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Chapter 1. Introduction

In recent years, presidential speech has elicited comprehensive studies, with scholars using different terms to describe the process by which politicians influence the public. Some scholars tend to call the process of the president— public communication, an act of persuasion rather than manipulation. For example, Mutz, Sniderman, and Brody (1999) consider this process "a legitimate feature of political discourse" (p.437) because politics is about struggle for power, and language is a dynamic tool in the political process. However, other scholars underscore that there is always an attempt to exploit political language to manipulate facts, influence people, and change their minds to gain their support. Emeren (2005, p. xiii) claims that speech “boils down to intentionally deceiving one's addressee.”

During periods of crisis, on the one hand, presidents intend to hide their failures at managing the crisis to win people's support. On the other hand, citizens are looking to their presidents to explain the event and discuss alternative resolutions (Hicks, 2005). Similarly, Adkins and Gregg (2003) maintain that a president is required to restore stability and generate order from the chaos during a crisis, and in return they need the people's support for their policies and action. The reciprocal relation between the president and the public pave the road to make recipients accept the information introduced by authoritative sources as self-evident truths (Van Dijk, 2000), especially when they do not have enough information and knowledge to challenge the authoritative discourse (Nesler et al., 1993; Wodak, 1987).

In times of crisis, presidents might use the speech to manipulate facts, or evade their responsibilities and failed policies, but interestingly, they would receive different responses from the public. For example, in the Six Day War, 1967, Egyptians were deceived by media and

thought they won the war against Israel, but all of sudden they realized they were defeated in the war. It was a shock, but President Gamal Abd El Nasser came out to address Egyptians on June 9th, and he succeeded to gain the public support despite his failure to manage the crisis. Nasser's speech, which included several efficient discourse strategies, succeeded to influence the majority of the public. It is noteworthy to mention that the President, in his speech, asked the public to support his decision to resign which was refused by masses of people who poured into the streets on the following day carrying Nasser's picture and chanting "we are all your soldiers." In addition to Nasser's efficient discourse strategies, the media was monopolized, as it used to be the mouth piece of the government, and the public rarely had access to transnational media outlets.

On the contrary, Hosni Mubarak received an opposite response when he addressed the nation three times during the 2011 revolution: on January 25th, 28th, and February 1st. Whenever Mubarak addressed the people, including the demonstrators who revolted against the government, they became more determined to topple Mubarak and his government. During the 2011 revolution, the President was not the only source of information, but there were also transnational satellite channels, such as Al Jazeera, and social media, which reported on the crisis from different perspectives than the state perspective.

Both Mubarak and Nasser made concessions in their speeches, trying to overcome the crises in which Nasser offered his resignation and asked the public to support such a decision, while Mubarak promised to implement political and economic reforms, and amend articles in the constitution 1971 (Mubarak, Hosni, 2011, February 10). Nonetheless, they received different responses from the public, and these different responses elicited questions on what are the discourse strategies used in the presidential speeches during crises? And are presidential

speeches influenced by the socio-political context, where the crisis took place? The current study attempts to study these questions and contributes in the field of Egyptian political speech by studying three speeches of Egyptian presidents during different contexts of crisis.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Ceasa, Thurow, Tulis, and Bessette (1981) note that presidents use public speeches to “govern the nation” (p.159) through discourse strategies, which are employed to gain people's hearts and minds. The importance of the political speech, as the president's "primary tool," increases in times of “international and domestic strife” (Eshbaugh, 2010, p.2), in which people are hungry for information to understand the situation and the policies to overcome the crisis; in return presidents seek to control the situation under the pressure of instability, chaos, and time (Minielli, 2006).

In such periods, Wilson (2001) argues that presidents used to hide their failed policies to manage the crisis by employing “particular formulation of words” (p.399) in their public speeches. In other words, the language in crisis speeches is selective in the sense of “what it highlights and in what it masks” (Edelman, 1977, p.44).

Accordingly, as it is clear that Presidents use language to serve their ends, the current study's main purpose is not to unmask these ends, but rather to highlight the discourse strategies used by Egyptian presidents during periods of crisis in different socio-political contexts. The study also compares the similarities and differences between different presidents' discourse strategies.

1.2. Significance of the study

The political speeches are a pivotal tool in the hands of presidents to achieve multiple ends: to communicate, alter their political situation, persuade the public, demonize dissidents, inform the public with their policies, and other tasks (Eshbaugh, 2010, pp 1-4). The necessity of analyzing the presidential speeches and identifying their discourse strategies stem from the importance of generating citizens' culture awareness of the political persuasion embedded within the speech.

Crisis has become a major cornerstone of the modern presidential speeches, and public reaction to crisis speeches is considered to be an essential measure of their success or failure. The current study obtains its significance through analyzing speeches of Egyptian presidents during periods of crisis to understand their discourse strategies while communicating with the public.

Moreover, this study mainly fills the gap relating to the political speeches of Egyptian presidents, as there is a lack of literature in analyzing the speeches of Egyptians presidents in the contemporary history, such as Mubarak, Morsi, and Sisi. It also seeks to fill the gap of literature in analyzing Egyptian political discourse.

CHAPTER 2. Literature Review

This literature review section explores the discourse strategies used in presidential speeches and the theoretical methods that will be used in the current study. The main goal is to understand the discourse strategies used by presidents to explore strategies used in the current study's three presidential speeches. The section is mainly divided into two parts. The first deals with the discourse strategies of presidential speeches, which branch out into three main themes: general discourse strategies, religious reference, and establishing speaker-addressee relationship. The second part describes the theoretical methods of: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA), Cooperative Principle (CP), and Positioning Theory.

2.1. Discourse strategies of presidential speeches

2.1.1. General discourse strategies

Public speech is an effective channel through which the president of a nation communicates with the audience. Several scholars have studied presidential speeches to reveal the discourse strategies they use in order to maintain their authority by winning the people's hearts and minds. Batchelor (1998) used content analysis to examine twenty (20) American nomination acceptance speeches from 1960 to 1996.

Overall, Batchelor contends that the socio-political context influences presidential speeches. For example, the political changes in the U.S.A. during the 1960s and 1970s were reflected in the Presidents' nomination acceptance speeches. The issue switched to social and economic issues during the 1980s, mirroring the socio-economic changes that took place in the nation. Accordingly, the surrounding environment affected the content of speeches to a large extent.

Hicks (2005) argues that the surrounding environment during periods of crisis prompts presidents to use common strategies to seek the addressees' support. In his study, Hicks looked at speeches of two different American presidents during times of crises. Franklin D. Roosevelt on December 7, 1941 due to Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbor and George W. Bush on September 11, 2001 due to terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. Hicks concluded that both presidents tended to distract the public's attention from the crises by demonizing the enemy who plotted against the U.S.

Both Roosevelt and Bush also used common strategies to manipulate facts, though they faced different genres of crisis in different socio-political contexts. One of these strategies was group orientation, also known as “inclusion” (Hicks, 2005), in which the presidents sought to unite themselves with the public and share the experience together. Group orientation is measured through the number of pronouns used in the speech. For example, Franklin Roosevelt only used the singular pronoun ‘I’ four times, as he attempted to stress the need for “group identity and commitment by restricting the usage of the first person pronoun” (Hicks, 2005).

Another common strategy used by both Roosevelt and Bush was telling the story through the frame of “good vs. evil,” by which they “devoted significant time to demonizing the enemy, characterizing America as a victim” to win the public’s support and sympathy for the Presidents’ decision to declare war. Additionally, in both speeches a large effort was dedicated to discussing the Presidents' conceptualization of the crisis rather than delivering the facts (Hicks 2005).

Some of the common strategies used by American presidents during crises were used by other presidents worldwide, such as Egyptian President Gamal Abd El Nasser, and Sri-Lankan President Mahind Rajapaska.

Surenthiraraj (2013) examined Rajapaska's six speeches before and after the conflict⁽¹⁾ from 2008 to 2012. The findings show that the President used the frame of "good vs. evil" to inform the addressees about the crisis in which he described the Tamil people as victims, using terms such as "innocent Tamil people" and phrases like "people who suffered terrorism." Conversely, Rajapaska portrayed the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) as villains in his speeches, characterizing them as "separatist", "ruthless", "terrorist organization" and "fearsome."

The strategy of inclusion is also used by Nasser in his "resignation speech" that was delivered after the Six Day War in 1967, i.e. the so called "Nekssa" (setback), through the efficient selection of pronouns. Abdel Latif (2010) in his study concludes that Nasser employed several other strategies in the "resignation speech," such as the strategy of "euphemism," which he used to alleviate the significant losses in the war by using ambiguous or inaccurate terms. One good example to support such a conclusion is Nasser's usage of "Nekssa" (setback) instead of "defeat" to minimize the dramatic consequences of the Six Day War. Nasser also used an "omission" strategy in which he failed to mention several facts regarding the Six Day War, such as the Israeli annexation of Sinai to mitigate the shock of the defeat and losses to the population (Abdel Latif, 2010).

To narrow down the scope of reviewing literature about presidential speeches, the following section focuses on discourse strategies used by presidents in the Arab region during contemporary crises.

¹ Actors of the conflict are the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the Tamil People, Sri- Lankan Armed Forces, Government, and the International community.

Maalej (2012) went a step further to highlight the use of a code switching strategy in the Tunisian president's speeches. He notes that Zein El Abeidine's first and second speeches were delivered in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), but he switched to using dialect in his last speech before being ousted on January 14th, 2011. The shift from MSA to dialect was interpreted as a strategy to appeal to the public. Although El Abidiene switched to dialect language in his last speech, he failed to gain the sympathy of Tunisians because the shift from MSA to dialect happened suddenly, and the public were not convinced of the sincerity of his appeal since he had never previously spoken to them in Tunisian dialect. Similarly, using Modern Standard Arabic in Mubarak's speeches is interpreted as the "linguistic style of an authoritarian regime" (Abdel Latif, 2010), and it is one of the factors that led to "distancing Mubarak from his audience" (Maalej, 2012).

In contrast, there are some Arab presidents who know how to effectively employ a code switching strategy such as Egyptian President Nasser who "seems to have been well aware of the effects of mixing dialect and MSA" (Mazraani, 1997, p. 214).

2.1.2. Establishing Speaker-Addressee relationship

As briefly mentioned above, using pronouns is part of an "inclusion" strategy, but it can also reveal presidents' hidden messages, such as clarifying the president-addressee relationship. A review of the literature analyzing presidential speeches reveals a common model of pronoun dichotomies, such as Linton's (1988, p.109) classification: "we /us" versus "them / their". A president aligns himself with the people via pronouns such as "we" and "our" on the one hand, while attributing a negative evaluation to the demonized other side through the use of "them" or "their".

Maalej (2012) used a quantitative methodology to count the number of pronouns used by the former Tunisian President, Zine El Abiedine, who delivered three speeches during the Tunisian uprising in 2011. Maalej (2012) found that El Abidine's first two speeches featured the "we-they" dichotomies, while the last speech constructs two models of dichotomies, which were "I-you" and "we-they". Maalej (2012) argues that the reason underlying the pronoun shift between the first two speeches and the last speech is as follows:

The first two speeches were given when he [the former Tunisian president] still held most of the power, while in his last speech he was seeking a scapegoat to blame all the trouble on. (p.684)

On the other hand, Sadat employed possessive and plural pronouns for the purpose of inclusion and exclusion. In his speech that was delivered after the "bread riots" in 1977, he aimed at dividing addressees into two parties, using the dichotomies of "us vs. them". He also used indirect pronouns such as "*shabina*" (our people) to exclude the addressees who participated in the riots, which he blamed for collaborating with foreign elements, including the former Soviet Union [now Russia] (Abdel Latif, 2011).

However, Gamal Abd El Nasser used plural pronouns to engage the public rather than distance them. For instance, in his "resignation speech" he used "we" 80 times while using "I" 40 times (Abdel Latif, 2010). "We" in Nasser's speech invokes solidarity between him and the public to overcome the crisis or defeat.

Establishing the president-addressee relationship is not only measured through the selection of pronouns, but also via the selection of words and phrases to accommodate and influence the desired addresses. For instance, Sadat carefully used abstract words and attributions

to address the Egyptian-Israeli conflict in the Knesset in 1977, and avoided negative attributions toward Israel. A strong emphasis was placed on joint efforts by both Egypt and Israel (Littlefield, 1979, p.10). On the other hand, Sadat addressed the same issue in the Egyptian parliament in 1971 and 1973, but phrased it differently: "Israel was depicted negatively" (Littlefield, 1979, p.12). This shift stems from the diverse audiences that Sadat addressed which led him to modify the communication in order to achieve political gains.

2.1.3. Religious Reference

Using religious reference is one of the discourse strategies that becomes a prominent part in presidential speeches, either to promote specific policies or to strengthen their authority (Wyatt, 2006; Abdel Latif, 2011). Additionally, several scholars argue that the increasing the usage of religious reference reflects either the religiosity of presidents or the orientation of the addressees (Wyatt, 2006; Israeli, 1998).

Religious references include the use of sacred texts such as verses from the Quran or the Bible. It may also include the use of religious figures, or referents, or featuring divine invocation such as "Allah's will" or "God's will".

It is interesting to highlight the use of religious reference in presidential speeches worldwide to understand what underlies this strategy. In the modern era, American presidents relied on religious reference in their speeches to different degrees. For example, Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush utilized religious excerpts in many more of their speeches than other presidents. Bush believed that "he, personally, was ordained by God to become president" (Wyatt, 2006, p.102).

Similarly, in 1980, during the cold war with the Soviet Union, when Reagan was challenged by evangelicals who were pro-nuclear freeze, he used several religious tactics to accommodate addressees: identifying himself as a praying man, featuring his conservative beliefs, and introducing himself as a man who stands in the face of evil. Moreover, Reagan used a religious frame to portray American- Russian relations (the former Soviet Union) as good versus evil (Newman, 2007)

In Egypt, religion is an important component in the society and Egyptian presidents' usage of religious references in their speeches deserves to be considered. Religious reference in the Egyptian context includes verses from the holy Qur'an, the holy name of *Allah*, and other religious themes such as sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and faithful words, such as InshAllah (God's will).

One of the common strategies used by Sadat in his speeches was religious reference which, as a result, elicited a wide range of analyses to explain Sadat's usage of religious themes. Mohammed (1990) examined a corpus of Sadat's speeches from 1970-1978 that had an influence in the political arena locally, regionally, and globally. The findings illustrate that one of the most common strategies used by Sadat was religious reference.

Israeli (1998) claims that Sadat's "religiosity and attachment to the holy Qur'an and to the basic tenets of Islam can be traced to his rural background," which is consistent with Sadat's personality (p.20). Sadat's biography *Al Bahth A'n El Zat*, (Search for Self), reflects the tenacity

of his rural and conservative background. Furthermore, he used to borrow verses from both the Qur'an and the Bible to prove, explain, or support his arguments ⁽²⁾.

In contrast, Abdel Latif (2011) and Mohammed (1990) suggest that Sadat used religious themes not only as a discourse strategy to influence addressees, but in some cases he used them to restrict addressees' responses to his speeches.

Mohamed (1990) claims that Sadat used religious reference (37) times in the selected speeches (p139), introducing two arguments underlying Sadat's usage of religious reference. Firstly, "Sadat had the intention to pave the road for Islamist groups to contribute in the political life" (citation source) as a tool to combat the communists and Nasserists in Egypt. Secondly, exploiting the religious spirit to "guarantee the full obedience to the ruler (Sadat) with no complain against Sadat's policies" (p.143)

Likewise, Abdel Latif (2011) reiterated the same argument that Sadat excerpted verses from the Quran to describe any given political situation for twofold purposes: firstly, serving political ends through using sacred excerpts from the holy Qur'an. Secondly, Sadat exploited the restrictions that govern "how believers respond to divine discourse" to limit citizens' responses towards his claims (p.12).

Furthermore, Sadat frequently attributed actions and its implications to "*Allah*" as a justification for his political decisions. After 18 days of "bread riots," Sadat delivered a speech on February 5th, 1977 where he presented "*Allah*" as being on "our side" ('Our' refers to Sadat and public) and supporting what "we" are doing against "others". In that sense, he used the

² For more details on Sadat's usage of Qur'anic verses, please check his biography *El Bahth A'n El Zat* (Searching for the Self), pp. 109; 115

dichotomies of “us vs. them” to divide the addressees between believers and infidels (Abdel Latif, 2011).

The arguments introduced in regards to Sadat's exploitation of religious reference, suggested that he used the language of religion to make the language of politics sacred and restrict public's responses. However, such arguments seem somewhat biased for the following reasons: firstly, Egyptians, since pharaonic times and before the appearance of monotheistic religions, are known for their religiosity. Additionally, Egyptians, in their daily life, use many religious themes repetitively and spontaneously such as *InshAllah* (God willing), *El HamdoleAllah* (Thanks to God) and other common phrases.

Secondly, religious reference is globally used by leaders, such as American presidents, who utilize religious themes in order to communicate with the hearts and spirits of their fellow people. Thirdly, both Abdel Latif (2011) and Mohammed (1990) claim that Sadat used non-verbal communication in his speeches to stress his religiosity, and one of their common examples is the black circle that appeared on Sadat's forehead. It is worth mentioning that this sign appears naturally on men's foreheads who pray often, so Sadat was making a religious statement by having one.

Overall, religious reference is used at different levels by Egyptian presidents in their speeches. Sadat used to introduce himself publicly as the "faithful president" who seeks to establish a country of "sciences and faith" and "religiously, Sadat established himself as leader of the Islamic faith" (Littlefield, 1987, p.5). Conversely, neither Nasser nor Mubarak used religious reference in their speeches even during crises. For example, Nasser never attributed any of the

crises to he faced as the President of the nation to Allah; rather he used to declare his own responsibility (Nasr 1981, p.346).

2.2. Theoretical Framework

2.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis was first developed by Norman Fairclough in his book, *language and power* (1989), in which he suggests a three dimensional framework to study any given discourse: text, discourse practice, and socio-political context. In the early 1990s, the University of Amsterdam hosted a symposium where most of the prominent specialists in discourse analysis gathered, Teun Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak. They discussed "theories and methods of Discourse Analysis specifically CDA" (Wodak et al., 2009, p.3). The symposium attained useful findings, but CDA as a framework was significantly marked when Van Dijk released *Discourse & Society* journal in 1990, focusing on the relationship between text and cognitive social representations.

With roots in applied linguistics, philosophy and anthropology (Wodak et al., 2009), CDA posits that language is "exploited by individuals" to achieve particular ends (Shukry, 2013, p.173), one of which is exercising the power (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p.151) between social actors and addressees. Thompson (2002) and Van Dijk (2001) argue that CDA helps to detect the link between the use of language and the exercise of power by analyzing either spoken or written text structures. This process could be examined by observing the speakers' language and their power to position themselves toward other social actors, such as the President when he distanced himself from whom he called rioters and characterized them as devils.

In addition to detecting language-power relationships, CDA aims to introduce an explanatory description and systematic interpretation of social life reflected in the discourse (Luke, 1997), which is a form of social practice that "constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices" (Jørgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.61). CDA reveals this social practice by studying the relationship between language use and the construction of meaning (Wislon, 1990, p.12)

Essentially, CDA does not entail a single approach, but a series of interdisciplinary approaches (Jørgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.1) that needs a unified theoretical framework or methodology, as Van Dijk (2001) states that CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework. There are many approaches of CDA, and these may be theoretically and analytically quite diverse (pp353- 354).

Similarly, Wodak and Meyer (2009) stress the importance of applying more than one approach to reach a lucrative conclusion and to study the research topic from different perspectives (p.2). The current study applies two approaches of CDA: Fairclough's approach (1989) and the discourse historical approach of Wodak and Reisigl (2001). These approaches examine the discourse within its political context with emphasis on discourse strategies.

Fairclough's Approach

Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992) viewed CDA as a research tactic rather than a "direction of thought" or analytical framework. He defines CDA as an approach seeking to systematically explore the "opaque relationship of causality" (Jørgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.61) between the three main levels: (a) text, (b) discourse practice, and (c) a wider socio- political context. Text refers to the discourse itself, either spoken or written; while discourse practice

intends to examine the process of text production such as the role of speechwriters (1992, p.135). It is superficial to analyze the text in isolation from the larger context which might include all the external factors that affect the text's content such as the political or social situation. The three levels discussed by Fairclough are shown in Fig.1

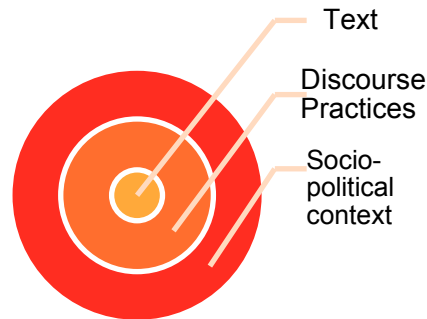


Fig.1: Fairclough's Approach of CDA

Furthermore, CDA is able to detect the complex relations of communication between people (Kress, 1990, p.92), such as the president-public relationship that could be revealed by analyzing presidential speeches. One of CDA's main characteristics is "dialectical" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.55), in which discourse contributes "to the shaping and reshaping" of social relations and reflects them (Jørgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.61). An example to illustrate the "dialectical relationship" of CDA is when a President, during a crisis, attempts to influence the public and, in return, the public constitutes a part of the president's concern while preparing the speech. Concurrently, both the President and the public respond to a given context, in which language in CDA is "a form of action through which people can change the world... and in a dialectical relationship with other aspects of the social." (Jørgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.62)

This dialectical relationship reflects the presidents' position toward the public, knowing that the relationship is "ranging from a hypothetical state of complete equality (the dimension of

solidarity) to complete inequality (the dimension of power)” (Kress, 1990, p.86). Solidarity in speeches could be observed through analyzing the use of pronouns. For example, when former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, sought to express solidarity with British people, she used inclusive 'we' as an "indefinite pronoun referring to solidarity". Concurrently, when Thatcher wanted to distance her relationship with the public in her discourse, she used pronouns such as 'I', or mentioned her authoritative position as 'PM', and, in other situations, she used specifics such as 'the people' to call on citizens to remind them they are followers (Fairclough, 2000, pp179-187).

Most importantly, Fairclough, (2000) in his analysis of Thatcher's interview -with Michael Charlton on BBC Radio 3-, did not consider the second level of discourse practices which studied the process of writing the speech, focusing on the role of the speech writer. Regardless of who has written the speech, once it's delivered by the President, they stand as responsible for it and has approved it before delivery. In addition, the speech writers have most likely collaborated with the President or, at least, discussed the ideas he wants to express and are familiar with his style.

Fairclough further argues it is not necessary to include the three levels; rather it depends on the research question and the scope of the project (Jørgenson & Phillips, 2002, pp76- 82). Accordingly, this study excludes the level of discourse practices for the following reasons: firstly, in Egypt, there is no available and accurate data or literature review regarding the process of presidential speech production. For instance, some scholars and politicians (Abdelatif, 2011; Dunne, 2000) mention that Mohamed Hassanien Heikel is the one who wrote most of Nasser's speeches, but they did not refer to their sources. Also, there is no available data regarding the speechwriters of Morsi, Mubarak, and Sadat.

Secondly, Newman (2000) concludes that there was no "regular speechwriting staff" of Egyptian presidents, rather there were contributors of politicians, journalists, and secretaries who were responsible for drafting the speech. For instance, Mubarak did not rely on one person to write his speeches (Dunne, 2000, p.60).

