REASON NOT THE NEED

Eyewitness Chronicles of Israel's War in Lebanon

Compiled and edited by
Franklin P. Lamb
with a foreword by Seán MacBride

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First published in Great Britain by

Spokesman for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street
Nottingham, England NG7 4ET

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United States Cataloguing in Publication Data:

Library of Congress Card Number: 84-072191

ISBN: 0-9613918-04

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data:

Lamb, Franklin
Reason not the need: eyewitness chronicles
of Israel's war in Lebanon.
1. Lebanon — History — Israeli intervention, 1982
I. Title
956.92'044 DS87.53

ISBN 0-85124-432-7
ISBN 0-85124-433-5 Pbk

Typeset and designed by Eagle One Graphics, Inc., Lanham, Maryland, USA
Printed and Bound in Great Britain
by Russell Press Ltd., Nottingham, England

FOREWORD

Following World War II, and the breakdown in the laws of humanity that had taken place, the nations of the World adopted, in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter outlawed aggression, the use of force, and the threat of force. To give more effective recognition of and protection for human rights, the international community adopted, three and one-half years later, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and more recently the United Nations Covenants for the Protection of Human Rights in 1966.

But, despite these important developments to strengthen the international rule of law, so as to conform with 'the dictates of the public conscience', genocidal massacres and gross violations of human rights and of humanitarian law continued to be perpetrated by governments; many governments seem to have lost all sense of moral and legal responsibility.

An increasingly serious human rights problem involves certain contemporary wars in which the militarily more sophisticated side departs from elementary international legal standards. Primary among these conflicts are those fought in the third world against movements of national liberation and self-determination. In these wars, the high technology tactics and weaponry of the counter-revolutionary or status quo actor is almost inevitably directed against the people themselves. This process became very evident in the course of the American involvement in the Vietnam war. It is also a salient feature of the Israeli war in Lebanon, which culminated in a complicity by Israeli military and civilian officialdom in the massacres carried out by the Lebanese militias in the Beirut camps of Sabra and Shatila between 16 and 18 September 1982. These massacres were low-technology sequels to earlier high-technology saturation bombardment by Israel from land, sea and air of every major Palestinian camp situated anywhere near the combat zone throughout southern Lebanon. The underlying Israeli objective seems clearly directed at making the Palestinian camps uninhabitable in a physical sense as well as terrorising the inhabitants and thereby breaking the will of the Palestinian national movement, not only in the war zone of Lebanon, but possibly even more centrally, in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

This kind of war efforts tends to obliterate the very idea of innocence as fully in its way as does nuclear war. Here, often the belligerent objective is 'the people' as a whole; in truth 'the fighters' are not posing much of a threat and in purely military terms are hardly a match.

In one sense the important issues raised in this volume transcend those human-rights violations inflicted on the Palestinian people who were the primary objects of Israel's war in Lebanon. These testimonies also raise a fundamental question of the extent to which refugees are becoming the target of governmental terrorism.

The lesson is that too often refugees — those who most need protectection — are being put into camps and butchered by governments. This volume makes a compelling case for the immeditate protection of all refugee camps in Lebanon by adequate United Nations' forces. In addition, the international community, acting through the United Nations, should urgently examine what further measures are necessary in order to protect refugees, especially those who are victims of armed conflicts, by such means as the clarification and elaboration of principles of refugee law. The universal recognition of the special status of refugee camps would provide greater protection, as would the wider acceptance of the principles for the protection of civilian populations in armed conflicts, as laid down by General Assembly resolution 2675 of 9th December 1970.

The untold suffering inflicted by Israel's invasion of Lebanon has not substantially lessened among many of its victims whose lives remain shattered and imperiled. This condition points to a grave shortcoming of contemporary international law — its failure to provide meaningful sanctions against violations of international norms and compensation for its victims.

Indeed, it is easy to become cynical about the relevance of law to the conduct of war. The attempt to have law without government often seems like grasping at straws. By reason of power politics, and of the breakdown in the standards of public morality, the United Nations was precluded from dealing with horrendous crimes committed by governments in defiance of international law. Accordingly, the victims remained unprotected and those responsible escape punishment. Yet, given the contemporary international system which has produced at least 125 major wars since 1945, it is more necessary than ever before to work for the effective implementation of the existing law of war.

The legal responsibility of the Government of Israel for the acts described by the eyewitnesses in this book, is plain. It includes reparations for all damage done in Lebanon through violation of international law and subsumes a duty to compensate victims and survivors as well as the payment by Israel of full indemnity to the Government of Lebanon in respect of the damage inflicted on Lebanese property arising from, and incidental to, the invasion and the continuing occupation of Lebanon.

Israel also has an international legal obligation to pay to the International Committee of the Red Cross, and other voluntary agencies,

compensation to reinburse such voluntary organizations for the cost of supplies and services provided by them arising from the Israeli invasion and occupation.

As was recommended in various Commissions of Inquiry into Israel's conduct during its invasion of Lebanon, all Parties to the Geneva Convention of 1949 have a duty to carry out their legal obligation to prosecute individuals guilty of grave breaches of the laws of war. Such obligations seem particularly relevant to the apprehension of Israeli and Lebanese political and military leaders and participants involved in the massacres at Sabra and Shatila. The Geneva Convention requires the Parties to use their national courts to carry out this responsibility and it should be honoured in the case of Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

Implementation of international legal sanctions with respect of Israel's invasion of Lebanon should also include the suspension of all financial support and of all supplies, direct or indirect, to Israel of any arms or other military equipment by any member state of the United Nations until the Government of Israel accepts and complies with its international responsibilities.

The international community owes no less than its best efforts to fully implement international legal norms applicable to the victims of Israel's invasion of Lebanon whose human rights have been egregiously violated, as painstakingly documented by the courageous testimony presented below.

Seán MacBride, S.C.
Dublin, Ireland
October, 1984

DEDICATION

To the victims of Israel's war in Lebanon—the Lebanese, the Palestinians, the Syrians, the Israelis, the Americans, the French, the Italians, the British, United Nations Forces, and all the others who died as a direct consequence of Israel's invasion.

And to the memory of the innocent civilians—men, women, children—more than 20,000 in all—killed by Israel's illegal use of American weapons.

And finally to the survivors, maimed physically or otherwise, whose lives have been irreparably scarred by Israel's policies, actions and continuing occupation of Lebanon.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Governments, organizations and individuals throughout the world have condemned Israel's June 1982 invasion of Lebanon and subsequent occupation of a large part of that country. In their condemnations, most have noted that the focus and direction of Israeli actions were aimed against the civilian population of Lebanon. Examples cited range from the June 4 F-16 air attacks against four Palestinian refugee camps in South Lebanon to the indiscriminate artillery and aerial bombardment of West Beirut and of the refugee camps at Bourj al Barajneh, Sabra and Shatilla, continuing throughout the summer and culminating in the Israeli-abetted September 15-18 massacre.

Among the protests of the international community have been condemnations of Israel by the United Nations, by the Human Rights Commission, and by the Economic and Social Council for violations of the U.N. Charter, rules of international law, and of the Geneva Conventions. Specific acts by Israeli forces during the course of invasion and occupation have been determined to be war crimes and crimes against humanity.

A major aspect of the international outcry over Israeli acts has been the convening of a number of international conferences, inquiries, and quasi-judicial tribunals, sponsored by a variety of organizations in different countries in order to examine specific acts of war as well as the human and juridical ramifications of the Israeli invasion and its aftermath. Among these assemblies were those held at the following sites and times:

- Nicosia (August 1982)
- Athens (September 1982)
- Rome (October 1982)
- Brussels (October 1982)
- Oslo (November 1982)
- Stockholm (November 1982)
- London (December 1982)
- Paris (January 1983)
- Geneva (February 1983)
- Tokyo (March 1983)
- Athens (April and September 1983)
- Florence (January 1984)
- Palermo (March 1984)
- Vienna (December 1983 and May 1984)

In the course of these gatherings, more than 200 eyewitnesses from over 30 countries testified in detail on the consequences of the Israeli invasion

and the conduct of the Israeli forces. They included nurses, doctors, social workers, lawyers, academicians, diplomats, Israeli and Palestinian combatants, Lebanese Government employees, journalists, and private citizens. Many of the witnesses traveled considerable distance and disrupted family and work life out of a felt obligation to bear witness to their personal experience and observation.

This volume contains the testimony of many of these witnesses, published fully in the main, without excerpting. Regrettably, it has not been possible to regularize the transliteration of Arab place names throughout. Translations have been kept as faithful as possible to the original; a number of speakers made use of audio and visual aids which cannot be reproduced.

Additionally, a number of reports by international correspondents, mostly eyewitness accounts, have been reprinted from the world press. The editors felt that these too, in their broad unanimity, serve as reliable evidence of the aggression against Lebanon and its capital, Beirut.

The editorial committee wishes to express its deepest appreciation for the manifold assistance provided in behalf of this project by the following: The staff of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; certain members of the U.S. Congress and their staffs; the diverse humanitarian organizations which sponsored assemblies of witnesses to Israel's invasion of Lebanon, and a considerable number of individuals including several from virtually every nation of Europe, the United States, Canada, Japan, Lebanon, Israel, Syria, Jordan, Algeria, Tunisia, and occupied Palestine, who aided in contacting witnesses, corroborating testimony, and in many other ways.

Finally, the editorial committee voices its heartfelt gratitude, respect, and admiration to the witnesses themselves, many of whom courageously gave testimony in the face of attempted intimidation, or at great sacrifice and even risk, to themselves and their loved ones.

Franklin P. Lamb
Beirut, Lebanon
September, 1984

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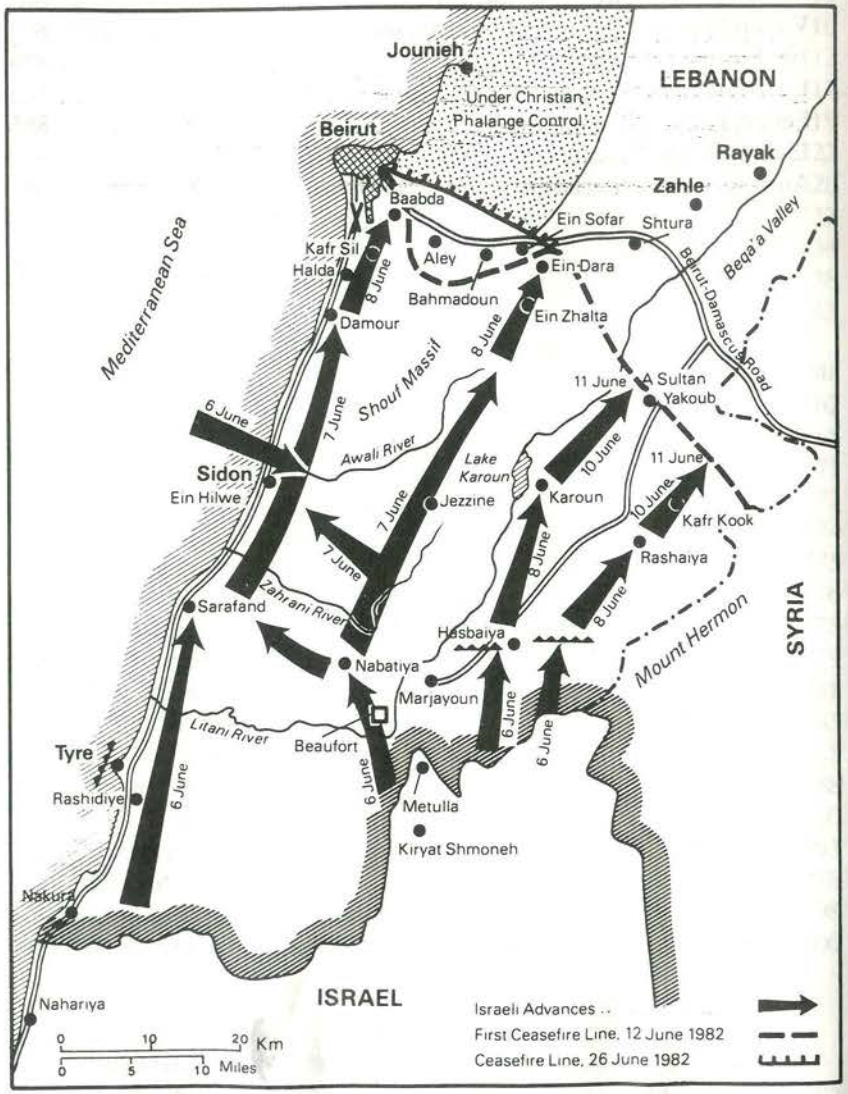
June 1982



INTRODUCTION

War is a hell of horrors, and horrors necessarily flow from it. The horrors portrayed in the testimony of the many witnesses to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and to the subsequent Israeli occupation of much of Lebanon are in themselves a terrible indictment. But the force of that indictment will be weakened, at least for those of us who were not among the direct victims, if it can be shown that the invasion was a justifiable act of self-defense or a warranted act of reprisal, as Israel claims.

In considering this question, it is necessary to examine first the Charter of the United Nations, approved by 157 nations including Israel, and binding law on member-states. Despite its shortcomings, the Charter remains today the major legal instrument in regard to international conflicts.

In 1945, at the close of World War II, the international community met at San Francisco to found the United Nations. The conference committed itself to replacing the old order—the jungle law of armed might as symbolized by Nazi Germany—with a new legal order for the conduct of international relations. The new legal order was premised upon the territorial integrity and political independence of each nation. To enforce these principles, the international community virtually unanimously agreed in Article 2(3) of the United Nations Charter to settle disputes peacefully:

> All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

Paragraph 4 of the same article prohibits members of the international community from resorting to aggression. It states:

> All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations.

Article 2(4) does not abolish the right of legitimate self-defense, and the use of arms in legitimate self-defense is allowed in certain circumstances. Specifically, in condemning aggression, international law provides that the only right to the use of force in post-World War II international relations is the right to individual or collective self-defense in the event of "an armed attack" (Article 51 of the UN Charter); "an enforcement

action" by the UN Security Council (permitted in chapter 7); and "enforcement action" permitted by regional organizations authorized by the Security Council consistent with Article 53 of the UN Charter. In addition, armed force is allowed in certain UN Security Council "peacekeeping operations," UN General Assembly "uniting for peace operations," and certain operations of "regional organizations," under UN Security Council direction. These latter provisions of the UN Charter are plainly inapplicable to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Thus the only legitimate justification for Israel's military invasion of Lebanon would be an exercise of the Article 51 *right of self-defense.* This is precisely the basis asserted by Israel's Prime Minister Begin during his June 15, 1982, appearance before the UN General Assembly. It has also been frequently voiced by the Israeli Lobby in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. Article 51 of the Charter provides:

> Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measure necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

As expressed in Article 51, the clearest right of a state to use self-defense is in response to an armed invasion or attack, and some have argued that Article 51 limits the right of self-defense to cases of resistance to armed attack by other states. These commentators believe that only such a direct attack gives a right to use force in self-defense, and they do not acknowledge a right to "anticipatory" self-defense. Representative of this school of opinion is Professor Louis Henkin of Columbia University, who believes:

> . . . the argument [that self-defense may be anticipatory or retaliatory] is unfounded, its reasoning is fallacious, its doctrine pernicious. The fair reading of Article 51 permits unilateral use of force only in a very narrow and clear circumstance in self-defense if an armed attack occurs. Nothing in the history of its drafting (the *travaux preparatoires*) suggests that the framers of the Charter intended something broader than the language implied.

Others, however, argue perhaps more convincingly that Article 51 is not intended to limit exercise of the right of self-defense only to such circumstances. Anticipatory self-defense is also available to a state in those extraordinary circumstances where it can be clearly shown that a direct and overwhelming threat is so compelling that there is a plain necessity to act, and Article 51 does not restrict the traditional right of self-defense to such an extent as to exclude action taken against an imminent danger before an armed attack occurs. This view has wide support:

> The provisions of Article 51 do not necessarily exclude the right of self-defense in situations not covered by this Article. If the right of self-defense is inherent as has been claimed in the past, then each Member retains the right subject only to such limitations as are contained in the Charter . . .

Thus, international law outlaws the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, but permits force to be used for legitimate self-defense purposes and, when appropriate, in anticipation of events in order to prevent aggression. This view is supported by the weight of state practice, which establishes that the right may be claimed and used only when there is reasonable cause to believe that the national existence is imperiled. In other words, international law permits the exercise of self-defense not only when there is reasonable cause to believe that the national existence is imperiled, in the face of actual attack, but also against a threatened aggression when the danger is imminent and threatens national existence.

Requirements for Lawful Exercise of Self-Defense

In order for a state—in this case, Israel—to employ self-defense as a basis for military action, it must satisfy three conditions imposed by international law:

- It must first use any *peaceful procedures* available.
- It must establish that an *actual necessity* existed for the use of force—that is, that it was under attack or that such armed attack was imminent.
- It must establish that the force employed in response to the actual or imminent attack was *proportional* in kind and degree to the precipitating attack.

Requirement of Exhausting Peaceful Procedures

With respect to peaceful procedures, international law postulates that the less imminent the threat, the greater the requirement that the state concerned exhaust peaceful alternatives to the use of force. Included are

the peaceful procedures of mediation, conciliation and good offices provided by Article 33 of the UN Charter. Israel chose to ignore these available peaceful procedures.

For example, on June 5, following the massive Israeli air attacks against Lebanon but before the June 6 invasion, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 508, which attempted to dissuade the Begin government from invading Lebanon. Resolution 508 urged "all the parties to the conflict to cease immediately and simultaneously all military activities within Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border . . . no later than 0600 hours local time on Sunday, June 6, 1982." While Israel ignored this resolution and proposed cease-fire, the Secretary-General advised the Security Council on June 6 that the PLO declared its acceptance of Resolution 508 and "reaffirmed its commitment to stop all military operations across the Lebanese border." The Secretary-General further advised the Security Council that, even after the time for ceasefire had expired, and despite continuing heavy Israeli bombing attacks, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat "had given orders to all PLO units to withhold fire for a further specified period." Israel's response was to continue its massive air attacks on Lebanon which, according to the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), included approximately 110 bombing runs during the first eight hours of the proposed June 6 ceasefire. Shortly thereafter, Israel invaded Lebanon by land with a massive force exceeding 120,000 men, as well as by sea and by air. On June 7, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 509, which demanded "that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon." Israel's response was to enlarge the size of its invading army.

The record clearly demonstrates that Israel ignored the available peaceful procedures, including a return to the cease-fire negotiated in April 1981, which it had a legal duty to accept before implementing its "self-defense" actions.

Requirement of Actual Necessity

The principle of necessity refers to the imminence of the threat of attack and the absence of effective peaceful alternatives for averting it. The purpose of the requirement of actual necessity is to prevent states from using self-defense as an excuse for aggression. As Professor Myles McDougal of Yale University Law School has written:

> The structure of traditional prescription [in international law] has established a standard of justifying necessity commonly referred to in exacting terms. A high degree of necessity—a "great and immediate" necessity, "directly and immediate," "compelling and instant"—was prerequisite to a characterization of coercion as "legitimate self-defense." Necessity that assumed the shape of an actual and current application of violence presented little difficulty. It was of course the purpose of high requirements of necessity to contain and restrict the assertion of claims to apply preemptive violence, that is, when the necessity pleaded consisted of alleged expectations of an attack which had yet actually to erupt. . . . There is a whole continuum of degrees of imminence or remoteness in future time, from the most imminent to the more remote, which, in the expectations of the claimant of self-defense, may characterize an expected attack. Decision-makers sought to limit lawful anticipatory defense by projecting a customary requirement that the expected attack exhibit so high a degree of imminence as to preclude effective resort by the intended victim to non-violent modalities of response.

The legal principles of self-defense, and particularly the requirement of "actual necessity," were raised early in the United States in an 1837 incident known as the *Caroline* case. The case involved the capture and destruction of a small U.S. vessel, the *Caroline*, and the killing of two Americans in U.S. territory by Canadian troops. The *Caroline* had been used to transport men and supplies to Canadian insurgents. Apparently the British government had previously brought the matter to the attention of U.S. authorities, but the United States failed to stop the use of the ship, in apparent violation of customary neutrality requirements. In the diplomatic controversy that followed, Great Britain justified its action on the basis that imperative need for self-defense required immediate action. The United States did not challenge the facts of the ship's involvement in the transport activities, but effectively claimed that the circumstances did not make a case of reasonable necessity for anticipatory self-defense. While the British tendered a formal apology, they did not accept legal responsibility for the destruction of the vessel and the death of the two crewmen.

The *Caroline* case is often cited to illustrate then Secretary of State Webster's statement that the necessity of self-defense in such cases should be "instant, overwhelming, having no choice of means and no moment for deliberation." While relevant, Webster's dictum should not be taken literally in the international community today. Nuclear weapons stockpiles and the capability of instantaneous delivery raise the likelihood that the initial attack may leave few defenders or little to be defended. Thus, the definition of the "moment for deliberation" must be reconsidered.

As noted above, although opinions differ regarding the requirement of an "armed attack" for the lawful exercise of the right under Article 51 of the UN Charter, the weight of opinion and practice is that the right may be claimed and used only when there is reasonable cause to believe that

the national existence is imperiled. In other words, international law permits the exercise of self-defense not only when there is reasonable cause to believe that the very survival of the state is endangered in the face of actual attack, but also against a threatened aggression when the danger is imminent and threatens national existence.

The actual necessity of self-defense must be shown to be overwhelming in order to preserve the existence of the state. This was not the case with respect to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Israel's argument that it met the requirement of actual necessity is based on its claim that it had been attacked by the PLO through terrorist attacks against individuals and that, in any event, there existed the threat of an imminent PLO armed attack. But the evidentiary record discloses no evidence of an armed attack by the PLO of a degree of gravity to meet the actual necessity test for Israel's use of force. Indeed, UNIFIL headquarters in Lebanon has stated that the PLO's only use of military force against Israel between the July 1981 ceasefire and the June 1982 Israeli invasion was on May 9, 1982, in response to intense Israeli bombing, which itself violated the July 1981 ceasefire.

Israel argued in the Security Council on June 6: "Even in a relatively short period of time which has elapsed since the July 1981 agreement on cessation of hostiles, the total of dead and wounded at the hands of the PLO has steadily mounted to a point where it has now reached 17 dead and 241 wounded in a total of 141 terrorist acts, all of them originating from terrorist bases inside Lebanon." Middle East specialist John Reddaway, commenting on this point, declared:

> Concerning the 17 stated to have been killed, Israel provided 15 specific examples which included eight Israeli Jews, seven of whom were apparently killed in Israel, and an Israeli diplomat killed in France. He also referred to seven Jews killed in foreign countries including Austria, Belgium and West Berlin, none of whom were stated to be Israeli citizens. Concerning the seven Israeli Jews stated to be killed in Israel, he said that four were killed on April 22, 1979, and three on April 6, 1980 (both occasions prior to the 1981 ceasefire). He assumed that the PLO was responsible in all instances, but furnished no proof. In the case of the Jews killed outside Israel, he did not say whether the local police authorities agreed that the PLO were responsible.
>
> The inclusion of attacks on non-Israeli Jews outside the State of Israel reflects claims advanced by the Israeli Government that "the Jewish people" throughout the world share a common nationality with the citizens of Israel. But, in fact, the Government of Israel has no legal authority to intervene diplomatically or militarily on behalf of Jews who are not Israeli nationals. Even supposing the Jews killed in foreign countries are Israeli nationals, the responsibility for their protection lies primarily with the host countries, and intervention by Israel could be justified only if that protection fell below the standard commonly accepted by the international community. To try to make out that a number of isolated attacks on Jews, by unidentified assailants in Europe, presented such a danger to the State of Israel as to justify its invasion of a neighboring state in the Middle East is making a mockery of the concept of self-defense.

Israel has not offered any evidence whatsoever that a PLO armed attack was imminent. Indeed, Prime Minister Begin admitted that the invasion of Lebanon was not necessary to ensure the existence of the State of Israel. In his August 8 appearance at the National Defense College in Israel, Begin specifically stated that the invasion "does not really belong to the category of wars of no alternative," thus acknowledging that Israel's invasion was not a legitimate act of self-defense and did not meet the requirement of actual necessity.

Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Israel lobby in the United States and elsewhere, in close coordination with the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, attempted to justify the invasion retrospectively by arguing that Israel captured large quantities of PLO arms, proving an armed attack was imminent. The possession of arms does not establish that an armed attack is imminent or that an actual necessity existed. Moreover, inasmuch as the arms were "discovered" after the invasion, they could not have constituted justification for an invasion that had already been launched. By mid-June, the Israel lobby began circulating revelations of the seizure by the Israeli Army of massive depots of PLO arms. According to Defense Minister Sharon, the quantities were "incredible."

As Michael Jansen, author of *The Battle of Beirut*, has noted, one of the purposes of the PLO arsenal stories was to achieve the propaganda goal of furnishing "proof" not only that the Palestinians were planning to launch a full-scale attack on Israel, but that they were actually going to do it with foreign forces, including Russian forces (and for whom these weapons were being prepositioned.) At one fund-raising event, senior Israeli Army officers stated that they had seized enough arms to equip *"one million terrorists"* and that it would "require 500 large trucks working for months to transport the massive material, valued at $5 billion." The Israeli lobby continued its claims:

- In a July 2 letter to *The Times* of London, Shabtar Rosenne stated that it would take 80 trucks at least a month to transport 4,000 tons

of ammunition and in addition 140 tanks and other military vehciles, 12,500 light weapons, 520 heavy weapons, and so on.

- Israeli Ambassador to the United States Moshe Arens claimed that 500 to 600 heavy artillery pieces were captured.
- Prime Minister Begin claimed that the captured weapons would equip five divisions, or 60,000 troops.
- On June 28, at an exhibition of captured arms, a logistic corps brigadier stated that the weapons were sufficient not for five divisions, but for five brigades, or 20,000 men and that it would take 1,000 men and 150 trucks a month to complete their removal. Visitors to the exhibition were advised that the Russian T-62 tanks on display were a selection of the 500 tanks captured from the Syrians and the PLO.

These wildly inflated claims were reduced to reality by military correspondents of Israeli newspapers as they began to investigate the figures. For example, the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* concluded that the weapons found were enough for one lightly armed infantry division, that is, for 12,000 men, and that only 38 T-34 tanks were captured. The *Ha'aretz* article continued:

> It is likely that some of the 46 T-55's captured belonged to the terrorists, but there is another view that they all belonged to the Syrians. So it is not true that 400 or 500 tanks were captured in terrorist territory. The only weapons found in large quantities were different types of rifles: some 10,000 Kalachnikov assault rifles. . . while the numbers of artillery pieces seized were also large, it was not as great as some political leaders claimed earlier in the war.
>
> Fifty-one heavy guns were captured, including two old French 155mm guns and 32 Russian 130mm guns, and 240 other types of artillery, some of which could have belonged to the Syrians. The booty was also poor in the latest-type Katushyas; of the 26 captured only 15 were the latest type. Did these arms threaten Israel's existence? They did constitute a danger of raids, shelling and terror, but in no sense a danger to our existence. The strength of an infantry division with partial support is no danger to Israel's existence, unless we suddenly desire to ignore the strength of the Israel Defense Force.

Following this and other reports documenting the discrepancy between reality and the claims made earlier by government officials, there was a demand in the Knesset for an inquiry into the origin of the inflated claims. To date, nothing definitive has been reported on the results.

The Requirement of Proportionality

The international law requirement of proportionality in the use of force applies even to a legitimate exercise of the right to self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter. Perhaps more compelling today than Webster's "instant and overwhelming" standard for the use of self-defense, noted above, is his articulation of the requirement of proportionality. To the British Government, Webster wrote:

> It will be for Her Majesty's government to show also that the local authorities of Canada, even supposing the necessity of the moment authorized them to enter the territories of the United States at all, *did nothing unreasonable or excessive;* since the act justified by the necessity of self-defense must be limited by that necessity and kept clearly within it. (Emphasis added)

Proportionality means that force used in response to actual or anticipated armed attack must be proportional, in both kind and amount, to the precipitating attack. The principle of proportionality requires that the response to a threat be limited in intensity and magnitude to what is reasonably necessary promptly to secure the permissible objectives of self-defense. In different words, this requirement entails a limitation of means and a limitation in time for the exercise of the right of self-defense. The means employed in defensive intervention must be strictly confined to the removal of the danger and must be reasonably proportioned to that objective.

The United States supports this rule of international law. James B. Michel, deputy legal advisor at the State Department, testified recently on this issue before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. On July 15, 1982, following the Israeli invasion, he advised the committee that the United States' view is:

> You [a country, or member of the international community] can only use such force as is proportional to meet the danger, to meet the threat, and to respond to it; that is, there is not a license to go on and obliterate a state that has committed wrong against you.

This statement is consistent with well accepted international law.

According to the Secretary General, Israel invaded Lebanon with a force of "more than two mechanized divisions with full air and naval support." The widely reported devastation, dislocation, and suffering visited by Israel on the civilian Lebanese and Palestinian population resulted in more than 50,000 dead or wounded and 600,000 made homeless, as well as more than $10 billion in property damage. This carnage is

egregiously disproportionate to any alleged harm or threat of harm to Israel's legitimate national security interests posed by the presence of the PLO in Lebanon.

Indeed, during the UN Security Council debate on the Israeli invasion, no delegate supported the argument that Israeli actions met the proportionality requirement. Discussing proportionality, the chairman of the Israeli Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee stated to the *New York Times* that the Israeli action in Lebanon was not intended to be proportional.

Finally, any unilateral claim, in this case by Israel, to self-defense must be determined to be reasonable in all its circumstances for it to be honored by community tolerance and acquiesence. The State's determination that self-defense is necessary, as well as the proportionality of the actions it takes, is subject to review by the international community. Review of Israel's invasion by the international community has been virtually unanimous in its condemnation. The invasion has been branded an aggression, and the international community has rejected Israel's claims that it was acting in self-defense.

'Aggression' in International Law

International customary law as to what constitutes "aggression" was codified in the December 14, 1974 UN-sponsored draft definition of aggression which the United States has strongly supported. In this resolution, the UN General Assembly defined aggression as:

1. the invasion or attack by the armed forces of a state on the territory of another state, or any military occupation, however temporary, resulting from such invasion or attack, or any annexation by the use of force of the territory of another state or part thereof
2. bombardment by the armed forces of a state against the territory of another state or the use of any weapons by a state against the territory of another state
3. the blockade of the parts or coasts of a state by the armed forces of another state.

Two other General Assembly resolutions are relevant to this issue: the Declaration on the Inadmissability of Intervention (1965), and the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (1970). Examined together, these resolutions establish that virtually the whole of the international community has adopted as law the standard that any nonconsensual military intervention by one state into the territory or affairs of another state is outlawed. Consequently, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon constitutes an "act of aggression" within the meaning and purpose of these resolutions.

Moreover, Article 2 of the Definition of Aggression provides that the "first use of armed force by a State in contravention of the Charter shall constitute prima facie evidence of an act of aggression." By its actions, including its rejection of Security Council Resolution 508, which the PLO accepted, as well as its massive invasion of Lebanon the next day, Israel clearly made the "first use of armed force" in contravention of the Charter.

The nature of Israel's aggression in Lebanon was further confirmed by Security Council and General Assembly Resolutions, including Security Council Resolution 509 of June 6, 1982, in which the Council demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Lebanon. The resolution stated:

> Reaffirming the need for strict respect for the territorital integrity, sovereignity and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries, [the Security Council] demands that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally from the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon. . . .

On August 4, 1982, the Security Council, by a vote of 14-0, reaffirmed this resolution and, in Resolution 517, censured Israel for its invasion.

> [We are] deeply shocked and alarmed by the deplorable consequences of the Israeli invasion of Beirut on 3 August 1982;
>
> [The Security Council] confirms once again its demand for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon [and] censures Israel for its failure to comply with the above Resolutions.

Israel's Claim of Lawful Reprisal

On June 6, 1983, the Israeli government announced that its invasion of Lebanon was an act of lawful military reprisal for an attack on the Israeli ambassador in London. Since then, elements within the Israeli government, as well as the Israel lobby, have continued to argue that the invasion was a lawful reprisal under international law.

In a memorandum dated July 18, 1982, from the Israeli Ministry of Defense to the U.S. State Department, Israel stated:

> The Israeli operation thus constituted a direct . . . result of a conflict initiated, planned and pursued by the terrorists . . . and may not be detached from the threats and tragic provocations which immediately preceded it.

The United States Government however, does not accept that reprisals are within the scope of self-defense. Acting Secretary of State Kenneth Rush has written of the United States' position as recently as 1974:

> It is the established policy of the United States that a State is responsible for the international use of armed force originating from its territory . . .
>
> You [a U.S. legal scholar] would add a complementary principle, namely, that where a State cannot or will not fulfill its international legal obligations to prevent the use of its territory for the unlawful exercise of force, the wronged State is entitled to use force, by way of reprisal, to redress, by self-help, the violation of international law which it has suffered.
>
> As you know, [U.N. General Assembly] resolution 2625 . . . contains the following categorical statement: "States have a duty to refrain from acts of reprisal involving the use of force." That injunction codifies resolutions of the Security Council which have so affirmed.
>
> The United States has supported and supports the foregoing principle. Of course we recognize that the practice of states is not always consistent with this principle and that it may sometimes be difficult to distinguish the exercise of proportionate self-defense from an act of reprisal. Yet, essentially for reasons of the abuse to which the doctrine of reprisals particularly lends itself, we think it desirable to endeavor to maintain the distinction between acts of lawful self-defense and unlawful reprisals.

Nonetheless, for the sake of argument and to utilize international legal principles most favorable to Israel, an examination of the Israeli claim of lawful military reprisal is warranted. Lawful reprisals are actions taken which, while unlawful in themselves, may become justified, under certain specific circumstances, as a result of illegal action taken by the adversary. There are three legal requirements under international customary law for the use of reprisals:

1. a demonstrable and manifest violation of international law by the object of the reprisal;
2. a demand by the offended state for the termination of the violation and adherence to the law; and
3. a reasonable proportionality between the alleged violation of law and the military measures taken in reprisal.

International law regulating the use of reprisals has been succinctly summarized by Professor William A. Bishop, Jr. In taking a military

action which the actor claims is a lawful reprisal, he writes, the act of reprisal

> must respond to grave and manifestly unlawful acts committed by an adversary government, its military commanders, or combatants for whom the adversary is responsible.
>
> It must be for the purpose of compelling the adversary to observe the law of armed conflict. Reprisals cannot be undertaken for revenge, spite or punishment. Rather, they are directed against an adversary in order to induce him to refrain from further violations of the law of armed conflict.
>
> If an appeal or other methods fail, reprisals should not be undertaken automatically.
>
> A reprisal must be *proportional* to the original violation. Although a reprisal need not conform in kind to the same type of acts complained of (bombardment for bombardment, weapon for weapon) *it may not significantly exceed the adversary's violation either in violence or effect.* Effective but disproportionate reprisals cannot be justified by the *argument that only an excessive* response will forestall further *transgressions.* [Emphasis added.]

Reprisals against the civilian population and individual civilians are absolutely forbidden. Moreover, reprisals against the persons or property of prisoners of war, including the wounded and sick, are explicitly forbidden by Article 33 of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. Collective reprisals or penalties and punishment of prisoners of war are likewise prohibited. In addition, the most recent Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, effective as of August 12, 1979, relates to the protection of victims of international armed conflict. It is very explicit: "Attacks against the civilian population or civilians by way of reprisals are prohibited."

From even this brief consideration, it is quite obvious that Israel did not meet the requirements of the international law governing reprisals. First, the British Government specifically found that the wounding of the Israeli ambassador in London was not committed by the Palestine Liberation Organization, the oft-claimed object of the Israeli reprisals. Rather, Scotland Yard investigations concluded that the assault was the work of the so-called Abu-Nidal Organization, which is the sworn enemy of the PLO branches controlled by Yassir Arafat, has admitted assassinating several PLO diplomatic representatives, and has attempted more than once to assassinate PLO chairman Arafat. Sir Anthony Parsons, Per-

manent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, commented on the incident to the Security Council in these terms:

> . . . As the Council will know, the British authorities have made arrests in connection with this appalling crime. Four men are now in custody. As a result of the preliminary inquiries the police have discovered a list of names which includes not only that of Ambassador Argov but also that of the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in London.
>
> This assassination attempt, however despicable, does not in any way justify the massive attacks on Lebanese towns and villages by the Israeli Air Force, attacks which have already inflicted major loss of life, casualties and damage to property.

Further, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stated that

> . . . she was convinced that the shooting Thursday night of the Israeli Ambassador, Shlomo Argov, was not the reason for the Israeli attack on Palestinian positions in Lebanon.

Recent statements from Israel make plain that the invasion of Lebanon had been readied long before the assault in London. On April 18, 1981, 14 months before the invasion, an Israeli Army spokesman, Brigadier General Yaakov, told *The New York Times*, "We are on the offensive. We are the aggressors. We are penetrating the so-called State of Lebanon, and we go after them wherever they hide."

On August 14, 1982, Defense Minister Sharon suggested to Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci that both Secretary of Defense Weinberger and Secretary of State Haig not only had advance knowledge of the plans for the invasion, but approved them. This claim was recently confirmed by former President Carter. Sharon also told Fallaci, "We had evaluated the various possibilities of a Soviet intervention and we had examined them with the Americans . . . we reached the conclusion that the Soviet Union would not intervene."

On July 8, 1982, Sharon told *The Jerusalem Post* that he had been "planning this operation since I took office" (July 1981). In August, he told the Knesset that he had secretly traveled to Beirut in January 1982 in order to make plans on the spot. Similarly, General Eitan told the Israeli press that "operational plans for 'Peace in Galilee' started eight months ago."

Conclusion

The above examination of Israel's "lawful reprisal" claim leads to the conclusion that its invasion could not have been a lawful reprisal. It was

- not in response to manifestly unlawful acts;
- substantially conducted against the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian population, of whom approximately 20,000 were killed, 30,000 wounded, and 600,000 made homeless;
- in no way proportional to any alleged "original violation"; and
- apparently undertaken for the purpose of revenge, territorial conquest and forced concessions from the Lebanese government.

Rather than a lawful reprisal for the violation of the PLO-Israel cease-fire, the invasion appears to have been launched because the cease-fire *did* hold—and it held despite the fact that, according to the United Nations, Israel had invaded Lebanon's air space and territorial waters more than 2,700 times between July 1981 and May 1982.

Indeed, Israel made at least two attempts during this period to provoke the PLO into breaking the ceasefire. On April 21, Israel attacked targets in southern Lebanon, killing 35. The pretext was the death of an Israeli soldier whose vehicle hit a mine inside Lebanon, where he was not supposed to be. The PLO did not respond to the attack. On May 9, Israel bombed southern Lebanon and killed six people. Its reason for the attack was that a soldier was slightly wounded in Lebanon. This time the PLO fired warning shots into Israel, but did not aim at settlements and inflicted no casualties. As columnist Anthony Lewis wrote in the *New York Times* on June 7, 1982:

> For nine months, not a single rocket or shell was fired by PLO gunners into Israel. When Israeli planes bombed Lebanon on April 21 for the first time since the truce started, the PLO did not respond. When there was another bombing on May 9, there was a limited response: about 100 rockets that Israel said caused no damage or casualties. Then, after the massive Israeli bombings last week, the PLO responded with full-scale barrages.
>
> In short, the cease-fire kept the Galilee safe until Israel bombed Lebanon. The argument that aggressive new military action was needed to keep the rockets out turns reality upside down.

The fact is that Israel had never liked the cease-fire negotiated by U.S. envoy Philip Habib, because it delayed and thwarted the attack on Lebanon that Sharon and Eitan had been planning since July 1981. As Professor Yohoshua Poreth wrote in the June 25, 1982, issue of *Ha'aretz*:

> I think the Israeli government's decision (or to be more exact, its two leaders' decision) resulted from the fact that the cease-fire had

held . . . Yasser Arafat had succeeded in doing the impossible. He managed an indirect agreement, through American mediation, with Israel and even managed to keep it for a whole year . . . this was a disaster for Israel. If the PLO agreed upon and maintained a cease-fire they may in the future agree to a more far-reaching political settlement and maintain that too.

If in the future we shall be closer to negotiations with other Arab bodies, apart from Egypt, will the Israeli government be able to claim that the PLO is no more than a wild gang of murderers, who are not legitimate negotiating partners? Won't there be pressure to include the PLO in future negotiations over the future of the territories occupied in 1967?

During the same period, the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the pro-Israel propaganda arm that concentrates on the U.S. Congress, sent memoranda to members of Congress repeating false charges from the Israeli Army that the PLO had violated the cease-fire 10 to 150 times. Many members accepted this disinformation without question. Sen. Gary Hart (D.-Colo.) told the Senate on June 17, 1982, that "the Israeli operation in southern Lebanon followed more than 100 documented cease-fire violations by the PLO, the latest of which was an artillery barrage of more than 1,000 shells into nothern Israel on a Sabbath morning." Other senators, including Cranston (D.-Calif.) and Specter (R.-Pa.), repeated false AIPAC claims that the PLO had committed 100 to 150 violations of the cease-fire.

The conclusion of law is that Israel did not meet the international legal requirements that constitute lawful reprisal and that its invasion of Lebanon was consequently illegal on this ground. As there exists virtually no credible evidence that Israel's invasion of Lebanon was based on legitimate self-defense, or that it was a lawful reprisal under international law, the question arises what were the aims of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Israel's Aims

Israel has claimed that its original intention was only to protect its settlers and citizens in northern Israel by establishing a 25-mile *cordon sanitaire* on Lebanese soil. Yet on June 29, *The Times* of London reported that an Israeli Air Force officer who had taken part in the early bombardment of Lebanon said, "We had absolutely no intention of stopping at the Zahrani line [25 miles north of the international border]. We dashed northward as far as possible without any intention whatsoever of stopping." There is much other evidence along similar lines, and of course

an incursion of "only" 25 miles would still have been a considerable invasion of a small independent nation.

Many theories have been advanced by scholars, commentators and correspondents as to what lay behind the thinking of Israel's leaders in launching the assault on Lebanon. Principal elements include:

- A psychological need expressed by Prime Minister Begin when he described Operation "Peace for Galilee" as necessary "to heal the trauma of the Yom Kippur war." By means of an offensive attack, Israel could restore its image, damaged from the fact that Arab armies nearly succeeded in entering Israel itself in October, 1973.
- A perceived necessity to recoup the "loss" of Sinai, which had been returned to Egypt two months earlier. As Jansen noted, by advancing in the north Israel could compensate for a retreat from the south.
- The calculation that the time was right for a move against southern Lebanon because with the Reagan Administration, particularly Secretary of State Haig, Israel had a more sympathetic U.S. administration than ever before. Moreover, given the Iran/Iraq war and general Arab disunity, the timing was doubly propitious. Few if any Arab nations, it was calculated, would come to the aid of the PLO.
- The theory that war could have the sort of trickle-down effect that the 1967 war had. Israel is suffering from 200 percent annual inflation and approximately a $4 billion balance of payments deficit that forced the government to print massive amounts of money; some leaders may have calculated that war could take Israel from depression into an economic boom.
- The belief of Defense Minister Sharon and Israeli Chief of Staff Eitan that invasion of Lebanon could result in the extinction of Palestinian nationalism. Both men believe that there is no room within Palestine for Jewish *and* Palestinian nationalism. As was reported in the August 5 *Times* of London, Sharon stated: "The bigger the blow and the more we damage the PLO infrastructure, the more the Arabs in Judea and Samaria and Gaza will be ready to negotiate with us and establish coexistence."
- Defense Minister Sharon's calculation that the invasion of Lebanon would create the possibility of emergence of a Palestinian state in Jordan. According to *Time* magazine of March 1, 1982, "Sharon, with the backing of Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, is also touting a political rationale for such a maneuver. He believes that the PLO would have no place to go except Jordan, from which it was forcibly expelled in a brutal crackdown by King Hussein's military in 1970-71. With a little assistance from Israel, Sharon believes, the PLO could overthrow King Hussein and establish a Palestinian state in Jordan. . . . In Sharon's view, if the PLO were to take over Jordan with

Israel's backing, such a Palestinian state would be more cooperative than one centered on the West Bank."

- Israel's designs on the water of Lebanon's Litani River. According to Thomas Stauffer, writing in the January 20, 1982, *Christian Science Monitor:* "The Golan Heights are even more important in the context of Israel's future water policy as a steppingstone—quite literally—to the liberation or occupation of the southeastern corner of the Lebanon and physical control of the Litani. While estimates of the available flow from the Litani differ considerably, Israeli sources argue that a minimum of 400 million cubic meters yearly could be diverted into Israel—or as much as 700 million if the Lebanese dam upstream could be destroyed or its spillways opened." Certain Israeli leaders have looked longingly at the Litani River since the early Zionist settlements in Palestine under the British mandate. Plans for acquiring the Litani were articulated soon after Israel came into being in 1948, and the recently published diaries of Moshe Sharret reveal Cabinet-level discussions on the issue in the mid-1950s.

According to the Christian Science Monitor of February 8, 1982, then Lebanese Minister of Information Michel Edde, stating that an Israeli assault on Lebanon was "imminent—only a matter of weeks," confirmed that Lebanon feared Israel's designs on expanded water supplies: "He emphasized that the Israeli objectives must include moving far into the Bekaa Valley well above the Karaoun Dam because 'the waters of the Litani River are useless without control of the dam.' "

- The thirst of battle. One of Sharon's motivations, as he explained at the Israeli War College, was that nine years after the 1973 war a whole generation of Israeli soldiers had no experience in battle, and they needed it.
- The destruction of the PLO infrastructure as a political force and as a competitor for Eretz Israel.
- The expulsion of the PLO and its armed forces from Lebanon.
- The elimination of PLO influence in the West Bank and Gaza in order to open the way for the emergence of a Palestinian leadership more in tune with Israeli notions of Palestinian autonomy and continued control of the occupied territories. On June 10, Israeli civilian administrator of the West Bank Menachem Milsem was reported by the *International Herald Tribune* as stating: "We are fighting the PLO in order to make peace with the Palestinians."
- The ambition of Sharon. Columnist Anthony Lewis, writing in the June 24 *New York Times,* said that 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 destablize King Hussein's Jordan and his ambition reaches even to Saudi Arabia."
- The element of religious fanaticism. On June 8, 1982, the Chief Rabbinate, headed by Ashkenazi and Sephardic Chief Rabbis, a central part of the Israeli establishment, decreed that the invasion was "a divinely inspired war" meriting "divine sanction." As author Michael Jansen has pointed out, such a holy war is the equivalent of the Islamic Jihad, an object of Israeli derision when proclaimed by their Muslim enemies. On July 28, during the siege of Beirut, Chief Rabbi Goran proclaimed that the war was not only a just war but an obligatory one.

Ha'aretz recently carried an article entitled *"This is Ours—And That Too,"* in which the author, Yitzhak Shteiner, military rabbi, compared the invasion of Lebanon to a campaign waged by Joshua 3,200 years ago in which he made a "preventive" attack toward the north just as the Israeli army did in June 1982.

- The dissolution of Arab States. With respect to Israel's longer term goals, Michael Jansen, in his recent book *The Battle of Beirut,* theorizes that Israel's aim is to dissolve Lebanon into five provinces: a Christian Maronite—dominated area, a Muslim area, a Druze area, an area dominated by Syria, and finally a largely Shia area in the south under the control of Israel directly through militias like that of the late Saad Haddad.

Jansen postulates that on the eastern front Israel's goal is to encourage the dissolution of Syria and Iraq into ethnically or religiously dominant areas as in Lebanon. Syria is to be divided into a coastal Shiite Alawite state, a Sunni northern neighbor, a Druze state in the Aleppo area, a second Sunni state in the Damascus area hostile to its northern neighbor, with another Druze state perhaps in Golan and in the Hauran and northern Jordan area. Moreover, Iraq is also preceived as divided according to religious and ethnic denominations. Three or more states around Basra, Baghdag, and Mosul, and the Shiite area in the south, will separate from the Sunni and Kurdish north. Jansen concludes that the Israeli aims contemplate a revival of the communal system of the Ottoman Empire.

With respect to Egypt, the objective is to break up Egypt into territorially distinct geographical regions: a Christian Coptic state in upper Egypt alongside several weak states for the Egyptian Muslims.

- Peace overtures from the Palestine Liberation Organization. On the eve of the Israeli invasion, the Palestine Liberation Organization was

prepared to sign a nonaggression pact with Israel, using the good offices of the United States. Israel rejected the offer. The disclosure of the nonaggression pact was confirmed by Israeli Minister of Tourism Abraham Sharir on January 13, 1983, at an Israeli Bonds dinner in Paris. This confirmation also supports past statements by various organizations, including the PLO, that have long argued that there was a plan for an agreement between the PLO and Israel, and that Israel's invasion of Lebanon was launched partially in order to prevent the agreement from combing into force.

In the weeks leading up to the invasion, it is likely that all the considerations described above played a role in the decision of the Israeli leadership to invade Lebanon. The documentary evidence that follows shows clearly the tragic results of that fateful decision.

I

CHRONOLOGY OF ISRAEL'S INVASION OF LEBANON

The eyewitness testimony presented in this volume relates to events beginning with the June 4, 1982 invasion of Lebanon and extending through what may be called the early stages of Israel's occupation of Lebanon including the mid-September massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

As a backdrop and further introduction to the eyewitness chronicles hereinbelow, the following chronology of events during the invasion is offered the reader. Appreciation is expressed to Ms. Claire Pentengill for her work on this section.

JUNE 3

Political Events

Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir calls for elimination of the PLO to advance the Camp David peace process; later that day, Israeli Ambassador Shlomo Argov is shot and critically wounded in London.

PLO denies all responsibility. After the detention of 4 Arabs (2 Jordanians, 1 Syrian, 1 Iraqi), Scotland Yard confirms that the PLO representative in London, Nabil Ramlawi, was target number 2 on the assassins' list.

JUNE 4

Military Action

The Israeli Air force bombs West Beirut and South Lebanon in alleged retaliation for the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London.

Waves of Israeli F-16s, in their third raid in 6 weeks, strike 4 Palestinian refugee camps, a Fatah training school, a soccer stadium housing PLO members, and the airport in Beirut; Israeli aircraft also strike PLO strongholds near Nabatiyeh and other towns in southern Lebanon.

Casualties

Casualty figures in 50 raids estimated by the PLO to be 50 dead and 150 wounded, while Lebanese police figures give 210 dead and 250 wounded.

Nazareth Children's Hospital outside the Sabra camp suffers a direct hit; Lebanese government reports 45 killed and 150 wounded (later raised to 60 killed, 200 wounded).

PLO responds, 2 hours after bombings begin, with shelling of Northern Galilee and Haddad-held villages of south Lebanon. Twenty rockets hit Israeli towns and settlements in Galilee: 1 man dies of heart attack; 3 people wounded.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli military command says air strikes are retaliation for shooting of Argov; PLO denies responsibility for attack on Argov: peace rally held in Acre.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Lebanese President Elias Sarkis meets with US Ambassador Robert Dillon; Lebanese Premier Chafik Wazzan calls for emergency meeting of UN Security Council to discuss the Israeli raids. PLO news agency WAFA claims Israeli action after Argov assassination attempt is 'just exploiting it before Philip Habib [US Middle East mediator] arrives'. PLO military leader Abu Jihad explains he had no choice but reluctantly to break the 11-month ceasefire negotiated by Habib in July 1981.

US: The US State Department appeals to all parties to "refrain immediately from any further acts of violence."

JUNE 5

Military Action

50 Israeli air strikes are reported in the areas of Nabatiyeh, Beaufort Castle, Arnoun, Hasbaya and Aichiye; Israeli jets and gunboats bomb and strafe several dozen targets along a 25-mile corridor from Tyre to Naameh (8 miles south of Beirut); Israeli bombardment of the Chouf region (a Lebanese left stronghold) is reported; Israeli tanks move into Haddad-controlled enclave in southern Lebanon and heavy artillery batteries move into Majayoun 6 miles inside Lebanon: Demour area attacked for two hours as Israeli helicopters conduct reconnaissance flights.

Syria's estimated 30,000 troups inside Lebanon remain uninvolved, and no Syrian aircraft engage Israeli jets.

Casualties

PLO and Lebanese police sources claim 250 killed, 250 wounded and 3 Israeli jets shot down yesterday; Lebanese and Palestinian sources report many civilian casualties; the Rashidiyeh refugee camp near Tyre hit; thousands of civilians jam northern road as Sidon and other southern Lebanese towns empty in fear of an Israeli attack.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Military censors UN accounts of fighting inside Lebanon; Labor party urges government to "control" Lebanese action and seek to restore ceasefire, complains about lack of prior consultation; 2000 protest in Tel Aviv against Israeli hostilities and criticize Israeli policies in the "occupied territories."

Palestinians/Lebanese: Arafat, in Saudi Arabia to mediate Iran/Iraq war, says PLO will respond strongly; Lebanese Foreign Minister Butros,

noting lack of response from Arab world, asks "confrontation states" to stop being spectators, provide concrete solidarity and confrontation.

US: Secretary of State Alexander Haig, in Versailles Economic Summit, calls Israeli bombing of Lebanon "very serious," announces Philip Habib will seek to restore July 1981 ceasefire.

UN: Security Council meets in emergency session and issues unanimous call for ceasefire in Lebanon. (Resolution 508)

JUNE 6

Military Action

Israel launches full-scale invasion of Lebanon by land, sea and air passing the UNIFIL forces. The alleged objective of 'Operation Peace in Galilee' is to push the PLO back 40 km from the Israeli border to create a "buffer zone."

Sidon is bombarded, the coastal road cut, the Lebanese oil refinery at Zahrani bombed, setting oil storage tanks afire; a bridge spanning the Litani, North of Tyre, is blown up; ballons are used to neutralize heat-seeking missiles. Israeli troops move, in three columns, to close in on Tyre, to take Nabatiyeh and Beaufort Castle, and to move from Golan Heights towards Chebaa. Israeli troops land near the Zahrani river, in an attempt to cut off Palestinians retreating northward. Amphibious vehicles land near Rashidiyeh refugee camp while Israeli paratroopers land at another camp north of Tyre. Israeli planes drop Arabic language leaflets warning Tyre's 50,000 residents not to harbor PLO guerrillas. Thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians fleeing up the coastal road are bombarded.

Several PLO outposts reported taken along the 33-mile front, but Palestinian resistance reported fierce; PLO antiaircraft batteries shoot down Skyhawk jet near Nabatiyeh (pilot is captured), another near Sarafand, and 2 helicopters; PLO rocket attacks continue on western Galilee and the Haddad-controlled enclave; PLO claims to have destroyed 42 Israeli armored cars; resistance in Tyre is fierce, leading Israelis to bypass it on their northward sweep; fighting intense around Beaufort Castle.

Syrian artillery opens fire on Israeli forces following Israeli shelling of Syrian positions; Syrian army battling near Hasbaya, 10 miles north of the border.

Several UNIFIL units come under fire; UNIFIL troops at Khardali Bridge, below Beaufort Castle, come under fire but prevent Israeli troops from crossing bridge; UNIFIL protests use of incendiary artillery shells by Israelis in attacking Tyre; UN and Lebanese troops come under heavy Israeli fire near Tyre.

A senior UN official at Naqoura watches the invasion convoy drive by: 'I have never seen so much armour and so many men in my life,' he said. 'But they were using a hammer to smash a wine glass. It was as if the Israelis were on military manoeuvres. They had tanks, personnel carriers and guns strung out bumper-to-bumper along the coast road here for more than 8 miles. One Syrian plane, just one, would have killed dozens of soldiers. But there were no planes.' (The *Times*, 6 July)

Estimated Israeli invasion force: 25,000 troops stationed on border since February 1982, rising to 90,000 by 14 June. Total number of men under arms 172,000, later rising to 400,000 when reservists called up.

Estimated PLO force in south Lebanon (according to *Jerusalem Post*, 7 June): 'PLO forces in southern Lebanon number 6,000 armed men, about half the PLO's total strength in Lebanon. According to Israeli military sources the terrorist concentrations include a string of heavily fortified positions each housing a platoon-strength force [20-30 men]. Only a few of the terrorist positions are in villages.'

Casualties

More than 300 people are reported killed June 4 and 5, over 500 wounded; Palestinians estimate 200 Israeli casualties; thousands fleeing towns of southern Lebanon are bombed by Israeli jets along the coastal road; casualties from June 4 bombing of Beirut estimated at 60 killed, 30 wounded. Norwegian UNIFIL soldier killed.

Rocket attacks on northern Galilee result in 3 deaths, 15 wounded, but property damage is extensive, Oiryat Shemona is hit badly; captured Israeli pilot shown at Beirut press conference.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli Ambassador to US, Moshe Arens, claims aim is to push PLO out of artillery range of northern Israel; Begin sends letter to Reagan asserting the same; Israeli Cabinet says Syrian forces will only be attacked if they engage Israeli troops; Yitzhak Rabin (Labor Party) calls on Israelis to support the government; Cabinet calls operation "Peace for Galilee"; Israeli Reserve Generals reported to plan visit to US and Europe to put Israeli case; extensive mobilization of Israeli reserves reported as over 1000 public buses mobilized to transport troops (the largest war call-up since 1978); Israel asserts it has no territorial claims on Lebanon.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Lebanese government holds emergency meeting, asks for immediate summit of 22-member Arab League; Lebanese media claim Israelis have used cluster and fragmentation bombs, warning civilians not to touch anything on the ground; President

Sarkis summons ambassadors of US, USSR, France and the UK to the Palace for a meeting; Arafat flies back to Beirut.

Arab Governments: Egyptian Cabinet and President Mubarak denounce Israeli invasion as aggression (strongest language since 1977); Saudi Arabian King Khalid sends messages to Reagan, other world leaders calling for "quick intervention" to halt Israeli "massacre."

US and Other Countries: Reagan joins 6 other leaders at Versailles urgently appealing for a cease-fire in Lebanon; Reagan urges "restraint" in letter to Begin; USSR denounces Israel for launching fifth war against the Arabs.

UN: Security Council seeks a resolution acceptable to the US and Arab countries.

JUNE 7

Military Action

Israeli troops seize Beaufort Castle, Nabatiyeh, Hasaya; fighting continues in Tyre and nearby Palestinian refugee camps; air battle over Beirut suburbs between Israeli and Syrian jets; Israeli troops converge on Sidon from 3 directions after airdropping leaflets to residents asking them to leave their home within 2 hours; three waves of Israeli planes bomb and strafe southern Beirut; Begin and Ariel Sharon tour Beaufort Castle; Tyre is finally captured, in house-to-house combat, though pockets of resistance remain; UN reports 57 Israeli sorties flown over Lebanon; Israeli armored column pushes to within 12 miles of Beirut; assault on Jiye power plants cuts electricity to Beirut.

Two Syrian jets shot down over northern Israel, 2 in northern Lebanon; Israeli jets bomb and strafe Syrian positions at Jezzine, east of Sidon (at least 5 Syrian solders killed); fierce battles fought with Israeli jets over Beirut; Syrian peacekeeping units in Beirut move equipment and ammunition to positions guarding highways to Bekaa valley.

PLO units resist in heavy fighting in Tyre and Sidon and at Saadiyat, 12 miles south of Beirut; Palestinian News Agency (WAFA) says 45,000 Israeli troops involved and 400 killed since the invasion began; claim 45 Israeli tanks and 45 armored cars knocked out; personal security headquarters for Arafat reported hit; PLO accuses UNIFIL of "collaboration" with Israel in failing to counter invasion; Lebanese National Movement militias take positions near seafront to guard against Israeli invasion of Beirut. The claimed 40 km "buffer" is passed in many places.

Casualties

Apartment buildings and structures at Arab University hit, hospitals report at least 60 wounded; refugees stream into Beirut; electricity cut off to Beirut; Israelis estimate Palestinian casualties at 2500; radio reports say hundreds of bodies litter streets of Sidon; fierce firefight on edge of Sidon reported, as fires rage on hillsides.

Israel reports 25 killed, 7 missing, 1 captured, 96 wounded; PLO estimates Israeli casualties at 400.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin turns over Beaufort Castle to Major Haddad, meets with Habib, rejects US call for restraint; Army Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan says taking of Beaufort Castle pushes guerrillas out of range of all Galilee settlements except near Golan Heights; blackout on news of troop movements maintained; Foreign Minister Shamir says Israeli aims go beyond pushing the PLO away from the border to "the PLO's final destruction as a terrorist and political factor"; Israel reportedly pressuring Haddad and the Phalange to join in attacks on the PLO (Bashir Gemayel resists); Peres and Rabin (Labor Party) meet with Begin over remarks of Sharon, and Peres calls for speedy end to the conflict; Mapam demands a halt to Israeli air attacks and a return to the ceasefire; Knesset meets to consider no-confidence motion introduced by Democratic Front for Peace & Equality; 60 leftwing students demonstrate near prime minister's office; 150 march to Mt. Scopus campus. Israeli military police tighten border patrols to prevent goods looted from Lebanese homes coming into Israel.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO accuses UNIFIL of "collaboration" with Israelis; Bashir Gemayel resists Israeli pressure to attack PLO; WAFA reports Israeli troops number 60,000.

Arab Governments: High-level Iranian delegation, including heads of Iranian army and revolutionary guards, visits Syria.

US: Pentagon sends 5 US warhips to the eastern Mediterranean in case the 4,000 Americans in Lebanon need to be evacuated.

UN: UN resolution calls for unconditional and immediate Israeli withdrawal and an end to all military activity within Lebanon and across its border with Israel (Israel's Ambassador says Israel will not comply); ABC reports UNIFIL officer received orders from UN headquarters not to resist Israeli forces.

JUNE 8

Military Action

Israeli forces advance to 15 miles from Beirut; one of the biggest air battles since the 1973 war takes place over Beirut (6 Syrian, 2 Israeli jets

reported down); heavy fighting in Tyre and Sidon continues, as Tyre residents are told via air-drop ped leaflets to go to beaches to avoid bombings, city is shown in flames; 15,000 people try to enter city from countryside, saying they have no food; Israelis move 100 tanks into mountains east of PLO stronghold of Damour; Israeli shells reportedly destroy a Red Cross center on the edge of Sidon; tank battles near Jessine, and Israelis reportedly aim to cut highway to Syria; Israeli planes blast road 2 miles south of Beirut airport; fierce fighting between Israeli and Syrian troops on edge of Beirut; Israelis capture Lebanese president's summer residence at Beiteddine; third attack on Beirut sports complex.

Syrians engage Israelis on southern edges of Beirut, along Beirut-Damascus highway; major Syrian-Israeli tank battle shaping up in Chouf region, stronghold of PLO ally and Lebanese National Movement (LNM) leader Walid Jumblatt (temporarily out of country).

Fierce resistance from PLO units continues in Tyre and Sidon; a few PLO-fired rockets fall on northern Galilee, from enclave controlled by Syria; PLO and Lebanon accept UN call for a cease-fire.

Israeli army occupies the Chouf area which is a Druze stronghold.

Casualties

Beirut residents stockpile goods and Palestinian suburbs almost deserted as residents fan out into city; Red Cross center in Sidon destroyed by Israeli shelling; thousands of refugees pour into Beirut from Southern Lebanon; 10,000 people placed under Red Cross care in Tyre alone.

Israel claims losses to date of 32 dead and 150 wounded.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Prime Minister Begin lays out 4 conditions for withdrawal from Lebanon, including removal of all Syrian and PLO forces from Lebanon, creation of a 40 km demilitarized zone north of the Israeli border; Knesset defeats no-confidence vote, 94-3; Israeli Ambassador Arens meets with Deputy Secretary of State Stoessel, Defense Secretary Weinberger and Senator Percy as a former Israeli general meets the US press; Begin calls on Assad not to engage Israeli troops; UN reports continue to be censored; about 40 demonstrators opposed to the invasion are attacked in Tel Aviv.

Palestinans/Lebanese: Arafat meets with USSR Ambassador; Lebanese president appeals to Arab League to hold a meeting; Lebanon's UN Ambassador says casualties run into thousands, mostly civilians.

Arab Governments: Iranian volunteers reported arriving in Lebanon via Syria, as well as Palestinian volunteers from Jordan and Kuwait; Arab dipolmats from Lebanon, Kuwait, Bahrein, Jordan and Algeria ask the US to pressure Israel to withdraw immediately, accept cease-fire; Syria rejects any troop withdrawal from Lebanon, reacting to reports of new Israeli conditions for a withdrawal.

US: Reagan, in London, appeals for an end to hostilities; Haig later says US would not deny Israel the "right of legitimate selfdefense."

UN: Lebanon and the PLO accept the UN call for a cease-fire; Israel rejects the Security Council demand for withdrawal. Lebanon circulates a petition condemning Israel, threatening sanctions if it does not withdraw. UNIFIL General Callaghan makes first official protest of the invasion to Israel.

JUNE 9

Military Action

Over 90 Israeli jets attack and destroy Syrian SAM (surface-to-air missile) batteries in Bekaa valley; 16-22 Syrian MIGGs reportedly shot down; Syria reports 19 Israeli jets shot down (air battle took place as Habib was delivering Israeli message in Damascus); Israelis capture Damour (say they will return it to Christian residents and help rebuild), establish bridgehead at Khalde, 4 miles south of Beirut; street fighting continues in Sidon as 2 more Israeli armored columns and infantry unit sent to consolidate control; Israeli naval vessels land troops between airport and Beirut, shell PLO-held areas of city; Israeli aircraft drop leaflets urging Beirut residents to stay off streets, mark houses with white cloth; Israeli troops in Golan boosted.

Palestinian resistance continues in Sidon; Israeli column halted near Beiteddine, with heavy losses.

Syria reports village 3 miles west of Damascus bombed (denied by Israelis); Syrians charge Israelis bombed, strafed fleeing civilians along Beirut-Damascus highway; Syria moves 16,000 more troops into Lebanon, beats back Israeli attempts to take highway.

United Nations command protests Israeli use of white phosphorous incediary artillery in attacks on Tyre; UN food convoys barred from Tyre until June 8.

Lebanese Army gives scant resistance to Israeli advance; Lebanese army barracks in Sidon, Beiteddine and Hammana heavily bombarded by Israelis.

Casualties

Thousands of Beirut residents flee to Bekaa valley; UN observers say Lebanese and Palestinian refugees urgently need water and food, that

41,000 Tyre residents gathered on beaches were left without food and shelter for 2 days; after Tyre residents allowed to return to homes, about 7,000 from refugee camps remain on beaches; Rashidiyeh refugee camp virtually destroyed; International Committee of the Red Cross reports "heavy damage" in Tyre, Sidon and that 1,200 Sidon residents urgently need medical attention.

Israel reports 31 dead, 144 wounded.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli government blames Syria for provoking Israeli raid; still bars foreign journalists from coastal areas of southern Lebanon; Israel warns Jordan to stay out of fighting.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Arafat urgently appeals to Arab countries to end the "massacre of the Palestinian people in Lebanon"; Palestinian group, reportedly followers of anti-PLO leaders Abu Nidal, claim role in Argov shooting in statement delivered to Beirut AP office; Lebanese radio says Israel occupies 25 percent of Labanese territory; Lebanese government meets, debates proposal to send Lebanese Army into West Beirut; Christian and Muslim groups urge support for Sarkis and Franjieh offers to put militia under Sarkis; Gemayel urges national unity government.

Arab Governments: Iraq announces it will withdraw from all Iranian territory in a week, redirect its efforts against Israel; Syria begins pulling troops out of Beirut back into Bekaa; Jordan's Prime Minister announces Jordan will allow transit facilities for any wishing to travel to Lebanon to fight Israel; Syria reportedly prepares to mobilize reserves; Kuwait, UAE and Qatar issue statements denouncing invasion.

US and Other Countries: US vetoes UN resolution condemning Israel as "unbalanced"; Reagan announces he will seek $25 m in emergency aid for Lebanon from Congress; EEC foreign ministers condemn Israeli invasion; USSR plans to send medical supplies to Lebanon in a few days; Canada, France, Netherlands and the UK urge their citizens to leave West Beirut.

JUNE 10

Military Action

Israeli jets attack installations and refugee camps in Beirut's southern suburbs as well as airport; Khalde bombarded; Palestinian camps of Sabra and Burj al-Barajneh hit, as well as Datsun car depot, Pepsi bottling plant, farm equipment warehouse, tin can factory, water puri-

fication plant and Shia Muslim center of Ouzai; more leaflets dropped over Beirut as one of 'safe' escape routes listed on leaflet was being bombed; Israel seals off Beirut after blowing up bridge along the Beirut-Damascus highway; 19 Syrian batteries destroyed (of 4 new ones moved into Bekaa area, 2 destroyed, 2 damaged); 61 Syrian jets hit since June 6, as well as 5 helicopters; Israel says it captured hundreds of guerrillas; hundreds of Israeli tanks, jeeps, truck flowing into Lebanon via Metulla (many with maps of the Bekaa valley); Israel and Syria declare cease-fire; 18 Syrian jets shot down. IDF invasion force now estimated at 60,000-100,000.

PLO fighters leave camps, move to defend towns, 130,000 Palestinians reported in Beirut area; WAFA announces fighting in Sidon continues, as DFLP says Israel bombed Palestinian camps near northern port city of Tripoli; resistance to Israeli advance fierce on edges of Beirut.

Syrians involved in fierce fighting along Beirut-Damascus highway; fierce air battles with Israelis.

Casualties

Selected journalists allowed to visit Tyre describe town as a "bombed out shell," with rubble littering streets; Tyre mayor says most buildings destroyed; PLO puts casualties at 8,000, mostly civilians; Palestinian Red Crescent puts Arab casualties at 10,000; Sidon reported nearly abandoned as Sidon residents line up for food, which some had lacked for 3-4 days; Israel orders UN forces in Lebanon to stop delivering food to Lebanese civilians caught in the fighting.

Maj. Gen. Y. Ada, slated to take over Mossad in the fall, killed in ambush; 68 killed, 424 wounded Israelis to date.

Political Response

Israel/Occuppied Territories: Unanimous support for invasion erodes as *Jerusalem Post* expresses concern about "newly expanded war" and Haaretz criticizes involvement in "dormant civil war in Lebanon"; Amb. Arens outlines possible plans, says Israel may withdraw within a few months if a new Lebanese regime is set up.

Israeli army's northern front commander, Brigadier General Amir Drouri: 'in a short time we will capture the city.'

Palestinians/Lebanese: Druze leader Jumblatt allows Lebanese Army to take over some Druze positions in Chouf area and in Beirut; Gemayel pushes for Army to fill vacuum; Haddad states plans to incorporate all areas taken by IDF into "Free Lebanon," bans Palestinians from his area; Haddad units involved in "mop-up" operations with Israelis.

US: Reagan sends letter to Israel asking for cease-fire; Haig rejects invitation to go to Jerusalem; US expresses concern over invasion after Saudi Foreign Minister meets Reagan in Bonn and messages from Brezhnev (Begin responds that Israel will observe cease-fire Friday but not withdraw until Israeli terms are met).

JUNE 11

Military Actions

Fierce tank, artillery and air battles force Syrians out of range of Israeli territory; while Israel and Syrians declare a cease-fire, PLO combat goes on; cease-fire leaves Israel controlling one-third of Lebanese territory; 18 Syrian MIGs shot down (total Syrian losses now 79) and 9 t-72 USSR-supplied tanks knocked out; Israeli jets hit PLO military command offices; 3 Israeli shells from ships land in West Beirut; Syrian-Israeli forces exchange fire along coast south of Beirut; Israel blocks boat leaving Jounieh, north of Beirut; PLO fights Israelis all day; guerrillas withdrawing into West Beirut.

Syria reports 2 Israeli drones shot down over Damascus; first major shipment of new USSR equipment arrives during night in Syria; contingent of 3,000 Iranian troops arrives during night; Syria says it lost 83 tanks June 10 and destroyed 164 Israeli tanks; captured Israeli tank and crew paraded in Damascus.

Casualties

International Committee of the Red Cross estimates 500,000 people driven from their homes in southern Lebanon since June 6; 120 killed, mostly civilians, from Israeli air and sea bombardment of Beirut; Israelis shell downtown areas of Beirut, destroying staterun radio; school children killed; western aid agencies say 80-90 percent of the estimated Palestinian casualties so far are civilian; Gen. Sharon says 100 Israelis killed, 600 wounded.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Gen. Sharon says cease-fire does not extend to Palestinian guerrillas. And that 'mopping-up operations' will continue against all Palestinian guerrillas remaining south of the line where the Israeli 3-pronged advance has halted.

Arab Governments: Foreign ministers of Arab League meet in Tunis to prepare for summit on Israeli invasion (later postponed indefinitely at

Lebanese request); Tunisian workers burn a US flag during protest rally sponsored by UGTT (trade union federation); a few members of Egypt's Assembly propose end to normalizing relations with Israel (rejected); Egyptian daily *al-Ahram* alleges US collusion with Israel as Egyptian Foreign Minister leaves for the US to discuss autonomy talks.

JUNE 12

Military Action

Israeli planes bomb Palestinian forces, areas south of Beirut and center of Beirut; Beirut airport remains closed; Israelis destroy Syrian radar command center before fighting stops; Israel sends experienced civilian and military advisers from West Bank and Gaza to administer southern Lebanon; Israeli military sources say hundreds of captured Syrians and Palestinians brought to Israel, some kept in Lebanon; Palestinians are not considered POWs; Walid Jumblatt captured, held under house arrest by Israelis at Habib's insistence; Israel and PLO agree to begin cease-fire one day after extensive bombing of Beirut. (at 9 p.m.)

Syrian convoys seen moving from Lebanon to Syria; Syrian units not visible in Beirut.

PLO guerrillas retreat from Nabatiyeh, say civilian casualties far outnumber military ones.

Casualties

Palestine Red Crescent assesses Palestinian and Lebanese civilian casualties to date at 10,000. Of the city's 8 hospitals only one is still in operation. In Sidon the International Red Cross reports that its medical teams 'have used up everything', while '3,000 wounded wait for treatment'. (*Sunday Times*, 13 June)

Israeli casualties put at 130 killed, over 600 wounded; Red Cross estimates 1,000-1,200 dead, 3,000 wounded in Sidon alone (dead being laid out in tents in parking lots); another RC delegate says 600,000 displaced by fighting; 90 percent of 3 Palestinian camps around Tyre destroyed; yesterday's death toll put at 207 dead, 647 wounded; former Lebanese Prime Minister Saeb Salam says 1,000 people killed in Beirut area on June 10 alone; refugees from bombarded Palestinian camps camping out in parks under trees; hospitals in Beirut jammed with wounded, as stretchers are lined up outside American University Hospital.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin meets with Habib, urges the US to set up a multinational force to supplant Israel in Lebanon; Shamir has

day of meetings with Habib; before PLO cease-fire announced, leftist Shinui Party and Labor Party Knesset members call for no further moves to create new Lebanese political order, joined by Peace Now and other Israeli peace groups; group of Israeli academics accuses government of launching unjust war and deception, charges IDF with slaughtering Palestinians; newly formed Committee Against the War in Lebanon plans protest outside Prime Minister's office.

JUNE 13

Military Action

Lebanese cease-fire shattered as Israeli troops line up with Phalangist militia in Baabda, East Beirut and move to control Beirut-Damascus highway and close last exit from city; repeated Israeli air strikes against Beirut; fierce fighting south of city; Israeli troops advance to within yards of Lebanese presidential palace (no fighting with Lebanese Army reported, as well as no resistance from units guarding Baabda); Palestinian camps and neighborhoods hit for seventh day, as well as Beirut Barbir district (not a Palestinian area, it suffers many casualties); Israeli claims hundreds of PLO guerrillas surrender south of Beirut near Khalde; battles go on in Ain el-Hilweh refugee camp outside Sidon; Israeli ship intercepts Lebanese passenger ship leaving Beirut, diverts it to Haifa.

Syrian units hit by Israelis along highway, despite cease-fire; Syrians disappear from Beirut streets, leaving Palestinian units in their place.

Casualties

Israeli casualties approach 150 dead, 900 wounded; ICRC says 600,000 made homeless by fighting (20 percent of Lebanese population); Lebanese Army sources say 1,500 Beirut residents, mostly civilian, killed so far and that Israeli cluster bombs have been dropped on Palestinian refugee camp (Burj al-Barajneh) near airport, as well as Armenian hospital 16 miles SE of Beirut; hospitals in Christian Beirut refuse to handle casualties among Palestinians or combatants; correspondents report bodies buried 30-deep in mass graves at southern Beirut refugee camp; bodies stacked up decomposing at Barbir hospital (Sharon denies numbers of dead, dislocated); conditions in Beirut deterioriate as garbage rots, water main is broken, raising fears of epidemics.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Some Israelis feel US troops in Lebanon would restrict Israeli moves, give de facto US recognition to the PLO on a

day-to-day basis; Israel announces revenue-raising measures to pay for the war (costs estimated at $600 m. and may fuel inflation); as condition for withdrawal, Israel demands removal of Palestinian and Syrian forces from Lebanon, an internationally supervised demilitarized zone to guarantee security of Galilee; Israeli philanthropist Abie Nathan announces plans to take chocolate to Palestinian children as other Israelis offer to help rebuild Lebanon; several hundred Israelis demonstrate againt invasion, massacre of civilians.

Palestinians/Lebanese: a 7-member committee is named by Sarkis to handle negotiations with the Israelis; Hasbaya merchants do business in Israeli shekels.

Arab Governments: Saudi King Khalid dies; Egyptian President Mubarak flies to Saudi Arabia to give condolences; Syrians withdraw from Beirut.

US and Other Countries: Ships sent to Jounieh to evacuate Italians and French; Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams, addressing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, accuses the PLO of providing arms, training to guerrilla forces in El Salvador, Guatemala, perhaps Honduras.

JUNE 14

Military Action

Israeli and Phalangist forces link in Beirut, encircling PLO forces inside city; Israeli tanks push NE of capital, move on Syrian positions, IDF seizes control of Baabda; Beirut radio says IDF, with Phalangist support, moves to coast north of Beirut; Israeli navy closes Beirut port; Sharon visits Beirut for meetings with Phalangist leaders.

PLO leaders tour camps, hospitals, troop positions in Beirut; fighting flares between IDF and Syrians near highway; Phalangist officers, dressed in Israeli uniforms, are seen giving directions to Israeli tanbks.

Casualties

Reports from Tyre indicate no buildings untouched by shrapnel (Israeli military governor estimates only 30 percent of buildings destroyed); Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital in Sidon reports many patients dismembered in fighting (only one doctor remains to tend 58 patients after Israelis arrest Canadian, Norwegian, Palestinian doctors); all Sidon men aged 17-55, required to report to IDF for permits, many are arrested after going to IDF headquarters; 90 busloads of Palestinians reportedly taken away for questioning; Lebanese police report 9,583 killed, 16,608 wounded since

Israeli air raids began 11 days ago (dead in Beirut estimated at 750); Israel now controls about half of Lebanon; Nabatiyeh reported "sanitized" by IDF before foreign correspondents allowed in; Israelis report 170 Israelis killed, 700 wounded, 10 captured, and 6,000 Palestinian guerrillas and 60 Syrians held; UK embassy advises nationals to leave.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel turns down two appeals for a cease-fire from the PLO delivered by the Egyptian ambassador in Tel Aviv. Israeli Defense Minister Sharon says IDF has "no intention" of taking Beirut; General Eitan says IDF mission is to smash PLO's political and military nerve center; Begin leaves for the US; Israeli agencies plan relief for Lebanon. Sharon meets Maronite leaders in East Beirut.

Palestinian/Lebanese: PLO vows to stand and fight; Lebanese President Sarkis, meeting with 10 Cabinet ministers at Presidential Palace (Israeli tanks 200 metres away), calls for setting up a Council of National Salvation; 3 appointees to Council, however, refuse to attend; Habib delivers Israeli withdrawal terms to Sarkis, and US Ambassador Dillon sends limousine to fetch Walid Jumblatt; Jumblatt demands wider representation of Lebanese leftists on Council-other members are Gemayel (Maronite Phalangist), Berri (Shiite Amal), Maalouf (Catholic), Foreign Minister Butros (Greek Orthodox), Prime Minister Wazzan (Sunni), and President Sarkis (Maronite); Christians in Baabda reportedly welcome Israelis, guide them; Bashir Gemayel reportedly pushed as future president of Lebanon (election of new Lebanese president by Parliament scheduled for late August); Haddad tours southern Lebanon.

Arab Governments; Egypt relays Palestinian request for cease-fire in Beirut area to Israel; Mubarak meets with Saudi King Fahd (first contact since 1973 peace treaty signed).

US: US government expresses approval of new 'coalition' Lebanese government.

USSR: The Soviet Union warns for the first time that the Israeli invasion directly affects her interests. The statement, carried by the Tass news agency, describes it as 'a criminal act of genocide' and elaborates: 'The Middle East is an area situated in the direct vicinity of the Soviet Union's southern borders and events there are bound to affect the interest of the USSR.'

JUNE 15

Military Action

Israeli and Syrian forces fight along highway seeking better positions;

Syrian, Phalangist clashes reported as Israeli column, allowed through Phalangist territory, moves to dislodge Syrians from mountains overlooking coast and Bekaa valley; all roads into Beirut and coastal areas are reported held by Israelis; all resistance at Ain el-Hilweh near Sidon crushed (40-50 guerrillas reported taken); PLO bulldozes embankments around camps for anti-tank obstacles, mines; pockets of guerrillas halt Israeli vehicles, near Sidon. Ain el-Hilweh destroyed.

Casualties

More refugees pour into Beirut; chief surgeon at Gaza Hospital in Sabra refugee camp says mortality rate is 30-50 percent (only 15-20 percent in 1978 fighting) because of weapons being used by Israel; high casualty estimates for Tyre (15,000 suffering effects of fighting, 8,000 Palestinians living in the open), Sidon (300,000 residents said to flee port city; streets full of bodies), Jezzine (normally 20,000, it now has 200,000 refugees), Damour (empty of life as Israeli tanks drive through); 73 dead in bombing of apartment building in working-class Lebanese district; Gaza and Acre Hospital administrators say 90 percent of patients are civilian, 60 percent women and children.

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Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories; Israel demands Syrians quit Beirut (Syrians refuse, citing Arab Deterrent Force mandate); Begin flies to US to sell idea of Christian-led government in Lebanon; Gen. Sharon reported to meet clandestinely with Phalangist leaders; Begin says Egypt's ties with Israel pass "test"; Nahum Goldman reported to condemn Israeli invasion last week; legal problems raised by 6,000 Palestinian detainees (some hold foreign nationalities, some are under age); Peace Now speaks out against the war, calls on the Israeli government to invite Palestinians to the peace process.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Bashir Gemayel claims ignorance of Israeli intention to drive through his territory; pressure mounts to have Lebanese Army move into Beirut; Berri refuses to serve on National Salvation Council unless Jumblatt does.

Arab Governments: Al-Ahram calls on Egyptians to boycott Israel for its "Nazi genocidal war," asks firm stand against invasion by government; Egypt plans to send medical supplies to Lebanon via ICRC.

