

**A Rhetorical and Linguistic Analysis of Mohamed Morsi's
Final Speech**

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Abstract

Language is a tool used by politicians to support their interests and to persuade their audience of the correctness of their stance. This study provides a rhetorical and linguistic analysis of Mohamed Morsi's final speech which was delivered on Tuesday July 2, 2013. In particular, this study aims to scrutinize Morsi's use of rhetorical and linguistic devices to serve his overall political goal, i.e., to remain in power and to prolong the regime of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB). In order to examine to what extent Morsi used these devices, I employ the principle of triangulation through using a variety of theoretical perspectives including Wodak et al.'s (2009) strategies, argumentation schemes and traditional rhetorical devices. The findings reveal that rhetorical strategies and argumentation schemes were utilized in a desperate attempt to improve the effectiveness, emphasis, and focus of Morsi's message and to construct three main themes: Morsi's credibility, his confrontation of challenges and conspiracies, and finally his suggested initiative for resolving the situation.

Keywords

Political rhetoric, Rhetorical devices and strategies, Mohamed Morsi

تحليل لاستراتيجيات البلاغة في خطاب محمد مرسي الأخير

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الملخص العربي

تعد اللغة أداة يستخدمها رجال السياسة لدعم مصالحهم و لاقتناع الجماهير بصحة مواقفهم السياسية. تقدم هذه الدراسة تحليل بلاغي و لغوي لخطاب محمد مرسي الأخير الذي ألقاه يوم الثلاثاء الموافق ٢ يوليو ٢٠١٣. و تهدف هذه الدراسة علي وجه الخصوص الي توضيح الارتباط الوثيق للأساليب اللغوية و البلاغية التي استخدمها مرسي في خطابه السياسي بأهدافه السياسية و هي البقاء في السلطة و استمرار حكم الاخوان المسلمين. و تعتمد الدراسة علي مبدأ التثليث أو التعددية في استخدام مجموعة متنوعة من الأطر النظرية لتحليل هذا الخطاب و منها الاستراتيجيات الخطابية التي قدمتها روث ووداك و مخططات الحجج و البراهين، و أخيرا الأساليب اللغوية و البلاغية التقليدية. و تكشف نتائج البحث أنه مرسي قد قام بتوظيف عديد من الأساليب اللغوية و البلاغية و مخططات الحجج و البراهين في محاولة مستميتة لزيادة فعالية الخطاب في التأثير علي الجماهير و اقناعهم و من أجل التأكيد علي ثلاثة موضوعات رئيسية و هي بناء مصداقية مرسي و أهليته و التي تبرر تمسكه بالشرعية و رفضه للرحيل، مواجهته للعديد من التحديات و المؤامرات، و اقتراحه مبادرة للخروج من الأزمة.

1. Introduction

Rhetoric can be defined as the art of manipulating language for persuasive ends. Political leaders employ a spectrum of rhetorical and linguistic strategies to argue in favour of their political ideologies and/or persuade the public of a specific political action. Through their skillful manipulation of language, political leaders have traditionally been able to lead the public to adopt a certain course and/or support or refute a certain political action, to influence the attitudes, ambitions and fears of the public, and sometimes even to deceive people into accepting false statements as truth. Political leaders strive to get the support of the public through creating an “ideology” and persuading the public to willingly accept it as their own¹. To achieve this target, they employ a wide range of linguistic choices to construct certain discourses that are likely to influence people and lead them to more easily support the political arguments.

According to Wodak et al. (2009: 72), the production of political speeches consists of five phases: *inventio* (selection of topics), *dispositio* (arrangement of topics), *elocutio* (linguistic development of the arranged topic), *memoria* (memorising) and *actio* (delivery). Political leaders are usually helped by ghost speech writers in the linguistic development of the topic and the thematic arrangement of the speech sections. They are also helped by their political advisors in the selection of content. However, memorising and delivery of the speech are the sole responsibility of the speaker. Sometimes, political leaders are forced to address the nation and give speeches on particular issues in order to defuse potential conflicts. Mohamed Morsi’s final speech, which is the focus of this study, is one such example.

This study provides a rhetorical and linguistic analysis of Morsi’s final televised speech which was delivered at midnight, on Tuesday July 2, 2013. The purpose of this study is to critically analyse some properties of Morsi’s final speech in an attempt to explore the extent to which Morsi managed to convince the Egyptians of his position as the legitimate president who deserved to be given an opportunity to stay in power till the end of his term. In particular, this study, which is framed within the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), seeks to answer the following

¹ A large number of linguistic studies have focused on the analysis of the linguistic devices used by politicians to reinforce ideologies in the public. Examples include Arnold 1993; Bolinger 1980; Edelman 1977; Fairclough 1989; Flowerdew 2002; Ricento 2003; Thomans and Wareing 1999, and others.

research question: To what extent do Morsi's rhetorical and linguistic devices in this political speech serve his overall political goal, i.e., to remain in power and to prolong the MB regime?

In the light of the interconnectedness of language and power within political speeches, I employ the principle of triangulation. Triangulation means that discursive phenomena are approached from a variety of methodological and theoretical perspectives taken from various disciplines (Wodak et al., 2009: 9). My approach combines Wodak et al.'s (2009) rhetorical strategies, argumentation schemes, and traditional rhetorical devices (parallelism, metaphor, antithesis, rhetorical questions, understatement, and so on.). This study explores to what extent Morsi utilized rhetorical strategies, argumentation schemes, and traditional rhetorical devices in his attempt to persuade the public to adopt his path towards the resolution of the crisis in the Egyptian political situation.

2. Theoretical Framework

As mentioned above, this study uses a triangulation of three theoretical and analytical perspectives including Wodak et al.'s (2009) strategies, argumentation schemes and traditional rhetorical devices. In this section, I provide an introduction to CDA and the three selected perspectives.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Rhetoric and Persuasion

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Dijk, 2001: 325). CDA is basically interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10). Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271- 280) specify the main tenets of CDA as follows:

- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- Discourse is historical.
- Discourse is a form of social action.
- The link between text and society is mediated.
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
- CDA address social problems.
- Power relations are discursive.

Power is central for the study of CDA. Power is a complex and an abstract idea which refers to the “ability of its holders to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to their will” (Bullock and Trombley, 1999: 678). The power-holder, in turn, is defined by Edelman, as a person who can “exercise influence outside the context of formal proceedings [thus wielding] real power” (1977: 123). Language, however, is not powerful on its own. Rather, it gains power by the use powerful people make of it. This explains why CDA often chooses the perspectives of those who suffer, and critically analyses the language use of those who are responsible for the existence of inequalities, and who also have the means and opportunity to improve conditions (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 20).

Political discourse plays an immense role in producing, legitimising, and resisting power domination. It is not surprising then that CDA analysts dedicate special attention to the study of political discourse (Van Dijk, 1998: 360). Politics is the domain where language and power are intimately intertwined. Language in politics can

misrepresent as well as represent realities, it can weave visions and imaginaries which can be implemented to change realities and in some cases improve human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate realities, and construe them ideologically to serve unjust power relations (Fairclough, 2006: 1).

Politicians seek to grab, maintain and/or abuse power through the use of rhetoric. Rhetoric can be defined as the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others. Rhetoric is an art which employs various methods to convince, influence or please an audience. It is “an art [...] [which] creates a story out of nothing, using symbols to bring to life feelings we had forgotten, plans we had not yet considered” (Hart, 1997: 7). It should be noted, however, that “the story rhetoric tells is always a story with a purpose; it is never told for its own sake” (Hart, 1997: 7). Indeed, the main goal of politicians is not primarily to present facts, but to be persuasive (Woods 2006; Jost and Olmsted 2004). Therefore, they do not need to be always honest and they may twist the truth with their priority to lead the public in the direction of specific ideas, attitudes and actions.

[W]ithin all types of political system, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic; leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership. The more democratic societies become, the greater the onus on leaders

to convince potential followers that they and their policies can be trusted (Charteris-Black, 2005: 35).

Persuasion is a process aimed at convincing the target to change their attitude or behavior toward some event, idea, entity, object, etc., and to adopt this new attitude as a part of their core belief system. Persuasion, as a rhetorical goal, is central to political action, and language is one of the main tools for the achievement of this goal. It is therefore not surprising that language plays a central role in politics (Chilton, 1996: 47; Chilton, 2004: 3).

A linguistic analysis of political discourse, and more particularly of political speeches, “can be successful when it relates the details of linguistic behavior to political behavior” (Schäffner, 1996: 202). There are two levels of linguistic analysis: (1) the micro level of analysis which examines the linguistic choices in a certain text and then explores the strategic functions they serve to fulfill; and, (2) the macro level of analysis which starts from the context and the functions of the text, then investigates which linguistic structures have been chosen to fulfill these functions. CDA is “a perspective which is concerned with showing up often opaque connections between language and other aspects of society and culture” (Fairclough, 1996: 287). CDA bridges the gap between language and the social world it tries to represent. Consequently, it can also bridge the gap between micro and macro levels of analysis, since it deals with texts and linguistic choices which belong to the micro-level, and with power, dominance, and inequality between social groups which belong to the macro-level of analysis (Van Dijk, 2001: 354).

2.2 Strategies, Argumentation Schemes and Rhetorical Devices

Wodak et al. (2009: 33) suggested a number of rhetorical strategies that are likely to guide the public's thinking, and thus help politicians realise their political aims. These strategies are plans used to achieve certain political, psychological or other kinds of objectives. They include macro-and micro-level strategies which can be employed in the discursive construction of an identity: strategies of justification and relativisation (which attempt to justify or relativise a societal *status quo* by emphasising the legitimacy of past acts of the ‘own’ national ‘we’-group which have been put into question), constructive strategies (which attempt to construct and to establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation), strategies of perpetuation (which attempt to maintain and to reproduce a threatened national identity, i.e. to preserve, support and protect it),

strategies of transformation (which aim to transform a relatively well-established national identity and its components into another identity the contours of which the speaker has already conceptualized), and dismantling or destructive strategies (which aim at dismantling or disparaging parts of an existing national identity construct, but usually cannot provide any new model to replace the old one). Micro-level strategies, on the other hand, are numerous. The most frequent of them, however, include strategies of emphasis, strategies of assimilation (sameness), strategies of dissimilation (difference), strategies of avoidance, strategies of defense, strategies of minimisation, strategies of legitimation/delegitimation, and so on.

Some strategies may draw upon topoi or fallacies. A ‘strategy’ is mainly identified in terms of planned social and/or discursive activities, of the political aims or functions of these activities, and of the linguistic means designated to help realise these aims. In contrast to ‘strategy’, ‘topoi’ or ‘loci’ are taken to be highly standardised argumentation schemes which belong to the obligatory elements of argumentation and take the form either of explicit or inferable premises. Topoi are general principles that support argument. They refer to socially shared beliefs, knowledge and attitudes. Wodak and Richardson (2013: 78) note that positive and negative attributes, which are associated with justification and legitimation strategies, can be justified through topoi. They can be defined as “the formal or content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ which connect the argument(s) with the conclusion” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 102). Topoi become fallacies when they infringe rules of rational argumentation. A fallacy may refer to a mistaken belief, a mistaken inference, or a mistaken type of argument (Enos, 1996: 255). Topoi and fallacies may become integral parts of strategic plans, and serve to obtain the specific effects which are targeted by the strategies (Wodak et al., 2009: 34-35). The concept of *topoi* is very important for rhetoric. Topoi prove the speaker with standards of validity which make the argument defensible and persuasive. Examples of topoi include ignorance, comparison, similarity, difference, threat, examples, appeal to authority, definition, and so on. Numerous strategies and topoi are shown below in Table (1), which can be regarded as a refined version of the tables proposed in Wodak et al (2009: 36-42).

