At approximately 10:00 a.m., the Israeli army sealed off the north boundaries of the camps and by noon they had sealed off the east side of Shatila, completing the encirclement of Sabra and Shatila with tanks, their cannon pointed towards the camps. Shortly thereafter, Israeli soldiers set up control points at the entrances and exits of the camps.

V

ISRAELI FACILITATION OF THE SABRA-SHATILA MASSACRE

Editor's Note:

The massacre at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut has received enormous attention around the world and has itself been the subject of several international conferences and assemblies as well as being under current examination by an international quasi-judicial tribunal.

One of the reasons for intense international focus on this particular massacre has been the eye-witness testimony establishing a high degree of Israeli facilitation of, and complicity in, the events of September 16-18 at Sabra and Shatila.

Shortly before the massacre, several meetings took place between the Israeli authorities and the Phalangists to plan and coordinate logistical support for the Phalangists entry into the camps. That logistical support, which both preceded and flowed concurrently with the massacres, was substantial:

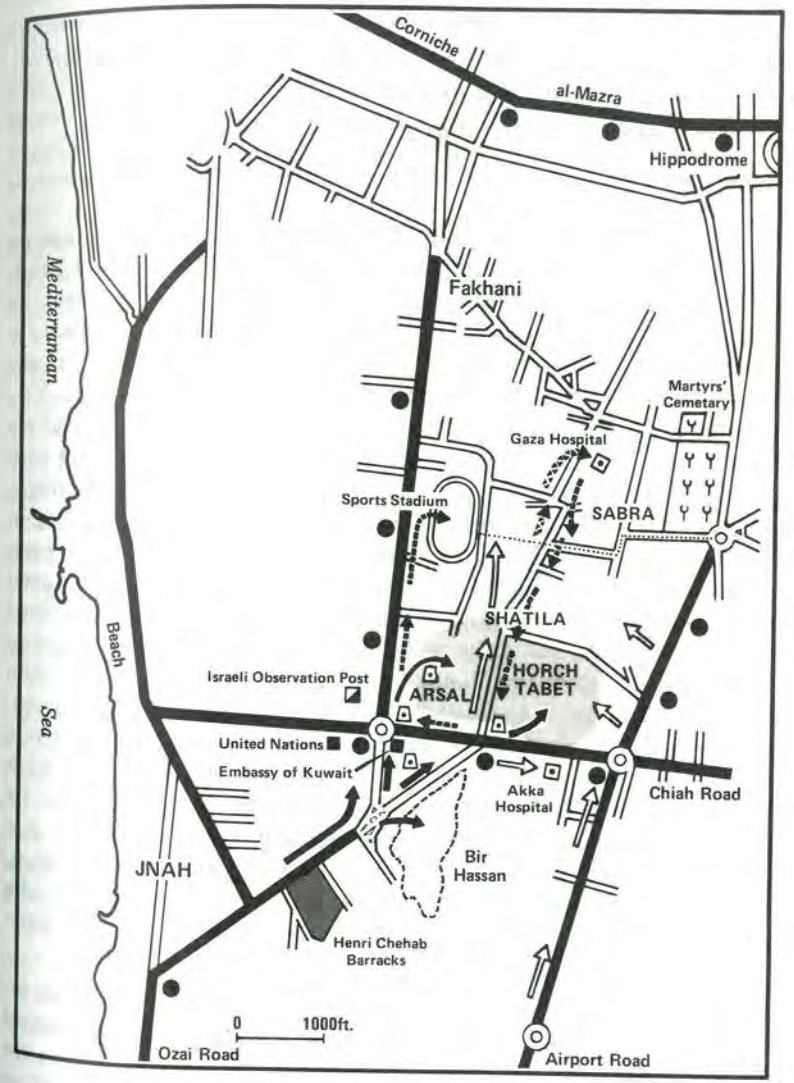
- Several eyewitnesses have given testimony that the Israelis supplied not only weapons and ammunition, but clothing and other equipment to the Phalangist units used in the camps.
- Israeli military authorities arranged for the Phalangist units to meet at the Beirut Airport, and to receive additional equipment, including vehicles, before moving toward the camps.
- On September 15, in order to facilitate the movement of the Phalangists to the camps, Israeli soldiers painted on various walls the triangular insignia of the Phalangists, followed by an arrow and a circle containing the letters "MP". The "MP" code refers either to "Military Police" or to "meeting place," since English is frequently used by the Israelis to communicate with members of the Phalange.

- It was the Israeli authorities who decided how many Phalangists would enter the camps, and at what time.
- It was the Israeli authorities who specified which entrances were to be used as well as providing maps for the purpose, and who made arrangements for areas sealed off by Israeli troops to be opened for the Phalangists to enter.
- During the massacres, as had been the case preceding the massacres, the Israeli and Phalange forces maintained close contact. As the evidence establishes, the Israeli and Phalangist forces maintained liaison officers in each other's headquarters. It is now known that the leader of the massacre, Elie Hobeika, used the same headquarters as the Israelis on top of the observation post building. In addition, the Israeli Mossad monitored the communications of the Phalangists, as did the Israeli military authorities. As a result, the Israelis heard much of the communication that flowed from inside the camps to the Phalangist military authorities.
- In order to facilitate the Phalangists in their operations during the nights of September 16 and 17, the Israelis fired dozens of flares above the camps, from artillery and from aircraft, to light the way for the Phalangist forces inside the camps.
- During Thursday and Friday, the Israeli Army fired artillery into the camps in coordination with the Phalange units.
- On more than one occasion, the Israeli authorities allowed more ammunition and supplies into the camps. The Israeli authorities acceded to Phalangist requests that more ammunition, more flares, and fresh troops be sent.
- The Israelis extended by 13 hours the time for the militia to conduct its "operation."
- From a seven-story apartment building, which the Israeli military used as an observation post, Israeli Army officers had an excellent view of the camps, particularly Shatila, and of many of the movements and activities that were taking place in parts of the camps. Because of the proximity of this observation point to the center of the massacre, gunfire and the screams of victims could easily be heard.

These forms of immediate and direct aid to the perpetrators of the massacre must also be viewed against the backdrop of general Israeli disregard for the well-being of the Palestinian population, and attempts to dehumanize it, as well as numerous specific attacks on the population in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza. Notable previous instances include the 1948 massacre at Deir Yassin by Menachem Begin's Irgun Zvai Leumi, the massacre at the West Bank village of Qibya on October 14, 1953, conducted by a unit of the Israeli army commanded by

Ariel Sharon, as well as other killings of defenseless Palestinians at such places as Qalqilya and Sammu, among others.

SABRA AND SHATILA REFUGEE CAMP AREAS



MYA SHONE, Researcher, USA

"A neighbour's daughter was sent out to find a way; she was shot. Samiha decided to run, picked up her twin infants and tried to find a way out, but in her flight she dropped one of her children. She ran back and was only able to escape because the militia were too busy raping two women."

On Saturday 18 September we entered Sabra and Chatila camps around 12 to 12.15, shortly after the last wave of the massacre. I think people have described the nature of the tortures. I will confirm them, as you will see from the pictures I took over a period of four days. We were there Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Wednesday. We interviewed many survivors as we went along the side streets, both in Sabra and Chatila. You can see these two men are part of a group, the one on the left has had his head butchered open. Not only did this man have his head cut open with his brains spilling out, but his skin was ripped off. Two young girls: this is a close-up of the young girl who was in front, her eye had been cut open and her mouth was slit. This is the second young girl: her throat has been slit, also her mouth. An old man in Sabra camp: his face had been axed open. We were told by the survivors that it was axes, and they described the chopping motions and knives; Ralph [Schoenman] was given one of the knives. This is a close-up of one of the old men on the main street. You can see the bullet holes in the wall; their bodies have also been mutilated. Inside a house off the main street: you can see from the free flowing blood that this man was butchered before he died. This man is Lebanese: he is one of the group; Dr. Maehlumschlagen said he was one of the six people inside the house, his head is half missing. His identity card was found nearby. A man with his artificial leg, his body had been sliced open, it was cut on the top part. This woman had maggots eating her head, she was in a ditch. There were ropes around her. She had probably been dragged throughout the camp.

People have talked about the bulldozers and the rubble. All that remains of this young girl which is visible is her leg. There are also several other bodies you can see. This young girl is lying next to what I assume are her parents. We were told that the buildings were dynamited as well as bulldozed. This women had her head chopped off.

On Saturday we went to Akka hospital which was burning, and while we were there members of the Palestine Red Crescent Society were trying to take out some materials, childrens' toys. All of a sudden everyone rushed

out and said the Israelis are coming. We left Akka hospital and went up to the road on the way to the Kuwaiti Embassy. This was in the middle of the tank brigade because we had to walk up. I think there were about 30 tanks and half-tracks and loudspeakers. They spoke in Arabic saying, 'Lay down your arms and surrender or you will be killed.' This was translated to us by our driver. There were troops as well.

I wanted to tell you about some of the eye witnesses. Samiha Husaad told us she stayed in her house when the bombardment started on Wednesday. On Thursday when the killer militias came down from the Stadium (and I call them killer militias because that is what they were—some people would say Kata'eb, there were all sorts of uniforms, some people spoke with a southern Lebanese accent so I think it was a special unit), she looked for a way to escape. A neighbour's daughter was sent out to find a way; she was shot. Samiha decided to run, picked up her two infants and tried to find a way out, but in her flight she dropped one of her children. She ran back and was only able to escape because the militia were too busy raping two women. We were shown these two women, and as you can see they have chopped off the fingers of the woman in front. We have had many accounts of women raped, pregnant women, their foetuses cut out afterwards, women with hands chopped off, earrings pulled.

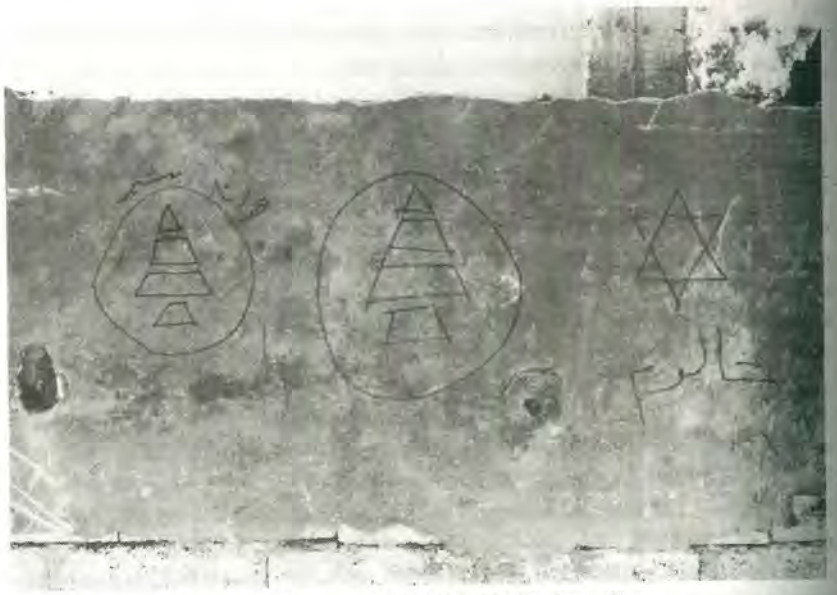
Mohamed Swydan who came from a Lebanese village in the south. He had come to Sabra to visit his brother. When the shelling started he took refuge in a shelter. On Saturday he was the first to emerge only to find his brother in his house being sliced with a knife and then burned, and then the house set on fire. They also burned his car.

These two old people are from Palestine, they came to Chatila in 1948. During the siege and shelling of Beirut they hid in Zeitouni and returned to Chatila only when the Multi-National Force entered and guaranteed the safety of Palestinians; but then the Israelis entered Beirut. The two sisters described to us the events of Saturday morning, the fourth day of the massacre. Bull horns called everyone into the street. Men and women were separated, men were marched one by one past two spies. One of them was a Lebanese woman with blonde hair.

This is Mohamed Ali Benaad, mentioned before, who carried his 60 year-old uncle, but they forced him to put the man down. His cousin was the man who stepped on the mine during the forced march. Mohamed was saved during the forced march because his child was screaming so much.

This is an office in the rehabilitation centre, as you can see on fire. The bulldozers came in later on to help bury the dead, but in fact the Lebanese Army created even further destruction in Sabra and Chatila. I would like to add that many people, especially women that we met, said they were returning to the camp only because they had sent their children away with other people and they felt that if they did not go back to the camp,

even though their homes were destroyed, they would never be able to get together their families. They were hoping their children would come back.



"Bashir's Forces" Star of David - Shalom - Peace.

RALPH SCHOENMAN, Researcher, USA

"It should be pointed out also that the Kate'eb and Haddadi militias are not to be found at any check point without an Israeli soldier and/or officer present. They are armed by the Israelis. They are barracked with the Israelis. They get their shoelaces from the Israelis. This is an area wholly under the control of the Israeli armed forces, an area sealed off not only to prevent people from escaping it, an area sealed off to prevent any from entering it, except with the control and authority of the Israeli armed forces."

You have, I am sure, heard and been told that there was a supposed disjunction between the actions of the militias and those of the Israeli

armed forces. However, the evidence goes to the contrary of that assertion. As of Wednesday, the camps were sealed and ringed by Israeli tanks and armed forces. Numerous attempts by people to escape Sabra and Chatila resulted in their being repelled by Israeli fire, artillery fire, hand fire and automatic weapons fire. The camps were under intensive shelling and bombardment from Wednesday on.

On Thursday 16 September, notwithstanding the shelling and bombardment, the people in north Sabra met as they could and, as you have heard, a delegation of old men was sent under a white flag to the Israeli command headquarters with the specific instruction to appeal for an end not only to the shelling, but to the slaughter. They were shot dead. Their mission was to inform the Israelis of the fact that the camps were in a condition of surrender, that they were without arms, those arms having been removed by the Multi-National Force, that the population was offering no resistance, and that the Israelis who had surrounded the camp could enter it at will. Those who died include Abdul Swyad aged 62, Abdul Hubbad Ismail aged 55, Abed Ashmed aged 64, Abed Al Swyad aged 65. It should be pointed out also that the Kate'eb and Haddadi militias are not to be found at any check point without an Israeli soldier and/or officer present. They are armed by the Israelis. They are barracked with the Israelis. They get their shoelaces from the Israelis. This is an area wholly under the control of the Israeli armed forces, an area sealed off not only to prevent people from escaping it, an area sealed off to prevent any from entering it, except with the control and authority of the Israeli armed forces.

We spent four days in Sabra and Chatila. As Mya mentioned we entered by foot, approximately noon on Saturday, and we photographed. The loudspeakers stated in Arabic 'All who do not surrender will be killed.' Machine-gun fire issued from the Israeli armed units. It was unanswered. We continued to photograph in the camp and when we were speaking in the subsequent days to eye-witness after eye-witness from all parts of Chatila and Sabra, we learned that the Israeli armed forces had entered Chatila on Friday morning in the southern part. They entered from the road which connected the Kuwaiti Embassy to Akka hospital. One of the survivors who saw the killing of Safi Halid Hamud aged 38 and her two children aged two and eight described precisely the Israeli operation inside Chatila and the south of Sabra. They came down the main street, they fanned out into the small streets and alleys, they met no resistance, they formed a phalanx inside the camp approximately 100 yards from the house of Safi Halid Hamud. The phalanx which they established then was used as a screen through which the militia units entered, the phalanx closing behind the militia units protecting their rear flank. The militia proceeded to slaughter people systematically with Israeli forces present.

Uniforms: the uniforms were described as exactly those of the Israeli soldiers except for markings. In some cases Hebrew lettering having been removed and other markings stitched on to their uniform.

On Saturday morning the slaughter continued. Days of rampaging slaughter with 1,500 so-called militia units and the Israeli forces in total control of the area, their binoculars trained on Sabra and Chatila from the Kuwaiti Embassy command post and from the surrounding area. It is an insult to the intelligence of people to suggest that this is anything but an integrated, coordinated military operation from beginning to end. In no sense can the militias be considered independent of the Israeli armed forces which controlled the area. We should point out that wherever we went, not only in Beirut, but throughout the period of the war in the south of Lebanon, in Haddadi, Kate'eb manned check points, an Israeli officer and/or soldier was to be found. These are not independently operating units. It is impossible for the butchery which proceeded with axes and knives to have occurred without the knowledge, consent and intent of the Israeli armed forces.

Mohamed Banhat described how the soldiers axed people, cleaved them, butchered them with knives; and indeed the two sisters, the two old women on the street in the north of Sabra, described how, when they with others were marched towards the stadium, they were stopped and men were forced to dig ditches into which they were then shot. We have found throughout the area of the killing C-rations of the United States armed forces, manufactured by the Curran Foods Incorporated Industry of California. Throughout the entire period of the Israeli armed operation, invasion and occupation of Lebanon and, indeed, throughout the massacre itself, the arms continued to flow, the cluster bombs continued to be supplied and nothing, including the massacre of Sabra and Chatila, had halted this. You remember we were discussing the fate of Mohamed Swydan and his family in the village of Yartr in the south of Lebanon, when 30 of the 33 members of this family were imprisoned and detained. Two of the brothers, like many Lebanese, sought protection by going towards the Beirut area; you saw the fate of the brother Mohamed Swydan.

This is a knife which was dropped by the militia, by knife which was used along with other weapons during the course of the butchery. When we went to the homes of the survivors, relatives and families were coming to us. They brought us photographs of people who were slaughtered and they described to us how they died. A young boy whose throat was cut, a child who was butchered. It was a charnel house of slaughter.

I would say at this point as well that the estimates of the dead that have been reported in the press in Europe and the United States grossly underestimate the number we were informed had died, and indeed the mass grave which was prepared by the Lebanese army and the Lebanese Red

"The Lebanese Phalange" "Militia of Saad Haddad" "Saad Haddad"

Cross was 150 feet by 150 feet some 25-30 feet deep and was full. Lebanese Red Cross personnel to whom we spoke stated, 'We have tallied and buried 3,000 people not including those under the rubble and exclusive of those bulldozed under the rubble.' Realistic estimates of the number of those butchered and slaughtered in Sabra and Chatila are between 4,000 and 4,500. This again, estimated on the basis of every bit of evidence to be found, was an integral, coordinated Israeli military operation in Sabra and Chatila. That there were special units, indigenous units subject to their control, and under their command, in no way mitigates the full military and political responsibility for slaughter at Sabra and Chatila which is the responsibility of the Israeli Government and the Israeli armed forces.

Specifically, on the Thursday when the killer militias were slaughtering in the camps, the Israeli armed forces lit up the sky with flares which not only permitted the militias to carry out their slaughter, but certainly enabled the Israeli armed units surrounding the camps to observe very carefully what was taking place. These are not skyscrapers, they are one- and two-storey modest, cinder block dwellings.

With reference to the events in Akka Hospital which the doctors and nurses have described: witnesses, including Um Walis of the Palestine Red Crescent, have discovered and told us in tape-recorded interviews that prior to the killing of the nurse Intisar Ismail aged 19, Israeli soldiers were

in Akka and an Israeli soldier gave her a note. The note he told her was to be shown to the units which were about to enter the hospital. Here is an Israeli soldier stating to Intisar Ismail that units are about to come into the hospital and should be shown this note. 'You are very attractive,' he said, 'show them this note and you will be alright.' And it was when this note was shown by Intisar Ismail that she was taken down into the basement, raped and mutilated such that when her body was at the American University Hospital and her aunt was asked to identify it, it could only be identified from the rings.

RYUICHI HIROKAWA, Japan

"From a watch tower on top of a hill, Israeli soldiers must have been able to see everything in the camps."

At 8 o'clock in the morning, September 18, 1982, I left a hotel in West Beirut, arriving at the entrance to the Shatila Camp at 8:20 a.m. or 8:30 a.m.

I tried to enter the camp from the north entrance, which was blocked by two Israeli tanks, cannon barrels pointing into the camp area.

"I am a Japanese journalist. Let me into the camp," I explained to the Israeli soldiers. However, they forced me back so I moved on to the eastern entrance only to find it blocked as well. Therefore, I attempted to enter the camp from a southern side street, parts of which were still burning. The street was scorched and the trees there appeared to have been blown down by shelling.

I managed to enter the camp, but nobody could be seen. As I prepared to leave the camp, somebody called out to me from the other side of the camp. I understood him to be a Lebanese. He told me that Palestinians had been executed in the camp. He explained further that Haddad's soldiers were the executors. Being very surprised to hear that, I asked him to escort me into the camp to the scene of the executions. He was afraid that he would be killed and ran away.

Just then, a shell exploded approximately 20 meters from where I was standing. Although I felt the shock wave, I was not injured. I took it as a warning and decided to abandon my attempt to enter the camp.

I walked towards the Akka hospital, which I had visited several times before. On entering the hospital, I found traces of caterpillar tracks or

tank tracks in the courtyard. Beds in the hospital were scorched and nobody was there. Smoke was still rising from the fourth and fifth floors of the hospital building. Inside, on the first floor, I found an old woman crouching on an undamaged bed. She shook with great fear and never looked my way.

Walking on into the camp about 200 meters, I spotted a dead body to the left. It was crushed out of shape and lying in the rubble. Another body in the same condition lay next to it. Walking on another 50 meters, I discovered a third body. I did not then realize that these people had been executed, as the fact that their bodies were so mutilated and lying in rubble made me assume that they had been victims of previous shelling. I realized I was mistaken when I found the third and fourth bodies. The third corpse was that of an old man who had been shot in the temple with

Photo: Franklin Lamb

Panoramic view of the refugee camps as seen from atop the Israeli observation post, adjacent to the Arsal area in the southwest corner of Shatila camp. Throughout the time of the massacre Israeli military personnel on top of the observation post were seen using telescopes and, at night, infra-red binoculars to observe the activity in the camp. High ridges shown at the lower right of both photos actually were occupied during the massacre by Israeli troops, some of whom testified that they reported the killing to their superiors who were watching from the observation post. Refugee homes which were in the foreground of the upper photo and which were destroyed during the massacre were cleared away by bulldozers before this picture was taken.

Photo: Franklin Lamb

One of the several signs near Sabra and Shatila refugee camps painted on Wednesday, September 15, by Israeli troops. The circled triangle is the insignia of the Phalange militia, which call themselves the "Lebanese Forces." "MP" is the Military Police, a Phalangist unit headed by Dib Anastas, although in this context it could also mean "meeting place" since English was frequently the language of communication between Israeli soldiers and the Phalange militiamen. The signs defined the route from the areas where the killer units assembled to the camp entrances opened for them by Israeli troops. In the upper left is the seven-story Israeli headquarters and observation post used throughout the massacre by both Israeli officers and Phalangist unit commanders.

one bullet. The corpse did not yet seem to have stiffened and the blood had not yet coagulated. The body of another old man lay next to the first one. A stick lay on the ground next to the first old man. I then noticed something green lying underneath the thigh of the second old man and went closer to see what it was. I discovered it to be a hand grenade whose safety had been removed. Anybody who tried to remove the body would have been blown up.

This is how I finally realized that executions had indeed taken place, although I had no idea of how large a scale. I considered the possibility that the executors may still be wandering around or patrolling somewhere else in the camp.

I then decided to walk on into an alley leading to a school which I had previously visited. There, I saw the dead body of a woman, 40 to 50 years of age.

I returned to the wide street, where two women in their 30's and 40's ran up to me pleading for help. Grabbing the sleeve of my shirt, they led me into an alley where I saw the body of another old man. He had been killed

in front of his house. Next to the house, there was an iron door. It was locked and we could not open it. "Open it, please," one of the women pleaded. "At any cost! My father is inside."

Climbing up the wall, I jumped inside, trying to stay brave as I believed I may never get back out again. As soon as I managed to open the door from the inside, the women rushed in.

Their father was still alive. He was lying on a mattress. "I shall escape from here," he said, "but wish to stay a little longer." The women left him two loaves of flat bread and I locked the door from the inside again. Climbing over the wall again, I then ran on towards the residential areas of the city lying just beyond the camp. After taking the women to a safe area, I returned to the camp.

From a watch tower on top of a hill, Israeli soldiers must have been able to see everything in the camps. They were calling for the population to surrender. Using poor Arabic, they said that anyone left in the camp should give himself up.

I entered a garage, where about ten people were lying on top of each other. I then moved on to a hilly place where I found seven or eight children and women who had fallen to the ground.

From there I continued on to a garden where I found an entire family massacred. The body of a two year old child had been thrown onto the rubble of the house.

In an adjacent alley, I found the bodies of a girl and boy of above five years of age. Their mother's body had been partially covered with rubble by a bulldozer. A girl was wearing toy earrings and a boy had something like a chain around his neck. It appeared that he had been choked by the chain as his neck was blotchy with blood and bruises.

I left the area at about noon. When a journalist claimed that the Israeli army or Haddad's men were on their way, everybody panicked, fearing that they might be killed as witnesses. We all felt that fear then.

I saw approximately 50 corpses with my own eyes in the streets and alleys I explored. Considering how the camps are hundreds of times larger than the area I visited, I can imagine that the number of dead must be staggering.

I hastened to the office of Jiji Press, one of the Japanese News agencies in Beirut. Nobody was there, neither were they in their homes. I discovered the Israeli army in the process of arresting Palestinians in the neighboring building, closing off one section of the apartments and requiring everybody to sit on the ground and present identification. Those who proved to be Palestinians were taken away.

Later, I visited the International Red Cross office to report on what I'd seen. The officials there informed me that about 100 bodies had been found so far, but that they had no idea as to the number of casualties or dead.

The correspondent from the Kyodo News Agency came to inform me that the Israeli Army had cut off all telex communications from Beirut. He also said that there were no international telephone lines available.

LEILA, A woman from Shatila Refugee Camp

"They tried to take the gold from her hands but when they could not, one of them sliced her arm into pieces with the axe and cut her finger in order to take a ring."

It was eight o'clock in the evening of Thursday, September 21. Soldiers came from the direction of the "Cité Sportive." When they first entered the camp they attacked a family consisting of eight children, their father and mother, and two men (relatives). They slaughtered the entire family with a big knife, dug graves and buried them near their own house.

The same soldiers then came to our house and I could hear them talking to one another through a kind of small machine (walkie-talkie), telling each other what they were doing and where they had reached. We heard the commotion and my father went outside. We followed him and offered to surrender, as we had no arms in the house and we had no time to run away. One commando held an axe. I told him: "This is my father. He is sixty-years old. Don't kill him. What has he done to you?"

"Shut up, you bitch, Don't say a word or we will rape you and kill you," he responded.

They killed my father in front of my own eyes. My sister came out crying: "Father, father! Why did you kill him?" They shot her dead. One of them asked: "Is this a girl or a boy? We thought she was a boy." She is seventeen years old. They tried to take the gold from her hands but when they could not, one of them sliced her arm into pieces with the axe and cut her finger in order to take a ring. Then he snatched the earrings from her ears, pulled off two necklaces and took two hundred pounds from her pocket.

After they axed my father I knelt to put the skull back on his head. They pushed me away saying: "Don't move, you bitch." They searched my father's body and took two thousand pounds from his pocket and a platinum ring from his finger. This ring is 40 years old and he had never removed it from his finger. The soldiers were so inhuman they seemed to

be drugged or intoxicated. They started cursing me over and over again. In my bag I had L.L. 4000 (approximately $850 U.S.) that I had kept for travel. My husband, who is a fighter, left it with me to follow him. They stole it and then took all my gold, my bracelets, an ounce of gold I was wearing around my neck, and two rings.

The unit then went into my uncle's house which is next door to our house. My uncle is paralyzed and completely bed-ridden. One of the commandos said into the microphone: "We will go into your house and burn it if you don't come out." They started calling out the families by name. My aunt and the two women with her came out to surrender. They said: "You are still at home, you bastards!" The women started imploring them: "Please do not kill our children and young men. My husband is paralyzed!" The commando said that if they come out they won't be killed. One of the men came out and hugged his wife and children and the wife told them: "I will give you all my money and all my gold but please don't kill my children." Then she took out all of her money and gold and turned it over to them. Again they assured her that they would not kill them. My aunt's daughters came out to join the women. Then the commandos went into the house and killed all the men. They kept the father until the very end in order to force him to watch the massacre of his children. A 13-year-old boy who was still alive was then permitted to give his father a drink of water after his mother implored the assassins. They said O.K. and followed the boy into the house. They burned him alive with a machine (flame-thrower) they had. He was torn to pieces. They took the money the old man had which his wife had left behind in case she was killed. She thought surely they would not kill an old paralyzed man. The amount they took from the family was about L.L. 14000.

Then the commandos marched the surviving women to the Cité Sportive, so that they could tell our story to the other Palestinians. They beat us on our heads and backs and cursed us saying: "You bitches! Go and tell everyone what we have done to you." It is not possible to describe with mere words the agony of mothers whose children were slaughtered in front of their own eyes.

The soldiers then pulled the bodies of the men they had killed with ropes to the Cité Sportive and hung them in front of their wives and mothers. They then killed the children. They did not leave one child alive from these families.

The commandos brought in trucks, put the women in them and took everyone to a nearby school. Then they told us to get out. We started running to Makassed near Barbir, to Verdun and Hamra, where people disappeared into apartment buildings.

Another family who had twin daughters were running away. The father and mother each carried a daughter. As we women were being transported in the trucks, the assassins saw them. They snatched the daughter from

her father's arms, gave her to me, and shot the father in the head. They buried him on the spot. They also killed his four married brothers and father.

This is only a small part of the story. This is what happened around our house. Some of it I learned after a few days when I returned to find out who was dead and who was alive. All in all, in the camps they killed approximately three to three-and-a-half thousand people. I know of hundreds of stories that testify to the tragedy of the Palestinians. It is not only a matter of a war or a fight between people. It is rather the tragic case that Zionists and Phalangists want to exterminate our people. This kind of hatred has no explanation. It is subhuman. I cannot believe that anyone can kill so many little children and still call himself human. The commandos had "Lebanese Forces" written on their shirts. This is what makes it worse. Some people in the Camp say the Israelis and Saad Haddad's forces put on these Lebanese Forces shirts. But whoever they were, we know that our revolution was the only security for us. When our fighters left our camps anyone could kill us. And they succeeded. My God is my witness and let the world witness.

JEAN GENET, Writer, France

"What did Israel gain in the Shatila massacre? Answer: what did it gain by entering Lebanon? What did it gain by bombing the civilian population for two months; by hunting down and destroying Palestinians? What did it want to gain in Shatila: the destruction of Palestinians."

Excerpts

A photograph has two dimensions, so does a television screen; neither can be walked through. From one wall of the street to the other, bent or arched, with their feet pushing against one wall and their heads pressing against the other, the black and bloated corpses that I had to step over were all Palestinian and Lebanese. For me, as for what remained of the population, walking through Shatila and Sabra resembled a game of hopscotch. Sometimes a dead child blocked the streets: they were so small, so narrow, and the dead so numerous. The smell is probably familiar to old

people; it didn't bother me. But there were so many flies. If I lifted the handkerchief or the Arab newspaper placed over a head, I disturbed them. Infuriated by my action, they swarmed onto the back of my hand and tried to feed there. The first corpse I saw was that of a man fifty or sixty years old. He would have had a shock of white hair if a wound (an axe blow, it seemed to me) hadn't split his skull. Part of the blackened brain was on the ground, next to the head. The whole body was lying in a pool of black and clotted blood. The belt was unbuckled, a single button held the pants. The dead man's feet and legs were bare and black, purple and blue; perhaps he had been taken by surprise at night or at dawn. Was he running away? He was lying in a little alley immediately to the right of the entry to Shatila camp which is across from the Kuwaiti Embassy. Did the Shatila massacre take place in hushed tones or in total silence, if the Israelis, both soldiers and officers, claim to have heard nothing, to have suspected nothing whereas they had been occupying this building since Wednesday afternoon?

A photograph doesn't show the flies nor the thick white smell of death. Neither does it show how you must jump over bodies as you walk along from one corpse to the next. If you look closely at a corpse, an odd phenomenon occurs: the absence of life in this body corresponds to the total absence of the body, or rather to its continuous backing away. You feel that even by coming closer you can never touch it. That happens when you look at it carefully. But should you make a move in its direction, get down next to it, move an arm or a finger, suddenly it is very much there and almost friendly.

Love and death. These two words are quickly associated when one of them is written down. I had to go to Shatila to understand the obscenity of love and the obscenity of death. In both cases the body has nothing more to hide: positions, contortions, gestures, signs, even silences belong to one world and to the other. The body of a man of thirty to thirty-five was lying face down. As if the whole body was nothing but a bladder in the shape of a man, it had become so bloated in the sun and through the chemistry of decomposition that the pants were stretched tight as though they were going to burst open at the buttocks and thighs. The only part of the face that I could see was purple and black. Slightly above the knee you could see a thigh wound under the torn fabric. Cause of the wound: a bayonet, a knife, a dagger? Flies on the wound and around it. His head was larger than a watermelon—a black watermelon. I asked his name; he was a Muslim.

"Who is it?"

"A Palestinian," a man about forty answered in French. "See what they've done."

If the American Marines, the French paratroopers, and the Italian *bersagliere* who made up an intervention force in Lebanon left so quickly

(the Italians, who arrived by ship two days late, fled in Hercules airplanes!) one day or thirty-six hours before their official departure date, as if they were running away, and on the day before Bashir Gemayel's assassination, are the Palestinians really wrong in wondering if Americans, French and Italians had not been warned to clear out pronto so as not to appear mixed up in the bombing of the Kataeb headquarters?

They left very quickly and very early. Israel brags and boasts about its combat efficiency, its battle preparedness, its skill in turning circumstances to its favor, in creating circumstances. Let's see; the PLO leaves Beirut in triumph, on a Greek ship, with a naval escort. Bashir, hiding as best he can, visits Begin in Israel. The intervention of the three armies (American, French, Italian) comes to an end on Monday. On Tuesday, Bashir is assassinated. Tsahal [Israel Defense Forces] enters West Beirut on Wednesday morning. As if they were coming from the port, Israeli soldiers were advancing on Beirut the morning of Bashir's funeral. With binoculars, from the eighth floor of my house I saw them coming in single file: one column. I was surprised that nothing else happened, because with a good rifle with a sight they could have been picked off. Their brutality preceded them.

Photo: Franklin Lamb

The Horch Tabet area of Shatila camp as seen from atop Akka Hospital on April 21, 1983. In this southeast part of the camp, one of the first areas to be entered by a killer militia unit, 82 members of one family, the Makdaads, were killed on the first day of the massacres September 16. The following day the area was bulldozed flat.

The tanks came after them. Then the jeeps.

Tired out by such a long early-morning march, they stopped near the French Embassy, letting the tanks go on ahead of them, going right into Hamra. The soldiers sat down on the sidewalk at thirty foot intervals and leaned against the embassy wall, their rifles pointed straight ahead. With their long torsos they looked like boas with two legs stretched out in front of them.

"Israel had promised the American representative Habib not to set foot in West Beirut and especially to respect the civilian population of the Palestinian camps. Arafat still has the letter in which Reagan made the same promise. Habib supposedly promised Arafat that nine thousand prisoners in Israel would be freed. On Thursday the massacres in Shatila and Sabra begin. The 'bloodbath' that Israel claimed it would prevent by restoring order to the camps . . ." a Lebanese writer told me.

"It will be very easy for Israel to clear itself of all the accusations. Journalists of all the European press are already at work clearing them: no one will say that on the nights from Thursday to Friday and from Friday to Saturday Hebrew was spoken in Shatila." That is what another Lebanese told me.

Three young men led me down an alley.

"Go in, sir, we'll wait for you outside."

The first room was what remained of a two-story house. The room gave an impression of serenity and even friendliness, of near happiness; perhaps real happiness had been created out of others' throwaways, with what survives from a destroyed piece of wall, with what I first thought were three armchairs, actually three car seats (perhaps a Mercedes from a junkyard), a couch with cushions covered with gaudy flowered material with stylized designs, a small silent radio, two unlit candelabras. A fairly quiet room, in spite of the carpet of spent shells. The door swung, as if there were a draft. I walked on the spent shells and pushed the door, which opened towards the other room, but I had to push hard: the heel of a boot blocked the way, the heel of a corpse lying on its back, near two other corpses of men lying face down, all of them resting on another carpet of spent shells. I nearly fell several times because of them.

Over the last three months, hands have had a double function: during the day of grasp and touch, at night, to see. Electricity cuts made this "school for the blind" necessary, as it did the climbing, two or three times a day, of that white marble cliff, the eight-floor stairway. We had to fill all the containers in the house with water. The telephone was cut off when the Israeli soldiers entered West Beirut along with their Hebrew inscriptions. So were the roads around Beirut. The Merkava tanks which never stopped showed they were keeping an eye on the whole city, and at the same time one imagined those inside scared they would become a fixed target. They

no doubt feared the activity of the Murabitoun* and the fedayeen who might remain in sections of West Beirut.

The day after the entrance of the Israeli army we were prisoners, but it seemed to me that the invaders were less feared than despised, they caused less fear than disgust. No soldier was laughing or smiling. No one was throwing rice or flowers.

Since the roads had been cut off and the telephone was silent, deprived of contact with the rest of the world, for the first time in my life, I felt myself become Palestinian and hate Israel.

At the Sports Stadium, near the Beirut-Damascus highway, which was already nearly completely destroyed by aerial bombardment, the Lebanese deliver piles of weapons, all supposedly voluntarily damaged, to Israeli officers.

In the apartment where I am staying, everyone has a radio. We listen to Radio-Kataeb, Radio-Murabitoun, Radio-Amman, Radio-Jerusalem (in French), Radio-Lebanon. They are probably doing the same thing in every apartment.

"We are linked to Israel by many currents which bring us bombs, tanks, soldiers, fruit, vegetables; they carry off our soldiers, our children to Palestine, in a continual and unceasing coming and going, because according to them, we have been linked to them since Abraham, in his lineage, in his language, in the same origins. . ." (A Palestinian fedai).

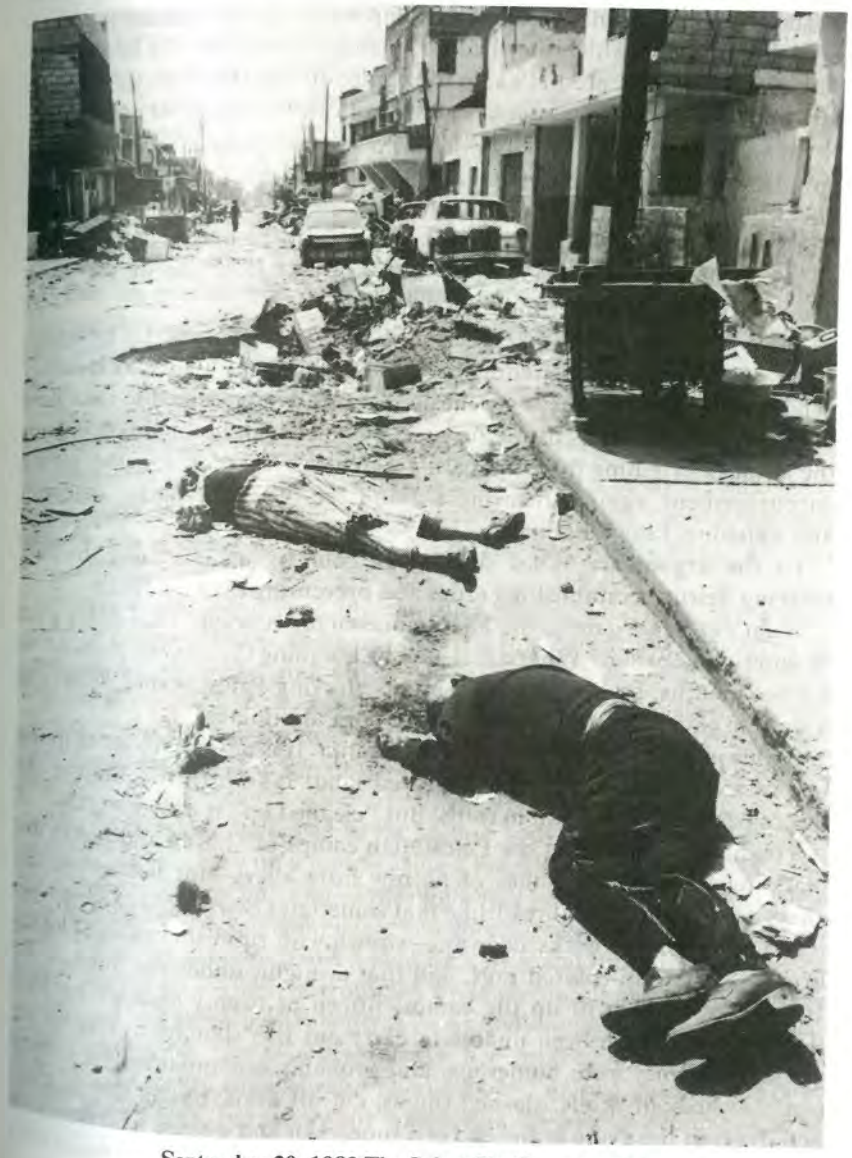
"In short," he adds, "they invade us, they stuff us, suffocate us and would like to hug us. They say they are our cousins. They're very sad to see us turn away from them. They must be furious with us and with themselves."

Almost all the buildings in Beirut have been hit, in what they still call West Beirut. They crumble in different ways: like puff pastry squeezed between the fingers of some indifferent and voracious giant King Kong; other times the top three or four floors lean deliciously in an elegant pleat, giving a sort of Lebanese draping to the building. If one facade is intact, go around the house; the other walls will be shell-pocked. If the four walls are standing with no cracks, the bomb dropped by the airplane fell in the center and made a hole out of what was the staircase and the elevator shaft.

H: "We blame Israel for the massacres in Shatila and Sabra. Don't only blame the Kataeb who replaced them. Israel is guilty of allowing two companies of Kataeb to enter the camps, of giving them orders and of encouraging them for three days and nights, of bringing them food and drink, of lighting the camps at night."

*A Nasserite group in the pro-Palestinian Lebanese National Movement —Ed.

H. again, professor of history: "In 1917 Abraham's trick was brought up to date, or if you prefer, God was already the prefiguration of Lord Balfour. The Jews used to say and still say that God had promised Abraham and his descendents a land of milk and honey. But this land, which didn't belong to the God of the Jews (this land was full of gods), this land was inhabited by the Canaanites, who had their own gods, and who



September 20, 1982 The Sabra-Shatila massacre.

fought against Joshua's troops and ended up stealing the famous Ark of the Covenant, without which the Jews would never have won. And England, in 1917, didn't yet rule over Palestine (that land of milk and honey) since the treaty giving it a mandate had not yet been signed."

"Begin claims that he came to the country . . . ."

"That's the name of a movie: *The Long Absence.* Does that Pole strike you as the heir to Solomon?"

The solitude of the dead in Shatila camp was palpable because they had gestures and poses which they had not planned. Dead any old how. Dead and abandoned. Yet around us, in the camp, all the affection, the tenderness and love floated in search of Palestinians who would never answer.

"What can we say to their families who left with Arafat, trusting in the promises of Reagan, Mitterrand and Perini, who had assured them that the civilian population of the camps would be safe? How can we explain that we allowed children, old people and women to be massacred, and that we are abandoning their bodies without prayers? How can we tell them that we don't know where they are buried?"

The massacres did not take place in silence and darkness. Lit by Israeli flares, the Israelis were listening to Shatila as early as Thursday evening. What partying, what feasting went on there as death seemed to take part in the pranks of soldiers drunk on wine, on hatred, and probably drunk on the joy of entertaining the Israeli army which was listening, looking, giving encouragement, egging them on. I didn't see this Israeli army listening and watching. I saw what it did.

To the argument: What did Israel gain by assassinating Bashir: entering Beirut, reestablishing order and preventing the bloodbath.

What did Israel gain in the Shatila massacre? Answer: what did it gain by entering Lebanon? What did it gain by bombing the civilian population for two months; by hunting down and destroying Palestinians? What did it want to gain in Shatila: the destruction of Palestinians.

It kills men, it kills corpses. It razes Shatila. It is not uninterested in the real estate speculation on the improved land: it's worth five million old francs per square yard still in ruins. But "cleaned up" it will be worth . . .?

You have to know that the Palestinian camps of Shatila and Sabra are made up of miles and miles of narrow little alleys—for here, even the alleys are so skinny, so thread-like that sometimes two people cannot walk together unless one walks sideways—strewn with rubbish, cement blocks, bricks, dirty multi-colored rags, and that at night, under the light of the Israeli flares which lit up the camps, fifteen or twenty even well-armed fighters would have been unable to carry out this slaughter. The killers worked and they were numerous, and probably accompanied by torture squads who split skulls, slashed thighs, cut off arms, hands and fingers, and dragged the dying at the end of a rope, men and women who were still alive since blood had flowed from the bodies for a long time, so much that

I was unable to determine who, in the hall of a house, had left this trickle of dried blood, from the end of the hall where there was a pool as far as the doorstep where it disappeared into the dust. Was it a Palestinian man? A woman? A Phalangist whose body had been removed?

Akka Hospital, occupied by the Israelis, and across from an entrance to Shatila, is not two hundred yards from the camp, but forty. They saw nothing, heard nothing, understood nothing?

Because that's just what Begin declared to the Knesset: "*Goyim* kill *goyim*, and they come to hang the Jews."

I must conclude my description of Shatila, which was briefly interrupted. Here are the bodies I saw last, on Sunday, about two o'clock in the afternoon, when the International Red Cross came in with its bulldozers. The stench of death was coming neither from a house nor a victim: my body, my being, seemed to emit it. In a narrow street, in the shadow of a wall, I thought I saw a black boxer sitting on the ground, laughing, surprised to have been knocked out. No one had had the heart to close his eyelids, his eyes as white as porcelain and bulging out, were looking at me. He seemed crestfallen, with his arm raised, leaning against this angle of the wall. He was a Palestinian who had been dead two or three days. If I mistook him at first for a black boxer it is because his head was enormous, swollen and black, like all the heads and all the bodies, whether in the sun or in the shadow of the houses. I walked near his feet. I picked up an upper dental plate in the dust and set it on what remained of the window ledge. The palm of his hand open towards the sky, his open mouth, the opening in his pants where the belt was missing: all hives where flies were feeding.

I stepped over one corpse, then another. There in the dust, in the space between the two bodies, there was at last a very living object, intact in the carnage, a translucent pink object which could still be used: an artificial leg, apparently in plastic, and wearing a black shoe and a gray sock. As I looked closer, it became clear that it had been brutally wrenched off the amputated leg, because the straps that usually held it to the thigh were all broken.

The artificial leg belonged to the second body, the one on which I had noticed only one leg with a foot wearing a black shoe and a gray sock.

In the street perpendicular to the one where I left the three bodies, there was another. It was not completely blocking the way, but it was lying at the entrance of the street so that I had to walk by it and turn around to see the sight: seated on a chair, surrounded by fairly young and silent men and women, a woman—in Arab dress—was sobbing; she could have been sixteen or sixty. She was crying over her brother whose body almost blocked the way. I came closer to her. I looked more carefully. She had a scarf tied around her neck. She was crying, mourning the death of her brother next to her. Her face was pink, a baby pink, the same color all

over, very soft, tender, but without eyelashes or eyebrows, and what I thought was pink was not the top layer of skin but an under layer edged in gray skin. Her whole face was burned. I don't know by what, but I understood by whom.

With the first bodies, I tried to count them. When I got to twelve or fifteen, surrounded by the smell, the sun, stumbling over each ruin, it was impossible; everything became confused.

I have seen lots of crumbling buildings and gutted houses spilling out eiderdown and have not been moved, but when I looked at those in West Beirut and Shatila I saw fear. The dead generally become very familiar, even friendly to me, but when I saw those in the camps I perceived only the hatred and joy of those who had killed them. A barbaric party had taken place there: rage, drunkenness, dances, songs, curses, laments, moans, in honor of the *voyeurs* who were laughing on the top floor of Akka Hospital.

In France, before the Algerian war, the Arabs weren't beautiful, their gait was awkward, shuffling, they had ugly mugs, and almost suddenly

victory made them beautiful; but a little before victory was assured, while more than half a million French soldiers were straining and dying in the Aures and throughout Algeria, a curious thing happened to the faces and bodies of the Arab workers: something like the intimation, the hint of a still fragile beauty which was going to blind us when the scales finally fell from their skin and our eyes. We had to admit it: they had achieved political freedom in order to be seen as they were: very beautiful. In the same way, once they had escaped from the refugee camps, from the morality and the order of the camps, from a morality imposed by the need to survive, once they had at the same time escaped from shame, the fedayeen were very beautiful; and since this beauty was new, shall we say pristine, naive, it was fresh, so alive that it discovered at once what connected it to all the beauties of the world, freeing themselves from shame.

SAFA ZAITOUN, Lebanese Journalist

"All they have in common is circumstance and a bomb crater for a grave."

More than four thousand men, women and children perished in Sabra and Shatila's long weekend of horror: four thousand disparate lives converged, at a despot's callous whim, to share a devastating, collective death.

A child, born in a blitz a month before, dies at his mother's breast, the one refuge of his brief, battered existence. A withered elder, who has buried sons and grandsons on a trail of battlefields between exile and Jerusalem, ends 90 years of personal and national tragedy on a rubbish heap in a Sabra alleyway. A thousand huddled fugitives are herded out of their hospital shelter for mass execution; all they have in common is circumstances, and a bomb crater for a grave.

Massacre brought these luckless destinies together, as circumstance had brought them to the wretched privation of the camps. Sabra and Shatila, the twin settlements built to house refugees from Galilee in 1948, had grown together over the years into a single, integrated shanty town. Into this shanty town poured a sporadic flow of refugees, first from Palestine, later from Southern Lebanon, where Israel's regular incursions left scores of thousands homeless.

From 1978 onwards, following the Israeli invasion, the camps became home to a burgeoning community of Lebanese villagers from the South. With them came refugees of another sort, economic refugees from neighbouring Arab countries and from Lebanon itself who had sought, and failed to find, opportunity in Beirut.

Poverty and loss were the passports of this shifting community, joining the inhabitants of Sabra and Shatila in a common bond of misfortune. Throughout the incessant bombardments of summer, solidarity was their only defence. They endured the onslaught through a collective faith in justice and the ultimate deliverance of Lebanon and Palestine. Their most earnest desire was peace, so that they could rebuild their ruined homes. On September 14, as they braced for another ruinous blitz, they did not know that their destinies had been casually annulled in an office in Tel Aviv.

Ariel Sharon, by his own glib admission, ordered the invasion of West Beirut and the purging of Sabra and Shatila to *"liquidate 2,000 Palestinian terrorists."* The elusive "terrorists" were never found, so his liquidation force delivered him four thousand butchered civilians instead—and won praise for their *"excellent"* performance.

Murder is a crime punishable in any body of law. Mass murder is an abomination for which justice has failed to find adequate penalty.

The massacre of Sabra and Shatila was not the first abomination to be visited on the Palestinians by Zionism. But it is our binding duty to ensure that it is the last.

And so, we dedicate this record to the human conscience, to all people everywhere who respect the lives of others as they respect their own, to all whose faith in humanity was shaken by the atrocities committed against those four thousand helpless innocents. We cannot afford to let Sabra and Shatila pass into history as simply another incident, another tragic statistic. We have to keep the memory alive, if we are to be sure it will never be repeated. Never again!

The reek of death seeps up into the stagnant air and settles again over the corpse-littered floor of the camps. Bodies lie sprawled where they fell, in the laneways, on the doorsteps of their shattered homes, stretched in their beds. Others are visible only as limbs protruding from the rubble or from beneath the trucks that mowed them down as they fled the slaughter.

At the southern entrance to Shatila, a row of shanty dwellings has been levelled by the shelling, burying the occupants alive. Fifty yards beyond lies a heap of bodies, eyes staring wide with terror, arms still linked in a final protective act. They have all been shot in the head. One has been castrated, others maimed with knives.

A group of five women are sprawled across a sandheap. One lies spread-eagled on her back, her torn blouse exposing mutilated breats; beside her the severed head of a child, her pretty features distored in anger; another

Children discovering their playmates.

child, of three years at most, has had her head crushed by a bullet. Her white dress is clotted with blood.

In front of a shell-spattered doorway, a young mother has been caught from behind while fleeing with her new-born child. They lie facedown in the mud, pierced by a single bullet.

The horror goes on. A crumpled heap of bodies at the base of a wall. These are all young boys, schoolboys, the eldest not more than sixteen years old. They have been bound and executed by a firing squad.

A tiny girl of four is spotted by the killers scratching in the rubble of her home, searching for her mother. She never knew what hit her. A dozen bullets have shattered her frail spine.

Adnan Nouri, the old man whose final desperate movements were recorded by a Danish film crew at the southern gates of Shatila, is found in a laneway next to a pile of litter, woollen cap askew over his snow white head, his cane beside him on the ground. Adnan has survived 90 years of tragedy and upheaval for this lonesome death. A couple of yards away lies his 70-year-old neighbour, Mahmoud Diab, felled by a bullet in the head. In a pit close to Acre Hospital is the corpse of another old man, butchered beyond all recognition.

The survivors have come back to look for their dead and their screams rent the fetid air. A woman moans endlessly over a corpse, waving a blood-

soaked identity card. *"My brother, this is my brother . . . he is Lebanese, not Palestinian. . ."* In this grotesque orgy, no time was spared for formalities.

Nor has obscenity been spared the innocents by their demented killers. Down an alleyway the bodies of two young girls of 11 and 12 years of age lie side by side, their legs splayed in a posture of rape. Both have been shot in the head.

Much of what was once Sabra and Shatila is now a bulldozed ruin. Many of the victims will never be found, robbed even of the dignity of a marked grave. Relatives, maddened by grief, tear at the rubble, hoping at best to find a corpse for a burial or some relic of their loved ones. Over here, an outstretched arm projecting from the dirt still grips an identity card: the hidden bearer, it establishes, is a Lebanese woman. Beyond, a black cloud of flies picks out a half-buried corpse.

Not all of the homes have been demolished, however, and some preserve a ghastly record of how the occupants met their fate. In a kitchen, a middle-aged women is slumped over a cooking stove. A whole family has been slaughtered at the supper table, heads resting on their plates. In a darkened backroom, a group of bodies huddles in a corner, father and mother clutching their two small sons and new-born baby. Another new-born baby is found alive, playing in the arms of his dead mother. His father's body dangles from a window frame. A pregnant woman has been disembowelled and the foetus flung across the room.

Every brutality, every depravity is in evidence. Victims have been stabbed, dismembered, bound and raped. Heads have been crushed. For many, death will have come as a relief from the protracted torture.

Scattered between the human debris are empty wallets, cleaned out by the murderers before they left. Some homes were used as canteens where the butchery was interrupted briefly for a prepacked snack. The empty tins and chocolate wrappers have Hebrew markings, as do many of the spent bullets and grenades.

Fresh bulldozer tracks mark out the routes of mass graves containing as many as 200 bodies apiece. No one knows how many victims have been ploughed into their own homes by the same bulldozers, nor the extact fate of camp residents, both live and dead, who were last seen being trucked off behind Israeli lines.

More than 4,000 innocent civilians perished in the massacre of Sabra and Shatila. Of all the corpses found, not one was dressed in military uniform. Of the countless others whose fate will never be known, only their memory remains.

Om Kayed, a Palestinian

"I'll never forget what those cut-throats did to the women and children. I nearly went off my head over Om Mubarak. She was nine months pregnant. They ripped her open with a long knife, tore out the child and scattered her insides. Then they finished her off with bullets. . . They killed Mahmoud and his daughter Afaf. . . They killed Majed Khreiby and Ahmed Heshmy and Abdel Salam Barakah. . . They murdered Aly Al-Toukhy, Said Al-Abedy and Moussa Al-Abedy and Ibrahim Al-Abedy and their poor father. . . They killed a man called Mady and his brothers Walid and Mahmoud.

"My neighbour, who live across from my house. . . she stayed with her family because she didn't know what was going on, because we've all lived for a long time now with the noise of bullets and rockets. We found her carved-up body there. Her hands were tied and they'd taken off her pants. I think they raped her. We never found any trace of her family.

"Come here, I'll show you how they butchered Abu Aly Mekdad. . . they killed him and chopped off his hands. . . they cut off his head.

"Smile Abu Aly. . . there are men left behind to avenge you. . . they took advantage of us when our fighting men were gone and we were left alone."

Om Kayed began to wail over the mutilated corpse of Abu Aly, stretched out in a stiffening pool of blood. Two metres away his head stood erect on the ground, the features disfigured with stab wounds.

". . .", a Lebanese, who refused to give his name

"I was leaving the Shatila camp with my wife after visiting relatives there when armed men came along in Israeli army vehciles. They were dressed in civilian clothes. They began to fire at anything that moved. People were running in every direction for shelter. They were spraying us with bullets from behind but we just kept on running. We managed to get to the eastern outskirts of the camp, only to find a group of Israelis putting a barrier across the road. We couldn't believe it. They came towards me so I showed them my Lebanese identity card. They started hitting me, battering me with their clubs. My wife was trying to scream but she couldn't get the sound out. She was bleeding heavily from the chest. Then one of them screamed and pointed at a group of people who were trying to escape from the camp. They all rushed after the group, firing as they went.

"This was our only chance. I pulled myself together and helped my wife up off the ground, but she kept falling over. I dragged her along but every couple of steps she'd collapse again. Finally we got to another road and then my wife just fell down, dead. I sat down beside her and wept until a man came and dragged me into his house nearby."

Identification of many of the victims is difficult—Shatila Camp, 20 Sept. 1982.

Hussein Al-Mekdad, a Lebanese

"I was standing there in the middle of the road, not knowing which way to go. A screaming woman brought me to my senses. She was pulling me by the shirt and yelling 'Get away from here. . . they're murdering everyone. . why are you standing there like a fool?' I turned around to ask her what was going on but she'd vanished in the crowd.

"I started to run. Then this voice behind me yelled out, 'Stop or we'll kill you.' I tried to look round. . . they were shooting so I just kept on running. I could feel a heavy load on my left leg and what seemed like a hot liquid pouring down. I caught up with a crowd of old men and women and children running away from the camp. They looked at me and some of the were whispering about something. An old man came up and said, 'You're wounded. . . You're bleeding. . . you have to get to hospital.'

"Three days later one of my relatives told me, 'They've shelled your house. We found your wife's body, bound and stabbed, and they mutilated the bodies of your children. We've managed to bury them all. When you're better you can go and visit them.' "

Youssriya Attiya Al-Amoushy, an Egyptian

"They went into two shelters close by Acre Hospital. They murdered everyone inside. Then they blew up the two shelters with dynamite.

"I heard the explosions at 6 o'clock, just as it was getting dark, and decided to run for it. I still don't know how I managed to escape. I came back on Saturday and found the ambulance men picking up the bodies. They were very hard to identify."

". . .", a Lebanese

"I was in the shelter where we used to go during the bombardments with my husband and five children and about seventy others. The neighbour's daughter, she was called Ayda Abu Rudaina and she was 19, said she would go and get the identity cards. 'They won't stop a girl,' she said.

"She was only just gone when we heard bullets and a scream, and then silence. Her father insisted on going out to see what had happened. . .we tried to stop him but he wouldn't listen. They shot him too.

"We sat there in terror, afraid to move in case they heard us. Then they came. They told us to get out. We told them we were women and our children were with us. But they made us leave the shelter.

"They separated the men and the boys from the rest and ordered them to lie on the ground. Then they shot them all. We screamed and ran to the

men but those thugs, they were real sadists. They shot two women dead and wounded three others.

"Then they picked out three young girls, tied them up and raped them right in front of us."

Mounir. . . , a Palestinian

(Mounir is a 13-year-old Palestinian boy. He lost his father and brother in the Tel Al-Zaatar massacre in 1976, after which his family moved to the Rashidiyeh refugee camp near Tyre. When the Israelis invaded South Lebanon in 1978 they moved again, to the Shatila camp in Beirut).

"I was at home with my mother, brother and three sisters when missiles began to fall all over the place. We ran to a nearby shelter and found about nine families gathered there. At 7.30 armed men came in and told us to get out. The camp was as bright as daylight. The men were speaking Arabic in the Southern Lebanese dialect. They were dressed in uniforms with a cedar tree on the right shoulder and another round badge with inscriptions on the chest, but I couldn't make out the writing.

"They separated the men from the women and children and lined them up against the wall. I was with the women and children and when we were being led out I could see the militiamen beating the men at the wall with sticks. The men were falling down one after the other.

"They took us to a petrol station close by and said they were going off to have their supper. They left a couple of men to guard us while they were gone.

"When they came back they fired at us. Everyone was falling on the ground. Then they shouted for the injured to get up so they could take them to hospital. I was injured but I didn't get up. I found my mother had fallen down beside me so I whispered in her ear, 'Don't get up, they're liars.'

"I was right. They finished off the ones who tried to stand up and then they flashed their torches on us to see that everyone was dead. I kept my head down and held my breath until they were gone. I spent the night like that, beside my family, some of them dead and some of them dying and I didn't notice until after, that my mother had died too.

"On Friday morning they came back to cover us. One of them noticed me shivering so he fired at me twice. The first bullet didn't hit me but the second, which was aimed at my head, wounded my right cheek and the index finger of my hand which was lying across my face.

"Then they stretched a cover over us and I couldn't see but I could hear them calling the camp residents, telling them to get over to the Sports Stadium.

"They left, and it got very quiet so I crept out and headed for the nearest alleyway and took cover in the first house I came across. I wanted to get rid of my clothes because they were covered in blood.

"Two militiamen caught me. They yelled at me, 'You're still alive. . . go on, give us whatever loot you've found and then we'll finish you off.' I told them I hadn't stolen anything and that all I wanted to do was change my blood-stained clothes. I begged them to leave me alone. One of them asked me if I was Lebanese or Palestinian. I said I was Lebanese. 'Get along then,' he said. 'If you were Palestinian we would have killed you.'

"I headed for the Sabra camp. I was limping. Just outside the mosque I found a young man from the camp and he took me to Gaza Hospital."

Mounir collapsed into a coma in the hospital and didn't come round until the next day. He woke up to find himself in another hospital in West Beirut where he had been transferred by the Red Cross.

His uncle found him there on Saturday and stayed with him. *'He doesn't sleep,'* his uncle said, *'and he keeps on asking, "Are you sure they won't find us here?" '*

Aly Khalil Affana, a child of eight

"It was half past eleven. We heard a big explosion and a woman moaning. Suddenly they rushed into our house and ran from one room to the next searching the place like foxes. My mother screamed for help so they shot her. They shot her full of bullets. My father reached for something to defend himself with but they shot him before he could do anything. . . I couldn't even scream. They stabbed him again and again with their knives. I don't know what happened after that. I woke up in hospital, as you can see, with my head and my legs bandaged.

"One of my schoolmates who came to visit his mother in hospital told me our house was a pile of ruins. My aunt came to see me yesterday and I asked her about my three brothers. She didn't answer. They're all dead, I know it for sure."

Aly tried to cover his face with his small hands, to hide the tears streaming down his cheeks. He felt he was too big a boy to cry.

". . .", a Palestinian

An old man in the robes of a Sheikh shuffles aimlessly through the desolation of the camp, leaning heavily on a cane and the shoulder of his dark-skinned grand-daughter. He is over sixty years old. Tragedy has etched new lines on the old man's face.

"I searched the ruins of our home and the rubble of the camp for any trace of my family but found nothing. The house is gone, demolished. One of the ambulance men told me to go to the mosque or to the Sports Stadium and check the bodies collected there.

"I spotted one of my daughters in the mosque. Her hands and feet were bound and she had been stabbed to death. Next to her was the corpse of a

women with a new-born baby at her breast. Even the child had been stabbed to death.

"A couple of feet away I saw my poor wife, her arm still gripping her daughter whom it seems she was trying to defend. . . and over beyond was my youngest daughter. . . all of them mutilated and soaked in blood. Scattered around them were pages torn from the Holy Koran, still wet with blood.

"These poor creatures. . . they thought they would be safe in the mosque and they went there for shelter."

Jamila. . ., a Lebanese from Shatila Camp

"On Thursday evening I heard people running in the street and screaming. I slipped out with Amal, my daughter, and we spent the night in Acre Hospital. The following morning I went back to the camp to make sure my father and mother were alright. I found my home in ruins, my paralyzed father had been killed in his bed with his wheelchair still parked there beside him. My mother's body was outside in the street.

"I tried to get back to the hospital but one of the militiamen stopped me. I showed him my Lebanese identity card but he took me off to a house across the way. There were four others inside and they all raped me.

"I wish they had killed me like they killed my father, my mother and my brothers. Those barbarians have murdered 24 members of my family."

Fatima Aly Shams Eddine, a Lebanese

"We were at home when the shooting started. I went out to look for my sister. I found her body in the street. . . she'd been shot through the back. I ran home straight away to warn the neighbours. I was screaming at them to get out but they wouldn't listen. They said, 'We're Lebanese. Nothing will happen to us.' I spent the night at the hospital. When I came back the next morning they were all dead."

Amina Ahmed Hussein, a Palestinian

"I know that my husband and my fifteen-year-old son are dead but I haven't found their bodies yet. I heard shooting on Thursday. During the night the militiamen lit up the lanes of the camp with torches. By Friday we were sure that they would kill us so we escaped to Acre Hospital. The militiamen attacked the hospital and took all the Palestinian males away with them, including my husband and son. They asked us all, one by one, what our nationality was and the Palestinians were made to stand up against the wall, where they beat them with the butts of their rifles. The women were taken off to the Sports Stadium and ordered not to go back to the camp.

Identification of many of the victims is difficult—Shatila Camp, 20 Sept. 1982.

"I tried to get back to the camp on Saturday. When we got to the Israeli check-point one of the Israeli soldiers said to us, why didn't you leave with the PLO? This is not your country."

". . .", a Lebanese nurse working at Acre Hospital

"They attacked the hospital on Friday. Abu Said, the guardsman, tried to stop them but they shot him. He was lying there bleeding and nobody could get close enough to help him. They shouted through loudspeakers for everyone to get out of the hospital.

"Some of the doctors decided to go out and talk over the matter with the militiamen. They walked out towards the gates carrying a white flag, wearing their white hospital coats. And what do you think they got for their white coats and their white flag?. . . a bomb. The militiamen threw a grenade at them. They were lying on the ground, bleeding heavily. One of the nurses threw a stone at the murderers, and screamed abuse at them. She ran out to the doctors to see if she could help but one of the brutes caught her and beat her unconscious. They tore off her uniform, dragged her across the road to the opposite pavement and raped her, every one of those five savages, one after the other.

"Some of the militiamen then broke into the hospital and rounded up the men. The foreign doctors tried to help us but the militiamen cursed them in English, French and Hebrew. One of them hit a Norwegian doctor and spat at him.

"The men were driven away, no one knows where. We were piled into a truck and it took off in the direction of Sin Al-Feel. The truck stopped in front of a large building flying the Phalangist flag. An officer came over, looked at us and said, 'What's this, have you brought me the women? I wanted the men.' 'We killed them, sir,' the militiamen answered. The officer leered, a big ugly leer, and congratulated them. 'Now you're heroes,' he said."

Mustafa Jabra, a Palestinian from Shatila camp

"There were about thirty of us. We were detained on Friday evening and ordered to line up against the wall of one of the houses. They fired at us with automatic rifles. We couldn't see them in the dark.

"After they'd gone I heard someone near me moaning. He was wounded and one of the bodies had fallen on top of him. I helped him to his feet and we crawled to a deserted house where we tore up some cloth and bandaged our wounds. In the morning some people from the camp came and took us to hospital. I have a bullet in my chest that the surgeons couldn't remove and my arms and legs are still full of splinters from dumdum bullets.

Identification of many of the victims is difficult—Shatila Camp, 20 Sept. 1982.

"I never found out what became of my wife and three children. My mother Mariam simply told me that they are all dead, that the butchers had slaughtered them."

Wajanet Zein Abdul-Latif, an Egyptian

"There were a lot of Egyptians living here in Shatila. Whole families have vanished without trace since the massacre but I have found scores of bodies.

"I took shelter in Gaza Hospital on Friday when I heard about the slaughter. On Saturday morning they surrounded the place and broke in. There were more than a thousand people sheltering in that hospital. They separated the Palestinians, men, women and children from the foreigners and took them away to the Sports Stadium. There they were made to climb down into a huge bomb crater that was there since the terrible bombardment. They made them lie in the pit and emptied their machine guns into them. Then the Israeli bulldozers were brought in to cover the pit, burying the dead and the dying and the living together. Anyone who tried to escape was shot. It was hellish.

"I saw it all with my own eyes because I followed them. . . I hid behind an old wall and watched them through a gap made by a shell.

"One of the militiamen nearly caught me when I screamed at the sight of the bulldozers. I was hysterical. They were rolling over the bodies of children, women and men.

"I stayed there for I don't know how long, hiding between sacks of straw. I was in a state of shock. . . half out of my mind. I only came round when I heard women screaming and moaning. They were searching for their dead relatives. I told the journalists and the civil defence men what I'd seen but they wouldn't believe me at first. Afterwards, when they found out it was true they told me to go away from the area and hide."

Hours of Horror in The Hospitals

Around sunset on Thursday, September 16, amid heavy renewed shelling, armed gangs appeared in the camps and spread through the streets, shooting at everything that moved. People, cats, dogs, horses were mowed down in the hail of bullets or picked off by the gunmen as they ran for cover. As word of the carnage sped round the camp many of the residents, sensing annihilation, fled to 'safe' places—mosques, shelters and the two camp hospitals, Acre and Gaza. Others, mostly families with small children, stayed indoors throughout the attack, unable to flee or unaware of exactly what was going on. Many believed that the Lebanese army had entered the camps to collect arms and check identities, so they brought out their official papers and wainted for a rap on the door.

There was no rap on the door when the executioners burst in, spraying the walls with bullets and cutting down the occupants where they sat or stood in helpless horror. In the shelters, there was no deliverance for the fugitives who huddled together in terrified silence. When the gunmen came, they were herded out into the street, lined up against the wall, and shot. The shelters were blown up with dynamite.

All night Thursday, refugees continued to trickle into the hospitals, bringing new tales of the horrors they had witnessed.

Acre Hospital

Acre Hospital lies on the southern edge of Shatila refugee camp about 200 yards from the building where the Israelis had set up their main command post.

According to the hospital's medical staff, the first victims of the slaughter began to arrive at around six o'clock on Thursday evening and the stream of casualties grew steadily as the night wore on. A small boy with a gunshot wound told one of the doctors he had seen the main street of Shatila camp littered with dead bodies. Meanwhile the hospital corridors were filling up with hundreds of fugitives from the attack, many of them in a state of shock or near-hysteria over what they had seen. With every new

arrival came fresh accounts of the massacre, fuelling waves of panic among the refugees.

By morning, terror had reached a pitch in the hospital, with the nearby Israeli positions clearing into view in the first light of dawn. Some of the assembled refugees chose to flee their sanctuary for safe refuge in the northern precincts of the camp.

The long night of death and terror had turned Shatila into a ghost camp. An ominous silence this morning replaced the sounds of human bustle and chatter which would drift in the hospital windows as the camp stirred to life. From the upper floors of the hospital it was possible to look down an eerie, desolate street leading deep into the camp. Nothing moved, no living sound was heard all that Friday morning.

There were several escape routes open to fugitives from the Shatila bloodbath. But as camp-dwellers arrived in straggling groups at the exit points, they found every one in turn sealed off by Israeli army guards or militiamen who drove them back into the camp at gunpoint. A Danish Television crew which happened to be filming near the southern entrance to Shatila on Friday around one o'clock recorded an incident in which a group of militiamen refused exit to a lorryload of screaming women and children. Israeli tanks guarded the roadblock.

On the same reel, an old man in a white cap is seen running back into the camp as the militiamen level their guns at him. Later reporters identified the old man as Adnan Nouri. They found his corpse in an alleyway on Saturday morning when they were finally allowed into the camps.

Another incident filmed by the TV crew on Friday afternoon shows a Lebanese army jeep full of regular troops approaching the camp entrance. One of the militiamen fires straight at the jeep and orders the occupants to alight. They are then force-marched into the camp with their hands in the air, the empty jeep abandoned at the gate.

Acre Hospital was attacked three times on Friday. One of the resident foreign doctors observed that all three groups of attackers wore different uniforms and that it was clear there was no coordination between them.

The first siege began at 11.20 on Friday morning. Armed men surrounded the compound and, using loudspeakers, ordered all the occupants to leave. Four of the doctors decided to go out and negotiate with the attackers, so they hoisted a white flag and emerged from the front of the hospital. A grenade landed at their feet, killing three and wounding the fourth. The thugs then stormed the hospital, ordering the foreign staff to leave and assemble at the camp entrance for interrogation. There their credentials were checked by Israeli soldiers.

A group of Norwegian diplomats waiting at the entrance block intervened to free the Norwegian hospital staff. The rest were allowed back to the hospital.

When the foreigners returned, they found that all the civilians who had sheltered overnight at the hospital had vanished. Two Palestinian doctors, two Lebanese nurses and a number of the wounded were also gone. One of the nurses later reappeared to describe how her friend had been raped ten times and then shot. Meanwhile, the body of a Filipino nurse was found lying on open ground close to the hospital.

The hospital was attacked again at two o'clock the same afternoon. The attackers shot two Palestinian doctors and one wounded civilian, dragged patients out of their beds and kicked them along the corridors.

At 3.45, yet a third band of militiamen arrived, demanding to see the nurses. When told by the foreign doctors that the nurses had all fled, the men asked to search the hospital. In one of the doctors' rooms they came upon a picture of Yasser Arafat and turned on the doctor, raving and threatening to kill him. They shouted that he was a terrorist, and that he had better have all the nurses ready for them by seven o'clock.

Lucky for the doctor and the rest of the hospital inmates, a Red Cross team managed to get through to the enclosure at five o'clock. They found the bodies of the three doctors with their white crumpled flag in front of the entrance and four more bodies inside. All the remaining staff and patients were safely evacuated and brought to hospitals in West Beirut.

Journalists who got to Acre Hospital on Friday evening found the building in flames.

Gaza Hospital

Gaza Hospital is situated at the northernmost end of Shatila, facing onto the long, straight thoroughfare that separates the camp from neighbouring Sabra. It was Saturday morning when the killers burst in, evidently pressed for time as the Israeli-set deadline for completing their mission approached.

Along with the sick and wounded, the hospital was providing temporary sanctuary for survivors of the massacre in both camps. Hospital staff estimated the number of refugees packed inside the building at well over a thousand, with hundreds more overflowing into surrounding shelters.

The siege began at six o'clock in the morning when an armed force encircled the hospital and its immediate neighbourhood. Through loudspeakers, the ambushers declared themselves to be Israeli troops and ordered all shelters evacuated. There was no reason to be afraid, they said. No harm would come to anyone.

A foreign staff nurse at the hospital said the men were wearing Israeli helmets and carried Israeli guns. The gunmen broke into the hospital building and rounded up about one thousand civilians, 82 wounded patients and 55 doctors and nurses, ordering them to get out of the compound. When the medical staff objected, saying they could not leave their patients unattended, two were allowed to stay, while the main body of prisoners was marched off down the main street of Shatila camp at gunpoint.

Here they were divided into three separate groups. The foreign medical staff were taken aside, where they were made to strip off their hospital coats and then herded on down the street to a chorus of obscenities from their captors. At one point the march was interrupted while the gunmen paused to check the identities of two of the doctors. On the discovery that one was Palestinian and the other Syrian, the pair were led away and shot.

Identification of many of the victims is difficult—Shatila Camp, 20 Sept. 1982.

The rest of the group was taken to a United Nations office building outside the camp for interrogation. There their nationality and residence papers were examined by the interrogators who jeered, *"You call yourselves Christian? You are nothing but filthy swine to work with Palestinians."*

From there they were led to Israeli command headquarters at the main camp entrance, where they were detained again by the Israelis before being allowed back to the hospital.

Meanwhile the second group, consisting entirely of Lebanese civilians, had been taken away for cross-examination. They were harshly abused by their inquisitors, who slashed their faces with knives for 'unacceptable' answers. Some were released, the rest transported to detention camps in South Lebanon.

The third and largest group were the Palestinians. They were seen being led by their killers through the southern outskirts of the camp and across Israeli lines, never to be heard of again. Their fate is completely unknown but it is widely held that they were all killed and their remains buried in a mass grave outside the camp.

When the Red Cross got to Gaza Hospital to evacuate the patients and staff, they found 25 patients and 15 foreign doctors out of an original total of 1,137 civilians, patients and staff.

DR. PAUL MORRIS, M.D., England
Excerpt of Testimony presented to the Kahan Commission

". . . There was one senior Israeli officer who came out wearing crossed swords. So I gathered he might be a brigadier. And we explained to him what was going on and we had a hospital and he said Haddad men were in the area."

© *Monday Morning*, Beirut Lebanon

Dr. Morris: During the course of the afternoon we began to get some casualties coming in.

Justice Barak: What kind of casualties?

Dr. Morris: At that time people who had been hit mostly by rifle fire.

Justice Barak: Long distance?

Dr. Morris: Varying in fact. Obviously one didn't have enough time to study the X-rays to be sure it was long distance or short distance because you can sometimes tell by the way the bullet lies and some people who had been hit by shrapnel. At that time the majority were probably from rifle fire.

We didn't have very many casualties on the Wednesday. We, at that time, some of us went up to the roof, probably about mid-day, 1 o'clock on Wednesday to have a lookout and to see what was happening. We saw some sort of battle going on about 500 meters to the West of us, just north of the stadium, the city sport stadium and I think there was some sort of tanks there because we could hear the noise of the engines coming to see and we could see some young men carrying RPGs, the grenade throwing weapon, in the streets. And this seemed to go on for a while and then we obviously left the area because it was quite dangerous and went down to the hospital.

Now on Thursday morning was when the pattern changed. A lot more casualties began to appear.

Justice Kahan: Women and children?

Dr. Morris: Women and children, a lot more. Now the first people had been running and we thought they'd been sort of shot down maybe, they'd been running in the streets at a distance. That would be acceptable because I mean somebody who was running in an area where there is fighting going on didn't seem out of the ordinary. Just sort of people running from the houses, or they were running down the street and they were shot. But not again a very large number. Until the afternoon of Thursday when we began to get people who were hit by very, very fine shrapnel and by fine I mean shrapnel that was pin-point size. Now this is not shrapnel that I had seen very much before. I mean I'd seen the larger pieces of shrapnel in the previous months but not injuries with these sort of tiny wounds, which I would presume could have been either caused by some sort of very much smaller explosive device, maybe a grenade or something. We got more of those on Thursday afternoon and Thursday night. And from then onwards medically it was extremely hectic. We had a continuation of casualties going right the way through. In fact we were completely overloaded. So much so we tried to transfer some patients to other hospitals—either American hospitals or Makassid hospital. We arranged to get some out when the roads were clear, but often ambulances that went out with patients had to come back.

Justice Barak: Can you focus your mind. When did the injured who were shot from a short distance, when had they started to arrive?

Dr. Morris: When I was first absolutely sure that people were being shot at a close distance was only on Friday, when people began to say that people were coming to their houses and shooting them. And I wasn't aware on the Thursday. People just came in. I mean I was working the emergency and we might have ten people arrive in half an hour and with the amount of staff we had available one didn't have very much time to

talk to them in most cases. It was literally a case of deciding who was operated on first.

Justice Kahan: Yes, what happened on Friday?

Dr. Morris: Well, the casualties went on through the night. There was really no Thursday, no Friday for us. We just went on from Thursday afternoon right through Friday. We operated continually. And then it began to be a bit quiet, at about 10 or 11 o'clock on Friday.

Justice Kahan: Morning?

Dr. Morris: In the morning. And we had a lull in the casualties coming in at that time. In fact a few people came through, a film crew came through and the Norweigian Ambassador came through in his car. And you obviously could get into the area at that time. Then there was some more noise, some more fighting or some more firing that we heard. Between maybe half past 11, maybe 2 o'clock.

Justice Barak: More patients coming in?

Dr. Morris: More patients came in again. Including some more that were shot in their homes and one child that was shot in his home were brought in.

Then, again, another lull for maybe another hour, hour and a half and then about 5 o'clock, I'm very sure of that time because we had a meeting that started exactly at 4. It lasted about an hour. There was a lot of very close explosions, but not particularly heavy explosions, rather than shell fire, bomb fire. It was like a grenade or sort of much smaller explosions, but it was nearby. A lot of people screaming and while there was a lot of noise, the building wasn't shaking, it wasn't particularly, it was just a blast effect of these explosions in the air. We obviously carried on working and kept away from windows. In fact we removed all windows that we could take away at that time and moved patients away from windows into corridors and we kept the patients on two floors.

Now we had patients coming in from 5 to about 7. And after that time I don't think more than maybe one or two patients came in between that and the following Saturday morning. We still had to carry on because of course the patients that morning were still waiting for operations.

Justice Kahan: So let us proceed to Saturday. What happened on Saturday?

Dr. Morris: Saturday morning I awoke at 6 o'clock. I listened to the news at that time. And woke some of the others and went down stairs. We'd been sleeping on the upper floors. I went into the intensive care ward at about quarter to seven. Another nurse came up to tell me that she'd seen some soldiers outside. One with a radio and he wanted to talk to somebody who was in charge. I went down with Dr. Ang the other Chinese doctor and I spoke to this man. He said he wanted us to come outside.

Justice Kahan: Could you describe the soldiers?

Dr. Morris: Yes. He was wearing a lightish grey, whitish kind of helmet, the same shape as the Israeli army wear. He was very neatly dressed, very cleanly dressed, wearing lightish green uniform, trousers and shirt were matching. There were five of these soldiers. They were wearing also the canvas type belts and canvas type webbing which they held, held their radio and other things on with. And also black boots. But no puttees. The trousers were tappered at the bottom so they fit into their boots. There were five men and I asked one of them for an officer.

Justice Kahan: A group of five soldiers.

Dr. Morris: Five soldiers. I asked them if there was an officer there and another man came along who wore slightly darker green uniform. But, he carried no weapon. The other five men carried weapons. One of them I recognized as what they called a Kalashnikov. Which we saw a lot of in Beirut during the war. The other two looked like the Neto rifle which I am familiar with from seeing in Europe and Britain. And the other two had weapons I didn't recognize at all. I couldn't identify what they were.

Of these five soldiers two of them spoke good English. And not with Lebanese, what I would say is Beirut accents. In Beirut there's a specific accent which is not very Lebanese, but it's different from say European accents. These two spoke with an accent which was near to a European accent I actually expect to find in Holland or Germany. Which surprised me at the time. The man in charge of the five, or appeared to be in charge, spoke with slightly more of an Arabic accent.

Justice Barak: Anything written on their uniforms?

Dr. Morris: There was some Arabic inscription on certainly all five uniforms, yes. What I couldn't recognize. And they asked me about the patients. I told them that we had 25 normal patients and about five or six seriously wounded patients. Because many of the patients fled, they also asked me about casualties during the war. So what surprised me that they didn't seem to know very much about the hospital. They said you know how many patients did you have here during the war. I said, well we had no patients here during the war because it was closed during most of the fighting, because it was right near the front line and we had no civilians here at all. And they said, well, oh, where did they go. And I thought if they know anything about the area they'd know that Gaza like Makkasid was practically closed and in fact patients had been treated at the university hospital and in hotels and in other places that were taken over in Hamra, in West Beirut itself.

Dr. Morris: They said that they would allow us to leave some nurses with the seriously ill patients and about ten minutes later they asked us to gather outside. After keeping us there for about ten minutes they talked to a few of us, just asking us where we came from and what nationalities we were and then they said to come with us and they then took us down into the Sabra area, into the Sabra camp.

Justice Kahan: Did you see refugees.

Dr. Morris: Yes. On either side of the road there was probably between 700, maybe 1,000. It's just an estimation because there were people all the way down the road for several meters. Many of the people that we knew because they were people that had hidden in the hospital, people who I had treated as patients and some of them sort of waved, nodded at us as we went past.

Justice Kahan: And they were guarded by soldiers?

Dr. Morris: They were guarded by soldiers, yes.

Justice Kahan: So what happened next?

Dr. Morris: We were then taken into a courtyard behind this UNIFIL building and we were interviewed for about 45 minutes. They took our passports off us and the majority of people were asked where they came from and why they came.

At one stage in the courtyard a mini-bus truck came in with a boy, anything between maybe 14, 15, 16, came in with some small wounds on his body and one of the soldiers said this is a Palestinian boy, you can see how we treat Palestinian boys, how well we treat them. And this woman is a doctor. And I went over with one of the other nurses to have a quick look I was only able to look for a couple of seconds when they pushed me away. But the only thing I did notice, I was in fact trying to look to see whether the person was a doctor and treating the patient properly and I didn't have time to do that. But I did notice these four distinct little wounds which were fresh blood, fresh bleeding and you know when you've seen thousands of wounds over the previous three months anything that's fresh like that looks very odd, it was just as if somebody had just pricked the person on four different parts of the body.

The boy didn't speak as far as I know. I didn't hear him speak myself and after a few minutes he was then taken off in another vehicle outside. And then after about 45 minutes of being in the courtyard we were then taken outside, taken back across the round-about, past the Kuwaiti Embassy again, for about 50 or 70 meters, when a jeep came out with an Israeli officer in it and another driver who drove it in front of us and ordered the soldiers to take us back to the road again and he again spoke in English. He then took us. We were then taken back into a building opposite the Kuwaiti Embassy northwards when there were three buildings together and in this compound there were quite a few Israeli officers and Israeli soldiers and Israeli vehicles.

Well, we spoke for a while to the Israeli officers. There was a more senior officer who came out with crossed swords. So I gather he might be a brigadier. And we explained to him again what was going on and we had a hospital and we had sick patients there and he said something about the Hadad men were in the area.

Justice Barak: He told you the Hadad man were in the area.

Dr. Morris: Yes, the name Hadad men was mentioned three times in that camp in my hearing.

Justice Kahan: In Hebrew, in English?

Dr. Morris: In English. Oh no, all the conversations with us were in English and all the conversations between the Israeli and the other soldiers were in English in our hearing.

Justice Barak: But this officer with this crossed swords told you that?

Dr. Morris: He mentioned the Hadad men. Another officer who was with him mentioned the Hadad men. And later on another soldier talked, he talked to a girl who some of these other soldiers tried to take away again, said that they were also Hadad men. But on the previous day, on the Friday the people coming into the hospital were only mentioning the Katayab. They did not mention the Hadad men at all. I never heard the name Hadad mentioned until we got into the Israeli compound. We only heard, several people, including a child who was brought in who I treated whose family was shot. He said that he heard it was the Katayab. And people actually said, the people themselves said it was the Katayab.

I went back to West Beirut. But when we were in the compound we were given a piece of paper, firstly in English and Hebrew, which was written out by one of the officers in the group with the brigadier who was talking to us.

Justice Barak: Did he himself give it. The one with this sword here.

Dr. Morris: It was written out by a man next to him.

Justice Barak: But he had seen it when it was written.

Dr. Morris: Yes, he was there with him. He took a page off of a notebook and wrote it out in English and Hebrew and he said this will be ok to get you through to the hospital if you have any problems. And we asked him to put it into Arabic. And he said there should be no problem with that. And when we asked him again to put into Arabic they then called over another man from another group who didn't appear to be an officer to then write it in Arabic as well. Because obviously we were a bit nervous about having a paper not in Arabic when these were supposed to be Hadad men.

Justice Kahan: And you went to West Beirut?

Dr. Morris: To West Beirut, Yes.

General Efrat: On the way through the camps you have seen bulldozers?

Dr. Morris: Yes.

General Efrat: How many?

Dr. Morris: Ten or more.

General Efrat: Ten or more.

Dr. Morris: Ten or more. I noticed at least ten. I mean there may be more. There were bulldozers working down the lower part, the lower half of the street. And also at the end of the street, at the cross roads, at the

very bottom of Rue Sabra, at the exit from the camps where there was a water hydrant. I particularly noticed a bulldozer there because that was where the people used to collect water from and that had been completely flattened. The bulldozer was working on there. There were some behind it. And there were some on either side of the street.

General Efrat: What were they doing?

Dr. Morris: Some of them were moving just mounds of earth and some of them simply pushing houses down.

The Kahan Commission: A Witness Speaks Out

A British witness who testified before the Israeli commission of inquiry into the Beirut massacre charged last week that the commission had deliberately distorted his testimony to avoid any suggestion of direct Israeli responsibility for the killings.

Dr. Paul Morris, 31, who went from Beirut to Jerusalem to testify before the Kahan commission November 1, 1982, said that the final report of the inquiry, published two weeks ago, deleted from his testimony evidence indicating (1) that Israelis were "most likely" among the irregulars who perpetrated the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps last September, and (2) that the Israelis surrounding the camps were fully aware of everything that was going on inside "minute by minute" and were in fact in full control of the situation.

Dr. Morris, who was working at the Gaza Hospital in the Sabra camp when the irregulars came in with Israeli support, said he was ready to give evidence to any other court or commission of inquiry, be it Lebanese or international, to make sure that the truth about what really happened in Beirut on September 16, 17 and 18 was revealed.

The Kahan report, he stated in an interview, with *Monday Morning*, made three pivotal omissions and distortions in its reporting of his testimony:

- It did not mention that the uniformed irregulars who escorted him and his colleagues from the Gaza Hospital to the Israeli forward command post on Saturday spoke in an accent which was neither Lebanese nor Arab but closer to an accent that he later discovered was common among the Israelis.
- It did not mention that the note which an Israeli officer gave him to help him return to the Gaza Hospital was written in Hebrew, that the officer had assured him that the irregulars would understand what the note said, and that he and his colleagues had to demand that it be translated to Arabic three times before the officer obliged.
- It noted that he and his colleagues had not known that the massacre was under way although they were in the middle of it, and concluded from that that the Israeli soldiers, who were outside the camps, could not possibly have known—which was "nonsense," since the medical staff could not even look out of the hospital windows for fear of being shot, while the Israeli soldiers were in positions which commanded a clear view of the spot where most of the bodies were found.

Identification of many of the victims is difficult—Shatila Camp, 20 Sept. 1982.