US: Habib meets with Lebanese leaders, to discuss solution; US asks dependents and officials to leave the country.

UN: Lebanese government asks UN for food/relief supplies for 600,000 people for 6 months.

JUNE 16

Military Action

Israel fortifies position around Beirut, capturing Lebanese University science campus; uncovers arms caches in Tyre and elsewhere; IDF fails to capture USSR-supplied T-72 tanks but claims huge numbers of fighters taken; IDF claims Phalangist forces took university (denied by Gemayel); Phalangist artillery used to pound Burj al-Barajneh Palestinian camp. Port access to Beirut cut for 8 days, roads for 5, air access cut.

Arafat tours PLO military position in Beirut; PLO opens 12 new medical facilities in last 10 days, with 2,000 beds, to deal with casualties.

Casualties

80 bodies uncovered under Sidon building hit by Israeli shelling; 400 Sidon residents reported killed; Lebanese sources estimate over 25,000 casualties and 250,000 displaced persons (1 of 16 living in Lebanon); Israeli government claims only 70,000 homeless in Lebanon as result of fighting; IDF administrator in Sidon says IDF plans to bury bodies in pits where they lay; ICRC negotiates with IDF to fly 2 planes from Cyprus to Beirut; most Beirut businesses closed.

30 vehicle relief convoy leaves Israel for southern Lebanon for 2 week stay; Israeli banks set up mobnile units inside Lebanon for Israeli soldiers (will also service local Lebanese merchants wishing to buy Israeli goods), may place orders through military commanders (to be filled in 24 hours); Israel claims 6,000 guerrillas captured, 60 Syrians.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin, in New York, tells Israeli Cabinet to disregard US pressures in setting war policy; Shimon Peres claims military actions lacked necessary Cabinet approval, calls for meeting of foreign affairs committee; Israeli Cabinet reportedly orders Sharon not to enter Beirut; Israeli government claims possession of documents showing PLO hosting of groups "such as" the Japanese Red Army, Italian Red Brigade, and German Baader-Meinhoff Gang; public criticism surfaces on conduct of war and casualty levels. Sharon says agreements on withdrawal will have to include all foreign, Syrian, Palestinian and Israeli.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO's Hani Hassan urges direct US-PLO talks; former Lebanese Premier Salam meets Habib to convey PLO views on fighting; Phalangists deny cooperating with Israelis during fighting; some Lebanese Christians reported cooling toward Israeli presence.

Arab Governments: Saudis urge US pressure to force Israelis to withdraw, suggest arms embargo to Vice-President Bush, Senator Percy, Defense Secretary Weinberger (in Saudi Arabia for funeral of late Saudi King). Syria rejects Sarkis call to withdraw from Beirut.

US and Other Countries: Reagan delays sending Congress formal notice of long-planned sale of 75 F-16s to Israel; Israeli reassurance that IDF would not enter Beirut reportedly ensures Begin meeting with Reagan; US rejects PLO request for direct talks; UK Prime Minister Thatcher says PLO officer can stay in UK; USSR reportedly replenishing Syrian supplies.

JUNE 17

Military Action

Israelis, PLO exchange fire at airport, destroying 2 jets; Israeli gunboats shell airport, Suburbs, Palestinian camp (large fires reported); Israeli jeeps moving freely in southeastern Beirut; IDF claims 100 PLO tanks destroyed, huge weapons stockpiles captured; 250 PLO members holed up in 2 Sidon mosques; US call for 48-hour cease-fire fails; at IDF-called meeting, a group of Lebanese Christians declares loyalty to Haddad. Town of Aley in the Chouf bombarded.

Casualties

Arafat, in letter to UN, says 80,000 killed, 10,000 missing, 800,000 homeless; in Damour, no apartment blocks still stand; first UN/ICRC shipments reach Tyre, Sidon and the Bekaa valley, but IDF continues to ban relief shipment to Beirut; ICRC estimates 100,000-300,000 affected by fighting in Lebanon; IDF announces 214 Israelis killed, 1,114 wounded, 12 missing since outbreak of hostilities.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Many unhappy with war as unnecessary, trying to impose solution on Lebanon; Israeli Cabinet votes for IDF not to enter Beirut; Israeli Pioneer Women start program to host Lebanese women, children for one-month stays; Shimon Peres meets Jumblatt in Lebanon in response to Socialist International request for report on Jumblatt's situation.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO asks that 250,000 Palestinian refugees be granted permanent residency, for retention of PLO administrative struc-

ture in Lebanon, and that PLO units keep their weapons, subject to negotiations with the Lebanese government, as the conditions for evacuation of PLO military units from Beirut; Habib meets with Sarkis (US reportedly wants Lebanese Army deployed in Beirut); Jumblatt meets with Habib to detail objections to Council's composition; Phalangists seen in Israeli uniforms, with US-made weapons; PLO official slain by car bomb in Rome.

Arab Governments: Libya reportedly considers military intervention in Lebanon, asks Arab oil exporters to consider using oil weapon against Israel and its allies; Egyptian Foreign Minister says PLO willing to lay down arms; Egyptian government allows opposition coalition to deliver petition to Mubarak representative but bans protest march; Foreign Minister Ghali bans sending Egyptian volunteers to fight with PLO, rejects demand for break in relations with Israel.

US and Other Countries: Pentagon reportedly makes unprecedented "formal dissent" to Haig's policy on Israel; France, Austria call for all troops to leave Lebanon. US officials warn the Lebanese government that the Israelis do not regard the Palestinian areas of Fakhani and Bouri al-Brajnch as part of West Beirut.

JUNE 18

Military Action

First 48 hour truce negotiations by US. Israel says it observes ceasefire despite gunfire in Beirut; Phalangists firing artillery, mortars on PLO positions in Beirut, camps; Syria reinforces highway positions and moves in more tanks; Syrians close down satellite station near Damascus; Israel continues to move armor, tanks into position for a major assault; Syria rejects Sarkis' requests for Syrian troops to leave Lebanon; IDF takes up positions along Green Line and moves into central Beirut; PLO reinforces defenses (ramparts, mines) around refugee camps.

Casualties

Israel asks Caltex to repair war-damaged Sidon refinery, as Israeli tankers sell oil to Lebanese power plants, filling stations; Sidon high school basement is tomb for 100-260 when hit by Israeli bomb; smaller mass graves reported throughout Sidon, mostly women and children who had fled Tyre and local residents; Norway protests arrest of 2 Norwegians working in Sidon hospital; Palestinian detainees reportedly denied food, beaten (some reportedly died), left naked, blind-folded, marked by cross

on their back; Sidon civilian deaths estimated at 1000 to 2000 (does not include Palestinians, fighters or civilians); Ain el-Hilweh camp flattened; doctors fear epidemics; of 16 hospitals, only 4 functioning.

The *Times* reports that for the third day running the International Red Cross has been unable to deliver emergency relief supplies to Beirut.

Israel insists relief supplies be brought in through Israel; Economics Minister, in Tyre, says only 10 percent of buildings will need reconstruction; IDF disclaims authority over Christian allies.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Sharon says there was no promise not to liquidate PLO infrastructure, claims invasion will improve prospects for autonomy negotiations, says IDF will let Lebanese "finish off" PLO; Begin meets Haig in New York.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib meets for fourth day with Lebanese and reportedly talks indirectly with PLO; Jumblatt still rejects participation on Council, holds out for guarantees from various parties, especially for PLO; no agreement on new government; Syrians and Palestinians reject efforts to get them to abandon military positions in Beirut; PLO says it will negotiate with Lebanese after IDF withdraws.

Arab Governments: Syrian/Iranian governments discuss military pact; in Cairo, riot police prevent 3000 marchers from going to Presidential Palace in protest growing out of Friday prayers.

US and Other Countries: Haig asks Begin to keep IDF out of Beirut, reportedly says US would not support further moves against the PLO if it became purely political; EEC considers sanctions against Israel; Reagan pledges $10m. in disaster relief for Lebanon, above $25m. already in pipeline.

UN: UN may deploy 42-man squad to over-see cease-fire (they were in area prior to invasion to record border violations); UN extends UNIFIL mandate for 60 days.

JUNE 19

Military Action

As PLO continues to refuse to lay down arms, amny Beirut residents flee into East Beirut; businesses, fearing an IDF strike, transfer records into East Beirut as well; IDF exchanges fire with Palestinian refugee camps and new IDF gun emplacements are seen, with clear line of fire into West Beirut; artillery battles continue in southern Lebanon where PLO

units are still holding out; Israelis and Syrians clash near Lake Karoun; reports of IDF troops landing in hills of northern inland Lebanon (denied by Israel).

PLO reported divided over whether to disarm; PLO emplaces heavy artillery, anti-aircraft within southern Beirut.

Casualties

Nabatiyeh only has 5000 residents; electricity and water are still cut, and there are long food lines; IDF turns away relief ship from Sidon; refugees camp out in parks, schools, lobbies; 200 casualties announced in Beirut from IDF bombings; Eitan notes 9 Israeli soldiers wounded while picking up remains of cluster bombs.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Two-thirds of UN delegates boycott Begin address to UN Disarmament Conference; Israel reportedly wants French troops to help police cease-fire; 8 of 15 council heads of Arab towns in Israel criticize invasion of Lebanon.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Before laying down arms, PLO insists on Lebanese/US assurances that IDF will not invade Beirut; Arafat meets head of Lebanese intelligence; Salam fears radicalized PLO if moderates like Arafat eliminated; Jumblatt still refuses to serve on Council; Salam denies PLO has agreed to go to Egypt.

Arab Governments: Coalition of Syrian parties appeals to Arab masses to hit, destroy US interests in the region; Saudis warn IDF not to invade, sends $5.6 m. in emergency aid to Lebanon; Fahd meets with Syrian Foreign Minister Khaddam.

US and Other Countries: French Premier Mauroy meets with PLO Foreign Minister Kaddoumi (Mauroy says PLO has France's 'moral support"); 2 bombs explode outside Israeli offices in France; China offers PLO $1 million in emergency aid.

UN: UN passes resolution calling for humanitarian aid to Lebanon and urging all parties "not to hamper the exercise" of UN relief agencies in Israeli-occupied areas.

JUNE 20

Military Action

IDF enters Phalange-held areas of Beirut; Israeli jets make reconnaissance flights over city for first time in 3 days; sporadic fighting around Sidon; Israeli Cabinet agrees to extend 48-hour cease-fire requested by Habib; Syrians/PLO abandon airport terminal to shorten lines; PLO takes journalists on tour of defenses near airport; tension high in Beirut; Syrians reposition artillery near Lake Karoun.

Casualties

In Sidon, main shopping district was obliterated and one quarter of city totally destroyed; bodies remain buried under rubble; still no electricity; water only 1 hour per day; Lebanese government says 1,100 killed in Sidon; IDF use Sidon informants to identify potential PLO suspects (suspicious Lebanese marked with black X on back, suspected PLO members with white, some Lebanese charge old grudges being settled by informants); many Palestinian refugees remain on Sidon beaches as they have nowhere to go; Tyre reported two-thirds destroyed, with port damage heavy.

Israel explores reviving bank, rail links in Lebanon; Israeli Trade Minister says 3 proposed banking and customs centers would aid Israeli exports to Lebanon; 4 Norwegians, 1 Canadian doctor released by Israel; Israel offers to help repair Sidon refinery.

UNRWA is reported in the *Sunday Times* to be making almost hourly appeals in Jerusalem to allow in personnel and supplies. Lorries ready loaded in Gaza, Jerusalem and Damascus could be on the road within minutes with food, medicines and blankets for the 110,000 it looks after in the south and a further 83,000 in Beirut.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: 4 Israeli professors attack invasion, ask Israeli soldiers to refuse to serve beyond Green Line in Beirut; Israel says invasion is open-ended and excludes negotiations with the PLO: Begin calls for international peacekeeping force in Lebanon with US troops; Sharon says Israeli aims will not be met until PLO headquarters in Beirut are eliminated; Begin says participants in multilateral force would have to make detailed, individual agreements with Israeli, Lebanese governments.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Labanon's National Salvation Council, in first meeting, makes no progress-Gemayel, Sarkis, Wazzan, Butros reportedly demand PLO surrender, Jumblatt rejects; PLO asks for IDF pull-back, guarantees of PLO safety in return for allowing Lebanese Army to enter West Beirut.

Arab Governments: Syria rejects Sarkis' request for troop withdrawal, saying it is made under duress, instead suggests joint US/USSR peacekeeping force under UN auspices to get Israelis out; Iraq announces unilateral withdrawal from Iranian territory, following June 10 unilateral

cease-fire; South Yemen demands strong Arab stand against US support for Israel; Mubarak supports idea of PLO government in exile, would allow it temporary home in Egypt, if it restricted itself to political activities; Kaddoumi in Geneva, says Egyptian offer not being considered now.

US and Other Countries: Weinberger says US investigating possible violations of US law by Israelis using US arms in Lebanon: Greeks show support for Palestinians with strike, protests, blood donations; Greece is the only EEC member to offer diplomatic recognition to the PLO.

Philip Habib reportedly attempting to persuade the PLO to lay down its arms and go for a political settlement.

JUNE 21

Military Action

Israeli warships, armored units bombard Palestinian camps and civilian neighborhoods in Beirut hours before Begin meets Reagan in Washington, hit USSR embassy, fashionable shopping area, hospital area Commodore Hotel; Israeli and Syrian troops trade fire along highway, Israelis claim to destroy 4 Syrian tanks; artillery duels continue all day; WAFA says IDF attempting to push down hillsides toward 3 Palestinian camps, provoking response; massive IDF build up continues as 70 Israeli tanks move toward Khalde; Israeli patrol ambushed outside Beirut.

Casualties

Two Palestinian hospitals hit, killing 8, wounding 22; scores of casualties from Sabra and Burj al-Barajneh camps; mass graves in Sidon; 50,000 flee Beirut southward to escape expected fighting; high civilian casualties in Bekaa (possibly 1,200 dead) and Baalbek schools house 25,000 refugees; telephone lines in Bekaa cut by Israelis and many civilians attacked along highway by Israeli jets; at Aley, hotels are burned out, hospital hit by 4 Israeli bombs; many suffering from effects of cluster bombs; refugees begin returning to Ain el-Hilweh.

Israel says voluntary agencies can resume work in Lebanon; Israel withholding aid from civilian Palestinians; Etan says prison camp to be set up in Lebanon for PLO members; ICRC asks to visit after being allowed to see 18 Syrian prisoners; Israel says Lebanese economy will take 6 months to 1 year to recover, says refinery, which supplies 40 percent of Lebanese oil needs, will be operational in 60 days.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Sharon reportedly lobbying Israeli Cabinet for permission to storm Beirut; one of several MKs, visiting IDF in Beirut, says attack on PLO headquarters in Beirut "almost inevitable"; Begin tells US audiences the war in Lebanon is almost over, as Sharon says the IDF has not achieved all its objectives; 13 Israeli Cabinet ministers tour parts of Lebanon (Beaufort Castle; near Lake Karoun; Tyre; Sidon; outskirts of Beirut airport); El Al reports 15 percent slump in bookings as a result of the invasion; Begin encounters sharp criticism from US Congress, claims Israeli approach endorsed by Reagan.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib meets with Sarkis, Wazzan with Arafat; Arafat attacks US role in backing Israeli "slaughter"; PLO seeks to retain political presence in Lebanon; Salam calls on Reagan to keep IDF from attacking, and to give time for Arafat to persuade PLO militants to disarm; Lebanon says 11 Arab countries agree to attend summit on Lebanon; Danny Chamoun, son of Camile Chamoun, in New York says invasion "overdue," meets with administration figures.

Arab Governments: Syrian Cabinet meets on crisis; Arab and nonaligned countries consider convening emergency session of UN General Assembly, reach no decision.

US and Other Countries: Weinberger makes veiled criticism of Haig policies; State Department says UN resolution 509, demanding immediate Israeli withdrawal, no longer relevant; National Security Council reportedly disagrees with Haig's conciliatory attitude toward IDF invasion; Reagan reportedly supports Israeli demands for Syrian troop withdrawal and creation of demilitarized zone, does not take position on US troop involvement in peacekeeping force.

Henry Kissinger in the *Washington Post* describes the situation in Lebanon as offering 'extraordinary opportunities for a dynamic American diplomacy'.

JUNE 22

Military Action

Israeli jets pound PLO, Syrians in big offensive, though truce reported later; Israeli tanks, planes begin large-scale offensive along Damascus highway (involves 200 tanks, heavy artillery rocket launchers); Palestinian camps, residential areas bombarded in first Israeli jet action over Beirut in 9 days; Lebanese government says IDF about to cut highway in several places as IDF gains 4-5 miles; Syrian tank losses heavy, but Syrian troops

restrain responses in effort to contain fighting; "wall-to-wall" Israeli tanks reported south of Beirut; two Israeli troop buses come under fire south of Tyre; Israeli artillery continues through night; IDF closing in on Aley; 50 Syrian tanks move across Syrian border to reinforce units in Lebanon; PLO units return Israeli gunfire from Burj al-Barajneh; general military mobilization in Syria.

Casualties

Lebanese police estimate 27 killed, 80 wounded in new IDF bombing of Beirut; Israeli demolition teams dynamite buildings in Rashidiyeh refugee camp as all males are rounded up in Tyre; remaining residents of Rashidiyeh without food or medical care as Tyre residents refuse to help them; no walls higher than a few feet left in Rashidiyeh; Israeli officials announce Palestinian refugees are being denied tents because they fear a "temporary" solution will become permanent; 200,000 Palestinian refugees are in southern Lebanon, mainly around Sidon and Tyre.

Mobile bank units offer IDF all services, including facilitating purchase/sale of securities on Tel Aviv stock market.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel agrees to new cease-fire after Habib request; divisions within Labor Party between doves, hawks sharpen; 150 demonstrate against invasion in front of Knesset and Peace Now sends telegram asking no extension of the war; Labor Alignment opposes all military penetration of Beirut; Begin defends invasion before 36 angry US Senators who question use of cluster bombs; Israel denies ABC use of satellite in Israel because it broadcast interview with Arafat; Begin meets Haig.

Palestinians/Lebanese: National Salvation Council meets, makes some progress on plan including IDF withdrawal from Beirut, PLO withdrawal into camps, Lebanese Army posted inside city; highway reopening; possible use of French troops being discussed; PLO denounces USSR for only symbolic support; Jumblatt accuses Habib of "hot diplomacy"; Phalangists state opposition to any Syrian presence in Lebanon and, for first time, allow unarmed non-Lebanon civilians to evacuate Beirut; Lebanese government tells UN and Arab League it will not renew mandate for Syrian troops after July 19.

US and Other Countries: US embassy advises all Americans to move to East Beirut (ship due in Jounieh to evacuate Americans); UK, West Germany also advise nationals to leave; PM Thatcher rules out use of British troops in Lebanon; Greek Premier meets with PLO's Kaddoumi; Dutch parliament condemns Israeli invasion, 144-6; Norwegian leaders reject Israeli invitation to visit Lebanon.

UN: UNIFIL says it will concentrate on helping civilians.

JUNE 23

Military Action

Cease-fire collapses as Israeli tanks, planes, artillery hit Syrian positions along Damascus highway, fighting reported at 9 points along highway; IDF claims Iranians join fighting near Aley; major tank battle in eastern Bekaa clashes around Lake Karoun, fires burn out of control along highway; Israeli jets hit PLO/Syrian positions near Beirut airport as IDF gunboats hit W. Beirut, IDF continues bombings past new 6 PM cease-fire; car bombs in Beirut kill 50 near seafront, others along Hamra shopping district; fighting focused in Mansouriya area as Israelis try to take heights; IDF takes Bhamdoun.

Casualties

High casualties as Palestinian areas between airport and city limits take heavy pounding; Acre Hospital in Sabra camp takes direct hits; garbage piles up in Beirut and food prices have doubled in many cases; Rashidiyeh refugees reject clothes offered by IDF, demand their detained sons; 48 IDF soldiers wounded in clashes with Syrians.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Zurick: president of Israeli Knesset claims that the amount of arms seized in south Lebanon "would equip a million soliders". Israel rejects PLO proposal, insists on expulsion of PLO "core" to country not bordering Israel; Sharon argues camps are outside Beirut city limits and exempt from Cabinet restrictions; Israeli leaders fear France too friendly to PLO; Women's Committee Against the War in Lebanon demonstrates outside Knesset; Ziad Abu Ein, extradited from US to Israel for trial, gets life sentence; Begin, returning from US, rules out UN presence in southern Lebanon, Mapam opposes entry into Beirut, but supports war.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib gives US proposal to Wazzan to relay to PLO, Jumblatt characterizes proposal as asking for complete surrender of PLO; no new meetings of Council planned; Jumblatt says US refused to make guarantees against IDF assault on Beirut; Lebanese Ambassador to the UN Tueni makes bitter address at UN Special Session on Disarmament; Bashir Gemayel reportedly talks to Arafat by phone.

Arab Governments: Hussein of Jordan leaves for visit to USSR, reportedly angry at US support for Israel.

US and Other Countries: US embassy closes, ships arrive to evacuate nationals of US, UK, FRG: Senator Biden (D-Del) supports cut-off of aid to Israel if it continues to build settlements on West Bank.

UN: West Beirut headquarters of UN closed, moved to East Beirut.

JUNE 24

Military Action

Israeli gunboats shell Palestinian areas in Beirut, hitting apartment buildings and killing 17; IDF advances in airport area: low-income Fakhani area "pulverized" by IDF jets; AP reports 50 buildings damaged in Corniche Mazraa area; blood-stained residents seen wandering in the streets in state of shock; IDF aerial and ground assaults on Syrian positions east of city, in apparent attempt to seize all major ridges overlooking Bekaa; IDF seizes Bhamdoun, severs Damascus highway cutting off Syrian units in Beirut, Syrian forces withdraw to Aley; IDF heavily bombs Chtaura.

Casualties

West Beirut water cut to 4 hours every 2 days; garbage rots and typhoid cases reported; electricity cut to 4 hours/day; telephone lines and underground cables cut, reportedly by IDF saboteurs; hundreds of US and Lebanese citizens evacuated throughout day from Beirut; ICRC says there are 10,000 displaced persons around Baalbek in eastern Bekaa, 8,000 without water, many camped in town's 11 schools; Caritas-Liban puts urban displaced within Beirut alone at 70,000, not including Palestinians and Lebanese who have crossed into Phalangist-held areas; 60 people die in car bomb explosion; 20 killed, 50 wounded in latest bombings.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel agrees to 4th cease-fire. Israeli soldiers begin to question why they are so deep inside Lebanon as soldiers returning from front reportedly very depressed; Israeli casualty totals not released for past week; an Israeli Cabinet member states Israel's humanitarian aid meant only for indigenous Lebanese, not Palestinians; Sharon says 25-mile security zone is only Israel's minimum goal; Cabinet reportedly reviewing options on invasion of Beirut; Operation Peace for Galilee now Israel's longest war since 1948-49.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Jumblatt recognizes that PLO must leave Beirut. Habib continues meetings, but little hope expressed; Sarkis calls Saudi King, supports Arab League Foreign Ministers meeting before full summit; reports that Camille Chamoun, at beginning of war, acknowledged Israeli military aid to Phalangist during the civil war of 1975-76; Jumblatt expresses fear PLO may fragment, "go terrorist," calls Council "cosmetic."

Arab Governments: Syria sends 10-12,000 more troops into Lebanon in past week; 5 SAM batteries installed just inside Syrian border; Mubarak and Lebanese Ambassador to US call for stronger US response.

US and Other Countries: US Senate completes emergency action on $50 m. in aid to Lebanon; US reports Begin pledge IDF would not enter Beirut; 650 evacuated by US ship through Jounieh; US reportedly asks European/Arab countries to persuade PLO to evacuate Beirut; Tass blames Egypt for invations of Lebanon; Cuba calls for emergency session of UN General Assembly on Lebanon; Mitterrand calls for emergency session of Security Council.

UN: UN data indicates only one shelling of Israel from Lebanon since July 1981 ceasefire followed IDF bombing of Palestinian camps in Lebanon in June.

JUNE 25

Military Action

Syrians concede loss of Bhamdoun, evacuate Aley, accuse Israel of using nerve gas (Israel denies); Chataura bombed by IDF jets, causing extensive damage; IDF artillery shells Syrian positions above town; 10 miles of Damascus highway reportedly in IDF hands; jets fly missions throughout the day before new 8 PM cease-fire called by IDF; Syrian brigade north of highway retreating eastward; IDF sources report Lebanese Phalangists join battle, capturing Jamhur; IDF jets, gunboats, artillery wage non-stop barrage of West Beirut, heaviest since invasion; estimated 100,000 IDF troops inside Lebanon; Syria takes security measures around Palestinian refugee camps near Damascus; big IDF build-up on outskirts of Beirut (500 tanks, 1200 armored personnel carriers, 60 howitzers); Israeli and Phalangist forces coordinate actions via special phone system, as Israeli officers seen frequently visiting Phalangist headquarters; UK embassy, American University of Beirut hit by IDF fire.

Casaulties

ICRC looking after 12,000 refugees in Bekaa; Israel changes mind, says relief efforts will be for both Palestinans and Lebanese; thousands of refugees flee south along coastal road, creating huge traffic jams; Lebanese police estimate 100 killed, 250 injured in day long barrage; 30 Israelis killed, over 200 wounded in fighting along highway.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Sharon says IDF coming close to total elimination of PLO and removal of Syrian troops from Lebanon; Israel bans satellite broadcast of all footage from Lebanon by 3 US TV networks; *Jerusalem Post* raises issue of what Israeli war aims are; Abba Eban questions why war was not ended when original 25-mile goal reached; Sharon predicts IDF will stay in Lebanon beyond 10 weeks.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Wazzan, denouncing new fighting, resigns (calls IDF attacks a form of "blackmail," accuses Habib of collusion with Israel in attempting to force PLO into unconditional surrender); two other Muslim Cabinet ministers also resign as Lebanese government close to collapse; Jumblatt announces withdrawal from Council, says withdrawing from political life (accuses Sarkis of wanting tofinish PLO, says there is a plan to install Bashir Gemayel as Lebanese President); Gemayel, Arafat speak by phone; PLO supports French proposals at UN.

Arab Governments: Saudis exert strong pressure on US to halt Israelis, reportedly considers oil shutoff, opening relations with USSR if West Beirut attacked.

US and Other Countries: Several sources indicate US is sending somewhat contradictory diplomatic signals to Riyadh and to Habib, the Lebanese and PLO; General Haig resigns as US Secretary of State, replaced by George Shultz (disagreement within the Administration over Lebanon reportedly a major factor); Indians ransack US library in Calcutta to protest US support for Israel.

UN: Security Council debates French proposal; Secretary General appeals for cease-fire; General Assembly debates resolution condemning Israeli invasion.

JUNE 26

Military Action

Israeli army drops leaflets on West Beirut encouraging civilians to flee. Israeli troops enter Aley. Cease-fire holds, reportedly due to Haig resignation; IDF claims to have destroyed SAM batteries; 560 IDF tanks, 2400 armored personnel carriers, 120 howitzers around Beirut; IDF units skilled in urban fighting reportedly brought up from Golan; IDF and Syrians reinforcing units.

Casualties

Fathi Arafat estimates 35,000 killed or wounded since June 4; in Beirut, people buried in mass graves; urgent appeals made for doctors, medical supplies; bodies rot in some buildings; refugees line up at social centers; Berbir Hospital (on Green Line) reports whole families killed, mostly civilians; some patients victims of cluster bombs, burned by phosphorous and many amputations necessary; Bhamdoun casualties high, with 70 or more bodies along the highway; 2-day toll put at 300 killed, 2000 wounded; Lebanese newspaper shows babies burned by phosphorous, and elderly who are wounded and unable to flee flighting; most Beirut businesses, banks closed in western section; milk and eggs scarce and water low; "Begin amputations" commonplace in hospitals as a result of high-velocity projectiles which smash muscles bones from pressure without breaking skin; Islamic hospital hit, houses 850 elderly and mentally retarded.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: 10,000 people demonstrate in Tel Aviv for immediate withdrawal from Lebanon. Eitan, visiting highway taken by IDF, says he is "going to Damascus"; Sharon admits, in TV interview, IDF "exploited" cease-fire violations by Syrians to take highway; Rabin urges indirect talks with PLO to get them out of Beirut.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Lebanese and PLO meet to discuss US plan; Habib meets Sarkis; PLO jubilant at Haig departure as Arafat tours Fakhani district; PLO reports strong backing by USSR, France, Saudis (says Saudis threatened oil cut-off, withdrawal of Saudi investment in US, opening of diplomatic relations with USSR); PLO rejects Habib proposals, characterizing them as demanding unconditional surrender, not providing safety guarantees for withdrawing forces; Haddad forces stopping Palestinians at check-points, in joint work with IDF.

Arab Governments: Arab League meets in Tunis, fails to agree; Hussein in USSR on state visit; Egypt opposes forced disarming of PLO.

UN: US vetoes Security Council resolution calling for Israeli withdrawal; US and Israel are only countries voting against General Assembly resolution calling for IDF withdrawal and possible sanctions should it refuse; UN team formed to assess relief needs; 2 UN convoys reach Beirut with supplies (first relief shipments since Beirut encircled).

JUNE 27

Military Action

Israeli planes shower leaflets on Beirut warning people to "flee for their lives" and suggesting two escape routes (pandemonium in streets as people try to enter East Beirut; Phalangists refuse to let Palestinians through their lines); Phalange reported openly cooperating with IDF; large IDF troop maneuvers along Beirut-Damascus highway; Israel displays stockpile of weapons from PLO bases in Lebanon; Israeli Government acknowledges use of US-supplied cluster bombs in Lebanon; car bombings continue in Beirut; 700 IDF tanks, 1000 armored cars, 210 heavy artillery pieces surround Beirut; special IDF unit trained in street fighting arrives from Golan.

Casualties

Three killed, 20 injured in explosion near Agence France Presse building in Beirut; French paper says 209 died and 153 were wounded in mountains; latest Lebanese police figures are 10,112 dead, 19,000 wounded (expected to be higher); foreign correspondents are still not allowed into Ain el-Hilweh refugee camp (near Sidon) and Rashidiyeh (near Tyre); less than half of Palestinian refugees remain in 3 Palestinian camps, few have anywhere to go.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli Cabinet issues "peace plan" demanding that PLO members, not just leadership, exit to Syria, urges Lebanese Army to enter West Beirut; government officials express some concern over George Shultz; Sharon denies Begin promised Reagan IDF would not invade Beirut; former IDF chief of staff Gur says past 2 weeks of fighting and Israeli deaths pointless; Labor Alignment demands that IDF not enter Beirut (300 Labor doves demonstrate outside Prime Minister's office); group of army reservists, back from serving in Lebanon, announces round-the-clock protests; 20,000 protest the war in Tel Aviv; blood bank in Gaza sends blood to Sidon victims through Red Cross; 2 mukhtars from Nablus area fired by Israeli government for refusing to join Israeli-sponsored Village Leagues; Nablus Mayor Shakaa condemns US veto of French resolution at the UN.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Gemayel's Phalangists expand control in areas seized by IDF (reports of interrogations regarding political sympathies at gunpoint, beatings, even killings); hostility of villagers toward IDF in Bekaa area and mountains reported; Prime Minister Wazzan meets with Arafat; Arafat agrees in principle on PLO disarming and leaving Lebanon.

Arab Governments: Advisor to Mubarak says PLO will be radicalized; Saudi Arabia reportedly presses for IDF pullback; Syria reluctant to take PLO guerrillas, fearing Syria would become target for IDF raids; Tunis meeting of Arab foreign ministers reported as a fiasco (though ad hoc committee formed to pressure 5 permanent members of UN Security Council to demand IDF withdrawal).

US and Other Countries: US issues stern warning to Israel not to invade Beirut; Finnish medical therapist says IDF arrest bedridden patients in Sidon.

JUNE 28

Military Action

IDF drops leaflets over West Beirut for second day (hundreds leave city); IDF inching way along road parallel to highway toward Syrian position in Metn valley; IDF reconnaissance flights over Beirut continue; Syrian Army withdrawing from western parts of highway (some tanks commandeered by Phalangist).

Casualties

IDF says 269 Israelis killed, 1,255 wounded; 4 IDF soldiers injured east of Damour; captured Israeli pilot, interview from Beirut, asks Israel not to invade Beirut.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli government says only few days will be allowed to see if PLO will accept its offer of safe passage from Beirut; military spokesman of northern command says IDF used cluster bombs; government bans video transmission orginating in West Beirut via Israeli facilities; Israeli soldiers demonstrate against war in Jerusalem (some of their relatives sign peace petitions); IDF soldiers skeptical of their own military news, reportedly increasingly listen to Lebanese radio; land confiscation near Bethlehem brings protests; Jewish Agency announces 10 new settlements in West Bank, 5 in Gaza Strip, 4 in Golan and 4 in Jordan Valley.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Creation of Lebanese-Palestinian Committee to discuss Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon. Political negotiations

continue as diverse proposals exchanged (key issues: removing PLO presence, number that would leave, status of remaining Palestinian refugees); senior Israeli officials hold discussion with Phalange leaders in Beirut (wariness, some distrust reportedly growing between Israelis, Phalangists); PLO leaders reportedly pleased that Israeli government demands Sunday seemed addressed to PLO directly; Arafat reportedly demands US/USSR/Gemayel guarantees of safe passage, continues to insist on IDF pullback; officers of Haddad's army complain Israel is ignoring their enclave in discussing future of Lebanon.

Arab Governments: President Mubarak of Egypt announces that he will provide a haven for 3,000 Palestinian guerrillas if the US commits itself to providing a homeland for them. He calls on the PLO to recognize Israel.

US and Other Countries: President Reagan suspends indefinitely the delivery of cluster bombs to Israel; this is described as a policy decision and not a legal decision on whether Israel had violated bilateral agreements on the use of cluster bombs. UK closes embassy in West Beirut.

JUNE 29

Military Action

Israelis move troops experienced in street fighting into hills around West Beirut; IDF artillery repeatedly shells Syrian positions near Hammana.

Casualties

Hundreds live in Beirut parks, lacking food, water, medicine and basic hygiene; garbage piles up in West Beirut streets (most trucks are in East Beirut); more shops close throughout the city as fear of IDF attack grows; Baalbek now has 35,000 refugees; Palestinian refugees reportedly receive less aid than Lebanese; Israeli unsubsidized prices for sale to Lebanon about 3 times Lebanese prices.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Former head of Israeli military intelligence, in US, says casualty figures inflated; Israeli Knesset debate ends with Likud/Labor parties agreeing not to vote against each other's resolutions, only to vote for their own; Begin offers to let PLO leave with personal weapons (claims Reagan said USSR might intervene if there were a war with Syria); Sharon says he informed Haig, Weinberger that IDF invasion of Lebanon was virtually inevitable 2 weeks before actual invasion; Sharon announces 271 Israelis killed, 1,470 wounded, 13 missing; government charges UN schools used by PLO for training as arsenals; reports that IDF used new anti-tank weapon similar to US Sadarm; Sharon speaks at Knesset on scope/aims of war (Peres strongly opposes any entry into Beirut); government officials accuse Habib of false optimism; Israeli Cabinet ratifies June 27 ultimatum, but softens departure possibilities (by land or sea); 4 reservists call on Sharon to resign, call on other released soldiers to join their vigil; 600 demonstrate in favor of war; 30 protest effect of war on the poor in Israel; petition with signatures of 40 who fought in Lebanon printed opposing war; Supreme Islamic Council of Jerusalem states support for PLO, denounces silence of Arab regimes.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib meets with Wazzan, Butros; Lebanese disagree on whether PLO leaders can return to Lebanon to visit; Lebanese papers attack USSR, accusing it of complicity with US; Druze leaders Jumblatt expects attack on Beirut within 24-36 hours, predicts coexistence of Muslims, Christians in Lebanon is finished; Bashir Gemayel predicts Israel and Syria will have full-scale war; reports of de facto strike in Sidon area following Israeli mistreatment; Phalangists reject plan to incorporate PLO units into Lebanese Army, Phalangist troops enter Aley, threaten to kill 12 Druze (Druze leader is killed by Phalange members, allegedly mistakenly); PLO stiffens demands as talks deadlocked over timing and method of PLO withdrawal (PLO seeks own police in refugee camps, PLO units attached to Lebanese Army); Arafat addresses PLO rally; Fateh Central Committee reportedly says no more concessions.

Arab Governments: Saudi Arabia reportedly explores flying PLO out of Lebanon; Egypt sends Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Ghali to Paris for talks.

US and Other Countries: US expressed satisfaction with cease-fire; former US envoy to Lebanon, Dean Brown, says US blessed IDF invasion, that Reagan does not know much about the Mideast and "probably does not want to know"; EEC calls for PLO to be involved in peace negotiations, asks immediate IDF withdrawal (arms sales informally suspended to Israel); Austrian Jewish group presents open letter to Israeli Ambassador decrying invasion, asking for peace negotiations with Palestinians; International Socialist delegation, headed by former Portuguese prime minister Soares, visits mayor of Bethlehem; EEC refuses to sign 22 million pound financial protocol with Israel (does not agree on trade sanctions); Habib requests formal guidance from Washington for negotiations, Haig drafts 9-point proposal in response.

JUNE 30

Military Action

Partial cutting of water and electricity in West Beirut. Phalange forces, backed by IDF, have artillery duels with Syrian-supported Lebanese leftist militia; Phalange-Druze conflicts reported (nephew of Gemayel reportedly killed); Muslim/Christian conflicts around Tripoli; 2 Israeli generals visit Jumblatt's center, demand that his forces surrender artillery and mortars; Phalange moves into Chouf and Sidon, replacing Lebanese gendarmerie; Israeli jets hold mock battles over Beirut, dropping flares over Palestinian refugee camps; PLO bolsters positions inside West Beirut; Phalange shoot from behind IDF lines.

Casualties

Israeli government developing plans for security of southern Lebanon not involving international help (arms and uniforms given to villagers); observers report more physical damage in Tyre than Sidon (where casualties higher); Lebanese bankers protest IDF attempt to violate bank secrecy in Sidon; IDF asks Druze/Phalange leaders to stop fighting between followers (Phalange reportedly using arms against Druze: IDF caught in crossfire); villages of Jumblatt refuse to be disarmed (Druze Likud Knesset member asks Sharon to restrain Phalangists "who draw their strength from the Defense Minister").

UNRWA reports that 50 percent of houses in 6 Palestinian refugee camps near Sidon/Tyre are destroyed, 40 percent of refugees have fled, UNRWA convoy scheduled to leave Jerusalem for Tyre today (draws on stocks in Gaza and West Bank); two-thirds of two camps near Tyre destroyed (no clear report on third camp); Ain el-Hilweh reportedly "virtually wiped out," Rashidiyeh suffers less damage; 200,000 tons of aid from France, West Germany, Denmark waiting in Cyprus for IDF permission to ship; Canadian physician who worked in Sidon says 50 percent of 10,000 killed by IDF invasion were children under 13 (his hospital was bombed 4 times, he saw pellet bombs dropped on refugee camps and saw Palestinian prisioners beaten with clubs and metal-tipped whips).

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin disagrees with message from Haig the PLO should be allowed token political presence in Lebanon if Lebanon agrees (says that despite his statement in the US that Israel had no intention of entering Beirut, with IDF on Beirut's periphery "it was another matter," and urges Beirut residents to "flee for your lives"); Israeli Cabinet agrees to give negotiations more time, extends "deadline"; Officials indicate Saudi plans for airlift might be acceptable; Sharon announces to Knesset that Israeli objectives now extend beyond the 40 km security zone. Now the government decided 'the PLO must cease to exist'. Foreign Ministry condemns EEC call for involvement of PLO in negotiations. Labor Alignment resolution opposing military action in Beirut gets 47 votes (Likud resolution gets 60, reference to multinational policing of 28-mile zone conspicuously absent); cost of war put at $2.5 billion for Israel ($1 b. in direct costs, $1.5 b. in indirect cost from resultant economic slowdown; equals 10-15 percent of GNP); IDF service extension for those essential for war effort being discussed; officials claim PLO takes advantage of peace negotiations; 200 protest Israeli invasion near Prime Minister's office (including 15 reservists back from Lebanon, who say they have signatures of 200 soldiers opposed to the war); trial of 20 Palestinian youths for guerrilla actions begins in Lydda and Ramallah; Israeli Druze leader asks Begin to restrain Phalange attacks on Lebanese Druze.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Phalange party plans to nominate Bashir Gemayel for Lebanese President; negotiations stall as no Arab countries indicate willingess to accept all PLO fighters; Lebanese continue to flee Beirut, leaving streets deserted; Wazzan puts civilian deaths at 15,000 (DF Colonel Kadar says deaths number only a few thousand-in excess of 440 civilian deaths cited by Begin last week); Wazzan, after meeting with Habib, rejects Israeli conditions; PLO forces in Tripoli vow to fight on regardless of any settlement involving PLO forces in Beirut; PLO privately reiterates willingness to leave Lebanon (form of evacuation and surrender of arms left unresolved); PLO meets with Salam.

Arab Governments: Saudis reported active diplomatically; Arab League representatives meet in Taif to continue discussion of common approach to IDF invasion (includes Syrian, Saudi, Lebanese, PLO, Algerian and Kuwaiti envoys).

US and Other Countries: Reagan denies giving Israel "green light" for invasion, says it resulted from PLO rocket attacks on Israel; Senator Percy says IDF invasion of West Beirut would be "unacceptable" because of civilian casualties; State Department official warns of risk of renewed fighting if PLO and Lebanon do not come to terms soon; Haig sends message saying PLO should be allowed some political presence in Lebanon if Lebanese authorities agree; French Foreign Minister Cheysson, after meeting with Egyptian envoy Ghali, speaks of PLO as representing Palestinian people; Greek Ministry of Culture supervises huge concert in Athens to aid Palestinian children; Nigerian parliament passes resolution condemning Israel; protests held in cities in USSR; USSR accuses Israelis of using chemical weapons in Lebanon supplied by US.

JULY 1

Military Action

Israeli jets overfly Beirut, making mock bombing raids with flares and smoke bombs; Israeli arming of Phalangists and Haddad forces undermining role of Lebanese Army and government officials.

Casualties

Former MK and "dove" Arie Eliav confirms UNRWA estimate of damage to Lebanese refugee camps, calls for refugee aid scheme; trash piles mount in W. Beirut (main shopping area desolate, filled with debris); Sharon instructs IDF to ensure safety of Druze from Phalange attacks in Israeli controlled areas.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin says Haddad should be a member of the Lebanese government; Interior Minister Burg says, in radio interview, Lebanese invasion might create better conditions for autonomy talks by discrediting PLO; Sharon reported to support future overthrow of Jordan's Hussein to make way for Palestinian state in Jordan; Cabinet plans Sunday meeting to assess progress in negotiations (postpones meeting at request of US envoy); Peace Now sends letters to all government ministers except Sharon urging no entry into Beirut; West Bank unions issue statement supporting PLO, condemning invasion.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib reportedly wants leftist allies of PLO in Beirut disarmed, but not Phalange forces in East Beirut (rejected by Wazzan, Jumblatt, Berri); Muslims now reportedly support PLO demands; Gemayel flies to Saudi Arabia, meets Arab League representatives; negotiations slow down; Phalangist adviser Pakradouni rejects any future PLO political role in Lebanon, says only one-third of current number of Palestinian refugees should remain; senior PLO official sent to Cairo for talks.

Arab Governments: Egyptian minister Ghali says US gave Israel a "green light" for invasion; over 100 faculty at American University in Cairo condemn invasion in petition to US Ambassador in Cairo; Canadian and Norwegian only missions left in West Beirut (Canadians celebrate Canada Day).

US and Other Countries: Morris Draper, in Jerusalem, confers with Begin, Sharon, Shamir, asks and gets postponement of Cabinet meeting; USSR calls for Arab countries to use oil weapon against US/Israel; Arab students occupy offices of Arab League in Dallas, Texas; as Butros of Egypt meets with French officials, Foreign Minister Cheyson stresses political indispensability of PLO; Amnesty International appeals to Israeli government to account for all prisoners, citing reports they are being held incommunicado.

JULY 2

Military Action

IDF begins broadcasts urging Syrians and Palestinians in West Beirut to flee or surrender; Sharon, in East Beirut, says IDF may resume battle, urges Phalangists to join IDF in war against PLO; cease-fire holds despite IDF overflights of Beirut in morning and evening; PLO fortifies positions around camps and along coasts.

Casualties

PLO in press conference, charges widespread IDF use of cluster bombs; observers report no IDF effort to restore services to Palestinian refugee camps, only to nearby Lebanese towns, villages; Begin promises Israeli Druze leaders to protect Lebanese Druzes from Phalange harassment.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Sharon during tour of troops in Beirut, says Camp David process will be helped by elimination of PLO; Uri Avnery (former Sheli MK) meets Arafat and Israeli pilot POW in West Beirut; General Eitan says invasion planned in its "final version" 1 year ago; Sharon reiterates opposition to any remaining PLO presence in Lebanon; Shamir tells French diplomats invasion will help autonomy talks, asks French to stay out of Lebanese negotiations; opinion poll says 93 percent of Israelis think invasion justified (98.5 percent of Likud, 90.7 percent of Labor), that Likud and Begin popularity surging up; governments says US ammunition sold to Saudi Arabia turned up in Lebanon.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Negotiations stalled on issues of PLO retention of arms and future political role in Lebanon (Arafat, in meeting with Wazzan, reportedly proposes 2 units under Lebanese Army command that would leave only after all Syrian and Israeli troops leave Lebanon; Saudi plan reportedly has no provision for eventual removal); reports that PLO Executive Committee agrees to military pullout over 8-week period (other reports say meeting rejected all Israeli government demands); Salam, after

meeting Arafat, says PLO seeks diplomatic role as it has in other Arab countries; Gemayel returns to Lebanon, indicates no compromise reached (Phalange issues statement saying IDF invasion "defensive" move to wipe out PLO, endorses Sharon statement on Jordan as place for a Palestinian state); Habash rejects Israeli terms.

Arab Governments: Egyptian foreign ministry officials say PLO, if it came to Egypt, would have to proclaim "temporary government in exile" and restrict itself to political activity; Arab League ends meetings in Saudi Arabia, failing to resolve differences (PLO proposals reportedly accepted by all but Gemayel); Egypt says strong political PLO essential.

US and Other Countries: In Paris, 3 leading Jewish figures (Nahum Goldmann, Philip Klutznick, Pierre Mendes-France) issue joint declaration asking for mutual recognition by Israel and the PLO (hailed by PLO as program to lead out of the Lebanese crisis; strongly criticized by mainstream US Jewish groups, Israel).

UN: France and Egypt call on UN Security Council to intervene without formally asking body to meet; seek resolutions to preserve PLO political role in Mideast (part of draft resolution resembles one vetoed June 27; part assures Palestinians of their right to self-determination).

JULY 3

Military Action

Food and fuel to West Beirut cut off. IDF armored troops seal off West Beirut as Israeli and Palestinian gunners trade artillery, machine-gun fire in southern suburbs, in first major clash in 8 days; IDF drops concealment, openly sets up armored units for first time inside city at the Green Line; IDF and Phalange jointly patrolling crossing points; Israeli planes drop red flares over Palestinian refugee camps, as loudspeakers advise residents to move out; IDF digs out positions for tanks in hillsides above Beirut; IDF begins blockade, stopping all traffic coming into West Beirut; IDF artillery exchanges barrages with Syrians; 400 IDF tanks, 100 artillery pieces ring Beirut; Phalange radio reports IDF advances toward Burj al-Barajneh camp.

Arafat expects IDF attack with 3 divisions and planes, gunboats; PLO units maintain grenade, small arms attacks on IDF rear units.

Casualties

Fires reported in vicinity of airport and in Burj al-Barajneh camp following fierce artillery duels; IDF units increased in Chouf area following killings of 3 Christian villagers by Druze militia-men (following week of violence against Druze villages by Phalange forces).

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Shamir says Israel may not demand a multinational force along the border if some agreement can be reached; Shamir denies difference between political/military actions of PLO, says IDF will not wait too much longer before assault on Beirut; Eitan suggests smaller military actions rather than all-out attack may be used; 270 IDF killed, 1,270 injured; IDF says reservists in combat units may serve 60-90 days; 50-70,000 people protest war in Tel Aviv, including reservists, as thousands of others attend exhibit of captured PLO and Syrian weapons; Justice Minister Nissim, Attorney General, and other officials meet tomorrow to consider legal action against Avnery for meeting Arafat.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO presents the Lebanese government with written proposals to submit to Habib. Arafat submits six-point plan to Saeb Salam indicating readiness to evacuate PLO leaders and fighters. Salam charges IDF broke cease-fire twice during day; agreement reached on deployment of multinational force alongside Lebanese Army, but not on continuing PLO presence in Lebanon; Lebanese government says PLO still refuses to offer formal set of proposals; Arafat later signs detailed document that PLO will evacuate Beirut (many Lebanese fear Israel will reject; Wazzan says only some progress, no agreement reached with PLO); Arafat hails "Paris Declaration" by 3 prominent Jews as "positive initiative toward a just . . . peace"; Sarkis meets with French envoy Gutmann.

Arab Governments: Syria, Egypt, Jordan debate number of PLO members they are willing to take.

US and Other Countries: Habib meets with Sarkis; Ambassador Lewis meets Begin, reportedly asks more time for negotiations.

UN: UN mission heads for Lebanon to assess relief needs.

JULY 4

Military Action

IDF shells Beirut periodically throughout day to "soften up" (mostly a one-way exchange; electricity, water and food selectively blockaded); IDF continues inching toward Burj al-Barajneh; all traffic barred except for Lebanese doctors, police, as water and food intercepted; IDF fires at buildings, apartment complexes in Lailake and camp areas; joint IDF/Phalange checkpoints along coast as Phalange takes over security

operations; IDF officers tell UN up to 1000 PLO guerrillas are at large in South Lebanon.

Casualties

WAFA releases names of 381 IDF killed in war (100 higher than Israeli government figures)—compiled from private death notices published in 2 Israeli newspapers; ICRC recalls Lebanese delegate and sends temporary replacement (dispute over casualty estimates); 2 senior Fateh commanders killed recently in Sidon; 2 IDF wounded near Lake Karoun by mine.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Cabinet rejects peace proposal allowing any future political role for PLO in Lebanon, but will allow more negotiating time; Peres says Labor Party will support continuing negotiations after briefing by Begin; D. Kimche reports to Cabinet on weekend trip to Beirut (first time Israel has become directly involved in negotiations); Cabinet says it will ignore anti-war protests organized by Peace Now and Mapam; team appointed to assess whether Avnery meeting with Arafat was a breach of state security; Agriculture Minister asks Sharon to investigate, prosecute IDF officers who engage in Peace Now activities while on active duty; West Bank Palestinians stage general strike to protest Beirut siege (9 injured, some by IDF gunfire); 2 Palestinians killed, 10 wounded in clashes near Ramallah between villagers protesting invasion and Israel-backed Village League members; marches in Nablus and Ramallah against the war; headquarters of the Federation of Palestinian Working Women, observing a two-day strike to protest the invasion, raided by Israeli soldiers, 7 arrested, cultural exhibits damaged and confiscated.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Wazzan threatens to boycott negotiations unless siege lifted—refuses to cross checkpoint manned by IDF; Salam saying Israeli rejection of PLO withdrawal proposal is prelude to thrust on Beirut.

Arab Governments: Morocco reportedly rejects PLO transfer to Algeria, fearing their support for the Polisario; Libyan leader Qaddafi says PLO should fight to the death in Beirut (provokes Arafat rebuke of Qaddafi's "despair" and a failure to support PLO); Syria strengthens its forces in eastern Lebanon (new observation posts set up); Mubarak receives Reagan's letter.

US and Other Countries: Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda visit IDF position to watch shelling of Beirut after visiting IDF soldiers (Hayden says invasion justified by PLO refusal to recognize Israel); USSR officials meet with PLO Kaddoumi and Arab League officials.

UN: Security Council Resolution 513 repudiates all violence against civilians in Lebanon and calls for respect towards civil rights without discrimination. Security Council approves resolution asking Israel to allow shipment of essential items to West Beirut (US votes for proposal by Jordan).

JULY 5

Military Action

Israel breaks cease-fire. IDF gunboats/artillery bombard Palestinian camps, residential areas (shells fall in non-Palestinian areas of Verdun and Corniche Mazraa); blockade creates serious food, gasoline, medical shortages and brings negotiations to a halt; Wazzan says all water, electricity cut and all roads into West Beirut closed; IDF tanks try to move on airport (4 vehicles hit in fierce PLO resistance); 2 shells land near Presidential Palace at Baabda; Lebanese officials say IDF forces 3 engineers to remove key piece of pumping machinery from water works serving West Beirut; fifth cease-fire called at 4 PM by IDF, though shelling continues beyond deadline (last cease-fire June 25); IDF forces advance to edge of airport runways; IDF only advances block by block against fierce PLO resistance (despite pleas, no PLO members surrender); now an estimated 90,000 IDF troops in Lebanon; Phalange cuts off port road on IDF orders.

Casualties

Four cars of ICRC and convoy of 14 food trucks turned back from West Beirut; residents of city line up at stores in panic buying food; gasoline stations reported shortages.

Political Responses

Arab Governments: Egypt accepts Iraq's invitation to summit meeting in September (after 3-year total isolation); Egypt says US role in Lebanon vital, that Israeli invasion is undermining peace process and stability of region.

US and Other Countries: US officials say cease-fire essential to negotiations, pressures IDF to ease pressure on Beirut, following strong message from Saudi Arabia.

Israel/Occupied Territories: Ben-Porat of Telem joins Cabinet; Sharon, Kimche, Habib reportedly meet; special regulation passed around June 9 reportedly allows for 3 months detention with no provisions for legal counsel or informing detainees' families; 6 wounded outside Hebron by Village League members; Vatican-sponsored Bethlehem University reopens (closed since June 11 after student protests of invasion).

JULY 6

Military Action

In the fourth day of the blockade, IDF armored units are concentrated near check-points, move to port road as well; new fighting erupts with Presidential Palace, US embassy hit; shelling begins in afternoon, continues into night; IDF bombardment by tanks/artillery hits PLO ammunition dump in Burj al-Barajneh camp, also target near UNESCO building; USSR compound badly damaged (Syrian outpost nearby); cease-fire called at end of day.

Casualties

Political and military groups organize garbage removal, flour deliveries to small bakeries, creation of small clinics (only 10 days of flour on hand in West Beirut; oxygen in short supply, gas almost unavailable); World Council of Churches says hundreds of Lebanese civilians have disappeared, apparently to Israeli internment centers (also charges obstruction of relief efforts, delaying shipping, documentation, unloading and distribution of supplies), after initial denial, IDF admits cutting water/electricity to West Beirut (only revealed after journalists found IDF soldiers inside switching stations); Lebanese Red Cross calls for intervention to spare the people of Beirut; International Commission of Jurists calls on Israel to grant POW status to estimated 4000 Palestinians taken prisoner; Israeli government considers appointment of Arye Eliav to head rehabilitation efforts for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon (Eliav tentatively accepts pending government decision); suffering of Lebanese civilians from IDF invasion reportedly significantly higher than PLO; danger of cholera/typhoid epidemics grow in West Beirut; 3 IDF soldiers wounded at Baabda by PLO shelling.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli sources report US willingness to station US troops in Beirut (US government later agrees "in principle" to send US troops as PLO escort, but opposition from Congressional leaders grows); Telem faction joins Begin government, giving Likud Bloc one more vote; government reportedly sets July 9 as deadline for diplomatic solution; Sharon, in speech near Tele Aviv, says invasion pre-empted Syrian war plans against Israel; Cabinet rejects 2 parts of US plan (continued PLO political role and 2 PLO units to be attached to Lebanese Army); government dismisses elected mayor and town council of Jenin

(sixth pro-PLO West Bank mayor ousted since November 1981), reportedly for failure to cooperate with new Israeli administrators; tear gas used to disperse Bir Zeit students protesting invasion; curfew imposed on Balata refugee camp near Nablus after bus carrying IDF soldiers stoned; 3 people in Idna near Hebron detained on suspicion of inciting workers to strike.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Arafat rejects PLO evacuation under US supervision or via Sixth Fleet (however, other PLO spokespeople say US/French troops will separate PLO and IDF units, allow PLO evacuation to east); Arafat refers to Habib's "blackmail"; Phalange calls up 2500-3000 high school graduates of 1982 to boost armed strength; Greek Catholic bishop and two priests abducted in the Bekaa area (apparent retaliation for abduction of Iranian charge d'affaires on Sunday).

Arab Governments: Syria rejects participation in US plan.

US and Other Countries: Arab countries and USSR object to the sending of US troops. Reagan agrees "in principle" to US troops being sent to Lebanon, key Congressional leaders voice concern, opposition to plan; US appeals for restoration of water, electricity to Beirut.

UN: Discussion of French/Egyptian resolution continues.

JULY 7

Military Action

Israel creates new militia "The National Guard" charged with patrolling UNIFIL zone. IDF shelling and blockage maintained for fifth day as negotiations deadlocked; water and electricity are partially restored; IDF artillery and gunboats blast Palestinian neighborhoods, setting fires, with high casualties (other non-Palestinian areas hit); evening gunner duels mark IDF attempts to advance; IDF officers say IDF broke fifth cease-fire in retaliation for deaths of 5 IDF soldiers the night before; shells fall on US Ambassador's residence in Yarze; IDF shell hits nylon factory, igniting long fire and explosions; Israeli jets zoom over Beirut.

Casualties

Beirut police estimate 22 killed, 38 wounded in the night (Beirut casualties now 2633 killed, 3612 wounded); appeals made for blood; 2 IDF soldiers found killed (armored personnel carrier hit near Tyre); even after water turned on again in West Beirut, so much of the pipeline is damaged, many residents still must get water in pails; one 23-ton shipment of foodstuffs by World Vision allowed in (no explanation of why others kept out);

some Palestinians being allowed to return to camps in the south (mostly women and children, most men are in detention); 7000 new refugees reportedly have fled to Baalbek; 25-30,000 Shites reportedly returning to Nabatiyeh area; water is still problem in South Lebanon (IDF destroyed water pumping station serving 120 villages in Tyre area, repairs to take 3 months); in Beirut, despite 5 centers for potable water distribution set up by UN, problem is dwindling gasoline for water trucks; IDF damage to Zahrani refinery will take 3 months to repair; ICRC estimates needs for next 3 months at $18 million, says 75 doctors/medical technicians have arrived to aid Lebanese Red Cross (LRC) and Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS); doctors say they are dealing with injuries hitherto unseen (dead to wounded ratio normally 1-5, now 50-50).

PLO displays to reporters extensive IDF anti-personnel weapons, most with US markings, including cluster bombs, canisters of hydrogen cyanide used against Syrians and in Burj al-Barajneh camp and neighborhood (other weapons used in Sabra and Shatila camps and Shia suburb of Ouzai); displayed also is slab of nougat with Hebrew markings, part of car bomb found in Beirut port area.

Israeli Cabinet spokesman Meridor says 331 Lebanese civilians killed, says IDF told him 1200 PLO "terrorists" and civilians killed in fighting in refugee camps (claims not much international aid needed, that interational bodies agree with Israeli government figures, that Israeli ambulances sent to help wounded have come back to Israel as not needed); detention camps set up by IDF in southern Lebanon (fences, guard towers, earth enbankments at Ansar, west of Nabatiyeh); Meridor says detainees will be treated as criminals, not POWs.

UN High Commission for Refugees, in Vienna, says IDF invasion has set back work in Lebanon by 32 years, destroying schools, camps, warehouses, clinics, leaving 175,000 of 237,000 registered refugees in urgent need of aid.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Cabinet hints PLO might be allowed to stay in Tripoli; government accepts only 7 of 9 points of reported US plan; Cabinet allows more time for negotiations; aide to Begin insists all PLO members must leave Beirut; Cabinet hears report from Sharon; Abba Eban disagrees with government rejection of political role for PLO; Kimche meets with Habib, who then calls Wazzan to contact Arafat; Mayor of Gaza warned that he and other elected town council members may be dismissed if they continue to refuse to cooperate with Israeli civil administration; IDF soldiers surround Bir Zeit campus, use tear gas, arrest 100 students in fourth day of protests against invasion.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib informs Wazzan that US will not send US Marines until PLO leaves Beirut (Wazzan reported shocked, asks what good are troops at that point); PLO still insisting on some political presence in Beirut, armed units attached to Lebanese Army; Lebanese landowners who rented to Palestinians after 1948 are asking IDF governor of Sidon to evict Palestinians; in Tyre, Lebanese landowners are evicting Palestinian residents, forcing them to live on beaches, in groves.

US and Other Countries: US fears troops may get caught in cross-fire and changes plan not to allow Marines to be sent until after PLO evacuates; US Congressional resistance to use of US troops grows; Jewish Affairs magazine issues public statement demanding removal of IDF troops, ending of US aid to Israel; US position reportedly is no PLO troops should remain, but political/informational office is OK: USSR warns US against military intervention in Lebanon; Pakistan president sends telegrams to Reagan, other members of the UN Security Council asking them to force IDF to withdraw; Turkey calls for IDF withdrawal, but reportedly cooperates with Israel on captured Turks and Armenians fighting with the PLO.

UN: UN Secretary General says UN must rethink "peacekeeping" role in wake of IDF invasion (and Cyprus incident several years ago).

JULY 8

Military Action

Water and electricity restored. IDF Deputy Chief of Staff says IDF is preparing to stay through the winter "if necessary" as IDF builds paved roads, moves bases to flat areas, installs water pumps for IDF; intermittent bombardment of West Beirut by IDF continues as blockade maintained on food, bottled water (except for medicines).

Casualties

President of American University of Beirut, Malcolm Kerr, launches $5 million fundraising drive to save AU Hospital from financial disaster as a result of the war (says 95 percent of wounded treated at hospital were civilians, 70-80 percent of them Lebanese; nursing staff now down to 50 percent of normal); ICRC for first time allowed to bring ambulances, medicines, blood, hospital equipment into West Beirut; some food trucks let in; Catholic Relief Services said they were allowed to bring food into West Beirut for first time in 4-5 days; ICRC supplies in Jounieh still being held up by IDF; four IDF soldiers killed when armored car hits mine in southern Lebanon.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Doubts reportedly emerging among IDF soldiers about how "defensive" this war is; Sharon meets with Habib; government reportedly opposes widespread expulsion of Palestinian refugees advocated by Bashir Gemayel; Bir Zeit University closed for 3 months by order of Sharon (400 students protest in Ramallah, 30 arrested); 2 lecturers, 30 students arrested in Nablus at Al Najah College.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib expects agreement by end of the week; Salam reports PLO dropped insistence on UN approval of multinational force; Wazzan still refuses to go to East Beirut; Pierre and Bashir Gemayel advocate complete expulsion of all Palestinians from Lebanon, civilian and PLO alike; negotiations snagged on role of foreign troops in PLO withdrawal (Salem says what good are troops after the PLO leaves; Sarkis reportedly wants foreign troops deployed throughout Lebanon, fears PLO and Syrians will otherwise stay in Bekaa); Arafat invites ICRC to visit West Beirut to see IDF violations of Geneva Conventions. Arafat declines the suggestion that he should leave with the US Sixth Fleet and warns that he and his fedayeen will leave only after US troops are deployed as a disengagement force in West Beirut.

Arab Governments: Information Minister says Syria hasn't been consulted on any plan for PLO fighters to go to Syria or for Syrian troop withdrawal (raises fears that Syria will not be willing to take PLO fighters); Syria estimated to have 60,000 troops in Lebanon (30,000 more than before invasion sent to defend approaches to Damascus); Indian Foreign Ministry asks Israeli consul in Bombay to leave in 48 hours because of "interference in internal affairs."

US and Other Countries: US Sixth Fleet 40 miles off Lebanese coast; Habib instructed to offer US troops only after PLO evacuation; 2 US Senators (Dodd and Levin), after meeting with Begin, claim he set no deadline for evacuation. Margaret Thatcher refuses to meet Farouk Khaddumi, head of the PLO's political department, on his visit to London, though the Foreign Offices announces it is still studying Arafat's expression of willingness to make peace with Israel, as published in an interview with Israeli journalist Uri Avinery, "to see if it warrants a change in the attitude of the British government". The USSR opposes sending American troops to Lebanon.

JULY 9

Military Action

Worst shelling of West Beirut since invasion. IDF and PLO forces fight rocket, tank and artillery duels across Beirut in evening after a day of intermittent shelling; thousands of civilians flee to shelters; Palestinian areas of Barbir and Mazraa reportedly hard hit along with southern outskirts; PLO fire targets IDF emplacements in Hadeth, near East Beirut; shells land at major crossing points, Beirut racetrack, the airport and Burj al-Barajneh; 10 members of 50-man Lebanese security guard unit at airport wounded in shelling; Lebanese Defense Ministry indirectly accuses PLO of starting outbreak by shelling Galerie Semaan crossing; IDF using C-130 Hercules planes to ferry arms and equipment into Lebanon; IDF has reportedly widened and improved a small airstrip at Ansar, west of Nabatiyeh near detention camp.

Casualties

Beirut experiences major gas shortages, gunfights break out at gas lines; despite token IDF troop pullback to let Wazzan pass and Israeli denial that food was being kept out of West Beirut, IDF soldiers continue to turn away food lorries as well as fuel and medicine; IDF spokesman says Israel has captured 9,000 suspected PLO guerrillas, 30-60 reportedly being arrested every day; small bands still hiding in hills east of Sidon, occasionally attacking IDF troops; Lebanese police estimates 50 killed, 200 wounded in fierce artillery and rocket duels in the evening; Beirut's 3 main hospitals report 515 killed, 2,200 wounded at their facilities alone since the invasion.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Mayor Rashid al-Shawa of Gaza is dismissed by the Israeli Defense Ministry, becoming the seventh Arab mayor ousted since March after refusing to lift a 2 month municipal strike against cooperation with new Israeli "civil administration"; 35 IDF reserve soldiers involved in Entebbe rescue in 1976 protest the war in Lebanon in letter sent to Begin; 86 reserve officers and soliders recently released from their units ask Defense Ministry not to be sent back to Lebanon, appeal for evacuation of all Israeli troops; Communications Minister Zipori opposes setting final deadline for getting "terrorists" out of Beirut; demonstrators in Nablus stone IDF soldiers, tear gas and gunfire used to disperse demonstrators; military authorities ban request of Palestine Bank in Gaza Strip to collect money for Lebanon war victims. Israeli deputy PM, David Levy, states for the first time publicly that Beirut is the object of the Israeli invasion.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Beirut negotiations falter amidst contradictory signals; PLO leader Kaddoumi's statement in London that PLO has agreed to leave Beirut countered by PLO statement in Beirut that PLO has not agreed to leave country, only to move its headquarters from Beirut;

adviser to Arafat Hani al-Hassan affirms agreement with Lebanese Government to pull PLO out of Beirut when an international force sanctioned by the UN and containing Americans enters the capital to guarantee the PLO's safe exist and protect remaining Palestinian civilians; Habib reportedly resists deployment of international force before PLO withdrawal to avoid any implicit US recognition of PLO; PLO rejects pullout by sea; PLO insists on maintaining political presence in Lebanon; Wazzan ends 5-day boycott of negotiations, takes PLO demands to Baabda following easing of IDF blockade; Bashir Gemayel states opposition to US troops entering Lebanon, says Lebanese Army should secure West Beirut; Habib contacts Sharon, who reportedly favors a military solution.

Arab Governments: Syria refuses to receive PLO guerrillas from Lebanon, saying they should stay in Lebanon until they return to Palestine; Arab League delegation including PLO's Kaddoumi in London for talks.

US and Other Countries: Morris Draper, Habib aid, reportedly sent to Syria to get it to accept PLO forces temporarily; Habib reportedly rejects two-stage withdrawal; US Sixth Fleet waits off Lebanese coast; White House officials expect negotiations break-through soon, describe IDF cut-off of water and electricity as "outrageous"; issue reportedly taken up by Reagan in letter to Begin; Habib plan reportedly calls for IDF pullback of 1 km. while PLO forces begin evacuation; State Department says US "deeply regrets" Shawa dismissal; Britain declines role in peacekeeping force in Lebanon.

French President Mitterand condemns Israeli action in Lebanon. The World Jewish Congress calls for the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

JULY 10

Military Action

IDF armored units trade intermittent artillery fire with PLO in West Beirut following night of fierce shelling; IDF shelling wrecks Algeria's six-story embassy and Summerland resort hotel, damages embassies of Kuwait, Iran, Iraq and UAE; renewed bombing of the Palestinian areas of Fakhani, Shatila, the sports stadium and Burj al-Barajneh. Israelis shower Beirut with leaflets warning Syrians to leave. PLO shells injure guard at presidential palace, land near residence of US Ambassador, IDF jets drop flares; 8 IDF shells hit Beirut racetrack; Phalangists resume blockade of food and fuel from West Beirut after IDF eased blockade yesterday; IDF units report capture of 600-700 PLO fighters, mainly in the Chouf mountains in the past week; IDF soldiers patrol villages in the area to prevent violence between Druze and Christian villagers.

Casualties

Nine IDF soldiers reportedly wounded in past 24 hours; private Lebanese radio station reports 12 Palestinians killed, 18 wounded; Israeli Economy Minister Meridor, heading aid program in southern Lebanon, claims only 10 Sidon buildings damaged beyond repair (Sidon's mayor says hundreds); 50-60 people are being arrested each week in the Sidon area alone on suspicion of being PLO members/sympathizers; ICRC still denied access to IDF's "civilian detainees" except for 18 injured being held in an Israeli hospital; refugee estimates of civilian dead in Ain el-Hilweh run to "thousands"; despite reports by IDF Druze unit which attacked camp with little PLO resistance, large areas of camp were devastated, hundreds buried under the rubble; death toll for Beirut alone since June 4 put at 2,683.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel reportedly sent Reagan documents indicating "mercenaries" from Asia/Africa fought with PLO and that M-16 rifles sold by the US to Saudi Arabia were found in southern Lebanon; Sharon says all PLO and Syrian forces must leave Lebanon before IDF will withdraw; Israel rejects use of multinational force as "buffer" between IDF and PLO forces; Foreign Ministry official Kimche and Israeli military intelligence officer Saguy meet with Habib in Beirut; several cabinet ministers opposed to IDF assault on Beirut even if negotiations fail; 300 IDF reservists in Tel Aviv call for an end to the war in Lebanon.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Negotiations make little headway as PLO insists on political concessions, protection for Palestinian refugees in return for evacuation; PLO also reported to insist on retaining heavy as well as light weapons; Habib meets with Wazzan, Sarkis, Butros; Salam accuses Sharon of ordering Friday bombardment to sabotage talks; Wazzan insists US and other peacekeeping troops be deployed in West Beirut before the PLO evacuation to protect Muslims from possible reprisals by Phalangists; Habib suggests PLO evacuation by sea using French, Canadian, Belgian or Greek navy escort; PLO's Khalaf predicts IDF will take Beirut "bit by bit."

Arab Governments: Syria continues to refuse to accept more than PLO leadership.

US and Other Countries: France agrees "in principle" to send peacekeeping troops to Beirut if all parties to the conflict and the UN agree;

Draper, in Syria, fails to persuade it to accept PLO guerrillas; White House officials say the US "would welcome" use of French troops in Lebanon; USSR warns France not to submit to Washington's "dangerous plans"; Habib sets August 1 as date to begin PLO evacuation; Greece offers ships to facilitate PLO evacuation; Pope sends message to president of Israel urging honorable treatment of defeated Palestinians.

UN: UNIFIL spokesman says the number of persons in the UNIFIL area has doubled with the influx of refugees fleeing fighting in the north, many with no roof over their heads.

JULY 11

Military Action

IDF armored units fight fierce artillery, rocket duels with PLO forces inside Beirut as PLO for first time fires back on wide range of IDF gun positions in East Beirut; fighting appeared to intensify following Israeli announcement of little headway in negotiations and consideration of an Israeli military option; IDF rockets landing at rate of 30 per minute, as Burj al-Barajneh, Sabra, Shatila, Lailake and the coastal road near the airport are all hit; PLO forces fire on East Beirut areas of Hadeth, Ashrafiya, Furn al-Shubbak, Dbaye and near Baabda; 51 shells reportedly land in presidential compound; direct hit on IDF motor pool below palace reported, setting fire to 4-5 trucks and armored vehicles and causing unspecified casualties; PLO shells also hit government hospital in Baabda, near Hotel Alexandre and near IDF press center as well as Aramoun hills area; 2 IDF tanks destroyed trying to advance on airport; French Ambassador's residence set on fire during shelling, as well as Raouche seafront; shelling tapers off and 12 hours following announcement on Beirut radio of cease fire arranged through US mediation; IDF camps set up at Zahrani, and near Tyre, Damour, Khalde, and in the Chouf and Arkoub areas.

Casualties

Beirut radio reports "large numbers" of casualties on both sides; Beirut estimates 52 dead; few ambulances venture into areas being shelled; 3 IDF soldiers killed and 28 wounded in fighting around Beirut; fires burn for hours in shelled areas of West Beirut; Phalangist radio reports 20 killed, 80 wounded in city; shell hit Barbir Hospital killing 5 patients, wounding 11; blood supplies reported to drop below a safe level; street shootings by feuding militias continue in Beirut; 82 persons reported killed, 211 wounded in artillery battle, according to Beirut radio; hundreds of buildings reported wrecked or burned in Beirut; civilian death toll during invasion now put between 15-20,000 by various sources, 85-90 percent estimated to be civilians by relief agency directors, who believe IDF count only Lebanese as civilians and regard all Palestinians as combatants; an estimated 6,000 Palestinian refugees have returned to Rashidiyeh and 5,000 to Ain el-Hilweh; according to the Red Cross, lack of public sanitation still a major problem, bodies still being recovered under the rubble; Sidon's mayor estimates housing needed for 40-60,000 residents (20,000 of these Palestinians), is unable to estimate rebuilding costs; Archbishop Haddad of Tyre says 26,000 Palestinians displaced by IDF invasion, estimates structural damage to buildings at $60 m; local teachers, public officials in Nabatiyeh appeal to Begin to release young Nabatiyans held by IDF: IDF agrees to increase size of assistance unit in Nabatiyeh to cope with huge influx of refugees from north.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli Cabinet says little progress made, as Begin studies military options; news poll of 1,164 Israelis finds only 29 percent favor "breaking" into Beirut, 68 percent opposed; General Shmuel Zakay announces that Israel has captured 9000 Palestinian and Syrian prisoners. Shamir tells US AID official McPherson that Israel will allow ICRC visits to Palestinian detainees next week; McPherson completes a tour of southern Lebanon to assess best way to expend $65 m. allocated for Lebanese relief; military service for conscripts extended 3 months; Deputy Chief of Staff Levy says IDF will "realistically" be deployed along their current lines through the winter; new agreement with Haddad to extend Haddad's military control from south of the Litani River to just north of Sidon.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Fighting brings negotiations to a halt; PLO insists on US or UN recognition of PLO's centrality in the Mideast as price for withdrawal, calls on US to speak directly to the PLO; Bashir Gemayel says Phalangists will not get involved in latest fighting; Wazzan accuses Israel of trying to sabotage negotiations, hints talks may be called off unless US gets Israel to halt Beirut bombardment; Wazzan reportedly unable to deliver PLO 11-point plan which includes deployment of French troops round West Beirut, as well as multinational peacekeeping force to supervise PLO evacuation and later protect refugee camps and leftist Muslin groups.

Arab Governments: Syria broadcasts appeal for PLO to stand and fight in Beirut; Egyptian Foreign Minister Ali says Sharon's ideal of a Palestinian state set up in Jordan violates Camp David.

US and Other Countries: Proposal to send US troops to Lebanon draws skeptical reactions from Congressional leaders; Weinberger says US studying whether IDF improperly used US weapons during its invasion of Lebanon; Sen. Percy says Israel broke faith with the US by invading Lebanon and US support for Israel waning.

JULY 12

Military Action

Beirut quiet as cease-fire holds; IDF exchanges light-arms fire with Syrians in the eastern sector near Yanta.

Casualties

Over 10,000 Lebanese and Palestinians have sought refuge in Syria since the Israeli invasion began; according to Syrian relief committee all Damascus hospitals full; food and vegetables reaching W. Beirut despite blockade, as drivers pay guards at check-points $160 to let vehicles through; 3 IDF soldiers wounded near Yanta.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel asserts PLO is using stalled negotiations to fortify it political and military positions; Jerusalem police interrogate 57 West Bank students on suspicion of planning to incite merchants' strike; army spokesman says IDF underestimated PLO firepower; Labor MK Sarid charges Likud leaders and senior army officers of exaggerating PLO weaponry, says only 90 PLO tanks captured, not 500; only 120 artillery pieces captured; Sharon says Habib is running out of time in attempts to reach a negotiated settlement; group of 90 soldiers holds press conference in Jerusalem, refuse further service in Lebanon; Kimche meets Habib in Beirut; Sharon denies asking Uri Avnery to arrange a meeting between him and Arafat.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO hardens negotiating position in wake of Sunday bombardment, says it will only discuss evacuation once international force is in place; no progress on negotiations reported.

Arab Governments: Algeria refuses to take guerrillas; strong opposition by Morocco, fearing link-up with Polisario; Saudi Arabia opposed to PLO going to S. Yemen.

US and Other Countries: Reagan Administration officials to meet with foreign ministers Khaddam of Syria and Prince Saud of Saudi Arabia; Reagan reportedly threatens Israel with direct US-PLO talks unless Israel is more forthcoming in Habib negotiations.

JULY 13

Military Action

Beirut truce holds as talks continue, but little progress seen; 130 IDF tanks and two brigades reinforce positions overlooking city from Khalde to the port section; car bomb goes off on Hamra street outside Palestine Research Center, killing 2 and injuring 30; ceasefire broken briefly by small amount of shelling from PLO units north of the airport; IDF estimated to have 8 divisions and 120,000 troops in Lebanon; IDF and PLO dig in to prepare for next round of fighting; IDF continues to seek PLO members in Ain el-Hilweh.

Casualties

UN workers repair 5-6 water mains, install 9 pumps; about 300 people killed or wounded by car bombs in W. Beirut since June 6; 6 IDF soldiers wounded when vehicle hit by anti-tank rocket near Beirut.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel pessimistic about chances of Habib's success; protests against the war grow as 105 reserve soldiers and 17 officers send letter to Begin asking to be excused from further service in Lebanon; Sharon warns against attempts to form unions of former fighters as dangerous to democracy; Israel reportedly gives more time to Beirut talks; IDF soldiers use tear gas to disperse Nablus youth protesting invasion; 3 pro-PLO political figures detained in Hebron for organizing support for Palestinians in Lebanon; attorney general Gabbai initiates police investigation of Avnery meeting with Arafat; Peace Now has decided to suspend all public activities until W. Beirut situation clears up; Israel eases its time-pressure for an early diplomatic settlement.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib confers with Sarkis, Wazzan, Butros; top aid to Bashir Gemayel gives up hope for peaceful settlement, says all out IDF drive on Beirut would undermine Lebanon; Bashir Gemayel makes overtures to Muslim leaders in Beirut to form a unified Christian-Muslim government, including Jumblatt, Berri, Salam; Salam meets with Habib, tries to arrange meeting of Habib with Hani al-Hassan of the PLO; PLO holding out for US recognition as price for evacuation, asks direct talks

with Habib; PLO also proposes interim PLO withdrawal to Tripoli and Bekaa while final destinations decided; PLO spokesman Sartawi says PLO has recognized Israel in series of 1977 amendments to its charter.

Arab Governments: Thousands of Syrians, Lebanese, Palestinians demonstrate outside US embassy in Damascus protesting US support for Israel; Iranian troops cross border into Iraq.

US and Other Countries: George Shultz undergoes vigorous questioning before a Senate Committee on his Bechtel connections as part of his confirmation hearings, says he is prepared to negotiate directly with the PLO. Congressional sources assert IDF violated provisions of secret US restrictions on use of cluster bombs.

UN: UN Secretary General, during trip to Netherlands, urges all parties to abide by the Security Council resolutions.

JULY 14

Military Action

IDF warplanes buzz Beirut in a mock air raid, first Air Force activity over Beirut in 2 weeks as Lebanese Cabinet calls for withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanese territory; although shooting broke out between IDF and PLO soldiers manning checkpoints at the port about 300 yards from each other, cease-fire generally holds.

Casualties

Hundreds of West Beirut residents flee, fearing new outbreak of fighting; UN officials say IDF units daily patrol villages regarded as hostile; all mention of interrogation or detention of Palestinians censored from dispatches from Israel; electricity restored to many parts of Tyre for first time since war broke out; Canadian surgeon tells Congressional committee he saw Palestinian prisoners beaten to death; Mayor of Sidon claims most arrests "arbitrary," involving innocent people.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Mayor Hijazi of Dir Dibwan on the West Bank is dismissed from his post making eighth such dismissal since March for staging a municipal work slowdown; officials indicate IDF goal is to eliminate all Palestinian refugee camps within 25-mile buffer zone along Israeli border; top aid to Meridor, Gravinsky, says Israeli government opposed to providing even temporary housing for Palestinians who

lost their homes in the fighting, fearing they will become the nuclei of new camps; leaders of Nablus refugee camps write UNRWA of willingness to adopt orphans from Lebanese war; faction of Gush Emunim Amnah sets up new settlement near Hebron; Sharon extends state of alert in Israel for another week; Tehiya Party votes to join Likud coalition (strengthening pro-invasion forces in Likud).

Palestinians/Lebanese: Cabinet calls for withdrawal of all foreign troops and assistance of a multinational force to oversee the evacuation of the PLO guerrillas, also asks Israel to comply with UN resolution and withdraw its invasion force; Hani al-Hassan praises Shultz statement referring to legitimate needs of the Palestinian people; Arafat reportedly tells Syria the PLO would like to move to Syria if an evacuation agreement can be reached.

Arab Governments: King Hussein calls for urgent meeting of Arab leaders to discuss Lebanon, Iran/Iraq wars.

US and Other Countries: Shultz, in second day of Senate nomination hearings, refers to legitimate needs and problems of the Palestinian people; Reagan in meeting with Congressional leaders says key condition for sending US troops is official request by Lebanon to do so; 4 British MPs visit Beirut; Reagan letter to King Fahd urges Saudis to help find haven for PLO; Prince Saud al-Fassal, Saudi Arabian foreign minister, meets with Reagan.

JULY 15

Military Action

Cease-fire appears to hold, despite minor clashes near airport; WAFA says 5 Israelis tried to move on the airport and failed; IDF jets fly over Beirut in mock raids; PLO commander Salah Taamari reportedly surrenders to IDF in Sidon.

