

Prime Minister Begin is also more sober now than before. A long time has passed since the time when he sketched the borders of the peace region on a television broadcast: "From Lebanon in the north to Egypt in the south." Moreover, Begin, in the opinion of people who follow his private reactions, would now like to be persuaded that it is necessary to withdraw from Lebanon in return for minimal security arrangements. He wants to end the war, but as is his wont, he prefers to be raped and compelled by the professional levels. When Begin appeared in the Mount Herzl cemetery on the Day of Reortpve, the emergency team in a special ambulance placed nearby was reinforced: according to one of his aides, Begin was afraid that some bereaved parents would initiate cat calls against him, as was done at the time to Moshe Dayan and later to Ari'el Sharon. There were no such shouts, but the prime minister as well as many of his ministers are afraid that the end has come to his dream of peace with a second Arab country in the region and that "everything should now be done to ensure that we do not sink further in the Lebanese mud," as one of the senior ministers put it.

This week, when ministers Aharon Uzan and Mordekhay Ben-Porat submitted their proposal for a unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon to the 45-km zone, Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and his deputy, Yehuda Ben-Me'ir, set sharply against them. Shamir is not prepared to take a position, to align himself behind Arens and rescue the Israeli wagon from the Lebanese mud. "Instead of adopting an initiative as called for by his position," one of the ministrars said this week, "Shamir prefers to let others burn their fingers in the signing of a minimal agreement. Maybe it is for this reason that he does not want to be depicted as a defeatist in the eyes of the hawks headed by Ari'el Sharon."

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HADDAD DELIVERS SPEECH ON CURRENT ISSUES

NC301236 Marj 'Uyun Lebanon Voice of Hope in Arabic 1015 GMT 30 Apr 83

[Speech by Free Lebanon Commander Maj Sa'd Haddad--live]

[Text] My brother Lebanese people, today you hear about negotiations, proposals and envoys, and lately the United States sent its Secretary of State Cyrus Vance [as heard] to solve the problem. The first thing I want to tell you is that we are grateful for the Americans because they are demonstrating interest in solving the Lebanese question. They, no doubt, have interest in this. They want to establish a U.S. base in Lebanon to confront Soviet influence in the Middle East. They are not here just to solve the small internal Lebanese issue. They are here for their own interest. Do they want to help us? It is possible; they give us funds, welcome; they train our army, turning them all into paratroopers, also welcome. God willing, they will train those who are 100-years-old as paratroopers. We have no objection.

Let the Americans leave us alone as Lebanese to decide what is in our interest to do. They want to establish a base in Lebanon, also welcome to them. We are against communism. Let this base extend from Beirut up to al-Nahr al-Kabir and al-Masna'. We have no objection to this. Moreover, we are also ready to allow them [to] have troops here in the south and protect them. We have no objection to this. But, they must not interfere in our internal affairs.

Today, you hear much and that the Lebanese negotiator says there are obstacles and so on and so forth. We tell the Lebanese that the first and foremost obstacle is not in the south, which was, is and will remain Lebanese and an indivisible part of Lebanon. The problem is in the al-Biq'a' and in the north, where the Syrian occupiers and their henchmen are exercising the most atrocious and ugliest actions against the Lebanese citizens. They allowed every country in the world that sympathizes with the saboteurs [Palestinians] to establish bases in Lebanon. Thus, the problem is there. [Words indistinct] the question of the south, the sons of the south and Lebanon and the rest of the Lebanese will not differ.

We ask you to show interest at present in the daily affairs of the south, for example, roads. We have already repeated [sentence left incomplete]. We now hear that they [the Lebanese Government] allocated several million [pounds], but we hope that the projects will be implemented and nor remain ink on paper.