MARJALEENA ORABY, Nurse, Finland

"The soldiers kept returning again and again, pointing with their guns, no matter who was there. One moment they were extremely aggressive, the next ready to do everything to help us."

Wednesday September 15 at 5 o'clock in the morning the noise of aeroplanes woke me up. There were Israeli planes in the sky. They wanted only to frighten, they did not bomb. By radio we heard that Beshir Gemayel had been murdered. Aeroplanes were coming back through the whole morning in short intervals. During our breakfast we were discussing the consequences of the death of Gemayel. We were all worried about the situation. I left for the clinics of Shatila 9 o'clock, as usual.

When I went through the camp the situation looked quite peaceful. Most people were doing their everyday tasks. We opened the clinic, and immediately there were about 20 patients. We heard from them that the Israeli army was moving in the direction of the camps, and that there were already some Israeli soldiers in Fakhani. The patients and the Palestinian nurses were afraid, but we decided in any case to stay in the clinic. We heard explosions of bombs, and shooting in the neighborhood. Feelings of anxiety increased. During the day we had patients who had caught a cold, or small wounds, and others came to have their bandages changed.

After 2 p.m. I returned to Akka hospital, going again through the camp. There were only a few people to be seen in the street. When turning from the camp to the street leading to Akka hospital, I saw tanks and soldiers at a distance of about 250 meters, and also further away in front of the Kuwaiti embassy. All the time shooting was heard, and explosions from the direction of the camp. In the yard of Akka hospital I met a group of people, very worried.

In the evening shooting and bombardment increased so much that we decided to sleep downstairs. Shooting and bombardment went on the whole night through. A lot of people from the camp were coming to the hospital. During the evening and the night there were some patients arriving with gunshot wounds. We sent some of these to Gaza hospital, because we did not have any possibility to make operations. There was also a shortage of medications.

On Thursday 16 September, I was working in Akka together with a Philippinian nurse. Nothing special happened there. Outside there was shooting and bombardment going on. We were worried about the situation, expecting the hospital to be occupied. A Lebanese security man came

to the hospital to talk with the doctors. He said the Israelis want some part of the hospital for their own use. We waited, but nobody came.

In the evening some women and children decided to go to the Israelis with a white flag, to ask them to end the firing. Many people had then already left the hospital, but none of the patients. During the evening and night fire bombs illuminated the camp, and heavy shooting occurred.

On Friday, during coffee-time in the morning we discussed the situation, myself and my husband. We expected this to be the crucial day, after a restless night and morning. There was much excitement, people were expecting something to happen. Nobody talked much. The hospital was nearly empty; the refugees had left after the soldiers had announced by loudspeaker that everybody should go home and nothing would happen to them.

It was difficult to give any treatment to the patients, as there were no medicaments left. About 9 o'clock we got a new patient. Something had happened at the gas station nearby. I recognized this patient as an Egyptian friend, who was working at the station. He spoke about my husband. It was very difficult to understand from his speech what had happened, but I understood clearly that it was something bad. I went to the emergency room to find out, but there was nothing special. I was very worried and went with the Philippine nurse to the intensive care unit, where the Norwegians are. Dr. Ali passed by, and the French nurse also came there. Then Dr. Rasha came to say that my husband Oraby had died in a shooting and explosion. I had a feeling that the whole world was collapsing.

Immediately after this we heard a sharply worded order, and we realize that the Kata'eb is in the hospital. Pointing at us with a submachine gun a soldier orders us to leave. I got an extra push with the gun—I was not quick enough to move because of my tears. Outside we concentrate on all moving together; there were soldiers trying to take the Philippine nurse outside the group.

We saw many soldiers, and several of them looked very nervous. Some seem to belong to Kata'eb, others with black berets are difficult to recognize. Some wore uniforms similar to Haddad soldiers.

In walking out from the hospital in the end of the street we are ordered to stop. At the corner of the next street a big group of people is waiting. I recognized many of them as Palestinians. A soldier interrogated us, checked our passports, and commanded us to wait at the corner. The Palestinian, Dr. Sami, might be allowed to go with us.

The soldiers put a blanket on the street for us to sit on, and offered cigarettes and chewing gum, and expressed their concern about the sun shining too hot on us. They also tried to talk, but we had nothing to discuss with them. We only asked how long and why we had to stay there, and they said they didn't know. About half an hour another soldier came,

and said: "We can not have you here. If you stay here, Israelis believe that you are to be prisoners. You are free, you may go where you want to go." We asked where it would be possible to go. The soldier shrugged his shoulders.

We all decided to go back to the hospital. After some discussion the soldiers let us go there. We asked them to let Dr. Sami go with us, because he is badly needed for his knowledge of the language, when we are taking care of the patients. We got a straight answer: he would be kept there. All the time there were people coming from the camp, from the side of the Kuwaiti embassy. The people were walking hands up, followed by armed soldiers. Some of these people remained standing opposite us, others continued to the direction of Shatila camp. We returned to the hospital.

The soldiers at Akka hospital were angry and asked why we were coming back. We said we want to take care of the patients. Near the gate I saw Palestinians whom I knew. They were ordered to sit and wait there. The soldiers said we are dirty, bad people because we are working together with Palestinians. They asked whether we are communists or Christians, and whether we belong to the Baader-Meinhof group. We told them that we are Christians, and we are here only to help. They also asked who sent us there, and again we said we were sent by different organizations.

We were allowed to go to the hospital basement, but we were not allowed to leave it. In the basement there were five disabled children and one child from the children's hospital. Other patients were in the first floor, eight persons in all. On the first floor there was one Palestinian nurse and a Lebanese one. Dr. Rasha went there too, and we others returned to the basement. The soldiers kept returning again and again, pointing with their guns, no matter who was there. One moment they were extremely aggressive, the next ready to do everything to help us.

Representatives of the International Red Cross came about 2 p.m. They said that they tried to reach us in the morning, but could not get through to the hospital. After a short discussion about the situation they left, but promised to return as soon as possible. Immediately after their departure the first-aid group of Kata'eb came and wanted to evacuate the children. When I asked where they would take the children, they said, "To any hospital in Beirut which happens to be open." We moved the children upstairs to wait for the promised transport, and two of the nurses stayed with them, in order to try to accompany them and take care of them, if possible. Soldiers and members of the first-aid group were keeping a close eye on us all the time. Many of them were able to speak either French or English. We told them that we would wait there for the International Red Cross. One of the soldiers said that the representatives of the Red Cross cannot come earlier than next morning, but we would be safe here. He said, too, that there would be bombardment and shooting about 100 meters distant from the hospital during the night, but they hoped the hospital would not get any hits.

While we were waiting there, in came a Lebanese man, and he wanted to talk with our Philippine nurse, whose sister was employed by his family. The nurse wanted to see her sister, and was allowed out to the house close by. Soon she returned with the information that the sister was well although she did not meet her. She said the soldiers had shot Gorobian's son on the leg without any reason. I heard also that a Palestinian nurse had been murdered. The body was found in the shelter of the next house. It was difficult to recognize her, but still possible, by her hair and sandals. She had been raped until death.

Dr. Rasha returned and told us that the soldiers threaten to take his life unless he gives his money to them. The soldiers had also demanded that the nurses stay for their use for the night. They had been looking for guns in the hospital. Hearing this we decided to stay firmly together what ever happens. About 4:30 p.m. the representatives of the International Red Cross came back to evacuate us. Only four of the patients from the first floor were there, about the other four we know nothing. And we did not see anyone from the first aid group of Kata'eb any more. The Red Cross also took the children with the two nurses to Amal Center, and the four patients to the hospital of Najjar.

REV. DONALD E. WAGNER, USA

"The mother went berserk when she bent down at the front doorway and picked up the scalp of her missing daughter."

Neither the initial news reports nor descriptive accounts by relief workers returning from Sabra and Shatila Camps were adequate to orient us for our visit. The shanty-town camps I had known as bustling centers of activity for the Palestinian and Lebanese refugees were now reduced to a Dante-esque scene of death and overkill.

We entered Shatila Camp from the south, having passed at least a dozen Israeli tanks at the Kuwaiti Embassy and the seven-story apartment building the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) used as a military outpost for the area. We could see Israeli soldiers looking down at us through binoculars and could not help but note their proximity to the camp and their vantage-point to activities within Sabra and Shatila.

Walking down the main road we saw bulldozers pushing the last scoops of dirt over 150 bodies buried an hour earlier. A team of four Boy Scouts moved toward us carrying another dead body on a stretcher. An additional mass grave was planned directly adjacent to the one we had passed. Red Cross officials were interviewing families to assist with burial and identification procedures. Everyone wore gas-masks or handkerchiefs to cope with the three-four day-old stench of death. I pulled out a handkerchief and a Scout poured a healthy dose of cologne on it as we walked toward two recovery units.

Noticing three tiny shops that had not been bombed or bulldozed I walked over to an elderly man who was raising the shutters to his grocery store for the first time since the massacre. With the assistance of a translator he related his eye-witness account:

> "I was working in my shop around 6:00 pm on Thursday (September 16) when commandos entered from the south. They began shooting left and right. I could see the Israelis posted behind them. Just prior to their entry Israeli tanks had shelled us from the southeast, then the commandos arrived an hour later. Once darkness fell the Israelis also put up flares so the killing could go on all night. I ran from my shop once the shooting started. I hid myself and was lucky to hide in a mosque on the edge of the camp. So many others were not so lucky."

Mr. Abu-Fayez ended an extended conversation by asking me to contact his two sons who were studying at a university in the United States. He wanted me to tell them that he and "momma" were alive. As he sat down to write them a message he broke down and cried. The agony of recent memories combined with broken dreams of the past were overwhelming. He now faced the dim prospect of being a displaced Palestinian refugee for the fourth time.

We crossed the street in time to catch a glimpse of a decayed corpse the team of Scouts and Red Cross personnel had just removed from the rubble. I turned away, my senses and sanity overloaded with emotions. One of the Scouts held up the arm of a child which a Red Cross offficial wrapped in a blanket. Two women wailed in the background as the Scouts continued to dig the remains of their family from the ruins.

Two Immams were walking toward us and I introduced myself, hoping to discusss the situation with them. One agreed to serve as spokesman and identified himself as the Immam of the Basra region which is adjacent to the camps. He began to detail the scenes he had encountered in three days of intensive visits throughout the camps:

- I saw a pregnant woman whose belly was cut open and the tiny baby had been removed and stabbed to death against her;
- I saw several women in one room, all dead, their bodies just piled on on top of one another;
- An old man and his family were shot to death around the dinner table and the home bull-dozed over their bodies.

He went on and on. The Immam estimated that according to what he had seen and the population in the camps at that time no less than 3,500 to 4,000 people had been massacred in the Thursday p.m.—Saturday a.m. period.

Next we spoke at length with a middle-aged man who lived in the camp with his wife and five children. He recalled that on Thursday evening, around 6:00 p.m., he stood with a friend outside his home. Someone yelled to them in a Lebanese accent. They were soldiers he speculated were from the Lebanese Forces (Phalangists) according to his previous contacts with men in similar uniforms. They were asking the two men to come over and assist with a woman who had been injured. Walid's friend walked over while he remained behind. The friend stood talking with the soldiers for several minutes when a man in uniform walked up behind him and axed him to death. Walid ran back to his house and pulled his wife and five children through the back window. They made their way through the alleys and eventual safety.

As we ended this conversation I noticed a women and her two daughters walking down the street, returning to their home for the first time in several days. The mother was waving her arms in the air as she walked, cursing the "zionists, the United States, and the Arab world" for allowing this to happen to the Palestinians.

The decimated family turned up their street and stopped at their tiny home. The mother went berserk when she bent down at the front doorway and picked up the scalp of what we later learned was that of her missing daughter. Her screams pierced the air and sent a chill through my body.

Another eye-witness account came through a personal interview with Dr. Sarjah Hanrum, a medical doctor from Sri Lanka who had been serving in Akka Hospital (the central receiving hospital for the Palestine Red Crescent Society in West Beirut). He detailed at least three executions he witnessed at the hospital of doctors and nurses. The nurse who had been assisting him on the morning of Friday, September 17, was raped several times by Lebanese commandos and then killed. The doctor then saw two Palestinian physicians shot to death that afternoon. He was interrogated at the Sports Stadium, sexually abused, and later released.

The final account came from an interview with Um Walid, a Red Crescent official who we found through a mutual friend because she was hiding from the ever-present Israeli house to house searches in Beirut. Um Walid detailed the virtual destruction of the entire Palestine Red Crescent Society, its clinics, staff, etc.:

- 40 clinics in various camps throughout Lebanon were totally destroyed;
- five major hospitals were burned, many partially bombed, and all of them closed;
- all Palestinian nurses, physicians, aids, etc., were either killed, in prison, or missing;
- foreign physicians and nurses were missing or in hiding;
- many private hospitals in Lebanon either refused to treat wounded Palestinians or were asked prohibitively large sums for even the most routine treatments;
- the Lebanese government (under Israeli pressure) was refusing to allow buildings to be rebuilt or Palestinian human services to function.

One of the vivid memories she had from a visit to the camps on Saturday morning was that of a young mother and her two 7-8-year old daughters. The mother said: "Find the legs to your father. We must give him at least a decent burial." One of the little girls searched through the rubble and brought two legs to the mother. "No—No! These are not the ones. You know what kind of slippers he wore." The girl rushed back to their destroyed home and continued her search.

As we were leaving the camp we stopped to observe two young boys and their mother who were being interviewed by a Red Cross worker. The boys sat beside the corpse of their dead father or brother. Their heads were buried in their hands as they cried incessently. I wondered about the next

steps for his family, and the 400,000/450,000 Palestinian refugees remaining in Lebanon. Where would they go next? What security existed for them? Who would protect them from the next militia raid—the next Israeli bombing of their homes—the disease which filled the air they breathed? The word in Beirut was that the Israelis forced the Lebanese government to agree that only 50,000 Palestinians would be allowed to remain in Lebanon but without citizenship, protection under Lebanese law, nor institutions to meet their needs.

A survivor of the Shatila massacre asked me: "What will my future be? Is it a decade in tents like my parents had in 1948 when the zionists drove us from the Galilee? I'll burn the tents and die in dignity first. I have no passport, I have no home. My father and brothers were killed this summer by Sharon and Begin. Now the shop I worked in (Samed workshops) and the hospital that served me are destroyed. I have nothing. But the world will never forget who I am. I am a Palestinian, and if not me, my children or grandchildren will have what I have never known: Palestine."

NURSE, Requested Anonymity

"I took pictures of Israeli tanks standing above the camps and shooting into it."

"I was in Beirut from 17th May until 5th October. I was working in Lahud Field Hospital during the war and also at one time participating in the Palestinian Red Crescent vaccination programme; but we had to stop it because of too intensive bombing, and the population was much more preoccupied about its security than about vaccination. So I went back to Lahud Hospital, and then, when the conditions obliged us, we went back to Akka Hospital in the southern part of Beirut, where we worked until I was supposed to have left, on 15th September, the day when Bechir Gemayel was killed. My friends told me: 'Wait and see. It's not important whether you leave today or in two or three days' time.' Some of the other people whom I was travelling with had tried to leave but had been stopped by the Israelis and sent back to Beirut. So in the afternoon we went back, several of us, to the Gaza and Akka Hospitals. We had the advantage of knowing about the Norwegian doctors, so we knew we would not be killed by the Israelis. We knew that if we were arrested they would have to show some kind of consideration for us as foreign medical workers, so as to

avoid the annoying situation they had already had with the Norwegian and Canadian governments at the beginning of the war. And I thought it was important to be present, as foreigners, just to witness what happened.

When we came back that evening we could not at first get any of the drivers from the Gaza Hospital to come with us down to Akka. Finally one came with us. We had to stay inside the camp until dark came because it was impossible to cross the road. For those who know, it's only about a 5-metre or 10-metre wide road. We had to wait until dark so that we could run across, because there were Israeli tanks on both sides and they were shooting. The hospital was full of refugees seeking protection. All night there was shooting. On the Thursday there was shooting. Then the Israelis had withdrawn behind the hospital and were shooting inside the camp. From a hotel and the hospital we could see, if we stood up, the so-called 'terrorists' and 'resistance', consisting of four or five young men with hardly any ammunition or weapons, running like mad, trying to do something but not being able to do anything; so whatever was said about 'resistance' was an excuse.

During the Thursday night at 4 o'clock—I think it's very important and very few speak of it—we in Akka Hospital had a big meeting, and the Lebanese women and children, with white flags, went out of the hospital and went to the Israelis behind the hospital, asking them to stop shooting. They came back without any success. Then the children—Lebanese children—still with white flags, went out on the main road, in front of Akka Hospital, with the intention of going to the headquarters of the Israeli forces, which were at the Kuwaiti embassy, I would say roughly 500 to 700 metres from us. Unfortunately, because of the explosion of an ammunition depot, they had to come back and seek refuge, but the attempt was made.

Later that night one of the doctors from the Gaza Hospital asked if we were willing to go with him to talk to the Israelis again. We, at that point, felt it was useless, because the Lebanese had not had any success and we were afraid that if we, foreign workers, went there they would take us and not let us come back to the hospital, where we were needed first as technical people and secondly as witnesses.

In any case it was also impossible for people to come from Gaza to Akka that night; we could not even transfer a severely wounded person from our hospital. We had no surgeons, only one Palestinian pediatrician, who since has been killed, one Palestinian house doctor, who has also been killed, and one Sri Lankan doctor who by a miracle survived and got out of the country.

On the Thursday night three wounded people were brought in—two young boys of 17 and 18 shot in the leg, and an adult who was the wounded man we wanted to transfer to Gaza. Then the rumour started that this was the work of the Kataeb (Kataeb is another name for Falangists, which means the rightist militia). The doctors thought it might not be the Kataeb because it was an unprofessional way of shooting. They said that if it had been they would have killed them instead of just wounding them. The people explained, however, that there were a lot of people in one specific southern part of the Shatila camp where they were shooting and that there were a lot of people being wounded and killed.

First I should say that all night, from immediately after dark, the camp was completely lit up as though it were day, or as if we had five full moons right above us. Everything was visible. Flares were being sent up from outside the camp. (During the day I took pictures of Israeli tanks standing above the camp and shooting into it). On the Friday morning, when I woke up, there were loudspeakers outside, without our understanding what they said, and even Arabic-speaking people had difficulty in understanding; but it was a message to tell people: 'Go home, and stay inside your houses and leave your weapons outside.'

During that morning, there were snipers all the time. At one time, a wounded person from the petrol station next to our hospital managed to

get in, telling us that two people had been killed there. First of all it was impossible to get out. Then, afterwards, a French nurse managed to get one of the two people out. Later on, we managed to stop a car which came by, and which we were able to borrow. An Egyptian kitchen worker, this French nurse and I got in, the Egyptian driving and we two lying in the back. We got out and entered the petrol station and found the other body. A close friend of ours; and the only way we could recognize him was by what he was dressed in. When we had brought him inside we went out to get some fresh air. There was a soldier in the yard. We rushed into the hospital, and there we met two other soldiers who had come in by another entrance, with their fingers on the triggers of their machine guns extremely frightened, and telling us to get out, in English.

I asked to take my passport with me; they said 'No, it was not necessary.' Then, on the way, they tried to talk to us, and we said: 'Who are you?' and they answered me in English: 'We are Falangists!' Then another man came, also very nervous, and I said: 'What are you looking for, what are you screaming for?' 'Soldiers.' I said: 'Well, there is no soldier here, we are all civilians, you don't have to be afraid, there is not one weapon in this house. Could I get my passport?' He said 'O.K.', so I got it.

At that time two nurses, one Australian and one Norwegian, were ordered to stay with five children we had in the hospital, and another Australian stayed on with five handicapped children. The rest of us were sent out. I got up the stairs and found myself with one soldier at my back, one man standing outside ordering me to come out, and two others arriving by another door with their fingers on their triggers still; while the first two were telling me to get out the other two were saying 'Don't move.' So after some discussion in which I asked whom I was supposed to obey I got out and was told: 'O.K., you go out and you go to the left.' I said: 'Do I have to walk like this?' and I was told: 'No, you don't have to.'

As we came out we were checked at one point and by some miraculous chance the First Secretary of the Norwegian Embassy just arrived and presented himself and was allowed to take us out. Which was a horrible situation, because it was a relief in one way, and yet it was horrible to move out not knowing what was going to happen to your friends. Especially one, the Palestinian pediatrician, who had been taken away separately, and when we tried to ask the soldiers in Arabic what was happening to him they did not understand us sufficiently. They asked who I was and I said I was just a Norwegian; so then they told me in English: 'Get away, don't get mixed up here.'

At that time there were other people standing against the wall, at the entrance, and it was terrible to feel that we just had to let them turn back and go, because we knew we could do nothing. We also did not know

exactly what was going to happen, but were quite sure we would not see each other again.

We got the nurses out from the basement and were allowed to take four babies. And all the time this group was fairly polite and said: 'If you have a truck or a big car you can take out the other children as well.' I said: 'We don't have one, do you?' They said: 'No'. So I said: 'O.K., we will come back.' As we left we heard a Palestinian nurse standing at the gate speak with these soldiers in Arabic and say: 'I'm afraid, I want to go away with them,' and the soldier answer: 'No, you cannot, you have to stay here.' And there we were with the certitude of not seeing her any more, leaving the place, leaving the children in the American hospital, where they had at first refused to take them in because they said they were not sick.

It was important to get out to tell what was happening, because at that point nobody in Hamra at all knew what was happening; they knew there were snipers, they knew there were Israelis, but they did not know the Kataeb were there.

I think, now, the most important thing is to be aware that the massacre has been going on in the whole of Southern Lebanon. It has happened in Beirut, and it is not at all unlikely, not to say fairly possible, that something similar might very easily take place both in Tripoli and in the Bekaa Valley. Therefore it is very important that as many people as possible are aware, are present inside Lebanon, even though one cannot do anything, but are there just as witnesses, to do their best in the hope that this will not take place.

The sole survivors of a family of ten.

ANNE SUNDE, Social Worker, Norway

"The young Palestinian was missing. Asking, they told me the soldiers had asked what nationality he was. Palestinian. They then fired four shots at him. His name was Mufid Assad."

Thursday 16th Sept. a delegation of Lebanese women and children, having taken refuge at the Akka hospital, went to the Israelis (they were on the main road to the airport). They asked for a ceasefire. This delegation also tried to reach the checkpoint at the Kuwait Embassy, but had to take refuge because of firing—in spite of carrying white flags.

Thursday evening we had several persons telling that the "Kataeb" was in the Shatila camp. Three people—a Palestinian boy (about 18 years) and a Lebanese man and his son—were brought in with bullet wounds in the legs and the father was also shot in the chest. We could not transfer them from Gaza hospital because the road from Akka to Gaza was cut off.

Friday 17th Sept. in the early morning, loudspeakers were telling people to return to their houses, put the arms outside and wait. About 350-400 persons who were in Akka hospital all left. At about 8:30 am, snipers shot three persons at the petrol station right next to Akka hospital. The only one who survived managed to get into the hospital. We afterwards managed to collect the two bodies.

At about 11:30 coming up the court, I saw a soldier standing in the street letting a car pass. The French male nurse ordered me to follow him down to the hospital.

Coming down, we were met by two soldiers with machine guns entering from another door. We were told to get out. I asked if I could take my passport but was told no—just get out. The soldiers were very nervous, the finger on the trigger, so I told them we were only civilian people. I also asked who they were. "We're phalangists" one answered me. Talking to a second soldier I was allowed to collect my passport. Two nurses, one Australian and one Norwegian, were told to stay with the five babies hospitalized. One Australian child specialist stayed with five other children. (Three paraplegic, one blind and one cerebral paralysed). Going up, one soldier told me to come out and at the same time two others ordered me to stay so I asked which to obey. I was then ordered to come out, leave the hospital and walk up to the Shatila round-point. There all the group: one Philipini nurse, one Finnish nurse, two French (one boy, one girl) nurses, one Egyptian worker, one Norwegian nurse, one Sri Lanka doctor, one Palestinian doctor and myself had to show passports.

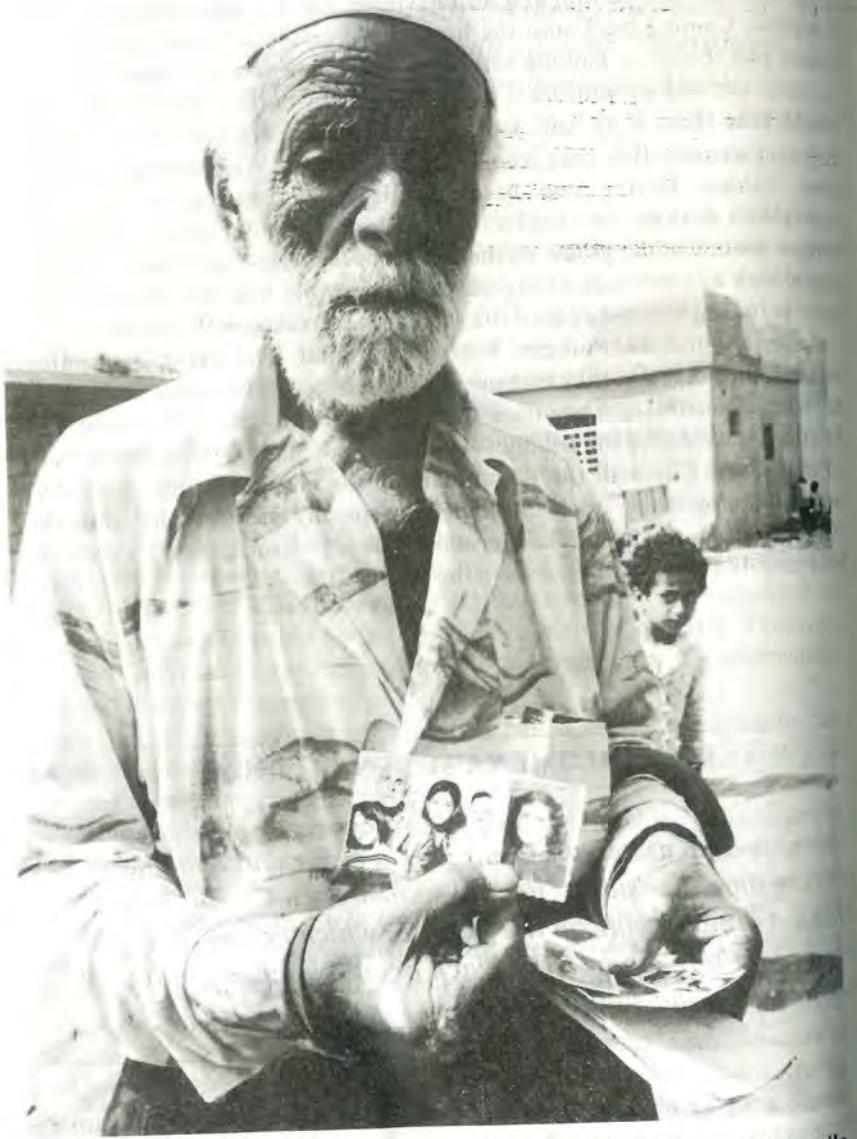
The Palestinian doctor was taken apart from the group. The foreigners were told we could leave or wait as we wanted. At this time the Norwegian 1st secretary arrived and obtained permission from the soldiers to take the two Norwegians with him and also to collect the 3rd who had back in the hospital. Coming back into the hospital I heard sounds of breaking up doors and shouting. Talking with the soldiers downstairs we were allowed to take the babies with us. Concerning the five other children, we also could take them if we had a car—which we did not have. The soldiers however assured that they would not harm them. We therefore brought four babies, leaving one needing intravenous treatment, with the Australian workers. Driving by the Shatila round-point again, I could no longer see any of the group. In the middle of the street there was a military truck with non-civilians-sitting. A group of people from the Shatila camp were standing in a row against the wall at the entrance of the camp.

Later I found the wounded from the hospital. The young Palestinian was missing. Asking, they told me the soldiers had asked what nationality he was. Palestinian. They then fired four shots at him. His name was Mufid Assad. As for the Lebanese wounded, the soldiers told them to walk to the Sports City with the Palestinians in the hospital. Since they could not walk, they were left back alone without any medical care until the ICRC came to the hospital. The soldiers also told the patients they were bringing 42 Palestinian persons to the Sports City.

DR. PHILOMENA McKENNA, Ireland

"Some were Kata'eb uniforms with a cedar emblem and writing on either side of it. And some were uniforms with black Arabic writing on the sleeve of which no one seems to know anything. Some wore black berets which are indicative of Saad Haddad's militiamen."

I was with both Vera Talseth and Dr. Pajula in Gaza hospital from Wednesday afternoon until Saturday morning. I am not going to repeat what both have said, only that I agree with everything, apart from the description of the dead bodies with Dr. Pajula mentioned. In fact I saw nothing when we walked through Shatila from Gaza hospital. I was in another world, I did not see any dead bodies, but I did see the group of 300



The elderly Palestine refugee pictured here lived until September 1982 in Shatila camp in Beirut as the head of a family of eight. Then came the massacre and he found himself alone. Now he just wanders with his photographs and shows them to any passer-by who is interested. Not that there is much hope left, but the past is the old man's world. For him there is no tomorrow.

to 400 people, some of whom I recognised and some of them I recognised as staff of the hospital. Apart from that, everything else I agree with.

There are only about five or six points extra I would like to make. The soldiers, or militiamen, who took us from the hospital on Saturday morning were wearing at least three different types of uniforms. Some were what I had recognised and had seen in photographs and saw later as Israeli uniforms without any writing, no green writing. Some were Kata'eb uniforms with a cedar emblem and writing on either side of it. And some were uniforms with black Arabic writing on the sleeve of which no one seems to know anything. Some wore black berets which are indicative of Saad Haddad's militiamen.

When we went to the top of the hill near the Kuwaiti Embassy, we saw Israeli jeeps. As we were taken to the United Nations building, an Israeli soldier followed us rather hastily and touched one of us and said, 'Where are they taking you to?' I answered, 'I do not know, but get an Israeli officer here.' As Dr. Pajula explained, we were interrogated by the militiamen and then taken to the Israeli headquarters. Again, somehow some of us strayed off the road and the Israeli jeep came towards us with two soldiers and they said, 'Where are you going?' I said, 'I do not know where we are going,' and they said, 'Go back to that building.' He pointed to a building on which stood four soldiers and which looked down on to the camp of Shatila and Sabra. These four soldiers had disappeared 15 minutes later.

Now we were in the Israeli camp with one jeep of militiamen driving around, quite freely. We asked the officer in charge of the Israeli soldiers for permission to go back to the hospital to look after our patients. They refused. After some negotiations they agreed that three people could go back. The three who wanted to go to the hospital needed transport. This was refused at first, but finally we were told that three people would be taken as far as the Sports City and from there they had no jurisdiction, they had no power. The area was not in their control.

About 15 minutes later everybody was ready to take off. The three people were going back to Gaza as far as the Sports City under Israeli protection and a pass was written in Hebrew and given to one of the doctors. It was said that if we took this our passage was safe-guarded to Gaza hospital. I in my innocence said, 'Nobody will understand that, you must write it in Arabic,' and as a matter of fact the officer said, 'No, it's OK, it will be understood.' I insisted that it be written in Arabic and five minutes later a translator was found and it was written in Arabic. I actually do not have the name of this officer, but I know where it can be found. About 16 to 17 of us were left and we requested to be taken back to the city. We asked to be left at the American Embassy because that road was in the Israelis' control. They refused to take us to Hamra. These militiamen, four of them in a jeep, as I said were just driving around the

compound, and were making trouble for one of the Norwegian girls. They were calling her out of the group and she was very frightened. She started to cry and they stood there calling her. I interrupted a conversation between the Israeli officer and some of the doctors and I said, 'These soldiers are annoying the girl, tell them to go away,' and with that he went as far as this Norwegian girl, spoke to her some words, and then went to the jeep and two minutes later the militiamen drove off. You can draw your own conclusions as to who was in charge here, or who was in control.

So we went back to the city and heard that the people of Shatila and Sabra were called over the loudspeakers. I heard this myself, even thought it was in Arabic; I understood one or two words. The people were being called to the Sports City, or as some people call it, the Stadium, which is a large arena to the west of the camps. Part of the main road leading alongside this arena had been closed off for many days, maybe weeks, because of unexploded mines. When the rest of the Norwegian team went home, I stayed behind and I spoke to one man who among others was made to walk on this area of the road which had been previously closed. His uncle stepped on a mine and was injured, and the man himself had to carry him the rest of the way to the Sports City.

The following days in Beirut were days of fear, when rumours of Haddad militiamen roaming the streets were rampant. There was probably plenty of reasons for these rumours to be believed. I myself saw four men in black berets driving in a civilian car along one of the busiest streets parallel to Hamra, followed by an Israeli tank and for 10 seconds I was extremely frightened myself. That is all I am going to say about my

Finding a neighbor.

experiences of this Shatila and Sabra massacre. I would just like to add that, having come from Beirut last week, the Lebanese Army have taken over from where the Israelis left off, and the fear goes on in the southern suburbs of Shatila and Sabra and Borj el Barajneh where no Palestinian, not even female , is safe. Anyone can be called at any time to be transported to East Beirut and imprisoned or can be just taken away to nobody knows where.

DR. JUHANI PAJULA, Physician, Finland

"On the street west of Shatila there were Israeli tanks with guns pointed towards the camp. From that street you can have a perfect view over the camp which lies about 150 metres from the street in a valley. Two Israeli officers were speaking in English with the soldiers who were with us and gave agreement to their plans which some of us could hear."

At 7.30 a.m. Saturday, five Lebanese soldiers, presenting themselves as members of the Lebanese Forces, came to the Gaza hospital. They were wearing helmets and carrying sub-machine guns and a radio. Their leader told us that every foreign health worker had to go outside the hospital. While we were waiting on the street for the rest of our group to come we could see many civilians, mainly women and children, passing to work in Shatila camp. Some of them showed their identification cards to the soldiers and they were turned back, but most of the people were directed to Shatila by the soldiers. The leader of the soldiers told us that they would take us away from the hospital for routine checking. We still had six patients in very bad condition in the intensive care unti, in addition to 32 patients left in the hospital. We asked to leave two nurses to take care of the patients and the request was accepted.

At 7.50 a.m., surrounded by the soldiers, we started to walk towards Shatila camp—18 foreign health workers, one Syrian and one Palestinian volunteer who had spent the night in the hospital. The first impression of Shatila was much more destruction than before: burnt and bombed houses, holes in the street caused by explosions, plenty of cartridges on the street. In the middle of the main street which runs through the camp there were 300 to 400, some of us estimated 800, civilians sitting on the street

surrounded by armed soldiers. These people were mostly women and children. The men seemed to be gathered in small separate groups. I could identify some workers at the hospital among the people, for instance the cook of the hospital. We were walking through this mass of people and the Syrian volunteer joined the group.

After we had passed through this mass of people they tried to follow us. This was prevented by the soldiers. The soldiers noticed the Palestinian volunteer who was still with us and asked him to show his identification card. After that they tore off his white jacket, beat him on his face and took him into a side street. After ten seconds we could hear shooting. One jeep with a heavy machine gun was passing us and driving out of the camp. On the street I could see three old people who had been killed, one woman and two men; one of them had a hole in his temple. There was also a bulldozer which had made a big heap from the ruins.

At the end of Shatila street there were more soldiers waiting for us. They were much more interested in us and also much more aggressive. Some of the soldiers had uniforms with black stripes with an army badge on the chest. Some of them had marks of a cedar tree or shell on the sleeve. Some of them were wearing black berets.

The soliders took us out of the camp area towards the Kuwaiti Embassy. 100 metres in front of us we could see four to five military trucks unloading soldiers with sub-machine guns. This was at the top of this street. There was also an observation post with soldiers and loudspeakers which were directed towards the Shatila camp, 40 to 50 soldiers from the trucks started to walk towards us, but passed us and disappeared into the camp. Meanwhile, the soldiers watching us stopped us and started to ask questions like: 'Are you Christians, are you Socialists, are you Communists?' 'Are you members of the Bader Meinhof Group?', and so on. Their conclusion was that in every case we were dirty people because we worked in a Palestinian hospital and treated Palestinian people. One soldier tried to draw a British male nurse out of our group, but the other soldiers calmed him. At the corner in front of the Kuwaiti Embassy we could see many Israeli soldiers. They looked at us. We were also able to see the Phalangist soldiers enter the camp. On the street west of Shatila there were Israeli tanks with guns pointed towards the camp. From that street you can have a perfect view over the camp which lies about 150 metres from the street in a valley. Two Israeli officers were speaking in English with the soldiers who were with us and gave agreement to their plans which some of us could hear. We were ordered to take off all white clothes which could reveal us as health workers. We were taken to the court-yard behind the UN building close to the Kuwaiti Embassy. We were ordered to sit on the ground and our passports were taken away. The soldiers began again to abuse us, they said that they were Christians, they did not kill anyone. They obeyed the Geneva Conventions, and so on. They again were very interested in our connections and background. They brought a young Palestinian boy who was wounded on his chest and neck into the court-yard and demonstrated how they treated even Palestinians. After having dressed his wounds they took the boy away, who was trembling with fear. The soldiers began to question us one by one, asking the same questions as before.

After 1½ hours of questioning they gave us back our passports and told us they would be transferring us to the Israeli headquarters. The headquarters was another building about 150 metres from the UN building. In the Israeli headquarters there were many soldiers, officers, armoured personnel carriers, cars with big radio equipment, high wireless aerials and jeeps and trucks.

The Lebanese soldiers handed us over to the Israeli soldiers who offered us bread, water and fruit. They asked why we were there, why we were not in the hospital taking care of our patients. They promised to help us in our work in every possible way. At the same time an Israeli TV team filmed and tape-recorded our arrival and our discussion with the Israelis. To the question, 'Who are these other soldiers?' the Israelis answered, 'The Lebanese Forces'. After negotiations, three of us were taken back to Gaza hospital and the rest of us were taken to the US Embassy in Hamra from where we walked to our Embassies and the Middle East Council of Church people to make our reports. We reported to the ICRC about the events and demanded that it evacuate Gaza hospital. This happened on the same day in the afternoon, and all patients and health workers were taken to safety. In the afternoon we were to meet some journalists to get some information about the civilians we saw in Shatila. We met a friend who was a newspaper man who had been on the street at 10 o'clock, perhaps two hours later than we were. He told us that he saw so many dead people that he could not count them. We also met a Norwegian newspaper man who had been there at 12 o'clock, and he had only seen eight to 12 bodies there.

VERA TALSETH, Health Worker, Norway

"Men were entering houses and shooting whole families, besides killing everybody they were able to lay their hands on."

When we returned to the camp on 15 September at about 5 p.m., the whole area was surrounded by Israeli tanks and soldiers. We passed

through a cross fire on our way back on the north side of the camp. From inside the hospital I could hear the sound of heavy shelling, estimated to be in the southern part of the camp. The medical staff seemed to be surprised and shocked about the situation.

Thursday morning the heavy shelling carried on, closer to the hospital by now, and I could also hear firing from machine guns. Before noon I got the first information from one of the camp residents working at the hospital, that soldiers from Saad Haddad's militia were inside the southern part of the camp. A group of women and children, about 20 altogether, tried to get out through the north side of the camp carrying a white flag. They were sent back by the Israelis. In the afternoon the hospital was crowded with about 1,500 to 2,000 people, it is hard to estimate, seeking shelter. Most of them were women, children and old people. They were frightened to death and from what they told us they had every reason to be. Men were entering houses and shooting whole families, besides killing everybody they were able to lay their hands on. After hearing several stories like that, I began to get a vague idea of what was going on. Throughout the night the air was lit up by live bombs and the shooting continued.

On Friday the shelling was even closer to the hospital and the shooting went on. One male nurse from Pakistan was shot in the back when he was on the seventh floor of the building. There was another casualty, a small boy about 11 years old who was shot in the arm and leg, screaming hysterically that he was in his home and the gunmen came in and shot both his parents and all his sisters. Early in the afternoon that Friday a man from the Norwegian Embassy had managed to get through and told us what had happened in Akka hospital. Also a few reporters and a television team had made their way to the hospital. These visitors were our first contact with the outside world since we arrived at Gaza hospital on Wednesday afternoon. Later on, the hospital administrator told us that the hospital was no longer a safe area and that all the Palestinians should try to leave the area as best they could. All the refugees, the Palestinians, and even some of the patients more or less carried by the friends of familes, left the hospital in a very short time. The shelling was now very close to the hospital. I could see that a house nearby had fallen down.

The ICRC arrived with some food and first-aid equipment. They left after having unloaded their car, taking with them six children and the hospital administrator who, because of her relationship with the PRCS, was in personal danger. Left in the hospital were now 24 people, doctors and nurses, 40 patients and a few Lebanese. Although the shooting was still heard, the hospital quietened down that night and the shelling finally stopped.

During my whole stay in the hospital I never saw one Palestinian soldier near Gaza hospital, only about five or six young boys carrying guns.

ASTRID BARKVED, Health Worker, Norway

"In the afternoon of Wednesday the Israelis started shooting from tanks from their positions on the west and east of Chatila towards the southern part of the camp. They continued this bombardment day and night until Friday."

The Sabra and Chatila camps are situated in the south of West Beirut. The area is very flat and there were about 30,000 inhabitants living here before the bombardments during the summer. The camps were empty in July until the ceasefire in August. After the ceasefire on 12 August the people started to move back again to the camps and they repaired their houses, opened shops and so on. When the massacre started on 15 September there were many people there. We do not know exactly how many but there were thousands of people and they were only civilians.

From the fourth floor where we lived in Akka hospital we could see all the camps and the area around. The Norwegian staff stayed in Akka from 7 September, eight days before the massacre started. From that day on we could see the Israeli positions, south and south-west of Akka. Wednesday morning 15 September the Israelis moved northwards with soldiers and tanks. They moved to the Kula and Fakhani areas and blocked the west side of the two camps. We heard shelling and could see smoke rising up over Fakhani. There was fighting between the Israelis and Mourabitoun at Fakhani. After some few hours of fighting the Israelis blocked the border north of the camps.

At noon, Wednesday 15 September, the Israelis moved up along the east side of Chatila. The Israelis could move forward very easily without facing any resistance from the inhabitants of the camps. So at noon on Wednesday Sabra and Chatila were completely surrounded with Israeli tanks.

In the afternoon of Wednesday the Israelis started shooting from tanks from their positions on the west and east of Chatila towards the southern part of the camp. They continued this bombardment day and night until Friday. They were bombing all parts of Sabra and Chatila, or shelling exactly. From this picture we can see one of the Israeli tanks standing on the right side of this high building which is also the headquarters of the Israelis. About 300 refugees from Chatila came into Akka hospital on Wednesday for shelter and they stayed there until Friday morning.

On Thursday we could hear a lot of gunfire from hand weapons around Akka. Several bullets also hit the hospital. This gunfire continued all day and night until Friday. From Thursday on, shooting from tanks and from

hand weapons went on at the same time. A PRCS ambulance was shot at on the first day on its way to Gaza hospital. The ambulance was transfering very seriously wounded patients. We had no operation theatre in Akka.

After this episode it was impossible to transfer patients. This is the car that was shot on. Many patients with bullet wounds arrived at Akka from the area close to us. They had to be carried or walk by themselves. Some Lebanese civilians walked from Akka to the Israeli positions south of the hospital. They carried a white flag and wanted to tell the Israelis to stop shooting, but the Israelis did not listen to them and sent them back to the camp. This was also Thursday. Thursday afternoon we were told that Kata'eb were inside the area killing whole families. We could witness houses being totally destroyed by tank fire.

Thursday night, illumination flares were shot up over the area; gunfire and the shelling from tanks was going on during the night also.

Friday morning, 17 September at 11 a.m. about 10 armed soldiers came into the basement floor at Akka. I had gone to bed after the night shift and I woke up with these gunmen standing over me. They claimed to be Phalangists but their uniform had no identifications. The soldiers went up and down, in and out of rooms shouting and asking for Palestinian soldiers. The gunmen got the staff out of the hospital and separated them—one Palestinian from the foreigners. The refugees and most of the Palestinian and Lebanese staff fled from Akka just before the soldiers arrived. One Egyptian, his name was Urabi, was shot to death right outside the hospital when he tried to escape. Some of the staff tried to hide themselves in the hospital. The gunmen went in and killed one Palestinian student nurse called Intisar but all the foreigners were rescued. The rest of the staff, the Palestinian and Lebanese, were missing or were killed.

Nordic Commission: I understand that you had witnessed that from Wednesday to Friday the two camps, Sabra and Chatila, were surrounded by Israeli tanks. How many tanks would you estimate there were? Were there 100 metres between them or 20or 50 metres? Did they move all the time maybe?

Astrid Barkved: When they came along up beside Akka there were seven or eight tanks coming at the same time. After that I think there were about 15 metres between each.

Nordic Commission: And they stayed there between Wednesday and Friday?

Astrid Barkved: They stood there when we left Friday. They came Wednesday morning.

Nordic Commission: Did I understand you correctly that all Thursday, that is the day between those two days which we have been speaking about, soldiers forced people back into the two camps? People were trying to flee from the camps?

Astrid Barkved: People tried to flee from the camp and some carried white flags. They went to the Israelis to tell them to stop shooting but they were sent back again to the hospital.

Nordic Commission: By Israeli soldiers or by other soldiers?

Astrid Barkved: By the Israelis.

Nordic Commission: So they were forced back into the camp on Thursday?

Astrid Barkved: Yes.

Nordic Commission: You spoke about the soldiers coming into your room. What language did they speak?

Astrid Barkved: Arabic.

Nordic Commission: You said there was shooting from the tanks. You could identify which shooting came from tanks and which from hand weapons?

Astrid Barkved: Yes and I could also see when they shot from tanks.

Nordic Commission: But I understand that the shooting from the tanks was first, it started on Wednesday?

Astrid Barkved: It started on Wednesday afternoon about six o'clock.

Nordic Commission: Then some time after, on Thursday, hand weapon shooting began?

Astrid Barkved: Yes.

Nordic Commission: After that time from Thursday and Friday you heard both simultaneously?

Astrid Barkved: Yes, at the same time.

Nordic Commission: Did you see rockets and shooting from the tanks?

Astrid Barkved: I saw the tanks shooting. I saw the smoke rising up and I could hear the shots.

Nordic Commission: Could you see the explosions?

Astrid Barkved: I could see houses falling down, totally destroyed.

Nordic Commission: Did you see the impact of the shelling, the hitting?

Astrid Barkved: Yes. I could see the houses falling down and I could see big holes in the mosque in the middle of Sabra and Chatila.

Nordic Commission: I think there might be a risk that the fire from the tanks would hit the Phalangist or Haddadi soldiers who were in the camp to.

Astrid Barkved: I do not know really who they were; they told us that they were Phalangists, but they had no distinctions on their uniform. The Phalangists, or the gunmen, were in the camp shooting with hand weapons while the Israelis were standing around shooting with tanks at the same time, so maybe they were working together and cooperating.

Nordic Commission: But were you, from your position at the Akka hospital, able to look over the whole area?

Astrid Barkved: Yes, the whole area. South, north, west, east.

Nordic Commission: And you were able to see what was going on?

Astrid Barkved: Yes, but I could not see the massacre. I only heard the bullets from the hand weapons; but I could see the fire from the tanks and I could see the houses falling down.

Nordic Commission: Could you see the fire from the hand weapons also?

Astrid Barkved: No. Most was around Akka; they also hit Akka hospital, both with hand weapons and with shelling.

Nordic Commission: Did you see anything other than firearms, such as knives, that sort of thing, other weapons?

Astrid Barkved: No.

Nordic Commission: These flares, did they go on the whole night?

Astrid Barkved: I am not sure because I was sleeping part of the night, but it was a very very big part of the night.

Nordic Commission: From where were they sent off?

Astrid Barkved: I am not sure from where, but I could see them hanging over us, over Akka, over the camp, so they were being sent up from nearby.

Nordic Commission: Dr. McKennon, you mentioned that there was very great fear in the camps. What was the reason, you were protected? Who was responsible for the camps?

Philomena McKennon: You are speaking about the condition at the moment. As you know, the Multi-National Forces of the Italians and the French are situated in the camps of Borj el Barajneh, Sabra and Chatila at various points. They have neither assisted, nor have they not assisted the Lebanese Army in abducting people from the camps.

Nordic Commission: Is that their responsibility?

Philomena McKennon: Their responsibility is protection.

Nordic Commission: How many do you think have been removed by the Lebanese Army?

Philomena McKennon: I cannot answer that question with accuracy but I am not wrong when I say over a thousand people, at least. Women and men.

Nordic Commission: Ralph Schoenman suggested that it would be insulting to argue that this massacre was not a coordinated Israeli operation. There is a point: I noticed that several of the witnesses are stating that there was simultaneous shooting by Israeli tanks and hand weapon fire by the soldiers, the butchers inside the camps. It sounds strange because you could expect the shooting from the tanks would hit the soldiers in the camp. How do you explain this sort of coordination?

Vera Talseth: I think I can answer that. The only thing I can say is that there was very, very different sounds of the shelling. When we came down on the Wednesday afternoon it was far from us, 1½ kilometres approximately, and that means the south part of the camp. From what people say it was at the south part. It was nearer on Thursday. It was nearer again on

Friday, and before the heavy shelling finally stopped, it was really close to the hospital. When the boy told me about the Haddad forces of the killing militia in the camp, he definitely said it was the south part of the camp, the part of the camp that was shelled yesterday. It is difficult because you do not know the area, but Gaza hospital is in the north part of the area and the people were coming up; that is why they are seeking shelter in the hospital, because when the militia came it was the hospital that was the safe place to stay. I think the coordination from what I heard, because I did not see I only heard, was that the militiamen came in after the shelling.

Nordic Commission: Has any of the other witnesses any experience which corresponds to that of Vera Talseth about this sort of coordination? I think that Astrid Barkved was, if my notes are correct, the closest witness in the Akka hospital. Is that not true?

Astrid Barkved: Yes. From the fourth floor in Akka hospital we could see the Israeli tanks shelling from the east part of Chatila and from nearby the Kuwaiti Embassy and they hit the south part of Chatila on Wednesday afternoon. Then they moved up nearer and nearer the Sabra camp in the north. I could see the houses falling down. I saw the smoke later in the north part. So it was a sort of cooperation.

Witness: I would like to make one point more. When you see both camps surrounded by Israeli tanks that means nobody can enter these camps without an order from the Israelis. All of us know very well that Saad Haddad groups are soldiers in Israeli army, but they have Lebanese nationality.

Nordic Commission: Two of you testified about the Israeli tanks surrounding the camps preventing people from coming out and in during the massacres and, of course, that is an extremely important point because it might indicate something about the responsibility. The two who testified as eye-witnesses to the effect that the camps were surrounded by these Israeli tanks were, as I remember, Astrid Barkved and Dr. Maehlumschlagen. I would ask three of you who were also present during the massacres outside the camp whether you had the same experience. The three of you are Vera Talseth, Dr. Pajula and Dr. McKennon. Did you also see Israeli tanks surrounding the camps during the massacre time?

Vera Talseth: Yes, I certainly did because I was together with Astrid Barkved at Akka hospital on Wednesday morning and saw the Israeli soldiers coming. I saw them surrounding the south part, the west and east part of the camp. When we came back in the morning, in fact earlier than that, we could hear and see the fighting going on in the Kula area and close to the Arab University because you could easily see the smoke. When we came back in the afternoon we passed through the north side of the camp and that was the final one. There was a cross fire and they were actually shooting at us, even if we used an ambulance driving down there.

Nordic Commission: Surrounded means that there were actually several tanks?

Vera Talseth: Yes, like Astrid Barkved said, they were really tight. I was back in the camp even on Sunday and you could see they had not moved, they were still in the same position.

Juhani Pajula: I was in the Gaza hospital from Tuesday on because I had night duty from Tuesday until Wednesday. I did not see anything before that and the only thing I saw was on Saturday morning when we were taken out from this area by these militiamen. I saw tanks near to the Kuwaiti Embassy on the street, lining the west side of Chatila camp.

Nordic Commission: Were the Israeli tanks marked by the signs of the Israeli army?

Juhani Pajula: I do not know, but I know the type. I did not see any marks, but the type.

Philomena McKennon: I travelled to Gaza hospital on Wednesday afternoon at five o'clock in a taxi with two nurses. The driver avoided the blocks on the road by taking several smaller roads and it took us quite a long time to get there, almost an hour instead of the usual 20 minutes ride, because the camps were wurrounded. It was almost dark. Going down some streets I could see in the distance a check point with a tank, so we took another street. In fact I lived in the basement of the operating theatre for the next 48 hours.

Nordic Commission: I have put this question: from where did these flares during the night come? I asked you but you were not able to identify the place. I am interested to know who was providing the light during the night.

Vera Talseth: The only thing I can say about them is that they came from very close outside the camp and then hung directly over the camp.

Nordic Commission: You could see that they came from outside the camp?

Vera Talseth: Yes, I only saw on Thursday night that they came from close outside, because I could see them from the rooms where we were. Very, very close though, because they hung just over us.

Nordic Commission: Can anybody else testify about this?

Philomena McKennon: On Thursday night after midnight I went to the roof of the hospital and I tried very hard to get my bearings; except for the time when the flares went up, the air was very difficult to see through exactly. From what I could make out they came from the seaside which was west and slightly north of the camp. That was on Thursday night.

Zeid Zayadi: I have seen myself these lights thrown from the helicopters from the sky and up from the ground too. On both nights, Thursday and Friday, it was very clear for everybody in Beirut.

DAVID BLUNDY and HIRSH GOODMAN, Journalists, England

"O.K., all right," Eitan told the Phalangists. "You did the job."

©*The Sunday Times,* London

Thursday, September 16, 1982

The Phalangists went in just as night fell at about 6 pm. Among those who watched them, from the rooftop forward command post, was one of Israel's most senior soldiers: Beirut commander Brigadier General Amos Yaron.

The vantage point on top of a five-storey building, was a little over 200 yards from the south-western boundary of the Shatila camp, and the soldiers could see Sabra beyond it. That did not mean that Yaron and his officers could see what was happening in the camps' narrow alleys and streets—even with the aid of powerful binoculars and the bright orange magnesium flares, fired from mortars, which descended slowly on small parachutes. But they could *hear* the intermittent crackle of rifle and pistol fire. And, crucially, from the radio set beside them, they could hear the chatter of Arabic, as the Phalangist commanders reported their progress.

For the first hour the news was of some resistance from the "armed terrorist forces" in the camps, and of casualties among the 150 Phalangists, with requests for their evacuation. But then, at about 7 pm. came a different kind of message from one of the Phalangist officers in Shatila: "There are 50 women and children. What should I do?"

The man on the rooftop to whom the question was directed was the Phalangists' stocky commander, 29-year-old Elie Hobeika. (His men comprised an intelligence unit of the Phalangist army, they were chosen for the task because, the massacre inquiry report says, "they were considered specially trained in discovering terrorists who tried to hide among the civilian population.")

Hobeika's reply over the radio was: "This is the last time you're going to ask me a question like that. You know exactly what to do."

And then, in the words of the report, "raucous laughter broke out among the Phalangist personnel on the roof."

To General Yaron's chief aide, an Arabic-speaking lieutenant named Elul, there was no doubting the meaning of what he had overheard: "What was involved," he later told the inquiry, "was the murder of women and children."

Yaron—who does not speak Arabic—asked the lieutenant what was going on. And Elul told him the content of the conversation.

So within moments of the probable start of the Beirut massacre, and some 37 hours before it eneded, a senior Israeli officer had grounds to suspect that the Phalangists' "mopping up" operation had turned into something very different. But all Yaron did, according to Elul's testimony, was to have a five-minute conversation, in English, with Hobeika which the lieutenant could not hear.

And this was not the only warning which Yaron ignored. Shortly afterwards, some of those on the roof overheard another conversation from the Phalangist radio. One of the officers reported from the camp that he was holding 45 people, and asked what he should do with them: "Do the will of God," he was told.

And at about 8 pm, when Yaron and several members of his staff, were in the command post's dining room, the Phalangists' liaison officer wandered in and said that about 300 "terrorists and *civilians*" (our emphasis) had been killed in the camps: soon after he returned to say it was only 120.

Forty minutes later Yaron called a briefing. The record of what happened at this meeting is precise because among those present was an officer from a remarkable unit of the Israeli army called the History Section, whose job was to record, on paper and on tape, everything he saw or heard.

Yaron's intelligence officer lucidly summed up what was happening in the camps:

'The Phalangists went in today. I do not know what level of combat they are showing. It is difficult to see it because it is dark . . . The impression is that their fighting is not too serious. They have casualties, as you know—two wounded, one in the leg and one in the hand. The casualties were evacuated in one of their ambulances. And they, it turns out, are pondering what to do with the population they are finding inside. On the one hand, it seems, there are no terrorists there, in the camp; Sabra camp is empty. On the other hand, they have amassed women, children and apparently also old people, with whom they don't exactly know what to do—Amos [Yaron] this refers back to our talk—and evidently they would concentrate them together and lead them to some place outside the camps. On the other hand, I also heard from (the Phalangists' liaison officer) that "do what your heart tells you, because everything comes from God." '

At that point Yaron interrupted him:

Yaron: "Nothing, no, no. I went to see him up top and they have no problems at all."

Intelligence Officer: "People remaining in the field? Without their lives being in any danger?"

Yaron: "It will not, will not harm them."

What that amounted to, in the view of the commission, is that Yaron wanted to play down the importance of the matter and "cut off clarification."

In his own testimony Yaron explained his remark about his visit "up top" by saying that he had spoken several times that evening with the Phalangist officers on the roof about the reports of killings, even though he was "skeptical" about their accuracy. He had warned them several times not to harm civilians, and had been assured that they would issue "the appropriate orders to that effect."

So, Yaron did nothing to try to stop any killings. Nor did he inform his superior, Major General Amir Drori, general officer commanding in Lebanon, who spent about 30 minutes at the command post in the evening.

But at least one Israeli officer elsewhere was more concerned. Late that night, Lieut Col Idel of the History Section found a note lying on a table in the northern command situation room at Aley, just south of Beirut. He copied it down in his notebook for posterity. It read:

'During the night the Phalangists entered the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Even though it was agreed that they would not harm civilians, they "butchered.' They did not operate in orderly fashion but dispersed. They had casualties, including two killed. They will organise to

operate in a more orderly manner—we will see to it that they are moved into the area.'

The note was unsigned and the commission has been unable to discover its author.

Half an hour after the killings began, the Israeli cabinet began a meeting in Prime Minister Begin's office in Jerusalem. They had no reason for concern. Earlier that day, the defence minister, Ariel Sharon, had telephoned Begin from Beirut, and said: "The fighting has ended, the refugee camps are surrounded. The firing has stopped . . . all the key points are in our hands. Everything's over."

So at the cabinet Begin was relaxed and pleased at the army's swift and bloodless conquest of west Beirut.

Alarm bells might, perhaps, have rung when Israel's chief of staff, Lieut General Rafael Eitan, launched into a long diatribe about "Arab revenge." He was talking about the assassination, two days earlier, of Lebanon's new Christian president, Bashir Gemayel, and warned that there could be "an eruption the likes of which have never been." Referring specifically to the Phalangists, he said: "I can already see in their eyes what they are waiting for."

Eitan, who had just flown back from Beirut, said he had discussed this threat with an American State Department official in Lebanon: "I told him that it is enough Amin Gemaycl (Bashir's brother) uttered the word 'revenge' today, and the whole establishment is already sharpening its knives."

And the Cabinet did know that the Phalangists had just entered the Palestinian camps. However, no-one except the deputy prime minister David Levy thought to link this with the threat of "revenge." Levy said, at the cabinet, with what turned out to be stunning prescience: "We could come out with no credibility when I hear that the Phalangists are already entering a certain neighbourhood, and I know what the meaning of revenge is for them, what kind of slaughter. Then no-one will believe we went in to create order there, and we will bear the blame."

The commission report says: "No reaction was forthcoming from those present at the meeting to this part of Levy's remarks."

In his evidence before the commission, Begin later explained: "The fact is that it didn't occur to anyone that they [the Phalange] would commit atrocities . . . . Minister Levy, as I pointed out, indeed made an assumption of what might happen, but neither did he demand, for example, to bring this question up for discussion or decision or vote."

Friday, September 17, 1982

In the forward command post, a young Israeli intelligence officer who had overheard some of the previous evening's conversations, had trouble falling asleep. The reports of civilian deaths nagged him and he decided to telephone headquarters in Tel Aviv. "Phalangists have so far liquidated 300 terrorists and civilians." he said. "I have a heavy feeling about the significance. It should be passed to the highest level."

His colleagues took him seriously and gained some independent verification. By 5:30 am on Friday it had been distributed to 22 people, among them the chief aide to the head of military intelligence, Major General Yehoshua Saguy.

Saguy was telephoned at his home at 6.15 am. Since he did not even know of the plan to send the Phalange into the camps, the report came as a complete surprise.

At 8 am he ordered the report to be checked. But, although junior officials at military intelligence had already gained some confirmation—through agents, and radio and telephone intercepts—they could not obtain enough evidence to satisfy Saguy. So the report was treated as "unreliable" and given only limited circulation among the intelligence agencies.

Saguy had long held doubts about the reliability of the Phalange and disapproved of Israel's links with them. Even so, he failed to mention the killing reports to either Eitan or Sharon when he met them later that morning.

Early on Friday morning in Beirut, Lieutenant Grabowsky awoke after an uncomfortable night dozing on top of his tank. It was perched on an embankment some 230 yards from the first buildings in the Shatila camp. Grabowsky watched as two Phalangist militiamen followed two young men from the camp and began hitting them. Then the soldiers led them back into the camp and a short while later, Grabowsky heard shots. The two militiamen returned into view alone.

Later Grabowsky drove his tank further up the embankment. From there he could see a group of five women and children lying dead. He decided he should report the incidents but his crew said they had already heard reports on the radio to the battalion commander about civilian killings. The commander had replied: "We know, it's not to our liking, and don't interfere."

In the afternoon, Grabowsky got one of his Arabic-speaking soldiers to ask a Phalangist why they were killing women and children. The reply: "The pregnant women will give birth to terrorists, and the children will grow up to be terrorists."

Yaron had woken that morning nagged, for the first time, by doubts. After a meeting with Phalangists at the forward command post he felt even more uneasy. "Something smells fishy to me," he said.

But when, at 11 am Israel's Lebanon commander, General Drori, arrived at the post, nobody told him about the reports of killings—merely of "beatings" and "irregular behavior" by the Phalange.

Still, Drori was sufficiently concerned to order that the Phalange should "stop where they are in the camps and advance no further." He also telephoned the chief of staff, Eitan, in Israel and told him he thought the Phalangists had "gone too far." Eitan said he would fly to Beirut that afternoon.

He arrived at Khalde airport near Beirut at 3:30 pm that Friday and met Drori and Yaron. They went immediately to Phalangist headquarters in a staff car, but didn't discuss the camps between—Eitan doesn't like talking while he travels.

They reached Phalangist headquarters in Beirut at about 4 pm. Eitan was given a briefing by Phalangist commanders. Then, according to an agent from the Israeli secret service, Mossad, who was at the meeting, Eitan "expressed his positive impression received from the statement by the Phalangelist forces and their behavior in the field, and concluded they [should] continue action mopping up the empty camps until tomorrow [Saturday] at 5 am. At which time they must stop their action, due to American pressure."

"Okay, all right," Eitan told the Phalangists. "You did the job."

The firm impression of Yaron at the end of the meeting was—as he later told the inquiry—"the Phalangists could still enter the camps, bring in tractors and do what they wanted, and that they would leave on Saturday morning."

The tractors were needed to bury the bodies.

In his testimony to the commission Eitan insisted that, when this meeting took place, he had had no suspicion of a massacre—and indeed, did not learn until Saturday that civilians had been killed.

But that claim was starkly contradicted by Eitan's boss, the defence minister Sharon. He told the commission that on the Friday night, Eitan had telephoned him and said that the Phalangists had "gone too far" and had "harmed the *civilian* population more than was expected" (our emphasis). Sharon claims that, later in the conversation, Eitan said specifically that civilians had been killed.

Eitan denied this but the commission believed Sharon. For when, at 11 pm that Friday night, an Israeli television reporter had called Sharon expecting that he would be breaking the news of the massacre to the defence minister, he got no reaction; clearly Sharon already knew.

Saturday, September 18, 1982

The Phalangists did not leave the camps at 5 am as Eitan had ordered but stayed for a further three hours. And, according to the commission, the killing went on "intermittently" from the time they had arrived until the time they left. Nobody knows how many people died because the Phalangists removed many of the bodies and buried them in unfound

graves. The best guess, based on a subsequent Israeli military intelligence report, is between 700 and 800.

The report is adamant that none of the claims that Israelis were involved in the killings are true. But it has no doubt that virtually the entire senior command of Israel's military forces share the blame for what happened.

Sharon: for deciding that the Phalangists should be sent into the camps, disregarding "the danger of acts of vengeance and bloodshed."

Eitan: for his "lack of foresight" in failing to take "appropriate measures" to prevent a bloodbath.

Saguy: for "indifference and a conspicuous lack of concern, of shutting of eyes and ears to a matter regarding which it was incumbent on the director of the intelligence arm to open his eyes and listen well to all that was discussed and decided."

Drori: for his "breach of duty" in failing to tell the chief of staff that there were, at the least, suspicions of a massacre.

Yaron: for "thoroughly mistaken judgment" and "grave error."

Yaron at least would probably not disagree with that verdict. After the massacre he addressed a meeting of Israel's senior command:

'The mistake, as I see it, the mistake is everyone's. The entire system showed insensitivity. I am speaking now of the military system. I am not speaking about the political system. The whole system manifested insensitivity.

'On this point everyone showed insensitivity, pure and simple. Nothing else. So you start asking me, what exactly did you feel in your gut on Friday . . . I did badly. I admit it. I did badly. I cannot, how is it possible that a divisional commander—and I think this applies to the division commander and up—how is it possible that a division commander is in the field and does not know that 300, 400, 500 or a thousand, I don't know how many, are being murdered here? If he's like that, let him go. How can such a thing be? But why didn't he know? Why was he oblivious? That's why he didn't know and that's why he didn't stop it . . . but I take myself to task . . . I admit here, from this rostrum, we were all insensitive, that's all.'

NAIM GILADI, Secretary Israel's Black Panther Party

"Nobody knew better than the Israeli government that the only power which could take revenge in Lebanon was the Phalangists, because the Israeli government and the military, after expelling the Palestinian forces, collected all the weapons left among the residents."

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Q: Last Friday was the first anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila Massacre in Lebanon: You were one of the organizers of the massive protest against the massacre by hundreds of thousands of Israelis. What was that like?

A: I visited those villages and saw the aftermath of the massacre. I was there as secretary of the Israeli Black Panther Party, which wants peace in the Middle East. As a Jew who belongs to a people who have suffered so much, and as an Israeli who lives surrounded by more than 150 million Arabs, I was shocked. I knew that, if not all the government of Israel, at least a part of it had a hint of a plan to bring the Phalangists in to carry out the massacre, and that bothered me and angered me.

Q: Then you are saying that the Israeli government is mainly responsible for the massacre, even though it did not directly carry it out?

A: Yes, and I will give the reasons why. The Israeli government put the military into West Beirut, the main reason being an excuse to watch and to secure the lives of the Palestinians from the Phalangists after the army of the Palestinian Liberation Organization was pulled out. This was the answer given to Morris Draper, who represented the United States in connection with the Middle East, namely: that the reason the Israelis wanted to go into West Beirut was to safeguard the Palestinians. At this same time, Menachem Begin, as prime minister, gave his approval to the minister of defense, Ariel Sharon, and the head of the military to *bring* the Phalangists into West Beirut. The word "bring" is very important here; it was not a matter merely of "letting" the Phalangists come in.

Q: How did the Israelis become involved with the Phalangists in the first place? And was the Lebanon invasion really a defensive move, as Israel maintains?

A: The Lebanon War did not start in June of 1982, as one might think, but rather in April of 1976, when Israel first intervened in what was happening in Lebanon. Maarakh (the Labor Party) was then in power. At that time, connections were established between the Phalangists and the Israeli government under Yitzhak Rabin. There were meetings between Israeli concerns and the Phalangists, Pierre and Bashir Gemayel. Pierre was one of the best Hitlers one could imagine. He respected Hitler so much he wanted to create a Hitler Youth organization in Lebanon.

The government then in power in Israel found common interest with that party, which wanted to reduce the influence of the Moslems in Lebanon. Israel was willing to supply the Phalangists with weapons in exchange for money. They provided military exercises and military briefings.

The assistance continued after Begin came into power. This time, however, the assistance to the Phalangists consisted not only of weapons and training, but participation of Israel defense forces in combat.

Q: It is known that the Israeli soldiers disliked the Phalangists and called them "aftershave soldiers," and that they had gained the reputation of going against women and children rather than armies. Do you think Begin is culpable?

A: Nobody knew better than the Israeli government that the only power which could take revenge in Lebanon was the Phalangists, because the Israeli government and the military, after expelling the Palestinian forces, collected all the weapons left among the residents. And it was clear why Begin and his friends spoke of revenge for Gemayel's blood. It was clear that the avengers would be the Phalangists and the victims would be the Palestinians—not the armed Palestinians, but those left with no defense.

Second, if this were not enough, at Gemayel's funeral, his brother Amin, the current present of Lebanon, declared "We will yet avenge your blood, Bashir."

Third, in a conversation that took place between Draper and Begin, Begin promised that their entry would be to maintain security only, particularly in light of the furor created by the assassination of Bashir Gemayel. Pogroms, it was feared, would take place. This conversation

took place 24 hours before the massacre. Begin knew very well, then, that pogroms were expected and he knew who would be the victims.

Fourth, the Israeli Army Intelligence warned its superiors, the prime minister and the defense minister, and laid on the table a detailed report which said that if the Phalangists were allowed to enter West Beirut, they would massacre the Palestinians. How much more pointed could anything like this become?

Q: Even though you were one of the prime movers in the demonstration in Tel Aviv that attracted 400,000 protesters after the massacre, you were against establishing the panel that led to the investigation of Israel's role in the tragedy. Why this opposition?

A: While it is true that, being the general secretary of the Black Panthers, I have to accept the decision of the majority—who were in favor of participating in that demonstration against the war in Lebanon, for peace and for recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians—I did not agree in all points.

The first two demands I accepted on my own, but on the question of establishing a commission, I was much opposed. The mere fact that they demanded establishment of an investigating committee transformed the status of the government of Israel from that of a felon convicted by its own policies to that of being only a suspect in the crime—at a time when the evidence of Israel's complicity cried out loud.

Also, the time span before completion of the investigation gave the government enough time to cover up the facts. It also gave the government a long breathing spell so it could continue implementing its policy.

There was no need for an investigating committee in order to find out who was responsible for the massacre. The Israeli government's policy in the occupied territories and in Lebanon is an indictment against itself. The hearings have been held and yet those responsible have not been punished. Will they ever be?

JILL DREW, American Nurse

"Nabil is dying in agony from our bullets and he is a child."

September 15, 1982

This morning at 5 a.m. I awake already standing upright. Israeli jets are screaming over the rooftops of Ras Beirut. "Please," I hear myself say,

"what is it?" It has to be Syrians. It has to be. But the sound is Israeli. And Barbara, my night nurse, comes over to my room at 7:30 with the news: Gemayel is dead. A 300-pound TNT explosion in Kataeb headquarters has killed many.

I work with Nabil, an 18-year-old from Sidon who is going to die from bullet wounds. I change his dressings, his sheets—try to change his fate. Goddamn it, I know, and he knows, that nothing will change and that one of these days his respirator will be a joke. His dying is a secret we share, and because we share it, his death will become my death.

When he begins to hemorrhage from all his tubes, he watches the blood pouring out of his body and his eyebrows raise in alarm. His eyes watch my face then, and when we look at one another even for a moment it becomes eternal sharing. I am beginning to wonder which of us is going to die, and I think about him all the time—even when the bleeding has stopped, the wounds and incisions are clean again and packed, his parents and aunts and uncles are finally sleeping in the hallway outside the room and on the floor beside his bed.

Nabil's aunt Noha and I have long conversations in French—about him, about this summer, and about the shooting. She tells me often that someday when this is over and Nabil is well we will all be together at their village north of Sidon and we will have a tremendous celebration. Once Nabil listened to us and smiled at me through his tubes and lines and held my hands very tightly. I kissed his eyes—maybe because I didn't want to share any death at that moment—and now I just kiss his eyes every so often because that is part of the sharing.

I stay at the hospital off and on all day. What am I waiting for? The Israelis? They are here. They finally made it into West Beirut.

The funeral for Bashir is over, and we can hear the shelling from the port. The camps have been surrounded. The Green Line between East and West Beirut is closed for a week.

I go back towards the hospital. In front of the Orthodox church the first load of refugees from Sabra and Shatila have arrived in two trucks. The men are negotiating with a neighborhood man, the women are pale, the children hastily packed.

"Will they be able to stay?" I ask someone.

"There is no choice," someone else answers.

"Take care," calls one of the shopkeepers.

Now my mind is on superalert, my senses sharpened. Just south of here the sound of gunfire echoes over the rooftops. The hospital is subdued. In front of the emergency room, people are sitting on stretchers waiting—for what? Casualties, maybe. I go upstairs to my ward. Nabil is still alive.

When I leave, I walk towards the Mazraa, the coast. Very few people are on the street—due to a curfew, I find out later. But boys are out, all

walking towards the port. They don't look very old—Nabil's age, 18, maybe younger.

I go to see my friend Mohammed in his restaurant. He's passing out Kalashnikovs to assorted males assembled by the doorway. Mohammed is a Palestinian and a freedom fighter.

"They won't come here," he tells me as we walk outside together. "Just all around us." He has sweat on his face. "Don't go to the camps now," he adds. Maybe he's reading my mind. "I will let you know how you can help." He goes back to the guns. The shelling is faraway and sporadic now. I keep thinking I hear airplanes.

It's so quiet now that I can hear my own footsteps on the pavement. I've nearly reached Verdun Street when I see the tanks. Good, solid, tan Israeli tanks. I keep walking, thinking maybe they will think that I live on Verdun Street, that I'm an ordinary Lebanese-looking middle-aged lady just going home from work. Maybe, I say out loud.

A soldier tosses a cigarette down by my feet. "Where are you off to?" he asks—in Arabic.

"Mazraa," I reply briefly. My conversation with any soldier tends to be brief. I find I'm almost abrupt if it is a soldier with a tank.

"Mazraa no." He waves back towards the hill I've just climbed.

"Why?" I ask in English.

He pauses. "You are ingleesi?"

"Yes," I answer, "and I want to go to Mazraa."

"There are military operations there." He sighs and looks out and down over his gun. "You will go back now."

I go back slowly. The sky is getting dark. To the south there are flares over the camps, lighting them up. I go down the hill and cut back up a side street. There's a place in the Verdun district where you can see all the way to Mazraa and beyond, and I have to get there. I hurry, pausing in doorways to look up the streets. No one is about.

When I reach the lookout place, I see what I think must be the entire Israeli army down on the Mazraa and over along the coast. I hear the sound of the tanks moving and of the armored cars, heaving and grating. The sky above Sabra is pink: sunrise, daylight pink. The flares look like embers from a huge fire.

September 16, 1982

I get up at 5 this morning and go out. It's quiet and still almost dark. By 6 the fighting has started down by the port and in Wadi Abou Jamil and I can hear the sound of explosions.

At the hospital, no one has slept well. Many of the patients have insisted on being moved out into the hallways because of the shelling.

Nabil is back from one of his surgeries and Toufic, his father, chases

around all day finding ice. Ice water stops the bleeding. Toufic is paying the bill in cash, it seems. Nabil is not considered a war casualty paid for by the government. Or by the Red Crescent. Or by the Israelis. Perhaps they should make a round in this ward and see what they have done. What we—the Americans who finance this carnage—have done.

Look, America—look at Nabil. Look at little Khalil who lives near Fakhani and who ran out with some of his pals to play and stepped on a bomb, detonated it, and blew his legs off. He also blew his perineal area out, and his entire rear end is one huge repair. Khalil is 12. He's been here four or five days now, and I've never heard him cry. Even during dressing changes. He has a face like a son of God, with high cheekbones, a wide, generous mouth, perfect teeth, and beautiful almond eyes.

When I am not with Nabil, I am with Khalil. The administration of this hospital will send him down to the fourth floor—four South—where the "poor" people go. In the meantime he is here, and being so young he gets the best we know to give, which isn't much. Cleanliness and freedom from pain.

Today, the practical nurse, a young Lebanese girl named Miriam, looks frightful. Her color is grayish-yellow, and there are dark half-rings beneath her eyes. Her father, she tells me, lives just off Rue Clemenceau.

"How old is your father?" I ask.

"Very old."

We are standing on the balcony, and there are tears on her face. I can't even see Rue Clemenceau because of the smoke from the shelling. We watch as right below us more young boys go towards the port. It's just past 7. The boys are wearing jeans and sneakers. Why don't I say their names, too? They look like the boys who hang around the newsstand in my neighborhood. But I don't know them. Miriam and I listen to the explosions. Fires are beginning to burn in that part of the city.

At first it seems the port itself is burning and then the smoke clears and there's another explosion and more machine-gun fire and the strange whistling sound of rockets, and the black smoke rises up from another section further up the hill. Beirut is on fire again. I think about the old city and all the warshattered streets and about Wadi Abou Jamil and the people I've seen there.

The explosions become louder, the hospital building itself seems to shake every so often, and the glass in the doorframes rattles. Miriam and I go back inside. We can hardly, I think, stand idle—like some distorted Nero figures, watching Beirut burn while the people in their beds wonder what's going to happen to us all.

Nabil slept through it all. I don't think he will die today and perhaps not tomorrow. I don't think so because there isn't room for so many deaths in one day. I begin to change the packing in his buttock wounds. To do this I have to turn him to his left side, and he chokes and gags on the endo-

tracheal tube. The buttock wounds are exit wounds from shrapnel and bullets and they are as deep as the muscles themselves. I can fill one of them with a five-inch packing.

When I turn him, his abdominal dressings fall off onto the bed and his colostomy and incisions pour out bloody fluid, bile, and liquid feces. The bile is eating away all his skin. His sacrum looks as though someone had put a hot iron on it. Noha helps me.

Today it takes almost two hours to clean Nabil, dress the wounds, change the linen, suction out his tubes, lavage him with iced saline, regulate his intravenous tubes, push his medications, renew his supplies. While I work I always talk to him, in English and in my terrible Arabic.

Today he opens one eye and peers at me. The whites of his eyes are yellow like saffron, his skin is slightly orange, the jaundice comes and goes. While he is peering out at me, a huge explosion comes from somewhere close by. The entire room rocks. I nearly crawl underneath the bed from fright, then I feel guilty. Noha puts her arm around my shoulders. "*Malesh*," she says, "never mind."

I hang around the room after that, scrubbing surfaces with alcohol, tying up trash bags, arranging dressings, daring the walls to fall in.

"You rest," I tell Nabil, "just rest." Rest until I come back and we go through the dressings, the linen, the blood pressure, the lavages, the routine all over again. Or until one of your family comes down the hallway and tells me, "Blood, Jill, blood." Nabil shuts his eyes, and I touch his face. It's burning hot. Today is a day of fear and fires.

I go into another room and out to the balcony. From down the street, the second floor of the bank building, comes a tremendous shattering sound. The glass wall of the building smashes down into the street below. A street lamp lies twisted at a grotesque angle, and I didn't even see it fall. I didn't even jump. What am I waiting for? For the building to fall down, for the balcony where I stand to part company from the hospital wall and go crashing down 10 floors?

"My hands hurt," I say aloud.

A man's voice replies, "Don't worry, they aren't shooting at us. Stay, stay and watch." The young orthopedic resident stands next to me. "Look," he points past the corner and beyond the crumpled street lamp. "Look," he repeats, "here they come."

We stand there glued to the balcony railing as one by one, at long and agonizing intervals, the tanks come up from the port. Further down towards the sea, an armored track vehicle cruises slowly along an empty street. Has everyone died, I wonder, did they leave, are they hiding? Isn't anyone going to throw a small grenade, even an egg, anything? Where did everyone go?

"I would like to have a gun now," I tell the doctor as I watch the lone armored car go slowly past.

And now, look. Nabil is dying in agony from our bullets, and he is a child. Khalil is no longer charred, but he will lose the motion in his arm. Little Khalil with the face of God's grace will never walk—indeed, he will probably never have the controlled use of his bowels again. Ibrahim will never walk. Hani is demented. Farhat will lose the use of one leg. Abbas down the hall has lost a hand—granted he is old, but with the hand went his son, his wife, his seven grandchildren, and two daughters. Little Hassan will never walk; big Hassan will walk artificially. Mohammed has no ankle bones.

Hussein will never walk, and with his leg went his mother and his grandparents. He has two brothers, one with a broken back and neurological damage and the other with no arms. His father goes from floor to floor of this hospital watching over the remains of his family.

Oh, shall I say their names over and over gain? With what colors will I commemorate my friends Samira and Abed and the boys who were walking towards the port last night and this morning? What gay ribbons flying somewhere for Hammoudi and Mouna? And maybe I should put small bells on those ribbons to ring lightly in the wind—pretty ones, to show my love for their laughter.

I follow the progress of the armored vehicle and watch the top of the driver's head and listen to the grating of heavy steel on the pavement. Ride to Mazraa, I tell the soldier in my mind, blow the hell out of the small shop where I buy 7-Up and cigarettes. Then wreck our florist, the florist who always—no matter **what** your country does—opens up shop every morning and defies you with flowers, who loves Barbara and gives her flowers because he knows she loves growing things, who tells me "*Ah'len*" even when I don't stop to look at the roses, who shoves a perfect carnation in my hands almost every day.

"If you had a gun now," says the doctor, "if you even shot into the air, they would come here and kill us all."

"Back to work," I reply. "Time for vital signs. Besides, you have your work cut out for you today."

True, true. The armored car has vanished. I go back to Nabil. It's only 11 o'clock. Today is the longest day.

The casualties are arriving—Shahine and Mohammed, a new Hussein, Faisal. "You take 1019 and 1011," my head nurse tells me. "You can't watch your friends the Israelis arrive all day."

Shahine and Mohammed have identical wounds: some scattered shrapnel, hunks of arm missing, chest tubes, blood and dirt and metal splinters ground into them all over. A woman with blue eyes and red hair shoved back in a knot huddles by Shahine's bedside, crying, disheveled, and miserable. I take his blood pressure—it's not bad—and put tape on the chest drainage bottle. Together the woman and I wash some of the grime off of him. His skin is warm, and he's awake—quiet, but awake.

"Where do you live?" I ask in my bad Arabic.

"Wadi Abou Jamil," he answers. He's young and tall and thin. The blood from the chest tube is spare. I put the time on the bottle tape, hang a new IV, and watch him breathe.

"*Fi waja*?" I ask. He waves his good arm. I go to get some Demerol. I don't ask for it, I take it.

The red-haired woman is pale and exhausted: her eyes are red. I haven't cried all day. I go back to the nurses' station and take some Valium for the woman. She sits down. I go on to the man named Mohammed.

Mohammed looks awful. He's older than Shahine, heavier. His chest tube bottle is filling rapidly with blood, and his breathing is labored.

"Where do you come from?" I ask.

"Rue Clemenceau."

I think about Miriam and her father. I think about all the times I've walked down Rue Clemenceau.

Mohammed never opens his eyes. I speed up the IV, his vital signs are poor. Maybe this one will die. I go out and call the doctor in surgery. "We are all busy down here," he tells me.

"Well, one of you better come here soon," I snap.

"Fine," he shouts. "I'll come up there and you can come down here."

I smash the phone down.

A heavy-set pretty woman is sitting next to Mohammed's bed. "*Ah'len*," she whispers.

"Where do you come from?" I ask in Arabic.

"Bourj Brajneh."

I think about all the tanks around the camps.

"Tonight you stay here," I tell her. I'm tired and angry. I go and steal a blanket and a pillow for her.

Nabil is asleep again. Little Khalil is lying on his ruptured butt watching the ceiling. Big Khalil is staring at the wall. Saleh has his head under the pillow.

It's nearly 5 o'clock. The Israelis have encircled West Beirut.

September 18, 1982

This morning we learn what has happened. A woman stumbles down the ward corridor, her hair in her face, one shoe missing, dress torn, babbling, half-coherent: the militias have massacred the people in the camps.

The woman is immediately surrounded by families. Radwan's old toothless mother disappears and reappears instantly with strong coffee. The woman is pushed down to sit on a blanket on the floor.

She says they tied the children up like Christ. She holds her arms out and then makes a fast slashing movement with her arm across her throat. I can't find my daughter, she weeps. Noha shuts her eyes.

We set up the Lahoute Hospital again for casualties tonight. The International Red Cross is going in tomorrow to Sabra. I am sleeping in the basement and am too tired to write.

September 19, 1982

Last night the medical team from Gaza Hospital told us what had happened to them—about being marched down Sabra Street, about the people herded into the sports stadium, about the shootings, about the firing squads.

Early this morning the streets are quiet, with patrols at intervals. I walk towards Rue Clemenceau and back. The streets below the hospital are full of glass—my feet make heavy, crunching noises.

Have they killed everyone? I cannot even say their names very well today, but I see their faces: Hammoudi smiling through his fingers as he covers his face with his hands: Samira silent and still pale from her injuries of last month; Abed with his lovely eyes as he takes tea from his mother and hands it to me in their living room; Rashid and Naimi arguing over where to have supper—in the little garden or on the floor in the living room of the little house; Jamila, their youngest one, shooing a chicken away from the kitchen; and finally all of us sitting under the small trees in the courtyard of their house. "*Ah'len, ah'len*." The canary cheeping happily in its cage, the chickens puttering about underneath the table.

It is as though lightning has split my mind. I start with prayers, then with names in the middle of prayers, old snatches of prayers that I didn't know I had ever learned:

> "Grant us grace fearlessly to make no peace with oppression . . . relieve the oppressed, protect the innocent, defend them from the perils of this night—Abed, Rashid, Samira, Ahmed, Mouna, Nabil, Khaled . . ." Then I say nothing.

At work a friend of my head nurse sits at the nurses' station repeating, "God forgive us, God forgive us." There's little conversation and lots of work. I can scarcely contain myself, what with the street fighting, the curfews, the round-ups, the Israelis on our streets. And all the time I want to find Samira and the others. Yesterday was the same, except that today we know what has happened at Gaza—the lines of people-to-die, the sports stadium.

After work I walk for hours, to Lahoute, to Najjar, looking at faces, asking questions. At the Red Cross headquarters, someone tells me, "Fill

out these forms. If we don't have the people you're looking for, then you must look in the streets."

I begin to walk through Raouche down towards Ouzai. The yellow Ferris wheel has been burned out. It is not even yellow any more. The bombed buildings are full of people. I peer into doorways, asking for names, but no one knows any of my names. I give up speaking and just walk and look. I look at children's faces, listen to voices calling, stare at people through the dusty air, and curse my poor Arabic. When it gets dark, some of the black empty windows of the buildings are lit with candlelight.

I will keep on searching I will keep on searching, every day. Part of me refuses to believe they are all dead. I remember, the scene in *Macbeth* where Ross comes to tell MacDuff about the slaughter of his wife and children. MacDuff cries out, My children, too? All, replies Ross, wife, children, servants, all that could be found. MacDuff: All? All my pretty ones? Did you say all? Oh, hellkite? All?

Blunt not thy heart, Malcolm tells him, enrage it . . . receive what cheer you may. The night is long that never finds the day.

Is someone telling Hani that now? For now the men in Algiers, in Cyprus and in Hungary are learning about their families—their wives and parents and children.

Lay on, Hani and Radwan. There will never be peace now. And today I feel that this night will never find the sunrise and that we will never—any of us—wake up and be human beings again.

DR. PER MAEHLUMSCHLAGEN, M.D., Norway

"Most of the bodies had been shot by weapons held very near to their heads or their bodies. Some had their throats cut by knives, some were tortured in a very cruel manner."

I stayed at Gaza hospital two weeks before this. During that time I walked through these camps daily and in these camps there was no evidence of defence.

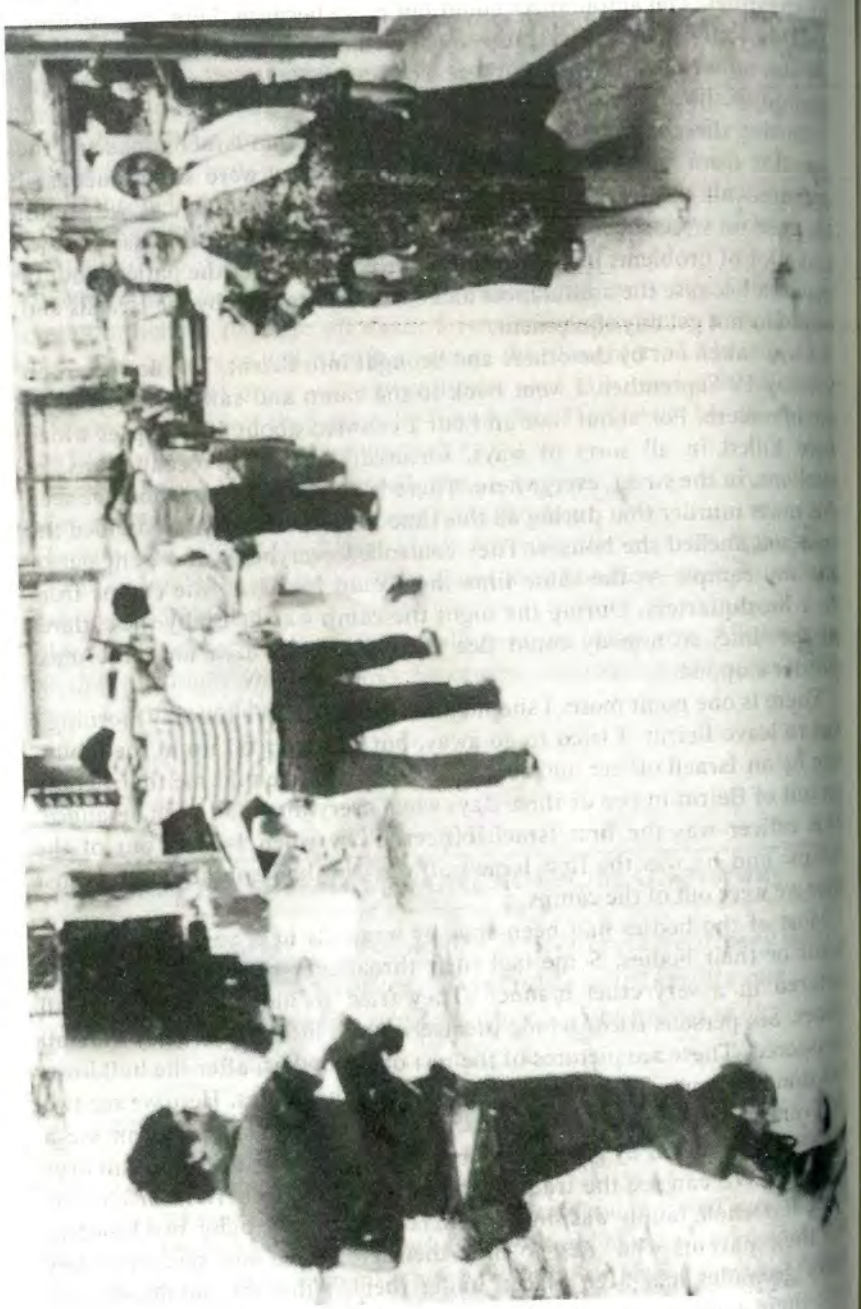
To those witnesses who have already given evidence I would just add the following. From 15 September when the mass murder started in the afternoon we received civilians who were wounded with almost no break until Friday afternoon. On Thursday 16 September we received about 100 civilian wounded, about 80 percent were children or women. Nearly all of them were wounded by bullets, gun shot. There were only a few wounded by shrapnel. The ambulances could not move because there was shooting, and the only people who came into the hospital were those carried by others; so we concluded that these wounded people were just the people around the hospital area.