Casualties

IDF soldier reported wounded in fighting with Syrians along highway.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israelis fear PLO gains from talk delays; Shamir says government will give Habib more time for negotiations, after consultations with Begin and Sharon; Israeli media cite Egyptian pressures, Reagan's letter of last week, and European threats of sanctions as

restraining Israeli options; Mapam distributes leaflet questioning whole operation; Begin asks attorney general to investigate if Mapam has committed a crime in circulating the document; Abraham Burg, son of Interior Minister, and two other reserve officers met with Begin recently to urge him to halt the war; British employee at Bir Zeit University asserts she was beaten while in detention, foreign ministry refuses to accept a UK diplomatic protest of the incident; Argov regains consciousness in London hospital; Israeli police detain dozens of students "suspected" of being students at Bir Zeit University; police also arrest 4 staff members of newspaper *al-Fajr*. With negotiations for evacuation at a deadlock, Sharon warns that time is running out for West Beirut.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Issue of where guerrillas can go holds up negotiations; Arafat expects large IDF operation in near future, says guerrillas can withstand long siege; Sarkis reportedly is ill; 2 Druze Cabinet Ministers disavow declaration of yesterday; PLO formally asks Syria for haven if agreement is reached; Faud Shemali, military commander of right-wing Lebanese militia "Guards of the Cedars" announces support for Bashir Gemayel for president of Lebanon.

Arab Governments: Renewed Iran/Iraq hostilities reportedly slow negotiating process; Damascus Radio calls on other Arab countries to ensure PLO does not move from Lebanon to other countries and says that it refuses to accept any Palestinian forces from Beirut.

US and Other Countries: West German foreign minister visits Egypt, harshly criticizes IDF invasion of Lebanon; US urges Arab countries to help resettle surrounded PLO; Reagan contacts Saudi, Syrian governments regarding haven for PLO; former US official George Ball strongly criticizes Israeli invasion and lack of strong US response; Congressional leaders and foreign policy experts say Israel violated US restrictions on use of cluster bombs but disagree on US response; Mitterrand of France meets PLO leader Kaddoumi.

JULY 16

Military Action

IDF planes make reconnaissance flights over Beirut, but cease-fire seems to hold.

Casualties

Although fruit and vegetables getting through IDF blockade, gasoline, cooking oil and flour remain in short supply; over half West Beirut's bakeries have closed for lack of fuel and flour; dump trucks unable to collect garbage because of lack of gasoline; ambulances reportedly have run out of gas; thousands of Beirut residents gathered at Wazzan's office to protest continuing blockade; Muslim clergyman says residents will take up arms against IDF unless blockade lifted; Wazzan appeals to Habib to persuade IDF to let in medicine, flour, fuel; thousands of residents fill streets stocking up on essential commodities; electricity now available 18 hours per day.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Former Prime Minister Rabin suggests PLO members with no country to go to be sent provisionally to Tripoli region of northern Lebanon; other Israeli leaders reject Rabin's proposal.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO suggests it move temporarily to Tripoli in northern Lebanon while negotiations continue on its presence in Lebanon; Wazzan conveys offer to Habib, who is reported skeptical and President Sarkis rejects offer; top Arafat deputy says PLO will stop fighting and become a purely political movement if the US recognizes the PLO; Sarkis rejects PLO offer to evacuate to northern Lebanon, fears such a move will only displace conflict elsewhere inside Lebanon; Haddad, speaking from his new headquarters in Sidon's town hall, announces drive to recruit new members in his force, bringing it from 2000 to 50,000 men.

Arab Governments: Syria asks for written request from Arafat for sanctuary, and full endorsement of the request from the Arab League's 21 members; Syria also wants its own security needs taken into account in any Lebanon settlement.

US and Other Countries: Canada protests characterization by IDF of two Canadian doctors as possible "terrorists"; 2,000-3,000 Indonesian Muslims protest US collusion with Israeli invasion at US Embassy in Jakarta. US State Department announces that "finding a home for the PLO is an Arab problem."

JULY 17

Military Action

Several incidents shake cease-fire; small arms fire reported in Beirut area.

Casualties

Beirut food supplies sufficient but prohibitively expensive for poorer Lebanese and Palestinian refugees; much of fresh produce from Israel,

resold to Lebanese middlemen; Phalangists at checkpoints bribed to let goods through; some vegetable prices have increased 300-400 percent; Baalbek refugee center in eastern Lebanon out of food; 100,000 Lebanese and Palestinians fled to Baalbek area to escape fighting elsewhere in Lebanon; relief supplies being sent by ICRC and other groups from Damascus; ICRC officials scheduled to begin interviewing thousands of detainees at Israel's new Anzal prison; every third house in Rashidiyeh lies in ruins, as journalists allowed in for first time since invasion; 4 PLO members killed near Lake Karoun; 1 IDF soldier wounded near airport.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: David Kimche visits Habib in Beirut for briefing; Begin, at large pro-government rally in Tel Aviv, suggest possible Israeli confederation with Jordan, offers to meet with Hussein after peace treaty with Lebanon signed; Sharon offers temporary asylum to PLO guerrillas who renounced the PLO; Uri Avnery, in US, urges Reagan administration to recognize the PLO.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Sarkis wants "global and final" resolution to Palestinian issue in Lebanon, opposes temporary regroupment; Bashir Gemayel and Walid Jumblatt meet at presidential palace in effort to revive National Salvation Council, seen by some as part of Gemayel's effort to win Lebanese presidential election; Gemayel meets with Salam and Berri; Gemayel denounces PLO delay in leaving.

Arab Governments: Jumblatt visits Damascus to persuade Syrians to accept PLO evacuees.

US and Other Countries: Meeting of 69 Non-Aligned States' foreign ministers, called at Arafat's request, convenes in Cyprus, urges UN sanctions against Israel, forms peace committee to help resolve crisis.

JULY 18

Military Action

Israeli ammunition dump west of Tiberias blows up, setting fires; dump had received captured PLO ammunition, some in bad condition; PLO and IDF accuse each other of cease-fire violations on Beirut outskirts; PLO says IDF opened up with tank, artillery and machine gun fire in southern suburbs; IDF accuses PLO of firing on positions with light weapons; sporadic shelling and shooting around Beirut tapers off after noon, as cease-fire generally holds.

Casualties

IDF selectively reopens crossings closed without explanation Saturday; prices for food in West Beirut more than double.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Cabinet discusses war for 5 hours at regular weekly meeting, postpones decision on new military action; Ben-Elissar (former Mossad officer) says Israel determined to force PLO to leave Lebanon regardless of cost in world public opinion, says Israel wants Lebanon governed by regime friendly to Israel; possible Kissinger role in Mideast negotiations received with lack of enthusiasm; Begin indicates he will accept 30-day implementation period for PLO evacuation; IDF begins process of releasing 220 youthful detainees. At a rally in Tel Aviv an estimated 200,000 people demonstrated in support of Begin's policies. He tells them: "The murderers in Beirut do not have 30 days to leave".

Palestinians/Lebanese: Senior PLO official claims IDF preparing for military move against PLO strongholds; Wazzan dismisses prospect of Lebanese peace treaty with Israel, saying Lebanon would not sign unilateral treaty; Habib meets with Sarkis and Wazzan; Lebanese official says IDF policies in southern Lebanon expand the authority of Israel's right-wing allies at the expense of the Lebanese central government troops and turn their camps over to Phalangists and Haddad followers.

Arab Governments: Saudi and Syrian foreign ministers arrive in Washington for talks with Reagan and Shultz; Egypt's Foreign Minister Ali sends message to Shultz and Shamir stressing need to end Lebanese conflict peacefully.

US and Other Countries: US, with Saudi help, pressing Syria to accept PLO guerrillas, also hopes some will go to Jordan; Reagan says administration has begun major review of Mideast problems, including whether to renew shipments of cluster bombs to Israel; Israeli Ambassador Arens meets with Shultz (first diplomat to meet with Shutz following his swearing in).

JULY 19

Military Action

IDF jets make repeated reconnaissance passes "or mock air raids" over Beirut as IDF armored units dig in around airport and trade small arms fire with PLO guerrillas in southern suburbs; PLO building ramparts at

key intersections to impede IDF tank passage; Syria and PLO reinforcing units in Bekaa valley; IDF matches their efforts in adjacent zones.

Casualties

IDF attack on Tyre resulted in losses of almost $75 m., loss of personal goods and autos may add another $10 m; similar study of Sidon expected to show losses of around $100 m; acting president of the American University of Beirut kidnapped, reportedly in return for kidnapping of Shiite in Phalange area; although food is entering Beirut, fuel is still cut, threatening hospital and sanitation services in West Beirut; mounting piles of garbage reported in Beirut, as well as broken water mains; Palestinian refugees are returning to devastated camps for lack of other places to go; Lebanese farmers complain of Israeli imported fruit undercutting their market; Israeli Economy Minister Meridor, in US, says Israel is allowing food supplies from Saudi Arabia into Lebanon via Israel.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Economy Minister, in Washington, denies any limitations on supplying Beirut; debate erupts in Knesset on Lebanese situation; Knesset Foreign Affairs Committee told it will need to find winter shelter for about 20-30,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Lebanese and PLO officials look to US for new initiative to strave off IDF assault on Beirut, pin hopes on Reagan meeting with Syrian and Saudi Foreign Minister tomorrow; Hani al-Hassan and Salam both urge US to talk directly with PLO to speed negotiations; PLO leader Khalid al-Hassan travels to Washington as part of the Arab League delegation meeting Administration officials; Habib presents all parties with "final" proposals that call for a total Syrian/Palestinian withdrawal from Lebanon and withdrawal of IDF to the port of Sidon. Jamblatt returns to Beirut after meeting King Hussein and President Assad.

Arab Governments: Syrian president Assad says Syrian troops will remain in Lebanon as long as IDF troops.

US and Other Countries: Habib meets with key Lebanese officials during the day but makes little progress; Greece informs Lebanon it is willing to contribute 300 soldiers to a peacekeeping force; US, France Italy, the Netherlands and Austria also have offered to participate; shipment of US cluster bombs halted to Israel until review of their use in Lebanon completed; Senator D'Amato of New York, in Jerusalem for talks, says Israel is prepared to use force to get PLO out of Beirut; Zaire's President Mobutu invites Begin to visit Zaire in August; Saudi foreign minister, on eve of meeting with Reagan, asks US to endorse Palestinian self-rule, negotiate directly with PLO.

JULY 20

Military Action

Cease-fire holds despite IDF jets zooming low over Beirut in the late afternoon, provoking anti-aircraft fire for the first time in days; IDF and PLO gunners exchange fire around southern suburbs; 6 artillery rounds land near IDF checkpoint in Beirut port, interrupting activities on the docks. IDF reinforces positions in South Beirut. Rocket fired from Lebanese territory lands in area of Kiryat Shemona.

Casualties

Fuel seems to be the only commodity in short supply in West Beirut; South Lebanon increasingly "Israelized" as Hebrew road signs multiply, El Al offices are set up; Beirut police now estimate 354 people have died in the capital since the June 25 air strikes, bring known dead to 1,020 (excluding Syrian casualties along highway, casualties from battles around Aley, many hospital casualties).

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Leaders of Druze community in Golan Heights call off 5-month strike protesting Israeli annexation of the area; Shamir makes secret 2-day visit to Europe; Israeli official projects 150 percent increase in number of active duty reservists until March 1983; four percent compulsory "loan," based on earnings, announced by Israeli government to pay for invasion.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO and Lebanese police join in search for abducted AUB acting president; negotiations on PLO withdrawal suspended as participants await outcome of Washington talks.

Arab Governments: Saudi and Syrian foreign ministers send Arafat message saying that if PLO accepts UN Resolution 242, US will recognize PLO; Saudi foreign minister, in Washington, says Lebanese situation can be defused by pushing Palestinian self-determination and pledging to protect countries that take PLO guerrillas from attack by Israel; Syrian Information Minister Iskander calls on US to end its military and political support for the Israeli invasion.

US and Other Countries: Non-Aligned Movement fails to gain access for committee to Beirut; Saudi and Syrian foreign ministers meet with Reagan, outline plan for temporary evacuation of PLO to northern Lebanon before evacuation to other Arab countries; stress any agreement on evacuation must be endorsed by Arab League scheduled to meet in a

few days; envoys reportedly want US to guarantee IDF withdrawal; USSR endorses use of UN force to end Beirut impasse.

JULY 21

Military Action

Low level fighting continues around Beirut, despite cease-fire; PLO guerrillas in southern Lebanon fire single rocket into northern Israel for the first time since June 6, 2 guerrillas captured; IDF troops trade fire with PLO south of Beirut; IDF jets fly more mock raids over Beirut; reports of IDF buildup east and south of the city; IDF artillery barrages resume late at night; IDF ammunition trucks sighted along coastal road, as well as dozens of rocket launchers. Intense air raids on West Beirut. Air raids against Syrian positions in the Bekaa valley.

Casualties

Several hundred Muslims march through West Beirut up to Green Line demanding an end to the seige; 5 IDF soldiers killed, 8 wounded in PLO ambushes near Tyre and in the Bekaa.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Sharon rules out temporary evacuation of PLO to northern Lebanon; official expresses strong disapproval of any US recognition of the PLO on whatever basis; Begin is briefed by US Ambassador Lewis on Reagan's meeting with Saud and Khaddam; Avneri tells press conference that PLO initiative to gain US recognition started before invasion, says Haig personally involved; Foreign Affairs Committee discusses "serious erosion" in US determination to oppose recognition of PLO; Yitzhah Rabin warns of possible "war of attrition" developing in the Bekaa valley.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Salam meets with Arafat, calls for Arab summit to resolve problem of where PLO guerrillas are to go and expresses astonishment at their silence. Habib meets with Sarkis to report on Reagan meetings; PLO officials optimistic on talks with Reagan, but fear new fighting with IDF.

Arab Governments: Iran-Iraq conflict escalates deflecting attention from Lebanese conflict.

US and Other Countries: US cautiously explores new plan with other governments; USSR criticizes Arab countries for failing to act in unison over the Lebanese crisis; Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta calls Israeli invasion "unjustified."

JULY 22

Military Action

Cease-fire begins to crumble. Israel, alleging cease-fire violations by Syrians and PLO, attacks on both fronts with artillery and air strikes (ordered following ambush deaths of 5 IDF soldiers near Mansura in the Bekaa); jets bomb PLO artillery emplacements near the stadium and airport following wounding of IDF soldier near airport; PLO estimates 6 people killed or wounded in the attacks; PLO operates behind Syrian lines in the eastern Bekaa; 5 IDF wounded in machinegun attack near Tyre; bombs dropped after 30 minutes of mock attacks in Fakhani quarter and camps of Burj al-Barajneh, Sabra and Shatila, as well as the stadium and the neighborhood of Ramlet el-Baida; IDF launches air and land attacks along entire cease-fire line in eastern Lebanon (jets strike barracks near Baalbek, several Syrian-controlled villages). Two Israels officers are killed in Palestinian attack on IDF Headquarters in Sidon.

Casualties

Palestinian sources estimate 62 killed, injured in attacks on Beirut; 2 IDF soldiers killed, 2 wounded during fighting.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin summons Cabinet for special meeting to discuss Lewis report; retaliatory measures reportedly agreed on at the meeting; IDF spokesman claims 75 PLO violations of the cease-fire in the past 3 weeks, claims Syrians try to advance their lines; denies final Israel assault on Beirut. Shamir declares that "peace for Galilee" operation was arranged with full approval of Washington.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Bashir Gemayal nominated as candidate for Lebanese presidency.

Arab Governments: Attacks come as Habib undertakes a weeklong mission to Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and possibly other Arab nations to

get them to accept PLO fighters from Beirut; King Hussein of Jorday meets UK Prime Minister Thatcher in London.

JULY 23

Military Action

IDF jets, artillery attack Palestinian areas of West Beirut for second day (Fakhani and stadium areas, Burj al-Barajneh, Shatila, Ramlet el-Baida, Lailake, road into airport hit. Bombings followed by declaration of 7th unilaterial cease-fire; Bekaa quiet (IDF rebuilding, resurfacing roads in area); two PLO attacks on IDF, one an ambush of soldiers near Bhamdoun, the other on military command center in Sidon (IDF, assisted by Phalangists, seals off city, sets curfew, searches vehicles and houses for guerrillas).

Casualties:

Salam says David Dodge (US educator kidnapped earlier in July) reportedly alive; WAFA says 56 killed, wounded in today's raids (estimates 182 casualties from IDF raids on West Beirut, Bekaa valley yesterday); civilians remain despite extensive damage in Fakhani (many buildings burn); IDF makes little effort at civil administration in the Bekaa, allowing Phalange to be in control; IDF continues blockade of West Beirut (despite some food getting through, doctors report rise in nutrition-related diseases).

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Shamir says PLO does not want to leave Beirut, warns US of "grave danger" in tampering with UN Resolution 242; General Eliezer, in London, claims only 31,000 refugees have resulted from the Lebanese war (excluding Beirut), puts Arab deaths at 1,300 (including 1,000 "terrorists"); Etan says Israel will not tolerate "war of attrition"; Israel plans to sell some of captured PLO weapons to Third World countries to offset the cost of the war; Begin signs agreement with the ultra-nationalist Tehiya Party (which opposes the Camp David Accords); 40 Palestinian women's societies in the occupied territories issue a statement demanding an end to the invasion, reaffirming their support for the PLO.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO denounces IDF raid as political act; PLO security actively seeking Dodge's release; PLO-Lebanese negotiations at a standstill while Habib tours Arab capitals; PLO spokesman says negotiations could be helped if US spoke directly to the PLO; Salam meets Wazzan, proposes timetable to make interim PLO withdrawals to other parts of Lebanon more acceptable; Bashir Gemayel, seeking support for his presidential bid, meets with Druze leader Arslan as slaying raises tensions between Phalange and Druze; Shiite Deputy Al-Zani released by Haddad forces; PLO representative in Paris slain by bomb (Abu Nidal and Jewish Armed Resistance both claim responsibility); Arslan meets with Israeli Druze leader Tarif, accompanied by Likud MK.

Arab Governments: Habib meets with Assad and Khaddam in Damascus (Syria reasserts view that focus of negotiations should be on achieving IDF withdrawal).

US and Other Countries: Weinberger cancels trip to California in concern over possible IDF invasion of Beirut; US officials reportedly see possibility of direct dealing with PLO if US forces sent to Beirut; Interior Secretary Watt's letter to Israeli Ambassador Arens, urging American Jews to support Administration energy policies to ensure US support for Israel, causes furor and is disavowed by White House.

JULY 24

Military Action

IDF jets attack in Bekaa (claims 3 Syrian SAM-8 batteries south of Chtaura, 1 F-4 destroyed; Syria claims IDF loses 24 tanks, 4 rocket launchers, admits it loses 16 tanks); jets also attack Palestinian targets in Beirut after mock air raids, reconnaissance flights (Fakhani, Bir Hassan, Ramlet el-Baida, Sabra, airport areas hit, 1 jet reportedly hit); shelling of airport, Burj al-Barajneh, Sabra, Shatila, as IDF warships shell Burj al-Barajneh and Quazi (2 IDF armored cars, 1 tank, 1 mortar position reportedly knocked out). Under pressure from the Druze population, the Phlangists evacuate Aley.

Casualties

Four Syrian soldiers killed, 6 wounded in IDF raids; WAFA reports 51 wounded, killed in today's raids; Lebanese officials report 11 IDF soldiers killed in Wednesday's guerrilla attack in Sidon; PLO reports two IDF soldiers killed, four wounded last night near Sidon as halftrack hits landmine; 12 IDF casualties reported near Aley; IDF troops enter Karantina power station in East Beirut, turn off electricity to West Beirut at 11 PM (results in loss of all water to West Beirut as water pumps are halted; cutoff interrupts Bashir Gemayel TV address in which he nominates him-

self as Lebanese president); Sidon authorities begin bulldozing remains of Ain el-Hilweh (IDF disclaims any responsibility for plight of camp's refugees, refuses to allow tents to be brought in).

Palestinians/Lebanese: Groundswell of Lebanese resentment of IDF and support of Wazzan reported; PLO reported to send contribution to Nicaragua for children affected by May floods; Lebanese officials protest IDF cutoff of water.

Arab Governments: Egypt accepts Iraq's invitation to summit meeting in September (after 3-year total isolation); Egypt says US role in Lebanon vital, that Israeli invasion is undermining peace process and stability of region; PLO, Moroccan, Kuwaiti leaders meet USSR leaders; Syrian President Assad returns after talks with Saudi King Fahd; only Algeria and Syria reportedly willing to take PLO.

US and Other Countries: US officials say cease-fire essential to negotiations, pressures IDF to ease pressure on Beirut, following strong message from Saudi Arabia; USSR Foreign Minister Gromyko rules out military involvement in Lebanon; Arab women begin silent vigil outside White House; Nicaragua says it is sending solidarity mission to Beirut.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Cabinet gives diplomatic process more time, is reportedly split over all-out attack on Beirut; Minister Yitzhak Moda'i says Israel rejects linking PLO-IDF withdrawals, accepts linking only Syrian-IDF withdrawals.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Bashir Gemayel nominates self as Lebanese president; PLO opposes withdrawal until safeguards arranged for 650,000 Palestinian civilians in Lebanon, acceptable host countries found, and Palestinian right to self-determination affirmed by US or UN; two-hour battle between Phalange and Druze flares in Aley (two killed; IDF separates forces); Sarkis and Cabinet hold emergency meeting to discuss IDF undermining of government authorities in southern Lebanon using Haddad militia (Sarkis publicly condemns IDF occupation of southern Lebanon for first time); Wazzan says Lebanese government rejects proposals for interim-partial withdrawal of PLO from all of Lebanon.

Arab Governments: Syria threatens major response, with new weapons if IDF continues attacks.

US and Other Countries: Habib meets Saudi leaders, then flies to Cairo; Habib's consultant status with Bechtel Corporation initiates call by Senator Pressler (R-SD) for him to resign (rejected strongly by White House); US AID says $850,000 in aid for American University Hospital to be flown to Cyprus for shipment. Soviet Union steps up arms to Syria.

UN: UN delays Security Council meeting sought by France, Egypt to discuss Lebanese situation.

JULY 25

Military Action

IDF jets attack West Beirut at 10 AM, on day 50 of invasion, hitting same targets as day before, following night-long artillery duels between IDF and PLO (first evening raids on Shatila, Sabra, Burj al-Barajneh camps complicate rescue efforts); only small arms fire reported in Bekaa as Syrians reposition troops, strengthen them; PLO mounts another ambush behind IDF lines in the Bekaa area (patrol hit; 8 IDF soldiers wounded, two vehicles destroyed); IDF forces in Lebanon variously estimated at 120,000.

Casualties

WAFA reports 12 casualties today, 200 in last four days; IDF bomb hit fuel tank owned by air cargo carrier at airport; ICRC personnel visit Ansar detention camp.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Economy Minister Meridor warns Syria against introducing any new weapons into Lebanese fighting; Sharon reports to Knesset committee on Thursday operation; Shamir reportedly plans visit to US later in the week, Begin set to visit Zaire; Cabinet reportedly approves daily military pressure on Beirut; Israeli officials skeptical of Arafat statement to US Congressional delegation.

Palestinian/Lebanese: Negotiations stalled during Habib tour; PLO says statement it signed for US Congressman McCloskey in which it pledges to recognize Israel and accept all UN resolutions including 242 represents restatement of longstanding positions.

Arab Government: Habib meets Mubarak in Egypt, reportedly fails to get agreement to take PLO fighters; Habib flies to Rome for talks with Foreign Minister (reportedly plans to meet Hussein of Jordan in London); Egyptian foreign minister plans visit to the US: Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah meets with Assad in Damascus, as Khaddam meets Libyan envoy.

US and Other Countries: Rep. Paul McCloskey (D-CA), visiting Beirut as part of a Congressional delegation, claims Arafat signs document accepting all UN resolutions recognizing Israel's right to exist, urges US to open dialogue with PLO.

JULY 26

Military Action

IDF jets bomb Palestinian areas of Beirut for fifth day, blowing up major PLO ammunition dump in Ramlet el-Baida (raid initiated at 2:42 PM, same number as UN resolution); jets hit Shatila, Sabra, Burj al-Barajneh, Fakhani, Bir Hassan, Spinney's Corniche Mazraa; IDF naval artillery pound areas, including Ouzia; artillery, rocket duels between IDF and PLO; French media assets IDF bringing up toxic chemical shells for use in Beirut (reportedly used in battle for Beaufort Castle).

Casualties

Beirut radio reports 15 killed, 47 wounded today; 8 IDF soldiers wounded near Choueifat, south of Beirut; fires burn near stadium; ICRC resumes visits to Ansar detention camp after stoppage due to "IDF interference with ICRC work"; electricity remains cut off to West Beirut.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Habib, Begin plan meeting today; Foreign Ministry spokesman Avi Pazner rules out direct negotiations with the PLO, even if it does recognize Israel; petrol prices rise 17 percent, cooking gas 24 percent because of invasion of Lebanon; Israel dismisses mayor, town council of Kalkilya (ninth municipality dissolved since March); IDF Army Colonel Eli Geva, commander of tank brigade outside Beirut, resigns, refusing to order his men to enter Beirut; Israeli newspaper *Davar* reports Israeli delegation is in US seeking mercenaries (especially US veterans) to fight in Lebanese war for Israel.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO claims IDF attacks are designed to "soften up" Beirut before assult on city, exhaust PLO ammunition.

Arab Governments: Egypt welcomes Arafat statement, calls on US to recognize PLO.

US and Other Countries: Rep. McCloskey calls for cut-off military aid to Israel because of use of cluster bombs; controversy continues around statement signed by Arafat in meeting with Congressional delegation (White House rejects statement as "unclear"); Representative Rahall (D-WV) notes "hellish destruction" in West Beirut; Habib meets Jordan's King Hussein in London, briefs UK Foreign Secretary Pym, flies to Israel; Canada plans to send $1.8 million in humanitarian aid to Lebanon; France hails Arafat statement.

JULY 27

Military Action

IDF jets bomb heavily populated residential areas near central West Beirut for first time, badly damaging at least 12 high-rise buildings, causing many casualties (later strikes hit Palestinian camps; raid conducted at 3:38 PM, number for UN resolution on Palestinians); by nightfall, fierce artillery duels between PLO and IDF hit camps, Corniche Mazraa; IDF warships pound Palestinian area. setting huge fires; bomb landing near French Ambassador's residence causes closing of main checkpoint near Museum; raids spark PLO rocket attack from West Beirut to Jounieh and parts of East Beirut; PLO guerrillas in civilian clothes pass through Maj. Haddad's checkpoints to reach Syrian lines (200 reported arrested, many others assumed to have arrived in Bekaa). Blockade of West Beirut tightens. PM Wazzan accuses Israel of trying to destroy the city by fire and starvation.

Casualties

Police estimate 120 killed, 232 wounded, mostly civilians (building housing 17 families takes direct hit; Wazzan and his family forced to flee to shelter as cluster of apartment buildings in Raouche district hit; dozens remain buried in rubble from collapsed buildings); electricity, water still cut off; 2 IDF soldiers wounded by rocket-propelled grenades south of Beirut; 3 killed, 30 wounded, Red Cross ship hit in PLO retaliatory attack on Jounieh, East Beirut. Nabatiyeh leaders, with town's population swelled to 100,000, plead for assistance from Israeli and Lebanese governments to stem flow of refugees from the north.

Political response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Habib in Jerusalem for "last ditch" talks. Begin again rejects any dealings with PLO under any circumstances, says current US pressure against bombing Beirut didn't exist two weeks ago.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO official says PLO rejects Sudan's offer of asylum; Lebanese Tourism Minister Hammadi angrily denounces IDF strikes, says they will be discussed at Arab League meeting Wednesday in Saudi Arabia. Lebanese government protests to UN Security Council over escalation of shelling of West Beirut.

JULY 28

Military Action

IDF jets, artillery, gunboats pound West Beirut for seventh day, ignoring Habib efforts to restore cease-fire (artillery duels, bombings hit camps Lailake, Ouzai, Ramlet el-Baida, Bain Militaire, Manara, setting large fires; Fakhani, Raouche, Lebanese gendarmerie barracks, stadium and airport areas also hit); Canadian Ambassador's residence hit (he denounces IDF attacks on civilians); PLO reinforces positions in West Beirut as PLO rockets land in East Beirut and near Presidential palace at Baabda; cease-fire goes into effect hours after Habib's return.

Casualties

WAFA reports 28 Palestinian casualties; Beirut police estimate 203 dead, 297 wounded today (one apartment building yields 82 bodies); petrol and diesel fuel in short supply, electricity and water still cut off in West Beirut; ICRC appeals to all combatants to "spare the civilian population" and hospitals, distributes maps to IDF marking all medical facilities.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin says Habib seeks firm commitment from PLO on principle of withdrawal in next two days, claims Egypt, Jordan, Syria have agreed to take PLO fighters; Eitan accuses UNIFIL officers of providing intelligence information on IDF to PLO (strongly denied by Lt. Gen. Callaghan, who says many contacts with PLO initiated at IDF request).

Palestinians/Lebanese: Salam says neighborhood delegations plead for US help in getting water, electricity turned back on, urges Habib to pressure IDF; Habib, Sarkis, Wazzan meet; Salam talks by phone to King Fahd, Mubarak.

Arab Governments: Arab League committee meets in Saudi Arabia to fix common negotiating stance.

US and Other Countries: Reagan expresses guarded optimism on peaceful solution to Beirut crisis, refuses to publicly support creation of Palestinian state; State Department issues strongest statement to date deploring breakdown of cease-fire; Arab Women's Council in Washington initiates fast outside White House; Italian government condemns IDF bombings, accuses IDF of major cease-fire violations; US says PLO arms claimed by Israelis to come from Saudi Arabia were originally sold to Lebanese Army.

JULY 29

Military Action

Beirut truce holds as Habib works intensively to break deadlock (only a few PLO mortar rounds fired near airport, in response to IDF attempted advances); IDF reports "terrorist" infiltrated lines near Hamia in eastern Lebanon.

Casualties

Lebanese Red Cross appeals to UNICEF to get water, electricity restored; PLO blocks UNRWA from taking food warehoused in Beirut for distribution in IDF-occupied southern Lebanon; heavy damage from IDF raids, including increasing numbers of phosphorus victims.

Political Response

Israel/Occupied Territories: Ben-Elissar says IDF responses to PLO/Syrian cease-fire violations won't necessarily be "proportionate"; Labor Party condemns continued bombing, shelling of Beirut; Health Minister Shostak charges ICRC with inflating casualty figures; Israel Ambassador Soffer, in Geneva, attacks World Council of Churches resolution condemning Israeli invasion as "libelous"; Israel will seek to boost tourism by encouraging tours of Israel by Lebanese and Lebanese-Americans; Colonel Eli Geva, 14 year veteran who resigned his command, is dismissed from the IDF.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Arafat outlines withdrawal plan to Wazzan insisting on linkage of withdrawal to comprehensive solution to Palestine problem. Arafat, Salam meet; Habib reportedly tells Sarkis he has secured agreements to meet PLO conditions.

Arab Governments: Arab League endorses PLO withdrawal once PLO is guaranteed safe passage out of Beirut and once future security of Palestinians remaining in Lebanon is assured.

US and Other Countries: US Administration says major hurdles remain, stepped-up IDF actions counterproductive to negotiations; Canada protests harassment of its Beirut Ambassador by IDF; ultraorthodox rabbis in Britain protest several Israeli government actions, including invasion.

UN: Security Council debate opens on Egyptian/French draft resolution (which links Beirut crisis to overall settlement of Palestinian problem); SC passes, 14-0, Spanish resolution 515 demanding that IDF lift the blockade of Beirut (is first time in history that US does not participate in

Security Council vote; Kirkpatrick claims insufficient time to consult with Washington, says resolution lacks balance). In an interview in Le Monde, Nabih Bevie, President of Amal, claims Israel not only wishes to force Palestinians out of Lebanon, but Lebanese as well.

JULY 30

Military Action

IDF, claiming PLO breaches cease-fire, attacks Palestinian neighborhoods, artillery positions in West Beirut by land, sea, air (hour-long air strike hits Ramlet el-Baida, Sabra, Lailake, Shatila, Burj al-Barajneh, Verdun Street, stadium, race track areas; bombardment follows rocket, artillery duels between IDF and PLO; fighting shatters growing optimism as trucks collect garbage for first time in ten days, hundreds of cars seek to enter West Beirut); Habib arranges new cease fire for 9 PM.

Casualties

Heavy casualties from IDF bombardment of West Beirut; IDF blockade of all water and electricity into West Beirut continues for fifth day (risk of typhoid/paratyphoid epidemic rising; all main West Beirut reservoirs dry; private wells becoming depleted, increasingly unpotable); huge fires started in Palestinian neighborhoods; hospitals experience critical shortages of food, water; two IDF soldiers reported wounded; IDF refuses to allow entry of $1 million in US provided medical supplies into West Beirut (after intervention of ICRC, supplies earmarked for AUB Hospital allowed in); IDF burns three vegetable-laden trucks near southern suburbs; Tyre still without electricity; PLO offers to compensate UNRWA for blockaded relief supplies PLO refuses to allow to be removed from Beirut.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin tells Knesset before bombing starts that IDF will step up military pressure on Beirut if PLO does not leave (claims Habib has failed to receive "unequivocal commitment" by PLO to withdraw, reportedly opposes proposal to keep IDF out of sight of Beirut-Damascus highway during any PLO retreat); IDF plan for storming West Beirut reportedly finalized; Begin postpones trip to Africa scheduled for Monday; Shamir dismisses Arab League statement, flies to Switzerland and the US. Eighteen Lebanese travel agents in Israel to discuss plans for future package tours.

Palestinian/Lebanese: New PLO proposal for leaving Lebanon presented to Wazzan; Salam expects agreement between PLO and Lebanese government in "a week to 10 days"; Wazzan accuses IDF of picking political rather than military targets to press home its demands, threatens to suspend negotiations unless blockade ended; Camille Chamoun criticizes blockade as "cruel," "unjustifiable"; Butros returns from Arab League meeting in Saudi Arabia unoptimistic, reportedly rejects PLO proposed withdrawal timetable; PLO reportedly insists that only regular troops of the Palestine Liberation Army should leave.

Arab Governments: Egypt's Foreign Minister Ali meets with Reagan in Washington, seeks to link PLO withdrawal from Beirut with longterm solution to Palestinian problem; Iraq claims Iranian offensive crushed.

US and Other Countries: Reagan meets with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ali in Washington.

JULY 31

Military Action

For 15 hours IDF warships pound PLO positions and residential areas in Manara, Ramlet el-Baida areas of West Beirut with an estimated 200,000 artillery rounds as cease-fire collapses (artillery duel between PLO units in southern suburbs and IDF units in hills): PLO prepares for worst, bolsters defenses.

Casualties

IDF turns on water but continues to blockade other goods from West Beirut; phones cut in West Beirut; gas selling for $30 per 20 liters; ICRC files official complaint with Israel over phosphorus shell which landed on roof of ICRC offices and continuing IDF artillery attacks on hospitals (PLO-run Gaza Hospital hit twice yesterday; Beirut police report 38 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians killed, 56 wounded); one IDF soldier killed, one wounded in eastern region.

Political Response

Palestinians/Lebanese: Butros expects final negotiations on PLO withdrawal to begin within 24 hours; Butros, Wazzan, Sarkis and Habib meet; Salam claims Israel does not want PLO out of Beirut but desires to destroy

it as military and political force; Arafat cables leaders of France, USSR, Cuba, Saudi Arabia and the UN, "stressing gravity of the situation"; Wazzan proposes to Habib that fuel, water, food be brought in from donor countries by ships escorted by the Sixth Fleet; Wazzan's wife heads sit-in at American University of Beirut by 20 women to protest continuing blockade.

US and Other Countries: "Grim-faced" Reagan says "bloodshed must be stopped" in Lebanon.

AUGUST 1

Military Action

IDF bombards PLO positions, residential areas in West Beirut by land, sea, air for 14 hours in fiercest fighting since invasion began; IDF makes only slight gains in advances on PLO positions, refugee camps south of airport along coastal highway from Ouzai; IDF occupies Beirut airport, approaches edge of Burj al-Barajneh camp; Eitan says operations tightened siege; IDF strikes hit Sabra, Shatila, Burj al-Barajneh, Corniche Mazraa, Museum and Galerie Semaan crossings, Salam's house, Muslim residential areas on east side of West Beirut not previously shelled; 150 IDF bombing runs across Beirut drop an estimated 260 tons of bombs by London *Times* account. IDF attempt to land troops along coast repulsed; ninth cease-fire called at 5 PM; PLO shells 10 East Beirut neighborhoods; PLO claims 30 IDF tanks, troop carriers destroyed.

Casualties

IDF says 9, PLO says 80, Israeli soldiers wounded in fighting; heavy damage to buildings; Lebanese radio station reports 55 neighborhoods hit, most distant from Palestinian camps; all hospitals except one reported hit, as well as ICRC offices; fires burn out of control as smoke blankets city; 15 Lebanese killed, 40 wounded by PLO barrages into Phalangist-held territory; lack of electricity to operate water pumps continues shortage of water (one hour after cease-fire, IDF cuts water again); Lebanese police estimate 200 dead, 400 wounded from IDF bombardment; 50 IDF soldiers serving in Lebanon sentenced for looting since invasion began (in some cases, stole items from prisoners being transported to Israel from Sidon, Tyre); while damage to Palestinian neighborhoods enormous, PLO military losses reported small; reports of IDF use of phosphorus shells in civilian areas growing; parliament building hit; one of West Beirut's two

remaining fire stations is destroyed, leaving three trucks to cover 10 square miles and protect a population estimated at 600,000.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Sharon, in interview with David Brinkley, claims Beirut Airport under IDF control, reaffirms Israel's willingness to allow further time for mediation efforts, claims PLO seeks "immunity among the civilian population"; Israeli official, rejecting US appeals for military restraint, says IDF will respond maximally to PLO cease-fire violations, will not accept "war of attrition"; Cabinet meets, again postpones decision on whether IDF will enter city; Peace Now sends telegram to Begin claiming capture of West Beirut will not serve Israeli interests; Labor leader Danny Rosolio appeals for urgent meeting of Knesset's foreign affairs/defense committee; Shamir arrives in Washington for meeting with Reagan; Cabinet sets up ministerial committee under Mordechai Ben-Porat to work with Lebanese government on finding winter accommodations for thousands of Palestinian refugees left homeless in wake of invasion and to explore resettlement of refugees (must decide UNRWA request to import tents for refugees); Mapam central committee urges government not to try to occupy West Beirut but to seek diplomatic solution; thousands participate in Rakah-sponsored demonstration against Lebanon war in Nazareth (participants include leaders of local Arab councils).

Palestinians/Lebanese: Sarkis protest IDF moves when negotiations are moving ahead; Salam calls Habib 10 times trying to arrange cease-fire; Wazzan makes passionate appeal to world leaders to intervene, as sit-in by Lebanese Muslim women continues at American University of Beirut.

US and Other Countries: Reagan stresses need for cease-fire as State Department says fighting undermines chances for peaceful PLO withdrawal from Beirut.

UN: Security Council debates resolution 516 calling for deployment of independent observers to monitor situation around Beirut; Council later unanimously demands immediate cease-fire throughout Lebanon, authorizes Secretary General to deploy military observers to check compliance (Israel reportedly withholding agreement, pending Cabinet decision, to deployment of observers around Beirut).

AUGUST 2

Military Action

Israeli army prevents UN observers from reaching West Beirut. IDF moves heavy artillery to front line through central Beirut, concentrates

tanks near Museum, Galerie Semaan, port crossings into West Beirut as armor inches closer to Palestinian refugee camps on southern outskirts of city (PLO accuses IDF of breaking cease-fire with tank movements made under cover of artillery fire; entire IDF armored brigade stationed at Museum crossing; IDF exchange artillery fire with PLO units in Burj al-Barajneh, Lailake, Hayy al-Sollom); IDF commander Drori warns West Beirut residents to "leave before it is too late"; fears of all-out IDF assault rise as IDF stops work in port, orders dockers to go home (reports suggest IDF may try to cut PLO forces in two with thrust from Museum area to port area); IDF takes Mreigi, parts of Hayy al-Sollom; only 50 yards separate IDF/PLO units along coastal road south of city; IDF asks ICRC to sponsor, assist evacuation of babies, pregnant women from West Beirut (Meridor says Israel has received no reply); PLO ambush near Litani River; light fire directed at IDF positions near Lake Karoun (IDF restricts movements of Mansoura villagers, claiming some cooperate with PLO).

Casualties

Casualties estimated by Lebanese police at 238 dead, about 480 wounded (PLO says only 20-30 guerrillas killed; police-monitored death toll since June 4 now put at 3,541 for Beirut and 11,050 for all of Lebanon); Lebanese gendarmerie says 963 Palestinians and Lebanese killed, 2,013 wounded during July, most of them civilians; Fakhani area devastated; poor Palestinians, Lebanese unable to buy excessively priced food; fuel running low; Berbir Hospital hit again (has lost 75 percent of staff); fires burn out of control; hospitals overcrowded (staff asks patients able to work to leave right after being treated to make room; many linger as they have no homes to return to); most streets impassable; IDF claims 7,400 "terrorists" captured since start of war (ICRC says it has visited only 490 at Ansar camp); 2 IDF soldiers wounded in PLO ambush near Litani.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli officials assert PLO will only leave Beirut if military pressure applied; Begin meets with US Assistant Secretary of State Morrris Draper to discuss progress of negotiations (after meeting, Israeli officials claim there is still no firm PLO commitment to evacuate Beirut); Meridor (Israeli official in charge of humanitarian programs in southern Lebanon) says Israel will object to any Palestinian refugee camps within 25 miles of the Israeli border, suggest Palestinian refugees be dispersed throughout the country; Israel delays acceptance of UN resolution on cease-fire observers (PLO states willingness to co-operate).

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib confers with Sarkis, later with Lebanese general on withdrawal timetable, general later confers with PLO negotiator; Salam expresses anger at US, Reagan after touring damaged areas, decries IDF use of phosphorus bombs, destruction of pine forest in center of city; Jumblatt, touring Fakhani district, expresses fear Lebanon will be destroyed; PLO leader Hassan says PLO will leave Beirut, urges informal PLO-US dialogue to achieve overall peaceful settlement.

US and Other Countries: Reagan, in meeting with Shamir, bids Israel end fighting and allow food and medical supplies into Beirut; Shultz also meets with Shamir; Greece offers Arafat open invitation to live in Greece on temporary basis; Canadian ambassador to Beirut ordered to leave West Beirut by his government (last Western diplomat remaining in Beirut); Brezhnev sends personal message urging Reagan to halt Israeli attacks.

AUGUST 3

Military Action

IDF armored units, under artillery cover, invade West Beirut in apparent effort to cut off Palestinian areas south of city (tanks cross Green Line at Museum, head toward Hippodrome; IDF gunboat shelling sets fires in Palestinian areas south of city; IDF ground assault against PLO positions in Ouzai area; shelling of Ouzai, Burj al-Barajneh; IDF jets make low-level passes over besieged city); two UN officers cross into West Beirut despite IDF opposition (one officer is American).

Casualties

UN health officials warn of imminent danger of epidemic in West Beirut because of inadequate water supplies; two IDF officers killed; IDF casualties up to this week put at 295 dead, 1800 wounded; fresh fruit and vegetables unobtainable in streets of West Beirut; ICRC reports 80 percent of hospital patients suffering from contagious diseases; many hospitals lack water, all using generators for electricity; eight of nine orphanages in Beirut destroyed by IDF shelling bombs.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli Druze meet Lebanese counterparts near Tiberias; Shamir, in Washington, rejects linking PLO withdrawal to wider accord on Palestinian problem.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Lebanese Muslim leaders back PLO in pressing Habib to consider plan to allow simultaneous PLO evacuation as international peacekeeping forces are deployed; Wazzan meets with French ambassador over use of French troops; PLO, Lebanese military leaders meet with Wazzan to plan PLO evacuation details; Habib meets with Sarkis, Wazzan on withdrawal plans.

Arab Governments: Egyptian official says Egypt is abandoning aspects of Camp David accords dealing with Palestinian autonomy.

US and Other Countries: Habib reportedly sends "blistering" message to Reagan warning negotiations may be scuttled by IDF undermining of cease-fire; Reagan again urges Israel not to enter West Beirut (Reagan later says escalating violence in Lebanon unacceptable); Shamir meets with members of Congress, tells them only IDF pressure will ensure PLO withdrawal from Beirut. Shamir snubbed by Reagan in Washington as sign of displeasure. Last Western ambassador in Beirut, Canadian Theodore Arcand, ordered to leave by his government.

UN: UN announces cease-fire observer group formed from UN personnel in Beirut area, ordered to take up stations in areas "under Lebanese control" (this follows IDF refusal to let 30 soldiers of UN Truce Supervisory Organization-who had driven up from Israel-deploy inside Beirut). Accusation denied by Israeli military spokesman.

AUGUST 4

Military Action

IDF attacks West Beirut by land, sea, air as IDF armored units advance on Palestinian areas on southern edge of city (negotiations brought to standstill; PLO puts up fierce resistance; all of West Beirut under rocket, artillery attack; offices of Wazzan, Lebanese Ministry of Information, Al-Nahar newspaper, UPI hit; Bristol, Commodore hotels hit; IDF takes up new positions in Lebanese army barracks, close to Bir Hassan-Kuwait Embassy junction; IDF tries to enter Sabra, Shatila camps; IDF advances only 300-500 yards near Museum crossing); PLO fires on IDF forces backed up in East Beirut, shelling Ashrafiya, Yarze and Baabda areas.

Casualties

Casualties estimated in hundreds, 80 percent civilian (American University Hospital alone receives 55 dead, 200 wounded; Beirut radio reports 300 killed, 670 wounded); fires rage throughout town; IDF maintains tight blockade; streets of East Beirut deserted; Islamic Asylum hit

for third time; rescue capabilities deteriorate as fuel in short supply; only 80 firemen remain working (many casualties left to die in rubble); 19 IDF soldiers killed; 50 killed in East Beirut. The *Times* estimates that in 4 days, 30,000 have left West Beirut, while 400,000 remain.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin tells 190 United Jewish Appeal contributors war will end soon because PLO cannot hold out, angrily attacks reported Percy statement asking Reagan to "bring Israel to its knees."

Palestinians/Lebanese: Sarkis accuses Habib of stalling to allow IDF time to finish off PLO; volunteers in thousands flock to fight with PLO (most in eastern Lebanon).

Arab Governments: Egyptian Ambassador to Israel called home "for consultations"; Egypt may not maintain diplomatic relations with Israel if IDF makes full-scale attack on Beirut.

US and Other Countries: Reagan cables strong protest to Begin, saying attacks undermine Habib efforts (White House issues statement emphasizing necessity of re-establishing cease-fire); calls on PLO to evacuate Beirut immediately; US discusses possible sanctions against Israel for first time in crisis management group and at session of National Security Council; France protests to IDF regarding attacks on embassy.

UN: Security Council draft resolution proposed by Spain, Jordan revised after US objections but still expected to be vetoed; Egypt, at UN, warns that Israeli actions threaten Camp David Accords. Resolution 517 calls on Israel to return to Aug 1 position, US abstains.

AUGUST 5

Military Action

Sporadic small arms and artillery fire and mock IDF air raids; Alexandre Hotel in East Beirut jolted by bomb explosion (apparent reprisal for hitting of Commodore; international phone, telex communications from East Beirut cut).

Casualties

Thousands of residents flee West Beirut despite calm (traffic jams at crossing points, many journalists leave, heavy damage along Corniche Mazraa and near Museum, many streets impassable).

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli Cabinet rejects Security Council order to pull back troops in Beirut, permit additional UN observers into area (as Cabinet meets, over 2,000 anti-war demonstrators protest outside Begin's offices); Israel slashes subsidies for basic commodities by up to 36 percent tofinance war (bread rises 15 percent in price, bus fares 25 percent, milk 36 percent); several Cabinet members want to restrict Sharon, claiming he is bypassing government in ordering major IDF tactical advances. Israel estimates cost of war to date 1,000 m. pounds.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Salam announces plan for withdrawal, new timetable, as breakthrough in negotiations expected; Lebanese politicans optimistic about new proposals offering US guarantees for physical safety of departing PLO.

Arab Governments: Saudi King Fahd telephones Reagan, asks him to prevent an all out attack on Beirut; Yemeni ambassadors meet in Libya, following meetings in Syria and Saudi Arabia, to gain agreement for Arab leaders' meeting on Lebanon; meeting of Arab Foreign Ministers Scheduled for next Tuesday in Tunisia; Kuwaiti parliament members press government to sever relations with the US, suspend oil shipments and withdraw funds from US banks (Saudi Arabia threatened to withdraw $100 billion from US banks last month).

US and Other Countries: US asks Israel to yield advances won Wednesday, withdraw to Sunday cease-fire lines, accept two-week total cease-fire to aid negotiations (Israel rejects appeal, official reports that Reagan feels misled by Begin); International Commission of Jurists ask that captured PLO members be given prisoner o f war status; USSR praises PLO resistance; French Embassy evacuates to East Beirut.

UN: US expected to veto any call for sanctions against Israel for rejecting UN call for pull-back; Secretary General cancels trip to Mideast after Begin refuses to meet with him if he meets with Arafat; Security Council members complain of slow US responses in UN discussions (Kirkpatrick reportedly unable to delegate responsibilities).

AUGUST 6

Military Action

IDF jets, ground forces launch new attack, reportedly destroying apartment building housing PLO "operations room"; air strike hits heart of West Beirut, 100 yards from Wazzan's office; fighting rages near race track as IDF gains a block; IDF tank positions now in heart of residential areas of East Beirut; gunfire reported at nightfall in southeast part of

West Beirut; IDF attacks shortly follow Wazzan announcement of "virtual agreement" on evacuation plan; Sharon visits East Beirut; IDF gunboats fire at residential areas swollen with Lebanese and Palestinian refugees; car bomb explodes outside devastated building, injuring and killing rescuers.

Casualties

Casualties estimated at 100 (Red Cross) to 250 (PLO); Beirut radio puts toll at 100-150 (many of bodies pulled from rubble were women and children); thousands continue to flee West Beirut; damage to city water main limits water to East Beirut; 64 Syrian soldiers killed, wounded in fighting in Beirut.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel continues to insist PLO leave Lebanon before international peacekeeping force arrives; Begin reportedly rejects US proposal for IDF pullback in letter to Reagan; Israeli official says any US sanctions could backfire, produce stronger IDF actions.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Wazzan announces "virtual agreement" between US, Lebanese, PLO negotiators on terms of withdrawal; Butros, Wazzan, Sarkis confer with Habib; PLO reportedly asks Syria to accept PLO evacuees.

Arab Governments: Saudi Arabia issues first implicit criticism of US support for Israel since invasion began, saying it "denounces" powers supporting, backing Israel; Hussein of Jordan reportedly willing to offer amnesty to PLO guerrillas expelled in 1970 to facilitate peaceful resolution of Beirut crisis (100 Jordanian women prevented from delivering petition to US embassy protesting IDF siege of Beirut); Egypt's ambassador returns to Tel Aviv.

US and Other Countries: French officer arrives to study logistics of deploying French troops.

UN: USSR calls for urgent meeting of Security Council, proposes resolution to impose arms ban on Israel (US vetoes, UK abstains, France and Japan support resolution).

AUGUST 7

Military Action

IDF, PLO forces clash with rockets, artillery, gunfire near airport and in Burj al-Barajneh; Mieh Mieh refugee camp near Sidon attacked by

Phalangist forces, 40 houses burned; cease-fire broken with bazooka fire and snipers in the Museum area; IDF air force attacks PLO positions in Beirut, allegedly destroying a PLO headquarters.

Casualties

Thousands continue to flee West Beirut, choking the one crossing left open (hundreds of Lebanese seeking to enter West Beirut to bring out relatives and friends are barred by IDF); food, water, fuel, electricity remain cut off (UNICEF tells its personnel to leave); none of those leaving are being allowed to stay in East Beirut; only Lebanese, no Palestinians being allowed to leave (Phalange say this is at IDF orders); ICRC finally gets IDF permission for one truck of medicine, four of food to enter West Beirut.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel Committee Against the War in Lebanon sponsors march through Tel Aviv; Women Against the War begin vigil outside Begin offices; Israel confirms receiving substantive proposal on withdrawal.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Amin Gemayel (Bashir's brother) enters West Beirut, says war needs to stop; PLO reportedly prepared to leave Beirut as Syria agrees to accept guerrillas; Wazzan, after meeting Habib, is optimistic evacuation will begin in a few days; Camille Chamoun says presidential elections cannot take place until crisis resolved; effort to reconcile B. Gemayel, Jumblatt fails.

Arab Governments: Syria, Egypt reportedly offer refuge to PLO guerrillas (Egypt's foreign minister later says PLO withdrawal must be preceded by establishment of a global resolution of the Palestinian problem); Arab governments reluctant to accept substantial numbers of guerrillas; PLO expresses anger at this hesitation to accept trapped fighters.

US and Other Countries: US officials say difference between US and Israel may effect military and economic ties (US seeks Saudi and Jordanian participation in Camp David); in Munich, West Germany 1,000 protest against IDF attacks on Beirut; Nicaragua breaks relations with Israel; Italy and Greece offer peacekeeping troops.

AUGUST 8

Military Action

Cease-fire generally holds, despite intermittent artillery duels between IDF and PLO: IDF pounding guerrilla positions with artillery from land and sea, particularly around the Burj al-Barajneh refugee camp, but clashes remain limited; Palestinian guerrillas shower East Beirut suburb of Baabda with rocket and shell fire as Israeli Defense Minister Sharon arrives to meet with US envoy Habib; IDF tanks surround small Lebanese military port of Kaslik. Israeli Army takes position in Jounieh and deploys its forces in the whole Phalange area.

Casualties

First running water in two weeks draws many out of buildings (resumption of water seems to be a result of US pressure); rescue workers still pulling out bodies from collapsed buildings; estimated 130,000 refugees living hidden in lobbies, basements, underground garages of unfinished buildings and in public gardens. Regional Red Cross Administrator John Desalis warns that West Beirut is "on verge of epidemic."

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Sharon campaigns against Habib plan for PLO evacuation (Sharon, after meeting with Habib outside Beirut, denies there is an agreement; aides call Habib plan a "fraud" that will allow PLO to stay on in Beirut behind protection of international peacekeeping force); Israeli Cabinet sharply divided (Begin reportedly dissassociates self from Sharon); Muslim leaders call strike on West Bank to "reflect" on events in Lebanon; Israelis want a multinational peacekeeping force deployed only after all or most of the Palestinian and Syrian fighters have left; PM Begin believes that PLO guerrillas will leave shortly without IDF having to enter West Beirut but insists that 6-8,000 guerillas must leave before the multinational force arrives.

Israeli Ambassador to US Moshe Arens states that Israel requires rosters accounting for all Palestinian guerrillas in Beirut.

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO proposes first group leave by sea but only on condition that the evacuation starts as the 1st contingent of the multinational force arrives. Lebanese government expected to make official request for international forces to come to Beirut within next 24 hours; Camille Chamoun calls on Syrians to evacuate Bekaa; Major Haddad rejects buffer troops before PLO pullout; Muslim leadership fears that IDF and Phalangist ally will occupy West Beirut if PLO leaves before arrival of international force.

Arab Governments: Arab League head says quorum of member states agree to attend meeting; Sudan indicates willingness to provide refuge for guerrillas; in Kuwait, 100,000 protest Israeli invasion; Jordan announces willingness to accept some fighters; Iraq signals approval; Syria agrees to accept PLO leadership and headquarters and any fighters who served

under Syrian command in Lebanon; King Hussein willing to grant general amnesty to Palestinians holding Jordanian passports who fled after 1970 civil war.

US and Other Countries: Shultz sends letter to Begin assuring Israel a final agreement nears completion; *Newsweek* poll indicates 60 percent of Americans disapprove of Israeli invasion of Lebanon, 43 percent favor cutting off Israeli military aid, nearly half think US should deal directly with the PLO (43 percent opposed); France has two regiments of paratroopers on stand by, others to go to Beirut to supervise PLO evacuation; Italian government ready to send mechanized battalion to join French regiments.

AUGUST 9

Military Action

IDF launches massive air, sea, land attacks on West Beirut (IDF jets attack PLO artillery positions behind Syrian lines 19 miles east of Beirut; IDF tanks, artillery pound PLO units near Museum, claim slight advance; IDF gunboats continue to pound seashore area as jets attack Palestinian areas); IDF strengthens forces around West Beirut; Haddad troops may be used in assault, according to an Israeli radio report; logistical details of PLO withdrawal from Beirut completed at Lebanese Defense Ministry; IDF planes, troops harass US military team planning evacuation of PLO forces (State Department strongly protests).

Casualties

People continue to flee West Beirut; water services restored, electricity still cut off. In Paris, 6 die in attack on Jewish restaurant.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel continues to object to early arrivals of French troops; Peres says Labor Party will oppose any plans to maintain forces indefinitely in Lebanon after PLO withdrawal; government is handed a detailed, written plan for the withdrawal of PLO fighters; Israel says air attack was in retaliation for cease-fire violations in and around Beirut.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Lebanese oppose holding summit. Habib briefs Sarkis and Wazzan on latest proposal for PLO evacuation which provides for simultaneous departure of PLO and arrival of multinational forces,

now await Israeli reply; Habib calls Salam asking him to urge restraint by PLO.

Arab Governments: Demonstrators in Damascus attack US embassy to protest US support for Israel; Egypt refuses to accept any PLO guerrillas unless linked to wider agreement committing US to progress on overall Palestinian solution.

US and Other Countries: US now supports PLO position on need to deploy peacekeeping force at outset of evacuation; State Department renews call to Israel and PLO to "exercise the utmost restraint and scrupulously observe the cease-fire."

AUGUST 10

Military Action

IDF launches new attacks on West Beirut after accepting withdrawal plan "in principle" (jets bomb Burj al-Barajneh, Sabra, Shatila and near airport, attack Syrian missile positions in Bekaa; IDF artillery, gunboats continue to pound Palestinian areas); column of IDF tanks moving north of Jounieh toward Jubail.

Casualties

Inmates of Beirut asylum reported starving to death (27 removed by ICRC to safer institutions); 46 killed, 89 wounded in IDF raids yesterday; today's raids result in 12 killed, 37 wounded; six truckloads of Red Cross medical supplies and food permitted to enter Beirut; some bakeries (for first time in 2 weeks) selling bread; 50 elderly Jews living in Wadi Aleu Javiel threatened by Israeli bombardment.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel accepts "in principle" Habib's plan for PLO withdrawal to end IDF siege of city; Habib flies to Israel to clarify proposal, urge Israel to halt attacks on Beirut; Cabinet meets, announces counter-proposals over details (insists on names/destinations of evacuees, opposes UN observers, wants IDF pilot returned); Chief of Staff Eitan stresses if PLO fails to leave Beirut IDF will remove them.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Phalange militia ("Lebanese Forces") vows not to enter West Beirut (reportedly pressed by Sarkis, Habib); Habib, before departing, briefs Sarkis, Wazzan, Butros; Lebanon asks delay in Arab League talks.

Arab Governments: Syria, Tunisia affirm willingness to provide refuge for PLO guerrillas being evacuated; Iraq reportedly says it is willing to take in all the guerrillas; Egypt reaffirms conditional offer; both Yemens agree to take guerrillas.

US and Other Countries: Reagan meets briefly with Peres, voices optimism on negotiations; Defense Department says preparations underway to send 1,000 marines into Beirut after PLO begins departing.

AUGUST 11

Military Action

IDF jets, artillery shell PLO positions for third day as IDF tanks move into strategic positions in northern Lebanon (IDF forces now pointed for strike on northern port of Tripoli or east into Lebanon's central mountain range; IDF pounds Burj al-Barajneh; fighting resumes near Museum); gunboats hit Ain Mraisi; Israelis attempt to advance into West Beirut along Corniche Mazraa. Deployment in Phalange-controlled areas.

Casualties

ICRC urges "effective" cease-fire, says situation of civilians critical; World Vision says it has been barred by IDF since end of July from sending supplies into West Beirut; need for food critical; nine IDF soldiers wounded; Beirut's only synagogue shelled by IDF sending Jewish families fleeing; UN Children's Fund has 20 tons of food awaiting authorization to enter West Beirut; ME Council of Churches unable to send in shipment of powered milk; Lebanese Red Cross finally able to get in two trucks with oxygen for hospitals.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Habib meets twice with Begin, mood optimistic; Habib returns to Beirut with new points raised by Begin. Objecting to UN observers and timetable of MNF deployment.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Sarkis, Wazzan meet to discuss growing IDF group on northern Lebanon, await Habib return from Israel; some Phalangists increasingly critical of Israeli presence in Lebanon.

US and Other Countries: US reportedly seeks expanded version of Camp David Accords using "momentum" of PLO withdrawal (expects to press Israel on issue of Palestinian autonomy, seeks to involve Saudis and Jordanians); Mother Teresa arrives in Lebanon as envoy of Pope; 200 Indians protest US support for Israeli invasion at US embassy in New Delhi.

AUGUST 12

Military Action

IDF forces hit West Beirut with 11 hour bombing raids (Lebanese authorities suspend negotiations in protest as Reagan demands end to attacks; IDF calls cease-fire at 5 PM, ending heaviest sustained air raids in Beirut since invasion; bombing follows continuous artillery that began Wednesday); IDF makes heavy deployment of troops in northern mountain, coastal areas, including Dbayieh, Jounieh, Byblos, Akoura bluff (only five miles south of Syrian troops guarding Tripoli); all Palestinian areas hit as well as Manara area; IDF forces in East Beirut heavily reinforced.

Casualties

Lebanese police estimate 128 killed, over 400 wounded; Berbir hopsital takes direct hit after being heavily shelled; Lebanese police unit hit. Lebanese police figures of deaths in Beirut since invasion 3,983 with 11,492 in all of Lebanon.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli cabinet halts bombardment of West Beirut after confrontation with Sharon, takes steps to curb his freedom to order strikes.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Salam, responding to raids, tells Habib to "go home"; Wazzan refuses to negotiate during bombing, reportedly resigns but continues to function in office; Salam charges US with responsibility for IDF bombings.

Arab Governments: Saudi King Fahd calls Reagan.

US and Other Countries: Reagan expresses "outrage" to Begin, threatens to withdraw US from negotiations unless bombings stops (fears rise that Habib mission will fail). Douglas Hurd, British Minister of state at Foreign Office in London asserts that destruction of Beirut and deaths of civilians will not destroy Palestinian cause. "The Palestinian cause, the idea that the Palestinians deserve a homeland, is not going to be destroyed because a number of Palestinians are killed in Lebanon. The problem is going to persist until it is solved."

UN: Security Council votes to renew demand that Israel permit UN officers to monitor cease-fire, supported by US.

AUGUST 13

Military Action

Cease-fire holds, one of quietest days since invasion began.

Casualties

PLO sources say 500 people killed, injured, 800 homes destroyed in yesterday's raids; little remains standing in Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut (IDF reportedly wants to make uninhabitable for returning refugees); police say 156 civilans found dead, 417 wounded; nearly all hospitals closed; IDF maintains food blockade; 1 IDF soldier wounded by sniper at Bekaa valley.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Sharon accepts Cabinet decision restricting his military actions but defends August 12 bombardment.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Withdrawal negotiations resume as PLO sends Habib numbers of guerrillas to be evacuated and their destinations.

US and Other Countries: Reagan says settlement can be expected soon (but some US officials reportedly fear Sharon may be trying to sabotage talks).

AUGUST 14

Military Action

Cease-fire holds for second day; IDF accuses PLO of breaking cease-fire with small arms fire at IDF units near Burj al-Barajneh; car bomb in Bhamdoun.

Casualties

Three IDF soldiers, 5 Lebanese civilians wounded in Bhamdoun; Israeli casualties now put at 322 killed, 1900 wounded.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Gen. Sharon says he told US Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Secretary of State Haig 10 days before invasion that Israel "must act in Lebanon" (Weinberger denies).

Palestinians/Lebanese: Lebanese general returns from Syria with agreement on evacuation from Beirut of 1500 Syrian troops, 3500 member Syrian controlled Palestine Liberation Army.

US and Other Countries: Habib wins Syrian agreement to withdraw from Beirut, flies to Israel seeking final agreement on withdrawal; Shultz optimistic about peaceful resolution of crisis; US National Security Council meets to discuss Lebanon; US, Jewish, Christian groups meet on Lebanon; West German government condemns indiscriminate IDF bombardment.

UN: Acrimony permeates Security Council debate on Lebanon.

AUGUST 15

Military Action

Cease-fire holds; car bomb in East Beirut.

Casualties

Civilians continue to flee to East Beirut as others return to West Beirut; Israel pledges medical care for all civilians hurt in siege of Beirut; 2 IDF soldiers killed in East Beirut.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israeli Cabinet approves Habib plan after Begin meets twice with Habib (but insists on prior release of IDF pilot held by PLO and bodies of nine IDF soldiers killed in Lebanon; some disagreement on verification of withdrawals, deployment of peacekeeping force reported).

Palestinians/Lebanese: PLO, Lebanese leaders remain cautious about reports from Israel. PLO gives Habib list of names of fighters leaving Beirut. Arafat promises to keep word to leave, thanks King Fahd of Saudi Arabia for persuading Reagan to call for a halt to the bombardments on August 12.

US and Other Countries: US reportedly will shift focus to getting all foreign troops out of Lebanon once PLO forces leave Beirut.

AUGUST 16

Military Action

Cease-fire holds; 1800 US Marines set sail from Naples for Lebanon to participate in peacekeeping force.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: David Kimche arrives in Baabda, plans to stay to represent Israeli position and expedite accord; Israel says release of IDF pilot is one unresolved issue; families of IDF soldiers held in Syria appeal to Begin to bar ICRC visits to Syrians until Syria provides accurate information on soldiers.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Habib works to resolve reportedly minor differences blocking final agreement on withdrawal of PLO forces from Beirut; Habib briefs Wazzan; Wazzan expects tomorrow's cabinet meeting to designate beginning for evacuation; PLO, Lebanese work out details of PLO political representation in Beirut following withdrawal.

Arab Governments: Arab League announces plans for August 28 ministerial meeting in Morocco to deal with Lebanon issue; Egypt says it refuses to resume autonomy negotiations with Israel while IDF occupies Lebanon.

US and Other Countries: Shultz confers with Senators concerning long-term solutions to Middle East issues (Percy reportedly presses Shultz to seek homeland for Palestinians).

UN: Third World nations open emergency meeting of General Assembly with drive to broaden support for a Palestinian state.

AUGUST 17

Military Action

Cease-fire holds; IDF withdraws units around parliament building to facilitate presidential polling, leaves building in hands of Lebanese army.

Casualties

100,000 Palestinians may have lost their homes (60,000 in southern Lebanon; UNRWA orders 11,000 tents); 5 truckloads of fresh produce allowed to enter West Beirut.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel says it will hold Syria responsible for any attacks by PLO from Syrian-held territory, will regard infiltration of Syrian forces by PLO fighters now in Beirut as violation of evacuation agreement; Sharon meets Habib, says progress on agreement good; Israeli-backed village Leagues in West Bank reportedly plan to form a political union. Begin expresses shock at Mitterand statement that "the PLO has earned a right to fight [for a homeland]."

Palestinians/Lebanese: Wazzan expects final agreement to be announced tomorrow (implementation will follow Lebanese cabinet meeting); concerns rise over presidential election scheduled for Thursday; Salam indicates two issues remain; Sharon meets Habib, demands Syrian guarantee to withdraw its troops.

AUGUST 18

Military Action

Cease-fire holds; PLO withdrawal scheduled to begin Saturday; car bomb explodes near office of Palestine Research Center in Hamra section of West Beirut.

Casualties:

UNRWA says 32 years of work in Lebanon "wiped out" by IDF attacks on UN schools and clinics, asks $39 m. for rehabilitation work; 4 wounded in Palestine Research Center bomb.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel receives final draft of agreement (Cabinet approval expected tomorrow).

Palestinians/Lebanese: Lebanese government approves evacuation plan, asks US, Italy, France to contribute troops for a force to oversee PLO withdrawal (Wazzan announces cabinet decision; presidential election postponed to Monday); Muslim leaders seek to block bid for presidency by Gemayel (leftist militiamen fire on parliament building, say any election will be regarded as a military coup under Israeli occupation). Elections postponed.

Arab Governments: Egypt continues to distance itself from US policies.

US and Other Countries: Reagan Administration says US Marines will go ashore in Beirut 5 days after first contingent of PLO leaves.

UN: Members debate resolution asking for UN plaque dedicated to children killed in Israeli invasion.

AUGUST 19

Military Action

Cease-fire holds; fears grow of IDF push into northern Lebanon once Beirut crisis is resolved; Lebanese Christian woman caught placing car bomb at Lebanese Information Ministry (explosives labelled in Hebrew).

Casualties

More fruit, vegetables appear on streets as ICRC convoys carrying food, fuel let into West Beirut; *al-Nahar* paper returns to newsstands.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Israel approves evacuation plan, agrees to pull back forces along highway while PLO forces evacuate to Syria; Sharon says IDF will not tolerate PLO actions through Syrian lines.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Lebanese government formally requests troops from US, France and Italy to oversee PLO evacuation.

US and Other Countries: US expresses "relief," "gratification" at Israeli cabinet approval of evacuation plan; UK official expresses satisfaction but says no long-term settlement in sight.

UN: 120 members call for Palestinian state; US and Israel vote against.

AUGUST 20

Military Action

PLO frees two Israelis as French troops prepare to land tomorrow; Reagan orders Marines officially to Beirut to oversee withdrawal; IDF blockade eases; 3 car bombs defused in Hamra area.

Casualties

Civilians head back into West Beirut, streets jammed with carts; electricity still out.

Political Responses

Palestinians/Lebanese: Gemayel meets with US envoy Draper. Announcement of Palestinian and allied units to be evacuated under the plan agreed by the PLO and Israelis through Philip Habib.

US and Other Countries: Reagan sends US Marines to Lebanon, says they will not stay over 30 days.

AUGUST 21

Military Action

PLO forces being evacuated from Beirut (400 sail for Cyprus as comrades salute them with gunfire volleys, under watchful eyes of French troops; Lebanese troops delayed in taking over port from IDF).

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Sharon says PLO suffered "crushing blow"; former Israel military chief of staff Mordechai Gur says Israel should declare war over; Sharon calls on West Bank Palestinians to open negotiations with Israeli authorities on "peaceful coexistence."

AUGUST 22

Military Action

PLO forces continue evacuation (IDF initially blocks departure with warships, claiming shipping of PLO jeeps violates accord); 265 PLO fighters arrive in Jordan (others welcomed in Iraq); emotional scenes in port area as PLO fighters leave.

Casualties

Electricity restored to West Beirut for first time in weeks.

Political Responses

Israel/Occupied Territories: Begin commits Israel to take steps toward comprehensive Middle East peace within Camp David framework.

Palestinians/Lebanese: Muslim leaders continue to call for boycott of Monday elections, urge postponement.

Arab Governments: Egypt urges US to agree to Palestinian self-rule, asks stop to Jewish settlements in occupied territories.

US and Other Countries: Reagan reportedly says Jewish settlement of West Bank "not constructive," says long-term settlement essential.

AUGUST 23

PLO evacuation continues as Bashir Gemayel elected Lebanese president.

AUGUST 24

750 PLO fighters depart to North Yemem. American officers arrive.

AUGUST 25

560 PLO fighters depart to Syria by sea and 400 to Sudan. American marines arrive in Beirut.

AUGUST 26

7th group departs: 786 PLO fighters to Syria.

AUGUST 27

More PLO departures, 524 by sea to Syria, 1,500 Palestinian Liberation Army fighters to Syria.

AUGUST 28

570 PLO fighters depart by sea to Syria. 1,280 PLO overland to Syria. Israeli army Chief of Staff Eitan declares that Lebanese leftist militias must also leave West Beirut.

AUGUST 30

1,500 Syrian troops depart overland to Syria. Yasser Arafat and 62 others leave by sea to Athens.

AUGUST 31

900 PLO fighters depart by sea to North Yemen. 1,000 Syrian soldiers depart overland to Syria. Israel accuses PLO of handling over its heavy weapons to leftist militia.

SEPTEMBER 1

13th and last group of 650 PLO fighters depart by sea to Syria. Reagan presents American peace plan proposing Palestinian self-government in association with Jordan, rejecting both a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Israeli sovereignty of it, calling for a halt to Jewish settlement in that area, and stating that future negotiations should decide the status of Jerusalem.

SEPTEMBER 2

Israeli cabinet unanimously rejects Reagan peace plan. Eight new settlements immediately announced. Sharon, Begin, Shamir and perhaps 'Major' Haddad hold secret meeting with president-elect Bashir Gemayel who is now reluctant to sign a peace treaty with Israel.

SEPTEMBER 6

The Sabra - Shatila camp committee turned over all remaining weapons in the camps to the Lebanese Army.

SEPTEMBER 9

Fez conference of Arab heads of state produces a peace plan incorporating the spirit of the Fahd peace plan, giving recognition of the

PLO, the withdrawal of Israel to pre-1967 borders and the establishment of a West Bank state with Jerusalem as its capital.

SEPTEMBER 10

American forces depart Beirut.

SEPTEMBER 11

Italian forces depart Beirut.

SEPTEMBER 13

The last French contingent of the multinational peacekeeping force departed Lebanon.

• **5:10 p.m.** Prime Minister Begin and Defense Minister Sharon, without Cabinet consultation, decided to implement "Operation Iron Brain," which includes the occupation of West Beirut in order to "prevent dangerous developments and to preserve tranquility and order."

SEPTEMBER 14

Bomb blast kills president-elect Bashir Gemayel with 50-60 colleagues in Phalangist headquarters in East Beirut. 350 members of rival Phalangist factions arrested by the SKS, the Kitaeb (Phalange) security service. Before the announcement of Gemayel's death is officially made, Begin and Sharon, without cabinet consultation, set in action 'Operation Iron Brain': it involves the occupation of West Beirut.

• **6:00 p.m.** An Israeli air bridge was set up at Beirut Airport, and tanks and men disembarked. Later, following the announcement of the death of Bashir Gemayel, Sharon talked to Begin and the decision was made to invade West Beirut. Only Foreign Minister Shamir was informed and he endorsed the plan. The Israeli forces made their last preparations.

• **7:30 p.m.** Even before the meeting between Israeli and Phalangist leaders at which the Phalangists were told to enter the camps, the first Hercules C-130 transports began landing at the Beirut Airport from

Israel. Sharon had ordered the supplies and material for the operation within minutes of learning of Gemayel's death.

• **8:30 p.m.** Approximately four hours after Bashir Gemayel's death, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan finalized the decision to send the Phalangists into the camps. The reason, according to Eitan, was "because we could give them orders whereas it was impossible to give the Lebanese Army orders." Contrary to Israeli government statements, the Israeli Army command did not first urge the Lebanese Army to enter the camps, but directly approached the Phalangists. Only Major. Gen, Amir Drori, who feared a massacre, urged the Lebanese Army to enter the camps.

• **11:00 p.m.** A public announcement of Bashir Gemayel's death was made by Radio Lebanon and Lebanese Forces Radio.

• **11:00 p.m.** General Eitan, chief of staff, arrived at Israeli headquarters at Kofhr-Sil and again reviewed the plan to occupy West Beirut.

• **12:30 a.m.** Prime Minister Begin and Defense Minister Sharon, in consultation with Foreign Minister Itzhak Shamir, further discussed the decision to occupy West Beirut. This decision, made one hour after the assassination of Bashir Gemayel, was later claimed by the Israeli Army to have been made to "prevent bloodshed."

• **12:40 a.m.** General Drori, commander of the region north of Israel, received an order to take all key points in West Beirut. (On Israeli television **Friday, September 24,** Sharon acknowledged for the first time that this reason, provided by the military command, was only a "smoke screen" to hide Israel's real intentions—the destruction of the remaining Palestinian guerillas claimed to be still in the city.)

• **2:00 a.m.** Israeli armed forces began their move forward into West Beirut.

• Sometime between midnight and 3:30 a.m. the Phalangist General staff acting in the absence of its 13-man political "war council" met for a second time and decided to order some 1,500 of their special troops to assemble the next day (Thursday) at Beirut airport.

• **3:30 a.m.** Generals Eitan and Drori met with the leaders of the "Christian Militia," including Fadi Frem, Lebanese Forces and Phalangist commander-in-chief, and Elias Hobeika, Phalangist chief of intelligence. The meeting place was the roof of the seven-story observation building which served as headquarters for both the Israeli Army and Hobeika, who was the leader of the massacre. Also present were Dib Anastas, head of the Phalangist military police, Col. Michel Oun, the pro-Phalange Lebanese army commander in West Beirut, and Joseph Edde, commander of the militia forces in southern Lebanon. Together they reviewed details of the operation to invade West Beirut. Also discussed was the Phalangist assault on the refugee camps. At the end of the meeting, a Phalangist military leader told the Israelis present, "For years, we have

waited for this moment." (This statement was confirmed to the Knesset on September 22 by Sharon.)

• **September 15,** during the day, the preparations for the killer units to enter the camps were accelerated by the Israeli Army. Among them was the painting by Israeli soldiers of the letters MP (Military Police), and a triangle drawn inside a circle the symbol of the Phalangist forces. The purpose was to show the route to be taken from Choueifat and the Beirut Airport to the Kuwait embassy across the road from Sabra and Shatila camps. Phalangist forces from East Beirut and Damour as well as Saad Haddad forces followed these directional signs.

• **Approximately 4:30 a.m.** The Israeli bombardment of West Beirut began.

• **5:00 a.m.** Ninety minutes after Eitan and Drori met with Phalangist leaders, the Israeli Army, in violation of the August 20 ceasefire and freeze-in-place, moved its forces into West Beirut. Between **11:45 a.m. and noon** it occupied areas encircling Sabra and Shatila camps.

• **Between 5:00 and 5:30 a.m.** Israeli planes made low-level flights over the camps. From the roof of Gaza Hospital, artilliary bombardment of Sabra and Shatila camps is witnessed by hospital staff.

• **By 4:00 p.m.,** the shelling zone is estimated by hospital staff to be less than a kilometer from the hospital and by nightfall, the staff observes that the camps are entirely surrounded by Israeli troops.

• **8:00 a.m.** Israeli 15 mm artillery shelling of Sabra and Shatila began. Israeli snipers fired on the camps from the sports stadium with 800-type high velocity rifles. The sixth story of the Mukhalalati building at Shatila square was shelled.

• **9:00 a.m.** Sharon arrived on top of the seven-story Israeli headquarters overlooking Sabra and Shatila camps. In the presence of Generals Eitan and Drori, he telephoned Menachem Begin and told him, "Our forces have advanced towards their target, I can see them with my naked eye.

• **9:30 a.m.** Special U.S. Envoy Morris Draper visited Prime Minister Begin in Jerusalem to discuss the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon under the Habib Accords. Begin greeted him as follows, "Mr. Ambassador, I have the honor to advise you that since 5 a.m. this morning our forces have advanced and taken positions inside West Beirut. Our goal is to maintain order inside the city. With the situation created by the assassination of Bashir Gemayel it was necessary to protect the camps." On September 24, Sharon changed the explanation and stated that the reason was in fact that 2,000 "armed terrorists" were left behind with huge arms supplies. General Eitan added that the "armed terrorists" who had stayed behind were in the refugee camps.

• (Earlier, on **September 15, 1982,** Eitan had told the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee of the Knesset that "there remain in West Beirut only a few terrorists and a small PLO bureau." Indeed, during the two weeks' occupation of West Beirut, the Israeli Army conducted a systematic search, but arrested only a few dozen people.)

• **Approximately 10:00 a.m.** The Israeli Army sealed off the north boundaries of the camps and at approximately **noon** they 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. The Israeli Defense Force Headquarters was located approximately 500 meters from the main street of Sabra and Shatila camps, and from the headquarters, the Israeli Army had extensive visibility of the inside of the camps.

• **12:00 noon.** Foreign doctors at Gaza Hospital reported the first 25 casualties from within Shatila, thought to be from two Israeli tanks positioned close to the sports stadium with their guns trained on the camp.

• **12:00 noon.** Reports began circulating from residents at Choueifat that trucks belonging to Phalangist units were moving towards the Israeli base on Runway 2 at Beirut airport.

• **Wednesday afternoon.** According to one Phalange participant in the massacre, quoted by **Der Spiegel** in its February 21, 1983, issue, "300 Phalangists from East Beirut, South Lebanon, and from Akkar Mountain in the North met in the Wadi Shahrour (Valley of the Birds) Southeast of Beirut."

At this meeting one of the Phalange officers announced that men were needed for a "special operation." He stated: "You came voluntarily to avenge the abominable assassination of Bashir Gemayel. You are tools of God. Each one of you is to seek vengeance."

The Phalange participant continued to say that during the meeting "more than a dozen Israelis in green fatigues, without designation of rank, showed up. They had maps, and their Arabic was pretty good, only they pronounced the hard 'h' like 'ch' as all Jews do. They were talking about the Palestinian camps Sabra and Shatila. We all had to look at the maps for hours—it was a waste of time because it was clear to us what we were supposed to do, and we looked forward to it."

• **During late afternoon,** the Israeli Army fired several artillery and tank rounds into the Sabra and Shatila camps. Also in the afternoon, Israeli planes made low-level flights over the camps. (Dr. Per Maehlumshagen, a Norweigian surgeon at Gaza Hospital, testified that approximately 15 persons came to the hospital Thursday, having been wounded by these shells. Other casualties arrived at Akka Hospital which is located at the southern end of Shatila camp.)

• Shortly after **nightfall,** the electricity was suddenly cut in West Beirut. At **10:00 p.m.,** an Israeli soldier, he later testified, had received

orders to begin firing flares over Sabra and Shatila camps. Close to **midnight,** sporadic gunfire began in the camps.

• The Lebanese State Radio announced that Israeli forces controlled Sabra and Shatila camps.

Thursday, September 16

• **Between 5:00 - 5:30 a.m.** Low-level flights of Israeli planes over the camps were followed by artillery shelling. Throughout the morning, Gaza Hospital staff heard distinct small-arms fire from within the camp. By mid-morning, approximately 150 casualties with high-velocity gunshot wounds had entered Gaza Hospital. Approximately 30 died while receiving treatment. By nightfall, an estimated 2,000 refugees had entered Gaza seeking refuge.

• **Approximately 10:00 a.m.** The Phalangists completed their preparations to enter the camp. After a conversation with Sharon, Eitan asked General Drori to check to see if the Phalangists were ready to enter.

