

SWASIA

NORTH AFRICA

a weekly news digest of southwest asian and north african events plus translations from the hebrew and arabic press focusing on the israeli-palestinian conflict, the arabian/persian gulf, and the great power policies

Vol. III, No. 11

March 19, 1976

Special Topic: Lebanon After the Explosion

The 10-month civil war in Lebanon, which claimed more than 20,000 lives, abated on January 22nd with a Syrian-negotiated cease-fire. The leftist forces demanded political reforms that would more equitably distribute the power among the Lebanese people; the rightists sought, among other things, assurances that the Palestinian presence in Lebanon would be restricted to defined limits. These two objectives were to be satisfied by a 17-point program of political reform, which has yet to be fully implemented, and a Syrian promise that the Palestinian guerilla activity in Lebanon would be regulated by strict adherence to the Cairo agreement.

This issue of SWASIA contains both the 17-point reform program and the text of the Cairo agreement. As Lebanon moves haltingly "from truce to solution," resolution of the problems implicit in these documents becomes increasingly urgent.

—The Editors



from AL-HURRIYYA (Lebanon)

February 2, 1976

From Truce to Solution

by Fawaz Tarabulsi

Within a few days the country has gone a long way on the road of strengthening the ceasefire, withdrawing armed men from battle zones and returning a relative degree of quiet that give hope for the consequent implementation of the political steps as specified by the agreement between the warring parties which was reached through the mediator of sister Syria.

Perhaps the most important thing to note in this regard, is that the political solution would not have been possible without the fatal blow that tipped the balance of power against the suicidal program of the separatists by scattering their forces and containing their partition plans within the areas of Kisrawan and parts of Beirut and Matn. There is ample evidence to show that the separatist axis — the Palace, the Phalange and the Tigers — were always responsible for breaking the ceasefire agreements in order to thwart

any possibility of a settlement that was not in its interest as was the case with the government of national salvation, the High Committee for Coordination and "The National Committee for Dialogue".

Now we are under an armed truce, no more. This armed truce will be turned into true peace only when the political solution gets underway.

The common denominator for the attitudes of the separatist axis since Damour was overrun, with all the military consequences of that event, has been the repeated efforts to preempt the new balance of powers that emerged as a result of the months of civil war and to prevent these new realities from expressing themselves on the level of the political structure and the various establishments of the regimes.

This trend manifests itself in the
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from AL-BAYRAQ (Lebanon),
as translated in FBIS

February 9, 1976

Cairo Agreement

The following is reported by AL-BAYRAQ as being the full text of the previously secret agreement between the Lebanese government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The agreement was signed on November 3, 1969, in Cairo by General Emile al-Bustani and by Yasser Arafat. Syria has recently guaranteed the full implementation of the Cairo Agreement.

Proceeding from the ties of brotherhood and common destiny, relations between Lebanon and the Palestinian revolution must always be characterized by confidence, frankness and positive cooperation conducive to Lebanon's interests and the Palestinian revolution within the framework of Lebanon's sovereignty and integrity. The two delegations have agreed on the following principles and procedures:

The Palestinian Presence

It has been agreed to reorganize the Palestinian presence in Lebanon on the basis of:

1. The right of Palestinians currently residing in Lebanon to work, reside and move about.

2. The formation of local Palestinian committees in the camps to guard the interests of the Palestinians living there with the cooperation of the local authorities and within the framework of Lebanon's sovereignty.

3. The establishment of offices of the Palestine armed struggle command inside the camps to insure good relations with the state. These offices will organize and limit the presence of weapons in the camps within the framework of Lebanon's security and interests of the Palestinian revolution.

5. Allowing the Palestinians residing in Lebanon to join the Palestinian revolution through the Palestine armed struggle command within the principles of Lebanon's sovereignty and integrity.

Fedayeen Action

It has been agreed to facilitate Fedayeen action through:

1. Facilitating crossings by the Fedayeen and fixing the points for crossing and surveillance in the border areas.

2. Insuring the road to the Al-'Urqub region for use.

3. The Palestine Armed struggle command will watch the discipline of all members of its organizations to insure that they do not interfere in Lebanese affairs.