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The Lebanese negotiations raised the question of Jabal Safi, saying they are not allowed to go up Habal Safi to work there. We interceded and secured permission to enable the Lebanese workers to work on the mountain. But, when they were given the permission, they did not want to go to work there (?for telephone line installation), and so forth. A small bridge that does not cost 10,000 pounds and links al-Jarmaq, al-'Ayshiyah and al-Rayhan with this area [words indistinct]. We had hoped that this area will no longer be neglected. This is the best service for southern Lebanon at present.

As I have told you, southern Lebanon was and will always be Lebanese. Elie Salim came out. He is enthusiastic when he wants to make a speech or hold a press conference. I do not know if he is an Arabist or has Syrian national tendencies or what. I do not know. I have no information about him. But certainly we denounce the statement Salim made, because it harms not only Major Haddad alone, but the entire people of the south as well as the majority of the Lebanese who follow Major Haddad's course. He censures Major Haddad and his army for receiving salaries from Israel. It is true, we get paid by Israel, because when your former state, under Syrian pressure, ceased to pay our salaries, I refused to see families starving before my own eyes and be unable to do anything. You were in the United States, why didn't you send us aid then? For your information, we consider the salaries we are receiving from Israel debts that the future sovereign free and independent state of Lebanon, that will serve Lebanon, will pay back. We were sure when we signed the debt document that one day our course will triumph and save Lebanon. We were armed with all the sincere Lebanese headed by first martyr Bashir al-Jumayyil, who guided us to the path to save Lebanon. Because, had we not followed this path, you Mr Elie Salim, would not have been able to be appointed foreign minister. You would have stayed in the United States. Where were you when we were paying ours and our sons' blood in the south for Lebanon and the Lebanese flag? Where were you? Do you know what we have suffered and encountered? I think you do not know. All we did was for Lebanon's sake. You were in the United States working hard and using all connections to get U.S. citizenship, while we were defending the Lebanese identity card and dying for it. Now you come to tell us that we receive our salaries from Israel. All the disgrace falls on those who stopped these salaries. Until now, the martyrs--it is shameful not to know that the martyrs have children and their rights have not yet been granted. Is this the reward for those who work for Lebanon? Is this the reward for a martyr? Should his sons starve to death if he dies? Do you accept this reward?

Speak your words, you Lebanese people. Why are you silent and what are you afraid of? Are you afraid of Syria, Saudi Arabia and the Americans? Do tell me how you are going to rescue Lebanon. Who will have faith in Lebanon or work in Lebanon if gratitude is not accorded to the people who are present here or if their work is not appreciated?

Then he [Salim] says: The question of Major Haddad is like the question of the other officers who have dealt with foreign countries during the war. Mr Elie Salim, have you studied the dossiers of all the officers upon whom you are relying? I ask you to study the dossier of every officer and to study where he was and what he did during the incidents. I only ask you to study and you will see that most of the officers have plotted against legitimacy and have worked

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private traffic of Jews in the territories. The same people told us that their patience had come to an end and that they too would attack Arab vehicles.

Over the last few weeks a body calling itself The Defending First has organized and is acting immediately after attacks against Israeli vehicles. People from Judaea and Samaria with whom I spoke about this topic told me that this was a noninstitutionalized organization of individuals in the settlements of Gush 'Ezryon, Qiryat Arba' and the southern Hebron Hills and that they would act as long as public transport in Judaea and Samaria was harmed. These people, who refused to be identified, told me that there are also Arabs in the group, who are working for payment, and that the actions taken by the group are helping to calm down the situation in Judaea and Samaria. There is severe criticism in the settlements in Judaea and Samaria against the security authorities who are not, according to them, doing enough to safeguard the Jewish inhabitants of Judaea and Samaria.

[Oren--live or recorded] The Defending First organization has claimed responsibility for placing an explosive device near the (Qazzazim) mosque in Hebron about 2 months ago, sabotaging scores of cars in Bayt Jala and, this morning, an attempt to set on fire cars belonging to Arabs in the townlet of Halhul.