During these three days we heard the shelling from Israeli tanks and the gunshot from soldiers inside the camps and they were simultaneous. I operated all the time on these wounded people, as much as we could, because we were short of equipment, staff and blood. In the last days we had a lot of problems in our work, but we could not get the patients out of the area because the ambulances and cars were stopped by the Israelis and we could not get any equipment.

I was taken out by the others and brought into Beirut. The day after, on Sunday 19 September, I went back to the camp and saw some results of the massacre. For about half an hour I counted about 100 corpses which were killed in all sorts of ways, tortured, and in all occupations, in kitchens, in the street, everywhere. There is no doubt for us who have seen this mass murder that during all this time the Israeli tanks surrounded the area and shelled the houses. They controlled everybody who went out or into the camps. At the same time they could look into the camps from their headquarters. During the night the camp was lit up by these flares all the time, so nobody could flee away from this area until the mass murder stopped.

There is one point more. I should add that on the Wednesday morning I was to leave Beirut, I tried to go away, but was stopped up in the mountain by an Israeli officer and sent back to Beirut. He told me that I could get out of Beirut in two or three days when everything had been arranged. This officer was the first Israeli officer I saw when I come out of the camps, and he was the first Israeli officer who had contact with us just after we were out of the camps.

Most of the bodies had been shot by weapons held very near to their heads or their bodies. Some had their throats cut by knives, some were tortured in a very cruel manner. They tried to hide themselves in all places. Six persons tried to hide themselves in a little room. They were all massacred. These are pictures of the rest of the bodies, after the bulldozer had done its work. They tried to hide most of the bodies. Here we see two children who were killed by bullets, a lot of bullets. Here we can see a group of men killed by gunshots but the first man here has been run over by tanks. We can see the trace of the tanks on his feet. Here inside this house the whole family was shot down. You can see the baby, two brothers and their parents who tried to hide themselves. We saw several bodies where grenades had been placed under them. After the bulldozers had done their work one could only see some of the bodies' feet or heads or arms sticking out.



VI

PRISONERS OF ISRAEL

Editor's Note:

With the November 24, 1983 Prisoner Exchange Agreement between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, fuller documentation concerning Israel's brutality towards prisoners taken during its invasion and occupation of Lebanon has emerged. Israel's pattern of prisoner maltreatment is documented in the testimony of several prisoners who experienced Israeli detention, including several from Al Ansar camp in Southern Lebanon.

In examining the testimony which follows, it is useful to recall the binding international legal standard with respect to the treatment of prisoners of war, the Geneva Convention (III) of 1949.

The Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War

The Third Geneva Convention of 1949 has been ratified by all states party to the Middle East hostilities. It focuses on prisoners of war and presents an international consensus on the treatment to be afforded to captured combatants as a result of international armed conflict.

The Third Geneva Convention, referred to as the POW Convention, has its origin in the 1907 Hague Regulations, and it adds support to the basic legal principles concerning prisoners contained in earlier international agreements. The POW Convention, as do the other three Geneva Conventions of 1949, substantially reflects and codifies international customary law on the subject. Consequently, its provisions bind even states which have not signed it. Contrary to denials by the government of Israel, the provisions of the POW Convention do apply to the combatants of the Palestine Liberation Organization, for the reasons noted below.

General Protections of the POW Convention

The 143 articles of the POW Convention elaborate specific protections and required treatment of prisoners of war, including such matters as control over the prisoners, conditions of internment, labor by prisoners of war, relations of prisoners of war with the outside world, penal and disciplinary sanctions, release and repatriation, hygiene, quarters, correspondence, and food.

Article 13 provides that prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act of omission by the detaining power causing death or seriously endangering the health of a prisoner of war in its custody is absolutely prohibited and will be regarded as a serious breach of the Convention. In addition, prisoners of war must at all times be protected against acts of violence and intimidation as well as insults and harassment. Reprisals against prisoners of war are absolutely prohibited.

Articles 14, 15 and 16 prohibit adverse distinctions among prisoners based on religious beliefs, political opinions, rights, or nationality.

Articles 17, 18, 19 and 20 prohibit physical or mental torture or any form of coercion to secure any information of any kind whatsoever.

Article 22 prohibits internment in unhealthy areas where the prisoners of war may be negatively affected.

Articles 25 to 28 stipulate specific obligations of the detaining power in furnishing quarters, food, and clothing to prisoners of war and provide that food be of sufficient quality, quantity, and variety to keep the prisoners of war in good health.

Articles 34 to 38 provide guarantees of the prisoners' practice of religion and enjoyment of intellectual and physical activities, including outdoor exercise.

Article 25 provides that prisoners of war be quartered under similar conditions to those forces of detaining power.

Articles 69 to 77 make provisions for the relation of prisoners of war with the outside world. These include the right to mail letters and to receive relief shipments.

Articles 78 to 81 concern the important matters of requests and complaints concerning conditions of detention, of relations between the prisoners of war and the authorities, and the appointment of prisoners' representatives who must be allowed ready access to the representatives of a protecting power.

Article 87 prohibits penalties to prisoners of war other than those provided for in the same act in respect to members of the armed forces of the detaining power, and provides that no prisoner of war may be tried or sentenced for an act not forbidden by the detaining power or by international law enforced at the time the act was committed.

Articles 109 and 110 stipulate the principles under which the party to the conflict is obligated to repatriate seriously wounded and sick prisoners of war.

Application of the Provisions of POW Convention to the PLO

Those entitled to the POW protection of the Convention as prisoners of war include regular armed forces personnel, members of militia forces, recognized or unrecognized volunteer corps, and individuals who formed part of a lawful "levee en masse," or group of citizens who take up arms in resistance to an invading army.

Israel claims that the Palestinian Liberation Army falls into none of these categories and is consequently not entitled to prisoner of war status under the Third Geneva Convention of 1949. In its July 18, 1982, memorandum to the U.S. State Department, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated:

> The members of the PLO and its associated terror groups detained by Israeli forces during the operation are not entitled to be accorded the status of Prisoners-of-War as determined in the Third Geneva Convention. The provisions of that Convention are not applicable to such terrorist groups in view of the fact that they are not party to the Convention and as such neither constitute nor belong to a party to the conflict in the sense of the Convention . . . . The PLO and its associated terror groups do not fall within any of the categories formulated in the Convention regarding persons entitled to the status of Prisoners-of-War. They are not "regular armed forces" and do not constitute an "organized resistance movement belonging to a party to the conflict." Nor do they fulfill the basic conditions laid

down by the convention for such organized resistance movements—especially the requirement that they conduct their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

In response to the request contained in paragraphs 4 and 5 of resolution 1982/48 the Government of Israel has provided the United Nations Secretariat with the following statement:

"In view of the fact that these terrorists have consistently violated the accepted norms of civilization, by choosing the unarmed and the defenseless as their exclusive target, and that the Convention itself does not apply to such terrorist organizations, they are not entitled to the status of prisoners of war."

Former Israeli Defense Minister Sharon has stated that he "regards prisoners taken in Lebanon as something less than common criminals." Moreover, on July 2, 1982, the Israeli Consul General in New York, Mr. Lavie, issued a statement to *The New York Times* in which he said, "Many of the 5,800 Palestinians taken prisoner by the Israeli Army in Lebanon [will] be tried as criminals. Those who are found guilty will be sentenced." Lavie stated that the Palestinians would not be treated as prisoners of war because the Palestine Liberation Organization did not "act as an army." The Israeli government position notwithstanding, the State Department has stated that the American government has determined that Palestinian prisoners are covered by the Convention and that it has repeatedly expressed its concern to the Israeli government about the application of the Geneva Convention.

The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs has erred in its interpretations of both the law and the facts regarding the standard of treatment due POW's. Contrary to the Israeli view, the POW Convention is designed to extend the coverage of the Convention's protections, and to avoid limiting the applicability of the Convention by reason of modes of political recognition. Article 4(A)(3) of the POW Convention includes the definition of the protected combatants:

> Members of regular armed forces who profess allegiance to a government or an authority not recognized by the detaining power.

The term "authority," as distinct from "government," means that the organization to which these forces belong need not necessarily be a "state." I submit that this language includes the armed forces of the PLO as "an authority not recognized by the detaining power." Indeed, as William Claiborne wrote in *The Washington Post* on June 13, 1982,

> Although army officials declined to acknowledge it, refusal to grant internationally recognized prisoners of war status to the guerrillas apparently is the result of a political decision stemming from a reluctance of Israeli officials to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as a legitimate armed force.

Another category of protected combatants under the Third Geneva Convention is "regular" forces, including militias, volunteer corps, and organized resistance groups, as long as they meet certain conditions. The group

(1) must belong to a party of the conflict;
(2) must be commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates;
(3) must ensure that its members have a fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance;
(4) must ensure that its members carry their arms openly; and
(5) must ensure that its members conduct their operations in accordance with the laws of war.

Party to the Conflict

Contrary to the assertions of the Israeli government, the PLO meets these criteria of the Geneva POW Convention, since its soldiers belong to a party to the conflict. The term "party to a conflict" is not the equivalent of "high contracting party" and it does not require a resistance organization necessarily to have the status of sovereign state belligerent.

The *Official Commentary* of the International Committee of the Red Cross states that an informal relationship between the irregular forces and the state belligerent would suffice.

> It may find expression merely by tacit agreement if the operations are such as to indicate clearly for which side the organization is fighting.

Other commentators have suggested that the organized resistance movement itself, in this case the Palestine Liberation Organization, may be considered the party to the conflict.

Commanded by a Person Responsible for His Subordinates

This requirement embodies the idea that the military organization has a chain of command and that individual fighters are subject to control by

orders from military superiors. No one, including the Israeli government, has doubted or raised a question about the lack of a command structure in the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Fixed Distinctive Sign Recognizable at a Distance

The purpose of this requirement is to ensure a clear distinction between combatants and civilians. It has been interpreted that a fixed distinctive sign must be worn only in circumstances where its concealment would directly jeopardize the lives or liberty of civilians. The "sign" itself is interpreted broadly, for example, an insignia or an armband.

The PLO has been found to have met the test with respect to the requirement of wearing distinctive signs. Moreover, there is no recorded instance of a combatant being denied prisoner of war status based on the failure of the irregular forces to wear a "fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance."

Openly Carry Arms

The United Nations Secretary-General has interpreted this requirement to mean

> All members of militias, volunteer corps of other organized movements should carry arms in the way which is similar to that utilized by members of regular armed forces, when they are engaged in operations which can reasonably be expected to require the use of weapons. This would cover actual combat and operations preparatory, in a direct manner, to the combat (for example, infiltration to enemy lines), but not in ancillary activities such as information-gathering and propaganda among civilians.

Conduct Operations in Accordance with the Laws and Customs of War

On three different occasions, specifically in 1969, 1974, and June 1982, the PLO firmly declared its intentions to conduct its military operations in accordance with the laws of war, including the Geneva Conventions and the 1977 Protocol, by proper communication with the Swiss Federal Political Department in Geneva.

It may well be argued that the fact that the PLO has accepted the Geneva Convention and the 1977 Protocol does not bind Israel. Israel not only has refused to ratify the Protocol but also specifically opposed Article 96(3) during the meetings preparatory to the conference [between 1974 and 1977.] On the other hand, Israel did not object at the time of the PLO declaration with respect to Article 93. It may well be that Israel, by its silence, is estopped from denying application of the POW Convention to the PLO and is deemed to have given tacit consent.

In 1948, in the conflict in Palestine, the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi on one side, and the Arab High Committee and the Secretary General of the Arab League on the other side, declared that they were prepared to respect the Geneva Conventions. Consequently, it may be argued that Israel is today unable to oppose the declaration of acceptance by the PLO. Although Israel is free to reject the Protocol, it cannot prevent its application to the PLO. The Palestinian population and the PLO were under the sovereignty and the authority of Lebanon as far as international law is concerned, and were bound by the same authority as the rest of the population of Lebanon. The same situation applied to the Free French forces under General de Gaulle, captured by the Germans in World War II. Following the intervention of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Germany declared that it would consider the Free French forces as fighters of England and would accord them the status of prisoners of war from the country in whose army they served.

During the preparatory conference which led to the signing of the Geneva Conventions, the signatories discussed the idea that combatant forces not recognized as eligible for POW status would be accorded that status if they were fighting side by side with forces belonging to a party to the conflict. Although this proposal was abandoned in favor of simply broadening the coverage, this case fits perfectly that of the Palestinians fighting in Lebanon against the Israeli forces.

The important point is that neither the text of the Geneva Convention nor the Commentary of the ICRC requires that the authority be constituted as a state, rather it is sufficient that it be recognized by other states and that it declares its acceptance of the obligation of the convention. Again, this is precisely the case of the PLO.

Following this adhesion to the Geneva Conventions, the Red Cross was immediately given access to the Israeli pilot captured on July 4, 1982.

The evidentiary record makes plain that the Palestine Liberation Organization meets the conditions for applicability of the Third Geneva Convention to its forces. Despite its great efforts, the Israeli government has not established by clear and convincing evidence that the PLO has not conducted its operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

Moreover, given the enormous amount of documentation of flagrant violations of the laws and customs of war by the Israeli military, it is curious that the Israeli government has held the Palestinians to a higher standard than the Israelis have set for themselves in order to deprive

Palestinian prisoners of the protections guaranteed by the Geneva POW Convention.

It is this standard of humane treatment required by the 1949 Geneva Convention (III) which applies to Israel's treatment of prisoners evidenced in the following testimony.

DR. CHRISTOPHER GIANNOU, Surgeon, Canada

"I feel like a character from Dante. I have seen hell and returned."

My name is Dr. C. Giannou. For the last two years, I have been a surgeon with the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS). I was Medical Director of the Nabetieh Hospital and most recently was working in Sidon during hostilities there. I am not a spokesman nor representative of the Lebanese Government nor of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I was detained by Israeli authorities from June 13 to June 15 in Sidon, Lebanon, and then until June 20 in the Megido (Armageddon) Prison in the north of Israel. The Israeli authorities denied holding me and my two Norwegian colleagues in detention until June 18, in spite of presentations by the Canadian and Norwegian Foreign Ministries. My release from Israeli prison on June 20 was "unconditional." I was not released into the custody of the Canadian Embassy, nor was I expelled from the country, and no charges were ever officially made against me. We were released and are free today to appear before this Committee because we are holders of Canadian and Norwegian passports. My colleagues of various nationalities are still in custody. Surgeons, general practitioners, male nurses, paramedical technicians and ambulance drivers who have done no more or less than we, are still being detained because they are not in possession of passports such as ours.

I feel a little like a character from Dante. I have seen hell and returned. Many others were not quite so fortunate. I have been witness to suffering and death on so massive a scale that looking back on it now from these quiet surroundings, there is something surreal about my memories.

I have been a witness to the total, utter devastation of residential areas and the blind, savage, indiscriminate destruction of refugee camps by simultaneous shelling and carpet bombing from aircraft, gunboats, tanks and artillery. The scene in the refugee camp of Ain Halwi, several square

kilometers large with a population just prior to hostilities of between 60,000 and 80,000, was one of apocalypse now. Not a single dwelling was left intact. There were areas where one could no longer distinguish where roads had been and where buildings had once stood. All that remained were large blackened craters filled with rubble and debris, broken concrete slabs and twisted iron bars, and corpses. The topography of certain areas had been changed. Nature, itself, seemed to have been injured. There is a contradiction in terms when an area of several square kilometers with a population density of 15,000 to 20,000 per square kilometer is razed and then to say that the civilian population was spared.

I have been a witness to hospitals being shelled. The Government Hospital in Ain Halwi, across the road from the main refugee camp where I worked from June 7 to 10, was hit on five or six separate occasions. The first shell hit the water pipes on the first floor and we were obliged to drink intravenous infusions for the succeeding days. One shell hit the emergency reception area on June 9 and killed between forty and fifty people who had taken refuge there.

I have been a witness to women and children being allowed to pass through Israeli lines back into the refugee camp on June 11 and the shelling of the camp resumed two hours later. I have been a witness to the reign of confusion amongst the civilian population in and around the camp. Leaflets had been dropped from Israeli airplanes telling people to cross over Israeli lines to get out of the zone of hostilities. Very few of the leaflets fell into the camp itself. Israeli authorities later stated that they had also used loud speakers, but we in the hospital never heard them. It was never clear where exactly the people were supposed to go, up into one set of hills or another, down to the sea shore, of even to re-group in the Government Hospital itself. At one point, on June 9, between 3,000 and 4,000 civilians had taken refuge in the hospital—entire families, the elderly and those who had been separated from their families. And the shelling of the hospital continued with all these people in it.

I have been a witness to the use of cluster bombs as early as June 5 in the city of Nabatich, and later in the camp of Ain Halwi. I have seen the pyramidal remains of steel with aluminum pods attached by springs at each corner and the excavated concavity in the steel body where the explosive is placed. The sound of these bombs exploding in the middle of the refugee camp is unmistakable; hundreds of little detonations over a period of 10 to 12 seconds resembling a pitched battle of small arm fire. I have seen the calcinated, carbonized bodies of the victims of phosphorous bombs, frozen in their position at the time of death. I have treated the minor skin wounds covering mangled bone and muscle caused by the shrapnel of concussion bombs.

I have been a witness to 300 cadavers in the peripheral areas of the Ain Halwi camp while I was evacuating the Government Hospital; to the 40 to

50 cadavers in the emergency reception area in the Government Hospital; to 20 inside the hospital amongst my patients, including a woman killed by shrapnel coming in through the window from a shell that had landed in the hospital gardens and who left a five-hour old orphan; to two cadavers in the PRCS hospital when I later returned to it after the evacuation of the Government Hospital. I later saw another 25 corpses in one of the large private hospitals of the city of Sidon (Ghassan Hammoud Hospital). These above-mentioned figures do not include the rumors of yet other victims that were rampant in the city. I, therefore, was a witness to about 400 killed in only a few small blocks of the camp and city, which is approximately three-quarters of the total deaths admitted to by Israeli authorities for the entire region of south Lebanon.

I have been a witness to the entire male staff of the PRCS medical team in Sidon and Nabatieh being taken into custody, prevented from continuing their medical duties and being treated as ordinary prisoners without any respect to their person. The PRCS, once one of the main institutions for medical services in south Lebanon with 3 hospitals, numerous out-patient clinics and a center for mentally retarded children and occupational rehabilitation where Mr. and Mrs. Moller worked, no longer exists there.

I have been a witness to men being taken prisoner upon the denunciation of hooded collaborators, neither accuser nor accusations ever being made known to us. The entire male population of Sidon which had crossed Israeli lines to get out of the zone of hostilities was herded onto the beach and then taken one by one, and paraded past three parked jeeps. In each jeep sat a man wearing a hood with the eyes punched out or a blanket wrapped around him to cover his face, an Israeli soldier sitting next to each one. As the men paraded past, a number of them would be singled out, pulled from the line, a large "X" or something in Hebrew written on their backs and then placed against a wall. In this way, there were 4,000 to 5,000 men arrested including myself, two Norwegian colleagues and the entire male medical staff of the PRCS in Sidon. I later learned that the same situation prevailed in Tyr, and that the PRCS staff there suffered a similar fate.

This was the most terrifying experience of all. The war was something you could cope with. But when you stand in front of someone who is hidden behind a mask, you cannot defend yourself. You cannot face your accuser . . . or even try to explain. You don't know what you are accused of and are completely at the mercy of some blind denunciation.

After being taken into custody, the prisoners were led to a convent school and placed there in the schoolyard. There were 500 to 600 prisoners at any one time in the yard, new groups of prisoners being continuously brought in and others being taken out. The conditions of detention were difficult; hands bound, the stifling heat, food and water in short supply.

Prisoners would be taken into one of three classrooms used for interrogation purposes. I, myself, was interrogated five times during the four days that I was kept there. During one of my interrogations, I could hear blows struck in the next room and saw the prisoner as he exited; his face was puffed up, eyes blackened and blood trickled from the corner of his mouth. The scene in the schoolyard, however, was one of savage and indiscriminate beatings of the prisoners by the forty Israeli guards. A prisoner would call out for water and be told that there was none. When he continued to call out, he would be insulted and then a guard would wade into the crowd and start to beat him. The physical abuse ranged from simple punching and kicking to beatings with wooden sticks, plastic hose or even a bunch of pieces of rope with nuts and bolts tied to the ends; a sort of modern cat-o-nine-tails. One Palestinian, a Dr. Nabil, was at one point hung by his hands from a tree and beaten. An Iraqi surgeon, Dr. Mohamad Ibrahim, was beaten by several guards viciously and left to lie in the sun with his face buried in the sand. Other surgeons and cotros were also beaten: Dr. Ahmed Soubra, a Lebanese, and Drs. Seifeddin, Mohammad Iman and Shafiq El-Islam, Bangladeshi nationals. The two Norwegians and I were not beaten. I, myself, was struck but once. It was obvious that orders had been given that we were not to be molested. The darker-skinned Arabs, Africans and Asians (Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Indians) present were those who were beaten the most severely.

I have been a witness to four prisoners who were beaten to death. I was called upon by an Israeli soldier to examine two of the cadavers. Dr. Berge examined another two cadavers and saw another five or six piled into an ambulance. It is impossible to say whether the two corpses that I examined were amongst the five or six in the ambulance, and, therefore, I cannot say with exactitude the number of prisoners beaten to death during those four days.

I have been a witness to Israeli officers and even the military governor of Sidon, a Colonel Arnon Amozer, being witness to these beatings and not doing anything about it. I have also been a witness to several of the Israeli guards who attempted to stop the beatings, and on several occasions actual arguments breaking out amongst the guards between those doing the beating and those who attempted to have them cease.

I, at one point, asked one of the officers interrogating me that if it were absolutely necessary that I be detained that I be so in the PRCS Hospital in order to be able to take care of my patients. Permission was refused. Mrs. Moller, who remained in the hospital after we had been detained has stated that one of the patients died and others suffered severe complications because no other medical services were made available to them. Conditions of detention inside the prison at Megido were much improved; water and food were available and we were no longer bound. But, only a small minority of the prisoners were detained inside the prison; the two

Norwegians and I, a couple of hundred Egyptian nationals who were being rehearsed by an Israeli officer to shout "Long live Begin," and a dual Lebanese-Austrian national who had spent several days in the field around the prison with several thousands of other prisoners. The conditions there, in the fields, resembled those of the schoolyard in Sidon; the prisoners bound and left out in the open, with food and water rationed and a continuation of the beatings. After two days there, we were handcuffed and blindfolded and taken out of doors for 48 hours during which time we were interrogated in one of a series of wooden shacks in the compound around the prison.

We were finally taken to Tel Aviv on the evening of June 20 and released at the Foreign Military Attache Liaison Office.

DR. FRANCIS CAPET

"Not far from there, about three metres away, there was a man lying on the ground with a shirt over his head and he was beaten every five minutes, or even less. He was beaten by hands, by feet, by sticks, by ropes."

I was taken under the same conditions and together with Dr. Steinar Berge, Oyvind Moller and Dr. Chris Giannou. We were taken to the same place and I had my hands tied behind my back. I was taken for interrogation almost immediately. Then I was placed in the same courtyard beside Steinar Berge and Oyvind Moller. After about half-an-hour they moved me to another place. That place was a bit away from the other prisoners, about four metres. It was a Sunday playground for the children with metal poles where there had been a swing before. I sat facing the other prisoners and I had quite a good view of almost all the school yard. On my left there was a man who was tied to one of the poles and he had been beaten, you could see the bruises. He was talking all the time, maybe for an hour, in English with an Israeli soldier. On my right there sat a man who looked to be dead. He was certainly unconscious and his right jaw was very swollen and bloody with flies on it. He had on only pants and was covered with sand. After half-an-hour or an hour he woke up and I heard his voice. I recognised that it was Dr. Nabil. He was tied around this pole with a rope around his neck and also around his shoulders.

Not far from there, about three metres away, there was a man lying on the ground with a shirt over his head and he was beaten every five minutes,

or even less. He was beaten by hands, by feet, by sticks, by ropes, quite hard and he screamed. I think this was the reason why he was beaten—to make the other prisoners afraid. Later they brought into the same playing ground Dr. Ibrahim who is a cardiovascular surgeon of Iraqi origin. He had been beaten also. You could see the marks of the ropes on his hands and his mind was disturbed. He was talking really like a child, weeping a bit like a child and he told me how he had been beaten. He laid his head in the sand and told me how happy he was to be able to lay his head in the sand after having been there for three days and having only asphalt to sleep on. He was very afraid of being killed this day or the day after. I also saw three or four people lying unconscious on the ground. They were really unconscious and not sleeping because they were kicked from time to time and they did not react. Then I saw that all the other prisoners were beaten from time to time when they moved. It is very difficult not to move when you are forced to sit in the sun. They were beaten not so severely but they were beaten with sticks and rubber tubes and with ropes. They were not allowed to move. Sometimes they were allowed to go and urinate and sometimes not. They were always humiliated and there was very much shouting.

As for food and water, they got one loaf of bread and around one litre of water for 10 persons without having their hands untied. They caught the water from above as it was poured into their mouths. There were officers present.

After six hours I was released. There was some mistake. I do not know why they released me. The man who interrogated me I met as I left. He was astonished to see me leaving. I think there was a lack of coordination between the people who took me prisoner and the other people who knew there was no doctor at all in the hospital at this time.

DR. STEINAR BERGE, Physician, Norway

"I would like to mention Dr. Nabil, our preventive health doctor in Ain el Helweh camp and south Lebanon region. I saw him dragged around in the camp with a rope around his neck and he was beaten savagely."

I had been in Sidon for one month on a three month assignment when the war started. Two days before the arrests all Europeans had been down

on the beach and were told that we could walk freely around. The next two days we often talked with the Israelis about the health personnel, that we wanted them back and that we could not perform our operations because of the lack of anaesthetists. I think that was one of the reasons why they decided to arrest us. They got tired of us, especially the General Commander or Military Governor of the region, Arnon Moser. The last two doctors went down to the beach and we followed them to see what happened. They arrested us.

On that first day, together with Chris Giannou, I examined one dead man. My first interrogation was after 36 hours and I thought perhaps that I had seen too much. During this interrogation I was taken out into the school yard. I think the interrogator wanted to see if I was a real doctor. He said that he himself had been working as a doctor, but it was not his job now and he was a reservist in the army. I examined one dead body and I could tell him that this man was recently dead. Two metres from me was an ambulance with a caravan; the back door was open and inside were piled five or six dead bodies. There was also one man in a very bad state, in some kind of shock, heat shock or suffering from lack of water, I do not know. We took him into the shade. Then I was taken into the interrogation room again and the interrogator said that he wanted to release me, but apparently his officers did not agree. So I was also sent to Israel.

I would like to mention Dr. Nabil, our preventive health doctor in Ain el Helweh camp and the south Lebanon region. I saw him dragged around in the camp with a rope around his neck and he was beaten savagely. I saw him the next day when we spent a day at the Saffa Citrus Corporation. He looked very very tired, but he still sat and we could see the scars on his neck.

On the bus to Israel, I can confirm what Dr. Islam said. Just before we were taken on the bus to Israel our interrogator, the one who wanted to release us, came to the transport officer and said that we should be treated well. So we were not blindfolded and Oyvind Moller and I were not even tied. We could see what was going on and we were sitting in the front of the bus. We even got cigarettes from the soldiers. From time to time they went down the bus and beat the other prisoners who were tied and blindfolded, as Dr. Islam described. They tooked at us from time to time and wondered whether they should beat that much because we were looking at them. Perhaps they beat less because we were in the bus. At some stops in Israel people came on to the bus and beat the prisoners. Those were probably soldiers and some from Kibbutzes. We were a little uncertain as to whether there were also some civilians. We are not 100 percent sure about that.

When we came to Megido prison, we stopped and the three of us were blindfolded. I thought I should go out, so I went out and sat in front of the bus. I could see six to eight people: you learn how to look under a blindfold. I could see sticks. I could not see their faces. They were waiting to beat us and I thought that now the good treatment was over. But then they told me to get into the bus again. It was only the coloured people, the Lebanese, Palestinians and perhaps some other nationalities who were taken out at that point and beaten. We could hear the blows just beside the bus and the screams. We ourselves were taken into a special cell together with the friends, as the Israelis said, the Egyptians and others with international relations with Israel. I was later unconditionally released to our ambassador in Tel Aviv. There have been statements by the Israeli Embassy in Washington saying that we were terrorists, but after the Canadian Embassy complained to the Israeli Foreign Office it declared that there was no reason for such accusations and that the Israeli Embassy had been misinformed.

CROSS EXAMINATION OF Dr. Shafique Islam, Oyvind Moller, Dr. Steinar Berge, Dr. Francis Capet and Pascal Mathey

Nordic Commission: I understand that you were interrogated about your identity and you were accused of being terrorists. I would like to ask whether you were interrogated also about other things? Whether you knew anything of military interest, for instance, or whether you noticed other prisoners whom you saw being beaten, whether they were interrogated during the beating or immediately before or after? What was the purpose of this beating? Was it just to scare people or was it to extract information from them?

Witness: The main purpose of the beating is still not clear to me. They beat me once. They asked me how I had come in contact with Dr. Giannou. I said that I came in contact with Dr. Giannou for three days. He had come to our hospital as a surgeon and for the last three days I knew him. But still I found they were beating me. So what their real purpose was still is not clear to me.

Witness: At my interrogation they asked me first what I came to do in Lebanon and whether I was a terrorist, whether I was a Communist, whether I had any contact with the PLO, whether I had contact with the PLO in Belgium. They asked me if I knew names of important men in the PLO and they asked me if I knew anything about the Israeli pilot. A plane had been shot down over Sidon. Three people were shot down, two in a helicopter who died immediately and one pilot. He had been paraded on Sunday but we were not present there. We heard this afterwards in a car. The living pilot was inside the car but a dead body was pulled behind the

car and beaten by the people in the streets as it was pulled through the streets of Sidon and brought to Beirut. Almost every day Israeli soldiers came to the hospital to look for the body of this pilot. That is why they asked.

Witness: I was not beaten during interrogation. I do not know about other people. The people I saw being beaten were not being interrogated. This beating was, I think, mainly to scare the people around and maybe to punish the people who had been beaten, but I do not know for what, because they were unconscious and after they came out of unconsciousness they were beaten again, without interrogation.

Witness: I was also asked about this pilot but I had no answer. During my second interrogation in Megido, the prison in Israel, I heard people scream with pain in the room behind me.

Witness: I was never asked about this famous dead pilot, but I was asked who I was, what I was doing there, why I was going to work with the Palestinians. They could not understand that a Norwegian, civilised people, went to help Palestinians, that the Norwegian Government had even given money to different projects for the Palestinians. About the beatings, some people had been beaten for one week or even two weeks before they came to their first interrogation in Megido. Many of the Egyptians who were with us, the so-called friends, most of them construction workers, had been beaten a lot before they suddenly became friends of Israel. They had not been interrogated by the time we left, when they had been prisoners for 10 days.

Nordic Commission: You examined the dead body, I think. Was it possible for you during these circumstances to define the exact reason for the death of the prisoner?

Witness: It would be very difficult to say exactly what the dead bodies had died of without an autopsy, but we saw people being beaten till they were lying down and we knew that for the first two days they got no water. The food was very bad, there was no shelter from the heat. What was the cause of death in each case is difficult to say. But altogether I saw eight dead bodies in this school yard. The first evening it was passed along the rows that something was happening at the far end, they were taking away the dead bodies. That was the rumour that went through the lines.

Witness: I think any reason was good enough for being beaten during interrogation. They asked me, 'Did you see the pilot?' I said 'No, I was working at another hospital.' They said, 'Well, you see the picture?' But I was not in the picture. Still they asked me if I had seen the pilot or not. I said no, and still I was beaten, why I do not know.

Nordic Commission: We heard from Mr. Schoenman that other kinds of torture also seemed to be used. I think he mentioned electric shock and being burned by cigarettes. Did you witness or notice marks or were you told about these kinds of torture?

Witness: Almost all the prisoners had electric shocks and cigarette burns. I would mention the same said Dakwar, driver of the ambulance of Sidon emergency hospital. He had marks on the nipple. He also had electric shocks to his genitals and other cigarette burns over his back and over his hand still present. If you would like to enquire he is now in Section No 20 at Ansar.

ANONYMOUS PRISONER OF EL ANSAR

"No medication was available, there was only aspirin. There were some old people, but they did not receive any care. There were also crazy people. There was also someone for example who had had his hand cut off. The doctor asked the Israeli authorities to allow him to remove the man from the camp in order to treat him but they refused."

Testimony obtained at Borj Shemali on October 12, 1982 from a Palestinian arrested on June 10 and liberated on October 11. For obvious security reasons, the person preferred to remain anonymous.

On June 10, when the Israeli armed forces attacked Sour (Tyre), the Israelis began to gather us at the Borj el Shemali refugee camp. They then took two groups of persons on the sole basis of being fedayeen. I was among the second group. They took us to Sidon and then to Safaa. There we were treated very badly: we had to sleep on the ground, without a blanket and we were only given a tomato and a piece of bread, nothing to drink and no cigarettes. This was on Saturday. The following day, they put us on a bus, blindfolded us and bound our hands behind our backs, after having taken away our watches, money, etc. . . They hit us throughout the journey. For example, one Israeli soldier wanted to avenge the death of his brother and he never stopped beating us.

They took us to Israel in the Hadera area. When we arrived, they took off our clothes and gave us *prisoner clothing*. We were about 500. After that they transfered us from one place to the next, hitting us and treating us badly, without giving us any cigarettes.

We were Palestinians and Lebanese and they accused us of belonging to the parties or organizations of the Lebanese National Movement or to the PLO. There were some militants but mostly many innocent people who had been taken as "change" in case negotiations should take place for the exchange of prisoners. We were staying in tents.

Then the interrogation began and they systematically did not believe what we were saying. They broke my arm twice with clubs during the interrogation. The people who were hitting us then belonged to the military police which specializes in torture, they were torturers. We stayed in Israel for 17 days. They constantly hit us.

They then transferred us to Ansar, without ever stopping the beatings while we were traveling. Water and tobacco were prohibited. We were not allowed to lift our heads. The trip lasted for 7 hours. There were 60 of us jammed together. The Israeli soldier was next to the driver. As soon as he heard someone speaking in the back, he stepped on all the others to go and hit him.

When we arrived, we were put on the ground and each given an identification card (i.e. prisoner cards with a registration number and our nationality and which were handed out by the Israeli Army). When the Israeli soldiers noted that a prisoner was a Palestinian, they hit him. Our hands were on our heads while we were holding this identification card. One soldier came up to me and said that I was Arafat. I told him that if it was Arafat he wanted he should go and get him, that I had nothing to do with Arafat. He then hit me. Someone next to me was hit until he fell unconscious. They were hitting for the mere pleasure of hitting.

They then took us with the other prisoners into the camp. They had infiltrated among us some people who were working for them. Every time a soldier passed we had to stand up, with our hands on our heads, and this was the case all day long. We had very little to eat. They then gave us 4 cigarettes per day, sometimes nothing at all.

When the ICRC intervened, we were given tents. They then stopped hitting us. They took away the clubs from the military police.

I stayed in Ansar for two and a half months. Then my name came up and we were let go on October 11; there were 190 of us. We were all Palestinians from Sidon, from Bass, from Borj el Shemali, all refugees from South Lebanon. Those among us from Borj el Shemali were very much afraid because of the fights that took place when the Israeli Army entered and because of their hatred due to the destroyed tanks. They do not call our camp a "refugee camp" but refer to it as a "military camp with terrorists." And when they called us we did not believe that we would be freed. When we left they terrified us, they forced us to bow our heads and prohibited any talking.

In the Ansar camp there were 47 of us in one tent. They obliged us to sleep when they wanted it. In the beginning, they brought us one loaf of bread per day, one egg for two, one can of meat for 7, a small can of halwa (as large as a package of cigarettes) for 12. We used to cook: a group among us took care of this. In the morning we drank one glass of tea. Quite often the Israeli soldiers took the food which was supposed to be for us, such as bananas or oranges.

In the camp, the Israelis named one person who was in charge of 500 persons in the camp (he was the "kapo"). This person used to hit us often. In our camp, he was a Syrian prisoner who demoralised everybody, prohibited the Palestinians from talking because they were Palestinians, seriously hit the prisoners, mainly the Lebanese because he was pushed to do it by the Israelis. Anyone who talked was denounced by this "boss" to the information service of the camp, which would hit the person and take him in for an interrogation and would then lock him in a cell for 2 or 3 days.

Once, for example, a young man told the ICRC that he was embarassed to go to the men's room in front of 25 people and asked whether it would be possible to change this. He had also mentioned tortures which had been inflicted upon him. He was put in a cell for 15 days.

However, some interventions by the ICRC were beneficial. For example, one kapo who was sexually obsessed was replaced with another (although the first one was not punished). For example, they managed to obtain that we would be able to talk to them without having Israeli soldiers around. For example, we were able to send news to our families. They also brought us playing cards and chess games. They intervened to increase our food allowances, to provide us with sweaters (between 2 and 4) and with cigarettes.

Besides the Palestinians and the Lebanese, there were also Syrians, Iraqis, people from Bangladesh. In Ansar there were about 20 camps with 500 prisoners in each of them, or 10,000 prisoners, without counting those who remained in Israel and those who are still being interrogated. I did not see any people from Beirut who had been arrested but I heard that they had taken prisoners from Borj el Barajneh.

We received news from the outside world, either through rumors or from the military officials in the camp (like Mr. Gensher who expressed his regrets about the Sabra and Shatila massacre), or during interrogations in order to intimidate us or make us nervous.

The Palestinians who were not residents of Lebanon were being taken to Israel for one or two weeks in order to be interrogated (in Djalami). They were then brought back to Ansar. (In Israel, we were in Hadera under tents. This did not prevent the Israelis from taking some prisoners into a cell situated in a prison to interrogate them, and this by using all the means of terror).

In Ansar, we rebelled because of the Sabra and Shatila massacre mainly in order to put an end to the Israeli practice of telling us that they had come to Lebanon to protect us. Before this we had gone on a hunger strike. They shot on the prisoners and two people were killed.

On the day of Ahda, women came to protest around the camps. Prisoners started attacking the Israelis with stones and the soldiers shot with their guns in order to quell the rebellion. One person was killed and

37 injured. They refused to treat the wounded as long as peace and quiet had not been restored. They started interrogating us one after the other in order to find out what the reasons were for this rebellion. The revolt had however been spontaneous: it was a holiday and the Israelis had no reason for keeping us. No judgment had been pronounced. Nobody knew what would become of us. It was also because of the living conditions in the prisons. It was also due to the fact that we had heard that they treated our parents badly in the refugee camps. In each camp there was one doctor. They then took the wounded to treat them. The doctor was outside of the camp and was treating the wounded through the barbed wire. And what a treatment this was!

No medication was available, there was only aspirin. There was some old people, but they did not receive any care. There were also crazy people. There was also someone for example who had had his hand cut off. The doctor asked the Israeli authorities to allow him to remove the man from the camp in order to treat him but they refused.

One thing has to be noted: once we had been arrested, they dressed us in *military clothing* to make believe that we were all soldiers. And for the propaganda and the mass media they wanted to make believe that we were all fedayeen. Mainly for the Jews. The proof of this is that once there were no more cameras, etc. they made us take the military clothing off.

Once we left Ansar we had to return everything including the sweaters.

I forgot to mention the hooded men. In my mind, those who collaborate with the Israelis are most of the time good-for-nothings who do not know anything. They denounced people as being fighters whereas we knew that they were not. I saw them at Safaa and in Israel. The Israeli Army had made us come out, in lines of 10. This person was either hooded or hiding behind a blanket with cut-out holes and denounced people by pointing at them with a stick. The persons who had thusly been denounced were beaten, even if they admitted that they were not fedayeen.

JOSEPH ALGAZY, Israel

"The fate of the prisoners remains shrouded in mystery."

Memorandum to Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights

Six months after the war against Lebanon was started the fate of the prisoners of war remains shrouded in mystery. This topic has preoccupied

the League since the outbreak of the war, and its committee has drawn public attention to it in a press conference held on July 12, 1982. Lately there have been coming in reports from various sources (most of which we cannot specify), and adding them one to one we were led to the conclusion that we are facing one of the gloomiest aspects of the latest war. We are well aware that the following is only a tiny bit of what is actually happening. The systematic concealment, revealed by the following data about the state in which the prisoners of war find themselves, is in itself a heavy indictment, conveying to us the severity of the situation. Moreover, we are still missing the direct testimony of the prisoners themselves. Nevertheless, the already available material makes it imperative on us not to keep silent, but bring the facts to the public knowledge

THE MAIN DEMAND SHOULD BE: Set free at once all the prisoners of war—Israeli, Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian and others—by the way of a comprehensive settlement, agreed upon by all the concerned under international auspices, like the International Red Cross and the United Nations.

How many POWs are there?

Having invaded Lebanon the "Israeli Defense Forces" (IDF) detained at time of the hostilities and in their wake (and is still detaining) thousands of people. The Israeli authorities refuse any request to make public the exact number of people which were taken prisoners. A report of "Amnesty International" (AI) of August 9, 1982 estimated the number of people detained (or having been detained in the enlarged prisoners' camp of "Al Ansaar" near Nabatiya, South Lebanon) as 10,000.

In our estimate the total number of prisoners, those who were set free already, and those who are still being detained-amounts to approximately 15,000, including children and aged people (Tally Selinger, "Davar" of November 29, 1982), coming from various nationalities ("International Herald Tribune" of July 12, 1982 quoting "official Israeli sources").

How are they detained?

According to the above report of AI "there were among the detained also Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, as well as members of other nationalities. It has been reported that many of them were caught in the streets with the assistance of masked informers and thereupon taken to arrest." This way of arresting people was reported by foreign correspondents during the hostilities. A member of IDF told French correspondent Francois Sergeant ("Liberation" of June 22, 1982) "that terrorists are identified by their physiognomy. We have acquired some experience in this respect, but in addition we have lists and informers, too."

Thus, young men were detained, anybody who could have been a member of the PLO or was denounced as such, or was supposedly connected in some way or other with the PLO and its institutions, or received some kind of support (like a welfare allowance) from the PLO, or was employed in a Palestinian hospital, or supposedly declared his sympathy with the PLO. In our estimate, out of the thousands of Palestinian prisoners, only a few hundred actually fought in the ranks of the PLO. The authority of detaining people was bestowed upon every Israeli commanding officer in the field, as he deemed it fit. People were hunted down in the streets, were driven together and handcuffed. Their eyes were covered and at last they were taken to the places of detention.

Where are they being held?

There are as many places of detention as there are units of command and districts of military government in the occupied territories of Lebanon, and this in addition to the central camps of detention, some of which have become known. Until now it has been ascertained that prisoners have been detained in the following places:

1. The concentration camp of "Al Ansaar."
2. The military prison near Athlith (south of Haifa).
3. A school building of Sidon (Report of AI, testimony given by Dr. Francis Capet of Belgium, "Humanite" of July 1, 1982).
4. The premises of the "Safa" Citrus Company south of Sidon.
5. The military prison in the vicinity of the Meggido junction (east of Haifa).
6. The old and neglected "Shmuel Harofe" hospital of Be'er Ya'akov (south of Tel Aviv)—for wounded prisoners.
7. The collapse of the Military Government's building in Tyre revealed that it had contained rooms of detention, and interrogation, where prisoners were held. (Some of them were killed when the building collapsed, others were wounded).
8. Detainees from the West Bank who had been held in the Hebron prison told afterwards that they had met there prisoners from the Lebanon.

The Israeli authorities were concealing not only the numbers of the prisoners of war, but also the places of their detention. There is no international agency concerned with prisoners of war and their conditions according to the Geneva Convention, neither is there any humanitarian Israeli or otherwise, who knows where all the POWs are being held.

In order to increase the confusion and thwart any possibility to ascertain the existence and identity of the POWs and follow up the conditions

of prisonship and their fate, they are transferred from time to time from one place of detention to another. One gets the impression that whenever a new place of detention is revealed there comes to the light further "bags", where there are held some more POWs, still to be found out.

Who is in charge of the prisoners?

Apparently it is the military police which is in charge of the POWs, but actually they are at the mercy of the "General Security Services" (GSS). That some GSS men are with the POWs became known accidentally when the military government's building collapsed in Tyre. On another occasion one of the GSS men affirmed that "he and his colleagues did a very nice job."

Some time ago undenied news leaked out about the conditions in which wounded POWs were held in the "Shmuel Harofe" Hospital. This news aroused apprehensions that the POWs are more under the treatment of the GSS interrogators than under the treatment of the medical staff. Besides that, the medical treatment itself was faulty because of the shortage of medical equipment. A certain doctor, relative of a well known political personality, refused to work in the "Shmuel Harofe" hospital because of the utterly deficient conditions of medical care there. The POWs that were killed when the Tyre building collapsed were barely mentioned; there were wounded among them, who had been hospitalized before, but were sent back to detention at the first opportunity.

The case of Jamaal Sirhaan

POWs who are hospitalized, for instance, in the "Malben" Hospital of Nahariya, in ward number 6 are being kept in complete isolation and watched ceaselessly, and members of the medical staff are hampered in their contact with them. Some of these sick people are chained either at their hands or their feet, by handcuffs or plastic straps. They are not allowed to go to the lavatory, they pass their water into a bottle or into their beds and defecate into nightpots. Their unduly prolonged lying in bed, without any movement, undermines their health and inflicts bedsores upon them.

The treatment of the sick POWs is subject more to instructions of their capturers from the GSS and the MP than of those of the medical staff. The sick POWs are severed from the surrounding world and their families, who mustn't visit them, whether they are Lebanese or citizens of Israel.

Take, for instance, the 22 year-old Jamal Sirhaan. He was born in South Lebanon to Palestinian parents, refugees from the village of Amka (east of Acre), that was razed to the ground in the wake of the 1949 armistice. He

was living in the Ayn Al Hilwa refugee camp, at present he is being kept prisoner in the "Al Ansaar" concentration camp. He was transferred to the "Malben" Hospital of Nahariya for an urgent kidney operation. However, when Jamal's sisters Hijaar Hassan Sirhaan and Inshiraah Hassan Sirhaan, who live in the Ain Al Hilwa camp, came from Lebanon to Israel by permit, they were not admitted to their sick brother.

His father was twice prevented from crossing the Lebanese-Israeli border, when he desired to see his son. His brother-in-law (husband of Jamal's sister), who is a citizen of Israel, was held up for interrogation for a few hours after having tried to visit his relative. Neither was Jamal's uncle, a citizen of Israel, too, permitted to visit his nephew.

The armed guards posted outside the rooms of the sick POWs prevent any contact with him (as well as with the other sick or wounded prisoner). Most of the guards turn off the imploring relatives with a brusque "No!" Some of them explain, "If we let you visit him he would refuse to obey the orders given to us, and then we might find ourselves in prison." The only visit that was granted to Jamal Sirhan was that of his two year-old nephew. One of the guards was kind enough to fetch him the little boy.

Tortures and death

Dr. Steiner Fraga, Marian and Oiveen Muller of Norway said in a TV interview ("Le Monde" of June 24, 1982), and testified before an international investigation committee in Cyprus, that they had seen prisoners being beaten up with cudgels and plastic rods and whipped in the courtyard of a Sidon school. They witnessed a 60 year-old man, who had tried to kick an Israeli soldier, being beaten up savagely for ten minutes and kicked at all the parts of his body, until he fainted and collapsed.

They told the audience that they had seen the Palestinian physician Dr. Nabeel being dragged by Israeli soldiers, with a rope strung round his neck, while others were beating him with sticks. When they saw him again the next day, they found him staring at his surroundings, on his neck there was a big wound, and his back was covered with blisters.

Speaking in a press conference ("Humanite" of July 1, 1982). Dr. Francis Capet had apparently in mind the same Dr. Nabeel: "A surgeon was brought in fettered, with his eyes covered. It was evident that he had been beaten and tortured. In the courtyard I saw three unconscious men lying in the sun, on the earth. They kicked them in order to awaken them, but in vain. They didn't move."

Dr. Christo Giannou of Canada, when testifying before an investigation committee of the U.S. Congress, also mentioned the maltreatment of Dr. Nabeel. He described how the Palestinian physician was beaten up and cited the names of other prisoners of war who were tortured. He underlined that "the dark skinned Arabs, Africans and Asians (Pakistani, Bangla Deshi and Indians) were beaten up more cruelly than the others. I witnessed four detainees being beaten to death. An Israeli soldier called me to examine the corpses." Dr. Giannou repeated this description before the international investigation committee in Cyprus.

AI summed up the issue in the aforementioned report as follows: "AI has received eye-witness accounts of ill treatment of prisoners captured by the Israeli forces. These allegations have come from a number of foreign medical personnel who had been working in southern Lebanon who were arrested by the Israeli forces during the first weeks of the invasion and who were released after questioning. These allegations relate to the period up to 20 June and to the detention centres at the Sidon school and at the Safa Citrus Corporation warehouse and to Megiddo prison in northern Israel. Amnesty International has not received any allegations of ill treatment following this period."

However, the prisoners were held incommunicado until 18 July after 20 June, particularly when they were still being interrogated. "The most serious allegations refer to the detention centre at the Sidon school. The allegations describe how large numbers of prisoners were forced to sit out of doors with their hands behind their backs, were subjected to beatings all over the body with wooden batons, plastic hoses, thick ropes and other instruments. . .

"The savage blows were aimed at punishing any prisoner who moved a little or asked for food or water (of which there was a shortage). Detainees were not left to sleep; the engines of the tanks, that surrounded the detention centre, were kept buzzing all the time, projectors were turned on them, and they were frequently threatened. There was no medical care available for those who were badly hurt during ill treatment."

The conditions of detention in the "Al Ansaar" camp

The "Al Ansaar" concentration camp was set up within a few days, and it is still lacking the most elementary amenities. It was reported that 45 people are squeeed into one tent ("Davar" November 29, 1982). The men relieve themselves into the ditches, and when heavy rains are pouring down, the feces are floating in the camp, spreading a terrible stench. Tents broke down, and the men were drenched to the bone. Drinking water is very scarce, and to say that hygienic conditions are bad is to beggar description. A cloud of stench, sweat, urine, feces and detergents is hovering over the camp.

As long as there were physicians and sanitarians among the prisoners the latter ones received some sort of medical care from their fellow sufferers. Many doctors and sanitarians, however, were released in the meanwhile, and hence the health situation has deteriorated. There is a shortage of drugs.

When the military (lady) correspondent of "Davar" (November 29, 1982) remarks that the "Al Ansaar" camp is "on the verge of going up in flames" she is certainly correct. The press has reported several times about mutinies in this camp, and that many prisoners were wounded or killed in the course of their suppression. One such mutiny was reported at the end of Sept. 1982. When two more prisoners were killed and four wounded on Dec. 2, 1982 the mass media maintained that a round of bullets "went off" from the rifle of one of the guards.

The legal status

The Israeli government acknowledges as prisoners of war only members of the armed forces of Syria who were captured. A special ordinance, issued by the Minister of Defense on June 9, 1982 (emergency ordinance concerning arrests at times of special emergency, 1982), empowers the Israeli armed forces to arrest in Lebanon any person who is not a citizen or inhabitant of Israel. This ordinance made it possible to detain thousands of people without granting them the status of prisoners. This way the Israeli authorities circumvent the application of the third Geneva convention (1949), which deals with the treatment of prisoners of war. Since these prisoners do not enjoy any recognized status they are called "the fetched ones" (defortes in French) in the official lingo. (See Tally Selinger, "Davar" of November 29, 1982).

Any judicial control and any applying to court concerning "the fetched ones" are out of question because of the legal vacuum that was created: An Israeli court is precluded from dealing with their case, since they are held on Lebanese sovereign territory, and upon applying to a Lebanese court they would be told that it does not hold any authority over the IDF. This constitutes an unprecedented devilish subterfuge.

There is no supervision

The first time that the IRC was permitted to see prisoners of the "Al Ansaar" concentration camp, was only on July 18, 1982(!!), i.e. 41 days after the outbreak of the war (the aforementioned report of AI). Until June 30, 1982 representatives of the IRC had met only 33 prisoners of war and 18 Palestinians in the "Shmuel Harofe" Hospital (report of the IRC, Geneve, July, August 1982). Concealing the whereabouts of prisoners of war for 41 whole days is something heinous and abominable. Until this very day the representatives of the IRC have not yet visited all the centres of detention where POWs are still being held. Until now they have not met all the prisoners.

It should be stated that the Israeli authorities limit still further the movements of IRC representatives, although they are already limited on

principles by their own statute. They are, e.g. not allowed to supply information about the situation in which the prisoners fnd themselves. In the actual circumstances IRC is afraid lest any breach of silence on its part would worsen the lot of the prisoners in the short run, and in the long run lead to a further limitation of the movements of its representatives which would result in a further deterioration in the state of the POWs.

However, it is not only the humanitarian institutions which are prevented from seeing the POWs and ascertaining their identity, numbers or places of detention. Most of the families of the POWs do not know whether their relative is in captivity, where he is held and in what situation he finds himself. AI defined the prisoners' situation as "incommunicado." The press reported about demonstrations that were staged by the families of the detainees.

The journalist Amnon Denkner described in "Ha'aretz" of November 5, 1982 the lot of prisoners, as seen by their captors, as follows: "What can you do at the sight of women imploring you and kissing your hands and crying and showing you the photo of a young and moustached man, who wears a suit and cravat, and at last asking you, with tears in their eyes whether you have seen him. Maybe in the camp? They hadn't seen him for three months. He simply disappeared. At the military governor's at Sidon they can't tell you a thing. the IRC doesn't know either. Perhaps he is in the camp after all? She wants to walk alongside the fence and have a look. Perhaps she will see him, and perhaps. . . you'll be able to identify him. And again the photo is pushed by a shivering hand right under your nose. Do you know him? This is my husband. Do you know him? Have you seen him, there, in the camp?"

The Tragedy

Until now a few hundreds of prisoners were released. The teenagers and many foreigners were set free. Nevertheless, there arises a host of human problems, and particularly the problem of the Palestinian prisoners of war. If they are set free—to whom will they be handed over? If they are driven out of Lebanon, where they had been living, they will be severed from their families, and these will be abandoned to famine and to the mercy of the Phalangists, and if they are returned to southern Lebanon they might become the prey of the Hadaad gangs and the Phalangists alike.

The following demands should be put forward:

- The number and identity of the prisoners be made public.
- The prisoners to be permitted to meet their families, representatives of the IRC, and lawyers, too, if necessary.

- The whole affair of the prisoners, the conditions of their confinement, in general and the tortures, in particular (including those which ended with death of the tortured), to be investigated by an independent commission, who would take the Israeli authorities to task.
- The process of releasing all the prisoners from *all* the places of detention to be accelerated.

URI AVNERI, Writer, Israel

"A Jew is one born to a Jewish mother. . . A terrorist is one born to Palestinian parents."

The term "concentration camp," so notorious now, that had been written with blood and tears into our history books, was actually born in a rather innocent manner. During the Boer war at the turn of the century, the British did not know how to handle the South African local White population, which originated from Holland and refused to accept the British rule. After many failures, the British used a cruel method: they concentrated the White population in camps, so that they won't be able to help the guerrilla fighters who operated in groups called "commandos." And thus two terms were coined, terms that came to leave their impression on the 20th century: "concentration camp" and "commando."

Any regime that locks up its rivals, both the internal and the external rivals, in prison camps, like animals in cages, tries to give those camps a new name, which will sound as innocent as possible. Therefore the El Ansar camp is not called "concentration camp." It is called "camp of those brought in" (muva'im). The difference is only a semantic difference.

Who are the 5,500 locked in the concentration camp at present? The Israeli public is under the impression that they are "terrorists" who were captured during the battles of destrying the "terrorist infra-structure" in south of Lebanon, i.e., all of them, or most of them, commited terror acts in Israel, are dangerous terrorists, and must not be released. Some even say: they should be dealt with tough measures. This comfortable picture is far removed from the truth. When the Army and the secret services entered the Palestinian refugee camps and the mixed cities, practically all the male population beyond the age of 14 or 16 were arrested. Fathers, sons and grandsons. Those who watched the Israeli TV report made by Mordechai Kirshenbaum about the occupation of Sidon—the only truthful report broadcast during the War—can remember the long row of men and boys taken to detention with their hands over their heads.

This week I visited the refugee camps of Sidon and the picture was very clear: there are no adult males there. Almost all the men in the ages 14-60 are held at El Ansar. The few men that can be seen have been freed from detention after being imprisoned there for 4-5 months. Some have been detained twice. Maybe the mass detentions of the first days of the war were supposed to pressure the Palestinian population in South Lebanon into fleeing away, according to the Israeli explicit policy.

The idea was to drive the Palestinian eastwards, in the direction of the Syrian lines. Up to a certain point they succeeded. It seems that 50-100,000 refugee men, women, old people and children escaped eastwards and are now living under inhuman conditions in new camps within the Syrian area, but the relatives of those held at El Ansar—wives, sons, daughters and parents did not run away, because they didn't want to leave their men. Why are they still detained now, half a year after the war? They say they are "terrorists."

Who is a "terrorist"? One may ask: who is a Jew? A Jew is one born to a Jewish mother, or who converted to Judaism. A terrorist is one who was born to Palestinian parents and is a member or sympathizer of the PLO. At present there are 4,000,000 of them. 5,500 of them are in El Ansar.

One must understand that before the war the PLO was acting as the actual regime in south Lebanon, and especially so within the refugee camps. The PLO ran all the institutions such as schools, hospitals, police, economics aid, parties and organizations. For example: since the state of Israel is headed by a Zionist government, all the civil servants in Israel are "Zionists" and all the rest of the Jews in Israel identify with "Zionism." Every Palestinian in the camps worked for the PLO or was a member of a PLO branch organization or a PLO sympathizer. If every Palestinian is a PLO sympathizer, and every PLO member is a terrorist, then we can hold every Palestinian in prison for life.

Didn't they have arms? It is very likely that many of them were members of PLO militia. By now, after half a year in Lebanon, we all know that one cannot live in Lebanon without a militia. Those who can't defend themselves are slaughtered. The men in the camps were organized in militia for self defence, just like the other dozens of militia of the Druze, the Sunis, the Shi'ites, the Maronites etc. (And it is worth remembering that all men in Israel hold arms and serve in reserves. It is done for survival. So is it right to hurt every man in Israel, as our enemies claim?).

Those who actually were active in operations against Israel and have been identified are not at El Ansar. They are sitting somewhere in Israel, and the Palestinians doubt whether they are still alive. But that is another story. The men concentrated at El Ansar are simply the Palestinian adult males. There were regimes which detained Jews just because they were Jews. In El Ansar Palestinians are detained just because they are Palestinians.

What are the conditions at the camp? They have been much improved recently. After Sabra and Shatila, Begin's government has become sensitive to possible reactions of world public opinion to further possible horror publications. Moreover, since Israeli soldiers are held by PLO forces in the north of Lebanon, there is the fear that they may be hurt if the PLO hear that Palestinian detainees are maltreated. When the Jordanian media reported the incident in which bullets were fired "by mistake" at El Ansar and three detainees were killed, the broadcaster added: Palestinian rifles might also fire "by mistake" . . . Maybe the warm report given by the pilot Aharon Ahiaz about the decent (and almost friendly) way in which he was treated while kept as a prisoner by the PLO in Beirut also had a good effect.

But the camp is still far from being a paradise. The camp is terribly crowded. The conditions in the tents are difficult. They do absolutely nothing. They fear for their families. Only internal discipline under the leadership of a Fatah officer prevents an explosion. How long can it go on without an explosion?

The main problem is not what is going on in the camp itself. The main thing is that almost each of the detainees has a wife left with no house and without her elder sons. The detainees know that their families (that is all they have left) are left with nothing, usually even without a roof and of course with no means of earning their livelihood, their daily life dependent on favours of UNWRA or some international charity organisation. After 4-6 months of no communication, with no family visits, no communication with the world around them, it is an inhuman condition.

It is possible only because so many Israelis, brainwashed by the Likud, don't regard the Palestinians as human beings any more, as people with mothers and children. They regard them as sub humans. I spoke to a military police soldier at El Ansar. The soldier's mother had escaped Nazi Germany in her youth. Now she claims that "all the Palestinians should be killed," or at least—and this is preferable—let the Falangist kill all the Palestinians. The son is not as extreme. He follows orders.

I argued with him, and heard many stunning statements. For example: "Most of the men here are not Palestinians. They are mercenaries from Bangladesh, Yemen and Algiers . . ." Or: "All of them are terrorists, but most of them did it for the money. Only a few are motivated by ideology."

He was surprised to hear me mentioning to him that he is highly paid for his reserve service, and then I asked him what his ideology was. And of course: "They are treated far too well. They need a tough hand." And to sum up: "Most of us are willing to sign a petition calling for a tougher policy towards them."

I asked him where he got his information from. "Do you talk to the detainees?"

"No."

"During the months you have served there, guarding thousands of people, you never spoke to one detainee? Are you not interested in who they are?"

"Not interested."

Only later I found out that the guards are forbidden to speak with the detainees. I think that this is an astonishing fact, which shows what is happening to the Israeli Army. This artificial separation, that is supposed to enable undisturbed and methodical brain washing of the soldiers is the way to brutalisation, stupidity and to turning them into robots and into a colonial force.

"If you never spoke to a Palestinian detainee, then how do you know who they are and what they think?"

"I read the newspapers."

"The journalist sits in Tel Aviv and supports one or the other party and he is supposed to know more than you, you who have been here for months?"

"I only follow orders."

"I have heard this sentence somewhere else."

"I am a simple man. I don't understand. The leaders know better."

"This also reminds me of something."

"They wouldn't keep them if it weren't necessary. And besides, many of them are being released."

"20-30 a week are released. And in the meantime others are detained."

"There must be a reason."

"Do you think about the fact that they have parents, wives and children?"

"They are not human beings like us. They want to murder us."

"How do you know, if you never spoke to one of them?"

"I know."

And so it went, on and on. A closed circuit which cannot be entered by any independent thought.

The Palestinians in the camps are not losing their human image. I saw some of them who were released recently from El Ansar and returned to their families, and they had retained their pride. The question is what is happening to the soliders. This detention camp is a cancer in our body, in spite of the fact that it is located in another country. It was set up in another country in order to bypass Israeli and international law.

Sooner or later an international scandal shall arise, added to previous ones that have made the name of Israel notorious in the world. The anti-semites have already began talking about the "Jewish concentration camp," as a justification of past horrors. How long will it take for international attention to focus on it? What do we need it for? Why are thousands held there? For what reason? What are we doing in Lebanon at

all, and why the El Ansar camp in particular? It is a stain. It should be wiped off. At once.

DR. BERNARD KOUCHNER and DR. MONIQUE DONABEIDAN, Physicians, France

"[For the investigator] one day in a camp is too much and not enough at the same time."

For the Israeli authorities, the Palestinians and the Lebanese at Ansar cannot be considered war prisoners because they do not fulfill the conditions required: wearing of a uniform, belonging to a unit, obedience to one command, and respect for civil populations. We notice that Israel has not ratified the agreements of 1977 which recognize, among other things, that some movements of liberation should have the rights theoretically granted to regular armies.

Ansar: still two protective fences to cross. On the right the prisoners, the tents, in the background; toward the north the old camp, Ansar-I, where restrooms did not exist. Toward the south, Ansar-II, the new camp, linked by pipes for the kitchens, the restrooms and warm showers. The commandant asserted 20,000 liters of warm water are provided.

On the left, the general quarters, established in one building "of permanent structure," an old sheepfold. The headquarters staff camps on the first floor. Everything seems improvised. Around the sheepfold in the courtyard are more tents, the same that give shelter to the Israeli soldiers, the medical groups, the supply office and the 5,300 prisoners, of which about 1,000 are Lebanese, the majority Palestinians and about thirty nationals of other countries: Yemen, Pakistan, Turkey, Senegal, Bengal, Ivory Coast. 270 adolescents seventeen to eighteen years of age are also detained here.

Since the creation of the camp, about 4,000 prisoners were released (of whom 220 were under sixteen years of age) in July 1982. Certain of them were again incarcerated when attacks increased against Israeli convoys in South Lebanon. An administrative revision commission, made up of two servicemen and a civil lawyer, has devoted itself for three months to re-examining the files and summoning prisoners to appear. That commission is supposed to have released 1,100 of the prisoners.

Each section of the prison is separated from its neighbouring section by barbed wire fences. A section is composed of four tents and a sanitary unit. A tent gives shelter to 30 to 36 prisoners. Food is delivered daily, and they prepare it themselves. A fuel stove is made available in the tents, providing an inadequate heating system, according to the prisoners. Campbeds, one mattress, one sleeping bag and nine blankets per man are provided, according to the authorities (the prisoners say five blankets.) Prisoners are dressed in the blue or brown uniforms of the Israeli prisons, and they complain of the thinness of this summer clothing. Some wear military boots, others have sandals insufficient in that harsh weather. "They cut their own shoes to be comfortable," officials reported. Around Ansar-I as well as Ansar-II, there are barbed wire fences, a covered way, sentry boxes for the guards, a new row of barbed wire fences and some watchtowers. An armoured car patrols the covered way.

We were able to converse alone, without any witness or interpreter, with four prisoners of our choice. One of them, Mahmoud, was an officer of the Liberation Army of Palestine (A.L.P.); an other was a male nurse. They did not answer in a precise manner to our insistent questions regarding bad treatment. The stories of violent interrogations during the first days at the camp were only vaguely confirmed by our speakers. Mahmoud told us he was interrogated three times, the questions being always the same, very political or "psychological." He has not been afraid of the Israelis and he answered them as he did us.

The prisoners we spoke to had been at El Ansar since the month of July. Their complaints were directed to the lack of food, the cold, the dampness of the tents and the absence of health care. And above all, they were concerned about their future, their status, the length of their detention. The male nurse maintained that for five days he and his companions had been fed on beans only. Then the Israeli authorities handed out in front of us green vegetables. Coincidence?

Mahmoud, after having told us that he did not see military solution to the conflict, affirmed: "Me and my brothers are strong and patient. We know how to wait." Each of them knew about current events because they receive each day a few copies of the *Jerusalem Post* and the *El Anbah*, the Israeli newspaper in the Arabic language.

The prisoners strongly insisted on medical deficiencies, saying that the Israeli doctors did not visit them every four days "as the propaganda tells it." They presented to us a few sick people neglected by the Israelis. Those patients, at first sight, did not appear to us to be in bad condition, except for an obvious psychopath that had to be drawn out of his tent.

We decided to verify three cases selected at random, and to consult the medical files of the Israelis. The two first cases—a congenital hernia and an old ocular ailment—had been tested and did not justify emergency treatment or a transfer. The third case concerned a cranial traumatism labeled "schizophrenia" after three visits. A psychiatrist was expected but

obviously, this patient should have been transferred. "Transferred where?" the Israeli doctors asked us.

The authorities, caught between military secrecy and the desire to converse with us privately, mentioned the breakdowns of Israeli soldiers forced to serve at Ansar. There were at El Ansar three surgeons, of whom one was a neurosurgeon, a heart specialist, an O.R.L., an orthopedist, and intern and a dentist. This personnel had eight ambulances and an helicopter for emergency evacuation. But there was no possibility of surgical intervention on the ground, and for any X-ray the sick person had to be transferred to Saida on a special convoy.

We consulted the files freely and we compared them to the list of cases established by the doctors of the International Red Cross, whose diagnoses, as is natural, are a little bit exagerated in order to protect the patients and to accelerate their liberation. We also conversed with two young men of eighteen years of age who came to consult the dentist: "We are well treated, but we want to get out," they said.

A young Israeli surgeon, in the presence of the commandant of the camp, told us: "For me, here are only sick people, and I treat the Palestinians and the Israelis the same way. I want you to know it and also that when I got back to Tel-Aviv, I did not sleep for a fortnight."

The Commandant and his second in command answered all our questions but refused to let us meet the "Committee of Prisoners" he had named. The commandant specified that, responsible since September for the camp, he had given his world not to shoot any prisoners. He said that he understood the ICRC protests in view of the absence of equipment allowing the prisoners to work. The Red Cross has permanently, according to him, a right to visit each prisoner and uses it. Furthermore the ICRC has an accurate list of the prisoners and corresponds with the families.

According to the commandant, the guards had used their arms three times. In August, when the families surrounded the camp looking for news, the guards shot and wounded 8 persons. It was confirmed that there were two deaths. In October the guards were obliged "to fire several shots" because of an outbreak of panic and wounded some people.

In November, according to the commandant, an Israeli soldier lost control of his arm and fired from an armoured car killing two people and wounding 4 others. It was confirmed to us that he was still in prison, where he had attempted twice to commit suicide. Since then—and we verified this—guns are pointed toward the outside and not in the direction of the tents.

We repeated the prisoners' complaints concerning the food. The commander then reminded us of the importance of his duties and the length of the supplies lines. He underlined the temporary nature of the camp. "But," he added "my soldiers receive only 20 grams of sugar, while the prisoners, who are fond of it, receive 10 grams."

We cannot summarize here the juridical quarrels concerning the Geneva conventions 3 and 4. The following points were not taken up: transfers, even temporary, out of the occupied zone, and interrogations; no arrest for doctors and medical staff; rights to visit; establishing a collective canteen; elected representatives; and legal assistance.

What is to be remembered from our visit? On our return we spoke freely on Israeli radio. Having heard the same testimony from us, a Jerusalem newspaper printed the headline "The prisoners are well treated." An international agency, however, said: "This horrible camp reminds us of other camps."

One day in a camp is too much and not enough at the same time. Too much because all the barbed wire fences look alike. You enter Ansar with a lump in your throat and you cannot avoid a feeling of sympathy for the prisoners and a feeling of animosity toward the jailers, wherever you are and whoever they may be.

In these times, it is good to remember that "concentrating" prisoners in a closed place does not make it a concentration camp or an extermination camp. At El Ansar, there is no gas chamber and the prisoners do know that they will come out of it alive. The Israelis transformed into guards may shock the moralists and some who dwell upon history. It is not revenge of the Jews on Hitler or, as we have heard it said in France, a "final solution."

However, one day in the camp is insufficient because one would wish to converse with each of the prisoners, to verify all the assertions, to sit close to the prisoners, to share their meals, to participate in their anguish and to try again, in speaking to their enemies, to break their hate and their contempt. Those few hours are not enough considerating the thousands of hours of detention awaiting the prisoners in El Ansar, these men without papers, with a future as uncertain as the region where they live.

In Uruguay, in Chad, in Asia, we were not able to enter the prisons. It is a democratic gesture to have let foreign doctors visit El Ansar and to allow us to return there. We are still waiting authorization from Syria to meet the Israeli prisoners.

DOV IRMIYA, Reserve Colonel in Israeli Army, Israel

"The whole Israeli Army is in the process of changing its nature. Everywhere I came up against shameful acts of humiliation toward the dignity of the human being, of the worst treatment toward women and children. To safeguard the good image of Israel, efforts are made to prevent the presence of the press. Likewise, the number of dead is minimized as much as possible and destroyed houses are counted on the fingers of one hand."

Excerpts from the "War Diary" of Dov Irmiya, struck off the list of Army Reservists as a result of his criticism of the Army's behavior in Lebanon:

Thursday, June 10, 1982

(Sidon)—At 8 o'clock, the bombardment of Ein Hilweh has ceased. Tanks are streaking along the streets and huge loudspeakers urge the population to regroup alongside the seashore, at the gateway to the city, near the convent. The commandant of my unit, responsible for the relief of the civilians of the southwest region of Lebanon, Colonel Y.M., orders me to start distributing water to some 50,000 persons assembled on the seashore. There are infants, old people, cripples. Those who had finalized preparations for this war had planned nothing. The quantities of water and foods are insufficient to satisfy the needs of such a great number of prisoners, among whom some have lost everything. Yet the provisioning of water and bread to this population for one or two days would have been less costly than a shelling by one airplane only.

All the images of this day swirl in my head. The worst of all is the sight of this miserable civilian population. In spite of the curfew, people roam the streets. Thousands of refugees are returning from everywhere toward Ein Hilweh, mainly from the North. When they reach home, one hears their cries of pain, their tears at the death of a dear one. I see again those pathetic faces of relatives running across one another, particularly women, falling into each other's arms, bursting into tears after having lost all hopes to see each other alive again. At noon, I passed near the square where the prisoners were gathered. A young bearded officer, his face covered with dust, jumped from a tank and told me: "Dov, do something for this crowd. Look at those poor unfortunate people, they are sitting there since this morning, thirsty and hungry. Yesterday, I fought in Ein Hilweh and some comrades were falling at my sides, but I cannot stand such cruel conduct toward the population. The little bit of water and food we had we gave them, but it is far from sufficient. Dov, do something."

At the meeting of the staff officers, I poured out all the anger accumulated in me against this war and our behaviour. I insisted on the distribution of foods to the prisoners and to the population, as well as of water. The curt answer of the commandant, Colonel Y.M., and of his assistant, Lt. Col. A.L., was: "They have sufficient food in their houses. It is the Arabs' tradition to accumulate provisions, and one must not mind them so much." I answered that the houses had been destroyed and that, even if there were some provisions, it was impossible to find them again, all the more so since we keep the population as prisoners for the second consecutive day. Embarrassed, they retorted: "You spend your day streaking along the streets although we forbade you to do so. You expose yourself to danger; it is better that 1,000 Arabs die rather than a single one among us."

Friday, June 11, 1982

The smell of the decomposed corpses filled the air of the whole city. At the military administration, nobody has said anything yet about their removal and their burial. Several families bury their dead relatives with their own means. The question of the corpses is raised during an interview with the mayor of the city. According to him, there were approximately 200 corpses in the shelter of a school alone, in the city center, presumably hit by a bomb and demolished. Hundreds of corpses lay elsewhere, scattered throughout the town.

I believe that a great number of soldiers will understand, this time, the seriousness of the crime and of the sins committed by Israel in this war. I have the impression that many, in the army, are troubled and suffer, seeing that we have transformed ourselves into a horde of savages for whom fire, destruction and death have become second nature.

At sunset, we hear that some snipers have killed an Israeli officer, and an inconceivable shelling of the Ein Hilweh camp starts immediately. The bombardments continue after nightfall. On one of the floors of the building where I am, religious soldiers, wrapped in their ritual shawl, recite the Sabbath prayers (I had forgotten that the Day of the Lord had just started). At the top of their voice, they strike up the joyous songs of the Sabbath under a placard bearing the inscription "Synagogue of Sidon." I run away, sick with anger. The air is reeking with the smell of the corpses. All the while, the army continues its work of death. And all these people, right in the middle, celebrate the Sabbath, mindless of what is happening around them. I hate them. I am ashamed to belong to this race this is

becoming arrogant, puffed up with self-esteem, cruel, who sing amid rubble.

Saturday, June 12, 1982

The bombardment of Ein Hilweh resumed this morning. I have never seen a war like this one. Besides, is this really a war, or a gigantic target practice of the Israeli Army? It is said that some terrorists are still in hiding, refusing to surrender in spite of the renewed appeals to cease fire. It is reported that one of them had surrendered and then was sent back to convince them—who in turn shot him. And then the planes reappear in the sky, pouring mountains of bombs on the camp. This reminds me of the Second World War.

In town, the tanks invade the streets again. Tens of thousands of new persons are regrouped on the seashore. Soldiers treat them very badly. Everywhere, we hear them shout: "Yallah Rou'h!" ("Go on, stir your stumps, move!"). No request, no petition or prayer is accepted. There are numerous notables among them, high officials of the municipality, in the Mayor's office, employees of the Water Company, of the Electricity Company, banks. They are also humiliated, indiscriminately. And this goes on until midnight.

An officer of the passive defense, member of the Gvat kibbutz, told me the following day: "I spent the night on a terrace facing the main street. Discharged prisoners were returning home progressively. They were passing by, in a long procession, dragging themselves painfully, like drunkards. Sometimes, one of them fell and his companions helped him back on his feet to continue on the route. This vision reminded me of the arrests of the Jews in Auschwitz. Woe unto us! How did we come to this?"

Sunday, June 13, 1982

In a backyard, between 500 and 600 "prisoners" are reassembled, hands tied behind the back. some of them blindfolded. Around them, tens off soldiers guard them with loaded guns. There are a number of wounded prisoners, waiting there since the morning, under the sun. I notice an old prisoner, seating against one of the columns of the building. He is blindfolded and his hands are tied. Before him, a soldier, arm in hand, slaps his face unceasingly. Blood runs from his nose and on all his face, but the soldier does not stop punching him. I ask the officer to tell me the name and the rank of this soldier: it is Lieutenant X of Battalion Z, in charge of the "prisoners." Then, I ask him why he is hitting this prisoner. He answers: "He is one of the most dangerous. He never stops trying to free his hands. With my punches, I make an example for all the other prisoners, to show them that they have no interest in trying to rebel. There has already been some uprising attempts and they must draw a lesson from them." I then ask him: "Who gave you the order to behave like this?" "It comes from the commandant of the regiment." And to complete my instruction, he adds: "That's all he deserves," explaining to me that it is the good method "to prevent them from sticking a knife in our backs."

Farther away, I see two robust soldiers passing through the ranks. They hold sticks in their hands (one meter and a half long and ten centimeters thick). They hit to the left and to the right, without discernment, their blows raining on the heads, shoulders, backs and hands. Behind them, another soldier walks between the ranks, now in disarray, no longer straight as a broomstick. He straightens them out, pulling the hair of the nonaligned heads. He pulls in all directions until the rank is again, in his mind, in good order.

The prisoners were given the order to remain seated, back curbed forward and head between the knees. The air stinks with the smell of urine and excrement. Some appear unconscious, others groan, weeping quietly from pain and terror. There are some who beg for a little bit of water. The wounded moan, begging to be treated. Others again are praying or imploring for some pity. And finally, there are those seated, remaining silent, courageous. They look you straight in the eyes, an intrepid glance where a blazing hatred can be detected.

I remember the time when I led tens of thousands of German prisoners, at the end of the world war, in Italy, on the way toward the camps in the South. We had received strict and clear orders: 'No beating the body or infringing upon the honor of the prisoners.' Whoever disobeyed the orders would be severely punished. Assuredly, it happened that during some halts a driver came down from a truck and started to beat the prisoners. But he was stopped quickly. Those were solely isolated cases. The great majority of the soldiers, those coming from kibboutzim as well as those originating from the city, accepted those commands without difficulty and were opposed to any brutality toward the prisoners, even the Germans.

Coming out of this yard, I heard a soldier begging the agent of the military police posted at the entrance: "Let me in there, I will show them how all those bastards must be punched; I will kill them with butts." I didn't stay to know what happened afterwards, in the end.

Friday, June 18, 1982

At 2 o'clock, we have a visit by Minister Yaakov Meridor, assigned to be in charge of the civilian population. His questions and his answers to the questions of the participants to the meeting are a real joke, where ignorance, cynicism and spite intermingle. When asked what is the policy to follow toward the Palestinian refugees, he answers with a gesture of

both hands quite explicit: "They must be pushed away eastward, toward Syria; let them go over there, but do not let them come back."

Saturday, June 19, 1982

The anchoring of a ship hailing from Limassol, containing 700 tons of food supplies and blankets, bought in the emergency by Mr. Khariri, the millionaire of Sidon, has been interdicted. No one knows whether or not the unloading will be authorized, nor when it will take place. The decision has been taken at the highest level, seemingly by General D.M. .

I hear a speech over the radio about the far reaching humanitarian action that the Army and the Israeli people are undertaking. What deceitful propaganda! Nobody is in a better position that I am to know how false it is. It appears that we have learned something from the fascist propaganda specialists in Europe. Our specialists prepare these messages broadcast by the mass media in order that the population and the entire world, however skeptical, know how generous we are!

Tuesday, June 22, 1982

This morning, I had my car repaired. At the garage, I met an old friend, member of the Hanita kibbutz, who opened his heart to me: "Believe me, Dov, he said, if I had known that such would be some day the image of my country, I would have left it 30 years ago."

On the road, I stopped near an orchard. I took some pictures of the refugees of the Rachidieh camp, who were there in a deplorable state. Infants, women in tears, almost no men. A man of advanced age approached the car, accompanied by a woman and a little girl. His name is Diab el Hassan, 62 years old. He was arrested as suspect and than set free after having been beaten black and blue. "They hit me till they were satiated and then released me," he tells me. What characteristic words: "Till they were satiated!" And these wild beasts belong to my people, my own "chosen" people!

Thursday, June 24, 1982

Some released prisoners have come back from the camp where interrogations take place. They have reported that, as a result of the beatings, thirst and hunger, Abou Youssef and Mahmoud Sabbag died there. Both of them were known to be honest men, having no connection with the terrorists.

I go to the meeting with the officer in charge of the military administration at the staff headquarters. The district commandant, in his disgusting style, announces: "A new prisoner has stopped smoking." In fact, I knew

before coming that today at the Sheva hospital a prisoner died, after having been beaten and tortured. The sole preoccupation of the present officers is that the cause of death be written on the death-certificate of the prisoner as "heart attack".

Saturday, June 26, 1982

Among all the Israeli wars, it is the first time that the terrorists manifest such violence. Perhaps their organization will be destroyed, their leadership will fall, but a new generation is born in this war, a new period is beginning which will remain in the annals of the Palestinian world as a heroic period on the foundations of which future generations will be educated. And since our leaders and our great military strategists have seen nothing, have understood nothing, nor learned anything, the next campaign, for there will be one sooner or later, will be ten times tougher.

The indifference toward the civilian population has reached, this time, monstrous proportions never known before. In all the discussions of my unit for the relief of the population, it has been said repeatedly that this relief is intended only for the Lebanese people. One must punish the Palestinians: the infants, the women, the aged and the noncombatant men. One must take revenge through the combatants' families in order that they remember until the last generation what Tsahal, the Israeli army, did to them.

The whole Israeli army is in the process of changing its nature. Everywhere I came up against shameful acts of humiliation toward the dignity of the human being, of the worst treatment toward women and children. To safeguard the good image of Israel, efforts are made to prevent the presence of the press. Likewise, the number of dead is minimized as much as possible and destroyed houses are counted on the fingers of one hand.

Sunday, June 27, 1982

This morning, at Tyre, the Hilalyich quarter has been surrounded. A new humiliation has been inflicted on the population: the soldiers received an order to separate in three groups the Christians, the Moslems and the Palestinians. Yesterday also, another quarter was sealed off, and the method was "improved": the Christians were placed in the shade, the Moslems and the Palestinians right under the blazing sun.

Tuesday, January 26, 1983

Return to Sidon. This time I come as a member of the Committee called Citizens for Humanitarian Aid to Lebanon. I am the guest of a Palestinian

friend, member of the Committee of the Refugees of South Lebanon, at Ein Hilweh.

At the camp, I have heard the account of one of the prisoners discharged from the camp of the "amenes" (brought in) at Ansar.

Here is the story of an "amene":

"I was arrested under the simple arbitrary identification of a "monkey". We were assembled in the yard of the convent. From the beginning of our arrest, guilty or innocent, we have been beaten, hungry, thirsty and humiliated. At least seven prisoners died and were buried in the Moslem cemetery of Sidon. (The gravedigger confirmed this and the spokeman of the army has announced that an investigation has begun into the cause of their death. D.I.).

"When we were put on buses to be driven to Israel, the punches continued to rain on us. When we didn't understand the orders given to us or didn't obey them quickly enough, we were beaten. We were blindfolded all the time. In the bus, we had to bend our head on the seat in front and, at each contrary movement, we were beaten. Arrived at Biyadah, the column stopped and the soldiers got off to urinate. We were not allowed to do the same. Abu Sohel el Ali, a citizen of Ein Hilweh, 55 years old, a cardiac and diabetic, felt sick. He was constantly asking to get off to breathe. Before stopping at Biyadah, while the bus was still rolling, a soldier pushed him out. He fell on the curb of the road and died from his fall. His son Sohel, who was on the bus, wanted to jump out and help him, but was stopped and beaten savagely. The body of the dead was carried away by some soldiers. His family, in Ain El-Hilweh, never received his remains and to this day does not know where he is buried. As for Sohel, he is still incarcerated in Ansar.

"At Meggido (in Israel), the essential of the interrogatories summed up to one requirement: to admit that we were members of one of the Palestinian organizations. Finally, everybody ended up admitting. It was made clear that the beatings would continue unceasingly until confessions were obtained. We were forced to dress in military uniforms, which served afterwards as "proof" for the investigators, to pretend that we were "soldiers" when captured. Generally, we were interrogated in groups of five. One was interrogated while the others looked on, in order to be coaxed before their turn. One of the methods used to terrorize the most important among us or the recalcitrants were the dogs held on leash by the investigators.

"There was, at Meggido, a hole surrounded by barbed wire fences where some prisoners were locked up, guarded by soldiers. They were always the same ones, those beating up with clubs; they were the experts. They sought to touch the most sensitive parts of the body, including the genitals.

"After three weeks at Meggido, I was transferred to Ansar. Upon our arrival, handcuffed and blindfolded, blows started to rain down. They used mainly tent-pegs. We had very little to drink and to eat. This went on until August, when a first visit was made by the Red Cross. The situation improved a little afterwards. An infirmary was created, where imprisoned doctors were able to work. They were given a few basic medicaments, a little from this place or that and in arbitrary quantities. The military doctor never came to the infirmary.

"The campof Ansar is divided into sections of from 400-500 prisoners, at the rate of 30 per tent. We slept on the floor, squeezed like sardines, unable to move. A soldier had been put in charge at the entrance of each tent, guarding the prisoners and administering the punishments in case of disorderly conduct or disarray. He is the one who must beat up those to be punished. When his punches were hitting too tenderly for the taste of the soldiers, they shouted to him to hit harder. In some cases soldiers ordered prisoners arguing or fighting each other to hit their fellow prisoners yet harder.

"Inside the section, there is a special cell in sheet metal built so as to prevent the prisoner from sitting or stretching. The only position possible was standing up, and the soil was littered with gravel and pieces of iron. During the summer, the heat in this cell was unbelievable. The standard duration of the punishment was four hours. Many came out from there unconscious, with bloody feet.

"For the first gathering in the early morning, ordered by the camp commandant, he gave a small speech, saying: "You are a people of monkeys. You are terrorists and we are going to break your skulls. You want a country? Go build it on the moon. If someone here tries to make trouble, we will shoot him."

"We were treated like a herd of cattle. However, there were also humane soldiers and officers, who spoke to us a little, mainly at mealtime. They were very surprised to find among us some intellectuals, professors, professionals of all kinds. They told us they throught that all the prisoners were terrorists and savages.

"During the Ramadan celebration, some women came near the camp. They were weeping and called us from afar. Some among us marched toward the barbed wires; then everybody followed them and we started to sing enraptured, in ecstasy: "Allah Akbar!", raising our arms in direction of the women. Nobody attempted to fight the soldiers or to break the barbed wire. But the soldiers started to shoot. We left on the ground two dead and eight wounded.

"The white car of the investigators, which came to pick us up for the interrogations, we called the "hearse." Those it brought back had blue spots on their whole body, some had even a broken arm. Each time I saw that, I was heartbroken, I didn't want to eat any more, to live any more. I do not believe that any one could have passed through this camp without

experiencing afterwards some physical and psychic consequences. I myself "urinated blood" during 28 days after my interrogation. I am swollen and I have pains. But desperation is the worst.

"I was liberated a month ago. When I was summoned, I thought I was going to be interrogated anew. But I was told, casually, that I was free. No explanation was given to me. After that, the commandant assembled us, the liberated ones, and gave us a severe speech full of threats concerning our future activities. And then each one of us was given an identification card on which is written: 'Liberated from Ansar'."

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

"Any prisoners held solely on the grounds of their political opinions, allegiances or ethnic origins should be released immediately."

Amnesty International Appeals To Israeli Government On Treatment of Prisoners Taken in Lebanon

Amnesty International said today (Thursday, July 1, 1982) it had called on the Israeli government to account for all the prisoners its forces have taken in Lebanon and to treat them in conformity with internationally accepted standards.

Citing press reports that most of their prisoners—both civilians and combatants—were being held incommunicado and that some were ill-treated, the worldwide human rights organization urged the government to take effective and visible steps to protect them. They should be allowed access at least to a humanitarian organization such as the International Red Cross Committee, and where possible to families and lawyers, it said.