4. Creating joint disciplinary boards between the armed struggle and the Lebanese Army.

5. Halting the information campaigns by the two sides.

6. Carrying out a census of armed struggle elements present in Lebanon through their commands.

7. Appointing representatives from the armed struggle to the Lebanese Army staff to take part in resolving all urgent matters.

8. Studying the distribution of suitable stationing positions on the

border and agreeing on them with the Lebanese staff.

9. Organizing the entry, exit and movement of armed struggle elements.

10. Abolishing the Jayrun base.

11. Having the Lebanese Army facilitate the work of first aid centers and the work of evacuating and supplying Fedayeen in action.

12. Releasing all detainees and returning confiscated weapons.

It is self-evident that the Lebanese military and civilian authorities will continue to exercise their powers and responsibilities in full in all Lebanese areas and under all circumstances. The two delegations stress that the Palestinian armed struggle is an action in the interests of Lebanon, just as it is in the interests of the Palestinian revolution and all Arabs. This agreement shall remain top secret and no one should see it except the commands.

from LE MONDE,
as reported in FBIS

January 27, 1976

Kamal Jumblatt's View

Edward Saab interviews Kamal Jumblatt, leader of the Lebanese leftist forces.

During an interview granted to LE MONDE, Kamal Jumblatt, leader of the Lebanese left, emphasized that "it is high time that the Palestinian resistances made another examination of conscience and gradually returned home."

"The fedayeen organizations," Jumblatt added, "must realize that they should improve the organization of their cadres and enforce a stricter discipline on their rank and file. For disorder leads to more disorder, and this also applies to violence. The Palestinians should profit from experience. I am saying all this even though I realize that the Lebanese have given the Palestinians the worst possible example of disorder and have finally contaminated them. I am willing to admit that the origins of the crisis were both Lebanese-Palestinian and Lebanese-Lebanese. How could one overlook the fact that complete anarchy prevailed in Lebanon before the civil war started?"

The leader of the left, whose eyes are expressive and manner occasionally sarcastic, has always claimed to be an advocate of nonviolence. Nonetheless, he has used force to try to defeat his adversaries, the Christian parties of the right.

"Nothing like this has happened in mixed regions—Alayh and Shuf, for in-

stance—where Maronites and Druzes have not been killing one another and have even coexisted in great harmony," he stated.

Saab: Nonetheless, in the city of Ad-Damur in Shuf the Christian population fell victim to a massacre and were forced to quit . . .

Jumblatt: Whatever happened in Ad-Damur was done by elements alien to the region.

Saab: You wanted to prevent partition by force whereas the use of force could lead to partition.

Jumblatt: Let us say rather that we have imposed our military presence in regions which were to become part of the Maronites' little kingdom of Jerusalem. We cut off the new and hideous crusaders in this part of lesser Lebanon from the Christian population near Jazzin in the south, thus preventing partition.

Saab: However, this led to an invasion of the national territory. You are accusing your Christian adversaries from the Phalangist Party and the National Liberal Party of conniving with foreign powers while, in fact, a foreign power has intervened on your behalf. Contrary to your allegations, the Israelis have not come to the assistance of those whom you call

(Continued on page 3)

Jumblatt's View, from page 2 . . .

isolationists . . .

Jumblatt: I have never either said or believed that Israel, the United States or France would directly intervene in Lebanon. Nonetheless, the Hebrew state has supported the Christian right, inter alia, by supplying it with arms. As for the foreign intervention which you have just mentioned, it concerns only Palestinians who have asked their fellow countrymen residing in Syria for help. The Phalangists have also appealed for help from Lebanese abroad. About 1,000 retired officers and foreign mercenaries, most of them veterans from the OAS, Biafra and South Vietnam, have fought in their ranks. And, finally, exchanges of "shaloms" between certain combatants on the Christian side have been heard on walkie-talkies. This does not mean that we approve of these infiltrations wherever they come from.

Saab: You continually accuse your Christian adversaries of lack of patriotism. However, only they challenged the Syrian foreign minister's statement about "recovering" Lebanon. They did this out of patriotism and loyalty toward their country although it was in their vital interest to keep quiet. This was not the case as far as you were concerned . . .