Thirdly, the scope of this study is to find out the discourse strategies in the crisis speeches of Egyptian presidents rather than examining the discourse production process.

In the current study, Fairclough's approach of CDA is used as a general framework to analyze the presidential speeches within their wider socio-political context. However, this approach relies on the analyst's interpretation to the text, and it did not provide guidance of how to avoid any possible biases while analyzing the speech. Accordingly, it is useful to implement methodological triangulation by using multiple approaches of CDA to avoid biases.

Discourse-Historical Analysis (DHA)

One methodological way to avoid CDA analysts' biases is to implement triangulation by engaging multiple approaches. In addition to using Fairclough's approach, this study uses Discourse-Historical Analysis (Resigl & Wodak, 2009), which allocates certain discourse strategies to analyze any given speech. Identifying discourse strategies is a useful measure to avoid the analyst's biases while interpreting the speech.

While CDA attempts to provide a general framework by exploring the relationship between the text and its context, DHA takes the discourse a step further to detect discourse strategies employed by the speaker, which is the scope of interest of the current study. In other words, CDA in this study attempts to explain the relationship between the presidential speeches

and the political context, but DHA is used to unfold the following strategies: predication and argumentation.

Predication strategy is the discourse characterization of “social actors, or objects, or phenomena, or events” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.94). It is important to examine how the presidents describe the crisis, and the social actors involved in the crisis to conclude his position and stance toward the situation.

The speaker’s characterizations of the social actors might be negative or positive, but this raises a question: does the speaker introduce an appropriate argument to support his/her stance? In this regard, argumentation strategy deals with the “justification and questioning of claims” introduced by the speaker (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.94). This strategy seeks to examine the arguments introduced by the speaker to support his stance towards the social actors involved in the situation.

One more reason to use DHA is the approach's hypothesis which posits that discourse power emanates from its users as "discourse is not powerful on its own," but "it is a means to gain and maintain power by the use of powerful people." More specifically, it is centrally concerned with examining the language use of those in power such as presidents who have more chances to shape linguistic forms according to their interests (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.88). The above hypothesis is compatible with the goal of the current study in the sense that it is concerned with examining presidential speeches.

2.2.2. Cooperative Principle (CP)

After studying the speeches within their political context and identifying their discourse strategies, it is important to conclude whether the communication between public and President

is successful in light of pragmatic approach that based on Grice's (1975) ideas and called Cooperative Principle. Grice (1975) developed CP to establish criteria of successful communication (Schiffrin, 1994, p.203), which, based on "the assumption that when people interact they are guided by a basic principle of cooperation", that operates a series of maxims (Wilson, 1990, p.34).

Grice further postulates that communicators should follow the four maxims: 1) quantity, 2) quality, 3) relation, and 4) manner (Gumperz, 1982; Chilton & Schäffner, 2002). When any of these maxims are violated, meanings known as "implicatures" are conveyed (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p.12). For instance, when a speaker delivers irrelevant speech that does not fit the demands of the public, it could be interpreted as an indication of the speaker's failure to meet people demands. The current study examines if different Egyptian presidents successfully communicated with the public by fulfilling the four maxims, and, in case they violated one of the maxims, what does that indicate? Specially, Grice (1975) states that "the ostentatious violation of a maxim will make a person liable to mislead" (p.49)

The Gricean maxim of quantity examines the amount of information delivered in the speech. It answers the question: does the speaker introduce enough information to the addressee? However, the information could be valid or nonsense. This is determined through finding out the quality of the utterance. A presidential speaker should provide adequate evidence to support his/her arguments to successfully address the people. The most important factor for the speaker to get his/her message across is relevancy to the larger context. This is addressed in the current study by examining the relevancy of the speeches to its larger political context. Finally, the speech's content should follow the maxim of the manner in sense of coherence, avoiding

obscurity and ambiguity. Presidents should present clear and specific arguments which help the addressee easily understand and follow the discourse.

2.2.3. Positioning Theory

Identifying the text-context relationship, discourse strategies, and the success of communication between presidents and public helps to understand Egyptian presidents' stance toward both the crisis and the public. This understanding is according to "positioning theory", developed by Harré and colleagues, which clarifies the connection between language use and meaning construction (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003; Harré & van Langehove, 1999). From this perspective, the discourse reflects the speaker's identity and the self in the course of communication. Thus, positioning can be considered as a "conceptualization of doing identities in talk" (Andreouli, 2010, p.4)

In discourse, once the speaker identified his/her position, s/he locates others within social relations (Davies & Harré, 1999, p.35), which reveals the relationship taking place between speakers and listeners. It has been viewed as an "*interactionist*" concept which implies "discourse construction of personal narration" (Tirado & Galvez, 2007), and speaker's position might be called stance (Bloor, M., & Bloor, T. 2007, p.32).

When speakers use a language and take a position, they give themselves a specific identity and impose a different one on others. Usually, the self "is represented through the single pronoun 'I' while other is positioned in relation to the self" (Daves & Harre, 1990, p.47). Likewise, Ochs considers "position" as the mediating path between linguistic forms and social identities (Bassiouny, 2012, p109). As such, positioning is identified as the dynamic construction of personal identities in relation to the other (Daves & Harre, 1990).

Chapter 3. Methodology

After reviewing previous studies and identifying the common methods used to analyze the presidential speeches, this section will introduce the method of the current study along with the theoretical framework.

3.1. Method

In this study, CDA is meant to analyze a corpus of political speeches of three recent Egyptian presidents during times of crises: Hosni Mubarak's "2011 revolution speech" on January 28th, Mohamed Morsi's 2013 "One Year Accountability" on June 26th, and Abdel Fattah El Sisi's 2015 "Sinai attacks" on January 31st.

This purposive sample has been selected for several reasons. Firstly, there is a common factor between the selected speeches, which is the timing of delivery during crises. However, the public response to the Egyptian Presidents' speeches was different. Accordingly, the current study attempts to detect the common discourse strategies and differences between Presidents with respect to the larger context of the political situation.

Secondly, some presidents shared common motives that led to crisis. To illustrate this point, both the Mubarak and Morsi's eras suffered economic and political deterioration that led to public discontent, outrage, and demonstrating until overthrowing both regimes. By detecting the discourse strategies in both speeches, the study suggests the reasons of presidents-public ineffective communication with respect to the political context.

Thirdly, and supplement to the previous point, it is useful to examine the similarities and differences of discourse strategies between Mubarak and Morsi on one hand, and Al-Sisi on the

other hand. The latter succeeded to win the people's support despite the security, political, and economic challenges he faced during his rule after two revolutions: the 2011 revolution and the June 30 mass demonstrations in 2013.

3.2. Method of Analysis

Bayram (2010, p.28) suggests two levels of CDA that are similar to Fairclough's approach, and illustrated in the figure below. The first level is a macro level, which is concerned with studying the political situation or context when the crisis took place to fully understand the reasons behind the delivery. It is noteworthy to mention that the limitation of studying discourse context is: "how can one decide how much contextual knowledge is necessary?" (Jenner & Titscher, 2000, p.27) To avoid such a limitation, it is important to introduce an argument of selecting a particular context, while approaching the findings.

The second level is the linguistic micro level, which is concerned with studying the speech's components, including person deixis, themes, code-switching, and repetition. These components are considered to be a part of discourse strategies that aim to measure the speaker's position and his relationship with the addressees. In Figure2, Bayram's two levels are summarized and divided into each level's components, as discussed above.

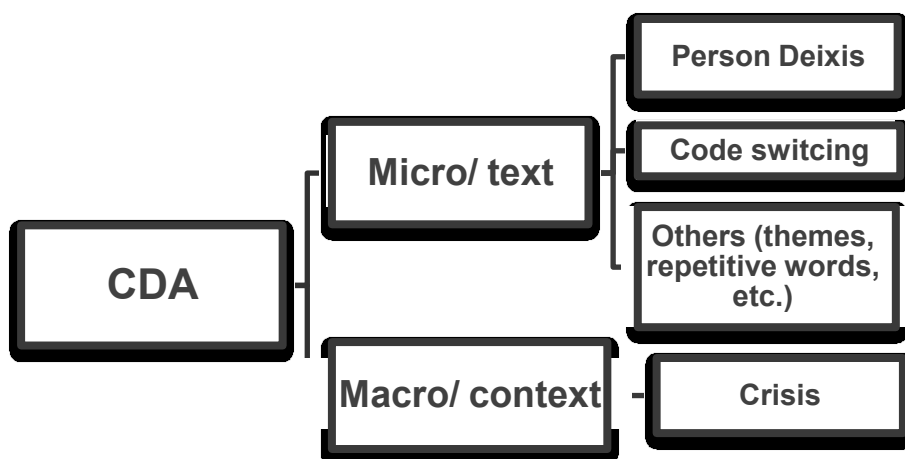


Fig.2: Bayram's two levels of CDA

Each speech is divided into paragraphs to find out the main themes which include: how each President tells the story, including the introduction, body, and conclusion, counting the repetitive words that presidents stressed on. The next step is to quantify the amount of pronouns used in the selected speeches, knowing that in Arabic there are some pronouns embedded within the verb which is counted, such as the following excerpt of Sisi's speech:

“Ehna gena ‘la tanzim fi akwa halato, tamzim ba’lo snin tawela.”

“We challenged an organization [referring to the Muslim Brotherhood] in its strongest status, a well-organized organization for long years.”

In the above quote, *Ehna* means “we”, but *gena* is a combined verb with an embedded pronoun, and the word means “we challenged.” There are also two more important variables of discourse strategies that should be discussed in details which are: person deixis and code-switching.

Person Deixis

Person deixis is one of the discourse strategies that mirror the speaker-addressee relationship in which “deixis constructs social relations with persons along variable social distances from the deictic center” (Maalej, 2012, p.684). In other words, the pronouns measure the distance between the speaker and addressee, and these pronouns are used in political discourse to manipulate people and achieve persuasive effects (Wilson, 1990; Zupnik, 1994).

Furthermore, Pennycook argues that pronouns are “deeply embedded in naming people and groups” (1994, pp174-175). For example, 'we' as a pronoun in speeches could be interpreted as a tactic of involvement or detachment, thereby pronouns opens up a whole series of questions about language, power, and representation. In presidential speeches there is usually one speaker, and the speaker occupies the center that constantly refers to the self as 'I' with addressees and referents situated at some points.

Code- Switching

Code-switching occurs when a speaker switches between language varieties, which could be two different languages, or two varieties of the same language. For example, a speaker might switch between Arabic and English, or switches between classical and dialectic of the same language. Some scholars argued that code-switching “often happened subconsciously, in which people may not be aware that they have switched between two varieties” (Wardhaugh, 1998, p.103). In contrast, Holes (2004) claims that the practice of switching between two varieties, which dated back to 1950s, is used as a persuasive strategy in the political speech, in which politicians use it to “ensure smooth communication” (p.6) with addressees.

Scholars also suggest several reasons behind code-switching, such as an expression of solidarity with the addressees (Gal, 1978; Milroy, 1987) by using the same variety of language, or it might be used as distancing strategy by speaking different language from the addressees (David, 1999). It is also used to attract addressees' attention, convey personal feelings, deliver cultural expressions, establish relationship with the addressees, and to reiterate specific message using different varieties (Gal 1979).

The current study is concerned with analyzing code-switching between varieties of Arabic, which includes two main varieties: (1) Modern standard Arabic (MSA) or *fusha*, (2) Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA). Some scholars, such as Mazraani, added on more levels to Arabic varieties which is Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA). She identified it as “an intermediate level that lies between MSA and dialect” (Mazraani, 1997, p6). In that context, code-switching indicates the shift between the Arabic two varieties: MSA and ECA, and figure 3 demonstrates the Arabic varieties, including ESA.

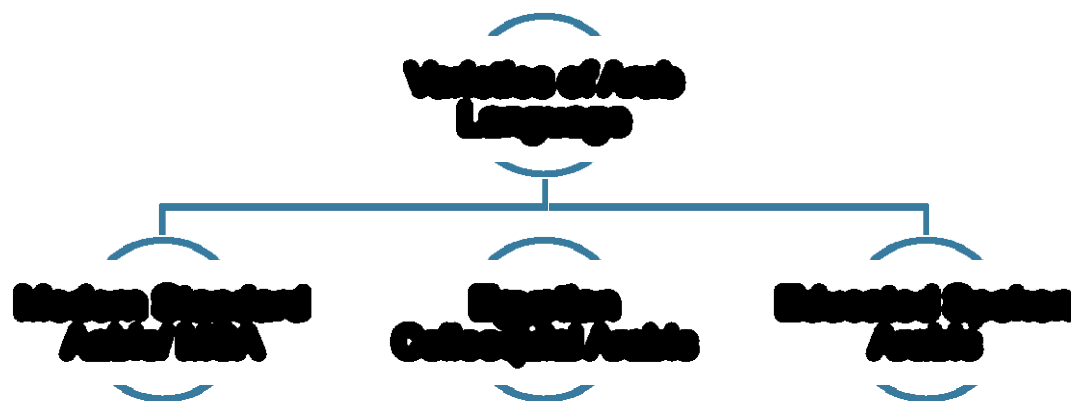


Fig.3: Varieties of Arabic Language

Some scholars such as Holes (2004), Maalej (2012), and Mazraani (1997) argue that MSA is the classical Arabic, which is close to the language in the Quran and it is usually used in formal discourse and formal communication channels. Scholars agree that MSA is an inappropriate vehicle for expressing emotions, in particular during crises (Mazraani, 1997, pp 29- 30; Holes, 2004, p.350). Rather, it is likely to be used whenever the speaker is “constructing an abstract argument, or recalling historical events, or expanding new political ideas” (Mazraani, 1997, p.189). Moreover, it is also used when the speaker distances himself from the audience and it could be interpreted as the tone of authority. On the contrary, ECA is used in every day conversation and it is the level of the language that is understood by the majority of people, including illiterate and literate.

The common strategy used in political discourse is switching between the two varieties: MSA and ECA, to communicate simultaneously the emotions of addressee and construct authority. The main motive behind this recurrent code switching is to keep the audience's attention (Mazraani, 1997, p.213).

3.3. Theoretical Framework

The current study does not attempt to posit a set of rules that apply to crisis speeches, but rather to provide an understanding of the discourse strategies utilized by Presidents during times of crisis. To reach such findings, this study follows multidisciplinary approaches of CDA: the Fairclough approach (1989), the Discourse- Historical Analysis (Resigl &Wodak, 2009), the insights of pragmatic approach which are based on the ideas of H.P. Grice (1975) and called the Cooperative Principle, and the positioning theory as a backdrop.

3.4. Research Questions

The current study attempts to fill the gap in the literature review of the Arab political speech, as it focuses on studying and analyzing three speeches of Egyptian presidents during times of crises. The study mainly seeks to answer the following questions:

RQ1. How have Egyptian presidents portrayed the crises?

A. What are the discourse strategies used by Egyptian presidents in their speeches in times of crisis?

B. What are the similarities and differences between the three Egyptian presidents?

RQ2. How did Egyptian presidents effectively communicate with the public in times of crisis?

A. To what extent does each speech present qualitative and quantitative information?

B. To what extent does each speech present clear and relevant information?

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion

This section will demonstrate the analysis of the three speeches delivered by three Egyptian presidents during times of crises in contemporary history. For each speech, the analysis provides the socio-political context surrounding each crisis, and overall conclusion, which includes the speech's structure, tone, language varieties, and the fulfillment of Grice's four maxims. Much of the detailed analysis is provided by analyzing the social actors, their attributions, and the Presidents' usage of pronouns, and repeated words and phrases.

The 2011 Revolution

Socio-Political context

Former President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak served as an Egyptian Air Force officer in 1950, and he was promoted to Air Chief Marshal in recognition of his initial strong performance during the war of 6 October of 1973. Mubarak was also appointed, by his predecessor President, Anwar Sadat, as Vice President of Egypt in 1975. Mubarak's presidency lasted almost thirty years since he first took office in 1981, after Sadat's assassination, ending in February 2011 when he stepped down after 18 days of wide demonstrations all over Egypt.

The momentum of the 2011 revolution reflected a cumulative history of political, economic, and social issues that led to the people's outrage on January 25th. It is noteworthy that throughout Mubarak's presidency, he achieved some successful policies domestically and regionally. Especially considering his predecessor, President Sadat, "left a heavy burden to his Vice-President [Mubarak] in 1981, both economic and political" (Amin, 2013, p.3). However, he ruled Egypt for thirty years and during this period he was responsible for Egypt's decline on several fronts. During Egypt's Mubarak era, there was an increase in the power of the security

apparatus and the concentration of the executive branch of authority in the hands of the President and his aides, which hindered the democratic path and the peaceful transition of the power. One prime example of Mubarak's control of the power was the electoral fraud in the November 2010 parliamentary elections, during which there were rumors about the imminent succession of Gamal Mubarak to take the Presidential office after his father.

The political system during Mubarak's era lacked the framework for a democratic transfer of authority due to the concentration of the power. The fraudulent parliamentary election in November 2010 was one of the most critical events that ignited Egyptian anger on January 2011, as "the election rigging took place immediately before the revolution" (Amin, 2013, p.108). The 2010 election resulted in a parliament controlled by the National Democratic Party⁽³⁾, which won more than 93 percent of all seats, leaving only four seats to opposition parties. The 2010 election resulted in a "tense relationship between the regime and the people, which made the entire political situation in the country untenable" (Osman, 2013, p.204).

Lesch further contends that "the exclusion of opposition forces" from the parliament was accompanied by a "systematic crackdowns" to arrest opposition candidates with no charges on the pretext of the country's emergency law, which has been in force since Sadat's assassination to fight Jihadi terrorism (2012). During his early years in the presidential office, Mubarak "expanded the Egyptian state security and central force to sustain control" (Amin, 2013, p.75). Declaring the emergency law over a period of years, and expanding the authority of security forces paved the road to absolute power of the president, which impeded the rule of law.

³ Following the 2011 revolution, on April 12, the National Democratic Party was dissolved by the court.

The mechanism of Egypt's presidential election was changed in 2005 to be contested elections instead of referendum to give a chance for multiple candidates to run in the presidential elections. Although contested elections in 2005 provided a chance for Egyptians to select their President among the elected candidates, the political life was controlled by Mubarak and his ruling party, dissolved National Democratic party, which led to “fraud [and unfair] elections” (Lesch, 2012, p.18). Some scholars noted that Mubarak’s ruling system was “a hybrid regime,” (Ottaway, 2003, p.3), as it shared the characteristics of both an autocratic and a democratic order (Rutherford, 2013, p.16). Similarly, Ottaway (2003) argues that Mubarak’s political system contains legislatures, an independent judicial system, and civil society organizations, but there is no transfer of power through authentic and transparent elections (p.3). The façade of elections and a multi-party political environment “allowed the regime to claim progress and some political development, and to diffuse some of the masses’ anger” (Osman, 2013, p.206) for some period.

The 2011 revolution’s motives were not only political but also economic, the revolution’s popular slogan concluded the people demands, which were “Bread, Freedom, and social justice.” The concentration of power in the hands of elites, who surrounded Mubarak, went hand in hand with wealth concentration, by which “one percent controls almost all the wealth of the country” (El-Mahdi & Marfleet, 2009, p.18).

Insisting on mobilizing power and authority in the hands of the President and his aides impacted presidential- public relationship, which was “increasingly highly confrontational between an oppressor and the oppressed” (Osman, 2013, p.205). Additionally, Mubarak during his last years was not concerned to communicate the public in a more personal way, such as Nasser and Sadat who used to involve Egyptians in their political rhetoric. The widening gap between Mubarak and the public affected the president’s management of the 2011 revolution.

The January 28th speech

Overall conclusion

The speech was delivered at midnight after a lengthy and momentous day. Overall, Mubarak violated Grice's two maxims, in which he violated the maxims of quantity and quality of information. The quantity of the information provided in the speech was too short to fit the incident, as people waited for long to hear from Mubarak and his decisions to contain the crisis and restore stability. In addition, he provided an abstract idea of the crisis without detailed arguments. For example, Mubarak discussed his understanding of nation's aspirations and the ambitious vision of the people who demonstrated, but he did not address how he would meet people's demands. In the following sentence, he said:

Dear fellow citizens, these demonstrations came to express legal aspirations to expedite the process of dealing with unemployment, improving lifestyle, confronting poverty, and combatting decisively corruption. (Author's translation)

Then Mubarak assured the public "decisive" measurements to eliminate poverty, unemployment, and corruption, but he did not explain how he would do so. In other words, he did not provide much information about the policies to revive the Egyptian economy and decrease the percentage of unemployment. Violating the maxim of quality of information implied the lack of concrete policies to address Egypt's real challenges that led to the 2011 revolution. However, the speech was relevant and clear; Mubarak addressed the crisis directly without using vague or irrelevant phrases.

The tone of the speech was authoritative, monotonous, and negligent. Mubarak used Modern Standard Arabic throughout the whole speech. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, MSA is used when the speaker constructs an abstract argument, or recalling

historical events, or expanding new political ideas (Mazraani, 1997, pp 29- 30; Holes, 2004, p.350). Mazraani (1997). Also, MSA is the tone of authority when the speaker seeks to distance himself/ herself from the audience. In Mubarak's speech, he used only MSA to build abstract arguments, as he talked about his policies of dealing with Egyptian chronic problems, but never mentioned his detailed plans. Mubarak also failed to address the real reason behind the 2011 revolution which was the Minister of Interior's violations against human rights.

Moreover, throughout the entire speech, Mubarak emphasized his authoritative position as the President of the nation. In the introduction, he said: "my instruction to the government was stressing the necessity to provide an opportunity to the masses ...". In the following paragraph, he added: "The government committed to my instructions." In paragraph (14) he said: "I am not addressing you only as a President but also as an Egyptian...", and in the conclusion, he mentioned his direct responsibility as President of Egypt to "maintain stability and safety."

Structure of the Speech

The speech was well structured, as Mubarak introduced the speech by identifying the "crisis," then discussed the reasons and possible policies to overcome it. He concluded the speech informing the people of the decisions he had taken to meet people demands.

In the introduction, from paragraph (1) to (5), Mubarak highlighted three themes: 1) Egypt is an influential country in the region, 2) choice between democracy or stability, 3) the freedom of speech and the right to demonstrate with respect to the law, 4) peaceful demonstrations penetrated by infiltrators.

Mubarak started his speech describing the then current situation a "critical moment," but he did not provide Egyptians with detailed information about the crisis. In fact, not all Egyptians

were aware of the demonstrations' circumstances. At the time, Egyptians were divided into three categories: those who organized and participated in the demonstrations⁽⁴⁾, others who followed the crisis through different TV channels and social networks, and some Egyptians were not following the incident at all.

Mubarak further stressed the right to demonstrate "peacefully" as long as it did not violate the rule of "law and constitution," warning that there is a "fine line" between freedom of speech and chaos. In the introduction, in paragraphs (1) – (5), he differentiated between two stages of the demonstrations. The first stage, which he claimed was peaceful and led by "peaceful demonstrators," but then he stated that the later stage was penetrated by "infiltrators" who instigated riots and violence which led to the death of "innocent casualties from the police and demonstrators".

Additionally, Mubarak warned the addressees that these violent demonstrations threatened the nation's security, assuring Egypt's influential role in the region was targeted by regional and international players who seek to destroy the country. Likewise, he asked the addressees to monitor the situation on the ground in the neighboring countries who failed to achieve either stability or democracy, referring to the situation in Iraq and Tunisia.