The authorities should publish full details of those held, including the reasons for holding them, Amnesty International said in a letter sent by telex yesterday to Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

"Any prisoners held solely on the grounds of their political opinions, allegiances or ethnic origins should be released immediately," the organization said.

Prisoners taken during the Israeli sweep into Lebanon included not only combatants but many Palestinian, Lebanese and other civilians, the letter noted. The International Committee of the Red Cross had only been able to visit some of the prisoners in hospitals, but none of those held in detention camps, Amnesty International said.

The letter called on the government to instruct Israeli troops "to respect international agreements including the right of every prisoner not to be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment." It asked for an immediate inquiry into any allegations of torture and full publication of the result.

Amnesty International called the government's attention to press reports of ill-treatment of prisoners immediately after capture. It said its fears of continuing ill-treatment "are reinforced by the fact that many of the prisoners are being held incommunicado."

Among details which the authorities should publish, the letter said, were names of prisoners, place of capture and where they were being held, grounds for detention, state or health, "and any other information necessary to assure families of the prisoners' well-being."

The letter cited persistent reports that many prisoners "are not being treated in accordance with internationally accepted standards reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." It said Amnesty International was still studying such reports but meanwhile urged the government to act urgently to ensure that these standards were upheld.

Amnesty International's Concerns in Southern Lebanon Since Israeli Forces Entered the Country on 6 June 1982

1. Introduction

Amnesty International's concerns in southern Lebanon since the Israeli armed forces entered the country have focused on the prisoners captured by the Israelis. Amnesty International's concerns are that most of the prisoners held by the Israelis in Lebanon are being held as administrative detainees without being charged or tried before a court of law. Paragraph 1(b) of Amnesty International's statute states that Amnesty International opposes:

> 'by all appropriate means the detention of any Prisoners of Conscience or any political prisoners *without trial within a reasonable time* or any trial procedures relating to such prisoners that do not conform to internationally recognised norms.'

Amnesty International is also concerned at the allegations of ill-treatment it has received. These allegations, and the fact that these prisoners have been held incommunicado for long periods of time, give rise to fears that prisoners have been and may continue to be ill-treated. Paragraph 1 (c) of Amnesty International's statute state that it opposes:

> '. . . torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of prisoners or other detained or restricted persons whether or not they have used or advocated violence.'

As yet, Amnesty International has received reports of only one Israeli taken prisoner by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), although there are unsubstantiated reports that there might be more. The one prisoner, a military pilot shot down in combat, has been granted POW status by the PLO and has been visited by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

2. Prisoners

Thousands of people in southern Lebanon have been taken prisoner by the Israeli forces and questioned as to whether they are members of the PLO. Those arrested, both during combat and since the hostilities in southern Lebanon ceased, have included not only combatants, but also civilians of Palestinian, Lebanese and foreign nationality. Many are reported to have been picked out in the street by hooded informers and taken into custody.

Temporary detention and interrogation centres in southern Lebanon were set up, at a school in Sidon and at the Safa Citrus Corporation warehouse south of Sidon. Prisoners have also been taken to Megiddo prison in northern Israel. A more permanent prison camp has recently been constructed at Ansar in southern Lebanon and since the second week of July prisoners who have not been released after interrogation, have been transferred to this camp. Syrian and Palestinian prisoners wounded in combat are being held in Israeli hospitals, the Palestinians (about 28 of them) are in Shmuel Harofeh hospital near Tel Aviv.

It is impossible at this stage to give a figure for the number of prisoners taken or currently held. The numbers have fluctuated over the weeks with releases and re-arrests. Estimates have periodically been given by official Israeli sources: 5,700 according to an announcement by Prime Minister Begin in Knesset on 29 June; 9,000 according to Israeli chief army spokesman for the Sidon district on 9 July. When prisoners were first transferred to Ansar camp, estimates of the number of inmates were conflicting and ranged from 3,000 to 9,000. The majority of the press reports at that time, however, put the figure on inmates at around 4,000. More recent press reports say the number has increased to around 7,000. According to the *Washington Post* of 28 July 1982, 'The exact number of detainees at the camp is not known. The present estimate suggests that it has reached the 7,000 limit that the Israeli government has assigned the camp. Recent bus traffic suggests that Ansar, which is being expanded, may end up housing as many as 10,000 detainees—1,000 more than the Israeli officials acknowledged they held earlier this month.'

No details of those held in Ansar camp have yet been made public, but official Israeli sources claim that they are all PLO guerillas. Among those held are reported to be a number of foreign nationals who are also alleged to be PLO guerillas. According to the *International Herald Tribune* of 12 July 1982, quoting a ranking Israeli military officer in Washington, there were 'at least 400 men from Bangladesh, 60 from Pakistan, 50 from India, and troops from Mauritania, Sudan, Niger, Maili, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Algeria, Jordan, Iraq.'

Other foreign nationals, from Norway, France, Canada, Belgium, Holland, etc., who had been working in southern Lebanon as medical personnel and who had been arrested are reported to have been released. The Israeli armed forces are also holding some members of the Syrian armed forces.

3. The Prisoners' Status

The members of the Syrian armed forces held by the Israelis have been granted POW status. This status is laid down in the Third Geneva Convention of 1949, which carefully regulates the treatment and conditions of prisoners of war. In international law prisoners of war may not be put on trial for having engaged in combat.

The Israeli authorities have not granted prisoner of war status to any prisoners apart from Syrian military personnel. The non-Syrian prisoners are being held as administrative detainees under Article III of the Israeli Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945. This law enables the authorities to arrest and detain any person for security reasons for periods of up to six months without the person being charged or brought before a court. The initial period of detention can be extended for further periods of six months and in practice a person can be detained for an indefinite period. (Since 1977 Amnesty International has worked for 84 Palestinians from the Israeli Occupied Territories held under administrative detention, many of them for periods of between 2-3 years.)

There has been no official Israeli statement about what the authorities plan to do in the long run with this very large number of detainees. Military sources quoted in the *Jerusalem Post* of 18 June 1982 stated that: 'if anyone is found to have taken part in any specific terrorist actions like the Munich massacre or attacks on Israeli settlements,' they will be brought to trial.

Although the ICRC has been able to visit about 28 wounded Palestinians and about 50 wounded Syrian prisoners in Israeli hospitals since 24 June, they were not allowed access to the other prisoners until 18 July, and then only to those who had been interrogated and transferred to Ansar camp. The ICRC has still not, however, been allowed access to non-wounded Syrian prisoners of war.

4. Torture Allegations

Amnesty International has received eye witness accounts of ill-treatment of prisoners captured by the Israeli forces. These allegations have come

from a number of foreign medical personnel who had been working in southern Lebanon who were arrested by the Israeli forces during the first weeks ofthe invasion and who were released after questioning. These allegations relate to the period up to 20 June and to the detention centres at the Sidon school and at the Safa Citrus Corporation warehouse and to Megiddo prison in northern Israel. Amnesty International has not received any allegations of ill-treatment following this period. However, the prisoners were held incommunicado until 18 July when ICRC visits started, and this justifies concern for the prisoners' treatment after 20 June, particularly when they were still being interrogated.

The most serious allegations refer to the detention centre at the Sidon school. The allegations describe how large numbers of prisoners who were forced to sit out of doors with their hands tied behind their backs, were subjected to arbitrary and continual beatings all over the body with wooden batons, plastic hoses, thick ropes and other instruments; how beatings were particularly severe when carried out to discipline a prisoner who moved or demanded food and water which was in short supply; how prisoners were also prevented from sleeping by the incessant noise of tank engines surrounding the detention centre, glaring lights and frequent threats; and how medical treatment appeared to be unavailable for those severely injured as a result of ill-treatment.

Amnesty International is continuing to monitor the situation and to seek further information about the treatment of prisoners.

5. Amnesty International's Actions

In a letter to Prime Minister Begin on 1 July, Amnesty International called on the Israeli government to treat its prisoners in conformity with internationally accepted standards. Amnesty International expressed concern at press reports that almost all the prisoners, both combatants and civilians, were being held incommunicado and that some were ill-treated. Amnesty International urged the government to take effective and visible steps to protect the prisoners and recommended:

1. that the prisoners should be allowed access at least to a humanitarian organisation such as the ICRC, and where possible families and lawyers;
2. that an immediate enquiry be carried out into any allegations of torture and that the result of the investigation be published in full;
3. that the government publish full details of all the prisoners in custody including their names, place of detention, state of health, etc;
4. that any prisoner held solely on the grounds of their political opinions, allegiances or ethnic origins be released immediately.

Since this letter was sent, recommendation 1) has been implemented regarding the prisoners in Ansar camp. Amnesty International believes that all these recommendations must be implemented to ensure respect of the prisoners' human rights.

JANET STEVENS, Researcher and Journalist, U.S.

"When incidents occurred such as this, and we would ask the Israelis to take a dead body away, they would say 'no, we want more to die.' "

The Israelis are "fools and inefficient interrogators," declared Abou Hussein, a Palestinian tile-layer from Tyre, who had been taken as prisoner of war by the Israeli army to the detention camps at Ansar in South Lebanon over two months ago. "Proof of that fact," he said, "is that they decided to torture a poor 51-year-old civilian like me who had nothing to do with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and squeeze out useless information. They tried to make me say that my two sons, who are still being held captive, had worked for the PLO, when they did not."

Asked to describe the torture to which he was submitted, Abou Hussein continued: "I was given what is called the 'wall treatment.' The prisoner is made to stand motionless against a wall for relentless hours with his hands tied behind his back and a burlap sack over his head. The idea is to fatigue the prisoner over time (sometimes days of standing against this corridor wall) so that he breaks down, either psychologically or physically and confesses to things he didn't do."

Abou Hussein commented: "There is also an aspect of torture by 'humilation' in this 'wall treatment'. For example, because you cannot move from the wall, you go to the toilet in your trousers, and then begin to detest yourself because you smell so foul and feel so dirty."

"I went to the bathroom in my trousers," added Abou Hussein, "but I bet the Israelis feel more embarrassed now than I felt then, because I escaped. When they took me to a tall building in Tyre for further interrogation, they locked me in a room on the sixth floor. But proof of their inefficiency is that I found a way to open the window and edge my way down a concrete post forming part of the building. No one even saw me make my getaway."

Abou Maher, 40, an electrician and a relative of Abou Hussein, also spent time in detention at Ansar and was only released, along with his son,

just recently. Abou Maher agreed with Abou Hussein's observation on the futility of Israeli torture of civilians: "Before the Israeli invasion, we had the idea that the Israeli government was democratic, so as civilians we weren't afraid when the Israeli army occupied the South. All the fedayeen had already withdrawn to the Beqaa region, so when the Israelis advanced, the people who remained behind were civilians. Then we witnessed for ourselves the Israeli military occupation and its arbitrary nature. Now we know how undemocratic and indiscriminating they are. When we as civilians were taken prisoner, we were made to wear not prison clothes, but military dress and military boots. The Israelis are obsessed with the idea of convincing themselves that all civilians must be fedayeen too."

Abou Maher gave a complete description of his captivity and detention. He related: "Although I have been living in Shatila for the last six years, my home was destroyed by bombing, so when the Israeli army advanced to Khaldeh, I decided to take my family (wife and four children) to the South, where I have another house. But I fled from one fate to another, for when we arrived in Tyre, the Israelis were rounding up men for detention, and I was caught in the round-up."

Abou Maher continued: "We were held at the Safa factory near Tyre for four days with our hands tied behind our backs and our shirts used as blindfolds from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., and we were kept in an empty lot under the hot sun by day, and in the cold air at night without blankets or cover. We were only fed during this period at the factory one tiny tomato and a small fragment of bread two or three times a day, and given a mouthful of water sipped from a sardine can once a day. If one wanted to go to the toilet, he had to raise his hand in notice—and sometimes permission was given. If not, the prisoner just went in his pants. They released our ties for a short while at around sunset every day, and then we were bound again at night, this time hands held in front, before we went to sleep on the bare ground. After four days of this treatment, they decided to send us to Israel for interrogation."

"The day of our trip to Israel," Abou Maher narrated, "my hands were tied behind my back with a green plastic rope that gripped more tightly the skin if you pulled at it, and my shirt was again used as a blindfold. A group of us—about 100 men (all tied and blindfolded in this way)—were then led to a bus which was meant to hold only 40 people. But the Israelis stuffed and packed us into the bus, and a few people were crushed or suffocated in the process. One man named Rashid, from Ain Helweh, was crushed underfoot in this manner, but his body was not removed for the bus trip to Israel. When incidents occurred such as this, and we would ask the Israelis to take a dead body away, they would say—'No, we want more to die.' Or if we saw some prisoner who was gravely ill and then told the guards, they would reply: 'Let him die. What do we care?' "

According to Abou Maher, the trip to Israel took about 12 hours of driving and covered a distance of approximately 130 kilometers. He said that the buses were stopped at certain Israeli checkpoints where Israeli women came up to the blind-folded prisoners in the buses and hit them with sticks or shoes on the head or back. The prisoners, who were given military uniforms to wear before the trip, now understood the significance of that gesture, for the guards accompanying them in the bus told these women: "These are all fedayeen, the ones that aim rockets at our settlements."

"The irony of the situation," commented Abou Maher, "was that almost 95 percent of us were only civilians, and these Israeli civilians didn't know that all the fedayeen had fled from the south as soon as they saw the Israelis advance."

Abou Maher continued: "When we arrived at some military camps in Israel, we were pushed into rows (of approximately 100 prisoners in each row) and 'run through the stick mill'—i.e. a line-up of about 20 Israeli soldiers who beat us with bludgeons as we passed through.

"Then we were thrown into pits about three meters deep and forced to double-up our bodies and stay in that position against the dirt. The pits were lined with manned machine-guns to prevent any thought of escape. Then the interrogation began with groups of five being called up at a time (they had given us in Lebanon prisoner of war cards and a receipt itemizing identity cards and personal effects that had been placed in registered envelopes upon first being taken prisoner). First the prisoner was taken to a table and asked what he did for a living, while agents (either Lebanese or Palestinian) stood behind curtains and pointed to one prisoner or another 'identifying' him as a member of one organization or another. If a finger was pointed at you and you still answered the interrogator that you were let's say a painter, iron-welder, carpenter, or tile-layer, he would shake his head and shout 'No, you are a feda'i," and according to the seriousness of the charge or information given by the informer-agents, the prisoner was taken away or returned to the pit. (Some of the prisoners who came with us we never saw again, and we never heard what happened to them)."

"After approximately five days of interrogation in this manner," Abou Maher specified, "life became somewhat 'normalized' in the sense that we were taken out of the pit and given a wider space to move our legs, and also given two blankets and one-fourth of a meal (mainly bread and water) three times daily.

"Everytime we were taken for interrogation, a burlap sack was tied around our heads and we marched in a line of about 10 prisoners (each with a hand on the shoulder of the next) to the place of interrogation about 500 meters away."

Abou Maher explained that many of the Palestinian or Lebanese agents that were working with the Israelis were cooperating out of fear ("in fact, I think 90 percent do it out of fear," he said), and that this meant they sometimes pointed their finger at someone to avoid punishment themselves. For at times, if the agent didn't accuse "enough" prisoners of being fedayeen, he was not "trusted" by the Israelis and was consequently beaten. This meant that the agent thrust his finger even at someone he didn't know just to avoid being tied up and beaten himself.

Abou Maher also noted that the Israelis did not give even a little humanitarian treatment to the seriously ill. Abou Maher's own son (who was taken prisoner and released at the same time as his father) had with him a document certified by the American University Hospital in Beirut that he was suffering from a serious heart ailment. The boy also had in his possession at the time of detention a certificate issued by the PLO that he was physically unfit for military service because of this ailment. And while he was in detention, his heart condition worsened, and an Israeli doctor wrote a medical report stating that the boy was very ill and in need of proper food and rest. This, however, did not affect the Israeli authorities, who continued to beat the boy and say to him repeatedly: "You are not ill. You are just playing with us. You are a fighter and we know it."

After ten days of such imprisonment and interrogation in this unidentified military emcapment in Israel, many of the prisoners, including Abou Maher and his son, were returned to Ansar in buses in the same manner in which they were sent to Israel (hands tied behind back and blind-folded).

At the Ansar detention camp, they were placed in tents (in each tent 25 prisoners slept and lived in a 3-square-meter area) and given two blankets. The food consisted of sparse meals of beans cooked in water or "water and rice," and occasionally six prisoners shared one tin of canned meat and one loaf of bread.

Israeli guards watch over the camps, but approximately out of every 60 prisoners, two are picked to be "mukhtar" or those who "monitor" the activities of the other prisoners. If an Israeli guard noticed some of the prisoners talking to one another (conversation is prohibited at Ansar) or even whispering, these two "mukhtar" might be called to beat such "violators of the regulations" for example. Such "mukhtar" monitors are supposed to be favored by the Israelis, but often promises for their early release if they "continue to cooperate" are not kept, Abou Maher observed. Abou Maher added that some prisoners even "voluntarily" acted as "agents" and "spies" in the camps, and there was always the danger that such "agents" would lie that someone was a "feda'i" just so he could bargain for his own release.

In Ansar, hence, interrogations continued in a manner similar to the interrogations in Israel, with the interrogator insisting that a prisoner tell him "where his klashinkov was" when he didn't even possess one.

Abou Maher described one device used by the Israelis to make a detainee "confess to anything they wanted to hear": "A 'stubborn' or 'recalcitrant' prisoner was locked into a metal cabinet (approximately two meters high and 60 centimeters wide) while a fire was heated around it for about 5 to 6 minutes—to the point that the prisoner almost suffocated in this "pressure-cooker." Of course, the prisoner would emerge from the cabinet feeling very ill and faint and would sign any confessions demanded of him on the spot."

Abou Maher concluded his narration: "Most of the people at Ansar, over 95 percent of them I would say, are really only civilians—some civilians who have sympathized with the PLO of course—but they are still only civilians. About half are Lebanese and half are Palestinian, while there are some from Pakistan, Bangla Desh, and India. The Israelis keep telling these civilians 'I want your klashinkov' and these civilians keep answering 'I don't have a klashinkov," until the Israelis finally let them go. But the trouble is that the Israelis are particularly severe on the Palestinians—they release comparatively more Lebanese and Pakistanis than Palestinians. The Israelis made us wear military uniforms in detention, but that doesn't change the reality that we are civilians."

Abou Maher's wife, who had been listening quietly to her husband's narration, burst out: "And I have two neighbors, both teachers in UNWRA,—they came and took them away. They still have not been released, even though they have never carried weapons in their lives. They are holding in detention professors, doctors, and engineers, even after it is obvious from their profession that they are not fedayeen."

She added: "They even took away one little boy who is seven years old. They kept asking him where his father was. We don't know what they did to him, but when they released him and he went home, he couldn't speak and he remains speechless now, so they must have terrorized him. The Israelis are obsessed, and this 7-year-old boy must be terrified by the extent of the obsession he saw."

Editor's Note: Janet Stevens was killed in the explosion at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut on April 17, 1983.

GERAUD DE LA PRADELLE, Professor of Law, France

"[The cemetery] was in a particularly repulsive condition. It was cluttered with remnants, abandoned in an obviously casual way and showing recent manipulation of corpses. . . . Two hoes in perfect condition, with shining blades, and a stretcher covered with excrement left by a wandering cow crowned a sinister picture. Above all, it seems that certain corpses were so poorly covered that gruesome pieces were showing on the ground."

Testimony in form of a Report on a Mission carried out in Jerusalem and Galilee from 18 to 21 July 1983

Orgin of the Mission

This mission covers a special aspect of the problem caused by the fact many of the prisoners taken in Lebanon by the Israeli forces since the summer of 1982 remain unaccounted for. The International Center for Information estimates the number of persons captured in Lebanon and retained on a long-term basis by the Israeli army during the first four months of the war at between 12 and 15 thousand. It is known that, since that time, the army has not stopped making arrests, sometimes on a massive scale, compensating in part for the releases of prisoners that have taken place.

It is also known that most of the prisoners taken at the beginning of the war were brought to Israel to be kept during a variable period before they were—in principle—to be brought back to Lebanon and locked up at the camp of Ansar.

Officially, Ansar is currently the only place of detention for such persons, with the reservation of a few wounded hospitalized in Israel and a handful of women detained somewhere else in south Lebanon. It is, in any case, along with this women's prison, the only premises accessible to the International Red Cross. However, Ansar camp, at the worst time, held only 9,000 prisoners, according to the official Israeli figures, confirmed by the International Red Cross. Today it contains between 4,600 and 5,000 prisoners.

Comparison of those figures is enough to reveal the existence of many thousands of persons, detained by the Israeli army at one time, whose fate is not known.

It is certain that a good number of those missing persons have been liberated more or less quietly. For example, several hundred (600?) detained prisoners at Megido, in Israel, may have been directly liberated in Lebanon at the end of summer 1982.

It is no less certain that others were delivered to the "Lebanese militia" linked to the Israeli occupation forces, and that most of the latter must have been liquidated, while in the care of the so-called militia. In their meetings with the newspapermen, the military spokesmen admit willingly the prevalence of this practice. From informants in agreement and worthy of attention, and who contradict the Israeli official denials, it is believed that others could be still detained in Israel, in small groups scattered in the various military establishments that previously contained thousands of persons brought from Lebanon.

Finally, according to the same information, a certain number of persons detained in Israel, particularly among those that the Israeli consider as the executive officers of the PLO or of the Lebanese National Movement, may have been—and could still be—purely and simply eliminated. Persistent rumors that reached the Center since the beginning of 1983 speak of mass graves located in the south of Lebanon and in Israel, where the corpses of those persons may be buried.

Since the month of April, the Center has been informed of the discovery, on Israeli territory, of a "military cemetery" which appeared to be clandestine and could provide a certain confirmation of the validity of those rumors. This discovery, essentially made by Tamara Kohns, American newspaperman, aided by various Israeli personalities, was kept secret during the four-month period of investigation. Indeed, it was feared that a premature revelation might bring a blunt reaction from the army leading to the impossibility of searching the site and even its "cleansing," in other words the removal of the bodies. It is for that reason that no humanitarian or political organizations active in Israel, were informed as such; the Center itself was unaware of location, aspect, importance, and possible origin in the "cemetery" when it was insistently asked, on 12-13 July, to urgently send one of its members to Jerusalem. That person had to arrive at the latest on Tuesday the 19th in the morning.

For discretion's sake, no precise details were given regarding the tasks that person should perform. It was, however, obvious that those tasks would have to do with the "cemetery."

It was on those conditions that the departure of the signatory of these lines was decided on July 13. His role—and in principle the only one—was to inform the Center of the facts and the actions projected or undertaken by Tamara Kohns and her friends. The Center wanted to wait to be sufficiently informed to decide if and how it would participate in these actions. The situation found on the spot led this representative to give up such reservations.

Development of the Mission, First Contacts

Arriving in the evening on July 18 at Ben Gurion, the Center representative was informed immediately, by Tamara Kohns and lawyer Lea Tsemel, of the impossibility of delaying any longer the disclosure of the discoveries of the former. In particular, pictures taken on the site had just been confiscated by the army while in the hands of the laboratory in charge of the processing. There was an imminent risk of "cleansing" of the place, with subsequent definitive disappearance of all evidence, not to mention repressive measures against persons accused of breaking a "military secret."

Therefore, they had already convoked for July 19 a press conference dedicated to the problem of the "missing." The notification sent to the press did not mention anything more precise. But they intended to reveal at this occasion the existence of the "cemetery," and this revolation was to be actually the main point of the conference. Considering the pressing need for international backing, in part for the personal safety of the persons involved in the matter, they took the liberty of announcing the Center's participation at the press conference. The Center representative accepted their reasons and agreed to take part in this conference.

Press Conference on July 19

The projected conference was held on 19 July starting at 11 o'clock, in a lecture room of the Jerusalem Press Center. About 30 newspapermen, representing nearly the whole Israeli and foreign press, were present.

The conference was briefly introduced by Raya Rotem.

The International Information Center representative gave a short account of the overall problem posed by the missing persons. He concluded by indicating that the information which would be given by the other speakers might shed light on certain aspects of the problem.

Lea Tsemel took the stand to explain the discovery of the "cemetery." She underlined that if no direct link had yet been established between certain disappearances and the existence of the "cemetery" an inquiry was no less absolutely indispensable. But the essential thing would be the evidence of Tamara Kohns accompanied by the projection of pictures taken at different times since March 1 and the presentation of items picked up on the spot: rubber gloves, stained cloths, plastic pieces, food cans, blankets, scraps, etc. It must be underlined that the vigilance of Tamara Kohn and her friends permit us to establish with near certitude that some corpses had been buried many times between March 1 and the beginning of July. Such burials must have been held, in particular, around 25 March and on June 25.

The press conference was concluded by Dr. Jad Ne'eman who specified, for the newspapermen, the exact location of the "cemetery": in Galilee, near the Golan border, at B'not Ya'acov. He demanded a complete explanation by the authorities and, for lack of such an explanation, an inquiry held by an independent organ. In any case he asked that a decent burial place should be given to the corpses actually buried in scandalous conditions—conditions that the Center representative would take note of personally in the afternoon of the same day.

Exploration of the Site of B'not Ya'Acov

The Center representative went to the scene immediately after the press conference. He was guided by Tamara Kohns and was accompanied by two newspapermen of Jerusalem's Palestinian press, John Richardson, citizen of Great Britain, belonging to the editorial staff of Al Fajr, and Ali Qu'adam, Israeli citizen, belonging to the Palestinian Press Service Agency. He arrived at 5:30 p.m. and stayed on the site a little more than one hour. Pictures were taken during the visit, by Richardson and Qu'adam.

The place of the "cemetery" is located in northeast Galilee, at the boundary of Golan, on the Jordan border, at the immediate proximity of the B'not Ya'acov bridge. At this point, the road, which descends toward the bridge in the direction of Golan, bends roughly in turning to the left. A dirt track, quite well kept, rejoins this road at the very end of the bend; it leads to the Arab village of Toura and also to a relatively frequently visited bathing place in Jordan. This road was symbolically barred with a roll of concertina wire which, according to Tamara Kohns, did not exist on her last visit, July 16. However, no notice or other sign forbade access.

On the edge of this track, a few meters off the road, and on the right hand when you move away from it, a clearly inclined section 100 meters square was enclosed with rusted posts, linked together by barbed wire fences. However, it was extremely easy to go under this wire and, moreover, the fence had been torn out for nearly all its length on the higher side, opposite the lane. According to Tamara Kohns, it was since the beginning of July, progressively, that this fence had been moved apart, probably by the users of the site.

Facing the path, at the side of the fence and about its center, a wide yellow notice, invisible from the road and half hidden by the wild grass, carried in Hebrew the following inscription: "Cemetery for the dead of the enemy army." The enclosure was invaded by a wild vegetation, of the same kind which covers the surrounding grounds. This high and dry vegetation, however, did not have the same thickness everywhere. The vegetation was relatively short and scattered on the first third of the ground, closest to the road. This portion carries the obvious marks of an important work of

excavation; the extreme edge is cut clean; the surface is leveled and cleared of rock fragments which show on the surface everywhere else. According to witnesses heard by Tamara Kohns, two common graves were dug in this precise place, at the end of July and the beginning of August 1982. Numerous corpses, brought by trucks coming from Golan, appear to have been buried at this period.

The grass was very high in the second third of the enclosure, which did not appear to have been leveled. A sort of lane surrounded it. You could perceive, under the vegetation, mounds lined up, resembling individual graves, most of which seemed to have been marked by posts with generally painted blue tops. These posts also carried sequential numbers, from 1, at the beginning of the row, to 22, at the extremity. But many of them seemed to have disappeared. The ground, under the dry grass, was strewn with various bits; one could identify rubber gloves, plastic scraps, and blanket pieces. On the rest of the surface, the vegetation was clearly less thick. It had even entirely disappeared at the location of a lining up of twelve mounds whose soil had been freshly turned over. These graves did not carry any mark of identification, except for one which was surmounted by two long posts marked in red at the top and without numbers.

This place was in a particularly repulsive condition. It was cluttered with remnants, abandoned in an obviously casual way and showing recent manipulation of corpses: surgical gloves stained and crumpled in groups of ten; plastic bags; sheets stained with blood or pus; blankets also stained (sheets and blankets bearing marks in Hebrew). Two hoes in perfect condition, with shining blades and a stretcher covered with excrement left by a wandering cow crowned a sinister picture.

Above all, it seems that certain corpses were so poorly covered that gruesome pieces were showing on the ground. A large sheet apparently soaked in blood, which was half buried in loose dirt, had allegedly contained a leg during the last visit of Tamara Kohns. The sheet was empty on 19 July and spread out on the ground. It was photographed by Richardson and Qua'dam. On the other hand, a grave already covered by dry grass, therefore relatively old, revealed a large piece of torn plastic, containing inside an object that could be identified as made in leather. Taken superficially in the hand, this object can be recognized as an ankle boot of the "ranger" type, equipped with a zipper; the shoe opened wide, showing what could only be the remnant of a foot. Pictures were taken during the successive phases of the showing of that foot which was, in reality, not even covered with dirt.

Finally, opposite the "cemetery," on the other side of the path, you could observe a section of ground leveled with a bulldozer close to a bushy mound which may conceal archaeological vestiges going back to the time of the Crusades. The periphery of this zone was scattered with cans—"goulash," "beans," etc.—the sort distributed to the Israeli armies. These cans were opened and filled with rags blackened by fire, still smelling of oil. A double thread, resembling a telephone cable whose extremity was cut, started from this flat area, crossing the path, the "cemetery," and seemed to get lost beyond, in the approximate direction of a police camp which occupies, a few hundred meters on, the side of the road.

Reaction in Israel

In its editions dated July 20, the Israeli press immediately and widely covered the event of the revelations of Tamara Kohns and her friends. However, except for an objective report in *Ha'aretz* and another, more tendentious, in the *Jerusalem Post*, the articles published this way, "when it is hot," were generally quite deceiving and widely hostile to the organizers of the press conference. They gave a large place, like the televised bulletin of the evening of July 19, to the statements made by the army spokesman, which seem to have been favorably welcomed.

Version of the Israeli Army

It has not been possible to get a written and official version of those statements. The present report bases itself on the press reports, but also and mainly on the report made to its author by John Richardson, immediately after a meeting he had in the company of two other newspapermen (a French lady and an American) with the military spokesman.

According to Richardson, this officer—who admittedly has not visited the place—specified that at B'not Ya'acov there are two sites more or less distinct. One is "old," containing the corpses of Syrian soldiers killed in 1967 and 1973. The other allegedly "recent" site received the corpses of the persons killed during the operation called "peace in Galilee." The whole would contain "less than 80 corpses." The "recent" site would contain "about 44" in the first version presented by the spokesman; "between 41 and 42" (sic), in another version furnished a few minutes later, during the same meeting. A "Syrian" prisoner, killed "when he tried to escape" from the Ansar camp, was buried there 14 June 1983, then exhumed on 19 June to be given to his family in Syria, due to the intervention of the International Red Cross.

Of the "about 44" corpses of the recent site, 20 would be Syrian servicemen; 24 would be the remains of "prisoners" who died at Ansar of "natural death" or maybe in Israeli hospitals; but also certain corpses would be "terrorists" found dead or killed in an operation and carried to Israel for autopsy, within the context of the inquiries intended to demonstrate their participation in murder attempts. All these corpses should have been identified.

Furthermore, two graves of the most recent site should contain the remains of "more than one person"—in other words, at the most three persons each. They were fighters discovered in two or three armored vehicles set on fire. They would not be identifiable due to their condition.

All the graves could be identified and are marked externally. The names of all the persons identified and buried at B'not Ya'acov would have been communicated "in normal conditions" to the International Committee of the Red Cross and to "other international organs" which are competent. The families could have been informed by the intermediation of the CICR. They should have the possibility, always by this channel, to get back the remains of their relatives. This possibility should be also available for the families of members of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

According to the military spokesman, the ground of B'not Ya'acov belongs to the army. This property was the object of a litigation with the Kibbutz Gadot. Two months ago, a decision of the court decided in favor of the army. Therefore, actually, it is a matter, without any possible discussion, of a plot belonging to the army that should not be visited without authorization.

Always according to the spokesman, all the burials would have been held conforming to the traditions and the rules of the army, under the authority of the military chaplain. With the exception of the "Syrian" prisoner buried June 14, nobody would have been buried there since the end of the war, that is about September 1982.

The present condition of the "cemetery" is probably not what it should be. However, the vegetation had been eliminated; the area closed; all the graves have been marked—no international rule forces the authorities to mention the names on these graves. But it must be well understood that we do not have here a "final permanent cemetery"; the corpses lying there are waiting to be transferred elsewhere; especially, the corpses of the Syrian soldiers could be a part of an exchange for the corpses of Israeli soldiers. It is possible to turn it into a permanent site, which means, legally, that a bill must be promulgated and, in fact, that different preparations should be required.

For the military spokesman, it is untrue that the ground of the "cemetery" is scattered with several fragments. Likewise, it would be absurd to speak of a landing ground at B'not Ya'acov; indeed, a military airport exists close by. However, this officer recognized that cans left on the ground could have been useful as beacons in night landing of helicopter. He even suggested that the abandoned telephone cable on the ground could have been used by a crew in charge of meeting the helicopter to communicate with the military Police camp.

It should be added that the press of July 21—especially the *Jerusalem Post*—announced that the day before (20 July) the army had started to close the "cemetery," to "clean" it, to burn the vegetation and to proceed to the marking of the graves. Finally, the military spokesman confirmed that two similar "cemeteries" existed in South Lebanon.

The International Red Cross representative in Tel Aviv, contacted 21 July in the morning, refused to make any kind of statement.

Conclusions

1. The condition of the "cemetery" was absolutely indecent on July 19. This situation, personally verified by the author of the present report, does not admit discussion. In spite of the statement of the army, it cannot be believed that the military "Rabbinate" had the slightest part in the operations at the site of B'no Ya'acov.

2. The existence of two common graves is attested by the testimonies reported by Tamara Kohns. It is partially recognized by the army. The visit to the site reveals that no mark allowed one to distinguish its location. Moreover, if those graves are effectively situated where the witness confirms it, their dimensions can be extensive. They could therefore contain much more "than one person". . . . One cannot, on that point, be satisfied with remarks of the army spokesman. A thorough verification is necessary, which should include excavation of the ground.

3. The "individual" graves are very imperfectly marked. The 12 most recent bear no mark at all. One cannot understand how the corpses which they contain could be quite identifiable, as the army claims. Above all, certain signs, as the showing of certain corpses, hardly covered with a thin coat of loose soil, give some weight to the hypothesis that, in reality, several persons, maybe on top of each other, could be buried under each of the mounds. There, again, verification has to be performed, including excavation of the ground.

4. In spite of the reservations of the military spokesman, it must be held as certain that during the four last months there have several times been some burials. This fact is shown sufficiently by the testimony of Tamara Kohns confirming the condition of the ground on July 19. It can be observed, however, that the dates presented by the military spokesman for the only burial that they recognize—that of the "Syrian" buried on June 14 and exhumed on June 19—do not coincide with Tamara Kohns' observations. Those recent burials, of which the number is not known, make one suspect the elimination of certain prisoners with the connivance of the Israeli authorities. Only complete information, backed up by an objective inquiry, could dissipate such suspicion.

5. This suspicion is all the more weighty in that inaccurate indications given about the origin of the corpses by the army spokesman are in the end disturbing. Perhaps it is true that a certain number of Syrian soldiers rest there, especially in the oldest graves, the ones that were covered on July 19 by a thick vegetation. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that a need was

felt to transfer to this "temporary" place certain corpses of servicemen killed in 1967 and in 1973. Significantly, the military spokesman admits that the "cemetery" has received also some dead people who are not Syrian servicemen, but "terrorists" or "prisoners." It can be feared that the number is much more than the number of 24 brought forward to the spokesman and that a certain number of deaths were less "natural" than he wants to admit.

The complete explanation asked by Dr. Ne'eman, during the press conference, is absolutely necessary, and has not been yet provided. It should show the exact number, the identity, the dates and the causes of death, and be backed by convincing evidence.

6. To conclude, one cannot help but be struck by a certain incongruity: it is a matter, indeed, of a burial place kept secret, where helicopters land at night, and which from one aspect is truly a place that cannot be seen. However, it is located in close proximity to places of passage relatively frequently visited; it is marked by a sign which does not bear any word of interdiction; in fact it is accessible to anybody willing to be interested.

ROSEMARY SAYIGH, Writer, Lebanon

"Like the other foreign doctors interviewed, all witnessed brutal beatings."

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Even before the fighting had ended in Tyre and Sidon, on 9 June, the invading forces began calling on civilians to assemble on the beach. Here began the hunt for "suspects" that has swept into Israeli interrogation centres between 9,000 and 15,000 men, Palestinian and Lebanese, between the ages of 14 and 60. (The first figure was given by an Israeli military spokesman on 11 July, the second by international aid workers here last week). There have been some releases, but there have also been very many new arrests and re-arrests. By now the whole adult male population not in hiding has been paraded before informers at least once, and a high proportion—certainly the vast majority of the Palestinians—have been sent to interrogation camps.

Such mass round-ups of civilians are outlawed by the Geneva Conventions, and if practised on people of European origin would have aroused a storm of protest. Where the victims are Arabs, by contrast, most of the American media and large sections of the European are inclined to accept whatever Israel does in south Lebanon as "self-defence." The Israelis themselves have invoked the old British Defence (Emergency) Regulations

—which they use in the occupied territories and which have even less validity in Lebanon—to justify the detention of civilians indefinitely without trial.

To obtain a well-attested picture of the detention process, an investigation committee here has interviewed four released prisoners who spent between 10 and 21 days in concentration camps both in Lebanon and Israel. One is a doctor from Bangladesh, one a Syrian, two are Palestinian. Corroborative evidence can be found in reports made by non-Arab doctors working with the Red Crescent, who were detained between 13 and 20 June, especially the Norwegians, Dr. Berge and Mr. Moller, Dr. Capet (French) and Dr. Giannou (Canadian).

The detainees were sent to the interrogation centres from the beach or from street check points, and more came as each urban quarter and village in the south were systematically cordoned off and searched. With the Israelis were masked informers whose job was to point out resistance members. In each interrogation centre, "suspects" were again paraded in front of two or more informers. On the basis of their verdicts, the prisoners were divided into different categories, with different markings and routes.

For all of them, interrogation was preceded by three or four days of "softening up." This is how Dr. A describes his first sight of an interrogation centre in a Sidon school. "We saw many people there, mostly lying on the sand, and the soldiers beating them. They had their eyes blindfolded and their hands tied behind the back. Some were asking for water, some for the latrine. They were crying out and then the guards were just beating and kicking them."

To tie the hands, the Israelis used a special plastic cord that tightens when pulled. Apart from being blindfolded and having their hands tied, the pre-interrogation treatment of detainees can be summarised thus: 1) deprivation of water and food (Dr. A obtained a drink after 2½ days by bribing a guard, but others were kept as long as three days without water); 2) forced immobility and coercive posture (sitting with bowed heads by day, lying on stomachs at night); 3) exposure to sun by day, to cold at night; 4) deprivation of the use of latrines; 5) intimidation through shooting near detainees, or running jeeps near them; 6) disruption of sleep; 7) continual physical assault. According to all testimonies, beatings went on continuously throughout the day.

Any detainee who asked for water, or spoke, or moved, was liable to be beaten, and if the guards could not reach the culprit because of the crowd they would lash out at whomever was nearest. Dr. A describes them as using rifle-butts, boots, belts and batons. Berge and Moller, who estimated that half of the 500 detainees in their group were beaten, said, in addition, that guards used table and chair legs, lengths of plastic hose, knotted ropes, whips and clubs. A pattern that recurs in all accounts are the paroxysms of group sadism, in which three or four guards would set

upon individuals who had annoyed them, beating them to unconsciousness or, in some cases, death.

Of the four released suspects we interviewed, only one was beaten so badly that he needed medical treatment on release. Suspected of being a fighter, though not denounced by the informers, he was beaten on the kidneys during seven interrogations in a camp somewhere in Israel. The other three got casual beatings for minor infringements such as loosening their blindfolds. Three of them had scars on their wrists where the plastic cord had eaten into the skin and caused infection.

Like the other foreign doctors interviewed, all four of them witnessed brutal beatings. Dr. A saw a Red Crescent doctor who had remonstrated with a guard tied to the frame of a children's swing and beaten by successive groups of soldiers at intervals throughout the day. Others said that this doctor was dragged round the prison with a rope around his neck, but Dr. A did not see this.

The severe beating of mental defectives was reported by two detainees, from different concentration camps. Another saw a 16-year-old schoolboy repeatedly being beaten by a guard while being bussed to Israel. The guard accused the boy of having "killed four Jews." A partial explanation of this generalised brutality is that the guards believed, on the basis of the informers' indications, that all those held for interrogation were members of the resistance.

SALEH TAAMRI, Ansar Prisoner, Palestinian
A Member of the Ansar Prisoners Negotiating Committee

"Whether or not Ansar was Auschwitz as we described it, or as one of the Israeli soldiers actually called it, we will leave it to you to determine what name you would give to such a camp. Ansar was a continuation of the war in a different form. That explains the Israeli behavior."

To me Ansar was important, very important. Not only as a prison camp but as a method of Israeli thinking, as a symbol of Israeli policy and way of dealing with things. To understand Ansar we have to understand and answer the question, why Ansar? Was it necessary? To answer this question, we must know where Ansar came in the process of the war and what the war in Lebanon meant in Israeli strategic aims and plans. Such a

preface is very important to explain Ansar and to throw light on the many aspects of Ansar and the way the Israelis behaved.

Ever since the Sykes-Picot agreement of the first World War, the Zionist movement had evidenced dissatisfaction with the new political plan in the Middle East. They never agreed to the size of Lebanon. Ben Gurion wrote many letters showing his dissatisfaction with its size. He said that Lebanon is bigger than it should be—yet Lebanon is a tiny country, a bit over 10,000 kilometers square, and yet in his conception Lebanon was too big. He also said in one document; "We should seek alliance among some sects in Lebanon," and he named the Maronites. Ever since that date these people and the Israelis implemented a plan that tends either to annex parts of Lebanon to their state or to create a situation where anexation becomes unnecessary because Israel dominates such parts of Lebanon. So the last war in Lebanon was the implementation of that plan. It was not retaliation for a specific sabotage operation by the PLO or the Lebanese national front because at the time the war broke out a ceasefire had been valid for over a year and they were the first to interrupt it.

The Israelis in Lebanon coupled savage bombings with propaganda to demoralize the population, to create a state of horror, a state of fear where people, fearful of annihilation, fearful of being massacred at the hands of the Israelis or their allies, would just leave. When the war stopped officially, where could the Israelis practice their demoralization and create a state of fear and havoc? In Ansar, in a concentration camp where a large number of people could be demoralized. But instead of bombing, instead of daily shooting—instead of bombs and rockets and airplanes or battleships or cannons—beating, torture, insults, handcuffs, chains, legcuffs, blindfolds, could provide the state of horror under which any human being could be demoralized. That's why not a single soul in the south of Lebanon escaped passing through one of the concentration camps, on the seashore in Saida where thousands were herded day and night, or in church yards, mosque yards, in the nuns' school in Sidon, as well as the sulphur factory which was turned into a mini-holocaust. Some spent a few hours, others spent a few days, the rest were passed on to prison camps in the occupied territory in Palestine and then to Ansar. There were 9,500 prisoners in Ansar at one time, but over 15,000 passed through Ansar.

When I say every single soul, I mean every single soul—men, women, children, Moslems, Christians, whether Sunnite Moslem or Shiite Moslem, whether Lebanese or Palestinian—not a single soul escaped that experience. In such concentration places, several thousands were stamped on their flesh to mark that they passed security examination. The explanation the Israelis gave to such stamping on the flesh—they said that such persons didn't have identity cards so we had to stamp them whether on the face or on the arm in the tattoo fashion. But this was not a tattoo. It was an ink stamp. Those who were unlucky went to their prison camps

inside occupied territory and then to Ansar. Several were killed. And while at that school as well as in Sofar, many were killed under beating, under torture. I remember that was before I was captured—on the 19th of June—I remember a week before I was captured I knew that a few dead bodies, deformed dead bodies, were thrown at the gate of the cemetery in Sidon. You can check the names and the incident itself to make sure. I was told from many witnesses about how one of the detainees in the Robert School was killed. He was thirsty, he asked for water—instead of giving him water, they blocked his mouth with a newspaper—they covered his face with jam, thousands of flies were around his head, eating his flesh up until he died. His name was Abousekina, his family name. That was in the second week of June.

Another incident that took place there was told to me by one of the doctors who was present there—he was with us in Ansar—as well as by many other witnesses. A soldier smashed the head of a detainee with his rifle. The doctor, Dr. Nazmeh, rushed to his rescue. The doctor, by the way, was handcuffed as well, and the victim's brain was on the floor and he was dead as a result of that blow. Many also told me about being given urine instead of water. These incidents took place whether in Sofar or Robert, the nuns' school, or on the road to the occupied territory or in Ansar during the first months.

In Ansar I will give more concrete facts supported with names, numbers or their IDF or ICRC numbers and you can check it. Anyway, you can check anything we say and if it is proved that what we say is being exaggerated or false, I promise, I give you my word I would apologize publicly to world public opinion and to Jews all over the world and to the Israelis, if what we say proves to be exaggerated or false. As I told you from the very beginning, our role is to illuminate the truth, not to hide it. And there is no need for exaggeration because what we went through was horrid enough—why should we exaggerate?

Many died under torture—that's a fact they cannot deny. Many were killed in cold blood—that's a fact they cannot deny. They cannot deny the fact that they bombed the government hospital in Sidon. A couple of hundreds died as a result of that bombing. Many buildings were destroyed and several hundreds, also in Sidon, died under the wreck—whole families died in some buildings in Sidon. That's a fact they cannot deny as well.

War in a Different Form

Anyway, to go back to our main subject of Ansar, as I told you they needed such a place to accomplish what they started with the war, but instead of bombs, rockets, missiles, airplanes, 175 mm guns, cluster bombs, etc., coupled with demoralization, constant demoralization of the

population, they resumed and continued the war in a different shape in Ansar where they exposed thousands of people between the ages of 12 and 85 to all sorts of bad treatment, humiliation coupled with constant demoralization, systematic destruction of health and morale. Whether it was systematic or not, I will let the facts speak for themselves. Whether or not Ansar was Auschwitz as we described it, or as one of the Israeli soldiers actually called it, we will leave it to you to determine what name you would give to such a camp. Ansar was a continuation of the war in a different form. That explains the Israeli behavior.

First, there was no law governing treatment of the detainees. No law at all. Neither the Geneva convention nor the Israeli law itself and even when the Israeli Supreme Court decided that the Ansar prisoners should be treated according to the Geneva Convention number four, the Israeli commander of the camp said he never heard of such a decision. He never heard of such a supreme court and he went on treating us according to his mood and according to the IDF's own plan.

For three months we protested, we struggled, we demanded a copy of the Geneva Convention, not to implement the convention but to get a copy to read and we were denied that right. It is strange enough to know that the ICRC delegation was in Ansar and yet they were incapable of providing us with a copy of the Geneva Convention or to teach us or to inform us about our rights. They usually told us, "okay", laughingly, of course, "we treat you according to the Geneva Convention number five." We waited until the head of the delegation of the ICRC came to Ansar—we rushed to him happily asking him, please give us a copy of the Geneva Convention number five. He said, "but it does not exist." It was a black joke.

This shows a striking fact about the Israelis whom we met in Ansar. Their insensitivity. One would expect a Jew to be sensitive—to be sensitive against pain, to be sensitive against torture or bad treatment or discrimination, but to see a Jew who takes a non-Jew for granted, who never winks or show unrest for the tragic scenes that were all over the place, that was really extraordinary. It was shocking to us. Although we are enemies, yet we had something positive in all our minds concerning the Jews as humans who suffered a lot for no reason other than being a Jew. But I'm speaking about my personal experience—it was shocking to me because I never expected a Jew to behave in that way or to react in that way or not to react actually. But to take other humans, for granted—that led me actually to ask myself, as well as to ask many soldiers I met, are the Israelis Jews? Is the Israeli officer who beats a child or a boy of 13 to death, is he a Jew? Is this discrimination—tthis racist attitude towards us—is it the Israeli interpretation or misinterpretation of the word "goyim"? One would expect a better Jewish product, human product, especially after the Second World War, after the holocaust, after the ghettos they were living in—what it

seems the ghettos produced, not a broad-minded human but human beings with ghettos built into their brains. When the victim exercises and practices and implements the same schemes his aggressor implemented, then it is more horrid. Many times prisoners would be handcuffed with plastic handcuffs or the American-made Smith and Wesson handcuffs, the vicious iron handcuffs, blindfolded or headcuffed or chained, thrown on the ground for days with Israeli soldiers around, and officers as well, eating seeds of melon.

Each morning opening his eyes after a restless sleep, each of us would ask himself, "whose turn is it today?" Meaning, whose turn to go for interrogation today. Then a well-closed caravan would come—we called it the owl—that's the name for the van given by the prisoners. It's a car, a closed car—a sort of station wagon. Then, the officer or the soldier, with a grim look, would step down with handcuffs in his hands, then he would call a number, then the prisoner would go to the gate, they would handcuff him, blindfold him, throw him into the car, and then he would go to the section for interrogation. We called it the hole. We had names for everything. In the hole we would be thrown there—not for interrogation actually. They would leave him for hours and sometimes for days, handcuffed and blindfolded. No food, no cigarettes, sitting in the cold or sitting under the sun, no blankets, nothing of the sort. And then they would bring him back without asking him a single question. This happened almost to everybody.

To beat the detainee is a tradition. To insult him is something that should not be questioned. We should be thankful to the Israeli soldier or officer if he loosens our handcuffs a bit to make it less tormenting to the wrists or the legs. To insult one's mother or one's sister or one's religion or one's people was a daily thing to do.

One of the things that showed insensitivity is that they take the father and son for interrogation and handcuff both, beat the father in front of his son or the son in front of his father. The worst thing they did, and it really shows their insensitivity, we had very serious medical cases. Someone for example with heart troubles. They would handcuff him, chain him, blindfold him, throw him into the car to take him to hospital. Such a thing would turn a healthy person into a sick person so it's worse with a sick person to be dealt with in this way. To be beaten, to be thrown in a cell, was so normal we should be thankful we were still alive. And many times they said it, "you should be thankful because you're still alive." As if life means just to breathe and to eat the crumbs. Life doesn't mean anything if its not coupled with dignity—with human dignity. To them it doesn't mean anything. To them it seems that nobody other than an Israeli is worthy of living. To see a person handcuffed and chained, blindfolded for several days and sometimes several weeks, I don't think that is an act that would be practiced by someone who is sensitive or a normal human being.

A Secret Place for Torture

I will talk about the place which is very, very secretive—it is a top secret place. It has a code name, Gedera, meaning the wires. In that place you listen to their music coming from the transistors of the soldiers side by side with the shrieks of pain, the head slapping, the whipping of the prisoners. The rattling of chains reminds you of the dungeons which we used to see in the films about the medieval ages. That place close to Rehovet on the road between Ashkelah and Jerusalem, is a security prison; some of the cells are no more than 10 feet square. Yes, I was there. That was June until October, yes. Some of the cells are one meter by one meter. They are painted red inside, bright lights 24 hours a day—the normal light of the sun or daylight wouldn't get in. No windows. If you feel like suffocating because of the lack of fresh air, because of the humidity and the heat, you have to put your cheek on the floor and squeeze your nose between the edge of the door and the floor, gasping for fresh air. You can't sleep because you can't stretch your body. You are not alone in the cell. There is the necessary bucket and the jug—a dirty plastic jug of water. If you spill it on the ground—on the floor, you have to wait sometimes for 12 hours before the warden brings you water. You can't sleep, you can't stretch your body. You lose your senses within 44 or 48 hours, and I'm sure some prisoners died there. You would feel that your heart is bursting. You feel every muscle, every particle of your body is in pain.

It is frightening that such a place exists. The rattling of chains would be heard in the corners of the place. Some of the chains are those that are used for horses. I think the reason for that is that the place was built by the British mandate—it was used as a British police station and in such police stations there would be a stable for horses. The chains are so heavy they are brutal. I knew many prisoners who spent week after week there in chains and handcuffs.

Such a place exists and I challenge the Israelis to form a committee to examine what I say; I am sure that some prisoners died in that center. It is a mini-holocaust led by an eccentric Israeli officer. His name is Joshua, an orthodox Jew, a colonel, mentally sick. He practiced torture himself. Even the wardens, many of them told me, wondered how could such a human being deal with his children. How can he bring them up healthily in their minds and souls. But I'm sure not many Israelis know about that place. Even those who work in the place, some of them are mentally sick. I mean, they are sick sadists, others wouldn't dare to work there. But it is a place where Jewish values are massacred every minute. Jewish values are being deformed every minute. That place is a disgrace to humanity. Of course there were dogs. There was electricity that could be used—it was not used with me but I'm sure it was used with others.

There are other prisoners who were in that place, and it's strange enough that although the Israelis would argue about our condition from the point of the law as Palestinians, they don't admit that we are war prisoners, so they can justify any bad behavior toward us. But some Syrian officers and soldiers captured during the war spent many months in solitary in that damn place. Some Syrian officers lost their minds because of the isolation, the bad treatment, the demoralization that had been practiced on them all the time and I challenge the Israelis to say no. Even when the ICRC brought the Syrian prisoners presents from their families, they were taken away from them after the Red Cross delivered them and used by the soldiers themselves. They took the Syrian prisoners to Aclid so the ICRC could see them and give a record or report on where the ICRC met the Syrian prisoners and when the ICRC left they would bring them back to that mini-holocaust called Gedera. The Syrian prisoners are prisoners of war but the Israelis' behavior with them is more than brutal.

One would expect the descendants of those who passed through the holocaust to be sensitive to human suffering, to care for other humans, but the Israelis are the last to care. They are not aware of any agony they inflict on other human beings because they think—they believe that they are the first and last, they are the best, they are the only people who suffered, and because Jews suffered that justifies any suffering they cause to others. The Israelis never fail to fabricate immoral justification to hide the most immoral deed.

In Ansar we had thousands of families—fathers and sons—and it was systematic social destruction. I can't look at it except within this context. They brought the father and his sons, leaving the rest of the family exposed to poverty, worry, and hunger. They knew that. They want to dismantle the social structure of the Palestinians in the south of Lebanon. We pointed this out directly and through the ICRC—they wouldn't listen. We told them, why should you put in the wires the father and his six sons? Leave one to support the family. They wouldn't care, they would laugh.

There were doctors, engineers, civilian pilots, teachers, students, workers, all kinds of people with all kinds of jobs and careers in life. Was it necessary? Some of those who were confined in Ansar were well-known lawyers, Lebanese lawyers. They were not fighters, they never handled a gun in their lives. If they belonged to political parties, those parties were licensed by their own government. They were not doing anything against the law of their country by being members of political parties. They put in Ansar all those who they imagined did not like the Israelis. People were judged or punished not only for their beliefs but because of their feelings. I remember a newcomer in Ansar once, late 1983, he was amazed when they brought him into the section. He was in a sort of hallucination. "Why did they bring me here, I didn't do anything." The officer, who happened to be a lawyer, said, "We brought you here to prevent you from thinking of doing anything." He was a teacher.

They brought in many doctors—sometimes they would bring a doctor because it was the only way to provide a doctor without causing the Israeli government a shekel.

Sick and Wounded Prisoners

We had many sick people, with heart problems, with ulcers, many who had lost a limb, an eye, a leg or an arm, or a kidney. We had many with severe rheumatic pains. We had many with epilepsy and the funniest thing was—the funniest and most tragic at the same time—we had a number of mad prisoners simply because a mental asylum on the road between Lebatya and Sur and Saida was destroyed during the war. The residents in that mental asylum ran away, many of them, and hid in Ansar. Although the doctors in the mental asylum said such persons belong in the asylum, yet the Israelis wouldn't let them go. I remember one of those mad prisoners, named Aboumoussa, spent months in chains and handcuffs—everybody knew he was mad. They wouldn't let him go. We had another case, a young man about 20 years old, a mental case. He had a mental breakdown. Twice the ICRC demanded the release of that young man but twice their demand was turned down, then that prisoner committed suicide. I can give you the exact date, you can check this piece of information with the ICRC to prove that he was—he should have been released on medical grounds. He was a mental case, but they wouldn't let him go.

In one dialogue or a meeting between the ICRC doctor and the Israeli general for medical affairs, one of the Israeli officers who was present in the meeting said, they should thank God they are still alive. In southeast Asia they have hundreds of thousands in prison and they don't give them anything except water and bread. Here they are better off. We are ready to release a sick prisoner if we are sure he will die within a couple of days. It's better to die in his home—we don't want to have difficulties in getting the body, etc., etc. And that was registered with the ICRC doctor who was present in that meeting. I've got a full record of that. I can give you the full details about it and you can check it with the ICRC.

I believe that the ICRC should be brought as a witness or else what is the use of the ICRC. Because when world public opinion hears about the ICRC in prisons then people will think things are all right, things are following a pattern that is humanitarian, where conditions are suitable for humans to live. But actually, this is a misleading matter because many were killed in cold blood under the nose of the ICRC, and they could not stop the killing. The presence of the ICRC could not force the Israelis to supply us with hot water. During the 18 months of imprisonment we never

had hot water to wash ourselves. We never had meat, fresh or frozen, except twice in a year and a half. On two Moslem occasions meat was brought to us by the ICRC. It was a donation from some rich Lebanese—we don't know who. We never had family visits. They never agreed on family visits. We never had the proper medical treatment. Those facts are known to the ICRC. In this, I wish you could take the testimony of Dr. Portnoy. I'm sure he's brave enough to say the truth.

Once they opened fire, 25 of us were wounded—I've got the dates—the ambulance came after 45 minutes although it wouldn't take more than two minutes. There had been no key to the gate. On another occasion the prisoner died—he was bleeding to death. The ambulance didn't come—it came later and when it came, it was too late and there had been no keys to open the gate. On December 2, three were killed as I told you. Fifteen were wounded and they said it was a crazy soldier. Then, 10 days before the repatriation, four were killed, smashed by their bulldozer and . . . . they removed the prisoners from the valley of hell, that's the name of the place, the valley of hell, to the new sections. Four prisoners dug a hole and were hiding in it. Then a bulldozer came. When the prisoners heard the noise of the bulldozer, one of them raised his hands showing that he's there and wants to surrender. Then with the plate of the bulldozer, they just cut his head off and smashed the rest of the prisoners. I was there after the incident with another doctor. The bodies were deformed, the heads smashed. The justification the officer gave was, this group of soldiers and the bulldozer itself was in Sur in the morning of that day trying to help and rescue when the explosion took place in the Israeli headquarters in Sur. Imagine a group of soldiers who are in Sur digging out the corpses of the bodies of their colleagues and then you bring them in a prison camp searching for four prisoners who are hiding. The grudge they had, the provocation they had would make them kill anybody, and that's what they did. Another two prisoners raised their hands but they shot them. They were wounded severely and escaped death only because there were over 25 witnesses so the soldiers couldn't kill them all.

On another occasion, a prisoner approached the fence, the inner fence, within the compound of the prison camp. They shot him in his head—he died on the moment. He did nothing wrong. They just shot him in the head. Why was that? No explanation. Another crazy soldier. Then they produced snipers. It was normal to see snipers accompanying dogs, German shepherds, like hunters around the wires of the prison camp. They also brought not only armored vehicles or half trucks, but also tanks inside the prison camps. One way to prevent us from going to sleep was to make all those armored vehicles and heavy tanks go around between the sections at night, all night. They would shake the ground under you. Then night flares all over. They would perform their maneuvers or their practice

inside the prison camp with live ammunition; the fighters would dive to a very low altitude.

Shooting was daily, shooting over our heads in the sections. Instead of asking one to keep away from the fence—the inner fence—they would just shoot. Then when they brought the Golan brigade they used more bullets than words. The Golan bridgade is one of the best equipped, the fiercest Israeli division, and it fought in the invasion. It suffered heavy losses all through the Israeli wars with Arabs. They wounded many in the valley of hell. The ICRC many times protested but no way. We had to protect ourselves. We had to fight our way to stop interrogation—to stop bad treatment, but actually it never stopped—never stopped and no law was implemented except the law of the commander of the camp himself.

There were about 20 sections in Ansar. Each section was 30 meters by 30 meters. In some sections you would find 400 prisoners—one toilet, so untidy. Water was rare. At the beginning, until February 1983, we didn't have fires. Each prisoner had three blankets—no mattresses, no pillows, no heaters. Even the inside of the tent was awful. It was only one layer. No light. One cup of tea a day. As I told you, no hot water at all. No boots or shoes. No proper clothes. Thousands of prisoners suffered rheumatic pains.

Then things improved a bit. After early 1983 they provided us with wood to put under us. Then kerosene light was provided, one for each tent. But no hot water at all. Then they increased the cigarettes from 5 to 10 cigarettes a day, but the worst kind of cigarettes. No canteen was provided. They never really accepted that. No meat. For two or three months we got a half cup of coffee a month. But it was then stopped.

People might think that a seriously ill person is a tragic case. But sometimes, in a case of someone who has lost his artifical teeth, he's not sick, he's normal, but can you imagine a person who lost his artificial teeth, how could he survive? How could he eat? Especially when there are no facilities, no proper food even for the normal person. Artificial teeth were smashed by the soldiers themselves, as a general practice. We had some deaf prisoners who had earphones. Their earphones were smashed by the soldiers and when the ICRC provided them with new sets, they were also smashed.

We had a prisoner who lost an eye and an arm, who had ulcers and heart problems. They wouldn't let him go. Can you imagine—how did he wash himself? How could he eat? How could he take care of himself in such a condition? One of the prisoners lost his eyesight and they wouldn't let him go. Another prisoner had gangrene and we watched him fading away for months and they wouldn't give him medical treatment. They wouldn't let him go. Today I heard that he lost both his legs. We know his name, we know his number, the IDF, ICRC number. He was released one day before the repatriation because they thought it would be a scandal if

they let him go with the rest of the prisoners through the repatriation. His name is Hamad Jeberi. His number was 50240.

Besides the presence of the ICRC, which was many times misused by the Israelis, there was the Commission of Appeals, which was also misused. The Commission of Appeals was set up by the Israelis—by the IDF actually. It was supposed to be a judicial body, a neutral judicial body was examined the case of each prisoner. According to the Geneva convention, such a body should be set up within two weeks of the detention. That means it should have been established within the first two weeks of detention. But instead such a committee was established 6 months after detention or even 8 months after the detention and it was not a judicial body actually. It belonged to the IDF. No lawyers were provided. When prisoners stood before that commission it was a different way of interrogation. We protested in vain. Even the ICRC did not agree on the nature of that commission. No one was released as a result of a decision of the Commission of Appeals. It used the law as a cover to hide the policy of discrimination and bad treatment of the IDF in Ansar. Many times, as I said, protested—we wrote letters to the ICRC— the ICRC itself protested against that commission but it was all in vain.

Late in the summer of 1983, about 2,500 prisoners were moved to a new place one kilometer from the original Ansar. The place was called the "valley of hell." It was a sort of big grave—it looked like a big grave, a deep valley, the rocks on both sides formed a very high wall about 15 meters. Both the entrance and the exit of the valley were blocked with very high walls of rocks and soil. With the same towers, tanks, soldiers, machine guns all around. There had been a division of the Golan brigade there. There were no sections, no tents in the valley. The toilets were worse than the previous ones in the original sections which were bad in themselves. Holes in the ground and after two or three days of our arrival at the new place, the flies were all over. We had to burn remnants of wood or blankets or anything to make tea or to prepare our food. The soldiers often threw garbage on the prisoners who were below them, and they cut off the water supplies. Shooting was also a daily custom, and many got wounded severely in the valley of hell.

We protested, the ICRC protested, but the Israelis wouldn't listen. They started exercising with live ammunition just on the borders of the valley, the new camp. Fragments and shrapnels would reach the inside of the new camp, and as I told you many were wounded. They wouldn't use words to warn the prisoners not to come close to the fence but they would shoot toward them. Many times the bullets hit inside the shabby little tents which were made of the remnants of blankets and empty potato or rice sacks. It was dusty in the late summer. The heat was unbearable. It was so cold at night. Then, when it rained by the beginning of winter, it turned into a swamp—muddy, dirty. The situation was unbearable. In that place

too, we didn't have hot water. The medical treatment became worse or moved from worse to worst. We were given a different type of ration—tinned food mostly, which was not enough. Right from the very beginning, our food in Ansar as well as in the valley lacked protein—it was all carbohydrates.

We had no proper medical treatment. Tranquilizers were the only medicine to be given or the main medicine to be given. It was up to our doctors to see that no more deterioration took place so they guided the prisoners all the time how to manage under the given circumstances. We didn't want the prisoners to become drug addicts as a result of using tranquilizers as a medicine.

They moved us saying that they wanted to renew the camps, but actually they wanted to isolate the prisoners after the many protests demanding basic rights as human beings. It was done on purpose to put the 2,500 under the control of the Golan brigade, and as a result we suffered many casualties in that new place. The rest of the prisoners, about 3,000, were put in new, very small sections. In their attempt to demoralize the prisoners, they marked the yard of each section by white lines and no prisoners were supposed to approach those white lines although they were within the sections, not outside the sections. Many in the new sections also got wounded just because by mistake they approached the white line, sometimes to dry their clothes after washing them. In the new sections, the toilets had no roofs, even when it rained heavily. We suffered the same shortage of water, not hot water but drinking water, because as I told you before we never had hot water. The same bad treatment went on. The cells in Ansar were crowded not only with the newcomers but also with the prisoners who asked to go to the Commission of Appeals.

That's another thing concerning the Commission of Appeals. Many prisoners went out of their sections to sit before the Commission of Appeals, but instead they were sent to the cells. Some prisoners were told that they were releasable and should leave their sections to go home, and instead they put them into cells. The cells were 3 meters by 3 meters, the maximum. In each cell sometimes you would find more than 15 prisoners. Even pigs wouldn't live under such conditions.

I remember that when the repatriation approached those who were in the cells had an epidemic disease, skin disease, due to lack of water—they didn't wash for months—the Israelis brought the tanker used by the fire extinguisher to wash them and the officer told us we can't bring them back to the sections because they are sick. The ICRC chief delegate, many delegates of the ICRC, saw the cells. Some of them couldn't bear the smell of it and you could smell the cells before you approached the cells themselves. They were full of prisoners. The newcomers were left for days, for many days, with no blankets, insufficient food, no medical treatment; once they opened fire, about 12 were wounded, just because they asked for

water and for cigarettes. I am sure the Israelis cannot deny those facts. But until the day of repatriation the prisoners at Ansar were not treated according to any law. No lawyers, whether Israeli or non-Israeli, were allowed to come in. No family visits were allowed or permitted. Radios were not allowed in. As for newspapers, they supplied us with one newspaper, an Israeli official newspaper. They used to bring it every now and then and then it stopped. A few issues of the *Jerusalem Post* were brought in, and then everything stopped. Ansar was cut off from the world, and I think even the ICRC's efforts to get us newspapers or radios or cassette recorders were turned down.

On May 19, 1983, they broke through section number 5 and other sections and everything was confiscated. We had to start again from the very beginning. Many times we saw soldiers using the chessboards that were given to us by the ICRC, even the training suits, tennis shoes, etc. used by Israeli soldiers in Ansar. Once we got family presents. In the family presents we were supposed to have sweaters but we were not allowed to have them so the only solution was to give them as a donation to orphanages. We were not allowed to have them although we needed them badly. We needed shoes badly. We needed slippers badly.

Prisoners' Committee

Ever since we arrived in Ansar we had demanded our own committee because according to the Geneva Convention number four, detainees should elect a committee to represent them to present their demands to the commander of the camp as well to the ICRC. At the beginning the IDF refused to allow the committee, but the ICRC head chief of delegation supported us strongly. Until the first of October 1982, we were denied that right to have a committee. Then, the commander of the camp agreed to allow the prisoners to have their committee. It was made up of four members, and I was one. We had meetings with the commander to present our demands. We had meetings with many Israeli officials who came to Ansar to study their situation in Ansar—to study the demands of the prisoners.

The main task of the prisoners' committee, besides the representation of the demands of the prisoners and defending the rights of the prisoners, was to maintain the unity of the prisoners and to maintain their morale. One of the schemes the Israelis implemented was to create divisions amongst the prisoners—to provoke one prisoner against the other—to create doubts among them—Lebanese against Palestinians, Moslems against Christians, Shiite against Sunni, Palestinians from Lebanon against Palestinians from the West Bank, and so on. So it was our sacred duty to maintain unity among the prisoners. Luckily, although we had thousands of prisoners of all trends of thought, ways of life, and classes of

society, the number of internal problems was minimal. We had one tragic incident when a prisoner quarreled with another and he was killed. We have the date—it was late in the summer of 1983—but it was not for a political reason and that was proved during the investigation.

Many times officers would come and stand outside the gates or the wires and would speak to the prisoners in a nasty way, aiming at demoralizing them. It was the duty of the committee to face and oppose such attempts from Israeli intelligence officers. Many times we engaged in very hot arguments with those officers. So instead of the officers demoralizing the prisoners, actually most of the arguments ended by the officers running away, cursing the prisoners. The psychological war never stopped, but the committee was very active among the prisoners to avert those attempts by the Israeli officers. They used the family problems, the family tragedies, as a means for pressure on the prisoners themselves, to demoralize them.

We had meetings quite often at the first stage—almost three times a week, or sometimes daily. There was more than one reason for the meetings. First of all, their continuous shooting. Secondly, the basic rights they denied us. We had long meetings after the death of three prisoners on December 2, 1982, when a soldier opened fire. We had many meetings discussing this. We had many meetings demanding better food. We had many meetings discussing family visits. We had many meetings discussing the removal of the armored vehciles from inside the sections. We had many meetings discussing the bad treatment during interrogation. In the end we succeeded in stopping interrogation.

We also succeeded in increasing the number of cigarettes from 5 to 10 a day. We succeeded in increasing the amount of tea, instead of one cup to two cups a day. We succeeded in bringing fires for heat—late in winter, yet that was something. We succeeded in getting kerosene lamps, one or two lamps in each tent—not enough but better than nothing. But we failed in getting family visits. We failed in getting radios or cassette recorders. I think our successes were due to our protest; that's the basic thing. And secondly, we succeeded because the commander at that time was convinced of the legality and the justice of our demands. And I think he was removed for that reason.

We are not afraid to say that the commander understood our demands and he showed some sympathy for our demands. His name was Colonel Rosenthal. Our headquarters knows about that and it's not something we are ashamed of. He was removed for this reason, actually. And I wonder if he could give his testimony to you. That would be great if he gave his testimony. He realized that the savage treatment of the IDF soldiers and officers, the brutality of Intelligence, had created trouble in Ansar.

Once they kept a boy of 14 standing erect for three nights, and when they brought him to the section in bad shape, immediately we contacted their medical officer in charge to examine the prisoner and he reported

that he had been badly treated. After this, we decided not to go for interrogation. I think the commander himself, in many of our demands, was on our side. More than on the IDF side. But things deteriorated due to the fact that many Israeli officers came to Ansar to gain a promotion by displaying their muscle. But their attempts ended tragically because to display their muscle—to show their firmness, more casualties occurred in Ansar and more commanders were removed from Ansar after each tragedy.

The majority of stupid officers caused pain to the prisoners. Other soldiers and officers, very few of them, were sympathizers. I will never forget that soldier who—when we, a group of prisoners, were handcuffed and chained and thrown in the section for interrogation—looked around and when he saw no officer brought us a piece of corrugated paper and asked us to sit on it instead of sitting on the cold ground. He said, and I'm quoting his words, "I hate this place, it reminds me of the place where my family perished. I hate this place". . . and he repeated that many times. I think that soldiers of his kind existed in Ansar and I think the experience was as much a torment to them as to us. I tell you frankly and honestly, soldiers like this kept the hope alive in us that coexistence between Arabs and Jews is possible and inevitable.

A LEBANESE PRISONER

"The means of torture: To hit with an iron rod, to piss in the prisoner's mouth, use electrical wires, stub out cigarettes on their bodies."

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On Friday July 2, 1982, the Israeli army enters the village at 4 o'clock in the morning, asks the population aged between 15 and 75 to gather outside the school. In the midst of the army you can find some "collaborateurs." An Israeli officer appeals to the population to collaborate with the Israeli army coming to liberate them.

Blindfolded, the prisoners step into a bus where female soldiers give them water. Arriving at Safaa they hand over the paper written in Hebrew that had been given to them. They are searched and other arrested persons join them. In a corner is a place enclosed by boxes: it is the place where those who will be taken away to Israel are kept. Screams can be heard from the nearby rooms. The prisoners are fed with a tomato and a slice of

bread. Someone tells about the interrogatory; three soldiers are present with their clubs, and hit them when the officer proceeds to the interrogation. The questioning can last a few minutes or a few hours. The prisoners sleep outside without blankets; if you move you are hit straight away. The third day, the Israeli are followed by hooded informers, and the prisoners pass outside the boxes. They are selected: those who will go to Israel and the ones who will stay in Safaa. However the next day, all of them are taken away.

Two buses are waiting for them; they step up into the bus blindfolded, hands tied and are seated two by two—88 in the two buses. In Nahariya, some women step up into the bus at a stop and insult them. Some are hit. A soldier takes watches, chain, etc. Three and a half hours later, they arrive. An officer steps up into the bus. The blindfolds over the eyes are removed, they step down and are kicked immediately, then guided toward a wall. Hands untied, they have to run in the direction of Al Joura, and are kicked again.

Al Joura is a place specializing in torture—a steep place surrounded by barbed wire fences and a watchtower. You find a tent, a table and bench in the entrance. Nearby, a nylon curtain with holes at eye level, for the informers. There is no lavatory, only a pail in the middle. Their hands on their head, theprisoners must keep still. In the evening, they eat a tomato and some bread. After that, the soldiers come in with four huge dogs, kept on a leash. The prisoners shout their fear and the Israelis roar with laughter. Screams, tears, barking and laughter are heard the whole night. In the morning, as in the evening, they receive a tomato and some bread. One of the prisoners explains to one officer that they were robbed in the bus. He gives them something to write on to note the stolen articles, then comes back declining any responsibility of the Israeli army in those thefts. Only the objects "deposited" can be claimed.

At 10 o'clock in the morning pictures are taken of the prisoners, and they receive a numbered card with the name, the nationality, number of the tent and the expected camp. Their clothes are taken off, they are sprayed with DDT, and then dress again. The informers interrogate them again. One of the prisoners accused of being an officer of Fatah comes out, head covered with blood.

The means of torture: To hit with an iron rod, to piss in the prisoner's mouth, use electrical wires, stub out cigarettes on their bodies. To expose them blindfolded to a raging public, at a football game, who hurl stones at them.

Under blows, they are directed to a camp near Al Joura and put in tents. This camp counts 27 tents, each tent contains 30 prisoners. (Except for one of them that holds 50 prisoners). 860 persons are detained in this camp where water was furnished. Sitting for a week without moving, hands on their head, except during meals and for their needs (a pail). The

night from Friday to Saturday is the hardest, when drunken soldiers amuse themselves in hitting the prisoners. They were hurling stones at us and were beating us if we were turning over. After a week the treatment was more flexible. Without being sufficient the food was more satisfactory. The prisoners are still beaten. A doctor prisoner from the PRC inspected the tents.

Among us, some prisoners were seriously ill, four blind persons, five deaf persons, two persons had a leg amputated. New prisoners arrived and told us they had been detained at Al Khardira, in the region of Merj Ibn Amer, near a military airport. The age of the detained varied between 13 and 75 years.

The next stopping place is Al Ansar. Carried in a bus, the prisoners are forced to insult Yasser Arafat and to yell "hail Begin" louder and louder. It was the captain Ofer who led the collective interrogation with the help of blows. It lasted 5 and a half hours, 3 hours and a half of walking and a stop of 2 hours.

At Ansar, they sit on the ground, hands over the head. An officer named a "kapo" is put in charge to report and act ruthlessly. Ansar counts 23 camps, and 500 prisoners by camp. The "Mokhtar" (kapo) is in charge of the repression, beats the prisoner, punishes him, forces him to sleep, to wake up and get on his feet. A great part of the food is reserved for him. One day, as he was beating an old man, the prisoners intervened and hit him. The prison is a tiny room where you cannot stand on your feet. Some cells have nails on their floor.

When the prisoner is liberated, he does not get back his identity papers. An Israeli officer gives him a pass at Nabatyeh.

ANONYMOUS ISRAELI SOLDIER

"But there was always the question—what are you doing in these conditions? Why are you there? And this time we really had it."

Published in *Ha'Aretz*, November 5, 1982

After 2-3 days I already knew: something bad will happen here. I didn't imagine it will be just this, but I was sure that something, something, will happen. When a whole military unit falls into deep depression within 48 hours, everything presses on you, and you know that somewhere, sometime, this whole thing will explode. Maybe the best sign of this depression is that the guys didn't speak about politics. You know how it is nowadays

in reserve service. You just settle and the arguments begin: Ma'arach, Likud, Begin, Peres, for the war, against the war, etc. But here: not a word. Believe me, the soldiers were so depressed no one had either the strength or the desire to argue about these things. *And in any case: even the most enthusiastic Likud supporters were not too happy with what we were doing there, and there was no point in getting on their nerves.*

You can say that the depression actually all started because of the material conditions: we were already used to different conditions—kitchen, not-too-bad food, some sort of housing. But here—living in tents, field lavatories stuck away somewhere, lousy showers and only combat rations for food. The same canned meat everyday—one day cut this way, the other day cut the other way, one day fried with an egg, the other day fried alone. This is very depressing. But there is always the question—*what are you doing in these conditions?* Why are you there? And this time we really had it.

What shall I take home with me from this reserve service? This feeling of the stink rising from *their* camp, from the "enclosure," the spotlights and the noise of the armed cars patrolling all night *between* the enclosures. Four bloody hours on the control tower: you sit, lean on your rifle, looking down. 7,000 people in the tents moving and whispering down there—from time to time someones goes to the lavatory, dressed only in his underwear, and returns to his tent. Someone throws a stone wrapped with a note from one enclosure to the other.

The armed vehicles drive among the enclosures all the time, the spotlights painting the tents and the figures around the tents in bright colours. *And the smell, that terrible smell* of 7,000 sweaty bodies and their secretions stinking in the lavatories to prevent diseases. This smell surrounds you all day and all night, accompanies you while you are eating, while you are asleep, when you wake up, until you get used to it and accept it and it becomes part of you, and only when you return from a vacation at home and approach the camp, it hits you and you are surprised and feel sick, until you get used to it once again.

They are called the "Brought in" ("muva'im" in Hebrew—a non-existent term in the language). *Not prisoners, because according to the law they are not prisoners. Not "prisoners of war"* either. "Brought in." Why? I don't know. Because they have been brought in, so they are called by that name. It always begins with the language. When the language can't cover all the evil acts, then it is the time to be careful, 7,000 "brought ins" in an area the size of a football stadium. What is called a weak day in Blumfield (the Tel Aviv stadium). And we look over them from the sand walls built around the camps, from the watch towers. We look at them, they look at us, and we have no opportunity to test ourselves, to be cruel or merciful, to speak with them or curse them. We are far from them, guarding them from a distance, no contact. *We only know* that if some-

thing happens, if they break the fences, if they go wild, *we are supposed to open fire, from the watchtowers, from the military vehciles.*

And so, eight hours every day, day and night, and a sort of depression comes out of the camps and sticks to us, like the smell, and our faces turn gray, and we lose our high spirits, and even the weather is depressing—clouds cover the sky and the cold wind freezes our bones in the watchtowers, and the mornings are grey.

And suddenly we think we have found a way out of the depression. With an enormous outburst of energy we begin spending whole days in consumption: one long week we spend all our free time in the nearby townlets, in the shops, exchange pieces of information about merchants who sell Quartz watches cheap, or transistors, or stereos, or special phones. No one thinks about the border control. People return from their vacation at home with lots of money and spend it in this feverish shopping. Small treasures are accumulated in the tents. But even this passes as well. Someone tells us that the same things can be bought cheaper in Tel Aviv, and without the tension of the border control. People begin to make the calculation and the enthusiasm dies out.

On the second week they take some of us off the watchtowers and order us to guard the roadblocks on the road to Nabatiyeh. Someone suddenly remembered that one can see the camps from that road. Tents are set up on both ends of the road, six soldiers guard each roadblock, to stop the locals from looking at the camps. At first we are pleased—to get out of the camp, to get away from the disturbing stinking mass of the "brought ins," *not to hear the constant screaming of the interrogated.*

But we soon find out that the roadblocks are no piece of cake, either. Cars appear. People, women, children, they want to pass, to go to Nabatiyeh, to go from Nabatiyeh to Sidon. And you know that if you don't let them pass they have to take a longer way that will take another 1.5 hours. But what can we do: those are the orders. Then there are some people who appear to have pass permits. They carry pieces of paper written in Hebrew: "This man cooperates with our forces. Please allow him unlimited movement day and night." We let them pass. Then there are the exceptions: wounded people, women about to give birth, taken to the Nabatiyeh Hospital. The soldiers at the roadblock phone the camp and ask, and usually receive the same reply: Let them pass. After a few days they don't even bother to phone. If the person arriving at the roadblock does not seem suspicious—they let him pass.

But something always happens to spoil it all—after several days a group of women arrived. We let them pass. What could we do? What can you do with a group of women who cry and kiss your hands and beg and show you a picture of young men all dressed up, and asked you "whether you have seen him in the camp." They haven't seen him in three months. He disappeared. The military authorities at Sidon know nothing about it. The Red Cross knows nothing. Maybe he is in the camp? She wants to pass nearby and have a look. Maybe she shall see him. And maybe, maybe, you can identify him? And once again the picture is pushed under your nose with a trembling hand. Do you know him? This is my husband. Have you seen him, there at the camp? How can you explain to her that you only see them from a distance, and smell them from a distance, and guard them from a distance, and that for you they are not people with a mustache and dressed up and with a wife and children at home, but a mass of 7,000 ants in blue uniform by day and white uniform by night.

So someone let them get close to the fence and there was some shouting and the "brought ins" approached the fence and the soldiers on the watch towers were on alert, and someone picked up a stone and threw it at the soldiers, and the one stone was followed by many more, and the soldiers directed their weapons at the crowd that was moving in the direction of the fence, and someone fired into the air, and a scream was heard, and the women by the fence cried, and the "brought ins" shouted and were now running to the fence, pulling at it.

And the soldiers didn't know what to do. And then a military police officer appeared, one of those who are not like us, who sit around the camp, are always inside the camp, *afraid because they know that if anything serious happens we shall be forced to fire and they will be hurt. So one of the MP officers appeared, aimed his rifle and began shooting into them,* and we, standing outside the fences, watched how the bullets cut into the flesh of those who were hit, and the wounded begin to hold on to the wound and the blood streams through their fingers staining the blue uniform and the wounded fall to the ground crying, and someone seems to be dead, another is twisting in pain, and their friends bend down next to them, shouting, and there is more shooting in the air and the loudspeakers call on all the men to get into the tents, and they obey, leaving the crying wounded on the ground, and it is quiet except for the wounded, and the military vehicles come to remove them and the smell of gunpowder mixes for a minute with the permanent stink and then dissolves into the air.

After this we get strict orders not to be kind at the roadblocks, no one shall pass without a permit. And standing at the roadblock, *you have to send back a car with a woman about to give birth, and an old man in terrible pain while his son begs us to let them through to get to the hospital.* And you have no choice: you call the camp and they tell you not to let them through and you tell them to turn around and take the long way. And now you hear everyday about a handgrenade that was thrown at a roadblock, about a car that drove past and from it passengers opened fire on the soldiers, and you are frightened by every sound, by every car approaching, and you hold tight to your gun and are on alert and gradually get harsh to the women who come to you with the pictures and you drive them away, fearing they will throw a handgrenade at you. Then

you return to the camp, get into the tent, lie miserably on your bed and the depression is at you again, and you chew it with the tasteless food and you take it with you to sleep, and it bothers you in your gloomy dreams, and it sticks to your body when you take a shower in the muddy showers. And each day drags on slowly, stretching slowly over its full 24 hours, and you want time to pass faster, and time seems to pass slowly, as if trying to make sure you are filled with this heavy depression, with these smells and feelings.

And the soldiers move like shadows with their sad expressions. They don't feel like joking, as is the custom in any regular reserve service. Not this time. As if they are surrounded by some sadness coming out of the earth: the prisoner and this guard.

If anyone told me that someone had committed suicide I would not have been surprised at all, but nevertheless, when on the last day of our service, while we were packing and cleaning and waiting for the buses to take us away from here, when in fact all this was over for us, when we were about to leave this terrible smell for ever, leave the sights and the bad feelings—it seemed to us unnecessary, badly timed, useless, but the shot was fired. And the man lay there, blood streaming from the wound in his head, his eyes open, as if looking at the top of the tent.

On the last day, after all, and no one asked why. No one got excited and no one made a fuss. This may sound astonishing, *but even this* didn't take us out of our apathy, our depression. He committed suicide? OK, we know he had some troubles: family troubles, divorce, problems. *It seemed so natural,* it fitted into the whole background, that one day someone would shoot himself here and send us home remembering his smashed head and his empty eyes, his outstretched hand, the silent body.

In such cases there is usually lots of talking after the doctors finish their job—he did it because of this and because of that. No, he did it because of this and because of that. *But this time—nothing. As if we all accepted it.* A few whispers and the body was taken away by the ambulance on its way to the Safad Hospital—*the first soldier released from reserve service.*

ANONYMOUS PRISONER, Lebanon

"But for the Israelis, whether they were dealing with a professor of UNRWA, with a school director, a worker . . . did not matter, because in their mind they were all terrorists."

Testimony obtained in Ain el Helweh on October 12, 1982 from a Palestinian prisoner who was arrested on June 8, 1982 and released on October 11. For security reasons, he preferred to remain anonymous.

On the first day, they took us to some place in Sidon. The trip was short. On the second day, they took us to another place not very far away and then on the third day they transferred us to the Palestinian Occupied Territories. They placed us in prison camps where we witnessed the arrival of many prisoners. This was probably near Haifa. They started interrogating us, asking for the name of the father, the mother, etc. . ., the name of the organization to which we belonged. All the while they were hitting us, any way possible, everywhere. They obliged us all to put on a military outfit, even the small children who were between 13 and 15 years old.

They made us stand in front of "hooded men," informers who denounced us as being fighters. Most of the time, these denunciations were false: for example a teacher of UNRWA had been denounced as being an officer of the Palestinian resistance. But for the Israelis, whether they were dealing with a professor of UNRWA, with a school director, a worker . . . did not matter, because in their mind they were all terrorists.

Of course there were fighters among us, but they were a minority.

There were prisoners of all nationalities. Mainly Palestinians and Lebanese. But there were also Somalis, Pakistanis: workers. The Israelis gathered all they could find and considered all the prisoners as being fighters. There were civilians, blind people, mutilated people.

We stayed one month in that camp near Haifa. Then we were taken to el Ansar.

The prisoners who had confessed under torture of being officers or leaders were kept longer.

The treatment at Ansar was better: mainly in the end. Of course there were problems among us in Ansar. Sometimes we managed to solve them between us, other times the Israeli military personnel intervened by hitting us, clubbing us. Every time new soldiers arrived, it was harder, then they softened up. During the last period there were no more tortures.

During the first few days, there was little food, little water: one piece of bread with a slice of cucumber or of tomato.

The Israeli soldiers had named a "chaouish" (a kapo) per camp; this man had been selected among us. This "delegate" was stealing our food allowances in the beginning. After two days, they gave us food.

We were blindfolded until Haifa, where the blindfold was taken off and where our hands were untied. We were then given military clothing and presented us to the Israeli population.

Then we were taken to Ansar, we were between 50 and 60 persons per truck, blindfolded, hands tied, head bowed. We were hit throughout the trip.

They utilised all possible methods in order to obtain information. Sometimes psychologists would come, who were very kind and did not hit us but spoke to us softly. Many militants were tortured but they did not say anything. The Israelis asked some prisoners to speak on television. They refused, in spite of the fact that the Israelis were hitting them.

In Haifa, the food was very common, insufficient and very often it was very bad. There were 65 of us per tent. In Ansar there were 25 of us per tent, but it was smaller and should only have contained 10 persons.

There were 20 camps at Ansar. In each camp there were between 450 and 500 persons. My camp was small. We heard about the Sabra and Shatila massacres from the newly arrived prisoners. The ICRC only answered our questions with "yes" or "no."

On the day of Ahda, the prisoners started to rebel, to throw stones. The Israeli soldiers shot at them. There were Palestinian doctors among the prisoners. Where some prisoners were ill, they were not allowed to care for them. They informed the Israelis of this. The Israelis took them away for one hour and brought them back without having given them a treatment.

As far as the detention places in Israel were concerned, I was near Haifa. I know that they were taking prisoners into prisons to interrogate them. I met a person who had been taken prisoner in Lebanon and who had been taken to Gaza prison because he was from Gaza originally. The people from the West Bank are being brought to the West Bank by the Israelis.

We had the opportunity to talk amongst ourselves in Haifa and el Ansar. Sometimes even from one camp to another. The guards of the camp often talked to the person in charge of the group, and this in an excellent Arabic. They were probably Jews from Iraq, Syria or Yemen.

Among those who were released, there were officials of the Palestinian resistance and from the Lebanese National Movement. And although the Israelis knew that they were officials, they released them. For us it was a matter of luck. We did not understand why the Israelis released them. Before freeing us, an Israeli officer came to tell us that they were friends and that they wanted to turn over a new leaf and make a new start with us.

The ICRC told us that according to international regulations in times of war, the Israelis could not keep us longer than 4 to 5 months and that they had to release us.

They are now releasing many people because they are legally bound to do so. But it is true that they can bring any accusation against a prisoner in order to be able to keep him.

As far as I am concerned, I did not believe I would be released until the day when they came to get me. I was embarrassed for my friends who had to stay. But a certain optimism existed and it would some day be everyone's turn.