• **11:20 a.m. The Ministry of Defense in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem issued the following statement: "The IDF controls all the strategic points in Beirut. The refugee camps harboring terrorist concentrations are encircled and closed." Israeli forces occupied the commercial districts of Hamra, and Corniche Mazra.**

• **11:45 a.m.** General Drori met at Amos Yaron's office with the Phalangist commander in Beirut, Fadi Frem and Elias Hobeika, intelligence chief of the Phalange, "to coordinate the entrance of the Phalange units into the Shatila camp." It was decided that 150 Phalangist fighters would enter the two camps. Drori asked Frem if his men were ready to enter Sabra and Shatila. Frem answered, "Yes, immediately." Both Frem and Hobeika commented that there would be a "kasah" (chopping) in the camps. According to Sharon's Knesset speech on **September 20,** "The conclusion was that a military force would enter the Shatila camp from the South and West to mop up terrorists." Sharon also reported they had told the Phalange to take action only against "terrorists." *(Editor's Note:* Earlier versions from the Israeli Army and government stated that the Israeli Army had not encircled the refugee areas, but had held the positions only to the north, south and west and that the killer militia had entered unseen from the unguarded east.)

• **12:00 noon.** Casualties with high-velocity gunshot wounds began arriving at Gaza Hospital.

• **Approximately noon** The municipal council which governs the camps sent five elderly men delegates with white flags to negotiate peace with the Israeli units near the Kuwaiti embassy. Four of the men were killed. They were Hamid Ismail (age 55), Ahmed Said (age 65), Abou Soueid (age 62) and Tawfik Hachmeh (age 64).

• **2:00 p.m.** Lebanese officers at Beirut Airport reported seeing two Israeli C 130 Transports arrive and unload vehicles and men, some of whom were identified as Haddad militiamen.

• **3:00 p.m.** General Amos Yaron, commander of the Israeli forces in Beirut, met with Hobeika and Frem of the Phalangists. They looked over aerial photographs furnished by Israel. They pinpointed that the Israelis would give all necessary assistance "in order to eliminate the terrorists in the camps."

Drori telephone Sharon and told him, "Our friends are advancing into the camps. I have coordinated their entry with their top men." Sharon answered, "Felicitations, the operation of our friends is approved."

General Yaron later stated to the Israeli Commission investigating the massacres that he was so concerned about the possibility of slaughter of civilians that he "placed observation posts as close as possible to the area of their operations" and had "agents listen in on Phalangist radio communications."

• **3:00 p.m.** Choueifat residents reported seeing Phalangists and possibly Haddad forces on the road to Beirut airport.

• The group of about 300 Phalangists met again and were obliged to swear an oath to their militia commander never to talk to anybody about the "operation."

According to *Der Spiegel* of February 21, 1983, several Israelis wearing Phalange uniforms joined the Phalange unit. One of the Phalange officers told his men: "Our Israeli friends are going with you. They are also volunteers. They haven't told their army what they are doing. They will make your task easier."

An officer of the Phalange maintained contact with the Israeli at the entrance to the camp. A man wearing a mask led the unit to a slope close to the abandoned Embassy of Kuwait. The order was given "Iqfiz" (hop off).

• **4:00 p.m.** A unit of 150 Phalangists assembled near the airport moved across Quzai along Henri-Chehab Boulevard to the general quarters of the Lebanese Army in the abandoned United Nations building. They were watched from across the road from the seven-story Israeli observation post. This building was 500 meters from the main road running through Sabra and Shatila camps.

• **4:00 p.m.** The Israeli soldiers manning the barricades at the entrances to Shatila camp received orders on their walkie-talkie, to allow the Phalangist forces in.

• **4:10 p.m.** Twenty-five jeeps filled with Phalangist militia passed by Bir Hassan toward the Kuwaiti embassy. Alarmed camp residents approached Israeli officers, who told them to return to their homes and that they had nothing to fear.

• **5:00 p.m.** *London Times* and other correspondents observed Phalangists setting up a command post at the Lebanese University building west of Shatila.

• **Between 5:00 and 5:15 p.m.** Three killer units of approximately 50 men each entered the camps. The leaders of the groups included Michel Zouein, a close aid to Hobeika, and Marun Mishalai, a Phalangist commander in East Beirut. The groups included Dib Anastas's Military Police, Joseph Edde's Black Beret Commandos, Elie Hobeika's Special Security Unit, and the Damour Brigade which included fighters from Saadiyat and Nameh. Two routes were used. One entered exactly in front of the Israeli observation post (diagonally across the street from the Kuwaiti embassy) into the Arsal Section of Shatila. This advance unit was led by Hobeika. Hobeika himself did not enter the camp with his men, but joined the Israelis in their forward command post. The other entered from the main road in the camp to the Horch Tabet Section. A majority of the units entering the camps consisted of Phalangist Lebanese Forces and several Phalange military police and at least a few dozen men from Saad Haddad's forces driving in jeeps supplied by the Israelis. (After first denying any involvement, Saad Haddad later told an Israeli press conference that some of his men could have been working with the Phalangists. **Washington Post** correspondent Loren Jenkins, an Israeli television reporter, and dozens of inhabitants of Choueifat, a neighborhood near the airport, claimed they saw a convoy of Haddad's forces moving toward the airport from the south. Moreover, several journalists and diplomats reported seeing Haddad's men the day following the massacres mingling with Israeli soldiers throughout West Beirut.)

• At **5:30 p.m.** artillery flares from Israeli howitzers and aircraft are dropped on the camps. While the sky was not yet dark, the alleyways were becoming dark and the flares made the area as light as day.

• **5:30 p.m.** Additional bands of militia in the Shatila camp conducted the first massacres in the section of the camp called Arsal in front of and perhaps 100 meters from the Israeli observation post.

Almost immediately, the Israeli soldiers who had encircled and sealed off the camps were besieged by hysterical, screaming Palestinian women running from the refugee neighborhoods and telling of the massacre. These women were prevented from leaving the camps by the encircling Israeli Army. West and south of the camps, Israeli tanks were placed every 100 to 200 meters. Reports of a massacre in the camps were immediately relayed to officers and transmitted along the Israeli Army command chain.

• **5:30 p.m.** A man aged 55 brought to Akka Hospital outside the Shatila camp after being forced out of his house and shot in the street. At least one doctor suspected that a slaughter was taking place.

Further evidence that the massacre began came from Gaza Hospital where one of the early victims was Milad Faruk, aged 11. He had gunshot wounds in the arms and legs and had a finger shot off. His parents and younger brother were already dead. The family was watching television when Christian militiamen kicked down the door of their house and opened fire.

• **7:00 p.m.** An hour after Phalangists had entered the camps, an Israeli lieutnant identified only as Elul, an aide to the division commander, General Yaron, "overheard a conversation that took place over the Phalangist transmitter" that was being monitored in the Israeli forward command post. According to Lieutenant Elul's testimony, he "heard a Phalangist officer from the force that had entered the camp tell Hobeika that there were 50 women and children and what should he do." Lieutenant Elul testified that 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." Lieutenant Elul said that at that point, "raucous laughter broke out among the Phalangist personnel on the roof." The Israeli officer said that he understood that what was involved was the murder of women and children, and told Yaron.

• **7:00 p.m.** Another radio communication indicated that 45 people who were captured were to be killed.

• **Between 7:00 and 8:00 p.m.** Israeli soldiers from a mortar unit fired 81 mm flares at the rate of two per minute into the camps. The flares continued throughout Thursday night and Friday night. Some flares were also dropped by aircraft. Throughout the night, Israeli observers, 200 meters from the center of the killing, watched the massacre with infrared binoculars, which essentially convert the night to day for the viewer.

• **Approximately 7:00 p.m.** Sharon met with Morris Draper, who requested that the Israelis leave Beirut. Sharon refused.

• **Approximately 8:00 p.m.** A Phalange liaison officer "told various people" that about 300 people had already been killed by the Phalangists (later he reduced it to 120). About an hour later the divisional intelligence officer of the IDF presented his "intelligence survey" in which he said, "The impression is that their (the Phalangists') fighting is not too serious. They have casualties, as you know—two wounded, one in the leg and one in the hand . . . And they, it turns out, are pondering what to do with the population they are finding inside. On the other hand, it seems, there are no terrorists there, in the camps; Sabra camp is empty. On the other hand, they have amassed women, children, and apparently also old people." He also reported the 7 p.m. radio communication from a Phalange officer indicating that these people should be killed.

• At a meeting between Yaron and an Israeli intelligence officer who had been inside the camps, the officer stated "there are no terrorists in the camp. The Sabra camp is empty."

Several hours later the Israeli Cabinet issued the following statement: "Following the assassination of President-elect Bashir Gemayel, the I.D.F. took positions in West Beirut in order to prevent the danger of violence, bloodshed and anarchy, while about 2,000 terrorists, equipped

with modern and heavy weapons, remained in West Beirut, thus blatantly violating the departure agreement."

• **9:30 p.m.** Sharon later acknowledged, "The word revenge also appeared I would say, in discussions among us," and he conceded that he had known that the Phalangists "tended toward creating conditions so that eventually the Palestinians would leave Lebanon."

• **10:00 p.m.** An American army truck which the Israeli had given the militia was boarded and driven near the circular flower bed at Beirut International Airport. At that location next to the Israeli position several trucks were parked.

• **Afternoon.** According to the Phalange participant in the massacre, noted above, "During Thursday evening after the killing had started, soon I saw the Israeli advisors who had been at our secret planning session. One of them had a radio and told us to retreat to the entrance of the camp. A few minutes later Israeli artillery sent a massive barrage of fire over to the part of the camp that was resisting. When we advanced again the Israeli shot flares to help us distinguish friend and foe."

• **Approximately 10:00 p.m.** According to General Yaron, Israeli soldiers under his command monitored a radio conversation between a Phalangist militiaman in the field and his commander. Asking for advice on the camp operation, the militiaman was told to "do what God commands you."

• **At approximately 10:00 p.m.** Israeli Army Lieutenant Avi Gabowski (a tank commander) later testified that he saw Phalangists killing civilians and one of them told him "pregnant women give birth to terrorists." He reported this incident to his superior.

• **10:12 p.m.** IDF Radio monitored by the BBC, announced that Israeli control over the coastal axis, from the airfield in the south to the port in the north, was total. After referring to pockets of resistance to the IDF troops, the report said: "The intention is that the IDF will not operate tonight to purge the areas of Sabra and Shatila and nearby camps. It was decided to entrust the Phalangists with the mission of carrying out these purging operations."

• **11:00 p.m.** The Phalangist commander of the troops in Shatila reported to General Yaron, "Until now, 300 civilians and terrorists have been killed." This report was immediately given to Eitan and more than 20 high-ranking officers in Tel Aviv. Despite this report, which was confirmed on Sept. 24, 1982 by **Jerusalem Post** military correspondent Hirsch Goodman, and those who received it, the massacre continued until late Saturday morning. (General Yaron later said this report convinced him that more than "fighting against the terrorists was going on." He contacted the Phalangist commander staff, but stated he didn't forward the report to commanding officer Drori).

• **Toward nightfall.** An indefinite curfew was imposed in all areas under Israeli control, including Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

• **During Thursday night.** Eighty-two wounded persons from Shatila made their way to Gaza Hospital. The route to Akka Hospital, which was closer, was blocked by Israeli forces. Some of the injured were wounded in the massacre and some by the shelling by the Israeli Army earlier in the afternoon.

During Thursday night. Between 1,000 and 2,000 persons from Sabra and Shatila, in a state of panic, sought refuge in Gaza Hospital.

• **Midnight.** The Israeli Cabinet met in extraordinary session. The minutes of the Cabinet meeting showed no dissent from the decision to send the Phalange into the camps. Deputy Prime Minister David Levy and General Eitan spoke of possible Phalangist revenge against Palestinians. According to the minutes of the Cabinet meeting, Eitan predicted "the outbreak of acts of revenge . . . It will be on outburst the likes of which have not been seen. I already see in their eyes what they are waiting for . . . ." This same report was made by **Jerusalem Post** correspondent Hirsch Goodman. Eitan reported on the West Beirut situation, including limited engagements with Muslim militias such as Al-Mourabitoun. He off-handedly mentioned that the Phalangists entered the refugee camps in order to "mop up nests of terrorists." He added that the Phalangist activities were completely coordinated with those of the Israeli Army. During the four-hour discussion of West Beirut, approximately three minutes were devoted to the Phalangists being sent into the camps.

Friday, September 17

• **Shortly past 1:00 a.m.** Israeli Army radio announced that the Israeli Army was leaving the "cleansing of the camps" to the Phalange.

• **4:00 a.m.** According to the Phalange participant in the massacre, noted above, "At about four in the morning my unit went back to the truck. Apparently only one truck had been used at the time. We went back to the entrance of Hadath to sleep. At dawn we went back to the camp. We passed corpses, fell over corpses, shot at and bayonetted all eyewitnesses . . . . . Then the first bulldozer of the Israeli Army arrived. 'Plow everything under the ground, kill all eyewitnesses, everything has to go very fast,' a Phalange officer ordered."

• **4:00 a.m.** The same Israeli mortar unit which fired the flares Thursday and Friday night fired several 155 mm high explosive and phosphorus shells into the camps.

• **5:30 a.m.** Israeli military Intelligence Officer Moshe Hevroni received the report that 300 were dead and had his aide forward the report to Sharon's office. (At Sharon's office, Lieutenant Colonel Reuven Fai, an officer in the Israeli National Security Unit, reported that he passed it to Sharon's civilian aide, Dudai, at **11:00 a.m.** Dudai denies receiving their report.)

• **Early Friday morning,** according to Israeli Colonel Eli Geva, he saw

Israeli soldiers and officers watching from their observation post the piling of bodies, and the execution of civilians. During this period, the Israelis from time to time gave food and water to the militiamen across their barricades in front of Shatila. Rumors of a massacre began to spread through the IDF units.

At about the same time, several journalists learned of the massacre in progress and Zeev Schiff, the military correspondent of **Ha'aretz,** contacted several Israeli officials, including Minister of Communications Mordechai Zippori. Zippori telephoned Foreign Minister Shamir and reported a massacre was taking place in the refugee camps of West Beirut. Zippori, whose personal relations with Sharon were not good, urged Shamir to find out from Sharon exactly what was going on in the camps.

(Sharon told the Knesset on September 22, "When we first had doubts about what was going on in the camps, the Commander of the North Front Drori immediately took measures to stop the action of the Phalangists at Shatila . . . . We put an end to the Phalangist activity towards Friday, noon, and we definitely evacuated them towards Saturday noon." In reality, the massacre activity continued all day and all night until Saturday morning. During this period, fresh Phalangist troops entered the camps.)

• **Approximately 6:00 a.m.** Israeli tank commander Gabowski saw Phalangist militiamen kill a group of five women and children. His tank crew informed the Israeli regimental commander who told them "not to intervene."

• During the morning of **September 17, 1982,** Captain Moshe Sinai reported to Lieut. Col. Gai, that "300 civilians have been killed in the camps." Gai reacted with the words, "Listen, that's very interesting—I spoke with the minister during the night, and I'll go talk with him in a little while; the story is very interesting, and the minister will be very happy to hear the report." (Between **12:30 and 3:00 p.m.,** Lt. Col. Gai reported this information to Dudai at the Ministry of Defense, personal aide to Sharon.)

• **Approximately 11:00 a.m.** The Phalangists asked for more ammunition to be sent into the camp as well as fresh soldiers to replace those who were tired. Yaron agreed with Hobeika that two more battalions of militiamen could enter the camps, but only one entered. He later stated that the new supplies were sent into the camps between "11:00 a.m. and 2:00 or 3:00 p.m."

• **Approximately 11:00 a.m.** Yaron met with Drori and raised suspicions concerning Phalangist activities inside the camps.

• **Approximately 11:00 a.m.** Drori gave the Phalangists an order to stop the killings immediately. He did not order them to leave the camps, nor did he investigate whether the massacre had stopped.

• **Between 11:00 a.m. and noon.** Akka Hospital, located just across the street from Shatila camp, was invaded by a killer unit and several of the wounded were killed in their beds including 14-year-old Moufid Asad. Several staff members also were killed and some, including Dr. Sami Katib were taken away and never returned. Intissar Ismail, a 19-year-old Palestinian nurse, was repeatedly raped by Saad Haddad forces and her body mutilated so completely that the only means of recognition was the ring on her finger. A Lebanese colleague at Akka confirmed this event and some of the conversation of her killers. Two other nurses were taken and one was raped 10 times and then killed.

• **11:05 a.m.** Communications Minister Zippori telephoned Shamir to forward a report that "the Phalangists are massacring" in the camps. **At 12:00 noon,** Shamir met with Sharon and top generals, but claims he did not mention the reports of the massacre to Sharon.

• **About 11:30 a.m.** Three large Phalangist trucks and two smaller pick-ups were loaded with men, women, and children and left the camps toward the south. These trucks passed Israeli units in front of the camps. This activity was filmed by Danish television cameraman Flint Pederson. Residents of Choueifat and Hadath, south of the camps, reported the trucks passed their area heading south.

Also on the Danish film can be seen an elderly man, a Mr. Nouri, being turned back with other civilian into Shatila. Some 24 hours later Robert Fisk of **The London Times** saw Mr. Nouri lying dead near the main road running through the camp.

• According to **The New York Times** of January 30, 1983, "Palestinian and independent medical sources in Beirut stated that several hundred men rounded up by the militias in Sabra and Shatila were turned over to the Israelis and were in detention in Israeli prison at Ansar."

• **Approximately 11:45 a.m.** Drori called Army Chief of Staff Eitan with news of the massacre. Eitan told Drori that he was coming to Beirut.

• **About 11:45 a.m.** Residents in the Bourg el-Brajneh camp near Shatila reported seeing Christian militiamen bringing people out of Shatila on to the main road. This was within sight of Israeli positions. About 100 Palestinians were separated from the Lebanese and made to squat on the road, where they were interrogated, their faces being slashed by bayonets to force a reply. All this went on in sight of an Israeli position beside the Kuwaiti Embassy.

• **Approximately noon.** Shamir and Sharon met with U.S. envoy Morris Draper and urged him to pressure the Lebanese government into sending its army into the camps. According to Draper, neither Shamir nor Sharon told what both of them knew—that for more than 12 hours the Phalangists had been engaged in a massacre.

• **Beginning in late morning,** at least three Israeli bulldozers entered the camps and groups of militia prepared mass graves in order to hide bodies. Throughout the afternoon and night, they also destroyed houses.

One grave was dug below the Israeli observation post as Israeli soldiers watched.

• **In early afternoon,** Yaron spoke to Colonel Agmon, the Phalangist liaison officer, and was told that Phalange militiamen were killing women and children. Yaron did not inform Drori or Eitan during their meeting.

• **3:30 p.m.** Eitan arrived at Beirut Airport. He saw the Phalangist troops and spoke with some of their leaders.

• **4:00 p.m.** A Norweigian diplomat named Gunnar Flakstad while trying to get through to the Norweigian doctors at Gaza and Akka Hospitals observed that the scoop of one of the bulldozers was filled with bodies.

• **Midafternoon.** Approximately 400 civilians seeking to escape the massacre and carrying a white flag approached Israeli soldiers. According to **Time Magazine,** (Oct. 4, 1982), "They were turned back to the camps at gunpoint." The civilians said the massacres were taking place.

• **4:00 p.m.** At the checkpoint outside Shatila in front of the Kuwaiti embassy, Israeli soldiers lounged amoung militia men and gave them food and water. One Israeli soldier present later reported, "We were giving the men some rest before they went back in."

• **4:30 p.m.** Eitan again met with Drori and Fadi Frem, the head of the Phalangist forces in East Beirut. According to Drori, Eitan congratulated the Phalangists on their smooth military operations inside the camps. Eitan explained to Frem that the Americans had asked him "to stop the operations in the camps." (an interesting revelation that the pressure to stop the massacre came from U.S. not Israeli authorities—ed.) Frem asked Eitan "for more time in order to clean them out." Eitan agreed and reversed Drori's earlier order to stop and allowed the Phalangists to remain in the camps until 5:00 a.m. Saturday morning. While both sides agreed that the "operation" (i.e. massacre) could continue until Saturday morning, they agreed that other supplementary Phalangists units were not to enter the camps. However, fresh troops were sent into the camps. This decision gave the Phalangists 13 more hours of killing. In reality the killing continued for approximately 17 more hours.

Contrary to what Drori claimed they agreed to, the Hobeika unit and fresh Phalangist troops entered the camps and continued their killings.

• Reuters correspondent Paul Eddle interviewed an Israeli colonel during **Friday afternoon** who told him that two principles had guided the refugee camp operations: "That the Israeli Army should not become involved and that the area needed to be purified."

• During the **late morning,** Ron Ben Yishai, military correspondent for Israeli television, followed a group of Phalangists, who stated that they were on a military mission from East Beirut to the Beirut Airport. There he saw units of Phalangists with Israeli uniforms—with the Israeli inscription replaced with one reading "Lebanese forces." He also saw several

(some witnesses counted 11-ed.) U.S.—supplied Sherman M-47 and T-54 tanks, as well as 120 mm guns, 13 military trucks, and command cars. The clothing and helmets were spread on the ground, being delivered to the Phalangists by the Israeli Army. Several journalists present spoke with the Phalangists, who left no doubt about their mission. "We are going to kill them, we are going to fuck their mothers and their sisters," the journalists were told, according to Ben Yishai. Israeli correspondent Alex Fishman has reported that several of the militia took alcohol with them and one told him "before going I must take a good supply of hashish."

• **Approximately 5:15 p.m.** Approximately 200 militiamen prepared to leave the airport for the camps. Eitan, Drori, and several Israeli officers arrived from their meeting with Fadi Frem. Eitan spoke with several Israeli and Phalangist officers and then piloted an airplane to Ramat—David airport in Israel and then to his home at Tel Acachim.

• **At 9:00 p.m.,** according to Sharon, Eitan called him and stated "Hem higzimu." ("They went wild.")

• According to a report on Israeli television, Sharon was awakened **Friday evening** by a telephone call from military correspondent Ron Ben Yishai, who reported about the massacre. According to Ben Yishai, Sharon replied "Happy New Year."

Sharon said he telephoned Beirut following this call, but his subordinates advised him the massacre was over. (Editor's note: In fact, the massacre continued throughout the night for approximately another ten hours.)

Saturday, September 18

• **Between midnight Friday and approximately 8:00 or 9:00 a.m. Saturday.** The massacre continued unabated with over 200 militiamen in the camps killing whomever they could find, with the realization that they had been directed by the Israelis to leave the camps by early morning. According to eyewitnesses, most of the killing took place between Friday night and Saturday morning.

• **Between 6:00 and 7:00 a.m.** Several Phalangist militiamen entered Gaza Hospital and forced the medical staff—some 20 individuals from England, Norway, Sweden, Ireland, Denmark, Finland, and the United States—to assemble outside. (According to Norweigian orthopedic surgeon Per Maehlumshagen who was present and is familiar with the distinction between troops of Saad Haddad and Phalangist troops—having served in South Lebanon—most of the group was Haddad forces.) Arab staff members were shot. The group was marched down towards the entrance of Shatila while gunmen hurled abuse at them. A Palestinian Laboratory technician who had been trying to walk with them was pulled away by the militia, who said: "come with us." Dr. Maehlumshagen asked "what are you going to do with him?" but a gunman replied, "It's none of your business. You have your job to do and we have ours."

The Palestinian was marched down an alley and behind a house. A burst of gunfire followed—and the Palestinian did not return.

A gunman told the frightened medical staff: "We believe in the Geneva Convention. We'll show you how we treat our prisoners." Then a jeep drew up with a terrified Palestinian teenager on board, his cheek bleeding from a number of cuts. "Who are you?" a gunman demanded. "I am a Palestinian," the teenager replied. "Say it again," the militiaman snapped. The boy repeated it several times. Meanwhile more and more men were gathered. The medical group was then taken to Phalangist headquarters and turned over to the Israeli Army, which released them.

- **6:00 a.m. to 8:00 a.m.** Loudspeakers were used to call inhabitants from Sabra to assemble on the main street. "Sallimu tislamu," ("Come out and you will be safe.") the residents were told. Several hundred assembled and were herded south on the main road of Shatila. Some small groups were separated and shot against wall. Bulldozers covered some of the bodies in crushed houses. Some were put into trucks in front of the Kuwaiti embassy. One survivor reported hearing a militiaman say, "Better liquidate the maximum before anyone interferes." Some were taken away in trucks, others shot, still others taken to the sports stadium.
- **9:00 a.m.** A U.S. Embassy staff member visited Shatila camp, confirmed that a massacre had occured and informed his superiors.
- **Throughout the morning.** Inhabitants of the camps were periodically put into trucks and taken to unknown destinations. Dozens of relatives were carried away during this period and never seen again.

Bodies have been discovered along a route leading from the camps through the area of Ouzai, Khalde, Harat en Naameh, Kafr Chima and around the airport. The killer militia worked quickly to dispose of bodies. The Egyptian news service reported that more than 50 Egyptian bodies were carried by helicopters and dropped into the sea.

- **Close to 10:00 a.m.** A stillness began to envelop the camps. Some isolated killing continued. Israeli tanks closed off the entrances to the camps. The Phalangist militias climbed into their vehicles and returned to their bases.
- **Towards 11:00 a.m.** Journalists and photographers descended upon the camps. They found freshly bleeding corpses. Shortly thereafter, the world learned of the massacre at Sabra and Shatila.

Lebanese press accuses Haddad militia of playing a role in massacre. U.S. Security Council unanimously adopts resolution 521 demanding the immediate deployment of U.N. observers in Lebanon.

SEPTEMBER 20

Gradual thinning out of Israeli army from West Beirut. Lebanese army takes over some positions. US, France, Italy agree to send troops back into Beirut. 40 UN observers arrive.

SEPTEMBER 21

Amin Gemayel elected President.

SEPTEMBER 23

First units of MNF arrive in West Beirut. Israeli army pulls out of West Beirut.

On Tuesday, September 12, at 12:40 a.m., Israeli General Amir Drori received orders from Ariel Sharon to take all key points in West Beirut. This occupation breached repeated Israeli pledges to the Reagen administration that Israel would not enter West Beirut.

II

THE INVASION OF SOUTH LEBANON

Editor's Note:

The Israeli invasion of South Lebanon was swift and cataclysmic. Massive bombardment of the Rashidiyeh, Ein el Hilweh (almost totally destroyed), Bourj el Shamali (two-thirds destroyed), and Al Bas (one-third destroyed) Palestinian Refugee camps killed thousands of their inhabitants.

In mid-August 1982, the Information Department of the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C. and Israeli embassies in several European countries distributed a pamphlet entitled: LEBANON: THE FACTS. This document constitutes a gross distortion of Israel's actions in Lebanon. In one section entitled "What happened in the refugee camps?", the pamphlet shows what purports to be *Ein el Hilweh* Palestinian Refugee Camp after the invasion. This camp, the Pamphlet states ". . . demonstrates Israeli concern to avoid civilian deaths." The Israeli government document then offers the reader the following photo of an essentially undamaged En el Hilweh camp with banana groves:

This is a different picture from that seen by Israeli journalist, Ammon Kapeliouk, who visited the remains of Ein el Hilweh, which ironically means "the source of beauty":

> Words lose their significance when one walks through Ein el Hilweh, the huge Palestinian refugee camp east of Sidon. You perceive the terrible destruction, the survivors of the camp, and everything turns pale as against the reality. Out of the 4,000 people which inhabited the camp prior to the invasion of the Israeli Defense Army, only a few thousand have remained. The vast majority were scattered in all directions. Houses of one, two, and three floors were destroyed, some of them partly and many completely. It looks as if no single building has been spared the bombardment of the Israeli Air Force or the shelling of the artillery. At present, bulldozers are razing completely what has been left over from the bombardment. It is virtually a symphony of destruction and annihilation. Between and above the debris, women, children, and old people are strolling like ghosts, like shocked shadows. A French woman reporter accompanying us says, "The Al-Asnam in Algeria, the day after the terrible earthquake that took a heavy toll of thousands of human lives, looked exactly like this." (Al-Hamishmar, July 16, 1982)

During its invasion of South Lebanon, and contrary to recommendations by a number of senior Israeli officers that civilian concentrations be spared carpet bombing on humanitarian grounds, military considerations prevailed. The result was horrendous destruction which according to a July 12, 1982 United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) caused the following destruction:

Schools:

St. Joseph School
Makassad Secondary School (completely destroyed)
Sidon Takmilieh Government School
Al Madkhal el Shamali Government School 'Al Zein'
Elementary Government School 'Shehab'
Al Madkhal El Janoobi Government School
Government Teachers' Training College
Al Ittihad Secondary School 'Ste. Nafisseh' (completely destroyed)
Sidon School Majdelyoun
Alexandra School, Old Sidon
Vocational Training School
Faisal School
Government School
Khan el Frenj-French School and Orphanage, Old Sidon
Morjan Government School
Aisha School - Ryad el Solh Street

Hospitals:

Rashid Khoury Hospital
Labib Medical Centre
Shoaib Hospital
Elias Elia Hospital
Ramzi Shaab Hospital
Dalaah Hospital
Hammoud Hospital
Al Hajj Hospital
Osseiran Hospital

Eleven hundred houses were also destroyed in Sidon and approximately 1,500 were heavily damaged.

In the coastal city of Tyre, approximately 350 houses were destroyed and more than 750 heavily damaged. In addition, there was heavy damage to the following schools and hospitals:

Tyre Primary School
Tyre Official Primary School
Al Jaafariya School
Teacher Training College
St. Joseph Convent School
St. Thomas School
The Anglican School
Al Ittihad School
First Official Secondary School
Second Official Secondary School
Al Najat al Ramali School (completely destroyed)
Government Hospital (completely destroyed)
Jabal Amel Hospital
Palestine Red Crescent Hospital
Dr Ismail Bahr Hospital (completely destroyed)

Many of the witnesses whose testimony is presented below were among those who were most directly threatened and affected—with several being arrested—during the Israeli invasion of South Lebanon.

MARGARETE CARLSSON, Nurse, Sweden

"At noon we decided to go home and on our way we could see that 75 percent of Rashediyeh at this time was in ruins."

HELEN RYDELL, Nurse, Sweden

"Some of the Israeli soldiers were very aggressive and called us 'international terrorists' and mentioned Baader Mainhof."

We were two of four Swedish nurses in Rashediye when the war started that Friday, the fourth of June. Margarete Carlsson and I had been in Rashediye for almost 3 months and Lennart Lofquist and Ann-Sofie Arvidsson came to the camp the second of June. They were the new team. Bo Westerdahl, the medical doctor of our team, went to Beirut at noon this Friday to meet a friend at the airport.

At three o'clock pm a neighbour came and told us about the news on the radio. She said that the south of Beirut had been bombed by Israeli planes. Lennart, Ann-Sofie and I were just on our way for a visit to one of our friends. The man told us that the PLO had answered this bomb attack with several rocket firings and he wanted us to go home and prepare ourselves for a stay in the shelter. Our neighbours cleaned and arranged the shelter and so did all of the women. We packed the most necessary things to take with us, dressed warmly and took a fast supper outside the kitchen.

At about five o'clock we could hear distant explosions. Artillery shells, we were told. We moved to the shelter and at about six the first shell exploded inside the camp.

I didn't know anything about weapons, so therefore I still don't know exactly what kind of weapons were used at different times. Sometimes we asked our friends. Also I didn't note the exact time of the different events.

From the inside of the shelter we could hear the explosions, aeroplanes and the firing of rockets by the PLO.

At 7 o'clock a man from the Popular Committee came and told us that the camp was hit in the periphery but there were still no wounded people. At this time a nurse from Al Bass Hospital, three kilometers from us, came and told us that Bo Westerdahl had sent a message that he was safe at the Akka Hospital.

At eight o'clock another friend came to see us. He was the Chairman of Popular Committee. All the time until Sunday evening he and his men went through the camp to visit the shelters and tell the people what was going on. This man was also responsible for our safety and now we decided that we should move to the shelter at the clinic. This shelter at the clinic was built this winter. There it was possible for us to give health treatment even under difficult conditions.

We picked up our things and walked rapidly the 300 metres to the clinic. Two women and a child who lived in the vicinity came to stay with us. All the shelters were very crowded.

At nine o'clock the shelling stopped and the helicopters came instead. They flew round, round in circles above us, and after half an hour they suddenly started a very intensive shooting against targets both inside and outside the camp. Suddenly they disappeared but they came back once again at two am.

Saturday morning at seven o'clock, the fifth of June, it was quiet and silent. We went outside the shelter and were invited to breakfast with one of the neighbours beside the clinic. At this time we were told that one man was dead and three others were wounded. Ten houses were destroyed.

We went to our home to take a shower and at ten we returned to the clinic to prepare the shelter for eventual patients. We also spread the information that we were at the clinic and could give treatment to ill or wounded people. Our Palestinian nurse and translator, Bassam, came at eleven and he worked with us. We did some bandaging.

At eleven o'clock am the shelling started again. From the sea, we were told. The shelling became more and more intensive in the afternoon. We heard drones for the first time and now we received the first patient with a wound from a metal fragment in his leg.

During the night there was sporadic shelling.

Sunday before noon it was rather quiet but now we heard rumours about the Israeli invasion and we could see families who tried to flee by car, in panic.

At noon very intensive shelling began again.

At three pm we received the first very seriously wounded persons—commandoes. One of them died directly. We could do nothing. The other one was seriously wounded but we could treat him and he stayed alive. Of course he needed an operation as soon as possible but we had no opportunity to take him to a hospital.

Because of the very intensive shelling, we received more and more patients and the shelter was croweded. Most of them were only slightly wounded and all were men. Women and children stayed inside the shelters.

Just before five pm, another dying commando was brought to us by his friends. He died and then all hell broke loose.

Between five and six-fifteen Rashediye camp was under very heavy air-bombardment. When it stopped it was quiet and we went outside. A house very close to the clinic had got a direct hit. The clinic was badly damaged. The main street outside the clinic was just a big hole.

During the night there was shelling and air bombardment.

Monday morning the seventh, at six o'clock, it was very quiet. No shelling or shooting. The third commando was dead. We couldn't save him.

The patients that could walk got new bandages, analgetics and antibiotics and then they left. We cleaned the shelter and waited.

At ten am Margareta and I went to one of our friends and she told us that the Israeli soldiers had reached the school at the edge of the camp on Sunday before noon and from there they had been shelling us since then.

The Israelis had dropped leaflets demanding that we leave the camp and guaranteeing our safety. All the camp waited. What should we do? Margareta and I went back to the clinic. There were still three commandoes with us and we asked them to put their weapons outside in case the Israelis were to find us.

At noon we decided to go to our home and on our way we could see that about seventy-five percent of Rashediye at this time was in ruins. In one of the streets we could see five dead commandoes. People told us that when they wanted to take the bodies away Israeli soldiers fired upon them from the school.

On our way home we asked to look at an old woman who had been hit by a stone on her chest. We went down inside a shelter. It was very, very crowded. No light because of no electricity and the air was really bad. We could not see any serious wounds and we gave the woman some analgetics.

At home we found that our neighbours had left, therefore, we picked up some personal things and then went back to the clinic. On the way back we met a lot of people coming up from the shelters and some of them carried white flags. The time was two-thirty pm and now we all went to the school. We were all frightened. We didn't know what the Israelis would do with us. Even the children were quiet. Some of the women cried.

In the street outside the school we met the soldiers. All the men had to stay on their knees beside a wall with their hands above their heads. The women's luggage was searched and then they were told that they would go to the Red Cross Centre close to Tyre, two kilometers away.

We four Swedes explained who we were and asked to be taken to the United Nations in Tyre or Naqoura. Because of the fighting on the road to Tyre, Naqoura became our only possibility. We had to wait.

At three we heard shooting from the camp and we took shelter in the stairs down to the big shelter at the school. All the time we had at least one Israeli soldier with us.

Some of the soldiers were very aggressive and called us "international terrorists" and mentioned Baader Mainhof.

At four o'clock the air bombing started again over Rashediye for one hour. They also used a large artillery-piece from the school.

At six-forty-five a truck came from the south and we could take that one to Naqoura. Three soldiers were ordered to escort us.

We left Rashediye.

Photo: UNRWA

A Palestine refugee shows where his home home used to be at Ein el-Hilweh camp, near Sidon.

DAVID HENLEY, Physician, Sweden

"The work came to an abrupt end in June of this year when the clinic and a large part of the camp were destroyed by the Israeli army."

From October 1977 until June 1982 the Palestine groups in Sweden ran a medical clinic in the Palestinian refugee camp Rashediye in southern

Photo: UNRWA

This UNRWA school which served the Ein el-Hilweh camp, near Sidon, was one of many bombed by Israel during its invasion of Lebanon.

Lebanon. The clinic was run in collaboration with the Palestine Red Crescent Society, which is the PLO health organisation, and during this period some 50 Swedish health workers, doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians went to work in this camp during extended periods. The work came to an abrupt end in June of this year when the clinic and a large part of the camp were destroyed by the Israeli army. I myself lived and worked in Rashediye in the spring and summer of 1981, which forms the basis of what I would like to present today. The health of a people mirrors an important aspect of their living situation, and thus it is in this frame of reference that I want to reconstruct a part of the Palestinian experience, and give a portrait of this specific camp prior to the invasion.

Rashediye is one of three refugee camps grouped around the city of Tyre in southern Lebanon about 15 kilometres from the Israeli border. The camp, whose construction began in the late 1940s, rests on the Mediterranean Sea. Of about approximately 400,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon about half reside in 12 refugee camps.

In Rashediye there lived about 17,000 people with a population weighted very much towards the younger people because of the large number of children per family, although there were very many old people residing in the camp. Few soldiers resided in the camp. That the camp was a military base is pure mythology. I can attest to this as a doctor who was frequently called out during different parts of the day and night to visit people in the camp, or even as a runner who has jogged nearly every nook and cranny of the camp.

The conditions of the camp during the 1960s were those of poverty and apathy. The camp was strictly controlled by the Lebanese State. There were continual curfews imposed on the population and the rights of assembly were restricted. Permits were required for travel. During this time the population lived in extremely crowded conditions. For instance, people with a family of up to seven members were given a house of nine square metres. The houses or huts had roofs of corrugated sheet metal which were unsuitable both for the winter months, as well as the summer months. The health of the people in the 1960s in the camp was not without serious problems. The infant mortality during this period was about 120 to 130 deaths per 10,000 live births. In one of the few studies from the period, a collaborative study by the American University of Beirut and Columbia University, malnutrition among the children was found to be a major problem. Approximately a third of the children under three years of age were found to be suffering from malnutrition, measured in terms of delayed growth in height, weight, as well as anaemia. 15 percent of the children showed signs of apathy and muscular wasting. 67 percent of the children under a year old had anaemia. So that the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) clinic built in 1966 was addressed to these needs: the sign there says 'Rashediye Camp Rehydration Nutrition Centre'.

After 1969 a dramatic change took place in Rashediye. This was a time during which the Palestinians themselves took control of the camp. It was then run by a Popular Committee in which there were representatives from the different political groups, as well as the trade unions. The families built additions to their homes, proper roofs were laid, electricity and plumbing were brought into the houses. Health and cleaning campaigns were initiated which substantially improved the hygiene of the camp. Six nursery schools were built in the camp in addition to the six public primary schools that were run by UNRWA, affording all Palestinian children a free 10 year education. Food was available in the camp as fields were cultivated and this, together with basic rations from UNRWA, met the nutritional needs of the population. These developments could not change all the aspects of the life in this camp, such as a chronic lack of work. Full-time employment continued to be an exception. A large number of the men were forced to seek employment in the other Arab States. Of those that worked in the camp, 60 percent worked in the surrounding Lebanese-owned fields and orchards. Others worked in small businesses that they ran or in the health education or military sector.

During this period different activities were developed in the camp: the Palestinian Women's Union, for instance, dealing with the general and political education of the Palestinian women as well as helping women develop work skills; and a Palestinian Students' Union directed towards educational needs.

I present all this background information not in any way to try to romanticize the life in the camp, because it was certainly hard at best, but to emphasize the necessity of self-government for the people so as to have the opportunity to struggle for their own betterment. And thus in many ways the Palestinian refugee camp was a very functioning entity. In the 1970s and the early 1980s those of us who worked in the camp found very little trace of depression or resignation or apathy. But then there was another reality in the camp. From 1973 the more or less regular shelling of the camp was greatly to influence the life. The small underground shelters which were built soon became the frequent homes of most of the women and children during long periods.

From 1973 until the end of 1981 the camp was shelled 710 times, 15,000 shells fell on the camp. 250 people were killed. Many thousands wounded. 90 percent of the houses were destroyed or damaged and had then to be rebuilt.

During my stay, for instance if I choose the month of April 1981, there were only five days during which the Rashediye camp or the very near vicinity was not shelled from the south or from the sea. During this month there were 70 civilian deaths, men, women and children in and around Rashediye as well as 200 injured. At least 30 houses in the camp were destroyed. The entire school bus was hit by a shell resulting in the injury of 10 school children. In one raid, 41 shells fell on the camp within one hour. Parts of March and May were not dissimilar from this. There was no electricity in the camp during this month nor were schools functioning, nor garbage collection or the like. Rashediye is a place where civilians live and so the targets of these shells were always civilian targets. (Slides were shown of roofs of houses where splinters of cluster bombs had fallen above and entered through the top and also of houses which had been shelled although adjacent to a clinic, school and church.) But of course the population have learned to live under such circumstances. Activities were sandwiched in between military events. There were weddings, there were dances and there were other types of entertainment.

During the 1970s the medical services in the camp were extended and, in addition to the United Nations clinic, two other medical clinics were added, one of which was the one in which I worked. Rashediye was also served by a nearby hospital established by the Palestine Red Crescent Society. Most of our patients were children, although there were elderly also. Most of the patients were Palestinians from the camp, but some were also Lebanese people from the surrounding areas. Also as part of our work

we ran a small clinic one day a week in a Lebanese mountain village called Halaseh for the Lebanese population. It was hard during the time that we worked there to find experiences which would verify contentions that the Palestinians exerted an oppressive influence on the neighbouring Lebanese population.

Concerning valid medical data about the problems of a camp like Rashediye. they are really hard to document. The population comes and goes depending on the military activity. Certain things can certainly be said. One of the studies we did when I was down there concerned nutritional disorder, that is questions of adequate caloric intake or vitamin or mineral deficiencies: the complete absence of these disorders, with few exceptions, was very apparent. The only exception to these well nourished children in the camp were those who were fed on powdered milk formulas. Their histories were usually identical: the mothers had stopped nursing and they had bought the cheapest powdered milk formula—there was a lot of propaganda floating around; these were the children who became sick.

Otherwise mention must be made of 1,200 patients that we investigated, children in the age zero to four years old and registered at the clinic, among whom the figure under-weight or under-nourished was lower than one percent. The illnesses that we saw were those of infectious diseases, often mild ones; tuberculosis was absent, new cases of polio were absent. Unfortunately, a leading problem was household accidents. Burns from kerosene stoves and lamps were frequent findings when these children were presented at the clinic. Traffic accidents were also a major problem. These things are also in some sense consequences of the situation. What we did find when we were down there working was that the handicapped child as well as the handicapped adult represented a major medical problem among the Palestinian refugees. In addition to the usual congenital malformations and infections and birth injuries, traumatic injuries from shell wounds and accidents contributed substantially to the causes. (A slide was shown of a piece of shrapnel in the foot of a young child.) We therefore undertook when we were down there to start a project aimed towards the introduction of handicapped care to the population.

Finally, I want to say that we tried to gather some epidemiological data concerning the number of childhood casualties in the area, resulting from military attacks. No official statistics were available. These were the quiet times so to speak. So we tried to make a rough estimate of this, which we did together with some Palestinian people, and gathered some information from the two leading Lebanese newspapers in Beirut—'Al Saffiyeh' and 'Al-Nahar.' We were then able to cross-check the data from the newspapers concerning the number of injuries. The victims that were listed were always civilians, but not all the time were the ages of the casualties given.

Of course, I understand this is a crude way of gathering data, because there are many errors involved. During these four months under question there were at least 20 known deaths of children under the age of 15, 29 over the age of 15 and then 100 of unknown age; there were 99 wounded under the age of 15, 133 over the age of 15, and 242 of an unknown age. Even though there are many errors that are apparent in such data, we nevertheless feel that it gives a kind of human dimension to this continuing tragedy in the Lebanon, as well as indicating a source of medical problems for today and the long term consequences. In conclusion, I feel it important to de-mystify the medical problems of the Palestinians in Rashediye. They do not suffer from strange or exotic diseases, but rather from the circumstances of poverty in continuing war. Such was the state of life for the people of Rashediye as I witnessed in the spring of 1981. On my leaving Rashediye, the Palestinians who had become my friends gave me the title of Ambassador, saying: 'You have seen much of the reality of our situation. You must now tell what you have seen to the rest of the world.' It is as an Ambassador that I give my testimony today.

Nordic Commission: I would like to ask the witness whether according to his opinion we can consider the treatment of that camp which we have seen to be normal compared with other camps in southern Lebanon, or whether there has been any specific reason why the Israeli army, as I understand from your statement, has been shelling this camp for years. Was there any reason why this camp got a specific kind of treatment, if it did get such a treatment? Another question, you showed us a picture of some houses which were damaged and you mentioned that splinter bombs had been used to damage them. I would like to know whether throughout these many years of shelling about which you reported such kind of weapons were used and whether you personally have been treating people who have been wounded by weapons of that kind. That is all before the invasion, of course, because you said you had been shelled since 1973.

David Henley: There are three camps around the area of Tyre. Rashediye is perhaps the best known as a well-functioning camp. It was also the closest to the Israeli border. There is another camp, Borj el Shamali, which you will hear about later and then a camp in El Bas. I do not think that there is any kind of discriminatory practice about which camps were exposed to the most extensive shelling and bombardment. I think that the situation in Rashediye is quite representative of all these Palestinian refugee camps in the south, around the city of Tyre. I can only speculate, no more, no better than you can, as to why these camps were chosen. I think that the contribution which I can make is to say that the usual explanation is that these were military bases and that if you scratched the surface, these were places filled with soldiers and a lot of weapons, and the reason you had to get at the camps was because they

were not really places where civilians lived but merely disguised military bases. It is that for which I do not find any kind of evidence. What I tried to show was that this was a place where civilians lived and worked and children went to school, and that the population was a civilian population; that there were some soldiers there, that they were guarding the camp, and there were attacks on the camp during the time I was there—attempted landings from the sea. So of course it would be ridiculous to say that there were not any kind of defence systems set up there.

Concerning the use of weapons like splinter or cluster bombs. I can only say what I heard there, that they had been used for many years prior to my coming there. I could see evidence, although I do not know very much about anything regarding weapons or the marks that they leave, but I know that, during the time I was there, there were several episodes during which these bombs were exploded in the air and sent down a kind of shrapnel. Our clinic did not take care of many injured people. There was a hospital three or four kilometres from us and this is where most of the people were taken. We did on occasions take care of patients with minor shrapnel injuries, or at least they had metal fragments lodged in their foot or hand. I also worked during part of my time there at the small Palestine Red Crescent Hospital in El Bas.

There were frequent cases of patients brought in with shrapnel injuries.

Nordic Commission: I have information that 14 refugee camps are destroyed completely or nearly completely. Is that a correct figure?

David Henley: I do not know about this figure. As far as I know there are 12 Palestinian refugee camps in the Lebanon, two of them in the north of Tripoli area which I think have not been destroyed. So far as I know there are 10 that have been hit or destroyed, and I think the worst being Rashediye and those in the south.

Nordic Commission: May I have the evidence that there were PLO strong points in the camp? If there were, I would like to know where the closest strong point was.

David Henley: There was no evidence of military strong points in the camp. There were Palestinian soldiers who were stationed around the camp, but I do not know if having pistols or a machine gun represents a 'military strong point.' But within the camp itself I think I can testify that even if I did not enter every house, I certainly saw and walked every street even in the surroundings of Rashediye camp, and this was no military camp nor was there any kind of military build-up there.

Nordic Commission: It was mainly what you might call the camp militia?

David Henley: Yes.

Nordic Commission: Did they store their weapons and ammunition? Is this one of the reasons why the Israelis bombed this camp? They said there was a storage of ammunition and also PLO strong points.

David Henley: I do not think I could answer that question, that it could have been so. I just say that I was called to places in the evenings or night on emergencies and wandered the camp, wandered around in many cases in an unexpected manner. I was certainly free to go wherever I wanted. I ran around the camp, I was a frequent guest in many of the homes in the camp. Of course I cannot exclude the possibility that there could have been a house with ammunition but the Swedish groups have had doctors or nurses working in Rashediye and it has never been reported that anyone has, as it were, stumbled upon such a place. They have also had free access to the camp. So that the argument that you go into Rashediye because this was a stronghold—a military base—finds no support from my observations or my colleagues who were there for these five years.

Nordic Commission: Was your clinic or the hospital which you have referred to provided with signs which could be seen from the air that it was a hospital or clinic? Could the aeroplanes see what they might be bombing or shelling? That was of course relevant during the invasion. You have mentioned that they had been shelling all the time. Was it possible to see and distinguish between the clinic and the houses?

David Henley: Our clinic could not be distinguished from the air, let us say with a red cross. There were no distinguishing marks to show that this was a medical clinic. The only thing which I can say is that it was situated in the middle of the camp, and that it was not in any kind of peripheral position.

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS
David Henley and Helena Rydell

Question: There are three categories of armed men: a) regular forces in regular units, e.g., those of the Palestinian Liberation Army, b) commando or guerilla soldiers based near enemy lines or on operations behind them, and c) militia for self-defense. Which types of armed personnel were present in the Rashediye camp?

Helena: Militia, in the camp.

Question: Is that what you called commandos in your statement?

Helena: Yes.

David: Commandos, by that definition, or guerilla soldiers, were not stationed in the camp. Sometimes soldiers could be observed coming to the camp and then leaving it again. They were stationed at other places, but some of them had their families in the camp.

Question: Were there fortified positions, firing positions, in the camp?

David: There were a few trenches along the beach, along the coast. Besides them, some damaged buildings could be used for fortification, as far as I could tell, for defense of the camp. I'm not an arms expert, but as far as I could see, there were no heavy arms at all in the camp.

Question: Were there any anti-aircraft positions in the camp?

David: There were guns mounted on pickup trucks, but they looked like machine guns. I was told that those guns didn't have the range to bother aircraft flying over the camp. They were definitely not the kind I've seen called anti-aircraft weapons in movies—they were fine-caliber arms.

Question: You mentioned that cluster bombs were used against the population of Rashediye in 1981. Are you sure? Have you seen them?

David: I must remind you that I am not an arms expert—I'd rather not give testimony on that. I saw for myself houses in the camp with holes in the walls and roofs, sections where the damages consisted of small holes in the concrete roofs. There may be other explanations for this, and I may have been misinformed by the Popular Committee of the camp when I was told they were the result of cluster bombs. I myself saw neither cluster bombs nor the fragments demonstrated on other occasions. During April a man was killed in the camp, supposedly by a cluster bomb explosion, but I have no documentation.

Question: Did you experience the bombings yourself?

David: Many times. I used April as an example. During April there were only five days when the camp was not shelled. During that month, we sat most of the time in the shelters, working between attacks and then running to the shelters. There were at least 20 days when the camp was directly shelled, when we could see and hear it. In March there were less occasions, and in June a number of them. During July there were many attacks on both Beirut and the camp.

Question: Were the attacks directed towards special targets or did they hit all over the camp?

David: I saw no signs of any system in the bombing. The shells seemed to be scattered randomly in the camp. The clinic was in the middle of the camp, and they hit around there. The rather large UNRWA clinic was also there. It seemed to me shells hit there just as often as other areas of the camp. I could see no signs of intent. The church I showed a picture of was on a hill in the old section of the camp, near the outskirts. It was destroyed in April.

Question: Were there any special marks on clinics and schools, so they could be distinguished from other buildings?

David: No. Our clinic could not be distinguished from the air. I believe schools could be distinguished by their size, but not by any special marks. So it may have been difficult to distinguish them. I must remind you that most of the shelling was from artillery. There were two air raids in April,

David Henley: I do not think I could answer that question, that it could have been so. I just say that I was called to places in the evenings or night on emergencies and wandered the camp, wandered around in many cases in an unexpected manner. I was certainly free to go wherever I wanted. I ran around the camp, I was a frequent guest in many of the homes in the camp. Of course I cannot exclude the possibility that there could have been a house with ammunition but the Swedish groups have had doctors or nurses working in Rashediye and it has never been reported that anyone has, as it were, stumbled upon such a place. They have also had free access to the camp. So that the argument that you go into Rashediye because this was a stronghold—a military base—finds no support from my observations or my colleagues who were there for these five years.

Nordic Commission: Was your clinic or the hospital which you have referred to provided with signs which could be seen from the air that it was a hospital or clinic? Could the aeroplanes see what they might be bombing or shelling? That was of course relevant during the invasion. You have mentioned that they had been shelling all the time. Was it possible to see and distinguish between the clinic and the houses?

David Henley: Our clinic could not be distinguished from the air, let us say with a red cross. There were no distinguishing marks to show that this was a medical clinic. The only thing which I can say is that it was situated in the middle of the camp, and that it was not in any kind of peripheral position.

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS
David Henley and Helena Rydell

Question: There are three categories of armed men: a) regular forces in regular units, e.g., those of the Palestinian Liberation Army, b) commando or guerilla soldiers based near enemy lines or on operations behind them, and c) militia for self-defense. Which types of armed personnel were present in the Rashediye camp?

Helena: Militia, in the camp.

Question: Is that what you called commandos in your statement?

Helena: Yes.

David: Commandos, by that definition, or guerilla soldiers, were not stationed in the camp. Sometimes soldiers could be observed coming to the camp and then leaving it again. They were stationed at other places, but some of them had their families in the camp.

Question: Were there fortified positions, firing positions, in the camp?

David: There were a few trenches along the beach, along the coast. Besides them, some damaged buildings could be used for fortification, as far as I could tell, for defense of the camp. I'm not an arms expert, but as far as I could see, there were no heavy arms at all in the camp.

Question: Were there any anti-aircraft positions in the camp?

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one on targets one kilometer south of the camp and the other targets three kilometers to the east. But otherwise, the shelling was from artillery, from the south, not from the air or sea.

Question: How did you estimate casualties in March, April and June 1981? How reliable are the figures?

David: A list of civilian casualties was presented to the Congressional Records by an American Congressman in 1979. I wanted to gather similar data for the period I was there. I started by checking hospital records—at Al-Bass hospital and even at Beirut hospitals. It was impossible to get any meaningful statistics that way. Sometimes the registers were incomplete, people had applied to several hospitals in the region, etc.

So, finally, I used as a method the combing of Beirut's two leading newspapers—Al-Nahar and Al-Safir. They published lists of the names of casualties every day. Together with others who read Arabic, we systematically noted the names and ages of casualties. Since age was not always stated, we divided the casualties into those over and those under 15 years of age. When possible, we double-checked and compared the two newspapers—the coincidence was rather high. So I would say most of the data comes from journalists and others who daily visit the camps and collect information. Information of this kind has been assembled for the year July '80-July '81. The figures I presented were taken from there.

Question: What did the Israeli soldiers call you, Helena, a "terrorist," and what did they mean by that?

Helena: Not all of them did, just some. They said that because we worked for the PLO. We worked for the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS).

Question: What is the difference between the PLO and the PRCS? Did you work politically for the PLO?

Helena: No difference. The PRCS is the organization for medical work of the PLO. But we didn't work politically for the PLO in Lebanon.

DR. EBBA WERGELAND, Physician, Norway

I worked for the first time in south Lebanon with the Palestinians from 22 June until 6 August in 1977/78, at the time of the last major invasion by Israel. I was coordinating the medical work of the Norwegian health workers in Beirut who came to the assistance of the Palestine Red Crescent under siege there.

I visited the clinic in Borj el Shamali on 28 June. The last time I went to this building was in 1981, when as the representative of the Palestine Committee, I was there to prepare the transfer of our medical work from southeast Lebanon and to develop a medical centre in cooperation with the PRCS and according to their requests. What I saw when I arrived at Borj al Shamali this time were buildings still standing but the doors and windows were out. Some of the inner walls were apparently destroyed from inside by shots or small explosive charges. What I saw were just holes in the walls. All rooms were empty apart from a few papers on the floor as for example some posters from the Palestine Red Crescent advising people to use breast feeding instead of bottle milk. On the roofs some pieces of furniture had apparently been burned. This is consistent with information given recently about what people found when they came back to the clinic.

Around the building pieces of furniture, apparently beds, were spread around, smashed. Two dental chairs and a few toilets, pieces which could not be torn away, were apparently smashed. The shelter behind the clinic was full of rubble apparently destroyed by an explosion inside.

To the east of the clinic I saw no shelter in the place where they have now shown slides indicating that the Norwegian medical team was taking shelter there during the bombardment. What I saw there was probably rubble and nothing which I could recognize as a shelter. Behind the clinic a center had been built since I had been there last and it was in the same condition as the clinic. The building was standing and empty. I met two Palestinians from the staff at the clinic. They told me that between seven and ten ambulance drivers from the Palestine Red Crescent had been arrested and there was still no news about them. The members of the staff were otherwise still alive, all of them. They were mostly female. Some of them had their homes totally or partially destroyed according to the information I got. Male family members had been arrested. I visited the home of one of them. The two small houses that had been the home of this member of the staff and the family were both partially destroyed, but there were still rooms left giving shelter. A shelter they had been preparing in the vicinity was now a big hole. I was told that it had been dynamited. The Palestinians also told me that the only help they now got was from UNRWA and the International Red Cross. The latter had been there but had not come back.

They said that only those registered with the Red Cross received help from UNRWA. Their main worry was where to live when winter came. I did not visit the main camp because of lack of time; I had to be back in West Beirut before dark. I was told it was half or two-thirds destroyed, but that people stayed there in the remaining houses with other families. The medical equipment in the clinic was said to have been taken to medical centers, but I got no further information. It was depressing to see our

friends' state of despair and hopelessness and not being able to promise much assistance.

Shortly after my visit to the clinic, the Palestine Committee at home received a reply from the Israeli Embassy to an application for permission to visit the clinic, not knowing that I had already been there. It stated that the building was still standing, as I had seen, and had been taken over by Palestinian families. It continued that there was no record of what happened to the medical equipment, it may have been destroyed in the fighting or after and looted by the local inhabitants. They added that there was therefore NO (this being underlined) possibility of visiting the place. I was told by some people from relief organizations that they had not got permission to continue medical work in the building and that people had not been allowed to live there. I cannot verify this. I can only state that at the time of my visit, which was nearly two months after the invasion, both the clinic and the center for ambulance drivers were empty, with no sign of having been used by homeless people for any extent of time.

The buildings were two stories high, both of them, and could have made a good house for homeless people from Borj el Shamali. I cannot say who broke the furniture, the toilets or left the houses as they were. It is difficult for me to see why local people, badly in need of housing and shelter, should have done this destruction.

LEENA SARASTE, Photographer, Finland

"According to the Israeli version the 'terrorists' came to Sidon, stripped the patients naked, threw them out, put on hospital pajamas and jumped into beds, pretending to be the patients of the hospital."

I have visited Lebanon 3 times. Once in October 1980, the second time in April this year, and then I went in June during the war to Israel for 3 weeks and from there I went for 4 days to Lebanon. I will concentrate in my testimony on Israeli propaganda.

During my three—week stay in Israel, I was, more or less in daily contact with spokesmen of the Israeli army and I heard all the official propaganda.

The first shocking thing I discovered in Israel is that they have censorship, even during the time they do not have any official war. All journalists must sign a paper in which they promise to show all their material to representatives of the authorities. Journalists are not allowed to take out of the country a single undeveloped film. They are checked very carefully on departure. The authorities seem to know if a journalist changes his time-table and the time of his departure.

They are very eager to help journalists. During my stay they chose the people we were allowed to interview in Lebanon and very eagerly helped us to find people in Israel whom we could interview.

All the time they kept telling us that the Palestinians were "cowardly terrorists," and that Palestinians despised the PLO. You have heard the story of the hospital in Sidon from several witnesses, but I have heard the Israeli version told to journalists by official spokesmen. It was repeated every day 3 or 4 times. According to the Israeli version the "terrorists" came to Sidon, stripped the patients naked, threw them out, put on hospital pajamas and jumped into beds, pretending to be the patients of the hospital.

The way one goes to Lebanon with a military escort is a very special one. First of all, one must obtain an Israeli press card. One's identity is thoroughly checked, so are his or her press credentials. After that he or she is issued an Israeli press card. Then one must go and listen to a two-hour lecture about the situation in Lebanon, where statistics are cited and gossip is treated as facts. I have received very interesting statistics, and indeed very contradictory information.

July 9 was the day when I went to the briefing for travelling to Lebanon. I think that was a crucial time because they had realised by then that this war was not going to end very quickly. They made special fuss about it in "news-view" magazine which dwelt on analysing how they failed to explain the war this time. They began by telling us that they do not intend to interfere in the affairs of the Lebanese. When the Israeli journalists complained that the Phalangists ask them for a tax of 100 liras every time they passed, the officials said it was none of their business.

They were also very eager to divert journalists from going to Beirut. One of their attractions was a visit to an airforce base. A special airforce day for foreign correspondents was organised, though earlier it was difficult to visit the air base in Beer Shiba. It required applying for permission 3 or 4 months prior to the date of the visit, and one was not sure of receiving permission. But now permission was easy to obtain. They asked me to visit Beer Shiba instead of Beirut, but I declined on the strength that the magazine I represented was not interested in air bases.

Anti-Palestinian stories ranked high in their briefing. They said that people in Sidon hated the Palestinians and added that rich people in the city could not construct houses without obtaining permission from the

PLO and giving two floors of each house to the PLO—the basement for storing ammunition and weapons and the upper floor to house twenty men. In addition they had to pay protection money and give their daughters. At this point a journalist asked whether the Palestinians ever let anybody who had no daughters to build houses. The Israelis answered: Well, we do not insist on this point, if you do not want to write about it. We just give you the facts. They hinted all the time about the "sexual escapades" of the Palestinians trying to make people believe that the Palestinians roamed around the city every night knocking on doors of Lebanese houses in search of women, and when they found them they took them away never to be seen or heard from again. They also talked about secret Palestinian prisons with secret rooms for raping women. They warned me against going alone through Palestinian check points, claiming that the Palestinians would rape me.

Israel has started sending archeologists to Lebanon to dig for anything that can link the area to Jewish history. At the same time they are mounting a propaganda campaign claiming that the Palestinians have caused irreparable damage to monuments in Tyre and the neighbouring areas. My observations have convinced me that the damage was caused by indiscriminate Israeli bombing and shelling.

Israeli propaganda concentrates most of all on picturing the Lebanese welcoming the Israeli invading forces as saviours who liberated them from the clutches of the ruthless Palestinians. Interviews were arranged for us in Lebanon with a handful of selected people to prove that. But the interviews were conducted in the presence of machine-gun-carrying officers and with Israelis acting as interpreters. Most of the time what the interpreter told us had nothing to do with what the interviewed person said—at least I could gather so much with my elementary knowledge of Arabic. I understand some of the language.

A very important point that should not escape the attention of the Commission is that most of the correspondents representing the foreign media in Israel are Israelis. For example the correspondent of the Springer press of West Germany is an Israeli. The present Reuters' correspondent told me that he was the first correspondent of his agency who had served before in an Arab country. This fact can account for the pro-Israeli bias in the foreign press.

One of the most dominant themes in Israeli propaganda is the claim that Israel never hit civilian targets. I have seen with my own eyes evidence to the contrary—hundreds of residential buildings, schools, hospitals, shops, etc. directly hit by Israeli bombardment and shelling. I would like to show you the slides I have taken to prove that. (Mrs. Saraste shows slides of destroyed civilian targets in Damour, Tyre, Sidon and West Beirut.)

DR. JEAN YVES FOLLEZOU, Physician, France

"The hospitals were easily seen by the Israeli soldiers as they were marked by Red Crosses. That is why the doctor concluded that the bombing of the hospitals and of any other public buildings—schools, recreation centres and cemeteries —can only be deliberate."

I had no chance to go to Lebanon since the beginning of the war, or better say, I tried to go there via Israel, but was unable. I was in Israel from July 9 to 15 as a member of the Commission for Saving Lebanese and Palestinian Prisoners. This Commission was created on June 30, 1982 in Paris at the initiative of physicians and lawyers of all political tendencies and religious beliefs. Its aim, on the French national level, is the same as that of the International Commission meeting here today. I was accompanied by Prof. Gerard Lioncan, professor of law at the University of Paris. As soon as we arrived in Tel Aviv we contacted the Israeli governmental authorities in order to get information about the prisoners and permission to visit them. We tried to establish contact by phone, then we wrote a letter to the Minister of War, Ariel Sharon. We told him in this letter that he was aware that the plight of the Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners captured by Israeli forces was causing a great concern in France and that no official information had been given by his government concerning the number of prisoners, their identity, place and condition of their detention. We asked for a meeting with Sharon in order to be able to hear his opinion and to receive the necessary permission to visit the prisoners.

We took the letter personally to Sharon's office. But we did not get any written answer. The only answer we got was a phone call from a lady called Laura, an official in the minister's office who informed us that the minister refused to receive us, that we should not be worried about the plight of the Palestinians and "that we will not be authorised to visit them, but the International Red Cross would be able to do so in the near future." Miss Laura directed us for further information to Miss Anne-Marie Lambert, an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jerusalem. Consequently, we went to Jerusalem and we tried to meet this lady, but we could not see her. We were only able to talk to her on the phone. She said that she considered it useless to meet us, adding: "Your visit is out of the question, just as it is out of the question for representatives of private organisations to visit prisoners." She further said: "If the Palestinians had been without visits for five weeks, it was because they were being interrogated. The Israeli authorities were much more concerned about the

plight of the Israeli prisoners than about the Palestinian prisoners; and finally no Israeli prisoner had received any visits from the International Red Cross and the information we had received on this question, and largely diffused by the press were unfounded." This is all we achieved during our stay in Israel.

A second mission for the same purpose followed, sent by the Committee of French Lawyers. Once again, it confronted the formal refusal of the Israeli authorities to shed light on the plight of the prisoners. We concluded that the wall of silence which the Israeli authorities erected around the situation of the prisoners—Palestinian, Lebanese and others—only confirmed information received from non-official sources about the brutal treatment of the prisoners.

During our mission we took part in a press conference in Jerusalem on July 12, in which Professor Israel Shahak, President of the League for Human and Civil Rights, participated. On this occasion, the Israeli writer Mordachai Avi Shaul, Chairman of the League, revealed the existence of an interrogation centre for Palestinian prisoners at the Shmuel Arofe Hospital. This information was confirmed by a second source, an Israeli who contacted the correspondent of the French newspaper "Le Monde" in Jerusalem. We tried to arrange a visit to this hospital, but in vain. On the strength of this, we concluded that wounded Palestinian prisoners are taken to this hosptial to be interrogated and ill-treated. This hospital is located on the route to Rehavot, close to the village of Ber-Yakot.

Other information obtained from private sources indicate that there are at present three concentration camps for prisoners on Israeli territory. We do believe that we saw one of them. Of course, this should be checked, but we have precise information to allow further investigation. We could see one of them on the road from Tel Aviv to Nazareth, near the tourist centre of Medigo, not far from the village of Affoula. Journalists have confirmed the existence of this camp. We have also heard that a big camp will be set up for thousands of prisoners in South Lebanon, close to Nabatiyah.

Since I was accompanied by a lawyer I would like to make a few remarks of a legal nature. We noted that the treatment of Palestinian prisoners by the Israeli army was not in conformity with the Geneva Convention (August 12, 1949) on prisoners of war, signed by Israel and Lebanon. (Israel has signed the Geneva Convention of 1949, but it did not ratify the additional protocols of 1977). The Israeli authorities try to justify this attitude by stating that they do not recognise the PLO, and that the Palestinian army is not a regular army and consequently its members are nothing but terrorists who should be tried in accordance with the repressive measures defined by internal Israeli legislation. The PLO, however, is recognised by the United Nations as the only representative of the Palestinian people. It is recognised by Lebanon and many other countries as well as by numerous international organisations. The armed forces of

the PLO are organised just as any other regular army operating in that region, and the stationing of the PLO and its military forces on Lebanese territory is the result of an agreement with the Lebanese government. Finally, Article 4a of the Geneva Convention—concerning the status of prisoners of war—states that members of regular forces belonging to a government or an authority which is not recognised by the power detaining the prisoners should be considered prisoners of war. So, it is evident that Israel is bound by these provisions of the Convention and has to grant immediately the status of prisoners of war to all the fighters it detains. This is true because in accordance with Article 5 of the same Convention, persons who have committed acts of war and are caught by the enemy must be protected by the present Convention until their status is determined by a due court.

Israel is violating the international conventions. This is not only because Israel does not respect the Conventions which it signed, but it has even created a new judicial status for Palestinian prisoners. This status stems from an emergency law, the text of which was submitted to the Commission by Mr. Joseph Al-Gazy. It was promulgated on June 9, 1982 and is an exact copy of another emergency law which was in force under the British mandate, considering Palestinian prisoners as administrative detainees. The law allows the Israeli authorities to treat the prisoners without any regard to international conventions.

Our mission to Israel has made it evident that our concern about the fate of Palestinian prisoners is fully justified.

I would like to conclude by telling you what a Lebanese physician, whom I met just before my departure from Paris told me. He asked me to withhold his name as he wants to return to Beirut and is afraid of repression. Without giving his name I shall give you enough information to corroborate his evidence. He just came from Beirut together with one of his colleagues who had been wounded at the Makassed Hospital. His colleague lost one leg during the bombing of the hospital, the other leg was mutilated and it was not sure on my departure from Paris, if his life could be saved. I could not question the wounded doctor because of his condition. Among other things, he confirmed the deliberate bombing of hospitals in Beirut and surely the bombing of the Makassed Hospital. The hospitals were easily seen by the Israeli soldiers as they were marked by Red Crosses. That is why the doctor concluded that the bombing of the hospitals and of any other public buildings—schools, recreation centres and cemeteries—can only be deliberate.

The doctor also confirmed everything which was said here concerning the nature of the weapons used. Finally, he confirmed all that was said about the blockade and the serious conditions under which civilians are living and physicians working.

Photo: UNRWA

Ein el-Hilweh after the bombing.

MYA SHONE, Journalist, United States

"When bombing started at El Bas on 6 June Ahmed Rahman's mother, Amshar, tried to escape to Beirut with her children; but scarcely two miles away an Israeli tank deliberately ran over the car killing her three children, her nephew and herself."

We talked extensively with prisoners who were in Ansar, Megido, Safa, the St. Joseph's Convent School and other prisons in Israel. That testimony and evidence we will give tomorrow.

We were also in the refugee camps. I will talk about Ain el Helweh, El Bas, Rashediyeh, Borj el Shamali and Ralph will talk about the Lebanese villages and towns that we went through in the south. We have some slides of the camps before the invasion, and I want to show what we saw afterwards, and talk about the nature of the occupation and also some of the testimonies that we were given about the invasion and the occupation. I want first of all to say something about what I have just heard about Israelis arresting 90 percent of the PRCS staff. Everyone said they were taken for interrogation and I would like to say that as of this moment they are still under interrogation in virtual concentration camps throughout the south and also that there are no medical facilities essentially for the Palestinians. There are a couple of UNRWA clinics that give nutritional advice but cannot care for the medical needs, and the Lebanese hospitals still do not take Palestinian patients because they are not guaranteed funds. There are occasional exceptions, but for the most part Palestinians throughout the south do not have the medical attention they need, and in all the camps we went to people would come up with their children thinking that we were Red Cross doctors and nurses, saying, 'My child is wounded, is there something you can do for him?'

(A slide is shown of Ain el Helweh after the invasion.) After the bombardment the Israelis went through and bulldozed within the camp. While in the process of bulldozing we heard testimony from families whose family members were in the rubble, they were heard screaming and were picked up in the front of the bulldozer and placed in a truck and rubble thrown on top of them. I will confirm that the camp is virtually destroyed. There are very few houses standing; we found no house untouched. This includes Palestinian and Lebanese, they lived together in Ain el Helweh, it is not just a Palestinian community. We were in the camp for two days on one trip, four days on another. We stayed in the camp with families and we were taken on tours. During this time the

Israelis had a check point on top of the government hospital, an observation tower, and also jeeps patrolled the camp when we went through. Also during this time the Kata'eb militia. We were in the camp at the times when gun fire was heard and people were arrested. We will talk later about arrests in Rashediyeh also. As you can see from the slide there is a little girl in the rubble. People tried to make their homes wherever they can. This man's mother is buried on the first floor of this house. She was killed during the bombing. He has been displaced from Ain el Helweh and along with many other people lives in Sidon in storefronts with no water, no electricity and no real facilities, and they are waiting to be evicted. Also in Sidon you will find many refugees from Ain el Helweh living in the schools and they were expecting to be evicted when the school year was about to start. From the inside of the school, I would say it was probably phosphorus, because there is evidence of the burning throughout the school. We found one of the clients of the Hateen rehabilitation centre by accident; we had been told she was dead, but while we were in Sidon I found Louisiana, a mentally retarded child, who was under the care of her brother-in-law. Her father had been killed, her mother had a nervous breakdown as a result of all the bombing. She was sent to Syria and the rest of the family had been killed. Louisiana was in the care of her brother in-law and sister living in a store front with no real facilities.

We also heard Dr. Capet talk about one of his patients who was sent from hospital to hospital. The woman's name is Hadra Mohamed Dendeshi. Her story is thus. She fled to Sidon from Rashediyeh after her husband was taken by the Israelis. During the bombardment she took refuge with 250 other people in a shelter. She is the only survivor. She saw her sons and daughters and all the other people burned. It took 45 minutes. People tried to rescue them, but because of heavy shelling and the intense fire they were unable to do so. Eventually she was rescued. Her arm become so infected by maggots, it finally had to be amputated. She also lost a finger and she still has an infection under the cast. Also all her money has been stolen. She still hopes that at least one of her sons escaped, but we heard from her cousin that her son did not. She is not a lone case. We saw many people with similar stories. We had heard that there were 80,000 in Ain el Helweh. We asked throughout the camp and also the UNRWA personnel how many people they think are living in Ain el Helweh. They gave us estimates that about 8,000 to 12,000 people have returned. It seemed too many to me because 20 people were trying to live in one room or people were trying to live in parts of rooms. This was during the summer but what they will do in the winter (and it started to rain while we were leaving Lebanon and getting cold) I do not know.

In terms of the occupation, people did not want to leave but the Israelis have not allowed them to fix up their homes, they were not allowed to bring in construction materials, but everywhere we heard they did not want to be disturbed. They wanted to stay in their homes or return to Palestine. They set up stores amongst the rubble.

At first the water mains were all broken and intentionally bombed I will add, and eventually they set up these water pipes. Typhoid is of epidemic proportions in the camps we heard from doctors in the Lebanese hospitals in the south. One month they had 30 cases of typhoid that managed to get to the hospital and the number of cases began to taper off, but still from the bad water conditions there are cases of typhoid and also scabies, skin diseases, because despite how much people wash and clean there are not the proper facilities. All water must be carried. The spirits of the children are lively despite the conditions they are forced to live in.

This is Rashediyeh, the southernmost camp. We will confirm that it is 75 percent destroyed. The first time we entered Rashediyeh it was surrounded by Israeli soldiers and we only gained access in an UNRWA car pretending we were UNRWA staff. Rashediyeh has been bulldozed. The UNRWA clinic in Rashediyeh has been closed. The people of Rashediyeh told UNRWA that since the staff had been arrested and had not been released they were not going to let the clinic continue. The school has been destroyed and it is used as a home for refugees. We brought along with us most of the time people who could translate and our interviews were in Arabic. Bassam, a young boy, spoke some English and told us what had happened in some of the shelters which had been built. These were built for less intensive combat conditions and they became tombs. This is an example of a shelter I could not get into. It is filled with water and concrete is broken. I believe 100 people died there and I kept questioning, how could 100 people fit into a shelter, because we went into some shelters which were small and we also went into larger ones in which some people said that up to 2,000 managed to fit, and I would say how could there be so many people here? They would describe the packing of the bodies. No one could get up, no one could move about. Everyone was on top of each other, it was impossible to sleep. People thought that if they took refuge in a shelter they would at least be safe. As I have said, they became tombs.

After the Israelis surrounded Rashediyeh, we entered and we were told they had broken all the television sets as well as ransacked homes. We saw many of the homes and talked to the people whose homes had been ransacked. I would also like to say about Rashediyeh that one evening, and we were often there until 10 o'clock at night, we were in one part of the camp and the Israelis were in another part arresting people. Another night they came along and had taken an old man who was sick, but he had a crippled son whom he had to carry about; so this family was left without any means of taking care of themselves. This was common practice, the continual arrests by the Israelis, and it has not stopped since the invasion. Also people are released and then re-arrested so that it creates a state of terror

in the camps. People were afraid for us all the time. In Rashediyeh the Israelis have appointed a mukhtar, a head man, and at one point he came up to the woman whose house we were at and asked why she brought these Red Cross people into the camp to spy on us. We were not Red Cross but even under the guise of the Red Cross the mukhtar was watching out, and warning this woman about having strangers come into the camp. I passed this woman on many days and she never moved from her spot.

The UNRWA clinic at Borj el Shamali, in the uppermost part of the camp, was also hit, and it is far away from Tyre. It had to be targeted. This is in El Bas, which is on the outskirts of Tyre, another camp that is 75 percent destroyed. I would like to point out that you see women, children and some old men; you do not find middle-aged men, and you find very few teenaged boys. I cannot remember one family we talked to in which **there had not been a husband, brother, a cousin, a nephew or son arrested and detained and still in detention.**

When bombing started at El Bas on 6 June Ahmed Rahman's mother, Amshar, tried to excape to Beirut with her children; but scarcely two miles away an Israeli tank deliberately ran over the car killing her three children, her nephew and herself. This was witnessed in a car behind them. The tank returned a second time and saw that everyone was not dead. Abdullah, 13, and his sister Gazelli, 16, both lost both their legs. There is little future for them in Lebanon because there are no facilities for the disabled. Abdullah's father at one point said to us better that he should have been killed as there is no way he can take care of him. This was not because he wanted his son dead, simply that he did not see how he could deal with the future of Abdullah. I would like to say that this is not a lone case in Lebanon of Israeli tanks running over people.

A brief word here about prisoners, although we will be discussing it tommorrow. The dispersion of families, through the intensive bombing and the occupation forcing the Palestinians and the Lebanese to leave their communities, is one aspect of an attempt, I believe, at extinction and extermination; but there is another aspect, and that is the breaking up of the family unit. As Masheshak's son, Zuhair, 18 years old, was arrested 11 June in Sidon, he was imprisoned in Israel and transferred to Ansar. He was a student. Most of the people we talked to were families of the people arrested and of the people who were ex-prisoners, civilians, students, people who had just come from out of the country recently. Their only crime, that we could find, was to be Palestinian or Lebanese. Throughout southern Lebanon in the mountain towns, in the refugee camps, and in the cities, Israelis round up men, both Lebanese and Palestinians. Most of them are still in detention, we estimate somewhere between 20,000 to 25,000. Some of them were held for a few days, some were arrested, released and re-arrested. We saw a picture of Ansar, you notice it has open tents. You see here the Red Cross ICRC identification number which they

have done for the prisoners in Ansar and a hand written affidavit for power of attorney that we collected so that the lawyers in Israel can press to enter the cmaps and for the release of the prisoners. The ICRC card gives the family name and address and the other side gives the ICRC number. We found also the Israeli Defence Force number. The card gives the tent number, the location also. You will notice it is stamped 'In good health.' None of the people we talked to who had been released from Ansar was in good health. They all had suffered permanent damage. We saw young boys with fractures but the ICRC certifies these people as being 'In good health.' If the people did talk to the ICRC, the Israelis were immediately notified if they made any complaints about their treatment in Ansar.

The women in Tyre who in September waged a demonstration and sit-in at the Red Cross Resthouse for the release of their families, were told by the ICRC that they could not use signs and could not shout. Eventually they were moved out of the Resthouse and moved to the UNRWA headquarters in Tyre. They went to the Israelis to press for the release of their families and they were met with threats of arrests if they continued. One of them was approached in the middle of the night and warned that if she showed up she would be arrested. The women of Rashediyeh, a predominently Lebanese town in southern Lebanon, came to the demonstra-

Photo: UNRWA

A Palestine refugee leaving the wreckage of her home at Ein el-Hilweh camp near Sidon.

tion and were met with dogs. This woman was hurt by an Israeli dog which was unleashed on the women. The next time, the women threw red pepper at the dogs and they fled. Since the dogs were not working the next day the Israelis surrounded Rashediyeh with tanks so that the women could not leave the camp and on the road coming down to Borj al Shamali they had a task force of tanks to prevent the women going to the demonstration. Wherever we went people would hear of us and would come in the hundreds hoping we could do something for the prisoners.

We have recently heard from Beirut that in Ain el Helweh three women were raped, two of them killed and one was sent back to the camp to tell what had happened.

RALPH SCHOENMAN, Journalist, United States

"In this process of destruction, hospitals were always primary targets, particularly the hospitals of the Red Crescent and particularly those facilities which were available to the Palestinians and to the Lebanese poor."

Before giving a summary report on the nature of the occupation in the south of Lebanon where Mya mentioned we spent some 3 weeks, travelling throughout the south of Lebanon, I would like to point out that not only did we spend time in the refugee camps, but we went to as many villages as we were able and spent an extended time in such villages as Duweir, Yartr, Adloun, Smaieh, Marjbinamir, Basariah, Abbassiya, Ketermiya, Anashoof, Hamana, Abuaswad, Kafaraman and so on. I think the biggest point to convey is the magnitude of destruction which is not peculiar to the large towns of Sidon, Tyre or Nabatiya or for that matter to Ain el Helweh, Rashediyeh, Borj el Shamali, Mieh Mieh or El Bas—the refugee camps, the centres of Palestinian population which have been virtually levelled and levelled with due deliberation. Occupation aside, what is abundantly clear from the nature of the attack upon the population in the south of Lebanon is a concerted effort to eliminate the Palestinian people as an organised community in Lebanon—a military practice consonant with the declared policy on the part of Sharon and Begin and now Gemayel of reducing the Palestinian population in the south of Lebanon from 500,000 to 50,000 people, a process which of course is impossible to enact except

by a combination of massive destruction and sustained terror. The massacres in Sabra and Chatila about which the world has heard and seen much were preceeded by like events in the south. Mya mentioned the government hospital, the once government hospital in Sidon adjacent to Ain el Helweh, a hospital subjected to bombardment and shelling and destroyed. On the top the Israelis maintain a command post overlooking Ain el Helweh camp. When we spoke to the UNRWA people in the clinic we asked how they found the clinic in its operation and we were told by Diane Lacey, the English woman who was directing that clinic, that they thought they had a good location, but unfortunately the fluid from the mass grave keeps leaking into the clinic. Indeed, there is a mass grave alongside the government hospital in Sidon, a mass grave prepared by the Israelis; and there is a mass grave adjacent to St. Joseph's Convent School in Sidon. In this process of destruction, hospitals were always primary targets, particularly the hospitals of the Red Crescent and particularly those facilities which were available to the Palestinians and to the Lebanese poor.