Table 1 Strategies and Argumentation Schemes (Adapted from Wodak et al. (2009: 36-42))

Strategies of Justification and Relativisation	Argumentation schemes (topoi/fallacies)
<p><i>Shift of Blame and Responsibility</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategy of emphasising the difference between 'us' and 'them' • strategy of isolation and/or singularisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of ignorance • topos of comparison • topos of difference
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategy of heteronomisation: emphasis on extra-national dependence/heteronomy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of external constraints and/or of external force • topos of heteronomy • topos of the force of facts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategy of casting doubt • strategy of scapegoating (victim) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of illustrative example
<p><i>Downplaying/Trivialisation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategy of emphasising negative sameness or negative common features 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison • topos of similarity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • balancing one thing against another 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategy of discontinuation • strategy of emphasising the difference between then and now 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of history as teacher
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategy of 'squaring' • strategy of compensation 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rationalisation/harmonisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos/fallacy of external threat • topos of the superordinate aim
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategy of minimisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of the small number • 'you can't just lump them all' topos
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategy of avoidance and strategy of euphemising (in reference to the linguistic representation of the responsible social actors and in reference to the representation of negative actions and events) 	
<p><i>Legitimation/Delegitimation</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of appeal to authority • topos of non-legitimation: assigning authority or pointing out that a person

	has no right to criticise something
Constructive Strategies	Argumentation schemes (topoi/fallacies)
<p><i>Assimilation, Inclusion and Continuation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on intra-national sameness/similarity (including the strategy of ‘we are all in the same boat’) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topoi of comparison • topos of similarity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on positive political continuity (at state/national level) • negation of an alleged discontinuity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of definition • topos of name interpretation
<p><i>Singularisation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on national (positive) uniqueness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of lovely, idyllic place
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategy of simultaneous emphasis on national uniqueness and national model character 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • explicit or implicit topos of comparison (including ‘we are superior compared to them’)
<p><i>Autonomisation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on national autonomy and independence 	
<p><i>Unification and Cohesivation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on unifying common features/shared sorrow or worries • emphasis on the will to unify/ co-operate/feel and show solidarity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on national model character • warning against the loss of national autonomy and uniqueness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of threat
<p><i>Dissimilation/Exclusion and Discontinuation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on internal and external differences • discontinuation/emphasis on a difference between then and now 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison • topos of difference • topos of terrible place
<p><i>Strategy of Avoidance</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • suppression/backgrounding of intra-national differences • suppression/backgrounding of inter-national or supranational sameness/similarity/commonality • ignoring/downplaying of heteronomy 	

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • suppression/backgrounding of discontinuities/ disruptions 	
<i>Vitalisation</i>	
Strategies of Perpetuation	Argumentation schemes (topoi/fallacies)
<i>Positive Self-Presentation</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Strategy of Calming Down</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of the lovely, idyllic place
<i>Portrayal in Black and White</i> (frequently in combination with positive self-presentation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison • topos/fallacy of threat
<i>Continuation</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on positive political continuity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison • topos of similarity • topos of definition
<i>Defence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison • disaster topos: rejecting an action whose consequences for Egypt's future are depicted as negative • topos/fallacy of threat ('bloodshed')
<i>Strategy of Avoidance</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • suppression/circumvention of the issue of change 	
Strategies of Transformation	Argumentation schemes (topoi/fallacies)
<i>Positive Self-Presentation</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on Egypt's (possible) model character and better future 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison • topos of difference
<i>Heteronomisation or Warning against Heteronomy</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on extra-national dependence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of (changed) circumstances • topos of the force of facts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • warning against the loss of national autonomy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of threat
<i>Autonomisation</i> (as Strategy of Calming Down) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on autonomy and independence to alleviate fears of increasing heteronomy and loss of uniqueness resulting from a particular action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of consequence or denial/refutation of a particular disaster • topos of threat
<i>Discontinuing/Dissimilation</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on a difference between then and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of history as teacher

<p>now</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on a necessary difference between now and the future 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of a favourable time • topos of ‘you can’t have one without the other’ • topos of consequence • ‘sugarcoated world’ topos as special form of the topos of consequence: pointing out positive consequences of a propagated action • topos of the superordinate aim • topos of definition • topos of appeal to authority
<p><i>Devaluation/Negative Connotation of Political Continuation and Positive Connotation of Gradual or Abrupt Change/Transformation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • declaring something as obsolete/historicising • emphasis on the model character of some group in regard to their attitudes to change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of consequence • disaster topos • ‘sugar coated world’ topos
<i>Vitalisation</i>	
Strategies of Demontage (or Dismantling) and Destruction	Argumentation schemes (topoi/fallacies)
<i>Discrediting Opponents/ Certain Pillars of Identity</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison • defamation
<i>Negative Presentation</i> (of Self/Others)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of terrible place
<i>Heteronomisation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of external constraints/of external force
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on extra-national dependence and/or heteronomy • emphasis on dismantling myths against one’s will 	
<i>Assimilation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison • topos of similarity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on inter-national sameness/similarity/communality 	
<i>Dissimilation/Exclusion</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of comparison • topos of difference
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on intra-national differences 	
<i>Discontinuation</i>	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on discontinuity/ disruptions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • topos of threat • topos of time
<i>Strategy of Pronouncing Somebody/Something 'Dead'</i>	
<i>'Cassandra' Strategy</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • disaster topos

Rhetorical devices can be seen as means of realization for strategies, topoi and fallacies. They are utilized in various discourses, and more particularly political discourse, to improve the effectiveness, clarity, emphasis, effect and focus. Harris (2013) provides a list of these devices which includes, for example: *Metaphor* (thinking and speaking about something in terms of something else), *Personification* (providing animals, inanimate objects, ideas and abstractions with human attributes of form, character, feelings, behavior, and so on), *Parallelism* (the re-occurrence or repetition of syntactical and lexical patterns), *strategic use of pronouns* (the strategic employment of *we-groups* (*we*, *our* and *us*) serve to establish a unified relationship between politicians and the public), *Amplification* (repeating a word or expression while adding more detail to it), *Rhetorical questions* (raising one or more questions and not answering them because its answer is obvious), *Apostrophe* (directly addressing a person or personified thing, either present or absent), *Enumeratio* (detailing parts, causes, effects, or consequences to make a point more forcibly), *Antithesis* (establishing a clear, contrasting relationship between two ideas by joining them together or juxtaposing them, often in parallel structure), *Understatement* (deliberately expresses an idea as less important than it actually is), *Hyperbole* (deliberately exaggerating conditions for emphasis or effect), and so on.

This study fills in a gap because there is no study, to my knowledge, that integrates these tools in a study of Arabic political discourse, and more particularly of Morsi's final speech.

3. Methodology

I transcribed and translated the speech², which consists of 3602 words and lasts 46.09 minutes. Then, I numbered each sentence in both transcript and translation. I managed to identify the main topics of Morsi's speech, namely: (1) Morsi's construction of his credibility and his attitude towards certain entities and events including for example the January Revolution, the protests, the Army, etc., (2) his alleged

² The transcript and translation of speech are provided in the Appendix.

confrontation of challenges and conspiracies, and (3) his suggestions for the resolution of the crisis.

I examined the transcript qualitatively in the light of Wodak et al.'s (2009) rhetorical strategies as well as argumentation schemes, i.e., topoi and fallacies. In addition, I extracted examples of Morsi's use of traditional rhetorical devices and indicated how they are used as means of realization of the rhetorical strategies and argumentation schemes. Finally, I reflected on the extent to which these rhetorical strategies and argumentation schemes were exploited to achieve persuasion in presenting the main topics of the speech.

4. Analysis and Discussion

4.1 The Context of Morsi's Speech

Here is some brief contextual information about Mohamed Morsi³ and the events that led to his final speech, which is the focus of this study. Mohamed Morsi is a politician who served as the fifth president of Egypt, from 30 June 2012 to 3 July 2013. Mohamed Morsi became a member of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1977, received a Ph.D. in engineering from the University of Southern California in 1982, and served as a Member of Parliament from 2000 to 2005. Later, he was appointed as a member of the MB's Guidance Bureau. After the 2011 revolution, he founded the Freedom and Justice Party and served as its Chairman. He was nominated as the MB candidate for the 2012 presidential elections. Then, he won the run-off election, winning 51.7 percent of the vote against Ahmed Shafiq, Hosni Mubarak's last prime minister. He became the first democratically elected president in Egypt's history. Although he fulfilled his promise and resigned from MB after the election results were announced, his affiliation to the group has never been actually terminated.

As president, Morsi tried to dominate the country by granting himself unlimited powers. He issued a presidential decree in November 2012 to grant himself the power to legislate without judicial oversight or review of his acts. Although he claimed that this decree would enable him to protect the nation from the remnants of the old regime, the decree was met by public outrage. Public protests spread throughout the country and people attacked the MB offices.

By the following year, the political situation in Egypt had worsened. In June 2013, millions of protesters went out in all the squares of Egypt calling for Morsi's resignation. In response to the events, the Army issued a 48-hour ultimatum requiring Morsi to meet the demands of

³ <http://www.biography.com/people/mohamed-morsi-20862695>

the people or else they would intervene by implementing their own road map. On 2 July, in a televised address, Morsi refused to adhere to the Army's ultimatum, declared his holding of power and vowed to pursue an initiative for resolving the political crisis. On July 3, 2013, the Minister of Defense, Abdul Fatah al-Sisi announced a road map for the future and stated that Morsi was removed from his position as president and that Adly Mansour, the head of the Constitutional Court, had been appointed the Interim President of Egypt. Following the televised announcement, millions of Egyptians celebrated across the country.

4.2 Main Topics in the Speech

In Morsi's speech, three main topics stand out: Morsi's construction of his credibility, his alleged confrontation of challenges and conspiracies, and finally his suggestions for the resolution of the crisis. In this section, I explain how Morsi exploited rhetorical strategies, argumentation schemes and traditional rhetorical devices in presenting these topics.

4.2.1 Morsi's construction of his credibility

A major part of Morsi's speech was dedicated to a detailed positive presentation of himself, the January revolution, legitimacy, among other things. Employing the strategy of positive self-presentation, he expressed his good will towards Egypt and her people (74, 75). He also constructed himself as a protector of the January revolution (76), a protector of Egypt and the Egyptians against potential violence, bloodshed and chaos (72, 78, 98), a protector of legitimacy (73, 173), a patriot and lover of Egypt (164, 166), a hard worker who does what he can for the best interests of his country (17, 21, 24, 25) a person who gains experience with time and becomes more competent in shouldering responsibility (23), a good listener for the demands of the people (97), a custodian of the future of Egypt, her police, her Army, and her industry (157), and as the voice of reason who advises his fellow citizens to protect their revolution (74, 75), who warns people against the use of violence against each other and against the Army and Police forces (84), and who considers the best interests of the Army (78, 79, 82).