The ICRC intervened in order to obtain the release of blind and mutilated persons.

DRISS ANWAR, Lawyer, France

"As far as the conditions of detention are concerned, it is sufficient to recall the tortures, the deprival of medical care, water and food. These are not unfortunate mistakes."

International Information Centre of Lebanese and Palestinian Prisoners, Deportees and Disappeared

I will present to you a synthesis, that cannot be complete, of the most recent data concerning the Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners, deportees and disappeared persons as well as on the situation of the civilian population in Southern Lebanon.

First of all, the arrests are mass arrests of a brutal nature, that also involve mostly civilians. In Al-Ansar, the proportion of civilians amounts to 85-95% of the detainees. Since the beginning the Israeli authorities admitted to have arrested more than 9,000 persons. On the other hand, the PLO and other organizations mentioned the figure of at least 14,000 Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners currently detained by the Israelis. At this very moment, and after a series of releases that I will come back to shortly, there are supposed to be between 5,000 and 5,500 prisoners in Al-Ansar. Most of the released prisoners are foreigners, whereas Palestinians who had been discharged were arrested again a week or two after their release.

The Al-Ansar concentration camp is currently being described by the Israeli propaganda as a showcase accessible to any journalists. And, as a matter of fact, the conditions in Al-Ansar have improved during the last month and a half. Yet there are other camps and places of detention. The

explosion that destroyed the headquarters of Tyre revealed that Palestinians were being detained there, since fifteen Palestinians were killed by the explosion. Recently, the escape of Lebanese detainees from Baloul prison in the Beqa'a showed that there are other places of detention. It is very well possible that all the Israeli armed forces' headquarters in Lebanon are being used simultaneously as places of detention.

Several persons captured in Lebanon have been transferred to prisons located in Israel, regardless of the international conventions. Concerning the women, we have a list of nine women who were detained in Lebanon and are now held at Nevetirsa prison in the vicinity of Ramalah.

As far the conditions of detention are concerned, it is sufficient to recall the tortures, the deprival of medical care, water and food. These are not "unfortunate mistakes."

Concerning the cross-examinations: an entire people is being spied upon, and the scope of this campaign of espionage evokes the so-called Carnot campaign that took place in Chile on the eve of Allende's fall and that was carried out by the Americans in order to detect the Chilean people's power of resistance and to hit where it hurts most. In Al-Ansar, too, the prisoners are subjected to this kind of cross-examination. Two hundred questions have to be answered; apart from the traditional questions concerning political membership, it is a genuine psychological, social and cultural investigation.

Only a few Palestinians were discharged. Afterwards, these Palestinians were arrested again to oblige them to collaborate with the so-called camp leagues. The Israelis are presently trying to extend their policy of village leagues applied in the Occupied Territories (West Bank and Gaza) to Southern Lebanon. Yet, if in the Occupied Territories, this policy has failed because it contradicts the social, economic and kinship structures that preserve the Palestinian people, it may well succeed in Southern Lebanon and make the Palestinian people's situation worse, given the destruction of the social, sanitary and economic infrastructure as well as the arrest of all the men, thus creating a society of women. Therefore, it is now a matter of an aggression following the physical destruction of the camps; it is a matter of the moral destruction of the camps.

At the moment, it is impossible to assess the number of prisoners detained by the Israelis. But one knows that each operation of resistance against the occupying force causes searchers in the course of which large numbers of Palestinians and Lebanese are arrested. It is possible that the Israeli army arrests up to fifty persons daily. This very important issue of the prisoners is kept almost totally secret. Needless to say that all the arrests as well as the transfers and the treatment of the prisoners are in violation of the Geneva Conventions. On what legal grounds are they then being carried out?

In the beginning, they rested on a special emergency regulation issued on 9 June 1982 by the Ministry of Defense. However, this regulation is extra-territorial and therefore not applicable. Thus, the arrests are without legal foundation. Up to now, the Israeli and Palestinian lawyers have not been able to contact their clients, even though they suceeded in obtaining 6,000 individual or collective designations.

Three months ago, these lawyers appealed to the Supreme Court. The latter granted the Ministry of Defense two months to reply positively or negatively and to present its arguments. This reply came and it contains a heap of arguments that do not withstand investigation; it lacks any legal foundation.

This is the situation of the prisoners detained in Al-Ansar and other camps. Now, what are the reactions? It is obvious that a situation such as that suffered by the prisoners fosters resistance. The first act of resistance was the creation of prisoners' committees of doctors and jurists within the camps. Since the invasion of Lebanon, three mutinies have taken place that ended in shootings and killings. Very recently, on 6 February 1983, a hunger strike was launched by the prisoners in Al-Ansar to protest against the conditions of detention and, in particular, against the cold, and to demand the implementation of the Geneva Conventions. A dispatch of the Wafa News Agency in Beirut stated the Israelis reacted violently to this hunger strike. It was said that the Israeli guardians hit the prisoners with the butts of their guns and that the nearby villagers heard shots. Also, ambulances and helicopters were seen that presumably took the wounded to Israel.

This movement of strikes, mutinies and internal organisation in the camps must be saluted, because it frightens the Israeli occupying forces.

On 15 February 1983, an Israeli officer who was a guard at Al-Ansar camp declared over the Israeli radio:

> "The majority of the Palestinians detained here (at Al-Ansar) had not been PLO fighters, but persons suspected of collaboration with the Palestinian organizations. In the camp, we are turning them into determined PLO militants, given in particular the indoctrination they are being subjected to by PLO high officials. Israel is creating with its own hands a new army of resistance."

Concerning the situation of the civilian population of Southern Lebanon: for the Palestinians, Israeli occupation policy brings about a state of terror. The Palestinian population of the camps is being besieged —by the Israeli army, by the Phalangist militias; by nocturnal incursions, kidnappings and assassinations . . . daily small Sabras and Shatilas occur in the South, in small doses: fifteen corpses here, two corpses there by the

creation of new militias like the so-called National Guard that is neither in Haddad's nor in the Phalangist's nor directly in Israel's pay; finally, by the attempt to create camp leagues who presumably are collaborators of the Israeli armed forces.

As far as the expulsions are concerned, the Lebanese Forces have ordered all Palestinians living in and around Sidon to leave their homes and go to Ain Al-Heloueh camp. Most of them are so-called '48-Palestinians, who possess all the necessary documents and fit all the requirements to be able to live peacefully in Lebanon. Buildings they legitimately own have been sold or confiscated, cars have been confiscated, and these Palestinians suffer all kinds of daily harrassments and humiliations so that the objective announced in the beginning of the invasion may be attained, i.e. the reduction of Lebanon's Palestinian population from 500,000 to 50,000 persons.

The only solution for the Palestinian and Lebanese refugees will be brought about by a genuine international or supra-national protection. In this respect, we have called on various governments and world public opinion for a long time. But in the meantime and in the short run, as many missions and observers as possible ought to be sent to Lebanon, because this really reassures the population. I think that international meetings such as this one should lead to this type of concrete measure.

INTERNATIONAL CENTER ON PRISONERS, Paris, France

Report concerning the question of missing persons in Lebanon.

"At the time of the invasion of Lebanon by Israel in June 1982, it seems that there were several thousand persons detained by the Israeli army whose fate is unknown."

It is difficult to estimate the number of missing persons without having precise data at hand. Moreover, it is difficult to define what a missing person is. The Committee of Parents of detainees, kidnapped and missing persons, uses the word "missing persons" and "kidnapped persons." This nuance reflects the complexity of the matter. Indeed, the following persons are considered as being missing persons:

- those kidnapped by the *Lebanese authorities* (Lebanese Army, Deuxieme Bureau, Internal Security Forces) and whose families have remained without any news since then;
- those kidnapped by the *Israeli Army* (at the time of the invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 and of the massacre of Sabra and Shatila in September 1982) and some of which have been handed over to the Phalangist militias;
- those kidnapped by the *Lebanese armed militias:*
  - the Phalangists who intervene not only in the South, but also in Beirut and in the North,
  - *Saad Haddad's militias* and the *"National Guards"* in South Lebanon;
  - *the Phalangists and the PSP* in the Shuf;
- those kidnapped by *individuals* (vengeance, personal feuds)
- finally, those who never return to their domicile, for reasons unknown.

At the time of the invasion of Lebanon by Israel in June 1982, it seems that there were *several thousand persons* detained by the Israeli Army and whose fate is unknown. It seems that some were handed over to the Phalangist militias. At the time of the entry of the Israeli Army into Beirut and of the Sabra and Shatila massacre in September 1982, it seems that between *1,000 and 3,000 persons* disappeared. The ICRC gives the amount of *1,200.* After the withdrawal of the Israeli Army, the Lebanese Army undertook enormous raids in the southern neighborhoods of Beirut and in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra, Shatila and Borj El Barajneh, and this without any legality. Since then, kidnappings have become more and more frequent and have been carried out by armed elements, belonging most of the time to the Phalangist militias, in Beirut and its outskirts, in the South of Lebanon under Israeli occupation and in the North, on the roads leading to the Bekaa or to Syria.

With the deterioration of the situation in Lebanon, no portion of the territory has been spared. For the Shuf alone, before the withdrawal of the Israeli army, a Lebanese daily estimated that the "Lebanese Forces" (Phalangists) had *kidnapped 695 persons* (Es-Safir, 6/27/83).

Kidnapping Conditions

The great majority of the missing persons have been kidnapped on *public roads* (in cities such as Beirut, Sidon, in the Palestinian refugee camps, on public thoroughfares): *they were intercepted at set roadblocks* (two Phalangist roadblocks on the road of the Bekaa are often mentioned, ARBANIYA near Beit Merry, BARBARA near Jounieh) or *mobile road blocks;* or *they were taken by force* by armed civilians operating from a vehicle, or, they were taken *at their domicile,* through surprise visits or raids, preferably at night, carried out by the regular army or by armed

civilians who may or may not have been wearing military outfits, or, through arrests *in the work place.*

Places of Detention

It is impossible to make an exhaustive list of all the existing detention places run by the Lebanese authorities but mainly by the Lebanese Forces (Phalangists) and by the militias of Saad Haddad.

Many camps/prisons are unknown to this day, some may have been situated within a geographical area without having been precisely located. Others, whose location is known, are kept secret and do not allow for any quantitative estimation of the detainees and prisoners, nor for a qualitative evaluation of the conditions of detention.

Until this day, the *ICRC has been unable to enter any of the detention places of the Lebanese Forces.* Among the places of detention run by the Lebanese Forces, the ICRC only has access to *Roumieh where it registered 590 names.* Badaro is not supposed to contain officially any prisoners.

Therefore, it is necessary, by providing oneself against any fast or unfounded statement, to consider that the persons detained by the Lebanese Army, those sequestered in known places but whose access is impossible, are susceptible of being *assimilated to missing persons.*

Thus, *the rooms of the Defense Ministry at Yarzeh* have been up until now kept under the strictest secrecy.

No authorization has been given, neither to international humanitarian authorities nor to diplomats nor to officers of the multinational force.

According to estimates, there seem to be *2,000 detainees.* (This number had already been mentioned in December 1982 by Reuter's, and has been confirmed in Paris during a press conference held by representatives of the "National Lebanese Front" on 9/15/83).

Known Phalangist Detention Places:

- Quarantina (Eastern outskirts of Beirut), which is the HQ of the Lebanese Forces. The *Majlis Harbi* or War Council, is composed of 4 buildings which include three cells each. According to well-informed sources, there is supposed to be a mass grave with several hundreds of bodies, maybe one thousand, in this area. Some Lebanese officials such as the Maronite patriarch Khoreich mentioned that the Phalangists eliminated their prisoners.
- *Near Beirut,* according to what was reported by 3 Italian Senators who went on a mission to Lebanon between the end of March and the beginning of April 1983 there would be a camp/prison administered jointly by the Phalangists and the Israeli Mossad. It seems that there are 700 detainees there.
- The *Adonis* barracks (near Jounieh) which included a women's section where it seems that many women are detained, most of the—Palestinians.
- In *Kesrouan.* Two places are mentioned: *Deir Al Awkar* and *Deir As Sayida.* Without having been able to pinpoint to the place in Kesrouan, a woman who has been released said she had been detained there with 127 other women.
- The detention places of the armed militias of Haddad or of the "nationalist guards" remain unknown.

Fate of the Missing Persons: a typical example:

- In the beginning of December 1982, according to various testimonies which coincide, it seems that *5 persons died under torture at Yarzeh.* They are Walid Issa Al Wardeh, Moussa Khamis, Kassem El Akhal, Fouad Khasary, Al Bibi. The French Ambassador had mentioned this during a weekly coordination meeting of the Multinational Forces. A. Gemayel had promised that an inquiry would be made and he said a little while later that these persons were alive, although nobody has seen them to this day. The International Herald Tribune of 12/8/82 published this information.
- On 1/3/83, a doctor from Tripoli was going to Beirut in order to take equivalency tests for his medical degree in West Beirut. On the road, he was kidnapped by the Phalangists. He owed his liberation within 48 hours to the strong connections of his family. He was made prisoner at *Quarantina.* He spent the first night *in a "Louis XI" cage.* Then he was put into a cell *containing 10 detainees.* There were three of those in the building and there were 4 identical buildings.
- On 1/26/83 a Palestinian woman coming from Baalbeck with her three children of a very young age was on her way back to Beirut and was stopped at a Phalangist roadblock and taken into an *isolated cabana without being given food nor water for 3 days. Nine thousand Pounds were taken from her.* After the third day, two blindfolded men were taken *in front of them and shot.* Then she was taken in front of a type of a Phalangist "judge" who gave her something to drink and to eat and returned to her 5,000 out of the 9,000 Pounds.
- Case of *Thurarayah Raajeh:* A young Palestinian woman had worked with the Union of Palestinian Women during the June 1982 War and has thus provided a Palestinian organization with her typing services. After the departure of the Israeli Army from Beirut she left for the Bekaa looking for her missing brother who had disappeared in the area of Damur, and she had returned. In mid-November, the

Lebanese Army came to arrest her at night, along with her brother, and took them to Badaro. She was then transferred to Yarzeh and submitted to interrogations. According to detainees who were released from Yarzeh. she was beaten and tortured. She was in such a state that the Lebanese Army no longer dared to release her. Ever since then nobody has heard from her.

- On 3/16/83 two Lebanese cleaning women working at the Palestinian Red Crescent at Gaza Hospital were checked at a Phalangist road block. When the militias saw the PRC card, they *beat the two women and raped the girl.*
- On 7/20/83, Phalangists set up a roadblock at Chiah (southern outskirts of Beirut) and kidnapped Ali Bajouk. He *was tortured and given plenty of whisky before being stabbed* and thrown the following day into a small street of the neighborhood. A medical report confirmed the statements made by Ali Bajouk.
- On 7/27/83, the body of a man who had been kidnapped 10 days earlier by the Phalangists was found in a ditch. The man had been killed by receiving a *blow from a hatchet in the neck.*
- A woman, who wanted to remain anonymous for security reasons, was liberated from the Phalangists at the end of July. She complained that she had been tortured, *burnt on the eyelids and on the breasts with cigaretts; she said she had been impaled with a stick which was made to turn in her belly.* She had been seized at a Phalangist roadblock and taken *to a prison in Kesrouan.* In this "prison" there were *127 other women, some of whom were pregnant from Phalangists who had raped them.* She was released at Hazmieh, with a blindfold. Rumors circulate according to which there exists a "brothel" *in the area of Beit Shehab* where some kidnapped women are held.

Reactions and Existing Defense Structures

As soon as the Israeli invasion in Lebanon had taken place, various reactions took place.

In the beginning they were spontaneous and uncoordinated but they progressively gave way to a collective and structured organization.

Actions of mobilization undertaken by the families of those who were detained, had been kidnapped or were missing were numerous and diversified: protest marches, street demonstrations, sit-ins, press conferences and releases, calls sent to the President of the Republic as well as inumerable interventions with Lebanese politicians (such as the Presidents of the Council and the House, among whom President Takieddine Solh) and with religious authorities. In this respect, the active role which was played by the Sunni and Shiite religious authorities as well as some representatives of the Christian community was very important. Several calls were made to international authorities with a humanitarian orientation such as the ICRC and the Leagues for Human Rights.

Two structures which were set up as early as last Fall are a proof of this matters, namely:

- *The Committee of Parents of Detainees, Kidnapped and Missing Persons* which was created on 11/30/82. It had a permanent post at Dar El Fatwa where the names of the missing persons were registered and where lists of the detainees and missing persons were drawn up. Since the end of July 83, the registration of the kidnapped and missing persons has been systematically reorganized: the families concerned are requested to fill out questionnaires left at the barracks of the Lebanese Army and of the I.S.F. Most initiatives undertaken up to this day were made by the Committee: public calls, formation of delegations and interventions.
- *The Committee for Safeguarding Democratic Freedom in Lebanon* was formed on 12/27/82 on the initiative of a group of deputees and mainly of Lebanese lawyers whose leader is Maitre Sinane Barrage. This Committee originated many of the international campaigns on the political and legal levels as well as various deals and interventions in collaboration with the Committee of Parents of Detainees, Kidnapped and Missing Persons.
- Since 7/16/83, *A Commission of Inquiry on Kidnapped and Missing Persons* has been functioning under the leadership of the Council of Ministers due to strong pressures brought to bear with the Committees, the parents of the persons concerned and the Muslim Communities directly affected. This organization is under the leadership of Mr. Sami Younes, former Minister, and it includes Brigadier Joseph Moujaes, and the main commissary Hafez Chehade.
- *The Census Committee* with the help of the Committee of Parents of Detainees, Kidnapped and Missing Persons, started to draw up new lists of missing persons. However in order to be fruitful, these interventions will continue to be made under the pressure of the parents concerned.

The Committee of Parents of Detainees, Kidnapped and Missing Persons has asked the international humanitarian organizations to "intervene with the Lebanese Government and in particular with the Investigation Committee in order to facilitate the liberation of the parents, or at least to shed light on their help."

Moreover, individual contacts have been established with the Phalangist families in order to obtain the release of the detainees in their hands, in exchange for an amount which can go up to 30 or 50,000 Lebanese Pounds.

HENRY CATTAN, France, Lawyer

"A precedent for such action was the aftermath of the Suez aggression of 1956, thanks to the courageous attitude taken by President Eisenhower. In his historic televised speech of 20 February 1957, after pointing out the refusal of Israel to withdraw its armed forces from the Gulf of Aquaba and the Gaza Strip, Eisenhower declared:

Israel asks for firm guarantees before withdrawing its invasion forces. . . .

This raises a fundamental question of principle, namely is a nation which attacks and occupies a foreign territory in contravention of the United Nations able to impose conditions for its withdrawal?

If we accept that such an armed attack would achieve the aims of the aggressor we are regressing vis a vis the international world order . . . I would not be upholding the mission you have confided to me were I to grant the support of the United States to the request of a nation asking to set conditions for its retreat."

I would like first of all to express my appreciation for the work undertaken by the Center since its establishment. These accomplishments are of great value and are worthy of our recognition. Nevertheless, much remains to be done. In this regard, I would like to submit for your consideration several proposals inspired by the major objectives of the Center, namely the dissemination of information on Palestinian, Lebanese and other prisoners held by Israel since its most recent invasion of Lebanon.

My first proposal concerns the preparation by the Center of a report in French and English which would include the following points:

1. A summary of the facts concerning the internment of Palestinian, Lebanese and other prisoners in terms of their number and the sites and conditions of their detention.

2. An expose of the serious violation by Israel of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. These violations include killings; torture; poor conditions; the internment of civilians which is prohibited by article 79 of the 4th Convention; the transfer of detained persons outside of Lebanon in violation of article 49 of the same convention, prohibiting enforced

transfer or the deportation of protected persons outside of the occupied territories.

3. The refutation of the Israeli argument, that is to say, that the members of the PLO belong to a terrorist organization and therefore are not entitled to the status of prisoners of war. This is the Israeli position in this matter as is indicated in paragraph 3 of the report of the United Nations General Assembly A/34/571 of 21 October 1982. The terrorism argument advanced by Israel is without foundation. Aside from the fact that this position reverses the reponsibilities, this argument is actually a false political label by which the Israeli authorities wished to designate the Palestinian national liberation movement which is founded on law and justice in order to disparage and discredit it. It should also be emphasized that the PLO has received international recognition by the United Nations and admitted by more than 110 states as an observer. Furthermore, the PLO is recognized by more countries than is Israel. Finally, the fighters of the PLO fulfill the conditions required by Article 4 of the Convention for recognition as prisoners of war and therefore should be treated as such.

4. In its conclusion the report would emphasize the obligations of Israel with respect to the Geneva Convention as follows:

a. The obligation of Israel to immediately liberate all non-combattant personnel.
b. The obligation of Israel to give the PLO fighters the status of prisoners of war.
c. The obligation of Israel to respect all provisions of the Geneva Convention.

My final suggestion concerns the possibility of two diplomatic initiatives. Before discussing these, however, it would be helpful to give a few preliminary explanations regarding the position taken by the United Nations with regard to Israel's flouting of the Geneva Conventions. The General Assembly of the United Nations declared in several resolutions that the 4th Geneva Convention applies to the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 and that Israel is therefore bound to respect its dispositions.

These resolutions are as follows:

2252 of 4 July 1967
2443 of 19 December 1968
2546 of 11 December 1969
2727 of 15 December 1970
2851 of 20 December 1971
2963 of 13 December 1972
3005 of 15 December 1972
3092 of 7 December 1973
3525 of 15 December 1975

as well as many resolutions subsequently adopted.

Israel has obstinately refused to respect and to apply the 4th Geneva Convention of 1949 in the occupied territories and has violated it many times. For example, it has violated Article 32 forbidding torture; Article 33, prohibiting collective punishment; Article 42 forbidding internment, Article 49 forbidding transfer of the population, and Article 53 forbidding the destruction of real estate and personal property. There have been dozens of condemnations of Israel by the United Nations, by the Human Rights Commission, and by the Social and Economic Council for violations of the Geneva Convention.

Following the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, the United Nations adopted several resolutions which noted but did not expand on the Geneva Conventions. For example, resolution 512 of the Security Council of 19 June 1982 referred to these conventions and invited the parties to the conflict "to respect the rights of the civilian population."

Resolution 512 was reaffirmed by the Security Council by its resolution 513 of 4 July 1982 and resolution 515 of 29 July 1982.

The General Assembly also brought into play the Geneva Conventions in its resolutions 7/5 of June 1982 and ES 7/6 of 19 August 1982. In this last resolution, the Assembly referred to "humanitarian principles and the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Protocol #1 as well as the obligations following from the regulation annexed to the Hague Convention of 1907" and requested the Secretary General of the United Nations together with the Security Council and the Government of Lebanon to adopt measures which would guarantee the security of the civilian population, both Palestinian and Lebanese, of southern Lebanon. Furthermore, the same resolution requested that the Secretary General confirm the strict application of the dispositions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and other agreements in regard to detained persons.

You will have noticed that although these resolutions of the United Nations relate to the Geneva Convention, there is no reference to the soldiers of the PLO to whom Israel denies treatment as prisoners of war as provided by the Third Geneva Convention nor of the violation of the Fourth Convention resulting from the detention of several thousand civilians, nor of other serious violations of these conventions by Israel.

To my knowledge, only the Econmic and Social Council has spoken of these matters in resolution 1982/48 adopted during its second session in 1982.

In this resolution, whose text is attached as an enclosure, the Council addressed the following injunctions to Israel:

"#4—Ask Israel to free the civilians detained by the Israeli Army of occupation in Lebanon and to fully apply to the civilians the Geneva Convention relating to Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

"#5—Ask Israel to fully apply the conventions to the imprisoned combatants.

These texts, although somewhat more explicit than those adopted by the United Nations, do not settle the question of the prisoners and detainees. Therefore, there is an urgent need to adopt two diplomatic initiatives in this area.

The first one concerns the recognition of the Geneva Conventions which Israel refuses to grant to combatants and to civilians in spite of its assertion that it respects humanitarian principles. Israel's refusal to apply the Convention to combatants cannot be justified. As a result, given the persistent refusal by Israel to apply the Geneva Conventions either in Lebanon or in the occupied territories and in view of the fact that the United Nations has to this day not been able to compel Israel to respect the conventions of which it is a signatory and which represent the minimum standards of human rights during war in a civilized society, it would be desirable for our Center to initiate the idea of a meeting of the states which are signatories of the Geneva Conventions and to undertake the preliminary contacts for such a meeting with the aim of obtaining the adherence and application of these agreements.

To this day, the Security Council has attempted to repress Israeli aggression solely by adopting resolutions which at first requested a cease-fire followed by the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon.

The Security Council resolution of 6 June 1982 requested that Israel immediately and unconditionally withdraw all of its military forces to the internationally recognized frontiers of Lebanon. In spite of the fact that this resolution was many times reiterated, Israel has not complied with it and refuses to do so barring certain conditions which are currently being negotiated among Israel, Lebanon, and the United States.

Thus it is that policy departs from law and from the charter of the United Nations. If, as you have seen, the UN Charter requires that the Security Council "repress aggression," then it is the duty of the Council to impose an unconditional withdrawal by Israel. A precedent for such action was the aftermath of the Suez aggression of 1956, thanks to the courageous attitude taken by President Eisenhower. In his historic televised speech of 20 February 1957, after pointing out the refusal of Israel to withdraw its armed forces from the Gulf of Aqaba and the Gaza Strip, Eisenhower declared:

> Israel asks for firm guarantees before withdrawing its invasion forces. . .
>
> This raises a fundamental question of principle, namely is a nation which attacks and occupies a foreign territory in contravention of the United Nations able to impose conditions for its withdrawal?
>
> If we accept that such an armed attack would achieve the aims of the aggressor then we are regressing vis a vis the international world order. . . I would not be upholding the mission you have confided to

me were I to grant the support of the United States to the request of a nation asking to set conditions for its retreat.

Following this solemn warning and threatened sanctions by the United Nations and the United States, Israel retreated from the Sinai and from Gaza a few days later, without delay and without conditions.

The repression of Israeli aggression demanded by the Charter led, as a natural consequence, to the liberation of all the Palestinian, Lebanese, and other prisoners who had been captured or detained during the aggression. In other words, the repression of aggression cannot be limited to a territorial dimension but must also include the elimination of all that it has entailed, in territorial as well as in human terms.

The aggression affects not only the territory but also human beings and must be combated in all its aspects.

The liberation of prisoners is therefore a necessary step to eliminate aggression and must be immediate and unconditional as is envisaged by the still unapplied Security Council resolution for the Lebanese territory.

It therefore appears essential for the Center to initiate the idea of freeing the prisoners. This liberation must be guaranteed by the Security Council, or if necessary in the case of a veto, it should be guaranteed by the General Assembly which has the necessary authority to do so and which has also exercised it in similar cases in Korea, Suez, and the Congo.

SALEH MOHAMED SALEH, Palestine

"In Al-Ansar, before entering Section 16, I was asked by an Israeli soldier what nationality I was. I answered, "Palestinian." He retorted: "There are no Palestinians. There is nothing called Palestinian." Then he inflicted upon me a shower of blows for ten minutes. After having beaten me, he put his foot on my throat and continued to insult me."

I am a Palestinian student of Ain Al-Heloueh camp. During the air raids I received a wound on my arm. I was transferred to Ghassan Hammoud Hospital in Sidon, but I did not receive proper treatment since three days after having been injured, I was detained at the hospital itself, then transferred to a place of interrogation called Malamel Al-Safa where I was cross-examined for five days. Of course, I do not wish to dwell on details of my cross-examinations, but I would like to tell you certain facts which I think are significant.

1. I spent one month in prison camps without being cared for, even though I had asked to be transferred to a hospital. Here is one answer I often heard: "Do you want to get better in order to come back and fight us again?" In the prison camp named Malamel Al-Safa, the prisoners could not attend to nature's needs; unfortunately, they had to urinate on the spot because as soon as someone asked for permission to go outside to urinate, he was subject to flogging and harassment on the part of the soldiers. In Al-Joura, another place of detention and interrogation in the vicinity of Haifa, all kinds of torture are being practised. Each prisoner has to go by a narrow wall guarded by specially trained dogs. I stayed there for three days without recognising a neighbour and his son. This neighbour was detained in the tent next to mine. He is a Lebanese farmer. Because of the injuries he had in his face and because of the torture he had been suffering, I was unable to recognize him. He is in his sixties.

2. Here is another fact I want to tell you. A man in his fifties was taken away for cross-examination. He lived in my tent. Two weeks later he came back. When he was back in the tent, he did not live more than another five minutes. After five minutes he was dead. He came from Ain Al-Heloueh.

3. In Al-Ansar, before entering Section 16, I was asked by an Israeli soldier what nationality I was. In answered, "Palestinian." He retorted: "There are no Palestinians. There is nothing called Palestinian." Then he inflicted upon me a shower of blows for ten minutes. After having beaten me, he put his foot on my throat and continued to insult me.

In the camp where I had injured my arm, four detainees had their arms broken under torture. On special request of the International Red Cross, I was transferred to Talhou Shamir Hospital in Tel Aviv. I would like to tell you something about the daily life in that hospital.

In the hospital, all the wounded are handcuffed. In Room 2, there was a teacher of Al-Bourj Al-Shemali School named Thiab Al-Khatib. He had been transferred to the hospital following the torture he had suffered. His eyesight had diminished because they had tortured him with electricity.

There was a young Palestinian who asked the nurse: "Why did you shell all the refugee camps?" She remained silent then left. Some time later she came back to tell us: "Have you forgotten what Hitler did to us?" There was a twelve year old Palestinian boy from Ain Al-Heloueh camp. An Israeli soldier came and approached him to ask the following question: "Is Abu Ammar able to break the sword?" The boy remained silent, then he suddenly answered, "Yes." The soldier repeated his question. The boy said yes. The soldier repeated his question a third time and the boy said yes. Then the soldier shouted: "What we have done to you, it is not enough." The boy answered: "You have to remember what you did during

the massacre of Kafr Qasem. We have not forgotten Der-Yaseen, Ain Al-Heloueh, but our people want to live in peace on their land."

I have told you scattered facts that I witnessed myself. I wish to bring them to your knowledge. They are facts that I have learned during three months and that briefly describe the treatment Palestinian prisoners are subject to.

ANONYMOUS PRISONER, Lebanon

"In addition, the subject reported that both at Safah and in the Nun's School in Sidon, prisoners were forced by the guards to shout 'Long Life to Begin" and to curse Arafat. All prisoners were forced to do this, and if they refused, they were cursed and beaten."

The interviews were carried out on July 23. The subject did not agree to have his voice tape-recorded, so I recorded his remarks in longhand as translated into English by a friend.

Subject did not remember the date of his arrest, but it seems to have occurred later than that of the others who have testified, after the first gatherings on the beach. Subject said that some who had gone to the beach, and got passes there, tried to use them to get to Beirut but were returned at Khaldeh. For this reason he had not gone to the beach, but stayed with neighbours near his workplace. He thinks that it was on the 3rd or 4th day after Sidon had surrendered that the Israelis came through the streets calling on all males to accompany them to the nun's school. They were carrying a white flag. When they arrived there were not at first many people visible but during the four days he was there the number grew to maybe 1000. He says that they were not hand tied straight away, but were passed immediately in front of the two masked informers. He was marked with a cross, and made to sit in the school-yard with others, their head lowered. At this point he was blindfolded and his hands tied with rope (not plastic—but the scars were still visible in his wrists). They were forced to sleep on their stomachs, and shots were fired every now and then over their heads to intimidate them. For three days he had no water, no food and no chance to use a latrine.

On the second day, at around 3:30 pm, came his first interrogation. The officer spoke Arabic, asked him his name, employment, birthplace, and

"Do you work for an organization?" ("Organization" seems to be synonomous with resistance movement here.) Subject said that he is a civilian, and has no connection with any organization. He was returned to his place, blindfolded again and hands tied again. They gave him a paper written in Hebrew. He was now interrogated again in the nun's school, though others were taken more than twice, including two Iraqi doctors. He was not beaten during interrogation, but others were. There was one man he knew, a worker in the Red Crescent, who was beaten after an informer indicated that he was a fedai. Guards beat anyone who spoke with police batons.

But during this period the subject said his greatest suffering came not from beatings, but from thirst. On the 3rd day, he said, two Israeli soldiers were drinking water near him, and he begged them for a sip. They refused. He said that this was his worst moment, he broke down and cried.

The subject showed me sun burn marks on his lower legs. I asked him if if he saw any persons who died from exposure during this period. He said that when they left the nun's school on the fourth day there were two corpses that were left behind, one an oldish man, the other not so old.

On the fourth (maybe third) day they brought a municipal fire engine with water. Everyone got water and ¼ loaf of bread. At the end of that day they brought buses and lorries and everyone in the school was pushed into them, hands tied, and transferred to the Safah warehouse outside Sidon. There they were put in a field surrounded by four or five tanks with their guns pointing at the prisoners, only 2 to 3 meters away.

The subject spent four days in Safah. Here there was plenty of water, but permission had to be taken to go to the supply house. They were fed twice a day, in the morning and at noon: ¼ loaf of bread, one tomato, one cucumber and one apricot.

Subject was beaten at Safah, because, having asked permission to go to the latrine he took the opportunity to drink some water as well. A guard saw him and ordered him to approach. When he was near, the guard said, "Lie down." He layed down. (Subject demonstrated a position similar to that of Muslim prayer). The guard says: "How old are you?" A: 53. The guard kicked him with his boot two or three times, then made him face the wall with his hands above his head for about 15 minutes. When the subject momentarily lowed his hands to rest on his head, the guard beat him on the back with his rifle butt.

In Safah, the subject was brought before two masked informers, one points to him, the other not. Immediately after, he is taken for interrogation. The questions asked him are: What is your work? What is your age? What year were you born? Where do you live? (The subject did not want me to record his replies, and it was difficult to get him to give detail about the questions). Another question was: Do you have money? The officer gave him a paper and told him to go to another officer, who made a circle

on it. The guard took him to a yard where buses were standing, around ten to twelve of them. He and others were blindfolded and their hand ties made stronger (in front of body). They were pushed into the buses.

Subject recounted that before and during the bus ride one of the guards accused a boy of about 16 of having killed four Jews, and beat him severely several times. In the bus they were searched for money, but the subject said his was not taken. On the way, they stopped at Israeli settlements, people got on the bus to look at them and hit those nearest the door.

The reached their destination at about 3 am. They were ordered into groups of five, each was given two blankets, and told to sleep on the floor. The subject described the place as having high wire fences, with guards and lights above the prisoners. It was not like a prison, but more like a special interrogation centre, a transit camp.

At 7 am they were given breakfast, ¼ loaf of bread and as much water as they wanted. Afterwards people were taken for interrogation in groups of ten. They go one by one into an office where two interrogators are seated, both in military uniform (the subject was not sure whether they belonged to Military Intelligence or were ordinary officers). A soldier grasped him by the hand and made him face to all four sides of the room (he speculated that maybe there were informers viewing suspects through holes in the walls. Another possibility is that he was being photographed. Another interviewee reported that he was ordered to "stop in front of the camera" just before interrogation in the Nun's school in Sidon, though no camera was visible). The subject presented his paper from the Safah center. The interrogator asked him the same questions age? job? place of birth? present residence? He also asked him, Are you military? (*'asker*, not *fedai*), and as he put his question he moved a stick that was on the table, as if to threaten him.

At the end of the interrogation, he was given a small piece of paper, and sent to sit by himself. The interrogations went on, and he was joined by three others, who were all Lebanese.

On entering this camp (or maybe after the first interrogation), all the suspects had their personal belongings taken away and in return were given a receipt. They were also each given a green prison ID card.

Right after the interrogation, others were all given blue prison clothes, after being sprayed with DDT. They were also given a towel and boots. The others were all ordered in groups of five. He and the three others with him asked an officer, What is going to happen to us? The officer said, Do you think that we have a helicopter waiting to take you? From this they understood that they were likely to be released. Then a higher officer came and said, Dress them like the others. After they had been given the prison suits and a towel, they were blindfolded and led, each holding the other, out to a line of tents, and placed in one of them. Each tent had about 40 prisoners. Each had its own cooking facilities. Food was supplied by the

camp authorities, and prepared by prisoner-cooks. Prisoners were given soap, a toothbrush, toothpaste, a razor blade for each two, and a blade holder for each four.

Here the subject met two people he had known before, who had reached the camp before him. The subject was reluctant to speak about them, probably from fear of identifying them.

Prisoners were counted three times a day, at night, morning and noon. Each prisoner got two cigarettes a day. Bread was enough but cooked food was scanty, one boiled potato between ten people. They were given meat once and fish once.

The day after they had first shaved, they were interrogated again, the same questions.

The next day, at night, they are told that all who hear their names called should leave the tents, with all their prison belongings. His name was among those called. From each tent in the camp, some prisoners leave. They are ordered in groups of five, and told to start walking. They walked past many tents, then into a new camp, maybe ¼ of an hour walk away. Here they sleep the night. The next morning they are given breakfast. Then they are told to give in their blankets, towel, toilet kits. No one tells them they are going, but they see buses, 40 to a bus. They were called out by number. In return for the receipt, each was given his papers, money etc. (the subject had his money, LL300, returned to him, but not his ID card). All were blindfolded before getting on the buses. When they reached Tyre, their eyes were uncovered. Seven people left the bus here, and as they went their prisoner ID card were taken from them. In Sidon the same thing happened, their green prison cards were taken and they were given new cards which gave them permission to circulate (no time limit).

In addition, the subject reported that both at Safah and in the nun's school in Sidon, prisoners were forced by the guards to shout Long Life to Begin! and to curse Arafat. All prisoners were forced to do this, and if they refused, they were cursed and beaten.

About informers: The subject said that they were of two kinds: those with covered heads, and those hidden behind blankets or walls. In his opinion, the informers are Resistance members who have confessed under torture. He commented that many of the informers were liars.

DR. SHAFIQUE ISLAM, Bangladesh

"An Egyptian near us, who was suffocating and asking for water and air, was warned to keep quiet or he would be killed. We thought the Israelis were simply trying to frighten him, but when he asked again for air and water, they simply shot him and his body was left on the floor of the bus."

I am from Bangladesh, and I was on a humanitarian mission sponsored by the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS). In South Lebanon the PRCS had three hospitals with several out-patient clinics which handled Palestinian as well as Lebanese patients. I was the Emergency Medical Officer of Sidon Emergency Hospital. Working at this hospital from February 1981, I was a witness to the hectic shelling of civilian installations at Sidon by Major Haddad in April 1981, was present during the July PLO-Israel war and finally the Lebanon aggression by Israel. When on 3 June 1982, the Israeli aircraft started bombing the stadium situated within West-Beirut I thought it was simply an act of retaliation for the Israeli diplomat who had been shot in London. Such Israeli retaliatory action was very common in Lebanon and we were used to it as routine life. But on the contrary, this air attack ushered in an untold tragedy to hundreds of thousands of innocent Lebanese and Palestinian people, particularly in South Lebanon.

On 11 June, an operation being carried out by three members of our international medical team and myself upon a 12-year old Palestinian boy who had sustained an intra-abdominal shrapnel injury was interrupted by Israel Defense Force (IDF) soldiers who suddenly rushed inside our operating theatre and told us to vacate it immediately. We were instructed to go to the office of our hospital, which was opposite another private hospital known as Shaab Hospital, only recently converted into the office of the "Military Governor of Israel" and over which the Israeli flag had been hoisted. Many patients had been in this hospital until the last day of war; its closure aroused a suspicion in my mind that the Israelis would not hesitate to close down our hospital as well.

The IDF soldiers refused to let me give the boy any post-operative care, not even to infuse Dextrose and Flagyl, and the Norwegian nurse, Berit Fiksdal, who had been beside me and who I had asked to look after the patient, was also unable to remain in the hospital. Soon most of the hospital staff was gathered together near the office, cordoned off by heavily armed IDF soldiers and three armoured personnel carriers.

When I asked one IDF soldier what the purpose of this action was, he replied that they had been informed of a big cache of arms and ammunition in the hospital, and that many Palestinian terrorists had taken shelter within its compound; that the hospital belonged to "an unfriendly organization" and previously it was "the den of terrorists."

While we were held here, I observed how IDF soldiers prevented two journalists from taking pictures of us and that there was a hot exchange of words between the journalists and the Israeli soldiers. Of course the journalists were travelling in an Israeli military vehicle and one Israeli officer was accompanying them. It is important to note that from the morning of the 10th, waves of patients had been coming to our hospital and we had to put some of our patients even in the room of our receptionist.

On finding no cache of arms and ammunition, the IDF soldiers came back and told us to go to the Christian Missionary School near the beach and identify ourselves to the IDF intelligence officer. At this point the Israeli soldiers gave me permission to take my money and passport from my hospital locker. We went to the school in a group of five—one other doctor and three nurses were in my group. When I reached the school my heart stopped a moment to see there people who were blindfolded, their hands tied, their faces swollen—and people still being beaten by IDF soldiers with batons, electric cables and hoses. One of our ambulance drivers was lying unconscious, his hands tied and eyes blindfolded.

After a short while a hooded man and one IDF soldier came together and pointed at me and four others. Another soldier put an 'X' sign on our backs. We saw other signs in Hebrew but did not know their meaning. While we sat in the school compound, people were taken inside. We heard people crying at the top of their voices and saw them being brought back out walking in an abnormal way, with vacant looks.

After half an hour I was searched, blindfolded and handcuffed and together with four other people was put into a bus. When the soldier was blindfolding me I told him that I was a doctor and asked why this was being done to me, but he kicked me then and I was afraid to speak more. Inside the bus there were already many captives. Windows and doors remained closed and it became suffocating. Before we left Sidon, Israeli soldiers sometimes entered the bus to abuse us, to make us chant slogans like, "Long live Begin . . . death to Yaseer Arafat . . ." One of the soldiers cursed me as a "Bangladeshi terrorist," who had "come to kill us and Arafat gives you one hundred dollars a month." I politely told him that I was a doctor and had never handled any weapon whatsoever. This seemed to make him wild and he started beating me with all his strength with a baton. An Egyptian near us, who was suffocating and asking for water and air was warned to keep quiet or he would be killed. We thought the soldiers were simply trying to frighten him, but when he asked again for

air and water, they simply shot him and his body was left on the floor of the bus. After that absolute silence prevailed.

We were finally driven to Naharia, a coastal place in the north of Israel, notorious for torture cells belonging to the IDF intelligence. Here we were thrown out of the bus, sustaining heavy pain from the rocky ground. Our blindfolds were untied. Soldiers snatched away my passport and money, about 3,000 US dollars. The passport was returned shortly after, but only some Lebanese currency notes and one-dollar were returned. People of different nationalities had their passports taken from them here. After sunset we again boarded the bus, although some of my co-captives were left behind at Naharia.

We arrived at Maggido prison that evening, were un-handcuffed and our blindfolds removed, being at the same time beaten brutally by soldiers. We joined other prisoners inside a barbed-wire enclave adjacent to the prison and there we spent the night in the open, sleeping on the hard, rocky ground. We remained thirsty, hungry, and at no time were we given opportunity to relieve ourselves. On the Saturday morning we were for the first time given a quarter of a cup of water to drink, but we remained unfed for the remainder of the day. In the section to which we were taken during that day, I saw more people from many other countries.

On Sunday, 13 June, we had our first official screening by the intelligence. The officer who interrogated me wanted to know which country I came from, how many days I had served the PLO, who had sent me to Lebanon, who were the top PLO leaders I was in contact with, and had I seen the Israeli aviator who had been captured in South Lebanon. My interrogation hinged around this pilot and I was later shown a picture of the crowd around the ambulance belonging to the PRCS. I was absent from the picture and on that basis it was quite clear that I had nothing to do with the pilot; moreover, I was on holiday the day the pilot was captured. These arguments most probably did not satisfy the interrogator and at the end I found myself again handcuffed and blindfolded. A few minutes later I was being beaten severely by two or three soldiers. When they had finished I was told to go to another tent and collect my Israeli identification card. Here I deposited the rest of my money, passport and wallet, and here I was supplied with a serial number—until my release the number 50849 played a much more important role than my name.

In the evening we were transferred to another section. While we were moving the soldiers treated us as if we were a flock of sheep. This section housed 1,500 captives, who came from many countries, like Turkey, Iran, Irak, Yemen, Syria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Sudan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Nigeria and several others. For the next two days I was unable to eat and was incapacitated by severe pain all over my body; my right elbow had been injured to the extent that I could not move it for the following month.

On 23 June a doctor from the IDF came to our section and softly asked about me and instructed me to look after the clinic of the section; this was one separate tent situated beside the exit of the section. On one side of the tent the "Star of David" was painted red. It is noteworthy to mention that for 12 days no medication was supplied to us even though there were about 47 gravely wounded patients. Concerning a Palestinian youth aged about 19 years who had suffered the amputation of several toes, a finger, and who had multiple medium-sized wounds over half his body, the Israeli doctor on the one hand suggested that his wounds could be cleansed with a small piece of soap, and on the other jubilantly noted that as the boy was a Palestinian terrorist, nothing would happen if he died. That evening the doctor sent some drugs for my clinic and one registration book to write down the name, diagnosis and treatment of the patients; the drugs were 10 analgesic tablets, 12 antidiarrhoeal tablets, 10 antiasthmatic tablets, 5 capsules of ampicillin and one roll of bandage three meters long.

Except in one instance the Army Medical Corps did not provide any emergency treatment for my patients, several of whom needed it. A Lebanese who had sustained an intraocular shrapnel injury was taken to the hospital for a check-up by one of their specialists only after 14 days. A patient with severe asthmatic attacks we could only help by propping up.

Here are some details to describe daily life in the Maggido concentration camp. There were ten make-shift toilets which we could use only during one hour in the morning; privacy was out of the question. Water was available to us also for one hour. If we were lucky we could bathe once a month. Food was sufficient only to keep us alive. Four to five people shared a 750 gram loaf of bread and an apple was shared by two. We received two tablespoons of cooked haricot beans for lunch, one teaspoon of jam in the morning and a thin piece of cheese of cheese at dinner. Twice daily the sentries used to enter our section to see if anyone was missing and to make sure the barbed-wire fence was intact. Then they would punish ten to twelve people for mere silly reasons like not sitting correctly, or whispering. We were provided with two blankets, a pair of shoes, and wore camouflage "fatigues" of the IDF.

In addition to my duties as doctor of the clinic, I had to spray the tent of the sentries with insecticide against flies everyday, and when there was too much dust, I had to spray water around their tent.

The most painful incidents for me were when some of my compatriots were beaten severely by the soldiers and I was not allowed to treat them even if they bled heavily. When I spoke of this to the IDF doctor, he replied that it was not his business to do anything beyond supplying me with medicine.

I want finally to present names of people who were tortured until they lost consciousness:

- Dr. Nabih Soeb, a Palestinian doctor who graduated in Spain in 1980, who had been my neighbour and had worked in the same hospital. IDF soldiers fractured his lower jaw.
- Dr. Mohammad Anwar had 11 ribs broken on his right side, and suffered a cerebral concussion; he had cared for patients with health insurance in Sidon in a wing belonging to the PRCS.
- Rafique Ahmed Tapan, from Bangladesh, was subjected to electric shocks resulting in severe fractures and an open wound over one wrist.
- A Palestinian boy named Mohammad Ahmad Bakri became insane following torture; he was refused psychiatric treatment despite several requests through the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The credit given to the PLO has increased so tremendously, especially in the Arab world, that the factors—intentionally fostered by the United States—that run counter to a common Arab approach did not get a chance to express themselves, at least not openly.

However, the Palestinians' courage that brought about this profound change, and the sufferings of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, do not suffice to divert Washington and Tel Aviv from the course of their military adventures. The occupied Lebanese territory is meant to serve as a base for further fruitful operations in Northern Lebanon and Syria. More than ever before, the necessity of a will for common action on the part of the progressive forces in the world makes itself felt. This will stems from the awareness that it is always the same powers and the same interests that destroy the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and that, at the same time, seek to demolish the strategic military parity or, as they say, to "chop off the Soviet hen's head" by stationing new rocket missile systems in Western Europe as well as in other areas of the world as, for example, in the USSR's "weak spot," the Pacific Ocean. An opponent who acts within a global framework will eventually see the only efficient solution in his joining the activities of all the groups fighting for peace, national liberation or social justice beyond the boundaries of differences of opinion and national frontiers.

ANONYMOUS PRISONER, Lebanon

When we arrived there we tried to talk to each other. An Israeli soldier called me out and said "Why are you talking a lot?" and beat me on the back with a big stick. He told me to raise my hands in the air and kept me like that for ten minutes. When I let my hands drop a little, he beat me again on my back. He took out many people like me who had talked—and beat them.

At night they would order us to sleep on our stomachs. It was forbidden to raise our heads, and they hit anyone who did so. If we asked for water, or to go to the latrine they would beat us.

Interviewer: Please tell me what happened from the time you were arrested?

A: It was on June 11, we were in the Ghassan Hammoud Hospital, Saida, the whole medical staff of the PRCS. We were about 85 people, between nurses and doctors and first aid personnel *(zabat).* The Zionist soldiers entered and told Dr. Hammoud to bring down all the staff to the yard. This was done, we gathered, and they separated PRCS people from the regular hospital staff, and they took us to the Nun's School. We were about 85—or rather 80 because they did not take the girls—and they took us to the Nun's School.

They began by putting us in lines, ten by ten. They told us: "Stand in front of the camera." We didn't know what they meant. It turned out to be a screen, with a man sitting behind it who signalled and talked to an officer near him, and told what we did. After this, they took off our white overalls and wrote something in Hebrew on our backs which showed our jobs. Then they tied our hands behind our backs, using plastic or nylon and tying it so tightly that blood flowed, and with dirt getting into it the cuts got infected and formed pus. They blindfolded us too, tearing up our own overalls to make bands. Then they threw us into the school yard.

Q: Did they push you?

A: Yes, first they pushed us, and then began the beating. They beat us with broomsticks and when these broke, they brought table legs. And they kicked us with their military boots. I got kicked on the kidney—they kicked us like footballs.

Q: Did all the guards beat you equally?

A: All of them took part, but they divided themselves into groups. When one lot went out, another would rush in like a storm, competing with each other in finding new ways to beat us. For the first three days we were forced to lie on our stomachs, our hands tied and our eyes blindfolded, without food and water. We could not move. Most of us were forced to urinate in our clothes.

Q: Was it in the morning that they took you from the Hammoud hospital?

A: It was between 11 and 12 in the morning. The Zionist soldiers talked to the people and told them that whoever surrenders would be safe. But in our case the military unit came into the hospital and told Dr. Hammoud to bring all the men down into the yard.

Q: The patients too?

A: They brought ambulances and the patients were taken, fedayeen and non-fedayeen. Some were taken to the Nun's School and some were sent straight to Palestine or an unknown place. Then they tried another method—they made us march in groups in a yard. Our hands were tied and our eyes blindfolded, we couldn't see, but we knew it was night. Our nerves were exhausted. It was a different yard in the same school, like a playground. Then I felt someone holding me by the shirt. He said "come" and I had to follow him, stepping accidentally on a colleague, without seeing him. He (the guard) said to me, "you are a terrorist." I said, "no, I'm not a terrorist, I am an orderly in the Red Crescent." He pushed me onto another colleague near me, and said to another Israeli, "run it here." We heard a tank moving, and it passed by us so that we felt like it was going to run us over. It was a war of nerves. This happened on the second or third night. There was a lot of light and a lot of noise, and the tank repeatedly came close to us. They also used to shoot near us.

After three days they took off the blindfolds and then the interrogation began. An officer came and called me and took me to a room. The questions were "Where are you from? What is your job? Are you a Fatah member?" I said "No, I am not a member, I work with the Red Crescent." He asked me about the pilots, how the war was, what I saw, if there had been bodies. They were concerned about the dead and the prisoners, they wanted to know about them. They took me back to my place, and the beating began again.

Q: Did they beat you during the interrogation?

A: They beat me, but not as much as outside, just to frighten. But outside it was real beating, savage, deliberate. They beat us with sticks and with their feet. Any soldier who came in would look at (what was written on) our backs, not only me, but everybody—and would start to beat us. They explained to me that on my back it was written that I was head of a group, that's why they beat me.

Those who confessed after a lot of beating to what they were accused of . . . (implied beating slackened). But we—because we insisted that we were with the Red Crescent they beat us continuously. They would say, "You are not Red Crescent, you are terrorists, you are Fatah."

I saw them take some young men into a side room, and they beat them very severely—so that some of them actually died. I saw them being carried out on stretchers.

Q: Did you see any who were definitely dead?

A: I saw two, and another thrown by the wall all black from beating. We also heard cries, very strong cries that expressed very severe pain—sometimes at night, sometimes in the day time.

Q: How often were you interrogated?

A: Every other day they took me for interrogation.

Q: Did they always ask the same questions?

A: Nearly the same. They wanted to know: Where are the terrorists? Where are the arms hidden? Where are the officers?

Later I saw the two Norwegian doctors. Dr. Jiannou was with them. The Zionists were insulting them. I saw Dr. Jiannou taken twice for interrogation, his hands tied in front of him.

Q: Did they give you more water after the first few days?

A: At the Nun's School water was very scarce. The first three days we got nothing—neither water nor bread. Then they brought us water once or twice a day, in a small cup, but because of the large numbers, we sometimes didn't even get our turn (to drink). They gave a small piece of bread, once a day in the morning. But the first three days—nothing.

We were living in a terrorizing atmosphere, fearing that at any time they would run tanks over us. On the fourth day in the Nun's School, they took us to the Safah factory (warehouse). They took us by bus. It had a big yard, and we saw thousands of people there, sitting on the ground, with their hands tied. One group of them were believed to have been caught with arms, fighters. They still had their hands tied behind their backs, and were blindfolded—and being savagely beaten.

Q: Were you allowed to speak to one another?

A: When we arrived there we tried to talk to each other. An Israeli soldier called me out and said "Why are you talking a lot?" and beat me on the back with a big stick. He told me to raise my hands in the air and kept me like that for ten minutes. When I let my hands drop a little, he beat me again on my back. He took out many people like me who had talked—and beat them.

At night they would order us to sleep on our stomachs. It was forbidden to raise our heads, and they hit anyone who did so. If we asked for water, or to go to the latrine they would beat us. Sometimes they would let us go—sometimes they refused and beat us.

Q: Did this depend on the officer in charge?

A: On the guard standing by.

Q: Did you notice any difference between the soldiers in their attitude to the prisoners?

A: There was no difference. There were some who were not violent, but they were very, very few. Most were savage and full of pent-up hatred. Every group when it entered newly would rush in like storm troopers and start hitting with their sticks and boots.

Q: Were the Arabic-speaking soldiers more violent?

A: Those who spoke good Arabic beat us more gently than the others.

Q: Could you tell if the officers were mostly of European origin?

A: We saw one officer who spoke English, who looked like an American, tall, blue eyes. He sat by the interrogator who spoke Arabic.

Q: Did you feel that the interrogators were ordinary army officers, or were they specialised?

A: I think they were military intelligence.

Q: How many times were you interrogated?

A: Between seven and ten times. The interrogator would record my answers and each time he would go back to the paper before to check if it was the same answer or not. If the answer varied, he would tell "You are a liar," and punish me and say "Tell the truth."

Q: Were all the detainees interrogated the same number of times and treated the same way?

A: I don't know about the number of times, but it was the same treatment.

Q: What were the youngest and oldest ages of detainees?

A: Between 13 and 50 years. I saw a few children of 12-13—these were beaten, and the old too.

Q: Did you begin to feel at a certain point in the interrogation that they were beginning to believe you?

A: At the beginning I said what they wanted, because I was overwrought, exhausted. The second time I confused (I changed) the story. The interrogator noticed this and said "You are lying." I said, "No, but I am very tired, I can't talk properly." He said "All right, I'll interrogate you again tomorrow, but you have got to tell the truth." I said "Okay, but don't beat me"—because they had beaten me a lot.

Q: Was it some details about your work?

A: They were questioning me about the dead bodies and the pilots. They wanted to know where were the fedayeen and arms depots. I told them that I work with PRC, and that I do not have anything to do with these things, because my work is humanitarian. My work is to help any wounded person, whether he is a Zionist, a Jew or a Christian. I know nothing about what you are asking me about.

Q: Was it always the same interrogator?

A: There was one chief interrogator, but there were others working under his supervision.

Q: Did he speak Arabic with you?

A: He spoke good Arabic.

Q: Was he an Israeli or Arabic origin?

A: I don't know. Most of them spoke Arabic with a Palestinian accent but it was heavy sometimes, you could tell that they had learnt—it wasn't their mother tongue.

Q: Did you feel that the interrogators attitude towards you improved during the six days (at Safah)?

A: His questions got less pressing, and the beating got less in the last two days.

Q: Just for you?

A: Not just for me, but for my four or five colleagues as well.

Q: Did you see any particularly bad beatings or group beatings?

A: Yes, they did this to the fighters.

Q: Did you see mentally abnormal people being beaten?

A: There was one who kept standing up, an idiot. They beat him a lot, they were surprised that he would just get up and walk around. They forced him to sit down and not to move.

Q: What happened to him?

A: I didn't see him again, but when I left he was still there, still alive.

Q: Did you see people bleeding from the beatings?

A: Yes, I saw Dr. Nabil from Preventive Medicine (a section of the PRC: translator), who was asked by a soldier: "Where are you from and he said: "I am from Ramallah." Perhaps the soldier provoked him by cursing his mother and Dr. Nabil answered back. Four soldiers gathered and beat him—his jaw was broken, his eyes were swollen. They beat him a lot, and he lost consciousness. I saw him when they tied him, and later when they took him away to the bus to Israel.

Q: What were your feelings during this time?

A: We lived in an atmosphere of terror. Our feeling was that we were in the presence of an enemy who hates us, and wants to destroy us in whatever way. We were in bad psychological and physical state, exhausted, because they made us sleep on the floor—our feet were wounded, we felt pain all over so much that we could hardly sit. It reached the point that when they kicked me on the kidneys, it was so painful that I cried. They brought a Red Crescent doctor to examine me. He prescribed me a medicine and said, "If they don't bring you the medicine, drink a lot of water." They did not bring me the medicine. My comrades provided me with extra water by not drinking their full ration and saving it for me.

Q: When you left Safah, was it still hurting?

A: Yes, until now it hurts. When I was X-rayed there was the mark of an impact (on the kidneys). When I breathe my rib hurts where he kicked me—I felt the whole rib go in under the blow. When I sleep on this side, it

hurts a lot. The kidney hurts at night too. My hands only recently healed from the infection (shows scars on wrists).

Our nerves were frayed from hunger, beating and terror, and because they tried to humiliate us. There was one Zionist soldier who kept stepping on our necks. If anyone raised his head, he would kick us. We never expected—I for one—to come out alive.

(This witness did not want to record the exact circumstances of his release because they would give a clue to his identity).

FATHER EDWARD DILLON, Roman Catholic Diocese of Rochester, New York, USA

"Nature itself seemed to have been injured."

In Lebanon two main waves of mass imprisonment evolved with the Israeli invasion: the first in the south in the wake of the massive bombardments of Tyre and Sidon with their adjacent refugee camps; the second in Beirut and its environs, in the wake of the American-negotiated withdrawal of Palestinian fighters from the area.

By the time I arrived in the Sidon area to view the wreckage of the Ain el Hilweh camp, I was already familiar with the testimony given by a Canadian doctor, Christopher Giannou, to a committee of the United States Congress. Dr. Giannou was a survivor of both the blitz and the mass imprisonment.

Referring to the "blind, savage, indiscriminate destruction of refugee camps by simultaneous shelling and carpet bombing from aircraft, gunboats, tanks and artillery" he had noted that "Nature itself seemed to have been injured."

My own observation was that nature seemed much more resilient than the people. I arrived amid the ruins of the vast camp in early March, on the first real spring-like day of the new season. The lemon trees were loaded with fruit, and the almond trees were in full blossom along the fringes of the camp, while the people were living in makeshift houses fashioned from the debris of their former homes. The United Nations clinic was operating out of what looked to be the cellar of a once imposing building. The clinic attempted to treat three hundred patients a day.

The population of the camp still consisted of the old and the young, with very few men between the ages of sixteen and sixty. The Israeli mop-

up had been thorough. When the bombing and shelling had stopped, the entire male population of the Sidon area had been herded onto the beach and sorted out for arrest and imprisonment.

Those arrested included all reasonably healthy Palestinian males between the ages of fourteen and sixty, as well as all males working for any Palestinian institution such as the Palestine Red Crescent Society. These men were singled out by hooded men sitting in parked jeeps with Israeli soldiers sitting beside them. "In this way," according to Dr. Giannou, "there were four to five thousand men arrested including myself, two Norwegian colleagues and the entire male medical staff of the PRCS in Sidon. . ."

Dr. Giannou had personally seen the bodies of four hundred persons killed in the bombing, mostly inside or within the immediate environs of the two hospitals he helped evacuate. These cadavers included the "calcinated, carbonized bodies of the victims of phosphorous bombs, frozen in their position at the time of death."

He had described the scene in the refugee camp as one of apocalypse now:

> All that remained were large blackened craters filled with rubble and debris, broken concrete slabs and twisted iron bars, and corpses.

And yet it was the experience of being paraded past the hooded collaborators of which he said:

> This was the most terrifying experience of all. The war was something you could cope with. But when you stand in front of someone who is hidden behind a mask, you cannot defend yourself. You cannot face your accuser . . . or even try to explain. You don't know what you are accused of and are completely at the mercy of some blind denunciation.

Nothing which began so evil could end well. The subsequent humiliation, torture and interrogation of these prisoners, during which many were tortured to death, was fairly extensively reported in the world press. In the absence of any adequate international official response to the atrocities, the McBride Commission, made up of distinguished academicians and humanitarians worldwide, was formed to investigate, document and publish the extent of Israeli involvement in war crimes and crimes against humanity.

It's important to remember that the previous Israeli invasions of Lebanon, as well as previous Israeli bombing missions throughout Lebanon, had always been carried out ostensibly in retaliation for

Palestinian raids inside Israel, no matter what splinter group of the Palestinian movement may have been involved. The resultant civilian deaths in Lebanon were in the hundreds, the number of homeless in the thousands. There was usually a Nazi-like 100-to-1 ratio between the number of those killed by the Israelis and the number of those whose deaths were being avenged.

But this 1982 invasion, the most extensive, prolonged and terrible of all, and one of the most efficiently brutal military operations in history, occurred after Yasser Arafat had demonstrated his ability to hold all his disparate allies to the ceasefire against Israeli settlements. There had been no Palestinian raids or shelling for a year, even in the face of continued Israeli provocation. In the months preceding the June invasion, Israel shelled and bombed Palestinian settlements in Lebanon, again and again, in the hope that at least a splinter group of the P.L.O. would retaliate. The invasion was to be carried out, come hell or high water, and could not be delayed. Every month that Arafat succeeded in prolonging the ceasefire served to enhance the prestige of the Palestinian cause in the world's eyes. There was danger that even the American people might see who the principal terrorists were in the Middle East.

The racist character of the assault against the Palestinians is also betrayed in the Israeli treatment of the prisoners. They were held, hands bound, in the stifling heat, without food or water, and subjected to savage beatings.

Among Dr. Giannou's colleagues from the PRCS, it was the Semitic ones, the Islamic ones, and the darker skinned ones who were most severely beaten.

Dr. Giannou observed: "The two Norwegians and I were not beaten. I, myself, was struck but once. It was obvious that orders had been given that we were not to be molested. the darker-skinned Arabs, Africans and Asians (Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Indians) present were those who were beaten the most severely.

Not so lucky was Dr. Nabil, a Palestinian doctor from the West Bank, who had been educated in Barcelona, and who was beaten and then dragged around the schoolyard by a rope placed around his neck; Dr. Mohammad Ibrahim, an Iraqi surgeon, who was beaten viciously by several guards and left to lie in the sun with his face buried in the sand; Dr. Ahmed Soubra, a Lebanese; and Drs. Seiffedin, Mohammad Iman and Shafiq El-Islam, all Bangladeshi nationals.

Dr. Giannou witnessed four prisoners who were beaten to death. He was called upon by an Israeli soldier to examine two of the cadavers. His Norwegian colleague, Dr. Berge, examined another two cadavers and saw another five or six piled into an ambulance.

Dr. Giannou saw Israeli officers, including Colonel Arnon Amozer, the military governor for Sidon, witnessing these beatings and doing nothing about it.

He also saw several of the Israeli guards attempt to stop the beatings, and several arguments break out among the guards between those doing the beatings and those attempting to stop them.

The Families of Prisoners

While working among prisoners in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a few years ago, I was asked once to relay a message. It was from a black prisoner who was and is a friend of mine, and the message began like this: "From Ted, in the maximum security of Graterford Prison, to my brothers in the minimum security of the ghetto. . ."

I had occasion to reflect on these words during my tour of the refugee camps in south Lebanon. The worst fear of the prisoners at Ansar, I would guess, would be fear for the safety of their families in the minimum security of the camps.

When I visited Sidon, I met the Red Cross staff member who, with a team of thirty, tracks down families to give them messages from their loved ones in Ansar, the one Israeli prison in south Lebanon that the Red Cross has regular access to.

Red Cross teams transmit thirty thousand messages back and forth each month. To protect their staff from burn-out, the Red Cross has divided the task of transmitting messages between two teams. One team is lodged in Tyre. Its members visit the prisoners every day. They receive the (heavily censored) messages from the prisoners, and then give these messages to a second team lodged in Sidon. The Sidon team attempts to track down the families, give them the messages, and receive return-messages for the prisoners. These are then given to the Tyre team which relays them to the prisoners.

The thinking is: for one person to perform the whole circuit of message bearing would involve an emotional strain too difficult to bear.

One Palestinian told me the messages, so heavily censored, amount to: "I am fine, thinking of you" and the answer: "We are fine, thinking of you."

But don't knock it, he added. It makes all the difference between life and death to us.

Ibrahim El Haj

I spoke with a 37-year-old Palestinian man who said his name was Ibrahim El Haj. He is a staff nurse at the clinic run by the Middle East Council of Churches in Ain el Hilweh camp. Although he lost his home

and all his possessions during the bombardments, he is happy, because he did not lose his wife and five children, and he has good health.

He was arrested three times by the Israelis during the invasion, and each time released. His older brother, too, was released after twenty-five hours. But his younger brother, two cousins and a nephew were still in Ansar camp as I spoke to him (after nine months). His 52-year-old brother-in-law was released after four months because of ill health.

He was especially concerned about his cousin, Ibrahim Mahmoud El Haj, who had been working for ten years in Abu Dhabi, in the United Arab Emirates. He had been visiting his relatives in Lebanon for only fifteen days, when he was arrested. He had a Lebanese visa and a return airplane ticket. His family has appealed to the Israeli military governor in Sidon, who has been sympathetic, but he is still in Ansar after nine months.

Sharif Hassan Abu Salah

I spoke with Sharif Hassan Abu Salah, 25, who for ten years has walked on crutches. He suffers from paralysis in one foot, deafness in one ear. His father and mother are from Nazareth, but fled Palestine in 1948 with one son who died before Sharif was born. Of his eight brothers and sisters born in Lebanon at Ain el Hilweh, one, a sister, died during the Israeli invasion. She had been suffering from cardiac disease, and was unable to obtain medication or get treatment in a hospital because of the devastation caused by the blitz. The father, 61, and the mother, 52, survived. Their house was completely destroyed.

An older brother left two years ago to find work in Kuwait. Another brother, Abad El Rahman, has been at Ansar for nine months.

Sharif is the oldest now, and despite the crutches, he is the leader in the work of rebuilding amid the ruins of the camp. He hopes to be a doctor someday.

His uncle died when the Lebanese Government Hospital he had sought refuge in was bombed. That uncle's son, Khalid Fawzi Abu Salah, has been in Ansar nine months. He was a car mechanic at Sidon Square, the only support for a family of twelve.

An Unnamed Witness

When I was about to leave the United States for Lebanon, a priest who is very knowledgeable about Middle Eastern affairs told me: Think of it as Norway under Nazi occupation. His remark in context referred to the danger of quoting people who have to live there or in the occupied West Bank. The meaning was: Don't make their lives any more difficult than they already are.

Many people in Lebanon, Jordan and the West Bank gave me similar advice. In fact I can hardly remember a single non-Palestinian in the three areas willing to be quoted or even mentioned by name. Often Europeans and Americans did not want their nationality, organizational affiliation or religious order mentioned. The reason was usually that they wanted to stay and remain useful.

The Palestinians were the exception. They seemed bold in every respect, including their willingness to be identified as thoroughly as possible.

The exception was the one man I met in Ain el Hilweh who had been released from Ansar prison after four months there. He didn't want me to use his name or say anything that could identify him. He was reluctant to even talk about Ansar, other than to admit that it was very bad, and to say it was not quite so bad now. He expressed fear of being arrested again. He also feared being pressured into collaborating with the Israelis. He was willing to forget Palestine and go to any country that would take him.

But he asked me to mention a man still in Ansar: Abed Mohammad Marshoud. For twenty-two years this man worked for the Batta Company in Sidon. His son was released recently from Ansar so he could work at half salary in his father's place, and the father would not lose his job. There are five boys and two girls in the family.

Other Witnesses

A young Palestinian was pointed out to me as a collaborator. He came over to check me out, and to read a leaflet that had been given to me. The leaflet was a homemade journal of events that had taken place locally in the past week: arrests, acts of terrorism against Palestinians, threats made to families to leave their homes or farms in the environs and resettle amid the ruins of Ain el Hilweh.

He read it silently and gave it back.

A doctor and two nurses, all Europeans, came over to say how sad they were at first to see young men collaborate to stay alive and out of prison. Now they accept the fact that survival must come first.

Later, when I was in Amman, Jordan, I had occasion to engage in conversation two taxi drives who were refugees from the West Bank.One had been imprisoned for three and a half years after the 1967 war, the other for one and a half years after the 1973 war. When they were released they were not allowed to keep a job because of their prison record. So they eventually crossed the Jordan to Amman.

They had a hard time getting clearance to go back to the West Bank to visit their families. Finally, one made it back. He was told by the Israelis they could make it easy for him to visit often if he would act as their agent and supply information. He could not bring himself to do it, even though it means seldom seeing his family.

He said he could not blame those who did collaborate. He has a friend who agreed to do it. A good man, he called him, who just wants to stay in touch with his family.

The last voice I record from south Lebanon will be that of a nurse with whom I had a quiet conversation. She was European and had worked among the poor, including Lebanon for quite a few years.

I asked her about the resilience of the Palestinians. She said they had been amazingly resilient in the past, but no one should presume they can keep bouncing back forever.

In fact she was noticing an epidemic of depression in the camp. And she sensed a lack of any concrete vision of hope.

The last blow had been devastating. The Palestinians were virtually abandoned by the Arab world. The United States seemed to set no limits to what Israel can do with American weapons in achieving its goals through military might. Now such massive homelessness on the heels of massive casualties, with their enemies pressuring them to leave Lebanon, with their best men in prison, may be the crushing blow.

Reflections of An Israeli Soldier

The Israeli journalist, Amnon Dankner, smuggled into his column of the November 5, 1982, issue of *Ha'aretz* the most compelling testimony I have found concerning the fate of the prisoners in south Lebanon. Dankner mentions a nameless soldier who, while on guard duty at Ansar, notes the "deep depression" that overcame the whole military unit within forty-eight hours of beginning duty. The soldier speaks many times of the terrible stench which comes from the seven thousand sweaty bodies and their secretions. He speaks of the armed vehicles that drive all the time among the enclosures of the "brought-in," painting the tents and the figures around the tents in bright colors.

> . . . We are far from them, guarding them from a distance, no contact. We only know if something happens, if they break the fences, if they go wild, we are supposed to open fire, from the watch-towers, from the military vehicles.

When he is taken off the watchtowers and sent to guard the roadblocks on the road to Nabatiyeh, he is pleased at first to get out of the camp, "to get away from the disturbing, stinking mass of the 'brought-ins,' not to hear the constant screaming of the interrogated."

The soldier describes the appearance of the military police in words that seem to validate the dictum of Shaw: whom we merely despise, we hire to guard the ones we hate.

> . . . And then a military police officer appeared, one of those who are not like us, who sit around the camp, who are all the time inside the camp, afraid because they know that if anything serious shall happen we shall be forced to fire and they shall be hurt then.

And when the military police officer opened fire, the nameless soldier "standing outside the fences, watched how the bullets cut into the flesh of those who were hit. . ."

The soldier becomes another victim of the war machine; he and his fellow soldiers

> . . . move like shadows with their sad expressions. They don't feel like joking, as is the custom in any reular reserve service. Not this time. As if they are surrounded by some sadness coming out of the earth: the prisoner and his guard.

An American Response

It bears repeating that the fate of the prisoners is intertwined with the fate of their families: the tens of thousands left destitute, who have lost their means of support and are defenseless in openly hostile surroundings.

Philip C. Habib, Special Emissary of the President of the United States, was aware of these inter-related concerns. In two separate letters, dated August 18 and 19, 1982, and addressed to Shafiq al-Wazzan, Prime Minister of Lebanon (but intended for the eyes of the P.L.O. leadership), he committed the United States Government to the protection of the civilian populations left defenseless after an envisioned P.L.O. military withdrawal from Lebanon; as well as to the well-being of Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners.

The letter concerning prisoners was dated August 18 and mailed from the United States Embassy in Beirut. It consists of two paragraphs:

> In connection with our recent conversations, I wish to assure you that the United States Government has held, and will continue to hold a strong interest and concern for the fate of and treatment of Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners being held by Israeli forces in connection with their operations in Lebanon, and for full respect for all applicable international obligations.
>
> The United States Government will continue to discuss with the Government of Israel the conditions under which such persons are detained, reflecting the view of the United States Government that they should be accorded the most reasonable, humane and orderly treatment possible under the circumstances. They should be dealt with in a manner consistent with international obligations and

should be treated in a way which respects humanitarian considerations.

The letter dated August 19 refers to the safety of the people left behind after the withdrawal of their protectors from Lebanon. It includes the following:

> . . . On the basis of these assurances [made by the Government of Israel to the United States Government], the United States Government is confident that the Government of Israel will not interfere with the implementation of this plan for the departure from Beirut, Lebanon, in a manner which will: (A) assure the safety of such departing personnel; (B) assure the safety of other persons in the area: and (C) further the restoration of the sovereignty and authority of the Government of Lebanon over the Beirut area.
>
> I would like also to assure you that the United States Government fully recognizes the importance of these assurances from the Government of Israel and that my Government will do its utmost to ensure that these assurances are scrupulously observed.

Voices from Beirut

These assurances of Philip Habib were clearly and forcefully expressed. As far as assurances go, however, these must rank with those of Chamberlain on his return from Munich, as regards effectiveness.

The world has not yet been able to forget what happened next. On August 21 the P.L.O. began their evacuation of Beirut. On September 15, despite assurances to the contrary, Israeli forces occupied West Beirut. On September 16 through 18 the massacres occurred at Sabra and Shatila.

So much for the safety of the civilians left defenseless.

What is not so well known is that during those same few days after the Israeli occupation of Beirut, two new categories of prisoners materialized; those taken by the regular Lebanese Army (under the new government of Amin Gemayel); and those taken by the Phalangists (also called the Lebanese Forces). The latter were at that time operating at will in East Beirut, and are even now able to terrorize Palestinian settlements in Israeli-occupied south Lebanon.

Sinane Barrage

When I was in Beirut, I was able to meet personally with Mr. Sinane Barrage, a Lebanese lawyer and a member of the executive committee of the Lebanese National Movement. He is vice president of the Lebanese Association of Democratic Jurists; and vice president of the Committee for Safeguarding Civil Liberties and the Rights of Detained, Kidnapped or Missing Persons.

He told me his version of the story of the thousands who were taken prisoner in the days following the Israeli take-over of Beirut.

On September 14, President-elect Bashir Gemayel was assassinated. On September 15, Israeli forces occupied West Beirut.

In response, all the shops closed. People had to go to Phalange-controlled East Beirut for food and drink.

During the next three days, two hundred persons, all Lebanese males and all Sunni Muslims, went to one such section, Achrafieh, and were never seen again. They were last seen near a butcher shop called Calcas. They were the first two hundred taken by the Phalangists.

Between the 16th and the 18th of September, while the massacre at Sabra and Shatila was occurring, the same persons who perpetrated the murders also kidnapped about five hundred Lebanese and Palestinian Muslims, who have been missing ever since.

Beginning on September 19, in a region called Khaldeh, an Israeli-controlled area near the airport, which serves as an entranceway to Beirut from the south or from the mountains, five hundred Lebanese Muslims, both Shiite and Sunni, were kidnapped by the Phalangists with the help of Israelis who blocked the normal route and forced the travelers to take a detour through Phalange-controlled Hadeth.

Such kidnappings have continued ever since, one or two at a time, at Phalange-controlled (Kataeb) checkpoints along the routes that lead to Beirut from the north or the south or from the Bekaa (the east).

On February 27, the day before our interview, Mr. Barrage's brother had seen just such an arrest of two men at Checkpoint Barbara, around thirty-five kilometers north of Beirut on the road leading to Tripoli.

Typically, he said, after three days their photos would appear in the newspaper with a caption that said these men left home and hadn't been seen since.

Where are they being held? At various Phalangist headquarters, such as: Karantin in East Beirut; Saifi in downtown Beirut; or Archrafieh. Others may be in mountain prisons in the north.

At the same time that the Phalangists were taking these twelve hundred prisoners, the Lebanese Army was taking seventeen hundred prisoners of its own, of whom one third are Palestinian and two thirds are Lebanese. These prisoners are being warehoused at the army barracks at Badaro in East Beirut; and at the Ministry of Defense at Yarzeh, near the presidential palace at Baabda.

Mr. Barrage assured me that the very day of our interview (February 28) he had been given a list of thirty-six Palestinians who had been living in Lebanon since 1948, whose papers were in perfect order, and who have now been detained by the regular Lebanese Army for three months.

What will happen to these prisoners? What is their status? To what kind of treatment are they subjected? No one knows, since no one has access to them; not the Red Cross, not anyone. The Lebanese Government treats it as an internal matter and divulges no information.

As for the prisoners of the Phalange: when Mr. Barrage asked Pierre Gemayel, head of the Phalange Party and father of the president, about the fate of these prisoners, he was told, in a face-to-face encounter, that there are only eleven prisoners.

Whether there are eleven prisoners or twelve hundred, their detention without charges or trial is illegal under Lebanese law. A recent law, decree no. 10, states that anyone detained by the army must go to court within five days. According to Mr. Barrage, not one prisoner has yet had such a hearing.

As regards those detained by Israel, Mr. Barrage's committee maintains there are 10,000 in Lebanon and between 2,000 and 3,000 in Israel, of whom one third are Lebanese.

Counting those held by the Israelis, the Phalangists, and the regular Lebanese Army, the committee puts the total number of prisoners at 17,000.

The committee has asked the Lebanese Government to put the fate of the prisoners before the negotiators (Israel, Lebanon, the United States); and to insist that it (the Lebanese Government) be informed by the Israelis of the fate of at least the Lebanese persons detained by Israel.

A Witness from Europe

The Lebanese Army's house-to-house search for Palestinians and other undesired foreigners in the environs of Beirut began in mid-September after the Israeli occupation, and lasted for several weeks. Richard Ben Cramer wrote a gripping on-the-spot report from Beirut which appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

One evening in Beirut, I met one such undesired foreigner. He was the European-born director of a human services group (I can't be more specific than this) whose institutions were demolished during the Israeli blitz. By chance he was not at Sabra and Shatila during the days of the massacre, but he was told by a survivor friend who was there that they were asking for him by name.

He maintains a low profile while trying to put together the pieces of his former commitments, and to help his former associates find jobs or relocate.

As I sat in a quiet corner of a Beirut hotel dining room talking with him, I was not sure what, if anything, of his story I can tell without placing him in further jeopardy. I know he is determined to stay and fight it out.

The institutions he worked for were known for their excellence and for their nurturing of Palestinian pride and identity. For this they were singled out by the Israelis for destruction. Nor do the Israelis allow them to rebuild and start again in any territory they control. It is doubtful their fate will be any better under the new Phalange-dominated Lebanese Government.

The Israelis are aggressively replacing such institutions with Christian fundamentalist institutions, which know little about Palestinian identity and care less.

Sabri Jiryis

I met Dr. Sabri Jiryis in Beirut. I knew that his Palestine Research Center had been ransacked and looted by the Israelis after their takeover of the city in mid-September 1982. I knew that his wife was among those killed by the saboteur's bomb that destroyed the Center in February, just weeks before my arrival.

I was reluctant to intrude upon his grief, but he seemed genuinely cordial and willing to meet me when I phoned him.

"Where shall we meet?" I asked him.

"At our Center," he replied. "It's been bombed, of course, but we can meet there."

I stepped out of a cab into bright sunshine, and crossed the street to the charred skeleton of a building. A man appeared, smiling broadly, and led me down a street for a block or two, and we entered a small building and found the few bare rooms that serve as temporary offices for the Center that refuses to die.

Dr. Jiryis had a serenity about him that seemed amazing to me in the circumstances. He is an accredited diplomat to the new Lebanese Government. As such he apparently has information that gives him hope regarding the prisoner situation and the safety of the civilian population.

He mentioned that Major Youssef Rajab, the Palestine Liberation Army's liaison officer with the Lebanese authorities, had been informed that three hundred detainees, both Lebanese and Palestinian, had been released the previous week. The source of this information was Major Attallah, the head of Lebanese military intelligence for the greater Beirut area. Major Attallah assured Major Rajab that this was part of a general policy to ease the problem of the regular army's detainees. Those who carried out the previous policy have been relieved of their posts and replaced.

Dr. Jiryis was also impressed by the way the Italian and French components of multinational forces were protecting Palestinian institutions (hospitals, workshops, etc.), with the Italians leading the way.

When asked about the safety of Palestinians in south Lebanon and the possibility of other massacres, he said simply that the Americans wouldn't let it happen.

Present Conditions

It seems important to emphasize how little is known officially about the numbers and fate of the prisoners taken in Lebanon. In the case of those detained by the Lebanese Army or by the Phalange, nothing is known officially: how many there are, what conditions they must endure, where they are, what future lies in store for them.

The prisoners taken to Israel also survive in Limbo. No one has systematic access to them. Next to nothing is revealed by the Israeli Government.

It is only the one Israeli prison in south Lebanon (Ansar) that delegates from the Red Cross have regular access to. But these delegates reveal nothing about conditions to anyone except the host country: in this case, Lebanon, whose government divulges nothing of what it learns from the Red Cross.

The Red Cross, the P.L.O., and human rights committees like Mr. Barrage's are the ones that families of missing persons would turn to for help. And these three groups agree basically on numbers. On the basis of their various statements, 15,000 is a reasonable number.

In January, there was a spate of articles in the European and American press, intimating that conditions at Ansar had improved. Much of the credit for improvements was given to Meyer Rosenfeld, the 55-year-old reserve Army colonel in charge of all Israeli military prison facilities. In October 1982, when he took over personally at Ansar, it was reported that:

> . . . he found the camp overcrowded, with a high level of tension between prisoners and guards and winter closing in. He ordered new winter tents, kerosene heaters and a new, more carefully prepared, second area for prisoners.
>
> He also lifted all restrictions on Red Cross access to the camp and allowed prisoners who were members of the same family to be united in the same prison sections.

The same article indicated that improvements have come through negotiations with a committee of prisoners consisting of a P.L.O. colonel, a P.L.O. major from a rival faction, a Palestinian doctor and a Lebanese lawyer.

Whatever the improvements were, they may have been short-lived or even have led to greater difficulties. There may be truth in the declaration

of officers in charge of the guard at Ansar, as heard over Israeli radio (February 15):

> . . . Most of the Palestinians detained here were not P.L.O. fighters, but persons suspected of collaborating with the Palestinian organizations. In Ansar we are transforming them into P.L.O. militants. . .

On February 6, 1983, prisoners at Ansar, both Lebanese and Palestinian, started a hunger strike to protest conditions, especially the cold and the non-compliance with the Geneva Convention regarding prisoners.

On February 9, Wafa Beirut announced that the Israelis responded with violence to the hunger strike. Prisoners were beaten with guards' gunshafts. The inhabitants of nearby villages said they heard shots, saw ambulances and helicopters. Some villagers were especially nervous because of the recent discovery of fifteen corpses near Ansar.

On February 10, the Lebanese newspaper *El Nida* recounted the testimony of villagers who claimed that the Israelis, while they were evacuating the wounded, were also taking prisoners presumably to Israel.

On February 23, *Liberation* reported that a continual series of shots was heard before noon near Ansar camp. The Israelis were reported to have multiplied patrols around the camp.

In addition, a newsletter from Paris monitored the situation of prisoners and missing persons in Lebanon during the period from January 22 to February 24, 1983. It gave the names and known facts about persons arrested or declared missing during this period, or whose whereabouts had been discovered.

In January and February, according to the newsletter, the arrests made by the Lebanese Army had decreased in number. They were becoming more selective. For the general population extradition was an easier solution, after refusal to grant or renew identity cards and work permits.

The newsletter also reported that the (Lebanese) Committee for Prisoners' Families had compiled a list of more than two hundred names of women who had disappeared.

The testimony of numerous women released from prison confirmed the existence of Phalangist prisons. The special one for women is said to be in the Adonis Barracks near Jounieh.

The newsletter contained the names and personal data of nine women arrested in Lebanon and detained at Neve Tirza, the women's prison in Ramleh, West Bank. Six other women are mentioned by name as arrested by Israelis, place of detention unknown.

World response to the plight of the prisoners was predictable, often eloquent, and feeble. Amnesty International issued a special memorandum for general distribution, outlining the various violations of human rights and humanitarian tradition. The McBride Commission and others

gave detailed analysis of the various violations of the Geneva Conventions, especially Convention III which deals with the treatment of prisoners of war, and Convention IV which deals with the treatment of civilian populations.

But, in the Zionist eyes of Menachem Begin, what Israelis do to Arabs in south Lebanon is nobody's business but their own. South Lebanon, like the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and much of Jordan, is all part of Greater Israel. As a 21-year-old Israeli soldier stationed in Lebanon explained to a *New York Times* correspondent almost one year after the invasion. "There is no problem of morale here. Our soldiers are religious. They believe they are in Israel, not in Lebanon."

The Book of Joshua spelled out the relevant boundaries three thousand years ago. That same book (see especially chapter 10), along with Deuteronomy, also describes the treatment to be accorded peoples who get in the way of Israel's destiny.

Thus, the most barbarous of biblical traditions, the devil's own parody of Judaism, becomes the guiding norm for one of the last, most brutal expressions of European colonialism.

JEAN-PIERRE METRAL, Switzerland

"They played at hitting us with clubs and chains."

I would like to tell you about some experiences I had during a recent trip that took me to Syria, the Beqa'a Valley and Lebanon, where I had the opportunity to question a number of Palestinian fighters as well as former detainees of Al-Ansar camp. I also attempted, in collaboration with voluntary associations, to examine the situation of the children, which is absolutely dramatic in Lebanon.

I shall let you know about several testimonies that corroborate a number of suppositions. From among nearly 150 pages of testimony, I have selected a few elements which may well enlighten the work of the Commission.

There is the case of a Palestinian fighter aged 31 who I will call Khader and who was a prisoner in Al-Ansar. He was captured shortly after the fall of Ain Al-Heloueh camp where he used to live. He told me that the fighers, armed with RPG rocket launchers, were able to destroy 78 Israeli tanks during the three Israeli attacks against this camp. Knowing that there are up to eight Israeli soldiers in each tank, you obtain a figure of casualties that it is worthwhile to compare with the number of 467 dead which, according to Sharon, is the number of Israeli casualties of the war. From this witness I learned that after the destruction of Ain Al-Heloueh camp, toxic gas bombs were launched. These affected the nervous system and the fighters were left paralysed. My witness declared: "It was hell. I don't know what kind of bombs were used. There were too many. The tanks were equipped with bombs that caused the buildings to burn for hours without our being able to put out the fire. Then helicopters arrived to blow up the few houses that still stood."

This fighter was taken prisoner on 15 June and brought to the factory of Safa'a. "The soldiers had sticks and they hit us. That day, eleven prisoners were killed before my very eyes. They ordered us to lie down on our stomachs and then pretended to run their tanks over us. We stayed for two days in the area of Safa'a with our eyes bound. Then we were all taken to Israel. The trip was made in sixteen buses. We went through the Israeli settlements. As we came through the villages, Israelis boarded the buses and hit us with sticks. In some villages, young women got into the buses. They were lightly dressed in miniskirts and said in Arabic: 'Who wants some beer?' (One has to realise that the prisoners had not had food or drink for several days) 'Who wants to sleep with us?' We arrived in Marj Ibn Amr. A month later I was transferred to Al-Ansar," and he comments: "In Al-Ansar, it was worse than in Palestine."

Here is another witness report, a very interesting one because it shows how the Israelis treat certain prisoners. This is the case of a man aged 32 who I will call Mahfouz. This man spent thirteen years in prison in Israel because he belonged to Fat'h. He served his penalty in the prisons of Ashkalom, Beercheba, Gaza and Ramleh. He was set free in October 1981 and expelled from Israel even though his family lives in Gaza. He went to Lebanon where he tried to find work. He claimed not to have had anything to do with the fighters. He was arrested on 26 June in Abra near Sidon. "I was arrested with three hundred others. Among us there were many Palestinians. There were also Lebanese, comrades from Bangladesh and Pakistan, even Turks. After our arrest, we were savagely beaten. The Israelis went round us with their clubs like savage beasts." (This is the term he used.) "Our hands and feet were bound and then we were thrown at the rate of fifty to sixty persons onto trucks like sheep you lead to the slaughterhouse. In the course of this loading and unloading, a lot among us were injured. I was questioned by an Israeli officer named Abu Nemer (nemer means tiger in Arabic). He was a Jew from Yemen who spoke Arabic very well." (This officer is also mentioned in other testimonies.)