Jumblatt: I did not approve of Khaddam's statement but I did not protest against it either. I took the view that it was merely a sudden outburst on his part and one does not reply to an outburst.

Saab: What is the legal and constitutional significance of the agreement with the Syrians which was concluded without being submitted to the government and without leaving sufficient time for the Chamber of Deputies to study it?

Jumblatt: Obviously it would have been better if the prime minister had been with the head of state or if he personally could have negotiated the agreement before submitting it to the cabinet. Unfortunately, this proved impossible because of Franjyah's



mentality. If the president wants to do Lebanon a great service he should resign immediately.

Saab: Do you know of any possible successors, apart from Gen. Hanna Sa'id, commander in chief of the army, whose presidential candidacy you have suggested?

Jumblatt: Gen. Hanna Sa'id is a typical man of honor as understood in France in the 17th century. However, there are other people. How can one overlook such men as Raymond Iddih, Ilyas Sarkis, Pierre Hilu and so forth .

Saab: What are your views on the provisions included in the agreement sponsored by the Syrians to end the civil war?

Jumblatt: This agreement is supported by all parties. I hope that it will be implemented in full, considering that it represents a step toward disengagement and the restoration of order. It is also fair to the Moslems inasmuch as it will now enable them to share the assembly seats with the Christians on an equal basis. We have agreed, rather unwillingly, to all the provisions of this agreement which, unfortunately, will not enable Lebanon to achieve organic democracy. For our party, we would have preferred to see denominationalism completely abolished and the state secularized. It is a question of choosing decisively between past and future. Nonetheless, the abolition of denominationalism with regard to the recruitment of civil servants, police and soldiers, as the agreement stipulates, can be seen as a step forward toward the state's more complete emancipation from control by clerical power, whether Moslem or Christian. Strangely enough, this could provide a meeting point with Father Sharbil al-Qassis, the head of the Lebanese monks, and other prominent people of the right who favor secularization. This means that we oppose not only the Christian separatist and isolationist factions but also and

mainly the Moslem reactionaries and the traditional leaders of Islam who are hostile to any secularization and, as far as this question is concerned, are no better than the Lebanese Maronite church. But be that as it may, we have agreed to the compromise proposed by the Syrian mediators to stop an unnecessary and cowardly massacre. At the same time we extended a lifeline to the retreating adversary. Gandhi said that violence is a contract. "Break this contract," he added, "and your adversary will be disarmed."

Saab: Has the adoption of a joint left program ceased to be a prerequisite for the return to normalcy?

Jumblatt: Obviously, the well-balanced program of the left cannot be implemented at a time when anarchy prevails in the country. We believe that we will be able to gain many more supporters for this program in peacetime than we could have done during a period of violence.

Saab: Do you believe that the conflict is really over?

Jumblatt: Everybody is feeling tired and this feeling of weariness should induce an instinctive and natural desire to enjoy life in peace. The state, the army and the courts should be reorganized but, first of all, the president should be replaced.

Saab: Be that as it may, one is faced with the problem of a country which has been occupied to a large extent. What can be done in this situation?

Jumblatt: Lebanon must remain independent within its present borders. We will have to achieve social unity as a people within the framework of a politically democratic regime which has been a valuable achievement by the Western world. However, this kind of regime, which also prevails in our country, cannot be preserved unless it progresses in accordance with the rhythm of the century. Our party has always fought against any kind of dictatorship, whether fascist or communist.

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from AL-SAFIR (Lebanon)

February 15, 1976

President Franjeh's Message: A Program of National Action

by Lebanese President Suleiman Franjeh

The following is the full text of President Franjeh's February 14th message to the Lebanese people. The speech, announcing the 17-point national action program, was broadcast by Lebanese radio and television.

My Fellow-Lebanese,

It was no surprise that the initiative came to us from Damascus when the situation became grave and the fire broke wild in Lebanon. Since ancient times sister Syria has kept a watchful eye over Lebanon and Lebanon has always reciprocated in likewise manner. Hence, the initiative of brother Hafiz Assad to save Lebanon from the danger it was facing was motivated by brotherly concern only.