He also constructed himself as a religious person. He started his speech with two verses from Qur'an (1, 2). The selection of the verse in (1), "Say: In the Bounty of Allāh, and in His Mercy; therein let them rejoice. That is better than what (the wealth) they amass *قل بفضل الله و*

”برحمته فبذلك فليفرحوا هو خير مما يجمعون (Surat Yunus: 58)⁴, is particularly interesting since it foreshadows his argument that he is not keen in power and that he is only fulfilling his duty. Other examples of the use of Qur’an in the speech can be seen in (89, 170, 172). There is also examples of religious preaching in Morsi’s invitation to remember God (171), his prayers for God to protect Egypt and her people (126), his confirmation that God will keep his promise to secure welfare for Egypt (127), his advice that people should be living their life while preparing for the Judgment Day (127, 128), and his confirmation of his belief in God who have defined a destiny for everything (159, 160).

Morsi resorted to the topoi of appeal to authority many times. He showed his respect to the Opposition (155) and appealed to the Constitutional Court to speedily finish the law of election (107). He referred to the presence of the Leader of the Armed Forces and the head of government, the Prime Minister, when he received the initiative for reconciliation (115). He attempted, through the use of the plural form of the verb (we said قلنا), to show that there was a kind of agreement to accept this initiative, particularly on the part of the Armed Forces (116). Through the use of path metaphors, he empahsised the role that this initiative can play as a guarantee to proceed with the march towards development, maintain the legal constitutional legitimacy and put an end to tension.

He mentioned that he called for dialogue with the Opposition (99) and expressed his willingness to negotiate with them (100). He employed the topos of *emphasis* in (101), (I have said this a lot كثيرا) to indicate that he had been trying hard to win the approval of the Opposition. Although he admitted the presence of dereliction in his administration, this dereliction was trivialized by means of employing the strategy of *downplaying/trivialisation* as manifested by rhetorical device of understatement in his use of the modifier ‘some’ (22).

It should be noted, however, that through using the strategy of *avoidance*, Morsi attempted to detach himself for the MB. He wanted to persuade people that he was not highly dependent on his political affiliation to the MB and that he wanted the best interests of all Egyptians. This can be detected in his attempt to stress that the kind of public that was being addressed includes all Egyptians (164, 165). He also endeavored to rhetorically counter the widespread claims of the MB attempts to dominate the country and intention to seize power as long as they can by means of positive self-presentation as someone who is not keen on power (67, 68). However, there is an implicit reference to his

⁴ <http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=10&verse=58>

whereby the personified Egypt, her institutions and her president are proceeding on the path towards development by means of protecting legitimacy.

Morsi's political goals were not explicitly stated to a large extent in his speech. Although it is clear that his main goal was to stay in power and continue as president of Egypt, he openly denied this fact. He desperately attempted to ascribe legitimacy to his decisions in order to suppress the protests, silence the voice that calls for his resignation and for early presidential elections on one hand, and appeal for the people's support of such decisions on the other hand. The idea of asceticism in power is rhetorically manipulated as a negation of the accusation of clinging to power. Actually, Morsi's attitude towards legitimacy can be summed up as an endeavor to hide his clinging to power behind the excuse of protecting democracy and legitimacy since he used the strategy of *justification* to persuade people of the perpetuation of the status quo. Indeed, Morsi combined several strategies simultaneously. He used the topos of the *superordinate aim* in declaring that all Egyptians share the same future and should share the aim of protecting the revolution and protecting the future of their country from the possibility of bloodshed. It can be said that, by implicitly referring to the idea of the Egyptians' common interests, sorrows, worries, etc., he assumed a collective fate for all Egyptians in an attempt to evoke the feelings of identification and solidarity in the public and encourage them to defend democracy and legitimacy which constitute the main gains of the January revolution.

Morsi employed *cohesivation and integration* strategies through his strategic use of pronouns. He used 'We' in order to share the responsibility of the action with others (either the public or his administration) and to obtain reliability. The use of "we" was intended to give an impression that Morsi is one of the Egyptians and that he speaks on behalf of them. The pronoun 'we احنا' was used 23 times in (3, 7, 15, 35, 44, 48, 51, 56, 62, 75, 79, 88, 104, 107, 116, 133, 143, 147, 148, 149, 153, 161). 'All of us كلنا' was used 12 times in (5, 7, 66, 67, 88, 110, 128, 136, 143, 149). It should be noted that both (128, 136) contain a double use of 'all of us' for emphasis. He used the pronoun 'I', thus taking direct responsibility of the action, when he was talking about his achievements and when he was giving advice to the public. The pronoun 'أنا' was used 37 times in (4, 17, 25, 26, 35, 40, 44, 45, 60, 63, 70, 71, 77, 78, 79, 80, 84, 91, 122, 123, 124, 134, 141, 149, 151, 152, 154, 157). The use of second person can be detected in (150, 175, 176). Second person pronouns are also used. The second person in the plural sense 'انتم' and 'انتوا' can be found in (4, 45, 58, 67, 75, 81, 85). The second person in

the singular sense, on the other hand, is used only twice, in (113 - addressed to the media) and (170- part of a verse of Qur'an).

In a further attempt to grab the attention of the audience, highlight the topic, add rhythm and beautify the sentences, Morsi resorts to using a large number of parallel structures in the speech. Parallel structures can be detected in (13, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 54, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 82, 84, 91, 92, 94, 103, 119, 120, 123, 124, 129, 131, 134, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 148, 150, 154, 157, 158, 160, 163, 164, 166, 167, 173, and 174).

4.2.2 Challenges and Conspiracies

The strategic topoi of *consequence* and *threat* formed the argument frame in relation to Morsi's decision to stay in power. He desperately attempted to construct himself and his administration as victims of conspiracies and as sufferers under the pressure of several challenges. He used the strategy of *scapegoating* (victim) to depict himself as a victim of conspiracies and challenges. He attempted to evoke fear in the Egyptians through using the fallacy of *external threat* (the enemy abroad does not want progress in Egypt).

He employed the substrategy of *shift of blame and responsibility* in referring to the challenges which face the regime. In addition, he constructed these challenges as obstructions on the path. The topos of *external constraints* and the rhetorical device of *Enumeratio* are used in emphasizing these challenges which include: the remnants of the former regime who want to come back to power, the deep state, corruption, economic problems, continuous protests, enemies or external forces who do not want Egypt to develop, and so on (29, 30, 31, 32).

He activated the *victim* topos when he depicted himself and his administration as being targeted by the remnants of the former regime as well as other external forces. He tended to present the political achievements of the January revolution as being beleaguered by the remnants (76) and endeavored to mobilise the self-confidence and identity of the Egyptians to defend their revolution. He also uses the topoi of *difference* and *emphasis* to highlight the difference between 'us' (those who love Egypt and want her best interests) and 'them' (the remnants who are dragging Egypt to a dark tunnel). He used the strategies of *démontage* (or *dismantling*) and the topos of *defamation* when he discredited his opponents, the remnants of the former regime. This is clear in the use of rhetorical questions (61, 62, 63) and the use of derogatory metaphors which depict them as suckers of the blood of the

poor (39, 59) and as the manipulative forces behind the current crisis (58, 60, 61, 62). He employed the topos of *emphasis* in repeating the clause (they will not return (لن يعودوا)) and the use of the adverb (never أبداً) to stress his determination to prevent the return of the former regime (45). The same topos is used in the repetition of the clause (this is not acceptable (هذا مرفوض)) in an attempt to establish his authority as the president who is entitled to examine the alternative and decide the roadmap (140, 167).

He used the strategies of *avoidance* and *minimization* and the topos of *the small number* in never acknowledging the presence of massive protests. In order to trivialize the size of the massive protests which erupted throughout Egypt, he attempted to create the impression that there was a balance between the number of protesters and that of supporters through the use of antithesis in (47, 93) and the use of the denotative marker (some البعض) as subject of the verb (oppose يبيعارض) in (93).

He used the topos of *threat* and drew fictitious (threatening) scenarios. If legitimacy was violated, bloodshed and violence would ensue. Above all, it was this emphasis on legitimacy – arguing with the topos ‘you can’t have one without the other’, the topos of *consequence*, and the topos of *threat* – which led to the creation of the negative scenarios of bloodshed and possibly civil war. His argument also contained elements of *justification* since he declared that he would be staying in power only to defend legitimacy, even if the price was his own life. Because of the tension between the protesters who call for Morsi’s resignation and the supporters who want to maintain legitimacy and implicitly to keep the regime of the MB, an appeal for continuity of the status quo was contrived. He appeals to the Egyptians not to be deceived by attempts to steal the revolution (148, 150), or lead the country to the abyss. He employed the topos of *emphasis* in suggesting that the model Egyptian would listen to him, adopt his path, and respect legitimacy.

4.2.3 Resolution of the Crisis

Morsi was interested in perpetuating the status quo and in resisting political change, of course to his own advantage. He depicted a rather abstract ideal place where Egyptians live together happily, in affluence, in harmony and without conflicts. Morsi uses parallelism as a constructive strategy to depict this idealized image of Egypt (26, 27, 174) and to preach the values of persistence and patience (28), as well as mutual respect and dialogue (142). In addition, he employed the topos of *continuity* in (71) through the variations in the verb tense (كنت و ما زلت و)

سأظل was, is and will be) to emphasise his sense of duty and responsibility towards Egypt and her people.

Morsi proposed an initiative for the resolution of the imminent political crisis. The initiative included changing the government, forming a coalition government from the national spectrum, forming a balanced patriotic independent committee to prepare the articles of the constitution (103), taking measures to guarantee the transparency and integrity of the forthcoming elections (106), the issue of the Prosecutor General (108), suggesting a social contract to negotiate on the conduction of the upcoming elections (110), suggesting a kind of reconciliation (110), providing the youth with an opportunity to become real partners in making decisions (111), forming the superior committee for reconciliation (112), suggesting a pledge of honor for the media, (113), and suggesting a huge frame for national justice (114).

He used the '*sugarcoated world*' topos as a special form of the topos of *consequence* to point out the positive scenario that would be materialised if this initiative was exploited and if legitimacy was respected. He implied that only if Egyptians followed the route that he suggested, would Egypt have an opportunity to develop and enjoy stability. Then, he expressed his wishes for a better future of Egypt (169, 173, 174)

He used the *strategy of Singularisation* which is supported by the topos of *lovely idyllic place* in emphasising Egypt's positive uniqueness and the national model character (if Egypt is great then we as Egyptians have to protect it). Then, through a combination of path and sports metaphors, Morsi depicted the political situation in Egypt as a march on a path towards progress and stability (141, 142, 149, 161, 169, 174) and any disruption of this path would take the personified Egypt back to Square One (124), or detain her in a dark tunnel (132, 133, 166), or throw her into an abyss (166).

Schäffner points out that "politicians do not deliver speeches as individuals, but rather as representatives of political parties, governments, or nations" (1996: 203). Then, the point of view propagated in Morsi's speech represented the MB standpoints. Throughout the speech, Morsi's purpose was to influence the audience and convince them of his position as the legitimate president and of his right to stay in power till the end of his term. During the course of Morsi's one-year presidency, his affiliation with MB was highlighted. By understanding the macro-context, it is easier to understand Morsi's clinging to power. Using rhetorical strategies and argumentation schemes, Morsi appealed to the interests of the public,

particularly in securing a good future for Egypt, in order to persuade them to support his political goals, i.e. maintaining his position as president and prolonging the MB regime.