Like many others, this witness was taken to Marj Ibn Amr, which is located in the area between Tel Aviv and Haifa. Others speak of El-Khedeira. "During the trip, a local highway maintenance man was authorised to board the bus to beat us." (It is interesting to note that numerous witnesses mentioned this man, who seems to have been autho-

rised by an Israeli officer whose name I know, to beat the prisoners who were lying down in the buses; only a very few were lucky enough to have a seat.) "I was cross-examined. I have never seen anything as savage as that. We were beaten with enormous clubs. Those soldiers were really fascists. They played at hitting us with clubs and chains."

This man told me that in the course of one of those cross-examinations he suffered, a blow smashed the skin of his abdomen from the breast-bone to the pubes. The wound was never stitched up and today the scar is in some places 10 centimeters wide. This former detainee told me that Palestinian officials were locked up in Al-Ansar in a section they had been able to localize, and that these people were being particularly mistreated. The witness told me: "If these officials get out alive, they will be irrecuperable, given how badly they will have been mistreated." I was given the names of Abdel Aziz Abu Fedda, Abu Al-Eish, Samah Abdel Majid, Salah Tamari, Jamal Salim, who are all subjected to special torturing.

I noted that among the witnesses I spoke to, those who were coloured Arabs, as well as nationals from countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, were treated much worse than light-skinned Palestinians. I don't draw any conclusions for the time being, but this issue ought to be investigated as it seems that coloured people are treated worse than light-skinned people. The different testimonies I gathered also show that the prisoners captured in Lebanon who had resided or were born in the Occupied Territories were also subject to more severe tortures than other prisoners.

Said Mohamed Abu Mujahid was imprisoned on 2 July after having been captured in the ruins of Bourj Al-Shemali near Tyre. He was cross-examined by an officer called Abu Nemer. "We were violently beaten. I received a blow on the head, I received a blow on my upper lip, I received blows on all the other parts of my body. I can show you the scars."

Under torture—they were sometimes several in one room—one of his comrades invoked Allahu Akbar. "The Israeli officer insulted us by saying to us: 'Fuck your Allah'." This detainee also told me about the so-called dark-room. There was a dark-room in Al-Ansar and it seems it was difficult to visit it. According to the testimonies I obtained, the International Red Cross never found out where this room was. Here is what the testimony says: "When the representatives of the Red Cross came, we told them about the dark-room. They then wanted to see it, but nobody knew where it was. When the Israelis wanted to punish someone, they made him go into this room. It is a kind of zinc construction, 50 cm wide and 2 meters long. Of course, it is in the sun and it is very hot in this zinc container. Inside there are nails. When a prisoner came out of there, he was finished. He suffered terribly from the heat and from the pressure. There was nearly no oxygen; he couldn't breathe anymore, and after having spent three or four hours in this place, a prisoner would be immobilised in his tent for about a week. Some prisoners who had been in this room had

bouts of hysteria, especially when the Israeli soldiers amused themselves by banging on this metal construction.

"One of the prisoners who went hysterical is called Ahmed Al-Barjaoui, another is called Ali; I don't remember his last name. A third is called Abu Hani. This man had worms come out of his foot after it had become injured, because the wound got infected. The Israelis wanted to mutilate his foot because there seemed to be nothing else left to do for him." The same witness told me: "One day, the Israelis came to take away a prisoner. We found out later that he was left paralysed after the tortures he had to suffer and that he has now returned to his home in Bourj Al-Shemali. His name is Yussef Mafleh."

Here is some information that has not been confirmed, but that is worthwhile mentioned here because it was given by various witnesses. Said told me: "We suffered in Al-Ansar as well as in Israel, but in occupied Palestine, it was worse than in Al-Ansar." (The testimonies vary, therefore, on the harshness of the treatment.) The following information, which goes back to last August, is important: "The Israelis were preparing a massacre of the prisoners, as later happened in Sabra and Shatila. This massacre was to take place in Al-Ansar. There were four to five hundred people, probably members of Haddad's militia. They were hiding in the sand near the camp and during the night we heard them talk. They said that a massacre was being prepared. Fortunately, the representatives of the Red Cross arrived. We were able to mention the problem to them and afterwards no further mention was made of a massacre of the prisoners in Al-Ansar."

Concerning mistreatment, the same witness told me: "Many of us were injured. Instead of hospitalising us they sent us to the camp. One of my friends, Al Hadj Loutfi, who had fought bravely in the battle of Rashidiye, had his arm injured. Despite that, he was sent with us. They put his arm in a cast and then studded the cast with platinum nails. Later, while interrogating him, the Israeli soldiers hit those platinum nails with their sticks. I saw it with my own eyes. This guy, Hadj, is still in prison. Among the detainees, there were men who had lost an eye, there were elderly men, there were men who had become half crazy, there were boys not older than eight or nine years, there were people who were paralysed." The witness continued: "During this time, our sufferings were boundless. It was unimaginable. After cross-examination, special soldiers came to hit us on the ears with their palms. Thus many people lost their hearing because both ears were hit at the same time. I was beaten in this way each time I came back from cross-examination. To torture us, they hit us on the genitals, on the stomach, on the head, on the sides. For example, they gripped our testicles and twisted them; sometimes they crushed them. After this treatment, some of my comrades complained that they could not urinate

anymore. Sometimes, they introduced the cartridge of a ballpoint pen into the penis, then hit the penis with a stick."

In the Beqa'a I met a Palestinian fisherman aged 37. He had lost an eye, was married and had a son and a daughter. His family is now in Ain Al-Heloueh. The only thing he knows is that they are trying to survive under the ruins of the steps leading to the school. He talked about his cross-examination: "We received blows everywhere, especially between the legs. They gripped our testicles and twisted and crushed them. This treatment lasted four days. Another time, when I was being interrogated again, a soldier wrung my wrists and hands. He kicked my thighs and genitals. Then they hit my sides with big sticks. I don't know what they did afterwards because I lost consciousness. When I woke up I was in Haifa hospital. My hand was in a cast and my genitals were considerably swollen. I wanted to urinate but I could not. The doctor untied me because I was tied to the bed. They put in a tube and then the urine came out."

It was very surprising to obtain these different testimonies on mutilations or tortures applied to the sexual organs (Arabs usually do not volunteer information on this issue) and I started to mention the problem more frequently and found out that this practise was constant, also in the Occupied Territories. A 22-year-old student who left his family in the West Bank and is studying in Damascus and who I will call Said, told me that in the West Bank, the thing with the cartridge in the penis is a common occurence. "During a cross-examination, they undressed me, pulled out the hairs on my pubes, gripped my testicles and twisted them. It was horrible. They did to me the thing with the cartridge in the penis. It's unbearable. After my liberation I went to see a doctor (this was about 18 months ago) who treated me for months. I still have pain during erections and I don't know if I am still fertile. Some of my friends had their testicles smashed. The Red Cross knows all this very well. We have been invited to make a complaint for Geneva. What has been done with these reports? How come you don't know anything about these reports? It's a scandal that they are not published. Hundreds of people are in my situation. I beg you to go back to your country and to relate what I have told you. The world has got to know about all that."

ANONYMOUS PRISONER, Lebanon

"It was like a horror film."

It is Friday, the second of July 1982, 4:30 in the morning. A voice

sounds from megaphones over the streets of the village. "Good morning, dear citizens. Today is a blessed day. Today is a day of Ramadan."

But then the friendly tone disappears from the voice, and there comes a military command. "All citizens from 15 to 75 years of age have until five o'clock to appear a the village center. Husseinija. Anyone who hides, tries to flee, or does not appear, will be shot immediately."

All entrances to the village were blocked by Israeli invasion soldiers—with the help of native agents who knew every hiding place, every street crossing. The people slowly streamed out of all the houses. Hundreds of Israeli soldiers carrying loaded machine guns, along with tanks and armored vehicles, built a ring around the village center.

The collaborators and informers in the pay of the Israelis were likewise armed. My God, my eyes did not want to believe what they saw. People who for years had fought in the ranks of the Lebanese National movement on the side of the PLO fighters against the Israelis were now carrying the same Kalaschnikov, but now Israeli uniforms.

These men are the best weapon the Israeli army has against us. They can turn any of us in to the Israelis, regardless of whether we are guilty or not guilty. They are responsible for the lists of names with which the Israelis apprehend us.

This collective action ended with the selection of a few "guilty ones," with whom the commander of the Israeli occupiers was not pleased. He took it upon himself to search out the "guilty" ones when he singled the "not guilty" ones out from the group, indicating. "You, you, you."

They were all young people, all actually guiltless. I was among them.

Each of us received a card, on which our name, the name of our village, and the type of "crime" was printed—in Hebrew, so that I did not know what I was guilty of.

As we climbed into the Israeli buses, the soldiers forced us to pull our undershirts over our eyes. In this way we drove about a half an hour, to the yard of the fruit packing plant Safa, in the south Lebanon town of Ghasia. Here we were allowed to remove the blinds from our eyes.

In the middle of the yard the Israelis stacked up fruit crates. The prisoners who were already here said that all those who were sent behind these crates were sent to Israel.

More and more buses and trucks entered, filled with prisoners out of all of south Lebanon.

Individual members of the different groups were led off for interrogation. One man from my group returned from his interrogation pale. His entire body trembled; he could hardly speak.

He said, "Certainly you heard us screaming. Besides the interrogating officer there are three Israeli soldiers in the room, armed with huge clubs. You hardly exchange a word with the officer and these clubs knock you down."

If someone gave his profession as teacher, the Israelis beat him more than the others and said, "You haven't taught your students anything smart. You have simply organized them politically." If one was a salesman, he heard, "A salesman needs capital, and you got it from the terrorists or borrowed it from them."

To students the Israeli interrogating officer said, "A student needs money to study. You got it from the terrorists." Journalists were beaten because they had written things against Israel. And from bank employees they wanted to know how large was the bank account of Abu-el-Haul, the chief of the PLO secret service.

The interrogation lasted from ten minutes to hours up to a half day. Each day they interrogated at the most ten or twelve people.

At night the earth was our bed, the sky our blanket. At the worst times we suffered from the cold of the morning dew, which covered our bodies hours before sunrise. We froze, as if it was the middle of winter. We all got diarrhea from sleeping on the bare ground.

Late in the afternoon of the third day the Israeli soldiers built a sort of wall out of empty fruit crates, behind which the informants stood watch. We had to file past them.

An Israeli officer wrote something in Hebrew on the backs of those prisoners who were to be sent to Israel. I belonged to the lucky ones who were to be let free. And so early the next morning I would see my family once again.

But this is not what happened. On the next morning the Israeli officers pulled me and others from the group and sent us to those who were to be transported to Israel.

Why? What had happened? We never learned.

The first Israeli station that we reached was Naharija. As the bus stopped, a few Israeli women got on and began to swear at us, to beat us, and to spit at us.

They carried on hysterically and were out of control. They took their shoes off and hit us over the head. Our Israeli guards looked on and laughed. Our hands were bound; we couldn't protect ourselves.

After a while we drove on another three and a half hours and came to the Dschura Camp, where we were welcomed with clubs. We learned from the prisoners that a special unit of the Israeli army was stationed at Dschura and that interrogation specialists were waiting for us.

After the evening meal on this first day—for each man there was some flat bread and a tomato slice—the guards gave us wool blankets. We wanted to go to sleep right away. Then along came soldiers with four frightful sheep dogs that they led on chains.

They sicked the dogs on us, and we were bitten. Anyone who defended himself or ran away was beaten by the soldiers. The young prisoners aged 15 or 16 began to cry. The pressed their faces into the ground and tried to protect their heads with their hands. But even they were beaten. It was like a horror film.

Once the soldiers demanded that we take all our clothes off. Three men came with portable pumps and hoses and sprayed us with DDT. Then each of us received a pair of underwear and an undershirt, blue trousers and a khaki shirt, two wool blankets, a hand towel, a pair of socks and old military boots, a spoon and a plate.

Every day brought a new torment. Many of us were beaten with iron rods, on the testicles and on the hands. One of prisoners came back once with four broken fingers. Moreover, others were whipped—on the back, the chest, or the soles of the feet. Once they hung me up by the feet and used me as a training bag for boxers.

If someone wanted extra water, the soldiers urinated into his water cup and the prisoner had to drink it.

One time they covered our eyes and drove us into the sports stadium of the nearest village, where we thought we were going to attend a football game. Then the soldiers demanded that we get a team together to play against the village team. The result was that the villagers pelted us with empty bottles and cans, because to them we were "terrorists."

Often they wanted to do us in psychologically, leaving the corpse of one of our fellow prisoners lying near us the entire night. Often we were driven through the camp like cattle, with clubs and whips. When we were ordered to, we had to repeat the chant, "Peas, beans, onions, potatoes."

For one entire week we had to remain sitting, often holding our hands over our heads. We were allowed to stand only for necessities. This first week was the so-called guest week. Afterwards we belonged, so to say, "at home" and to the old prisoners. From then on we were allowed to use the shower and to move about the camp freely.

The worst days for us were Friday and Saturday, because Saturday is the Sabbath for them. At sundown Friday the Israeli soldiers began to drink. When they were drunk, they arbitrarily grabbed a few of us and smashed us together, laughing scornfully.

The war in Lebanon came to an end. An armistic was declared. That strengthened us in the belief that we would soon be set free. The whole camp was emptied except for 44 prisoners. But 500 new ones came immediately.

On the 18th of July, still in Ramadan, we all went to another camp, where we saw familiar faces. That buoyed our hopes that we would be given our freedom.

On the following morning the soldiers divided us into 12 groups of 44 men each. That meant that 12 buses would transport us. Every prisoner was directed to bring his belongings and his wool blanket.

"Why our blankets?" we asked ourselves. One of the other prisoners gave the answer. "Don't be happy too soon. Before they took me prisoner,

I heard that the Israelis wanted to build a large prison camp in south Lebanon. I'm afraid they've made up their minds to bring us there." As I climbed into the bus an Israeli soldier laughed at me and said, "You're happy, no? You're going home, going to south Lebanon. Be happy."

The trip lasted three and a half hours. As we were released from our bindings and our blindfolds, there lay before us a huge concentration camp—Ansar, the largest prison camp in the Middle East. It lies near the little city Ansar to the west and Douwair to the east.

At the time of my imprisonment Ansar was divided into 23 small units, in each of which 500 prisoners were lodged. Approximately 10,000 prisoners were in the camp: Palestinians, Lebanese, Syrians, Iraqis, Indians, Turks, Egyptians, Yemenis, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis. From Bangladesh alone there were 750 prisoners.

A large earthen wall with watch towers surrounded the camp. The Israeli soldiers were armed with heavy machine guns.

In front of every tent three heavily armed soldiers kept watch around the clock. We were given a camp and a tent number, as well as an Arab "Mukhtar," about whom the Israelis said, "He can punish you. He is the contact man between you and us. You must obey his orders, because he represents the Israeli army."

The Mukhtar ordered us after the evening meal—a 200-gram box of Halva (an Oriental sweet) for 25 men, and some bread—to go immediately to sleep. But many were not able to sleep as a result of their painful bruises—the result of the beating on the bus trip. The Mukhtar hit with the handle of a hoe anyone who cried, groaned, or moaned. The Israeli canes were not strong enough for him.

The next moring we had to spread our arms, like the wings of an airplane. Anyone who brought his hands down was beaten by the Mukhtar. An Israeli driver stopped repeatedly near us and laughed, "It is nice to see one Arab hit another."

There was a disturbance when our Mukhtar boxed the ears of an old man who had complained about the meager food. The younger ones attacked the Mukhtar and his favorities. The despised man was lying on the ground; we kicked him.

Quick as lightning the Israeli soldiers were on the spot and fired warning shots. That didn't keep us from breaking a few of the Mukhtar's ribs.

A commission of the Israeli army investigated the case and allowed us to choose a new Mukhtar out of our own ranks. After that time the Israelis strictly avoided interfering in our affairs. We saw them only at the daily roll-call.

On the afternoon of the holiday of sacrifice, we spotted on the mountains across from the camp groups of women who were waving towels at us. We grabbed our blankets and hand towels and waved back.

At this first contact with the outside world, the camp became a place of jubilation. The prisoners rejoiced: "God is great! There is no other God but Allah! Revolution until victory!" and so on. Many cried.

The Israeli soldiers were alarmed. They got into formation and fired shots in the direction of the women. That angered us so much that we pelted the Israelis with stones. They fired at us; 28 were injured, eight of them seriously. They were taken away in a helicopter.

As quiet returned a high officer came and told our Mukhtar that the prisoners should not do that again, that we would soon be set free.

At last it was so. At one o'clock in the morning 19 prisoners and I were ordered to get ready. Altogether 225 of us were to be set free, all of us Lebanese.

In the morning we passed through the gate. I was trembling through my entire body. I couldn't believe that I was free.

We were divided into three groups: one going to Nabatiyeh, one to Tyrus, one to Sidon.

At the Israeli headquarters at Nabatiyeh two officers received us. One of them said, "We wish you well. Justice had to be done. To be sure, it took a long time, but finally justice was victorious." I don't know what he meant.

ANONYMOUS WITNESS, Lebanon

"Today, Palestinian society as such has disintegrated."

Can the Palestinians who today live in the Beirut area, controlled by the Lebanese Authorities, and those in South Lebanon under the control of the Israeli army still be considered as 'refugees'?

Indeed, if they have survived the bomb attacks, last summer's massacres and continuous exaction—internment, kidnapping, murder—they now face an environment which has become increasingly hostile in all aspects of daily life. There is no refuge, henceforth *they have become 'Pariahs'*.

Today, Palestinian society as such has disintegrated: it is deprived of its men in the working age group, deprived of its institutions, be they social, medical or other, deprived of any external support. In the camps, as well as in the run down buildings they live in, life for every individual has become a struggle, the extent of which can hardly be measured as it involves every aspect of daily existence.

In an atmosphere of delation and suspicion nurtured by underhand rumours in Beirut and by the occasionally aggressive presence of those

who collaborate with Israel in the South, the women and children find themselves confined to the camps which are progressively turning into ghettos.

What are the means of livelihood?

The main sources of revenue have disappeared; P.L.O. salaries of course, but also employment opportunities which are now subject to extremely restrictive legislation from Beirut. In the South, to leave the camp of Ain el Helweh to go to work has become dangerous. In Rashidiyeh and Borj el Chemali temporary agricultural employment is less available then it was because the *local economy is being destroyed by Israeli fruit and vegetable imports.*

Without their husbands and sons and thus deprived of any income many are living on their last savings.

How long will it last?

In the South, most of the activity is spent in reconstructing shelters, at least in the case of those who have the possibility of reconstructing a plot of land. This does not apply to everyone, far from it.

The owners of the land on which the camps were built some 35 years ago, who received rent payment, are now trying, and are often urged to do so by the Christian militias, to regain their land by appealing to the courts. This is happening in Myeh Myeh and also in some part of Ain el Helweh. In the latter case, the destruction of the shelters has led to a situation where reconstruction is prohibited on disputed lands.

Everything combines to force the Palestinians to live within the confines of the camps, the area of which is itself becoming restricted. In the areas around Beirut reconstruction is subject to a legislation which in fact aims at prohibiting it inasmuch as its provisions imply a procedure which remains inaccessible to the majority of people . . . In addition to this, concern for the respect of 1949 reconstruction criteria is such that it forbids the construction of additional floors although this is essential for families with growing numbers. . . . Every day the Lebanese police forces patrol the areas to make sure that no construction is undertaken if it does not respond to the norms, which themselves can no longer possibly be applied.

The fact that one may be Palestinian is in itself a latent danger and at the same time a large number of them are deprived of any form of identity! Indeed, on the morrow of their accession to power, the new Lebanese Authorities made it clear that they would accept only those Palestinians who had arrived in 1948 (along with their descendants). At the same time, they refused to recognise the identification documents issued by the DAPR (Department of Palestinian Refugee Affairs, answerable to the Lebanese Ministry of the Interior) because the files had allegedly sometimes been falsified in the previous years. Enrollment on UNRWA lists, the mandate of which has not been altered since 1949, became the official reference of arrival in Lebanon in 1948. Nevertheless, UNRWA only gave refugee status to those who were both *without home and work in 1950.* But, between their arrival in 1948 and two years later in 1950, many had found employment and were therefore not eligible for enrollment on UNRWA lists. These people are today in an illegal situation, not only in Lebanon but also in the countries to which they have emigrated.

Tens of thousands of people are actually without legal existence anywhere!

All of this and much more contributes in limiting the existence of every Palestinian to the simplest expression: *Survival.*

DR. HIAM GORDON (Diary excerpt), Israel

"The only place that had day light all night is the prisoner's camp, which is actually a concentration camp (Ansar)."

Published in *Ha'Aretz*, August 19, 1982

The only place that has daylight all night is the prisoner's camp, which is actually a concentration camp (Ansar). It seems that the Israeli TV reporters can't count if they say that 6 prisoners live in each tent. Through the barbed wire one can easily count the prisoners in the tents. *There are fences dividing* the groups of prisoners. The lavatories are close to the tents and the place stinks, the smell driving the Israeli guards "mad". They guard eight hours a day—imagine how the prisoners feel. There are no showers, so in the heavy heat of July the prisoners have no way to wash. The can only wash their hands and face. Once in awhile, the guards fire light shells (very close to the prisoners). The first time they did it, many prisoners excreted out of fear, and the next day there was a problem of giving them fresh clothes.

Dostoyevski once claimed that the worst punishment he suffered in his life was when he was forced, as a prisoner, to sleep every night with the same people, people he didn't know. But during the day time Dostoyevski was free to move around the prison and to work. *But the prisoners in the concentration camp are not permitted to leave the tents.* They just lie there all the time.

Beyond the barbed wire, the military police is on guard. Clean soldiers give orders through the wire to Arabs with a bored look in their eyes. The military police even erected a tent with beds close to the barbed wire, and on the bed lies a young lieutenant, very clean, giving orders to his policemen. When I went (many years ago) through the officer's course I was

taught that an order requires some sort of relation from the man giving orders. I can hardly believe there is any kind of relation when one is lying down. We approached the lieutenant and the officer who accompanied me asked him why a group of prisoners was sitting in rows of fours between the tents. "In a minute I'll explain," he replied, and suddenly shouted: "Shmulik! Make sure the prisoners sit with their hands over their heads." The lieutenant turned around and said "Those who are sitting there are the old and the invalids."

"How old are they?"

"65 and more, or crippled or blind . . . there is even one who was born in the last century and is 83 years old."

"So why do you keep him here?"

"He rented his field to Palestinians and they built an ammunition storehouse on it."

"Is he a terrorist?"

"Yes, he collaborated."

"So what, are we afraid that if he is released he will get hold of an RPG and ambush a bus?"

"No! But he must learn not to collaborate the next time."

Editor's note:

In the course of their remarkable and invaluable research into various aspects of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, American human rights activists and journalists, Mya Shone and Ralph Schoenman, gathered from on the scene interviews in Lebanon exhaustive documentation of Israeli conduct and policy. Below are presented a few excerpts from testimonies contained in one Shone-Schoenman Report presented to an International Conference on Israel as Occupying Power held in Vienna, Austria, May 2-3, 1984.

AHMED, PRCS Nurse, Lebanon

"I saw soldiers cut the veins and arteries of prisoners' legs. Two prisoners bled slowly to death in front of me. These men were sixty and sixty-five years old respectively. Soldiers kicked men in the face as they lay dying."

"As I entered the school they kicked and beat me. They stole my money.

They asked me my job. I told them I was a nurse. They asked me medical questions. They said I was a terrorist.

"The sun was terrible. I had no shirt on my back as they had taken my medical jacket to make blindfolds. I was severely burned and all the skin came off my shoulders and back. Some of the men were so thirsty they sucked sweat off their bodies. I saw fourteen men die from lack of water.

"Anyone who stood up was beaten. Anyone who moved his head was beaten. Anyone who tried to shift his position was beaten. I was beaten forty-five times because I pleaded for a little water.

"I saw soldiers cut the veins and arteries of prisoners' legs. Two prisoners bled slowly to death in front of me. These men were sixty and sixty-five years old respectively. Soldiers kicked these men in the face as they lay dying."

OMAR X, Engineer, Palestine

"Most of the beating was on his head. They broke all his teeth with the butts of their rifles. They broke his nose and the blood poured from it. Then they beat him all over his body. His body was sore. It was black from the trapped blood. The beatings left their marks all over his body and he lost sensation."

Omar is a Palestinian from Ain El Helweh. He is a twenty-eight year old engineer educated at the University of Oklahoma in the United States and later in Beirut. He had just completed his studies and was scheduled to leave for work in Saudi Arabia when the invasion began.

During the relentless bombardment of Ain El Helweh, Omar, along with thousands of people, took refuge in the beach area. There, as in the other gathering places, the men were marched past hooded spies. Omar was singled out and taken to the St. Joseph Convent School where he was tortured for four days. His sister, Lubna, 19, described what happened to him:

"First they burned his hands. On June 12th they began beating him. They wanted him to confess but he had nothing to confess. Whenever he denied something, they beat him. They tied his hands behind him. They made him kneel and struck him. He was unable to move his knees or walk on his feet for a long time afterwards.

"Most of the beating was on his head. They broke all his teeth with the butts of their rifles. They broke his nose and the blood poured from it. Then they beat him all over his body. His body was sore. It was black from the trapped blood. The beatings left their marks all over his body and he lost sensation.

"When he lost consciousness they hung him from a pole. They crucified him for four days in the hot sun. They hung him by his wrists with nylon cord, his arms outstretched. The nylon cord cut through his wrists to the bone. All the skin fell off. He could not use his hands.

"After four days they dumped his body outside the Convent School. He was left for dead. People found him inert and took him to Sha'ab Hospital where he was treated by Dr. Ramsey Sha'ab.

"Omar was amnesiac. He could not recall his own name. He could not recognize his family. When he saw me he asked: 'Who are you?' When I said I was his sister he asked me to leave. A friend of his who had been released had to tell us what had happened.

"We sent Omar to a hospital in Abu Dhabi. There was no tissue on his hands. The bones were visible and he needed a skin graft. In the first operation they took skin from his arm but the operation failed and the skin did not take. They had to insert his hands surgically into his thighs to permit new tissue growth to take. He didn't recover the full use of his hands. He cannot write."

DR. NABIH SHUAIBY, Physician, Palestine

"Large men stomped on my head, stomach, heart. I felt a paralysis of respiration. I felt I was dying. I entered a state of hallucination. I was yelling all the time. I knew I needed water. I cried for water. Instead I got blows from rifles and boots. The soldiers dragged me on the ground. A captain pulled me by the rope around my neck telling me that I had insulted the Israeli government."

Dr. Nabih Shuaiby, 31 years old, is a Palestinian from a village near Ramallah on the West Bank. For two years, he had worked in South Lebanon for the P.R.C.S. in the field of preventive medicine. Dr. Nabih is described by his colleagues as the most dedicated doctor they had known, a gentle man noted for his politeness and selflessness.

Dr. Nabih's case is the first that came to our attention. Oyvind Moller, Dr. Christopher Giannou and Dr. Steinar Berge reported to us independently the gruesome particulars of Dr. Nabih's torture. Marianne Helle Moller relayed to us what Dr. Francis Capet and other witnesses reported shortly after their release from St. Joseph. This occured in July 1982.

We publicized the information soon afterwards in a full-page advertisement in *The New York Times* and other newspapers in the United States under the heading: "WAR CRIMES IN LEBANON: ISRAELI TORTURE AND BEATINGS UNTO DEATH." A subtitle asked: "WHERE IS DR. NABIH?"

Throughout our two extended trips in Lebanon we asked each person we interviewed what they could tell us about Dr. Nabih, his condition and his whereabouts. On February 17, 1983 we finally met Dr. Nabih after facilitating his release from Ansar. Over the next several days he related to us what had already been well documented by others:

Dr. Nabih Shuaiby:

"They asked me: 'You are from El Fatah?' 'No.' I said, 'I am a doctor from the West Bank, a cousin of Dr. Azmi.' They told me: 'If you say you are from El Fatah it will be better for you.'

"They hit me on the head. I fell and they beat me and kicked me. They tied my wrists behind my back and tied my legs to my wrists. I was in great pain. They were beating me all the time. Large men stomped on my head, stomach, heart. I felt a paralysis of respiration. I felt I was dying. I entered a state of hallucination. I was yelling all the time. I knew I needed water. I cried for water. Instead I got blows from rifles and boots. The soldiers dragged me on the ground. A captain pulled me by the rope around my neck telling me that I had insulted the Israeli government.

"I heard soldiers shout: 'All heads on the ground. Anyone who moves will be shot.' I heard the shots. They continued at night. It was psychic torture. And all the time they were beating me. I was between life and death.

"I hallucinated for six days. When I came to I was in Safa and I found the rope around my neck. I saw much blood on my abdomen. My legs were hanging, my jaw broken. Other prisoners told me about what had been done to me and how a soldier had made knife marks on my throat. Many people didn't believe I had survived. They told me: 'I couldn't bear to see you like this. I cried for you.' "

DR. MOHAMMED AMAN AL HAQ, Physician, Bangladesh

"I met Dr. Nabih again in Safa. He was beside me. His entire body was still swollen. He could not move easily. His cheek had been punctured—with a knife. You could see from the outside to the inside. His lip was hanging down to the side. He was cut over his eye. His wounds were dark, festering. They needed cleaning and there was nobody to clean them. The tissue was dead and putrified. Flies continually clustered on him."

Dr. Aman al Haq is a Bangladeshi general practitioner who had been working in Nabatiya at the time of his arrest. He was imprisoned in St. Joseph Convent School and later at the Safa Fruit Factory.

"I saw a soldier pulling Dr. Nabih by his shirt and the soldier started beating him. They tied him to a pole and began to beat him systematically. They beat him with everything. They used wooden sticks. They used their belts. Blood was coming from his face, from his body. He looked like Jesus Christ, crucified. His head was on his side, bleeding. His hands were tied behind his back. They tied a rope around his neck. They bound him to look up towards the sun. I think he was there for twenty-four hours—all through the night too. His whole body became swollen.

"I met Dr. Nabih again in Safa. He was beside me. His entire body was still swollen. He could not move easily. His cheek had been punctured—with a knife. You could see from the outside to the inside. His lip was hanging down to the side. He was cut over his eye. His wounds were dark, festering. They needed cleaning and there was nobody to clean them. The tissue was dead and putrified. Flies continually clustered on him. His life was in jeopardy.

"I told you that Dr. Nabih was a very polite man. Although he was suffering much more than us, at that moment he was thinking about others. What would happen to the Palestinian people? What would happen to the men in Safa? What would be torture was administered to him, the current so strong that his body leapt from the ground. Mohammed Zaydani lost consciousness and died. Ibrahim Zeitoun, 30, was also tortured with electircity. Electrodes were placed on each side of his head. Other wires were attached to mucous membrance in the mouth, to the testicles and to the join of scrotum and the anus. He is scarred from these electrode burns. He was also beaten severely and soldiers burned him with cigarettes, beginning with his wrists, arms and back, ultimately burning him all over his body.

A feeble minded man, Mahmoud al Nabulsi, 22, a Palestinian from the el Akbieh region, was singled out for torment. He was slowly beaten to death after torture with electricity. Abu Ali of Rashidiya was attacked by seven soldiers. He was beaten with sticks to the point where his swollen face foreced his eyes shut. Then he was tortured with electricity. It was administered with a car battery. He was then put in an electrified chair, his hands and legs tied to the chair so that he couldn't move.

AHMED IBRAHIM, Lebanon

"An officer, known as 'Lieutenant Amnon,' about 28 years old, supervised while Sergeant Rafi, 34, turned on the current. The current which passed through the electrodes was so strong that a man's body would leap into the air, screams issuing from the victim. Ahmed Ibrahim was made to lie down on the ground as electrodes were attached to his ankles, genitals, chest and wrists."

Ahmed Ibrahim is a Lebanese professional from Tyre. He was detained there, then taken to Zeeb, near Nahariya and Rosh Hanikra on the northern Israeli coast, and later to Megiddo. Ahmed Ibrahim saw eight prisoners beaten to death before his eyes and nine tortured with electricity. He himself was tortured relentlessly. His entire interrogation was recorded, he believes, by the Mossad—the Israeli counterpart to the C.I.A. .

Ahmed Ibrahim estimated that nine hundred forty prisoners were held in Zeeb. The brutality was severe. Nine soldiers beat him with their fists and feet, many using karate. They started on his face which became numb and then moved to his stomach and intestines before attacking his body indiscriminately.

He was interrogated in Zeeb and in Megiddo. Four soldiers beat him during the initial interrogation, using electrical cable and staves with a knob at their end. Questions centered on his occupation, contacts with the P.L.O. and his hypothetical military rank.

When Ahmed Ibrahim was transferred to Megiddo the round of beatings began as soon as he stepped off the bus. Eighty-five prisoners were placed in a row and attack dogs were unleashed against them. Every prisoner was bitten, many seriously.

Three days followed in the broiling sun without food or water. The prisoners were forced to stand all day and were beaten if they lost balance or fell. These beatings, with staves and pipes, took place as prisoners were forced to hold onto long strands of shrap barbed wire.

Ahmed Ibrahim was struck with a stave with a very thick trunk, four and a half feet long. He felt that he was dying and would not survive internal bleeding and injury. His urine was blood red for six days. His entire body was blue for weeks. Two months later, Ahmed Ibrahim still bore the scars and bruises on his back, which we photographed, and suffered from chronic chest pain and impaired respiration. The doctor treating him reported to us that blood was still present in his urine.

The extensive beatings did not conclude Ahmed Ibrahim's ordeal. When he was comatose from the beatings he was brought to an area where electric torture was being administered to prisoners in a production line. An officer, known as "Lieutenant Amnon," about 28 years old, supervised while Sergeant Rafi, 34, turned on the current. The current which passed through the electrodes was so strong that a man's body would leap into the air, screams issuing from the victim. Ahmed Ibrahim was made to lie down on the ground as electrodes were attached to his ankles, genitals, chest and wrists.

Of the nine people whom Ahmed Ibrahim saw tortured with electricity, some were electrocuted. Among these was Mohammed Zaydani, who experienced seven shocks before losing consciousness and dying.

Torture unto death was not a random or isolated occurrence. Ahmed Ibrahim witnessed and heard first hand accounts from fellow prisoners who witnessed death by torture of sixty-five prisoners in Megiddo. Every prisoner known by Ahmed Ibrahim in Megiddo had been brutalized and tortured in one fashion or another. Age provided no protection. Mohammed Moghrabi, in his eighties and Hussam, a boy of nine, were among those beaten while forced to keep their hands on sharply barbed wire. Both were subjected to electric torture.

Upon release from Megiddo prison, Ahmed Ibrahim was placed on a bus together with sixty prisoners. The degradation and beatings continued en route even as prisoners had been abused when first transported to the prisons from which they were now released. They were made to repeat the chorus first required of them in Zeeb: "All is wonderful here." They were all struck with batons. Some had batons jammed in their mouths, rupturing the throat. Before being released from the bus, Ahmed Ibrahim was warned that were he to speak of his experiences in the detention camps he would be killed.

ABU MOHAMMED, Palestinian Refugee Living in Rashidiya, Lebanon

"Each of us was beaten and tortured during interrogation. They struck me repeatedly over a long period on the head and on the body. When I fainted, they revived me by throwing water in my face and began to beat me again. Three soldiers held me while a fourth hit me with his club over my right eye and left ear. Several times I was struck on the left side of my chest, breaking three ribs."

Abu Mohammed is a Palestinian from Rashidiya. He is thirty-eight, married and has six children. His detention, although typical, is described by him in chilling detail:

"On Tuesday night about 1 a.m. all the boys and men were driven by bus to Nahariya in Israel. We were blindfolded but when I peered down there was a sliver of light for me to see my watch. We were taken into a building with several rooms. I thought it was a school or an abandoned office building. *Every* Palestinian had to run a gauntlet of eight to ten Israeli soldiers. Each soldier carried either a club or a large stave and *every one* of us was beaten. In fact, every soldier I met in Israel wore a club used for beating.

"Each of us was beaten and tortured during interrogation. They struck me repeatedly over a long period on the head and on the body. When I fainted, they revived me by throwing water in my face and began to beat me again. Three soldiers held me while a fourth hit me with his club over my right eye and left ear. Several times I was struck on the left side of my chest, breaking three ribs.

"Then I was put in a room approximately nineteen square feet (16 m²). There was a shallow pool of water on the floor, about two inches (5 cm.) deep. They put electrical wires in the water and switched on the current. It was not enough to kill, but sufficiently strong to cause me to jump up and down involuntarily, causing involuntary muscle spasms that made me collapse. Then they switched off the electricity and threatened to use a stronger current. They told me that if I admitted to being a commando nothing further would be done to me. They also said that if I told them even one name of someone who worked for the P.L.O. they would treat me well. I answered only that I was Abu Mohammed from Rashidiya—nothing more.

"After this I was taken to another room. Here they put around my chest a bar bent in the shape of a U. It was placed right at the site where they had previously broken my ribs. There was a large screw at the open end of the iron U which they could tighten more and more, pressing my ribs inward. When they wanted me to answer, they screwed the bar ever tighter against my chest and continued beating. The pain was excruciating and I fainted.

"On coming to, I cired out in pain, 'Please shoot me.' They replied, 'That would be too good for you; we want you to die slowly.'

"After approximately two hours of this torture I still had not answered their questions. They carried me back to the bus that had brought me from Lebanon. I had to wait a long time until they finished with all the others."

"On Wednesday, about 9 a.m., we arrived at Shattah prison in the Bet Shean area. Once again in moving us from the bus into the prison courtyard we were made to go through a gauntlet of three or four half-circles of soldiers who beat us as we passed. Then with our hands still cuffed we had to sit down in the courtyard, and were prohibited to move. Water was given only once each day, poured into our mouths by a soldier. We were completely dependent upon him. Some got more than others, and others did not get any—especially if they asked. Sometimes the soldier threw water at our faces and on our clothes, instead of into our mouths.

"We went without food and without even the possibility of going to the toilet until Friday. On Friday, we were brought inside the prison. Our hands were untied for the first time and the blindfolds were removed. My eye was still very swollen and it ached. I was afraid I would lose it and asked the others if the eye were still there and how it looked.

"At noon that day they called out our names two at a time. They took our civilian clothes from us and threw them on a large fire. Then they gave us military uniforms of the same type as the P.L.O. fighters use. Then the soldiers tied us together in pairs with handcuffs. We had to sleep two by two, go to the toilet two by two, etc. This lasted from Friday through Monday.

"On Monday morning they took us in trucks to different prison camps.

The Detention Camp

"During the next four days we were left sitting in the sun. We could only leave our area when we were called for interrogation. A big hole in the ground in the middle of the field where we were sitting served as the toilet. There was no privacy and everyone could see us.

"They gave us twenty-eight tents to erect, with thirty men assigned to each tent. That made eight hundred forty people inside the camp. These tents and the camp itself were, by the way, the same used for the Egyptian prisoners of war in 1967. We could tell by the graffiti on the tent walls and on some ruins that were in the camp.

"Often we were stood in front of spies with black hoods that covered their faces. If a spy pointed at a man as a sign that he was a soldier, that man would be beaten and taken away, never to come back."

Abu Mohammed described the torture of some of the men: There was "an old man of about seventy to eighty years. He couldn't walk without a stick. So the soldiers took it away. The old man collapsed and had to move around on his hands and knees.

"They caught a blind man about twenty-five to thirty years old and to make sure that he hadn't been fooling them, they beat him for twenty minutes to see if he would protect himself from their flailing. They were not satisfied until they poked a stick into his eyes and he didn't involuntarily close them."

Of the twenty-three days during which Abu Mohammed was imprisoned, "for thirteen of these I was tortured."

YOUNG LEBANESE PRISONER IN ANSAR

"I shall always remember the way in which one Israeli soldier kept kicking an old man of seventy on the chest. It was so terrible. He moaned in pain. Later, the old man told us he had to watch this same soldier break all the teeth of a young man."

A Lebanese youth from a village in the south of Lebanon was arrested Friday, July 2, 1982. Upon his release, he described the circumstances of his arrest and detention to the Beirut journal, *As Safir.*

"Men who collaborated with the Israelies went throughout the village shouting: 'On this day in the holy month of Ramadan you will be happy. All people between the ages of fifteen and seventy-five must go at five o'clock to the Mosque, Huseyniyyah. We shall bring out all those who stay behind. We shall search for all who hide or attempt to run away. The village is encircled and we are making a complete search of all the houses.'

"At Safa, where we were first taken, a soldier would strike us with blows from his baton when anyone of us budged. I shall always remember the way in which one Israeli soldier kept kicking an old man of seventy on the chest. It was so terrible. He moaned in pain. Later, the old man told us he had to watch this same soldier break all the teeth of a young man.

to accompany the corpse to the cemetery. The Israelis say that at least one of the men died of a heart attack.

When, after inquiries stretching over several months, *The Times* first approached the Israeli authorities for a comment on the affair, they denied that any men had died in their custody in Sidon last June and insisted that no military investigation was taking place.

However, after *The Times* had given the Israeli military authorities in Lebanon the name of six of the seven dead and made a formal application in writing to know their whereabouts, an Israeli Army spokesman confirmed that the seven bodies had been "found" at a temporary Israeli detention centre in a nuns' school in Sidon.

He stated that a full military investigation was now taking place and that the papers would be handed to the military attorney's office in Israel and the results of the inquiry made public.

Israel invaded Lebanon on June 6 and advanced on Sidon in the next three days. Civilians were ordered to parade on the beaches, where hooded men selected hundreds of Palestinians and Lebanese for interrogation by Israeli intelligence officers.

Allegations of cruelty and murder came from both sides during the fighting around Sidon. It took the Isralis several days to overwhelm Palestinian resistance at the Ein Helwe camp in the suburbs of the city and Palestinian guerrillas are said to have slaughtered up to 20 Israeli prisoners during the battle: in the following week, four wounded Israeli prisoners are believed to have been murdered by Lebanese Muslim militiamen near the town of Khalde.

Most of Israel's Sidon prisoners, however, were in custody by then. Among them was Mr. Ahmed Batrouni, a Lebanese cobbler aged 53 who says he found himself detained in the Sidon convent school on June 9. Interviewed by *The Times*, he said that he was blindfolded by the Israelis, but could hear other prisoners begging for water in the midday heat. "I could hear men falling to the ground," he said. They kept asking for water but the Israelis would not give it to them. . .

"Then on the next day, the Israelis beat these people and one of them fell on the ground near me. I could see through a corner of my blindfold and there were flies on his face. An Israeli doctor came . . . and wanted to know if the man was dead. He looked at him and said he was dead."

Mr. Batrouni said that an ambulance with a red cross on the side was then driven up to the school and that an Israeli officer removed his blindfold and told him to put the dead man—together with another body—into the vehicle.

"The Israeli was with me in the ambulance and when we reached the cemetery, I helped carry the bodies out to the gate. I asked him what he wanted me to do. My hands were still tied but he just left me. . ."

Mr. Chehadi, a Syrian who has lived in Sidon since he served with the French Army in the Second World War, says that he has been interviewed by Israeli military investigators. Questioned by *The Times* he said that he arrived at the Muslim cemetery at one o'clock on the afternoon of June 18 to find Mr. Batrouni waiting for him.

"He told me the Israelis wanted the bodies buried", Mr. Chehadi said . . . . I laid them on the stone just inside the gate so that I could find their relatives to identify them."

On the following day, June 11, a Lebanese engineer, who asked *The Times* not to publish his name, says that he was driving past the cemetery when a Lebanese police adjutant, Younis Abrusli, stopped him. Next to Adjutant Abrusli, he says, was an Israeli military policeman. "Abrusli said that Chehadi, the cemetery keeper, was not there, so he wanted me to cut open the gates of the cemetery with my engineering tools."

The engineer, who has since been interviewed by investigators from the Israeli military attorney's office, says that when he arrived at the gates, he was told to help to carry five bodies from two vehicles, one of them an Israeli car, the other a former Palestinian ambulance. "I did not look at them closely," he says. ". . . Their hands were tied."

A week after *The Times* first asked the engineer's family for information, three armed Israelis—two in plainclothes and one in uniform—asked to see him. He refused to disclose what they said to him but was reluctant to discuss the deaths any further.

He did say, however, that a Sidon taxi-driver named Nazih Habbash was also forced to carry the corpses. Mr. Habbash, who runs a taxi service on the northern side of Sidon, confirmed this to *The Times*. He too has been interviewed by the Israeli investigators.

Adjutant Abrusli has told *The Times* that an Israeli major tried to cut the nylon cords tying the hands of the dead men. "The Israeli officer wanted to open the gates of the cemetery but Chehadi was not there," he said. "The Israeli asked me to help and I had to do what I was told. So when I saw a man who was an engineer, I asked him to help."

Mr. Chehadi says he left the corpses of the seven men at the open entrance to the cemetery for two days. "They were in civilian clothes," he says, "All of them had their hands tied with nylon rope. There were bruises on the necks of two of them. After two days . . . in the heat . . . I had to bury them. I dug beneath an old family vault in the cemetery and put them there."

Mr. Chehadi succeeded in finding the relatives of six of the dead. He named them as: Mohamed Akra, Abudi Abrusli, Yahya Musri, Samir Sabbah, Mohamed Mansour (all Lebanese) and Mohamad Abu Sikini (Palestinian).

Mr. Chehadi could not discover the name of the seventh man, an Egyptian.

An Israeli spokesman confirmed the names and nationalities of the dead men, saying that they had been "found" at the detention centre when the prisoners there were being moved to a new holding centre at the Saffa fruit-packing factory in Sidon.

Asked how the men had died, he replied: "That is what we are trying to find out. The bodies were found when the men were being moved. There were a lot of men held in the nun's school—I don't know the figure—and we found the dead men during the move. We believe one of them died of a heart attack. We don't have them listed as prisoners. They had not been interrogated by our people and so they did not appear on any list of prisoners. I know the results of the inquiry will be made public. Isn't that what we did with the Kahan report?"

CHRISTOPHER WALKER, Journalist, England

"Newcomers arrive blindfolded and are denied access to any radio or newspaper information."

©*The Times*, October 8, 1982

Despite talk of an early Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, the occupying Israeli Army is nearly doubling the size of the grim, tented prison camp which already houses about 7,000 Arab prisoners detained for an indefinite period without access to lawyers.

The camp is several hundred feet up in the south Lebanese hills, and living conditions will seriously deteriorate as winter takes hold. The Israelis refuse to build huts for the prisoners, and instead, have provided new American-made tents which will be heated by camping stoves.

The unexplained decision to expand the camp at the present sensitive period has provoked speculation that the Israelis may envisage the capturing of thousands more Palestinians if there are new military clashes either in northern Lebanon, or in the strategic Bekka Valley.

Although a large number of prisoners, mostly Lebanese, have been set free in recent weeks, many other suspects have been detained and the overall camp population remains little altered. Newcomers arrive blindfolded, and are denied access to any radio or newspaper information about events in Lebanon.

After the Beirut massacre, the lack of information has caused deep anxiety. "All the Palestinians are now worried about the fate of their families living at the mercy of the Christians in Lebanon," a 37-year-old teacher from Sidon explained.

He was one of two Palestinian prisoners produced for interviews in a cramped hut close to the Spartan-looking central compound surrounded by barbed wire. They listed the cold, the continued absence of books and the poor facilities for physical exercise (restricted to five minutes a day) as their most pressing complaints. Both men denied any involvement with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The camp, whose perimeter had been mined to deter escapes, is surrounded by tall watchtowers manned by Israeli guards armed with heavy machine guns. It was recently the scene of an ugly riot in which eight Arabs were shot for attempting to jump a fence. All are now recovering in Israel.

Earlier this week, I watched as giant bulldozers were leveling a wide area of the rocky hillside and surrounding it with huge mounds of fresh earth. The new section appeared capable of housing almost as many tented compounds as the 20 already in place.

Israeli officers were reluctant to discuss the purpose of the unpublicized extention of the camp, whose inmates Israel refuses to recognize as prisoners of war, although they are visited regularly by the Red Cross. One of them claimed that as well as being available for new prisoners, the extension would also be used to thin out the tents in preparation for winter.

Dr. Yehuda Ben-Meir, Israel's Deputy Foreign Minister, earlier stated Israel's conditions for releasing the prisoners, who are expected to play a key role in negotiations to secure the exit of all foreign forces from Lebanon.

As the Israelis have begun releasing random numbers of prisoners, there are regular scenes of high emotion in Tyre where the men are set free. Scores of Lebanese and Palestinian Arabs congregate close to the city centre. As no names are issued in advance, none has any idea whether any prisoners at all will be set free.

Together with an Australian journalist, I was surrounded by Arab women who pressed photographs of husbands, sons and brothers into our hands and gave us prison numbers trying to find out whether we had seen their menfolk.

Fatimah, a housewife in her early twenties, explained she had come to the same spot every day for a week in the hope of finding her Lebanese husband imprisoned nearly four months ago. "It is the cruelest way of doing things," she said.

In addition to the Palestinians and Lebanese, more than 1,000 men from 24 other countries are also being held at Ansar.

DAVID K. SHIPLER, Journalist, U.S.A.

"PLO! Israel must go!"

©*The New York Times*, October 2, 1983

The faces stare out through barbed wire and chain link fences.

Some smolder in dark anger. Others carry the vacant look of defeat. Some are the tough faces of seasoned Palestinian fighters, some the weak faces of those swept up by the storm of war. There are aging faces, and others whose youthful freshness has been tarnished by leaving boyhood behind too soon.

Israel's prison camp in southern Lebanon has become a squalid, seething sore of defiance and despair. The Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners, now numbering 4,700, live in big army tents inside compounds ringed by fences, guard towers and armored personnel carriers. Some of the Israeli guards are soldiers who were court-martialed for various crimes, officers say, and are serving sentences themselves.

The Dust Turns to Mud

Gritty, amber-colored dust from the plateau sifts into everything, covering tents, filtering into hair, tinting the Israeli Army uniforms that have been made into prisoners' garb by dying them brown instead of the usual olive drab. In the winter the dust turns to mud.

An awful stench of sewage and garbage rises from the compounds. A few Palestinian flags flutter from tent poles. Prisoners, seeing visitors approach their fences, shout and wave their hands in V-signs, break into nationalist Palestinian songs and begin to chant in English. "Ansar is Auschwitz! Ansar is Auschwitz! You are Nazis! You are Nazis! P.L.O.! Israel must go!"

The flags, the songs and the chants are banned for Palestinians living in the occupied West Bank, some prisoners observe sardonically. But inside their prison compounds they are left alone. "Autonomy," one Israeli officer remarked.

Cooking, Cleaning and Politics

What this means is that they are responsible not only for their own cooking and cleaning but also for their own politics. And their political organization is fairly tight, able to cause demonstrations and riots with a command from the prisoners' leaders.

In June they set fire to 220 tents "to gain some publicity and not be forgotten by the outside," the camp commander, Col. Moshe Kafri, said. Some Israeli officers who serve here predict that when the prisoners are finally released their bitterness will forge them into a new brigade of the Palestine Liberation Organization—the Ansar Brigade.

When release may come is a question. When Israel built this makeshift prison camp just west of Nabatiye in the summer of 1982, it was seen as temporary in the hope that the P.L.O. and Syria would exchange the 11 Israelis held captive for these men and 300 Syrian soldiers held in Israel.

But apparently in recognition that this will not happen soon, Israel has begun building a slightly more permanent prison camp. Asphalt is being laid in square compounds 130 feet long on a side. In each compound 120 to 140 prisoners will be housed in tents fastened to iron pegs embedded in the asphalt. Small buildings are being put up to serve as shower rooms and latrines.

With no release in prospect, the prisoners have grown restive. A four-man committee representing them, and led by Salah Taamri, a 40-year-old former P.L.O. commander, appealed to P.L.O. leaders in an interview this week not to delay an exchange.

Mr. Taamri and others on the committee were brought to a hospital tent in one of the compounds by Israeli officers who had granted a four-month-old request from this correspondent for a visit to the camp and a talk with prisoners. A Swedish correspondent, Cordelia Edvardson of Svenska Dagbladet of Stockholm, was also present.

Mr. Taamri complained about many conditions in the camp, but he portrayed them as having gradually improved. He said prisoners were occupying their time now with music and handicrafts, making bracelets out of stove pipes, chain necklaces out of electrical wire, wood carvings out of vegetable crates and canvas bags from tents. One man even built a full-sized glider in hope of being able to escape by air.

In the beginning, Mr. Taamri said, "beating was a daily habit, insults were another daily habit," adding, "The first thing everybody would think in the morning was if it would be his turn for interrogation."

A Raw and Rainy Winter

Each prisoner was issued three blankets, he said, but clothing and shelter were inadequate for the beginning of winter, which was raw, rainy and miserable. "We got heaters late in December and did not use them until January," he complained. "We protested, we struggled to get a copy of the Geneva Convention. We were even denied that right."

Israel does not regard them as prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention; they obtained a copy through the International Committee of

the Red Cross, Mr. Taamri said. "When we got it, it made it even worse, just like reading the Ten Commandments, the Bible—just a fiction."

"The second stage started when we started to get our rights," Mr. Taamri said. "They stopped making us put our hands on our heads each morning at the counting. The beating was less than before, and then stopped after we complained after each incident."

Five prisoners have been killed, Mr. Taamri said. Three died a year ago and three were wounded when an armored personnel carrier went through a ditch and a machine gun fired a burst into the camp. According to the army, it was an accident, and Mr. Taamri did not dispute that. "It was an accident in that there were no orders to shoot," he said.

4 Were Court-Martialed

An army spokesman said two officers and two sergeants were court-martialed on charges ranging from negligence to negligent homicide. One officer received a reprimand, and the three others were given suspended three-month jail sentences.

Four months ago another prisoner was shot through the head and killed, Mr. Taamri said, when he reached through a fence to try to pick up a letter he had dropped. Another was killed in July, he said, when soldiers fired at prisoners who were reportedly late getting back to their own compounds after being allowed to visit other compounds. The man was killed inside his own section, Mr. Taamri said.

In August, he said, disturbances broke out after the leader of one section approached the fence to ask for water. Soldiers started shooting, wounding 12 in that section and 13 in another. Mr. Taamri said. But Lieut. Col. Yaacov Bak, adviser to the camp commander or Arab affairs, denied this, saying that only four, hurt by stones and riochets, required medical care.

Mr. Taamri judged the medical care as adequate for emergencies, but not for routine or chronic dental and other problems. Colonel Kafri said treatment was provided by seven full-time Israeli doctors and seven prisoners who are doctors.

Red Cross Has Full Access

The Red Cross has a team with full, daily access to the prisoners, he said. Mr. Taamri and a Red Cross representative confirmed this. The Red Cross monitors camp conditions, provides the prisoners with books and conveys letters to and from relatives.

Both Mr Taamri and Colonel Kafri said the Israeli Army placed no restrictions on the number of letters a prisoner may write; the only limits are what the Red Cross can handle, they said. Abut 10,000 letters leave the camp each week.

Everything coming in or going out passes through Israeli censorship. Mr. Taamri showed some photographs of prisoners' children that had arrived. They had been cleared by the censor, who had pressed his ink stamp carefully on each child's face, marring every picture.

RALPH MILLER, Mennonite Central Committee, Lebanon

"In some cases the bombardment was drawn, or instigated, by just the sight of a Palestinian commando, perhaps running through an area, and immediately tank shells would come crashing down after him."

My name is Ralph Miller, I am the Lebanon representative for the *Mennonite Central Committee.* My family and I have lived here [Sidon] for five years and on 6 June, when the invasion started we were here at home. We spent 4 days in the shelter, immediately after the bombardment started. The first couple of days we couldn't see very much, because it was mostly aerial bombardment and we stayed in the shelter. But after the second day we were able to come up to the ground floor in the house that we were in, we could look down over the city and down over the camp, and from what we could see there was indiscriminate bombardment going on of civilian areas. In some cases the bombardment was drawn, or instigated, by just the sight of a Palestinian commando, perhaps running through an area, and immediately tank shells would come crashing down after him. We were in our shelter, we could follow this kind of thing going on. In one sense it was a callous disregard for civilians, for the Palestinians to run through an area like this, but the Israelis were not willing to risk any soldiers by sending men in after the commandos. In other words most of it was done by bombardment from the outside, or as much as they could.

I was arrested three times in mass arrests, where they would surround the area and they would call all the men between the ages of 14 and 55 or 60, down to a certain point. The system was that all these men should gather, the area would be sealed off, Israelis would go round with loudspeakers asking all the men to collect. Then the men were told to sit down on the ground or to stand in long rows and one by one the men had to pass in front of four hooded informers. There was one incident, which I did not see myself but which I was told of, where the Israelis separated the Lebanese into two groups. The Lebanese Christians were in the shade, the Lebanese Muslims sat in the sun and then the Palestinians also sat in the

sun. In this one case I know some Christians went forward and asked the Israelis to put all the Lebanese together. But anyway in the situation that I was in, once in Mieh Mieh, this happened in early July, all the men were collected and I happened to be in Mieh Mieh in that morning so I was also ordered to go down to this point. But the men had to go in front of these hooded informers, and the people were terrified of the informers for several reasons. First of all, people were afraid that for reasons of personal revenge an informer would indicate that they had been with a party, or perhaps that this informer was trying to bargain or to win his freedom by being over-zealous in his collaboration with the Israelis and was trying to point at as many people as he could or, maybe he was trying to foil the Israeli operation and foul things up. In fact I know of one case where an Israeli Officer tested their own system. He put on a *dashdeshi* (a long Arab garment) and passed in front of his own informers and all four of the informers pointed at him, indicating that the system was not a good system because this Israeli officer suddenly looked like an Arab, all four of the informers pointed at him and said he was in a political party. So the Israelis were aware that their system was not a good system for deciding who was and who was not involved in political activity.

I found another interesting case in Mieh Mieh. It was in the early part of July; the Palestinian women came out from the camp to observe the procession of men as they passed in front of the informers and there was a group of maybe several hundred women that gathered on a high point up to one side of the place of procession. These women could see as their menfolk passed in front of the informers who was being taken and who was not, because as soon as a man was indicated by the informers as having been involved, he was blindfolded, his hands tied behind his back and loaded into a truck. As this went on the trucks started pulling out, loaded up with men, these women started wailing and crying and it was interesting that some of the Israeli soldiers started crying over this incident. It was one of the more tragic things that we watched.

One thing that I did not mention about the informers was that some of the informers on each of the three occasions when I was included in the mass arrests, had their hands tied, indicating that they were acting under duress and were not cooperating willingly with the Israelis. I was at the seashore one day. I had decided to go and get a pass so that I could move around the city myself and I went to the seashore to watch the processing and of course as soon as the Israelis saw who I was they asked me to leave. But the situation that I saw was men tightly packed together, maybe some several thousand men very tightly packed together in rows; many of the men had been there since that morning, they were being lined up and when the men wouldn't cooperate, wouldn't make their rows properly, the Israelis would shoot over their heads.

Some men were down on the beach waiting to be processed for as long as 21 hours. I know a doctor that spent 21 hours at the beach waiting to be processed. On the day that I was there, I was there at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, many of the men had been there since the morning, they had come down willingly or at least voluntarily, because the Israelis had demanded that men come forward to be processed. They had come down to the beach on their own early in the morning, hoping to be processed early so that they could go home. They wound up sitting on the beach, it was 2 o'clock in the afternoon and the processing had not started yet.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, England

"Amnesty International is concerned that none of those arrested in Lebanon by the IDF have had access to a lawyer, or have had the right to be confronted with and refute the evidence against them."

Amnesty International continues to be concerned that those people arrested in Lebanon by the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) are being denied their legal rights in accordance with internationally accepted standards. Amnesty International has written on two occasions to the Israeli authorities on this subject, in July and October 1982—see August and December 1982 *Newsletters*. Amnesty International is concerned that these detainees are denied the right to see a lawyer, and the right to be confronted with, and refute, the evidence against them. It is also concerned that many of those arrested are held for considerable periods in *incommunicado* detention.

Following the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in June 1982, thousands of Palestinians, Lebanese and others, both combatants and civilians, have been arrested in Lebanon by the IDF and have been held without charge or trial. Since then, arrests have continued—though to a lesser extent—of those suspected of links with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). There have also been reports that Palestinian and Lebanese men and women have been arrested and questioned about close relatives, and that others have been arrested and urged to collaborate with the IDF.

Arrests in Lebanon are now carried out by the IDF in accordance with a military order of October 1, 1982 which establishes "the procedure applicable to prisoners of the IDF in Lebanese territory as long as the IDF remains in Lebanon."

In recent months, militias composed of local residents have been set up by the IDF in villages in southern Lebanon to help maintain security in the area, and members of these militias also appear to have the power to arrest and detain people for security reasons on behalf of the IDF.

Detention Centres

The Israeli authorities have acknowledged holding detainees only at al-Ansar, a specially constructed camp in southern Lebanon. In November 1982 they said that, since the second week in July 1982, 9,000 detainees had been transferred here and that about 5,000 were still detained. Of these, they said that 1,000 were Lebanese and the others Palestinian.

The Israeli authorities have stated that they do not recognize these detainees to be held under the provisions of the Third or Fourth Geneva Convention relating to combatants or civilians in time of war, nor under the Defence Emergency Regulations of 1948, which are in force in Israel and the occupied territories (OT). They have said, however, that for humanitarian reasons they are *applying* the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Under this, all al-Ansar detainees, since July 18, 1982, have had access to representatives of the International Commission of the Red Cross (ICRC), who visit the camp regularly and inform the detainees' families. Since November 1982, some al-Ansar detaines have been able to appeal against their imprisonment to a Review Committee composed of three IDF officers. At least 100 have been released in this way.

The detainees have not, however, been allowed access to a lawyer. A number of Israeli lawyers say that they have been given power of attorney by families of detainees held in al-Ansar (and in Israel/OT). They have requested permission from the Ministry of Defence to visit their clients and say that in every case their request has been refused. The Ministry of Defence, in giving its reasons (and referring only to al-Ansar detainees), said that Israeli law has no jurisdiction over these detainees, who are not Israeli citizens and who are not detained on Israeli territory. They also say that, since the detainees are not going to be tried, there is no reason for lawyers to visit them.

There are a number of other detention centres in southern Lebanon (for example, the Israeli military barracks in Sidon) and in Israel (for example, at Ramleh, Megiddo and Jalameh prisons) where those who are arrested in Lebanon are first held for questioning before being transferred to al-Ansar camp, where they are detained until they are released. (For example, most of the women who are arrested are reportedly held until release at Ramleh prison in Israel.) In almost all cases such detainees are held in *incommunicado* detention, without access to families, lawyers or humanitarian organizations. The period of detention reportedly varies

between a few days to several months. Information about individual detainees, both men and women, has come from detainees who have been released, from lawyers representing Palestinians from the occupied territories who are imprisoned with detainees from Lebanon, and from prison workers. It is not known how many are at present held in detention centers other than al-Ansar, but unofficial sources put the figure at around 1,000.

Amnesty International's Concerns

Amnesty International is concerned that none of those arrested in Lebanon by the IDF have had access to a lawyer, or have had the right to be confronted with and refute the evidence against them. Amnesty International is also concerned that many of those arrested are held *incommunicado* for long periods of time. The Israeli authorities do not publish the names of those arrested. Families frequently face difficulties in obtaining information about the whereabouts of relatives who have been arrested, or who have gone missing, and only in exceptional cases have families been able to visit detained relatives. The ICRC has no arrangement with the Israeli authorities for visiting any of the detention centres on a regular basis, except al-Ansar camp.

Recommended Action

Send telegrams/letters expressing concern that those arrested in Lebanon by the IDF are being denied their legal rights in accordance with internationally accepted standards, such as the right to see a lawyer and the right to be confronted with, and refute the evidence against them; and that many of those arrested are being held for considerable periods of time in *incommunicado* detention. Please urge:

- that all those arrested by the IDF in Lebanon be allowed access to a lawyer;
- that a full and detailed list be made public of all those arrested by the IDF in Lebanon and who are now held in al-Ansar camp, or in other places in Lebanon or in Israel/OT;
- that a humanitarian organization such as the ICRC have access to all those arrested in Lebanon and detained in Lebanon or in Israel/OT.

ISRAEL SEGAL, Journalist, Israel

The soldier, who was from our unit, described how the women had been raped, and how they had even tried to get a dog to mount her. God! The next day she was taken to hospital for a check-up, but she was not hospitalized. Instead, she was put back into the detention room. This made me very angry. I started to ask myself how we could cooperate with people who had reached such a level of barbarism and bestiality. . .

I met Ilan Blum at Tel Aviv university this week. We sat on the grass and he spoke quietly about the difficult scenes he had observed during his reserve duty in January at the Israeli military headquarters in Sidon. Later on he explained that five years ago, he had been in an Argentinian prison for ten days, after being suspected of espionage on behalf of Israel. He had been on a round-the-world tour and had just crossed from Chile into Argentina. There, for the first time in his life, he experienced humiliation, torture and horror. This is what he told me about Sidon:

"There, I suddenly felt I was back in the Argentinian prison, naked and handcuffed, my eyes covered with some filthy cloth. As if someone was again beating me methodically, without any hatred, doing a job that had to be done. Suddenly I remembered that terrible feeling of helplessness, the humiliation, and heard the laughter and whispering behind my back, experienced again that total ignorance of what will happen to you next.

"It all came back to me one specific moment: Several soldiers from my unit had been sitting in the military headquarters building in Sidon, when our quartermaster walked into our room, pale and in a state of shock. He told us that he had just watched how one of our borderguards had dealt with a Palestinian detainee, who had had his hands bound behind his back. Amos, our commander, rushed out and went up to the commander of the borderguards, to whom we were formally attached, and demanded an identity parade. Our quartermaster, however, was frightened and did not point out the man, even though he described him to us later on in great detail. Amos did not give up and demanded to talk to the borderguards themselves, but their commander said he would do it. He did, and what he said was that they had to understand that they were not in the West Bank and that there were civilians here and a unit of reservists that could not accept such behavior; 'therefore,' he added, 'anyone who is caught will be punished.' "

"But let me tell you about it all from the beginning," Ilan Blum continued. "When we got the military headquarters in Sidon we had no idea what lay ahead of us. I remember how we first saw all those people in the corridors, who had their hands tied back and wore blindfolds. They used to be waiting for hours. There were explicit orders that no more than two people should go into the detention room in the cellar, but the borderguards told our soldiers to follow them inside and showed them how they treated the detainees. In the best cases, this involved only humiliations and curses.

"So we daily ran into young boys who had been brought in, as they stood blindfolded in the corridors. We could not escape the sight. Some people laughed at them, others beat them. Most of the beating was done by Haddad's men, who shared the building with us and had the run of it. We watched rows of detainees brought in by Haddad's men and left at their mercy. The detainees would be kept in the building for long hours before being released again.

"I once witnessed Haddad's men humiliating and maltreating some detainees . . . (censorship cut). I was on patrol together with Ofer and we saw Haddad's men laugh. Then one of them went up to the last row of detainees and knocked one of them down. Then the other three fell down and this amused Haddad's men greatly. When I told them that this sort of thing was not done in the Israeli army they burst out laughing, made an obscene gesture and said: 'You just get out of here and we'll slaughter all the Palestinians.' Haddad's men actually torture the detainees in the presence of Israeli soldiers inside the base.

"One day, one of our soldiers told us that he had seen one of the borderguards beating a detainee. The detainee had cursed his tormentor, so the borderguard bit his ear. How can I explain it? It was as if we were in a different world, and these were only the suspects. Some of them were what is called in Sidon 'security risks,' but not all were and the fact is that most were released after a few hours. . .

"Later I discovered that the detainees did the cleaning jobs in the building; they washed the dishes, scrubbed the toilets, swept the corridors and the dormitories of the borderguards. My soldiers were supposed to guard the detainees while they cleaned up, but I did not agree with this and complained to the officer in charge. I would like to note that some soldiers opposed the maltreatment. . . (censorship cut).

"Things nevertheless continued as before. At least ten people a day used to be brought in. They arrived late at night, and the next day they were doing cleaning jobs. . . In my unit, even those soldiers who regarded themselves as rightwing and justified our presence in Lebanon were shocked by what we witnessed. Even members of the Tehiya party voiced horror and repulsion at the humiliations and maltreatment we were observing. . .

"The borderguards regarded us as naive, as a 'leftist unit,' although among us could be found people from all parts of the Israeli political spectrum. I personally oppose a Palestinian state, but does that give me per-

mission to help commit an injustice? In the eyes of the borderguards, we were softies. They were not bothered one bit by the way they treated the detainees. They enjoyed it, or some of them did, and even boasted about it. They used to call in our soldiers to show them how they worked over the detainees. . .

"And the tortures continued. Once I watched Haddad's men bring in some detainees. On the way to the entrance, in the car, they smashed the cheekbone of one detainee and hit the other one over the head with a rifle butt, until he was completely covered in blood. We got to the point that we did not see any point in complaining any more. We suddenly realized that the commanders around us wanted this to happen. . .

"Then came the case of the girl who was gang-raped by our Lebanese friends. That was too much. A soldier who had accompanied their patrol pointed her out to us as she was being taken out of the car. She had been beaten all over, and it was difficult to get her out because she screamed with pain if anyone touched her anywhere. The soldier, who was from our unit, described how the women had been raped, and how they had even tried to get a dog to mount her. God! The next day she was taken to the hospital for a check-up, but she was not hospitalized. Instead, she was put back into the detention room. This made me very angry. I started to ask myself how we could cooperate with people who had reached such a level of barbarism and bestiality. . .

"Of course there was no investigation into the rape case. It did shock our commanders, but they explained that this was a Lebanese custom. Such things had been done for many years and it was not unusual. What I think is that they did not look into the incident for another reason: such an investigation would have been harmful to our common interest. . ."

PIRKKO PARVIAINEN, Physiotherapist, Finland

"Most of the Palestinians were gathered on the beach guarded by Israeli soldiers, but some had managed to escape to the mountains. I don't know exactly where they got food."

I went to work in Lebanon through the Finnish-Arab Friendship Society on April 21 and intended to stay there for half a year. We had a Scandinavian project in Ain el-Helweh refugee camp in Sidon. This project consisted of a clinic with a Norwegian doctor and nurse, and of a rehabilitation center for both mentally and physically handicapped children and grown-ups. In the center we were one social worker from Holland, two social workers and one aid nurse from Norway and myself as a physiotherapist. We worked with the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS).

On Friday, June 4, we were all in Beirut when the Israelis began to bomb the capital. The bombardment lasted about one and half hour. On Saturday morning we decided to return to Sidon. A few hours after our arrival, the Israelis began to bomb Sidon. The bombardment continued on Sunday.

During these two days we stayed at the center despite the rather heavy bombardment, because our center was intended to function as a hospital during emergencies and we expected to receive patients. We didn't get any until Sunday evening. After some discussion we decided to leave the center on Sunday evening, because we felt very unsafe without a shelter and because the Israelis had already bombed the camp. Later on we heard that the Israelis also shelled Ain el-Helweh all the night from the sea.

We went to Al-Hamshari Hospital situated quite near the camp. There we had better possibilities to work together with the team from Mia-Mia camp consisting of a doctor, a nurse and a midwife. Under the hospital there was a big shelter where we could take the patients in case of need.

On Sunday evening we got some patients evacuated from another nearby hospital and some new ones who got wounded during the bombardment and shelling, but most of them were not very badly wounded. We also got some patients with burn wounds, most probably from phosphorous bombs.

On Tuesday we transferred the patients, about twenty, to the shelter, because the bombardment and shelling became very heavy. We stayed in the shelter until Thursday morning taking care of our patients, giving them food and medicine. We slept on blankets on sandy ground. We had only candle light and ate some canned food. The shelter was rather a big one with rooms of different sizes. We occupied one of the rooms. Altogether there must have been hundreds of people in the shelter.

On Wednesday some of the doctors had a meeting with the Israelis. They asked the Israeli officer not to bomb the hospital. He promised to try not to bomb it directly, but said he could not guarantee anything. On Wednesday the whole of Sidon with the exception of the camp, was occupied by the Israelis. During the day we also made some flags with the Red Cross sign and put them on the roof of the building.

On Thursday morning the Israelis ordered us to leave the building and region, because they were going to bomb the area. We left with the patients and hundreds of other people escaping the bombardment. We put the patients who couldn't walk into cars and the rest of us began to walk towards the center of Sidon. On the way we met people from the Lebanese Government Hospital who told us that the Israelis had hit the

hospital in the morning. There were airplanes flying over us all the time and everybody was really afraid. Tens of Israel tanks and hundreds of soldiers were lined along the streets and staring at the people who were almost running. Sidon seemed to be totally destroyed.

The Israelis separated the Europeans from Palestinians and other nationals. They arrested part of our patients, and we don't know what happened to them. Soldiers asked us if we wanted to leave the country. We refused. We wanted to continue our work at the Palestinian Red Crescent Society hospital. We got the permission and so we began from the very beginning: cleaned the floor, cleaned the broken glass and prepared the beds. We also found out that there was no running water or electricity in the hospital. The Israelis had occupied the private hospital on the opposite side of the street and turned it into a hotel for themselves. There they had water and electricity all the time. . .

Very soon we had about 60 patients, Lebanese and Palestinian, 15 children, women and men—some of them were very badly wounded and needed immediate operations. Without electricity it was very difficult, but the first days doctors operated on some cases.

On Friday, June 11, the Israelis came with their guns and forced all the hospital staff to sit down in the street in front of the hospital for three hours. They didn't even allow us to go to the patients during these hours. They picked the Palestinian men one by one and arrested them. They also arrested doctors from Iraq and Bangladesh.

Working in the hospital was difficult. Most of the doctors were arrested. There was no water and electricity. We asked the Israelis to provide both, but they didn't. We couldn't change the dressing of the wounded daily. The wounds got infected and the smell was terrible everywhere. The Israelis told us, that a Norwegian medical team will come to continue our work in the hospital, but the team never came.

On Sunday, June 13, a group of six men, five foreigners and one Palestinian went to meet the Israeli military governor. Only one of them, a Belgian doctor come back in the evening: the others were arrested. Later on a Norwegian doctor was called a butcher by an Israeli officer.

Finally the Palestinian women left the hospital because they were too afraid to stay there. The Israelis considered the hospital as Fatah hospital and refused to recognize that the Palestinian Red Crescent Society is an observer-member of the International Red Cross.

We asked help from the Lebanese Red Cross, but they had received a message from the Israeli that they should not cooperate with us. Later on they evacuated our patients to some other hospitals. On June 19 our hospital was empty and only the foreigners stayed there. The hospital was in a terrible condition. Some of the persons who were earlier arrested came back after five or six days imprisonment. They told us the following:

They had been taken to a school in Sidon which was turned into a

prison. There were hundreds of prisoners sitting in the school yard under the sun, their hands tied behind their backs and blind-folded. For the first two or three days they did not get any water or bread. Soldiers beat them, some more, some less. If they asked for water or food they were savagely beaten and kicked. During the nights they slept in this overcrowded yard, still tied. It was impossible for them to move or sleep. They were surrounded by tanks the lights of which were on lighting the whole courtyard. Soldiers tortured them psychologically by threatening to drive the tanks over them. The tanks were even started. Guns were fired around the prisoners who were blind-folded.

Soldiers did not even bother to question them before torturing them. They also took money from some prisoners. Each of the prisoners had either a big cross or a number written on his shirt. After having been released they received a pass allowing them to move freely in Sidon. But these passes were of no value, because they were arrested again. Everybody had a feeling that the Israelis could do whatever they wanted. They didn't care for international conventions. All they wanted was to kill the Palestinians—terrorists as they called them.

Most of the Palestinians were gathered on the beach guarded by Israeli soldiers, but some had managed to escape to the mountains. I don't know exactly where they got food.

One day I was standing in a queue for water, consisting mostly of old women and children. On top of the watertank stood two Israeli soldiers with their machine guns pointed at us.

Suddenly one of them fired his gun in the air just to frighten those who were queuing for water.

A third Israeli soldier went around the line with a plastic stick in his hand. He was shouting at the children and trying to keep some kind of order in his style although there was no danger of any disorder.

We visited the camp afterwards and it was terrible to see it totally destroyed. All the houses were bombed, the streets were full of big holes from bombs and there was a smell of burnt flesh all over. There must have been hundreds, maybe thousands of killed in this camp and most of the inhabitants had lost their homes.

The Israelis bombed hospitals, they arrested hospital staff, which means that they didn't want the wounded people to get help.

VII

TESTIMONY ON INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ASPECTS OF ISRAEL'S INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF LEBANON

Editor's Note:

Gross violations of the international law of human rights continue throughout much of the international community despite the idealism of the United Nations Charter which sought a new order following the horror of World War II. International morality and its legal underpinnings have been enormously eroded by the prevailing international system of power politics in such a way that adequate sanctions are not now realistically available. Aggression and war occur more frequently as World War II fades deeper into history and all but forgotten is Tolstoy's admonition that war is so terrible that there can be no ethical justification for either endorsement of it or participation in it.

There have been more than 120 major wars in the past 30 years alone, and these conflicts have been increasingly directed against the civilian population of the areas affected. Such was the case with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

As was correctly pointed out by the *Report of the International Commission to enquire into reported violations of International Law by Israel during its invasion of the Lebanon,* sometimes refered to as the "McBride Report", International Law in the area of armed conflict is primarily comprised of four principles as follows:

1). The Principle of Necessity

A prohibition upon methods, tactics and weapons calculated to inflict unnecessary suffering, death or destruction; the content of necessity is associated with the belligerent destruction of enemy armed forces and military targets;

2). The Principle of Discrimination

A requirement that methods, tactics and weapons employed are used in such a way as to discriminate between military and non-military targets and between combatants and civilians; the emphasis on discrimination is designed to uphold in the course of war the ideas of innocence and of sanctuary or protected places;

3). The Principle of Proportionality

A requirement that the military means used bear a reasonable relationship to the military ends being pursued; this requirement is designed to give real force to the prohibition upon excessiveness in the use of force;

4). The Principle of Humanity

An absolute prohibition upon methods, tactics and weapons of warfare that are inherently cruel and that have been identified as such by an international ethical consensus; this prohibition is unconditional in order to underscore the forbidden status of certain practices such as torture, regardless of alleged battlefield justifications.

All nations involved in armed conflict are to be judged in light of these principles of International Law and they are directly applicable to Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon.

JEAN-PAUL CHAGNOLLAUD, University of Lyon, France

"If the invasion of Lebanon caused such strong emotion in the world, this was not merely because it was a case of aggression but because it was conducted in manner contrary to the laws of war. These are the two points on which the Israeli government attempts to justify itself."

This is the report of the mission which was in Israel and the occupied territories between 14 and 21 October 1982, the task of which was to assess the political and legal consequences of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. It

succeeded in interviewing thirty-five prominent Israelis or Palestinians and also collected a plentiful amount of documentary evidence.

The "autonomy" of the West Bank, reluctantly granted by Begin, provided him with a conveniently vague framework within which to achieve neither more nor less than annexation. This "autonomy" is a myth. The term is ambiguous, and for Begin there has never been any question of making it applicable to the territory; it was merely to apply to the population, which on the purely administrative, non-political, level, was to have its own officials, necessarily subservient to the Israeli government, as the village leagues are today.

Under cover of this so-called autonomy Begin is now seeking to annex the West Bank territory, to which he has given the name of "Judaea and Samaria," to make it clear that it forms a part of "Greater Israel." To justify the annexation he is not using the pretext of security; he merely claims that historically the territory belongs to the Jewish people.

In order to secure such annexation parading as autonomy, the Israeli government is obliged to break down all resistance in the occupied territories. Such resistance made its presence particularly plain in 1976, in the form of the election of mayors determined to hold their own, and since then it has never ceased, as is clear from the courageous demonstrations of the last few months, in the course of which over twenty young Palestinians have been assassinated.

The population of the occupied territories braces itself to resist with the PLO as its mainstay. Hence the Begin government must destroy the PLO, as the Palestinian people's "pre-statehood" institutional structure. It must proceed to eradicate it in order to annex the occupied territories. This is the second objective of the invasion of Lebanon, since the annexation can be achieved only via the political, military and perhaps even physical elimination of the PLO.

To complete the fulfilment of his plan, Begin still has to deal with Jordan, which in his view will have to admit all the Palestinians, including those he is counting on turning out of the occupied territories as time goes on. It is highly probable that Jordan may be the next country Begin sets out to "normalize."

The Begin plan, designed to weaken the PLO politically and militarily, or even destroy it, was prepared a long time ago. The "Peace for Galilee" operation was merely a cloak; the Israeli government had been waiting to invade Lebanon and advance as far as Beirut at the first possible opportunity. This is clear from the statements made by the foremost members of the Israeli government ever since December 1981; three months before the beginning of the invasion Shamir declared at a meeting of the Herout that he was preparing to rid Lebanon of the Palestinians and destroy the PLO. Sharon, Eytan and Begin made similar remarks during the same period.

In March 1982, in his periodical *Israel and Palestine Political Report*, Max Ghilan gave the entire future scenario of the advance to Beirut, including the episode of the intervention of the multinational force. His sources must have been extremely well informed. There was only one point on which they proved inaccurate: the intervention force was not to come into action until the destruction of the PLO headquarters, whereas in reality it did so before, thus obviating the physical elimination of the headquarters. The difference is presumably to be explained by the fact that Schultz had replaced Haig, though it was also partly due to the desperate nature of the Palestinian resistance in Beirut.

The Israeli Aggression in Lebanon, The Claim that it is Justified and its Repercussions Among the Israeli Public

All aspects of the Israeli aggression were the object of minute preparation.

On the legal level the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Defence made ready their arguments, and their legal experts did everything in their power to legitimize the act of aggression. The legal arguments used very closely follow the political ones, while omitting the expansionist aspects; their function is to make the policy of the Begin government look more attractive.

The Official Legal Arguments: A Critical Examination

The legal arguments have a dual purpose: they are for both international and national consumption.

Israel is aware of its isolation on the international scene. However, even though it does not overlook the fact that it is going to be listened to or approved to only a very small extent, it seeks to justify its attitude for two reasons. In the first place, its arguments can be taken over by the United States and those few countries which follow in the latter's footsteps and are continuing to support the Israeli government, for all of which they provide an alibi for an attitude which is becoming less and less justifiable. In the second, Israel is anxious to prove that it can be in the right almost alone in the face of all and that its conduct is based on the just law which it claims to obey, even though - as the result, it claims, of an international conspiracy which is the most recent form of the ostracism practised throughout history against the Jews - that law may not now be acknowledged.

On the home front the influence of these legal arguments is not to be underestimated. Israeli society claims to be based on moral values, and makes little distinction between law and morality; it considers the one to be the expression of the other. Thus these arguments are designed to placate the moral conscience of the Israelis and persuade them that they are in the right and have moral force on their side. Israeli society is a recent creation with no historical roots other than in Judaism and its moral values, and this it is which accounts for the importance of the moral cohesion it is thus sought to encourage.

The Israeli legal position was defined in a rapid but sufficiently complete manner in the Foreign Ministry's Briefing No 342 dated 18 July 1982, in a brochure issued in June 1982 by the Ministry of Defence under the title of "Operation Peace for Galillee," and in various other briefings on specific points, some of them dating from before the invasion of Lebanon and providing justification for it before it happened.

The Israeli Theses

If the invasion of Lebanon caused such strong emotion in the world, this was not merely because it was a case of aggression but because it was conducted in manner contrary to the laws of war. These are the two points on which the Israeli government attempts to justify itself.

1. The attempt to legitimize the aggression.

In invading Lebanon for the purpose of attacking the Palestinians and the PLO, Israel involved itself in a double legal difficulty. What reasons could it give for its aggression against the Palestinians and the PLO, and how could it justify the fact of doing so on the territory of Lebanon, a sovereign state? To get round these two difficulties the Israelis explain things in the manner we shall now describe.

Arguing that it was defending itself against terrorism, Israel claims that it availed itself of the right to self-defence provided for in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. On page 1 of Briefing 342 of 18.07.82, entitled "The Israeli operation in Lebanon: legal aspects," we read:

"Article 51 of the United Nations Charter affirms the inherent right of self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member state of the United Nations. It does not make any exception for armed attack in purported exercise of the right of self-determination. It is a fundamental principle of international law and relations that no state may allow its territory to be used for acts injurious to the territorial integrity or political independence of a neighbouring state. This principle has recently been formulated by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3314 (XXIX) dated 14 December 1974 (Soviet-inspired 'Definition of Aggression') and Resolution 2625 (XXV) dated 24 October 1970, the 'Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the UN'."

Here the right to self-defence is invoked not in relation to another state but in relation to the PLO, which is claimed to be a terrorist organization. On page 2 of the same Briefing we read: "The nature of the operation

undertaken by the Israel Defence Forces was to uproot the presence in Lebanon of terrorist groups linked to the PLO." Thus the Israeli government asserts that it has not been at war with Lebanon but merely with a terrorist organization stationed on Lebanese territory. But is the scale of the alleged acts of terrorism comparable to that of so huge a military operation? Israel considers that its gesture of retaliation was proportionate in size to these acts. It admits that during the months preceding the events of June 1982 the northern frontier had remained quiet and that the shelling of the villages and kibbutzim by "Katiushas" had been less frequent than before.

It is significant in this connection that the brochure published by the official spokesman of the Ministry of Defence on 21 June 1982 under the title of "Operation Peace for Galilee" should begin its justification of the invasion by speaking of the purported threats to the civilian population of northern Galilee: "For the past 14 years the massive presence of armed terrorist organizations in Lebanon posed a constant threat to the civilian population of Israel's Galilee. . ." However, Briefing 342, quoted above, which is dated a month later (18.07.82) does not assign so much importance to this threat, which is placed within the overall context of terrorist activity against Jews and Israelis in the world in general. Mr. Baker took the same line when he stated that the events of the northern frontier were not the only ones to be taken into account. The Israeli retaliation had been in correct proportion to what had preceded it because the terrorism was very widespread and very dangerous.

For the Israelis the proportionality criterion is to be applied with allowance made for all acts of terrorism ascribed to the PLO in places other than the field of battle. Thus the assassination committed in April 1982 in Paris and the attempt on the life of the Israeli ambassador in London on 3 June 1982 are claimed to be violations of the cease-fire agreement of 24.08.81, which is considered to be generally applicable and not confined to one region alone.

The fact that the PLO is an extremely dangerous international terrorist organization is claimed to be proved by the massive presence of foreign terrorists in South Lebanon. Mr. Baker gave their number as 5,000, 300 of whom were Bengalis allied with the Palestinians.

The U.S.S.R. is claimed to be actively and powerfully supporting the terrorist organization, which is not acting in isolation but belongs to a world destabilization network (*Operation Peace for Galilee*, p. 65: "Proof of Soviet training to PLO terrorists").

For the Israeli government the scale of the operation undertaken in self-defence was in the right proportion to that of the attack. If, it claims, it had merely been a matter of the firing of rockets over the northern frontier of Israeli territory an operation not going beyond the river Litani would have sufficed; but the organization was operating on a worldwide scale

and it was necessary to destroy its headquarters and its infrastructure, located in Beirut, and this it is which explains the follow-through right up to the capital. The aggression, however, took place in Lebanese territory. What attitude does Israel adopt towards Lebanon?

Since Lebanon is not Palestinian territory, how was it possible to justify an aggression on Lebanese territory which could not but be an aggression against Lebanon itself?

The Israeli thesis on Lebanon is made up of four main points. Israel claims that there is no hostility between the two states, but merely between Israel and "Palestinian terrorism." As proof of this, the Israeli official spokesmen put forward the arguments given below:

Israel is not seeking to prolong its occupation of Lebanon, but merely to free Lebanon from the Palestinian terrorist occupation. On page 3 of Briefing 342 we read: "Israel has repeatedly affirmed that the operation is in no way directed against Lebanon as such, nor against the Lebanese people who have themselves welcomed the liberation from the usurpation of their country, including their capital city, by the PLO and its terrorist groups." The Ministry of Foreign Affairs even went so far as to say: "We have never occupied Lebanon and we are not now thinking of occupying Lebanese territory. . . What we want is to have a free and independent Lebanon whose land is not occupied by foreign troops" (Le Monde, 15.06.82, p. 4). It said this at a moment when Israeli troops were already occupying the whole of Lebanon south of Beirut.

There is claimed to have been no fighting with the Lebanese regular army, which kept at a distance from the scene of the engagements. Israel did not set up its own administration, but on the contrary restored the authority and effectiveness of the Lebanese civil administration (Briefing 342, p. 3).

It is further claimed that the armistice agreement of 22 March 1949 between Israel and Lebanon could not apply because the Lebanese state had left the PLO full latitude to violate the cease-fire, and the cease-fire had also been exploited as a means of giving increased build-up to the terrorist organization and re-deploying its forces. This breach of the armistice agreement had not in fact been complete; it had been a temporary one prompted by specific circumstances.

The central Lebanese government is stated to have implicity given its agreement to the Israeli intervention through the local authorities, which cooperated with Israel while remaining in touch with their government. This it is which is referred to in Briefing 342, when it is stated that "the Lebanese police, municipal, trade, social and financial authorities are functioning with all due contacts with the central Lebanese Government departments in Beirut. The local courts have resumed their activities after years of inaction and neglect."

The intervention, it is claimed, far from being designed to weaken Lebanon, was an attempt to restore that country's sovereignty, which is one of the prerequisites of Israel's own security.

2. The conduct of the operations.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, Israel claims that it adhered to international humanitarian law. The Israeli army is stated to have caused no deliberate destruction except such as the PLO had rendered necessary. It observed the UNESCO convention of 1954 on the protection of sites: the archaeological site at Sour was damaged not by the Israeli army but by the PLO, which used it as a munitions dump and barred its access to the Lebanese Directorate of Sites.

The houses and the camps are claimed not to have been destroyed systematically, but only where they had been turned into bunkers by the PLO. The same is supposed to apply to schools and hospitals. The Israeli army, it is maintained, made no deliberate attacks on the civilian population, whether Palestinian or Lebanese, and observed the provisions of the First Protocol additional to the Geneva Conventions (10.6.77) although it had not been a signatory. If the population suffered from the Israeli invasion, this was because its members had become the hostages of the PLO.

It is claimed that the Israeli army launched appeals for the evacuation of the civilian population and that the precautions taken to avoid harming civilians caused serious losses to Israeli troops: Israeli soldiers were killed because they had been reluctant to shoot at children who were taking part in the hostilities.