Arab, Sovereign, Free

Being citizens of a democratic regime, you are entitled, my fellow Lebanese, to know the outcome of the Damascus talks. Damascus did not need to be reintroduced to Lebanon for Lebanon's identity is well known to her. We chose, however, to protect the identity of Lebanon from Damascus before the world so that the whole world may know that Lebanon is an Arab country, sovereign, free and independent:

That is the cradle of the missions that shine in the Arab world;

That it is a unique example of coexistence between various sects and religions;

That it is the crossroads of world civilizations and an outstanding experiment in human existence;

That is the voice of the Arabs in the whole world through its emigrant sons.

The Arab brethren were not oblivious to Lebanon's right to remain sovereign in order for it to remain the faithful spokesman for the shining cause of justice. Nor did the Palestinians need to be reminded that the Rabat Arab Summit Conference assigned to Lebanon the role of defending their cause at the U.N. and that Lebanon carried out the task faithfully and with conviction because Jerusalem is the cradle of Christ and because the Palestinian cause is the cause of right and justice.

Nor indeed did the Palestinians need to be reminded that the coexistence of the logic of the Palestinian revolution and the logic of Lebanese sovereignty over the same narrow stretch of land, like that of Lebanon — which is not

the natural birthplace of that revolution in the first place, that this coexistence necessitates extra caution and added alertness lest the two spheres clash and lead to an explosion. Never was there more need than now to abide scrupulously by the agreements reached between the parties and particularly the Cairo agreement [see page 5 of this issue of SWASIA].

With this in mind and out of our sense of responsibility towards a people that remains essentially sensible however frequently it may seem to fail and to shed blood in its failings;

And for the sake of a new and better life;

For the sake of a more equitable, more comprehensive and farther reaching social justice;

Justice & Equality

For the sake of justice and equality that due to their very nature can be achieved only gradually and at the end of the road;

For the sake of defeating fear and adding security;

For the sake of establishing the foundations for a lofty homeland;

And in accordance with the views that we heard during our consultations and that found expression through various meetings and public announcements;

And to institutionalize a reality that has become part of our democratic tradition;

We now proceed to lay the foundations for Lebanon's future along the lines we drew roughly in our speech in Beaklin in August 23, 1975 on the occasion of the instatement of Fakhr Al-Din's statue after having presented these lines before the Cabinet to study them in open sessions since the various viewpoints were not yet fully articulated then. We said in that speech:

"The demands presented from all sides are pure Lebanese demands. They have no color, character or identity other than this one. What springs from the hearts of the people spontaneously must necessarily find residence in the conscience of their leaders. No one exploits and no one is exploited when

overdue social justice is achieved for all and together."

We further said:

"The national covenant, as the framework of brotherly coexistence for the Lebanese, was dictated by the requirements of independence and it must remain the framework for brotherly coexistence responding constantly to the desire of the Lebanese and developing in accordance with their ambitions within the framework of independence.

"The constitution, in our opinion, is not a heavenly book but rather a human document that develops with the conditions of life. Our constitution itself has developed much through practice and will continue to do so until it fulfills our desires. The necessity of development and change is something but intransigence in change is something else.

We further said:

"We have accepted our system of government collectively and under that system we have reaped prosperity and quiet.

"Freedom, in Lebanon, unless it establishes its internal checks and restraints will always be under the threat of suffocation. What will our fate be should such a thing befall us?"

And we said:

"There will be no security for any Lebanese unless he can trust his Lebanese brother. The security of the one must be the security of both. Both must have faith that Lebanon belongs to all its citizens and the prosperity of the land must benefit all equally each according to his work, diligence and perseverance.

Then, and only then, will everyone realize that harmony, sharing and equality are common matters that are granted without even being asked for."

In this spirit was conducted our meeting in Damascus and in line with what was revealed in our Fakr Al-Din speech the following points were discussed:

The 17-Points

- The establishment of the standing convention concerning the three positions of leadership so that the President of the republic will be a Maronite, the spokesman of the house of representatives a Shi'ite Muslim, and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. Every one of these three heads will represent all the Lebanese.

- The distribution of the Parliament seat equally between Muslims and Christians and proportionately within every sect. Reforming election laws in that light to guarantee more adequate

(Continued on page 5)

17-Points, from page 4 . . .

representation for the citizens.