5. Findings and Conclusion

Language in political discourse can be described as being “highly persuasive” and “replicating a sense of emotional, intellectual or sensory pressure in the audience” (Cockroft and Cockroft, 1992: 130). In this study, I have explored Morsi’s final speech using a triangulation of theoretical perspectives including Wodak et al.’s (2009) strategies, argumentation schemes and traditional rhetorical devices. In my analysis, I have attempted to answer the research question concerning the extent to which Morsi employed rhetorical and linguistic devices in his political speech to serve his overall political goal. Three main topics were identified in the speech, namely, Morsi’s construction of his credibility, the challenges and conspiracies he claimed to be facing, and finally his suggestions for the resolution of the crisis. Morsi used all the strategies and persuasive devices at his disposal in his final televised address. He endeavored to construct himself as a credible and trustworthy person. He used strategies of positive self-presentation to depict himself as knowledgeable and to demonstrate his goodwill and virtue toward the public. He used several other persuasive strategies such as perpetuation, transformation, justification and dismantling. In addition, he used a collection of strategies and topoi to propose his attitudes towards the January revolution, the Army, legitimacy, and so on. The rhetorical linguistic analysis of this speech indicates the way persuasion can be achieved by means of language. The use of rhetorical strategies and argumentation schemes has enabled Morsi, to some extent, to hide his true political goal, which is to stay in power and extend the MB rule, behind justifications of legitimacy and avoidance of violence. Generally speaking, rhetorical strategies and argumentation schemes are primarily exploited by political leaders to persuade the public to adopt their policies and to convince them of their righteousness and justice.

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Appendix

Morsi's Speech and its Translation

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. الحمد لله و الصلاة و السلام علي رسول الله صلي الله عليه و سلم. قل بفضل الله و برحمته فبذلك فليفرحوا هو خير مما يجمعون[°] (١). رب اشرح لي صدري و يسر لي أمري و احل عقدة من لساني يفقهوا قولي (٢). "أيها الشعب المصري العظيم يا صاحب ثورة ٢٥ يناير ٢٠١١ (٣) أخاطبكم اليوم وأنا أعرف وأرى وأنتم الآن تنتظرون مني كلمة لتوضيح الموقف ولتعرفوا بلدنا فيها إيه، وإحنا بنعمل إيه دلوقتي (٤)، كلنا عارفين ما كان قبل ثورة ٢٥ يناير ٢٠١١ فساد تزوير انتخابات، سرقات، ظلم، عدوان على الإنسان وكرامة الإنسان (٥)، تأخرت مصر بسبب النظام البائد الذي أجرم و من كان معه في حق الوطن (٦). احنا قمنا بثورة كلنا مع بعض (٧)، ثورة عظيمة جدا (٨)، ثورة سلمية (٩)، كان فيها شهداء، دمهم غالي علينا جداً (١٠)، لكن لم تكن ثورة دموية (١١)، كان فيها مصابين جروحهم وإصاباتهم مبنسأهاش (١٢) لكن الحمد لله مرينا بمرحلة انتقالية واكتسبنا قدرة بإرادة حرة، (١٣) و عملنا انتخابات - انتخابات رئاسية حرة نزيهة شهد لها العالم كله أنها أول انتخابات في تاريخ مصر كان فيها إرادة المصريين واضحة و بارزة (١٤). المصريين - احنا - في الانتخابات الرئاسية في مايو / يونيو ٢٠١٢ اللي فات - أعلنوا بوضوح للعالم أنهم اختاروا رئيساً بطريقة حرة (١٥) وأعلنوا طريقاً واضحاً نحبه جميعاً -- الحرية الديمقراطية العدل العدالة الاجتماعية (١٦) أنا يوم ٢٩ يونيو ٢٠١٢ خرجت معاكم في ميدان التحرير لكل الموجودين في الميدان و في كل الميادين و بايعنكم علي أن أصون هذا الوطن و أن أعمل بكل طاقتي ليل نهار لكي يستقر الوطن و لكي ينمو و لكي نمتلك إرادتنا بجد و نستكمل المسيرة (١٧) أقسمت أمامكم و أمام الله و العالم في يوم ٢٩ يونيو ٢٠١٢ القسم الذي اعتز به (١٨) ورأيت في عيون الجميع في كل مصر رضا و قبولاً و فرحة بعرس الديمقراطية يوم ٢٩ يونيو ٢٠١٢ (١٩)، و يوم السبت ٣٠ كان القسم الرسمي في المحكمة الدستورية، و في جامعة القاهرة، و في الهايكستب، والقوات المسلحة بنتوج جهدها العظيم وبتسلم السلطة بفرحة و برضا لرئيس مدني مصري منتخب لأول مرة في تاريخ مصر (٢٠). ومضت الأيام خلال العام، بذلت فيه كل ما استطعت من جهد (٢١)، وفي خطابي اللي فات يوم الأربعاء اللي فات قلت لكم بوضوح لقد وقعت مني أخطاء ولقد وقع مني بعض التقصير (٢٢) ولقد رأيت الأمور أكثر وضوحاً بعد عام من المسؤولية (٢٣) تحركت في كل الميادين ومع كل المخلصين لكي ننهض بمصر لكي تقف مصر بعد كبوة طويلة بسبب النظام الذي أجرم في حق مصر وأهلها (٢٤). أنا أتحركت في كل اتجاه كما تعلمون شرحت ده كتير أوي ليكوا (٢٥) وواضح و أنا أردت ومازلت أريد أن تمتلك مصر إرادتها فلا يملئ عليها أحد أبداً إرادتها ولا تسيرها قوة رغم عنها أياً كانت هذه القوة أو أيا كان مصدرها (٢٦) وأصر وأعلنت قبل ذلك أن مصر تمتلك إرادتها، تنهض وتنتج غذاءها ودواءها وسلاحها (٢٧) وهذا أمر ليس سهلاً يحتاج لجهد ويحتاج الي عمل ويحتاج الي تكامل ويحتاج الي وقت (٢٨)، لكن كما تعلمون أيضاً والدنيا تعلم أن تحديات الماضي ظلت موجودة، بنسب كبيرة (٢٩) بقايا النظام السابق الدولة العميقة الفساد الأصرار على بقاء الفساد الوضع الاقتصادي الذي ورتناه (٣٠)، الديمقراطية التجربة الجديدة ده تحدي مبيعجش ناس كتير عايزين الفساد (٣١) و في الخارج برده بعض الناس مش عايزين مصر تمتلك إرادتها (٣٢) أسهل أوي أن نبقى ماشيين في الركب بنسمع الكلام وخلص (٣٣)، لا، ثورة المصريين مكانتش ثورة جياع - أبداً (٣٤) دي كانت ثورة امتلاك الإرادة دي كانت ثورة الحرية دي كانت ثورة العدل دولة القانون كانت ثورة

[°] For Translation of Quran, See: <http://www.quranexplorer.com/>

العدالة الاجتماعية و توزيع الثروة بجد علي الناس (٣٥) التحديات كثير و الانجازات أيضا انا شرحتلكو في كل الاتجاهات قبل كده احنا بنعمل ايه (٣٦) تحديات كبيرة جدا تحتاج الي وقت (٣٧). لكن هذا التحدي الفساد ، الدولة العميقة ، تابعي النظام السابق (٣٨) زي ما العالم كله يقول في كل احصائياته ال ٣٢ عيلة اللي سيطروا على البلد ومصوا دم الناس (٣٩)، هذا كله مازلنا نحمل أوزاره ما زلنا نعيش معه وبيعوق الشباب العظيم (٤٠)، شباب مصر، ولادي بجد ، عندهم مشاكل ، و انا شرحت قبل كده ولهم حق ، حقوق كثيرة (٤١) والفساد والتحديات بتاع الفساد، و أظافر و بقايا النظام و عدم الرغبة في الانتقال والإقتتال من هؤلاء من أجل أن يبقى الحال علي ما كان عليه (٤٢) ده مرفوض (٤٣) لكن المشاكل الاقتصادية وحركة هؤلاء في كل اتجاه واحنا بنسعى وبنمنع وبنبعد لكن حجم التحدي كبير (٤٤) يريدون هؤلاء ان يعودوا ، انا زي ما قلت برعايتكم أنتم المصريين لن يعودوا -- لن يعودوا أبداً (٤٥). المشاكل اللي موجودة اللي سببها الماضي و بعض التقصير مني، ومن حركتنا (٤٦) وده أمر طبيعي بعد الثورات – ان يبقي فيه اعتراض و ان يبقي فيه تأييد (٤٧) وأحنا داخلين في الديمقراطية منذ ذلك الوقت و بنحترمها و عملنا دستور - دستور عظيم جداً (٤٨) تحدي كبير (٤٩) الناس بتأخذ سنين طويلة عشان تعمل دستور (٥٠) احنا و الحمد لله قدرنا نعمل دستور واستفتى الشعب عليه يوم ٢٥ ديسمبر اللي فات ٢٠١٢ (٥١)، أقر الدستور بأغلبية بها توازن محترم حوالي ٦٤% (٥٢) ما يقرب من ثلثين الشعب المصري اللي خرج قال نعم لهذا الدستور (٥٣) أصبح عندنا مرجعية أصبح عندنا شرعية بإرادتنا رئيس منتخب، ودستور بإرادة الأمة (٥٤) بنشتغل طبقاتاً لهذه الشرعية (٥٥) هذه الشرعية هي الوحيدة التي تضمن لنا جميعاً إذا أحترمناها ان ميقاش بيننا و بين بعض قتال، ميقاش بيننا و بين بعض ابدأ اعتراف بالعنف ميقاش بيننا و بين بعض أي نوع من أنواع سفك الدم – اللي احنا شفناه - اللي موجود دلوقتي (٥٦) ان هناك من يستغل غضب الشباب و هذا مشروع و طبيعي في ظل الشرعية و الديمقراطية (٥٧) أستمع اليه اتحرك نحوه عايزه يكون موجود لكن قوي الاجرام القديم برموزهم اللي انتوا شايفينهم بيبرزوا برؤوسهم الآن مش عايزين الديمقراطية (٥٨). الديمقراطية مش هتجيبهم لو راحوا للشعب هيلفظهم مش هيقبلهم اتعودوا علي التزوير اتعودوا علي تهمة الناس اتعودوا علي مص دم الناس اتعودوا يلماوا الفلوس و مع كل أسف بيعتوها بارة فمش قادرين ميعرفوش الديمقراطية يعني ايه و لا حرية الرأي يعني ايه (٥٩) هؤلاء يستغلوا غضب الشباب المشروع و أيضا بعض ابناء مصر الكرام اللي حاسين ان في مشكلات اقتصادية و زعلانين منها و انا بأقدر هذا الزعل جدا هؤلاء يستغلوا هذا الغضب و هذه المشاكل عشان يوظفوا بعض أتباعهم عشان يحدثوا الفوضى و يرتكبوا العنف و يقتلوا الناس و يثيروا شغباً بيان كأنه ملتبس في بعضه (٦٠) لكن ليه العنف ده مبيظهرش الا في المواعيد اللي بيحددوها و في الوقت اللي بيختاروه (٦١) ليه العنف ده مبيظهرش الا لما بيعلنوا ان احنا رايعين بالعافية غير النظام نلغي الديمقراطية (٦٢) مش عايزين شرعية امال عاوزين ايه - الشرعية دي هي الضمان الوحيد عشان نحافظ على بلدنا و نمنع سفك الدماء و ننقل الي مرحلة جديدة (٦٣) الوضع ده ظاهر جدا عشان كده انا بقولوكوا لأبناء مصر المعارضين بس الحقيقة مش هقدر أقول ده لسفاكي الدماء ، مرتكبي العنف ، ديول النظام اللي فات (٦٤) لا الكلام ده للمعارضين الشرفاء، اللي بيحترموا الديمقراطية اللي عارفين يعني ايه شرعية اللي بيحترموا الشرعية (٦٥) أقول لهم مصر مصر دي ملكنا كلنا (٦٦). انتوا عارفين كل العالم و انتوا و كلنا عارفين محمد مرسي لم يكن والآن ليس حريصاً أبداً على كرسي (٦٧). هذا الكلام لا قيمة له عندي علي الاطلاق يعلم رب العباد هذا الامر بيني و بينه و معكم (٦٨) لكن مينفعش هذا الشعب كلني الشعب اختارني في انتخابات حرة نزيهة الشعب عمل دستور بيكلفني في دولة موجودة بنتنظر مني أن ألتزم بالشرعية أن ألتزم بهذا الدستور أن أحافظ عليه (٦٩) أنا معنديش خيار أن أتحمل المسؤولية (٧٠) أنا متحمل المسؤولية كنت و ما زلت و سأظل (٧١) دماء المصريين غالية جداً، جدا جدا أقف بكل ما أملك من قوة و أدوات و امكانيات