Detailed information was introduced in the body of the speech from Paragraph (6) to (13) where Mubarak highlighted two themes: 1) reasons underlying the crisis and 2) government policies to meet the people's demands. Mubarak showed his understanding of the reasons that led to the demonstrations and the people's outrage, by saying "I understand the aspirations of the

⁴ The term "demonstrations" is used in the current study to describe the first stage which led to the 2011 revolution and forced the former President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak to relinquish his rule of Egypt.

people,” though he reduced those reasons to Egypt’s decline in socio-economic status. It is worth mentioning that the 2011 revolution was first led by political movements and human rights activists on the police anniversary of January 25th. The demonstrations on that day were mainly fueled because of the Minister of Interior’s alleged violations against citizens, and the demonstrators’ demands were only to restructure the ministry, but soon the demands escalated aiming at ousting Mubarak's system. However, Mubarak did not refer to the major reason of MOI’s alleged violations, instead he focused on corruption, poverty, and the high rate of unemployment. Furthermore, he referred to the previous problems without providing statistics or the surrounding consequences to get the addressees involved in the reasons that led to the crisis. In short, the speech was shallow and widened the gap between Mubarak and his addressees.

After reviewing the causes that led to the demonstrations, Mubarak talked about his government's policies to combat and resolve these chronic issues. Again, Mubarak was not clear enough in discussing his policies and the procedures on the ground. Rather, he discussed general thoughts of “economic, political, and social reforms,” without informing the addressees of the detailed and actual plans that the government would pursue to meet the people’s demands. Accordingly, the ambiguity and brevity of the speech increased, and this reduced Mubarak’s credibility.

Additionally, Mubarak increased the ambiguity of the speech when he mentioned the government's efforts to reduce the unemployment rate, improve Egypt's economy and politics. For years, during the Mubarak era, a large segment of Egyptians lost trust in the government’s achievements and progress due to the spread of corruption, nepotism, and bribery. Mubarak did not consider such a gap between Egyptians and the government, but he reminded them of the "government's achievements over the past years."

The conclusion was a vital portion in the speech for several reasons, as Mubarak used a contradictory tone of both authority and inclusion. He also emphasized his actual decisions to overcome the crisis, and warned of the consequences of “riots and violent demonstrations.”

Mubarak used a contradictory strategy of exclusion and inclusion in which he used the authoritative tone, saying: “I am not talking to you as a President of state,” reminding the addressees of his official position. Concurrently, he used the emotional approach and inclusion strategy to align himself with the addressees when he continued to say “... but also as an Egyptian whose destiny put me in charge of the country, ... we have passed together a very critical time before when we stood up as one nation ...” Although Mubarak used the emotional approach, he did not hesitate to warn of taking decisive measures against “those who threatened the stability and the security of Egyptians.”

Mubarak declared his direct responsibility for maintaining stability, but he ignored his responsibility for the socio-political decline in Egypt. He chose to blame the then-Prime Minister Mohamed Nazif's cabinet for the critical situation, as he asked the cabinet to resign. However, Mubarak did not present concrete arguments in the speech to clarify his decision of replacing government, ending the speech with a vague sentence: “I will designate a new government starting from tomorrow with clear and specific assignments to deal decisively with the priorities of the current situation.” He did not identify the “priorities of the current situation,” which might be interpreted either as a warning against demonstrators or firm policies to deal with the government rooted corruption. In the context of the speech, the sentence was interpreted by the public as a warning because, in the following paragraph, Mubarak directly warned of taking any decision, which would protect the nation from chaos.

After reviewing the speech's main themes and structure, it is important to shed light on Mubarak's discourse strategies. The following table 1 clarifies how Mubarak used the predication strategy, which identifies his stance towards the social actors involved in the 2011 revolution. The stance is measured by tracking Mubarak's attributions to the actors, and these attributions might be negative, positive or neutral.

Table 1. Predication Strategy/ Social Actors in Mubarak's Speech

Actor	Stance	Attributions
Demonstrators	Neutral	peaceful, infiltrators
Youth	Positive	Precious
Police	Positive	protective

As discussed above, Mubarak distinguished between two types of demonstrators: peaceful demonstrators, and rioters. He also argued that the demonstrations on January 25th started peacefully, but were infiltrated by rioters who carried out "sabotage acts and created chaos". On January 25th, groups of young activists led the first spark in the revolution, and Mubarak sought to satisfy this segment and contain their outrage by saying "Egypt's youth are the most precious and they build the future." In addition to the youth, Mubarak talked about the nation and featured them as "fearful, insecure, and unstable," because of the violent acts led by rioters. Concurrently, he stressed that he understood the nation's economic and political "sufferings, which would not be solved by setting fires and attacking public properties."

On January 28th, there were fierce clashes between the police and demonstrators, which led to deaths among the protestors. In Mubarak’s speech, he justified the “decisive measures” of the police, saying:

The government abided by my instructions, which was apparent in the police forces’ dealing with youth [demonstrators], they [the police] took the initiative to protect the demonstrations at the beginning [...] before it turned into riots.

In addition to identifying Mubarak’s stance towards the social actors involved in the 2011 revolution, counting and monitoring the usage of pronouns reflects the President’s position towards himself and the addressees. Mubarak’s usage of pronouns in the speech also explains whether he showed solidarity with the Egyptians, or if he distanced himself. Table 2 illustrates in numbers the usage of singular pronoun, exclusive ‘we’, and inclusive ‘we’.

Table 2. Person Deixis in Mubarak’s Speech

Pronouns	No. of Repetition
I	30
We (self- referencing)	15
We (solidarity with people)	16

Mubarak used the pronoun “I” 30 times to portray himself in relation to the crisis and addressee, and he used the inclusive “we” 16 times. Inclusive “we” is used when Mubarak referred to himself along with the Egyptians. The huge gap between using “I” and inclusive “we” indicates Mubarak’s exclusive strategy, as he intended to feature himself as the focus of attention.

Repeated word is a part of discourse micro- analysis that reflects some deep thoughts of the speaker or his desire to bring the addressee's attention to specific ideas, as table 3 shows the repeated words in Mubarak's speech.

Table 3. Repetition of Words in Mubarak's Speech

Repeated Words	No. of Repetition
Nation (Egypt- Country)	14
Law and constitution	3
Freedom of expression	5
Chaos	8
Citizens	3
Youth	3
Democracy	3
Stability	3

Mubarak repeated the word "nation" 14 times. Nation also used a category to include both Egypt and country. Mubarak sought to bring the attention of the addressee to the importance of Egypt by repeating the word “nation” at such a high level. Obviously, he mentioned in the introduction that Egypt is a "pivotal state" stressing on its importance through repeating the word several times.

Using “citizen” 3 times indicated Mubarak's eagerness to include all segments of Egyptians without differentiating between males or females, Muslims or Christians, and young or old. He addressed the citizens of Egypt, and did not exclude any segment based on religion or ethnicity or gender.

In his speech, he also stressed the theme of "choosing either chaos or democracy," repeating "freedom" 5 times compared to "chaos" 8 times. The difference is not huge between the repeated numbers of the two words, though Mubarak focused on featuring the negative consequences of the demonstrations, which he described as "chaotic". Chaos in the speech referred to "riots and violence" that took place during the 18 days of demonstrations such as cutting off main roads, and setting fire to vital governmental institutions. On the other hand, Mubarak stressed the importance the freedom of speech and the citizen's right to demonstrations but he emphasized as well the importance of respecting the "law and constitution."

The June 30 Mass Uprising

Socio-political Context

On June 30, 2012 Mohamed Morsi became the first elected president, after the 2011 revolution, with a civilian background, as he was an engineering professor who had taught at Zagazig University. Morsi served in the Egyptian parliament from 2000-2005 as a representative of the Muslim Brotherhood. In the wake of the 2011 revolution, Morsi was arrested along with other Brotherhood members, but he escaped from prison two days later on January 30.

Since taking office in 2012, Morsi vowed in his inaugural speech to be a president for "all Egyptians," but his rule perceived by some Egyptians as "repressive and cumbersome" (Housdon, 2013, p.72). Morsi sought to consolidate the Muslim Brotherhood's power by appointing "Brothers to head key ministries" (Trager et al., 2012). Some Egyptians noted that the Muslim Brotherhood, the oldest political Islamist organization, which Morsi belonged to, failed to practice politics when they got the chance to rule Egypt. Rather, they sought "brotherhoodisation of the state" (Gerbaudo, 2013, p.105) to dominate instead of achieving the

goals of the 2011 revolution: democracy, freedom, and social justice. Moreover, “brotherhoodization” also meant to influence Egypt’s identity of being a moderate Islamic country, and changed to be an Islamic state, without tolerating the minorities, as “[the] attacks against minority groups, including Shias and Christians have risen [in 2012]” (Housdon, 2013, p.76). Relatively, Pope Tawadros, the Pope of Alexandria, said in his interview on Sky News Arabia: “for the first time in [Egypt’s] Islamic history, the papacy was attacked in April 7, 2013,” referring to the involvement of the Muslim Brotherhood and Morsi’s administration. The Pope also added that after ousting Morsi on July 3rd, 2013 the Brotherhood launched a “systematic attacks on 70 Churches all over Egypt.”

Morsi and his Islamist group, the Brotherhood, did not implement inclusive policies to contain different segments of society and address the nation’s core problems, which led to the “largest public demonstrations” on June 30 (Housdon, 2013). Egypt’s constitution is a prime example to illustrate the latter conclusion, in which the constitution was drafted by a constituent assembly that was dominated by Islamist parties, including the Brotherhood and Salafist Al-Nour party, without “a single Christian” representative (Mohyeldin, 2014). Although the assembly was dissolved by the Supreme Constitutional Court (SCC) due to a technicality issue, it continued its work and began “a marathon overnight session” on November 29, 2012 (Mohyeldin, 2014) to finalize the constitution and send it to then President Morsi in the early morning, despite a boycott by secular and liberal parties. It is also noteworthy that only four women out of 85 members had voted on the draft, all these women belonging to Islamist parties.

The drafting of the constitution and the President’s approval to hold a referendum without seeking a compromise with the opposition forces led to a political crisis and further public outrage, in which tens of thousands of people poured into streets calling for the

administration's downfall. As a result, more than 50 people were killed on January 2013 according to BBC report (BBC,2015).

In addition to challenging the judicial system and marginalizing opposition in Egypt's constitution 2012, Egypt's economic situation deteriorated, as prices increased immensely, the public debt increased while the Egyptian pound lost 10 percent of its value since January 2013 (Houdson, 2013; Gerbaudo, 2013). The widespread Egyptian outrage was climaxed by two main crises: energy shortage and power outage. During the last months of Morsi's presidency, Egypt witnessed an energy crisis, which caused endless lines at gas stations all over the country and frequent power outages. Lakhal (2014) said that "the proportion of the electrical power deficit in the period from June 2012 to June 2013 amounted to 25 percent" (p.140). The then-administration failed to present the public with a comprehensible solution to the problem, as former Prime Minister Hisham Kandeel in a public speech suggested that families should "wear cotton clothes and gather in one room to save power," and Morsi stated that "the power outages were due to an additional 7 million air conditioners" (Lakhal, 2014, p.140), and he blamed the crisis on "smuggling operations" implemented by Mubarak's former businessmen.

In terms of smuggling operations, Egyptians widely shared the opinion that the Morsi administration was involved in smuggling subsidized gasoline and diesel to Hamas in the Gaza Strip. Al-Ahram online and the Palestinian Maan news agency reported on February 19, 2013 that Egyptian border guards "have blocked an attempt to smuggle around 20,000 liters of diesel fuel and gasoline via tunnels under the border with Gaza Strip." Al-Monitor also quoted the South Sinai General supplies Director Tharwat Afifi saying "smugglers collect the subsidized fuel in tanks from filling stations, and then smuggle it to the Gaza strip..." Ibrahim Zahran, former head of Oil Company, said to Al-Watan on July 2013 that the energy crisis was due to "the

smuggling of more than 40 percent of fuel per day to the Gaza strip.” Former ministry of Petroleum, Osama Kamal Addin, said to ONTV that “about 20 percent of diesel was smuggled to Gaza,” stressing that “Morsi was aware of these smuggling operations, but did not take any action to stop it.”

Morsi won the presidential elections after the 2011 elections, when Egyptians were exhausted due to two years of instability, insecurity, and deteriorated economic situation. The Egyptian people expected the President to fulfill the revolution’s promises and signal positive indications of new Egypt. However, the perceived arrogance of the President’s administration and his Islamist group detached them from the public’s demands, so they underestimated the power of the public and did not expect the June 30 revolution.

Morsi’s One Year Accountability Speech, June 26, 2013

Overall Conclusion

Although Morsi stated that the reason for delivering a speech on June 26, 2013 was to present an “accounting” of his accomplishments during a year of presidency, the timing of its delivery came four days before the June 30 Mass Uprising revolution, when masses of Egyptians went out into streets to demonstrate against Morsi’s ruling due to Egypt’s deteriorated economy, and politics (as discussed in socio-political context section). It is worth mentioning that June 30 was preceded by calls for an early presidential election to replace Morsi’s ruling system, and these calls were led by a political movement known as Tamarod. After failing to force Morsi to hold early elections, Tamarod and other political forces started to mobilize the public opinion for mass demonstration on June 30, 2013.

Code-switching between MSA and ECA was used in Morsi's speech as a strategy of inclusivity and building solidarity with Egyptians, but sometimes he relied on unorthodox language choices, including some vernacular words which did not fit a presidential speech. These words are: "*Rakhar*" (other), "there are 32 families "*beymoso*" (absorb or suck) Egypt's economy, "*benzem* instead of *benzene*" (gasoline), "*teta*" (fed up).

Generally, the speech was too long, as it lasted for two and half hours; in some parts, it was ambiguous, irrelevant and delivered contradictory messages. Morsi violated all four of Grice's maxims: 1) quantity, 2) quality, 3) relation, and 4) manner (Gumperz, 1982; Chilton & Schäffner, 2002), leading to several "implicatures" (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p.12). In the case of Morsi's speech, he violated the maxims as he did not directly address Egypt's critical problems during his era, and through the speech he sought to manipulate the public by blaming his failure on Mubarak's regime. The speech content also exceeded the amount of information needed by the public, and in some parts he provided irrelevant information.

One example to illustrate irrelevancy in Morsi's speech was in paragraph (28), as he mainly discussed the state's challenges in improving tourism and investments, but within the paragraph, he raised an off record conversation with Kamal Shazly, a prominent politicians in Mubarak's era. Moreover, this conversation was not related to either tourism or investment, but rather about Mubarak regime's corruption and stealing. After sharing this off record conversation, he resumed his talk about national investment.

Morsi's speech also contains contradictory messages, which might lead to audience distraction and impact the quality of information. One prominent example is the presidential campaign in 2012, where Morsi vowed to tackle five key issues within the first 100 days of his

presidency: the security vacuum, traffic congestion, fuel shortages, bread scarcities, and poor public sanitation. However after one year of his presidency he admitted in his speech on June 26, 2013 the failure to solve these problems, and he blamed Mubarak's cronies for leading a counterrevolution to cause him and the 2011 revolution to fail. Other examples of contradictory messages are also present. Morsi stressed the media freedoms in paragraph (33) and his tolerance with what he called "media violations," but afterwards, he used a threatening tone, saying:

A law to ban the imprisonment of journalists... and I gave up my right in media cases that abused my personnel, I practiced and still practicing the utmost patience on the excessive use of freedom, which turned into unacceptable violation," then he threatened saying "I want to say a year is enough.

Another contradictory message can be found in paragraph (27), when Morsi discussed the energy crisis, saying:

The problem of gasoline and petrol is known for all, at each time we solved it, it returned again because there is a real crisis. We as a state falling a short, but a large part of the crisis is artificial and created by a network of opportunists.

In the above quote, Morsi admitted the shortage of his administration to tackle the energy crisis, but again he found a scapegoat and blamed "a network of opportunists," referring to Mubarak's regime.

These contradictory messages were a result of targeting two different segments of the audience: revolutionaries, and the old administration of Mubarak. Morsi sought to contain revolutionaries by admitting his failure as a President to meet their aspirations after the 2011 January revolution, but he also sought to threaten Mubarak's regime to stop their alleged attempts to fail him as a president. However, these contradictory messages led to confusion and ambiguity, which violated the maxim of manner.

Although the speech's main goal was to provide the public with a statement of accounting for a year of Morsi's presidency, the content was irrelevant in which Morsi did not explain or clarify his failures to tackle Egypt's key issues. He only stressed the transparency and accountancy, but he rarely referred to the president's shortages managing the state's challenges.

Morsi's violations of the four maxims implied the lack of concrete vision to solve Egypt's political and economic problems. His prolonged televised speech reflected a maneuver to manipulate the presidency's failure to face the challenges, while blaming the previous administration for these challenges and their continued attempts to destroy the state.

Structure of the Speech

As mentioned above Morsi violated the maxim of manner and clarity, as he used contradictory messages, phrases, and information. However, the structure of the speech was clear, as he started introducing the reasons behind delivering the speech, then moved to the body, which includes an evaluation of his presidency and the government's performance during a year of ruling. Morsi also concluded the speech by demonstrating his strategic vision and directing several messages to different segments of the society.

Although the speech's structure is clear, it lacks cohesiveness, as some paragraphs are irrelevant to each other. For example, Morsi said in paragraph (5): "I will start by giving an account of myself and the presidential institution [during a year of presidency]," then in the following paragraphs he blames Egypt's "current challenges, sufferings, and complicated problems" on Mubarak and his men, accusing them "for leading counterrevolution." Morsi did not discuss in this portion of speech his responsibility as President of the state and his failures to resolve Egypt's chronic problems.

Another example lies in Paragraph (7) where Morsi declared he would provide the audience with a brief overview of his policies during the year. In the following paragraphs until paragraph (12), he discussed the map of political forces and parties after the 2011 revolution and their failure to “represent different segments of the society and to include the youth.” However, he did not address the failure of his policies to solve Egypt’s economic, energy, and electricity crises, which had fueled outrage among Egyptians before the delivery of the speech. In paragraph (12) he said: “This is (a brief) about me and the presidency,” neglecting his responsibility in Egypt’s critical problems, but he ended the paragraph referring to the counter-revolution and its role in inciting crises to fail the revolution and his [Morsi] ruling.

One more example, in paragraph (33) Morsi expressed respects of “media freedoms” and talked about “media violations against presidency.” Within the paragraph he referred to former leader of Fatah Mohamed Dahlan, saying “Media hosted Mohamed Dahlan who sent his poisonous [messages] everywhere against Egypt.” Most of the irrelevant paragraphs were improvised by Morsi who used a mixed style of delivering the speech, as he read from the written speech, and sometimes he improvised. Improvisation is an inclusive strategy to attract the public’s attention, but it should be relevant and consistent with the speech content.

In the speech, Morsi referred to several social actors involved in Egypt politics after the 2011 revolution. Table 4 demonstrates the President’s stance towards these social actors, as he used either negative or positive attributions, but he avoided neutral stances.

Table 4. Predication strategy/ Social Actors in Morsi's Speech

Actor	Stance	Attributions
Mubarak's Regime	Negative	criminal- oppressor- corrupted- dictator- leading counterrevolution- vandal
Armed Forces	Positive	brave- golden and great leadership- powerful- protective- honored officers
Ministry of Interior	Positive	brave- challengeable- fulfil their duties- honorable- victims of conspiracy
Media & Business	Negative	Freedom abusers- violate law- propagate hatred rhetoric- incite strife- loyal to Mubarak- escape paying taxes-
Judiciary System & Attorney prosecutor	Negative	politicized- lacked transparency- unfair
Political forces and parties	Negative	Stubborn- selfish- unconstructive opposition
Arab countries	Negative	Conspirators

Morsi used a common strategy by presidents in their speeches, which is to demonize the other. In the speech, Mubarak's ruling era was blamed for all the challenges and failures that Morsi faced. For example, Morsi blamed Mubarak and his aides for creating the electricity shortage crisis, saying:

But one of the strange things is that someone belongs to the old criminal regime [referring to Mubarak] bribed an employee in power plant to cut off the electricity for longer hours.

Morsi negatively described Mubarak's era, calling it "criminal," "oppressor," and "corrupt." As mentioned above, Morsi used every chance in his speech to scapegoat Mubarak and his aides to reduce his own responsibility of failing to meet Egyptians' aspirations after the 2011 revolution.

He not only demonized Mubarak's administration, but he also demonized some governmental institutions and political forces. For example, Morsi expressed skepticism about the judiciary system, as he commented in paragraph (18) on the request of appealing against the legitimacy of the presidential elections. This led to his winking as a President saying "[we have] a respectful Judiciary system that can check such a case," his comment was followed by laughter and applause among the audience ⁽⁵⁾, which implied a mocking of the judiciary system. When the audience continued laughing, Morsi responded saying "no, seriously I am speaking; seriously we have a respectful judiciary." The whole scene reflects a relationship of distrust between the presidency and the Egyptian judiciary, but Morsi insisted on avoiding any direct clashes with one of Egypt's critical institutions so he delivered embedded messages containing mistrust in the judiciary system's transparency and justice. Moreover, while he discussed in paragraph (34) his orders to designate an investigative committee to reopen the 2011 revolution's martyrs and injuries case, he was skeptical saying "*we are waiting this time for fair verdicts*," which further supports the argument that Morsi did not trust Egypt's judiciary system.

⁵ Morsi delivered his speech in the conference hall, attended by officials and an audience believed to belong to the Muslim Brotherhood.

Furthermore, Morsi's arguments to support such an accusation against the judiciary system were weak, one of the arguments he introduced was a personal experience with a judge during the parliamentary election in 2005, saying: "he [the judge] forged the elections in front of my eyes." The question raised here is why Morsi did not use his authorities as a president and ordered to re-investigate what he called "forgery case"? Why he did not introduce the evidences he had to the prosecution? The purpose of telling unreliable stories of "forged judges" was intended to indirectly demonize the judiciary and blaming them for forgery for the sake of Mubarak's former administration.

On the other hand, Morsi praised and positively featured the security apparatus, including the Interior Ministry and Armed Forces, and he advocated their role and "immense efforts" to restore security, and stability. In paragraph (19) he said:

I totally understand the [ministry of] interior's efforts, no one tells me where is the [ministry of] interior [referring to the absence of the police,] the [ministry of] interior is doing its job, which is huge and difficult, the minister of interior and his men [referring to duty officers] do not sleep, but the mission is very difficult.

Responding to the clashes between Security Central Forces and protestors on the Nile Corniche in March 2013, Morsi justified the police's failure to accomplish their mission efficiently, by blaming the Judiciary system that acquits "criminals," referring to "defendants who violated the law," according to Morsi. In this regard, he also used non- verbal communication to mock the transparency of the Egyptian judiciary saying "*heeh* [referring to an ironic laugh], adding "and after all they were acquitted."

Morsi further discussed the deteriorated security situation, blaming demonstrations, which he said "obscured the stability and Egypt's progress." He negatively attributed the demonstrations and repeated Mubarak's narrative by saying "the peaceful demonstrations were

penetrated by rioters, who carried out violent acts.” Simultaneously, he again praised the role of police and justified their deficiency in chasing criminals by blaming “some [unfair] courts’ verdicts [against duty officers] for having a negative impact on the security apparatus performance.” In this paragraph, Morsi added the vague phrase “it’s been said how can you judge me and then asking me to maintain security?” referring to verdicts against duty officers. So it was not clear if Morsi meant to neglect security violations or he just reflected on narratives shared among security officers.