Nabatiya, for example, where a hospital of the Secours Populaire, a modest building of two storeys, continues to operate, is subject to constant arrest sweeps because the climate of the destruction is accompanied by an induced sense of vulnerability. No one knows when an Israeli armed unit will come through a village, a town and particularly a hospital to arrest people and take them away. It occurred even when we were in hospitals. We talked to two young Lebanese who had been released, both had fractures of the skull as a result of sustained beatings in Ansar. Israeli army units were advancing on that very hospital to make a sweep in order to see whether young men might have found their way there for medical treatment. One of the aspects of destruction in the south is the virtual elimination of medical facilities. Consequently, the many who were burned and did reach a hospital have died because it was impossible to obtain follow-up hospital care, and infection ensued. People on whom amputations were carried out with no after care have died from subsequent infection.

Characteristic of the destruction throughout the south is the use of incendiary weapons, phosphorus, magnesium bombs which flare at high intensity, and of course cluster and fragmentation bombs, bombs with delayed fuses, bombs which were in strings with pink ribbons attached, bombs which were designed, it has to be said, to attract the children—brightly coloured, they were shiny. We have heard in village after village reports of bombs that had shapes like toothpaste and balls and dolls and cigarette lighters, familiar objects, even telephone receivers which would attract the unsuspecting and then detonate.

Everywhere as well, in the towns and villages, the presence of spies. Wherever we would go in villages we found a consistent description and story, if you like, of the experience of occupation. The Israeli armed forces

would occupy a village, houses would be searched, gutted, randomly blown up. The male inhabitants would be gathered in the central part of the village where they would be paraded before masked people, spies if you wish, who would point out those who would be accused of being Leftist figures, members of the Lebanese National Movement or people sympathetic to the Palestine Liberation Organisation. It should be pointed out that in the south of Lebanon the Palestinian population does not enjoy Lebanese citizenship; it is not entitled to Lebanese social governmental services such as they were and are. These services were provided for them by the PLO and by the Palestine Red Crescent Society: their medical facilities, their clinic, their schooling, their educational opportunities, their scholarships abroad. The very social fabric of the Palestinian community has been provided by the Red Crescent and indeed by the Palestine Liberation Organisation which is deeply rooted in the lives and aspirations of the Palestinian population of Lebanon. The poor Lebanese are to be found wherever there is a Palestinian population because they too are beneficiaries of the free social services, Lebanese and Palestinians intermarrying, living amongst the Palestinians and no distinction being made.

The small village of Yartr was one in which 30 members of one family were arrested, the Swydan family. The Israelis entered this village, they began the process I have already described. They took all the men in one place. The men were paraded before masked people and 30 members of the Swydan family were taken to Ansar or to other places of detention. When we come to discuss the massacre we will mention two or three people who were not arrested by the Israelis, who sought shelter in the Palestinian camps adjacent to Beirut. The teachers of Yartr were all arrested. Mohamed Yusif Swydan, Abdullah Ali Swydan, Abdullah Mohamed Crane, Mohamed Ali Swydan, Yusif Musa Katib, Mohan Ali Crane amongst those immediately taken.

In Basariah the young were amongst those first taken off. They were beaten severely in the camp and it was the practice we found to take some amongst the male population who were arrested and to beat them or to torture them with cigarette burns, beatings with rifle butts, beatings with heavy staves, beatings with electrical wires; there is account after account of beatings and torture like this prior to imprisonment. The process of beatings in village after village was one which occurred even before people were taken off for arrest. In Basariah, Israeli armed forces entered every single house and in each house they ransacked the contents. This process of ransacking homes was not confined to villages or to large towns. In Sidon, for example, the large steel works were systematically looted. We observed as the rolling stock, some $30 million of steel, was removed and placed on trucks and sent to Israel. The UNRWA technical school was looted of its equipment, its machine tools, even its typewriters. Of course the electronic and computer equipment of Middle Eastern Airlines was similarly looted, a process that is not one of random individual soldiers but an organised activity of the Israeli armed forces themselves.

Amongst those that were beaten were a 13 year-old boy, and a 90 year-old man and a 50 year-old man with a paralysed leg who was beaten and kicked and passed from soldier to soldier. I am going to mention first-names; we have full names, but you should understand that the process of arrest is continuous, that people remain vulnerable. Just because someone has been released from prison is no protection against being re-arrested. In this connection something has to be said about the International Committee of the Red Cross because the prisoners in Ansar—some 9,000 of them—are all provided with a card on which it is stamped automatically 'In good health,' notwithstanding that prisoner after prisoner who has been released and with whom we have spoken and from whom we have taken affidavits and with whom we have done tape-recorded interviews, has described in detail the savage treatment which has been administered to him in Ansar. When prisoners who have returned have been induced to speak of their experiences to the International Committee of the Red Cross, that information is turned over to the Israeli military authorities. The Red Cross did not deny this. What they state is that they want to put the Israeli military authorities on notice, but the Red Cross also say that they will make no public statement about the conditions that they find in these prisons. The net effect is to subject both the released prisoner and the family of that prisoner to reprisal, reprisal which is taken by the Haddad militia or the Kata'eb, backed by Israeli armed units themselves. Throughout the south of Lebanon no matter where we went, at every check point of the Haddadi or the Kata'eb, you will find an Israeli soldier and/or officer. The Kata'eb and Haddadi are barracked with the Israeli armed forces in the south of Lebanon. When Kata'eb and Haddadi units engage in their raids, which they frequently do in the camps and towns, there is an Israeli officer to whom they report. This was true of Mieh Mieh camp when houses were burned by Phalange units and it is true in the villages and it is true in Ain el Helweh where the Haddadi engage in raids, raping, beating, shooting the place up. But when challenged, they refer to an Israeli officer in Sidon and Basariah.

In Basariah, Mohamed F . . . described to us the beatings to which he was subjected with guns and sticks. The Israeli officer present was Colonel Ben Shahar. Six soldiers beat him at one time and Mohamed described how others were beaten to a point of unconsciousness. Others had been beaten in Basariah so savagely that their shirts were stuck to their backs from the dried blood. This was not peculair to the current occupation and invasion. In 1978, the father of Hussain had been taken from his house when Basariah was occupied. He was beaten on the kidneys with an iron bar. He still suffers from his injury. He had been kept on the roof in the rain for the entire night, spread-eagled with his wrists and ankles stretch-

ed and tied. He was subject at that time to non-stop beating. His two sons are in Ansar.

After the assassination of Bashir Gemayel, the Deuxieme Bureau, the Lebanese secret army police whom you can see coming in and out of the Israeli Defence Force headquarters and of the Israeli Command headquarters in Sidon, kidnapped several people in Sidon. One of them was Abdullah Swydan aged 30, who had three children. He was taken at 5 a.m. Later his father was told he could collect the body from the refrigerator in the hospital in East Beirut. Abdullah Swydan was found hanged with cigarette burns all over his body. His testicles had been smashed. Next day, the Deuxieme Bureau arrested his brother. There are random arrests of this nature by the Deuxieme Bureau in Sidon and other parts of southern Lebanon. I think it is essential to point out that as in the case of the Haddadi and Kata'eb militias, these are not acts independent of the Israeli armed forces, quite the contrary.

Nordic Commission: Can you mention any other case? You have mentioned now one case of death by beating.

Ralph Schoenman: Mohamed Swydan aged 21, taken to Safa which is the fruit factory in Sidon where many prisoners were held and beaten savagely. Hussain arrested, beaten repeatedly on the legs with heavy sticks and unable to walk. These are people from Basariah. Here is a young man named Mahmound. He was beaten repeatedly. He was told by Israeli soldiers, 'Bring your sister here for us to fuck.' He was beaten until he said yes and he was told to describe how this would be done and beaten until he did that. He described that amongst the arrested was a 13 year-old boy and a 90 year-old man, one man was blind. The old man of 90 is still in prison. One of them aged 50 had a paralysed leg. He was beaten with sticks and kicked with boots from soldier to soldier and is still in prison. A young man named Mohamed aged 19, beaten savagely with guns and heavy sticks. The officers were present and partook in the beatings including, as I mentioned yesterday, Colonel Ben Shahar in Ansar. Five to six soldiers beat him at one time every five minutes. Mohamed saw many beaten to a point of unconsciousness. Hussain saw foreign doctors and nurses being beaten. Hussain's father, who had been, as I mentioned, taken by soldiers in 1978, beaten on the kidneys with an iron bar. He still suffers from these injuries. Beaten over a period of 30 days. Four years later his feet are still discoloured from the beatings. The circulation had been cut off for 24 hours. He is still unable to wear shoes.

Nordic Commission: In contrast to the other witness we have heard, you were not working in Lebanon during the invasion. You arrived later, both of you and I would like therefore, because it was not your normal place of work, to ask about the intention of your visit, and of your professional background.

Mya Shone: I stated at the beginning that our intention was to conduct

an enquiry into the nature of the invasion, the occupation, looking particularly at the targeting of civilian areas, hospitals and we were especially concerned with the fate of the prisoners. Our knowledge had been that most of them were civilians. We checked that out and we were also concerned about the treatment of prisoners.

Nordic Commission: It was not for the sake of your own knowledge that you did this?

Mya Shone: We planned to write a book. The enquiry was to take its form in a book and also in public speaking.

Nordic Commission: Have you made any public report about your experiences?

Ralph Schoenman: I should mention that we had interviewed at length in the United States, prior to our visit to Lebanon, Norwegian doctors and social workers, some of whom you have heard here, specifically Dr. Steinar Berge and Oyvind Moller and Marianne Moller, and also the Canadian surgeon Dr. Chris Giannou. As a result of the interviews and discussions which we had with them in the USA we published articles about their evidence. Part of our work in Lebanon was to corroborate their own experiences and findings. This we did exhaustively and we found many of their colleagues and, indeed, many people in the villages and in the camps who had been in prison and who verified, to the last particular, the reports of Steinar Berge, Oyvind Moller and Chris Giannou.

Nordic Commission: On the Norwegian television last night, the International Commission which is conducting some of these hearings were accused of consisting of members who for 20 or 25 years had been waging an anti-Israel campaign. Of course it is also of interest to the public whether you for years have been waging an anti-Israel campaign.

Ralph Schoenman: My background is that I worked for many years in Great Britain with Bertrand Russell and had been a director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. In 1962, on behalf of Lord Russell, I was involved in negotiations with Gamal Abdul Nasser, Hassanein Heikal, Kamal Rifat, Ibrahim Abdul Rahman, then the Secretary General of the United Arab Republic, Saleh Desouqi, who was the governor of Cairo Province, and with Abdul Karim Kassem of Iraq and Saeb Salam who was then the Prime Minister of Lebanon, because at that time the Egyptian Government had proposed as a basis of settlement of the conflict with the State of Israel the formation of a Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza with a corridor through the Negev. That proposal my colleagues and I took to Israel where we had at that time meetings with the then Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, and the Minister of Defence, Shimon Peres. At that time the Israeli authorities showed absolutely no interest in these proposals and were quite scornful of them. I do not think that could be construed as having been engaged in a sustained anti-Israel campaign as such, but if the suggestion is made that we have fundamental criti-

cisms of the State of Israel, and indeed of Zionism, that is accurate, that is true. We have those criticism, we make them public, but the nature of our enquiry in Lebanon can be best assessed by reference to the evidence and its verifiability. I think that is the only legitimate criterion.

Nordic Commission: So when you write in your final report or initial report that some of the events which you have witnessed should be used in a larger political campaign against Zionism, then you, by the word Zionism, mean the present politics and policy of the Government and not the existence of the State as such?

Ralph Schoenman: Referring to what may I ask?

Nordic Commission: Referring to initial reports by Ralph Schoenman and Mya Shone dated 23 August. A campaign against Zionism would mean according to what you recently said, I think, a campaign against the present policy of the Israelis. Is that correct?

Ralph Schoenman: No. Let me address that question specifically. A campaign against the exclusion of people from the normal entitlement to democratic rights. A campaign against the denial of elementary civil liberties, a campaign against the denial to an entire people of the right to control their own government, of the elementary democratic rights which are assumed to be the essence of self-determination for peoples everywhere. Yes.

Nordic Commission: That is a more specific question. Of course it is difficult with the microphone, but I take it that the report which I referred to is stating your opinions and your findings also. Is that correct?

Ralph Schoenman: I think the document which you are referring to was prepared in Lebanon and makes particular factual statements about what we found on our initial trip in the south, with reference to the treatment of prisoners and to the nature of the occupation.

Nordic Commission: Can I take it that this report contains your findings which you are still ascribing to?

Ralph Schoenman: The report contains our findings after four days of travel in the south which was our initial trip in the south of Lebanon.

Nordic Commission: Which camps did you visit during these four days?

Ralph Schoenman: We were in Ain el Helweh, in Rashediyeh, in El Bas and Borj el Shamali. We were in Nabatiya and Tyre and in Sidon.

Nordic Commission: That was all during four days?

Ralph Schoenman: Yes.

Nordic Commission: You stated that in one camp every house or every former house, and I underline the word *every*, 'is a grave for the family killed there or buried in the rubble.'

Ralph Schoenman: You are referring I am sure to Ain el Helweh?

Nordic Commission: No, I am referring to your description of Rashediyeh.

Ralph Schoenman: It is impossible to find a building in Rashediyeh that has not been touched by the intensive shelling and bombardment, and it is impossible to find a shelter in Rashediyeh that has not been hit, at one point or another, during the bombing which took place at that camp. You can find structures that are standing, but you cannot find unscathed structures in Rashediyeh, particularly because of the nature of the weaponry which was deployed in Rashediyeh, namely incendiary bombs that flare at a high intensity.

Nordic Commission: Mr. Schoenman, I asked whether it is correct that every former house is a grave for the family killed there or buried in the rubble.

Ralph Schoenman: By definition, if people are killed there it constitutes a grave for them. If they are buried in the rubble it constitutes a grave and I think the statement is precise.

Nordic Commission: If they are, yes. But you state that, and when I ask you it is because many of your statements reveal atrocities of a grave nature. That is why we have to be very specific and that is why I ask you whether it is true, that every house, every former house is a grave for a family.

Ralph Schoenman: I think I would like to see the passage if I may, but I think that the description of the bombing and shelling of Rashediyeh, which refers to the fate of the people who were caught in the attack, is accurate. The homes which they hoped would afford some form of protection, the shelters which were assumed to be capable of withstanding the frequent attacks made upon this civilian camp, did not in fact prove adequate, given the intensity of the bombardment and shelling. Shelters, therefore, instead of being protection, often, as Mya has stated, became tombs. People who were seeking shelter there were in fact entombed.

Nordic Commission: During your four day visit you also went to Sidon, is that correct? Did you see any mass grave yourself?

Ralph Schoenman: We did see two mass graves ourselves, one adjacent to the government hospital in Sidon, and the second which is opposite the St. Joseph's Convent school. In the case of the area adjacent to the government hospital, it is a grave that was not deep, and indeed fluids from the grave have surfaced in the ground area adjacent to the government hospital in the courtyard. The mass grave we were informed about and went to see adjacent to the St. Joseph's Convent school is covered over so we were not able to see the bodies that are interred, but we were able to stand in the area and to talk to numerous eye-witnesses, people in the proximity who could speak about the reality and existence of that mass grave.

Ralph Schoenman: We spoke of 1,000 in the mass grave adjacent to the government hospital. For example, in one shelter in Ain el Helweh it is estimated that 500 people died. In another basement shelter in Sidon it is estimated that 250 people died. The nature of the bombardment was such

that people who were huddled in the shelters in various parts of the city and camps were interred.

Nordic Commission: Did you take notes when you heard the reports of these mass graves? Did you write down the names of those who told you about the graves?

Ralph Schoenman: Yes. We have a diary which represents a daily chonicle of our travels around Lebanon including the south: in the camps, in the villages and cities.

Nordic Commission: So were you able to give the names to the International Committee of those who reported about the graves?

Ralph Schoenman: Wherever we have noted the reports given to us we have the names of those who provided the information, but I will say this to you, that we are not always willing to provide the family names of people who have provided information to us. We are prepared to give the first name, and in some instances the family name; but people are being arrested at this moment. There are daily sweeps. There are continual arrests in the south, in the camps, in the cities and villages. We feel that it is impossible to give the family names. It would not be responsible of us to do that because it is one thing to be there for a few days, even weeks, and to enlist the confidence of people and to have them give their names, and another thing to leave and give those names out without any knowledge that there will not be reprisals against them.

Nordic Commission: That is very understandable but it is also very crucial when we, for instance, come to your allegations of torture. You say you have repeated eye-witness accounts of torture and death beatings. My question is, do you have repeated eye-witness accounts of death beatings.

Ralph Schoenman: Yes.

Nordic Commission: How many such account do you have?

Mya Shone: At this point we have not counted because our tapes are being transcribed from the Arabic and translated and our note books are not fully typed up. We have numerous accounts of people being beaten to death and also people being beaten and then left in the sun, so that they were dead but no one can say whether they died from exposure to the sun or the beating.

Nordic Commission: Here you are speaking about torture and you say that you have several eye-witnesses. You say you have several eye-witnesses of people beaten to death, who have died in front of other people while they were tortured.

Ralph Schoenman and Mya Shone: Yes.

Ralph Schoenman: An engineer in Tyre who was tortured with electricity and who was himself savagely beaten, described how people were beaten to death in his presence. The pattern which he described was described to us by other prisoners who had been released, whom we encountered in village after village in the south of Lebanon: death beatings,

beatings which proceeded in an organised fashion. Prisoners made, for example, to stand with their hands on barbed wire while they were subjected to beatings with heavy staves and with whips and even iron bars.

Nordic Commission: Do you have the first name of that man?

Ralph Schoenman: Yes we have.

Nordic Commission: What do you think was the purpose and aim of these tortures?

Mya Shone: I do not think it is for us to look into the minds of the Israeli soldiers.

Nordic Commission: Was it to get confessions, to get information?

Mya Shone: No, we did not hear of interrogation to get confessions, no one said, 'Admit you are a Palestinian militant' or such. It was as a matter of course, very few people were interrogated. They were lined up *en masse.* Actually people were interrogated, initial interrogation: the pattern of beating and the pattern of torture was not a function of soliciting information. It was a process of maltreatment. The Palestinians are labelled as terrorists and that term is rather loosely applied, not only to Palestinians, but to Lebanese as well. Many of those who were tortured and beaten were in fact Lebanese from the villages. I thought there was going to be a section on prisoners where we will give more detailed information about the treatment of the prisoners and the nature of the systems. In many cases I think it would be better to go over it then because we heard stories from the towns and villages and in the camps and from people from all walks of life that held to a consistent story.

Ernie Ross: I am sure the Commission would like to question you on the other aspects you mentioned, like the looting of factories, the bombs which were made to look like toys.

Mya Shone: As far as looting goes, I would like to point out that the UNRWA school has been reported by the United Nations in its own records, and as for the looting of the factory, we saw that with our own eyes.

Nordic Commission: You mentioned that some bombs placed in Lebanon attracted children and they picked them up and were killed or harmed. Was it your meaning to state that these bombs were made with the intention that children should pick them up?

Ralph Schoenman: Yes. We refer here to the town of Abasiya which is 84 kilometres from Beirut, 41 kilometres from Sidon, 9 kilometres from Tyre. A town of approximately 5,000 people with one school. With reference to the question of what are called 'toy bombs,' we must refer to the wife of Waji Musa who was by the way one of those tortured with cigarette burns in the square by Israeli soldiers, witnessed by many people whose evidence we took. We saw the wife of Waji Musa at night in her apartment in Abasiay. She has two small children. The father of Waji Musa, Said Hussein Musa aged 55, had died 15 days before our arrival on

30 August. He was working in the garden in the village. Planes had dropped many cluster bombs around the town of Abasiay. The wife of Waji Musa had seen toy bombs. She described explosive devices. They were disguised and, I quote, 'chocolate bars, dolls, pens—when you touch them they explode.' A child of three lost both legs. Zaha Shalan aged 21 saw victims of toy bombs. Her brother is a doctor. We spoke to a doctor. He described the wounds and said they were wounds caused by fragmentation bombs. Her husband's father had been working in the garden when he saw what he said looked like 'a hand telephone.' His wife picked it up and showed it to her husband, and asked 'What is this?' Her husband began to tell her to watch out that it may be a bomb. Before he could finish his words the bomb exploded. Two people died, seven were wounded. Her father-in-law lived seven days and he described to her what had happened. Her mother-in-law died instantly. The victims of this explosive device were Said Hussein Musa aged 55, Fakhi Musa aged 50, Ali Afarani aged 20, Zakhi Izziddin aged 10, Abu Mohammed Unis aged 70. All had been working in the fields. All were in Amal hospital. There is further evidence appertaining to these toy bombs, or cluster bombs as they are called, which I can cite to you.

Mya Shone: We saw with our own eyes, and I have photographs of bombs that are in the fields. We also saw cluster bombs with pink ribbon in Beirut around the Arab University and I have photographs of those. We saw a collection of bombs in Hamra and in Hamra a goat-herder had stepped on a bomb in the field and it blew up the goat-herder's stomach. I have photographs of his injuries. A farmer, as he was ploughing in his field, hit a cluster bomb with his plough as well. I have photographs of two unexploded cluster bombs right on the periphery of the man's field.

Nordic Commission: Have you seen toy bombs yourselves?

Ralph Schoenman: No.

Mya Shone: We have seen cluster bombs that are round in shape, some have plastic over them, the plastic was brought to us. They looked like balls and they have been described as painted, sometimes in bright colours or bright silver, which are seen by children to be a ball. We heard tales and we went searching for the cigarette lighters. Then we were brought a cluster bomb that looked cylindrical and it had a spear on top with a lip and a hook. This is where the streamers were attached and it could have been mistaken for a cigarette lighter.

Ralph Schoenman: When we mentioned this to Dr. Ahmed Jaber Marouri in Amal hospital on this specific question, he had eight cases from Borj al Shamali, the camp adjacent to Tyre, that he treated. These are cluster bomb cases. Two of those who were injured in the incident died and six survived surgery but there was no medical follow up. These were children playing. They found the ball, one took it and gave it to his friend. The oldest child was 12 and the youngest seven. Of the eight children

treated from this particular injury by Dr Marouri, three had their thoraxes laid open, two had deep abdominal wounds, one had a leg amputated and two died. In the village of Swyeh, Mahmoud and Hussain Hisham, two young men who had been on the beach, saw the cigarette lighter; one man picked it up; it exploded. He had an intestinal section done by Dr. Marouri and the fragments from that explosive device penetrated the brain of the other man. By the way, this was the doctor who had treated the two surviving children of the Hisham family, whose legs he removed or amputated after they had been crushed in the horror, run over by tanks. The descriptions by the people of the devices they picked up are given variously as hand telephones, as balls and in the case of the two young women in Abasiya, as chocolate bars, pens. The doctors describe the victims of these explosive devices whom they have treated. We have not seen an unexploded chocolate bar or doll ourselves, but we have seen the fragmentation bomb that is in the shape of a cigarette lighter, and have seen the cylindrical fragmentation or cluster bombs which are bright silver.

Mya Shone: We have an example of both of these in the USA. One came from the Nabatiya area and the other came from the Beirut area. We have an example of a bomb in the shape of a cigarette lighter.

Ralph Schoenman: In any event, the specific example to which we are referring is approximately 2½ inches in height, perhaps ½ inch in diameter. It is a cylinder with a brass exterior and it had a little lip which had the character of the flick hand on the top of a cigarette lighter and could easily be construed to be a cigarette lighter by anyone who saw it. I would say to you that if I saw that object on the ground, it was a cigarette lighter. That is how it is designed to appear. Perhaps the technology of these devices requires that particular appearance, but I have my doubts.

Nordic Commission: You have visited four different camps in the south. I visited in mid-August Ain el Helweh where it was said that about 70,000 people had been living there before the military action had been taken. When I was there it was said that some thousand people were still living in the ruins. What was your impression when you visited? Were there any people still in there?

Mya Shone: We stayed in the camp with families and we were in Ain el Helweh for four or five days on our second trip and we heard estimates of 8,000 people. We think it is several thousand, but not as many as 8,000. We went throughout the entire camp.

Nordic Commission: Could you see any kind of persecution against the Palestinians?

Mya Shone: While we were in Ain el Helweh we heard gunfire. People warned us that the Kata'eb were in the camp and were firing in the air.

Ralph Schoenman: I should mention that we made a second and more extended trip to the south of Lebanon. We spent a good deal of time in Ain el Helweh and Rashediyeh, day and night. There are patrols, for

example, in Ain el Helweh. Israeli jeeps and armed vehicles come into Ain el Helweh, on a regular basis. The Haddadi forces occupied the kindergarten in Ain el Helweh and they refused for a period of time to turn it back to teachers who had been administering it. Ultimately they did relinquish the kindergarten and simply occupied the houses on the perimeter of Ain el Helweh which overlooked the area. The constancy of patrols and the constancy of incidents with the militia and with the Israeli armed forces themselves is a daily reality in Ain el Helweh. The Israeli armed authorities prohibit the people in Ain el Helweh from making repairs to their houses. They are not allowed to bring in construction materials or to make any significant repairs to the damaged structures in Ain el Helweh, and, indeed, the firm impression is that (and certainly the Palestinian inhabitants feel this) it is intended that they should not again have a settlement or a community or a town in Ain el Helweh. The firm impression of the inhabitants is that they are to be prevented from cohering as an organised community. We understood that the number of people living in Ain el Helweh at the time of the most recent bombardment was some 80,000 people; perhaps a few thousand are able to eke out some form of existence in the rubble, and it is those few thousand people who have been subjected to the harassment we are describing. In a particular incident while we were there the Phalange unit went into the Mieh Mieh camp which is above Sidon, and burnt down between 25 and 30 houses. The people running away from Mieh Mieh camp went to Ain el Helweh to take refuge amongst the families who were there. We spoke to the victims from these incidents at Mieh Mieh in Ain el Helweh, where they were taking such shelter as they could find.

Nordic Commission: Do you know where the refugees are living now? I have the last issue of the *Jerusalem Post* and I find information that there are no refugees now living out in the open. Do you think that is correct, that they all have some place to live?

Mya Shone: It is hard to describe some of the places as really a place to live. People have taken refuge in Ain el Helweh. I showed you an example yesterday of sleeping conditions in Ain el Helweh. It was open on the side and part of the ceiling. People have to lay out their mattresses so if that is considered shelter, then that is what a shelter is for a lot of people. In Sidon, especially near the camp, the first floor of the apartment buildings are store fronts, and some of them have been occupied by the refugees; but these are private buildings and they were going to be evicted. We talked to people who were living in Sidon. They had come from Borj el Shamali after the bombings there and they were being evicted. They were to be evicted in two days' time. Also the schools have been filled with refugees, but we were told in a school in Nabativa that the refugees at some point were going to have to leave because they had to start school. So I don't know what is meant by 'there's a place.' People usually find a place to live.

In the first days of the invasion people were living in the streets. We have many eye-witness accounts of people going for 10 days wandering around in the streets and on the beach before the Israelis allowed them back into Ain el Helweh to get any of their possessions.

Ralph Schoenman: The 80,000 people who once inhabited Ain el Helweh are scattered. There are a few thousand people who have returned to Ain el Helweh. As you will see in that private report on our initial trip to the south, we were asking the question 'Where have the Palestinians gone?,' 'What has happened to them?' You go to Rashediyeh, you go to El Bas, you go to Borj el Shamali, you go to Ain el Helweh and you find the remnants of a population, the remnants of a settled community existing in rubble, in conditions of epidemic disease. I was about to mention before to you that the doctors to whom we spoke at Amal Hospital were describing conditions of typhoid and the frequency at which such cases were reported. We found Palestinians taking shelter in store fronts, and in garages, in the shells of buildings destroyed, in lots, in burnt-out cars, in corrugated lean-tos. In fact at the moment, speaking about Beirut, you will see Palestinians from the camps of Borj el Barajneh, Sabra and Chatila living in cardboard cartons that have been sent with supplies of one or another kind in the past. Cardboard boxes constructed on the streets as shelter. You will find them in the tunnels, in the American University of Beirut, but you find only remnants of people and I cannot answer the question. 'What has happened to the Palestinian population of Ain el Helweh, Rashediyeh or Borj el Shamali?' These people who have survived have in their large numbers been scattered and dispersed, which I think is the clear and evident intent, not only of the massive bombardment to which they were subjected, but of the continuing harassment, sweeps of arrests and regular killings which continue to occur amongst the remnant population.

Nordic Commission: You mentioned yesterday that the ICRC had issued 9,000 certificates of good health, is that correct?

Mya Shone: We said approximately. We went to the ICRC headquarters in Tyre right after they had finished a 24 hour logging. They had gone to Ansar and in over 24 hours they said they had visited every prisoner. We asked them for the exact number and they refused to release it. But they have said repeatedly there are 7,000 to 9,000 prisoners in Ansar. Every card that we saw is stamped 'In good health' and we saw ourselves over 600. I kept saying, 'Are you sure they are in good health?' I said that of the ex-prisoners we saw, we did not find anyone in good health. These people had serious injuries, some of them permanent, and they were confirmed by doctors.

Nordic Commission: You say they issued about 9,000 and you saw 600 yourself, is that correct?

Ralph Schoenman: The International Committee of the Red Cross has stated that there are between 7,000 and 9,000 prisoners held in Ansar and they profess to have issued to all of those prisoners whom they have registered at Ansar an AA card on which there is an ICRC number and, in the majority of instances, a second number which is the Israeli Defence Force number. We have yet to see a card, and we have been throughout the south of Lebanon, we have looked at hundreds and collected hundreds of these cards, on which it was not stamped 'en bon sante—in good health.' Now we have also taken tape-recorded testimony from large numbers. When I say that, I mean hundreds of people who have been released from Ansar. We have their description of the treatment meted out to prisoners in Ansar. I don't speak for the moment of the treatment meted out to prisoners in the detention camps in Israel and other places, but in Ansar; for example, on 19 July a chief prisoner was appointed to carry out beatings with a whip, minimum 10 to 12 strokes. And the prisoners who were unwilling to do this were then themselves beaten and subjected to severe punishment.

Nordic Commission: It is in the role of the International Red Cross I am interested now, because what you are saying at least implies some very serious accusations against the ICRC.

Mya Shone: I think we have made public what we consider the accusations against the Red Cross. We have heard of occasions when people have gone to the Red Cross and complained of maltreatment; the Red Cross turned around and tell the Israelis.

Nordic Commission: Private people who go to the International Committee of the Red Cross and complain of maltreatment by the Israelis? What kind of maltreatment for instance?

Ralph Schoenman: There are particular examples of individuals who had suffered the torture in prisons, who were encouraged to speak to the International Committee of the Red Cross of their particular experiences. The ICRC have a stated policy. It is as follows: they will make no public statement regarding anything told to them or indeed anything which they observe with their own eyes, in the prisons or in other areas that they visit in Lebanon, or elsewhere. The rationale for the publicly stated policy is that they consider they would no longer be able to operate or have access to areas if they were to make public statements about what they find. So they say they are not willing to talk publicly about what they themselves observe, still less when they have encouraged individuals who have been released from prison to come forward and give evidence to them about what has happened to them, specifically torture, specifically death beatings that they have witnessed. The ICRC, however, make a full report of this information, with the identity of the person who provides it, to the Israeli military authorities. When we asked for an explanation from the ICRC officials for this particular practice, they said they put the Israeli military authorities on notice that the ICRC have been informed of this practice. The actual consequence of this procedure, in my judgement, on the basis of our experience in the south, is that those people who come forward are then subject to reprisals from the Israeli armed forces. We have instances of people being subject to reprisals from the Phalange and Haddadi militia. Their families also are subject to reprisals. We have instances of this too. I should say to you that in the ICRC headquarters in Tyre, we have spoken to individual members of the International Committee of the Red Cross who, off the record if you like, unofficially to us, complained in anguish about their inability to go public with what they themselves have seen, specifically in Ansar, complained in anguish about the ludicrousness of stamping automatically on the card of all those registered prisoners 'In good health' when they themselves had witnessed prisoners who were in anything but good health. This is a serious criticism of the ICRC and we think that a public airing of the actual conduct of the International Committee of the Red Cross is overdue. It is instructive, for example, that notwithstanding this stated public policy of the ICRC to avoid making declarations regarding those things that they have observed, they were prepared to make statements regarding the number of people who were killed in the massacres of Sabra and Chatila which are at variance with the evidence.

Nordic Commission: What frightens me, of course, is that if someone released goes to the Red Cross and complains about torture, then you say that the International Red Cross would make a full report, give the name of the former prisoner, turn the whole thing over to the Israeli authorities, knowing that it very well may be that this former prisoner may then be exposed again to arrest or torture. So that is why I ask how exactly do you know whether, for instance, a name of the complainant is given to the Israeli authorities? Has that been admitted also by the private source within the Red Cross or have you any factual knowledge about it?

Ralph Schoenman: We questioned ICRC officials in Beirut about this specific issue of giving the name of the complainant and it was confirmed that this was done. It motivated us, for example in Sidon, to advise people that we knew there not to encourage people, prisoners and families, to give information to the ICRC.

I would like to mention in this connection one further example of what I regard to be the indefensible behaviour of the International Committee of the Red Cross. On 12 August, in Beirut, there was an extremely intense day of bombardment. We were out in the streets during the bombardment of the areas around Hamra that were attacked, and we were in La Hout field hospital, a former school of theology which had been converted into a field hospital, when the victims of phosphorus burns were brought into La Hout. We were standing at the bed of people who had been burned by phosphorus, as they were being placed there, and there is no mistaking

burns of this nature. People are smoking, they are charred, they have a yellow residue. The specific reference here is to the ICRC. Standing next to me at a particular bed was the representative of the ICRC with an identifying badge around his neck. I turned to him and said to him, 'What are you people going to do about these burn victims, these phosphorus victims?' His reply was, 'What phosphorus victims?' I was non-plussed and I said, 'But you are standing eighteen inches in front of one,' and he replied, 'That is a political question.' I said, 'No, it is a medical question.' He said, 'But we have not had anyone say to us that these indeed are victims of phosphorus.' I said, 'I see, Dr. Hassan, Dr. Troy would you mind coming over and speaking to this representative of the ICRC about the nature of these burns.' This particular representative of the ICRC turned on his heels, walked out of La Hout and would not talk to the doctors in question. This conversation which I am describing to you was taped by me, we had our tape recorder running while it went on. There is no instance, that I am aware of, of the ICRC stating that phosphorus was one of the weapons used, or that burn victims had been witnessed by ICRC representatives in the hospital after the bombing of 12 August. I feel that this is another instance of indefensible behaviour on the part of the International Committee of the Red Cross with respect to the war in Lebanon.

Nordic Commission: Finally, you said you spoke in Beirut with the representative of the Red Cross who admitted that they sent the reports containing allegations of torture to the Israeli authorities.

Ralph Schoenman: Yes. They considered that they were justified in doing so for the reasons given.

Nordic Commission: This was not given to you in secret, I suppose. This was an official talk with the International Red Cross?

Ralph Schoenman: Dr. Kurtz, and Mr. Dishalese was the second ICRC representative with whom we discussed the question of reporting to the Israelis about evidence of maltreatment. The rationale, as I indicated, is as follows: the ICRC are of the opinion that when the Israeli military authorities know that they know, that will put the Israelis on notice, that they run the risk of ICRC disapproval. The question that we then had was that if you will not make public such things as are brought to your attention, what is the leverage of the ICRC with the Israeli military authorities? I do not think that there has been a satisfactory answer provided by the ICRC to that question.

Nordic Commission: But your experience is that such reports may result in further harassment of the Palestinians. Do you have any examples where according to your opinion or experience, the turning-over of the name of a complainant has led to his re-arrest or being tortured again?

Ralph Schoenman: We have had people who tell us that prisoners who were released were told on their release that if anything was stated publicly or to outsiders about what they had seen or been subjected to in the camp, there would be reprisals against them and their family—that they would be back there again or that bad things would happen to them.

Nordic Commission: But the question was whether there had in fact been any reprisals maybe because of the turning-over of reports by the Red Cross to the Israeli authorities. I ask, Mr. Schoenman, because the rationale of the International Red Cross may be correct, that if the Israeli authorities know that a prisoner went to the International Red Cross, this in some way protects him. But you challenge that and you think it is more dangerous. May I ask has there been any example where it has been shown in fact that this rationale of the ICRC is not valid?

Ralph Schoenman: We know of examples of prisoners who have been released who were then re-arrested. We know of examples of prisoners who were released and then had actions occur against their family. I cannot give you a specific instance of a former prisoner who spoke to the ICRC and then as a direct consequence of that action was re-arrested. But I can say to you that it is universally felt by former prisoners and their families that any discussion will expose them to the danger of re-arrest. Indeed, one of the dilemmas that we faced in carrying out our work in Lebanon was that we were constantly confronted with the problem of what happened to people who talked to us. That is why we feel so reluctant to provide the family names of people because, although we attempt to argue that the publicity that can be given to people who have been victimised ought to form some kind of protection, on the basis of what we have seen and witnessed in Lebanon we are not confident that public opinion has any great impact on the Israeli military authorities and their conduct in Lebanon.

Ernie Ross: Thank you very much for your evidence. I am sorry we had to keep you so long, but you will appreciate that some of the comments that you have made, it is absolutely vital, particularly in a public forum, that this evidence you have laid should be challenged in the way that it was.

Ralph Schoenman: We are happy to have it challenged. I regret that time considerations did not permit us to give you more detailed accounts, because in every village that we visited we have taken hour upon hour of eye-witness testimony with reference to the behaviour of the occupying army, and the treatment of prisoners and, indeed, the maltreatment of people who were not subsequently arrested.

BERIT FIKSDAL, Nurse, Denmark

"We also went to the beach near the old city of Sidon. This area was also completely bombed and destroyed. In this area lived the poorest Lebanese and also there was again this terrible smell."

The first person we talked to in the Ain el Helweh camp after the bombing was a Palestinian girl working in the rehabilitation centre. She was inside the camp on Wednesday 16 June. She said that she had seen dead bodies everywhere. She also said that many shelters in the camp had collapsed during the bombing and many families were buried alive. She said that during the evacuation, during the massive bombardments, families had also lost some of their children, who were left alone in the camp. She said that 500 people had been killed when the shelter for the UNRWA school was hit by a bomb and collapsed. In the camp there was a terrible smell of dead bodies.

After the invasion this family finds a few things worth salvaging from their home in Ein el-Hilweh—a few sticks of firewood, an oil bottle, a bit of rag.

Saturday 19 June, four of us went to the camp to see if we could find our homes, the rehabilitation centre and the clinic. On the outskirts of the camp some houses were still standing, but just inside the camp the houses were completely destroyed. We had to walk 15 minutes to the centre; it was unrecognizable. We managed to find the centre which was partly standing, but the houses in the surrounding area were completely destroyed and the ground turned upside down. At this time we could not see dead bodies in the camp but everywhere there was a terrible smell. We saw some people trying to find useful things in the ruined houses. We were looking to see if we could find some of our neighbours and our colleagues at the clinic and centre. Later we met a nurse from the clinic in Sidon and she told us the clinic was completely destroyed. We did not find it. At this moment we could freely go into the camp but no journalists were allowed to go in, nor Israeli soldiers who wanted to see how it looked.

We also went to the beach near the old city of Sidon. This area was also completely bombed and destroyed. In this area lived the poorest Lebanese and also there was again this terrible smell.

JOSEPHINE HABBAB, Social Worker, Holland

"On asking questions what was going to happen to them we were told, 'Don't worry, these are just investigations. If they are not terrorists you will see them back in a few hours.'"

Before I start with the capture of our medical staff, I would like to mention an incident which took place on the day we surrendered, 10 June. With some other people I was cleaning the floor outside the hospital. To our surprise the rubble and dust started to catch fire after the first movements. We stopped the fire with our shoes but our efforts were in vain, every movement created a new fire. The next day, Friday June 11, one day after we got permission to re-open the PRCS hospital in Sidon at noon, all personnel in the hospital were ordered to get outside in front of the hospital. In a big circle around us, Israeli soldiers were standing. Dr. Giannou, who had up to that moment been in charge of the hospital, handed over a list to the (Israeli) authorities of all people who were not working in the PRCS. They were taken away directly. After that we were ordered to divide ourselves into groups, all nurses and doctors. When this

was done we had to sit on the ground. At the same moment Israeli soldiers and officers went into the hospital and started searching for weapons and military patients. About five patients were taken out. One of our ambulance drivers was ordered to drive the ambulance. The first group was patients on stretchers. The second group was able to sit. At the same moment they started to take people from our group. They pointed out six or seven men and brought them in a group and guided them away guarded by Israeli soldiers. This continued for about three hours until there were almost no men left. On asking questions as to what was going to happen to them we were told, 'Do not worry, these are just investigations. If they are not terrorists you will see them back in a few hours.'

During the three hours we were sitting outside there was no treatment given to the patients. No doctor was allowed to go into the hospital except for one, who got permission to help a woman with the delivery of her baby. While we were sitting outside the hospital, a group of colleagues from the PRCS who were on duty at Hassan Hamoud hospital passed us. They lined up two by two and were guided by Israeli soldiers. After these three hours we got permission to go inside and were able to make up the balance. All our male nurses, ambulance drivers and doctors were taken away except for those who were Europeans, and except for two Palestinian doctors and our cook who was over 60 years old. Later that afternoon some people went to the Israeli headquarters in order to get information. We heard that they were not coming back that day.

Two days later all other medical staff who still remained in the hospital were arrested, except for Dr. Francis Capet and Pascal Mathey. Pascal Mathey was arrested five days later.

We never had a clear explanation of why the male staff of the PRCS were detained. No declaration was given to any of us.

As for the other members of the staff of the PRCS (which is a member of the International Red Cross), I knew for a long time most of those who became captives. I knew that they all belonged to the medical staff. I never saw them carrying a gun neither before the war nor during the war. During the search of the hospital no weapons nor other compromising material were found.

LIV BERIT BREDBY, Assistant Nurse, Norway

"But we were not able to help because the Israeli military authorities gave the order to close the hospital, and we did not have the necessary medical equipment".

My name is Liv Berit Bredby and I am an assistant-nurse. I worked in the refugee-camp Ein el Helweh close to the city Sidon(Sida) in South of Lebanon. I was working in Ein el Helweh from August 1981 until the end of June 1982.

I was working in a rehabilitation centre for physically and mentally handicapped children. This centre was a cooperation between the Palestine Front of Norway, The Finnish-Arab Friendship Society and The Palestinian Red Crescent Society. It had financial support from The Norwegian Peoples Relief Association, trade unions, The Norwegian Refugee Council (semi-governmental body).

During the Israelian invasion of South-Lebanon I have been witness to:

- Bombing of areas where are found civilian houses and civilian people.
- Israeli planes dropping leaflets and we could read that everybody had to leave the area before bombing started. At the same time they dropped the leaflets they bombed the area around us.
- Bombing of Sidon and the total destruction of Ein el Helweh.
- Bombing of hospitals.
- Israelis arrested 90% of the Palestinian Red Crescent health personnel, doctors, nurses, technicians, drivers at a time when we had 70 patients in the hospital.
- Israelis refusing help with water and electricity.

On 5 June about 10 o'clock Saturday, the bombardment of the area around Sidon and Ein el Helweh started.

On 5 June, we changed the rehabilitation centre into an emergency centre. The bombing went on almost continuously the whole day. The next day 6 June the situation was so difficult and we decided to evacuate the centre. In the evening when it was dark enough we moved to a hospital outside Ein el Helweh. This hospital, a Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital, was under construction. I should here mention that we mean the medical team that I worked together with 5 Norwegians, one from Holland and one from Finnland. In the PRCS hospital already a French medical team was working and not to forget the Palestinian Red Crescent medical staff.

A lot of civilian people had taken refuge in the basement of the hospital. (The name of the hospital Al Hamshari). The situation for doing proper medical work was very difficult. We had to move all the patients to the basement because of the heaving bombing. There was no electricity, lack of water and food. The hospital was hit by 3-4 grenades and a house nearby was ruined, one ambulance was also hit and ruined in the hospital area. I have to mention that the hospital was marked with **RED CROSSES.**

Leaflets

I suppose it was Monday the 7 June that the Israelis dropped leaflets in the area. Here you could read that everybody had to leave the area before they started bombing. They told only women and children to go, not men. Where to go, how to go it was written nothing about. At the same time they bombed the areas around, I hope you understand the sense in this.

In the evening 9 June-Wednesday the Norwegian doctor, Steinar Berge, the French nurse Pascal Mathey and the Dutch nurse Magdelein von Woorst, moved to the Lebanese Governmental Hospital just outside Ein el Helweh. This hospital was bombed and about 30-50 people were killed in the hospital.

In the morning 10 June we all went to the road crossing in Sidon, and here we met the Israelis. The group who worked together in Al Hamshari and the group from The Lebanese Governmental Hospital; from the road crossing in Sidon we took over the Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital in Sidon and we started to treat people. Why the Israelis gave us the permission to start working is to this day a big question. During this day we had about 60-70 badly wounded people, many needed immediate surgical care.

This hospital was partly destroyed during the shelling of Sidon. The electricity was broken, no water supply, the generator was broken. We asked help from the Israelis, they promised us help but we never got any help whatsoever.

Instead they arrested 90% of our staff Friday 11 June, doctors, nurses, technicians, ambulance-drivers, also the male European staff were arrested later Sunday 13 June. This was at a time where we had about 70 badly wounded patients at the hospital. We several times asked the Israelis to release the health personnel, the answer we got was that it was not our business. I hope all people can understand what kind of crime this was.

We had no longer any choice, we had to try to evacuate the patients. At this time we had only one doctor and some female staff left in the hospital. With 70 badly wounded patients one can understand what a horrible situations we were in. If we had all our staff back to the hospital, it is no doubt that we could have functioned even under very difficult circumstances.

The Lebanese Red Cross finally helped us with evacuating the patients. We asked them if we could work together with them, in this situation where people needed badly medical care. The answer we got was, they could not work together with us even if they wanted. The Israelian commanding officer had given them the order not to cooperate with "the terrorist teams from Ein el Helweh and Mie Mie." We understood that there was nothing we could do anymore, but to come out of the area. Even that was very difficult and the Israelis more or less held us in an empty hospital, until our chargé d' affaires from Norway came and helped us to leave the area.

FRANCIS CAPET, Physician, Belgium

"I asked the Israeli soldiers, also officers, why they let the people come back to the camp (which was to be bombed). We said, 'You can stop them, you have guns. They are to die.' They answered, 'Yes, we told them, but they do not listen and anyway they are too stupid.' "

I was not in Ain el Helweh hospital during the night of Wednesday 9 June, but on Thursday morning we came out of El Hamshari hospital with all our patients going to the beach. All the medical staff were stopped at the crossroads you have seen on the map. I did not see Pascal and Madeleine. They did not show up so I was very anxious as Madeleine is more than 60 years old and maybe she fell somewhere along the roadside. I did not want to go on without knowing about them and I asked the Israeli soldiers if I could go back to the hospital to look for them. They said 'no,' that 'it is impossible because we are going to bomb at 9:30.' It was 9:20 at that time. We told them that there were many wounded people left in the hospital because there were no ambulances for evacuation. They said they had tried to phone by wireless, but I do not know if this was so. Then they said at 10 o'clock the whole area would definitely be bombed, so I had half an hour. I went back hoping to find a shelter inside this hospital so that I could be there at the time the Israelis said they would bomb the whole area and be alone there. When I got to the camp there were still many civilians there, between 50 and 100 people, just in the surroundings; most were looking for relatives. I also saw a badly wounded woman lying

inside the hospital. Inside the hospital I saw about 30 civilians who were looking for shelter. A blind man, women, children and men. I could not do anything for the wounded but I pushed the people away from the windows and those who could move better I pushed into the basement. I saw about 30 heavily wounded, bleeding, amputations etc., and if these people were lying down it was impossible to move them along. They were lying beneath the dead. I saw between five and ten dead inside this part of the hospital. They were lying just beside the wounded. In another part of the hospital I saw about 30 dead people scattered one above another and apparently they all died on the same spot at the same moment. This was a bomb.

Later someone came with an ambulance to take me back to the PRCS hospital in Sidon and we could evacuate one person only. When we went out we shouted to the people to leave and go to the sea because they really were going to bomb the city. The rest of the day we tried to get permission from the Israeli authorities to go inside the camp with as many ambulances as possible to get the wounded people. We did not get the permission.

At last we got permission on Friday 11 June before 6:30 because they said they would start bombing the camp at 6:30. We got an ambulance around 5 o'clock and with Dr. Giannou and two or three ambulance drivers we went inside the camp and we made three trips. On each trip we took about 10 wounded people. We were carrying wounded people on the roof of the ambulance. We dropped them every time at the first Israeli check point so that we did not have to make the trip three times. We managed to get out 31 people. One or two of them must have died as they had been lying there for more than 24 hours bleeding, without water, without care and in complete despair.

We took some of the injured back to the hospital but the Israelis took some of the wounded as prisoners. I do not know exactly how many, perhaps three or five. They also took people the day before when we were coming out of the shelter. They looked heavily wounded, for instance people with broken legs. They took them as prisoners.

This Friday morning we saw many people coming back. All the people were told to go to the beach during the days of bombing. People were coming back all the time between 50 or 100 in the street on each of our trips. This had been going on for several hours I think. They passed by the Israeli check point so the Israelis saw that they went back into the camp and they had told us that they would bomb this camp. I asked the Israeli soldiers, also officers, why they let the people come back to the camp. We said, 'You can stop them, you have guns. They are to die.' They answered, 'Yes, we told them, but they do not listen and anyway they are too stupid.' We tried to stop them but we had to go back to the hospital to work.

I want to tell you about the working conditions and the health situation in the hospital for the week which followed. That Friday morning when

these people came back into the camp of Ain el Helweh and the Israelis said they would bomb the camp, they did bomb the camp. Indeed they destroyed the whole camp. They had been using very heavy bombs which went straight through shelters and destroyed a very large area.

I have to tell you about this hospital we went to. It is the main hospital of the PRCS at least in Sidon for the area. There are about 50 beds. It is the only public hospital in Sidon. It is almost free. Private medicine is very expensive and most people cannot afford it. The PRCS hospital was meant for the Palestinans but not exclusively for the poorer people. It served the out-patient clinics of the camps at Ain el Helweh and Mieh Mieh and it had its own out-patients department. I think that on Sunday evening or Monday the hospital was evacuated very quickly and the wounded were taken to Sidon government hospital which is situated near Ain el Helweh. When we came back on Thursday we found a mess there because it was evacuated very quickly. A few shells had fallen very close and one had fallen on the roof. This is where the laundry was, there were no sheets in the hospital. There was no electricity, there was a generator, but this had shrapnel in the radiator so it did not work. The water supply was from the reservoir so it could not work, for with no electricity there could be no electrical pump, no light, no X-rays. Drugs were scattered. The staff started to work on Thursday with about 50 or 60 patients and also some out-patients when we could not take care of in-patients. We had to refuse out-patients. Who were these patients? From the Friday on, they were patients we had evacuated from the government hospital in Ain el Helweh. We saw these people with war wounds, many of them had been lying without care for many days. All wounds heavily infected. Many people did not eat or drink for several days. Almost all were war wounds. We had two or three patients who could not move and some who did not have war wounds whom we took care of also. Mostly amputations, fractures, penetrating wounds of the abdomen. There was a baby who was in good health and he was only one day old. He had lost his mother. There was also a woman who was pregnant and she had shrapnel through the belly. She had lost her baby, but she did not know it. We took care of these people in terrible conditions, without sheets, bleeding, pus and sweat and urine etc. There was no water to clean these wounds, only water for drinking and cooking. All these people needed surgical care. There were two or three surgeons.

On Friday we were forced to sit outside for three hours. They took away the anaesthetist that day so we were left with two surgeons only who performed some operations that Friday.

On Saturday we had been trying to get back the anaesthetist so we delayed the most difficult operations and most were difficult because many of these patients had multiple wounds. On the Sunday there was no doctor at all since we had to attend a meeting. The timing of the meeting

was not good, so we lost time and then we were all arrested for the rest of the day. The other health staff had been taken away, most of them on Friday and the last one Saturday; so from Sunday evening on it was only the foreign team and a female Palestinian staff which had only a few qualified nurses, many of whom were ambulance workers who had just arrived in the hospital and did not know the place. Every time a doctor was taken to prison we lost also his records, so we had to take over his patients and start everything again.

On Sunday evening the Israeli army doctor came and asked me if I was the only doctor present at that time and if I would accept an ICRC surgical medical team to come to work in our hospital and I told him of course. I had seen these people on Monday, it was a Finnish surgical team from the ICRC, from the Finnish Red Cross. They did not know about the existence of our hospital and no one had told them about it. It was just by luck that I had seen them as I knew these people recognised them. I told them to come quickly but we never saw them again. Later I heard that they were not allowed to do any surgery. They had just been working in an out-patient clinic and started to work three days later. An out-patient clinic was started by the Lebanese Red Cross from the Wednesday on, that is after one week. The PRCS would have been able to take care of the health of the whole of the Sidon population for at least two weeks after the invasion in this war situation if the staff had not been taken away. There was a huge store of medicine and medical equipment in El Hamshari hospital but we could not reach it and afterwards the Israelis took the key. We managed with the supplies and drugs we had in Sidon, but we had to go to El Hamshari and take some of our personal drugs. Out of the shelter, we made it very simple. We did not use the right dressings; it could have been much better. One old woman died.

On Monday evening or Tuesday morning, I do not know exactly, an Israeli soldier came to tell us that the hospital would be evacuated and that all the wounded would be taken to other hospitals where they could have surgery. Because the took away our medical staff on Friday they should have evacuated the hospital on Friday also. I do not think many people died, but the people with very bad wounds were getting more infected. Some wounds became septic and with immediate good surgery one of the wounded would have had his fingers saved, but now after one week he would probably lose his arm below the elbow. The evacuation of the hospital was carried out in a very slow way. They told us it was because the Lebanese hospitals would not accept the wounded. In fact they came in the evening with the Lebanese Red Cross and said they wanted three women and two children. They did not take the worst patients first but the ones whom they did not want in this hospital. I do not think these other hospitals were really over-crowded.

It was on Friday that the evacuation was completed.

On Tuesday all our female Palestinian staff fled. They fled because they were scared because when they heard the news about the hospital being evacuated without them they did not know what would happen to them if they did not have any job in the hospital or what the Israelis would do to them. So they fled.

Two days before that, Israeli soldiers came many times into the hospital and started talking to the girls and stopped them from working. They were not aggressive, but it was disturbing, stopping them from getting on with their work. The food situation was difficult, we managed to get some food for the patients but it was not proper food, it was canned. During this time if we had had our full staff we would have been able to take care of the in-patients, and take care of the out-patients also.

On the last days when the hospital was nearly evacuated we were not allowed to treat out-patients. We were not allowed to work any more. A lot of patients were children in a badly dehydrated condition and with pneumonia. I think this was only a small sample of what we had seen. I do not know how many of these children died because they did not get care for two weeks, before the out-patient clinic could start. I do not think this is complete, but I will leave more time for questions.

Nordic Commission: Can you tell us how many people were living in Ain el Helweh camp before military actions were taken? And what happened to these people after military action, how many people were killed, wounded and what happened to the others?

Francis Capet: As I said it was estimated that something like 70,000 or 80,000 lived in the camp. I did not count them myself and after that, during the invasion, I was working like hell in the hospital. There were people coming in talking to the staff in Arabic and I did not have time to ask them questions. I do not really know what happened to all these people, but at the time the whole camp had been evacuated. I guess several thousands were dead, buried under the ruins. Several thousands were taken prisoner, how many fled into the Bekaa, to Syria, how many found some shelter in the old town or in the abra region or how many went to Beirut, I do not know.

Nordic Commission: How many schools, and among them I think it was one United Nations school, were closed because of the military actions?

Francis Capet: I say eight but I was not working in Ain el Helweh myself, I was working in Mieh Mieh which is a smaller camp of about 3,000 people.

Nordic Commission: Had you been around the camp so you could see what kind of military equipment or what kind of installations or defence the Palestinians could make?

Francis Capet: I think the questions about normal life before the war in Ain el Helweh would be better answered by the Norwegian team who were present there one year before. I had only visited there, quite often. I have

seen some military equipment like normal guns, not the normal machine guns of the police army outside the camp, but I do not know about any weapons like cannons etc.

Nordic Commission: Was there an ammunitions store inside the camp?

Francis Capet: I do not know.

Nordic Commission: You mentioned that you were on several occasions asked or requested to evacuate the hospital because there would be bombing. Did that threat imply that also the hospital would be bombed? Were you requested to evacuate the hospital?

Francis Capet: They did not request me to evacuate the hospital, you mean the hospital in Ain el Helweh.

Nordic Commission: I think that you told us, or maybe it was another witness, that several requests were made to evacuate the hospital because in one or two hours this hospital would be bombed.

Francis Capet: The hospital in Ain el Helweh was evacuated in panic after someone came along with a loudspeaker. I did not hear this myself but it was not a request, they just said, 'Run away because they are going to bomb.' I think they must have been given some advice, and yes, if they said the whole area must be evacuated, this included the hospital.

Nordic Commission: But you did not discuss that problem with an Israeli yourself?

Francis Capet: No, it was not possible and I was not there at the moment of evacuation anyhow. I asked the Israeli if we could evacuate the hospital when the camp was evacuated already. There was no staff there any more, there were only 30 wounded people, and no one there who could give them a glass of water even.

Nordic Commission: My question to you and to the other witnesses is, when the medical staff were arrested I guess that they protested. They probably argued with the Israeli soldier about why they were arrested as there were wounded people in the hospital. What was the reaction of the Israeli soldiers? Did they in any way try to explain why they arrested you and nurses and social workers? There must have been some discussion and protests over this.

Francis Capet: No, there was no protest when you were arrested. They put a gun in your back and you had to walk. When I saw the others arrested I went and told them that we needed our surgeon and nurses and staff back. They told me these people were terrorists and if they are not terrorists they would be sent back. In fact they did not ask them questions. They asked them questions after one week of imprisonment quite often.

Nordic Commission: Do you think that the reason for the arrests was that they intended to check the identity of the health personnel, to check that they were not terrorists?

Francis Capet: They arrested almost any Palestinian male, including

the health personnel. They had people who told them, 'This one, this one, this one.' These people pointed out all the men they had seen in the company of PLO staff. Of course many of the health personnel had been in contact with persons of the PLO. It did not mean they were military men, because the PRCS is something like the Ministry of Health of the PLO. So they have at some time or other had contact with someone of the Government.

Nordic Commission: It was a certain Lebanese doctor in Sidon who stated that the foreign health teams were incapable and badly trained and the hospitals were shabby and dirty. They could not really operate. Is that the same doctor which your wife referred to in Sidon? She said he could not take the patients because they were dirty.

Francis Capet: This hospital was extremely dirty with no sheets, no water, no electricity and no staff. There was a horrible smell of rotten flesh, excrement, urine and vomit. It got especially dirty after a few days when they took away all the staff. In fact when they ordered the evacuation of the hospital, this was after four or five days, it really had to be evacuated because even if they had brought in staff and surgical staff it would not have been possible to work at that moment before emptying the hospital and cleaning it completely. But if you had had your medical staff from the first day and if you had been able to work under decent conditions, it could have been OK. I was incapable of course. I am not a surgeon. All my patients needed major surgery, I was only able to do minor surgery which is no solution when you need to carry out an amputation.

Nordic Commission: I refer to the doctor in the statement you made about the incapability of the health terms from outside Lebanon. It was a specific doctor in the Lebanon in Sidon you stated.

Marianne Moller: That was Hassan Hammoud.

Nordic Commission: There was an article in the press I read.

Marianne Moller: This is the same man. That was the doctor, he is the Lebanese doctor and he had big luxuries, a private hospital, not so far from Ain el Helweh. That was the man who said our patients were too dirty for his hospital.

Francis Capet: Our patients were very dirty indeed. There was a woman who had her shoulder almost removed, a broken leg and a broken hand. She was also in Ain el Helweh government hospital and had been lying for more than 24 hours without care. She was transferred to the other hospital on top of the ambulance. She was brought to us and all we could do was give her pain killers and antibiotics. She was transferred to another hospital and, in fact, they refused to take her. They said her wounds were too septic for an operation. She came back. She went to another hosptial and was sent back again. We asked the Israelis what we should do. They said, 'Nothing, you can let her die.' In fact she did not die. The last day,

Friday, she was taken to Israel and was operated on in Israel and she is alive now.

Nordic Commission: It is known that with the private hospitals in Lebanon the patients have to pay before they are let in. Don't they have to clean as well?

Francis Capet: Yes, but I can testify that during the war many badly wounded patients were refused admittance to the Hassan Hammoud hospital which was not touched by the bombing and which had a generator and which was perfectly able to work. I was there on the first Thursday when we started to work after the siege of the town and I saw many dirty people who were just on a stretcher with no care, whilst three-quarters of the rooms were empty. By the way, the Hassan Hammoud hospital had many staff as well as a big part of the staff of the Sidon PRCS hospital who went to work at the hospital after their hospital had been evacuated. But they did not take care of these patients who could not pay.

Nordic Commission: Could you give additional facts to the questions I put earlier: the number who were in Ain el Helweh before the invasion and the numbers after the invasion?

Oyvind Moller: The figure for the population of Ain el Helweh was about 80,000 before the invasion and when we left Ain el Helweh on Sunday evening, I suppose that almost the whole population was still there. Then they bombed the area around and also the camp on Saturday and it went on also on Sunday.

Nordic Commission: Do you know what kind of bombs were used?

Oyvind Moller: No, I do not know.

Nordic Commission: Do you know how many people in all were killed or wounded?

Oyvind Moller: I have no idea. But I am sure there were a lot of people killed because of the heavy bombardment. The camp was more or less completely destroyed and as I mentioned before, this happened especially in Hamshari. They dropped leaflets and told people to leave the area, especially mentioning women and children, but they did not say how and where to go. The ridiculous thing was that at the same time as they bombed the area round us they dropped the leaflets.

Nordic Commission: Could you read the leaflets?

Oyvind Moller: As I have already told you, the people had to leave the area: that is what the Lebanese and Palestinians translated for us. Women and children had to leave the area. There was nothing written about men, nor how or where to go. I saw these leaflets myself.

Nordic Commission: Do I understand you correctly that you said you witnessed the arrest of doctors and nurses?

Oyvind Moller: Yes.

Nordic Commission: Did you hear any kind of explanation? Did the Israelis tell you why they were arrested, especialy the nurses?

Oyvind Moller: Not as far as I can remember. I heard no reason but I was also arrested by Israeli officers. I was never accused of anything. In reply to my question as to why they arrested me, they said, 'We want to know who you are', but of course the soldiers accused me of being a terrorist, Bader Meinhof.

Nordic Commission: Do you know if there was any sort of PLO defence installation in the camp?

Oyvind Moller: Around the camp in the hillside there were anti-aircraft guns, but in the camp, as far as I saw, there were no heavy weapons. Just some men with guns. I saw nothing else.

Nordic Commission: Pascal Mathey, you were arrested for one week and taken to Israel. Were you questioned there? What did they ask you, or did they just keep you there?

Pascal Mathey: I think it has been planned for tomorrow to speak about the problem of prisoners taken to Israel. I think we will be mixing two different subjects and it would take a long time to speak about the situation inside these during the war. I would quote, however, Dr. Giannou in his testimony. He says, 'I have been a witness to 300 cadavers in the peripheral areas of the Ain el Helweh camp while I was evacuating the government hospital; to 40 to 50 cadavers in the emergency reception area in the government hosptial; and to 20 inside the hospital amongst my patients.' That gives you an idea of the number of dead people we had in the government hospital. I would add that on the Thursday morning Dr. Giannou went to the Israeli headquarters to tell the officer there that the hospital was full of patients, and when he came back he said he had no answer. One hour later a young woman came to the hospital and told us that the Israelis would bomb the hospital after half an hour.

Nordic Commission: Josephine Habbab, I have the same question which I have previously put. You also witnessed the arrest of medical personnel?

Josephine Habbab: Yes.

Nordic Commission: Did you get any idea other than we have heard as to why they arrested you?

Josephine Habbab: No.

Nordic Commission: Of course they wanted to check that you were not terrorists as they said.

Josephine Habbab: Yes, just investigations.

Nordic Commission: What do you imagine they wanted to investigate about the nurses?

Josephine Habbab: They wanted to find out if we were terrorists. That was the question and we did not know what they counted as terrorists.

Nordic Commission: What did you answer and how long did your interrogation take?

Josephine Habbab: I was not investigated at all.

Nordic Commission: Liv Berit Bredby, did you say it was prohibited for the personnel of the hospital to work?

Liv Berit Bredby: Yes.

Nordic Commission: They gave you no reason for this?

Liv Berit Bredby: No.

Nordic Commission: Sounds strange.

Liv Berit Bredby: Yes. Did you mean by your question, did they prevent us from working? Yes. They arrested 90 percent of our staff. We were not able to take care of the patients in the way we should. They gave no clear answers to us when we asked why they arrested the health personnel. We even asked to get them back to the hospital to keep them there and investigate them there. They gave no answer to that. They just said they called everybody terrorists.

Nordic Commission: Marianne Moller, you told us about all your troubles in leaving the country. The Israelis tried to prevent you from leaving the country. What do you think the reason was for this?

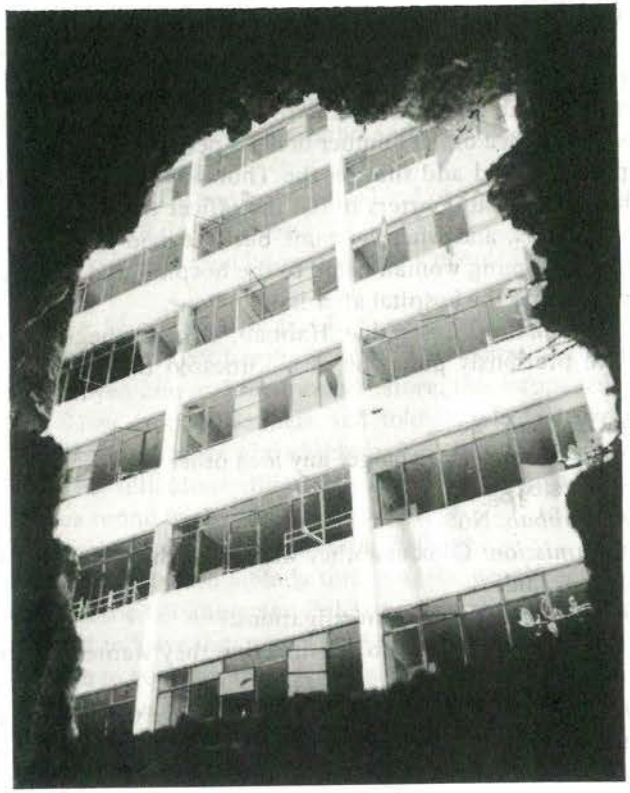


Photo: UNICEF

The destruction of the Borj el-Shemali orphanage near Tyre.

Marianne Moller: I am not sure, but I think maybe that we told them clearly that we wanted to stay and work and also we would not leave the country before the hospital was empty. I do not know any more. I think they tried to connect us with the terrorist organisation and Bader Meinhof group as well.

Nordic Commission: What kind of experience did you have before you worked in the camp?

Marianne Moller: Do you mean as a social worker? My education was a Social High School in Norway and direct translator in children's care specialist.

DR. BERIT SCHEI, Physician, Norway

"When we left after 24 hours stay, there were still patients there whose lives depended upon immediate transfer to hospital. There were ambulances present, but we were told (by Israeli soldiers) they were not permitted to go out searching for wounded."

As we have seen, the camp had its own schools, kindergartens and primary health clinics. The building of shelters had been given priority but this work was not completed. The camp did not include any military bases. We only observed light hand weapons and, during air raids, movable anti-aircraft. The PRCS clinic was situated, as you have seen, outside the western entrance of the camp by the road to Tyre. Adjacent was the ambulance station. Both buildings were well marked with Red Crescent signs, on the road signs, walls and with a flag on the roof. The shelter for the clinic was built a few metres from the building.

A Norwegian solidarity organisation had been sending health workers to the clinic for a year. The present team consisted of two nurses, one physiotherapist, one occupational therapist, one ambulance driver and me, a medical doctor.

Friday 4 June started as an ordinary day at the clinic. There had been times of tension on several occasions like in April and May when the Israelis bombed further north. This day no ominous signs were present. On the contrary, we were busy preparing for two engagement parties to which we were invited. After closing time we went straight to the celebra-

tions which went on into the afternoon. The light-hearted atmosphere quickly changed when planes passed, accompanied by the activities of anti-aircraft fire. Some travellers heading for Sidon returned as no services would go north because of bombing. The parties split up to take precautions in case of further spread of attacks. Our team had built up a certain routine under such circumstances. We returned to the clinic, packed and checked the shelter. The planned function of the clinic was to use it as a first-aid station. A curt treatment aimed at preparing the patients for transport could be given.

Some time after 6 p.m. the military activities drew nearer, causing us to go into the shelter. Artillery attacks seemed to come from the sea and inland. We could hear the explosions as neighbouring areas were hit. From the news we learned that the whole coast-line was under attack from ships. Beirut, had suffered from several air raids. In the darkness the landscape was lit up by what we believed to be magnesium bombs. All through the night we could hear helicopters as they swept over the area.

On Saturday 5 June the morning was totally calm. It seemed we had been having nightmares. As we met people, however, and heard the news the truth of the events dawned on us. There had been several casualties in other camps near Tyre. People had been killed on the way to shelters. The ambulance drivers had worked all night. One driver had crashed when driving without lights to escape the helicopters. Arab newspapers showed photographs of the results of the bombing in Beirut. In spite of us having heard about former Israeli actions we were deeply shocked by the ruthless killing of civilians. The official reason was the attempted assassination of an Israeli diplomat. When the shooting broke out again it came as a surprise. The shelling increased in intensity and Borj el Shamali was one of the major aims. We heard the whistling sounds of shells as they passed us and the succeeding explosions, sometimes very close. The attack continued all through the evening and night with the same strength, only temporarily replaced by a period of helicopters circling over us.

On Sunday 6 June in the early morning a statement from the UN Security Council was noted appealling for an immediate ceasefire to come into effect at 6 a.m. As shooting went on at the same intensity in spite of the international appeal, the morning did not allow for an optimistic view. It was impossible to go out during the day without great risk. In spite of this we were regularly visited by a representative of the Popular Committee. He informed us about what was going on and raised our spirits. Sometime that day, whilst it was still light, we heard Kalashnikovs and wondered. Soon we got the news that Israeli vehicles put down by helicopters were attacking from the area between the clinic and Maru Shouk, the next village along the road to Tyre. The attack was being met by Palestinian commandos. The battle took place very close to us. The commandos brought us a wounded Israeli soldier for treatment. After being

treated sufficiently to go by transport he was taken to another shelter further back from the front. The commandos were also deeply concerned about our well-being and brought us water and food. At one point it was considered whether we ought to be taken up to the camp because of the development of the battle. It was not done because shelters were overcrowded and gradually the battle came to a standstill as the advance of the Israeli vehicles was stopped. We were told that several Israeli tanks had been destroyed and from the roof of the clinic we could see burning cars. Shooting into the camp continued, with short intervals, also into the night.

On Monday 7 June we got news about wounded people in the camp being treated by Palestinian doctors. As we were better equipped it was planned to move the patients but shooting kept on. Around midday an intense air raid started. There had been no kind of warning to give the inhabitants a chance of escaping. A considerable number of planes must have taken part in the raid. The air was filled with a roaring sound of planes as they attacked, left and returned. The waves of pressure shook the ground as the bombs exploded with a dull sound, followed by the tumbling of stones, concrete and breaking glass. The shelter became filled with dust and sand and soil came rushing down. We repeatedly heard one explosion followed by multiple ones and the sound of numerous splinters as they hit the walls. These were most likely to be cluster bombs. The inferno kept on for hours. To escape this horrible destruction seemed unbelievable. Yet a new type of shooting broke out after a short interval. This might have been from tanks approaching the camp from the opposite side.

On Tuesday 8 June it was relatively calm so we could leave the shelter at times. White flags were handing from some of the windows and roofs in the village. No one was seen before the Palestinian doctor appeared. He was totally exhausted as he had been in a shelter with injured people during the heavy attack. He told us people had been ordered to the Amal building at morning and Israeli tanks had surrounded the camp and kept on shooting into it. Because of this it had been impossible to get the injured out. We therefore planned to get into the camp using the car, carrying the patients to the clinic. We waited until the first Israeli vehicle appeared on the road. It was a column of armed cars. We went onto the road in white coats and stopped one of the cars to ask permission to fetch the wounded. They advised us to put white flags on the car but also explained that there were still terrorists left so they had to keep on shooting. After preparing the car two of the team went into the camp and Dr. Nygard has a section about what they saw in the camp.

We started clearing a place of the patients. The ground floor of the clinic was covered with broken glass and fragments of concrete from walls and roofs. All windows and doors were destroyed. On the first floor where we had lived at least one rocket had gone through the roof. The water tank was hit and up on the roof everything was burned black, only metal bits

were left of the furniture. We cleared the physiotherapy room downstairs and prepared for treatment. The patients consisted of a heavily pregnant woman who had been bleeding after falling. One woman and a man had head and face injuries, including the eyes. These injuries were most likely caused by splinters. One woman was suffering from burns and there was a man with a less serious head injury. All these were civilians. While we were working, an Israeli soldier came and warned us about further shooting, advising us to go to the shelter. All the time, Israeli tanks passed in columns, sometimes making a halt whilst shooting into the sides of the road. At least three of the patients needed hospital treatment, so when we got a chance we evacuated with the patients. The road to El Bas was filled with Israeli tanks, cars and soldiers. The soldiers were asking if we had seen any terrorists telling us that we did not need to be afraid any more as they were about to clear out any terrorists left. When it was getting dark we reached the Red Cross Centre called the Resthouse on the beach south of Tyre.

The Resthouse was said to have housed 50,000 people during the heavy bombing of Tyre. On Wednesday 9 June, hundreds were still left. The conditions for the remaining were heart-breaking. Women and children making dwellings with a few blankets on the ground. A desperate shortage of water and food existed. Sanitary facilities were disastrous. The reception hall was made into a room for the injured. The health workers from the PRCS hospital in El Bas were at work here. We were told the story about the evacuation of the hospital. The hospital had been suffering from intense shelling. The evacuation of staff and patients had only been made possible through the help of an Israeli soldier who was being treated by them. The Resthouse did not have any hospital facilities; only extensive first-aid could be given. Many of the patients needed hospital treatment. The Israelis allowed only some patients to be transferred during our stay there but under which criteria these were selected I do not know.

When we left after 24 hours stay, there were still patients there whose lives depended upon immediate transfer to hospital. There were ambulances present, but we were told these were not permitted to go out searching for wounded. We heard that one civilian car was allowed to go to Borj al Shamali and it came back with two wounded. Also during Wednesday military activities continued, shooting from tanks and ships into Tyre and further bombardments of Rashediyeh and Borj al Shamali. Haddad soldiers were said to have been at the Resthouse. They had demanded to take as prisoners all boys of about 12. This had been stopped. Later we heard that many had been taken prisoner by the Israelis, also including health workers. We were advised to evacuate and we got transport on Wednesday evening. We have a person who had been in Borj al Shamali after the war and she will talk.

Borj el Shamali is an UNRWA registered refugee camp in south Lebanon situated by the village of Ismain close to the road between Shai and Tyre. In 1979 there were 10,247 registered inhabitants in the camp. After repeated shelling, bombing and other military actions by Israel and Lebanese irregular militia only 35 percent of the people remained behind. After the ceasefire on July 24 in 1981, some did return to the area. At the time of the outbreak of the last war, the number of inhabitants was estimated to be 4,000 to 5,000. Now I want to show some slides from Borj el Shamali showing the daily life in the camp and our work at the clinic before the invasion.

The clinic was run by PRCS and a Norwegian Palestine Committee. It was financially supported by the Norwegian directorate for aids to underdeveloped countries, and next to it was the PRCS ambulance station for south Lebanon. The Norwegian medical team had been working there for a year in cooperation with local Palestinian health workers. The clinic was situated outside the western entrance of the camp. A slide shows the UNWRA school and the Amal building.

The population and the living conditions are much the same as in Rashediyeh. People lived in small houses made of concrete, but some still lived in houses made of corrugated iron. Most of the houses did not have their own water supply. This is a slide of a common water pump to fetch water for the household. In the camp there were three kindergartens, also UNRWA schools. There were not enough shelters for everyone, scarcely sufficient to house women and children, so new shelters were built. At the rehabilitation section we had patients from the whole area of the south. The physiotherapists in this slide are instructing a paraplegic boy. The occupational therapist is instructing a boy to do exercises to improve movements in his burnt hands. Many Palestinians worked on the surrounding orange fields.

While we painted red crosses onto white sheets to put onto the car we were interrupted by shooting. Meanwhile a new column of Israeli armed personnel vehicles passed.

In my memory I had a picture of a camp full of life. Kids playing ball in an open place, men and women sitting outside the houses and walking on the roads. Everyone talking and laughing. Only four days had passed since I had been among them. Now I could hardly recognise the camp. Houses on both sides of the road were totally destroyed. Among the ruins we could see a huge crater. The damage was immense. Bits of concrete and stones were scattered on to the road. We had to clear the road to get past but after around 500 metres it was impossible to drive any further. We went out of the camp walking in the direction of the shelter, passing only houses in ruins. Nobody could see at first. The only life which was left was a donkey. We did not know for sure where the shelter was. We shouted in hope for someone to hear us. After searching for a while we found the

place. At the entrance we met an old man and two women. They were in a state of shock, looking very disturbed with empty eyes. We went into the shelter where it was very dark. As our eyes got used to it we could see several people lying on the floor. One man with a bandage around his head lay at the stairs. We brought him out and also managed to take a woman to the car, carrying her on a stretcher. We drove these patients to the clinic and returned with a lamp. Now we could see fully the dreadful situation of the shelter. Wounded people lay alongside dead bodies. They moaned and cried when we arrived, pleading for help. It is impossible to describe the suffering of the people still alive. We could hardly belive our eyes. We were able to take three injuried people to the car. Two wounded were still left when we drove back to the clinic. We saw a civilian car: in it were two reporters. They filmed the wounded and I asked them to come with us to film the camp and the shelter but they refused. Then new shooting started and we had to go into the shelter and the reporters hurriedly left. The intense shooting kept on and we did not get another chance to go into the camp to fetch the remaining injuried.

PEA HOLMQUIST, TV Producer, Sweden

UNRWA spokesman: "Out of 240,000 we estimated that we need to give aid to around 175,000 who lost everything. What it means is that we have to start again from scratch more or less . . . but in a way we can say that we are more or less back to 30 years ago when UNRWA started."

I want to explain under what conditions we made this film. We were in Rashediyeh three days under the escort of an Israeli officer. The rest of our three weeks we spent arguing with the Israeli military press officers to get permission to go to Rashediyeh. During the first three to four weeks Rashediyeh was totally closed to all international press. We were the first TV team who managed to get there on 13 July. Also you must know there is a very effective Israeli military censorship which controls all material which leaves Israel. They always look at the film, the pictures and sometimes they even want to listen to the interviews. Our aim with this film was to give a picture of what is left of Rashediyeh and to get some interviews with the people there. But we did not want to ask them questions which might harm them in any way. There are unfortunately some examples during this war where there have been questionings by western reporters which have later been used by the Israeli military censorship to arrest people. We did not want to put these types of questions. We wanted to put very easy questions about their conditions.

Commentary from film:

They took hostages, they took three of my children, why is this? God does not permit such things. What evil have the Palestinians committed? None. I was there 13 July in this camp and I saw the devastation which was very great. Part of it was totally destroyed. Part of it is standing more or less. There were a lot of people who began to return when I arrived there. They were trickling in. At that time practically only women and children. They found a half ruined house to live in or a school. I am told that by now some men have been returning too. What will happen to Rashediyeh as a camp in the future is an open question. I do not know. It is quite clear that it is not possible to rebuild it as it was. There is just too much destruction there.

'For more than thirty years Rashediyeh was one of the largest refugee camps in southern Lebanon. Originally intended as a temporary arrangement, the camp grew into a village with stone houses, paved roads, water and electricity. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) built schools and day care centres. Rashediyeh also had two clinics, an UNRWA clinic and another clinic run with the help from the Swedish Palestine groups. For the past five years many Swedish doctors and nurses have worked at the Rashediyeh clinic. The camp also had a PLO militia consisting of many of the village men—Rashediyeh's defence forces. Under normal conditions Rashediyeh had over 12,000 inhabitants. Today, two months after the Israeli invasion called 'Peace for Galilee', perhaps 1,000 Palestinians have returned to Rashediyeh's ruins.'

Israeli spokesman: 'The destruction of Rashediyeh took three days. One of the main points of the Israeli strategy in this operation (words indistinct) or at least to delay to the last stage. The reason was to prevent our casualties and civilian casualties, so at the beginning what we did in this area was only to bomb from the air the PLO strongholds around this camp. There were mainly two strongholds, one near the beach because they were afraid of our landing from the beach, and the other one was on top of the hill near the church and the cemetery. That was the main activity of the first raid.'

Woman witness: 'On Sunday afternoon at 5 o'clock the air bombings started and they lasted for 1¼ hours. It was very heavy and very frightening and we were sitting in the shelter. There was a lot of panic. We had both civilian Palestinians and commandos with us, some of them were

badly hurt and some slightly wounded. During the night and until Monday morning there was air bombing and in the morning it was very quiet in the camp, no shooting. When we came out from the shelter we were very shocked. We had lived there for three months and we looked on Rashediyeh as our home and now it is completely destroyed. We could see our clinic, there was nothing left of it. We saw the homes of our friends, we could see their personal things, we could see the laundry was destroyed, it was all over the street. Nothing was left.'

Male witness: 'Large portions of Rashediyeh were devastated during the first day of the invasion. The UNRWA clinic built with funds from the Swedish Save the Children Foundation was totally demolished. Like the other clinic it was situated far from the PLO positions on the outskirts of the camp.'

Male witness: 'On the second day of the war the Israelis told us that all people must come here to the school and they would have peace. When they reached the school they take all (words indistinct). We went inside the camp. The attendant who looked after the school which is outside the camp used loudspeakers to ask the people to surrender. We hoped that by this time the whole population would understand clearly that they were actually surrounded, and that in no way should they go on fighting and thus prevent the terrible thing of the Israelis going into the camps.'

Woman witness: 'We met some people in the street also and they had a white flag. It was the civilian Palestinians who were left in the camp, women, children, old men and young civilian Palestinians. We joined up with them and they were going up to the Israelis in the school. When we reached the school the Israelis took the men inside and they had to go down on their knees with their hands over their heads. The women and children were allowed to walk through an orange plantation up to the Red Cross just south of Tyre. We had to stay with the Israelis. We were not allowed to speak to our Palestinian friends. It was awful.'

Male witness: 'Close to 500 of Rahediyeh's men were led away by the Israelis to various prisoner-of-war camps. Today most of them are being held in Ansar, an Israeli prisoner-of-war camp in south Lebanon, holding approximately 8,000 prisoners. After two days Rashediyeh was almost totally deserted with a few remaining men from the PLO militia continuing to fire upon the Israelis.'