Exactly a week ago there was an anonymous phone call to the radio's newsreel editorial board by a man who identified himself as a member of The Defending First organization and announced that the organization had sabotaged cars in Bayt Jala in reaction to the wounding of a reserves soldier by stone-throwing. An attempt to receive more details ended in the phone being hung up. An investigation showed that scores of cars in Bayt Jala had in fact been sabotaged.

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with Syria, Libya, Egypt, Iraq and I do not know who with. Today, you are relying on them. I do not want to name names or to slander anyone. But if you want I will give you the names of all the officers. I know them all. I know where everyone worked. Some joined the vanguards, the Arab Army of Lebanon and I do not know what. Those officers who did not plot against legitimacy, tore the Lebanese flag and trampled the Lebanese flag--what was their fate? Some of them escaped and took refuge in France and elsewhere because they were afraid, cowardly or found a safe haven in places far from the areas of fighting. Furthermore, it is the duty of every officer and soldier, regardless of how difficult the conditions are, and in the event that coordination is severed and they cannot receive orders from their command, that they should continue their work and work as much as they can to rescue their country and homeland because they have taken the oath to do so. That is what we have done. Therefore, the majority of the officers about whom you are speaking are present with you; they have returned to the army and are respected and cherished. Be sure, Mr Salim that we are not seeking either rank or jobs. We are seeking something named Lebanon. The army and enlisted men we have are not seeking or anxious that they just be recognized because if they wanted that they could go and enlist with you. But they believe in an issue; they believe that some people must stand fast and stay and rescue Lebanon because Lebanon is still in danger and has not been delivered.

Therefore, do not think that we are over anxious to obtain rank or position. We defy death for the sake of our homeland. You came only yesterday. You are in a safe place but you should ask if you do not know about our situation here, about what we have done and about our sacrifices for the sake of Lebanon. It is a shame that you should harm the reputations of those who worked for the sake of Lebanon in this manner in your capacity as an official. I leave it to the Lebanese people, to the righteous, heroic and free Lebanese people to speak their words and to do with you what you deserve.

In any case, what are you demanding? Are you aware that Lebanon is still in danger? I ask you a simple question: Let us suppose that Israel withdraws from al-Shuf, who will go to al-Shuf--the Americans? Will they go there to fight? [Will] the Italians or the Frenchmen [go there to fight]? Even the Lebanese Army is not prepared to go to fight against the sons of al-Shuf. We candidly tell you that. (The Lebanese Army) cannot and will not be able to impose itself by force. Al-Shuf is a small example. Who will go to Ba'labakk? Who will go to Tripoli? Who will go there? Who will restore sovereignty there? Thus, be sure that the country is proceeding toward partition, to the abyss and to extinction. Why this obduracy? I do not understand this obduracy and why you are obdurate? Do you want to rescue Lebanon or do you not want to rescue Lebanon? I tell you frankly that it is impossible to rescue Lebanon and keep the Arab states with us. I wish to recall for you that all the Arab states have participated in one form or another in destroying Lebanon. They are the ones who destroyed us and where are we following them? They are waiting for another opportunity in order to destroy Lebanon. If the second opportunity presents itself, God forbid, we will not find anyone to help us. We will not find Israel, or America or anyone to help us or [words indistinct] our homeland. Therefore, beware of proceeding along this line.

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Regrettably, some people believe in partition. I tell you frankly that some people believe in partition. Let us suppose--God forbid--that partition takes place and we establish a Christian homeland, a Muslim homeland and a Druze homeland. What prerequisites for life will a Druze homeland have in al-Shuf? There are no prerequisites for life. Moreover, when the Druze become independent, they will divide among themselves into Qaysi, Yamani, [words indistinct] extinction.

What if we make a Muslim homeland? Perhaps some youths like this idea. They say let us--we the Muslims--be left alone; we have nothing to do with infidels [words indistinct]. If, for the sake of argument, this happens, the Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims will start fighting each other, and the outcome will be that such a homeland will disappear.

What if we make a Christian homeland? Today's youths will be happy. They say that since 1860, some shock or massacre has been happening to us every 10 years. We want to live alone.