- The election of the prime minister by a relative majority in the house of representatives. The prime minister elect then conducts parliamentary consultations for the formation of a cabinet and a list of names for ministerial positions is drawn through consultations with the President. After this, decrees will be issued.

- Fateful matters must be decided by a two third vote in the house of representatives. The election of the president in sessions consequent to the first one must be decided by a minimal majority of 55 per cent of the house of representatives.

- The enactment of a law that would make the president, the prime minister and the rest of the ministers responsible before a high council to be established for the purpose of trying such high ranking officials.

- The prime minister and the ministers are to swear the constitutional oath before the president.

- All decrees and legislative propositions to be issued through a joint agreement between the president of the republic and the prime minister and will carry their respective signatures. The only exception to this rule are the decree appointing a prime minister and the acceptance of the resignation of the government. The prime minister will enjoy by law all the authority that he now enjoys by convention.

- The promulgation of a code that would speed up the process of issuing decrees and passing resolutions.

- Strengthening the independence of the judiciary branch and the establishment of a supreme constitutional court to look into the constitutionality of the laws and the decrees.

- Strengthening decentralization of administrative functions.

- Elimination of sectarianism in assigning positions and supplanting it with the principle of efficiency while preserving equality in the distribution of first rank posts.

- The establishment of a supreme council for planning and development.

- The concentration of efforts to bring about comprehensive social equality through financial, economic and social reforms.

- Strengthening public education to make free education universal and mandatory and develop educational programs that would strengthen national unity.

- The drawing of a defense policy and the strengthening of the army.

- Strengthening responsible freedom of the press that make it compatible with society's aspirations for national unity and strengthening Lebanon's Arab and international relations.

- Reforming the citizenship law.

Now, these lines which are presented to you today and along which the Cairo agreement will be implemented, what are they?

These lines comprise the declaration of a national action program and they were drawn in a document that has been approved by the government and will be presented before the house of representatives to become, next to the unwritten national covenant, a new pillar supporting the national unity of Lebanon and drawing its strength from loyalty to Lebanon and commitment to its service.

My Fellow Lebanese,

Whatever history's judgement tomorrow may be, a decision must be taken today. A decision that Lebanon, all of Lebanon, deserves the loyalty of its citizens, all its citizens. It deserves their warm, absolute and unconditional loyalty. Moreover, it also deserves the loyalty of all these before whom it opened its gates.

Lebanon deserves this loyalty in and by itself and it deserves it, moreover, to carry on its mission: its Arab mission, the mission of peaceful coexistence bet-

ween the various sects and religions. This mode of coexistence which the world is seeking through endless dialogues all over the globe has been a way of life and actual existence in Lebanon for hundreds of years.

This loving land must not be repaid with anything other than love.

My Fellow Lebanese,

The ample, dear blood that was spilled in Lebanon will not be in vain if out of it is borne the new Lebanon which was destined to be christened in pain, tears and hopes for happiness and joy.

The birth of the new Lebanon will not be impossible if the Lebanese maintain self-restraint and if they learn to harness their tested abilities for the establishment of Lebanon's future foundations, the progressive Lebanon of love and dignity ever responding to the spirit of the time and the desires of its citizens.

My Fellow Lebanese,

There is no higher honor than serving your Lebanon which you have been wont to serve through your frank and courageous views.

Tomorrow you will be called upon to express these views. Say yes, then, to everything that protects this homeland and keeps it safe. Say no to everything that hurts it and intends to do it harm.

My Fellow Lebanese,

Everything passes away; everyone of us will pass away; glorious Lebanon, however, is everlasting.

Still Available:

Civil War in Lebanon

by Eric Rouleau

Eric Rouleau, *Le Monde's*

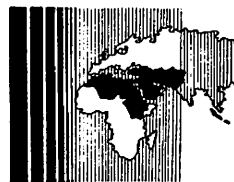
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SWASIA

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Truce to Solution, from page 1 . . .

following attitudes:

1) The repeated efforts to befriend the Syrian stand in order to coopt its outcome. Evidence of this can be seen not only in the suspension of the "liberation war" declared against the Palestinian "invasion" and the "flagrant Syrian intervention", or in the acceptance by the separatist groups — whether individually or collectively — of the Syrian mediation. But it can also be seen in the race of the poles of the separatist camp to propitiate common friends with Syria in order to improve their relations with the regime of sister Syria.