The civilian casualties were entirely due to the fact that the PLO had made hostages of the civilian population.

It will be seen that all the Israeli arguments, whether designed to legitimize the aggression or to justify the conduct of operations, are all based on the same diagnosis of the PLO as a terrorist organization.

This fabric of arguments must be demolished point by point, since it is the fabric which enables the Israeli government to assert, and to have it believed that it is in the right, both on the international scene and by Israeli public opinion.

Some Grounds for Criticism

Israel, while doing its best to take its arguments from international law, is deliberately placing itself outside the field governed by the norms of that law. This attitude towards it is a revealing reflection of the Israeli government's conception of what law is about: law must fit in with its own objectives, and there is no other law than that which justifies whatever Israel does. Israel has flouted all international decisions, it has refused to abide by Security Council Resolution 242 of 22.11.67, as it has refused to abide by Resolutions 508 and 509 of 5 and 6 June 1982, which were, moreover, adopted unanimously, Israeli troops broke through the lines of the United Nations forces responsible for maintaining peace in the region.

What are we to make of the Israeli arguments designed to justify the aggression? The following remarks may be made in this connection:

Self-Defence

Resolution 36/226A of the United Nations General Assembly qualifies the behaviour of Israel towards the Palestinian people as aggression. This means it is the Palestinian people, and not Israel, who would be entitled to use its right of self-defence.

To equate the PLO with a terrorist organization is to ignore the Organization's recognized observer status with the United Nations. The PLO is a national liberation movement representing a people and providing that people's institutional structures as a prelude to its achieving statehood. This it is which Israel is anxious to deny, for anything foreshadowing the future Palestinian state must be annihilated.

Israel includes the bomb outrages committed in Europe in the "aggression" from which it claims to have suffered, and denounces the U.S.S.R. as the instigator of international terrorism, in an attempt to show that in its reprisal action it has satisfied the criterion of proportionality; but this is utterly absurd. In the first place, Israel has disregarded the criterion of territory. The victim entitled to self-defence must have been attacked on its own territory and not on that of other states. In the second place, by presuming to take repisal action against terrorist acts occurring within their frontiers Israel has gravely usurped the sovereignty of such states as France and Great Britain. Such breaches of sovereignty significantly illustrate Begin's desire to give Israel an unlimited right of intervention.

Relations with the Lebanese Government

Israeli arguments on this subject are contradictory. How can Israel at one and the same time claim that the 1949 armistice agreement is not applicable and speak of an implicit agreement between the central Lebanese government and its own?

At the very beginning of the invasion the Lebanese government appealed to the United Nations. Furthermore, during the interview he granted the mission Mr. Baker was obliged to explain that in order to avoid taking over from the Lebanese administration the Israelis had had to beg the Lebanese civil servants to perform their regular tasks; it is clear from this that "collaboration" on the part of the said administration was not a foregone conclusion.

The contradictory nature of these arguments is the outcome of a more general contradiction in the Israeli position with regard to Lebanon as a state. Israel asserts that it intervened to defend the sovereignty of the Lebanese state while at the same time it failed in practice to acknowledge that sovereignty and indeed actually violated it. Thus as early as 17 May 1982 (Israel Information Centre Briefing No. 225), we find, successively, these two assertions: "Israel supports the independence of Lebanon and its territorial integrity and desires neighbourly and peaceful relations with it" and "Lebanon as an independent state has in fact ceased to exist."

Is it logical behaviour to say that Israel is not at war with Lebanon and to take Lebanese prisoners? Halfway through November 1982 there were still 1,063 Lebanese detainees in Israel (*Le Monde*, 10 November 1982).

In reality the Begin government's attitude towards Lebanon is contradictory only because it is doing its best to turn Lebanon into a protectorate, or in other words a state with limited sovereignty, and it is this ambition which explains the apparent inconsistencies in its arguments on the subject of Lebanese sovereignty.

The legal arguments are a poor attempt at concealing the Israeli government's true intentions, and the same may be said of its attempts to justify its conduct of operations.

With regard to the operations themselves the irrefutable and concordant accounts of personal experience quoted on subsequent pages are enough to deprive the Israeli attempts to vindicate themselves of any value whatever. The conduct of certain operations has been described in the most accurate detail by doctors and nurses, and it is clear from their accounts that it was a matter of systematic destruction of civilian targets and systematic attacks on the civilian population.

Furthermore, the Israeli line of argument is invalidated by Eric David's report on the Israeli intervention in Lebanon and the laws of war.

According to UNICEF, the air-raids on Beirut alone caused 29,506 casualties, fatal or otherwise, among them 11,840 children, 8,688 women, 2,409 men over 60, 5,469 men under 60 and 1,100 combatants (*Le Monde*, 08.09.82, p.4). This means that the ratio of combatant to civilian casualties was 1 to 28, and in view of the extreme accuracy of aim of which the Israelis are capable one is led to conclude that the harm inflicted on civilians was the consequence of a deliberate choice of terrorizing tactics. Terror raids are expressly forbidden by Article 51 §2 of the First Additional Protocol. The bombing of hospitals and medical units is likewise prohibited (First Geneva Convention, Arts. 19 and 21; Fourth Geneva Convention, Arts. 18 and 19). The weapons used, particularly the phosphorus, fragmentation and vacuum bombs, are further proofs of the deliberate choice of terror methods (*Le Monde*, 01.07.82, p. 2, 08.09.82, p. 1 and 2, and 28.08.82, p. 3). Phosphorus bombs, whose effects are particularly crippling, are strictly prohibited under the laws of war. Fragmentation bombs are designed to hit human targets and they were used on a vast scale by the Israeli army. Their indiscriminate and wholesale use is confirmed by the statement made by Dr. Giannou to the International Commission of Inquiry into the Israeli Crimes Committed against the Lebanese and Palestinian Peoples (Nicosia, 15-16.08.82).

Vacuum or implosion bombs were also used in Beirut. Two of them were enough to reduce a 10-storey building housing 200 refugees to a heap of ruins ten feet in height (*Le Monde*, 08.09.82, pp. 1-2).

The brutality of these operations was such that their culminating point was the organization of the Sabra and Shatila massacres on 16, 17 and 18 September 1982, with the help of the Christian militias. These were not gratuitous acts to be explained as spontaneous pieces of savagery on the part of mobs of soldiers. Presumably Begin had two objectives in mind, namely:

1. The destruction of the Palestinian people's entire institutional and social structures.

As has already been said, what the Israeli government is anxious to destroy is not terrorism; it is anything that may foreshadow or foretell the coming of a future Palestinian state, and it was for this reason that the health and social services in South Lebanon were destroyed. There is an obvious parallel between this desire to deprive the Palestinians in South Lebanon of their organized structures and the policy pursued in the occupied territories (West Bank and Gaza), where mayors regularly elected have been removed from office, institutional structures have been attacked, etc.

2. A new mass exodus of Palestinians.

In attacking the civilian population and civilian objectives, the Israeli army has been seeking to create a feeling of insecurity, and the Sabra and Shatila massacres form a logical part of that same strategy.

We should remember the case of the village of Deir Yassin near Jerusalem where, in April 1948, the civilian population was massacred in cold blood by Begin's men, with the result that most of the Palestinian population of what was subsequently to become Israel fled the country. The recent acts of terror (which we may qualify as state terrorism) were committed with the same end in view. Such acts are designed at once to drive the Palestinian refugees of Lebanon still further away, thus condemning them to mass emigration yet again, and to instil a feeling of fear into the population of the occupied territories, revive memories of Deir Yassin, and prompt them to flee in their turn, in preparation for the establishment of "Greater Israel," with land at its disposal from which the inhabitants have been removed.

Is a purported terrorism not serving as a pretext for a terrorism which is real and systematic?

The Effect of the Israeli Aggression in Lebanon on the Position of the Palestinians

For a really complete analysis of the situation, a study would need to be made of the consequences of the war in Lebanon for the Palestinians wherever they are: the refugees in South Lebanon and those who are held prisoner, the refugees in the other Arab countries, particularly Jordan, those who are Israeli "citizens" and, of course, the Palestinians of the occupied territories. The time at our disposal and the geographical limits set to our mission were such as to enable us to examine only the situation of those living on the West Bank and in Gaza.

During the long weeks for which the war lasted, the Israeli Arabs were doubtless forgotten. Attention was focussed on South Lebanon and on Beirut, with from time to time a glance at the occupied territories; but the Palestinians of Israel were scarcely mentioned either in speeches or in the world press. Yet for them the conflict was particularly heartrending: if we except the 1948 war, this was the first Israeli-Palestinian conflict on so large a scale, and the basic objective of the Israeli offensive was neither Lebanese nor even Syrian, but Palestinian. These "Israeli citizens" were thus obliged to witness an unequal war against their own people without being able to intervene. The situation was all the more tragic in that the Arabs in the north of Israel have numerous personal ties with the Palestinians of South Lebanon.

There were big protest demonstrations in Galilee, especially in Nazareth, and they were put down with extreme brutality, very probably at the cost of several dozen deaths. The mayor of Nazareth, Tewik Zeyyad, who is also a Member of the Knesset, was physically expelled from the House when, on the outbreak of war, he yelled out his opposition to it.

We were able to meet Tewik Zeyyad. In his opinion it is a "war of extermination"; the massacres of Sabra and Shatila are not the first; everyone knows about Deir Yassin, but there have been a great many others, in the region of Nazareth particularly. The aim of the Israelis is thus "to wipe out the Palestinians, expel the Syrians and set up a puppet government which would agree to a peace treaty."

Tewik Zeyyad considers however, that for Begin the war has, on balance, been a political and military defeat. "On the Palestinian question several years' progress have been accomplished. . . whereas the position of Israel is as bad as it could be." The Palestinians in the occupied territories are more determined than ever to refuse the autonomy it is sought to impose on them. The one way out of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict lies, in Tewik Zeyyad's opinion, in the creation of a Palestinian state side by side with Israel; this would imply "the withdrawal of the Israelis from all occupied territories (including the Golan), and self-determination for the Palestinians under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative."

This verdict on the situation is not surprising: it emphatically reminds us—were there any need—of the intensity of the Palestinian national feeling inspiring one of the foremost leaders of the Israeli Arabs. Yet his personal political demands take a completely different form: there is no question of his belonging to the new nation-state himself: "We shall remain Israeli Arabs. We shall leave only as dead bodies. . . We shall form a Palestinian national community within the Israeli state . . . We insist on being granted all the rights which Israeli citizenship carries with it."

This determination to remain on their own soil at whatever cost appears to be all the stronger in that the war in Lebanon has revived the haunting fear of being expelled from their lands. Tewik Zeyyad reminded us that the official in charge of the Northern Region (of Israel) had several times repeated that the Israeli Arabs represented "a cancer." It is easy to understand these fears when one is familar with the ambitious schemes for Judaizing Galilee, and when one remembers the Koenig Report or the more recent Drobles Report.

On the whole we found the Mayor of Nazareth's conclusions somewhat pessimistic; in a sense they resembled those of Professor Leibovicz when the latter spoke of the road to catastrophe.

Clearly the summer of 1982 was a turning point in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and in the circumstances we feel it is necessary to present the various measures adopted by the occupation authorities within their overall political context. Any decision, whether by the civilian administration or by the military government, has invariably formed part of a specific strategy; since the events in Lebanon the implementation of this political strategy has gathered momentum, assumed a clearer form, and begun to express itself in *faits accomplis* which in a sense are bringing things to the threshold of the irreversible.

In invading Lebanon Mr. Begin's government was pursuing a certain number of objectives designed to enable him subsequently to impose his own strategy for the settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The Objectives

These are now well known. We will here concern ourselves only with the ones affecting the occupied territories.

The "Peace for Galilee" operation was essentially intended as a means of completely destroyed the PLO infrastructures in Lebanon, with all the consequences this involved: war to a finish not only with the fedayeen, but against the Palestinian civilian population too. Thus the refugee camps, considered to be the nerve-centres of political and armed resistance, were to be totally destroyed, and the civilian population would be terrorized as

a result and forced to disperse, or in other words to exile itself to some yet further place.

In view of the all-out nature of the onslaught on Beirut and of the type of weapons used, there can be no possible doubt as to the intentions of the Israeli army. It used phosphorus bombs on readily inflammable objectives or in order to cause direct loss of human life, fragmentation bombs in order to hit human targets more easily and cause infinitely grave injuries, and vacuum bombs capable of destroying a large building following a single hit.

There is scarcely any doubt either as to the desire of the Israeli government to kill off the main leaders of the resistance movement. In the middle of the war Menahem Begin publicly declared: "Arafat must be liquidated." And in a recent interview Ariel Sharon remarked: "I made these murderers" (i.e. the PLO leaders) "a present; I left them their lives."

As the Israeli strategists saw it, the uprooting of the PLO in Lebanon was to have two series of consequences, namely:

1. After so fearful a shock, what remained of the Palestinian organization would certainly be condemned to split up and to crumble away into innumerable fragmentary and splinter groups, some among which could be relied on to launch into undiscerning terrorism. Thus after being destroyed in the field the PLO would become politically discredited in the eyes of world public opinion.

2. Once rid of the so-called "terrorist organization," Mr. Begin would be able to impose his conception of autonomy in the occupied territories, since the Palestinian nationalists within these territories would find themselves totally isolated, deprived from now on of the very substantial political support previously afforded them by the PLO.

From this point of view the war in Lebanon and the policy pursued in the occupied territories represent two aspects of a single strategy. In effect, the war was an essential stage in the implementation of Begin's policy of annexing the West Bank and Gaza.

It was in this connection that we referred above to the notion of the irreversible, and the Palestinian leaders understood the position immediately; as early as 6 June Bassam Chakaa stated: "These attacks are a continuation of the war of elimination against the Palestinians. . . They are bound up with the oppressive measures adopted by the occupation authorities against our nation."

In all the people we spoke to, the dominant feeling was national pride. The Palestinians are proud that the PLO should have been capable of achieving in the field, and for a whole two months, what Arab armies had never been able to achieve in any of their innumerable encounters with Israel. It had been the Palestinians, fighting alone, who had succeeded in resisting the most powerful army in the region—an army which, moreover, enjoyed the support of the United States and the connivance of

certain Arab countries. The people we interviewed were thus loud in their praise of the Palestinian national entity and severely critical of the attitude of the Arab world. Once again, the assertion of Palestinian nationhood is developing in opposition to Israel and in opposition to the Arab states.

Furthermore, the departure of the Palestinian troops from Beirut was taken very well. It was seen as a demonstration of the ability of the PLO to withdraw from the conflict with dignity and honour in order to save the town of Beirut from disaster.

When all is said, the Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories consider that the PLO has come through so difficult a trial with its prestige increased. It has won an important political victory, visible among other things in the fact that world public opinion should have fully discovered the valid nature of the Palestinian cause. This change in the situation has been confirmed by a number of diplomatic events, the first of which has been the meeting between Yasser Arafat and John-Paul II.

It may be said with no great fear of being mistaken that events in Lebanon have still further increased the determination of the Palestinians of the occupied territories. From this point of view, Mr. Begin's objectives have certainly not been achieved; in fact, he himself recognizes the fact when he violently accuses France of saving the PLO. This is a complaint repeated on their own behalf by several of the Israelis we interviewed, although they were people of moderate views.

The Palestinians are nevertheless extremely worried about the development of the situation on the West Bank and in Gaza during the coming months. In this connection, two questions call for an answer:

1. What are to be the political consequences for the occupied territories of the dispersal and departure of the PLO?

Up to the war in the summer of 1982, the Palestinian national resistance movement could look for support to the powerful PLO infrastructure in Lebanon. But henceforward the forces of the PLO are going to remain scattered over the Arab world, and its institutional organization has been weakened. Furthermore—and perhaps most serious of all—its high command is roaming about in search of a permanent headquarters which is not a dead end—a centre close to the theatre of hostilities where the Palestinians could enjoy genuine independence. It is something of a problem of squaring the circle. Tunis? Damascus? Amman? Cairo?

In such circumstances the problems relating to the rebuilding of internal structures have assumed primary importance for the PLO leaders, together, of course, with the study of the strategy to be now adopted. Hence the Palestinians inside the occupied territories believe that for an indefinite period they are going to find themselves having to face Israel practically alone. As Dr. Hamzeh put it, "During the coming period, everything is going to fall on our shoulders."

This political juncture would appear to be a particularly difficult one for the nationalists of the West Bank and Gaza in that it may encourage the emergence of trends favourable to Jordan the followers of which might be drawn into a process of negotiations from which the PLO would be excluded.

In this respect, the position of the Mayor of Bethlehem (Mr. E. Frej) is highly significant. Just before receiving us he had said, in an interview intended for U.S. television, "We want peace in freedom . . . The PLO does not recognize Israel's right to existence, but we do." This message, designed for public opinion in the United States, appears to us to reveal the existence of a potential strategy in which the United States and Jordan would play a decisive part. We are not, in fact, very far here from the line adopted in the Reagan plan. But in reality it would be quite wrong to supose that the die is cast. The situation is such as to call for extremely subtle tactics. Though the Mayor may effectively make overtures of this kind, he continues at the same time to proclaim his support for the PLO. In mid-November 1982 Mr. Frej published together with other leaders from the occupied territories an important statement in favour of mutual recognition between the PLO and Israel in which the authors also expressed their support for the idea of a *rapproachement* between the Jordanian government and the PLO.

2. The second question is whether or not the PLO's political victory will be lasting.

Even though the resistance movement may effectively, in the course of these tragic months, have gained very considerably in credibility and prestige, there are no grounds today for claiming that it is on the road to an overall settlement. All the initiatives recently taken by Yasser Arafat - the acceptance of the Fez plan, the reassuring interview with the Pope, the readiness to negotiate with Jordan, etc. - would appear to be in the nature of attempts to fasten the PLO to political foundations as a prelude to finding its rightful place in a process of negotiations.

There are numerous - and many mutually hostile - interests which are liable to join forces to prevent success of the PLO from leading to a political settlement involving recognition of the national rights of the Palestinians. We will not here go into the intricacies of what is a difficult problem, but it is clear that some of the interests and forces in question are to be found inside the Arab world.

Many of the Palestinians we spoke to consider that time is not on their side. What, indeed, would remain of the PLO's political victory if it could not be rapidly exploited? Menahem Begin would have his hands free to put his strategy into practice, and nothing would really be able to halt him in his intention of achieving the "autonomy" of the occupied territories in the form of annexation.

The Strategy

No later than 18 October, when the Knesset reassembled, Begin made a speech which left no doubt as to his intentions. A few extracts are quoted below.

"Anyone who said that Judaea, Samaria and Gaza lay outside the frontiers of Eretz Israel or upheld the grotesque suggestion that these lands should be annexed by Jordan, would in fact be agreeing to the establishment of a Palestinian state governed by Yasser Arafat. . . If the PLO extends its control to Judaea and Samaria they will be totally in its grasp. . . and nothing will prevent it from strengthening its alliance with the Soviet Union. . . It would be an irony of fate if the Israeli Defence Forces needed to re-enter Jenin, Nablus, Hebron and Bethlehem to defeat the enemy and so return to towns where we were already. . .

"Under present conditions, with the autonomy plan we have proposed, we may hope for a long period of peace. . . with Lebanon, peace should be able to establish itself. . . and neither Syria nor Jordan would be irresponsible enough to attack us. . .

"If, on the contrary, a Palestinian state is set up in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza, even as part of a federation with Jordan, we shall still be obliged to live on the defensive. . .

"The land of our ancestors rightly belongs to our people; we were expelled by force and we are returning by the force of law."

These themes are not new. But what matters, we feel, is the fact that Menahem Begin should have solemnly re-stated them on the very day when Parliament re-assembled after the events in Lebanon.

The Palestinians in the occupied territories are very much afraid that the fulfilment of all the political conditions for the practical adoption of this strategy may be imminent. If this should be so, they know their determination would weigh very little in comparison with the might of Israel. Their anxiety is particularly acute in that they can scarcely see any political forces in Israel itself with which it might be possible to open relations on a basis other than that of a mere balance of power.

The position adopted by the Labour Party rules out the idea of recognition of the Palestinian people's natural rights quite as categorically. The same day, in the Knesset, Shimon Peres replied to Menahem Begin. He began by criticizing the Begin project from a demographic point of view: "To annex the West Bank is to endanger the existence of a democratic Jewish state and in reality to create a binational federation inside the Israeli state. What would happen to the minority of Jewish settlers in Judaea and Samaria—even if it represents 100,000 people—among 800,000 Arabs?. . . The existence of a Jewish state implies a substantial majority of Jews and hence is incompatible with the annexation of these territories."

Just as categorically, Shimon Peres rejects the possibility of a Palestinian state in Judaea and Samaria, "because our geographical situation does not permit it."

At the same time he rejects any prospect of negotiations with the PLO, since they would lead to the creation of a Palestinian state.

Concretely, he proposes to open negotiations with Jordan on the basis of a certain number of principles: demilitarization of the West Bank, deployment of Israeli defence forces along the Jordan, and establishment of safety zones including the Jordan Valley, Gush Etzion, the north-west shores of the Dead Sea and the area round Jerusalem. These zones would be placed under Israeli control during the transitional period and would then become a part of the Jewish State. Jerusalem, once unified, would remain the Israeli capital. This is the "Jordan option," and is not in fact very far-removed from the Reagan plan.

Although this approach rules out any recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, in our opinion it must not be looked at in the same light as that of the Likud. With Begin, the situation appears to allow of no possible progress whatever, and the Palestinians in the occupied territories are really and truly backs to the wall. With the Labour Party a procedure would be set in motion and as a result the terrible stranglehold on the occupied territories would be slightly relaxed, and according to the Palestinians we talked to the situation would undergo a very mild change.

There exist political movements in Israel—the Sheli, Rakah and Mapam—which are anxious to open relations with the Palestinians, but they are very small minority groups.

In conclusion, we see that for the Palestinians on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip the issue involved in the war in Lebanon and the consequences of the war are extremely important. All the measures adopted in these territories must always be seen as a part of Menahem Begin's overall strategy.

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"The Israeli intervention in Lebanon has been marked by an almost uninterrupted series of violations both of the law deriving from the Hague Convention (which governs methods of fighting) and of that deriving from the Geneva Conventions and relating to the situation of persons in enemy hands."

On June 3, 1982, an attempt was made to assassinate the Israeli Ambassador in London. Though the act was immediately denounced and condemned by the PLO, Israel still used it as a pretext for bombing the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps, killing somewhere between 60 and 200 people and injuring a further 270 or thereabouts, most of them civilians. PLO reprisal shelling in the direction of Galilee caused in all a few non-fatal casualties and the almost accidental death of one Israeli soldier.

On 6 June, the Israeli forces invaded Lebanon. They surrounded and partly or wholly destroyed several refugee camps, as well as the towns of Sour and Sayda. By 9 June they had reached Beirut and began to lay siege to the western portion of the town, where several thousand Palestinians had taken refuge. For over two months the town was subjected to intense and repeated bombings and to a complete economic blockade.

With the aid of the U.S. envoy Philip Habib, who acted as mediator, an agreement was ultimately reached under which Beirut was to be evacuated by the Palestinian combatants under the protection of an international peace-keeping force composed of French, Italian and U.S. troops. Between 21 August and 1 September 1982, 11,500 Israeli combatants and 2,000 Syrian soldiers left the town.

On 14 September the new Lebanese President, Bechir Gemayel, was assassinated. The next day Israeli troops entered West Beirut. On 16 September members of the Christian militias carried out the most appalling massacres in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. The international peace-keeping force returned to Beirut on 23 September.

In the present paper we shall do our best to determine whether the law of war as a whole is applicable to the whole of the Lebanese situation and, if so, whether it has been duly observed.

Effective Applicability of the Laws and Customs of War to the Israeli Intervention in Lebanon

There are several questions to be answered under this heading. Is the law of war applicable to the situation created by the Israeli intervention?

More particularly, is it applicable not merely to the relations between Israel and Lebanon but also to relations between Israel and the Palestinians? If it is, what are the provisions of that law which are binding on the parties to the conflict?

Applicability of the Law of War to Relations Between Israel and Lebanon

It may appear strange that the applicability of the law of war to the situation in Lebanon should be the subject of the slightest doubt. However, doubt in the matter could arise out of the fact that Israel is claiming to be making war not on Lebanon but only on the "terrorists" to be found there.

In a letter which reached the Security Council on 7 June, the Israeli government claimed that the "Peace for Galilee" operation had been launched because of the intolerable situation created in Lebanon by the presence of a large number of terrorists operating from that country, who were equipped with long-range weapons and were a threat to the life of the civilian population of Galilee.

During the discussion at the Security Council on 8 and on 25 June 1982, the Israeli representative, Yehuda Blum, specifically stated several times over that his country had no territorial ambitions in Lebanon, that it supported Lebanese sovereignty and that its action there was merely in exercise of its inherent right to self-defence. All it wanted was to see the security of the Israelis in the region ensured "once and for all."

Meanwhile the Israeli foreign minister, Mr. Shamir, had stated:

"We have never occupied Lebanon" (sic), "and we do not now evisage occupying Lebanese territory. What we want is to have a free and independent Lebanon whose land is not occupied by alien forces."

One might almost in fact be led to suppose that "Peace for Galilee" was merely a police operation designed to help the Lebanese government combat the presence of foreign troops on its territory.

We are most familiar with this type of argument. When it invaded Belgium and the Netherlands on 10 May 1940, Nazi Germany likewise claimed to be helping those countries preserve their neutrality against the threat from France and Great Britain. In fact, in order to preclude any misunderstanding the German government pointed out:

"The German troops are not coming as enemies of the Belgian people and the Dutch people. . . Germany does not intend, by these measures, to commit a breach, either now or in the future, of the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Belgium or the Kingdom of the Netherlands. . ."

However, this did not prevent a state of war from existing between the countries concerned, warranting the applicability of all the laws of war,

and not the slightest doubt was ever expressed in the matter. The same is now true of the Israeli intervention in Lebanon, since:

1. In law, the relations between the two states are governed by the armistice agreement of 23 March 1949, and the various cease-fires ordered by the Security Council or negotiated under the aegis of the United Nations following individual incidents. But whereas an armistice agreement or cease-fire puts an end to actual fighting, it is traditionally admitted that it does not end the state of war.

2. Even independently of this, an armed intervention of the type for which Israel has been responsible in Lebanon necessarily creates a state of war between the two states involved and brings into force the corresponding laws and regulations. Art. 2 of each of the four Geneva Conventions stipulates that these are applicable.

"To all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between tow or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them."

In its commentary on this provision, the I.C.R.C. points out that what matters is not the legal definition of war but whether or not there has been intervention by members of the armed forces of the parties concerned:

"It is possible to argue almost endlessly about the legal definition of 'war'! A State which uses arms to commit a hostile act against another State can always maintain that it is not making war, but merely engaging in a police action, or acting in legitimate self-defence. The expression 'armed conflict' makes such arguments less easy. Any difference arising between two States and leading to the intervention of members of the armed forces is an armed conflict within the meaning of Article 2, even if one of the Parties denies the existence of a state of war."

It is true that this explanation as such concerns only the criteria for the applicability of the Geneva Conventions to armed conflicts, but it is also valid as regards the applicability to a given case of the law of war as a whole, i.e. of both the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Conventions.

The first Additional Protocol of 10 June 1977, which combines the Hague and Geneva provisions, stipulates that these shall apply "in the situation referred to in Article 2." Though this Protocol has been ratified neither by Israel nor by Lebanon, it is permissible to suppose that both are bound by this stipulation insofar as it merely enunciates a customary rule of interpretation, and in fact it was expressly approved by Israel at the Diplomatic Conference (1974-1977).

However, it still remains to be determined whether there exists a dispute between Israel and Lebanon.

3. Should anyone still doubt whether such a dispute really exists, notwithstanding the Israeli alliance with certain Christian forces such as the Haddad militias in the south, it will suffice to observe that it was Lebanon which complained to the Security Council following the Israeli air-raids,

which it held to be a breach of the armistice agreement of 1949, of Resolution 425 of the Security Council and its successors, and of the elementary principles of international law. Moreover, during the discussion by the Security Council the Lebanese delegate, Mr. Ghassan Tueni, was to emphasize that what the Israeli intervention imperilled were Lebanese independence and territorial sovereignty, while President Sarkis ordered the Lebanese troops to fight against Israel and his order was to be obeyed by the Shiite militias which had previously been fighting the Palestinians.

Those who, in Israel, are talking of freeing Lebanon of the foreign troops stationed there, beginning with the PLO, must be reminded that the presence of the latter's forces on its soil was accepted by Lebanon under the provisions of the agreements made with it in 1969, 1973 and 1977.

Hence it is perfectly correct to speak of an "armed conflict" between Israel and Lebanon.

4. In demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal by Israel of all its military forces to within its own frontiers and calling for a complete end to hostilities, the Security Council has implicitly acknowledged that there exists an armed conflict between the two states. Further, the applicability of the laws of war to this situation is expressly asserted in a draft resolution which among other things urges the parties strictly to observe the Regulations annexed to the Hague Convention of 1907. This draft—which also condemns Israel for failing to obey Resolutions 508 and 509—secured 14 votes but was not adopted owing to the hostile vote of the United States, whose representative claimed that its wording was not "sufficiently balanced." However, the objection raised did not apply to the paragraph on the observance of the Hague provisions. In other words, all 15 members of the Security Council agreed with the assertion that the laws of war were applicable to the situation in Lebanon.

Thus the situation between Israel and Lebanon definitely resembles an international armed conflict governed by the law of war in its entirety. This is adequately proved by a scrutiny of the circumstances of the case and has been confirmed by the members of the Security Council, while Israel itself informed the I.C.R.C. that it would abide by the 1949 Geneva Conventions in the course of its operations and do its utmost to observe the provisions of the First Additional Protocol concerning the protection of civilians against the direct consequences of hostilities. This of course applies to the Syrians and Palestinians as well as the Lebanese.

Applicability of the Law of War to Relations Between Israel and the Palestinians

Israel might nevertheless be tempted to make a nice distinction between its hostilities with Lebanon, to which the law of war would be applicable in its entirety, and its engagements with the Palestinians and the forces of the PLO, to which they might claim that it was not, since the latter did not count as a state and the law of war in its entirety was applicable only to actual inter-state conflicts.

This is in fact to a certain extent the argument used with regard to the Palestinian prisoners, who are classed as "terrorists" and denied prisoner-of-war status

However, as we shall see, there can be no question, in the case in point, of making the laws of war applicable only to a part of the hostilities, and the fighting between the Israelis and the Palestinians is subject to the same rules as the fighting between the Israelis and the Lebanese.

1. The Palestinian people's fight against Israel is a war of national liberation which as such is to be treated in the same way as an international armed conflict and hence to be governed by the law of war in its entirety.

Under Art. 2, which is common to each of the four 1949 Geneva Conventions, and Art. 1 §3 of the First Additional Protocol, the Geneva and the Hague Conventions are applicable in their entirety only to international conflicts. But such conflicts include national liberation struggles, i.e.:

"armed conflicts in which people are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right to self-determination" (1st Additional Protocol, Art. 1 §4).

The Palestinian people's resistance to Israel fits into this category of conflict, in the first place because the Israeli occupation, at least on the West Bank and in Gaza, is a foreign occupation within the meaning of the provision, and as such must be brought to an end, and in the second because the United Nations have expressly recognized:

"the legality of the peoples' struggle for self-determination and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation. . . and in particular that. . . of the Palestinian people."

What matters for us here is not so much the legality of the struggle-which in fact has no bearing on the law of war, the latter being based on the equality of the belligerents—as the fact that the war has been expressly qualified as a war of national liberation. Since, as we have seen, it is considered as the equivalent of an armed conflict, it is governed *ipso jure* by the law of war as a whole.

Unfortunately, Israel has never accepted the principle of so qualifying the war, and voted for neither Resolution 2787 (XXVI) nor Article 1 §4 of the First Additional Protocol which, moreover, it shows no signs of wishing to ratify. Hence it is entitled to deny the validity of an objection which, though approved by most of the international community, has been refused approval by some of the Western States.

2. Since we cannot therefore avail ourselves of the concept of a war of

national liberation as valid for rejecting Israeli claims to be acting legally, we will take instead the PLO's express declaration, made under Art. 96 §3 of the First Protocol, that it undertakes to apply both the said Protocol and the Geneva Conventions. The article in question entitles a national liberation movement to make a declaration of the type in respect of its armed conflict with a colonial power, an alien occupying power or a racist regime, and the PLO made its declaration on 7 June 1972 to the depositary of the Conventions and Protocols, i.e. the Swiss Federal Council, which acknowledged receipt of it.

Is this sufficient to make these instruments binding on Israel? It would look as though our reply must necessarily be in the negative. Not only has Israel failed to ratify the Protocols; it even expressly opposed the adoption of Art. 96 §3 during the Diplomatic Conference of 1974-1977.

This being the case, it would appear difficult to counter the Israeli position with the aid of a provision which remains, after all, something of an exception in international treaty law, entitling, as it does, an entity which need not necessarily be a state to become, as it were, a party to a multilateral treaty.

However, Israel does not appear to have displayed any official reaction to the PLO's declaration, and it should further be observed that Art. 96 §3, far from being an innovation, merely gives official sanction to a practice of long standing: we have only to recall how on 20 June 1960 the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic regularly acceded to the four Geneva Conventions, followed, in 1974, by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and by Guinea-Bissau. Whereas at the time certain states which were directly concerned—namely France and South Vietnam—denied the validity of these accessions in international law, Israel, which, as a party to the Conventions, was likewise concerned, did not display any negative reaction. Hence its silence, both then and now, might well provide a valid argument against its present claims. "Qui tacet consentire videtur si loqui debuisset ac potuisset."

Indeed, if it is recalled that during the war in Palestine in 1948 the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Vaad Leumi on the one side and the Arab High Committee and Secretariat General of the Arab League on the other declared themselves willing to observe the Geneva Conventions it will be seen that Israel is illplaced today to question the validity of the PLO's declaration.

Israel can, of course, deny that the First Protocol is applicable (except for the provisions which merely re-state customary practice), since it has not ratified it itself; it is clear, however, from its earlier beaviour that it has become impossible for it to prevent its relations with the PLO from being governed by the Geneva Conventions.

3. In case the above conclusions are found to be over-bold, or even of doubtful validity, it is also possible to justify the general applicability of

the law of war to relations between Israel and the Palestinians on the grounds that they are an aspect of the relations between Israel and Lebanon. Since the Palestinians and the PLO are under the authority and sovereignty of Lebanon, the international law binding on that country must affect them just as much as the rest of the population.

The problem is not a new one: it was raised during the Second World War in connection with the status of the Free French (Gaullist) combatants taken prisoner by Germany. Following the intervention of the I.C.R.C., Germany declared that she considered the members of these forces to be "fighters for England," and agreed to grant prisoner-of-war status to any who were captured.

During the conference of government experts called to draft what were to become the 1949 Geneva Conventions, it was decided that forces fighting for an authority not recognized by the enemy they were fighting against would be entitled to the protection afforded under the Third Convention provided they were fighting "side by side" with a state recognized by that enemy as a regular belligerent. *Mutatis mutandis*, this exactly fits the case of the Palestinians fighting against the Israeli forces in Lebanon. Moreover, the provision in question was dropped during the Diplomatic Conference of 1949, which simply agreed that among the persons in enemy hands who were to enjoy prisoner-of-war status there should be included:

"Members of regular armed forces who profess allegiance to a government or an authority not recognized by the Detaining Power" (Art. 4, A, §3 of Convention III).

What is essential to our purpose here is that neither the text of the Convention nor the commentary published by the I.C.R.C. actually stipulates in so many words that the said authority should be a regularly constituted state; it will suffice for it to be recognized by other states and for it "to declare that it accepts the obligations provided for in the Convention", as in effect the PLO has done.

The PLO and the Palestinian fighters are thus doubly entitled to enjoy the protection of the Third Geneva Convention: they are fighting side by side with the Lebanese forces and they are, further, organized as the regular forces of an "authority" not recognized by the Detaining Power which has accepted the obligations it provides for. The same is true of the other three Conventions, since the PLO has undertaken to implement all four, and, by inference, of the rest of humanitarian law.

4. Even if, notwithstanding all we have just said, the PLO's accession to the Conventions were to remain invalid as far as Israel is concerned—*quod non*—it still remains that as a population living under Lebanese sovereignty the Palestinians have the same claim as the Lebanese themselves to the protection of the law of war as a whole.

It will doubtless be observed that Art. 4 §2 of the Fourth Geneva Convention stipulates:

"Nationals of a state which is not bound by the Convention are not protected by it."

This, however, must mean one of two things. Either the Palestinians are in reality nationals of Jordan, Syria or some other state and hence are protected by the law of war insofar as it is binding on their country of origin, or else they are stateless, in which case it would be absolutely contrary to the spirit of humanitarian law for them to remain outside it. Such an eventuality is so very absurd and inhuman as necessarily to lead to the conclusion that, should the Palestinians be denied any form of statehood and any nationality whatever, they would be protected by the law of war binding on the state where they were living. In actual fact Israel does not deny that the law of war is applicable to the Palestinians, but it refuses them the protection of the 3rd Geneva Convention.

The Provisions of the Law of War Binding on The Parties

This point has been dealt with implicitly in the foregoing pages, and we will confine ourselves here to remarking that:

1. Lebanon and Israel have been parties to the 1949 Geneva Conventions since 10 April and 6 July 1951 respectively; they are also parties to the Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property and the Protocol annexed to it, both of which were adopted on 14 May 1954 and which were signed by Lebanon on 1 June 1960 and by Israel on 3 October 1957 and 1 April 1958 respectively.

2. As we have seen, on 7 June 1982 the PLO formally undertook to implement the 1949 Conventions and the First Additional Protocol.

3. Though neither of the parties has formally acceded to the Fourth Hague Convention of 18 October 1907, the Regulations annexed to which serve to codify the laws and customs of war on land, it remains a fact that these regulations are considered as the "written expression of international custom" and that no state would today be entitled to claim that it was not bound by them merely because it had not been a party to them.

Hence the Hague provisions, as a part of customary law, are effectively binding on the parties to the conflict. The Nuremberg International Military Tribunal held that Germany was bound by them, even though she had not officially acceded to them, since they were rules "accepted by civilized states" and considered by them to be "the codified expression of the laws and customs of war."

On the same basis it is also permissible to consider that the rules contained in the First Additional Protocol of 1977, insofar as they merely re-

state existent laws and customs of war, may as provisions of customary law be invoked against all parties to the conflict, whether signatories or not. The same is true of the United Nations Convention of 10 October 1980 prohibiting or restricting the use of certain conventional weapons which may be considered to cause excessive suffering or to be indiscriminate in their effects.

To conclude this chapter: while it has now been shown that the law of war as a whole was, and still is, applicable to all aspects of the Israeli intervention in Lebanon, it remains to be seen how far it has been obeyed.

Effective Violation of the Laws and Customs of War Throughout the Israeli Intervention in Lebanon

The Israeli intervention in Lebanon has been marked by an almost uninterrupted series of violations both of the law deriving from the Hague Convention (which governs methods of fighting) and of that deriving from the Geneva Conventions and relating to the situation of persons in enemy hands. This is not the place for an exhaustive and detailed list of these violations, and we will confine ourselves to drawing attention to a certain number of facts publicized by the international press and showing how these are breaches of the law of war.

The Methods of Warfare Adopted

The methods used during the conflict were contrary to the laws of war in respect both of the choice of objectives and of the means employed.

1. *The objectives chosen: bombing of non-military targets*

a. *Some facts*

As noted at sufficient length by press correspondents and eyewitnesses, Israel bombed a large number of purely civilian targets: refugee camps, columns of refugees, hospitals, old people's homes, hotels, embassies and private homes (in particular during the large-scale raids on whole districts of West Beirut on 1, 8-9 and 11-12 August).

Some of the figures are particularly significant. According to Lebanese provisional statistics, the Israeli bombings killed about 17,000 people between June and August 1982 and injured a further 30,000. According to UNICEF, the raids on Beirut alone caused 29,506 fatal or non-fatal casualties, 11,840 of which were children, 8,688 of which were women, 2,409 men over 60, 5,469 men under 60 and 1,100 actual combatants. Another more or less United Nations source quotes—again for Beirut—the figure of 36,687 dead or injured, with a similar proportion of civilians to combatants. If these figures are accurate the ratio of combatants to civilian victims could be 1 to 28. Such data speak for themselves.

To justify itself Israel has claimed that it was extremely difficult to distinguish military from civilian targets. Here is an extract from an interview granted by Ariel Sharon to Mrs. O. Fallaci:

A.S.: "I know, too that we never bombed civilians deliberately. Most of the air-raids. . . were on places where the terrorists had their bases and headquarters, i.e. south of the Boulevard Mazraa in the Fakhani district."

O.F.: "But Fakhani is not the only place you bombed. You bombed the centre as well. The houses, hospitals, hotels, schools, embassies. . ."

A.S.: "No! no! no! We hit them because they were close to the military installations which made targets of them! We hit them because the terrorists were shielding themselves behind the population. . ."

This attempted justification scarcely holds water when set against personal testimonies which emphasize the extreme accuracy of Israeli bombing. In Sayda none of the buildings where weapons had been placed was hit, while in Sour all the buildings on the sea-front were destroyed except, precisely, that of the PLO which contained a stock of arms. Jacques Huntziger was to state on his return from Lebanon:

"One has the impression that certain pieces of bomb damage were done selectively. The raiders were perfectly aware of what they were to destroy, whether it was the residence of the French Ambassador, the buildings housing journalists or those housing the political leaders. Hence these were methodical operations which were certainly part of a whole strategy."

b. *The legal aspect*

1°) The prohibition on attacking civilian objectives is over a hundred years old, since as long ago as 1868 the St. Petersburg Declaration (29 November -- 11 December) stated:

"The only legitimate object which States should endeavour to accomplish during war is to weaken the military forces of the enemy." And on the eve of the Second World War the League of Nations Assembly adopted a Resolution declaring the intentional bombing of civilian populations to be contrary to law. Subsequently, and in its turn, the United Nations General Assembly adopted as "fundamental principles," without any opposition or reservation on the part of Israel that:

"2. In the conduct of military operations during armed conflicts, a distinction must be made at all times between persons actively taking part in the hostilities and civilian populations.

3. In the conduct of military operations, every effort should be made to spare civilian populations from the ravages of war, and all necessary precautions should be taken to avoid injury, loss or damage to civilian populations.

4. Civilian populations as such should not be the object of military operations."

It is quite clear that in the light of these various principles the bombings of civilians which have taken place in Lebanon were all flagrant breaches of the law of war.

2°) We are obliged, nevertheless, for the sake of objectivity, to observe that the prohibition of the bombing of civilians is not always stated in such absolute terms. Thus Article 25 of the Regulations annexed to Hague Conventions 2 and 4 on the laws and customs of war on land, dated 1899 and 1907 respectively, stipulates only:

"The attack or bombardment, by whatever means, of towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings *which are undefended* is prohibited." Similarly, Art. 6b of the Nuremberg Charter considers as a war crime "the wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation *not justified by military necessity.*"

Does this mean that a town which is defended may be attacked, and that, should military requirements so demand, civilians may be bombed? In the judgment it passed on 10 April 1948, the United States military Tribunal declared that in such circumstances this would be a "legitimate act of war":

"A city is bombed for tactical purposes; communications are to be destroyed, railroads wrecked, ammunition plants demolished, factories razed, all for the purpose of impeding the military. In these operations it inevitably happens that non-military persons are killed. This is an incident, a grave incident to be sure, but an unavoidable corollary of battle action."

It is not so certain that these arguments will suffice to whitewash those who were responsible for the bombing of Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima or Nagasaki. Whether they will or not, other examples may be cited to show that the prohibition of the bombing of civilians is only conditional, and unfortunately one has only to observe that the Diplomatic Conference of 1974-1977 did not absolutely prohibit the bombing of civilians either, since Article 51 §5 of the First Additional Protocol prohibits indiscriminate attacks only when they "may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated."

Can Israel justify its bombings in the light of these rules of international law? The figures quoted above are an eloquent enough reply: if nearly 28 civilians must be killed for one combatant, the harm caused is, we feel, certainly "excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantages anticipated."

3°) It will doubtless be objected that in some instances the PLO has placed heavy equipment immediately next to civilian targets, or stationed guns on hospital roofs, and that this might be held to be a breach of Article 19 of the First Geneva Convention, Article 18 of the Second, and

Article 58 of the First Additional Protocol, if it could be successfully demonstrated that the war material in question could have been stationed elsewhere. It nevertheless remains true that:

a. One (possible) violation of humanitarian law does not justify another. .

b. When one knows how very accurately the Israeli army is capable of firing, one has the impression that the harm inflicted on civilians is the outcome of a deliberate policy of terrorization. One eye-witness of the bombing was to write:

"On the strictly technical level, the army of Jerusalem, which no longer needed to show proof of its ability, is seen to be perfectly capable of hitting its 'terrorist' enemy's headquarters and other buildings; in going very much further than this its intention is to use the weapon of terror."

Terrorist bombing, the illegality of which was demonstrated as long ago as 11 December 1922 in Article 22 of the Rules of Air Warfare drafted by a commission of jurists of The Hague, is officially prohibited under Article 51 §2 of the First Additional Protocol and is in fact also treated as illegal in various military manuals and in works by many different authors.

4°) Whereas the prohibition on the bombing of civilian objectives in general is not always an absolute one, the prohibition on the bombing of hospitals and mobile medical units may be waived only in cases where these are used for military ends.

Diplomatic premises would not appear to enjoy, under the law of war, any specific protection other than that enjoyed by civilian property. However, the inviolability they are acknowledged to enjoy in time of peace should be maintained in wartime and so ensure them a higher degree of immunity compared with civilian property in general. Here again it has been seen that Israel has not distinguished itself by any exaggerated respect for the laws and customs of war.

5°) Journalists enjoy the same protection as civilians, since Article 79 §1 of the First Additional Protocol provides:

"Journalists engaged in dangerous professional missions in areas of armed conflict shall be considered as civilians within the meaning of Article 50, paragraph 1."

Israel would not appear to have regularly attached much importance to this provision either.

2. *The means adopted: use of inhuman weapons and methods*

Israel has not refrained from using inhuman weapons and methods - phosphorus, fragmentation and vacuum bombs and the blockading of food supplies.

a. *Use of phosphorus, fragmentation and vacuum bombs*

The international press has reported several instances in which these different types of bombs were used on Beirut.

1°) Phosphorus bombs belong to the "dispersion" type of incendiary weapon, i.e. those which may be used against readily inflammable objectives or in order to cause loss of life directly. One of the properties specific to white phosphorus is that it takes fire spontaneously and cannot be extinguished with water; even if water temporarily puts it out the fragments catch fire again once they are dry.

With regard to the medical effects of these weapons on individuals or on the population as a whole, it is to be noted that:

"a. Burn injuries differ from wounds commonly caused by conventional weapons in the exceptional difficulty of their medical treatment. . .

"b. . . . Whether mortal or not, napalm injuries, like other burns, may be intensely painful, both when they occur and during some or all of the subsequent period.

"c. Recovery from burn injuries is slow, and during most of the period the patient remains in great pain. Napalm and white phosphorus burns are likely to leave him deeply scarred and disfigured for the rest of his life."

We should further note that white phorphorus "is usually scattered as a mass of sticky particles, and each of these may adhere to a person's skin, continuing to burn until isolated from air or fully burnt out. . . Phosphorus particles that eat their way down into musculature may lead to a loss of motor function that may be irretrievable."

Moreover, it is "a powerful protoplasmic poison" which may have fatal effects.

Phosphorus weapons are strictly prohibited on the following grounds:

(i) As weapons which "would uselessly aggravate the suffering of disabled men" (Declaration of St. Petersburg, 1868);

(ii) As "arms, projectiles or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering" (Regulations respecting the Laws and Customs of War, 1907, Art. 23e);

(iii) As "poisons" or "poisoned weapons" (Ibidem, Art. 23 a);

(iv) As "asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases" (Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925 for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous and Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare). We would have it remembered that all these prohibitions are included in the customary law binding on Israel.

But there is more to it than that. The use of such weapons is further prohibited because of their terrorist and indiscriminate character, and if they are held to be terrorist weapons this is because "the use of agents such as napalm or white phosphorus, which cling to surface and to fleeing people while burning, cannot fail to increase the over-all psychological impact."

They are indiscriminate and non-selective weapons since:

"Massive use of incendiary weapons creates fires that may merge and grow into widespread conflagrations and fire storms. Such mass fires are

largely uncontrollable and usually present unsurmountable difficulties for the protection of civilians and the environment in which they live."

For both these reasons the use of phosphorus bombs is a breach of the prohibition on indiscriminate attacks designed to spread terror contained in Article 51 §2 and 5 of the First Additional Protocol (and, as mentioned earlier, indiscriminate attacks were prohibited as long ago as the St. Petersburg Declaration). This article of the Protocol was adopted by the Diplomatic Conference of 1974-1977 with the express approval of Israel.

Lastly—and more specifically—phosphorus as an incendiary weapon is prohibited today by the Convention of 10 October 1980 on the prohibition and limitation of the use of certain conventional weapons which may be held to cause excessive suffering and to strike indiscriminately.

Article 2 of the Third Protocol to this Convention runs:

"It is prohibited in all circumstances to make the civilian population as such, individual civilians or civilian objects the object of attack by incendiary weapons.

2. "It is prohibited in all circumstances to make any military objective located within a concentration of civilians the object of attack by air-delivered incendiary weapons."

It is impossible to be any clearer.

2⁰) There are several features which differentiate fragmentation bombs from conventional explosive weapons:

(i) They produce splinters which are smaller, lighter, more fast-travelling and much more numerous (Where a 15.5 cm. conventional shell fired by artillery produces 3,000 splinters each weighting over 0.5 grams, a modern fragmentation shell of the same calibre will produce about 15,000 splinters each weighing under 0.5 grams).

(ii) The "parent" bomb may divide up into a number of small projectiles (cluster bombs) which are dispersed over the target before exploding either in fragments or in larger pieces of shrapnel which will subsequently splinter (A large bomb weighting 350 kgs. may contain 700 small bombs each weighting 0.5 kgs. and capable of producing 300 splinters). . .

They are more likely to hit human targets and likely to cause far worse injuries.

These weapons, it must be confessed, are not the subject of any special prohibition: the Convention of 10 October 1980 prohibits their use only insofar as their splinters cannot be perceived or localized by X-raying. They are nevertheless still weapons capable of causing unnecessary sufferings and striking indiscriminately, and as such are subject to the general prohibitions already quoted above.

3⁰) Vacuum bombs were used on several buildings in West Beirut. The press has reported the case of a 9-storey building housing 200 refugees

which collapsed on being hit by two rockets carrying such bombs, leaving nothing but a heap of ruins not more than 10 feet high.

According to Jacques Huntzinger, who was there:

"Use has been made for the first time of bombing techniques—particularly vacuum bombing—which enable buildings to be destroyed one by one."

The same type of bomb appears to have been used by the army of Saigon at the end of the war in Vietnam, in an attempt to halt the advance of the revolutionary forces; it is said to have sucked up all the air within a certain radius of the point where it fell and so caused the death by asphyxiation of everyone inside that radius and completely destroyed the houses, which suddenly caved in under the pressure of the atmosphere outside.

Vacuum bombs have not so far been prohibited by any special provision, but by their very nature they should come under the rule which forbids the use of weapons which "would render . . . death inevitable" (St. Petersburg Declaration, 1868), even though it may today seem somewhat utopian and naive to refer to such a rule.

b. *The blockading of food supplies*

Between the beginning of July and the evacuation of the Palestinians on 21 August, Israel maintained an almost complete blockade on the economic activity of West Beirut, even at times going so far as to withhold water and food supplies from a population of 400,000 only about 15,000 of whom were combatants. The electricity was cut off from 26 July until 22 August and deliveries were prohibited, so that medical institutions could function only under the most insecure conditions.

Such behaviour is obviously contrary to the most elementary rules of humanitarian law. It causes hardship indiscriminately to civilians, combatants, the injured and the sick and violates all the provisions already quoted which prohibit hostile action against non-combatants. More specifically, it is a breach of Article 54 of the First Additional Protocol of the Geneva Conventions, which forbids "starvation of civilians as a method of warfare." This was an article adopted by consensus at the Diplomatic Conference of 1974-1977, with neither opposition nor qualification on the part of Israel.

The Treatment of Persons in Belligerent Hands

It is quite impossible here to examine all the problems arising out of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and to assess the extent to which the conduct of the situation obeys the law of war, and we will confine ourselves to looking at two questions which have particularly held the attention of public opinion, namely:

(i) The status of the Palestinian fighters captured by Israel and the treatment afforded them.

(ii) The treatment of the civilians in the zone occupied by Israel.

1. *Status and treatment of the Palestinian prisoners*

a. *Their status*

The Israeli forces, as they advanced, captured a large number of Palestinians, either during the fighting itself or in the course of the identity checks, when all Palestinians between the age of 15 and 50 were automatically arrested, their continued detention or their release being dependent on a nod of the head by one or another of the hooded informers past whom they were made to file. At the present time there are still nearly 7,000 detainees.

Israel considers these people to be common criminals, "armed members of a terrorist organization", and has absolutely no intention of granting them prisoner-of-war status.

Is this position legally justifiable? We shall answer this question, and the question whether the captured Palestinians can be entitled to prisoner-of-war status, in two stages, first of all from the point of view of principles and then from that of facts.

1. On the level of principles there is practically no doubt that the captured Palestinian fighters should be granted the status of prisoners-of-war, for several different reasons. To begin with, as freedom fighters engaged in a war of national liberation, they are *ipso jure* entitled to that status. This has been several times repeated by the United Nations General Assembly, though the latter has not been able to make its conclusions binding on the states which had voted against them, namely, the Western powers and—naturally—Israel.

Failing recognition as freedom fighters by Israel, the Palestinians can at all events avail themselves of the fact that they are fighting side by side with a party to the conflict and can on these grounds obtain prisoner-of-war status under Article 4 of the Third Geneva Convention, as:

(i) "Inhabitants of a non-occupied territory, who on the approach of the enemy spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading forces, without having had time to form themselves into regular armed units, provided they carry arms openly and respect the laws and customs of war" (Art. †A §6);

as:

(ii) "Members of militias or volunteer corps forming a part of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict" (Art. 4A §1) (This would apply should they be considered as belonging to the Lebanese army or be incorporated into that army);

as:

(iii) "Members of regular armed forces who profess allegiance to government or an authority not recognized by the Detaining Power" (Art. 4 §3);

or as:

(iv) Members of organized resistance movements belonging to a Party to the conflict" (Art. 4 §2).

The choice between the third and fourth possibilities would be merely dependent on the practical conditions under which the Palestinians were carrying on their fight. In the one case they would be regular armed forces fighting openly against Israel, while in the other they would rather have the character of guerilla formations, with all the features peculiarly inherent in forces of the type.

In actual fact, the PLO forces would appear to belong to the third of these different categories rather than to the fourth. But however that may be, there visibly is more than one reason on the level of principle for necessarily considering PLO fighers in Israeli hands as prisoners of war.

How does Israel reply to this? It refuses even to consider the first two eventualities and rejects the third without giving the slightest reason. As for the fourth, it rules it out on the plea that the PLO does not meet the necessary requirements, the first of which is observance of the laws and customs of war, which is binding on resistance movements (Art. 4A §2, d) (81A).

This plea has no more justification than could have been found for objections to the other three possibilities. Independently of the fact that in any case the PLO forces, in the context of the present conflict, resemble not so much a resistance movement (Art. 4A §2) as the regular armed forces of an authority not recognized by the Detaining Power (Art. 4A §3), the pretext that they have violated the law of war does not provide sufficient grounds for depriving them, even as a resistance movement, of the protection of the Third Geneva Convention.

If it is true that the PLO forces have indeed infringed the law of war more than once by attacking civilians, it is also a fact that such infringements belong to the past and have nothing to do with the present conflict, in which the PLO, in concentrating all its efforts on fighting the Israeli army, has shown itself perfectly capable of observing the laws and customs of war.

What is true of the PLO forces as "an organized resistance movement" is true of them a *fortiori* as "regular forces who profess allegiance to . . . an authority not recognized by the Detaining Power." Just as the terrorism practised by the Irgun and the Stern Gang never affected the status of the regular forces of the Israeli army, the operations carried out against civilian objectives by PLO forces in the past in no way affect their present status as regular forces.

Possible individual infringements of humanitarian law (81B) can certainly not jeopardize this status, for were this the case what could be said of the Israeli forces, which have systematically violated the law of war on an enormous scale?

2°) In reality—in the field, in other words—things are less simple, for

they are two possibilities: the Palestinian fighters, when captured, may either be visibly dressed as members of a party to the conflict (in uniform, or openly bearing arms and wearing a fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance), or else may be dressed as civilians. In the former case they are *ipso facto* entitled to prisoner-of-war status and in refusing to grant it Israel commits a grave breach of the Third Geneva Convention. In the latter, on the contrary, they are not officially to be considered as prisoners of war.

As we know, the classic stipulations contained in Art. 4 §2 of the Third Geneva Convention are totally out of keeping with present-day fighting conditions, particularly those of wars of national liberation, and Article 44 of the First Additional Protocol, by reducing the stringency of the requirements for the granting of prisoner-of-war status to captured combatants not belonging to regular formations, to a large extent repairs the omissions in humanitarian law with regard to guerilla warfare. It provides that a combantant captured while in civilian clothes is not to be automatically deprived of prisoner-of-war status, the "distinctive sign" requirement being now restricted to military engagements themselves and to the periods during which they combatant is "visible to the adversary while he is engaged in a military deployment preceding the launching of an attack in which he is to participate" (Art. 44 §3).

In other words, when the combatant is not taking part in a military action he may perfectly well merge with the civilian population. But Israel, as might be expected, was the state which, at the Diplomatic Conference of 1974 ato 1977, most strongly opposed this provision, being indeed the only one to vote against its adoption at the plenary session. Thus, whether we like it or not, Israel is not legally bound by Article 44 and is entitled to refuse prisoner-of-war status to the Palestinian fighters who at the time of capture were not distinguishable from the civilian population.

But even admitting this fact, it must not be forgotten that Article 5 of the Third Geneva Convention stipulates:

"Should any doubt arise as to whether persons, having committed a belligerent act and having fallen into the hands of the enemy, belong to any of the categories enumerated in Article 4, such persons shall enjoy the protection of the present Convention until such time as their status has been determined by a competent tribunal."

b. *Their treatment*

The Israeli authorities have not been content to remain tied to an out-of-date law which has been superseded; they have even felt the need to violate that law in their treatment of the persons they have captured. There have been eye-witness accounts of the maltreatment of prisoners: beatings with spiked truncheons, floggings, strokes with a cane, and hanging by the feet, not to mention the appalling hygiene and general living conditions.

Such treatment calls for no lengthy comments of a legal nature: if it is given to prisoners of war it is a breach of Articles 13 (Humane Treatment of Prisoners), 14 (Respect for the Person of Prisoners), 25 (Quarters) and 29 (Hygiene) of the Third Geneva Convention. If it is inflicted on persons not entitled to enjoy prisoner-of-war status, i.e. civilians, it is a breach of Article 32 (Prohibition of Corporal Punishment) and 35 (Accommodation, Hygiene) of the Fourth Convention.

2. *Treatment of civilians in the portion of Lebanon occupied by Israel*

Of the events occurring under the Israeli occupation which deserve to be recounted and examined here, there is one so abominable as to surpass all the rest both quantiatively and qualitatively: I refer to the massacres in the Sabra and Shatila camps.

Let me recall the series of developments which led up to them. On 14 September 1982, the new Lebanese President, Bechir Gemayel, was assassinated. The next day Israeli troops, violating the agreement concluded with the U.S. mediator, Philip Habib, entered West Beirut. On 16 and 17 September, members of the Christian militias surrounded the Sabra and Shatila camps, with Israeli forces remaining stationed only 200 yards away, and perpetrated one of the most sanguinary massacres in the history of modern Lebanon, slaughtering defenceless men, women, old people and children; 328 people are known to have been killed, while 991 are reported missing.

At the time of writing, the Israeli government, under the pressure of public opinion, has appointed a commission of inquiry to determine who is responsible for these crimes, and to what extent. But there is no need to wait for its conclusions before observing a certain number of facts.

Though it has not been proved that the Israeli forces took part in the massacres directly, they were committed in a zone under Israeli control and this is sufficient to place a share of the liability on Israeli shoulders. Article 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention states that in occupied territory "protected persons"—i.e. civilians—"shall at all times be humanely treated and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence. . ." This means that the occupying power as an authority is under the traditional obligation to exert due care and under specific positive-law obligation to adopt a given line of conduct, and it is sufficiently proved by the circumstances of the case—for it was difficult to remain unaware of the extermination which was in progress for several hours only a few dozen yards away—that these obligations were not fulfilled.

Hence by failing to intervene to prevent the massacres Israel has incurred an international liability of its own. The future will tell us whether it is a liability for inefficiency on the part of its representative authorities or for the active connivance of those authorities in the

perpetration of an atrocity which in French has been called "Beirut-sur-Glane."

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"Apart from seeking to secure a foothold within the Lebanese market by practising dumping and other forms of unfair competition, Israel is impeding the activity of certain sectors of the economy by introducing restrictive regulations."

In an article which appeared in "*L'Orient/Le Jour*" on 1 June 1944, Michel Chiha wrote: "South Lebanon is insufficiently known and insufficiently loved. For a long time it has suffered from a sort of disfavour. Perhaps it was tired out after a glorious past and had of itself withdrawn from the world." And he added, prophetically enough: "Our 'southward march' daily appears to be a more important and more vital task. It is up to us to undertake the populating that others were anxious to do. . . Lebanon has obligations towards the South. . . For the sake of Lebanon's future, each of us should know this and remember it." Disastrously enough, not only for the south but for the whole of Lebanon, Michel Chiha's appeal was not listened to. The central government, having failed to achieve the economic and social integration of the region into the rest of the country, has since shown a want of ability which has unquestionably stimulated the expansionist appetites of its neighbour further southwards. Indeed the Zionist movement has never concealed the fact that South Lebanon had its full place in its territorial programme. Events since the war of June 1967, and most of all since the aggression of June 1982, have been making it possible for the Jewish state to realize an ambition it has been nursing for a very long time.

The Israeli strategy: from interference in Lebanese affairs to creeping annexation

Relations between the Zionist Movement and Lebanon (and subsequently between Israel and Lebanon) have been through four different phases.

1. *How the annexationist scheme crystallized.*

On 3 February 1919, during the Peace Conference in Paris, the delegates from the Zionist Movement presented the Allies with a memorandum specifying among other things the "desirable" limits of the "Jewish National Home" in Palestine. To the north, they wished it to cover a large portion of Lebanese territory as subsequently defined under the Franco-British Convention of 23 December 1920. In fact the Zionist delegation to the Conference demanded that the northern frontier of Palestine should lie along a line drawn from Sayda to Karaoun.

When they suggested this limit for the northern frontier of Palestine, the Zionist representatives were already fully aware of the economic potentialities of the River Litani. The leading member of the Movement, Chaim Weizmann, himself raised the problem in a letter to the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, in which he wrote: "The economic future of Palestine is entirely dependent on the supplying of the water needed for irrigation and the production of electricity, which essentially comes from the slopes of Mount Hermon, the sources of the Jordan, and the River Litani." Weizmann went on to request that for this reason Great Britain should include the region concerned within Palestinian territory. As we know, the Zionist claim to the Litani was finally unsuccessful, largely because of French oposition; but this has not prevented the Israeli leaders from reverting to it several times since. During the first Israeli-Arab war Israeli encroached to an almost negligible degree on the territory of its northern neighbour by taking four villages, which were restored before the conclusion of the armistice agreement signed at Ras el Naqura on 23 March 1949; this provided for the setting-up of a joint commission and the establishment of six observation posts in Lebanese territory. It should be pointed out that during this first conflict Lebanon had only most grudgingly taken part in hostilities against Israel; the military engagements were deliberately restricted by both sides, as it quite clear from the size of the Lebanese losses for the entire war - about ten killed and twenty wounded. By 16 January, when the first talks were opened between Israeli and Lebanese negotiators at Ras el Naqura, the Zionist forces had already evacuated the four villages taken in Lebanese territory in October 1948. The armistice signed between the two states on 23 March 1949 placed the demarcation line on the 1920 frontier between Lebanon and Palestine. It further provided for the creation of demilitarized zones on either side of the armistice line, within which no more than 1500 soldiers might be stationed.

Though thus guaranteed by the Ras el Naqura armistice agreement, the territorial status quo was several times called in question in connection with schemes for more rational use of the waters of the Litani put forward by the Tel-Aviv government, which based its demands on the plea that Lebanon was using only very small amounts of these waters. Thus at the same time as the quarrel was developing between Israelis and Arabs over their respective shares in the use of the Jordan waters - a quarrel which

was to give rise to the Johnston Plan of 1953 - the Israelis were proposing the Cotton Plan, providing for the annual diverting for use by Israel of four hundred million cubic metres (14,126 million cubic feet) of water or 55% of the total discharge of the Litani. This scheme, naturally, did not materialize, but the Lebanese government made what was doubtless the mistake of not initiating works designed to permit intensive use of the waters for strictly national ends. Indeed if Lebanon had taken active steps to protect the waters of the Litani at that stage it would not today - as we shall be seeing later - have to fear possible *faits accomplis* on the part of Israel, which are the more likely in that that country has had no compunction about using the watercourses of the occupied territories in the interests of its own economy or of the Jewish settlements on the West Bank and in the Golan.

By the middle of the 50s the destabilization of Lebanon had already become a prospect referred to as a possibility by the Israeli leaders. In his *Diary* Moshe Sharett, who at the time was Foreign Minister, draws attention to the attitude of Ben Gourion, who in February 1954 had alluded to the possibility that the Maronites might "proclaim a Christian state in Lebanon," which was "the weakest link in the Arab League." In a letter dated 27 February Ben Gourion pointed out that the creation of a "Maronite State" would mean that the Lebanese frontiers must be redrawn. Dayan had gone further still: according to Sharett, in May 1954 he had sketched out a programme for manipulating Maronite opinion with a view to enabling Israel to advance its northern frontiers as far as the Litani: "It would merely be necessary to find one officer, who need be no more than a major. We could win over his sympathies or else bribe him to proclaim himself the saviour of the Maronites. The Israeli army would then enter Lebanon, occupy the requisite territory and set up a Christian regime which would ally itself with Israel. The territories south of the Litani would be totally annexed by Israel and all would be for the best."

In 1956 and 1967 Lebanon held aloof from the Israeli-Arab conflicts. This was "deplored" by General Moshe Dayan, who, after the Six-Day War, declared that Tel-Aviv ought to have seized that opportunity of altering the northern frontiers.

2. *The phase of interference (1968-1975).*

Israel was not long in exploiting another such opportunity, since, using Palestinian military activity in South Lebanon as its pretext, it started no later than the end of 1968 to bomb and shell a large number of places in the region most intensively, prior to bombing the Beirut international airport on 28 December 1968. The process of destabilizing Lebanon had begun. Israel exploited the Cario agreement of November 1969 between Lebanon and the Palestinians, and the Jordanian organization "Black September" (which led to the creation of the infrastructures of the Palestinian resistance movement in Lebanon) to weaken the country and above

all to deprive its government of all credibility. There was, first of all, the attack launched in September 1972, following which for two whole days Israel was to use Lebanese territory as a battlefield; and subsequently the raid during the night of 9-10 April 1973, during which the commandos from Tel-Aviv were able to operate with complete impunity in Beirut and Sayda, came as a stinging blow which discredited the legitimate authorities and engendered a spiral of violence. The outcome, after the clashes between the Lebanese army and the Palestinians in May 1973, was the "Two-Year War" which began at Ain el Remaneh in April 1975.

3. *The phase of destablization (1975-1978)*

During this first "war within a war" Tel-Aviv, though it followed the various ins and outs very closely, did not take part in the conflict directly and yet did not, meanwhile, relax its pressure on South Lebanon (as is shown, for example, by the operations against the Palestinians in the region of Sour and Sayda in the course of the summer and in December 1975). In actual fact, by the end of the first quarter of 1976 Israel had no difficulty in keeping aloof, since the Syrians, after abandoning the Lebanese Left and its Palestinian allies, now turned their arms against the latter; this was all to the advantage of the right-wing Christian militias, who at the same time were enjoying substantial Israeli military aid (Indeed, if we are to believe the statements made in the Knesset by General Sharon in September 1982, Israeli aid included the sending of "advisers" who were to distinguish themselves at the time of the massacres of August 1976, at Tal el Zaatar and elsewhere).

In reality Israel's apparent passivity served as a cloak for its vigilance, and the Syrians were assigned a "red line" north of the Litani which they were warned not to overstep.

After the conclusion of the Riyadh and Cairo agreements (October 1976), which opened prospects for the ending of the war through an inter-Arab settlement, Israel proceeded to "destabilize" the legal government in Lebanon, partly by increasing its aid to the Lebanese Front - which persisted in its attitude of dissidence until 1982, continuing to flout the authority of President Sarkis and his government - and partly by artificially contriving to secure Saad Haddad's secession in the South. With the aim of totally ridding the latter region of all Palestinians, Israel then had the Christian militias launch a huge offensive against them, starting in October 1976 and continuing for over six months. Subsequently until March 1978 lulls alternated with renewed fighting of unheard-of violence; the explanation for these constant changes is to be found in the tortuous nature - to say the least - of the process by which it was attempted to settle the Near Eastern conflict within the framework of the *Pax Americana.* In Lebanon this meant what I. Goraieb has called "a pushbutton peace."

South Lebanon thus served as a fixation abscess and also as it were as a

sound box for testing the progress of a far wider conflict - the conflict between Israel and the Arab states and Palestinian resistance movement. In mid-September and early November 1977 combined land, sea and air attacks were launched by Israel against the principal centres in the South. But then there came a period of uncertain calm once the Rais of Egypt had made known his intention of coming over to Jerusalem for direct negotiations with Israel. This was ended in its turn in March 1978 by Israel's first attempt to put an end by military means to Palestinian resistance in Lebanon.

4. *The process of creeping annexation (1978-1982)*

March 1978, July 1981 and, of course, June 1982 are key dates in a period whose distinctive feature is the constant and specially brutal nature of the Israeli acts of aggression.

a) *March 1978:* Using a bomb outrage as pretext, on the night of 14-15 August Israel invaded the whole of South Lebanon up to the River Litani, with the sole exception of a narrow ring of land round the town of Sour. Its aim was a triple one, namely:

(i) To broaden the buffer zone created artificially in the south in October 1976.

(ii) To debar the Palestinian resistance forces from the "battlefield."

(iii) To use this precise pretext to deny that the Palestinian resistance movement possessed any representative character at the time of the great diplomatic game preceding the signing of the Camp David accords (September 1978) and of the Washington treaty (March 1979).

The Israeli occupation of South Lebanon, which was condemned by the international community as a whole, came to an end on 13 June 1978, after the Security Council had adopted Resolutions 425 and 426 (19 and 20 March 1978). The former of these two reasserts the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon inside its internationally recognized frontiers and urges Israel to cease forthwith its military action against the territorial integrity of Lebanon and to withdraw its forces from the whole of Lebanese territory without delay. It further provides for the creation, as requested by the Lebanese government, of a United Nations Interim Force for South Lebanon (UNIFIL) whose task shall be to supervise the withdrawal of the Israeli forces, re-establish international peace and security and help the Lebanese government ensure that its effective authority is restored in the region. Resolution 426 stipulates the precise nature of the task of UNIFIL.

Thus, after beating about the bush, Israel finally agreed to withdraw its troops from Lebanon. It retained, nevertheless, a number of strategic positions in Lebanese territory and, more important still, handed over a part of the territory it had evacuated to the militias of Saad Haddad: in 1979 the latter was to proclaim a "free state" in the 170-mile frontier strip which was henceforward under his control.

The perpetuation and consolidation, under the Israeli umbrella, of what was beginning to be called "Haddad Land" rendered the UNIFIL mission meaningless. The UN troops, whose numbers had initially been fixed at six thousand, with the task of controlling an area of 330 square miles - i.e. the territory occupied by Israel in March 1978 - in actual fact abstained from entering Saad Haddad's frontier strip. Thus these troops, which were powerless to reinstate the authority of the central government within this zone, and were possessed of very slender means, afforded the perfect symbol of the basic inefficacy of the peace-keeping system instituted through the United Nations. In reality - their authority openly flouted by Israel and the militias of Saad Haddad, who had no hesitation in making them their target on occasion - they essentially confined themselves to counting the blows on either side.

b) *July 1981:* For three years Lebanon had been inexorably drifting towards disaster under the combined assaults of the Lebanese Front, of Saad Haddad's militias in league with Israel and of Syria; the forces of the Front, united under the Falangist military leader Bechir Gemayel, were continuing to brandish the threat of an alternative solution for Lebanon in the form of a secession, while Israel had been ceaselessly bombing and shelling South Lebanon since 1980 and Syria had mercilessly bombed East Beirut in July and October 1978. In April 1978 the Syrian retort to the Falangists' attempt to seize control of the town of Zahle had led to an escalation of violence which Tel-Aviv had brought stage by stage to a culminating point at the beginning of July: the intervention of the Israeli air force during the battle of Sannine had been followed in May by the missiles crisis and in June by the raid on the Tammuz nuclear reactor, and finally, on 10 and 17 July, Israeli air raids on South Lebanon and Beirut killed or injured several hundred people. Indirect negotiations between the PLO and Israel were opened on the initiative of the United States; they produced the cease-fire of 24 July 1981, which the Palestinians scrupulously observed until June 1982, if we except two reprisal actions (on 21 April and 8 and 9 May 1982), following Israeli raids on Lebanon.

c) If there was thus something on a lull in the South, the same did not apply to the rest of Lebanon, and least of all to Beirut, where terrorism had reached an unprecedented level (involving, for example, the assassination of the French ambassador, Mr. Delamarre, in Beirut in September 1981, a bomb attack on OLP premises in the Fakhani district in October 1981, and the destruction of the Iraqi embassy by the blast from a bomb in December 1981). This did not prevent the central government from indulging in impracticable projects, citing the outworn themes of "security," "national concord," or "restoration of the authority of the State." Israel thus found itself face to face with a Lebanese state in a process of utter decomposition and could moreover count on the disunity of the Arab world as illustrated by the Fez I summit meeting in 1981 and

by the polarization resulting from the Iraq-Iran conflict, while it could feel sure of the apparently unfailing friendship of the United States; the latter had given their sanction to the activism of the Tel-Aviv government not merely in Lebanon but throughout the region, condoning the annexation of the Golan in December 1981, the raid on the Tammuz reactor in Iraq in June 1981, and the acceleration of the Zionist programme of settlement combined with the stiffening of repression in the occupied territories. In June 1982 Israel decided to deal the finishing blow. The invasion, ushered in by particularly lethal air raids on Beirut and South Lebanon on the two previous days, started on the 6th. Nearly a hundred thousand men were able to advance as far as Beirut, where for months they subjected the Lebanese and Palestinian populations to an absolute deluge of fire. "Operation Peace for Galilee," as the aggression had cynically been named, was completed at the cost of thousands of casualties, fatal and otherwise, most of them civilian, of tens of thousands of homeless, and of a vast amoun t of material damage. It was a savage war and a war of atrocities, waged with weapons designed for the killing of civilians (shrapnel, fragmentation and phosphorus bombs) and involving massacres in cold blood of women, children and old people, at Sabra and Shatila and elsewhere. But it was not until the "Lebanese Oradour" on 18 September and the shock it caused that Ronald Reagan, under pressure from a horrified and outraged world opinion, finally halted the activities of Begin, whom he was now calling "the Mad Bomber."

For a month Israel attempted to disappear from the public eye, through all the while methodically pursuing both the tightening of its hold on South Lebanon (as we shall see further on) and the three initial objectives of the aggression, namely:

a) The elimination of Palestinian resistance by military means, which, politically, would mean the exclusion of the Palestinians from any participation in a settlement of the Near East conflict.

b) The imposing on the occupied territories of a status which would mean permanent occupation by Israel under cover of so-called "autonomy." Begin and Sharon were fully counting on achieving this end by taking advantage of the utter dismay which would have seized hold of the population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip on the disappearance of Palestinian resistance.

c) The establishment in Beirut of a strong pro-Western government allied with Israel in Beirut.

It may be observed today that objectives a) and b) have clearly not been achieved and that with the disappearance of Bechir Gemayel and the accession to power of his brother Amine the achievement of objective c) has become more than doubtful. However, in view of the way Israel is manoeuvring in South Lebanon the outcome remains uncertain.

The violations of Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity

The programme of aggression against Lebanon initiated by Israel in December 1968 with the raid on Beirut airport and culminating in Operation Peace for Gailiee in June 1982 is very visibly the most blatant breach of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. Moreover such radical action on the part of Israel does not concern Israel alone, but also concerns the rest of the world, since Tel-Aviv has flouted the resolutions of the various United Nations bodies again and again; on the spot has molested or even sometimes killed members of UNIFIL, thus openly defying the international community as a whole.

Of the various breaches of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon we will confine ourselves to dealing mainly with those which have affected the South, which is the region most seriously exposed today to the consequences of the designs of Tel-Aviv.

1. *Two possibilities: partition or the creation of an Israeli sphere of influence in South Lebanon.*

On its arrival at the outskirts of Beirut last June Israel had the choice between two alternative strategies: it could either facilitate the accession to the Presidency of Bechir Gemayel in the hope that this could mean the prompt signature of a peace treaty between Lebanon and Israel, or else it could keep a trump card up its sleeve by strengthening, in the South, the zone controlled by Saad Haddad and his Israeli auxiliary troops. As early as 7 June, three hours after it had been taken, Begin solemnly handed the Chateau de Beaufort over to the traitor colonel with the words "The Beaufort is yours, I make you a present of it." During the weeks that followed "Haddad Land" was extended to cover the whole of South Lebanon, thus opening the road to possible partition and to the creation, in any case, by Israel, of a buffer "safety zone" where Israel was to rule supreme.

At the beginning of September Haddad's position in relation to his protector became stronger still, and at Israeli military ceremonies Sharon began to be seen very frequently accompanied by his puppet. The entry of Haddad into official circles coincided with the deterioration of relations between Israel and the elected President Bechir Gemayel, who was refusing to conclude an immediate peace treaty with the Israeli government and was determined that Saad Haddad's secessionist activity should be brought to a speedy end. Moreover, Bechir Gemayel had begun to make overtures to the Lebanese Muslims, to the "displeasure" of the Israelis (and of a section of the Kataeb or Falangists), for whom this meant the ending of their dreams of a Maronite-Falangist state which was to

have served as a testing ground for a scheme involving the "Balkanization" of the region on a denominational basis.

The disappearance of Bechir Gemayel and the Sabra and Shatila massacres produced effects which, paradoxically enough, were centripetal and not centrifugal, unlike those of the carnage at La Quarantaine, Damour and Tal el Zaatar, which in 1976 had led to the de facto partition of Lebanon. Instead, there came a sudden awakening of national feeling affecting all denominations alike and expressing itself both in the election of Amine Gemayel as a President with a mission of reconciliation and in the refusal to accept the Israeli occupation, which as a result now finds itself - like the Syrian occupation before it - in danger of sinking into a quagmire.

Though now adopting a less rigid attitude - since the talk in Tel-Aviv is today only of "security arrangements" - Israel still firmly intends to retain indirect control of South Lebanon, placing it in the care of Saad Haddad and his militiamen, whereas it would be perfectly possible to hand over a task of the sort to UNIFIL, which is still there (seven thousand strong), needing only new instructions as to what its mission is supposed to consist of.

2. *Forcible displacement of populations*

There are two possible ways of interpreting the massacre of the Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps. The explanation most commonly accepted in the West, since it is the less embarrassing one for those government leaders who have unfailingly defended Israel for the benefit of public opinion, is that the carnage was a more or less spontaneous act committed in retaliation for the death of the elected President Bechir Gemayel by the partisans of the Kataeb whose leader he had been, with the connivance of certain of the Israeli military and political leaders. The other explanation is that, on the contrary, the massacres were a deliberate act of terror planned at highest level in Bechir Gemayel's lifetime by the Falangist leaders and by certain senior officers in the Israeli army. The aim would in that case have been to stage a repetition in Lebanon of the events which had occurred on 9 April 1948 in the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin, where two hundred and fifty-four villagers - men, women, old people and children - were assassinated in cold blood by the militiamen of the Irgun, whose chief was no other than Menahem Begin himself.

Deir Yassin had spread terror among the Arabs of Palestine and led quite a number of them, during the first Israeli-Arab war, to abandon their lands and take to flight as the Israeli army advanced. It is thus supposed that the Sabra and Shatila massacres, twenty-four years later, were perpetrated in cold blood for the purpose of inciting the Palestinians to take to flight once again, abandoning Beirut and South Lebanon. This second interpretation is strongly upheld by a number of observers who cannot possibly be suspected of anti-Zionist prejudice. Thus - to give one single example - Zeer Schiff, the military correspondent of the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* wrote, on 28 September, that the aim of the operation had been to create "panic, and a mass exodus of Palestinians to Syria," by brutally making them realize that in Lebanon their safety was no longer guaranteed.

It may in fact be noted that of the 115,000 refugees registered by UNRWA in South Lebanon before the Israeli invasion there now remain only about 63,000. Four of the camps which housed them have now been destroyed, and UNRWA is having the greatest difficulty in getting Israel to agree to their being accommodated elsewhere. On 2 August 1982, Mr. Meridor, the Israeli Minister of Economic Affairs, who had been put in charge of the matter, stated that the refugees should be rehoused only after dispersion beyond a line lying twenty-five miles or so from the southern frontier of Lebanon. After the Sabra and Shatila massacres Israel agreed to the rehousing of refugees locally, but the arrangement would appear to be purely temporary, since UNRWA has been permitted to put up tents only and not permanent buildings.

What is happening to the Palestinians of South Lebanon today should serve as a warning to the Lebanese communities which have so far been left more or less outside the mainstream of "construction of the nation" and of Lebanese political life. Here one naturally thinks of the Shiite community, and to a lesser degree of the Druses (clashes are now occurring between Falangist militiamen and Druses for control of the Chouf).

3. *The attempt to make an economic satellite of South Lebanon and subsequently of the whole country.*

The Israeli leaders have often said that they believe in "open" frontiers between the Jewish state and its neighbours. This demand - formulated by Israel with varying degrees of insistence - is frequently mentioned in official Israeli propaganda. The Lebanese frontiers have, like those of the territories occupied after June 1967, been "opened" with tanks - as a symbol of the desire of the Jewish state to become an integral part of the Arab world. Israel thus contrives to parade as the innocent party, claiming that notwithstanding its declared wish to live at peace with its neighbours the latter are pursuing their attempts to confine it within a ghetto. In the economic sphere Israel likewise puts forward the "open frontiers" principle, advocating the free movement of persons and goods. The systematic adoption of this principle in the occupied Arab territories had disorganized traditional trade channels and has already resulted in the practical economic subjugation of these territories to Israel, as is reflected - to take only these two examples - by the number of Palestinians from the occupied territories who now work in Israel and by the specialization affecting the economy of these territories, which now work essentially for the Israeli market.

Tel-Aviv is today doing its best to institute similar relations with South

Lebanon - those of centre to periphery, or rather of mother country to colony. The system, which has been well enough oiled since the so-called "correct frontier" policy was adopted in 1976, leading to the development of trade between Israel and the zone held by Saad Haddad, was introduced on a full scale immediately following the invasion of June 1982. The Israelis began by doing their best to "sell" the Lebanese their brand image, in the literal sense; their press was put into circulation in Beirut itself, the El Al airlines opened branches in Sour and Sayda, and the travel agencies of both countries began organizing tours of Israel for the Lebanese. A postal service to Israel was also put into operation in Sayda. At the beginning of August a deputation of Lebanese businessmen was welcomed to Israel to "establish connections."

There was a further feature of the Israeli "charm" operation, which was, to say the least, paradoxical: half way through August 1982 the Israeli press announced the formation of groups of Jewish volunteers whose task was to help reconstruct the towns and villages of South Lebanon. Their work was to consist in the rebuilding of the schools, hospitals and other educational or welfare institutions razed to the ground by Israeli bombs. The Israelis also opened a subscription for Lebanon under the patronage of Teddy Kollak, the mayor of Jerusalem, with a view to the financing of diverse projects. And in South Lebanon itself there is a special unit of the Israeli army whose task is to give assistance to the civilian population.

Begin initiatives such as these - which we will be forgiven for finding particularly hypocritical, in view of the deluge of fire in which the Israelis submerged their northern neighbours - one may perceive the existence of a scheme on a more ambitious scale for the creation of economic *faits accomplis*.

Israeli economic penetration is taking place without noisy publicity but is already having some very unpleasant repercussions for several economic sectors in South Lebanon. Sayda, the "capital" of the region, has been chosen by the Israelis as the hub of their activity, especially in the banking sphere. The branches opened in South Lebanon by the Israeli banks thus serve not merely to meet the requirements of the soldiers from the occupation forces, but also to finance commercial transactions between the two countries. During the very first weeks of the war, several Israeli firms were founded for the purpose of trading with Lebanon. Notwithstanding the refusal of the Lebanese exchange authorities to entertain relations with Israel, Israeli currency is legal tender in South Lebanon. Furthermore, Tel-Aviv has obliged the banks of Beirut and South Lebanon to waive the rule that customers' accounts are confidential in the case of accounts held by Palestinian organizations.

The Israelis are showing an unquestionable interest in the economy of South Lebanon, which, owing to the war, is suffering from a slump. Israel is planning to exploit the "reconstruction" of the region - under the pretence of providing "assistance" to the civilian population - as a means of forging organic links with that economy. In this respect the appointment of the Israeli Minister of Economy and Finance, Mr. Meridor, as coordinator of aid to the population of South Lebanon is a significant step.

For obvious reasons, both Israelis and Lebanese are remaining discreet about the nature of their trade relations. Israel is primarily exporting building materials (especially cement) and agricultural products (fruits and vegetables) to South Lebanon. At the beginning of August 1982 the Israeli authorities announced that the total value of the Israeli products imported into Lebanon during the previous month had been $4,000,000. Later in the month the Israelis unilaterally announced that a frontier post was created at Metulla, where they opened a police check point and a customs office. At the same time the Israeli port of Haifa was declared open to Lebanese imports and exports.

The presence of the Israelis in South Lebanon, which at the outset the population accepted more or less passively, is today openly called in question. Half way through October 1982 the Sayda Chamber of Commerce and Industry sent an open letter to the Lebanese government denouncing both "the invasion of South Lebanon by Israeli agricultural products" and the unfair competition (dumping in particular) practised by the Israelis. The Chamber of Commerce further drew the attention of the authorities to the unexpected repercussions of the enforcement by Lebanon of the rules governing the boycotting of Israel. The fact is that Lebanese businessmen who import Israeli products pay no taxes to the authorities, since their position is illegal; those who collaborate with Israel thus have an advantage over those who observe the regulations.

There are other signs of exasperation with Israeli practices on the part of the South Lebanese. The sector most severely threatened by Israeli expansionism is that of agriculture, which represents the activity of 80% of the population of the region. Thus for some weeks now Israeli olives have been invading the Lebanese market. They are sold in Beirut at prices which defy any local competition - 3 to 4 Lebanese pounds per kilogram as against 10 pounds for Lebanese olives. As a result, the farmers of the Hasbaya region, who live on the proceeds of their olive harvests, are now being ruined. Naturally the depression overtaking agriculture is leading to a spectacular increase in unemployment among agricultural workers; their union declares that the rate has now reached 50% and that 70% of the agricultural lands are lying fallow.

Apart from seeking to secure a foothold within the Lebanese market by practising dumping and other forms of unfair competition, Israel is impeding the activity of certain sectors ofthe economy by introducing restrictive regulations. Thus on 4 October 1982 the fishermen of Sayda

went on strike tp protest against the conditions under which the occupant was obliging them to carry on their work: they are now compelled to have working permits and in certain areas are allowed to fish by day only (while south of Sayda fishing is prohibited).

Thus after only four months of occupation the full effects of the invasion were already being felt. Here again we find there has been a breach of the Lebanese people's right to sovereignty: not only is there no trade agreement between Israel and Lebanon, but Lebanese law actually prohibits the entry of Israeli goods into its territory.

The exploitation of the natural resources of South Lebanon

We will confine ourselves here to the single example already mentioned, that of the River Litani.

Today there is again talk here and there (as e.g. in an article by T.S. Stauffer in *Middle East International* on 30 July 1982) of a possible scheme for diverting the course of the Litani for the benefit of Israel. If it were carried out it would provide for almost half Israel's present consumption of water, since the Litani would supply eight hundred million cubic metres per year out of a total of one thousand seven hundred millions. But since for technical reasons such a diversion of the course of the Litani would have to start at the Lake Karaoun dam, Israel would require the agreement of the Lebanese authorities, which it is not at all certain to obtain, before going through with the scheme, which would call for a most elaborate infrastructure of canals, aqueducts, tunnels, etc., and this could not be built unless there were Israeli control of the south-eastern portion of the country in one form or another.

It must be added that such a scheme would be a very severe blow to the Lebanese economy, since the Lake Karaoun dam provides Lebanon with a third of its electricity and the waters of the Litani serve to irrigate a part of the Bekaa. By the beginning of October the Vice-President of the Lebanese National Assembly submitted a written question to the government in which he requested that the country be informed whether or not the rumour was true that "Israel had effectively begun operations for the purpose of diverting the waters from South Lebanon to its own territory."

Conclusion

We began this essay by quoting Michel Chiha, and we will conclude with a second quotation from the same author which is every bit as prophetic as the first and which dates from 14 August 1951. "The so-called National Home" (it runs) "is not, and cannot be, anything but a bridgehead and an entrenched camp. . . One day the West will bitterly

regret what, with criminal unconcern, it is allowing to take place. The Israeli edifice rears itself like calamity incarnate at the gates of the East: it carries promises of terrible things to come within its womb." Who could re-read this passage today without thinking of the apocalypse which the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples have just been living through?