Additionally, Morsi’s usage of pronouns clarifies his position towards the addressees. As shown in table 5, he intended to feature himself as the center of attention by referring to himself 337 times, using either singular pronoun “I” or exclusive “we”. He used the pronoun “I” 213 times to portray himself in relation to the crisis and addressee, and he used the inclusive “we” 94 times.

Table 5. Person deixis in Morsi’s Speech

Pronouns	No. of Repetition
I	213
We (self- referencing)	124
We (solidarity with people)	94

Although Morsi heavily used the singular pronoun “I,” which indicates a distant relationship with Egyptians, he attempted to build solidarity with them too. For example, in

paragraph (5) he engaged the Egyptians into his one year experience in the presidency, using inclusive “we” for 13 times in return of 3 times of singular (I). The following sentence in paragraph (5) illustrates the above argument, as he used inclusive “we” 3 times, “together” 2 times, and “all Egypt and her people” once to stress on the principle of solidarity with Egyptians.

I stand before you today to declare transparently the brief of my first year including the achievements and the difficulties and failures **we** faced, to recognize **together, together** all of us, **all Egypt and her people**, what **we** have achieved and **we** have not.

Notably, Morsi mostly used inclusive “we” to engage Egyptians in the responsibility of the state’s challenges, as in paragraph (22) he repeated inclusive “we” 14 times saying:

I am standing today in front of you to transparently declare my statement of accountability to review our promises, including what have been achieved and what challenges we suffered so that we, all of us, all of Egypt and its nation realize what we have achieved and what we did not achieve. We want too much, we achieved some of these goals, but we failed in achieving some other goals, and we still face challenges [...]

Additionally, he used phrases to narrow the distance with Egyptians, for example he identified himself as an “Egyptian citizen,” “helpless as Egyptian citizens,” and a “kind president”. However, Morsi at each time he used these phrases, he would shortly reminded Egyptians with his official titles, using phrases such as “the president of the state,” “Commander- in- Chief,” and the “Head of Police.” Accordingly, Morsi was eager to use both inclusive and exclusive strategies to maintain a balance in his relationship with addressees, including Egyptians, the governmental institutions, and political forces. One good example of Morsi’s mixed strategy of building solidarity with Egyptians but also distancing them is in Paragraph (4), he said: “Oh Egypt’s great nation, I am standing in front of you today, I am Mohamed Morsi, the citizen before being a President in charge of the nation’s destiny,” so

shortly after praising Egyptians and introducing himself as a citizen, he mentioned his official title as a President of the nation.

Morsi also excluded the addressees when he used an exclusive “we” to refer to himself and some governmental institutions. In the following sentence “we succeeded in building new and balanced civilian- military relationship,” he used exclusive “we,” referring to the presidency and Armed Forces.

Repeated words also reflect Morsi’s deep thoughts, by stressing certain ideas. In table 5, the repeated words are counted, attached with an explanation behind the repeated words.

Table 6. Repeated Words in Morsi’s Speech

Repeated Words	No. of Repetition
Allah, God	43
Honestly, transparency	6
Revolution	39
Legitimacy	8
Ikhwan [the Muslim Brotherhood]	2
Egypt, state, nation	74
But	40

Scholars argue that using a religious reference reflects either the religiosity of the presiden or the nature of addressees (Wyatt, 2006; Israeli, 1998). Morsi used religious reference as a strategy to influence the majority of Egyptians who are Muslims, and to win their hearts. He also used religious references to justify the shortage of accomplishing the mission he promised to

achieve within 100 days of presidency, as he concluded the speech by reciting the verse in Qur'an: "[...] Our Lord, do not punish us, if we forget or fall into error [...]." Interestingly, Sadat used the same strategy of using verses in Qur'an in his speeches, but Abdel Latif (2011) suggested that presidents' usage of Qur'anic verses aims "to restrict addressees' responses to the speech." However, in Morsi's case, it is engaging to the audience to recognize the burden on the president who faced huge challenges. In addition, Morsi's background as a member of the Muslim Brotherhood played a factor in using religious phrases, particularly when he spontaneously repeated "Allah" or "InshAllah."

Moreover, Morsi attributed the occurrence of the 2011 revolution to Allah, as he said in paragraph (4) "when Allah allowed the revolution to occur." Morsi also relied heavily on using religious phrases, as he started by a prayer saying:

O Allah, to You is praise as befits the Glory of Your Face and the greatness of your Might.

"الحمد لله يارب لك الحمد كما ينبغي لجلال وجهك وعظيم سلطانك"

In the following paragraph, he greeted the Muslims for the expected holy Ramadan during which Muslims fast. Morsi concluded his speech using a Quranic verse excerpted from (*surat Al-Bakra*) to support his main argument, which is the success and the failure of his one year presidency, as the verse saying:

Allah burdens not any soul beyond its capacity. It shall have the reward it earns, and it shall get the punishment it incurs. Our Lord, do not punish us, if we forget or fall into error, and our Lord, lay not on us a responsibility as Thou didst lay upon those before us. Our Lord, burden us not with what we have not the strength to bear, and efface our sins, and grant us forgiveness and have mercy on us, Thou art our Master, so help us Thou against the disbelieving people.

"لَا يَكْلَفُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَعَلَيْهَا مَا اكْتَسَبَتْ رَبَّنَا لَا تُؤَاخِذْنَا إِنْ نَسِينَا أَوْ أَهْطَأْنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تَحْمِلْ عَلَيْنَا إَصْرًا كَمَا حَمَلْتَهُ عَلَى الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تُحَمِّلْنَا مَا لَا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِ وَاعْفُ عَنَّا وَاعْفِرْ لَنَا وَارْحَمْنَا أَنْتَ مَوْلَانَا فَانصُرْنَا عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ"

Morsi mentioned the revolution 39 times, and he talked about the 2011 revolution as if he were the legitimate leader who refused to call some segments in the society as revolutionaries, citing some media figures and politicians. In paragraph (14) he mentioned specific names such as prominent journalist Makram Mohamed Ahmed, and former Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq, ridiculing that these figures consider themselves as revolutionaries.

Repeating “legitimacy” 8 times indicated that Morsi wanted to stress on his legitimacy, which gained via elections and the polls, amid Egyptian’s and political forces’ outrage towards his policies. He also implied that removing his administration should be implemented via legitimate channels otherwise the democracy would vanish.

Morsi repeated “transparency” 3 times, and one of the tactics he used to show transparency is reporting the number of increasing wages and the states’ budget. However, he provided this information without visual processing to facilitate the Egyptians’ concentration and understanding, given the fact that Egypt witnesses 25.9% illiteracy, according to a report conducted by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) for the year 2013.

Both Mubarak and Morsi were very similar in their discourse strategies during the times of crises, as they demonized the others and blamed them for plotting against Egypt’s stability and sovereignty. The two Presidents featured themselves as the center of attention in their speeches, in which the usage of singular pronoun “I,” exceeded the number of using inclusive “we,” which is used to build a relationship with the addressees. The question raised is does Sisi

use the similar strategies in his Sinai's speech? The following section provides an analysis of the speech to reveal his discourse strategies.

Sinai Attacks

Sociopolitical Context

Although the socio-political context of the Sinai attacks requires spotlighting Sinai's background with terrorism, it is also important to highlight Sisi's background as an intelligence officer who has deep knowledge about Egypt, particularly Sinai and terrorist groups. As a result, his background informed his speech's content in which he demonstrated that he knew how to approach Egyptians and gain their support.

Sisi was unknown to the public until he became Minister of Defense on August 12th, 2012. Since then, the Egyptian media stirred controversial debate about his background and ideology, as rumors speculated that Sisi was part of a "sleeping cell for the Muslim Brotherhood" (Aly, 2014, p.3). This rumor was first launched by TV anchor Tawfik Okasha, an influential Egyptian voice via *Faraeen TV* channel, as he had earlier predicted the removal of Marshal Field Hussein Tantawi, Minister of Defense, and the appointment of Sisi to fill the position. Okasha also emphasized Sisi's "religiosity," saying his "wife wearing *nekaab* (covering all her body except eyes, referring to his conservative family)," Okasha intended such rumors to suggest that Sisi leans towards the MB ideology. However, it was later discovered that these rumors were invalid and were apart of plan to protect Egypt against the MB's the perceived "plot to take over the military, the intelligence services, and the interior ministry" (Aly, 2014, p.3).

In just three years, Sisi achieved major progress in his career; going from Director of Military Intelligence and Reconnaissance in 2011 to become the youngest member of the Supreme Council of Armed Forces. In 2012, Morsi removed Tantawi to assign then-Colonel Gen. Sisi, who was promoted in 2014, under former President Adly Mansour, to Field Marshal, and then rapidly ascended to the presidency of Egypt. Sisi had been exposed to the international community by attending the Joint Command and Staff College in the UK and the U.S. army's elite academy at West Point, where he submitted a thesis on "*Democracy in the Middle East*."

Sisi's first influential public appearance was in April 2012, celebrating Sinai Liberation Day and this was the first time he addressed Egyptians. In that speech he stressed the strength of military-civilian relationship, which had been deteriorated during the ruling of Supreme Council of Armed Forces in 2011/2012, refuting any claims that the army would harm any civilian. Another influential statement delivered by Sisi was on July 2013, when he declared "a road map statement" to isolate Morsi from his position as a President of Egypt, and instead appoint Adly Mansour. This statement was delivered at a critical time when masses of Egyptians were demonstrating all over Egypt, demanding the removal of Morsi, and the armed forces intervened for the second time ⁽⁶⁾ to protect the state's sovereignty. The military intervention "was widely applauded by opposition political parties and the overwhelming majority of the millions of protestors." (Carafone et al., p.1)

⁶ The first time was on February 11th, 2011, when the then Gen. Omar Sulieman announced that Mubarak relinquished the presidency and assigned the Supreme Council of Armed Forces to rule the country.

Removing Morsi and eliminating the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood led “many Egyptians” to view Sisi as “a savior, while others –primarily supporters of the MB- saw him in retrospect as having conspired [against Morsi],” and considered June 30 as a coup (Aly, 2014, p.3).

Following the removal of Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups led two major sit-ins in two vital districts in Cairo, Rabaa and Nahda square, where thousands demonstrated and camped for more than 45 days. Several Islamic affiliated channels, including *Sharia TV*, broadcast the sit-ins live, which contained “violent and terror calls” against the state as a response to “Sisi’s removal off Morsi,” using words such as “we are going to crush you” (Nadi, August 2014). One of the most common videos shared on social networks, was a clip of MB senior leader Mohamed Beltagy saying “what is happening now in Sinai [referring to terrorist attacks targeting army, police, and gas pipelines] as a response to the military coup would be halted immediately when Sisi declared the regression of the coup, and the return of the President [referring to Morsi]” (Al-Arabiya TV, July 2013). Notably, terrorist acts “increased in Sinai exponentially with Morsi’s removal” and after dispersing Rabaa and Nahda sit-ins (Gold, 2014, p.3). Dyer and Kessler (2014) noted that Sinai attacks “increased fifteen-fold in just one month [after Morsi’s removal], and it has remained far higher than before the Brotherhood’s fall from power” (p.42).

Sinai turned into a hub of extremist groups after the 2011 revolution, as Egyptian authorities, particularly security apparatuses, “have lost control of large swathes of Sinai,” (Special Feature: Terrorism in Sinai) and this security vacuum allowed extremist groups to expand their terror acts in Sinai, exploiting local Bedouins’ grievances against the government due to years of marginalization and unfair treatment. Before 2011, Sinai Bedouins suffered

major problems and were viewed as “second- class citizens” (Gold, 2014, p.6), for example, the majority of the Bedouins were prohibited “to serve in the military or police” (Egypt: Bedouins Begin to Demand equal Citizenship). Additionally, the Bedouins were viewed as “collaborators of Israel’s fifteen-year occupation of the peninsula after the 1967 war,” (Laub, 2013 quoted *Economist* reporter Nicolas Pelham), but this perception slightly changed after restoring Sinai in 1973 and expelling Israel from the land.

Sinai’s location and its geography make it an “ideal [location] for smuggling through the Peninsula” (Dyer et.al., 2014, p.15). The state’s shortage to provide infrastructure, particularly in North Sinai, and equal job opportunities led to increased smuggling of “narcotics, weapons, and human trafficking in and out of the Sinai” (Youssef, 2011). On the other hand, following Israel’s withdrawal from Gaza strip in 2005 to be taken over by Hamas, Egypt witnessed illegal activities along its border at the Gaza strip, including the building of thousands of illegal tunnels, which contributed to smuggling in and out of the Sinai. Laub (2013) noted that the blockade imposed on Gaza in 2007 amid fierce battle between Hamas and Fath “created one of the world’s most lucrative markets for smuggling networks”. Smuggling operations increased immensely after the breakdown of security in 2011, as it provided “further opportunity for these existing smuggling networks to thrive” (Dyer, 2014, p.15).

The state’s failure to address Sinai residents’ problems paved the road to the rise of extremist groups, including Salafi Jihadism, and it “provided a useful recruitment tool for violent actors: offering youth a chance for revenge against the state” (Gold, 2014, p.12). Dyer et.al argued that “Salafi groups” used the security vacuum following the 2011 revolution to “recruit Bedouin youth” (2014, p.23). Although Sinai contained several extremists groups, such as *Ansar Bait al-Maqdis*, *Army of Islam*, and *Tawhid wal Jihad*, the Muslim Botherhood is

always blamed for terrorism escalation in Sinai. This governmental and public rhetoric developed after several threats delivered by the MB senior leaders, including the supreme Guide of the MB Mohamed Badei who warned, during the Rabaa set-in, that “*we are willing to sacrifice our necks and our souls for him* [referring to Morsi]” (Carafano, 2013, p.2). One other argument supporting the perceived linkage between the MB and extremist groups in Sinai was that Mohamed al-Zawahiri, the Al-Qaeda leader’s brother allegedly warned “if the deposed President was not returned to power, the Al-Qaeda affiliated groups, al-Salafiyya al-Jihadiyya would take up arms against Egyptian authorities” (Sabry, 2014, p.29).

On January 29, 2015, Dae’sh affiliates in Sinia known as *Wilayat Sinia* (Province of Sinai) launched several concurrent attacks, which targeted army and police facilities in Arish, Sheikh Zuweid, and Rafah. The attacks caused huge losses among soldiers, with at least 32 deaths according to *The Guardian*. The incident sparked outrage among Egyptians and created deep grievances. In return, Sisi immediately cut his visit to Ethiopia short and returned to Egypt to address Egyptians’ grievances in such a critical moment.

The Sinai Speech

Overall Conclusion

Although Sisi delivered his speech two days after the Sinai attacks on January 29, 2015, he explained his reason for the delayed timing of delivery as he started the speech, “it was necessary to quickly cut off my visit and participation in the African Union Summit in Ethiopia.” He then started introducing his condolences to the family of martyrs who had been killed in the attacks. The Sinai attacks took place on the evening of January 29th, which was concurrent with Sisi’s participation in the African Union Summit in Ethiopia. Despite the

importance of such a visit to strengthen Egypt-Africa relations and mitigate the tensions over water conflict with Ethiopia, Sisi immediately cut off his visit to return back to Cairo, addressing Egyptians on January 31st. He delivered his speech after his meeting with the Supreme Council of Armed Forces, which delivered a statement on Friday, January 30th, reaffirming that “the attacks will not deter us from our holy duty to uproot it [referring to terrorism] and destroy it,” according to Armed Forces spokesman.

Overall, Sisi’s Sinai’s speech was condensed, short, clear, and relatively met the people’s demands to know about the crisis and the reasons behind the attacks. The tone of speech was inclusive, transparent, open, and threatening to perpetrators of the attacks. However, Sisi’s tone in this speech was completely different from his previous speeches where he used to be calm and soft while addressing Egyptians. In this speech, he used a harsh tone, as he sometimes shouted, increasing the volume, urging Egyptians to be “cautious and support him and the state in their fight against terrorism.”

Sisi was eager to employ an inclusive strategy by using ESA, which is switching between varieties MSA and ECA dialect. According to Mazraani (1997), using ESA is a common strategy to communicate to the addressee’s emotions, construct authority, and to keep addressee’s attention (p.213). In Sisi’s speech, he intended to communicate Egyptians’ grievances after huge losses in the Sinai attacks, but he also sought to maintain the prestige of the setting where he delivered the speech, topping the Supreme Council of Armed Forces’ members. Nonetheless, he relied heavily on using ECA dialect in his speech to communicate with the majority of Egyptians who use dialect in their daily conversation. With the use of the ECA dialect, he meant to speak the public’s language to narrow the gap and include them in the crisis and in finding possible means to confront it.

In addition to using ESA to build solidarity, Sisi used several other tactics to closely position himself in solidarity with Egyptians. For example, in paragraph (1) he said: “Let me start my speech by extending my condolences not only to the families of martyrs, but also to all of us, to all Egyptians.” In this quote, Sisi asked addressees to extend condolences to the families of martyrs, himself, and Egyptians, using inclusive terms such as “*let me*,” and “*all of us*.” He also shared private conversations with the Egyptian media delegation in Ethiopia discussing the developments in Egypt after the attacks, in paragraphs (1) and (2).

Pauses were also employed in Sisi’s speech to include Egyptians in his grievances, as Mazraani (1997) argued that occasional pauses contribute to emphasize an idea, and “psychologically to get the audience involved in the speech.” She also mentioned that Gamal Abdel Nasser in the *Nekssa* (setback in 1967) speech used pauses throughout his speech to engage the public and to express his sorrow. In addition, Sisi improvised the speech, as he had not a written document to read from, so he needed these pauses to organize his ideas, thinking about the language usage, and then delivering his thoughts.

Another inclusive strategy is posing questions to let addressees interact with the speaker and think of expected answers. Sisi used this tactic to explain the context of the crisis and to interact with Egyptians, for example in paragraph (1), he said:

We, Egypt, confront the most powerful underground organizations in the globe, what does it mean? It means you Egyptians on June 30 and July 3rd took a very serious decision in contemporary history.

In the above quote, Sisi introduced the crisis, then posed a question to let people think of the current crisis, and then he used this question as a connector to move backwards and reminded Egyptians of their earlier decision when they revolted against the MB ruling.

Throughout this speech, Sisi also shared some off-record meetings to support his arguments and engage them in the crisis. One of the important meetings he pointed to in his speech was a confidential meeting between “a senior leader of the [MB] organization” and himself as then-Defense minister, Sisi, on June 21st, 2013, saying

This senior leader kept telling for more than 40 minutes that we [the MB] will bring fighters from all over the world to fight you.

Moreover, Sisi clarified the reason for sharing such a confidential story with the public, saying “I am telling this to all Egyptians so that they became aware of whom we are dealing with.”

Following the attacks, Egyptians were very angry and upset, and social media fueled criticism against security gaps to protect their soldiers, facilities, and confront terror acts, which led to huge losses among Army officers. However, after the speech, there was a shift in reactions as some Egyptians applauded what Sisi had said, and this speech was generally considered to be a successful communication. Sisi met Grice’s four maxims, as the speech was short, clear, and relevant to the crisis. Although Sisi did not provide detailed quantitative information about the exact number of losses and deaths of officers, he compensated for that by clarifying that sharing military information during the times of crises would harm the nation’s morale, including army and police. He also vowed to take revenge on those who committed this crime, saying “we took measures [to respond], and I wanted to say we know those who helped and funded you [the MB], and we would not leave them.”

Structure of the Speech

Sisi’s speech is cohesive but not well structured, as he kept going back and forth between thoughts, stressing specific messages about the roots of the crisis and its

consequences. It was not a classical speech in terms of starting with an introduction, then body, and conclusion; rather, Sisi focused on communicating with Egyptians to support the President in his “*battle*” to overcome the crisis. In support of this conclusion, Sisi in paragraph (1) said “honestly, we need to think about range of vital thought,” and then he started to identify the crisis, which is “confronting the most powerful underground organization in the globe [...] and their violent and terror acts.” He also identified the crisis as a “complicated, strong, devilish, prolonged confrontation” against what he called “the most powerful underground organization.”

After identifying the crisis, Sisi moved through his talking points without a specific order. For example, in paragraph (2), he raised the issue of maintaining the morale of the army during times of crises and wars, then he moved to the role of media coverage, and finally he stressed the importance of the Egyptian will and the president’s respect to their decision on June 30, 2013. In the following paragraph, he returned back to stress the gravity of impacting the morale of the army and police’s while confronting Egypt’s battle against terrorism. In paragraph (5), he ended the speech with the point he previously mentioned, which is respecting the Egyptian will. Despite of these structural inconsistencies, the speech was cohesive as ideas are connected to each other, and Sisi moved smoothly through range of thoughts, using phrases or posing questions or connectors.

In contrast to the previous Presidents, Sisi avoided negatively attributing the social actors involved in the crisis. He neutrally described the perpetrators involved in the Sinai attacks as shown in table 7.

Table 7. Predication Strategy/ Social Actors in Sisi's Speech

Actor	Stance	Attributions
International underground organization [referring to the MB]	Neutral	powerful- well organized- penetrative- successful- leading some countries-
Egyptians	Positive	Free will- changed the world-
Armed Forces and Police	Positive	Fighting the battle instead of Egyptians- Egyptians' sons

Despite Egypt's "complexity and devilish confrontation" against the MB, according to Sisi, he cautiously spoke about the criminal party involved in the Sinai attacks. First, he did not name it, rather he called them "the most powerful underground organization" who responded to Egyptians' decision after removing Morsi and the MB ruling. This cautiousness reflects Sisi's intelligence background and the belief that the MB is the mother of other terrorist organizations, such as *Ansar Bait al-Maqdis*. It is noteworthy that one of the recent conflicted issues between Egypt and the U.S. during the fight against terrorism is that Washington refuted to list the MB as terrorist organization, which clashed with the Egyptian government's decision to designate the MB as terrorist organization.

Sisi also did not negatively attribute the "underground organization," but he neutrally picked up specific terms to describe their status as "well organized," "penetrative," "powerful," and "successful." He also supported his argument of the organization's power by stating that "there are some countries led by their [the underground organization] senior leaders." Egyptian media speculated that Turkey was among these countries, claiming that President Recep Tayyip Erdogan belongs to the MB.

He also stressed the importance of Egyptians' role in the state's battle against terrorism, praising their free will to choose their destiny and support their president, who will respect their choices. In addition to the Egyptian citizens, he emphasized the military-civilian relationship, pressing that military and police men are integral part of the society, describing them as "Egyptians sons."

Like Mubarak and Morsi, the number of singular pronoun "I" exceeded the number of inclusive "we" in Sisi's speech. The table below demonstrates Sisi's usage of pronouns in the Sinai speech.

Table 8. Person Deixis in Sisi's Speech

Pronouns	No. of Repetition
I	53
We (self- referencing)	12
We (solidarity with people)	29

Although the number of occurrences of the singular pronoun "I" exceeded the number of inclusive "we", Sisi used the pronouns efficiently to switch between solidarity and authoritative tone. For example, he used "I" to declare his responsibility and authority as former Defense ministry and current president, as seen in paragraph (1), "**w**e need to review range of thoughts that **I** wanted to stress it." He used "we" to share and engage Egyptians in the thoughts that the president, using "I", wanted to feature. He also used a mix of authoritative tone and inclusive tone. Another example to support Sisi's mixed approach of authority and

solidarity is: “Did not **we** agree to share the role of building Egypt together, between me, you, and the state’s institutions?”