2) These repeated efforts are accompanied by the same old tactic that aims at driving a wedge between the triangular anti-separatist alliance composed of the Syrian Arab Republic, The Palestinian Resistance Movement and the Lebanese Patriotic Movement.

A few days before the ceasefire went into effect the issue was the Palestinian presence which "hides" behind the international left and the Muslims of Lebanon. Then came the version of "Syrian intervention", and the call to all the "allied" forces of the world from Europe to the U.S. to the Arab reactionary regimes to Israel to rise against it. Then a return to the original tune and Pierre Al-Jumayyil's talk about the "international left" and his efforts to incite the Muslims, Syrians, Palestinians and the whole world against it.

3) On the political level, the poles of the separatist axis returned to the familiar tune and the despicable maneuvers under the slogan of "guarantees" and "security and sovereignty" first of all.

"Security must be established first because such grave and crucial matters cannot be discussed under pressure and in a tense atmosphere because minorities reject imposition and coercion".

These were the words of Pierre Al-Jumayyil in his latest announcement which is a complete program that sums up the maneuvers aiming at preventing the outcome of the military confrontation to express itself in political terms.

On the Palestinian level, this program poses the question: who will guarantee that the Palestinian Resistance Movement will abide by the Cairo agreement and its appendixes?

On the level of political reform and political balance, it poses the question: what are the guarantees offered the

Christians against the articles in the political agreement providing a degree of equality in the central political positions and the minimal degree of "equality between the sects" (especially in matters of government posts and citizenship). The requested guarantees revolve around the demand to institutionalize the "Maronite" presidency in the constitution.

Concerning the government institutions the tactic of blackmail is veiled under the demand that these institutions be reactivated under their original set-up as a precondition for moving towards implementing the articles of the political solution.

This closes the vicious circle. Meanwhile, the separatist factions go on exchanging accusations about who is responsible for leading the country into "the mess". So far, Camille Chamoun has been the principal target of the anger of the Christian masses and the other factions readily place the responsibility for the failure of their plans exclusively on his shoulders.

However that may be, responsibility for the crucial coming days, which will determine the fate of the truce and whether it has a chance to turn into a true peace, responsibility towards the unity of this country and the aspirations of its citizens for the quiet necessary for rebuilding it on new

foundations, that responsibility makes imperative stressing the following fundamental points:

When we talk about the defeat of the suicidal plan we are talking, first and foremost, about the inability of the separatist forces during the ten months of fighting to score any military victories through which they could implement the article in their plan calling for the restriction of Palestinian presence in Lebanon (whether popular or military). The outcome of the actual confrontations has shown that the military might of the separatist factions is not a solvent guarantee for the implementation of agreements. This, of course, if we allow for the separatists' lie that the country reached the verge of total destruction and witnessed blood baths and disintegration only to implement agreements which the Resistance Movement declared repeatedly would discuss seriously with the representatives of the Lebanese state.

The guarantee for implementation, if the separatists do not confide in the Palestinian assurances and the official Syrian commitment — as expressed by Foreign Minister Khaddam — is clear and simple. It can be summed up in the assertion that the Palestinians do not want Lebanon as a substitute

(Continued on page 7)

from LE MONDE
as reported by FBIS

January 28, 1976

Pierre Al-Jumayyil's Perspective

Edward Saab interviews Pierre Al-Jumayyil, leader of the Lebanese Phalange.

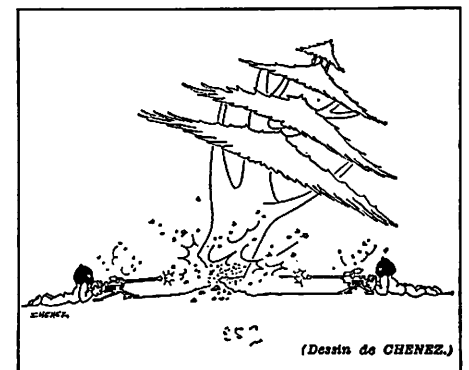
Phalangist leader Pierre al-Jumayyil told me that, "contrary to the accusations made against him, his party had not initiated the civil war."