JOHN H.E. FRIED, Professor of International Law
U.S.A.

"Israel has no right now to dictate or demand that any others, for example, the Syrian and/or the remaining PLO forces must leave Lebanon before the Israelis leave. The legal, factual, moral, and political situation is entirely different concerning these three forces. The Israelis are there as aggressors; the Syrians are there under a voluntary agreement between two sovereign States; and the Palestinians and PLO soldiers are there as inhabitants and quite a number of them as citizens of Lebanon."

Allow me to make a few remarks which, I think, we have to make as lawyers and simply as persons concerned with peace, about the global ramifications of the Lebanon war. I refer to the *implications for the world order as a whole* of Israel's arguments to justify that war.

First, Israel has argued that it did *not* make war against *Lebanon*, but only against the PLO, that is, against *one particular group within Lebanon*. And it is true that even while the Israeli bombs were falling on the Palestinian quarters in West Beirut, some Israeli soldiers were congratulated for that feat by some anti-Palestinian Lebanese in East Beirut. But we have most strongly to protest and reject the notion that internal tensions within Lebanon gave Israel the "right" to attack any particular group or any particular area there. If the doctrine were accepted that any nation is permitted to attack a particular group or particular area in another country, the consequences would evidently be catastrophic.

Acceptance of another "justification" of Israel's war would be equally catastrophic. It is the argument that the PLO had no right to prepare itself against the onslaught which, as was well known, had been planned by Israel for many years. "Look at those PLO units," the Israeli said, "they

collected arms and even trained their people to fight against us if we were to attack them; this gave us the right to attack them at their homes and camps in Lebanon." It is to be noted that Israel did not claim, and much less prove, that the PLO intended or prepared an attack on Israel. In the terms of international law, the Israeli war was an act of clear and undisguised preemptive or preventive aggression, just as had been its previous attack on the Iraqui nuclear reactor. If the doctrine that any country has the right to attack any other country because the other prepares for a possible war were correct, the Soviet Union would be free to attack the United States today, and vice versa. In a world so full of tensions, we must absolutely deny any permissibility of preemptive or preventive war.

The third point I raise is that, since this was a war of blatant aggression, we must remember a further general principle of law. It is elementary under domestic as well as international law that he who has committed an illegality increases his guilt if he continues in the illegality. If A kidnaps B and torture him, A will increase the illegality by continuing the torture; and war, my friends, is nothing but collective torture. The more an attacking country prolongs its attack, the greater the illegality becomes. Hence, it must not be forgotten that the Israelis not only disregarded the United Nations Security Council demands to stop the attack, but delayed and sabotaged the cease-fire negotiations by the device of refusing to treat the PLO as an opponent—against whom, they first said, they waged war—and refused to meet and discuss with them the ending of the hostilities. This caused enormous additional death and destruction and was, under the letter and spirit of the law of war and the international legal order as a whole, gravely illegal.

Finally, if the aggression was illegal, then the occupation to which it led is of course also illegal. Israel has no right now to dictate or demand that any others, for example, the Syrian and/or the remaining PLO forces must leave Lebanon before the Israelis leave. The legal, factual, moral, and political situation is entirely different concerning these three forces. The Israelis are there as aggressors; the Syrians are there under a voluntary agreement between two sovereign States; and the Palestinians and PLO soldiers are there as inhabitants and quite a number of them as citizens of Lebanon. The right of Lebanon to take measures against or in cooperation with these two groups is unquestionable; but this is unrelated to the unquestionable duty of Israel to withdraw from Lebanon.

A word has to be added about Mr. Begin's rhetorical question, "When the goys kill each other, why is Israel blamed for this?" Israel has systematically and for a long time armed and otherwise supported the Phalangists, knowing very well the Phalangists' antagonism toward the Palestinians. With great sadness, I have to quote from the Judgment of the American War Crimes Tribunal at Nuremberg which tried leaders of the infamous *Einsatzgruppen*, the SS murder units, who systematically killed Jews, communists and other "undesirables" in German-occupied territories, particularly in the Soviet Union. The defendants in the Nuremberg trial argued that Ukrainian, Lithuanian and other indigenous units collaborated in these killings because they hated the Jews perhaps more than the Nazis did. The U.S. Tribunal rejected the argument with strongest indignation, stating that if an aggressor first invades a country and then sets one part of the population of occupied areas against another (as the Nazis did in reviving the pogrom spirit of Czarist times), this is perhaps even more condemnable than to attack a country in the first place.

I would like to close with an optimistic remark. Must we fatalistically assume that Arabs and Israelis will continue to hate each other, to be what is called "hereditary enemies"? There are two very noteworthy precedents to the contrary in recent history. One is the German-French reconciliation after World War II. Although the two peoples allegedly hated each other for centuries, and in spite of what the Nazis did to the French, a friendly spirit prevails between the Germans and the French. Perhaps even more astonishing is the relationship between Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany. (Israeli antagonism toward the German Democratic Republic is based on Israel's anti-communist policy, not on anti-German feelings). After World War II, it was assumed that no German could allow himself to be seen among any of the people who had been treated so terribly by Germany. Yet, now even Germans and Israelis are on relatively friendly terms. Do we still have to accept that reconciliation between the Arabs and the Israelis is impossible?.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, USA

"The war in Lebanon and the increased repression in the Occupied Territories are two aspects of a single policy—the destruction of the national existence of the Palestinian people."

I. The Invasion

Article 2(3) of the United Nations Charter mandates the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Article 2(4) of the Charter prohibits the threat or use of force in international relations against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. Israel claims its invasion is

a legitimate exercise of its right of self-defense (recognized by Article 51 of the Charter). However, the requirements of Article 51 as well as accepted principles of international law argue against Israel's claims.

For the eleven months immediately preceding the invasion, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Lebanese forces abided by a negotiated ceasefire along the Lebanese-Israeli border. Despite its rocket attacks over the border on June 5th (which were themselves a response to a devastating Israeli attack on Beirut), the P.L.O. can hardly be accused of launching an "armed attack" upon Israel, as required by Article 51 before the latter may use force to defend itself. It is Israel that has "attacked" Lebanon.

Even if the controversial doctrine of pre-emptive self-defence is employed, Israel's invasion fails to meet the specification that "the necessity of that self-defense (must be) instant, overwhelming, and leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation." The invasion was carefully planned well in advance of its pretext (the attempted assassination of Israel's ambassador to Great Britain).

The U.N. General Assembly has passed three resolutions which establish that non-consensual military intervention by one state into the territorial domain of another state is prohibited *for any reason whatsoever*: (1) The Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention (1965); (2) The Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations (1970); and (3) Definition of Aggression (1974). The Arab Deterrent Force, primarily Syrian troops, had the consent of the Lebanese government and conducted its peacekeeping operations at the behest of the appropriate regional body under Chapter 8 of the U.N. Charter, the League of Arab States. P.L.O. forces were present in the south of Lebanon in accordance with decisions of the 1969 Cairo and 1976 Riyadh conferences of the League of Arab States. Israel's forces can claim no such legitimacy.

II. Conduct of the War

Even assuming the invasion had been a legitimate act of self-defense, a basic principle of international law would have required proportionality in the use of force. As stated by a group of prestigious international law professors:

> The massive scale of death, destruction, dislocations and suffering inflicted by the Israeli army in Lebanon is egregiously disproportionate to any harm that has been perpetrated upon Israel or to any serious threat to its legitimate national security interests posed by the presence of the P.L.O. in Lebanon.

Virtually all eyewitness reports of the war confirm the horrific impact of the Israeli invasion on the Lebanese and Palestinian populations. There is no question that thousands of civilians have died and many more thousands have been maimed from the massive aerial and naval bombardment and artillery fire. The illegal use of devastating cluster bombs as an anti-personnel weapon has been well documented. Even after military operations ceased in the south, Israeli bulldozers continued the destruction. The Israeli blockade of Beirut, including food, water, electricity, and medical supplies has caused additional untold suffering. On July 4, the U.N. Security Council (Resolution 513) called for the restoration of "the normal supply of vital facilities" in accordance with the Geneva and Hague Conventions. Israel, however, continued to use its blockade as a pressure tactic.

The international law of military occupation is found primarily in the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of August 12, 1949 (Fourth Geneva Convention). The Fourth Geneva Convention has been ratified by all states party to the continuing Middle East hostilities. The P.L.O. had deposited an instrument of accession. All Lebanese and Palestinian civilians are entitled to all the protections set forth in the Fourth Geneva Convention.

The Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon was accomplished through the use of billions of dollars worth of U.S.-supplied weapons and armaments subject to the requirements of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.). The Act provides that recipient nations may use U.S.-supplied weapons only for legitimate self-defense and not for military aggression against neighboring countries. Further, the Act provides an enforcement mechanism for termination of supplies of U.S. military equipment when a recipient nation has been found to have used U.S.-supplied weapons unlawfully.

As a party of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 the United States government has an obligation to respect and to ensure respect for their observance by all other contracting powers. This obligation becomes irresistibly compelling in a situation where Israel has been enabled to invade Lebanon by means of weapons, munitions and supplies provided primarily by the United States government at concessionary rates. To the extent the U.S. government does not prevent Israel from using American weapons in explicit violation of international law and of U.S. domestic statutes applicable to arms transfer agreements, it must assume full legal responsibility before the international community for such proscribed activities committed by Israel in Lebanon. Under the circumstances the United States has an absolute duty to employ the tremendous leverage over Israel afforded by its arms supply relationship in order to secure the

latter's strict obedience to the laws of war and its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon as required by U.N. Security Council Resolution 508 (1982) and Resolution 509 (1982) which are legally binding on Israel under the Charter Article 25.

III. Prisoners of War

"They are bad public relations, we have to admit it." Israeli escort officer accompanying journalists in southern Lebanon (quoted in London *Times*, June 23, 1982)

The Israeli officer is referring to the thousands of prisoners which Israeli has taken inside Lebanon. These prisoners have not been granted prisoner of war status (as defined in the Third Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of August 12, 1949) and have been treated in an intolerable and inhumane fashion.

The provisions of the P.O.W. Convention specify in great detail the requisite treatment of prisoners of war with regard to such matters as interrogation, evacuation, quarters, food, hygiene, labor, and correspondence. No form of coercion whatsoever, including physical or mental torture, threats, insults, or exposure to unpleasant or disadvantageous treatment, may be employed in interrogating prisoners of war (Article 17). Prisoners of war must be fed in sufficient quantity, quality, and variety to keep them in good health (Article 26). Except in relation to war crimes, prisoners of war may not be tried for acts committed prior to capture. Even if convicted of war crimes prior to capture, the prisoners retain the full benefits of prisoner of war status under the Convention (Article 85). Prisoners of war are immune from criminal prosecution for those acts of combat which do not violate the laws of war but which might otherwise be crimes under municipal law.

Credible accounts are convincing that Israel's treatment of its captives has not met the standards required under the Geneva Conventions. A Western diplomat who visited the ruined Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon stated that "every young man over 14 had been taken away." In the al-Baas refugee camp in Tyre, all men between the ages of 16 and 60 were rounded up and taken to undisclosed locations. A young Lebanese Christian told *Wall Street Journal* reporter David Ignatius that all the men of Sidon between 16 and 60 were gathered together and stood in long lines "while Arab men in hoods—apparently Israeli collaborators—pointed out the ones they thought were terrorists." The *Times* of London reported that "occasionally the blindfolded columns are spotted stumbling from one location to another attached by ropes or clutching at each other's clothing."

Released prisoners have reported harsh prison conditions. Dr. Christopher Giannou, a Canadian surgeon, Dr. Steinar Berge, a Norwegian physician, and Mr. Oyvind Moller, a Norwegian social worker, were each arrested in the Sidon area and held as Israeli prisoners in Lebanon and Israel. Dr. Giannou witnessed widespread mistreatment of prisoners, including "savage and indiscriminate beatings . . . from simple punching and kicking to beatings with wooden sticks, plastic hose or even a bunch of pieices of rope with nuts and bolts tied to the ends. . . " The Norwegian medical personnel stated that

> In the 36 hours we were there (an open schoolyard in Sidon) many received no water and we saw Israeli soldiers beating the other prisoners with spiked clubs and rubber hoses, some were kicked unconscious.

Dr. Giannou witnessed four prisoners beaten to death.

In addition to the brutal treatment visited upon the prisoners, Israel does not officially recognize the Palestinian combatants as prisoners of war (although it claims to accord them the treatment required by the P.O.W. Convention). The International Committee of the Red Cross did not have access to any of Israel's prison camps until July 18, when it registered 212 children under the age of 16, who were released under its auspices from the Al Ansar camp in southern Lebanon. In its grant of access to the I.C.R.C. to visit that one prison camp, however, Israel carefully avoided admission of any obligation to do so.

Article 4(A) (3) of the P.O.W. Convention anticipates any attempts to limit the coverage of the Convention's protections. By its terms, Article 4(A) (3) includes as privileged combatants: "Members of regular armed forces who profess allegiance to a government or an authority not recognized by the Detaining Power." This provision envisages a situation in which a belligerent state confronts an entity which lacks full state identity. According to Prof. Claude Klein, Dean of the Hebrew University Faculty of Law, most of the new prisoners wore uniforms and belonged to a more-or-less regular force.

In addition to "regular" forces, the P.O.W. Convention extends the category of privileged combatants who are entitled to prisoner of war status if captured to include "irregular" forces, i.e., other militias, volunteer corps, and organized resistance movements, provided they meet several conditions:

1. the group must belong to a Party to the conflict;
2. the group must be commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates;
3. the group must ensure that its members have a fixed distinctive sign recognizable at a distance;
4. the group must ensure that its members carry their arms openly; and
5. the group must ensure that its members conduct their operations in accordance with the laws of war.

The detailed legal analysis set out in Gay J. McDougall's paper presented to the Seventh United Nations Seminar on the Question of Palestine in August, 1982, demonstrates that P.L.O. members and other Israeli captives qualify for the protections afforded by the P.O.W. Convention.

The Geneva Conventions of 1949 apply in their entirety to the conduct of hostilities by Israel in Lebanon. Additionally, the terms of *Protocol I (1977)* indicate the intention of the international community to construe the criteria for privileged combatancy broadly in conflicts such as that in the Middle East, thereby guaranteeing that the members of the P.L.O. be treated as prisoners of war within the meaning of the Geneva Accords. At the very minimum, captured members of the P.L.O. and other individuals affiliated with them, together with all Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, are entitled to the full panoply of protections set forth in Fourth Geneva Convention and the customary international law of belligerent occupation. According to this Convention, protected civilians may not be coerced, abused, or removed from the occupied country. Statements by the Israeli government that captured P.L.O. members will be treated as "terrorists" and thus presumably deprived of their protected status under the Geneva Conventions would, if acted upon, constitute a grave violation of the humanitarian laws of armed conflict that have been universally accepted by all civilized states.

IV. Lebanon and the Occupied Territories

There is little doubt that Israel's invasion of Lebanon is closely linked to a tightening of the Israeli grip on the territories it occupied in 1967. While attention has been fixed on Lebanon, Israel has continued its onslaught upon the institutional core of Palestinian national existence in the West Bank and Gaza. Elected municipal councils have been summarily dismissed and replaced by military government appointees. The universities in Bethlehim, Nablus, and Bir Zeit have been effectively prevented from functioning by a policy of systematic harassment: nightly raids on student dormitories, repeated detention and humiliation of students and periodic closures.

Many of those illegal Israeli actions previously documented by the National Lawyers Guild's Middle East Delegation Report continue to afflict the Occupied Territories. The number and size of Israeli settlements continue to expand; Palestinians displaced in 1967 are still not permitted to return to their homes; local institutions continue to be severely restricted; collective penalties, including demolition of buildings, curfews, and other reprisals continue; expulsions and administrative detention continue; defendants continue to be denied procedural rights; and prisoners continue to be incarcerated in severely overcrowded prisons.

Yet, General Sharon sees the present situation as an opportunity: he believes that "with the political and military power of the P.L.O. in Lebanon severely damaged, Israel may have more success than it has had in the past in finding Arab residents (of the West Bank and Gaza Strip) who are willing to cooperate with the occupation authorities."

The war in Lebanon and the increased repression in the Occupied Territories are two aspects of a single policy—the destruction of the national existence of the Palestinian people.

The invasion was openly justified by Israeli officials as an "opportunity" to develop a new Lebanese government that would be pro-U.S., would sign a peace treaty with Israel, and would control the Palestinians. The moment the Phalangist "president-elect" was assassinated, Israeli troops violated the U.S.-negotiated cease-fire and invaded West Beirut.

V. Recent Reagan "Peace" Plan

The recent so-called "peace" plan put forward by President Reagan continues to ignore the United Nations and the P.L.O., both of whom are legally responsible parties necessary for any such plan to succeed. Any settlement reached among the U.S., Egypt, Jordan, Israel and U.S.-or Israeli-appointed "representatives" of the Palestinians will violate international law and the international consensus developed in the U.N. that recognizes the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people and recognizes the P.L.O. as their sole legitimate representative. Such a "peace plan" can never bring a true, legal, just and lasting peace to the area.

HANS GORAN FRANCK, Laywer, Sweden

There is no legally valid justification for the Israeli invasion. The only conclusion supported by facts is that Israel has planned, initiated and is waging a war of aggression in Lebanon. The Israeli action obviously violates the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

The Israeli government has attempted to justify the invasion of Lebanon by invoking the right of self-defence. The military operation, which was initially labelled "'Peace for Galilee," has been described as a peace-enforcing action. The arguments are not supported by the facts.

On June 3, 1982, an attempt was made to assassinate the Israeli ambassador to Great Britain in London. The act was immediately denounced and condemned by the PLO. Despite this, on June 4, Israeli forces bombarded Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon in retaliation, causing returned fire on Galilee, killing one Israeli soldier. The following day Israeli armed forces launched a full-scale invasion on Lebanese territory.

The use of force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any state other than in self-defence or under the authority of an organ of the United Nations is illegal according to general international law and the United Nations Charter. The right of individual self-defence may only be exercised by a state if an armed attack has taken place against that state, as defined in Article 51 of the UN Charter. International law does not permit anticipatory self-defence against a potential aggressor. Further, force used in self-defence must be characterized by proportionality.

Israel was not responding to an armed attack when it invaded Lebanon. It is apparent that the invasion must have been planned well in advance.

There is no legally valid justification for the Israeli invasion. The only conclusion supported by facts is that Israel has planned, initiated and is waging a war of aggression in Lebanon. The Israeli action obviously violates the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. Official Israeli statements further strongly suggest that the war is directed against the political independence of Lebanon.

The ultimate aim of the war is to render impossible the fulfilment of the internationally recognized right of self-determination of the Palestinian people.

The Israeli government bears a heavy responsibility for these grave violations of international law.

The United States government must also be held responsible for Israel's war of aggression and the illegal situation created by it as a consequence of its military aid to Israel and its blocking of effective measures by the United Nations in the Security Council.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has caused enormous suffering to Palestinian refugees and Lebanese civilians and vast material destruction. Whole cities have been wiped out. Large areas of Beirut have been destroyed. Distinctively civilian buildings and institutions such as hospitals, schools and places of worship have been mercilessly attacked by the Israeli forces.

It is a basic principle of international law that belligerents shall at all times distinguish between the civilian population and combatants, between civilian objects and military objectives and shall accordingly direct their operations only against military objectives. This basic principle is expressed in various international conventions such as the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907 and the Geneva Convention relative to the

Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 1949. The principle was affirmed in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and in the Judgement of the Tribunal which established individual criminal responsibility for such war crimes as wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages or devastation not justified by military necessity.

In 1977 a Protocol additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 was adopted to reaffirm and develop the provisions protecting the victims of international armed conflicts. The Protocol clearly prohibits indiscriminate armed conflicts. The Protocol clearly prohibits indiscriminate warfare such as attacks which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilians, injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated. It is further stipulated that actions may in no event be taken against objects which may be expected to leave the civilian population with such inadequate food or water as to cause its starvation or force its movement. This is precisely what has occured as a result of the Israeli interruption of electrical power, fuel and water to the besieged sector of Beirut.

Israel has not signed or ratified this protocol and is therefore not technically bound by its provisions. There is, however, no doubt, that the spirit of the rules are binding upon Israel according to general international law.

Similarly, the use of such weapons as cluster bombs and phosphorus bombs, which are typically indiscriminate, must be considered clearly illegal, at least when used in civilian areas. An explicit prohibition to make any military objective located within a concentration of civilians the object of attack by air-delivered incendiary weapons is given in a Protocol adopted in 1980 by some 80 states at a United Nations conference.

The violent and degrading treatment of Palestinians suspected of belonging to the PLO is clearly in violation of the principles of humanity and international law.

Many of the violations cited above are defined as grave breaches of the 1977 Protocol additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. It is stated in the Protocol that such breaches shall be regarded as war crimes.

The Israeli violations of generally accepted rules of international law applicable to armed conflict are of such nature and magnitude that they should be considered war crimes.

Israeli soldiers and officers have a duty under international law to disobey orders which should result in such crimes.

Having started a war of aggression, the principle obligation of Israel is to put an end to the illegal situation caused by the intervention by withdrawing its troops from Lebanon.

Secondly, the Palestinians captured by the Israeli forces in the course of this illegal action must be immediately released.

Thirdly, Israel is liable to pay compensation for the death, suffering and destruction caused by its military actions in Lebanon.

CHARLES CHAUMONT, Professor, University of Nancy, France

"It has been established that Israel, throughout the long years which have elapsed, and in any case in a particularly intensive manner during the past few months, has committed aggressions."

During our proceedings here a certain number of points have been established, in fact and in law. To start with, we have here the most moving, the most heartrending, personal testimonies—testimonies which establish beyond all possible doubt the overwhelming responsibility of the Israeli government. We have been aware for years now of that overwhelming responsibility with regard to the Palestinians; but now, with the invasion of Lebanon, it has taken on a new form. I believe it has been established that it goes a very long way back. It has been established, or at least recalled, that its origins are bound up more or less with the circumstances in which the state of Israel was created. I will not go further into this aspect of things, which would seem to belong to a distant past; but I feel it is the circumstances which existed in that distant past which explain the present situation, through a diabolical process of cause and effect. I am referring here in more particular to the fact that Palestine, as a result of the British mandate, was not placed under a regime of trusteeship, and I am also referring to the fact that, whereas an alternative arrangement was found by the General Assembly in 1947, it was not put into effect, since no Arab state was created. I believe also that it has been more or less established, or at least may be readily supposed, that the most recent events—the invasion of Lebanon in particular—form part of a scheme for a future protectorate or semi-protectorate over Lebanon. It seems to me to matter little whether this scheme is prompted by the desire to do away with the body representing the Palestinian people and with Palestinian resistance or whether, conversely, the desire to put an end to Palestinian resistance has afforded the pretext for the invasion of Lebanon or the establishment of a protectorate over that country; I believe these are merely two aspects of a single reality or a single project. And this, too, is one of the points which must be included in a draft declaration.

It has been established that Israel, throughout the long years which have elapsed, and in any case in a particularly intensive manner during the past few months, has committed aggressions. Here again, it matters little whether we consider that there has been a sort of general aggression which may be held to have started as long ago as 1947-1948, or whether we prefer to see it as a chronological series of aggressive activities assuming visibly their severest and most intensive form in June 1982 and thereafter; I consider that from the legal point of view the result is just the same. By this I mean that whatever our conclusions on the nature of its acts of aggression the policy of the Israeli government as revealed by such conduct is contrary to the explicit undertakings accepted under the United Nations Charter, and also contrary to the resolution of 14 December 1974 approving the definition of aggression, which, I would remind you, was adopted by consensus.

Without in any way needing to adopt an exaggerated interpretation of things, one may also consider that there is a permanent state of aggression against the Palestinian people. The definition of aggression itself provides that aggression may be perpetrated "in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations," and not merely in inter-state relations: thus, for example, an act of aggression may be committed when there is infringement by armed force—and when we speak of armed aggression we naturally refer to armed force—of one of the vital provisions of the Charter such as that contained in Article 1 §2; this, as you know, asserts and ensures the right of peoples to self-determination and introduces this right once and for all into international law.

It has been established here, once again, that there is a right of self-determination for the Palestinian people, and consequently (whether we base ourselves on Art. 1 §2 of the United Nations Charter or on Art. 1 of the definition of aggression) acts of aggression within the meaning of the Charter are committed against the Palestinian people where there is hostile action whose target is either that people or its unquestioned and unquestionable representative body, the PLO.

It has further been established that by virtue of the circumstances and manner of the Israeli intervention in Lebanon, including the part of that intervention affecting the Palestinians, there has been violation of a series of cardinal and essential international commitments which are very naturally contained in the Geneva Conventions governing humanitarian law and were previously expressed in more general terms in the Hague Conventions; it should, in fact, be pointed out that they date back to an earlier customary law.

I will add, moreover, that in the Geneva Conventions there is also a provision stating that, independently of any specific or special undertakings, and of the category to which the combatants may belong, the elementary norms of civilized existence must be applicable in any military operations. Yet who can deny—and this is where our meeting and the eye-witness accounts we have heard acquire their full value—that these ele-

mentary norms of civilized existence have been violated by the Israeli government?

In these circumstances—and this will be my final point—what is to be done and what are the measures to be envisaged? This is one of the problems forming the subject of our meeting here—I mean the problem of responsibilities and sanctions. The requisite legal sources exist. The Convention on Genocide has been mentioned, and so has the resolution adopting the definition of aggression, to which I referred a moment ago, Article 5 of which stipulates that the crime of aggression carries with it international responsibility. There is also the United Nations Charter, which provides for a certain number of measures which may be taken against states. There are of course all the measures given in Chapter 7 to deal with the situation provided for in Article 39, which covers the existence of a clear act of aggression or merely of a clear threat to peace. I shall not go any further into these; we are perfectly aware that in view of the system by which the Security Council functions these measures are not feasible in practice, even though they are valid in theory.

A final declaration could contain recommendations for other measures, and there are two in particular which might be envisaged. Thus:

a) It could be recommended that UN member states break off diplomatic relations with Israel.

b) The United Nations General Assembly could be requested—as has already been attempted during one of its sessions—to apply Article 6 of the Charter empowering it to decide to expel a member of the Organization.

But although theoretically such measures are perfectly valid, and may be considered opportune, we have of course seen only very recently how they are dealt with: the U.S. government has threatened to stop paying its share of United Nations expenses, and probably even to leave the Organization, should Article 6 be made applicable to Israel and lead to its expulsion. We can always, if we wish, recommend these measures in theory, but let us remain fully aware of what present circumstances actually are.

The essential idea we must bear in mind is the following. Since there does not really exist sufficiently convincing and sufficiently effective legal machinery at the present time, under present conditions of world equilibrium and balance of power, and since there are no genuinely legal measures based on the machinery contained in the United Nations Charter which can be effective at the present time, what we can at least try to do—and I believe this is in line with what I have the impression has been one of the fundamental concerns of today's and yesterday's speakers—is to keep the behaviour of the Israeli government constantly in the forefront of international news. Probably the best way to do this—for there must be clear decisions as to how to proceed—will be to encourage the creation of international fact-finding commissions or commissions of observers in various parts of the world, at state-to-state level and under the aegis of international organizations, starting, of course, with our own. These commissions would have a dual objective. In the first place they would keep a very strict and clear watch on the conduct of the Israeli government so long as that government had undergone no basic change, or in other words so long as there had been no occurrence vitally affecting the structure of the Israeli state. In the second, if it were observed that the Israeli government persisted in its present behaviour under a variety of future forms which may be readily imagined, they would publicly denounce it and ceaselessly recommend to states and organizations alike that the attention of public opinion be drawn to such behaviour. This looks like a very paltry substitute for spectacular sanctions; but in reality it is the only way to exert pressure and achieve some sort of results, as was shown in the past by the gradual progress in public opinion on the war in Vietnam.

In closing, let us remind ourselves that there can of course be no question of making the Jewish community of the world and of Israel itself responsible for what has been done, nor, conversely, of making the past sufferings of the Jews an excuse for such acts. Crimes are crimes, whatever the circumstances, and they must be denounced by international opinion.

ALEXANDRE SUKHAREV, Vice-Minister of Justice, U.S.S.R.

"It is clearly proved that there is not a single clause in the norms and rules of the international community - whether the prohibition on the use of force for the settlement of conflicts, the rules governing methods of warfare, or the conventions applicable to the activities of the Red Cross and Red Crescent - which has not been flouted in Israeli treatment of the civilian population, the children, the old people, the wounded and the sick, the historical monuments and the cultural property in the territories occupied. I repeat: there are no norms which have not been openly and barefacedly flouted by Israel."

The Association of Soviet Lawyers thoroughly approves the initiative taken by the I.A.D.L. in convening this conference.

The Israeli crimes described by the witnesses who were in Lebanon are beyond all doubt international crimes, and are the outcome of the policy pursued by Israeli governing circles for the past thirty-five years, in defiance of international legislation and of the many resolutions of the United Nations addressed to the international community and to Israel itself. Moreover, the theory and practice of the Zionists in Israel has in the past few years become more and more openly racist: the bloodbaths they have perpetrated on Lebanese territory are acts of genocide.

It is clearly proved that there is not a single clause in the norms and rules of the international community—whether the prohibition on the use of force for the settlement of conflicts, the rules governing methods of warfare, or the conventions applicable to the activities of the Red Cross and Red Crescent—which has not been flouted in Israeli treatment of the civilian population, the children, the old people, the wounded and the sick, the historical monuments and the cultural property in the territories occupied. I repeat: there are no norms which have not been openly and barefacedly flouted by Israel. What we have here is a challenge to international law as one of the moral assets of the civilized world. It is important to appreciate all this from the legal point of view and to bring our findings to the attention of public opinion, governments and the United Nations. But for the international community it is equally important to know the sources of such conduct on the part of Israel, the roots from which the Israeli policy of aggression and genocide derives its sustenance, and to see who is encouraging these acts so totally contrary to law.

In reality the American professor Franklin Lamb revealed these sources in his most convincing speech from this platform, in the course of which, on the basis of concrete evidence, he described the distinctive features of the most up-to-date American arms supplied to the Israeli aggressors for the purpose of massacring the civilian populations of Palestine and Lebanon. He showed how anomalous was the position of the U.S. authorities, particularly that of Congress, which for several years has been making attempts to open the debate on the justification for the sale of these terrifying weapons from the point of view of U.S. internal legislation. Beyond attempts such as these, nothing, however, is being done. The esteemed representative of Israel, Felicia Langer, also referred to these same root causes. One may further emphasize the singularity of the position of the U.S. on the Palestinian problem on the United Nations Security Council. It is the U.S. which by its veto has rejected all the resolutions adopted by the other members of the Security Council calling on Israel to halt its aggression. It is the U.S. position as concretely embodied in the Camp David Accords and in the idea of so-called "Palestinian autonomy"—running directly counter to the will of the United Nations—which encouraged Israel first of all to reject the Palestinians' right to self-determination and now to deny their right to existence as an ethnic entity. In the U.S. and in certain countries in Western Europe one hears talk of Israel's right to self-defence. It is a curious kind of self-defence (comparable only to what can be found in the history of German fascism) that has almost doubled the size of a territory at the expense of that of other states. And now those who inspired the Israeli aggression are presenting themselves as pacifists.

Notwithstanding their talk of peace in the Near East, the realities are such that no one, neither Begin, nor Reagan nor those further to the left or to the right, can evade the essential problem—that of the sovereign right of the Palestinian people to live on its land in an independent state. This problem arose as long ago as 1947, with the first United Nations resolution proclaiming the creation of the Arab state of Palestine, and it remains posed today, thrity-five years later. Any attempt to elude it will delay peace in the region and will only aggravate the Palestinian and Arab problem as a whole. This was the idea behind the six principles for a solution to the problem of Palestine and the Arab peoples formulated by the President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Brezhnev, of which I will remind you here. First of all, there is the principle of the inadmissibility of the conquest of territories through aggression. This means that all territories occupied by Israel since 1967—the Golan heights, the West Bank territories, the Gaza strip and the Lebanese territories—must be returned to the Arab peoples. The frontiers between Israel and its Arab neighbours must be proclaimed unalterable.

Secondly, there must be safeguarding of the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the creation of its own independent state on the Palestinian territory on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, which must be liberated from the Israeli occupation. The Palestinian refugees must be given the possibility provided for in the United Nations resolutions of returning to their homes and receiving compensation for their property.

Thirdly, the eastern portion of Jerusalem, occupied by Israel in 1967, which contains the Muslim Holy Places, must be restored to the Arab and Palestinian peoples. Freedom of access to the Holy Places of the three religions must be ensured for all worshippers in any part of Jerusalem.

Fourthly, there must be recognition of the right of all states in the region to an independent existence beyond the reach of all and any threats, and, naturally, to development with respect for one another's rights, for it is impossible to ensure the security of any state or states if that of the others is trampled underfoot.

Fifthly, peace must be restored between the Arab states and Israel. This means that all parties concerned, including Israel and the future Palestinian state, must undertake to respect each other's sovereignty, indepen-

dence and territorial integrity and to settle their disputes by peaceful means, through negotiation.

Sixthly, international procedures for safeguarding the settlement adopted must be worked out and approved. The guarantors may be the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

We believe that the International Association of Democratic Lawyers will be able, with the aid of our work here, to make a thoroughgoing legal analysis of the events and of the origins of the Palestinian problem from the point of view of international law. The voice it will be able to raise within the international community will be a competent and authoritative one serving to combat misinformation and all the various forms of manipulation to which public opinion is subjected in the interests of Israel and Israel's protectors. It is a part of our professional and moral duty to show how for Israel and the Israeli people the U.S.-Israeli alliance represents a historical dead end.

We are convinced that, notwithstanding the extremely grave consequences of the Israeli aggression, the just cause of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples will triumph.

VASSILI MAZOV, Professor of International Law, U.S.S.R.

"Israel has been guilty of acts against the Palestinians which may be qualified as genocide. The Israeli leaders have openly declared that their principal objective in invading Lebanon was to put an end to the PLO and to exterminate or disperse the Palestinian people as a historic entity. The massacres in the Palestinian camps at Sabra and Shatila are a concrete example of Israeli genocide in Lebanon, the liability for which must in any event be imputed to the Israeli state."

The Symposium held by the International Association of Democratic Lawyers under the title of "The Camp David Agreement—a Challenge to International Law," which took place in Paris on 29 and 30 September 1979 and was attended by a large number of distinguished representatives of the international legal community, clearly revealed that the agreement in question was contrary to peremptory and binding principles of international law and in the first place to the principles of self-determination and sovereignty contained in the United Nations Charter and in the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly. It also showed that the agreement had settled nothing and was not helping the Palestinian people to recover its territory and its rights, but was on the contrary leading to fresh conflicts which would threaten peace in the Near East.

The agreement could not be implemented by peaceful means, and it would on the contrary require the use of force to impose the will of the United States and of Israel on the Palestinian people and the Arab states which had refused to acknowledge the Camp David Framework.

The invasion of Lebanon by Israeli troops at the beginning of June 1982, and their occupation of a part of that sovereign country, were the direct outcome of the Camp David machinery, by which the Israeli government is attempting to deny the legitimate and indefeasible rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the creation of a sovereign and independent state on its territory under the leadership of the PLO. Israel wishes to pursue a policy of separate settlements in order better to divide the Arab countries and, above all, to annex South Lebanon and turn the rest of Lebanon into a protectorate of its own.

We know that the Camp David agreement is a two-headed instrument of aggression in the hands of the United States and Israel. Without the economic, political and military support of the United States, which are today the chief instigators of its policy of force, Israel would have been unable to launch its invasion of Lebanon and unable to pursue its oppression of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

The Camp David machinery forms an integral part of a strategy of a frankly aggressive nature and presupposes the use of the United States military power for the fulfilment of the worldwide absolutist programme of U.S. imperialism, which consist in defending the "vital interests" of the United States in those various parts of the world which are primarily considered as suitable places for armed clashes. This strategy has involved the filling of the so-called "power vacuums" through the creation of military bases, the sending-out of mobile armed forces, or the setting-up of military blocs under the auspices of the U.S. Under this scheme of things the military weak small states are considered as no more than less "power vacuums," in relation to which suitable conditions should be created to enable them to be occupied at any moment by the forces of the United States or their allies.

The internationally illicit acts committed by Israel during and after the invasion of Lebanon, the existence of which has been proved by countless witnesses and confirmed by the statements made to this conference, and which have been described in the reports we have heard, are closely bound up with the violation of a large number of applicable provisions of international law. In its attempts to achieve the political and physical elimination of the Palestinian people, which have led to the partial occupation of

Lebanon, the Israeli government has been guilty of premeditated acts of aggression and breaches of Lebanese sovereignty. The Israeli claim to be exercising its inherent right of self-defence or self-protection under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter is absolutely baseless, since Israel has been the object of no aggression within the meaning of that article. The Israeli aggression in Lebanon has led to the occupation and barbarous destruction of a large portion of that independent Arab state and of its capital, Beirut. It has involved wholesale and systematic violations of humanitarian law and other illegal acts on the part of the Israeli government, which has been guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity in its treatment of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

Israel has been guilty of acts against the Palestinians which may be qualified as genocide. The Israeli leaders have openly declared that their principal objective in invading Lebanon was to put an end to the PLO and to exterminate or disperse the Palestinian people as a historic entity. The massacres in the Palestinian camps at Sabra and Shatila are a concrete example of Israeli genocide in Lebanon, the liability for which must in any event be imputed to the Israeli state.

Under the heading of Israeli breaches of the laws and customs of war, we should mention a series of crimes: the deliberate bombing of the civilian population and of undefended towns and villages; the indiscriminate use of phosphorus, fragmentation and cluster bombs and the blockading of the food supplies for the civilian population; the inhuman treatment afforded the Palestinian prisoners of war, the arbitrary arrests, the deportations to Israel, the torture, and the looting of civilian property in occupied Lebanese territory.

Among the internationally illicit acts committed by Israel in Lebanon there are some which are qualified in international law as international crimes. We should recall that under Article 19 of the International Law Commission's draft articles on state responsibility the internationally wrongful acts of which Israel has been guilty are aggression, grave violation of an international obligation essential for the safeguarding of the right to self-determination—such as the rule prohibiting the establishment or the forcible maintenance of colonial domination—and genocide.

The wrongful acts of a state are qualified as international crimes when they consist in breaches of international obligations so essential to the protection of the fundamental interests of the international community that their violation is recognized to be a crime by that community as a whole and clearly demonstrates that peace has become indivisible. A new principle of international law, that of responsibility for aggression, should be applicable to the case of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon. This principle signifies that the legal consequences of a war of aggression are to be based, in present-day international law, not on the "right of the victor" but on the identification of the state which has been the aggressor and must assume the liability for its criminal act. The resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly on 14 December 1974 adopting the definition of aggression contains the words: "A war of aggression is a crime against international peace. Aggression gives rise to international responsibility."

Under the international law now in force, the identity of the aggressor is established quite independently of the outcome of the war. In the preservation of international peace the principle that wars of aggression are prohibited and the principle of the liability of the aggressor are both extremely important.

The qualifying of a war of aggression as an international crime means that the aggressor state may be considered as having incurred all forms and degrees of liability—political, material and moral; in the present case it means that Israel is under an obligation to make reparation or restitution to the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and that Israel may be the object of sanctions under Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter.

The responsibility of individuals for acts of aggression and for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed when acting on the orders of a state, whatever their functions in that state's administration, is provided for under the heading of criminal liability, even though such persons do not come within the jurisdiction of international law. The Convention of the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity of 1968 provides that in no case can limitation be applicable to war crimes or to crimes against humanity, whether committed in time of war or of peace, or to inhuman acts committed in pursuit of the policy of genocide. The importance of this Convention for contemporary international law is inestimable.

It should be asked why the United Nations have not taken sanctions against Israel for the latter's aggression against Lebanon. The answer is that the United States have abused their right of veto on the United Nations Security Council and blackmailed the General Assembly into abstaining from voting for such sanctions. They have demonstrated their connivance in the Israeli crimes by directly supporting the aggression on the Security Council, vetoing the resolutions calling for withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon, and by refusing to vote the General Assembly resolution denouncing the aggression.

The support—military, economic, political and diplomatic—which the United States has given to Israel for the perpetration of the international crimes we have been mentioning raises the further question of the international responsibility of the United States in present-day international law. It is obvious that the Israeli aggression in Lebanon has once more emphasized the need for recognition of the right of the Palestinian people, as of all other peoples in the region, to live within a state with permanent

and acknowledged frontiers, and for the establishment of political guarantees for the peace and security of the peoples of the Near East.

An internationally guaranteed settlement of the Near Eastern problem is important on the level of principle. The separate deal negotiated at Camp David on the basis of a dictatorial injunction to the Arabs and the crude use of military force must be declared invalid. The tragic experience of the past years, in which acts of aggression and armed conflicts have been so frequent, shows that neither military confrontation nor separate bargaining can solve the very acute problems of the Near East; these will be solved only through the collective efforts of all the interested parties, including those of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The reestablishment of peace in the Near East presupposes the immediate withdrawal of Israel from Lebanese territory and from all the other territories occupied since 1967, and the restoration of the eastern portion of Jerusalem as an inalienable part of the Palestinian state; the adoption of measures ensuring that the Palestinian people may enjoy its right to self-determination on its own territory, and of others ensuring that the Lebanese state enjoys complete sovereignty and territorial integrity and that all states in the region enjoy an independent and safe existence. This further implies cessation of the state of war and the establishment of peace between the Arab states and Israel, and the adoption of international guarantees safeguarding the settlement in the Near East under the authority of the United Nations Security Council. This is the one possible approach for a genuine settlement of the problems of the area.

JIM FINE, Researcher, USA

"Haddad soldiers told AFSC's researcher that they worked at Israeli army headquarters in Sidon and were seizing property and establishing posts around Palestinian refugee camps as part of an Israeli plan."

Report on Status of American Friends Service Committee Inquiry

This report summarizes and updates the main findings of an AFSC-sponsored inquiry into the situation of the civilian population, of prisoners, and of Lebanese law and administration in Israeli-occupied South Lebanon. The inquiry included a survey of the Lebanese and Israeli press and a two week visit in Lebanon, mostly in the Sidon area, from August 7 to 21, 1982.

The problems described in this report are likely to grow more serious if Israeli forces continue to occupy Lebanese territory for a long time. The possibility of long-term Israeli control of South Lebanon has been raised most recently by statements made by Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. Mr. Sharon said several times in early September that Israel could establish a "special status" in a 25 to 30 mile wide security zone in South Lebanon if the Lebanese government will not sign a peace treaty with Israel.

Since even a Lebanese government favorably disposed toward Israel may be prevented by its ties with the Arab world from signing a formal peace treaty with the Jewish state, Mr. Sharon's statements could forebode long-term Israeli control of the area and Israeli efforts to alter the status quo in the occupied zone. Any such efforts would violate international law and undermine efforts to restore Lebanese unity and government authority to the country.

Israel's Status in South Lebanon

Israel has the status of an occupying army, or "belligerent occupant" in South Lebanon in the view of all countries that have expressed an opinion on the subject, including the U.S., and international organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross. A belligerent occupant has definite rights and is subject to certain prohibitions under the international law that governs occupation. The IV Geneva Convention of 1949 is an important part of the international law of occupation, and contains many safeguards for the population of the occupied territory. It is of great practical consequence, then, both to the people of an occupied territory and to the state whose territory is occupied that an occupation be clearly and officially recognized as such and that the provisions of the IV Geneva Convention and other international statutes be faithfully applied.

Israel's own view of its status in South Lebanon is not clear. On the positive side, Israel has given the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva written assurance that it accepts the application of the IV Geneva Convention in South Lebanon. This seems to imply that Israel acknowledges that it is a belligerent occupant of South Lebanon and that it is bound and limited in its actions there by the international law of occupation. On the other hand there are disturbing signs that this is not the Israeli view. In June, Prime Minister Menachem Begin met with renegade Lebanese Army major Saad Haddad, who has been cooperating with Israel in South Lebanon for six years, and told Haddad that he was giving him control of South Lebanon. Israel has encouraged the operation of the Haddad militia and the Phalangist Christian militia in South

Lebanon, while keeping the regular Lebanese Army units in the area disarmed and confined to their bases. Israel also declines to call its military control of South Lebanon a military government, which would be normal under occupation. Instead the Israel Defense Forces have established an "Assistance Unit for the Civilian Population" which exercises authority over civilian life.

Finally, there is the import of Defense Minister Sharon's statements already mentioned. An occupying power is prohibited from changing the status of an occupied territory. An Israeli declaration of a special status for all or part of the Lebanese territory under its control would be a fundamental violation of the law of occupation or a denial that the law of occupation applied to South Lebanon. Talk of unilaterally according a special status to part of Lebanese territory raises grave questions about Israel's view of its status in the area it occupies.

The Situation of the Civilian Population

The most serious problems that the Lebanese and Palestinian civilians in South Lebanon face at present are the result of Israel's policy of permitting the Haddad and Phalangist militia forces to operate in the area. Israel permits the armed movement, establishment of base areas, maintenance of check points, and patrol activity of both militia groups. The militia soldiers frequently come into contact with Lebanese and Palestinian civilians and attempt to exert a presumed authority over them.

It is clear that Israel permits the militias to operate in South Lebanon. Both the Phalangist and Haddad militias followed Israeli forces into the Sidon area. In addition there is evidence that at least the Haddad militia sometimes operates under Israeli orders. Haddad soldiers told AFSC's researcher that they worked at Israeli army headquarters in Sidon and were seizing property and establishing posts around Palestinian refugee camps as part of an Israeli plan. Israeli officers denied that Haddad forces were under their orders, but said they had some influence on the militia. The Israelis interviewed also observed that the Haddad forces were currently evicting Palestinian refugees from public buildings in Sidon without Israeli authorization but at the same time without Israeli opposition.

Reports of militia abuses are widespread. AFSC's researcher found evidence of the following during his visit to South Lebanon:

A. *Detention or Mistreatment of Civilians:* Militia forces sometimes "arrest" both Lebanese and Palestinians and detain them at neighborhood militia offices or base areas. Some of those detained are beaten or subjected to degrading treatment. Both Palestinian men and women report being arrested and beaten by militia forces. Palestinian civilians have demanded Israeli protection from militia violence.

Local Lebanese officials and Palestinian residents of Sidon also believe that militia forces are responsible for kidnapping disappearances of a number of area residents. AFSC's researcher did not, however, have an opportunity to verify these suspicions.

B. *Seizure and Detention of Property for Militia Bases:* Militia forces are quartered in private Lebanese property. The Phalangist militia in Sidon, for example, has taken over the private Sidon School. There is no legal basis for such property seizures by local militia forces. Israeli acquiescence in these seizures is a violation of its responsibility to maintain law and order and safeguard property in the occupied territory.

C. *Eviction of Palestinian Residents:* In Sidon at least 15 to 20 Palestinian families have been evicted from houses that they own or rent as protected tenants. They have been evicted either by militia forces, or in some cases by landlords who purport to be acting at the instructions of the militias.

D. *Destruction of Property:* Haddad and Phalangist militia forces burned a part of Mieh Mieh Palestinian refugee camp on Saturday, August 7. Twenty homes were destroyed and others were damaged. At the time of the fire and over the next two days, some thousand refugees fled in fear from the camp.

E. *Firing on Civilians:* During the same incident at Mieh Mieh, Phalangist militiamen opened fire on refugees fleeing down a hillside from their burning camp. In the firing that lasted at least five minutes one boy and three girls were wounded. Although the firing took place about a mile from Israeli army headquarters in Sidon there was no Israeli response.

The Situation of Detainees

A. *Number:* Israel currently holds around 7,000 detainees at the Ansar prison camp in occupied South Lebanon. About 60% of these detainees are Palestinians, between 30% and 35% are Lebanese and between 5% and 10% are citizens of many countries who were either training with the PLO or serving the Palestinian civilian population in South Lebanon in non-military capacities.

B. *Basis of Detention:* As with the question of Israel's status in South Lebanon, the status of those detained by Israel in the South is also unclear. Israel does not recognize the Palestinians whom it holds as prisoners-of-war. An occupying power has the right to intern persons apart from prisoners-of-war who are otherwise considered dangerous to the security of its forces, but there is nothing to suggest that Israel views either the Palestinians or the Lebanese that it holds as internees. In June Defense Minister Sharon issued a temporary emergency regulation authorizing the army to detain any non-Israeli or non-Israeli resident considered a threat to security. This regulation was extended by the Israeli

Knesset in September, but in the view of some Israeli attorneys the regulation is not valid beyond Israel's borders where at least 7,000 persons are being held.

C. *Treatment:* In the first weeks of Israel's occupation of South Lebanon there is strong evidence that many detainees were deprived of food, water and toilet facilities for one to two-day periods. Likewise, there is evidence that some were beaten. One case of the alleged beating deaths of eight Palestinian prisoners widely reported by Canadian and Norwegian doctors detained at the same time has been corroborated by Lebanese witnesses and is currently being investigated by the Israeli army.

Detainees released from the Ansar prison camp by mid-August report that their treatment improved a few days before Israel accorded the International Committee of the Red Cross access to the camp.

D. *Conformity to Geneva Convention:* There is strong evidence that Israel has pre-detention or interrogation centers at places other than Ansar. These detention centers are not identified as such and the International Committee of the Red Cross does not have access to them. Ansar is the only facility officially known and open to the ICRC. Israel's failure to designate and accord the ICRC access to other detention centers constitutes a very serious threat to the safety of detainees. In the first month of the war it appears that most, if not all, detainees were taken to Israel and held there for a time. It is possible that some are still being held in Israel and that some more recent detainees are still taken there. Persons are also detained for periods up to several days and possibly longer at Israeli army bases and headquarters in Lebanon.

Detainees are entitled by the IV Geneva Convention to a review of their detention order "as soon as possible" by a military appeal board or court. While the Israeli emergency regulation makes provision of a three-member board to conduct such reviews, there is no way at present for detainees to obtain a review. For practical purposes they are denied this Geneva Convention right.

Also denied to detainees at present are their Convention rights to family visits and to receive parcels of food, clothing, books or recreational equipment.

E. *Protection of Releases:* Perhaps several hundred detainees, both Lebanese and Palestinian, have been released to date. Most of those released have been older men or young boys. Palestinians released from detention face a threat of vengance or reprisal actions by the militia forces Israel allows to operate in the South. Militia forces tried unsuccessfully to "arrest" some of the young Palestinian boys released in July. Some relatives of Palestinian detainees have pleaded with Lebanese officials to ask the Israeli army to continue their relatives' detention in order to protect them from reprisal upon release.

The Situation of Lebanese Government, Law and Administration

The possible future consequences of the Israeli occupation for Lebanese government, law and administration is the area of greatest concern to Lebanese of all political persuasions, including elements of the Phalangist movement, who have begun to have some misgivings about their alliance with Israel. Lebanese fear that Israel could use its present position to alter the economy and interfere in the country's political life. As any change in existing Lebanese law or administration could be a violation of both the Hague Regulations of 1907 and the Geneva Conventions, this is also a prime area of human rights concern.

In June, fears were aroused by an Israeli demand to waive Lebanon's banking secrecy law to enable Israeli investigators, it was said, to examine Palestinian bank accounts. Lebanese banking authorities, fearing that this exception could open the door to other abuses that would threaten one of the foundations of the Lebanese economy, resisted the demand, which the Israelis dropped in the face of determined opposition.

In the area of imports and trade, however, the Lebanese have not succeeded in maintaining Lebanese law. Israeli reports say some $24 million of Israeli goods were imported into Lebanon in June and July. In Nabatiyya for example, the fruits, vegetables, chickens and many other items in the stores are from Israel. All imports from Israel violate the Lebanese boycott law against Israeli goods. While this might be seen as an anti-Israel law, held over from an earlier era, its violation is no less improper. Moreover, the violation of this law without any way of regulating imports, allows the occupying power to tamper with the local economy.

Other areas of concern include:

- the disarming of the Lebanese regular army and its confinement to quarters, while militia forces operate freely.
- de facto usurpation of government functions in some villages by militia elements, whose approval is required for any development project or other activity in the village.
- Israeli seizure of the land registration office in Sidon and a reported examination of land records currently being carried out by the Israelis for undeclared purposes.

While it is too early to draw any final conclusion in this area of human rights and the IV Geneva Convention, there is already enough information about Israeli actions to warrant serious concern and to merit close attention to developments in this area in the coming weeks and months.

LEO MATARASSO, Lawyer, France

"There is no longer any proper protection for the Palestinian population. Not only does that population live in continuous fear, in view of the massacres at Sabra and Shatila, it lives in the most utter uncertainty as to its future. The fate of the Palestinian population of Beirut and South Lebanon should visibly be a subject of disquiet not merely for the parties directly interested but for the whole of the international community."

The few brief remarks I am going to make will deal only with the problem of the prisoners, deportees and missing persons as raised by the Israeli army's invasion of Lebanon.

We have just seen how far the Geneva Conventions are applicable to the situation created there by the Israeli intervention; the fact that they are applicable largely derives from the fact that from the very beginning the PLO itself declared that it would abide by them and sent in its signature to the Swiss government. It has also been explained that the Conventions were applicable on a territorial basis, since the events were taking place within the territory of a signatory state. I feel, however that greater emphasis should be laid, at least as regards the treatment of the combatants, on the scope of Article 4 of the Third Convention, which concerns prisoners of war. As you have been reminded, it covers "members of regular armed forces who profess alligiance to a government or an authority not recognized by the Detaining Power," who are thus brought within the scope of the Conventions. The authority here is the PLO. The PLO is not, of course, recognized by Israel, but it fully qualifies to be considered as an authority within the meaning of the Conventions. It is recognized by large numbers of states, and by the United Nations; it has embassies or information bureaus in several countries, and an organized army with a high command and a regular system of senior and junior ranks. It meets all the requirements for Article 4 of the Third Geneva Convention to be applicable.

There is also a further category of persons captured in the course of hostilities which should enjoy the protection of the Convention, namely, the "members of militias or volunteer corps." Thus the members of the Lebanese militias captured by the Israeli army are to be considered as protected under Article 4 A §2.

We are perfectly aware that there are omissions in the 1949 Geneva Convention, in that prisoner-of-war status is confined to those captured when carrying arms openly and wearing uniform or bearing a distinctive sign. The omissions have been remedied by the Additional Protocols of 1977; but unfortunately Israel is the one country which has neither signed nor accepted these. This, however, does not detract from the pertinence of the notion of "authority," which validates the right of the PLO combatants to enjoy the protection of the Geneva Conventions. The provision concerning armed forces which come under an "authority not recognized" originated in the situation encountered during the last world war in connection with the Free French forces under the command of General de Gaulle.

It must be added that there exists a rule for the interpretation of the Geneva Conventions and of the humanitarian laws of war of which we must not lose sight. Where there is any doubt as to whether a person captured is covered by the Convention it is the prisoner who must enjoy the benefit of the doubt. Article 5 of the Geneva Convention concerning prisoners of war stipulates: "Should any doubt arise as to whether persons, having committed a belligerent act and having fallen into the hands of the enemy, belong to any of the categories enumerated in Article 4, such persons shall enjoy the protection of the present Convention until such time as their status has been determined by a competent tribunal."

It should also be recalled that once a prisoner has come under the protection of the Geneva Conventions, Article 17 of the Third Convention will prohibit any use of coercion to secure any information from him of any kind whatever. This means that complete illegality attaches to the interrogation procedures conducted under the dramatic conditions of which we are all aware and which have been several times mentioned during our proceedings here. It must also be recalled that the penal and disciplinary sanctions applicable to prisoners of war are the subject of restrictive provisions into which we will not go into detail here, but which categorically rule out trials of the kind it is envisaged holding in Israel for the judging of certain of the Palestinian combatants captured in Lebanon.

So much for the protection of persons who may be considered as combatants. But there are also the people protected as civilians. Civilian populations are protected by the Fourth Geneva Convention, which provides for a number of obligations it would be too long to go into here in detail, which the government of Israel has not fulfilled. Of these we will take first of all the prohibition on the deporting of persons from the occupied state to another territory, which we know has occurred in this instance. There is also the fact that the occupying power must issue regulations and that these must be brought to the knowledge of the population. They must never have a retroactive effect. As we know, in the Lebanese territories occupied by Israel there is absolute uncertainty as to what provisions are

in force. Furthermore, the occupying power may not take any measures beyond measures of internment or assigned residence within the occupied territory, and even these may be taken only for imperative reasons of security.

These are a few of the provisions it was important for us to be reminded of and which we all know have not been obeyed.

Yet the applicability of the Geneva Conventions both to combatants and to civilians is a principle on which the International Committee of the Red Cross is most adamant, as it has not neglected to point out.

We must also dispose of an argument which has sometimes been used by the authorities in Israel when replying to the questions of persons making inquiries there. Certain Israeli authorities have claimed that, while the Palestinian prisoners could not "of course" enjoy the protection of the Geneva Convention (since they were a gang of terrorists, etc., etc.), in actual fact the humanitarian provisions of Geneva law were obeyed where they were concerned. What in the world can be left of the humanitarian law of Geneva in the absence of compliance with the provisions referred to above, which prohibit, for example, the interrogation of prisoners in the presence of hooded informers and all other vile practices we have been talking about?

The occupying power is, moreover, obliged to provide full particulars of places of detention. Yet apart from the famous El Ansar camp (the number of whose inmates remains most uncertain) no information on any place of detention has been provided. From information obtained on the spot we know that other places of detention exist, not only in South Lebanon but in Israel too. The most recent information which has reached us on places of detention in Israel is contained in the report brought back by Driss Anwar, of the International Centre for Information on Palestinian and Lebanese Prisoners, Deportees and Missing Persons.

In response to the expressions of concern we have heard during our proceedings here with regard to the fate of the prisoners, I must tell you that in Paris we have taken the initiative of setting up this international information centre on the Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners, deportees and missing persons which has undertaken to collect information from all quarters and to circulate it with particulars of sources. Consequently, I hope that once we are able to function normally-and I trust this will be before long-we shall be not only providers but also collectors of information. All those who possess any particulars may send them in to us and we will see that they are circulated. Over and above the concern felt for the prisoners, deportees and missing persons—for we tend to forget that there are a great many people missing—there is the dramatic situation of the whole Palestinian population of Lebanon. The armed protection of the PLO is no longer there. The health services of the Red Cresent no longer exist; it has been totally dismantled, its bank accounts have been confiscated, its staff arrested as terrorists, its hospitals bombed, evacuated or moved. There is no longer any proper protection for the Palestinian population. Not only does that population live in continuous fear, in view of the massacres at Sabra and Shatila, it lives in the most utter uncertainty as to its future. The fate of the Palestinian population of Beirut and South Lebanon should visibly be a subject of disquiet not merely for the parties directly interested but for the whole of the international community.

This is an international duty which must be discharged by discussion and debate and by decisions on the international level. The future of this unhappy population must become the responsibility of the international community.

FELICIA LANGER, Lawyer, Israel

"Many testimonies have been given by shocked Israeli soldiers who came back from there, and by released prisoners, which indicate torture in interrogations, the humiliation of prisoners, and the unbearable situation inside the camp."

Ever since al-Ansar camp was surrounded by the Israelis, it has become another name for a concentration camp for thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese, including children and elderly people. Anyone who followed the last war on the television screen saw a huge camp of tents surrounded by hills of dust and doublewire fences.

Many testimonies have been given by shocked Israeli soldiers who came back from there, and by released prisoners, which indicate torture in interrogations, the humiliation of prisoners, and the unbearable situation inside the camp. It is known that a few attempted rebellions were started by the prisoners, during which Israeli soldiers shot at prisoners and killed some.

The prisoners are called by the Israeli army spokesman and the media "the detained." The name itself tells us something about their inferior and exceptional standing, which is against all basic human rights.

Against this background, seven months ago pleas were presented to the Supreme Court in the name of al-Ansar prisoners by their advocates. The lawyers were Walid Fahoum, Lea Tsemel, Mohammad Na'amneh and later on, A. Feldman and myself.

The session to discuss an order *nisi* was held on May 11 before Judges Smagar, Netniahu, and Barak. The lawyers asked the Supreme Court to

order the Defense Minister and the commander of al-Ansar camp to appear and explain on what basis their clients are imprisoned, why they should not be released and why their lawyers are not allowed to visit and interview them, in order to represent them.

In the plea, it was also stated that according to the Hague and Geneva Conventions their clients should enjoy the standing of prisoners of war.

On November 30, 1982, a conditional order against the Defense Minister and the commander of al-Ansar camp was issued, as requested, in the name of all the clients. After this order was issued, a new plea was presented in the name of Saleh Ta'amari who, according to Israeli military authorities, used to be the commander of Fatah militias in south Lebanon and is now the spokesman and representative of the prisoners in the camp.

Ta'amari has an MA degree in English literature, Arabic and history from Ain Shams University in Cairo. He used to be Yasir Arafat's assistant and under his direct command. All this was noted by the Defense Minister and the Ansar camp commander, representatives who also included personal information about Ta'amari, including that Ta'amari's wife, Dina, is the ex-wife of King Hussein.

Another plea was presented in the name of two residents of Ain al-Hilweh, brothers Salim and Asif Hushi, by their elderly father. The answer to this plea caused a real shock to the father, because he was told that his two sons are not in the camp and not held by the Israeli army, despite the fact that their relatives saw them being taken by Israeli soldiers. In their answer, the Defense Minister and the camp commander claimed that the two brothers were Fatah members.

Now we will have a look at the affidavit given to the Supreme Court by the Defense Minister and the camp commander, which shows us the attitude of the state of Israel to al-Ansar prisoners and their right to be represented by lawyers, summarised as follows:

1. Israeli law enables people to be represented in court, but this right concerns only the client and not the lawyer, and it is not an extra-territorial right;
2. The prisoners in al-Ansar did not appeal themselves but through others;
3. There is no intention whatsoever to try the prisoners in Israel. Otherwise, the state would, according to the orders regulating the military courts, have to enable them to be represented by lawyers;
4. It is true that holding people in al-Ansar camp is not in accordance with internal Israel legal procedures. These people are held by the Israeli army according to an "act of state," which means that in emergency situations the state has the right to imprison people, and they have no right to appeal to an internal Israeli court for the right to be represented in court;

5. It is true that there is no judicial base in Lebanon as is the case in (the West Bank) or as there was in the Sinai (under occupation);
6. But the imprisonment issue of the appellants is political and outside Israeli law. Even so, we do not have a vacuum situation where there is no judge or justice. Article 78 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, in respect to which Israel tries its best to fulfill its humanitarian orders, recognizes the right of an occupier to arrest people;
7. The prisoners appeared at Appeal Committee (hearings) which discussed their case, concluding that there is no obligation whatsoever, according to the Geneva Convention, that they be represented by lawyers;
8. We have to add here a very important practical aspect: there is no way to install in the camp a place where the clients could meet their lawyers, especially when there are thousands of prisoners in the camp. A meeting with them would be a burden on the Israeli armed forces, disturb order, and create a security risk.

At the beginning of the session, the state representative made an announcement which he had intended to be sensational, to oppose the legal arguments of the appellants. He announced that the state decided to permit lawyers who have unlimited permission to represent prisoners if they wish to be represented by them. To Judge Barak's question about the normative basis of this arrangement, the state representative answered: "It is true that the Israelis hold the appellants and decide for them the conditions of their lives, and that is why the army decided to arrange for them to be represented in court. But the army has no plans of legislating new orders in Lebanon." Concerning the classification of lawyers, the representative explained that the Israeli army has special criteria for areas of high security sensitivity and that only a lawyer with a security classification is allowed to represent clients.

Actually, the state representative repeated all the arguments presented in the affidavit and developed the argument that "in al-Ansar there is no occupation category," and that the Israeli army does not act on its own authority. He explained that the "long hand" of Israel holds the prisoners outside its borders and outside its internal judicial regulations. Israel holds the prisoners by an "act of state," and he quoted British court decisions concerning this issue.

Judge Barak remarked that "No Israeli government since 1967, including two former attorney generals who sit here (Judge Shmager and Barak himself) ever raised the argument of 'act of state' concerning occupied territories before the Supreme Court." Judge Barak asked why the government had decided to use this "act of state" now?

To this question, the state representative gave a evasive response and had reservations about the use of "act of state," which has no judicial basis. "But in this special case," he added, "the prisoners were arrested

with this doctrine in mind, although it is not always recommended to use it in every case and we do not usually see it." Here he concluded the arguments of the state. According to these arguments, the appellants have no recognized status in the legal sense. The territories where they are held are not occupied territories to which the conditions of international law apply and on the basis of which an occupier assumes its authority. What Israel actually does in this case can only be seen as a favour, ensuring some of the humanitarian aspects of the Fourth Geneva Treaty Convention.

The appellants concentrated their arguments on all of the Israeli "no's" concerning their status:

1. Lebanese territory is not an occupied territory, but Israel has effective sovereignty over it. In Lebanon there is no other rule except Israel's, which acts as sovereign rule, and the control and regulations are in the hands of the Israeli army. The issue is effective sovereignty, not the legal basis. The orders concerning the regulations maintaining prisoners in al-Ansar established that Israel has effective control;
2. The occupation places rights and obligations on the occupying power, and the military governor is bound by international law;
3. The Geneva Convention of 1949 deals with the issue of civil imprisonment in Article 78, which can be justified by security needs, and under which collective punishment is approved. Our case relates to this article, since a large number of residents are in prison;
4. Most of the arrests were arbitrary, since according to the formulation of the orders as presented, it is possible to arrest every adult male Palestinian;
5. The appellants were arrested because of their activities in the past (i.e., membership in the PLO). This regulation is against Article 78 of the Geneva Convention which states that the character of the imprisonment should not be a punishment, but a preventative measure;
6. The appellants maintain that they should be classified as prisoners of war. But the representative of the state did not respond to this argument. The Hague 1907 and the Third Geneva Convention of 1949 deal with this issue. The fifth article of the Third Geneva Convention states that when there is a doubt, the prisoner will receive the status of prisoner of war until his status can be decided by an authorised body;
7. The judicial practice of "act of state" as used by Britain has never been practiced in the Israeli judicial system;
8. The 113 Articles of the Fourth Geneva Convention state explicitly that the prisoners have the right to consult with their lawyers;
9. It is true that Article 78 of the Fourth Geneva Convention does not mention the lawyer's role. But effective implementation of this article necessitates the assistance of lawyers well-versed in Israeli law and international law for the clients to be represented in the Appeals Committees, as has been the practice in the occupied territories since 1967;
10. The right to representation by a lawyer extends beyond territorial sovereignty and should include practical sovereignty such as in occupied territories, according to the arguments presented by lawyer Feldman, which included judicial documentation.

The lawyers quoted documents saying that the state has no authority to limit or classify lawyers who can represent clients. The state can impose such classification only by order or special legislation. It is important to add here that the state was very late in implementing special legislation concerning the Lebanese prisoners. In the emergency regulations, no lawyers were classified or limited in their representation of prisoners. And now, all of a sudden, they are trying to do it outside of legal procedures. Thus, many lawyers, Arabs among them, will not be able to represent the appellants. At present, only one lawyer (Feldman) will be able to do so. The lawyers claimed that the prisoners in al-Ansar are given no basic human rights. Referring to them as "detained" implies that they should not enjoy the provisions of the Universal Declaration of the United Nations of 1948. This declaration talks about the minimum norms relating to human beings as equal before the law.

The case of Ta'amari is a classic example of a man who should be given prisoner of war status. The appellants fall between two stools. On the one hand, according to the state argument, they are not prisoners of war. On the other hand, they are not treated in accordance with Article 78 of the Geneva Convention. According to the state's own argument, the prisoners should thus enjoy an open imprisonment, with family visits, visits to their homes, semi-autonomy, and their special needs should be taken into consideration. The prisoners in fact do not enjoy any of these advantages.

To conclude the argument, the lawyers quoted from the introduction to the Universal Declaration of the United Nations of 1948 as follows: "It is a vital necessity that human rights should be protected by the power of the law, so that no man, as a last hope, will find himself forced to rebel against repression and tyranny. The situation in al-Ansar is exactly as described in this declaration and that is why we ask help from the court."

During the discussions, representatives of the Red Cross, lawyers, observers from France, the United States and the father of the Hushi brothers were present in the chamber.

The judges decided to give the verdict after studying the arguments of the two sides.

It was clear that the representative of the state had an evasive attitude; furthermore, he praised the legal system in the occupied territories, implying that the inhabitants of Lebanon do not yet enjoy the benefits of Israeli

civilization (God forbid!) like the inhabitants of the territories occupied in 1967.

The story of the old father whose two sons (the Hushi brothers) were held in al-Ansar, whose two sons the Israeli computer did not find, demonstrates the human tragedy of these people, as told by a young officer, who is also a lawyer. When I asked him what could be done and what happened to the two brothers whose families had seen them being arrested by the Israeli army, and wondered whether it was possible to learn if they were with the Haddad people, the young lawyer told me: "There are a few possibilities. I don't think that they are held by forces supported by us. Maybe (he winked with humour) they succeeded in escaping and found shelter in Sabra and Shatila."

LIVIA ROKACH, Researcher, Italy

"It would become known later that in this center there were specially equipped torture rooms and that Palestinians arrested without any charge brought against them were being subjected there to what Mossad officals called 'a good job' before being transferred to Ansar or to other prisons inside Israel."

Until 2:00 a.m. on November 1, 1982 when Israeli soldiers burst into her home in the Palestinian refugee camp of Bourj el Chemali (Tyre) in occupied south Lebanon, arrested her and led her away, Mariam Abdel Jelil was a perfectly normal, cheerful, 30-year-old woman, whose main activity was teaching embroidery to women and girls in the camp so as to render them capable of maintaining themselves and their needy families: a vital social role, especially in hard times like those the Palestinians of Lebanon are presently going through. But the woman who on January 19, 1983 was put into a Red Cross ambulance and taken back home from Neve Tirtza, the women's section of Ramleh prison in the center of Israel, was a human wreck. A month later, in mid-February, Mariam was still in a state of profound shock, suffering from anorexia, incapable of communicating or of working, a shadow of her past self. Fearing a scandal, the Israeli authorities, in answering questions from international organizations and individuals interested in discovering what happened to her during the 79 days of her imprisonment, are trying to insinuate that

Mariam was "mentally sick" to begin with. They don't have any explanation to offer, however, as to why their troops, on the say-so of Mossad, the Israeli secret service which the Israelis proudly point to as "the best in the world," should have broken into the home of a "mentally sick" woman in the middle of the night, arrested her, and subjected her to interrogations in a military center in Lebanon, transfered her to Israel, and kept her in solitary confinement in an Israeli prison for over two months, without any charge being brought against her at any time.

The truth, of course, is very different from what the Israeli authorities are trying to sell to the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, the ICRC, church organizations and others who, in Lebanon, in Israel and in Europe have expressed concern at the condition in which Mariam was released from the Israeli prison. The Rome-based Center of Information for the Defense of Palestinian Civilian Populations, Prisoners, Deportees and the Missing, which includes among its sponsors well-known jurists, MP's, senators, church personalities, doctors and journalists, acquired knowledge of Mariam's case in early December 1982, about one month after her arrest. Investigating the circumstances of her arrest and imprisonment, the Center discovered the following information:

1. For the past six years up to the June 1982 Israeli invasion and occupation of south Lebanon, Mariam Abdel Jelil, the daughter of a family of Palestinian refugees (1948), had worked as an embroidery teacher at the women's handicraft workshop of Najdeh—a Lebanese social service association aiding Palestinian refugees at Bourj el Chemali camp where Mariam lived with her family. In this capacity she also distributed production materials—cloth, threads, etc.—to the women who produced the embroidered articles for sale through the association. Her work, which thus contributed to the income-producing activities of women and girls in the camp, was much appreciated by the latter and by her colleagues. Mariam was also widely liked for her sweet and sensitive personality.

2. Following the war and the Israeli bombings, which destroyed over 60 percent of Bourj el Chemali camp, Mariam, together with her parents, sisters and other relatives, as well as about 4,000 other survivors from among the camp inhabitants who had fled the bombings and shellings, went back to live among the ruins of the camp. She resumed her work with Najdeh, which as a regularly registered Lebanese association could legally provide its assistance to the women of the camp, an assistance even more vital due to the fact that most of the men had been killed or driven to flight in the war, or (the larger part) imprisoned by the Israelis. At the same time, all the Palestinian support structures had been banned by the occupation authorities. Women now had to find means of material survival for their familes—made up mostly of children and old and sick people—in addition to looking after their daily needs. The women's

embroidery work, as modest as the income from it may be, has become the only source of subsistence for hundreds of families. Najdeh's workshop having been destroyed in the bombings, Mariam now provided the women with materials to be worked on at home, thus making it possible for them to work on their own time, without having to abandon families dependent upon them for everyday domestic needs.

3. On November 1, at 2:00 a.m., without offering the least explanation either as to the motives of their action or as to where they were taking her, Israeli soldiers broke into Mariam's home in Bourj el Chemali camp and took her away. The next day it became known that she had been taken to the Israeli military command at Tyre, to be subjected to interrogation. In the upper two stories of the eight-story command building a special interrogation center had been set up by the Mossad. It would become known later that in this center there were specially equipped torture rooms and that Palestinians arrested without any charge brought against them were being subjected there to what Mossad officials called "a good job" before being transferred to Ansar or to other prisons inside Israel.

4. In the days following Mariam's arrest, the Bishop of Tyre, having been approached by Christian organizations who knew Mariam, sent a priest of his diocese to the military command in Tyre to inquire into the reasons for her detainment and to obtain news of her. The priest was brutally chased away by the Israeli officers and told not to get involved in things which did not concern him.

5. On November 11 in the early morning, a gigantic explosion devastated the entire building of the Israeli military command in Tyre, killing over 100 persons, among whom—according to official Israeli reports—were about 20 prisoners who had been held in the interrogation and torture center of the upper two stories. Mariam's family and friends were convinced that she was one of the dead.

6. A few days later, a message sent through the ICRC in Israel reported that Mariam was alive. She had been transferred to Israel the evening before the explosion (November 10th) and was imprisoned at the Neve Tirtza women's section of Ramleh prison. No explanation was given for this transfer or for her continued imprisonment.

With this information in hand, the Rome-based Center of Information appealed to Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer to follow Mariam's case, beginning with an attempt to visit her in prison and ascertain her condition. Since it was necessary for Attorney Langer to obtain delegating power on behalf of the detainee, the Center, in agreement with the Najdeh Association, asked a well-known European personality, Prof. Richard Baumlin, a pre-eminent jurist very active in the field of human rights and a member of the Confederal Swiss Parliament for the Socialist Party, to formally delegate Attorney Langer to petition the Israeli High Court of Justice in regard to the case in question.

In late December 1982, Attorney Langer asked for and received by phone from the Ramleh prison the authorities' confirmation that Mariam Abdel Jelil was indeed incarcerated there. She was told that she could come and visit her.

In a memorandum addressed to Prof. Baumlin on February 6, 1983, Advocate Langer reported what happened next:

> On January 3, 1983, I arrived at the prison, and after being made to wait for almost one hour, I was told that the Israeli Intelligence (Mossad) would not allow me to see Mariam. The explanation was as follows: *The women from Lebanon, those who are here now as well as those who were here before, are not allowed to be represented by lawyers. We were astonished that you came and therefore decided to check it. The answer is, obviously, NO.* (Emphasis in the original.)

Attorney Felicia Langer goes on to describe the action she then took and the response to it:

> . . . I applied on January 5, 1983 to the High Court of Justice with a petition. . . asking the prison authorities and the Minister of Defense to show cause why they were preventing me from seeing my client. I argued in my application that according to the Israeli law (The Law of the Israeli Bar Association, 1961, Section 22), every person has the right to be represented by a lawyer before every administrative, juridical or quasi-juridical body, etc., and that this sacred and vested right was denied to Mariam arbitrarily; moreover, such a practice is in contravention to the well-established rule of natural justice, as expressed in the ancient maxim: *Audiatur et altera pars.*
>
> I have also quoted Article 72 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 1949, which expressly and absolutely grants the right of legal aid and representation to the inhabitants of occupied territories. In addition, I expressed my fear that the authorities are preventing my access to Mariam and are holding her completely *incommunicado*, in order to conceal illegal and/or forbidden acts or behavior towards her.
>
> My application was transferred to a panel of three judges and submitted to the Attorney General for reaction. A hearing should have ensued, but no date had yet been fixed when, on January 19, I heard from a person who had unofficial information on the subject (of which, however, he was not sure) that Mariam had been retransferred to Lebanon.
>
> That same morning Mr. Marco Ferrari, legal delegate of the ICRC in Israel, came to my office to confer on another case. I used

this opportunity to ask him to check into the matter. He did so over the phone with his headquarters in Tel Avid, and the reply was as follows:

Mariam was transferred to Lebanon in an ICRC ambulance and released due to health reasons, i.e. because considered by the Israeli authorities to be insane.

I double-checked this claim with persons who had known Mariam well, had worked with her, and had met with her shortly before her arrest in Lebanon. All the testimonies confirmed that she was a perfectly normal person and in no way mentally disturbed. The inevitable conclusion is, therefore, that Mariam's present state of shock and mental disturbance was caused in some way by her Israeli jailers, either in Lebanon or in Israel. It also follows that the authorities chose to re-transfer her to Lebanon in order to prevent me from meeting her and exposing the truth.

I received no formal communication about Mariam's release until I contacted the attorney general on the phone on January 26, 1983, and asked him about the case. He then told me that Mariam was not here (in Israel) anymore. I requested a written communication which he promised to let me have soon.

A few days later, I received a summons for a hearing on the case scheduled for April 5, 1983(!). I contacted the Attorney General once again and was told by his apprentice that an official communication was transmitted to the High Court and to myself on January 31, 1983 and that they were surprised that I hadn't yet received it. It was read to me over the phone, as follows: *Mariam Abdel Jelil was released two weeks ago and she returned to Lebanon. The Attorney General's office was informed that she was released for reasons connected with her health. In the light of this there is no factual ground to proceed with the petition and it must be cancelled. Mrs. Langer was informed of this by phone* (Emphasis in the original.)

It may be observed that the fact that a court audience had been fixed for April 5, i.e. for a date three months after Attorney Langer had tabled the petition to the High Court, must have had some significance. Evidently, the Israeli authorities did not expect Attorney Langer to learn of Mariam's re-transfer to Lebanon so soon after it had taken place, and had expected her to wait patiently for the date of the audience. By that time, Attorney Langer might have encountered difficulties in tracing Mariam or her friends in Lebanon and in learning of her condition at the time of her release. What had been done to Mariam would, in other words, have lost its news value, coming three months after her release and re-transfer to Lebanon. . . Another possible explanation is that the Israeli authorities did not contemplate Mariam's release at all, but rather expected that within the three months scheduled to pass before the hearing would take place, seeing her rapidly deteriorating state of health, loss of weight, etc. she might have died in the prison (with the case thus being "closed"), and that they decided to release her and smuggle her back quickly to Lebanon only because of increasing outside pressures and inquiries from international bodies and after Mariam's case had been widely publicized in the European press through the efforts of the Rome-based Center of Information and of Attorney Langer herself. Whether the first or the second hypothesis is the one conforming to reality, the facts involved certainly call for supplementary investigation.

Attorney Langer declares in conclusion:

1. The Israeli authorities, in my opinion, are guilty of a severe breach of an elementary human right, the right of an arrested person to be treated as a human being, and to be assisted by a lawyer.
2. The Israeli authorities are guilty of causing the sickness and/or mental disorders of Mariam, who was a completely sane and normal person prior to her arrest, and has since been reduced to a human wreck, as I have learned from her friends who visited her after her release and were shocked by her state.
3. Her release was brought about solely by the fear that I would be authorized to see her, and the knowledge that such a visit would bring forth the truth. The question at this point is what is happening or might happen to other persons who are deprived of outside pressure on their behalf and a delegation of lawyers to represent him. . .
4. The Attorney General's answer, which was delayed and is evasive, is yet another proof that the authorities at a certain moment wanted to remove Mariam from Israel, out of fear that the local media might, with my help, disclose the truth; while in Lebanon, in the atmosphere of terror prevailing there, she and her family will keep silent.
5. The Israeli authorities are arrogantly violating international law and its sacred maxims as embodied in the Hague (1907) and Geneva (1949) Conventions, the Universal Declaration (1948) and all the other Conventions on human rights.

Upon her "secret" release from Ramleh prison, Mariam was transported in a Red Cross ambulance to Tyre hospital, where she was placed under the care and observation of ICRC personnel. According to her family's wish she was brought home some days later, and a Red Cross doctor has been assigned to take care of her there. Friends who have known the woman for many years and have worked closely with her visited her at home one week after her release and re-transfer to Lebanon. They say she has ". . . lost weight in a most impressive manner. . . is incapable

of making decisions or communicating, seems a shadow of her past self. . ."

A few days after Mariam's return home, her brother, who had been imprisoned in Ansar at the time of Mariam's arrest, was released and also returned to Bourj el Chemali. Mariam's condition has hardly improved since, however, and in mid-February, almost one month after her release, she was still losing weight and was totally withdrawn and unable to communicate.

As a result of investigations conducted by the Center of Information in both Israel and Lebanon, the first details of some of the causes of Mariam's state have become known. It was ascertained that while she was held at the Israeli military command in Tyre, during the first ten days of her detainment, Mariam was subjected to an interrogation regarding the pre-war lives, activities, and opinions of her two brothers, one of whom was imprisoned at Ansar and the other of whom vanished in the war. This interrogation was accompanied by heavy pressures on her, among them the arrest of her old parents and their transfer from their home in the refugee camp to the military command where she was being held. Mariam was shown that her parents were there and told that as a "punishment" for her "refusal to confess" (i.e. to tell the interrogators what they wanted her to say about her brothers), her father and mother would be shot to death. It is not yet known what else happened on that occasion, or what other means of pressure or maltreatment may have been used. But clearly this fact alone, sophisticatedly calculated to generate primordial emotional conflicts and a sense of guilt, could cause psychological damage to any sane person. Mariam's parents in fact were later released.

Following the revelations of the Mariam Abdel Jelil case, it has been ascertained through the investigation of other individual cases that as a general rule all the women arbitrarily arrested in Lebanon and illegally transferred to Israel have to all intents and purposes been taken by the Israeli occupation forces *as hostages.* In fact, the main purpose of the Israeli authorities in removing from the families the vital and central presence of the women upon whom the material welfare and the psychological security of the children, the aged and the disabled are dependent, is to exercise pressure on their men—husbands, fathers, brothers, sons—to give themselves up, if they have not already been captured by the occupying power. In other cases, in which the men had been already imprisoned, the pressure is intended to force them to collaborate with the interrogators. The interrogation of the arrested women also invariably centers on the past activities of the men of the family, and in those cases in which the Israelis have not been able to capture them, on their possible whereabouts.

In exercising these cruel methods of psychological blackmail and torture upon both the arrested women and their families, the Israelis take into account the strong ties of affection existing in the Palestinian family, both traditionally and as a result of the years-long sufferings and hardships to which the refugee camp populations have been subjected. The Israelis count on the distress caused to the family, and eventually to the fugitive husband, brother or father when informed of the arrest of his wife, sister or daughter, to push the man either to give himself up in order to return the mother to the abandoned children (sometimes small babies), or to make contact with the family and thereby be trapped and captured.

A case illustrating these methods is that of Abla Ahmad el Sheikh Hassan, a 40-year-old Palestinian woman, mother of five children, one of whom is a mongoloid needing constant and special care. Abla, an educated and intelligent women whose husband has been driven to flight in the war, is the director of the UNRWA school for children of Palestinian refugees in Sidon.

She was arrested for the first time in August, and interrogated as to the whereabouts of her husband, of whom she had no news whatever. After a while she was released, but was arrested again some time later and transferred to Neve Tirtza prison in Israel. She was again interrogated about her husband, and accused by the Israelis of being a Palestinian militant. After weeks of imprisonment, Abla was released a second time. Then on December 1, 1982, she was arrested again and taken to the prison in Israel where she is still detained. Never at any time has any accusation been formulated against Abla herself, and her interrogation invariably has centered on her husband. Her interrogators do not conceal their disappointment that her detainment has not yet served their purpose of trapping and capturing her husband. On the other hand, their hope that a prolonged separation of the mother from her children, who badly need her presence, will eventually permit them to achieve this purpose is hardly concealed.

A case with a macabre twist is that of Wassfa Hamid Mahmal Frej, 28, also from Bourj el Chemali camp. The mother of a five-month-old baby at the time of her arrest on September 16, 1982, she too was transferred to Israel. Wassa's husband was killed in the war, but the Israeli interrogators kept pressing her to reveal the whereabouts of her dead husband. Wassfa was finally released in mid-February from Neve Tirtza and returned to Lebanon.

Following the release of Mariam, Wassfa and Fatma el Maslah (also from Bourj el Chemali camp) there are still at least eight other women hostages from Lebanon being held in Neve Tirtza. Three of them are Lebanese women from the villages of Bhamdoun and Alley in the central mountain area.

ANTHONY LEWIS, Journalist, USA

"The operation in Lebanon is not a limited one. It is a war to exterminate Palestinian nationalism."

©*New York Times*, June 24, 1982

Washington, June 23—From the moment Israeli forces entered Lebanon, on June 6, we have been told that it was a limited operation—one that, with American leadership, could provide the opportunity for peace in the Middle East. It is time now to recognize that the facts are otherwise.

The operation in Lebanon is not a limited one. It is a war to exterminate Palestinian nationalism.

There is no American leadership. The Reagan Administration—the most inept, the most pathetic American Government of this century in foreign afairs—is unable or unwilling to do anything serious about the Middle East.

And there will be no peace. The Lebanese operation has persuaded the most moderate Arabs that the present Government of Israel does not believe in compromise and accommodation; it wants terms dictated by a Greater Israel.

The cost of the Lebanese operation is already high, and it will be higher. The damage is not only to human beings in Beirut and Sidon and Tyre. It is to Israel's support in the world, most significantly in the United States. And it is to Israel's vision of itself, a faith that has sustained the state through much adversity.

Americans' regard for Israel has been hurt by the massive character of this operation, its disproportion to the pretext for military action, and also by Israel's explanatory statements—words that were quickly canceled by deeds.

As the attack started, Israeli officials in Jerusalem and Washington said its sole objective was to clear P.L.O. guerrillas from a 25-mile zone. When Israeli forces reached the 25-mile line, they did not pause for a minute.

Prime Minister Begin said Israel did not want to fight Syria. Israeli forces deliberately engaged the Syrians.

Mr. Begin and his colleagues said they wanted a genuinely independent Lebanese government. They showed their respect for such independence by sending tanks to the presidential palace while Lebanese leaders met inside, and by shelling and bombing Beirut day after day during the meetings.

What is happening to American opinion was shown in the reaction of such stalwart friends of Israel as Senators Paul Tsongas and Claiborne Pell. "At what point," Senator Tsongas asked, "does the U.S. say, 'For God's sake, enough is enough'?"

There is particular concern about Israel's use of U.S. weapons, apparently including the dreaded cluster bomb. Senator Pell said, "Every child's life lost, every building reduced to rubble has been done with American weapons." The chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Comittee, Clement Zablocki, said he had "no doubt" that the weapons had been used in violation of U.S. law.

We know that terrible things were done in Lebanon, first, by Arab armies and factions. But Israel hardly wants to be judged by their standards. And they were not allied with or supplied by the United States.

In the American perspective there is another disturbing aspect to the Lebanese operation. That is the growing sense that Israeli interests in the Middle East—as perceived by Mr. Begin and his Defense Minister, Ariel Sharon—are not the same as American interests.

General Sharon has made his strategic view clear. Apart perhaps from Egypt, he wants Israel to be surrounded not by stable, moderate Arab governments but by a power vacuum. He wants to destabalize the King Hussein's Jordan, and his ambition reaches even to Saudi Arabia. The United States does not see its interests in such terms.

This war is above all a victory for Sharonism. Many Israelis know that and are uncomfortable about it. They know, as David Shipler, the New York Times correspondent in Jerusalem, wrote, that this war is "the first clearly initiated by Israel without major provocation and the first in which Israel's existence was not directly at stake."

Many Israelis are undoubtedly also unhappy about some of the methods used by their forces in Lebanon: the bombardment of cities, and now mass arrests, detention under humiliating circumstances and the shipping of thousands of Palestinians to Israel to be held in undisclosed conditions as suspected terrorists.

But the Israelis who object to this war and its methods are a minority, and they are painfuly aware of that fact. They see their country becoming Ariel Sharon's Israel, and they despair. Some will leave. Others, as the current Israeli phrase has it, will go into internal exile: tune out of politics. And the spirit of justice and humanity that has made Israel such a special place will shrink.

Those are the shadows cast by the operation in Lebanon. They are so grim that some Americans think they can simply be wished away. Now that Israel has demonstrated its power, they say, surely it will have the magnamity to offer the Palestinians meaningful autonomy on the West Bank. Magnanimity from Ariel Sharon? Even after Lebanon, some people evidently cannot believe that he means what he says.

This volume has been co-sponsored by the International Secretariat for Solidarity with the Arab People and Their Central Cause, Palestine. The International Secretariat is an international non-governmental, non-profit organization established in November 1979 in Lisbon, Portugal, on the initiative of the Permanent Secretariat of the Arab Peoples' Congress on the occasion of World Solidarity Day with the Palestinian People. The membership of the International Secretariat represents all areas of the World.

The primary work of the International Secretariat is to promote solidarity with the Arab people and most particularly with the Palestinian people. In this cause, it supports the strengthening of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The International Secretariat expresses its deep respect for all those who worked on this project and to those whose testimony appears in this volume. Their commitment and courage in speaking out in the face of Israeli aggression in Lebanon has led to an important historical record of one of the most heinous crimes ever committed against humanity.

The International Secretariat appeals to all democratic forces in the World to work to prevent Israel from ever again committing the crimes detailed in this work. It urges all men and women of peace and justice to stand with the Palestinian People and to work for the full restoration of their national rights, including the inalienable right of the Palestinian People to self-determination, to return to their homeland Palestine, and to establish an independent State on national soil.

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COVER PHOTO: UNICEF by B. Gerin.
A young Lebanese girl stands in the rubble of what was once her neighbourhood following an Israeli bombardment.

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