Repeated words and phrases in Sisi’s speech, shown in table 9, reflect his eagerness to involve Egyptians in the crisis and the decision to resolve it. He also repeated several words and phrases to stress certain ideas.

Table 9 .Repeated Words and Phrases in Sisi’s Speech

Repeated Words	No. of Repetitions
Allah, God	12
Honesty	1
I am ready to sacrifice my soul	2
Either Ruling or Killing You	3
You Egyptians took the Decision, Respect your Decision, Egyptians’ choice	17
Egyptians Will	4
Egyptians’ moral	3
Terrorism	5
<i>Tahiya Misr</i> [Long Live Egypt]	3

Sisi emphasized the necessity of Egyptians’ choice and free will, as he mentioned “decision,” “choice,” and “will” (21) times. He constantly mentioned “decision,” and “choice,” throughout the entire speech, but at each paragraph he signaled a different message. In paragraph (1), he repeatedly said “you Egyptians took the decision, not anyone else,” reminding Egyptians of their uprising to remove Morsi on June 30 and July 3rd, 2013. It is noteworthy that there was a western narrative suggesting the involvement of Egyptian

Intelligence Services in leading up to the June 30 ⁽⁷⁾ mass uprising. Sisi in his speech sought to refute such speculations by reaffirming that Egyptians, “not anyone else,” took the decision to remove Morsi. In the following paragraph, Sisi mentioned “choice” 8 times within the context of respecting Egyptians’ ability to choose. For example, he said “again, you the Egyptian nation chose, and your choice for me [pause], when you choose, I will implement your **choice** with all decisiveness, honesty, and faithfulness.” After two revolutions, where Egyptians succeeded to remove two administrations, Sisi expressed appreciation and respect of Egyptians’ choices, using different phrases such as “I will do whatever you want,” and “I will implement whatever you point to.” He also implied that he would not stay in the presidency if the people do not want him. In the last paragraph, Sisi returned to highlight his respect to Egyptians’ will and choice, but within a religious context, saying “I respect my people’s choice, my Egyptian people, because Allah asked us to allow people to choose even in worshipping him [Allah].”

One of the most important phrases Sisi repeated in order to build solidarity with Egyptians was “I do not care about anybody in this world except you, I do not care about anybody except Egyptians.” He then added, “I am ready to battle the entire world, but you should stand beside me, otherwise I could not, I could not resist without you, I cannot resist without you Egyptians, you who changed the world now.” In the sentences above, he stressed the importance of Egyptians in the political equation, not only on the domestic level, but also on the international level. He argued that he could not resist the “world,” referring to the international powers, which viewed the June 30 as “a coup,” such as the U.S. that banned the

⁷ Please see Trager, E. (2015); Gresh, A (2013)

military aid to Egypt after the removal of Morsi. Domestically, he also included Egyptians in the state's fight against terrorism.

Although he mentioned “honestly” only once, he used equivalent phrases to refer to the same meaning, such as when he reminded Egyptians of his expectations that terrorist acts would be retreated. He also repeatedly mentioned in the speech, “I did not hide it from you, I did not hide from you,” clearly emphasizing his honesty with Egyptians since his request for a mandate to fight terrorism on July 21. Likewise, when he urged Egyptians to support the state in its battle against terrorism, he said “I could not change the world without you, this should be very clear.”

Sisi ended his speeches with “long live Egypt,” and repeated the phrase three times subsequently. The phrase became Sisi's signature to end most of his speeches. However, praising Egypt to mark the end of the speech was not a common strategy in the speeches of Egyptian presidents, but Sisi wanted to assure that the priority is given to Egypt rather than the President and the nation.

Table 10. Similarities and Differences of Discourse Strategies between the Three Egyptian Presidents

	Mubarak	Morsi	Sisi
Setting	Direct televised speech, where Mubarak read from a written speech in studio located in the presidential palace.	Televised speech in a conference hall, where participants represented the government, the Muslim Brotherhood, and audience was believed to be composed of people belonging to the MB.) Morsi used to read from a written text, but he also improvised.	In the background, the Supreme Council For Armed Forces appeared while Sisi improvised a televised speech
Crisis	The eruption of 2011 Revolution	Energy crisis and Egyptian outrage before the June 30 revolution	Terror attacks on military checkpoints and facilities in Arish, Sheikh Zuwied and Rafah
Framing Crisis	Peaceful demonstrations infiltrated by rioters	Counter-revolution led by Mubarak's regime	Egypt confronts the Muslim Brotherhood, who responded to removing Morsi
Tone of Speech	Authoritative, monotonous, negligence	Authoritative, negligence, confusion, ambiguous.	Threatening, inclusivity, transparency, honesty
Structure of speech	Well-structured and cohesive	Well- structured but not cohesive	Cohesive but not structured
Language	MSA	ESA with inappropriate use of dialect	ESA
Discourse strategies	Emotional approach, amplifying the crisis to increase fears among Egyptians, model of us vs them, attributing negatively the other	Religious reference, model of us vs them, attributing negatively Mubarak's former regime, while praising the current security apparatuses	Religious reference, inclusiveness, constant pauses, model of us vs them, using neutral words to describe social actors

Conclusion

In the period 2011 to 2014, three recent Egyptian presidents have used speeches to communicate with the public and to influence public opinion during times of crisis, but each of them has had a different influence and impact. This study focused on the speeches in times of crisis of three presidents: Mubarak, Morsi, and Sisi. The speeches are Hosni Mubarak's 2011 speech "the 2011 Revolution" on January 28th; Mohamed Morsi's "One Year Accountability" on June 26th, 2013, and Abdel Fattah El Sisi's "Sinai attacks" on January 31, 2015.

Although there is no valid measure to identify each president's influence on the public, the removal of Mubarak and Morsi, after the 2011 revolution and the June 30, 2013 mass uprising revolution, reflect the presidents' failure to effectively communicate with the public. In contrast, Sisi overcame the crisis by effectively communicating with the public and getting the support of the majority of Egyptians. Grice's four maxims setting the rules of successful communication have been applied to the three speeches, concluding that Sisi violated the four maxims the least which may account for the relative success of his speech, compared to the other two speeches analyzed here. The following table demonstrates the similarities and differences between the three Presidents and their usage of discourse strategies during crises.

Studying these political speeches within their respective socio-political context shows that the type of the crisis influences the success of the speech to a large extent. For example Sisi's speech was not delivered during an existential crisis of absolute public outcry, whereas Mubarak and Morsi were confronted with masses of Egyptians demonstrating to overthrow their administrations. Besides, Egypt has faced terrorism in Sinai since at least 2004, so Sisi's administration would hold the sole blame for the crisis in Sinai and the expansion of Jihadi groups. However, the attacks against military and police personnel and facilities in North Sinai

on January 2015 sparked outrage among Egyptians who blamed the state for failing to protect their security. Sisi responded to this outrage by delivering his speech two days after the incident, so he had a chance to recognize the attitude and the mood of the public opinion to directly address their fears and concerns.

On the other hand, Mubarak and Morsi underestimated “the expected crises,” as they knew the timing of demonstrations, and were aware of Egyptians’ frustrations and essential demands. However, they were “shocked” by the large demonstrations that poured into streets all over Egypt, and the situation on the ground grew in a very quick pace, so both of them did not employ the efficient discourse strategies to successfully communicate with the public and overcame the crises. For instance, Mubarak in his speech provided abstract solutions to deal with Egypt’s challenges, which caused people’s anger, such as the deteriorated relationship between the police and civilians. Morsi did not directly address Egyptians fears from the Muslim brotherhood’s ruling, which based on excluding large segments of society who do not belong to the MB, and he also evaded his responsibility as a president by blaming Mubarak’s regime for Egypt’s chronic problems such as power outage.

Moreover, the study supports that the speech is an essential tool of communication between Egyptian presidents and the public, particularly during a crisis. Waldman (2003) argues “successful leadership in crisis requires that the public trust the leaders to tell the truth,” (p.120) and this means that the President would not succeed in his communication with the public unless he has already built a relationship of trust with the public. For example, when Mubarak delivered his speech during the 2011 revolution, he was not successful due to the lack of trust on the part of Egyptians. In Morsi’s case, his policies influenced the relationship with the majority of Egyptians so that his speech during the crisis was not applauded. However, Sisi came as a

“savior” to eliminate the Muslim Brotherhood affiliated President Morsi, and since then Sisi was eager to build a trusted and confident relationship with Egyptians, including the MB sympathizers who were not involved in crimes. So when Egypt faced an escalation in terrorism, which led to huge losses among soldiers in Sinai, specifically the Sinai attacks, Sisi had a good foundation upon which to build his communication process with Egyptians during the crisis, and the speech had its influence on the public, as Sisi remained in power.

Although the three speeches were delivered in different periods and in different socio-political contexts, there are common strategies used by the three Egyptian presidents in their speeches when addressing the public in times of crisis. These common strategies are: “inclusion”, “invoking conspiracy”, “foreign intervention”, “commemorating the president’s achievements”, and “emotional approaches.”

Both Mubarak and Morsi shared very similar discourse strategies, such as demonizing the “other.” Mubarak described demonstrators as “rioters” who harm the state’s national security. Morsi also blamed Mubarak for “plotting” against the 2011 revolution and described him as “criminal.” In contrast, Sisi used neutral terms to describe the social actors involved in the crisis, for instance, he described the Muslim Brotherhood, whom he blamed for involving in Sinai attacks, as “well organized, powerful, and an international underground organization.”

An authoritative tone is clearly prominent in the speeches of Mubarak and Morsi, as they used to remind Egyptians of their official posts as “president of the state.” Using the singular pronoun “I”, which exceeded their usage of inclusive “we,” influenced the distance between them and the Egyptians. However, Sisi avoided the authoritative tone by mentioning several times that he “would strictly obey the people’s desire and decision, and respect the Egyptians’ will,” (quoted Sisi’s speech, 2015). He also relied heavily on using the singular pronoun “I”.

Religion is an important component of Egyptian culture, and some Egyptian presidents used religion as a discourse strategy to effectively communicate with the addresses. Using religious references within the political speech “strengthens the authority of the speaker,” (Abdel Latif, 2011, p.57), and the current study demonstrates that both Morsi and Sisi used religious phrases in their speeches. Sisi used religious references to legitimize the state’s fight against terrorism, and communicate the religious side of Egyptians. Similarly, Morsi sought successful communication with Egyptians by using religious references, but sometimes he seems to be artificial in using this discourse strategy. For example, he ended his speech by reciting a verse of the holy Qur’an from a written paper, which he brought it out of his jacket. In contrast, Mubarak rarely used religious phrases in his speech; instead he stressed the secular concept of citizenship, which deals with all citizens based on their identity as Egyptians regardless their religions.

A large percentage of Egyptians are illiterate, so using simple variety of Arabic or using Egyptian Colloquial Arabic would impact the communication between the presidents and the public. Morsi and Sisi were eager to switch between ECA and Modern Standard Arabic to guarantee the maxim efficiency of their speeches, and to keep public attention. In return, Mubarak’s monotonous speech relied on the usage of MSA.

The limitation of this study is the lack of analyzing Fairclough’s second level of CDA approach, which is the process of producing the speech. Tracking the speechwriter and the surrounding circumstances, when the speech was produced, will further the understanding of discourse strategies. Although the current study referred to the settings where the speeches were delivered, it lacked in-depth analysis on the medium used by the three presidents. Accordingly further studies are needed on studying the media channels used by Egyptian presidents to

communicate with the public in the times of crisis. Also further studies are needed on discourse strategies used by Arab and Egyptian politicians in crisis speeches.

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Appendixes

Mubarak 2011 Revolution Speech on January 28th

الاخوة المواطنين .. أتحدث اليكم في ظرف دقيق يفرض علينا جميعا وقفة جادة وصادقة مع النفس تتوخى سلامة القصد وصالح الوطن. لقد تابعت أولا باول التظاهرات وما ناديت به ودعت اليه .كانت تعليماتي للحكومة تشدد على اتاحة الفرصة أمامها للتعبير عن اراء المواطنين ومطالبهم. ثم تابعت محاولات البعض لاعتلاء موجة هذه التظاهرات والمتاجرة بشعاراتها واسفت كل الاسف لما أسفرت عنه من ضحايا أبرياء من المتظاهرين وقوات الشرطة.

لقد التزمت الحكومة بهذه التعليمات وكان ذلك واضحا في تعامل قوات الشرطة مع شبابنا وقد بادرت الى حمايتهم في بدايتها احتراما لحقهم في التظاهر السلمي طالما تم في اطار القانون وقبل أن تتحول هذه التظاهرات لأعمال شغب تهدد النظام العامل وتعيق الحياة اليومية للمواطنين.

ان خيطا رفيعا يفصل بين الحرية والفوضى واننى اذ أنحاز كل الانحياز لحرية المواطنين في ابداء ارائهم أتمسك بذات القدر بالحفاظ على أمن مصر واستقرارها. وبعد الانجراف بها وبشعبها لمنزلاقات خطيرة تهدد النظام العام والسلام الاجتماعي ولا يعلم أحد مداها وتداعياتها على حاضر الوطن ومستقبله.

ان مصر هي أكبر دولة في منطقتها سكانا ودورا وثقلا وتأثيرا وهي دولة مؤسسات يحكمها الدستور والقانون.

علينا أن نحاذر مما يحيط بنا من أمثلة عديدة انزلقت بالشعوب الى الفوضى والانتكاس .. فلا ديمقراطية حققت ولا استقرارا حفظت.

أيها الاخوة المواطنون لقد جاءت هذه التظاهرات لتعبر عن تطلعات مشروعة لمزيد من الاسراع لمحاصرة البطالة وتحسين مستوى المعيشة ومكافحة الفقر والتصدي بكل حسم للفساد.

انني أعي هذه التطلعات المشروعة للشعب وأعلم جيدا قدر همومه ومعاناته. لم انفصل عنها يوما وأعمل من أجلها كل يوم لكن ما نواجهه من مشكلات وما نسعى اليه من أهداف لن يحققه اللجوء الى العنف ولن تصنعه الفوضى وانما يحققه ويصنعه الحوار الوطني والعمل المخلص والجاد.

ان شباب مصر هو أغلى ما لديها وهي تتطلع اليهم كي يصنعوا مستقبلها وتربأ بهم أن يندس بينهم من يسعى الى نشر الفوضى ونهب الممتلكات العامة والخاصة واشعال الحرائق وهدم ما بنيناه.

ان اقتناعي ثابت لا يتزعزع بمواصلة الاصلاح السياسي والاقتصادي والاجتماعي من أجل مجتمع مصري حر وديمقراطي يحتضن قيم العصر وينفتح على العالم.

لقد انحزت وسوف أظل للفقراء من ابناء الشعب على الدوام مقتنعا بأن الاقتصاد اكبر وأخطر من أن يترك للاقتصاديين وحدهم وحرصت على ضبط سياسات الحكومة للإصلاح الاقتصادي كي لا تمضي بأسرع مما يحتمله ابناء الشعب أو ما يزيد من معاناتهم.

ان برنامجنا لمحاصرة البطالة واتاحة المزيد من خدمات التعليم والصحة والاسكان وغيرها للشباب والمواطنين تظل رهنا بالحفاظ على مصر مستقرة وامنة.. وطننا لشعب متحضر وعريق. لا يضع مكتسباته واماله للمستقبل في مهب الريح.

ان ما حدث خلال هذه التظاهرات يتجاوز ما حدث من نهب وفوضى وحرائق لمخطط أبعد من ذلك لزعة الاستقرار والانقضاء على الشرعية.

انني أهيب بشبابنا وبكل مصري ومصرية مراعاة صالح الوطن وأن يتصدوا لحماية وطنهم ومكتسباتهم. فليس باشعال الحرائق والاعتداء على الممتلكات العامة والخاصة تتحقق تطلعات مصر وأبناءها وانما تتحقق هذه التطلعات للمستقبل الافضل بالوعي والحوار والاجتهاد من أجل الوطن.

ايها الاخوة المواطنون اني لا أتحدث اليكم اليوم كرئيس للجمهورية فحسب وانما كمصري شاءت الاقدار أن يتحمل مسؤولية هذا الوطن وأمضى حياته من أجله حربا وسلاما. لقد اجتزنا معا من قبل أوقاتا صعبة تغلبنا عليها عندما واجهناها كأمة واحدة وشعب واحد وعندما عرفنا طريقنا ووجهتنا وحددنا ما نسعى اليه من أهداف.

ان طريق الإصلاح الذي اخترناه لا رجوع عنه أو ارتداد الى الوراء. سنمضي عليه بخطوات جديدة تؤكد احترامنا لاستقلال القضاء وأحكامه. خطوات جديدة نحو المزيد من الديمقراطية والمزيد من الحرية للمواطنين. خطوات جديدة لمحاصرة البطالة ورفع مستوى المعيشة وتطوير الخدمات وخطوات جديدة للوقوف الى جانب الفقراء ومحدودي الدخل.

ان خيارنا واهدافنا هي التي ستحدد مصائرنا ومستقبلنا وليس أماننا من سبيل لتحقيقها سوى بالوعي والعمل والكفاح.

نحافظ على ما حققناه ونبنى عليه ونرعى في عقولنا وضمائرنا مستقبل الوطن. ان أحداث اليوم والايام القليلة الماضية ألقت في قلوب الاغلبية الكاسحة من ابناء الشعب الخوف على مصر ومستقبلها والتحسب من الانجراف الى مزيد من العنف والفوضى والتدمير والتخريب واننى متحملا لمسؤوليتي الاولى في الحفاظ على امن الوطن والمواطنين لن اسمح بذلك ابدا .. لن اسمح لهذا الخوف ان يستحوذ على مواطنينا ولهذا التحسب ان يلقي بظلاله على مصيرنا ومستقبلنا.

لقد طلبت من الحكومة التقدم باستقالتها اليوم وسوف اكلف الحكومة الجديدة اعتبارا من الغد بتكليفات واضحة ومحددة للتعامل الحاسم مع اولويات المرحلة الراهنة.

وأقول من جديد اننى لن اتهاون في اتخاذ اية قرارات تحفظ لكل مصرى ومصرية امنهم وامانهم وسوف ادافع عن امن مصر واستقرارها وامانى شعبها فتلك هي المسؤولية والامانة التى اقسمت يمينا امام الله والوطن بالمحافظة عليها.

حفظ الله مصر وشعبها وسدد على الطريق خطانا والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

كان ضروري ان أنا بسرعة أقطع زيارتي ل (صمت) وحضورى ل (صمت) لمؤتمر الاتحاد الإفريقي في إثيوبيا وخلونى أبدأ كلامي بأننا أوجه التعازي مش بس كمان لأسر الشهداء، التعازي لينا كلنا، لكل المصريين، وبصراحة إحنا محتاجين نتوقف عند مجموعة نقاط مهمة جدا أنا عايز أكد عليها (صمت)، خلال لقائي مع الإعلاميين إمبراح بسرعة كدة وأنا في طريق المغادرة أنا قلت تعبير وهكرره دلوقتي أنا قلت إن إحنا مصر بتجابه أقوى تنظيم سري في العالم، ده معناه إيه؟ معناه إن المصريين في 6/30 و 7/3 خدوا قرار من أخطر القرارات خلال في العصر الحديث اللي إحنا موجودين في ده، قرار كبير أوي إنتو أخذتوه (صمت) بقول إنتوا يا مصريين اللي أخذتوه مش حد تاني، قولتوا لأ إحنا مش هنكمل ، وعشان كدة أنا جيت يوم 7/21 وقلت أنا عايز تفويض في مواجهة الإرهاب والعنف المحتمل لأن أن كنت متأكد إن هو ده هيبقى المسار اللي إحنا هنتحرك فيه، أنا (صمت) بأكدلكم إن يوم 6/21، ومن فضلكم إفتكروا التوقيت ده كويس، يوم 6/21 أحد أكبر القيادات لهذا التنظيم إما كنتش هيا المسؤولة عن كل شئ فيه طلب لقاء مع قيادي آخر معايا شخصيا (صمت) أنا بقول الكلام ده وقلته قبل كدة في جلسات مغلقة، لكن أنا بقوله للمصريين كلهم علشان يبقوا (صمت) عارفين احنا بنتعامل مع مين احنا عارفين بنتعامل مع مين، لمدة أربعين دقيقة وأكثر هذا القيادي كان بيقولي هنجيب أو هتلاقي من كل ربوع الدنيا ناس جاية تقايلكم، من أفغانستان، من باكستان، من سوريا، من العراق، من مصر، من فلسطين، من ليبيا، من كل الدنيا هتيجوا تقايلكم، ده كان يوم 6/21 يوم 6/21، انا كنت عارف كويس أوي إن ده اللي هيجصل، وإنتوا بتهيألي كمان كنتوا عارفين إن إحنا هتقابل موجة إرهاب كبير أوي، لأن إحنا جينا على تنظيم في أقوى حالاته تنظيم بقاله سنين طويلة جدا مستقر بيخطط جاهز نافذ ناجح في العالم، في دول بتقاد النهاردة بقيادات من هذا التنظيم، تفتكروا الدول دية هتبقى (صمت) هتعمل إيه؟ هتسبينا في حالنا؟ شوفوا المواجهة دي مواجهة صعبة وقوية وشريرة وهتاخذ وقت طويل هتاخذ وقت طويل واللي بيدفع تمن الوقت ده كل المصريين لأن ولاد الجيش هم ولادكوا، ولاد الشرطة هم ولادكوا، ولاد مصر، لكن هم مستعدين يدفعوا الثمن ده علشان البلد دية ومش بس علشان البلد دي، علشان المنطقة دي بالكامل، كانت هتتحول لنار لا يعلم مداها إلا الله.

أنا ببدأ كلامي معاكم بالنقطة دية، وقلت حاجة ثانية للإعلاميين إمبراح (صمت) قتلتم خالو بلکم (صمت) خلي بالکم زمان أيام الحروب مكنش في تناول لأخبار الجيش علشان الروح المعنوية وعلشان إرادة الامة إرادة مصر هيا المستهدفة، اللي بيتعمل ده هدفه كدة، فلا إحنا عارفين احنا بنعمل إيه، شوفوا تاني بقول إنتم اخترتم وإنتم الشعب المصري خياره بالنسبة لى واختياره بالنسبة لى لما يختار أنا (صمت) أنفذ هذا الاختيار بمنتهى القوة والأمانة والإخلاص، أي خيار للمصريين يختاروه (صمت) أي خيار هيتخاروه أنا هنفذه، إنما الصراح ده إحنا مصريين مصريين وأنا مدرك كويس أوي أنا بقول إيه إن إحنا هنتنصر فيه، دي معركة، مش عايز أقول الدول اللي خاضت معارك ضد الإرهاب (صمت) في أفغانستان (صمت) في العراق في حتت كتير من العالم كانت بتمشي وتسبب الإرهاب، (صمت) لكن في مصر إحنا مش هنسببه لا لالا لا، إحنا مش هنسبب سينا، إحنا مش هنسبب سينا لحد، ياتبقى سينا بتاعت المصريين يانموت.