He added: "As long ago as 1969 we had to choose between a compromise with the Palestinians and civil war. Our basic moderation then led us to subscribe to the Cairo agreement. As a result of this the Palestinians' colonization of Lebanon increased and we were compelled to react. If we had not done so, they would have hunted us down even in our homes."

Al-Jumayyil asserted that no foreign country has supported the rightwing Christian parties. "We have always refused to be in anyone's pay. Anyway, no one has offered us any services."

On the attitude of the army, the Phalangist leader believes that it could not react, having been "sectarianized

by the international left—not to be confused with the Lebanese National left, which we deeply respect. Our Moslem compatriots consider themselves Arabs and pro-Palestinian first, Lebanese second. This double allegiance paralyzed the army. The Palestinians were thus able to behave as if in a conquered country."



Truce to Solution, from page 6 . . .

homeland and that the armed presence in Lebanon was necessitated for defense against the ongoing conspiracy against the Palestinian Resistance Movement especially since May 1973. No more or less. This is the practical "guarantee".

Not the Christians as a supposed "majority" in Lebanon — as the separatists claim — or as a minority in the Arab world were defeated in the latest confrontations. What was defeated in these confrontations was the pattern of their relations with other sects in Lebanon and their attitude towards the Arab world in general.

Separatists' Suicidal Pattern

This pattern, which we insist on calling a suicidal pattern, rests upon the assumption that the best way to defend the rights of a certain minority is by clinging steadfastly to the political sources of its supremacy, dominance and privileges over the other sects in society and the institutionalization of its racial or intellectual superiority over the Muslims and Arabs in general. All this warped logic is very much in line with the original Zionist contention that wherever a minority coexists with a majority the former will always be oppressed by the latter. This pattern of thinking, we repeatedly cautioned, is bound to try the option of partition and separatism — even at the cost of tens of thousands of lives — and that its one inevitable outcome should it materialize, will be emigration of the majority of the Christians from Lebanon.

Hence, the practical guarantee is neither making the presidency "Maronite" nor the inane insistence on superiority and privileges of the minority but rather in the reinstatement of the principles of coexistence and cohesion between all the sects that compose the Lebanese society and the reorientation towards the Arab region through a secular democratic political system that guarantees political and legal equality among citizens regardless of their sectarian affiliation.

The precondition of reactivating government institutions in their previous make-up and in their previous balances before starting to implement the political solution is a desperate repetition of the same old plan aiming at gearing these institutions for one single objective: the suppression of the Palestinian movement and the patriotic

(Continued on page 8)

Lebanese Groups in Confrontation

LEFTIST ORGANIZATIONS

Syrian Popular Party (P.P.S.)

Lebanese Communist Party (P.C.L.)

The Syrian Popular Party, a pro-al Fatah group, and the Lebanese Communist Party are the only two Lebanese progressive organizations who occupy military zones in Christian neighborhoods: Koura, Dhour Chouevi, Bteghrine . . . several progressive organizations (P.P.S., P.C.L., P.S.P., Baath, O.A.C.L., etc. include many Christian members).

Progressive Socialist Party (P.S.P.)

The party of Kamal Jumblatt, progressive Druze leader.

The 24th of October Movement

This group is led by Farouk Mokaddem, a leftist leader of Tripoli (Lebanon).

Independent Nasserites (al-Mourabitoum)

Ibrahim Koleilat, commander-in-chief of the combined Lebanese progressive forces, leads this group.

Union of Working People (U.F.P.T.)

Arab Socialist Union (U.S.A.)
This is a Nasserite group that is pro-Libyan.

OTHER LEFTIST GROUPS:

Pro-Syrian Baath

Communist Action Organization of Lebanon

Kurdish Democratic Party (Pro-Iraqi)

Pro-Iraqi Baath

Various Trotskyite, Maoist and splinter groups

MUSLIM GROUPS

Arab Liberation Party of Tripoli

consists of the supporters of Rashid Karami.