و إرادة ضد من يحاول بأي شكل أن يريق هذه الدماء أو أن يوجد فتنة أو أن يرتكب عنف أو خطأ يؤدي الي هذا العنف (٧٢). و لذلك رسالتي اليكم جميعا الي زي ما قلت المعارضين الذين يحرصون علي الديمقراطية و علي تداول السلطة و علي الشرعية "أني متمسك بهذه الشرعية، و اني أقف راعيا و حاميا لهذه الشرعية و الي المؤيدين أيضا الذين يحترمون الشرعية و يحبون الديمقراطية و كالمعارضين الشرفاء يريدون الخير لمصر و الحرية لأبناءها و العدالة الاجتماعية و النمو و التنمية و مصر الحديثة صاحبة المساحة الكبيرة و التاريخ العظيم، و الاعتقاد العظيم و الصلة بالسماء و الرجال الكرام، و النساء الفضليات، و الأعراف و و الأخلاق و الموارد و الظلم الذي وقع و نزوله و الإجرام الذي جرى و نقضي عليه، و الفساد الذي يريد أن يبقي لنزيحه بإرادتنا (٧٣). أقول للمؤيدين كما أقول للمعارضين حافظوا علي مصر حافظوا علي الثورة (٧٤) الحفاظ علي الثورة و الثورة اللي احنا اكتسبناها بعرقنا و بدم شهداءنا، و بمسيرتنا سنتين و نص - حافظوا عليها كلكوا يا مؤيدين و يا معارضين، او عوا الثورة تتسرق منكوا بأي حجة الحجج كثير و السحرة كثير و التحدي كبير و أنتوا قادرين تواجهوا هذا (٧٥) ازاى نحافظ علي الثورة ازاى متتسرقش منا الثورة (٧٦). انا قدامكوا ثورة ٢٥ يتاير و تحقيق اهدافها كاملة و الحفاظ علي الشرعية تمن الحفاظ عليها حياتي - حياتي انا (٧٧) انا عايز احافظ علي حياتكوا كلكوا انا عايز احافظ علي الأطفال و لادنا اللي هيبجوا بعدنا انا عايز احافظ علي البنات هيبقوا امهات المستقبل اللي بيعلموا و لادهم ان اباؤهم و أجدادهم كانوا رجال لا يقبلون الضيم و لا ينزلون ايدا علي رأي الفسدة و لا يعطون الدنية ايدا من وطنهم او شرعيتهم او دينهم، انا عايز أحافظ علي النساء علي الرجال علي الجيش (٧٨) الجيش المصري ده بنيانه بعرقنا بدمنا بمواردنا. احنا عايزينه جيش قوي (٧٩). انا عايز و لادي يمتلكوا كل ارادتهم و سلاحهم و الشعب من و راهم (٨٠) او عوا ايدا مؤيدين أو معارضين تسبئوا للجيش المصري. او عوا او عوا المطب ده لان الاعادي و انتوا عارفين الاعادي عايزين كده (٨١) حافظوا علي الجيش معايا حافظوا علي الجيش لان ده رصيدنا الكبير حافظوا علي الجيش عشان ده خدنا وقت طويل عشان يبقي بالشكل القوي و هناخد وقت أيضا عشان نبقى اقوي و اقوي (٨٢) او عوا ايدا تواجهوه أو تستخدموا عنف معاه ايدا ايدا (٨٣) انا رئيس مصر بقول لكل المصريين او عوا لا عنف بينكوا و بين بعض و لا عنف أمام القوات المسلحة ايدا و لا عنف ادم الداخلية و لا ادم رجال الشرطة لان مسئولين عن الأمن الداخلي (٨٤) أصابهم حاجات كثير زي ما انتوا عارفين. بنحاول انهم يعودوا مش كما كانوا، كانوا مظلومين، لا يعودوا للي مفروض يكونوا عليه (٨٥) أمن الوطن في رقتهم استقرار الوطن منع البلطجة تنفيذ القانون تنفيذ الأحكام السهر علي المواطن دي مسئولية كبيرة (٨٦) زي ما بنقول الجيش بيحافظ علي حدودنا و علي أمن بلدنا مستقر ياخذ كل ما يحتاج اليه قدر ما نستطيع (٨٧) هذا أمر مهم جدا، مهم ان احنا ندرك كلنا ان العنف و اراقة الدماء فخ اذا وقعنا فيه ليس له نهاية يسعد أعداءنا، زي ما بيقولوا بيقى يا فرحة عدونا فينا (٨٨) لا نصبر " و لنصبرن علي ما أذيتموننا" (٨٩) بيقى شعارنا كده نصير علي بعضنا البعض (٩٠). أنا عايز أقول شوية نقاط واضحة للجميع لكم لانباء مصر للجيش للشرطة للعمال للأساتذة للقضاء لكل ألوان الطيف لكل أبناء مصر للفلاحين للموظفين للي جوة للي بارة للرجال للنساء للمسلمين للمسيحيين لأهل مصر كلهم (٩١) أولا لا بديل عن الشرعية، الشرعية الدستورية، الشرعية القانونية، الشرعية التي أفرزت رئيسا منتخبا لمصر لأول مرة في تاريخها و شعبها رضي علي كده (٩٢) البعض بيعارض لا بأس، بيؤيد ماشي، نعمل ايه مع بعض اديني بقول (٩٣) لكن لا بديل عن الشرعية، الشرعية الدستورية، الشرعية القانونية، شرعية الانتخابات التي جرت في العام الماضي منذ عام و كلفت رئيس الجمهورية بارادة الشعب أن يقوم بدوره و واجبه القانوني و الدستوري و طبعا الشعبي (٩٤) ده نمرة واحد (٩٥). نمرة اتنين في اطار الحركة اللي موجودة في الشارع منذ مدة طبعا هو الاحتجاجات و التظاهرات و المليونيات

لم تنقطع طول العام و لكن لما يبقي اطارها سلمي مافيش مشاكل (٩٦). اسمع انصت اشوف ايه الموضوع اتفاعل اخذ قرار اتحمل مسئوليته (٩٧) لكن لما الامر يبقي فيه هذه الحدة و هذا الاحتدام و القتل و العنف و البلطجة و تزوير الواقع و الحقائق بهذا الشكل لازم يبقي فيه حركة مني كمسئول كرئيس للدولة تجاه هذه الحرب (٩٨) و لذلك سمعتموني منذ مدة أقول أنني أدعو الي الحوار و الي لجنة مصالحة وطنية عامة و الي دعوة الجميع (٩٩) و مستعد ان اذهب الي كل واحد افراد و جماعات و احزاب و ان اتحاور و ما نصل اليه نطبقه (١٠٠) هذا كلام قلته كثيرا (١٠١) الأمر منذ ايام ايضا تبلور في شكل مبادرة نقلتها الي بعض الأحزاب و بمعرفة الحكومة رئيس الحكومة و أيضا مؤسسة القوات المسلحة و قيادتها (١٠٢) و هذه المبادرة فيها تغيير الحكومة و تشكيل حكومة ائتلافية من الطيف الوطني فيها تشكيل لجنة مستقلة متوازنة وطنية لإعداد المواد الدستورية (١٠٣) و احنا كان في قبل كده مواد دستورية اقترحت عشان رئيس الجمهورية يقدمها للبرلمان المنتخب طبقا للدستور و حقي الدستوري عشان البرلمان يتناولها لكي يؤهلها للتغيير أو التعديل أو الإضافة (١٠٤)، فنبطلور الموضوع بهذه اللجنة (١٠٥) في المبادرة ايضا دي لازم ناخذ في الحوار اجراءات ضمانات نزاهة و شفافية الانتخابات الانتخابات القادمة (١٠٦) ان احنا بنناشد المحكمة الدستورية ، المبادرة قالت كده، بنناشد المحكمة الدستورية ان تنتهي و بسرعة من قانون الانتخابات عشان مجلس الشورى يقره و رئيس الجمهورية يصدره مباشرة ثم نمضي تحت اشراف القضاء و اللجنة القضائية المعنية بالأمر لاجراء هذه الانتخابات شفافية و نزاهة و ضمان كامل لهذه الانتخابات أن تعبر عن ارادة المصريين (١٠٧). في المبادرة ايضا موضوع النائب العام (١٠٨) النائب العام كانت المبادرة امس و أول أمس و منذ ايام أن ينحل الموضوع في الاطار القانوني و المحكمة اليوم أصدرت حكم و يجري الآن دراسة كيفية تنفيذه من قبل الجهات القضائية المختصة، عشان المشكلة تتحل و دي خلاص (١٠٩) أيضا المبادرة فيها أننا ننقق كلنا عشان نعمل الانتخابات في ظل الشرعية الدستورية القائمة يحدث نوع من التهدئة و اعطاء الفرصة لمدة ٦ شهور حتي تتم هذه الانتخابات (١١٠) أيضا فيها تمكين الشباب ليكون شريكا حقيقيا في القرار بنفاصيل (١١١) فيها أيضا تكوين اللجنة العليا اللي اقترحتها قبل كده للمصالحة و تكوينها و ترتيبها من كل الاتجاهات (١١٢) فيها وضع ميثاق شرف اعلامي عشان نقول للاعلام و انت جزء من الوطن ده تبني معانا، عشان نقول للاعلام كفي كفي ما فات نبدأ صفحة جديدة مافيهش أي نوع من أنواع المزايدة و يبقي الهدف تحقيق مصلحة مصر و نبطل اللغة اللي أتعبت الناس من كتر ما بتسمعها طبعا وسائل الاعلام بعضها جيد و بعضها بتعمل حاجات مخالفة لكن بنقول ميثاق شرف للجميع (١١٣). أيضا كان فيها عمل اطار كبير واسع للعدالة الوطنية و كيف تتحقق (١١٤) هذه المبادرة لما قدمت الي من بعض الاحزاب الموجودة علي الساحة وافقت عليها و قلت نمشي فيها و كان ذلك بحضور معي رئيس الوزراء و أيضا وزير الدفاع القائد العم للقوات المسلحة (١١٥) و قلنا يشتغل كل واحد من جهته بحيث يجتمع عليها معظم الناس اللي موجودين علي الساحة من المؤيدين والمعارضين ودي طلبات كانت موجودة على الساحة لضمان المسيرة في اطار الشرعية الدستورية القانونية اللي احنا فيها دلوقتي (١١٦). ردود الفعل التي وصلتني عبر القنوات المختلفة سواء من خلال الحكومة أو بعض الأحزاب اللي عرضت المبادرة أو القوات المسلحة اللي بتسعي عشان يجتمع دول مع بعضهم البعض. ردود الفعل قالت الناس مش موافقة (١١٧) المعارضين مش موافقين (١١٨) اذن امام هذا العمل و امام هذا الوضع و امام ما أراه من تحركات هنا و هناك و ما اعرفه من حقائق علي الساحة. رأيت أن أقرر أمامكم ما قلته أولا قبل أن أعرض المبادرة انه لا بديل عن الشرعية و التمسك بالشرعية مع بقاء الأبواب مفتوحة للحوار و للجلوس علي مائدة الحوار و لرعاية كل المقترحات و لتفعيل هذه المبادرة بكل السبل و بأسرع ما يمكن (١١٩). أما الشرعية الدستورية و الدستور القائم و القانون المعمول به في كل الاتجاهات و الانتخابات التي كلفت رئيس الجمهورية و ما زالت، لا بديل عن ذلك (١٢٠) هذه