نقطة في منتهى الأهمية إن روحكم المعنوية إرادتكم وإرادة الجيش والشرطة تبقى دايما في أعلى ما يمكن، اللي إحنا بنشوفه ده، أنا قلت قبل كدة دا أمر هيتكرر، أنا مخبتش عليكم حاجة، أنا مخبتش عليكم حاجة، ده أمر هيتكرر، إنتوا فاكرين إن الناس دي، انا قتلنكوا مرة قبل كدة يانحكمكم يا تقتلكم (نبرة صوت غاضبة) اختاروا يا تتحكموا يا تقتلوا ها؟ صحيح (نبرة صوت حادة، وصمت) أنا بالنسبة لى ممكن أتقتل معنديش مشكلة، أيوا أنا بقلوكوا كدة أنا مستعد أتقتل وهقابل ربنا وقابل ربنا باللي أنا عملته، هقابل ربنا باللي أنا عملته، تاني بقول ياهتحكموا ياهتقتلوا هوا كدة، إنتوا قتلوا لأ قتلوا لأ مش هنتحكم، قلنا إحنا هنتقتل مكانكوا، هوا الحكاية كدة (صمت) هي الحكاية كدة، انا بقول الكلام ده ليه؟ لأنى أنا ميهمنش أي حد في الدنيا غيركوا أنا ميهمنش حد في الدنيا غير المصريين (صمت) مستعد أقف قدام الدنيا كلها إنما تكونوا انتوا معايا، إنما غير كدة، أنا مقدرش، مقدرش أقاوم إلا بيبكم (نبرة حادة جدا) (صمت) مقدرش أقاوم إلا بيبكم إنتم المصريين اللي انتوا غيرتوا الدنيا دلوقتي وأنا مش هقدر أغيرها إلا بيبكم، ده أمر لازم يكون واضح جدا جدا.

إحنا مبنخفش (صمت) وأخذنا الإجراءات وأنا عايز أقول ل (صمت) في الآخر اللي ساعدكم واللي إداكم إحنا عارفينه وشايفينه ومش هنسيبه، أقول ثاني؟ اللي ساعدكم واللي إداكم إحنا شايفينه ومش هنسيبه. إحنا (صمت) بفضل الله سبحانه وتعالى بفضل الله سبحانه وتعالى هننتصر في هذه المواجهة بالعمل (صمت) وبالجهد (صمت) وبالدم. إنتوا مش عارفين هما بيعملوا كدة ليه؟ هوا انتوا لسة يا مصريين عايزين تكمّلوا، الكلام ده أنا قلته قبل كدة ويقوله ثاني، عايزين تعملوا مؤتمر إقتصادي، إمبارح اتسألنا السؤال ده بيقولولي أخبار المؤتمر الاقتصادي إيه قولتلهم المؤتمر الاقتصادي دراع مصر انتوا فاهمين يعني إيه؟ دراع مصر، أيوة إحنا مستعدين نجوع ونبني بلد، مستعدين نجوع ونبني البلد ونبني للأجيال اللي جاية، فإنا الكلام ده طالما إرادة الناس وخيار الناس اللي هيا المصريين (صمت) على قلب رجل واحد مفيش مشكلة ثاني لا في اقتصاد ولا في أي حاجة ولا في اللي بيحصل ده.

وثاني بختم بها كلامي عايز أقولكم إرادتكم وخياركم هوا الأمر النافذ عليا، اللي انتوا عايزينه أنا هعمله هتشافروا عليه هنفذوا، ليه؟ لأنني أنا بحترم خيار الناس خيار أهلي وناسي المصريين، ولأن الخيار ده ربنا طلب منّا إن إحنا نخبر الناس حتى في عبادته هو، يعبدوه أو حتى ميعبدوهوش، مش إحنا النهاردة متصوريين أو في ناس متصورة إنها مستعدة تقتل علشان (صمت) يقولك إحنا بننشر دين دين إيه؟ (صمت) عايزين ننتبه كويس أوي لينا كلنا وأنا مش عايز أقول، هوا إحنا مش اتفقنا إن دور دور بناءنا لمصر دا دور مشترك بيني وبينكم وبين أجهزة الدولة المختلفة، يعني القضاء مش لي دور؟ دور في ضبط (صمت) بإجراءات قضائية سريعة علشان الناس تشعر، ده مش دور؟ أنا مليش دعوة ومش هعلق عليه. الإعلام مش ليه دور؟ في الحفاظ على الروح المعنوية ورسالة وعي حقيقية في حرب إحنا بنخضها دلوقتي. أجهزة الدولة كلها بجانب المصريين في المواجهة اللي إحنا موجوديين فيها دية، خلي بالك، إنشاء الله إنشاء الله مش في الإرهاب في بناء مصر الحديثة إنشاء الله بيكوا يا مصريين إنشاء الله مصر هتكبر رغم كل اللي بيتعمل، رغم حقد الحاقدين، وكيد الماكزين مش هيقدرنا، ليه؟ بس علشان المصريين إرادتهم قوية وهما إنشاء الله على الحق، تحيا مصر تحيا مصر تحيا مصر.

نص خطاب مرسي

نص خطاب مرسي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

"الحمد لله يارب لك الحمد كما ينبغي لجلال وجهك وعظيم سلطانك، رضينا بالله رباً وبالإسلام ديناً ومحمد (ص) نبياً ورسولاً، رب اشرح لي صدري ويسر لي أمري وأحل العقدة من لساني، يفقهوا قولي."

أيها الأخوة والأخوات، السيدات والسادة يا شعب مصر العظيم اسمحوا لي في بداية هذه الكلمة وهذا اللقاء أن أنقل إلى أهل مصر جميعاً التحية الواجبة والتهنئة بقرب حلول شهر رمضان، فنحن اليوم 17 شعبان، ورمضان شهر الكرم والخير، شهر الصيام والقيام والقرآن، فكل عام وأنتم جميعاً بخير، وأود قبل أن أبدأ الحديث الذي أحب أن أتوجه به إليكم جميعاً، وقبل ذلك أريد أن أترحم معكم على شهدائنا الأبرار وأقدم التحية لمصابي ثورتنا المجيدة، الذين لولا دمائهم الزكية وإصابتهم التي أمتنا جميعاً ماكانت الثورة ولا كان الأمل.

ثورة مصر العظيمة دُفع فيها الثمن، ثورة 25 يناير 2011، ثمن غالي علينا كلما لا تنساه ودائماً نذكر من ضحوا من أجل الاستقرار ومن أجل التنمية ومن أجل الحرية ومن أجل العدل والكرامة والعدالة الاجتماعية. مرَّ عام منذ وقفت أمامكم في ميدان التحرير أودي قسم اليمين لتحمل هذه المسؤولية العظيمة في مرحلة حرجة، يحدونا الأمل في بناء مصر الجديدة التي طالما كنا نحلم بها.

ياشعب مصر العظيم أقف أمامكم اليوم أنا المواطن محمد مرسي المواطن المصري قبل أن أكون الرئيس المسئول عن مصير أمة ومستقبل شعب أقف أمامكم كمواطن أخاف على وطني وبلدي وامتى ومصر الغالية التي لا قدر الله إن إصابتها مكروه يؤثر على العالم العربي والإسلامي بل والعالم كله، أقف أمامكم لأحدثكم حديث المكاشفة والمصارحة، الوقت لا يتسع لتجمل في عرض الموقف أو تلطف في إظهار الحقائق. إحنا قعدنا عشرات السنين في مصر بنحلم متى يا رب كيف يارب، إزاي نغير النظام الظالم المجرم المزور إزاي من غير ما مصر تخسر من غير دم من غير ولادنا في المستقبل ما يعانوا من أي انقسام، لما ربنا أذن بالثورة كان ماكان بفضل الله، وكلنا إيد واحدة علشان بفضل الله نزيح الغم والظلم والتزوير والفساد والسرقة. أزلنا النظام وسرنا في طريق مع بعض زى ماحنا شايفين بتفاصيل لا تخفى على أحد منا، قطعنا شوطاً وباقي أماننا تحديات وأشواط.

أقف أمامكم اليوم لأعلن بشفافية كشف حساب عامي الأول بكل ما فيه من وعود وما تحقق فيه من خطوات وماعانيناه من صعوبات وإخفاقات لتدركوا معي، لتدرك معاً كلنا كل مصر وأهلها ما الذي استطعنا أن نحققه وما لم تستطع وما نريد ما نريد كثير، حققنا بعض الأشياء وتعثرنا في بعض الأشياء ومازال أماننا تحديات. وأعلن معكم ما هي خارطة الطريق لحياة كريمة لكل المصريين، كل ما أطلبه الآن في هذه المرحلة اللي العالم كله بينظر إلينا فيها وبيترقب، ولكل ثورة أعداء ولكل شعب منافس وأمام كل أمة تحديات نحن المصريون قادرون إن شاء الله على تجاوز المرحلة والتغلب على التحديات. كما ما أطلبه منكم الآن أن نستمتع ونتفهم ونناقش بروح تعلي من شأن الوطن وتبحث عن الإيجابيات فنبن عليها والسلبيات نعالجها. وليست تلك الروح التي تشوه كل شيء وتسفه كل شيء وتخون كل شيء، دي مش مصر تبقى لو عملنا كدة مصر مش كدة أبداً، الروح دية غريبة علينا كلنا.

ابتداء كنت أتمنى أن تكون الأوضاع بالشكل الذي يرضينا جميعاً، ولكن الحقيقة التي لا تخفى على أحد أن مصر تواجه تحديات عدة، تحديات كتبير قوي، الاستقطاب والتطاحن السياسي بلغ مدى يهدد تجربتنا الديمقراطية الوليدة بل ويهدد الوطن كله بحالة من الشلل والفوضى وهذا ما لا نريده جميعاً لوطننا.

تأخر النمو الاقتصادي الذي لا بديل لنا عنه والذي لا يتحقق إلا بالاستقرار السياسي الضروري تأزم الأحوال المعيشية التي لا نعالج واحدة منها حتى تطل علينا أخرى، دعوني اصارحكم واكشفكم ان ما أوصلنا إلى هذه الحالة هو جملة من العوامل لا بد من فهمها والاعتراف بها والتعامل معها فوراً، سنة كاملة لا نستطيع أبداً بعد عام كامل من هذه التحديات والأحداث ان نضيع ثانية أو دقيقة واحدة فيما هو آت وسأبدأ معكم بنفسى وبمؤسسة الرئاسة اذ ليس من الانصاف والحكمة أن نلقي اللوم على آخرين دون أن نقف مع انفسنا أولاً في وضع شديد التعقيد كالذى نعيشه في مصر بعد الثورة.

اجتهدت مع المخلصين في هذا الوطن في تقدير الأمور فأصبت أحياناً وأخطأت أحياناً أخرى، أنا طبعاً أخطأت في حاجات كثير وأصبت في أشياء قدر ما أستطيع، ده كلام مفيش فيه كلام، فالخطأ وارد ولكن تصحيحه واجب، أنا راجل اتعودت في سنين طويلة أن أكون معلماً وباحثاً وان شئتم قولوا عالماً وفي العلم وفي التجريب وفي البحث يصيب الناس ويخطئون وفي السياسة أكثر من لك، لكن التصويت عندما نكتشف الخطأ هو الأهم، أجتهد فقدرت أن الوقت قد آن لتحويل ثورتنا وطاقاتها الهائلة إلى طاقة بناء وتنمية. أنا عايز المصريين اللي عددهم حوالي 90 مليون وأرضهم كبيرة أوي ونعم ربنا كثير علينا أوي وماردنا كثير واتظلمنا كلنا وعانينا كلنا، واتسرفت مواردنا منّا كلنا، عايز مصر دية واحنا عايشين مع بعض تقف على رجليها وولادها يمتلكوها بجد ويمتلکوا ارادتهم في إدارة شأنها بجد، لو اتفقنا على ان ارادتنا ملكنا احنا لوحدها ونبني كلنا مع بعض، الحلول هتبقى سهلة وميسورة وهتاخذ وقت، لكن هيتحقق فيها بفضل الله أهداف كثيرة، اجتهدت فقدرت أن الوقت قد آن لتحويل ثورتنا وطاقاتها الهائلة إلى طاقة بناء وتنمية ، وأن السبيل لذلك هو تجنب الاجراءات الاستثنائية قدر الامكان والسعي لاصلاح المؤسسات من داخلها لكن الممارسة خلال العام اثبتت ان الثورة لكي تتحرك نحو تحقيق أهدافها لابد لها من اصلاحات جذرية وسريعة.

أنا عايز أقولكوا ان المسؤولية بتحتم على المسؤول بالضرورة في هذه المرحلة أن يكون واضحاً وصريحاً، مفيش حد عايز يحقق مصلحة بلده وهو مسؤول بجد ويرضي ربه بجد ويهرب من المسؤولية، اذ وضع فيها زي حالاتي كذا لازم يشيلها بقدرها لازم، ماعدش في مغانم في المسؤولية وماعدش في مصالح أشخاص في المسؤولية، لكن في إرادة وهمة وحرص على تحمل المسؤولية، أنا فاكراً وأنا صغير بتعلم إذ القوم قال من فتي خلت أنني غنيت فلم أكسل ولم أتبلد، الممارسة أثبتت أن الثورة لكي تتحرك نحو تحقيق أهدافها، ثورة المصريين بناعت 25 يناير هي ثورة واحدة بس، كل المصريين شاركوا فيها، كلهم دفعوا تمن قبلها وأثناءها وبعدها، مستمرة، تجربة في السنة وأنا ماشي معاكم أثبتت أن الثورة لكي تتحرك نحو تحقيق أهدافها لابد لها من إصلاحات جذرية وسريعة في هياكل وأداء مؤسسات الدولة ولابد لها من حلول غير تقليدية وأضع تحت عبارة غير تقليدية عدة خطوط.

اجتهدت اجتهدت انتوا عارفين إن المجتهد إذ أخطأ طالما كان أسأل الله سبحانه وتعالى أن نكون كذلك مخلصاً في اجتهادي، إذ أخطأ فله أجر، وإذ أصاب فالأجر للمصيب والأجر للمخطئ إذا ما صوب خطاه، اجتهدت فقدرت، اجتهدت فقدرت ان خريطة الأحزاب السياسية بعد الثورة تقدم تمثيلاً وافياً للتيارات والاتجاهات الشعبية المتنوعة وان التجربة السياسية القائمة على الانتخابات وشرعية الصندوق كافية لاستيعاب الجميع لكن الممارسة أثبتت أن قويا أساسية مثل قويا الشباب لم تجد مكاناً في العديد من الأحزاب القائمة ولا في مفردات العملية السياسية برمتها، كثير من هذه القويا لا تجد اليوم بعد عامين ونصف على الثورة وسيلة غير الرجوع الى الشوارع والميادين للتعبير عن مواقفها ومطالبها، يعني أن هذا الشباب امتلاك حالة ثورية و طاقة للتغيير لم تجد في الحياة السياسية ما يستوعبها ويجب أن نصصح ذلك.

اجتهدت فقدرت أنه سيكون من اليسير أن يتقدم إلى المناصب التنفيذية أفضل الكفاءات الذين حُرم الوطن منهم لسنوات من المحسوبية والفساد في ظل النظام القديم ولكن الممارسة أثبتت أن ما لدينا من وسائل لمعرفة واجتذاب وتكليف تلك الكفاءات

والخبرات التجريبية اثبتت أن هذا قاصر عن استيعابها وتقديمها فظل كثير منها بعيدا عن المشاركة والتأثير رغم حرصه وتدفق افكاره وغزارة عطائه التي حُرمت منها في تلك الفترة.

هذا عني وعن مؤسسة الرئاسة أقوله بكل صراحة حتى اتحمل نصيبي أيضا من المسؤولية عن الأوضاع القائمة واتحرك نحو تصحيح تلك الأوضاع على بصيرة ومسئولية فماذا عن الآخرين. لا يخفي على عاقل ان هناك من يناسب هذه الثورة عداء سافرا.

لا يخفي على عاقل أن هناك من يناسب هذه الثورة عداء سافرا، ففي الخارج هناك من يدرك ماذا تستطيع مصر الحرة القوية النامية المتطورة أن تقدمه لأمتها وعالمها وفي الداخل هناك من يتوهم إمكانية إرجاع عقارب الساعة إلى الوراء ورجوع دولة الفساد والقهر والاحتكار والظلم التي يبدو للأسف أن من بيننا من لا يتصور لنفسه عيشاً ولا حياة بدونها.

حاجات غريبة الواحد بيشوفها ناس بتتكلم كأنها من الثوار، مكرم محمد أحمد هو كان من الثوار؟ كان من الثوار؟ نقابة الصحفيين قامت عليه وطلعت عليه واختارت حد ثاني، وبعد سنتين في وجود الرئيس الطيب اللي بيقول لازم مش عارف ايه، وبيقول أنا من الثوار، ده حتى صفوت الشريف بقي من الثوار رخر وزكريا عزمي حبيبي بكرة من الثوار ليه لأ، مهو كله بيطلع براءة، ليه لأ.

لم يدخر أعداء مصر جهدا في محاولة تخريب التجربة الديمقراطية بل ووأدها بمنظومة من العنف والبلطجة والتشويه والتخريض والتمويل بل واللعب بالنار في مؤسسات شديدة الأهمية، معروف إنو بقايا المستفيدين اللي كانوا من النظام القديم يعز عليهم أن يشوفوا مصر بجد تنهض وإن أهلها جيشها وشعبها وشرطتها مع بعض، مهو زمان كان النظام المجرم يعمل اللي هو عايزه ويوظف ناس من الأمن يحموه وبعدين بهذا يوجد الشقاق والحقد والشروخ بين الشعب وبين بعض الرجال الأمن وحتى أحيانا تشوه المؤسسة، فدل عاشوا خفافيش الظلام زمان، دلوقتي بيقولك احنا ثوار.

من جانب آخر هناك معارضة وطنية لا نملك جميعا الا ان نتكاتف من أجل أن تقوي وتتجذر ويصبح لها وجود شعبي بحيث تقوم بأدوارها الأساسية في تداول السلطة والرقابة الديمقراطية وتقديم البدائل في الحكم والتنمية.

أنا نفسي أشوف بجد ما اتمناه على ربي وما أبذل من أجله جهدا كبيرا، أن أحرص بجد تداول سلطة حقيقي ديمقراطي في مصر، أتمنى هذا والله، انشاله الصبح بكرة، انشاله بكرة طالما انه طبقا لما احرزنا من مسيرة ديمقراطية ومن استقرار دستوري، انا سأحرص هذا لكي لكي نعتاد وولادنا من بعدنا، يا أهل مصر كلنا ن تعود ان احنا نتداول السلطة بطريقة سلمية زي الدنيا كلها، عايزين معارضة وده موجود منها كتير دلوقتي وفيه لبلادها بتتحرك في المجتمع عندها رؤية ووجهات نظر في الحكم، الناس بينتخبوها ويختاروها فيتداول السلطة مع القائم على السلطة والقائم على السلطة مش بإرادة الشعب.

ولأسف اختارت بعض الفصائل مع أول بادرة للخلاف في الرأي مع الرئاسة أن تتخلى بسرعة عن قواعد العملية الديمقراطية في أبسط صورها وهي الاحتكام للصندوق والالتزام بالشرعية، وامتنعن عن المشاركة في المناصب والأدوار الوطنية، انا هقف قدام ديه شوية احنا في أول تشكيل وزاري عرضنا على ناس، دكتور هشام قنديل موجود، الأستاذ الأستاذ الفاضل منير فخري عبد النور، دكتور هشام بناء على توجيه مني جابوا قاله تفضل زي مانت وزير للسياحة، مرضيش، وزير التموين قلنا له تخليك زي مانت وزير للتموين الدكتور جودة عبد الخالق مرضيش، أنا بحترم الناس، هو حر، بس أنا بقول من الاول احنا عايزين نشارك فالناس بتقول لا أنا مش عايز اشتراك معاكوا، وتجاهلت اليد الممدودة التي تنشد الحوار بل وسارعت بعض الفصائل للتشكيك في شرعية النظام كله فاصبح مشهد عبثي ان يصطف بعض هؤلاء مع أبناء الثورة ويقولون انهم ثوار أو معارضة مع خصوم الثورة يريدون هدم التجربة الديمقراطية، هذا ليس تحليل أو استنتاج انما واقع صريح وموثق لدينا بالوقائع والأسماء، يعني أحمد شفيق من الثوار؟ عليه عليه في قضية متداولة له، راجل مطلوب للعدالة، قاعد برة وعمال يقول كلام ويهاجم ويحرض على قلب نظام الحكم، دي جريمة ولا لأ، قاعد برة وبعض الناس اللي هنا بيروحوله، يقعدوا معاه كأنه أصبح

رخر من الملهمين للثورة. دا عليه قضية كبيرة دا عليه قضية كبيرة عليه قضية كبيرة بتاعت أرض الطيارين، وانا طبعا أقدر جدا مؤسسة القضاء المصرية جدا من غيرها لا يمكن أن يستقر الحال في مصر، لكن أن هديكوا نموذج لحاجة غريبة جدا، أحد أعضاء الدائرة القضائية اللي بتتظر القضية بتاعت شفيق دية علي محمد أحمد النمر دا قاضي مزور أنا طاعن عليه في انتخابات أنا مقدم فيه طعن من 2005 لم بيت فيه حتى الآن، زور الانتخابات قدام عينيا أنا شاهد في الدائرة الأولى في الزقازيق شرقية لصالح واحد ثاني بشكل غير مسبوق، دا قاضي مزور مطعون عليه، دا أحد أعضاء الدائرة القضائية اللي بتتظر في الموضوع ده. علي النمر لم يُحقق معه حتى الآن، هو ضمن 22 واحد المفروض يُالوا للتحقيق بسبب التزويرات دية، دا أنا هقف مع شفيق في حاجة ثانية علشان الناس تعرف، احنا عندنا ملف فيه تحقيق دلوقتي بس أنا مش عايز استثناءات، أنا عايز القانون بجد، الملف ملف مجموعة طيارات اشترتها مصر للطيران من عدة سنوات لما هوا كان وزير، الطائرة كنا عايزين نشترى طائرة اليومية دول فبعطنا نسأل الشركة المصنعة تديهننا بكام دلوقتي فقالت 98 مليون دولار، الطائرة دي نفسها تم شرائها من عدة سنوات من أكثر سبع سنين 148 مليون دولار، يعني المصريين الغلبة دول، المصريين الغلبة احنا، مهو أنا من الغلبة، المصريين الغلبة دول دفعوا تمن مال يقل عن 10 طيارات هوا قاعد برة ليه، يجي علشان يروح المحكمة، بيقولك ده طاعن على الانتخابات حاجة غريبة جدا، طاعن على الانتخابات، انتخابات ايه؟ بعد ما العالم كله شاف وبذلنا المجهود دا كله، والههم اللي شافته القوات المسلحة في السنين دية واللجنة العليا للانتخابات الرئاسية ورئيسها رئيس المحكمة الدستورية والمادة 28 اللي بتحصن قرار المحكمة الدستورية، بعد دا كله يقولك هيطعن على الانتخابات، هيطلع في تزوير في الانتخابات، قضاء محترم يعرف كويس يشوف ايه الحكاية، أنا بتكلم بجد، بتكلم بجد، أنا بتكلم القضاء محترم بجد، إذا كان في هنا أو هنا تجاوزات فهو من داخله بيشفوها من داخله بيشفوها مهو الناس طلعت براءة ليه، كله براءة ليه؟ لأن القاضي معذور، القضية اللي اتقدمته من النائب العام، بيقولك النائب العام لازم يرجع، يرجع ازاى؟ القضايا اللي اتقدمت علشان الشعب كله يبقى عارف، أنا لا أتدخل على الإطلاق في شغل النيابة واللي عنده حالة واحدة يقولي عليها، لا في شغل النيابة ولا القضاء، لكن قضايا اتقدمت طبقا لتقرير لجنة تقصي الحقائق اللي كونتها وخلصت في 11/31، ان التقرير الأصلي بتاع لجنة تقصي الحقائق الاولانية مرشح المحكمة، المحكمة بتاعت المستشار أحمد رفعت مستلمتش التقرير ده، ولذلك مين المسؤول انه ميسلمس التقرير اللي كان في النيابة العامة للمحكمة علشان من خلاله تشوف ايه اللي بيجري، النائب العام. هؤلاء يتحركون على الأرض، أي واحد مصري في ظل الدستور والقانون المصري عنده مظلمة هذا من حقه أن يتقدم بها ويرعى فيها، اللي أنا بقوله ده حقائق السنة بعد صبر طويل ودقة وتمحيص، ومع ذلك بدون تدخل مني على الإطلاق، أنا بقولكوا هذا الكلام مش تحليل انما حقائق وواقع، هؤلاء يتحركون على الأرض يحاولون أن يدفعوا البلد كله للقفز للمجهول، في حد في المنصورة اسمه فودة بياجر البلطجية وفي حد في الشرقية اسمه عاشور بياجر البلطجية، وفي حد في المعادي بياجر البلطجية، وبيديهم فلوس وسلاح، ايه الحكاية هما دول ثوار، ده وده وده وغيره من الثوار وبيتحركوا مع أذناب النظام القديم اللي طلوعوا براءة فقعين في البيوت فيستخدموا بعض الادوات والأموال المسروقة منّا يأجروا بهم الناس علشان تلاقوا واحد طالع بيقولك أنا متظاهر، ماسك رشاش وبندقية في الشارع، متظاهر ازاى ده يعني، متظاهر ده على العين والراس، لو غلظت في حقه أصلح غلظتي، لكن المتظاهر الحقيقي الشاب اللي عنده مطالب اللي لازم نستوعبه زي ما قلت علشان يقدم لوطنه ما يستحق لا يمكن أن يكون وسيلة أو غطاء للمجرمين دول، المجرمين دول ملهمش مكان بينا أبدا أبدا.