If such a thing happens, God forbid, perhaps a Christian community can exist in Kasrawan. However, how about the villages dispersed here and there, especially in the south? The south has a mixed population of Christians and Muslims. [Words indistinct] what shall we do with them? Shall we let them emigrate. We have [Christians] from Jazzin to Sidon, and also in western al-Biq'a and elsewhere. Shall they emigrate elsewhere or shall they be massacred? The Kasrawan area can barely accommodate its inhabitants. If they emigrate abroad, they will remain all their lives humiliated abroad.

The same thing applies to the Muslims living in al-'Aqurah, Jubayl and Mount Lebanon.

Neither the Druze, nor the Christians nor the Muslims have the prerequisites for a homeland. All Lebanon--the 10452 square km Lebanon--does not have prerequisites for a homeland. It cannot rely on itself and it cannot live alone, unless we consider hashish a main source of income. The world will eventually spit on us because of so much hashish. I also wish that someone would tell the Syrians to stop encouraging the hashish trade, especially Rif'at al-Asad, who protects this trade. This is a shameful blot and is against religious teachings, against human principles and against everything.

Therefore, all Lebanon does not have prerequisites for a homeland. How about if we partition it? It will be a catastrophe and the end of Lebanon. Therefore, instead of thinking how we will partition Lebanon and eventually make it cease to exist or instead of thinking how we will give a part to Syria, a part to Israel and a part to others, we must think how we can liberate all Lebanon and at the same time find a new formula that will secure the future of all the Lebanese and make them feel proud that they belong to a homeland called Lebanon.

We here will never accept partition. We say it frankly. We will not accept partition because we do not want to see Lebanon melt away and disappear from the world map. So be sure that everyone who officially acts against Major Haddad and his forces is acting against Lebanon without knowing it. Major Haddad does

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.. situation developed in 1967. The 6-day war broke out following bombastic declarations and small incidents which, in any event, were easy to identify. Many experts today agree that both sides, Israel on the one hand and Syria and Egypt on the other, did not want that war. The declarations by both sides contributed to the outbreak. The chief of staff at the time, Yitzhaq Rabin, was one of those who expressed himself militantly against Damascus and the Syrian regime. Rabin bypassed this sensitive point when he recently (in a seminar on Syria in memory of David El'azar) analyzed the circumstances which led to the 6-day war. He addressed himself to numerous lessons, except two: The negative contribution of the bellicose declarations, and the fact that we have not learned a lesson from the way David Ben-gurion calmed down tempters 7 years before then, in 1960, when the Egyptians concentrated a large army in the Sinai due to tension between Israel and Syria (the Tawfiq campaign).

We should remember the deterioration of 1967. It appears to me that Israel too has contributed somewhat to the war hysteria threatening us now. The problem facing defense ministers in such a situation is what to say to deter the other party from starting out on adventures, but still not threaten it and push it into a corner: how to prepare the people against a military surprise (so that it is also recorded that the minister said and warned), but not to build it into war-like hysteria at the same time. The problem is the correct dose, so that the medicine does not turn into poison. The border line between warning and alert, and acceleration of the process and panic is thin. The impression is that the new defense minister does not yet know this sensitive mechanism, and he too has handled the first stage of the expected war with Syria with too great a dose.

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not represent himself; he represents a people who believe in the line Major Haddad is following, not only in the south but in all Lebanon. All of you know how the world has pinned its hopes on us and on this area. We have not disappointed it. The world still pins its hopes on us. I hope and I ask God to help us that just as we saved a part of Lebanon, we will be able to save all Lebanon.

If intentions are good and the decision is to save Lebanon from its predicament, the sincere Lebanese must encourage the step taken by the inhabitants of free Lebanon and encourage the free Lebanese Army because this army is a guarantee for all Lebanon and for all Lebanese. May you live long, and long live free Lebanon sovereign and independent.

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