only been blustering statements by those whose struggling voices rise at every conference, while their funds pile up in the Swiss, German and British banks--funds Israel utilizes directly and indirectly.

Had spending on the battle been from these funds, the money some have lost as a result of speculation in the monetary markets alone would be enough to liberate and develop the whole Arab nation and Syria would not have needed, as it fought fierce battles bravely on its own, to ask its brothers for aid and support.

Brothers, in view of all the above, I have conveyed the matter and its secrets in your name today to the Arab League secretary general. I did not ask them to express a view on or to condemn what has happened in Sudan and precisely in the Embassy of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom. Many of them have remained silent about this. We have only asked them to return to their consciences in regard to what is more dangerous. It is our duty to consult over joint Arab action and the nature of relations among the Arab states and over the limits of fedayeen action and its programs inside Arab states.

Brothers, I have always been eager to give the fedayeen action, which is connected with the cause, the complete freedom of action even when it exceeded its limits in a manner embarrassing to my government and my country. But the matter today is different. It is different because the aid we are giving is being used [words indistinct] Arab countries which are not part of the Palestine battle. It is different because the Sudanese people's aid for the liberation of Palestine was being directed to other battles against us. It is different because the battle effort was being used for cooperation with subversive elements within our country for sabotaging our country itself.

In the face of all this, it is our right today to ask these organizations about their method of action and their ideas. This is the least demanded by comradeship of struggle, let alone by the sovereignty of the state which gives unlimited support, or the right of the people who give without asking for gratitude.

Brothers, you all have heard the speech of Brother Yasir 'Arafat, in which he denied Fatah's responsibility for this ugly incident. I want to believe Abu 'Ammar. I want to believe him because I cannot believe that the people of Palestine would act against those who help them or that the people of Palestine seek to embarrass those who are most sincere in supporting them. I want to believe him and consequently believe that those who have carried out this disgraceful action and who used all the facilities we granted them to liberate the Arab territory for matters unrelated to Palestine have done so on their own in contradiction to the will and guidance of the organization.

If this is so, then Fatah should condemn those responsible for this act, beginning with the absconding director of its Khartoum office and first of all to bring him to account and to arrest him with the help of the state which has given him refuge and to hand him over to Sudan to be punished for his treason.

This is the least a responsible organization should do. This is the least the people of Sudan expect in order to restore their prestige and to mend the harm and redress the humiliation they have sustained.

It is the important duty of all the Arab states to shoulder their full responsibility toward the Palestinian people for the sake of the preservation of the unity of their country, whose sons sow discord among themselves more than do the enemies, for the sake of saving its name lest it be classified among the bloodthirsty and for the sake of bolstering the Palestine revolution.

Revolutions are not based on rabid fanaticism but on brave determination, wise (?food for thought), protection of the young Palestinians who are swept by the flood of despair so that their capabilities may be used within the framework of a guided Arab action which would liberate the land and retrieve the usurped right.

Until this bringing to task and evaluation are completed, I have given instructions that all the activities by the Palestinian organizations [in Sudan] be suspended. We are more capable of making publicity for Palestine. We are more capable of defending it than the revolutionaries who cannot differentiate between the principal and secondary contradictions and who cannot calculate their own capabilities and potentialities.

I do not doubt for one single moment that the whole Sudanese people have the same view and have the same feeling.

A final word, free compatriots, which I must say: The battle which some wanted to lead Sudan into is a battle with after effects. It demands that we all be alert and wise.

From this position of responsibility, I say, and the world shall be my witness, that any aggression on any Sudanese position constitutes an aggression against the entire people of Sudan. With the same revolutionary spirit with which I went to Amman during black September to protect the people of Palestine, I shall meet the challenge here and everywhere with all the revolutionary violence and firmness needed to protect the people of Sudan.

Those who pursue a policy of open coercion must know that the result of any such relation shall be the placing of the whole people of Sudan in a fight against any regime or Arab organization committing such a folly.

Let Israel be happy, thanks to the acts of some people, who by historical accident came to positions of leaderships--people who are ignorant of the facts of life and who think that historical changes can be achieved over the radio or through the [word indistinct] handful of agents and henchmen, whether absconding or not, who trade in the name of the Palestine revolution while they plot to undermine their country and its revolution. To these I address this warning: I am determined not to be lenient or tolerant toward them. The revolution shall doubtly reply to every blow. September will not be the only black month. Indeed, the authority [in Sudan] is capable of turning all the days of the year into pitch black to them for the sake of order, the revolution, Sudan and the people of Sudan.

I have instructed that all Sudanese whose names have been mentioned in regard to the suspicious contacts either by watching officials or preparing false reports shall be referred to military trials in accordance with republican orders on the charge of plotting against the state security and sovereignty.

Free compatriots, this is the balance sheet of the sad week, the bloody week. From this balance sheet you see that your government has lived up to your expectations. Here and in the south, I have listened to your angry voices because of the insult and humiliation that has befallen you and your honor.

May God guide us all for what is good, right and glorious for Sudan.