أنا اتفهم تماما مجهود الداخلية وبكل قوة وإخلاص للوطن، أوعى حد يقول فين الداخلية، الداخلية بتقوم بمهمة كبيرة جدا وشاقة جدا، احنا مبنيش، وزير الداخلية ورجالته مبيتموش، لكن المهمة كبيرة جدا، الوطن واسع وكبير وانتوا شايفين ولكي ننتمي السوس من الجسد العظيم ده، دي مسألة مش سهلة، دي مسألة عابزة عملية جراحية دقيقة أن الألوان لإجرائها .

أنا أتفهم جدا جدا وبكل تقدير أن تختلف المعارضة ما شاءت لها الاختلاف وأن تنافس من خلال الآليات الديمقراطية، ولكني لا أفهم ولا أقبل أن تشارك أبدا، أربأ بها ولا أريد بها أبدا أن تشارك بغير قصد للانقضاض على الثورة أن تتحالف مع أعدائها بأي شكل، مباشر أو غير مباشر، أربأ بالمعارضة الوطنية الشريفة في مصر أن تفعل ذلك ولا أظنها تفعل ذلك، هناك مئات الآلاف بل الملايين من الثوريين والشرفاء الوطنيين الذين لم يجدوا لهم موقعا في ظل هذا التناحر فتزايد احباطهم من بطء تحسن الوضع الداخلي. احنا النظام اللي موجود قسم البلد بقى في نصين، دا بالمفهوم ده يبقى كل الدنيا مقسومة، في العالم في أغلبية ومعارضة العالم كله، مش معنى ذلك هو الانقسام إنما هذا هو الممارسة الديمقراطية، الشرعية الثورية لها مدى

وحدود وزمن تنتقل الأمم بعدها إلى الشرعية الدستورية احنا دلوقتي في ظل الشرعية الدستورية، أفيقوا أيها الناس احنا عندنا شرعية دستورية، عندنا دستور عندنا دستور يحاسب من خلاله وطبقا له، ده إنجاز عظيم جدا.

يا شعب مصر ستظل الثورة حية نابضة، ستحقق اهدافها في صناديق الانتخاب والمشاركة في البناء، الثورة لا تعطي تفويضا لاحد ولا للرئيس، مفيش تفويض مفتوح، لكن في المقابل هناك شرعية دستورية نلتزم بها جميعا.

تحملت أمانة وطن عزيز عانى من الفساد والافساد والتدمير ما لا يتخيله عقل وواجهت كما ترون حرب إفشال منذ تحملت الأمانة معكم طبعاً، دعونا ننظر إلى العام المنصرم بإيجابياته وإخفاقاته لتعطينا الإيجابيات الأمل ولتنبهنا الإخفاقات لأوجه القصور للعلاج، ماذا حققنا حتى الآن من أهداف ثورة 25 يناير المجيدة، أبدأ بالعدالة الاجتماعية التي هي أهم أهداف ثورة 25 يناير، واجهت حرب إفشال منذ توليت المسؤولية، ماذا حققنا:

العدالة الاجتماعية: رغم المعاناة التي خلفها النظام السابق أكثر من 20 مليون تحت خط الفرق وتباين هائل بين دخول المصريين، الدراسات اثبتت ان 32 عائلة بيمصوا الاقتصاد المصري.

ماذا حققنا رفع الرواتب والدخول في حدود 1.9 مليون موظف استفادوا من رفع الحد الأدنى للاجور في المرحلة الاولى بحد ادنى 700 جنيه، 1.2 مليون معلم من الكادر الخاص، 150 ألف عضو هيئة تدريس استفادوا من تحسن اوضاعهم، صرف علاوة 15 للموظفين واصحاب المعاشات بمزانية بلغت 9 مليار جنيه. نعمل على دعم محدودي الدخل 1.2 مليون مواطن من خدمة العلاج على نفقة الدولة. تحسين منظومة الخبز وزيادة 67 مليون مواطن اعترف ان الاسعار قد ارتفعت ولكن ونواجهها بكل الطرق ودعمنا 20 سلعة. 490 ألف امرأة استفادت من التأمين الصحي على المرأة المعيلة وابنائها قبل ، ابتداء من يوليو 2013 من صرف المعاش 400 جنيه، 13 مليون طفل من التأمين الصحي قبل سن المدرسة، 590 ألف عامل من العمالة المؤقتة، اعفاء 52 ألف ونصف من صغار المزارعين من الدين كل اللي باقي عليه دين اقل من 10 ألف جنيه معفى. زدنا مخصصات التعليم والصحة، هذه الخطوات التي تمت ولكنها لا تكفي بالطبع. علشان كدة لما تبص على ميزانية مصر تلاقي الأجور زادت من 96 مليار جنيه 2010/ 2011 إلى 172 مليار جنية في 2013/2014، يعني اللي زاد من أول الثورة حتى الآن يساوي بجد اللي اتعمل في 60 سنة قبله.

الأسبوع اللي فات مجلس الوزراء وبوجودي معهم تم تكليف القوات المسلحة بميزانية من الدولة 4.4 مليار جنيه لتنمية سيناء وبناء ما يلزم من كل وسائل التنمية من مدارس ومستشفيات والأبار والشركات والوظائف لأبنائهم والطرق، وهذا سيتم وأنا على يقين إنه سينتهي انشاء الله لأن القوات المسلحة عندما تقول تفعل من 6-9 شهور وده من حق أهلها علينا ومش كفاية، هنكمل بعد كدة. هذه بعض الخطوات الهامة ولو أن غير كافية، ولكنها خطوات على طريق رفع المعاناة من على أهل مصر، وتوفير حياة كريمة لهم.

أما عن الاقتصاد أحب أن أقول لكم تاريخ صغير الرئيس الراحل جمال عبد الناصر استلم الحكم وكان مصر ليها 350 مليون جنيه استرليني عند بريطانيا ، دايم بعد الثورات في تحديات، أدى دوره وواجهه رحمه الله ، انتقل إلى رحمة ربه 1970 وكانت مصر عليها ديون 2 مليار دولار، ولو اضفنا عليهم الديون العسكرية وقتئذ تصبح 5 مليار دولار، استلم الرئيس الراحل أنور السادات الله يرحمه، زادت المديونية إلى 21 مليار دولار واستلم النظام البائد الظالم فزادت المديونية الخارجية إلى 50 مليار دولار، وتم إسقاط 15 مليار بعد حرب الخليج، بقت المديونية الخارجية 35 مليار دولار ، ده بقى غير 177 مليار دولار دين داخلي من النظام اللي فات، أي أن إجمالي المديونية وصل إلى حوالي 212 مليار دولار قبل 2012، 2012 مليار دولار دين علينا داخليا وخارجيا، هل مشكلة الميزانية تتحل في سنة؟ يعني أقولكم حاجة كمان هل يعقل حد في الدنيا يبيع الغاز بتاعنا ب 2 دولار لوحدة الطاقة ونستورده لينا ب 12 (...)

نتكلم بقي عن الطاقة، نظام الدعم الموروث من النظام البائد كان غير عادل، الأغنياء كانوا يياخدوا أكثر من الفقراء والمفقود أكثر من 100 مليار جنيه، لا مبرر على الإطلاق لما يوجد الآن وأنا اعتذر عن الموجود في الشارع الآن، بدأنا في دعم الطاقة وأنبوبة البوتجاز انخفض من 120 جنيه وكلنا لمسنا ذلك، ووفرنا 74 مليار جنيه لتوفير المواد البترولية. مشكلة البنزيم والسولار مشكلة يعني محزنة، أنا طبعاً رايح جاي في الشارع ومريت النهاردة وامبارح على المحطات وشفت معاناة الناس بنفسي، والله أنا نفسي يعني أأف في الطابور، لكن أظن أمبارح الوزراء كانوا عاملين مؤتمر صحفي، شرحوا تفاصيل المشكلة والمأساة اللي احنا فيها، هي مشكلة معروفة للجميع ويقف وراءها مهربين ونحن وضعنا منظومة تقاوم هذا الفساد ومن يملك كرتنا فليذهب ويأخذ بنزيم كما يشاء. واحد اتصل بيا مانا عندي تليفون الناس بتتصل عليا، فيقول لي انا ساكن في عمارة قصاد مني محطة بنزيم وبين العمارة وسور المحطة جراكن مليانة بنزيم ويحببوا الناس من ورا ياخدوا الجراكن ويهربوها، انزل أولع فيها، قولتلوا اعمل معروف احنا مش عايزين نولع في البلد. طبعاً مش كله كدة، في شرفاء لكن لما يكون عندك 15 محطة في مدينة من المدن ومنهم خمسة بيعملوا كدة يربكوا الدنيا كلها. مشكلة البنزيم والسولار معروفة للجميع، كل ما نحلها ترجع ثاني، ليه لأن في أزمة في الحقيقة واحنا كدولة مقصرين، لكن نسبة كبيرة جداً من الأزمة مفتعلة واقف وراها شبكات فساد وأصحاب المصالح وعندنا تصور واضح بدأنا وخطة واضحة بدأنا تنفيذها لقطع دابر المخربين الناهبين لخيرات الشعب.

السياحة السياحة ده جرحنا النازف، ازاى السياح هيجوا في بلد فيه قطع طرق ومولوتوف وفصائيات تنشر صور البلد، هناك اجرام شديد جداً لمن يقف ويحذف المولوتوف، وبعدين افتح التليفزيون الاقي قناة يقولك تراشق بين المتظاهرين حول سميراميس، هما دول متظاهرين، فرئيس الوزراء ببصلي الفجر وينزل يلف يقوم يقف هو بنفسه ويشوف العيال طالعين هاربين سارقين الخزن والمراوح والكمبيوتر من سميراميس، (هيه) وبعدين يطلعوا براءة، فالجماعة اخوانا حبايبنا الشرطة نمسكهم ليه ثاني، نمسكهم ليه ثاني، ولسة وزير الداخلية بيقولي إن في 200 واحد في النيابة أخذ براءة، ديه صورة بتلف العالم، ليه بنعمل في نفسنا كدة، احنا بنعمل في مفسنا كدة ليه، مين اللي هيدفع الثمن، احنا، في مشروع النهاردة أنا أطلقته لما بيقى في ما يسمى بأولاد الشوارع أكثر من مليون واحد، ده تراكم سنين، ولما تبقى بنت تحت كوبري من دول عندها عشر سنين وماسكة طفل، يجي أي حد يديهم حاجة علشان يحذفوا طوب، رايعين فين يا أولاد رايعين نضرب الإخوان، هما مين الإخوان دول مش عارفين، رغم كل ده بفضل الله سبحانه وتعالى، أنا عايز اشكر محافظ الأقصر ورجال السياحة، وأشكر أيضاً الأخ الكريم اللي اتعين محافظ لأقصر وهو ليس عليه أي شائبة واحد، لكن من أجل مصلحة بلده جاب استقالته وقال اتفضلوا أنا أخدم في أي حاجة، أنا كنت عايزة أنمي السياحة هو بيقول دلوقتي بدا وكأني هبقى عائق في تنمية السياحة ونان عايز السياحة تكثر، هاتو غيري، كتر خير جزاه الله خيراً، احنا بالرغم من كل ده زاد عندنا حوالي مليون سائح السنة دي مليون زيادة، طبعاً بعض الكاميرات هتروح في حطة في الأقصر في حطة على الجنب فيها تماثيل ومفיש سياح، يا جماعة يا بتوع الإعلام دوروا على مصلحة بلدنا وبلدكو. وكل ما يزيد الاستقرار تزيد السياحة، مصر السياحية مصر اللي فيها ربع آثار العالم، الأفق في مصر أوسع من كدة بكثير.

فتحنا مجالات الاستثمار، وكلكو سمعتوا عن مشاريع قومية كبرى زي تطوير منطقة قناة السويس، أه بالمناسبة هيا اتباعت ولا لسة، أمير قطر أنا بشكره على موقفه النبيل بالنسبة لمصر جداً، فيقول لي أنا والله معرفش ماسبيرو بتاعكو ده فين، اللي بيقولوا ان احنا هنشتريه ده، أنا خايف يكون الهرم اتباع من ورايا ولا لسة، مش معقول الكلام دع عيب، إحنا ولاد مصر احنا طالعين من الطين ده، هنبيع قناة السويس نبيعها لمين عيب، المحللين والفقهاء واصحاب الخبرة يقولوا لا مش هنتباع دي هيتعملها قانون تبقى لوحدها لا مش نافع، دي هتبقى تابعة للرئيس، الله والرئيس مش مننا. (...) الله يرحمه كمال الشاذلي كان يقول يا دكتور محمد السياسة نجاسة وانتو ناس أطهار سيبولنا النجاسة وخليكو انتوا في الطهارة، فلول النظام، أه والله، الله يرحمه أنا مرة قولتله أنا عايز أقولك على حاجة قولتله انتوا بتسرقوا فاحنا مش قادرين نمنعكو من السرقة انتوا جبابرة بتسرقوا البلد كلها، فقلتله طالما لا محال من سرقة البلد انت والعصابة دية، ارجعوا لمضابط مجلس الشعب علشان تعرفوا، خلوا الفلوس في مصر قالي انت راجل طيب. (...)

مصر مبتضغطش، مصر ميبضغطش عليها، احنا غير قابلين للانضغاط، قناة السويس ومثلث التعدين وتعمير سيناء، طبعاً الفلور اللي فاتوا بتوع النظام اللي فات ارتكبوا جريمة بيع أراضي، باعوا كل حاجة كل ما دور نلاقي يأما عنكبوت يأما

تعاين، كل ما أحط ايدي الاقي عنكبوت بيوقع ياتعبان بيقصر. شركة اسمها الشركة الكويتية المصرية مش كويتية يعني الكويت ليها علاقة بالموضوع لا لا الكويت ملهاش دعوة، فواخدين 20 ألف فدان بالذراع كدة (...) دفعوا فيهم كام لحد دلوقتي 5 مليون جنية فعايزين يحولوها من أرض زراعية إلى عقارات (...)، لم يتخلص هؤلاء من مرض النظام السابق الذي فرط في كل شيء وفي الكرامة، اما رئاسة مصر الثورة ستلتزم بالقانون والدستور لكن في هذه المرحلة ستقطع يد اي أحد بفرط في اي حبة رمل أو قطرة مياه.

أما عن الكهرباء المشكلة مش جديدة بتاعت الكهرباء، جذور المشكلة بين أزمة الغاز ونقص توليد الكهرباء تفاصيل كثير، لكن احنا يعني زى ماقلنا على الغاز، (...) طب ممكن نتعاون بعض يعني لو عند تكييفين اطي واحد، لو عندي في البيت 10 لمض اطي 3، هل ممكن نخفض استهلاكنا عشان نممدش ايدينا لحد، 10% تخفيض عشان متنتقطعش أبدا، دا قطع الكهرباء مشكلة، أقلوكوا حكاية ثانية لطيفة عن الكهرباء، برده العيب برده بنحاول نعالج الضجر 10-15 % عشان متنتقطعش عن المستشفيات ولا على المؤسسات الهامة ولا على المترو ولا على البنوك. لكن من الحاجات الظريفة يجي حد من النظام القديم المجرم ده على الولد اللي قاعد في مركز التحويلة بتاعت الكهرباء، المركز في 40 قرية وهو مطلوب يخفض في اليوم مثلا 6 ساعات، يروح منزل السكنية (مفتاح تحويل الكهرباء) خط واحد وقوم يروح، يقوم الناس نطق 6 ساعات، مع انه لو وزعها على 3 خطوط هيطلع قطع الكهرباء ساعتين ولا حاجة بسيطة، الولد ده حد مديله 20 جنية وقاله روح. عموما احنا بنبذل جهد كبير جدا عشان نحل مشكلة الكهرباء وهنشترى من الخارج وبنشتري مازوت وبلا أسعار العالمية وتفاصيل كثيرة جدا عشان المواطن ميعيش، في بعض المعاناة نعم، صحيح لكن احنا عايزين نصبر شوية عشان نفتتح المحطات الجديدة. (...) عايزين نتعاون عايزين نسهل عايزين نتحاب عايزين ننتج عايزين نقدر المسؤولية والمرحلة.

إنني على يقين إن الانطلاقة الكبرى للاقتصاد مرهونة باستكمال مؤسسات الدولة وتحقيق الاستقرار، أشعر بحال الفقير والمحتاج، أه والله، (...) بدون الاستقرار لا تنمية، وبدون تنمية لن تترقى أحوال الناس، فعدم الاستقرار بسبب دعوات التخريب أو التظاهرات المستمرة يعني 22 أو 24 دعوة لمليونية في السنة يؤثر على الاستثمار والسياحة وكافة القطاعات الانتاجية وتصل تقديرات الخسائر إلى 15 مليار دولار سنويا. لو تقلصت الخسائر لاستغينا عن قرض صندوق النقد، البورصة خسرت هذا الاسبوع كثيرا بسبب الدعوات والشائعات والمظاهرات. (...)

سياسيا نجحنا في كتابة دستور ديمقراطي عصري نفخر به، نفخر به حتى لو رأى البعض الحاجة لتعديل بعض مواد، وكان انتقال من مرحلة الاعلانات الدستورية المتداخلة، ليه لأ ومع ذلك لازلت أقول إن الدساتير ليست كتباً مقدسة بل جهدا بشري يمكن أن تُدخل عليه التعديلات التي تلتزم بالوسائل الديمقراطية والدستورية وفقا لحاجة الشعب والأمة، الدستور ليس قرآن ويمكن ان تدخل عليه تعديلات وفقا للقانون، ولكن الدستور الذي حاربه البعض هو الذي يحمي الأمة الآن ويضمن الحريات التي يسيء البعض استخدامها الآن.

لم أتعرض للحريات والاعلام، فأول قانون صدر في عهدي عندما كانت السلطة التشريعية عند رئيس الجمهورية هو منع الحبس الاحتياطي للصحفيين، وتنازلت عن قضايا الاساءة إلى شخصي، لقد مارست ومازلت أقصى درجات الصبر على حالة الإفراط في استعمال الحرية التي وصلت إلى درجة التجاوز غير المقبول. مش معقول مش معقول يعني البنت اللي بتتقد تشتم ترضى ترضى ان أبوها الشاب ده ترضاله الاهانة ترضي، عيب عيب ميصحش ميصحش.واللي يجيب شفيق في التليفزيون ويعرضه بكل السفهات ده مش مخالف للدستور والقانون، واللي يجيب محمد دحلان اللي عمال بيع سموم في كل حنة علينا وخليه يتكلم في التليفزيون ضد مصر كلها، ده كلام عيب عيب.مهو أنا عايز أقول إنه سنة كفاية، لقد تم اطلاق سراح جميع المجننين الذين عليهم احكام عسكرية، جميعهم اعفي عنهم تم العفو الشامل على كل من حكم عليهم في لا يوجد في مصر معتقلين سياسيين ولا معتقل سياسي واحد على الإطلاق.

وأول مشروع تقدمت به مشروع قانون إلى مجلس الشورى كان مشروع الجمعيات الأهلية الذي يقوم على فلسفة حماية حرية واستقلال المجتمع المدني وتمكينه، فيما يخص ملف حقوق الشهداء والمصابين قمت فور تولي المسؤولية بتشكيل لجنة تقصي

حقائق وارسال تقاريرها للمحكمة وإعادة المحاكمات في القضايا ونحن في انتظار احكام عادلة هذه المرة، هي المحكمة اللي نظرت في القضية اللي عُرفت باسم موقعة الجمل وقتل الثوار طلعت (إشارة إلى المتهمين في القضية) كلها براءة ليه؟ ليه؟ ليه؟ مين اللي محطش محمود وجدي وزير الداخلية حينئذ في القضية؟ مين اللي محطش رئيس الوزراء حينئذ في القضية؟ مين؟ مش النائب العام؟ مش كان مطالب الثورة انه يتشال، لقيت ناس دلوقتي بتقول لابد أن يعود.

لقد كانت الصعوبة في طمس حقائق هامة من عدم وجود حقائق في القضايا امام القضاء وفي حيثيات الحكم حتى تمكن القضاء الطبيعي من رقاب المجرمين خاصة في ظل ما قامت به النيابة في ظل النائب العام السابق من تقديم قضايا غير مكتملة الأركان بدون أدلة حقيقية كما أكد ذلك عدد من القضاة أنفسهم في حيثيات الحكم. دم الشهيد في رقبتي (...) ولقد وفرنا التعويضات لاهالي الشهداء والمصابين وتوفير فرص عمل لهم.

أنا في رجال أعمال كثير في مصر كويسين جدا، ولكن في ناس مصممين أن يبقوا في إطار حلم انهم يرجعوا ثاني، محمد الأمين بيعمل ايه، عليه ضرايب متهرب من الضرايب، ادفعها خايف ادفع، ببسلط عليا القناة بتاعته، أحمد بهجت عليه ديون للبنك أكثر من 3 مليار جنيه ادفعهم نتصالح بسلط علينا القناة بتاعته، ايه الحكاية؟ نواجه محاولات، أصله مفيش حد يتصور انه عامل لنفسه بيت وعامل لنفسه ممكن يهرب من العدالة، وكمان مش يقعد ساكت لا بيتحرك، نواجه محاولات لمنعنا من امتلاك إرادتنا وقرارنا، أنا بقول علشان ميسانش لحد بسبب حد، كل واحد سيطلق عليه القانون بجد وعلى المتجاوز هذا المجرم أن يلتزم بالقانون ، لكن حق الوطن مبيضعش بالتقادم، مفيش حاجة بتضيع بالتقادم في حقوق الأوطان أبدا، ان لم يعد هؤلاء لاتخذن معهم كل وسائل القسوة، عليهم ان يعودوا مرة اخرى مهم احمد بهجت ومحمد الأمين، عليهم ديون وضرائب بدلا من دفعها ويسلطون عليهم قناتهم. لا يتصور أحد انه يستطيع ان يتهرب من العدالة كفى.