Israeli spokesman: 'Houses were destroyed during the last stage and when we entered into the camp at that stage we had already eight casualties at this stage in this type of fighting, so we decided to use the loudspeaker again for the last time, saying that we were entering the camp. All the civilian members who were not able to go outside the camp should go down to their shelters and to the bunkers. We would not fight the bunkers but outside we were going from house to house to clear all the area up. So we moved and the orders were that before you go into a room, fire inside the room and clean the room before you go inside. At this stage a lot of houses were damaged.'

Question: 'What was your work there?'

Answer: 'I am registering damaged and destroyed houses.'

Question: 'And the result?'

Answer: 'About 700 houses fully destroyed and the others partially destroyed. About 10 houses are good. 10 houses only are good.'

Male witness: 'By the end of the third day 80 percent of the houses in Rashediyeh had been destroyed. Approximately 500 men had been taken prisoner. The greater portion of the population had fled. 80 Palestinians and nine Israelis had been killed, many wounded still remained in the hospitals near Rashediyeh.'

'Israeli 'mopping up' operations continued. New road signs in Hebrew have appeared everywhere. The Israeli army practically controls all of southern Lebanon. The Israelis are assisted by the Lebanese Phalangists who now even control the road leading into the Palestinian refugee camps.'

Male witness (testimony translated): 'At present life here is returning to normal. I would say that the main problem is to clean up the area. The basic principle behind Israel's help is to encourage the population to overcome their problems on their own.'

UNRWA spokesman: 'Out of 240,000 we estimated that we need to give aid to around 175,000 who lost everything. What it means is that we have to start again from scratch more or less. For the moment we are concentrating on giving immediate aid. Later we shall have to look to the future. But in a way we can say that we are more or less back to 30 years ago when UNRWA started.'

Male witness: 'After lengthy negotiations with the Israelis, the United Nations, the Save the Children Foundation and the Red Cross have finally been able to begin massive relief work. Food, kerosene and mattresses have been brought into the cities of Sidon and Tyre. What sort of future awaits the Palestinian refugees?'

UNRWA spokesman: 'There will be, I am sure, tens of thousands of Palestinians who will have nowhere to go, no cover against the rains which start in October and against the cold unless UNRWA can provide temporary shelter in the form of tents.'

Commentary: 'We want peace. Israel must make peace with Palestine. Then they will live happily in peace. Here we cannot live. Where can we live? The Lebanese do not want us here. Israel does not want to take us to our own land. Our mother and father and I, we are from Palestine. Where can we live?'

Nordic Commission: In the film it has been mentioned that there were PLO positions in the outskirts of the camp. I would ask if you have any comments on the testimony given by Dr. Henley about the military equip-

ment and PLO positions in the camp and, secondly, if you know something about the PLO positions outside the camp, and perhaps if you could tell us where they were located?

Margarete Carlsson: We were not allowed to know too much about the military positions, the commando positions. All the time we were in our shelter it was very difficult to build a picture of the situation and where they were. We could hear the firing of rockets from the PLO, we asked our friends and commandos, and we recognised the noise of rockets. We could hear that it was in the far distance. I cannot believe that the firing of rockets could be from inside the camp because I heard the noise, even on the 9 May when the PLO answered from the south of Rashediyeh. So I recognised the noise. I think the noise was quite like what it was on 9 May and that there were no rockets from inside the Rashediyeh camp.

Nordic Commission: During your statement you were able to give the hours of major events during the beginning of June. Can you explain how you are able to give such exact dates?

Margarete Carlsson: Yes. Lenard Lurquist was all the time writing a diary and therefore he gave me his diary and that is why I remember quite well all the events.

Nordic Commission: Did you personally see or treat anybody who had been wounded as far as you were able to ascertain by these bombs which we have been told are splinter bombs, cluster bombs, phosphorous bombs?

Margarete Carlsson: No phosphorus bombs. We had one patient, I think he was between 18 or 20 years old, who had an old wound in his foot from a cluster bomb. It was small. We had made X-rays of it and he had had it since 1978. He still suffered much pain from it, sometimes it was infected and we could not do anything for him. He could not wear shoes sometimes. He was the only one.

Nordic Commission: You mention that the Israeli authorities were keen to censor the films or materials which you sent out. Was your film in any way censored? Were you prevented from showing pictures or bringing material which you would have liked to present to the outside world?

Pea Holmquist: They have never seen this film: they have seen the pictures, the raw material, and they did not want me to take out the pictures of the wounded people. But they could not give a reason for it. According to Israeli law there is no reason. You can only prevent pictures for strategic reasons, and as I knew this I told them that they had to show me according to what law they could prevent me from taking out this material. As they could not do that, I could take out the material.

Nordic Commission: Did the Israelis give medical help in any way to those wounded people in the camp?

Witness response: No. The Israelis were not in the camp, they were outside the camp and they did not give any medical help. At the Resthouse

I can say that UNIFIL gave some help there in the way that we could send some patients to the UNIFIL hospital in Naqura. The Israelis allowed that the first time on Tuesday night, but later they did not allow UNIFIL to send wounded people to Naqura. I did not see any Israelis give medical help.

Nordic Commission: You said there was a shortage of water, maybe of electricity too, I do not know. I think we read that in Beirut the Israeli authorities deliberately interrupted the supply of electricity and water also. Do you know whether this shortage was due to deliberately disrupting the supply or to the damages which had been caused to the camp? You said that health workers were taken prisoner. Where they marked as health workers? And do you know anything about when they were released? Was it shortly afterwards or don't you know anything as to whether they were released at all?

Witness response: To the first question. I am not sure but when we came to the Resthouse I think water supplies were just ruined. I think that was the reason. I do not think they had any way of stopping it and there were still tanks and soldiers shooting everywhere so the water supply was non-existent in the area. So I think that is the reason.

About the other question. We were not there when the Israelis were taking prisoners, but we heard that they came some days after we left and that they had taken prisoners, including health workers. All the health workers we saw in the Resthouse were in uniform.

Ernie Ross: Can I ask two questions? I think it is very important, particularly for the audience who are listening, that we try and separate people's impressions from the factual evidence that can be presented. I would like to question you on the cluster bombs. You said that there were sounds of explosions and you said more than likely cluster bombs. Then you said that when you returned to the camp you dealt with wounds which were most likely caused by splinters. On the first point, do you have any experience yourself that would back up your impression that the explosions were cluster bombs, or is this simply an impression which you have yourself? And secondly, dealing with the wounds, you say that most likely they were caused by splinters. Did you have evidence that they were in fact splinter wounds?

Witness response: To the first question, I have only described what I heard from people who know something about bombs and I said they were likely to be cluster bombs. We could very definitely hear this one explosion which sounded as if it exploded above the ground and was then immediately accompanied by several explosions and then the sound of metal bits coming into the walls, and we had a tape recording of it which has since disappeared. We have not been able to get it out.

About the injuries I saw. I have not seen wounds caused by splinters before so it was my impression that the skin was destroyed by small pieces

of metal; but the metal was not there. So they suffered multiple small injuries in the face.

Nordic Commission: You told us that the ambulance men were arrested too or taken prisoner. Were they recognisable as ambulance drivers or were they taken prisoner when they were driving the ambulances, and were they released again to your knowledge?

Witness response: I do not know the particular circumstances of these arrests, but I think the representatives of the PRCS who are here present will be able to talk about their personnel who were arrested and to give details about certain of those arrests better than I can do. About weapons used before in the south of Lebanon, I can put it shortly that while I was working for the Committee in the south of Lebanon in 1977/78, I personally witnessed bombardment by phosphorus grenades of the village where I was working and also I was picking up flash heads from flash head grenades which hit the clinic where I was working in 1977/78. Also I was shown cluster bombs, but I did not see them explode.

Ernie Ross: Before you leave it is very important, particularly on the phosphorus bombs, if you say you saw this prior to the invasion. Did you attempt to photograph it, did you attempt in any way to identify it or have it subsequently tested by an independent medical examination? For instance, we are aware that the witness who may give evidence later was given samples of skin which could then be tested by other independent medical bodies. Did you attempt to do this with this evidence which you were given?

Witness response: At that time I took pictures, slides of the grenades exploding from a distance and afterwards the smoke over the village where I was living. Otherwise I brought out from West Beirut other material taken from wounded people this summer which has been analysed. The results of the analysis are the abstracts in the pamphlet marked 'Palestinian Committee,' and which has been distributed now.

Photo: UNRWA

Ein el-Hilweh refugee camp near Sidon. A Palestine refugee shows where his home was before the Israeli invasion.

DR. MUHAMMAD, Palestine Red Crescent

"I was placed in a group with seven or eight persons, not more. But I saw that most of them, all of them, had been beaten severely. Every one was beaten. So I became afraid again, maybe they are going to beat me tonight like this, no? And in that group I found one of our drivers, so I asked him "What happened? Why did they beat you?" He said, "They beat me, they were asking about the pilot, and they tortured me like anything, they gave me electric shock to my penis even," so naturally I was afraid of this thing. And everybody in this group was beaten, except me. So I thought that maybe in the night they are going to beat me or torture me."

At the beginning of the invasion Dr. Muhammad was working in the Red Crescent *mastowsaf* in Nabatiyeh. He describes how they began to prepare themselves for an emergency as soon as they heard about the shooting of the Israeli diplomat. They expected something but not like this. On Friday there was bombardment, but they were used to this. On Saturday, however, it increased, and on Sunday shells were beginning to reach close around the hospital. They were about half a kilometer from the Nabatiyeh market. Israeli tanks were approaching Nabatiyeh. So on the 3rd or 4th day, in the evening, we decided to evacuate the hospital and retreat to Sidon.

(Some details about the hospital, number of patients, other sector working there Greek or Canadian, Dr. Siannou (?), now they were taking only emergency patients, performing emergency operations, working 24 hours a day. I tried to find out if patients were evacuated but this was not clear.)

The road between Nabatiyeh and Sidon was blocked by Israeli soldiers so we had to get there by other ways. We reached Sidon and stayed there two days at the Red Crescent Hospital. There was heavy bombardment from land, sea and air, with shells landing around the hospital, and hitting it. There were lots of patients. On the second day we decided to transfer the patients to the Lebanese government hospital, the Hammoud hospital, and to the Hamshari hospital. The staff were redistributed to other hospitals. There were few lulls in the 24 hours' bombardment, we took shelter in the operating room (of the Sidon PRC hospital), but the whole building was shaking and we feared it would collapse. I went to the Hammoud hospital and stayed there one night. The next morning the

Israelis announced that Sidon was surrounded, and that we had two hours to evacuate before intensive bombardment would start. The ambulances continued to work all through the bombardment, the drivers were so brave.

(Section not clear here, I'm not sure how much longer the bombardment continued before the Israelis called all men to the beach.)

The director of the (Hammoud) hospital insisted that we should all go down to the sea beach, but when we got there we found many people, and since they were not stopping us, we decided to go to the Hamshari hospital and bring others who were working there. While we were there, the bombardment began again, so we decided to stay. Then there was another announcement giving us the chance to evacuate. This time the Israelis said that the hospital staff and patients must go either to the beach, or somewhere else, I think it was Habra (?). We all went to the sea beach, all of the staff, doctors and nurses, waited there. Then the Israelis sent us back to the Palestinian Red Crescent hospital to work, and we worked for a day. The next day an Israeli officer came looking for fedayeen in the hospital, but they didn't find any. They made us all come out, while they searched for fedayeen and for arms. Then they summoned us and said "we are sending you for investigation."

We were sent to the "French" school (?), and it was there that we first saw masked informers in booths. An Israeli officer marked my back with a cross, then I was blindfolded and my hands tied behind my back. I stayed in that place for 2½ days without food or water, with maybe 500 other prisoners, all crowded together. Then I was transferred to another place about 3 km from Sidon, here we were given water and some food. Here there were three masked informers in booths, and prisoners were taken one by one in front of each booth. One of them indicated me as a member of Fateh. I told the Israeli officer that I was a doctor, not a Fateh member. He seemed to believe me and gave me a paper, but other Red Crescent doctors were taken away, probably to Israel. Next morning they asked me about the imprisoned Israeli pilot.

(The interview was interrupted here by a Red Crescent member requiring a permit from Dr. Arafat before further interviewing. Dr. Muhammad told me that he was finally released and made his way back to the Red Crescent hospital in Sidon where he stayed for two days. After a second rounding up and interrogation, he was released again, and finally was able to come to Beirut under the protection of the Canadian ambassador.)

The second interview (July 4th) concerned only Dr. Muhammad's experience as a detainee:

It was the 9th of June that we went to the sea beach. We heard there that there were Bangla Deshi people in the Hamshari hospital, so went to bring them. When we reached the Hamshari, we found that there were other doctors there, and patients also. It was safer than other places

because it was far from the main center. So we decided to stay there. I questioned him about how long he stayed at the beach the first time and what he saw there. He said they only stayed a short while because they only had two hours of nonbombardment. There were "lots" of people, "a huge quantity," at the beach, mainly women and children. At night there was too much shelling, so we were afraid. In the morning we sent two doctors, one Spanish and one Palestinian, to the Israeli authorities, to take permission to stay in the hospital because we have patients. But they said: "No, you have got to surrender, you have to go either to the sea beach or this other place (forgot name), taking all the patients who can walk." The officer also said: "We have to clear all Sidon, and especially Ain el-Hilweh and Mieh-Mieh because these are snake-holes." So we came from the hospital to the sea beach with all our staff and most of the patients, all who could walk. It was around 10 a.m. when we got to the sea beach we asked a soldier. We said: We are doctors from the hospital, what should we do now? They said: "O.K., wait here, we have to talk with our officer and he will decide." An officer came and asked us: "Where do you work?" We told him that we worked in the Hillal, the PRCS. He asked: "Where is your hospital?" We showed him the hospital, as it was so near, not more than 100 meters away. He told me, us, to go and start working. And so we did. We hoped that we had escaped, the doctors and the staff. That day passed, that is the tenth. Next morning there were many armoured vehicles outside the hospital, and an officer came with soldiers. (By now shelling had ceased though they had heard gunfire during the night.) They call, they called us to come out of the hospital in front, they say that all the doctors, and staff and patients who can stand must come out of the hospital because they want to see (search) the hospital—is there any fedayeen or not. They say, "who is your director?" (unintelligible). We were waiting there for maybe one hour. Then a soldier came, and beckoned us "ta'l," one by one. They left a few (doctors and nurses) in the hospital, but these were also taken a few days later, they brought us to a school, a French school, just on the corner nearby. "Many people were gathered there, we saw soldiers beating them, most of them living on the sand with their eyes blindfolded and hands tied behind their backs. Some of them are asking for water, and some for the latrine, they are crying. An answer they are just beated and kicked. Consequently we are beginning to be frightened." We went to a corner, trying just to stay in that corner. I was wearing a white coat, and on entering the school they pulled open my white coat throwing it outside. Then we saw that they were making cloths for tying the eyes, out of my coat clothing.

So when we reached there we saw a man having a cap, not a cap, covering for his face, with an opening in front of the eyes. He indicated something. An army man came and made a cross mark on our back. We were sitting there when we saw another group coming from the hospital,

surgeons, physicians. We tried to talk to an officer, hoping that they would release us, but they did not allow us to talk to anybody. They just said: "Sit down, and do not talk." Then they told us to come to a separate place, and the men who had made the marking, placed us in a row. We saw two soldiers coming with a plastic rope—it has a special texture (?), so if you try to loosen it, it becomes harder. This is the time we became much afraid.

And they call us one by one, men from our group, the men with the marking. Also they wrote something—all of us, the Red Crescent, got the cross, also on other people from the town, they were writing on them something on their back and it was written in Hebrew so we didn't understand. They call them one by one, search his pockets, if there is anything, cigarettes they put on one side (I asked if they took money. He answered, no, they did not take passports or money or papers), then they blindfolded them and tied their hands behind their backs. Then they took them out of that boundary (area). We saw them sitting outside, but we don't know their fate, where they are going. When my turn came, the plastic tie was finished, so they had to tie my hands with rope. They tied my hands behind my back, and also the eyes. Then by (?), following a soldier, we came outside, each man holding the clothes of the man behind. (He is now in a group of 10 to 15 men, and it is around 2 to 3 p.m.) When it was my turn to come outside, outside there is a bus, we waited in five or ten minutes, I was thinking we would be taken to Israel. They told us to come down again. And so we came down again, and they brought me to some place, we could see a little bit (in spite of the blindfolds). And our suffering starts from here. "We are asking for water. They are not giving any water. When we ask for water, they are just kicking us calling us some bad words, "shamouta," "ion al kelb," "son of a bitch," like this. If someone from the middle calls for water it isn't possible to go there to beat him, so it was the fate of the man who was on the outside to get hit. Everyone is sitting on the ground. Evening came. They told us to lie down. So how are we to lie? With our hands tied behind our backs, so they told us to lie on our chests. It was a sandy place. At that time I was not ready to lie down, I was just sitting, but they obliged us to lie, told us not to raise the head. And immediately after that they started firing around us, continuous firing, naturally we thought maybe we are going to die. After that they ordered us to get up again and sit. It came to about 8 or 9 at night, and they ordered us to sleep, all sleep. There isn't much room, just enough to put one's head down (English here is not clear). We passed the night, it wasn't so easy. In the morning we woke up, the sun rised, the temperature increased, the sand became hot. So naturally people were asking for water, but—I don't know, maybe one or two persons were allowed, otherwise it was not allowed to take water. They don't supply any water. No, no, not even—not anyone. They allowed one or two persons to pass urine—not (giving) water.

In the afternoon they interrogate each and every one (one sentence unintelligible here). After the interrogations, they put a paper, writing something on it in Hebrew, which we don't understand (these were pinned on shirts. I ask what questions were put in the interrogation): "What's your name? What do you do?" like this. It was different from one person to another, because afterwards I talked with them. They separated us into groups, and I saw that we were in a group mainly of medical persons, doctors and nurses (male). So we became happy because we thought that maybe they are going to release us. In the evening they transferred us to another place. (I asked if they still had not been given water—he answer: "No, no."). It was the basket ball court (of the same school). I remember there were between 7 and 10 armed vehicles inside it. The floor of the basket ball court was . . . . asphalt. There were a lot of people in this small place, so we managed only to stay upright, more or less sitting. And in this time I saw many friends, prisoners that I know, that had passed urine in their pants, they are not allowed to pass urine. They told us to sleep and it was difficult to sleep no room, and the floor (unintelligible) not smooth.

When we slept, "we heard these armed vehicles moving, they had chains, like a tank, and putting converging rays on us, light." During the night, maybe 2 or 3 in the morning, I felt there was a man putting a hand in my pocket, I woke up, and I saw an armed person, a soldier, so I just caught his hand. I said, "what are you dong?" He said, "you have money?" I said, "Yes, I have money." He said, "You need water?" "Yes," I said. He said, "I can give you water if you give me money." I said, "O.K., I will give you money, (I asked if they talked with each other in English. He said that the soldiers spoke good English.) Then he brought me water, and I drank—and this was the first time—and I asked him "please, loosen the ties (?) from my back."

(NB: The headlights of the military vehicle were kept on all night.)

In the morning the same thing happened, they told us to wake up. Gradually people was brought in, more and more. And the men who had been taken prisoners for one or two days were going so crazy for water, and some to pass stools or urine. At about noon I think, no, no. In the afternoon we saw a Lebanese fire brigade car coming to supply water. The third day, no? They gave us water and they gave us bread, one bread for five men.

The next day they gave us water, and they allowed us to pass urine. Also, this time, you know what happened, if anyone made a noise, or just trying to (unintelligible) a soldier for going to urine (urinate), so if the soldier (unintelligible) called him, they beat him too much.

(Interviewer: How did they beat them?) With whatever they had, some with sticks, some with their rifle, sometimes with their legs, sometimes with their belt. (I asked if the beating was worse on that day. He said that it went on like this all the time.)

What happened, one of our doctors, he was just talking to the soldiers, "why are you going to kill all these people?", because he was afraid that they would kill us. So what happened, they just brought him from that place, tied him on to a pole, you know, a swing for the children, beating him inhumanly, too much, even for us, we were not able to look at him. They were beating him that badly.

Interviewer: Was he the Egyptian? No, he was Palestinian.) And they were putting his eyes towards the sun, it reminded me of the figure of Jesus Christ. His clothes were torn by the beating.

(Interviewer: Did one person beat him? No, a lot.) Whenever they were coming, and they see a new person. They start with three or four. Another group came, they said, "What happened?" They also started to beat him.

Personally I must say he was the best man among us, that doctor he was very polite, a very quiet man (gave his name: Dr. Nabili). And just by the side of the (unintelligible) there was a man, it maybe he mentally had some crack, you know, he was trying to tell them many things, he wants to go, he wants to stand, and whenever he tries to do these things, they just call him and beat him.

(Interview: Was he mentally retarded or someone who had gone a bit crazy from the situation? The doctor said that he must have been sub-normal because they were beating him so much that if he had been normal, he would have stopped—i.e. shut up.) It was not possible for us to talk, to say he is mad, don't beat him. But they beat him, man cannot beat like this, even the animals don't do like this, what they have done (did) to him.

I don't know how they continued this thing. For hours, not one hour, for hours altogether, the whole day, you can say like this. And when he fell down on the floor, he could not move, we thought maybe he is dead, they will bring him water and (unintelligible, revive?) him like this.

And in the afternoon (of the 4th day)—oh, in the meantime, what happened, I told you that they gave us the cross marks, and they also wrote something on the back, some words, some, not from the Hillal, there were some from outside and there was one laboratory technician from the Hillal, I don't understand what (they wrote), they collected them, and beated them too much, taking them inside the room.

(Interviewer: Were you in that group? Answer: No.)

On the fourth day afternoon, the bus came, and one by one we went to the bus, and you know what happened, many people just lost their strength and died, and some of them told me (this). So they took us from that place to the bus and again they tied our eyes. And from that place they brought us to a factory, the Safa, maybe three kilometers from the city. It was a big place, surrounded by a wall, they are bringing many persons, I don't know from where, not more (less?) than 4 to 5 thousands that day. Men of all ages. Not children. I didn't see any children below ten.

There were old men, 60 to 70 years of age. Here we are staying in the field, at the side of the warehouse. And this time we saw that there are some that are *a bit* polite. They gave us food, and this time they also gave us the tomatoes. (At the school they were given only bread.) They gave us fruit also, I don't know the name. Because there are four or five thousand people, some people miss getting it (the fruit), but they try to give it, this thing, and the tomatoe.

(Interviewer: Were your hands still tied? Answer: When they give the food, they tie our hands in front, and in this place there was no tying of our eyes, our eyes were open.) And here we also got the chance of going for water and for passing urine. (He explains that permission to get water or urinate has to be got from the guards, but within half an hour or an hour after making requests for water, etc., permission was granted.)

The beating also diminished, occasionally when the new party, the new group came, they (unintelligible) tortured. You know, there is a shifting of the army, and when a new army groups comes, this new army torture a bit, others, the old ones, they aren't making trouble for the people. Just we are waiting at the side, under the sun. (The doctor explains that beating is random, a response to noise or questions, not systematically—they call a man out and give him two or three blows, sending him back to his place.)

What they did (now), they call us one by one, and this person has to pass in front of several boxes, three or four boxes, and in each box there was a man inside. We cannot see the man, but the man can see us, through the hole, you know. From there he indicates something, or tells something, to the army (the armed man) who is standing by the box, the booth. After that the soldier brought him to the officer, officer just writes something, we are seeing from the outside, from far, that they are doing like this, writing a paper and giving it to him (i.e. to each person in turn), and they separate (them) in two or three groups. And from one group, every day eight to ten school buses they took people from that one group, tying their eyes again, putting their hands on the back tying them, and took them away.

My turn comes on the fourth day, (at the warehouse), sorry my turn comes on the third day. In the meantime we managed you know there were a lot of people, all the doctors and the staff, the nurses, we manged to come nearby (to each other), we were thinking that we will go at a time (ie together), so that we will give the impression that we are all from the hospital, so we can get some mercy. In front of me there is three doctors. I saw that all of them are placed in one group, with people who had been waiting there maybe one or two days. When my turn cames, a soldier brings and puts me in front of a booth, and from the booth I heard it, they say "Fatah." So I don't need to pass through (ie in front of) other boxes. So they took me directly to the officer, who is just writing the name and the address, like this. The officer is seated in the front of the table, and he

told me to kneel down in front of him. But I refused him. I told him, "why must I kneel down in front of you?" He told me, "You are a Fatah?" I told him, "No, I am not a Fatah." He told me, "You speak English?" I said, "Yes I speak English." He said, "Where are you coming from?" I told him from Bangla Desh. He told me, what do you do?" I said that I am a doctor. Where do you work? I am working in the PRCS. What does it mean? The Palestinian Red Crescent Society. He told me, "Do you have any documents?" I told him I have documents and then I showed him my PRCS card. I don't know, maybe he became convinced, he saw it and he told me," I walked with him, and I guess that he was looking for somebody, but he didn't find him. He asked another person—he was talking in Hebrew you know—he told me, "Come." I go to his chair, he wrote my name, my address, I think because he was asking me this, and he gave me a paper and told me, "Come with me and sit in this place," separate from other people, not with other doctors. There is a big group, (but) I became separated from them (other PRCS personnel). I was placed in a group with seven or eight persons, not more. But I saw that most of them, *all* of them, had been beaten severely. Everyone was beaten. So I became afraid again, maybe they are going to beat me tonight like this, no? And in that group I found one of our drivers, so I asked him "What happened? Why did they beat you?" He said, "They beat me, they were asking about the pilot, and they tortured me like anything, they gave me electric shock to my penis even", so naturally I was afraid of this thing. And everybody in this group was beaten, only me. So I thought that maybe in the night they are going to beat me or torture me.

In the afternoon at five maybe, I saw an officer passing by, I raised my hand, I told him, "Excuse me, may I talk to you?" I showed him my paper and asked him, "Am I in the right position?" He looked at my paper and said, "Yes, you are in the right place. You are a doctor? Where do you work?" I said, in Sidon. He told me, "Come on with me," so I went with him to the warehouse, I had heard people say that this where they torture people. And there I met another officer, he talked with me and told (asked), "You are a doctor? "Where are you coming from?" I told him that I was working in Nabatiyeh. Then he said, "Okay, you are a doctor, I think that you won't tell lies." and he told me that there are many people there who tell lies, but we know how to bring out the truth, and we had many devices to do this thing, like electric shock, like. . . . I told him, "I can tell you what I know, but I can't tell you what I don't know. Ask me I will try to give you the exact what I know." And this time you know . . . he offered me a cigarette, he offered me a biscuit and water and made a report of me, what I have seen and done during this war, from the beginning up to this time. I told him where I was working, why I came from there to Saida, how I was taken prisoner, like this. And he told me, "I am not interested about this thing, I am interested about our people," that

means the pilot he told me. I told him that I was in Nabatiyeh when this incident occurred, they never brought him to our hospital, so I never saw this pilot, but when I came from Nabatiyeh to Sidon I heard from my friend that they took this pilot by this way, in front of this hospital. He said, "that means your friend saw it?" I said, "I don't know if he saw or not, but I heard from him that the pilot was taken by this way. I didn't ask him if he saw or not, just this thing I know about the pilot, that two or three pilots were captured, and they were taken through this road, in front of the Sidon hospital." So he said, "Who is your friend? Who told you (this)? He is a doctor?" I said, "Yes he is a doctor." I told him the name of this doctor. He said "You know where he is now?" I said, "Yes he is with the other group, he was with me, but now he is in another group, he is waiting there." He told me, "Go and bring him." So I went with the captain and found out from that group, he is waiting there, you know. And I brought him with me to the house. They told us to wait outside the room and took him inside the room and they interrogated him. After the interrogations they gave me a mark on my back, that was the thousand mark you know (the number 1000), and my friend 1001, they told me, "Your number is thousand," and (they) gave me a paper, a small paper, and I am told that they write there that nobody will beat you, nobody are going to torture you. If you need anything like water, just show this card to any of the soldiers and they will allow you that, and they will behave in a good way. (They gave a paper like this to his friend too.)

After that they brought me and my friend in different places, me under one tree and he under another tree. (Interviewer: tied? A: They (hands?) are still tied, but it is loose) In the evening we are just sitting, a group of soldiers came, and they start beating me without any talking, and what they are talking with each is why I lost this rope. While one or two were beating me, another two were searching my pocket. I told him that I have a paper from your officer, please see it, but they don't bother with this thing. They were using a very slang language also. "They are searching for money, and they found the money in my pocket, and they took all the money LL4000. And they tied the hands on the back, and also my eyes. I felt very bad you know that was all I had with me. They took all my money. I lost the tie from my eyes again. After half an hour they came back again, and they told me, you have lost it again? and they beat me again. And again they tied my eyes. And at night maybe at nine or ten, one soldier came and told me, "Do you need water?" I said no, but he did not hear this thing, he just took my hand and said "Let us go to take water. "He took me to a corner, and when he reached there, instead of giving me water, he was just searching my pockets. And when he did not find anything naturally he did not find anything because it was taken before-and another soldier came and said (unintelligible, and he said "No go" And I went back and sat under the tree. And I slept the night like this. In the

night you know, it was a bit cold, so we found a box of hardboard, so we made a cover."

In the morning, we woke up, passing urine, just normal things, and sitting, not knowing anything, what is going to happen to us. (Interviewer: They brought food? A: Yes, in the morning they gave them food.) In this time one of the soldiers called me and told me, "Take this bread and distribute it." (Interviewer: They fed you in the evening or in the morning.) That day we did not know what was going to happen, because we are seeing that from one group they are taking by the bus. But what will be for us we do not know. At noon maybe or one, that captain, you know, he came and told us. Who is 1000 and 1001? We told him we are 1000 and 1001, and he told us come on. So we went with him, and he made another paper, and told us to sit on the other side with a few people that are waiting. When he reached that group we asked them where are they going to take us? They told us we are free. So we got some hope of life. We saw the captain we asked him "Where are we going now?" and he said the same thing, "You are free." We wait for two or three hours, and in the afternoon, they made another paper, maybe like an identity card, your name and address, then we were set free, and they gave a seal stamp to those of us who have a passport or a residence permit. At that time I had nopassport so they gave me a paper. So we were set free and came back from the place to the hospital (Interviewer you walk back?) And on the road we found a lot of women, old, young, who were waiting for their fathers and their brothers, asking us whether we have seen that man or not. And also some women were waiting with a picture of their beloved, and asked us whether we saw that man or not. And you know it was not possible for us to answer. Many asked us, Are there still many men there? When are they going to leave? Things like this, you know.

When we came to the hospital we found that the Norwegian team is still there, one Norwegian doctor had been taken by the Israelis, but one doctor and four girls, nurses where still there. Three girls were Norwegian, one is Finnish and one is French. The other male doctor was Spanish.

We stayed that night in the hospital. The next day we stayed in a house just near the hospital where we used to stay before. The third day, in the morning, we heard an announcement by the Israeli authorities telling that all the men whose age is more than thirteen years are asking to gather in a certain place, I forgot the name. So we go to that place in the morning okay? There was a lot of people and there also we find there are two or three jeeps, and in the jeeps were men with that sort of thing on their heads. Here, all persons have to pass in front of the car. Here, they indicate something from every ten persons, they take one or two persons, they are special. Me and the doctor, both of us were identified (ie indicated) me with the first group, he with the next group. This time I did

not hear anything. Then we were separated and taken by bus to Safa again.

And there the same thing happens, we have to pass in front the booths again. Here, at the second booth, they identified me (there were four booths) maybe Fatah. I did not hear. They separate me in the group. They were taking men from the group every day to Israel, so I thought they have identified me as Fatah. So this was the second time I fall into trouble. This is when I became very crazy, angry also, because they gave me a paper that indicates that I am a doctor, not a member of Fatah, so why are they doing this thing? So I called a soldier, with an angry voice, because they do not talk to us since we are identified as Fatah members. I told the soldier, "You see this paper, it was given to me by your officer. You do not respect your own officer? Why are you putting me in this place?" He took my paper from me . . . and showed it to the officer, I think he is a major. This major called me, "Come on". Then he asked the officer near the booth, "Who identified him?" From the box they said "He is from BANGLA DESH", something like that. Then the officer said, "Go," and I was released a second time. But the other doctor 1001, he was identified as Fatah, or something and he was taken with them to Israel.

(The doctor was then taken by bus to Saida, where he slept one more night, before managing to return to Beirut.)

Photo: UNICEF

Saidon municipality after the invasion.

NICOLE DREYFUS, France

"The situation is worse in the Palestinian camps, particularly in Bourj Al-Barajne where we noted that 50% of the buildings were destroyed and 25% damaged and that 10,000 children are left without schooling because of the destruction of all the day nurseries and teaching establishments."

My testimony is the result of a trip to Lebanon from 26 January to 5 February 1983, involving a delegation of the Women's International Democratic Federation of which I was a member. Our accounts are not as direct as those presented by the persons who were eye-witnesses to the events described. Instead, we came to a country which was trying to heal the wounds of the war and living through the aftermath of the war.

First of all, concerning the health situation, the consequences are dramatic. According to one of our hosts, the Lebanese Red Cross, mental disorders caused by the bombings and the traumatic experiences suffered by the population increased by 200%, to which one has to add, of course, the direct consequences of the bombings and the very large number of handicapped in need of equipment, re-education and social reintegration.

As far as housing conditions are concerned, the number of displaced persons amounts to tens if not to hundreds of thousands of people, with the result that many refugees—and we saw them, particularly in Southern Lebanon—are camping on the beaches between Beirut and Sidon. Large numbers of people without homes are forced to occupy public buldings, schools, day nurseries, and hospitals, or to superficially repair destroyed buildings that are nearly impossible to be lived in and challenge all essential requirements of salubrity and health.

When we visited the hospitals, we saw with our own eyes persons injured by phosphorous bombs. We saw sights as terrible as the ones the films showed yesterday. Doctors, for example those of the dispensary of the Secours Populaire, informed us about the difficulties they have met in their work as well as that they had been obliged, for example, to classify the victims of phosphorous bombs into four groups according to the severity of the lesions. Many of the wounded were in a state that made amputations necessary, often under very difficult conditions. We have to pay tribute—and it can never be enough—to the dedication of the medical teams that put all their energy into their work, under the bombs, under unbelievable sanitary conditions, in barely equipped rural hospitals, and with a dramatic lack of medicine and surgical equipment.

Tribute also has to be paid to the whole population, since Palestinians and Lebanese together have spared no efforts and maintained extraordinary solidarity while there was neither water nor electricity to ensure resupplying and treatment. They even tried to raise the spirits of the confused population, for example, the young women who had decided to organise puppet shows for the children in the shelters. With amazing courage, these young women had covered all the shelters during the worst moments and had tried to distract the children so that life seemed to continue for them and so that these children might find again part of the childhood they have been deprived of.

Even if the statistics have to be handled with care given the difficulties of compiling them under the conditions you all know about, the director of the Amel (People's Action's Liberation Association) gave us the following figures: in West-Beirut alone, 17,917 dead and 30,112 wounded; in the southern suburbs, 702 dead and 7,000 wounded; 25 to 30% of West-Beirut and 30% of the southern suburbs were destroyed; the number of refugees: 800,000.

The situation is worse in the Palestinian camps, particularly in Bourj Al-Barajne where we noted that 50% of the buildings were destroyed and 25% damaged, and that 10,000 children are left without schooling because of the destruction of all the day nurseries and teaching establishments. The situation is the same in Ain Al-Heloueh, the largest Palestinian camp in Lebanon, created already in 1948; it was bombed before, during and after the war.

One of the objectives of this Commission being to engage the concern of UNESCO, it seems important to me that our representatives insist in particular on the damage caused to health, teaching and public establishments. I would like to indicate in this respect that the Ministry of Education, located in Beirut within the perimeter of the UNESCO building and by now partly rebuilt, was hit and damaged by the bombs. All the schools in West-Beirut and in the suburbs were damaged and some were destroyed. They now function in the following manner: the total number of pupils has doubled and the pupils follow part-time classes given by two different teams of teachers; the purpose is to teach twice as many pupils in each school, but classes have been cut down to half. We had the opportunity to visit the area of the teachers' training college where there is also a primary school. The college was destroyed, but the primary school has only been heavily damaged. When I say heavily damaged, I mean that we saw children attending classes in school buildings where all the window panes were missing and where the latter could not be replaced immediately because the frames themselves were damaged; in school buildings that were not waterproof, and where it is nearly impossible to hold classes when it rains; where the window panes and ceilings are replaced with nylon

canopies. It is under these conditions that school-aged children, primary school pupils, have to learn at this very moment.

Similarly, the Moslem Young Women's Association, which takes charge of the professional training of young women and especially the most underprivileged ones, had its buildings hit and damaged. They have been rebuilt and are, for the time being, in working order.

Concerning the health centres: Dr. Barakat, president of the orphans' and handicapped persons' charities, ran for us a videocassette showing the destruction of the most important centre of the handicapped in Beirut—a centre that was built during the Year of Disabled Persons, in 1981. It was therefore completely new. This centre applied the most recent scientific and pedagogical methods; all kinds of handicapped persons were treated together in a specially perfect pedagogical environment. The centre was completely destroyed, not a stone had been left standing. The Maqassad Hospital of the Civil Defense and other hospitals were equally destroyed. When the Maqassad Hospital was destroyed, it had been marked with a red cross, as were the Besancon Hospital and the ambulances, of which a large number were destroyed.

Once again, I would like to briefly mention the extraordinary work accomplished by the Maqassad charities, involving four hundred young people—three hundred young men and one hundred young women—who did not spare any efforts under the bombs; who served as ambulance drivers and stretcher-bearers; who transported the wounded to the hospitals, cleared away the rubble, removed the people from under the bombs and the rubble regardless of their own lives. They did all that with unflagging dedication.

We also went to Sidon where we were received by the Mayor. We noted in that the Town Council—since the Town Hall had been destroyed during a bombardment—had been moved to the buildings of the electricity company. Population movements and the number of refugees are such that it is impossible right now to determine Sidon's population figure. According to the Mayor, it amounts to approximately 150,000 persons. In this city of 150,000 1,500 housing units were completely destroyed, 2,000 were hit but may be repaired; 250 offices and 400 shops were destroyed. Three schools were destroyed; no school was spared by the bombings. As far as the General Hospital is concerned, an immense hospital that you can still see on the hill, it was so severely damaged during the bombardments that it is at present not functioning at all. We therefore have a city of 150,000 inhabitants where several private clinics subsist, but no hospital is available for the population and in particular for the working classes. The infra-structure was also destroyed completely, be it the sewage system, the piping, the harbour or the ships in the harbour. The destruction is almost total.

Our delegation had been invited by the Lebanese Women's League for Women's Rights. We also met with representatives of the General Union of Palestinian Women. It was under the guidance of these Palestinian women that we visited Bourj Al-Barajne as well as the martyr camps of Sabra and Shatila. There the most moving part of our journey took place, since at the Palestinian Women's headquarters, after having had a meal together, we heard the testimonies of several women. These testimonies are as unbearable as the images you saw yesterday. They were given by women who had lost most if not all of their family. I have their testimonies before me, and I will read to you one of them as an example. This woman declares:

> "They arrived at 6 p.m. We took them for Israelis. Our windows opened onto the street. We stayed the whole night in the bedroom, our neighbours, too. In the morning, our children cried. We then knew that it was the Kataeb. They were afraid. The microphones said, 'Come out, we will not harm you'. We went outside. They told the women to approach. A civilian with dark glasses asked us where the men were. I had 8,000 pounds with me, I gave them to my husband who was ill and bedridden. I saw corpses on the ground. There was a ditch they made us climb down into. An Israeli told us not to climb down. We were taken to the sports stadium. The Kataeb arrived, and the Israeli officer told us: 'Why didn't you follow Abu Ammar?' I asked to go to the Israeli side, I tried to go to the other side; eventually, I spent the night at the University. When I got back in the morning, I saw my children massacred on the spot, and also my husband. My children were twenty, seventeen and fourteen years old, my son-in-law was twenty-four, my nephew eighteen, another relation twenty-five. One of them had been felled with an ax, another burnt".

I stop here. We heard six other testimonies of the same kind. I do not have any taste for this type of account, but there are things that have to be said and known.

I would like to briefly speak about the prison camps and the camp of Al-Ansar, where, according to the information we obtained, there are 6,000 detainees at present, of which 1,000 come from Sidon. This information was given to us in Sidon itself. The arrests continue, we were told, which means that they were continuing very recently since we came back from Lebanon in the beginning of this month of February.

I brought back from Lebanon a document that I think is important. It is a list of names of disappeared persons whose families have not had any news. I think it is important to publicise the names of those who have been arrested, because the only chance to save them is to give it publicity. In this context, I would like to insist on one aspect, namely the absence of status.

The prisoners are being denied any status; Israel considers them neither as prisoners of war nor as administrative prisoners. They are in some sense prisoners without a name, and therefore deprived of the guarantees they have the right to expect. However, the persons who have fallen into the hands of the Israeli armed forces operating in Lebanon should be treated according to the clauses of Conventions III (on prisoners-of-war who are fighters) and IV (on civilians). These Conventions were signed in Geneva on 12 August 1949. They apply to all cases of war or of any armed conflict involving two or more powers, even if the state of war is not recognised, and similarly to all cases of occupation of all or part of the territory, even if this does not meet with armed resistance. Article IVa of the same Convention qualifies as prisoner-of-war the members of the militias and volunteer corps involved in the conflict, as well as the members of other militias and other volunteer corps including those of organised resistance movements belonging to a party to the conflict, and, finally, the population that, at the approach of the enemy, spontaneously takes up arms without having had the time to form regular armed forces, if they carry the arms openly and respect the laws and customs of war. The Convention goes as far as to specify that if there is doubt on the applicability of one of the categories listed under Article IV, persons who have committed acts of belligerence or who have fallen into the hands of the enemy shall benefit from the protection of the Convention until their status will have been determined by a competent court.

We know about Israel's attitude towards those who were captured after the invasion, as we know about its refusal to apply the beforementioned Conventions. This refusal has to be denounced, and I think it is absolutely indispensable that our Commission, by taking charge of all the consequences of this abominable invasion, concerns itself with the situation of the thousands of persons who are detained in the conditions we have all heard about, and who are being denied not only the protection of moral standards and customs, but also the protection that ensure in any case the international Conventions and the respect of international laws, not to mention the basic respect of human rights.

Many United Nations resolutions and documents state that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination of our time, e.g. the Mexico Declaration, the Kampala Declaration and the Lima Declaration. In a terrible way, Israel's rapacious policy has confirmed this statement.

We have to reject every form of racism, anti-semitism as well as Zionism or other racist ideologies and activities. Imperialist circles pretend that anti-Zionism equates anti-Semitism, in order to camouflage the criminal intentions and actions of the Israeli government and their accomplices. It comes to nothing else but an affront to all victims of "racial intolerance, hatred and terror" committed by fascist, Zionist or other terrorists.

Therefore I think that we have not only the right but the duty to fight against any violation of international law and human dignity committed by anyone or any state.

ISRAEL SHAHAK, Professor, Israel

"The first is the attempt to persuade people that in this war, Israel is returning to biblical times and is fulfilling the biblical prophesy of the conquest of Canaan described in the Book of Joshua and other books of the Old Testament."

I would like to speak to you about two aspects of the situation which I believe are connected. First of all, I would like to describe the nature of the regime of conquest in southern and central Lebanon in the areas occupied by the Israeli army. Much has been said here about the conquest itself. The destruction which resulted from this conquest. I will limit myself to what seems to be lacking here: the general day-to-day nature of the suffering of the population as by now is quite well-known both from the Hebrew press and also from reports that reach us. The second subject will be the influence of this conquest on Israeli society. I will explain the forces in Israeli society which support the war and which support the continuation of the war and the conquest. They should be known in detail and accurately in the tradition of a great Englishman from whom the spirit of scientific discovery began. Lord Francis Bacon said: "Knowledge is power." Knowledge of everything, of all aspects of the situation and of the nature of Israeli society—both its good and bad aspects should be known accurately and in detail.

Day-to-Day Occupation Policies in South and Central Lebanon

The most important oppressive feature of this occupation is the absolute or near absolute control of the right of movement of everybody: Lebanese and Palestinians. Every inhabitant of the conquered areas of Lebanon must receive a special document every 4 to 7 days or alternatively, a stamp on an existing document allowing him freedom of movement. When I say "freedom of movement," I don't mean only from village to village and town to town. I mean absolute freedom of movement, for

example, going out on the street. After 4 to 7 days he has to apply again to the military government and to have another document. An especially horrible aspect of this horrible situation is what is done to those people who have lost their documents during the war. You have heard about the destruction of houses, about people driven out to the seashore and so on. You can well imagine that under those circumstances very many people don't have any identification document. They lost them in their destroyed houses and in other circumstances. The practice for such people is that they must apply to be granted the elementary human right to move on their own street for the next 4 to 7 days. Then a special stamp is imprinted on their hands with red ink. This has been described both in the press and by witnesses. This procedure, I should say Nazi-like procedure, goes on.

I should mention here that this procedure was not invented for use in Lebanon. This procedure was invented in the West Bank in April of this year. Actually, some of the people whom my colleague Josef Al-Gazy spoke about as having protested against the war, protested in May, before the war started, against the treatment of the Palestinian population in the West Bank. One of them stood and testified that he had seen Israeli soldiers marking the numbers of identification cards on the hands of arrested Palestinians in the West Bank.

The permit system to move is enforced by very many roadblocks which are manned not so much by the Israeli Army, but by Haddad's mercenaries and by Phalangist forces who are setting up roadblocks in all areas of conquered Lebanon and who are stamping identification cards. There have been very many complaints about their behaviour in this system of roadblocks. We have heard the complaint of one group of Lebanese Druze. (This is because there are Israeli Druze. But what I will be telling you about Lebanese Druze is not exceptional. All the people under the conquest regime must be in a much worse situation than the Druze. I speak about the Druze only because much more is known about them because of their connection with the Druze in Israel.) The Druze have complained many times officially and openly and also through the Israeli Druze, that many times people with identification cards are kidnapped at roadblocks and they are disappearing in many cases. In some cases they return after being locked up and beaten. There have been photographs in the Israeli press about people flogged by whips made of wire and maltreated in other ways.

There have also been cases describing Israeli maltreatment of women kidnapped at roadblocks where they are stripped naked and then paraded. In the past 10 to 12 days, there have been worse complaints about kidnappings which ended in murder. There was one well-established case of that. A woman kidnapped together with her two daughters were assassinated. There have been many other cases in which people have disappeared and the presumption is that they will not be seen again. Up to now, all the complaints have been recorded in the Israeli press. But there have also been unofficial complaints made to a large meeting of Druze in the village of Issifya near Haifa. It was said that armed cars of Haddad's mercenaries and of Phalangists entered Druze and other villages, kidnapped people and killed them on the spot.

Two Occupation Zones

The conquered areas of Lebanon have been divided by the Israeli authorities into two parts. The border is the al-Awali River north to Sidon about 55 kilometers from the Israeli border. South of this area, the whole area was given to Haddad's forces. The offices of the former governor of the Lebanese Ministry of Internal Affairs in Sidon were given to Haddad. North of this area was given to the Phalangists and those arrangements seem to be permanent. How do we know that those arrangements are permanent? I can quote to you many formal announcements. The most important announcements are made by Israeli Army authorities saying that the army is prepared to spend the winter in Lebanon. For this purpose they have received a very large quantity of winter clothing, waterproof clothing, special equipment for removing snow from the roads and also special coats for the soldiers.

The second important sign (I think it is important for political evaluation of the situation) is that the length of service of Israeli soldiers has been lengthened. First of all, there was the lengthening of the compulsory service for draftees. Until this invasion, the service was three years for the males. Now the service will be three years and three months: 39 months in all. The greatest burden will fall on reserve soldiers. It was formally announced that for the coming years, the reserve soldiers will serve 50 to 100 days a year because of the invasion of Lebanon.

According to the Israeli press, the Israeli Army is very liberal in its conquest of Lebanon. I think this is a very important subject for the whole world. It was announced in the paper **Yediot Aharonot,** an afternoon paper with very good connections to the Israeli army, and also in the past week in other papers, that the Israeli army has issued orders that cars or caravans which contain hashish and move in the Israeli occupied territory should be allowed to pass free to whatever destination they want. It was also announced in a published story, that the Israeli army is especially protecting the Phalangist hashish and drug trade because "the power of the leaders of the Phalangists and especially Bashir Gemayel, depends on smuggling—not only smuggling of electronics and other things, but more important on the smuggling of hashish and other drugs." This will be one of the most important aspects of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon.

Many people in Israel are saying that Lebanon is the Israeli Vietnam. Those who know something about the nature of the American war in

Vietnam, know that the protection of drug smuggling was also a feature of that war. History seems to repeat itself.

The Effect of the War on Israel

My second subject is to describe to you Israeli society as it is now in the past 4 to 6 weeks. . . Roughly, one can say that the division in Israeli society is 30 percent opposed to the war and 70 percent support the war and the invasion. First, I will say that the forces which oppose the war are in turn divided into two more or less equal groups: 15 percent and 15 percent. 15 percent opposed the war from the beginning. The other 15 percent began to oppose the war only when the famous or imfamous 40 kilometers of Begin were passed. By now, it is only of historical importance. However, we should remember that about half of the peace camp (those who oppose the war), can be intimidated (not by fear, they are not afraid), but they are moved by a sort of patriotism. Half of the camp will protest by strikes, hunger strikes and other manifestations in all circumstances. About half of them: not in all circumstances. But the second and more important division is the class division of the opponents and the supporters of the war. Here I am sorry to say that the majority of the supporters of Begin are the poorer people and definitely the majority (not all, of course) but the majority of the working class. While the opponents of the war come mostly from the middle and upper class—again not all. This is the reason why so many professors and poets and so on, are opposing the war. The situation when we leave the university for the poorest quarters—is different. One of the best indicators of the nature of the oppositional forces is that in Tel Aviv at the beginning of July, it was discovered that only in the University of Tel Aviv was there a majority against the war—more than 50 percent. On the other hand, among the poor, the majority for the war was more than 70 percent. I think that this could be expected. In the U.S., the opposition to the Vietnam war, in France, the opposition to the Algerian war, began in the same way. Our problem is now (and in this, outside forces must help us)—to cross the barrier and begin to convince the people who up to now we could not convince.

I will now try to explain to you in more details the situation of the group of those 70 percent who support the invasion. I should say that in the past six weeks there is a polarization between both of these groups. The opponents of the war are more opposed to the war, but the supporters of the war are also more pro-Begin. How can they be more pro-Begin in this situation? My friend Al-Gazy has explained something to you about how the Israeli media doesn't give information about the horror after the war. I should add to this that there is a campaign against the press and even against the whole communications media in general. The more they abstain from telling the truth, the more they are attacked for the very little that they are doing. Sharon openly referred to the Israeli press as opposing him. There is much incitement for further limitation of the right to protest in the press. There is no doubt that the journalists, and even more, the people of TV and radio are threatened.

In the past two or three weeks, a campaign of intimidation has begun in work places—meaning that if somebody in his job in factories or other places speaks to his fellow workers against the war, he could be exposed to physical attack. There have been many cases in which workers are beaten. There are now many cases in which they are dismissed from work for the "crime" of speaking against the war during worktime or lunch break with his fellow workers. Of what I told you about the nature of the disease in Israeli society, this is a very important matter.

The last thing that I want to explain to you, is why 70 percent of Israeli people are supporting Begin. I am not giving all the reasons. I regard one as the most important of all the reasons, both from which I have mentioned and not mentioned to make the situation clear. This is the use of religious fanaticism and chauvinism based on religious fanaticism in order to support the invasion and the war. There have been very many complaints published and unpublished about the comprehensive use of military Rabbis in the Israeli army, not only to describe the invasion of Lebanon as a holy war (exactly this term in Hebrew), but about two other explanations or rather incitements that are carried through the very power of the military Rabbis. The first is the attempt to persuade people that in this war, Israel is returning to biblical times and is fulfilling the biblical prophesy of the conquest of Canaan described in the Book of Joshua and other books of the Old Testament. In this respect, one important document which is often published in the Israeli press is a map (in Hebrew, of course) distributed through the military rabbinate to Israeli soldiers. The map shows Lebanon, Syria and northern Israel without any political boundaries on which all the important towns are converted into invented Hebrew names which were mentioned in the Bible. For example, Beirut has become "Be'e rut." On the map itself an explanation reads that Lebanon, and maybe other areas as well, are the inheritance of the children of Israel according to the Bible. Occupied southern Lebanon is shown as the inheritance of the tribe of Assaf. This influences very many people who can be influenced by such arguments, and especially if there is no contrary argument—which very often there is not.

The second sort of argument is also spread by the military rabbinate more than others. It is to show by biblical examples the nations which surround Israel are afraid because they are natural enemies, not only of Israel, but of God too. There are very many verses in the Bible which can be quoted for this. This again goes together with the primary idea of a holy war in which the soldiers are persuaded that they represent God on earth.

People around Begin are very powerful and effective demagogues. I mean that when they are speaking, their manner of speaking is influential with the mob. But I think that the situation has been more or less clarified.

I will repeat that in this unequal polarization of 30 against 70 percent, what is needed is help from outside which will convince the majority of the Israeli people. They should know much more in their own language about how the whole world sees it. They should be shown—and I hope they will be shown—that our common effort continues in this search. The great majority of the human race will protest against the crimes of the State of Israel and of its people and will not let the situation remain as it is until the horrible crimes of genocide, of murder, of killing of innocents, is rectified.

EVERETT MENDELSOHN and CATHERINE ESSOYAN, American Friends Service Committee

"For the United States to accept a vision of Lebanese stability gained through the imposition of a minority right-wing Christian government would be a major mistake."

In early July 1982, with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon already one month old, the American Friends Service Committee dispatched a two-person team—Everett Mendelsohn and Catherine Essoyan—to Lebanon to provide a firsthand report of what was happening on the ground, of relief needs and of prospects for service in the immediate future. We were in Lebanon from July 14 through July 24 and in Israel and the West Bank from July 25 through 29. We flew to Cyprus and boarded a ferry for the nine-hour ride to Junieh, 15 miles north of Beirut in the Phalange-controlled area of Lebanon. Our companions in the half-filled boat were largely Lebanese who had been caught out of the country at the time the war began or who had fled during the heavy fighting and were now returning to see if a normal life could be led. There was a sense of anxiety and anticipation throughout the crossing, heightened at one point when a naval vessel bore down on our small ferry. It turned out to be part of the U.S. Sixth Fleet which was patrolling the waters some fifty or sixty miles from the Lebanese shore. The ferry came to a halt and the naval vessel pulled alongside and gave a once-over to the boat. As it pulled away, a noticeable sigh of relief arose from the passengers. About an hour before landing, a youngish man in informal attire came through the boat collecting passports. We were informed that he was a Phalange militia member and that our passports would be returned to us after we had landed. At Junieh there was little sign of war except for a Red Cross ship tied up at dock in the inner harbor. The harbor was also filled with water skiers, swimmers and people in party boats. The contradictions of war and peace in Lebanon were apparent to us as we came ashore late in the day on July 14.

The Impact of the Israeli Invasion
The South and Beirut

The war in the south of Lebanon was largely over by the time we arrived, but the siege of Beirut was very much in progress. In the southern cities of Sidon, Tyre and Nabatiyeh we were told by reliable sources that many Lebanese, both Muslim and Christian, had initially warmly greeted the Israeli troops as they moved north in early June. The militia forces headed by Major Saad Haddad also received positive receptions as they moved into the villages and cities as far north as Sidon. In some cases, the advancing armies were greeted with church bells and rose water. Long years of strife and bloodshed—the fighting among the militias, both Lebanese and Palestinian, had left the population disenchanted.

The civil war of 1975-76 and the Israeli invasion of 1978 had taken their toll on morale. In the several years since 1978, particularly members of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had come increasingly into conflict with other sectors of Lebanese society, and there were numerous tales of their arrogant behavior. There were also Israeli air raids, commando raids and shelling across the border which had often been as destructive of Lebanese property and life as of PLO military targets. But even when we visited, some Lebanese in the south were already voicing some disenchantment with yet another army of occupation. As one commented: "Remember, the Lebanese also greeted the Syrian army in 1976 in warm fashion." Another factor that added to disenchantment with Israel's presence was the continuation of roundups of men between the ages of 16 and 60. Sections of a city were cordoned off and all men in that age range told to report to a central point in the early hours of the morning, bringing their documents with them. Both Lebanese and Palestinians were made to sit through the day while their papers were examined and each was passed by two or three hooded informers who identified those suspected of PLO connections. Both Lebanese and Palestinian were detained.

In our visits in the south we noted a good deal of physical destruction, often concentrated in the older section of the cities, particularly in Sidon and Tyre, and most strikingly noticeable in the Palestinian refugee camps

on the outskirts of these cities. The destroyed buildings were homes, schools, hospitals, small businesses, industrial buildings, shops and government offices. There were probably some military targets among these.

How great was the destruction? How many people were killed, wounded or displaced? We had to conclude at the time of our visit that no firm numbers were available and that attempts to maximize or minimize the effects were probably politically motivated. The mayor of Sidon, Ahmed Kalash, drew a vivid picture of some 1500 Lebanese (not including Palestinian) living units severely damaged. Forty to fifty percent of all the apartments in Sidon, he said, had been damaged to some degree. Three schools were completely destroyed, seven others badly damaged. The government hospital was badly damaged and not functioning. The water and sewer systems were severely hit and were in the process of being rebuilt. The electric system had been hit and was working, but only irregularly. Only 15% to 20% of the telephone system remained intact. In an official assessment made to Senator Paul Tsongas several days after our visit, the mayor said that there were 660 certified deaths among Lebanese civilians in Sidon. This did not include Palestinians in the city or those living in camps. He estimated that the death rate among the latter was higher than among Lebanese. In the early days of the war, Mayor Kalash said, there were some 50,000 to 60,000 displaced people crowded into Sidon but the number had dropped to 30,000 as people made their way back to villages and towns.

What can this tell us about damage in the south as a whole? Sidon was certainly among the more heavily damaged cities but there was also a good deal of military action all the way from Tyre north to the outskirts of Beirut. One American-trained Lebanese physician in a senior position in Beirut estimated that prior to the major siege of Beirut, approximately 3,000 civilians had been killed. This did not include deaths in the Palestinian refugee camps. One reason for the high number of deaths, this physician noted, was the great fire power and nature of the weapons used. The heavy guns and aerial bombing increased the number of deaths in proportion to injuries.

The number of people displaced by the invasion was large. We believe that it is no exaggeration that half a million people had to leave their homes because of the war. It is important to make the distinction, however, between those who are temporarily displaced, having fled until the battles end, and those who are permanently displaced and will not be able to return to their homes. Permanent displacement often results from political or religious factors.

East Beirut, which still bears the scars of the civil war of 1975-76, has avoided any significant destruction in this latest war. There are, however, two immediately apparent signs of the war in the Phalange (Maronite militia) controlled part of the city. First, the very visible Israeli military forces (and even an Israeli tour bus with obviously civilian tourists) and second, the sign of refugees, largely Christian, camping out in schools and other public buildings. These refugees have in some cases fled from the south and in others have come across the line from west Beirut. The close liaison that exists between the Phalange militia and the Israeli Defense Forces is apparent at the jointly monitored checkpoints and in the aid given by the militia to the Israeli-armored vehicles as they move through the congested streets of east Beirut.

The Siege of Beirut

After initially claiming that their goal was to create a "PLO free" zone stretching some forty kilometers north from the Israeli border, the Israeli military forces rolled past the zone, fought their way into the towns surrounding Beirut, brought up their tanks and heavy guns and laid siege to west Beirut, the sector of the city where the PLO had its headquarters but where some 750,000 civilians also lived. Western Beirut, often called "Muslim Beirut" but with a population one-quarter to one-third Christian, was filled with refugees from the south when the Israelis began their attacks. Early in the siege, as many as 250,000 people fled the city. Many of these were Shi'a Muslims who had lived in a "ring of poverty" around the southern end of the city and who fled north and east into the Bekaa Valley, where there are many Shi'a villages, and south to areas which they had left during the civil war or during the Israeli invasion of 1978. The population of west Beirut stabilized at some 500,000 in the area that stretched from the airport and the Burj al Burjneh refugee camps on the south of Ras Beirut and the Mediterranean Sea in the north, from the so-called "green line" in the east (the separation between east and west Beirut which emerged during the civil war) to the Mediterranean on the west. West Beirut is the site of most Lebanese governmental offices, embassies, banks, major commerce, the hotels and the American University of Beirut, the Arab University, and the Lebanese University.

It was estimated that between 5,000 and 9,000 PLO militia and additional Syrian troops were trapped in west Beirut. Their major installations were in the southern sectors of west Beirut near the refugee camps and in the heavily populated Palestinian sector of the city near the Arab University. In the years since the Palestinians first came to Lebanon in 1948, a PLO infrastructure of social and health services and industrial enterprises was created, alongside the units of the PLO. While it has often been noted that the PLO had created a "state within a state" in Lebanon, they had also built a city within a city in Beirut. The refugee camps and the Palestinian sectors of the city were not makeshift, temporary areas. In the 34 years since 1948 they had grown into full city districts, with the

refugee camps consisting largely of two- and three-story buildings, and the Palestinian sectors of the city had the multistoried buildings that had come to symbolize Beirut as a whole.

The siege of Beirut had several elements, the first obviously military. The shelling and bombing initially targeted the Palestinian sectors of the city but ultimately ranged out to all of west Beirut, including the heavily populated residential and commercial districts. The second element of the siege was the blockade which Israel imposed against the whole western sector. All food shipments were stopped and individuals were searched, and any food taken from them. Medicines could not cross and for many days the water system was closed down. The electricity was initially turned on and off and finally shut down completely. Perhaps most damaging was the refusal to allow fuel to cross the line. This meant that garbage trucks were unable to go their rounds; the western sector of the city became marked by the pilies of garbage at each street corner; with the garbage came flies in great numbers and rats, increasing the hazards to health. As the blockade went on, there was a shortage of gasoline for generators, and hospitals complained they were unable to run their emergency facilities or keep up the refrigeration of their blood banks. With the blocking of electricity, refrigeration became very uncertain and spoiled food was a common problem. Medical authorities became fearful of epidemics from the combined effects of a lack of fresh water, damaged sewer systems, accumulating garbage, poor food and uncertain medical services. Among the thousands of refugees camping out in school buildings, unfinished construction sites, hallways of public buildings, parks, etc., sanitation was a major problem and there was widespread diarrhea and vomiting.

Effects on Social Infrastructures

In the south and in Beirut we noted significant breakdowns in the infrastructures which hold families and communities together, as the invasion scattered people to distant parts of the country. Individuals needed to carry out some of the common services were unavailable. Schools were closed, the postal system was not operating, the banking system was substantially crippled and many other services were just not available. Clinics and hospitals were damaged and health personnel dispersed. This latter was particularly true of the Palestinian communities where the clinics of the Palestine Red Crescent Society, which had provided services for Palestinians, had been damaged or closed by the Israeli forces and most of their staff interned. The breakdown of community structures affected different parts of the population unequally. The hardest hit were probably the Shi's Muslims, traditionally at the lower end of the Lebanese social structure, and the Palestinian refugees. Among the latter, particularly, many families were without men since they were either with the PLO

militias or were interned by the Israelis. With many sectors not operating employment was drastically cut. Without jobs, income was depleted, and those without savings faced particular hardship. Housing—shelter—has emerged as one of the key problem areas. Destruction and the influx of displaced people causes severe overcrowding.

Emergency Relief Efforts

Lebanon is largely a private sector society with most social service organized on the local level, often along sectarian religious lines. After two years of civil war in 1975-76 and the first Israeli invasion in March 1978, the country had some experience in dealing with crisis and emergency, and a number of services were quickly organized. In addition, the Lebanese and Palestinians had demonstrated real resilience in the face of the past warfare and conflict. Both the Lebanese tradition of organizing society along religious confessional lines, and also the recent history of Palestinian-Lebanese clashes as well as the particular attitudes of the Israeli forces, made for differential relief efforts between the Lebanese population and the Palestinians living in the camps. The Lebanese High Relief Committee focused its efforts on the Lebanese population as did Israel, among other groups. UNRWA was seen as being largely responsible for the Palestinians. Several other of the international agencies worked across these lines.

In the south we found that the basics—food, blankets, mattresses, cooking utensils, medicines—had been successfully distributed in most cases and at the time of our visit no emergency needs seemed unmet. (Some needs just beyond the edge of survival were showing up among these in communities or sectors more damaged by the war or financially or socially less able.) The wounded had received care although there is little doubt that medical facilities had been stretched to the utmost. With the government hospitals in Sidon and Tyre destroyed and inoperative, smaller clinics and first aid facilities had to be counted upon. In addition, beds for wounded civilians had been found in some of the private hospitals and clinics, with international agencies paying the fees. The international agencies, e.g., International Committee of the Red Cross, UNICEF, UNRWA, Save The Children, CARITAS, Catholic Relief Services, and others had each played important roles in providing emergency aid.

In west Beirut, at the time of our visit, a Lebanese-Palestinian joint committee had been established which linked the work of local social service agencies, of the social service arms of the militias and of the international agencies. The committee had established eleven centers in the western sector of the city from which food, blankets, mattresses, etc., were distributed and to which people came with their problems. There were a series of other significant relief distribution groups, one operating through

Hagazian College and others tied to other local groups. Clusters of refugees were identified, rosters made, needs assessed and food deliveries carried out on a regular basis. People were directed to clinics and other needed services. We even witnessed a puppet show being put on for some hundred children in one of the distribution centers called "The Clubhouse." We understand that these services were strained to the breaking point during the intensified Israeli military bombardment that began in early August.

In addition to Lebanese and international organizations, the Israelis themselves have also been involved in relief efforts. Israeli construction engineers took part in the rebuilding of the water and sewer systems in Sidon and Tyre, and several Israeli agencies have distributed food, milk powder, cooking utensils, blankets, etc., in the southern part of Lebanon. The Lebanese with whom we spoke sometimes mentioned these efforts, but as often as not indicated that a claim of aid was being made and shrugged when asked whether it had really been forthcoming. On the Israeli side we talked to one man who had been directly involved in some fairly large scale emergency food and utensil distribution.

We noted some special immediate needs. One was for supplemental food distribution, particularly for those with no savings since the emergency rations were not really enough either to provide a balanced diet or to be counted upon for any lengthy period of time. In addition, shelter for some, particularly Palestinians in the camps, was quickly becoming an emergency need. This will certainly also be the case in Beirut as the siege ends.

Next Steps in Relief and Reconstruction

It is in the phase of immediate post-warfare efforts that tensions between the Lebanese and Palestinian civilians probably will become most acute. There is little doubt that for Israel decisions concerning how to treat the Palestinian population who live in the south of Lebanon has become a critical political problem. Will they be allowed to stay? Will they be able to rebuild their homes? If not, what will happen to them? For the full population of the war-ravaged areas of Lebanon real deadlines are fast approaching. The rains begin in mid-October and the winter follows shortly thereafter.

Shelter emerges as probably the most critical post-combat need. With significant destruction of housing units in the southern cities and villages, and the broad scale destruction in west Beirut, the need for dwelling units will reach crisis proportions. During our visit we were told by municipal authorities in Nabatiyeh and Tyre, for example, that there was severe crowding with the population of both cities approximately doubled. In the city of Tyre we were told by the Catholic bishop a careful survey of housing destruction had been made by a local engineer. He found 310 units totally

destroyed and an additional 250 units half destroyed, 300 units approximately one-quarter destroyed and another 1,000 units having suffered minor damage. In addition, 600 small businesses had been destroyed or damaged. The bishop believed that it would take an average of $2,000 per unit to rebuild them. These figures, he noted, did not include the severely demaged refugee camps in Tyre, such as Rashdiyeh and Burj Shmaleh.

The housing damage in Sidon was more extensive than that in Tyre with the mayor reporting destruction of 1,500 units with another 1,500 to 2,000 units repairable. In the Nabatiyeh region the actual effects of this war were not as devastating but the cumulative effects of the civil war and the Israeli invasion of 1978 have created large-scale needs, particularly in the agricultural villages inhabited by Shi'a Lebanese.

Housing destruction in the Palestinian and Shi'a Lebanese sections of Beirut was already extensive at the time of our visit in mid and late July. The whole southern tier of refugee camps and Shi'a settlements had been badly bombed. The much heavier bombing of early August and its spread into the Lebanese residential sections of west Beirut has created much greater need. Multi-storied buildings destroyed in the bombing will in many cases have to be razed before rebuilding can commence.

We were struck by reports of the role of local Lebanese, individuals and groups, who have worked together with the international agencies in rapidly beginning the process of rebuilding. The Harari family of Sidon, connected with the construction industry, has made substantial amounts of money available for immediate food relief and has become involved in major reconstruction primarily in the Sidon region. Other local business, civic and church leaders have been important in coordinating the relief and rehabilitation efforts in various communities. In Tyre, Bishop George Haddad had been deeply involved in coordinating efforts. In Sidon, a local Islamic notable and businessman, Mr. Solh has served as a focus for coordinated efforts.

Another immediate need is for employment and income-generating activities. Many, particularly among the refugees, are depleting their savings and must somehow supplement the meager relief rations with more substantial amounts of food and equipment. They will, of course, also face the problem of finding the funds for rebuilding. We heard estimates that the rebuilding of the small city of Tyre alone will require something in the range of (U.S.) $75 million.

In addition to employment for the refugees, there is need to establish jobs for tens of thousands of people who have returned to the south after having lived for five or more years in Beirut or other parts of the country. Many of these jobs will have to be in the agricultural sector where it was reported there is need for extensive rebuilding.

One of the encouraging reports we received was from Tyre where relief agencies and local leaders have set about rebuilding the fishing fleet which

had been extensively damaged in this war as well as in the period of civil war and the 1978 invasion. At this writing, while rebuilding of the boats is underway, the Israeli Defense Forces have not yet given permission to begin fishing in the southern Lebanese waters. A similar uncertainty about permission to fish faced a rebuilding plan for the fishing fleet of Sidon.

The hospital and health system of southern Lebanon and Beirut have been severely damaged and dislocated by the war. The director of the Tyre hospital pointed out that one-third of his building had been totally destroyed and two-thirds, while rebuildable, were not yet operating. He estimated that it would take two or three months before reconstruction could be completed. He also noted that of the twenty clinics which had previously been active in Tyre only two were currently open. This was at a time when the population had jumped from 50,000 to about 120,000 people. The government hospital in Sidon was more thoroughly destroyed and will need to be built anew. The physicians with whom we talked noted a series of public health concerns. Diarrhea and vomiting were widespread and there was fear of dysentery. The water and sewer systems, while under repair, were still uncertain and food spoilage due to lack of refrigeration was a continuing problem. In Nabatiyeh two cases of polio had been positively identified and a third suspected. Local authorities in the south were beginning a wide scale vaccination program.

In Beirut the situation was much more severe. Not only has the heavy military action continued but the blockade, by cutting off water, electricity, food and medicine, brought public health problems to a crisis level. During our visit in late July a senior medical figure noted that Beirut's major hospitals were running short of supplies. While he thought they could survive, if there were additional large-scale military action with significant new injuries and damage to health facilities they could really not maintain proper services. Particularly worrisome was the fact that the Israelis had shut down the water system for west Beirut for extended periods, meaning that normal sanitation became a severe problem. The physician was seriously worried about an outbreak of typhoid fever. In addition, he was concerned about the garbage which was piling up on and had to be burned. There was little doubt in this physician's mind that it was the civilian populations of Beirut who were suffering most significantly.

Other problems of social dislocation were also apparent. The schools had to close early because of the invasion and they were now filled to overflowing with refugees who were camping out, some looking forward to returning to their homes, others—particularly Palestinians—uncertain as to where they would go. Before the new school year could begin, it was pointed out to us, relocation of the refugees would have to be completed.

Among the populations most severely affected by the war are the Shi'a Muslims often referred to as the "disinherited" of Lebanon. It is estimated that as many as 80,000 Shi'a refugees have moved into the northern Bekaa Valley and into the Baalbek region of eastern Lebanon. They are without homes, without employment, a group in dramatic need of aid and social reintegration.

The Palestinians in Lebanon

The Palestinian presence in Lebanon was the basic reason for the Israeli invasion. The major Palestinian communities were established in the wake of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, during which time several hundred thousand Palestinian Arabs fled from the territory that ultimately became the State of Israel. The large majority of Palestinians now residing in Lebanon came in 1948 or were born there. A smaller second immigration followed the 1967 Arab-Israeli war when Israel captured Gaza and the West Bank. Finally, in 1970, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) which had operated from Jordan clashed with the Jordanian government, and PLO fighters and their families moved to Lebanon. Their presence was regulated by a series of inter-Arab treaties stipulating the relationship they should have to the government of Lebanon. The establishment through the years of what became a "state within a state" had two consequences. It sorely tried relations between the PLO and the government of Lebanon, particularly in the south and in sectors of Beirut and added an element to the causes of the Lebanese civil war. But the PLO had another important role in the Lebanese-Palestinian communities; it provided a social infrastructure through employment, medical, health and many other social services.

How many Palestinians are there in Lebanon? This is one of the unanswered and politically explosive questions. There are two categories of Palestinians in Lebanon, those who are "registered" on the UNRWA list and the others. UNRWA claims that 237,180 Palestinians are registered. There are probably at least another 150,000 "non-registered" Palestinians in the refugee camps and cities. A total of approximately 400,000 Palestinians in all of Lebanon is a fair and widely accepted estimate. The pressing question that emerges in sharp focus as the fighting itself ends in Lebanon is what will happen to these people?

The Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon were the hardest hit sections of all the cities and villages. In Ein el Hilweh, a large refugee camp on the eastern outskirts of Sidon where a battle raged for four days, fewer than 3% of the buildings remained standing when the guns fell silent. Shortly after the fighting stopped the Israelis moved in with bulldozers and leveled the remaining structures, smoothed the rubble, pushed new roadways through, which have since been regularly patrolled by tanks. The schools that had been conducted by UNRWA were almost

completely destroyed, the government hospital on the edge of the camp remains little more than a skeleton. The clinics are gone and other centers of social life non-existent. What happened to the people of Ein el Hilweh? Of the more than 40,000 who have lived in the camp, it was estimated that some 10,000 had returned, and we saw them camping out on the rubble, scratching in the piles of stone seeking a cooking utensil or some other useful item.

At the time of our visit it was not clear where any of the refugees had gone. As many as half were unaccounted for. The search for them was more difficult since the civilian staffs of UNRWA, largely Palestinian, were unwilling to go searching for fear of being picked up in one of the continuing roundups by the Israelis.

Other camps were less fully destroyed. Mieh-Mieh, a camp to the east of Ein el Hilweh, was less hard-hit, its clinic remains in operation and some other public buildings are useable. The camps near Tyre suffered more destruction than the city itself and basic services of water and sewerage were either destroyed or very uncertain. Some of the camps, for example Rashdiyeh in Tyre, were sealed off and even the American Ambassador, accompanied by Lebanese army escorts, was refused entrance in late July.

At the time of our visit the Israeli Defense Forces had refused permission to UNRWA or other relief agencies to provide tents for those without shelter. U.S. AID director Peter MacPherson estimated that there were some 80,000 to 100,000 people in the south without shelter. No rebuilding had been permitted within the camps, water pipes were not allowed to be relaid or sewerage systems rebuilt (as was happening in the Lebanese sectors of the cities), food distribution within the camps was not permitted and the refugees had to make their way to UNRWA distribution centers in the cities; the Palestinian Red Crescent Society clinics and centers had been destroyed and their staff interned. Those who could be seen in the camps were largely women, children and the elderly.

While the immediate emergency needs had been met, the need for shelter remained unresolved even as this report was being written and in spite of strong protestations to Israel by the international agencies and by the Emergency Aid Mission of the United States. Clearly, Israel faced a major decision concerning Palestinians in Lebanon. Discussion with an Israeli regional planner who had drawn up a proposal for the rehousing of Palestinians brought from him an anguished claim that Israel had no acceptable policy at this point and was subjecting a population to very severe deprivation. Ten weeks after Israeli forces crossed into Lebanon the Palestinian problem in that country remained unresolved and promised to get worse rather than better. In addition to the large concentrations of Palestinians in southern Lebanon, there are the estimated 150,000 to 200,000 residents in the Beirut area. Even after the PLO guerrillas had been evacuated the civilian population remains and, as in the south, its shelter, its medical facilities, its social services, its employment are in shambles.

Human Rights

In the course of its military operations and subsequent arrests and detentions, Israel has taken 9,000 or more prisoners, Palestinian and Lebanese. Of these, the majority are held at a large prison camp newly dug out of the hillside along the road from Nabatiyeh to Tyre. The camp, called Ansar, houses just under 7,000 prisoners, a number recently verified by the International Committee of the Red Cross. A second camp in Israel, at Megido near Afula holds close to 2,000 additional prisoners and a third center in a hospital outside Tel Aviv, Shmuel Harofeh, holds the remainder. While Israel initially denied access to the prisoners on the part of the International Red Cross, claiming that they would not be considered prisoners of war (POW), Israel more recently has allowed the ICRC to visit and compile a roster of those interned. If the detainees were not prisoners of war (and Israel has insisted on calling them "terrorists" rather than soldiers), Israel needed some legal authority for their detention. Of the detainees that Israel is holding, approximately 2,000 are Lebanese initially captured in the fighting or rounded up in later arrests. The Israeli Ministry of Defense promulgated on June 9, 1982 special regulations concerning arrests during a period of special emergency. These regulations giving any senior general (Tat Aluf) or above the right to arrest and to hold for up to three months any person who is not an Israeli citizen or resident for security reasons during a period of declared emergency. Arrest orders under these regulations can be given even if the person to be arrested is not present. The Ministry of Justice was asked to nominate two appeals committees of three members each, to be headed by a civil judge. Any prisoner was to have the right to appeal his arrest, and the possibility of appeal and procedures for it were to be made known to the prisoner. The committees were to consider appeals within two weeks of their being made, either confirming or limiting the arrest. A member of the Israeli Civil Rights Committee inquired of Israeli authorities whether any appeals had been brought; she was told that none had. To her follow-up question whether the prisoners had been told of their right of appeal, she received no answer. The law seems to allow no extension of detention, and Israel will soon face the question of whether or not to release the prisoners and if they are to be held, on what legal basis. In addition, there are knotty legal issues involved, particularly concerning problems of territoriality and jurisdiction. But, as one Israeli legal observer put it, there is not much legal recourse for those detained, the issue seems to almost be "all politics" for Israeli authorities.

A second critical human rights situation will be faced as the fighting ends in Beirut. What is to happen to the families of the Palestinian

fighters who depart and what will be the fate of the several hundred thousand Palestinians and their supporters in west Beirut? It was in response to this question that the concept of an international or multinational force to supervise the PLO exodus and to protect non-combatants was first conceived. With scars of the civil war still unhealed and the possibility of revenge very real, the civilian populations of west Beirut would appear to be particularly vulnerable. There is a similar problem in other parts of Lebanon where Israeli forces have taken control. Will they allow the Christian militias, the Phalange from the north and the forces of Major Saad Haddad from the south, to take over and if so under what conditions? In some instances in the Druze communities of the Shouf, the mountains in southern Lebanon, Phalange militias have already begun to harass local citizens. Indeed, the Israelis gave up their initial plan to disarm the Druze militias and have allowed them, at least temporarily, to keep their arms. Similarly, the militia led by Major Haddad, has harassed Shi'a populations in villages in the south and has restricted the return of some Shi'a to their homes as well as interfering with Palestinian communities in the Sidon region. While Israel had initially expected to disarm the Amal, the Shi'a militia, this, too, had to be postponed.

In the long run perhaps the touchiest of the human rights problems emerging from Israel's invasion of Lebanon will be the issue of resettlement for the Palestinian population. Will Israel insist on a forced large-scale movement of civilians? While the Palestinians are often referred to as "foreigners" within Lebanon, many have lived there for more than thirty years and among the young the large majority were born in Lebanon. Under what terms and with what goals in mind can they be legitimately scattered or dispersed?

A clear but politically touchy human rights issue concerns the use against non-combantant populations of heavy fire power weaponry or so-called "prohibited" weapons. In the latter category are the anti-personnel cluster bombs and phosphorus bombs which were used by the Israelis both in southern Lebanon and during the siege of Beirut. The United States, as the supplier of these weapons, bears the responsibility of inquiring fully into the circumstances of their use.

Lebanon: The Emerging Political Situation

Our discussions with Lebanese and Palestinian political leaders brought out a series of important points.

First and most topical at the time of our visit was the question of Palestinian and PLO intentions. While Yasir Arafat made clear that if forced to fight his forces would wage a vigorous battle in west Beirut, he said that the PLO desired to evacuate Beirut, to save both its own personnel and also the civilian populations of west Beirut. He said he had made this very explicit in a formal statement presented to the Lebanese government. It was clear, however, that his terms were for honorable withdrawal rather than surrender. He believed Israel wanted the latter.

Another issue concerned the PLO's response to other Arab governments and their roles during the war. Arafat was quite critical of Arab leaders but believed that the Arab people would ultimately redeem the failure of Arab states to be of aid. However, he did single out for praise the Saudi Arabian diplomatic efforts led by the Foreign Minister, Prince Saud Al Faisal. In addition, he noted the very positive understanding shown of Palestinian political interests and of the PLO's role by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt. He was particularly impressed by Egypt's role in the United Nations where, it together with France, had brought an important plan to the Security Council. Arafat noted what he believed to be significant political gains by the PLO, even in the weeks of the war. He pointed to his own broadened efforts, including the positive response he gave to the statement made by international Jewish leaders, Nahum Goldmann, Philip Klutznick and Pierre Mendes-France, calling for mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO. He cited, in addition, the reception he gave to Uri Avneri, who he identified as an Israeli Zionist. Further, he said that he would welcome a visit by the leaders of the Peace Now movement in Israel to show his own willingness to enter into peaceful relations with an Israel that recognized Palestinian rights. (All this fell just short of indicating willingness to recognize Israel's right to exist, to secure peaceful borders, in return for Israeli recognition of Palestinian rights to self-determination and nationhood in the West Bank and Gaza territories.) Arafat made explicit his interest in establishing a direct political dialogue with the United States. He expressed direct concern for the Palestinian civilians and Lebanese who would remain behind in west Beirut. He also clearly was interested in arranging a withdrawal in such fashion that it involved explicit U.N. sanction. He was accepting of the concept of a multinational force. We have wondered whether the failure of the U.S. negotiators, Philip Habib and his team, to have direct conversation with PLO leadership meant the loss of some of a direct sense of its willingness and readiness to leave Beirut.