الشرعية هي الضمان الوحيد لكي نضمن عدم ارتكاب عنف، لنفوت الفرصة علي بقايا النظام السابق و أعداء الثورة، الثورة المضادة اللي عايزة ترجع تاني (١٢١) و انا زي ما قلت بوعيكم و وجودكم لن تعود هذه القوي أبدا. مرة أخري لن تعود (١٢٢). اذن انا معكم. انا واقف امامكم انا بكم جميعا. انا مستعد دائما للحفاظ علي الشرعية و التمسك بهذه الشرعية. لا بديل عن الشرعية ما فيش بديل تاني (١٢٣) و انا اقول للجميع من يبغي غير ذلك سيرتد عليه طغية سيرتد عليه بغيه لانه سيسلك مسلك اذا سلك غير الشرعية و بالتالي يخطئ و ربما يجز الوطن في اتجاه خاطئ جدا سئ جدا فح يحدث فيه اشياء سيئة لا نحبها لمصر و نرجع للمربع الأولاني تاني و بعدين تتكرر الدورة و يضيع الوقت و نضيع الفرص و نبقي دولة و شعب جاتلنا فرصة، ممكن نضيعها؟ (١٢٤) مستحيل لا يمكن ان شاء الله نضيعها (١٢٥) ربنا مضيعش مصر و أهلها (١٢٦) ربنا وعد أهل مصر دائما بالخير و وعد اللي ببذل الجهد انه يوفقه سبحانه و تعالي بحسن العمل الي ثمار و جني ثمار في الدنيا و في الآخرة (١٢٧) و في الآخرة دي مهمة عينينا عليها كلنا. هنتحاسب كلنا (١٢٨) و بالتالي مصر الان بهذا الشكل تقف شامخة عظيمة قوية بأبناءها تحافظ علي الشرعية رئيسها يحافظ علي الشرعية لا يملك غير ذلك و يحب ذلك و يحرص علي ذلك و ينفذ هذا بكل وضوح (١٢٩) الشرعية الدستورية الدستور لا يملك أحد الحق علي الاطلاق كائنا من كان ان يستخدم أي نوع من الكلام أو القوة لا قدر الله أو غير ذلك لكي ينجز أو يوجد شرعية أخري (١٣٠) لا بديل عن الشرعية الدستورية القانونية، الدولة المصرية القوية الفاعلة بشعبها بأبناءها باختيارهم بحالهم للنهوض و الانطلاق الي مستقبل أفضل ان شاء الله (١٣١). أؤكد لكم ان الغد أفضل من اليوم و ان التمسك بالشرعية هو طريقنا و ان التمسك بالشرعية هو الذي سيقينا من أي فخ و من أي منحدر و من أي بداية لطريق في اتجاه غامض لا نعرف أفاقه و لا نعرف آخره. نفق ضيق نرجعله تاني نخش فيه مش ممكن ، مستحيل (١٣٢) التمن يبقي كثير. التمن الآن ارادتنا بنملكها التمن الان اولادنا و ابناؤنا بنمساتنا نحافظ عليها. التمن ده كثير ان احنا ناخده و نحطه في نفق مظلم (١٣٣). أنا بوجه رسالة حب و بوجه رسالة تقدير لكل أبناء مصر مهما اختلفت مواقفهم بين معارض و مؤيد لكني أدعو الجميع الي التمسك بالشرعية معي الي ان نبقي واقفين للحفاظ علي هذه الشرعية الي ان تثبت للعالم اننا قادرين بالديمقراطية بالوسائل السلمية دون عنف أو سفك دماء لا قدر الله. (١٣٤) نقف بسلمية كاملة لنحافظ علي الشرعية (١٣٥) هذا واجبي هذا حقكم بس كل ده واجبنا كلنا مؤسسات وزارات ابناؤنا الشعب. كلنا (١٣٦). الشرعية بعد الله سبحانه و تعالي (١٣٧) هي الواقية هي الواقية لنا من أي أخطاء في المستقبل (١٣٨) لا أسمح و لا أرضي بأن يخرج علينا من يقول كلام يخالف الشرعية أو يتخذ خطوات أو اجراءات تهز هذه الشرعية (١٣٩) هذا مرفوض، هذا مرفوض ، هذا مرفوض (١٤٠) أنا بأعلن باسم الشرعية التي أوجدتني في هذا المكان ان مصر ماضية بشعبها و مؤسساتها و رئيسها بالشرعية و لا بأي شئ غير ذلك (١٤١) نتحاور نختلف لكن نتحرك الي الامام نعمل انتخابات الناس تحط جهدها في الانتخابات (١٤٢). الدستور اللي احنا كلنا بنؤمن بيه و نحترمه بيقول ان الحكومة اللي جاية بعد الانتخابات ملك البرلمان و لديها صلاحيات اكثر من صلاحيات رئيس الجمهورية (١٤٣) فلننتشر مع الناس في الشارع نقنعهم نقولهم مشاريعنا نوجد حالة حضارية حقيقية لاستمرار الدولة المستقرة المدنية الحديثة دولة القانون و دولة الدستور (١٤٤). الأولي للحفاظ علي الوطن هم من يضحون من أجله و التضحية لا تكون ان يضحى بعضنا ببعض (١٤٥) لا (١٤٦) اذا كنا بنقول ان احنا ممكن نموت من أجل وطننا، ايوة. بس ده ادام الاعداء (١٤٧) احنا لما نعلن الجهاد بنعلنه ضد الاعداء خارج الوطن. احنا لا نعلن جهاد ضد بعضنا البعض و لا بنعلن حرب و تضحية ضد بعضنا البعض (١٤٨) احنا بنضحى كلنا من أجل بلدنا و أنا أولكوا. اذا كان الحفاظ علي الشرعية تمنه دمي أنا فأنا مستعد أن أبذل ذلك رخيصة في سبيل هذا الوطن و استقراره حسبة لله سبحانه و تعالي حسبة له سبحانه و تعالي

(١٤٩). او عوا حد يضحك عليكموا. او عوا تقعوا في الفخ. او عوا تفرطوا في الشرعية (١٥٠) مش عشانى دا انا حارس للشرعية (١٥١) دا انا بوضلكوا و اللي قلتوا في الخطبة اللي فاتت يوم الأربعاء اللي فات من بعض التفاصيل قليل من كثير (١٥٢) دا التحديات كتير اوي لكن التحدي الكبير ان احنا نبلع طعم أي واحد فينا و نقول كلام او نتخذ أفعال مخالفة للشرعية، تعتبر بحكم الشرعية القائمة جريمة و ناخذ البلد في اتجاه خطأ. ناخذ البلد في اتجاه مظلم، ناخذ البلد في اتجاه يفرح فينا عدونا عليه و ما نوصلش لحاجة و نرجع تاني نكرر و نكرر و نكرر (١٥٣) هذه لحظة فارقة انا واقف فيها عشان أقول الشرعية و الشريعة فقط الدستور و الدستور فقط الانتخابات و صندوق الانتخابات و هذا فقط (١٥٤) المعارضة على العين والرأس، والحوار كان وما زال و سيقى موجوداً، المبادرة و محتوياتها و تغييرات كتير في ظل الشرعية و بإحترام الدستور والقانون والإرادة الشعبية، نعم وألف نعم وأهلاً وسهلاً ومن الآن (١٥٥). غير ذلك يكون مني تفریط و عدم قيام بالمسؤولية كما ينبغي و عدم احترام للدستور، و عدم القيام كحكم بين السلطات (١٥٦) وأنا لا أرضى لكم ولا لنفسي هذا بل كما قلت ليس المهم الشخص ولكن الأهم هو الوطن. ليس المهم بعض الناس أو حتى مؤسسة ولو كنا نريد أن نحافظ على المؤسسات لكن الأهم هو الوطن هو مصر هو مستقبل أبنائنا هو مستقبل شرطتنا هو مستقبل جيشنا هو مستقبل صناعتنا (١٥٧) مش هنسمح لحد يضحك علينا مش هنسمح لحد يضحك علينا (١٥٨) اعلموا ان الامور تجري بمقادير و أن الله غالب علي أمره و ان الله لا يريد لنا و لكم لا يريد الله لهذا الوطن و أهله الا الخير (١٥٩) هذا أملنا و هذا يقيني في الله سبحانه و تعالي. و هذه معرفتي بكم و هذه درايتي بالعالم حولنا (١٦٠). أحنا أبناء مصر جسد واحد يجب أن نكون ارادة واحدة ينبغي أن تنهض ثورة واحدة نمر بمرحلة انتقالية نحو تنمية حقيقية. استقرار و شرعية و ديمقراطية و دستور و انتخابات و تداول سلطة حقيقي (١٦١) هو ده اللي يجب أن نفهمه (١٦٢) هذا أمر أردت أن اوضحه لكم جميعاً يا أبناء مصر الكرام. يا أهل مصر في كل مكان و يامن تقفون الآن في ميادين مصر و كل شوارعها و في البيوت تستمعون إلي (١٦٣) قلبي على وطني ينفطر و إرادتي مع أهلي مع وطني (١٦٤) أهلي علي فكرة أهل مصر كلهم (١٦٥) و إرادتي معهم حديدية لا تنزح خطوة واحدة إلى الخلف أو الي سرداب أو نفق ممكن أن يأخذنا إليه البعض الهاوية (١٦٦) هذا مرفوض، هذا مرفوض (١٦٧). وأي قرار أو أي اقتراح أو أي شيء يصدر مخالفا للشرعية فهو يخالف إرادة الشعب لأن ارادة الشعب لا يمكن أبدا أن تنتج من فصيل دون الاخر بل تنتج بانتخابات تمت و انتخابات أخرى ستنتم بعد فترة يقررها الدستور والرئاسة، تتم لحسم الموقف (١٦٨) وأريد لكم وأتمنى لكم كل الخير وكل التوفيق جميعاً وأرى المستقبل أفضل بكثير و أراكم تمرون من هذه المرحلة بأمن وسلام (١٦٩) ربنا لا ترغ قلوبنا بعد إذ هديتنا و هب لنا من لدنك رحمة إنك أنت الوهاب (١٧٠) لننتذكر جميعا الله سبحانه و تعالي و هو يخاطبنا (١٧١) والله غالب على أمره ولكن أكثر الناس لا يعلمون (١٧٢) أحبيكم معكم إلى منتهى الشوط الشرعي، الي منتهى الحفاظ على الشرعية (١٧٣) معكم أمضي ومعكم أبقى وبكم غير الواقع الي مصر الجديدة، الي مصر الحبيبة التي نحبها في المستقبل القريب مستقرة قوية منتجة، عظيمة كما كانت وستبقى رغم أنف الذين ظلموها و رغم أنف الذين يحاولون عبثاً أن يجروها الي اتجاه آخر (١٧٤) أشكركم (١٧٥) و السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته (١٧٦)