نواجه محاولات لمنع اإرادتنا وقرارنا، ومرة في شكل التضييق على واردات مصر من الوقود بما يؤثر على الحياة اليومية للمواطن ومرة بتعطيل الاستثمارات الخارجية، ومرة بالضغط لتأخير قرض الصندوق النقد الدولي الذي يعد شهادة ضامنة للمستثمرين، وهو بالمناسبة ليس منة لأحد على مصر ولكن حق لمصر، وانما هو جزء من نصيب مصر الذي تساهم به في هذه المؤسسة الاقتصادية الدولية.

احنا في محاولة كدة لحصارنا اقتصاديا والضغط علينا وحتى من بعض الاشقاء بكل أسف، من بعض الأشقاء أيضا، ليه؟ احنا جوا بلدنا، إرادتنا لشعبنا عايزين خيرنا يكفي شرنا، احنا أكبر بكثير أوي من أن لما عقرب يقرصنا الوطن بيموت، الوطن ميموتش، اللي بيراهن الأوطان بتموت يبقى في غفلة، عايزين نبقى في سلام وأمان مع أنفسنا ومع أشقاننا ومع العالم، لكن احنا عارفين الدنيا فيها ايه كويس.

لقد تحركت وتحركت معي مؤسسات الدولة دون كلل في قارات العالم من أجل إعادة علاقات مصر الخارجية التي تعتمد النظام السابق إهمالها وحرصت على علاقتنا بدول حوض النيل في إطار من المشاركة الاستراتيجية التي تحقق مصالح الإقليم وتحمي مصالح مصر وأمنها القومي ونتعامل بكل جدية مع القضايا التي تمس أمننا المائي التي لا تهاون فيها على الإطلاق، يحكمنا فيها مبدأ لا ضرر ولا ضرار وهدفنا حماية مستقبل التنمية لحماية الشعوب، وهدفنا حماية مستقبل التنمية لجميع شعوب حوض النيل، نحن حريصون على إثيوبيا حريصون على السودان حريصون على الأشقاء في كل أفريقيا وفي دول حوض النيل، رسالتها معهم وتعاملنا معهم تعامل أخوة. حرصت على تنويع علاقتنا بالقوى الكبرى الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، الصين، روسيا، والاتحاد الأوروبي، كما حرصت على فتح مجالات التعاون مع الدول النامية ولاسيما دول البريكس وغيرهم ممن يملكون رؤية جديدة لإعادة صياغة النظام العالمي بشكل أكثر عدل، نتحرك خارجيا بقوة وتوازن ورؤية واضحة تجعل مصر دائما تتحاز للشعوب والقيم الإنسانية المشتركة مع واقعية وبصيرة، نحقق ما سبق في ظل معوقات كبيرة وكان بلا شك سيتحقق أكثر لولا التحديات الخطيرة التي فرضت علينا في رحلة صعودنا. مرة أخرى ليس هذا تبريرا، يعلم الله لا أبرر تقصيرا أو أتصل من مسؤولية بل هو مكاشفة للشعب مصدر السلطات واحتراما للحق في معرفة الحقائق واعلاء للشفافية.

بالنسبة للحالة الأمنية، بداية لابد الإشارة إلى نسبة حالة الاحتجاج المستمر وأعمال العنف التي عطلت مسيرة البناء، ففي عام واحد كان هناك أكثر من 7700 وقفة فئوية احتجاجية، وأكثر من 5800 مظاهرة واعتصام، وأكثر من 24 دعوة إلى مليونية وفُدرت هذه الاحتجاجات هذا العام 9400 احتجاج كل يوم بعضها تخلله عنف وقطع طرق وإزهاق ارواح كم يحدث اليوم مع كل أسف، بالله عليكم قولولي يعني بالله عليكم كيف يمكن الانجاز في هذه المناخ، بل والأخطر فيها ليس فقط كثرة الاحتجاجات السلمية ولكن انتشار اعمال عنف التي هي غريبة عن المجتمع المصري مثل قطع الطرق والسكك الحديدية وخطوط المترو، واعترف تماما اننا نواجه صعوبات وإن كان الوضع الآن أفضل من العام الماضي، مصممون على استكمال منظومة الأمن، أمن الوطن لا أمن النظام، نعم لن نصل إلى الوضع الأنسب ولازال جهاز الشرطة يعاني نظرة سلبية من قبل قطاعات كبيرة لنواجه انفسنا بالتحدي الكبير الذي يواجهه أداء جهاز الشرطة لدورة بكفاءة. (...)

ومن باب المكاشفة لابد وأن نقر أن هناك إجراءات تتعارض مع بعضها البعض بالضرورة مثل تقرير لجنة تقصي الحقائق وبعض أحكام الإدانة على للضباط وانعكاسها السلبى على أداء جهاز الشرطة، يعني لسان الحال يقول تحكم عليا وتقولي أنزل أضبط الأمن إزاي؟ أنا لا أوافق على هذا المنطق ولكنه واقع موجود، مش عايزين ندفن راسنا في الرمال، تاني بنتكلم في الواقع ومع ذلك كله يحب رجال الشرطة الشرفاء لقيامهم بواجبهم في ظروف صعبة، نعرف هذا ونصبر عليه ونسعى لعلاج حفظا للضباط جميعا والجنود والأفراد وكل العاملين فيها، والوقت وتغيير المناهج والرؤى جزء من العلاج وحتما سننجح لكننا نحتاج أن نصبر، أداء السلطة في تحسن رغم ظهور بعض التجاوزات الفردية التي يتم التعامل معها بالقانون ولكننا في المقابل لا يمكن أن نتجاهل ما يتحملة رجال الشرطة خلال قيامهم بواجبهم ولا يمكن أبدا أن ننسى شهداء الشرطة الذين استشهدوا أثناء تأدية الواجب. كل يوم في شهداء من الشرطة، وقد استشهد في العام الماضي فقط 85 شهيدا من رجال شهداء الشرطة، رحمهم الله.

أبناء الشعب المصري كله الكرام، بعد كشف حساب عام مضى أنا قلت بعض الأمثلة والكلام كثير والوقت لا يكفي لكن لن أتباع النظام السابق المجرمين حتى لو طلعوا براءة، مقيش تهاون معاهم، أنا مبقولش لو طلعوا براءة هنجبسهم مقلتش كدة، مينفعش أقول كدة ولا ينفع نعمل كدة، لكن يقول مش هنتهاون أبدا، أنا بقولهم لسوء حظهم إن أنا شخصا عارفهم بالاسم، يعني فتحي سرور وفرقة عارفهم، خلاص سيبوا الناس تشتغل، خربتوا البلد، خربتوا الدنيا، أخرتونا، بتستخدموا الأموال الفاسدة اللي اخدتوها حرام من دم الناس في انكوا تحكوا الناس تاني والبلطجية ضد الشرطة وضد الشعب وتشغلوا الجيش وتأخروا الدنيا، مسؤوليتي اني امنعكوا من كدة وهمنعكوا من كدة.

بعد كشف لحساب مضى... بعد كشف لحساب مضى (ينظر إلى ساعته)، أود أن اطلعكم على رؤية المستقبل (...):

أولا: إصلاح وتغيير المؤسسات بوتيرة أسرع وأكثر حسما ونحتاج في سبيل ذلك ان نحن في حاجة لمجلس النواب القادم والتشريعات الجديدة للتقدم في كل المجالات وأقول الانتخابات البرلمانية على الابواب بها نستكمل مؤسساتنا لنكون دولة مكتملة الاركان.

ثانيا: العمل على الشارع سياسي الاكثر شبابا لنفعل دور الجميع المجتمع أصبح مسيس بعد الثورة وانتهاء البعض امتداد لمرحلة السابقة

ثالثا: خلق فرص للشباب مليون و300 ألف فرصة عمل للشباب بالاعتماد على المشروعات الكبرى. (...)

رابعا: تمكين الشباب لفتح افاق جديدة لمعالجة ما شاب تجربتنا والالتحام بشباب الثورة، لتحقيق هدف تمكين الشباب دون ان نجد آلية لذلك الآن في وزارة الشباب يتم تدريب مليون شاب.

ولذلك قررت:

أولاً: تكليف السيد وزير الداخلية بعمل وحدة خاصة لمكافحة البلطجة وقطع الطرق وترويع المواطنين ومهاجمة المؤسسات الحيوية

ثانياً: تشكيل لجنة مستقلة لاعداد التعديلات الدستورية المقترحة، من جميع الاحزاب والقوى السياسية، كلهم مين بكرة مدعوون ليجلسوا معي يختاروا ممثلاً لهم ليقترحوا تعديلات بشأن الدستور.

ثالثاً: تشكيل لجنة عليا للمصالحة الوطنية تضم ممثلين من كافة عناصر المجتمع من الاحزاب والازهر والكنيسة والشباب والجمعيات الأهلية لتحديد كل الاجراءات التي من شأنها تحقيق مصالحة حقيقية بين مؤسسات الدولة والتوافق على محاور العمل الوطني بما يعلي مصلحة الوطن.

رابعاً: تكليف الوزراء والمحافظين من الآن بإقالة كل المتسببين في الازمات التي تعرض لها المواطنون خلال اسبوع، سنة كافية لكل بقايا النظام السابق في المؤسسات المتسببين بازمات للمواطنين في كل الخدمات. أنا قلت ان الدولة العميقة رؤسها مازالت موجودة وبالتالي قلت ان سنة كفاية زى ما قتلوكوا النهاردة، المحافظين والوزراء تكليف مباشر من رئيس الجمهورية بإقالة كل هؤلاء المتسببين في الأزمات. (...)

خامساً: سحب كل تراخيص محطات البنزين التي امتنعت عن تسلم المنتج للمواطنين.

سادساً: تكليف وزارة التموين باستلام محطات الوقود التي تمتنع عن العمل بالتنسيق مع ادارتها.

سابعاً: إلزام المحافظين بتعيين مساعدين لهم من الشباب، فيما لا يزيد سنه عن 40 سنة خلال أربع اسابيع من الآن.

الأخوة والأخوات، الشعب المصري كله، اسمحوا لي أن أوجه عددا من الرسائل للأمة المصرية أبدأها برسالة إلى شركاء الوطن الأخوة المسيحيين، ودا وتقديرا، ودا وتقديرا وبرا كما أمرنا جميعا، نحن شركاء وطن واحد ، احنا ولاد بلد واحدة، تاريخ واحد ثقافة واحدة، نعمل سويا على ترسيخ المواطنة، تلك الكلمة التي طالما رددناها وتكررت الأحاديث الرسمية عنها ولم نستشعرها، جاءت الثورة لتعليها والدستور ليحميها، وأصارحكم اني لا أشعر براحة كبيرة لما أحسه به من علاقات فاترة لا تُخطئها عين مدقق خلف الابتسامات والزيارات واللقاءات البروتوكولية التي تجمعنا، وان كنت أقدر أقدر جدا حجم التخوفات الموروثة من النظام السابق الذي جعل كل ما هو كل إسلامي فزاعة لكم، الأمر ليس كذلك، الأمر ليس كذلك، الخبرة التاريخية العبقريّة المصرية تؤكد أن المتدينين المسلمين والمسيحيين هم أكثر الناس حرصا على بعضهما البعض وعلى الوطن، نريد أن تعود ممارستنا معا كمصريين في مدن مصر وقراها لما كانت عليه طوال قرون طويلة وان نتنبه إلى ما حرص أعداء الوطن على افساده تدميرا له وتمزيقا لنسيجه الواحد.

الرسالة الثانية للقوات المسلحة الباسلة: كانت القوات المسلحة وستظل درع مصر الواقى التي تحظى باحترام المصريين انحازت للثورة ولحماية المؤسسات ثم عادت بكرامة عالية وبهمة واختيار كامل لالتزامتها تقوم بدورها المقدر في حماية الحدود، نجحنا جميعا في بناء علاقات مدنية عسكرية جديدة متوازنة تخدم التحول الديمقراطي الذي نعيشه اليوم ، أما ما يثار هنا وهناك منسوباً إلى مصادر مجهلة مجرمة في حق الوطن تسعى بالوقية بين مؤسسات الدولة الكبرى لغرض أقل ما يوصف به أنه رخيص حول علاقة رئيس الجمهورية بالقوات المسلحة، وتسريبات مغرضة عن وجود خلاف أو انقسام، فلجميع أقول هناك من لا يريد أن تكون علاقة رئاسة الدولة بالقوات المسلحة علاقة صحية سواء في دخل مصر أو خارجها، ولكن تبقى الحقيقة التي نجتمع عليها جميع الإرادات النافذة هي أن رئيس الجمهورية هو القائد الأعلى للقوات المسلحة، وأن مؤسسات الدولة جميعا وعلى رأسها القوات المسلحة وباقي أجهزة الوطن السيادية تعمل بانسجام وانضباط، بانسجام وانضباط تام تحت قيادة رئيس الدولة، كل في دوره دون انتقاص أو تغول عما هو مرسوم لها من أدوار في الدستور والقانون.

احنا عايزين ليه نشغل القوات المسلحة ليه؟ دور القوات المسلحة العظيم الذي قامت به أثناء الثورة ودوها العظيم جدا خلال التاريخ والحاضر في الجاهزية والاستعداد والتدريب ورقابة أمن الوطن، ليه إحنا عايزين نقعد نشغل القوات المسلحة ونتحدث عنها بطرق ملتوية هي بعيدا عنها كل البعد برجالها وقياداتها المحترمة التي تعرف مصلحة الوطن، ما هذا هذا عبث، هذا عبث وستبقى كما كانت بل وأقوى، أنا أقول لكم القوات المسلحة في 10 شهور فعلت ما صعب أن يحدث في 20 سنة، طبعا هذا لا يسعد البعض، طبعا تتحرك الأصابع الخفية، سنقطع هذه الأصابع التي لا تريد أن تكون العلاقات جيدة، إلى هؤلاء الشرفاء أبناء القوات المسلحة، أبنائي جميعا أقدم لهم كل التحية والتقدير والامتنان من شعب مصر كله على ما قاموا به من جهد في الثورة وعلى ما فعلونه الآن من تطوير لهذه المؤسسة العظيمة وبقوا معنا عين ساهرة على أمن الوطن، هما النهاردة القوات المسلحة بتتحرك لتتواجد في مفاصل وأماكن مهمة في الوطن لطمأنة الناس ليعرف الناس أن هناك رجال سيحفظون أمن الوطن ان فكر عبث ان يعبث، هذا فعل القوات المسلحة الآن هو التواجد وهذه مسؤولية إضافية تعطلها بعض الشئ عن دورها الحقيقي الآخر لكنها هذا قدرها وقدرنا أن تكون عين إضافية مع الشرطة والداخلية ساهرة على أمن الوطن في هذه المرحلة.

إلى هؤلاء والذين يتسخفون بمصر وأمنها وقيادتها ويسعون إلى توريطها، مش هينجحوا طبعا مستحيل، احنا عندنا رجاله زي الذهب في القوات المسلحة، زي الذهب (إشارة إلى وزير الدفاع حينئذ الفريق عبد الفتاح السيسي)، وأن محاولة لتعطيلها أو إرباك المشهد اقول لهم "عودوا إلى جحوركم سعيكم غير مشكور" اتوعدكم بالقانون ، هؤلاء العابثين أتوعدكم بالقانون الذي لا يستطيع تجاوزه ففيه متسع لعقابكم على ما ترتكبون في حق الوطن من جرائم اللي بيغلط ويتكلم ببذاءة ويهين مؤسسة أو رئيس الجمهورية القائد الأعلى للقوات المسلحة، القانون العسكري، القانون العسكري فيه متسع لعقابكم على ما ترتكبون في حق الوطن من جرائم، أما عقاب التاريخ والأجيال وعقاب الله سيكون أشد وأنكى.

الرسالة التالية لوزارة الداخلية، لكم دوركم الوطني الذي لا ينكره الا جاحد، يعيشون أزمة أشعر بها، أدمكم وندعمكم جميعا كمصريين، الظرف الذي يعيشه الوطن يفرض عليكم فرصة تاريخية بالنسبة لكم سيكتبه التاريخ في تثبيتكم لدولة القانون والتأكيد على دوركم في تأمين المواطنين والحفاظ على المؤسسات ولن نتوانى عن تطوير مؤسسات الدولة وليس امامنا الا ان نقوموا بدوركم. (...)

الرسالة التالية للقضاء، إلى قضاة مصر، دخول بعض القضاة معترك السياسة أربك القضاء وأربك السياسية وظهور القضاء كسياسيين لا يعد وفق الأعراف القضائية المصرية متعارضا مع هيبة القضاء، وأسمى من صراعات العمل السياسي، ما أتمناه للقضاء ورجاله أن يكونوا في محرابهم بكل قدسية وتقدير بعيدا عن معترك السياسة بما فيه وعليه، القضاء المصري الشامخ المستقل لا يسمح لأحد داخله أن يسئ إليه، فمع استخدام القانون كأداة في الصراع السياسي تضر الاثنان، الأعراف القضائية المصرية تتعارض مع هيبة القضاء وليس هناك خصومة معكم، بل حماية القضاء هو اولى مسؤولياتنا وأسعى لتدعيم مناخ الثقة بين السلطات، واي تغيير سيجرك رغبة القضاة ولن يخرج قانون بين السلطتين القضائية والتشريعية وفقا للدستور. (...)

وأهيب بالمحكمة الدستورية سرعة الرد على قانون الانتخابات حتى يتسنى للجنة العليا للانتخابات الدعوة للانتخابات احترامنا لاحكام القضاء حال دون الدعوة للانتخابات في الموعد.

إلى المعارضة: أئمن دور قطاع من المعارضة البناء التي تنتقد وتبني (...)، ولكنني وبكل صراحة كنت اتوقع ان تضرب باقي القوى مثال للمعارضة البناء التي تدرك اهمية الدور التي تقوم به في السياسة إلا انني فوجئت بسرعة عزوفها عن اول اعتراض في الراي وبذل من فتح باب النقاش لم اجد الا التعنت والتشبث بالراي والوصف باشياء وهل من الديمقراطية فرض راي واحد؟ والتشكيك في العمليات الانتخابية؟ وهدم المؤسسات المنتخبة؟ فرض شروط قبل كل حوار؟ رفض المشاركة في اي مناصب سياسية والاتهام بالاستحواذ والهيمنة والاخونة؟ لماذا يتحدثون عن مسؤوليتي كحاكم عندما يطالبون بتنفيذ قرارات ولا يسألوني عن سلطتي؟ من يريد المعارضة فليشارك ويشكل اقلية برلمانية ولا يذهب ويكسر. أقول للمعارضة طريق التغيير واضح لماذا لا تريدون السير فيه الايدي ممتدة والحوار فورا.

إلى الاعلام أقول للاعلام احنا كلنا مستثنين نشوف ندورك نحن ننتظر ان نرى دورك في توعية الناس، ونقول لبعض الإعلاميين توقفوا عن نشر الشائعات وترويج الفتن وخطابات الكراهية بين الناس، لا يمكن مس حرية الاعلام لأنها مكتسبات الثورة، ولكن لا يمكن السكوت عن نشر الأكاذيب التي تضر التحول الديمقراطي عبر نشرها الفتن للإحباط واليأس، لا اتهم الاعلام كله. (...)

لبقايا النظام السابق، قامت الثورة للتخلص من دكتاتورية وفساد كنتم بالامس عنوانه الكبير وفي مصر الثورة أثرت ان تسطروا حلقة جديدة في كل ما هو وطني وشريف، واستأجرت بعض لترويج المواطنين في الشوارع وتعاونتم مع الاعداء في الخارج، استخدمتم ادواتكم من ضعاف النفوس واصحاب المصالح الضيقة والنظرات الضيقة في مؤسسات الدولة.

رسالتي الأخيرة إلى الجميع، اما عدالة ناجزة وصفحة جديدة نفتحها أيها العابثين الفاسدين، اما ان تتوقفوا وفي هذه الحالة قد نتفق وعفى الله عما سلف اذا لم يكن لكم جريمة، واما لن يكون لكم خارج السجن مكان، اختاروا مكانكم انتم يا اهل الفساد من العهد البائد.

رسالة إلى كل المتظاهرين على اختلاف توجهاتهم والذين ينزلون إلى الشوارع، حافظوا على سلمية التظاهر اجعلوا نقد الحاكم سببا للنهوض وليس سببا للفوضى واحذروا الانجرار للعنف والتظاهر هو اسلوب للتعبير عن الراي وليس ادوات لفرض الراي.

للكل: اذا كان خياركم هو النزول للتظاهر السلمي فمصلحة البلد فوق مصلحة الجميع، مصلحة البلد قبل كل اعتبار، احنا مجلس الأمن القومي مؤسسة واجتمعت عدة مرات وتعمل كمؤسسة محترمة طبقا للدستور وتتأخذ الخطوات و القرارات الجادة للحفاظ على الوطن وعى المواطنين وحفظ أمن الجميع، فما ترونه من إجراءات سواء من جهاز الشرطة أو من القوات المسلحة لحفظ المؤسسات والحفاظ على أمن المواطنين إنما هو توجيه وبمسؤولية كاملة يتحملها في المقام الأول رئيس الدولة الرئيس الأعلى للشرطة والقائد الأعلى للقوات المسلحة، كل حركة في البلد دي الآن بتوافق وليس بوجهة نظر فرد وإنما بعمل مؤسسة، مصلحة البلد فوق مصلحة الجميع، الدم المصري له حرمة سواء من معارضة أو مؤي، فلنبقى على ثورتنا ثورة حضارية نفتخر بها أما العالم، وأنا على يقين أنه سيكون انشاء الله.

إلى الشباب، يا شباب مصر يا فخر الامة اعترف لكم جميعا بكل وضوح انكم لم تاخذوا حقه الذي تستحقون في مرحلة بعد الثورة، واعذرکم واعتذر لكم وستأخذون حقه واشعر بكم ولا ادخر جهدا لفتح المزيد من الفرص امامكم.

للشعب: شارك وحسن الانتاج لتبني غدا لابنائنا، خذ البنزين بالكارت، هنستحمل مع بعض قليلا، لا ترضى باي اهمال وتقاعس، سنصبر مع بعض بلدنا تتحسن ببطء والامل في الغد، شارك في العمليات السياسية ولا تستمع لمن يريد ان يؤخرنا، وحسن علاقتك برجال الامن، بلدنا ستبني بنا وما اقول فقط، عاشت مصر حرة وعاش شعبها حرا كريما عظيما بناء، ورد الله كيد من اراد به سوء.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم: (أخرج ورقة من جيب الجاكيت) "لا يكلف الله نفسا إلا وسعها، لها ما كسبت وعليها ما اكتسبت، ربنا لا تؤاخذنا إن نسينا أو أخطأنا." صدق الله العظيم