Followers of Farouk Chehabeddine (Beirut: Mazr'aa, Basta)

Soukour al-Zeydanieh (Beirut: Zeydanieh)

Islamic Group

Takes positions similar to those of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Followers of M. Saad (Sidon)

An organization composed of Shi'ites of South Lebanon, the Beka'a and the suburbs of Beirut, founded in 1975 by Imam Musa Sadre "to defend Lebanon against Israeli aggression, attempts to liquidate the Palestinians and separatist plots".

Tribes

(Families) of the Beka'a (Allou, Nassredinne, Jaafar, Danlache, Zgheib, Hajj Hassan, etc.) and of Akkar.

MAJOR CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIAN MILITIAS

Nation-wide:

Lebanese Phalange (Kataeb) of Pierre Jumayyil

National Liberal Party (P.N.L.) of Camille Chamoun.

Guardians of the Cedars

Maronite Organization

The "Guardians of the Cedars" and the "Maronite Organization" officially linked to the Maronite League are clandestine movements.

Regional groups:

Zghortion Liberation Army of Suleiman Franjeh.

Private armies led by Michel Murr, Henry Sfeir, etc.

It should be noted that the militia of the National Bloc, a moderate organization of Pierre Edde, has had armed men in certain areas of Beirut (Dekwaneh, etc.), at Jbeil (Byblos) and in certain villages of the mountains. It does not seem, however, that it played an active role in the fighting, Pierre Edde doing his best to play a conciliatory role between the combatants.

LeMONDE, January 22, 1976

Truce, from page 7 . . .

Lebanese movement to protect a system that has been vitiated not only because it fails to correspond to the development of the country but also because those who pretend to defend it are, in fact, conspiring against it. Concerning one of these institutions — the army, to be specific — Bashir Al-Jumayyil has expressed in a recent interview with "Al-Hawadis" the essence of the suicidal viewpoint that considers the state institutions an enemy to be confronted on the battlefield unless they become a striking tool in the hands of the separatists. He said: "We reject the intervention of the army in matters of security now because it has ceased to be the army of Lebanon and has become the army of the Palestinians. We, moreover, warn against the danger of its intervention in security affairs and declare that should the army be commanded to interfere

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we will fight it with all our might because if it intervenes it will intervene only in Ashrafiyya and the Aquamarina but not in Tripoli and Sidon (sic)".

Army Disintegrates

This is only one example of the practice that has been followed for a few years aiming at sidetracking the army from its defensive patriotic duty. The military establishment has reaped the sour fruits of this practice in the disintegration of the army which, in certain cases, resulted in the desertion of hundreds of patriotic soldiers and officers from its ranks in protest against the flagrant partisanship and shameless discrimination.

The impossible dream that sank in the deep blood of the last few months is exactly the dream of reactivating the government institutions — including the army — in their former shape and capacity as institutions of oppression, discrimination and privilege of one sect over all the others.

The success in halting the collapse of the government institutions and rebuilding them is inextricably linked with the ability to develop them and make them correspond to the need to represent the new live forces which have come into being as a result of the country's development and which gained added strength and scope as a result of the latest bloody events.

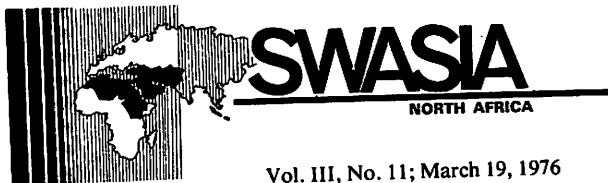
Therefore, we say, the separatist forces have resumed their playing with

fire. They continue their policy of intransigence both in statements and programs after these have lost their practicality and their material and military might. This was the policy that started the civil war in the first place and that initiated it each time there was a chance for a ceasefire and a political solution.

The policy of playing with the fire will not pass not only because it will burn the fingers of those who keep stirring it but also because there are powers which are committed to defending the Palestinian presence and protecting Syria against the aggressive imperialist-Zionist efforts to encircle her using the Lebanese back door as entry to impose the submissive solutions on her. These powers are equally committed to paving the way for change which is the only guarantee against the "minority's" fears of oppression and the "majority's" fears of discrimination and suppression.

NEXT WEEK:

Additional
Lebanese perspectives,
including interviews
with Pierre Al-Jumayyil and
Camille Chamoun,
an analytic article
on the roots of the conflict
from *Falastin Al-Thawra*



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