In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. Praise be to God and peace be upon the Messenger of God. "Say: In the Bounty of Allâh, and in His Mercy (i.e. Islâm and the Qur'ân); -therein let them rejoice." That is better than what (the wealth) they amass (Surat Yunus: 58) (1). "O my Lord! Open for me my chest (grant me self-confidence, contentment, and boldness). And ease my task for me. And loose the knot (the defect) from my tongue, (i.e. remove the incorrectness from my speech) [That occurred as a result of a brand of fire which Mûsa (Moses) put in his mouth when he was an infant]. That they understand my speech (Surat Taha: 25-28). Oh Great Egyptian nation, owner of the 25th of January 2011 revolution (3) I address you today and I know and see that you are now expecting from me a statement to clarify the situation so that we know what is going on in our country and what we are doing now (4). We all know how it was before the 25th of January 2011 revolution: corruption, election forgery, thefts, injustice, abuse of people and people's dignity (5). Egypt suffered from regression because of the former regime which was, and those supporting it, abusive of the country (6). We have all made the revolution. All of us together (7). A very great revolution (8). A peaceful revolution (9). In it, there were martyrs, whose blood was very precious to us (10). But it was not a bloody (violent) revolution (11). In it, there were injured people whose injuries we do not forget (12). But, thanks be to God, we have passed through a transitional phase and earned ability (power) with free will (13). We have elections – free and clean presidential elections, that all the world testify that it is the first elections in the history of Egypt which show the will of the Egyptians, clearly and prominently (14). The Egyptians, we, in the presidential elections May/June 2012, declared clearly to the world that they have chosen a president in a free way (15). They declared a clear path which we all like: freedom, democracy, justice, and social justice (16). On 29 June 2012, I went out with you at Tahrir Square. To all those present at the square and all the squares, I swore allegiance. I swore to protect this country, to work with all my energy, day and night, for the country to stabilize and develop, and for us to possess our free will and proceed with our march (17). I swore before you, God, and the world on 29 June 2012 the oath which I cherish (18). I saw in the eyes of everyone in Egypt a satisfaction and an acceptance and a joy for the wedding of democracy on 29 June 2012 (19). On Saturday, 30, there was the official oath at the Constitutional Court, at Cairo University, at the HikeStep where the Armed Forces rejoiced while crowning their great effort by giving authority with satisfaction and joy to an elected civilian Egyptian president for the first time in the history of Egypt (20). Days passed

during the year. I exerted what I can of effort (21). In my previous speech, last Wednesday, I told you clearly that I have committed mistakes and I have had some dereliction (22). I see things more clearly after one year of responsibility (23). I moved in all fields with all those who are loyal in order to uplift Egypt, to get her to stand up after the long stumble caused by the regime which abused Egypt and her people (24). I have moved in all directions, as you know. I have explained this many times to you (25). It is clear, I wanted and I still want for Egypt to possess her will so that no one would dictate on her and no force would control her against her will, whatever this force and whatever its origin (26). I insist and I have declared previously that Egypt possesses her will. She will develop, produce her food, medicine, and weapons (27). This is not something easy. It needs effort, it needs work, it needs integration, and it needs time (28). But as you know and the world knows that there remain the challenges of the past to a great extent (29): the remnants of the former regime, the deep state, corruption, and the determination to keep corruption and the economic situation which we inherited (30). Democracy, the new experiment, is a challenge not liked by a lot of people who want corruption (31). Abroad, some people also don't want Egypt to possess her will (32). It is much easier to follow the herd and just obey (33). No. the Egyptians' revolution was not a revolution of the hungry – never (34). It was a revolution for possessing the will; it was a revolution for freedom; it was a revolution for justice and the state of law; it was a revolution for social justice and seriously distributing wealth among people (35). The challenges are huge but also are the achievements. I have previously explained what we are doing in all fields (36). Very huge challenges that need time (37). But there is this challenge: corruption, deep state, and supporters of the former regime (38). As the entire world have said in their statistics, 32 families have dominated the country and sucked people's blood dry (39). We have been suffering from all this, still live with it and it obstructs the great youth (40). The youth of Egypt! Truly, they are my sons. They have problems, as I have previously explained and they have a right, many rights (41). But there remain corruption and the challenges of corruption, the claws and remnants of the regime, the lack of desire to move and fighting of those in order to keep the situation as it used to be (42). This is refused (43). But there remain the economic problems and the movement of those in all directions. We are seeking, we are denying, and we are excluding; but the size of the challenge is huge (44). Those want to come back; but as I said, with your help, you the Egyptians, they will not come back. They will never come back (45). The current problems are caused by the past and some dereliction on my part and our movement (46). It is

something normal after revolutions that there is objection and there is support (47). We are getting into democracy from that time and we respect it. We have made a constitution, a very great constitution (48). It is a huge challenge (49). People take long years to write a constitution (50). We, thank God, managed to write a constitution and on which was conducted a referendum on 25 December 2012. The constitution was approved by a respectable balanced majority about 64% (52). Approximately two thirds of the Egyptians who went for the referendum voted yes for this referendum (53). Now, we have a reference; we have legitimacy; we have an elected president by our free will and a constitution by the will of the nation (54). We are working in accordance with this legitimacy (55). This legitimacy is the only thing that guarantees to all of us, if we respected legitimacy, that there wouldn't be among us any fighting; there wouldn't be among us any violence; there wouldn't be among us any kind of bloodshed, which we have seen, and which is currently present (56). There are some people who exploit the anger of the youth, which is licit and normal within legitimacy and democracy (57). I listen to the youth; I move towards them; I want them to be present. But the ancient forces of criminality with their icons, whom you are watching, are getting their heads out now not wanting democracy (58). Democracy will not bring them back. If they went to the people, the people would reject them, would not accept them. They are used to forgery; they are used to marginalizing people; they are used to sucking people's blood dry; they are used to accumulating money and unfortunately send it abroad. They do not know what democracy means and what freedom of expression means (59). Those exploit the licit anger of the youth and the anger of some worthy Egyptians who feel that there are economic problems and are sad about that. And I totally appreciate this sadness. Those exploit this anger and these problems in order to employ their followers to stir chaos, commit violence, kill people, and precipitate riot (60). But why does this violence only occur on the dates they set and at the time they choose? (61) Why does this violence only appear when they announce that they are going to change the regime with force, to abolish democracy? (62) They don't want legitimacy. So what do they want? Legitimacy is the only guarantee to safeguard our country, prevent bloodshed, and move to a new phase (63). This situation is very clear. That is why I am telling you, to the protesting sons of Egypt. In reality, however, I cannot say this to those who shed blood, to those who commit violence, to the tails of the former regime (64). No, this talk is addressed to the honorable protesters who respect democracy, who know what legitimacy means, who respect legitimacy. (65) I am telling them

that Egypt belongs to all of us (66). You know, all the world and all of us know, that Mohamed Morsi has never been and now is not keen on the chair (67). This does not have any value whatsoever for me and God know. This issue is between me, you and God (68). But this would not work. This nation has appointed me and has chosen me in free and clean elections. The nation wrote a constitution that obliges me and appointed me in a state which expects me to commit to legitimacy, to commit to this constitution, and to protect it (69). I don't have any option but to hold responsibility (70). I am shouldering responsibility, was, have been and will always be (71). The Egyptians' blood is very very very precious. I will stand with all what I own of power, instruments, capabilities and will against those who try, in any form, to shed this blood, create tension/disorder, practice violence or commit any mistake leading to such violence (72). Hence, my message is addressed to all of you, as I have said. To the opposition who are keen on democracy, on devolution of power, and on legitimacy: I am holding to this legitimacy and I stand as a protector and guardian of this legitimacy. Also, my message is addressed to the supporters who respect legitimacy, like democracy, and as the honorable opposition, want welfare for Egypt, freedom for her sons, social justice, development, the modern Egypt which owns the huge size and the great history, the great belief and connection to heaven, the generous men and virtuous women, traditions, ethics, and resources. The injustice that has been done will be eliminated; the criminality which has been committed will be destroyed; the corruption which wants to stay will be swept by our free will (73). I say to the supporters as I say to the opposition: keep protecting Egypt; keep protecting the revolution (74). Keep protecting the revolution which we have gained with our sweat and the blood of our martyrs and with our progress in two and half years. Keep it safe all of you. Oh you who you are with me and Oh you who are against me. Don't let the revolution be stolen from you with any excuses. There are so many excuses. There are so many magicians. And the challenge is so huge. But you can face all of this (75). How can we protect the revolution? How can be the revolution not stolen from us? (76) I am here. I am in front of you. The price of protecting the revolution of the 25th of January and achieving its goals and of protecting the legitimacy is my life. My life. (77) I want to protect your lives, all of you. I want to protect kids, our sons who will grow up after us. I want to protect the girls; they will be the mothers of the future who will teach their kids that their forefathers were MEN who did not accept the injustice and never come down to the opinion of the corrupting, and never give the lowest, never, of their home, their legitimacy, or their religion. I want to protect the women, the men, the army (78). This Egyptian Army

has been built with our blood, with our resources. We want it to be a strong army (79). I want my sons to possess their will and their weapons and the nation to be behind them (80). Beware, both supporters and protesters, never offend the Egyptian Army. Beware to fall into this trap because the enemies, and you know the enemies, want this (81). Protect the Army with me; protect the Army because it is our big credit; protect the Army because we have taken a long time to make it strong; and we will take time too to be stronger and stronger (82). Beware not to confront it or use violence with it, never, never (83). I am the President of Egypt and I am telling all Egyptians: beware! Never have violence among you, or violence against the Armed Forces, or violence against the Interior, or against the police men because they are responsible for the internal security (84). They have been afflicted by a lot of things, as you know. We are trying to get them back, not to what they used to be; they were wronged, but to what they should be (85). The security of the country falls on their shoulders. The stability of the country, preventing thuggery, enforcing the law, enforcing and executing sentences, as well as protecting the citizen, this is a huge responsibility (86). As we say, let the Army who is protecting our borders and the security of our country take what it needs as much as we can (87). This is very very important. It is important that we all realize that violence and bloodshed constitute a trap with no end. If we fall in this trap, it will please our enemies. What a joy our enemy will have (88). No, we should be patient. "And we shall certainly bear with patience all the hurt you may cause us" (Surat Ibrahim: 12) (89). Let our slogan be: having patience in dealing with each other (90). I want to say some points, which are clear to all, to you, to the sons of Egypt, to the Army, to the Police, to the laborers, to the professors, to the Judiciary, to all rainbow colours, to all the sons of Egypt, to the peasants, to the clerks, to those inside the country, to those abroad, to men, to women, to Muslims, to Christians, to the people of Egypt, all of them (91). First of all, there is no alternative to legitimacy, constitutional legitimacy, legal legitimacy, legal electoral legitimacy which have produced an elected president for Egypt for the first time in her history, and her people were satisfied with this (92). Some are protesting, which is ok; some supporting, ok. What should we do with each other? I am saying (93). There is no alternative to legitimacy, constitutional legitimacy, legal legitimacy, the legitimacy of the elections which took place last year and appointed the president by the will of the nation to perform his role as well as his legal, constitutional, and of course, public duty (94). This is number one (95). Number two, in the light of the movement that has been present in the streets for a while, are