What next for Lebanon? One conversation we had with former Prime Minister Saeb Salam concerning the situation in Beirut brought out many of the critical elements of an answer to that question. Salam expressed real apprehension that there might be no substantial buffer between the Israelis and the Phalange militia on one hand and the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian populations in west Beirut on the other. He was fearful of the mood of revenge which might be found among the Phalange and deeply concerned at the idea of continued Israeli control. Representing the traditional Sunni Muslin leadership of Lebanon, Salam went on to express very critical views about the potential for Israel's installing a Phalange-led

government in Lebanon. He felt that this would exacerbate inter-sectarian conflict and bring the country back to the edge of civil war. He also felt that a Presidential election (due to be held by mid-September) which took place under Israeli guns and installed an explicitly pro-Israeli President, would not be accepted as legitimate or valid by the people of Lebanon, particularly its Muslim majority. While he believed that the PLO should withdraw from Lebanon as a military force, Salam rejected the concept of Israel itself restructuring Lebanese politics. He believed that the Israelis did not understand the Lebanese scene and had too simplified a vision of the nature of power and legitimacy within Lebanese society. He was fearful that the Israelis might be willing to settle for a partitioned Lebanon, half of it Christian-led and allied to Israel in the south and west—the coastal regions—and the other half, the north and the east, ceded to Syria. For some years the Maronite political and militia leadership has supported such a concept of a partitioned Lebanon.

When our conversation turned to the PLO exodus from west Beirut, Saeb Salam seemed almost to plead for the United States to take a more vigorous and understanding position. "The time for moderation may almost be lost," he said, referring to his belief that if Yasir Arafat and the core leadership of the PLO were killed or humiliated, a radical and terrorist mood would take over Palestinian groups around the world. A PLO led by Arafat and his associates was the best hope to moving to the next steps in achieving a negotiated Israeli-Palestinian settlement. He vigorously supported the idea that it was time for direct PLO-U.S. political dialogue, both to arrange the evacuation of Beirut and to deal politically and diplomatically with the Palestinian problem.

The depth of political division within Lebanon came out sharply in our discussion with Father Boulos Na'aman, the Superior of the Maronite religious order. Father Na'aman, who himself had been the head of a Maronite religious militia and considered himself a close ally of Bashir Gemayel, portrayed a vision of a Lebanon, anti-Arab in politics, closely allied to the religious and cultural traditions of Europe, and led by a Maronite Christian government. He believed that almost all of the Palestinians should be forced to leave Lebanon. Father Na'aman believed that at one level the concept of a Palestinian state was just, but he left little doubt that it could not be had in Lebanon nor did he believe that the Israelis would ever give up the West Bank to the Palestinians. He adopted the Begin view that autonomy was for the people but not for the land, which would remain forever Israeli.

It seemed doubtful to us as we resurveyed the Lebanese political scene that Israel fully understood the implications of its policy of restructuring Lebanese politics. For, aside from Father Na'aman who claimed that Israel's actions did not constitute an invasion and that Israel had no questionable intentions in Lebanon, almost all the Lebanese with whom

we talked, believed that Israel would do much more harm than good were it to remain and attempt to impose a political solution for Lebanon; all external forces, the Syrians, the PLO and the Israelis, had to leave and allow the pluralistic society to find its own way to compromises and agreements.

Israeli and Palestinian Responses

Following ten full days in Lebanon, we retraced our steps through the port of Junieh to Larnaca in Cyprus and from there flew to Israel for several intense days of visit and discussion. We talked with people in the Israeli peace movement and to others who were participants in the war. We had a lengthy discussion with an Israeli who had been deeply involved in taking relief supplies from Israel for distribution in Lebanon.

Certain things stood out in the discussion of the war in Israel. First, the statements of Israeli leaders, Prime Minister Begin, General Sharon and others, made clear the full aims of the Israeli invasion. They were to destroy the PLO militarily and also politically. The move on Beirut was defended explicitly in the latter terms. The public explanation was that after the political destruction of the PLO Israel would find Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza more accepting of Israeli rule and willing to come to terms with Israeli plans for the Occupied Territories. The official view was that the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza could be separated politically from the PLO.

Anyone who criticized the Israeli war policy was subject to ridicule and charges of treason. An unparalleled situation had developed—significant opposition to the government during time of war. We arrived in Israel the day after a member of the Israeli regular army, Colonel Eli Geva, asked to be relieved of his command of a tank brigade on the outskirts of Beirut. He had had a highly successful military career and was the youngest brigade commander in the Israeli army; he was the son of a well-respected, retired Israeli army general. His request brought attempts by the Israeli leadership to change his mind; when those failed, his request that he be allowed to remain in the army as a foot soldier was denied and he was dismissed. While he refused to give any public interviews, he was quoted by friends as having said that he did not believe in the efficacy of a Beirut invasion and could not in good conscience have ordered his troops to carry one out. In a talk reproduced on Israeli television, Prime Minister Begin ridiculed Colonel Geva, recalling that in their discussion Geva had said that one reason for his rejection of a Beirut invasion was that when he looked through his field glasses he saw children in the areas they would have to invade. Begin in his talk said that he asked Geva whether he was ordered to fire at children and when Geva said "no," Begin said, "I asked him, therefore, why he was objecting."

While it is important to note that Geva represents a small minority within the army, the amount of dissent was striking in the Israeli context. Over 2,000 reserve officers and soldiers signed a statement directed to Prime Minister Begin opposing an invasion of west Beirut. Many others, after they returned from duty at the front, openly criticized the war, its goals and its conduct asking out loud the question of why go to war when Israel's survival was not at stake and no direct threat to security was involved. Two groups of soldiers were formed in opposition to the invasion: Soldiers Against Silence and There Are Limits. In addition 32 of those who participated in the Entebbe Operation sent an open letter to Prime Minister Begin protesting the invasion. The leadership of the Peace Now movement argued that Defense Minister Sharon launched the war not because the ten-month-old cease-fire on the Lebanese-Israeli border had failed, but rather because it had succeeded, and this was bringing strong political pressure on Israel to change its attitude toward the PLO and particularly was changing attitudes toward Israel's behavior in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

While the Israeli peace movement organized several significant demonstrations (including one in mid-July in Tel Aviv that involved over 100,000 protestors) and began to address the central issue of the Palestinian problem, its major attitude was introspective. It focused its concern on what the war meant to Israel, its behaviour and its values.

Our brief visits on the occupied West Bank with Palestinians brought out both the opposition to the war but also the despair over Israel's behavior and intentions. Israel's invasion of Lebanon was seen as an extension of its repressive West Bank policies and as a harbinger of what might come. While there had been and continued to be West Bank demonstrations against the war, they were in many ways muted compared to some of the opposition to Israeli policy that had emerged earlier in the year. We were told that in part this reflected increased despair and in part responded to tightened security measures. The universities were under much tighter rule, with Bir Zeit once again closed, its professors under the equivalent of town arrest, two more mayors and town councils dismissed and replaced either by Israeli occupation authorities or representatives of the Israeli-sponsored village leagues. The Palestinian newspapers were vigorously censored and on many occasions their distribution was banned.

Conclusion

Our observations on what is happening in Lebanon and Israel and the West Bank speak for themselves. However, several key implications for the United States for U.S. policy are worth noting here.

The early U.S. support for the Israeli invasion showed a policy that was highly destructive and in the long run almost certain to have negative

effects for U.S. interests. Israel viewed the U.S. tacit agreement and at times active approval of its invasion as a green light to move past the limited security goals to the broader, maximalist political goals involved in the siege of Beirut. The wide-scale use of U.S. military equipment in what is most clearly a non-defensive operation brings into sharp question U.S. policy regarding arms transfers to Israel. Further, the use by the Israelis of "forbidden weapons" supplied by the United States (cluster bombs, etc.) and the attacks from land, sea and air on large civilian concentrations call for a full-scale Congressional investigation of U.S. military aid and sales to Israel. The number of times we heard people question U.S. intent was a sober reminder of how much the United States stood to lose in Israel's actions. Further, widespread perception of the United States as unable to restrain or curb Israel, even from excessive military action, left the United States.

One need in the immediate future is for the United States very carefully to scrutinize the distribution of aid to make sure that it is fair and that aid reaches all the needy, Palestinian and Lebanese alike. In addition, it will be necessary to monitor the evolving human rights situation so that the tragedies of the invasion are not multiplied by the mistreatment of

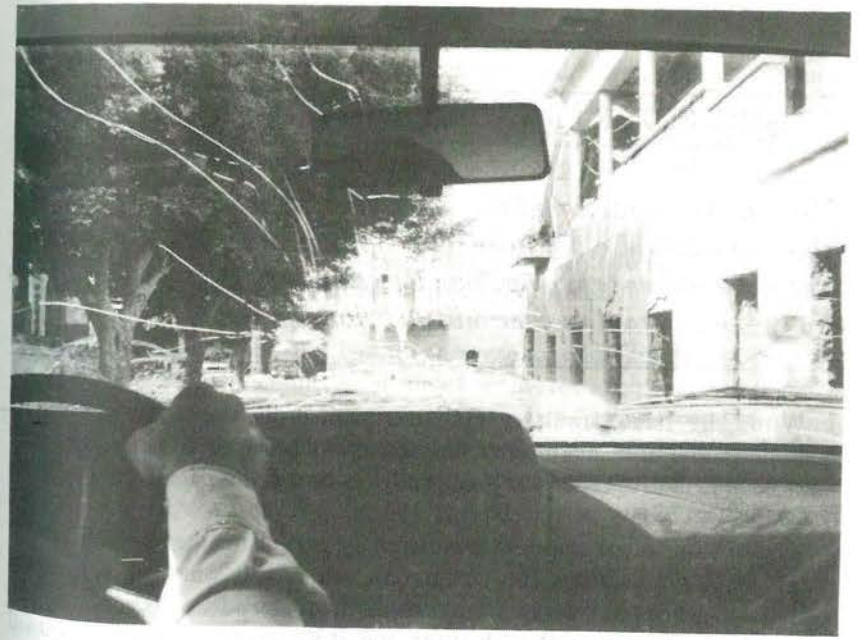


Photo: UNICEF

The devastated town of Damour is seen through the bullet-riddled windshield of a UNICEF car that had been caught in a crossfire the previous day. Driver was unhurt and continued to carry out his duties. In early June, Damour had 16,000 people. A month later, Damour was reduced to a population of ten people.

noncombatant populations in its aftermath. This will be particularly true for the Shi'a Muslims and the Palestinians. Israel's political goals cannot become the arbiter of humanitarian need.

For the United States to accept a vision of Lebanese stability gained through the imposition of a minority right-wing Christian government would be a major mistake. It would thwart democracy and almost certainly rekindle the animosities of civil war.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to draw from the war in Lebanon is that resolving the Palestinian problem in a just and humane way is central if peace is to come to the region. Not only must the Palestinians in Lebanon receive just treatment but the United States must develop a policy for the West Bank and Gaza which will permit Palestinian national goals to be peacefully worked out in the context of mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinian political leadership. The rights of both societies to live at peace within secure recognized boundaries must be accepted. Both sides must renounce the view that military action and armed force can impose solutions to what is fundamentally a political and human problem.

DR. PETER FRANCK, Professor, AUB, Lebanon

"While the Israeli military machine pushed its way over a third of Lebanese territory, last summer, the scene was being set for another takeover, one less dramatic but potentially as dangerous: Israel's economic invasion."

While the Israeli military machine pushed its way over a third of Lebanese territory last summer, the scene was being set for another takeover, one less dramatic but potentially as dangerous: Israel's economic invasion.

The old tag often applied to western imperialism, "trade follows the flag," equally describes the unfettered and mostly one-way commerce which has developed between the two countries since June. Israel has even made the continuation of such trade one of its conditions for withdrawal of forces.

As Israel's record shows, its treatment of Palestinians and other Arab nations is based on a strategy of *faits accomplis* which precede or accompany the enunciation of objectives. The infliction of economic damage

and the subsequent commercial penetration of Lebanon over the past ten months confirms this pattern.

The following article, by Dr. Peter G. Franck, professor of finance at the American University of Beirut, investigates this economic invasion and looks at its implications for Lebanon's future.

Israel's Invasion: Degradation and Destruction

The immediate impact of the invasion was the destruction of much of Lebanon's productive capacity. The hearts of town centers from Tyre to South Beirut were damaged; bridges, power stations and water distribution facilities were destroyed and many roads made impassable. As a result, major producing areas were idled or cut off from their markets and/or supply systems. Agricultural production capacity fell just at harvesting time.

About 25 factories were destroyed, leading to a 25% loss in industry's productive capacity. Inventories of raw materials and supplies were destroyed, stolen or depleted so that factories saved from destruction could not produce. Links with foreign markets and supply sources were disrupted. The harmful effects multiplied as markets in the Gulf were lost to European competitors.

Three adverse economic consequences surfaced: First, the tax revenues from corporate profits and customs dropped dramatically. The latter, a mainstay of the government's budget, fell to a mere LL 40 million during 1982's summer quarter, compared with an average quarterly customs revenue of LL 110 million in 1981 and LL 170 million in 1980.

Second, internal and foreign trade remains disrupted and below normal levels. One of the more serious distortions is the diversion of imports away from Beirut to ports of entry in Israeli-occupied areas.

Third, traders' and investors' confidence in an early revival of the economy remains shaky. The continued presence of Israeli troops in more than one-third of the country not only constitutes a nuisance, but more importantly deprives the Lebanese businessman of a sense of dignity and national pride. The stalemate in negotiations for an Israeli withdrawal has further depressed businessmen's level of expectations, delaying crucial investment decisions and holding up the rebuilding of the nation's productive capacity.

Extending the Borders: Commercial Penetration

Exploiting Lebanon's weakened supply and marketing facilities, Israeli businessmen lost no time in laying the foundations for commercial penetration. The four-year-old "open" border (Haddad's enclave, the 10-km. wide Israeli-controlled border strip inside Lebanon) was officially

extended westward on November 20 to include the coastal access road from Ras Naqura north to Sidon. By mid-February, the Israelis extended the Haddad area to cover the whole province. Any Lebanese citizen with a valid passport or ID card can obtain a renewable eight-day Israeli visa for only LL 10. Lebanese vehicles can enter Israel provided they are in good mechanical order. Israeli authorities reported that about 200 Lebanese cross the border every day and over a hundred trucks loaded with merchandise enter Lebanon each month.

Importing from Israel

The mechanics of importation are free of red tape. At the border is an efficient custom and transit clearance zone where the Israeli Ministry of Industry and Trade supplies manufacturers' catalogues and the addresses of export firms in a "Manual of the North." Automatic direct dial telephones reach Israeli suppliers—orders can be placed at the border and delivery dates agreed upon. A down payment may be made by check on dollar accounts drawn on Hapoalim Bank's branch at the border. A business trip to the Israeli plant by taxi can be arranged. Final settlement is made when an Israeli truck arrives in the border parking area. The Lebanese importer pays no import duty since, thanks to the Israeli army, there is no Labense customs control. In addition, Lebanese wholesalers can avail themselves of Israel's official trade office in the Sidon governorate's headquarters (taken over by the Israeli army), where there are also Israeli Lebanese to visit Israel.

Quantum Leap In Israeli Imports

The cumulative effect of the open border policy has been felt acutely in the Lebanese markets which welcome low-priced produce as well as scarce staples and building materials. Imports from Israel rose from $0.8 million in June to $20 million in December.

Several of the imports come from abroad through Haifa, only 40 kilometers from the border. Israeli traffic controls favor Israeli-Lebanese trade. For instance, so many checkpoints interrupt Sidon-Beirut traffic that it is quicker and cheaper to drive from Sidon to Haifa to obtain supplies. Israeli checkpoints in Lebanon hold up trucks with Lebanese agricultural produce so that the Israeli trucks can get their produce to Lebanese wholesale markets first.

Lebanese importers cite varied incentives for trade with Israel*. Israeli products are cheaper, sometimes priced even below the Lebanese production cost. For instance, Israeli biscuits, olives and olive oil are offered at half the Lebanese price, cement and wooden doors at one-third less, and garlic at one-fourth the Lebanese price.

Israeli quality, packaging and grading are superior. This goes especially for olives, textiles, glass and ceramic wares, and plastic products.

Transportation charges are lower for many products coming through Israel, especially for those originating in other countries and transitting Haifa. Beirut's port charges, controlled by a semi-monopolistic agency and subject to political surchanges, are reported to be half again as high as Haifa's.

Israel's production costs benefit from higher productivity (yields) or from the lower labor cost of Palestinian workers, or both. For instance, Israel grows 37 tons of tomatoes to a hectar, Lebanon only 13.

Since Israel needs hard currency, its exporters receive government subsidies (through a favorable exchange rate) and invisible support (from government research and development funds). For example, the budget of Israel's Ministry of Agriculture is six times that of Lebanon's. Also, Israel's banks are more supportive of farmers than are Lebanon's.

*Quoted from Professor Ibrahim Maroun. *Revu de Liban*, November 1982.

Damage To Economy

Although Israeli shipments to Lebanon are still relatively low, the process is already damaging Lebanon's economy. Competing Lebanese producers are suffering. Take the case of the orange-growers: the threat of largescale Israeli importation hung over the South's crop for months, and the mere trickle of Israeli oranges which did come through made wholesalers hesitate to buy the Lebanese crop. The same trickle led to Syria's ban on the purchase of Lebanese oranges lest there be some Israeli oranges among them. This cut off 30% to 40% of Lebanon's normal market. When the wholesalers finally bought, the large number of cancelled export orders dropped the prices to 75 piastres ($0.17) per kilo at the farm gate, hardly covering out-of-pocket cost.

Similar effects were felt in the olive and apple markets, as a result, the impact on the first season was disastrous: unsaleable apples, oranges and olives were left rotting. 20,000 apple-growers, 36,000 olive-growers and 1,000 orange-growers suffered serious losses. Much of the potentially productive land is headed for idleness, and half the farmworkers will be out of work if the next season offers similarly grim prospects.

Concern about a possible Arab boycott of Lebanese products due to fears of economic penetration by Israel were vindicated in mid-February. At that time Saudi Arabia prohibited the import of all Lebanese products whose origins were not specifically certified by both Lebanese and Saudi authorities.

Israel's Normalization

As the occupation continues with no foreseeable end, the Israeli government has taken steps to regularize communications, transport and taxes between Israel and Lebanon. In November blocked phone and telex links between the South and the rest of the country were restored. The Zahrani refinery near Sidon was permitted to operate at half its normal rate, with dissident Major Saad Haddad receiving the taxes—an estimated LL 50 million per year. The refinery relies on tanker-delivered Saudi crude since Tapline, whose pipeline crosses the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, remains inoperative, thus depriving the Lebanese government of important transit revenues. In late February there was talk of Tapline pulling out due to lack of business—another blow to the economy of South Lebanon.

On the other hand, the Israeli army levies a 12.5% supplementary tax on customs receipts in Sidon and Tyre in order to provide reimbursement for duty-free goods transitting Haifa port for Lebanon, thereby taking taxing authority away from Lebanon's government.

"Normalization": Will South Lebanon Become Israel's North Bank?

The growing dependency of West Bank Palestinians on the Israeli economy offers worrisome parallels for Lebanon. Israel's policy of keeping the West Bank borders with both Jordan and Israel open has produced unbalanced growth on the West Bank.

The West Bank's exports to Jordan and beyond yield a trade surplus payable to Israel's banks in hard currency. This surplus helps pay for the West Bank's trade deficit with Israel, forced upon it by strict trade controls.

As for manpower, the West Bank sale of human services to Israel produces cash remittances which cover the remainder of the trade deficit with Israel. Meanwhile graduates of West Bank colleges, finding no local employment, emigrate to the Gulf states. Their cash remittances add to the foreign exchange earnings of Israeli banks. Furthermore, Israel levies discriminatory taxes on the movement of merchandise and people across these "open" boundaries.

In the West Bank, per capita income has grown and virtually no one is unemployed, but in the process the Palestinians are losing their economic self-reliance and Israel's economy is strengthened.

The pattern of Israel's ingestion of West Bank resources hangs like a dark cloud over Lebanon's economy. Israel would find in Lebanon lucrative markets for its industrial products and a few processed food products for which it would demand hard currency. Israel would employ South

Lebanese labor and import such resource-intensive and labor-intensive products as may be cheaper in Lebanon: i.e. vegetables and fruit and river water. Israel would also capture a substantial tourist business, especially among Christians and Druze, who would be charged in dollars. If Israel chose to control exports, it would tax them in hard currency provided they stayed competitive with European imports into Lebanon.

Lebanese Response: Conflict of Interest?

Clearly the government of Lebanon and the majority of its citizens want Israel to withdraw immediately and completely with no preconditions in the economic area or any other. Since there seems to be no immediate prospect of that, government officials urge a boycott of Israeli trade penetration efforts. Mr. Ibrahim Halawi, then Minister of Economy and Tourism, and Mr. Mounir Abdul Fadel, Deputy President of Parliament, took up the cause of undercut Lebanese producers. They threatened, for instance, the withdrawal of licenses for Lebanese tourist agencies handling trips to Israel and penalties for the importation of "smuggled" merchandise which includes non-Israeli products by passing official transit facilities and thereby evading import taxes.

But Chambers of Commerce and Associations of Importers play a different tune. To them, given the circumstances of post-war disruption and Israeli controls, Israeli products, including re-exported European items, are a welcome boost to business turnover. Moreover, with the exception of dumping practices, Israeli supplies inject competition both in quality and in price into certain Lebanese markets in which monopolistic practices have been prevalent. Large-scale production and modern packaging methods permit the Israeli merchant to out-sell the traditional small-scale Lebanese producer who intermittently is protected by monopolistic practices, for example in the fish market.

Path To A Solution

The obstacles to an effective Lebanese response to Israeli economic penetration under occupation are fourfold:

1. No reliable facts have been collected on the amount of Israeli trade by categories and prices charged. The only sources of data are the Israeli press and government reports.
2. Neither Lebanese government agencies nor merchant associations possess the staff or the administrative skill to enforce controls or collect taxes on dutiable imports except on those flowing through Beirut and Tripoli. This in part is the result of the heavy presence of Israeli military forces in the southern and eastern border areas.
3. Many traders and manufacturers lack trained and experienced personnel to map out productive marketing strategies. Happily there are

exceptions: Hariri's textile factory and Zaaturi's cardboard factory, both in Sidon, have demonstrated that by using modern machines and low-cost labor Lebanese production can meet international and Israeli standards.

Other responses have been equally constructive. A leading Lebanese agronomist advocates improvement of technology and marketing practices in farm products so as to offer consumers a cheaper or better product. In the construction industry the Ghandour enterprise has proposed the establishment of a local factor capable of delivering prefabricated housing in competition with the Israelis.

4. A fourth obstacle is ideological: the free flow of trade has benefited the Lebanese economy for centuries. Its traders rarely had to deal with foreign exporters who use their commercial role in Lebanon's trade for political purposes. Hence, except for taxes, assessed either to generate revenues or to protect local producers, the national origin of merchandise was of no concern to the Lebanese trader. So he never developed a collective conscience. Instead, he followed Adam Smith's individualist approach according to which the drive for maximum benefit by each trader contributes to the optimum level of the community's welfare. This ideological outlook clearly does not match the current reality in which Israel is using its access to Lebanon's markets for political purposes and makes the government's drive to control trade difficult to implement.

This view of commercial matters ties in with the opinion of Victor Cassir, president of Beirut's Merchants' Association. On November 19 he was quoted in the Lebanese press as advocating the conversion of all Lebanon into one free trade zone, leading to a gradual abolition of all import tariffs and allowing Lebanon to take up its traditional function as the trade link between East and West. It should be noted that employment and profits in trade and finance contribute about two-thirds of Lebanon's gross national product.

The Lebanese policy must face Israel's misuse of its temporary military and political position for commercial advantage. It must adopt trade policies which challenge the politicization of trade forced on it by Israel. Its government and its business community together must face this threat to the country's economy and formulate trade policies that serve the *national* interest rather than group interests. Lebanon may not be strong and united enough to throw out the Israeli soldiers. But perhaps the government, in cooperation with its businessmen known for their adaptable acumen, can successfully compete with Israel's businessmen, despite the latter's formidable political and economic advantage.

HANS GORAN FRANCK, Lawyer, Sweden

"The war started in June is a war of aggression. Israel has invaded Lebanon and in clear violation of international law. This aggression must be strongly condemned."

I appear here as a reporter as well as witness coming from Lebanon and Syria. I am not an expert on Middle East affairs. I have only made a few comments and statements on the Middle East before.

Before I started on this mission I tried to get as much information as I could. I got in touch with different officials. I met officials of the Lebanese government, of the Israeli authorities, of the PLO and of the Lebanese National Movement. I tried also to study many official documents of the present U.S. Administration.

This was a very difficult mission. I had been before on many missions around the world—Viet Nam, Latin America, Southern Africa and many other countries. I will not say that this was the most difficult of them, but it was very difficult. Why was it so difficult? It was because of the war in Lebanon and the measures used by those who have invaded this country. It was also so difficult because there are inside Lebanon other forces who really create all kinds of difficulties, particularly the Phalangists.

When we started our trip to Lebanon and to West Beirut we really had difficulties to get in contact with people because the telephones are not functioning and appointments could not be made before hand. We were stopped everywhere during our travel, and of course, many people we talked to were afraid. So we had to make our plans from day to day, from hour to hour and from minute to minute. The difficulties were also enormous because we had to move around, particularly in West Beirut, in order to contact people, and there was always great danger, especially from cluster bombs. A cluster bomb is a big container which has small bombs that explode at a certain height or on touching the ground. Many of them had not exploded and one could step on one. It must be realised also that we could not have a car to move around. We had to walk the streets by our selves without protection, particularly when we wanted to go from East to West and from West to East Beirut. This was our situation.

In East Beirut we lived in a big hotel—Alexander Hotel. We could go up to the roof during the day and the night and we watched what was happening—the bombardment, the shelling, the rockets exploding. Once, in the night, while we were on the roof a rocket landed 100 metres away from us. That night we were witnesses to a terrible bombardment. The day after we visited West Beirut and saw the effects of the heavy bombard-

ment. We walked around in the streets and saw that houses were completely destroyed. This was very near the stadium, which had been completely destroyed earlier. It was near the UNESCO office and the Arab University which were also destroyed. We also visited some apartments where people had been in the night and saw that the only things which remained were some personal effects In one of the houses where about three hundred people lived which was hit by a so-called vacuum bomb nearly all, except for 10 persons, were killed that night.

I could not see in that district a single house which was not hit, completely or partially destroyed. In that area, soldiers, of course, moved but I could not see any military target. The area was a big residential one and there was no doubt, whatsoever, that it was an indiscriminate bombardment, against the civilian population.

We saw also the weapons used. The different types of bombs had U.S. markings. It was quite obvious that most of the weapons used came from the United States.

Living at the Alexander Hotel was rather strange. We were all the time, including during meal hours, surrounded by Israeli agents and agents of the so-called Lebanese Forces (the Phalangists and their allies—Editor). There were also Israeli military personnel sitting with their guns at nearly all the tables while we were eating. What were they doing? They had to control everybody.

An Israeli journalist told me that he could not do anything without having a gun-carrying soldier around, telling him what he can do and how to do it. Everything had to be censored, including news to Israel.

I would like to say something about our trip to the South. It was in an early morning that we decided to go. We hired a car. We did not know the driver before, but he was a very good man who helped us a great deal. Most of the people whom we met and talked to were helpful.

On that trip to Ain El-Helweh, Damour, Sidon and the neighbouring area we saw the effect of heavy bombardment, mainly on residential areas. Our conclusion is the same as I have stated earlier concerning the districts around the stadium and the Arab University—indiscriminate bombardment.

It is said that about 60,000 Palestinians lived at Ain El-Helweh. We reached Ain El-Helweh suddenly because our driver did not know we were there. It was completely destroyed by bulldozers. A school boy whom we met said to us that this was not the most important place, that we must proceed to Ain El-Helweh proper. We proceeded. And what did we see? We say only women, old people and young children sitting among ruins. When asked how come they were there, they said that they were away when the Israelis came. All the schools, five of them, were completely destroyed. A small hospital for the Palestinians was also completely destroyed.

We were told by two different sources in Sidon that between 14 to 16 thousand people were captured, and taken to Israeli camps.

Just coming to Sidon we met a man—a Lebanese—who told us he had been detained in such a camp for 45 days. A hood was put on his head for nearly all the time. He was tortured, but Palestinians were tortured worse.

Some of those arrested were released later, specially the youngsters under 14 years. This is no doubt in our minds that this is a war of extermination against the Palestinian population. But it is not only that because the effects of the war are so that it means also an extermination of a great part of the Lebanese population.

What kind of weapons are used? First of all I must say that I have no evidence today about the accusations that napalm has been used. We have not seen any victims of napalm. We have not seen fragments of napalm. But that must be further investigated. We have seen about 20 victims in different hospitals of cluster bombs and of phosphorous bombs. We have also seen victims of fragmentation bombs, and we have seen some victims of the so-called vacuum bomb. There are accusations that nerve gas was used. We have seen perhaps suspected cases, but we are not physicians and we can not confirm those accusations. However, we heard the accusations from different sources claiming that nerve gas was used in the mountain area.

The effects on the civilian population have been tremendous. At one hospital, one independent doctor, told us that only one third of the patients—the sick people in the hospital—were military. In another hospital, other independent doctors told us that 3/4 of the hospitalised were civilians.

Five hospitals out of 17 in West Beirut are completely closed. Most of the other hospitals, are only partly and on a little scale working. Only one hospital we saw was able to function without being bombed and it was the American University Hospital. But even there they showed us fragments of bombs which fell near the hospital.

Somebody asked me what are the needs of the medical people in West Beirut. It is of course, as you may know, the lack of clean water. There is lack of food for people in the hospitals. There is lack of personnel, nurses, medicines and so on. The blockade also affects the Red Cross, which for 18 days could not get through with anything. But the day we were in West Beirut a Red Cross man told us that that day they were able to get through a small convoy.

The number of wounded and killed is enormous, because of the anti-personnel weapons used.

The situation of siege and blockade has also a psychological effect on all the population.

The hospitals in West Beirut have the Red Cross markings on them. We visited hospitals with such markings painted on their roofs and walls. And there is no doubt whatsoever that the Israelis have seen the markings.

Israeli officials have also told us that they knew even if there were no Red Cross markings where the hospitals are situated exactly. And despite that the hospitals were bombed. Our conclusion is that they did not avoid bombardment of hospitals, as their duty requires. This is a serious crime, done intentionally.

There is a risk of epidemics in West Beirut of cholera and typhoid.

Water is scarce and nobody knows if it is not contaminated. But we have seen children who had no water for a long time drink it. It was dirty.

There is some social and economic life going on in West Beirut. It is our opinion that tremendous efforts are being made to have things running—particularly to assure food supplies for over 300,000 people. (Some say there are 900,000 people living in West Beirut). I think the PLO and the others are doing a tremendous job.

The situation is terrible and scandalous. It is intolerable and can never be defended at all. I think that the International Commission knows what kind of crime is being committed. But allow me to make the following remark.

The war started in June is a war of aggression. Israel has invaded Lebanon and in clear violation of international law. This aggression must be strongly condemned.

It is an aggression, not only against the Palestinians, but also against Lebanon.

We met different officials—the General Director of the Lebanese Foreign Ministry, Yasser Arafat, and leaders of the Lebanese National Movement. I must say that I never met Yasser Arafat before, but I understand after speaking with him that the Palestinian people have a very good leader and I understand also that he is a very good negotiator and he will make use of every possibility to do it in a just and honest way and to protect the population, and the PLO forces.

He told us that if these possibilities are really available he wants the solution in a short time. But he also said that the Israelis must realise that the Palestinians are not ready to leave the city on Israeli terms and would prefer to die in West Beirut than surrender.

It is clear that this war has a genocidal character. As a lawyer, I will study it deeply as soon as I return home.

It is the duty of all mankind to stand up in defence of the people in Lebanon and to stand up for a just solution—to work and fight for the recognition of the PLO and a quick solution to the Palestine problem so that the Palestinian people can return as soon as possible to their homeland.

Aspects of International Law Applicable To the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon

The Israeli government has attempted to justify the invasion of Lebanon by invoking the right of self-defense. The military operation, which was initially labelled "Peace for Gallilee", has been described as a peace enforcing action. The argument is not supported by the facts.

On June 4, 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 great civilian casualties. On June 5 Palestinian forces 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-defense 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 fulfillment 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 Hauge 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 warfare such as attacks which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilians, injury to civilian 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.

The Israeli attacks against hospitals and places of worship are manifestly illegal.

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 would result in such crimes.

Having started a war of aggression, the principal 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.

MEDICAL TEAM, Palestine

Steinar Berge, Liv Berit Bredby, Berit Fiksdal, Josephine Habbab, Marianne Moller, Oyvind Moller, Pirrko Paiivainen

"Some Palestinian Red Crescent Society workers, among them two ambulance drivers came back from the Israeli prison. They told us about the cruel treatment of the prisoners. They also had marks of beatings on their backs."

Diary of war-experiences by the Palestine front's medical team who were staying in Ain el Helweh and Saida during the Israeli invasion in June 1982.

Some of them were working in Hetteen before the invasion. Hetteen was a rehabilitation center for mentally and physically handicapped children and grownups in Ain el Helweh, and some were working in a health clinic in the same refugee camp. Hetteen center was established in August in cooperation between the Palestinefront and PRCS (Palestine Red Crescent Society).

During the invasion Ain el Helweh camp was completely destroyed, including the buildings of the center. The Palestine front has already declared that if the PRCS wishes, the center will be rebuilt, either in Ain el Helweh or in some other suitable place.

Friday, June 4

The whole group was in Beirut together with a Norwegian delegation when the Israeli bombed the capital. The attack lasted for 1½ hours. After that we went around the city to look at the damages, among other ruins, the football stadium, which was, according to the Israelies, a weapon depot. Nothing I saw had anything to do with military effects, say Oyvind, but I know that many political organisations had their offices there. They were also said to be a food store there. We also visited the Gaza-hospital, a

PRCS-hospital in Beirut. The hospital was not directly hit, but one of the floors was partly destroyed by the air pressure of explosions in the neighbourhood. One of the personnel was killed. During the time we stayed there a high number of badly wounded people were brought in, continually.

Saturday, June 5

The team went back to Ain el Helweh to prepare for emergency. In Saida and Ain el Helweh life was still normal. We went directly to Hetteen center. At 11 o'clock a.m. the bombing started. The airplanes raided mainly the areas around the camp. The raids stopped in the evening. The whole night the airplanes were flying over the camp, but they did not bomb.

Sunday, June 6

At 5:30 a.m. we wake up from the first bomb attack. Still it is the areas around the camp that are bombed the most, but steadily they were coming closer and closer. Some of the bombs hit the camp. Also some of the Israelian gunboats, which were situated on the coastline, were participating. In the evening the bombing stopped and we found it safest to evacuate from Hetteen centre. We went to El Hamshari hospital. This hospital were still under construction. It should be used as the PRCS's central hospital for the south of Lebanon later this year. When we came, it was in full use. We all start to work regularly in this hospital. We had the responsibility of 20 patients.

Monday, June 7

During the night they really started to bomb Ain el Helweh. The bombing went on day and night, almost without break. Somebody told us that the Israelis were just outside the camp. We stayed the whole time in El Hamshari, which is 1½ km from the camp.

Tuesday, June 8

The bombardment continued in the same way as yesterday. The raids came from the sea, from the air and from artillery on the land. During the day we evacuated all the patients to shelters in the cellar. Four badly wounded women were brought in from Saida. Beside other damages, they had burns, probably from phosphorous bombs.

Wednesday, June 9

At 4 o'clock p.m. the Israelis threw phamplets down, in which it was said that the whole area will be bombed within two hours. All civilians should leave the area. Bombardments were continuing almost without breaks, also during those two hours which should be used for the evacuation.

Steinar, a Palestinian doctor, a Belgium doctor, and a Lebanese civilian raised up white flags and went to the Israelian commander to ask if it was possible that the hospital would be spared during the bombardments. The commander said that he did not know where the hospital was situated. He had not either a clear map of the area he was going to bomb. He was informed where the hospital was and he promised to try not to hit it directly, but he could not give any guarantee.

There was an urgent need for doctors in the governmental hospital nearby. Steinar and other volunteers went there in the evening. "In the governmental hospital I was working together with a Canadian doctor," Steinar tells. "We were working on the stairs to the third floor. The hospital was full of seriously wounded patients and we worked continuously the whole night, while the Israelis were bombing around us. At 7 o'clock in the morning the first floor was bombed. It was panic. Suddenly the patients who desperately tried to escape from the first floor run up the stairs to the second floor. How many died there this night, I have no idea."

Thursday June 10

Both El Hamshari and the governmental hospital were evacuated. Our whole team gathered in Saida hospital. (PRCS central hospital for the South of Lebanon). The hospital had been evacuated while the battle of Saida was going on. Now the fighting was over. Saida was an occupied city and we prepared the hospital for normal functioning again.

"During this evacuation from El Hamshari we got to know the Israelis for the first time" Liv Berit is telling. "It was one of the worst experiences during the war. We came walking with those patients who were able to go by themselves. Some of them were carried by us. Israelian tanks were lined up on the road cross in Saida. The Israelian soldiers were sitting on the tanks and smoking cigars. It was a terrible experience to see those soldiers sitting in their tanks, and looking at us with a satirical smile when we came with our patients."

The hospital was partly destroyed after the shelling. The generator in the cellar which supplied the hospital with electricity was broken. The Israelis came and looked at it. They promised to repair it but they never came back. Water supply in the town was also cut off. During the first days we almost had no water. After some time we got some drinking water from the Israelis and also some via other connections.

During the day we got 60-70 patients to take care of. They were all seriously wounded. About 20 of them were in acute need for surgical help. 15 of the patients were children. Most of these cases were: Fractures, arms and legs which should be amputated, big burn wounds, bullet injuries, splint injuries, and so on. All we could do during the first time was to give the patients an infusion, antibiotics and analgesic to keep infections under

control and make the pain less while the patients were waiting to be operated.

Ain el Helweh was continuously bombed during the day.

"Together with a Palestinian doctor I visited one of the beaches where the civilians were kept" Liv Berit is telling. "We took with us some medicine to give it to the people there. When we came on the beach we were almost overrunned by people: We don't have medicine, our children are sick, they have diarrhea, we are also sick, we have fever—they told. We gave them the medicine we had with us. Many of those we saw were seriously wounded. Some of them were allowed to be taken by us to the hospital. The others should just stay there. The beach was barricaded and guarded by Israelian soldiers who prevented the people from getting out."

Friday, June 11

A Belgium doctor could manage to reach the governmental hospital and evacuate the rest of the patients.

In the afternoon a large number of Israelian soldiers came to the hospital. They ordered all personnel, about 70 persons to come outside, and stand in the front of the hospital. We stayed there for 3 hours while the Israelis were searching inside the hospital. No treatment was given to any of the patients during these hours. The only thing the Israelis allowed to do was asking a doctor to go inside the hospital and assist a woman who was delivered a birth at that time.

When the searching was over the Israelis arrested almost all of our male staff. Those left were one Palestinian and one Lebanese doctor, a Canadian surgeon, three nurses, and some of the female workers in the hospital.

And the 10 persons which the two foreign teams from Mie Mie and Ain el Helweh consist of.

Later on some of us walked down to the Israelian military governor, Arnon Mozer, planning to ask him to have our staff back. This man has been to the hospital and knew quite well the hard situation the patients were in.

In the meantime we could do nothing but covering our patients wounds by antibiotics.

Saturday, June 12

At 7 o'clock all men who still remained in the hospital got the order to come to the military headquarter for a check. A Palestinian doctor and Dr. Giannou were just making an operation and after some negotiations which took place in the operating room they got permission to stay. All other men went. Some of the Palestinians got arrested. All the Europeans were checked and most of them got a stamp in their passport except for Oyvind who got it on his arm.

On the way back Steinar and Oyvind complained about the medical situation and somebody told them to go to Col. Arnon Moser. They met him and after their complaints they agreed on a meeting for the next day, 10:00 o'clock.

Later that evening Dr. Giannou agreed with the authorities to come for his check the next day, together with the Palestinian doctor.

Sunday, June 13

At the time mentioned all the male staff went to the headquarters in order to have a meeting. They were waiting a very long time in the office of Arnon Moser and after that they were let into a meeting where all representatives from the different hospitals in the area were present. There was a list from all hospitals who were in function but Saida hospital was not mentioned. Dr. Giannou told about the needs of Saida hospital and all others did the same. After the meeting, Dr. Giannou and the Palestinian doctor had to go for their check. In order to find out what will happen they were followed by Steinar, Oyvind and Francis. All of them were arrested. They were taken to a temporary prison, set up in a schoolyard in Saida. There was not any doctor in the hospital from 10:00 p.m. till 18:00 p.m., the time Dr. Francis Capet was released and returned back to the hospital.

The same evening we received a message that a Scandinavian team would come the day after, we never saw them.

Monday, June 14

Some of us went to Col. Arnon in order to negotiate about our personnel and to get information about the latest arrested people. Here we were told that the hospital in fact was already closed the day before, and all patients should have been evacuated. When Arnon found out that this was not correct he decided on the spot, that the hospital should be closed immediately. All patients should be evacuated to private hospitals.

These hospitals were in some kind of function now and were getting supplies from the Israelis.

For ourselves: we were even not allowed to go to El Hamshari hospital, where the PRCS had a big store, filled up with medicine, hospital material etc, in order to supply our hospital in Saida with the missing equipment.

The Palestinian personnel who were still working in Saida hospital decided to leave because of the order from Col. Arnon. They believed that they also would be arrested if they were staying longer in the hospital. We also decided for ourselves, that we wanted to be evacuated if we were not allowed to work normally.

Then the evacuation of the patients started. The Lebanese Red Cross, who was responsible for the evacuation tried to get the hardest wounded patients to other hospitals. Some of our patients were refused. They were

so badly wounded that they could not do anything for them, we told, so they were brought back to us. Only one patient was evacuated during the whole day.

Tuesday, June 15

The evacuation of the patients continued. About 10 patients were evacuated during the day.

We got a visit from journalists. We told them about the desperate situation, and tried to send messages through them to our homes that we were still alive and that we wished to get out.

The same evening Steinar and Oyvind were removed from the schoolyard to a concentration camp south of Saida.

Wednesday, June 16

Some PRCS workers, among them two ambulance drivers came back from the prison. They told us about the cruel treatment of the prisoners. They also had marks of beatings on their back.

People who were in Ain el Helweh told us that the camp was completely destroyed. "There is nothing left, just ruins and dead bodies, a lot of dead bodies are lying all over" told a Palestinian girl who worked with us in Hetteen-center. "Israelian military vehicles were standing at the borders of the camp, but were not going inside" she told. Steinar and Oyvind were transferred this day to the Meggido prison in Israel.

Thursday, June 17

Three of us went to the headquarters of the Lebanese Red Cross to discuss what to do with the patients who were coming to the hospital because they could not afford the costs in a private hospital. We even were in lack of medicine, bandages and any kind of remedy to help them. Besides, we were not allowed to help them by the Israelis. In the office we met Madame Jumblatt, leader of the L.R.C. office. At the start she was not willing to let us in, and tried avoiding to talk to us. By the time the Israeli military doctor, who was in the office at the same time, left, she let us in and said: "We received orders not to cooperate with the "terrorist" teams from Ain el Helweh and Mie Mie. We regret it. We would like to work together with you, but the Israelis denies us. We suggest that you better not try to come here again. The consequence is that even we are stopped working."

Madame Jumblatt added that the L.R.C. are just allowed to do what the Israelis tell them to do.

We had daily contact with an I.C.R.C.—representative (The International Red Cross). He tells the same. The Israelis are halting their work. The ICRC—representative told that they had an agreement with the Israelis to visit captives two weeks after they have been caught. He, himself had tried to arrange many visits, but in vain. Charge d'Affaires Ola Dorum from the Norwegian Embassy in Beirut, is visiting us for the first time in Saida. He informs us of the results of the negotiations between the Embassy of Beirut, the Embassy in Tel Aviv, the Foreign Department in Oslo, and the Israelis in order to bring us out of Saida and Steinar and Oyvind out of captivity.

Marianne has several times asked for Steinar, Oyvind and the other captives by Arnon, but the only answer she got was: "Oyvind is our guest for some days, the others are none of your business."

In the afternoon a group of Israeli soldiers came to the hospital searching for a pilot shot down, and whose corpse they thought they would find here. Together with them they carried the PRCS's ambulance driver. He was tied up and wore a convict's uniform and was all the time guarded by the soldiers.

"It was obvious that he had been tortured," said Liv Berit. "He was limping and went with his back bent. I knew this man from before, he came and asked me to tell the Israelis that I knew him and that he was just an ambulance driver. I did so. And I tried to find out about what happened to him after he had been arrested. The answer I got was that it was not my business. They took him with them and left."

Friday, June 18

The evacuation of the patients was almost finished, and during this day the last one was taken out. Two Bangladesh-doctors came back from captivity together with a dentist from Iraq. An Israeli soldier tells Marianne that Oyvind is in Israel and that he himself had treated him. "He has got very good treatment," he said. In the afternoon the French nurse, Pascale, and a Palestinian girl went out to buy something to drink. The girl came back without Pascale. After a while another girl, who worked with us, came and told that she had seen Pascale in a bus, together with other captives . . . so she was also arrested.

Saturday, June 19

We were wakened by Israeli soldiers breaking up our door where we slept. They left after a while, but came back again later. They hang up a piece of paper on the entrance door which told that the hospital was closed, and the entrance was just allowed for the foreign team.

From that moment the hospital was our prison. We were not allowed to leave without permission from the Israeli, and if so, we could not go out more than two at the same time. We got 30 minutes to buy food etc. We could not sit on the veranda, we had to sit inside with closed doors.

Saturday at noon we were allowed to go to Ain el Helweh to pick up our belongings.

Except from some houses by the entrance, the camp was completely destroyed. There were some single walls here and there. There were no houses, roads, only ruins and a terrible smell of the dead bodies.

Hetteen centre was one of the few buildings that was not completely destroyed.

Josephine got an opportunity to go to her embassy in Tel Aviv, and she left Saida.

Sunday, June 20

Early in the morning it was told by loudspeakers that all men in town should go to the beach for a new checking. The two doctors from Bangladesh went there, just to do it, even though their papers had got a stamp to prove they were released earlier. They were arrested for the second time.

One of them was released again, and camè back to the hospital. In the same evening, Steinar and Oyvind were delivered to the Norwegian Embassy in Tel Aviv.

Monday, June 21

Charge d'Affaires Ola Dorum came to Saida and got finally a permission to evacuate us, who still were in the hospital. During the day we were taken to Israel and delivered to the Norwegian and Finnish Embassy in Tel Aviv.

NORWEGIAN DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

"The Israeli soldier drove his knee with full strength in the captives' groin, one after the other. When the captives fell onto the ground, then the soldier kicked the captives right in the face and in the stomach. The prisoners were then gathered in a heap, where they crouched with pain.

Enclosed report is made on the basis of the statement made by Dr. Steinar Berge and child-care worker Oyvind Moller in a meeting in the Norwegian Department of Foreign Affairs June 24, 1982, 04-07 a.m. Both were members of a Norwegian health-team of the Palestine Front of Norway in Saidon.

The team worked in accordance with an agreement between the Norwegian Palestine Front and the Palestine Red Crescent Society.

Present from the Department of Foreign Affairs:

1. Regional Adviser Hans Wilhelm Longva
2. Officiate chef du Bureau/Assistant Secretary Bjarne Lindstrom
3. First Consultant Lars A. Wensell
4. First Consultant Peter N. Raeder
5. Aspirant Steffen Kongstad

Following members of the Health-team of the Palestine Front were also present:

1. Marianne Moller
2. Liv Berit Bredby
3. Berit Fiksdal

The purpose of the meeting in the Dept. of Foreign Affairs June 24, 1982 was to collect a thorough account on the circumstances concerning the arrest of Bergeand Moller, June 13, 1982, the treatment of Berge and Moller while in Israeli captivity from June 13, until 20, the same month and Berge's and Moller's eyewitness-account of the treatment of co-prisoners during captivity.

The meeting took place on the initiative of the Dept. for Foreign Affairs. The meeting was taped, and this tape record has to a great extent been the basis for the compilation of the report. The report which is compiled by the Dept. of Foreign Affairs is read and approved by Dr. Berge and Childcare worker Moller. They have also signed the report and thereby confirmed that it gives a correct description of what they have experienced.

July 6, 1982

Department of Foreign Affairs
Hans Wilhem Longva

The translation from Norwegian to English is "unauthorized"—done by the Norwegian Palestine Front. Any complaint of inaccuracy of this English version is therefore the responsibility of the Palestine Front and not the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Report

1. The circumstances under which Dr. Steinar Berge and Childcare worker Oyvind Moller were arrested.

Berge and Moller were arrested at a "check-point" the Israelis had established on the street which leads down to the beach in Saida and where they had to come up for control. Those who passed the check-point got a stamp in their passports. As Berge and Moller conceived this, the

stamp signified that one was recognized by the Israelis, and that the stamp gave freedom of movement within a certain area.

Berge and Moller had presented themselves for control June 12, and had passed. Berge received the necessary stamps in his passport and Red Crescent identity card, while Moller got this stamp on his arm. The next morning Moller's stamp was transferred to his passport and Red Crescent identity card.

As Berge and Moller again, turned up again at this check-point, on June 13, it was to accompany a Canadian and a Palestinian doctor whom they had been prevented from meeting on June 12.

The reason why Berge and Moller accompanied the two doctors to control on June 13, was that they wanted to see if they would be arrested. The rest of the Palestinian personnel at the hospital were already arrested, including the anesthetical doctor—so if the surgeon, a Canadian, was also arrested, they would have to close the hospital. When both Berge and Moller passed the control and received the necessary stamps the day before, they felt that they were already recognised or approved of, and that they had the freedom of movement the stamp gave.

In connection with the control-check-point those who were controlled has to pass from one check-point to another on each side of the street. Between the two check-points there were three cars parked with informers with masks covering their faces—to point out who should be arrested. Berge and Moller do not know the identity of the informers. When they passed between these two check points together with the Canadian and the Palestinian doctors, Berge and Moller were arrested by personnel they identified as Israeli soldiers. Neither Berge nor Moller were given any opportunity to identify themselves nor explain themselves at the moment of arrest. According to Berge and Moller it was not necessarily clear for the personnel arresting them that they were arresting health workers.

After the arrest Berg and Moller were taken to a school where arrested persons gathered. Between one and five minutes after the arrival at the school, that is about 15 minutes after the arrest, Berge and Moller were given the opportunity to identify themselves.

They had shown their valid Norwegian passports with valid Lebanese entrance-visas, valid Lebanese identity-cards from which it was made clear that they had valid residence—and work permits for Lebanon—and identity-cards issued by the Palestine Red Crescent Society where it was made clear that they were civilian health-personnel. These identity-cards were white, clearly "labelled" with the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, and included a picture of the owner with the PRCS's stamp. Moller's identity-cards were taken from him during the imprisonment, while Berge still kept his which were shown during the meeting at the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In addition to the fact that they had identified themselves as health-personnel about 15 minutes after their arrest, both Berge and Moller are convinced that they were recognized the same afternoon at the place of internment by the highest ranking Israeli responsible in Saida, an officer named Arnon Mozer.

Already on June 12, Berge and Moller had met Colonel Arnon Mozer at the check-point. They had complained about the difficult conditions which had emerged at the hospital following the arrest of 90% of the male personnel on June 11, and were short in particular of an anesthetical doctor for the many operations which should have been undertaken immediately. Following the meeting with Col. Mozer on June 12 it was agreed upon a meeting with the same Mozer June 13, at 10 a.m. After having waited for two hours at Mozer's office, until 12 o'clock Berge and Moller took part in a meeting held for civilian health-personnel in Saida to discuss the further organisation of health-care in the town. The meeting was led by an Israeli doctor (psychiatrist as he introduced himself). The Red Crescent Hospital, just across the street, was not on the list of hospitals that were enlisted for this cooperation, subsequently Berge considered their turning up for that meeting a fault on the part of the Israelis. Berge and Moller came directly from this meeting when they were arrested. Already the same afternoon Mozer had seen Berge and Moller, now as prisoners. Berge and Moller do not doubt for a moment that Col. Mozer had recognized them, Although no conversation had taken place between Mozer and Berge or Moller. Mozer was standing about two meters from Moller and they looked at each other.

Neither Berge nor Moller were given any reason for their arrest or during their captivity from any responsible among the Israeli personnel. The furthest any responsible Israeli personnel had gone giving an explanation for the arrest in response to a question by Moller on the reason for the arrest: "We were interested to know who you are." On the other side, soldiers whom Berge and Moller reckoned as guards of the prisoners, had accused them of belonging to "Bader-Meinhof" and for being "murderers," for having "worked for murders" and for having "helped hiding PLO elements."

Marianne Moller, Oyvind Moller's wife, said that she on, her inquiry, had received information from Col. Arnon Mozer that the reason for the arrest of Oyvind Moller was that he "had helped PLO and terrorists to escape from the hospital." Arnon Mozer had not been willing to give Mrs. Moller information about Steinar Berge. Oyvind Moller said that during his imprisonment he had not heard any accusations of the character that Mozer had referred to in speaking to Mrs. Moller. Both Moller and Mrs. Moller stressed that this accusation could not be justified, and that it would be impossible to help anybody whom the Israelis were after to escape from the hospital, because of the strict Israeli control.

2. The treatment of Steinar Berge and Oyvind Moller in Israeli captvity.

Immediately after the arrest on June 13, Berge and Moller were taken to a schoolyard in Saida where they were kept for about 36 hours. On June 15, in the morning, they were taken to another collection-camp in Safar Citrus Corporation, 2-3 km south of Saida. The next day, June 16, they were taken to the Magido prison in Israel. On June 20, in the evening, they were released and handed over to the Norwegian Embassy in Tel Aviv.

Moller had shortly after the arrest got a Red Cross and some sort of a Crescent sign painted on the back of his shirt. Berge got a number of Hebrew letters in black at the back of his shirt. All prisoners were labelled in the same way. Berge and Moller did not know what these labels meant, and they could not tell if prisoners with different labels were differently treated.

After they reached the school on which they were interned while in Saida, they were first taken into a small schoolyard, and later into a bigger open ground near by. In the small schoolyard they had to sit on their knees with their hands tied up behind their backs. They could not remember if they had to sit with their heads bowed even at this place.

While they were still in the small schoolyard they could hear people scream—"scream in pain"—from the bigger ground near by. They did also hear sounds of shots from the bigger yard, but they could not tell whether they were fired just to scare or if people were actually shot.

Later they were taken into the bigger open ground themselves, where they were forced to sit on their knees, and with their heads bowed. Later their hands tied behind their backs the guards permitted them to "look up" without any reactions in particular. They had to sit like this for about 36 hours continuously without permission to move. During daytime they were sitting in the sun, and they were bothered very much by the heat. In the nights it had been rather cold.

Encircling the ground, there were seven armoured cars, personnel carriers, each equipped with a heavy machine-gun pointing at the prisoners.

Even if they, a couple of times were touched with batons and other objects they were not submitted to physical violence during imprisonment. But Israeli soldiers who were hitting co-prisoners, on several occasions, gave the impression of also wishing to hit Berge and Moller, but this did not happen. Subsequently they were submitted to threatening behaviour from the Israelis, but not physical molestation. Israeli soldiers had used abusive language.

Berge and Moller had the impression that while some soldiers wished to hit them, others had kept them back and prevented their being submitted to molestation physically. Concerning this, Marianne Moller could inform that she was visited by an Israeli soldier who told her that her husband had been taken to Israel two days before. The soldier concerned, said: "I saw to it that they got a proper treatment." He did not identify himself and had not been willing to tell further what was meant when saying "proper treatment." In addition to this information from Mrs. Moller, Oyvind Moller could tell that he had asked the one examining him to go and see his wife to tell her that he was taken to Israel—which the person leading the interrogation had promised.

Berge and Moller got food—water and bread—for the first time the evening after they were arrested. Later they received "special" treatment as far as food and water goes. They received food and water first, and they received more than the other prisoners.

Berge and Moller were treated correctly during the interrogation. During interrogation on June 14, in the evening, Berge was told to examine a corpse which laid outside. He had the impression that the purpose was to check if he was a doctor. Close to the body Berge had to examine there were five-six other corpses laying in a car (estate-type). The examining magistrate had told Berge and Moller that according to his view they could be released, this however, did not happen.

Berge and Moller were treated correctly in the collection camp in Safar. In the bus which took them to Israel, Berge and Moller were given preferential treatment. While the other prisoners had to sit in the back of the bus, with their hands tied behind their backs and blindfolded, Berge and Moller were sitting in front of the bus without any blindfolds and without being tied. In the Magido prison in Israel Berge and Moller had to lie for about 48 hours on what they describe as "the interrogation ground." They had all the time had handcuffs on and were blindfolded as well. However, they were even here given preferential treatment as they, contrary to other prisoners, were able to lie on one mattress each most of the time. They had also been permitted to sit upright on the mattress. In this period Berge and Moller could hear other prisoners on the ground being hit. On one occasion here, there were stones thrown at Berge and Moller. During the rest of their stay in the prison Berge and Moller were treated fairly well. When they moved around in the prison they were blindfolded and were either having handcuffs or footcuffs.

3. Berge's and Moller's eyewitness account of maltreatment of prisoners.

In accordance with both Berge and Moller—there was extensive use of violence against prisoners on the bigger open ground at the school in Saida. Berge and Moller estimate the number of prisoners on that ground between 500 and 600, and they estimate that roughly one half of these were submitted to physical violence—that is strikes or blows.

As weapons to strike: thick, solid, table-legs which were torn off were used. These were round or square. Further use was also made of long sticks, baton-like with some elasticity. These sticks were one meter high and were about two centimeters thick. Long still plastic tubes, like garden

hoses were also used for striking. Thick ropes, often with big knots at the end were also used. Moller on one occasion did see such a rope with a piece of metal attached to the end of it used while beating. On another occasion he saw a club or table leg with a nail in the end used for striking. The soldiers could use five, six or seven different plastic straps tied together, so the bundle of it formed a whip. The captives were steadily hit with clenched fists and rifle butts and kicked with military boots. There were shots fired in the air right above the heads of the captives.

Although the extent to which violence was used could vary, the use of violence went on for the whole day. There was the least use of violence in the morning. The extent of violence used increased throughout the day. During day-time, use of violence did not cease, but was put to an end in the evening as the captives went to sleep.

The pattern in use of violence was that small groups of prisoners in the outskirts of the ground were taken aside, and groups of two, three and up to four soldiers were beating the captives with the tools described above. The captives were most often hit in the stomach, the chest, on the shoulders and in the groin, depending on the captives sitting position. The extent to which violence was used against the individual captives could vary.

Another question stressed by Berge and Moller, was that the plastic-straps which were used for tying up the hands of the captives, were flat and with sharp edges so that these caused pain to the captives. Later during captivity Berge and Moller recognized a great number of captives with wounds caused by these straps. On a couple of occasions Berge and Moller had been witnessing that well-disposed Israeli soldiers had removed such plastic-straps with a knife for a captive who had complained because of pain. They had also seen cases where the straps had been tightened on captives who complained about the pain.

Berge and Moller conceived some of the cases of maltreatment they had eyewitnessed at the school in Saida as severe, and made a special account of these.

The first day he stayed in the schoolyard Moller had witnessed that a group of prisoners where taken in. He was not sure of the number, but they were at least more than five. They were back-tied and blind-folded. When they came into the yard they were placed in a row beside Moller. An Israeli soldier whom Moller describes as fat, and with a red armlet took position facing the captives. The Israeli soldier drove his knee with full strength in the captives' groin, one after the other. Then the captive subsequently bowed forward the soldier hit his neck with his hand and the captive fell onto the ground. Then the soldier kicked the captives right in the face and in the stomach. The prisoners were then gathered in a heap, where they crouched with pain. They were not unconscious.

In another case an old man, by Berge and Moller estimates around 60

years old—evidently in despair, got into upright position and tried to kick an Israeli soldier. Four, five soldier had then at once fallen upon the man who was back-tied—but not blindfolded. He was beaten to the ground, and then the four, five Israeli soldiers beat him continuously with wooden sticks and cudgels. Interchangly he was hit and kicked in all parts of the body with no exception: on top of the head, in back of the head, right in the face, in the stomach, on the shoulders and arms and groin. This lasted for quite a period of time. Moller would not try to estimate the duration of the treatment while Berge estimated it to have lasted for some 10 minutes. The man remained on the ground lifeless. In this condition the man's wrists were tied to his ankles, and in this condition he remained lying on the ground.

Neither Berge nor Moller had seen that the man was removed from the ground. Later while Moller was waiting to enter for interrogation he had seen the man lying right outside the window with three others. Moller saw this from the window in the interrogation office. The four bodies lay a maximum of six meters from Moller's position.

The second day Berge and Moller were at the Saida school, they had seen a medical doctor whom they knew from the Red Crescent Hospital where Dr. Berge had worked before the Israeli invasion. The doctor whose name was Dr. Nabil, is originally from the West Bank and was educated at the University of Barcelona. Dr. Nabil had been responsible for the preventive care at the Red Crescent clinic. When Berge and Moller recognized him on the schoolyard he had a rope around his neck and was towed around by Israeli soldiers as other soldiers were hitting him with sticks. The day after, Berge and Moller had seen him—at the collection-camp, south of Saida. He was then sitting staring bluntly in front of him. He had big wounds on his neck and big marks on his back.

At both ends of the school ground in Saida, there were poles with "basketball holders." There were also other poles which Berge and Moller conceived as either handball goals or swings. Captives were regularly tied to the poles and beaten. Often these captives were just left there, tied to the pole.

Berge and Moller also pointed out that many of the prisoners on the ground by the school in Saida did not get enough water. In particular the captives in the middle of the ground. As the soldiers came with water, these captives became "desperate," got on their feet and asked for water. The soldiers distributed then a little water to some of the captives and threw the rest of the water in their faces. Then they started to beat the captives as to make them sit down again, and kept beating them after they had sat down. Afterwards shots were fired above their heads.

This was repeated several times. At the collection-camp, south of Saida, Berge talked to a man in a condition of severe suffering. He claimed he did not get any water for three days.

Berge also pointed out that there were many captives with minor injuries at the Saida schoolyard who were in need of treatment, but didn't receive any.

It was the impression of Berge and Moller that maltreatment of captives which they had witnessed at the school ground in Saida, occurred at the initiative of soldiers and not on orders from officers. On the other had it was also their impression that the officers didn't care about what happened at the schoolyard. The officers were all the time present, obviously to consider the situation, but did nothing to intervene.

Berge and Moller hold that there were all together about 30-40 soldiers in turn guarding the ground at the Saida schoolyard. The group that were guarding at night were "nicer" than those during daytime, and there was no maltreatment of captives during the nights. Berge and Moller also stress that a minority of the soldiers kept passive, and didn't take part in the maltreatment of captives. These soldiers treated the captives as good as they could, regarding the circumstances, and they also gave the impression of keeping aloof from what happened.

A majority of the soldiers took part to a smaller or greater extent in the maltreatment. One of the soldiers who was specially bad, had told Berge and Moller that he had many friends in Oslo, and that he came from a kibbutz in Isreal where a katyusha-missile had killed an Austrian girl.

This soldier was among those who had taken part in the maltreatment of the old man whom Berge and Moller had the impression that he died as a consequence of the treatment (cfr. above).

He had curly hair and a string of mother-of-pearl around his neck. Both Berge and Moller hold that they would be able to recognize both this soldier and other soldiers who took part in the maltreatment of captives.

According to Berge and Moller there were less violence in the Safar collection-camp south of Saida than in the schoolyard in Saida. In the collection-camp south of Saida there were instances of violence against prisoners, but there was no systematic violence. In this camp the first two Israeli doctors turned up to give some of the prisoners medical treatment. The captives were still back-tied and had to sit calmly on the ground. In the collection-camp the soldiers performed with more proper cudgels or batons, and Berge and Moller had not seen any of the instruments used for beating at the Saida schoolyard there.

However Berge and Moller witnessed single instances of violence in the collection-camp as well, as mentioned earlier.

On another instance they had seen captives standing with their arms in the air, in upright position, to be beaten when they lowered their arms.

On another instance they saw a back-tied prisoner, blindfolded, put down to the ground and then hit with wooden cudgels in his stomach, in the groin and on the posterior. This lasted for about 3 or 4 minutes and the man was howling quite a while afterwards.

A third instance of maltreatment Berge and Moller had seen, was a captive being beaten for a long time, until one of the other Lebanese captives who knew him called attention to the fact that the person being beaten was a lunatic.

Concerning the bus transport from the collection-camp south of Saida to Israel, all the prisoners were being beaten with some bigger sticks before they entered the bus. This happened at all the bus-departures Berge and Moller had witnessed.

On board the bus that took Berge and Moller to Israel all the captives, apart from Berge and Moller and the Canadian surgeon Chris Giannou, were back-tied and blindfolded. Berge, Moller and Giannou were sitting in front without being tied and without blindfolds. Apart from the driver there were two soldiers in the bus. Both had submachine guns and clubs. The bus had one car in front and one behind, escorting. The soldiers at the bus did hit the captives on the head and on the body regularly. On a couple of occasions one soldier also used an umbrella to beat them. En-route, the bus stopped at places that Berge and Moller figured out were kibbutzims. On a couple of occasions soldiers and persons dressed in civilian clothes came on board the bus on such stops to "look at the prisoners." People coming on board the bus in this way also, on a couple of occasions, hit the captives.

On arrival at the Magido prison in Israel both Berge and Moller were blindfolded. Before being blindfolded Berge was able to see 7 or 8 soldiers with clubs. Berge and Moller did not leave the bus at the same place as the other prisoners. When the remaining prisoners left the bus, Berge and Moller who then were blindfolded, heard that they were beaten, that is, heard the strokes and the howling when they were beaten and the moaning afterwards. The captives then went alongside the bus, outside it, not more than one meter away.

During interrogation at the Magido prison where Berge and Moller were kept for 48 hours, they heard that morning several voices shouting to a captive, and they heard that the captive was beaten. During the interrogation in the Magidor prison both Berge and Moller saw clubs in the interrogation room. Moller heard clearly strokes and screams of pain from the neighbouring room during the second examination.

Also on another occasion they heard that a person was being beaten. Another morning they heard an inflow of the same. On these occasion. Berge and Moller were blindfolded.

4. Other Questions

On being asked about the effect of the use of violence on the prisoners or captives, Berge and Moller answered that all the captives seemed exposed. They had seen captives bleeding after having been hit in their faces, and they had seen captives with cuts (lesions) in their faces. Several

of the captives they had met in the prison could show blue marks. Most of the captives wore shirts and long trousers, and eventual marks from violence on their bodies were not visible. One exception was Dr. Nabil. His injuries are described above.

Berge, in his capacity as a medical doctor could not say for certain what was the cause of death of the person he had seen during imprisonment. He considered it most likely to be a combination of blows and varying degrees of heat-ahok and dehydration. Some could also be dead as a consequence of injuries brought upon them before captivity, and for which they had received no medical treatment.

On the question about possible sources of errors in their account, Berge and Moller answered that it could be that they had not registered what happened around them well enough, and that their account therefore is incomplete and lacks details. In particular this concerns the injuries caused by use of violence. On the other hand, both Berge and Moller are convinced that the account they have given is a correct representation of the factual course of events.

Neither Berge nor Moller made any mention of the use of violence which they had witnessed during captivity in front of Israeli officers. As reason for this they state that they were afraid of what consequences that could have had for themselves if they mentioned the use of violence. They feared that the conclusion on the part of the Israelis could have been that they had seen too much.

Berge and Moller did mention the use of violence for the first time to the Norwegian Ambassador in Tel Aviv, immediately after their release on June 20. During their stay in the Norwegian Embassy in Tel Aviv from the evening of June 20 until the morning of June 21, Berge and Moller also mentioned the use of violence to the President of the Norwegian Red Cross, Mr. Bjorn Egge.

Steinar Berge
Oyvind Moller, Marianne Helle Moller

OYVIND MOLLER, Social Worker, Norway

"After they finished beating him, they tied his hands and then tied them to his ankles. They left him in the sun . . . later on when they were going to interrogate me, I saw him in the corner of this court yard. I am not a physician, but for me he seemed to be dead. He lay together with three other prisoners and they also seemed to be dead."

I am Norwegian and I worked in Ain El-Helweh refugee camp for 9½ months. I also lived in the same camp. I worked in a rehabilitation centre for handicapped children. I worked for the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS). This project was supported economically by the Norwegian Refugee Council, a Norwegian government institution, the Norwegian People's Relief Association, some Norwegian trade unions and some organisations in Finland.

I want also to mention that the population of Ain El-Helweh, numbered around 80,000.

After Lebanon and in Lebanon I was called a terrorist. I have never been called a terrorist before. But it seems that when you see something, then immediately you get the label and in my case I was called a terrorist maybe because I saw the bombing of Beirut. I have seen the bombing of Sidon and the surrounding areas. I have seen the bombing of Ain El-Helweh, the refugee camp is completely flat. I have seen the bombing of civilian houses. I have been witness to the Israeli refusal to help us with water, medical supplies and electricity to continue the functioning of the hospital where we worked.

Just to mention an episode: one evening a Belgian doctor and myself tried to go out and steal a car battery to generate badly-needed electricity for operations at night. We found a damaged car and while trying to take the battery an Israeli officer came to us and said that stealing Lebanese property was not allowed. We explained the situation and why we needed the car battery. After some discussion he allowed us to steal.

I have been witness to the Israeli arrest of 90 percent of the male health personnel in the Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital in Sidon while 70 patients lay in the hospital. I have seen prisoners beaten, some of them to death. I have seen the Israelis drop leaflets in Sidon area telling us to leave or everybody will be killed. But they immediately bombed the area around us. We had no difficulty making a decision because we had no choice but to stay where we were. When I returned to Norway they accused us of

having a weapon depot at the PRCS Hospital in Sidon, but in fact there was no such depot.

When we surrendered to the Israeli, the military governor, Colonel A. Mozer said they have come with peace. His words were followed by bombing Ain El-Helweh, Sidon and the surrounding areas, killing many people. Some peace indeed!

In the hospital in Sidon, we had some patients which also were patients in our rehabilitation centre. We had something we called Social Understimulating Group for children. In this group we had three children. The oldest one, was 9-years-old; he lost one leg; his sister lost both legs, a third brother was burned; a fourth brother was killed; the father was also killed, and the mother and a little baby were saved. Their house was completely destroyed. You can imagine their situation now.

A girl who was in the mentally handicapped group in the centre, was killed together with 15 of her family members. Only one person of her family, her sister, survived.

I would like to present to the Commission a report which I have presented to the Foreign Ministry in Norway. The initiative for compiling this report was taken by the Foreign Ministry itself. I would like the Commission to treat it as part of the evidence.

I was arrested by the Israelis together with Dr. Steinar Berge from Norway and the Canadian surgeon Dr. Chris Giannou on Sunday, June 13. The day before we were arrested, Steiner and me went down to the beach and got a stamp on our arms from the Israeli army to allow us to move. They said we were free and could move inside a designated area in Sidon. Dr. Giannou, the Canadian surgeon, and a Palestinian physician did not have the possibility to go down to the beach for clearance the same day because they were in the middle of an operation. So Sunday, June 13, Steiner and me decided to go together with them and see what was going to happen because, as I mentioned before, the Israelis arrested 90 percent of the male health personnel at the hospital—Palestinian Red Crescent personnel. When we came down to the beach on Sunday, there were two check points and we had to pass from one to the other. Between these two check points there were three cars with one Israeli soldier or officer in each of them and one collaborator. When we came down we were all immediately taken and arrested. After that they lined us up and took us to a school in Sidon. The school was just 150 metres away from the Palestinian Red Crescent Hospital. It had two court yards, one small and one bigger. The ground of both is of asphalt. First they took us to the small court yard where the soldiers ordered us to sit down. When I was sitting I heard shooting, I heard people screaming with pain, and I heard soldiers or officers giving orders in the bigger court yard behind. They tied me up and they took me into the big court yard where there were about 5 or 6 hundred prisoners, mainly Palestinians and Lebanese, but also Syrians,

Egyptians, physicians from Bangladesh—there were old and young people, Palestinian Red Crescent Society personnel and physically and mentally handicapped people. Around the prisoners were 7 armed personnel carriers, each with a machine gun pointed at the prisoners. Around the prisoners there were from 30 to 50 soldiers armed with thick solid table legs—round or square in shape, one-metre long elastic sticks, probably two centimetres thick, plastic tubes, garden hoses, thick ropes with knots at the end. (I saw one rope with a metal piece at the end. I also saw a thick rope with a nail at the end.)

They also carried plastic straps, used to tie up prisoners. Five, six or seven of these were used as whips to hit prisoners.

To mention the cases I can remember. I am not sure if it was the first or the second day of my being kept at this court yard in Sidon, five prisoners were taken—all of them had their hands tied behind and were blindfolded. They were brought and lined-up about 3 metres away from me. They were accompanied by a well-built guard, a soldier. The guard drove his knee with full strength in the groin of the first prisoner, then he hit him with his hand on the neck. The prisoner fell down to the ground. Then he kicked him with his boots in the stomach and then he pushed him into the group of the other prisoners. He did the same, with small variations, to all of the other five prisoners.

Another case, an old man, I guess about 60 years. He was more or less desperate. I don't know was it because of the whole situation, the lack of water, the hot weather, or what. He tried to kick with his boots an Israeli soldier. Immediately four or five soldiers surrounded him and started to beat him—with some of these weapons that I mentioned—on the head, the stomach, all over the body and they also kicked him with their boots. I guess this went on for 10 minutes, I am not sure. When you see such things it seems to you that it is going on for a long time. After they finished beating him, they tied his hands and then tied them to his ankles. They left him in the sun and I do not remember for how long he lay there. But later on when they were going to interrogate me, I saw him in the corner of this court yard. I am not a physician, but for me he seemed to be dead. He lay together with three other prisoners and they also seemed to be dead—at least from the way they were piled. I also want to mention that the whole court yard was exposed to the sun from early morning to late in the evening.

Another case is that of Dr. Nabil, who worked for the Palestinian Red Crescent and also had his private practice n Ain El-Helweh. He was also taken by the Israelis and I saw him at the court yard. I heard that he was badly beaten. I saw that he had a rope around his neck and they dragged him around just like a dog. He was very badly treated. He was very tired. At that moment I saw him very weak. This month I got a letter from Dr. Francis, a Belgian physician who was with us in which he says that he

heard from a Palestinian in Brussels that Dr. Nabil died in an Israeli prison.

Another case. A soldier knocked a person who lay about 5 to 6 metres away from me with his fist several times whenever his head fell on the asphalt. The Norwegian physician Steiner Berge saw six corpses in an ambulance in the same court yard. I saw the ambulance and some bodies in it, but how many I do not know. Dr. Berge, says they were six.

The prisoners were beaten if they asked for water or talked together. If the soldiers ordered them to sit closer and they started to move they were also beaten. The prisoners were in many cases beaten if they asked to go to toilets.

Before I was transferred to the big court yard, I heard that the prisoners were not allowed to go to the toilet. I did not experience that, but I saw that they had a lot of excrement and urine in their trousers. They were very dirty. Also the prisoners were beaten if they fell asleep or if they were tired or weak and lay down on the ground. During the day the soldiers fired many times over the heads of the prisoners. I would like also to mention a case when the soldiers were giving some water to a group of prisoners in the middle of the court yard. For me it seemed that these prisoners have been without water for a very long time. They were desperate and begged, they raised themselves a little and started to beg the soldiers. The soldiers came with the water, gave a little to some and threw the rest in the prisoners' faces and then started to beat them.

I would like to mention that there were some good soldiers in this court yard, but they were a minority. The majority of the soldiers were violent. All the officers I saw in the court yard knew what was happening and saw it with their own eyes but as far as I could see they did nothing to stop it. And I want specially to mention Colonel A. Mozer, I remember the name. He was also in this court yard, he stood two metres away from me and saw what was happening. On the morning of June 15—it was a Tuesday—I was taken to Safar, a collection camp nearly 3 kms south of Sidon. We came there in the morning and there were already about two thousand prisoners. This was also an open place but there were straw mats and the violence was less. However some of the prisoners were forced to stand in the sun with their arms raised above their heads and when they got tired and dropped them they were beaten.

I saw in this camp a young boy blind-folded and with hands tied up being beaten.

Also here the Israelis lined up the prisoners to give them water and beat them up with sticks.

In the evening they collected a group of prisoners to be transported by bus to Israel. Each prisoner was blind-folded had his hands tied very hard behind his back and was kicked as he boarded the bus.

The same evening Dr. Chris Giannou, Steiner Berge, and myself were taken also to Israel. Our hands were not tied and we were not blind-folded. All the other prisoners were tied up and blind-folded. The guards beat them several times on the way to Israel.

As for ourselves, they knew our identities as we told them who we were 15 minutes after our arrest in Sidon. We showed them our Red Crescent identity cards, our Lebanese visas, and our passports. We were not beaten. Our hands were tied at the court yard in Sidon and in Safar. I was accused by soldiers of being a member of Baader Meinhof and of being a terrorist. I was also accused by soldiers of being a killer and a murderer because I worked with handicapped Palestinian children in a rehabilitation centre in Ain El-Helweh. The children were considered potential killers and as a result I was also a killer and a terrorist.

The officers never accused us of anything. When we asked why we were arrested they said that they only wanted to know who we were. We were taken to Magido prison in Israel. There we were blind-folded and handcuffed for 48 hours. During my second interrogation in Israel I heard people being beaten in the adjacent room. I heard screaming and officers or soldiers shouting. I was released unconditionally on June 20 in Tel Aviv. I also got a paper from the Norwegian Embassy in Washington, D.C., stating that I am not a terrorist because while I was in Washington the Israeli Embassy there accused me of being a terrorist. I have the paper with me here.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
Shafiq Ul-Islam, Marianne Moller and Oyvind Moller

Question: You said they dropped leaflets on the 10th of June. Was there any kind of warning before that date?

Oyvind: I think Marianne can tell us about any warning before this date, but that was the first warning I recognized concerning this thing. It was Monday when they dropped these leaflets and I did not hear about any kind of loudspeaker or something like that. That was the first and the only one I heard or saw. I suppose it was Monday the 7th of June.

Marianne: I saw a leaflet in the camp Ain el Helweh the 5th or the 6th of June. I'm not sure about the date, because one of the translators—Amman—came shouting "listen!". And it said that Palestinian women and children have to move because there are some terrorists somewhere

around. But it was not written where they had to go, and when. And as for the men and the boys—nothing.

Shafiq: About the leaflets that you were asking about, myself I got one on the evening on Monday the 7th. And also we tuned to the BBC, and from the BBC we got the information that they had asked the civilians to surrender. But it was very vague where to go, what to do and what to do at this exact time. There was also bombardment, so what to do? Everyone was in a bizarre condition. So it did not work that well, or it did not work systematically, until it was announced the 9th through the loudspeaker to go to the beach lifting a white flag, then we got a definite line of direction. So we went, lifting a white flag, on the fourth day, the 9th.

Marianne: May I just add a few words on the situation for us when we had to go from the hospital under construction, and down to the Red Cross Saida. We were doubting, confused and frustrated, because a nurse came and told us that "you have to leave, if not, they will bomb the whole area." We went out. We tried to urge all the civilian people in the shelter to go with us. We used a white flag, and at the same moment when we tried to go out, they bombed around us. And some people went back, we had to shout to them and said "Come on, try to go!". And we were running. And there was shooting and there were bombings somewhere around us. So it was very frustrating and of course we were scared.

***Question:* But were there bombings and shelling before there came any warning?**

Marianne: Yes!

Question: In which language were the warnings when they came?

Marianne: In Arabic.

Question: You mentioned many hospitals and clinics. And there seem to be certain differences between them, so the Israelis shut down some but not others. What is the difference between the hospitals and clinics in the south of Lebanon?

Shafiq: The main target of the Israeli anger was the PRCS hospitals. They said that they are an integrated part of the PLO, so they are to be closed down. And other clinics and hospitals that we discussed during the session are purely private hospitals, like the Ghassan Hammoud Hospital, Shaab Hospital, Dalal Hospital and Nadim Hospital and the Hospital of South Lebanon, known as Yennoy Hospital. These hospitals belong to private enterprises and they remain open. The Hamshiri Hospital, which belongs to the PRCS was closed down. The Emergency Hospital of Saida was closed down and so was the clinic of the PRCS. These three were closed down, which belong entirely to the PRCS—the Palestinian Red Crescent Society.

Question: Did the Israelis arrest other medical personnel, or did they arrest only those people working with the PRCS hospitals and clinics?

Shafiq: Well, the bulk of the doctors that were arrested worked with the PRCS. And the doctors who were a little sympathetic to the Palestinians, I think two or three of those doctors were also with us in the prison.

Question: Did you say that the Israelis did not allow you to work in other hospitals?

Shafiq: No. In fact we did not try to go to any other hospital, because we have our hospital, we had to work in our hospital. So the question of going to some other hospital and working there, that question did not arise at that time. Most of the doctors were arrested by the 12th, so the question of working at other hospitals did not arise.

Question: Were medical supplies sufficient?

Safiq: Well, at our hospital we tried to supply electricity by opening a dynamo. It worked for a while, but again it stopped. So we had to change our operation theatre to our emergency room, where we had sufficient light to perform an operation. The medical supplies were not sufficient to meet a big demand after the war.

Question: Did the Commander Arnon Mozer ever give some reason why he had to close the hospitals?

Marianne: We asked the Lebanese Red Cross leader, Madame Jumblatt, if we could work, and then the Israelis and their commander Arnon Mozer told us that she was not allowed to cooperate with us. We were not allowed to work even if they want us to, because we were a terrorist team. That was the only reason they gave us for closing the hospital.

Question: Have you made any protest through foreign offices or your embassies or through any institution in the UN on your treatment and the treatment of your patients and your hospitals?

Oyvind: We have written a report to the Foreign Office in Norway about the conditions in prison and we have also informed the Foreign Office about our experiences during the two first weeks of the invasion. And they have delivered these reports further on, I suppose, but to what kind of institutions I am not sure.

Marianne: We have also made a list of people who were arrested in Saida Hospital and the first people I gave the list to was the International Red Cross, who visited us in Saida before I left. And then we have also published this list everywhere, so a lot of people know of it and can ask about them. It is written in English and in Arabic.

Question: Have your governments made any protest to Israel?

Oyvind: As far as I know, they have made a protest in the way that they have given the Israeli embassy in Oslo our report, and that they have told them about our experiences, and about the treatment of us during the time we were in prison. I think that is all.

Question: I want to ask you whether the Palestinian Red Crescent during these days got any support from the ICRC (International Red Cross Society). Did the ICRC try to intervene in your favour to stop the

evacuation of the Red Crescent personnel?