the protests, the demonstrations, the million-people marches which have not stopped throughout the year. When these are peaceful, there are no problems (96): I hear, listen, check what is going on, communicate, and take decisions for which I am responsible (97). But when there is violence, fighting, killing, thuggery, and forging of reality and facts in this way, I have to react as an official in charge, as a president of the state against this war (98). That's why you have heard me say for a while that I am calling for dialogue and for a public patriotic reconciliation committee and for inviting all (99). I am ready to go to everyone: individuals, groups, and parties and to negotiate. Then, what we agree on will be implemented (100). I have said this several times (101). A few days ago, the issue has been crystallized in the form of an initiative which has been put forth to me by some parties, with the knowledge of the government, the head of government, and also the institution of the Armed Forces, and its leadership (102). This initiative includes changing the government, forming a coalition government from the national spectrum, forming a balanced patriotic independent committee to prepare the articles of the constitution (103). Previously, there have been some constitutional articles that were suggested for the president to put forth to the elected Parliament, in accordance with the constitution and with my constitutional right, in order for the parliament to deal with them and prepare them for change, modification or addition (104). We are crystallizing this issue with this committee (105). In the initiative also, we have to take, in the dialogue, measures to guarantee the transparency and integrity of the forthcoming elections (106). We appeal to the Constitutional Court, as included in the initiative, to speedily finish the law of elections so that it would be acknowledged by the Shura Council and issued directly by the president of the Republic. Then, we proceed, under the supervision of the Judiciary and the Judicial committee in charge of the elections, and guarantee the integrity and transparency of the elections so that they would express the will of the Egyptians (107). The initiative also included the issue of the Prosecutor General (108). The initiative, yesterday, the day before yesterday and few days ago, was to solve the issue within the legal frame. The court decided today in a verdict that is being studied on how to be implemented, so the problem is solved (109). The initiative also suggested that we all have a social contract to negotiate on the conduction of the upcoming elections within the constitutional legitimacy that is in effect. There was also a suggestion of a kind of reconciliation and provision of opportunities for a period of six months till the conduction of the elections (110). The initiative also suggested enabling the youth to become a real partner in making decisions (111). It also include the formation of the superior committee

for reconciliation, which I have suggested before, of all trends (112). This initiative also suggests that there be a pledge of honor for dialogue, for the media, in order to tell the media: you are part of this country; you should be building with us. In order to tell the media: this is enough; what has been done is enough. Let's start a new leaf that is devoid of any kind of violation, set an aim which is the best interests of Egypt, and stop the language which exhausted people. Of course, many of the media outlets are good and many are committing violations; but we are saying a pledge of honour for all (113). This initiative also suggests having a huge frame for national justice and the manner for its implementation (114). When this initiative was put forth to me by some parties in the arena, I agreed to it and decided to proceed with it. This happened in the presence of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defense, the General Leader of the Armed Forces (115). We agreed that everyone should be working in his direction so that we get a consensus from most of the people in the arena, both opposition and supporters. These were demands that have been present in the arena to guarantee continuing the march in accordance with the legal constitutional legitimacy which is in effect now (116). The reactions, which reached me through different channels, whether from the government or some of the parties which put forth the initiative or the Armed Forces which seek to get the various sides together, stated that the people do not approve of the initiative (117). The opposition does not approve (118). Then, in the light of this act and in the light of this situation and in the light of what I see of the movements here and there, and in the light of what I know of facts on the arena, I decided to inform you before I put forth the initiative that: there is no alternative to legitimacy and holding to legitimacy while leaving the doors open for dialogue, for sitting at the table of negotiations, for taking care of suggestions, and for activating this initiative by all means and as soon as possible (119). As for the constitutional legitimacy, the constitution which is in effect, the law which is implemented in all fields, and the elections which appointed the president of the Republic, there are no alternatives to those (120). This legitimacy is the only guarantee for not committing violence in order to waste the chance for the remnants of the former regime and the enemies of the revolution, the counter revolution which wants to come back (121). And as I said, with your awareness and your presence, these forces will never come back. Once again, they will never come back (122). Then, I am with you. I am standing in front of you. I am indebted to all of you. I am always ready to protect legitimacy and hold to it. There is no alternative to legitimacy, no other alternative (123). I am telling everyone; whoever wants something different will

suffer from their own injustice because if they choose a path other than legitimacy, they might drag the country in the wrong direction where bad things, that we don't like, may happen to Egypt. Then, we go back to square one and the cycle is repeated. Time and opportunities will be wasted. Could we be a country and a nation who had been endowed with an opportunity but wasted it? (124) Impossible! There is no way, God willing, to let it be wasted (125). May God not harm Egypt and her people (126). God have promised welfare to the people of Egypt, and promised success to whoever exerts efforts in this life as well as the afterlife (127). The afterlife is important and all our eyes are cast on it. We will all stand for judgment (128). Therefore, Egypt in this way is great, lofty and strong with her sons who protect legitimacy. Her president protects legitimacy. He can do nothing but that; he likes that; he is keen on that; and he will clearly implement that (129). The constitutional legitimacy, the constitution. Nobody whatsoever is entitled to use discourse or, God forbid, force, to create another legitimacy (130). There is no alternative to the legal constitutional legitimacy for the powerful Egyptian State, which is strong with her people, with her sons, with their own choice, to rise and proceed to a better future, God willing (131). I assure you that tomorrow will be better than today and that holding to legitimacy is our path; that holding to legitimacy is going to protect us from falling in any trap, any slope, and any start of a mysterious path whose horizons and end we don't know. A narrow tunnel, should we return to it again? Should we enter it again? Is it possible? Impossible (132)! The price would be huge. The price now is the will which we own; the price now is our sons, our kids, our girls, our institutions which we should protect. This price is too huge to be taken and put in a dark tunnel (133). I am sending a message of love and a message of appreciation to all the sons of Egypt whatever position they have, between protesters and supporters. I am inviting all to hold to legitimacy with me, to keep standing in order to protect legitimacy until we prove to the world that we are capable with democracy through peaceful means without any violence or bloodshed, God forbid (134). We stand in utter peacefulness to protect legitimacy (135). This is my duty. This is your right. However, this is our duty all of us: institutions, ministries, sons of the nation, all of us (136). Legitimacy comes after Allah (137). It is the protector, the real protector for us from any mistakes in the future (138). I will not allow or accept that anyone initiate a discourse against legitimacy or take steps or measures that may shake this legitimacy (139). This is refused; this is refused; this is refused (140). I hereby declare in the name of the legitimacy which placed me in this position that Egypt is going forward with her nation, her institutions, and

her president, through legitimacy and nothing other than that (141). We communicate and argue but we move forward. We conduct elections and people exert their efforts in them (142). The constitution, which we believe in and respect, states that the upcoming government after the elections will be owned by the parliament and it will have more powers than the president (143). Let's spread with the people in the streets to persuade them with our projects and create a real civilized situation to maintain the modern civil stable state, the state of the law, the state of the constitution (144). Those deserving to protect the country are those who sacrifice for it. Sacrifice is not to kill each other (145). No (146). If we are saying that we are ready to die for our country, yes, but this should be while confronting enemies (147). When we declare Jihad, we declare it on enemies outside the country. We don't declare Jihad against each other; we don't declare war and sacrifice on each other (148). We all sacrifice for our country and I would be the first one to do this. If the price of protecting legitimacy is my blood, then I am ready to give that cheaply for the sake of this country and its stability, for the sake of God Almighty, for the sake of God Almighty (149). Do not let anyone fool you, do not fall in the trap. Don't give up legitimacy (150). Not for me, I am the Guardian/Protector of legitimacy (151). I am explaining to you. What I have said in my previous speech, last Wednesday, contained only some few details not all (152). The challenges are so many but the biggest challenge is not to swallow the bait and adopt a discourse or take actions against legitimacy. This is considered a crime within the legitimacy that is in effect. Then, we are taking the country into the wrong direction; we are taking the country into a dark direction; we are taking the country into a direction that will make our enemies happy. We will not reach any destination and we will come back and repeat the process many times (153). This is a defining moment in which I stand to say: legitimacy and legitimacy alone, the constitution and the constitution alone, the elections and the elections ballot alone (154). Opposition is (in our eyes and above our heads) respected. Dialogue/communication was, is still and will always be open. The initiative, its contents, and modifications, if considered in accordance with legitimacy, the constitution and the public will, then, we say to it yes and a thousand yes and we welcome it from now (155). Any other attitude at my side would be negligence, irresponsibility, disrespect for the constitution and inability to function as an arbiter between authorities (156). I do not accept this for you and for myself. Rather, as I said, the person is not important; what's more important is the country. Some people or even institutions are not important, even if we want to protect the institutions; what's more

important is the country, is Egypt, the future of our sons, the future of our police, the future of our army, the future of our industry (157). We will not allow anybody to fool us; we will not allow anybody to fool us (158). Know that things are destined ‘And Allâh has full power and control over His Affairs’ (Surat Yusuf: 21). Allah do not want for us and for you, for this country and its people but welfare (159). This is our hope and this is my conviction, this is my knowledge of you and my knowledge of the world around us (160). We are the sons of Egypt. We are one body and we must have one will. One revolution must rise and we pass through a transitional phase towards real development, stability, legitimacy, democracy, a constitution, elections, and real devolution of power (161). This is what we must understand (162). This is something I wanted to clarify to you all, oh generous sons of Egypt. Oh people of Egypt everywhere, you who stand in the squares of Egypt and her streets, and who stay at homes listening to me (163). My heart is breaking for my country; my will is with my people, my country (164). My people, by the way, are all the people of Egypt (165). My will is iron and would not budge one step backwards or towards a crypt, or a tunnel through which some may lead us to the abyss (166). This is refused; this is refused (167). Any decision or suggestion or anything issued not in accordance with legitimacy would be against the will of the people because the will of the people cannot be produced by one faction without the others. Rather, it is produced by the elections which were conducted and other elections that will be conducted in a period decided by the constitution and the presidency in order to resolve the situation (168). I want and wish for you all welfare and success. I see a much better future and I see you pass through this phase, safe and peaceful (169). Let’s all remember God Almighty (170). “Our Lord! Let not our hearts deviate (from the truth) after You have guided us, and grant us mercy from You. Truly, You are the Bestower” (Surat Al Emran: 8) (171). I salute you and I will be with you to the end of the legitimacy path (172). “And Allâh has full power and control over His Affairs, but most of men know not” (Suarat Yusuf: 21). Maintaining legitimacy (173), with you I proceed and with you I stay and with you we change the status quo into the new Egypt, into the beloved Egypt which we all like, which will be, in the near future, stable, strong, productive, great as it used to be and will always be, against the will of those who were unjust to her and against the will of those who are trying in vain to drag her to another direction (174). Thank you (175). Peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you (176).