Oyvind: As far as I know there was a meeting in Colonel Arnon Mozer's office in Saida and present at this meeting was also a representative from the ICRC. I am not sure about the result of this meeting, but Dr. Steinar Berge participated, and as far as I know, this man was only interested to get his own team into the area. And when we told him that the Israelis had arrested the PRCS health personnel, my opinion and impression was that he was not that much interested.

Shafiq: I would like to tell you something about the ICRC and the Lebanese Red Cross. In the city of Tyre, the head of Tyre Hospital, which belongs to the PRCS, had a discussion with the man responsible for the Rest House (a centre of the ICRC), which is situated on the sea beach of Tyre, whether he could take his patients to that Rest House, open up a hospital and make a shelter there. He was allowed. But when the PRCS director of the health services of southern Lebanon, Mr. Abu Faddel contacted the Red Cross people in Saida, they flatly refused: "Well, we can't do anything this hour." So we were refused in Saida, but the ICRC gave a positive answer in the port town of Tyre. And one thing I forgot to tell you: another hospital that was closed down, just opposite our hospital, —Shaab Hospital—was converted into the military governor's office for Saida region.

Marianne: I want to tell you another thing about how the ICRC worked. The international representatives were not allowed to speak with us at all, but he said "It is impossible, I have to speak to you!". So then sometimes he just saw us for half a minute, just to be sure that we were OK. And at the time I worked during the occupation, to the 21st of June, I didn't get the possibility to see any personnel at all. And it was very hard for them to work, they were just controlled by the Israelis. And I know very well there were some people in the mountains, I think there was a Finnish team working in the mountains, and according to this International Red Cross man, that is stupid, because there are so few people there. He tried to tell the Israelis that the people needed a Scandinavian medical team in Saida, but they didn't listen at all. So it was a very hard job for them to do, I think they tried to do a good job, but they could not succeed.

Question: You said that some hospitals were looted. Who looted the hospitals? The Israelis, or the Phalangists of the Haddadists? Are you sure?

Shafiq: I reached the city of Saida on the 26th of October, and I asked some of the shopkeepers to whom I was known. I asked: Who were the people that had taken all the machinery, all the apparatuses and other things from the hospitals? I got a confused report. One group said that Israeli soldiers had taken all the things from the hospital and another group said it was the soldiers from the Phalangist army or from the side of Major Saad Haddad who took away all the things from the hospitals.

Question: You mentioned that the camp of Mieh Mieh was bombed as well.

Shafiq: Mieh Mieh was heavily bombarded, as well as Maddushi.

Question: Did the bombardment of the Mieh Mieh take place in the same manner as the bombardment of Ain el Helweh?

Shafiq: No, no! Ain Helweh was the chief focus of all the bombardment. And when people came in contact with some of the officers, they were told that "Ain el Helweh is the snake hole. We need to just cultivate potatoes on this ground." So, you understand how the bombardment was there. The intensity was much greater in Ain el Helweh than in Mieh Mieh.

Marianne: An aid nurse, Madeleine, went to Mieh Mieh many times. It was bombed around the camp, but not in the middle. It was not completely destroyed at the time when she was there, on the 25th or 26th of June. She went many times up and down to Mieh Mieh and spoke with people.

Mieh Mieh was a small Christian refugee camp outside Saida. Ain el Helweh, also outside of Saida, was the largest Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon.

SINANE BARRAGE, Lawyer, Lebanon

"For seventy days Beirut and its population were subjected to a military siege and to a blockade of food and medical supplies, and were deprived of necessities of every sort, including water and electricity."

The war of aggression waged by Israel in Lebanon since 4 June 1982 has been the longest and most barbarous in all its history. Its distinctive features have been:

1. The invasion of Lebanese territory.
2. The violation of the sovereignity of an independent state, one of the founder members of the UN.
3. The destruction and occupation of hundreds of Lebanese towns and villages and Palestinian refugee camps.
4. A barbarous blockade of the capital, Beirut.

5. Systematic and wholesale destruction of Beirut.
6. The looting of Beirut.
7. The organizing of group massacres of the Palestinian and Lebanese civilian populations, the most recent of which was the one occurring at Sabra and Shatila.
8. The recent creation of concentration camps, and the deporting of populations.

The war criminals Begin and Sharon had brazenly and arrogantly declared that the aims they had set themselves in fighting the war were the liquidation of the PLO, the imposing of a final solution to the Palestinian problem, the institution of a new political order in Lebanon and the laying of an obligation on that independent state to sign a peace treaty with Israel.

At the same time the war represents the fulfilment of the plans of the United States in the area, the object of which is to bring about the forcible acceptance of an Israeli-American peace which will sacrifice the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the Arab people's right to independence and progress.

All of this forms an integral part of the United States' policy of international adventurism, which is a policy of confrontation, interference in the internal affairs of the Third World countries, and local wars capable of jeopardizing world peace.

Throughout this present war the United States has played the part of full accomplice in the enterprise. This has been clearly shown by the U.S. attitude on the international bodies, particularly the Security Council, where the U.S. has vetoed all resolutions capable of stopping the holocaust and condemning the aggression, and also by the action taken by the famous "special envoy" Philip Habib which, parading as "mediation," has enabled the aggressor to achieve his ends.

But the complicity of the United States goes further back than that. As long ago as the end of November 1981, the signing of a strategic cooperation treaty between the United States and Israel constituted the form in which the Reagan administration gave Israel the green light enabling it to go ahead with its aggression. And if we wish to take our analysis further we can go so far as to say that the war would not have been possible, either, without the collusion of reactionary Arab regimes, and without the inequality in the balance of forces which showed itself on the regional level after the Camp David Accords had been forced on the Egyptian people.

The vivid accounts of personal experience we have been able to listen to here make it superfluous for me to give a detailed list of all the atrocities of this war. I would merely add that Israel engaged in it practically the whole of its formidable war machine—120,000 officers and soldiers and most of its air force and navy. In one single 17-hour day, 12 August 1982, 180,000 shells spread devastation in the districts of West Beirut and its southern outskirts. For 70 days Beirut and its population were subjected to a military siege and to a blockade of food and medical supplies, and were deprived of necessities of every sort, including water and electricity.

According to UNICEF statistics, between 4 June and 15 August the casualties in West Beirut and its southern suburbs were as follows: 29,506 dead and wounded, of whom 11,840 were children, 2,409 old people over 60, 5,469 adults under 60, and 1,100 combatants.

Begin had stated that he was prepared to kill or injure 20 civilians in order to kill or injure one single combatant. But you will observe that Begin surpassed himself by killing thirty civilians for one combatant.

What is the situation today?

It is obvious, on the one hand, that peace in the region is possible only on the basis of recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and recognition of the PLO as the one legitimate representative body of that people; this has been clearly demonstrated by the recent war. But at the same time nearly half of all Lebanese territory remains under Israeli occupation. The local occupation authorities are continuing to flout our country's sovereignty, to conduct merciless repression against Lebanese patriots, and to stir up and aggravate dissension between the different Lebanese communities, their aim being to put an end once and for all to the unity of our country and to have it partitioned. The determination to take over South Lebanon is clear from the aggressor's insistence on special security arrangements in that part of the country.

Eminent speakers who have preceded me have emphasized that all this scheming follows the same line as the expansionist ambitions of Zionism which date from even before the creation of the state of Israel. The Lebanese fascist forces, whether Falangist or part of the Lebanese army, are at present engaged in large-scale repression against the Lebanese patriots which is their form of vengeance on those who shed their own blood to defend their honour as patriots of Lebanon. The end of democratic freedoms means the end of Lebanon. The danger that the civil war may start again is still there. The Lebanese National Movement has launched an appeal for national reconciliation and the formation of a government of national unity which would take steps to secure the departure of the Israeli troops, resist American and Israeli pressure, and be able to extend its legal authority as the one valid authority over the whole of Lebanese territory, while at the same time providing for the safeguarding of Lebanese pluralist and democratic traditions and initiating reforms in the country's political and civic structures on the basis of the abolition of denominationalism in politics, in preparation for the establishment of a non-denominational state.

It remains for me to point out to you that the combing or encircling of

districts in West Beirut or its southern suburbs by the Lebanese army for the purpose of making arrests is a totally arbitrary procedure carried out in the absence of any state of emergency, with no warrant from the courts and no specific charges. We see all this as involving a danger that there may develop a parallel system of government which might be the prelude to a military dictatorship.

We are appealing to your vigilance and solidarity in the cause of the safeguarding of the unity of Lebanon, its independence and its territorial integrity and the safeguarding of democratic freedoms; for the immediate and unconditional ending of the Israeli occupation under Resolutions 508 and 509 of the Security Council and Resolution 521 on the protection of the Palestinian and Lebanese civilian populations, and for the release of all the Palestinians and Lebanese held prisoner, whether by the occupation authorities, the right-wing militias or the Lebanese army.

It is true that what is at stake is the future both of our country and of the Palestinian people; but what are also at stake, permit me to say, are the international political order in force today and the credibility and authority of the decisions of the UN.

In the name of the principles of the UN Charter, in the name of the principles on which are based the legal norms governing international relations, which are the fruit of the many sacrifices accepted by the whole of humanity during the Second World War, we appeal to all men of good will who are attached to justice to take such action as their means and the forces at their disposal permit to bring this intolerable state of things to an end, to end the aggression and occupation, and to preserve Lebanon and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

MARTIN BIRNSTINGL, STEVEN ROSE, and PAMELA ZINKIN, Doctors and Scientists, England

"Arbitrary arrest of civilians by the Israeli soldiers continued throughout our visit and we heard many accounts."

Summary and Conclusions

The Israeli invasion of South Lebanon has resulted in destruction and loss of life on a scale reminiscent of the bombed cities of the Second World War.

The highly organized Palestinian infrastructure in health and education has been systematically destroyed.

Health workers, nurses, doctors and teachers have been detained by the Israelis without trial, prisoner-of-war status or legal representation. They include UNRWA and PRCS staff, and some foreign staff.

The Palestinians' own hospitals, which previously cared for many poor Lebanese, have been closed or looted and the Israelis have so far frustrated any meaningful attempt at rehabilitation of the refugees' health care infrastructure.

The relief agencies, particularly UNRWA and MECC, with important help from Oxfam, Christian Aid and other organizations, have provided stop-gap aid for the refugees. But relief workers tend to lack experience of local conditions, come from a different cultural background and stay for short periods. Therefore one immediate need is for permanent health workers from the refugee population itself, knowing their problems at first hand and speaking the language.

The basic public health needs are water, sanitation and shelter. The psychological trauma to the people living in the camps in the aftermath of the bombing and massacres, and still subject to arbitary arrest, can only be alleviated by some clear assurance of their future prospects and security. Lone mothers with young children need the support of a community-based health care system, including home health visiting, nutrition survey and surveillance and adequate social support. Clinics established within the camps need to have ready access to staffed and equipped hospitals relevant to their needs. The use of private clinics and hospitals, traditionally based upon a fee-for-service payment, and with their varying clinical standards, cannot be justified on economic or medical grounds. Few Palestinians can afford private fees and UNRWA should not be expected to pay for hospital care. It goes without saying that any sick refugee must be able to obtain emergency treatment by day or by night;

ambulances should be available; and provisions for after-care and rehabilitation is essential.

At present the Israelis try to provide some specialist medical care, using the high technology approach of flying a few patients to hospitals inside Israel. But whilst doing this the Israelis seem to neglect the overall health needs of the refugees and they provide few primary care or preventive facilities.

The basic aim of disaster relief should be to help the victims to help themselves. In health care this can be achieved by ensuring the early release from Israeli detention of the imprisoned health workers; by re-activating the health infrastructure; and by recommissioning hospitals near the camps, at present damaged or closed. This would at once provide the international aid agencies with an effective delivery system and it would restore a health service able to meet the particular needs of the refugees, still conspiciously lacking after more than 4 months.

Itinerary

We were asked to visit the Lebanon, under the auspices of the organization *Peace in Lebanon and Israel,* as a group of Anglo-Jewish doctors and biomedical scientists, with the particular brief of visiting the Palestinian refugee camps, especially those in S. Lebanon, and reporting on the health conditions of those still living in the camps in the aftermath of the bombings, internments and subsequent arrests by Israeli and Lebanese authorities, the departure of the PLO Commandos from Beirut and other dispersal of the inhabitants following the campaign of terror waged against them by the Falange, Haddad militia and their allies. Other visiting 'teams' from aid agencies and so forth had spent much time talking with the international relief workers and aid administrators. Whilst we certainly wished to talk with them as well, our main purpose was to spend as much time as possible talking directly with the Palestinian people of the camps themselves—the 'objects' both of the fighting and of the subsequent aid effort. We wanted to learn first-hand of their own experiences and perceptions of current problems. Our visit was partially financed by PILI and partially by ourselves; we understand the PILI contribution came from donations in response to an advertisement setting out the goals of the organization placed in The Guardian earlier in the summer.

We arrived in Beirut on Friday October 15th, via Frankfurt, and stayed in the city over the Saturday and Sunday. Over these days we were able to visit two agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Middle East Council of Churches (MECC) and to talk with representatives of others, including Christian Aid and UNRWA. We toured the principal areas of damage in West Beirut, and visited Akka and Gaza,

the hospitals of the Sabra and Chatilla camps, as well as an MECC clinic just about to reopen in Chatilla. We heard first hand accounts of the conditions in these camps from Palestinian residents and from the doctors and nurses, local and expatriate, at the hospitals and clinic, including several detailed accounts of the events of the massacre in the camps of September 16-17th.

On Monday 18th October we travelled south to Sidon (Saida) and spent the day at Ein Hilweh camp, where we talked to UNRWA clinic officials, the Israeli doctors in charge of health care in South Lebanon and many of the people of the camps themselves. On Monday and on Tuesday nights we stayed in Sidon. On Tuesday, we visited the market town of Nabatiyeh to visit a Secours Populaire Libanais hospital there, endeavoured to speak with the Camp Commandant and camp doctor at the Israeli internment camp of Ansar, and visited two refugee camps in the vicinity of Tyre (Sour), El Bass and Rachidiya. At El Bass, we spoke with officials of the Government hospital, and visited the wrecked and looted Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS) hospital, and its Lebanese Director, as well as people in the camp. At Rachidiya we found no functioning clinics or hospitals, but spoke at length with residents of the camp.

On Wednesday we spoke with the administrator to the UNRWA office at Saida, visited Mieh Mieh camp, where we spoke with the head teacher of one of the 3 UNRWA schools (out of 20) which had now reopened, visited the UNRWA clinic and inspected the burnt out remains of the lower part of Mieh Mieh camp. We then returned to Ein Hilweh camp, where the UNRWA site engineer was endeavouring to erect one of the offered tents, which the women and children of the camp refused to allow up. We spoke again to residents, adults and children of the camp, before returning to Beirut.

On Thursday we made a final visit to the MECC office in Beirut before flying to London.

The Camps

In October 1982, out of a total estimated 400,000 Palestine and displaced Lebanese refugees in Lebanon, there were about 60,000 in West Beirut and 90,000 in the camps around Sidon and Tyre. The UNRWA administrator in Sidon estimated that 44,000 of those in his area were homeless.

The refugee camps near the South Lebanon border appeared during the 1948 exodus from Israel, when about 100,000 fled into Lebanon. Initially tented camps of displaced Palestine villagers, they received fresh influxes from Israel after the late sixties and from South Lebanon villages destroyed by the Israelis during the 1978 invasion. By 1982 the so-called

camps had become solidly-built villages, or suburbs of Tripoli, Baalbeck, Sidon, Tyre and Nabatiyeh. Many of the inhabitants now had regular work, both in the towns and in the fields, and the camps had their own surfaced roads, schools, clinics and training centres, with hospitals adjacent to the larger camps. Students from the camps often reached a high standard of secondary and university education.

The Palestine refugees have suffered from the outset from harrassment and repression at the hands of the Lebanese government, which also provided little or no service to the camps. Since the civil war they have been attacked by the Christian militia. And their situation has become critical since the Israeli invasion.

Destruction of Buildings

The devastation of West Beirut is remarkable for its precision and severity. The 4 sq km area between the airport, sea and southern suburbs recalls 1945 Dresden or Warsaw. Seaside hotels, luxury apartment blocks and many acres of high density low-income housing are converted into desolate piles. Vast reinforced concrete floors hang from the shells of multistorey blocks, like great abandoned packs of cards.

In the Chatilla-Sabra area within Beirut, in the aftermath of the September massacres, the refugees exist under appalling conditions. Parts of the camp have been blown up and bulldozed over the recent bodies. A few metres away lie large pools of stinking blackish liquid sewage, possibly from a broken main. At the side of the busy road bordering the camp, clear water spouts up through filthy surface pools. We saw women unable to pay for water, collecting this in plastic cans.

Sidon Area

Sidon town, Oxfam report estimates 2000 homes completely destroyed and 2000 needing extensive repair. The port area is also devastated with sunken cargo ships in the harbour.

Ein Hilweh, a suburb of Sidon, is 75% destroyed by Israel bombardment, a six-day battle and eventually widespread bulldozing by UNRWA contractors. There are traces of wrecked schools, clinics and mosques. Roads are already mud-filled, after first 2 or 3 days of rain. 25% of homes, many severely damaged, remain "habitable."

Mieh Mieh, a hill village, was partly destroyed by Israeli attack. The lower part of the village was subsequently completely burnt to the ground by the Falange (7 August).

Tyre Area

El Bass Scanty relatively intact houses, with painted walls, surviving trees and wary refugees, give some visual indication of the pre-disaster aspect.

Rachidiyeh 90% destroyed by Israeli invasion, and the following Israeli bulldozing in wide swathes through the whole village. Many were killed in the fighting, and many bodies are still lying under the debris, the rest having been burned with gasoline by the Israels, who refused Palestinian requests to bury them according to their customs. As at Ein Hilweh refugees are living in sparse wrecked dwellings, even doorways, in the stench of death, close to a desolate beach strewn with war debris.

Destruction of Infrastructure

Before the invasion most Palestinians lived in the camps, in houses built on land over which they had no legal title, others had moved to the towns proper (we met several people at Rachidiya who had lived in Tyre, and at Ein Hilweh who were living in Sidon). Others had bought land and erected legal housing on the outskirts of the camp. In some of the camps there was a considerable minority of poor Lebanese, both through intermarriage (we met a Palestinian at Chatilla who had been out of the camp during the massacre; his Lebanese wife, and children who had stayed inside, had now disappeared) and interdigitating of squatters' properties.

Even within the camps, housing had clearly improved enormously since the early days of the exodus. At Ein Hilweh many houses had flush toilets, as well as indoor water. We were told by the head teacher at Mieh Mieh that it was the arrival of what he described as the 'the organizations' after 1967 which had encouraged a spirit of self reliance amongst the people.

So far as health was concerned, it was clear that, as well as the Agency-directed 'top down' clinics and services offered by UNRWA, the development of the PRCS had taken the form of a community based, 'peoples' health service, so much so that the UNRWA administrator in Sidon, Mr. Brown, told us that a U.S. disaster study team which had visited the area had concluded that, prior to the invasion, there was 'excessive medical provision' at Ein Hilweh. At El Bass the PRCS had run and staffed a complete hospital, initially built by a wealthy Lebanese surgeon, Dr. Saleh El-Khalil, who described its history to us. We spoke to a large number of PRCS nurses and ancillary health workers. They had often received several years of training and some had worked in various countries outside the Lebanon. The PRCS organization had clearly been heavily disrupted by the Israeli occupation. Some 150 doctors and nurses of the PRCS were still detained in Ansar (see below) and their hospitals and clinics had been bombed, bulldozed, or—as in the case of the El Bass hospital—looted by,

we were told, the Lebanese government doctors. But most serious of all was the fact that because of the close association of the PRCS with the PLO the Israelis are not allowing it to re-establish itself. Unless this primary health care structure can be established, the people of the camps will be reduced to acting merely as passive recipients of U.N. and aid agency medical care.

There is a similar problem concerning education. We did not investigate this in such detail, our information being gathered less systematically, but it is clear that, prior to the bombing, an effective school system operated in the camps, run by UNRWA. Many of the teachers employed by UNRWA are now in detention in Ansar, and few of the schools are functioning. Thus in the Sidon area UNRWA had 20 schools prior to the invasion. The majority were destroyed and only the one in Mieh Mieh was functioning. When we visited it only 310 out of 540 pupils were present. Many pupils and teachers were in detention—one teacher had just been released. Two other schools in the area were occupied by the Falange, and yet others by refugees whose houses had been destroyed. A schoolboy at Ein Hilweh showed us what was left of his school—the gate. Beyond, everything had been bulldozed flat. The 'functioning' school at Mieh Mieh was short of books, most of its stocks having been looted or destroyed by the Falange. In the classes we visited, 70-90% of children had brothers, fathers or uncles in detention camps. In each class, 2-5 of the 20-odd pupils had been orphaned. Nonetheless we were very impressed by the initiative and determination of both staff and pupils. Despite adverse circumstances the children were cleanly dressed, and were attentive in class, to mathematics, Arabic grammar and poetry and English lessons. The Head appeared to know the personal history and names of all his pupils. Teachers and children expressed concern about the prospect for the pupils detained in Ansar of 'losing' a year in the baccalaureate system.

This concern with education was borne out by things other young men (and one or two women) said to us: before the war, the Lebanese had been jealous of them because Palestinians were always at the top of their class, and produced many medical, engineering and other graduates. We were struck at how a landless people achieved social mobility through education—in this, as in many other ways, the Palestinians in adversity resemble the Jews in Europe.

Testimony of Survivors

Several of the relief workers and doctors talked of the psychological trauma of the people in the camps—especially in Sabra and Chatilla. Whilst this factor was undoubtedly present in the South as well, where there was still much fear of arbitrary arrest by the Israelis (or Lebanese) or of atrocity by the Falange, the sense of the beginnings of a regrouping and

a thinking towards the future seemed greater. In Sabra and Chatilla, all the people we spoke to seemed anxious to retell their experiences of the massacre: a camp survivor in the repaired clinic in an old kindergarten, the doctors or nurses—foreign and Palestinian—in Gaza and Akka hospitals. Abominable as they were, there is no need to discuss these accounts further here.

In Gaza hospital, Dr. Aziza Khalidi and other doctors were concerned to speak of other massacres, in the South, and the effects of the anti-personnel weapons—phosphorus and fragmentation bombs especially. We should add that we routinely asked people about the types of weapons used. Mines and different types of cluster (fragmentation) bombs and phosphorus weapons were frequently, and graphically described; accounts from different sources coincide. We saw many unexploded fragmentation bombs and mines in the streets both in Beirut and in the camps, where children were playing with them; we saw a severely injured woman in Gaza hospital, whose child had brought in a bomb from the street; 2 days previously it had blown up killing a brother and injuring her. The fragmentation weapons used metal, not plastic, shrapnel, but there were accounts of difficulty of detecting the shrapnel under X-ray. There were some allegations that the fragmentation bombs were brightly coloured, or shaped in such a way as to make them attractive to children; however, we suspect this to be a misunderstanding of their primary intent. There were accounts of sudden death after phosphorus injury compatible with some type of toxic build up of the combustion products. We saw no evidence of the use of napalm. As for chemical weapons, several people we spoke to were convinced they had been used—but elsewhere in Lebanon. For instance, there was a story heard in several camps, of chemicals being used to send the defenders of Beaufort Castle to sleep—"otherwise it would have been impregnable." One 13 year old talked of the mysterious death of a P.L.O. fighter as if he had been poisoned, and of toxic black fumes coming from a bomb or shell. However, we would tend to discount these stories in the absence of firmer evidence. The reality is quite terrible enough, without any need for exaggeration.

In the South, we spoke both to people who had been in the camps throughout the bombing and shelling and the aftermath, and to men who had been arrested and interned either immediately after the camps fell to the Israelis or subsequently, or had only recently been released. At Ein Hilweh a senior staff nurse's account is typical. When the camp fell to the Israelis the people were ordered to assemble, and after several hours, the PRCS staff were sent to the camp hospital, where they were told to evacuate the surviving patients in 4 runs of the ambulance, to the Israeli lines (20 patients had earlier been killed in the bombing). Up to 10 people were packed at once into the ambulance, including in one run an old woman held on to the roof.

What happened to the patients subsequently is unclear. The nursing staff were blindfolded and their hands tied behind their backs and forced to sit for 4 days in the open under the blazing June sun with '3 coffee cup fulls' of water a day only permitted. After capture the nurse was abused and frequently kicked by the Israelis. He was transferred to Israel, and then, on 11th July to Ansar. In the camp in Israel he was interrogated and beaten; at Ansar, the men were overcrowded (20 to a tent, 20 tents to a compound, 20 compounds altogether—we saw these tents as we drove round Ansar, having failed to gain entrance). The regime appears to have been harsh; food and visits to the latrine were limited and discipline strict but the men were not tortured. However, release of prisoners is slow and seemingly arbitrary; he himself had eventually been let out on 4th October. The account of the early days after his internment square with those of journalists at the time. He looked in relatively good health; he was now anxious to find work. A teacher at Mieh Mieh was said to have lost a lot of weight in internment, another doctor was too frightened to talk to us. The sister (a nurse) of one young man saw the Israelis kicking him whilst he was dragged away. She managed to find his employment card, confirming his regular job in a fruit warehouse in Tyre, but the Israelis have refused to release him.

Arbitrary arrest of civilians by the Israeli soldiers continued throughout our visit and we heard many accounts. The Headmaster at Mieh Mieh spoke of round-ups every 15 days or so, and 'identification' by masked informers. Mr. Denis Brown, the Sidon UNRWA Director, spoke of harrassment and imprisonment of hundreds of his staff. He confirmed that proof of medical duties or the carrying of valid Identity Cards offered no protection. The arrests are made in camps, hospitals, road blocks and in the street. We heard how Israelis would burst into people's rooms during the night, breaking down the door, throwing radio and TV sets on the floor, and scattering books. In West Beirut the Lebanese government also continues street arrests. But the refugees in South Lebanon face the twin dangers of arrest by the Israelis and harrassment or even murder by the Falange.

A young man at Rachidiya described how a couple of weeks before he had been picked up by the Israelis. Asked what happened he mimed graphically; hood over head, hands behind back, a good deal of kicking and shoving. He had been released a day or two later. The fear in which people still lived was demonstrated by the fact that we were told that 'despite' the Israeli patrols, families still mounted a guard during the night. In the light of such experiences we must be concerned for the safety of those who spoke so freely to us.*

**This fear has only too soon been confirmed. We have been told that a clerk at the UNRWA clinic at Ein Hilweh, who accompanied us into the camps, and was seen to do so by the Israeli officers, was arrested 4 days later and detained under harsh conditions for 3 days subsequently.*

On our return to England, we were asked whether UNIFIL patrolled the camps and we should reiterate that we did not see a single U.N. soldier in or near any of the camps we visited in the South. In Chatilla, Italian troops of the multinational force (MNF) were based at gun emplacements at the camp entrance, but were not inside.

The Israeli Army

Whilst in Sidon we met three Israeli doctors who provided a useful account of current medical difficulties in South Lebanon. They were Dr. Adler, Colonel in charge of the Health Team; Dr. Elam, a Captain: and Dr. Tulchinsky, a civilian from the Israeli Ministry of Health.

According to Dr. Tulchinsky local Lebanese Government hospitals are generally hostile to treating Palestine refugees and homeless and tend to refuse admission to those unable to pay for treatment. Under Israeli pressure they sometimes agree to cooperate. The Israelis also admit patients to a private hospital in Sidon, where 22 beds are available for the purpose. There is also a functioning renal dialysis unit and X-ray equipment had been made available through UNRWA over the past few days, but the hospital tends to accept only surgical cases and there are still serious difficulties, one of these being lack of a proper orthopaedic surgeon. For these various reasons, the Israelis transfer 2 or 3 serious cases—both Lebanese and Palestinian—by helicopter each day to hospitals in Israel. Many amputees and even patients for renal transplant have been sent to Israel.

Across the road from the Ein Hilweh UNRWA clinic in which we met these Israelis, stands the empty PRCS General Hospital, which served the South Lebanon camps until their destruction in June 1982, and is now under Lebanese Government control. We were told that the Government is dragging its feet regarding re-commission of this hospital, presumably because this would tend to discourage the departure of the refugees still living in the Sidon area.

The Israelis seem to take no responsibility for primary health care of the refugees whose homes they have destroyed and whose families they have killed, leaving this to UNRWA and other relief agencies. The Israeli doctors greed that the most urgent hospital need in the Sidon area is to re-equip, staff and re-open the Ein Hilweh Hospital. However this would require very much better security protection for both patients and medical staff, particularly for the Palestinians. (The Israelis refused to be drawn on this matter and told us that IDF was patrolling the camps regularly, but we later learnt that this was an overstatement).

As doctors we felt a professional obligation towards about 150 PRCS doctors, nurses and ancillary medical staff who are still imprisoned by the Israelis. Officials of the Swedish Free Church and Christian Aid first

informed us of their predicament. The ICRCS official confirmed their presence, but refused to divulge their names or exact numbers. They visit the camps but refused to give us any indication of conditions inside. We therefore travelled to Ansar camp, sited on a wind-swept plateau 12 km west of Nabatiyeh. There an Israeli Captain was eventually summoned to inform us that we could not under any circumstances visit the camp, nor could we speak to the camp Medical Officer. Ansar prison camp is surrounded by a series of barbed wire fences, a 10-15 metre wide minefield, and a series of manned watchtowers. The Israeli doctors agreed that PRCS nurses and doctors were detained. We were given the names of several imprisoned health workers and doctors, by several different people.

Health: The health care system

We were concerned to examine the health care system available to the Palestinians at all levels, but especially at the community level, that is, primary health care.

Primary health care entails health care in the community: it is the first-line contact with health workers. Usually water supply and sanitation, environmental hygiene, immunisation, mother and child care, simple curative care and essential drugs are included. Nutrition and health education in general are an essential part of primary health care. It is the aim to promote health and enable the community to look after its own health as far as possible. Thus it is usual to train health workers from that community.

Secondary level health care usually includes hospital care and related services, more complicated cases requiring special care to go to tertiary level.

A health care system should encompass all three levels of care with easy referral and access from primary care to other levels.

Disease Patterns

There is no evidence at the moment of epidemics and it was not easy to establish the change in the pattern and incidence of disease from existing data. Total clinic attendances were available from UNRWA clinics but comparative monthly diagnostic categories were not available to us. With the destruction of the PRCS infrastructure, the instability and insecurity, the population movements etc., available data is pretty meaningless and in this situation clinical impressions are probably more useful. Doctors at Gaza and other hospitals and a Norwegian relief worker in Beirut, Dr. Troy, thought there were more skin infections, diarrhoeal diseases and increased and respiratory infections were beginning. (Skin infections and diarrhoea are both prevalent in situations where there is a water shortage or contamination of food or water.)

Food and nutrition

There is no general food shortage. Food is abundant in the shops and street stalls loaded with good quality fruit and vegetables appear in the ruined market streets of Chatilla and Ein Hilweh. UNRWA provides monthly rations to registered refugees which are calculated to supply an average of 1950 k.cals/person-day.

However, perception of adequate food is unreliable since some refugees are in hiding and in some families money to buy food and other necessities is in short supply. The customary wage earner is, either way, detained in Ansar or unemployed. Palestinian families are large and there are an increasing number of large, poor, fatherless families who have already exhausted their savings.

The available data on nutritional status of children aged 1-5 yrs, the indicators of the nutritional status of the community, come from UNRWA clinic data and a study carried out by Terre des Hommes. According to Dr. Tulchinsky these studies gave similar results, 12% of children being below the 10th percentile, ruling out any serious problem of malnutrition. However UNRWA uses its own weight chart with local Middle East (West Bank) standards, and not the WHO charts; thus calculations based on this chart are underestimates.

In the UNRWA Clinic at Ein Hilweh, there were 85 children's weight charts out of about 900 in the low weight-for-age section, but a high proportion of these had only one weight recorded in August. The UNRWA officials did not think that mothers were afraid to bring children to the clinic, although the frequent presence of armed Israeli doctors (witnessed on each visit to the Ein Hilweh clinic) does not create the conventional atmosphere of a mother-and-child clinic.

In Ein Hilweh camp itself we met mothers and children; many of the younger children looked thin and pale; although they were not clinically anaemic, many had skin infections. The mother of one moderately malnourished child (Shaker strip) told us she had not enough money for food. She had been to the Clinic but did not think she had been helped. Other mothers agreed with her and one of the clinic health workers said his own child was undernourished, but he had not sought advice since he knew the problem to be lack of money and food.

A community nutrition survey would be necessary to give a clearer picture, but in the present climate this could only be done by people trusted by the community. Monitoring of the situation should be carried out more often than bimonthly.

Water and Sanitation

The initial source of water is the municipal pipe supply in most camps. However, the water chain is not satisfactory and many points of possible contamination exist. Some people are using a proper stand pipe, but others collect water from the ends of broken pipes. In Chatilla, women were collecting water which was flooding up through sewage. There were also water tanks which sell water. One old man had paid 200 piastres for a small bottle of water. He could not afford to buy sufficient water for washing. Most water is collected in 5 litre plastic containers; there are no large storage tanks.

The problem of sanitation is more serious. People previously used flushtoilets, Now, as a child at Ein Hilweh explained, 20 families may be using one lavatory. The UNRWA plan for Ein Hilweh, to have one communal pit latrine for 4 families, offends the sensibilities of the people. The sewage pipes repaired by Oxfam had been broken again and again as bulldozers are constantly operating. The soil was extremely muddy after 2 or 3 days rain and faecal contamination was visible in parts of the camps. As the rains increase there is a serious risk of further contamination.

Children

Children predominate in the camp. In a dangerous environment they are the most at risk.

Many of their fathers have been killed or have left, others are detained. They have survived the invasion, the bombing, shelter life and have witnessed, and have been the victims of many terrible events. We saw a 12 year old boy in Gaza Hospital, still recovering from his wounds during the Chatilla-Sabra atrocity. He had seen all his family massacred in front of him. Another boy of about 9 fought back his tears so that his classmates should not see him cry, when he realised that his teacher was explaining to us (in English) how he had been orphaned.

Many boys as young as 12 years have themselves been detained, or are still at risk of being picked up by Israeli soldiers.

The younger children, especially, are now in a precarious situation. Many belong to poor large fatherless families. Their mothers not only have to cope with the sudden absence or loss of their husbands but also with being homeless and a set of extremely difficult tasks, such as finding water, collecting wood, preparing meals in the open—circumstances of which they have had no previous experience.

There are many serious risks to the health of the young child. Diarrhoeal diseases are bound to increase in the unsanitary conditions which prevail, and in young children diarrhoea is a killer. The risk is increased by the fuel problem which makes it difficult for the mother to boil water and sterilise utensils. The severe overcrowding which exists and which the tents will not alleviate, encourages the spread of respiratory infections, especially dangerous to undernourished young children.

Many more children are at risk of becoming undernourished in the next few months in spite of more than adequate UNRWA food supplies, for reasons already stated.

There are other health hazards as well. Children play in the rubble of their former homes. They find live ammunition and cluster bombs and play with them. The injuries (and deaths) are likely to continue for a long time and a special education programme, such as a Child-to-Child scheme is necessary.

The tents compound the risks by adding yet another—the danger of fire from the kerosene stoves that are to serve for both cooking and heating.

With schools destroyed and with the cold and rains beginning the plight of the homeless children is very serious indeed.

But perhaps worst of all is that the children know they are not safe. They live in fear, knowing that nobody will defend them should those that craried out the massacure at Chatilla and Sabra, or those that burned their homes at Mieh Mieh choose to repeat their actions.

Medical Care

The health facilities vary from camp to camp, but all have been severely disrupted by the invasion, the arrests of staff, looting, bombing and by the massacre.

In the Chatilla area Akka hospital, which had been ransacked and partly burned, and where patients and doctors had been killed, was nevertheless expecting to open the following week. Gaza hospital was functioning but with limited facilities, having no bloodbank and no reliable source of oxygen. The staff are Palestinian, Lebanese and foreign, most of the latter coming for 3 month periods. An MECC supported clinic in a damaged kindergarten had begun to function with short term foreign staff in inadequate surroundings.

In Ein Hilweh MECC had opened a clinic (see later). The hospital on the edge of the camp had been burnt out but an Israeli doctor, guarded by a soldier with a machine gun, was seeing patients for referral to Israeli hospitals. Opposite was the UNRWA clinic which was functionining as an out-patient and Maternity & Child Health clinic (MCH) mainly staffed by Palestinians and Lebanese. However, the armed Israeli doctors walked freely around this clinic.

In Mieh Mieh a small one-roomed UNRWA clinic had opened in a building lent by the school. It was ill equipped and unsuitable for long term care and was staffed only by a nurse. The previous UNRWA clinic was sited opposite a Haddad post and the people were afraid to use it.

These soldiers were allowed to control the road in this area, stopped our car and forbade us to take photos of the burnt out camp.

This UNRWA clinic used to be visited by a doctor twice a week but as there are fewer people in the camp since the arson, the visits are to be reduced, much to the distress of the inhabitants who do not all have transport to take them elsewhere, should they not fall ill on the doctor's visit day.

In Rachidiyeh there was no health facility; a mobile clinic visits 2-3 times a week. There seemed to be less transport available than in other camps, and no medical advice is available at night. There is also a serious problem of transport for sick people. Palestinians do not move freely around in the Lebanon and would be at great risk from the various militias and armies if they were travelling at night. Many families are now headed by women few of whom drive.

There are also a number of aid agencies who are giving medical aid mainly through young inexperienced staff who do not speak Arabic and who are short-stay (usually 3 months or so). Nevertheless, they have a very useful role when working inside the camps and hospitals with the Palestinian staff.

The Lebanese health system is firmly based on private medicine and most hospitals are private. The fees are high and few poor people, Palestinian and Lebanese, can afford them. Government hospitals are few; there is none in the whole of West Beirut and (according to Dr. Saleh El-Khalil) they function badly.

Shelter

Many families live in the few remaining houses in the camps. Some live in shop doorways, others out in the open.

The rains have just begun, and the sites were already muddy.

Everyone is agreed that the problem is urgent and that tents are not adequate. The tents proposed are 4½ m sq., with no flysheet; it is not known if they are fire resistant. There will be one per family and a primus stove which will serve for cooking and heating. Mattresses will be provided, possibly on mats, but will not otherwise be raised above ground level. The tents accommodate 6 people—there are frequently more in a family.

Thus the tents will be overcrowded, increasing the risk of skin and respiratory infections. The water and sanitation problems increase the risk of gastro-intestinal diseases as well. It is to be recalled that most of the families are fatherless.

UNWRA would like the refugees to have more suitable housing, but permanent housing is not allowed. The definition of permanent is a concrete base and thus even the Oxfam shelters are precluded. The people seem to be quite capable of building and repairing their own houses, which would thus solve the problem, a solution to which the Lebanese government remains implacably hostile.

Fuel

A further problem is the lack of electricity and many people are being forced to use the limited supply of wood, either taken from the ruined houses or cut from growing fruit trees. Cooking and boiling water are very difficult in this unaccustomed situation.

Role of Official Relief Agencies and Charities

The two official agencies contacted were the ICRCS in Beirut and the UNRWA office in Sidon.

The Director of ICRCS expressed concern about the continued existence of the PRCS. Neither the Israeli Magen David Adom nor the Palestinian Red Crescent were affiliated organizations.

The ICRCS had withdrawn their protection from the Gaza hospital two days prior to our visit, since they feared the Lebanese government would feel that their continuing presence expressed lack of confidence in the Lebanese army now ostensibly guarding the hospital. The ICRCS director also considered their presence no longer necessary, a view not shared by the British administrator of Gaza hospital, who still felt concerned enough to sleep there every night. The withdrawal of the ICRCS radio operator also meant that the hospital, with no bloodbank, had been left with no means of communication, having neither telephone nor ambulance.

UNRWA has official responsibility for the refugee camps. The view of their Sidon American administrator is that food supplies are adequate and shortages are not envisioned.

UNRWA officials are concerned, however, about the problems of housing. Tents are thought to be inadequate and as parafin stoves are intended to serve for both cooking and heating, a fire risk is acknowledged. Any more permanent housing is not allowed by the Lebanese government and Israeli authorities.

In health care, a study by the CDC Centre, USA, had found an 'excessive' provision of health care and no need for additional primary health care, an opinion shared by both the UNRWA official and Colonel Adler who had determined to cut back on Israeli medical assistance. However, we were told there was no health visiting service and evidence for this official optimism was not obvious.

Secondary health care and hospitalization was a problem, local

hospitals were not keen to take Palestinian patients referred to them even though UNRWA pays the fees; thus finding hospital beds was difficult.

The uncertain relations between the Lebanese government and the Israelis obviously make these tasks more difficult.

We were told that many voluntary aid and religious organizations were operating in the Lebanon. MECC plays a very important role in co-ordinating their activities and is able to work with the Palestinians and poor Lebanese. Although as already stated the vast majority of the voluntary workers appear to be inexperienced and short-stay, they have a strong commitment to helping and protecting the poor. One example is a clinic in Ein Hilweh being set up in one of the few remaining houses. The owner had intended to open a hairdressers' premises in the room but had donated it and it had now been converted into a welcoming and reasonably equipped clinic staffed by Palestinians and a highly capable English nurse who regards her relationship with the people in the camp as the basis of her work.

MECC doctors and Palestinian staff work together in Gaza Hospital—they have a coordinating meeting on alternate days. As mentioned earlier, one of the doctors sleeps in the hospital hoping to provide a sense of security.

At present this is one of the more important roles of foreign relief workers since their quiet presence in the community may act as a protection, even though, as we learned from a British male nurse, from Gaza Hospital, they may be running considerable personal risks.

The ability to respond quickly, independently and non-bureaucratically is also important, as Oxfam managed to do in repairing broken sewage pipes in Ein Hilweh, whilst UNRWA and the Municipality continued to argue about responsibility.

Oxfam also has special knowledge; for example, their experience with temporary shelters, and they may be able to influence UNRWA to insist on more adequate shelter for the Palestinians.

Voluntary organizations working within the community may, however, find themselves involved in issues, in particular human rights issues, which are not part of their brief in disasters elsewhere.

On the other hand, relief organizations that work from the top down may confuse the issues and by appearing to be substituting the previous Palestinian infrastructure, without having the necessary community base to do so, may in fact be a negative force.

The Present Needs

We spoke to many Palestinians, whilst walking round the camps, in their homes, in the hospitals and in the UNRWA schools and clinics.

We were never asked for anything neither by adults, nor by the many

children we met. The children often crowded round us, but they wanted to know who we were and where we were from. Perhaps a beautiful curly haired 4-year-old's two words of English summed it up—"Hallo, Welcome!" he repeated.

And welcomed we were. We were invited into homes, always offered coffee and tea and our questions were answered.

Whenever we asked what the problems were, we were met with the same reply, safety and security and the release of the men from Ansar.

In Rachidiyeh we stop to admire the embroidery a young girl is doing as she sits amidst the ruins. Some women come out of the one remaining room of what was once a 2-story house. One shouts and points to the sky—the "Israelis destroyed my home and my husband is in Ansar." She is angry. More women, each with 3 or 4 young children, gather round us. An old woman hobbles up, her 4 sons are in Ansar—she is alone, she had no one else. The women want us to promise that we'll get their husbands released. We are silent.

We move on with a university graduate studying for his M.A. Or rather he was. He shows us the wrecked mosque and the remains of the school. We walk down a road, widened by Israeli bulldozers which destroyed all the houses on both sides of the road after the bombing.

The bombing began without warning on 4th June, 2 days before the Israeli invasion. The graduate tells us that 7 "commandos" were killed. It seems impossible to relate this to the extent of the destruction.

He is 30. He was born in this camp and his father died here. Now he has nothing. The Israelis have destroyed his house and his many books that he valued above everything. He says, "I have nothing now. The Israelis want to destroy everything. They have even destroyed hope in our children." We look at the desolate scene and find it hard not to agree.

In Mieh Mieh the headteacher of the school is dignified, calm and welcoming. "We are not terrorists," he says. "We are not against Jews, only against Zionists." He was born in a village near Haifa. He is part of a large family a third of which are working as engineers, architects and doctors in the Gulf states. Education is important. "Sometimes the Lebanese do not like us because we are always top of the class in their schools."

We ask about the tents. "We cannot go back to living in tents, we are educated, we have our personal belongings. The Israelies are trying to humiliate us, but they cannot humiliate our souls." We ask what he wants, "I want a homeland, a Palestinian identity card and a passport. We do not want financial help. We will help each other. We don't want any Palestinian to be a beggar. We only want to be protected at night."

The immediate needs of the Palestinians are thus:

safety and security
release of the detainees
adequate shelter

The refugees are now very vulnerable as the (predicted) massacre at Sabra and Chatilla and the burning of Mieh Mieh shows. The Lebanon is full of armed men, the Israeli Defense Force, the multinational force, the Falange, Haddad's army, the Druze. The camps are primarily occupied by women, children and old people with a few young men. Who is going to protect them?

On the one hand the people feel safer with the Israelis than with the Falange and Haddad's men, and on the other they are frightened of the Israelis since anyone over the age of 12 may be arbitrarily arrested at any time. Some of the Palestinians thought that the Italians would protect them better if the multinational force were going to spread its protection. At the moment the multinational force is not present in the very vulnerable South and UNIFIL is a small and largely ineffectual presence. The refugees desperately need to know what is going to happen to them. In the present climate they cannot plan their housing nor their schooling nor their health care.

They are evidently quite capable of dealing with all of these problems themselves as long as they are allowed to do so. There is no reason whatsoever for them to be turned into dependent receivers of aid and charity.

If they are to be allowed to stay in the Lebanon, they will solve their own housing problem since they will rebuild their own homes, organize their schools and their health care. Surely the Lebanese government and the Israelis are not afraid of this?

III

THE ISRAELI SIEGE OF WEST BEIRUT

Editor's Note:

The nearly 70 days of the Israeli siege of West Beirut caused human suffering on a scale not often witnessed since the end of World War II. The Israeli blockade of West Beirut which sealed off the city from medical supplies, food and water added to the trauma of the half million residents in the western sector and has been widely reported.

With respect to the bombing of August 7, U.S. Ambassador Robert Dillon cabled Washington as follows:

> Simply put, tonight's saturation shelling was as intense as anything we have seen. There was no "pinpoint accuracy" against targets in "open spaces". It was not a response to Palestinian fire. This was a blitz against West Beirut . . . The magnitude of tonight's action is difficult to convey. The flare of exploding shells reflected against the cloud of smoke was an awesome sight . . . a city burning.

The final calculus from the siege is still incomplete and may remain so for a long while. It will be some time until the mass graves at Sabra and Shatila are exhumed and the truckloads of bodies and people carted off by the Phalange militia and their associates during the massacre are accounted for.

According to initial Lebanese government statistics, now more than a year old, compiled by local Lebanese police districts using death certificates and hospital records, 19,085 persons were found to have been killed as of mid-November 1982. Of these, 6,775 were killed during the seventy day period in Beirut. 12,310 were killed elsewhere in Lebanon, and 30,302 wounded. As of March 1, 1984 the number is estimated by the Lebanese government to have risen to 33,000 dead and 49,000 wounded. The Lebanese government found that 84 percent of the Beirut casualties were civilians. This figure is approximately 15 percent higher than had been

estimated by the Palestine Liberation Organization, whose calculations had been dismissed by the Israeli government as cynical exaggerations and propaganda.

According to the Lebanese police, over 2,300 of those killed or wounded during the first four months of the invasion were under 15 years of age and more than 1,700 were over age 50. Of the 30,302 wounded during this same four month period, more than 1,800 required amputations because of fragmentation or cluster bomb wounds, according to medical personnel working with the Lebanese Red Cross. In addition, more than 350,000 people were made homeless, 100,000 were without shelter, and several hundred thousand made destitute.

The Lebanese government has estimated that physical damage from the invasion amounted to more than $3 billion while destroyed housing alone accounted for nearly $1 billion. The cost of rebuilding Lebanon is now estimated to be $24 billion.

Of the 25 hospitals and clinics operating in West Beirut during late July and August 1982, many were partially destroyed by Israeli aerial, sea, or land bombardment, despite exhibiting Red Cross and/or Red Crescent insignias. Dr. Samir Thabit, acting president of the American University of Beirut, stated that he considered having the large red cross painted outside Jessup and West Hall removed. His reason was that from what he had been advised by civil defense workers and Red Cross personnel around West Beirut, the Red Cross insignia actually appeared to draw Israeli fire—certain elements of the Israeli military apparently feeling that bombing hospitals presented an opportunity to "finish the job" against wounded "terrorists" and their sympathizers.

A partial list of damaged or destroyed hospitals or clinics in the Beirut area, some of which were hit by cluster bombs, includes the following:

- Haifa Hospital
- Dar Al Ajazy Handicapped Center
- Islamic Mental Hospital
- Al Kafayat School for the Disabled
- Ras Beirut Hospital
- Makassed Home for the Elderly
- Development Organization for Human Abilities at Aramoun (DOHA) (an International Year of the Handicapped project)
- Al Ramadham Orphanage in Ouzai
- Islamic Psychiatric Hospital in Beirut
- The Armenian hospital at Aazzouniye, 16 miles southeast of Beirut
- Al Mau Hospital
- Triumph Hotel Clinic
- La Hout Hospital (Near East School of Theology)

- Gaza Hospital
- Berbir Hospital
- Makassed Hospital
- Mouseitbi Medical Center
- Antranic Center
- French Center (College Protestante)

The functioning clinics of West Beirut were primarily makeshift, put together from the salvage and supplies of hospitals and clinics bombed earlier in the invasion. La Hout Hospital, for example, was set up in the library of the Neat East School of Theology, and other clinics were set up at the Triumph Hotel and at the French Protestant College, Basta Center, and others. Many of the most serious cases were transferred to the American University Hospital (AUH), a facility partly funded by the U.S. government.

On August 4, 1982, day of intensive Israeli bombing and shelling, more than 2,000 refugees sought haven in the AUH. These desperate people correctly believed that, partly because the hospital was American, they might be safe at AUH. They slept in the hallways and many children were placed, with blankets, in large "Project Hope" cardboard boxes.

The following testimony is a representative, but necessarily small, sampling of what eyewitnesses have described to the international community.

A West Beirut street following heavy bombing on August 1, 1982. Both cluster bombs and fragmentation bombs were used on this street.

DR. BERNT HEGER, Physician, Sweden

At times I found no external injuries, but when I intubated the patients to free their larynxes, I found their lungs filled with blood. They were crushed by the pressure of the explosion.

When we entered Beirut together with Ebba Wergeland, we were the only team to get through the blockade, and it was absurd to see the gross lack of everything inside and to know about the hundreds of tons of medical supplies collected from the whole world and more than one hundred volunteers waiting outside.

I will talk about one particular incident in this early stage of the siege: the shelling of Gaza hospital on 25 June. Gaza hospital is a high building, eight floors. It is on the outskirts of Sabra and Chatila camps which means it is surrounded by small houses. It is really visible from a long distance. It is painted white in contrast to the surroundings and it is well marked with a Red Crescent and the Red Cross flag. I want to show some pictures.

This is the top of Gaza hospital. I hope you can see the flag: it is the Red Crescent flag on top of the building.

This is Akka hospital, the other Palestinian hospital in Beirut. It has the same Red Cross in front of the building. When we were there the Israeli positions were less than one-and-half kilometres away on the hillside, with an excellent view of their targets. The camps were more or less under constant shelling all that time, and the hospital had been hit a few times, but it was still operational because it was still absolutely necessary to keep it open. An estimated 80 percent of the people in the surrounding camp had left their homes and moved to safer places in the city, but 20 percent were still there, mostly old people and the poor people who had no place to go. Gaza was the only hospital in the area and the damage endangered it. The five or six upper floors were already evacuated when we arrived and we tried to evacuate the rest of the patients to safer places in the city as fast as was possible after they had been operated on. The operating theatre was under the ground inside the concrete and it worked as a shelter, the only shelter for all the people in the neighbourhood, that means the surrounding camps. When there was shelling there could be more than 100 civilians in the operating theatre and the X-ray rooms in the cellar.

We started to work at Gaza because of the need there. When we arrived in Beirut they had an anaesthetic department at the American University hospital under Dr. Yusif Baraca. He told me that if I really wanted to help these people I must go to Gaza hospital. At the AUB hospital they worked night and day, but for the time being they had enough people, he said, and in Gaza they really needed help; indeed he was right.

We worked only one-and-a-half days in Gaza before it was evacuated but it was a shocking experience. Seriously wounded and dying patients rushed in. When more people came in at the same time, you had to decide who should live and who should die because you could not take care of them all at the same time. As an anaesthetist I had to take care of the seriously wounded immediately. When the injured were rushed in the first thing to do was to rip off their clothes to see where the injury was. At times I found no external injuries, but when I intubated the patients to make free their larynxes, I found their lungs filled up with blood. They were crushed by the pressure of the explosion. This tells a lot about the power of the shells. During this one-and-a-half days we operated 12 major and 10 smaller operations. Most of them were victims of fragmentation bombs and three from cluster bombs. The mortality rate was more than 50 percent. If one of the fragments from fragment shells had hit one of the patients in the abdomen, chest or head he had no chance at all. The damage was too big and he usually died in the emergency room. This is why most of our operations were amputations. You had to operate very fast. One started the amputation and then left it open and waited for better times to do secondary surgery and the possibility of giving him a skin graft.

In the afternoon of 25 June the Israelis flew low over the hospital and dropped leaflets in Hebrew. Nobody could read them. I still wonder what they meant. Everyone became scared. One or two hours later they started heavy shelling, concentrated on the hospital. People rushed to the cellar. I believe there were more than 100 civilians there. We tried to continue and we did continue the operation treatments of the injuries, but with each new explosion I believed it would be the last one and that the building would fall to the ground. The people were scared to death and so was I, and it was impossible to go upstairs. I was on the ground floor at one time to give morphine to the injured upstairs, but was literally hit to the ground by the explosions outside. The patients on the first and second floor we had to leave alone. A boy 17 years old, a nurse, he was the only one of the staff who took care of the patients. He sat on the first floor and talked calmly to patients during the shelling. He is the greatest hero I have ever met. After three hours, it became dark and we decided to evacuate.

When the dark came the shelling became more scattered and it was possible to escape. I was really impressed how they carried out the evacuation. In less than half an hour all the patients were outside and in security. First the civilians, women and children, then the patients and last the staff. The last patient was in fact transported directly from the

operating theatre and was still under anaesthetic. I will never forget the transport of this patient, his head between my legs, working hard to keep his air way free. The ambulance without lights throughout the blacked-out city. The story of the last patient is an example of who became victims. He was 18 years old. He moved with his family to a safe place in Beirut. He had begged his father to let him take a short trip to their house to feed their animals and promised to be back in half an hour. The next day they met again in our temporary clinic. The father was crying and the son without his leg.

To sum up, in my opinion there is no doubt that this was a deliberate shelling of a fully operational hospital without military installations or targets nearby. It was the second Palestinian hospital they had to evacuate because of shelling. We heard from a further witness that the first one was Akka, evacuated 22 June I think. The Palestinians had no hospital of their own remaining in operation. We evacuated to the Theological School in Hamra Street, a safer place at that time, but with no facilities or equipment at all, most of it being left in Gaza. We had approximately 40 wounded patients and we faced many difficulties in the next days, but step by step it became possible.

I will finish with our departure some weeks later. Still there were very few foreign doctors and nurses inside Beirut. When we passed the Israeli check point, they checked our papers which declared we were sent from the health services in Norway to do medical and humanitarian work in Lebanon. The Israeli officer asked then, 'Do you know the rules?' 'Rules, what kind of rules?' we replied. He said, 'O.K. you can go but you can never, never come back'. It seemed they wanted to prevent health workers entering Beirut at a time when the civilians in West Beirut cried out their need for help to the whole world.

This is a picture of our first patient, in a way our baptism of fire in this cruel war. She was in a flat, I suppose ten minutes from Gaza hospital. The mother told us she was hit by a fragment which came through the wall and the mother ran through the camp during the very heavy shelling with the little child in her arms. The child with one arm already nearly amputated.

Nordic Commission: The question is that if this was a deliberate bombing, have you got any translation laid on of the leaflets you received?

Bernt Heger: No I did not receive the leaflets and I did not think of carrying them.

Commission: You mentioned there were no military installations in the camp.

Heger: No, we were around in the camp and I did not see any military installations.

Commission: You do not know the contents of this leaflet and what was the message? You do not know?

Heger: No, it was impossible to read because it was in Hebrew.

Commission: You went to Lebanon by yourself?

Heger: With a team from the Palestinian Committee, in fact, we were the first team to get inside Beirut during the siege.

Q: How many of you were there?

Heger: We were three.

Q: Where did you go.

Heger: To West Beirut. But I think I will describe the events leading up to that. This Israelis prevented more than 150 volunteer doctors and nurses who had been sent by the internationally recognized humanitarian organizations from entering Beirut.

Q: How did you know that?

Heger: Because I was one of them and we were in Damascus one week trying very hard to get inside and it was impossible. The Red Cross tried three times to get inside with the big convoys and each time they were stopped by the Israeli checkpoints.

Q: And turned back?

Heger: And returned back, yes. In Damascus there were hundreds of tons of medical equipment sent from all over the world and destined for West Beirut. It was partly wasted because it was like blood. We were the only team to get into Beirut and we had to be smuggled in. It was absurd to see the gross lack of everything inside the city and to know the resources waiting outside.

Q: You were in the Gaza hospital?

Heger: Yes we were in Gaza Hospital during the shelling. One time I tried to go up to give analgesics to the injured upstairs, but I was literally knocked to the ground by the explosions outside, and the patients on the first and second floors we had to leave alone. One Palestinian boy, an orderly, 17-years-old was the only one of the staff who took care of the patients on the first floor during the shelling, talking to them to calm them; he is the biggest hero I have ever met. After three hours it became dark and they decided to evacuate and when the dark came the shelling became more scattered and it was possible to escape. In less than half an hour we were all outside the main security gate. The last patient was transported from the operating table while still in anaesthesia. I will never forget the transport with his head between my legs, working hard to keep his airway free, the ambulance without lights and full.

Q: How long did it take to evacuate the hospital do you know?

Heger: I am very impressed by how fast they did it, I think in half an hour.

Q: How many patients were evacuated do you know?

Heger: Sixty persons I think.

Q: What's the total capacity with regard to the hospital?

Heger: I am not quite sure because it was 8 floors, but only two of them

were operating. So I'm not sure: its a big hospital, 100 beds I think. To sum up, there is no doubt in my opinion that this was premeditated and specific shelling of a fully operational hospital without military installations. *Q:* No military installations?

Heger: No, none and it was the second Palestinian hospital they had to evacuate because of the shelling. The first one was Akka, it was evacuated three or four days before we arrived in Beirut and after the Gaza was closed the Palestinians had no hospital of their own remaining in operation in Beirut.

Q: What was the ratio of civilian patients to combatants?

Heger: Perhaps 20% were commandos, not more; they were dressed to distinguish.

Q: That's one in five then. How many shells hit the Gaza hospital?

Heger: Oh, it is impossible to say, it was continuous shelling, whole floors were completely destroyed.

Q: And was Gaza hospital shelled after the evacuation?

Heger: Yes, I think so, but this is not evidence of my own opinion; shelling of the hospital before and after this day was more scattered; sometimes they were hit and sometimes they were not.

Q: On the 25 June were buildings around the hospital shelled?

Heger: The hospital was the centre of the shelling.

Q: And the damage?

Heger: I think the four upper floores were completely destroyed. But there were no medical functions in the upper floors, just in the basement and the first floor.

Q: Did they work to have the other floors repaired?

Heger: Yes, they actually put blocks of concrete in all the windows leaving only a small space on the upper limit of the windows to protect the rooms from further shelling and from shrapnel coming in. After that day we held a press conference in West Beirut. And the press people at the Commodore [Hotel] said that after our press conference the Israeli authorities admitted to them that they had shelled the hospital because it was a military target.

Q: After your press conference.

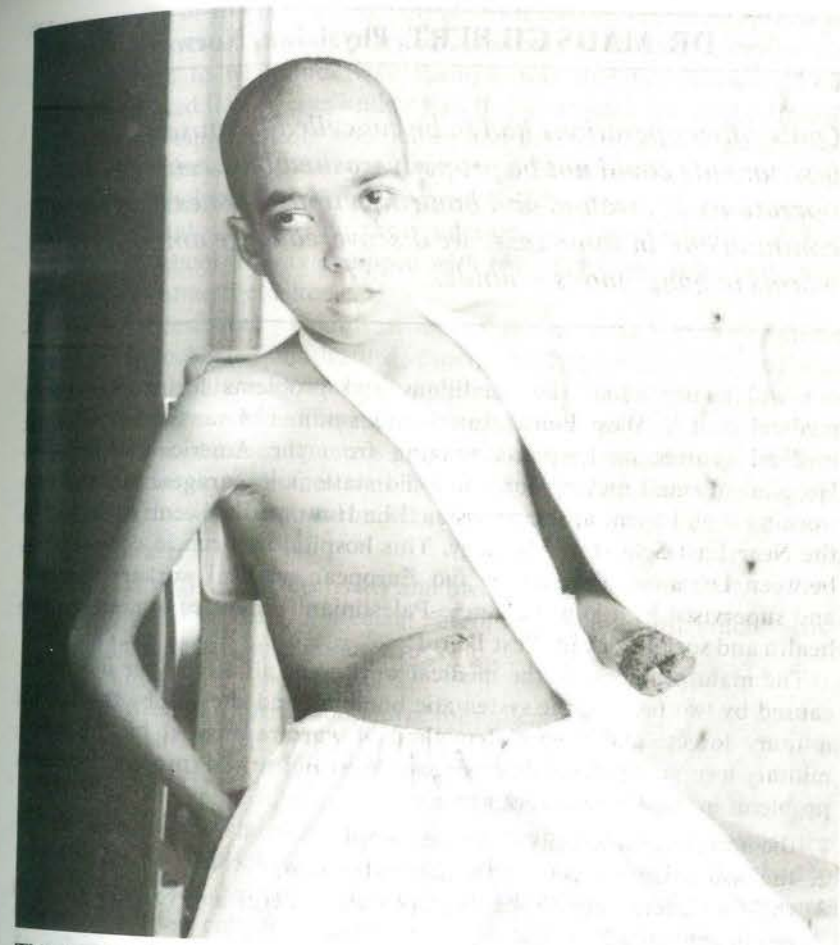
Heger: Yes. In my opinion it's very special that we are from Western Europe. It is not the first time a hospital was shelled this way because Akka hospital was shelled one week before, but when three people from Western Europe, not Palestinian, came and told the journalists we were there when the hospital was shelled, then the Israelis had to admit it.

Q: Can you tell us two things about the blockade of Beirut? How many medics had been stopped in all from entering?

Heger: 150 doctors and nurses in Damascus I think.

Q: And you tried to cross the border with the ICRC or by yourself?

Heger: No, everybody told us it was impossible and they had tried many



This boy lost his hand and suffered head and internal injuries from a U.S. cluster bomb dropped by Israel in Beirut.

Photo: UNICEF

times. But we tried three times to get inside with doctors and medical equipment, with the Red Cross, and we have been stopped every time by the Israeli checkpoints.

Q: So three times unsuccessful?

Heger: Yes, and when we left Beirut the Israeli officer at the checkpoint asked us what we were doing in Beirut. We told them that we were Norwegian doctors and nurses and working in a humanitarian way in West Beirut, and they said 'OK, do you know the rules?' I said, 'what rules, what are you talking about?'—and he said 'you can go but you can never, never come back.'

DR. MADS GILBERT, Physician, Norway

Quite often operations had to be cancelled because instruments could not be properly washed between operations . . . wound and bone infections were extremely common and in some cases we discovered large amounts of worms in gangrenous wounds.

I will testify about the conditions and problems for patients and medical staff in West Beirut during this summer. I saw eight different medical centres or hospitals ranging from the American University Hospital to small underground first-aid stations in garages. Most of my working time I spent at the provisional La Hout medical centre located in the Near East School of Theology. This hospital was run in cooperation between Lebanese, Palestinian and European medical workers, headed and supervised by a joint Lebanese-Palestinian committee organizing the health and social work in West Beirut.

The main problems in the medical work were all directly or indirectly caused by two factors: the systematic bombing and shelling by the Israeli military forces; and a special method of warfare applied by the same military forces: the blockade or siege of West Beirut. To sum up, the main problems in the medical work were:

1. the number and severity of injured people;
2. the insufficient capacity of the medical system;
3. the deficiencies, due to the siege, of water, energy and various medical equipment etc.;
4. the insufficient security both for patients and staff; and
5. the fading infrastructure of the town, affecting the maintenance of public services such as garbage emptying and street cleaning, posing serious threats to hygiene.

Let me briefly comment on each of these points: first to the patients, or to put it more precisely: the constant flow of injuries produced by the Israeli military actions. All sorts of injuries were present, from serious blast or fragmentation injury commonly seen, to minor cases. Some 80 percent were civilians, the ratio between soldier and civilian casualities being sometimes as low as 1:30 based on my own counting.

The injuries often demanded prompt reanimation and surgical action, as was the case with many traumatic amputations. At La Hout the mixed Arab-European medical teams performed together some 270-300 major and minor surgical procedures from the end of June to the end of August.

The capacity of the medical system of West Beirut was reduced overall mainly as a result of the Israeli destruction of hospitals. Provisional solutions had to be found. One example was the 'Palladium medical station', located in a cinema building staffed by Palestinians and a Danish nurse, poorly equipped but functioning and indeed taking its share of the patients; or the third basement floor at La Hout medical centre which served as a sheltered ward; or the operating theatre at the same provisional hospital, located in the underground sound studio of this theological school. It was equipped with two operating tables and basic surgical and anaesthetic items.

The war destroyed the infrastructure of the town. In every street garbage was collected and burned, proving both the dangers of epidemic diseases but also the very strong discipline and dignity of the population—and the town suceeded in keeping major epidemics away.

I will turn to the consequences of the war of siege waged by the Israelis against the people of West Beirut. The areas of deficiencies in the medical field due to the siege can be summed up in six points:

1. lack of water;
2. lack of energy—both electricity and fuel;
3. lack of different sorts of medical equipment such as instruments, disposable materials, antibiotics, drugs etc.;
4. lack of blood and blood products;
5. lack of adequate nutritional source for patients;
6. lack of medical staff;

To illustrate some of the important shortages, let me start with the water. Due to the shutting of the pumping station in East Beirut, the population of West Beirut was exposed to a number of threats: they had to rely on improper sources of water such as wells formed in bombcraters. These were used both for drinking water, personal hygiene and laundry. In other areas tanked water was distributed to a limited extent, and in some cases water reservoirs were installed by UNICEF in the Haret Hriek first aid station. The lack of running water not only hastens the development of epidemic diseases, it also makes the medical work extremely difficult. Quite often operations had to be cancelled because instruments could not be properly washed between the operations. This delayed treatment. The sheets and dressings of the patients were hard to keep clean. Wound and bone infections were extremely common and in some few cases we even discovered large amounts of worms in gangrenous wounds. Infected wounds needed daily and time-consuming attention with lancing and thorough cleaning to have a chance to heal properly.

However, in spite of blockade and bombing, the responsible Palestinian and Lebanese authorities organized the search for other water sources; for example, drilling wells straight through the pavement outside La Hout.

The Israeli blockade of power supplies was long-lasting and forced us to rely on generators delivering often marginal amounts of energy. These machines were sensitive to both bombing and fuel shortage. But with a permanent well and two generators outside, medical work could still continue at La Hout as with most of the other institutions. Paying attention to the shortages, one had to accept a conventional light bulb even for major surgery or even a torch when generators failed in the middle of an operation.

Lack of medical equipment was another feature of the siege, forcing us to turn to methods of treatment inferior to modern medicine. Complicated fractures which should have been externally fixed had to be plastered, often leading to disastrous results for the long-term function of the limb. Lack of disposable materials forced the staff to reuse items such as syringes and gloves.

Let me make one thing quite clear at this point: it may appear from this hearing that medical services were run by foreigners during the war. In fact the main burdens and responsibilities were taken by our numerous and courageous Palestinian and Lebanese health workers, many of them being unable to be witnesses at this hearing due to work, imprisonment or even death. It was thanks to those people that West Beirut never was left without some medical services.

Let me conclude by summing up the main medical consequences of the Israeli siege of West Beirut. It caused: delayed primary treatment of injuries; often insufficient surgery; high mortality before and during surgery; a high incidence of post-operation infections; a high incidence of major surgical complications; malnutrition of several patient groups; altogether an unnecessarily high mortality and morbidity, adding to the damage already done to humans by the military attacks themselves.

MAHMOUD DARWISH, Poet and Writer, Palestine

I could almost say that all Palestinian cultural and artistic institutions in Beirut were destroyed; from the Karameh exhibition with its great wealth of paintings to the seat of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists.

I am faced with a particular difficulty as I stand before this hearing, because we are in a situation of a bitter intermingling of four antagonists who form the tragedy:

the assassin, the victim, the eye-witness, and the judge.

I am now both witness and a victim. Until quite recently I was given the image of an assassin!

Until recently, the assassin was both judge and victim!

Until quite recently, the witness was a victim, and the judge too was a victim of the assassin's deceit!

The real assassin, however, remained unknown!

I object here to a tolerance that was so exagerated as to become a crime, tolerance of a fault for which we were not responsible, not us the Palestinians nor you the Europeans. A tolerance which allowed Zionism to blackmail us all: you into forgiving its crimes, and us into accepting the image it had forged for us, the image of assassins!

Zionism's condition for forgetting the past you all know was that you forgive its present crimes.

Yet, what happened in Lebanon throughout the summer was a great upheaval. And what concerns us in this hearing is that the four protagonists of the tragedy have now been given their real names:

the assassin is the Zionist who worships only one god, the god of violence;

the victim is the Palestinian;

the witness is the once persecuted conscience of our times; and

the judge is the whole structure of values and laws achieved by human intellect as a minimum foundation for human relations within the formula of a shared human life.

Hence, I bear witness to the fact that conscience has come back to life and by that I mean the conscience of the West. It is now called upon to prove that it has indeed come back to life by becoming involved in solving the victim's problem, by moving on from humane sympathy to political recognition of the Palestinian's right to life, independence and freedom.

I bear witness to the fact that the victim did not imitate its assassin, did not feel hatred for the people to whom the assassin belongs, did not

become an enemy of the Jews, and continues to cry out its message of peace.

I become witness to the fact that Israeli behaviour did not succeed in deepening the hatred between Arabs and Jews; rather, it showed the Jews the face of their real enemy: Zionism. It helped to carry the battle to another level, since the Jews now feel the need to cry out their innocence of the crimes to Zionism.

Zionism had monopolized tears and sufferings to the extent that the Palestinian's present identity as the victim is a violation of its holy temple, of its 'right' to be the sole judge of humanity.

I am asked to speak here of the pillage of our culture. I will do so for you, even though I am not surprised at Israel's destruction of Palestinian cultural achievements because Israel has done worse: it has stolen the homeland of that culture. It is trying to wipe out the people who create that culture. It has stolen the children's dreams to draw a red rose on a wall, because it has destroyed their wall, and because all it knows of the meaning of red is the meaning of blood.

I could almost say that all Palestinian cultural and artistic institutions in Beirut were destryed: from the Karameh exhibition with its great wealth of paintings, to the seat of the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, in addition to private works of art and documents belonging to individuals.

Yes, the way in which the Palestinian Research Centre was looted shows that the Israeli policy of looting Palestinian culture is a programmed policy.

The Research Centre was established in 1965 as a scientific and cultural institution with the purpose of recording the history of the Palestinian people, the history of Zionism, of the State of Israel and of all the aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Its purpose was also to publish information on the subject for the use of researchers and public opinion. The Centre became one of the important academic centres in the Middle East, especially its library which was considered one of the largest and most specialized on the Palestinian problem, in the affairs of Israel and the world Zionist movement. It contained more than 25,000 volumes, 11,000 of which are in English, 5,000 in Arabic, and 3,000 in Hebrew and in other languages also. As for the Centre's archives, they collected and indexed published information and documents concerning the Palestinian problem from more than 80 Arab and foreign newspapers, 250 periodicals in English, 49 in Hebrew, 63 in French, 160 in Arabic and from 30 publications of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The Centre collected also historical Palestinian documents and all documents released by the British Government concerning its mandate in Palestine, as well as all documents released by Israel.

The Centre published a bi-annual volume, 'The Palestinian Chronology', a day-by-day record of the events of the Palestine problem; 22 volumes have been published to date.

The Centre also prepared a diary bulletin, "Monitoring Israeli Broadcasting', which was distributed to the newspapers.

'Palestinian Affairs' was the first monthly magazine specializing in Palestinian affairs and published by the Centre. The Centre's 'Research and Studies' section produced 130 books on Palestinian affairs and 140 on Israeli affairs.

The Israeli armed forces occupied the entire building of the Centre in the western sector of Beirut on the first week of the invasion of the city. They stayed four days during which they emptied the Centre of all it contained: electrical equipment, typewriters, desks, pens, paper, telephone receivers, vacuum cleaners. Everything was loaded into military cars and sent to Israel.

The Israelis left behind them their venerable signatures: insults on the walls and shit all over the floor.

They were not soldiers—they were thieves!

It is extremely difficult to evaluate the losses of the Research Centre. But is it not difficult to affirm that the pillage and destruction of Palestinian cultural institutions is part of the process of destroying the Palestinian cultural identity. This cultural massacre took place at the same time as the massacres of Sabra and Chatilla, and at the same time as Mr. Begin was celebrating the Rosh Ha-Shana (the Hebrew New Year). I wish he could explain how he managed to deserve the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Nordic Commission: I think it would be interesting to know if you have copies of some of these archives or is everything lost? You do not have any copies?

Mahmoud Darwish: No.

Commission: Do you think that all the material was destroyed or was it moved to Tel Aviv for instance?

Darwish: We are sure it was moved to Tel Aviv because the Israelis have declared that they moved it to Tel Aviv.

Commission: Do you think this action was performed by order of the Government of Israel?

Darwish: I think it was by order of the Government because it was so clear and public.

Commission: Have you tried to obtain any protection, for instance from UNESCO or any other United Nations organizations, to get back the material which has been taken away?

Darwish: Yes, we have talked to the Director of UNESCO to see if he can give any help in getting back the material.

DR. EBBA WERGELAND, Physician, Norway

I was not so much struck by the bombardment itself, as by the terrorisation of the population, Palestinians and Lebanese alike.

I want to tell you about some of the things in the first period of the blockade which I experienced. I was sent by the Palestine Committee from Norway to Beirut on 8 June, after we had lost contact with the PRCS there. I was already too late to leave because Beirut was already being closed off. So from Damascus I witnessed the beginning of the siege which was to block supplies and entries into West Beirut, partially or totally during two months. Hundreds of medical workers were already waiting in Damascus when I arrived there. They were mainly Palestinians working in the Gulf States, the majority with their homes and families in south Lebanon. They could not enter and they had no way of getting news about the fate of their families. Others were stuck too. Relief organisations were getting tons of equipment stocked in Damascus, in Chtaura on the way from Damascus to Beirut, and in Tripoli. Three ICRC convoys were stopped on their way to West Beirut, twice by the Israelis and once by Phalangists. This can be checked with the Damascus ICRC representative. Both the PRCS in Damascus and the international relief organisations agreed that Beirut had first priority if it could be reached. Stocks were being destroyed of blood and blood products, due to lack of storage facilities and to expired storage time. I spent my time there trying to find a way to get into Beirut and a Norwegian surgical team joined me in Damascus. I give you details here because I want to show you that the road was not open. We passed via Tripoli through the Phalangist area pretending that we belonged to a UN convoy which we knew was passing to East Beirut the same time. Because we were white, because we were Norwegians, this worked. We had to sleep in Jounieh, also called the Phalangist capital. It is north of Beirut on the coast. Israeli soldiers already moved among the inhabitants there as if it were quite normal, which reminded us of a long-standing, well-established relationship and cooperation between the new occupants and the Phalangists.

We passed the next day from East to West Beirut as journalists. We brought no equipment as other people had been turned off on their way to West Beirut before, also due to their equipment. I had been to Beirut four times before this visit and also during the 1978 invasion. I have lived in different areas of Beirut and know it better than many foreigners, but of course not as well as Beirutis. As a coordinator of the medical teams who

worked there, I had to travel a lot, particularly the first weeks. From the first day I was not so much struck by the bombardment itself, as by the terrorisation of the population, Palestinians and Lebanese alike, all classes of societies affected. I met the people from the camps as I did in 1978, in schools, in cellars, but this time it was worse because they were never safe even if they moved into the centre of the city. I met people from the Palestinian refugee camps telling me about their houses being burned down the day before; they had lost everything. They moved from place to place trying to find a safe area, from day to day.

I was not only a coordinator, I was also a medical doctor, but it was not easy to give sound medical advice to people without water and electricity or money to buy medicine. The lack of water and electricity was not only during the periods which were announced in the newspapers as blockades. It was more or less permanent, partially or totally, during my whole stay there and this was due not only to the deliberate turning off of the tap in the East, but also to bombardment which destroyed the pipelines; and they could not be repaired. When we arrived it was 22 June and people had already stayed in bathrooms and corridors, people who had their flats in the centre of the town. For weeks they started because they were scared by attacks or threatened attacks and low overflights. It was Ramadan and the Israelis during the first part of our stay there had the habit of attacking in the afternoon when the families got together to have their first meal.

On 26 June I saw the first leaflets, but I was told by people who had arrived before me that leaflets had been dropped twice previously over Beirut from planes. These leaflets were warnings to the civilian population and they were written in Arabic, saying that the Israeli Defence Forces are continuing the war against terrorists. It was not their intention to harm the civilian population or those who did not fight against their forces: 'You who live in Beirut, use the ceasefire and save your life; you have the following possibilities: the eastern road to Damascus controlled by the Israeli Defence Forces (I quote, it is not my word 'Defence Forces') or the northern road in the direction of Tripoli; save your life and the lives of your dearest ones'—signed by the 'Leadership of the Israeli Defence Forces'. The truth was that for very many people who lived in Beirut, even those who wanted to leave, there was no real choice because they were afraid; you will see later why they were afraid of passing through the Phalangist area or passing through the Israeli Defence Forces areas. The other reason was that it was extremely expensive to live in the eastern sector and people did not have money to leave. It was said that the population should have been warned. This was the warning they got.

As to shelling and bombardment, was it indiscriminate? All the hospitals I know of in West Beirut except La Hout, the provisional hospital which was made up during the war, were hit, seriously or not so

seriously. If it was not indiscriminate, then was it on purpose? I visited quarters where I had lived before. These residential areas were developing into ghost areas. Six storey buildings, apartment blocks cut through like you would cut slices of bread. How many live in Beirut? Many numbers have been mentioned, and I think no one knows for sure, but I think many people have under-estimated the number because they did not look into every corner. They did not look in these flats which were over-crowded with refugees from the south and from the camps. I think it is an easy thing to under-estimate the population of West Beirut, who lived through these times. How many died? Again no one can be expected to give an exact answer even though many authorities tried to give an answer. Under the rubble in West Beirut there are still people left. Rescue work was extremely difficult. When bombardments last for five hours, fourteen hours—ambulances could not work and rescue work was dangerous. What do you do with fires when you have no water and fuel? There were courses organised by the Norwegian medical team for ambulance personnel in Beirut. A few days after we left we received the news that of this group of around 15 to 20 one had been killed and three wounded when a grenade hit their ambulance.

As a coordinator quite often I had contact with the ICRC. I was told very early that the ICRC as a routine informed participants concerned, or in this case Israel, about the exact location of every hospital and medical centre. They had done this for West Beirut also. Tel Aviv knew the exact location of every hospital and medical centre in West Beirut. I heard this from Mr. Colombi in the ICRC. When I asked him about Akka and Gaza, which at that time were the most recent examples, he had no comment.

Cluster bombs have been mentioned. I would like to make the point that while I was there in Beirut many things seemed evident and clear which we now have to prove. For instance, there was some question of cluster bombs. In *L'Orient—Le Four*, I do not have the date, there was an announcement from the Civil Defence Department warning people not to pick up unknown metal devices because they might be cluster bombs. That was the character of the problem for the West Beiruti population.

I do not believe the dates given in the newspaper when it comes to the blockade, because for the whole time I was there it was on and off: trouble with water, trouble with electricity, trouble with supply of medicine and food. Because I travelled to different areas I could see that even if our hotel was pretty well supplied, this was not typical of West Beirut.

DR. TERJE LUND, Physician, Norway

I was astonished to see the precision with which the Israeli air rockets had hit cellars and shelters under high buildings without hitting the buildings.

I am going to concentrate on the item of bomb shelters since the time schedule is pressing. I am referring mainly to the heavy bombing on 12 August, the last day with heavy air raids which lasted from 6 o'clock in the morning unil 7 o'clock in the evening. The aeroplanes were supported by artillery as we have heard before. All parts of the town were hit and, due to

More than 90% of the casualties from Israel's war in Lebanon were civilians—a majority of them children. This boy was hit by a U.S. cluster bomb and treated at American University Hospital in Beirut.

Photo: UNICEF

the heavy bombardment, no transport of wounded people was possible in the areas. So we did not receive many patients until 6 o'clock in the evening. Then we got a message that we should receive 40 burnt patients from a shelter which was hit. I was not at the emergency entrance according to our plan for catastrophe situations. I was on my part of the ward with special care for the critically ill patients and I was told by those who were in the entrance that we received about 30 patients in 15 minutes. I saw that day only the patients who came to my ward and my special responsibility was to take care of six critically ill burnt patients and two patients with serious head injuries. Among the burnt patients were a woman of 20 years old, a boy, who was her brother aged 12, and three ladies between 50 and 60 years old. These persons had burns of between 30 and 60 percent of the skin surface, second degree burns. In addition to these patients we received many with less serious injuries, I mean crush injuries, from small stones hitting them. All these patients were civilians. They all came from the same shelter.

First let me describe the kinds of burns. They were special kinds of burns I had not seen before this war. As I said, they were second degree burns, that means that the skin makes big blisters, the outer layer loosens from the body and for instance you could pull off the skin of fingers with nails on it, just like a glove, of some of the patients. All the areas which had been bare, that is not covered with several layers of clothes, were burnt, the hair was still on their heads but it changed into a fragile material which could be crushed when it was touched; it went into little pieces. At that time it was not possible to say what was the cause of these burns, but we heard they had all stayed in a shelter which was hit by three or four rockets from aeroplanes.

When the cease-fire was stable a few days later I went out with other medical personnel to see this specific shelter to find out the situation, and on the way there we also stopped at other places. I was astonished to see the precision with which the Israeli air rockets had hit cellars and shelters under high buildings without hitting the buildings. I saw at least seven examples of this which was a hole, let us say two metres away from where the wall or building goes down to the ground, through which the rockets had gone into the cellars and blown up the contents, whatever they were. In this specific case with all these patients mentioned above there were between 80 and 120 civilians in the shelter which was hit by three or four rockets. These numbers are according to the French anaesthetist who was working in the medical first-aid station and who first received these patients.

In one street I saw three high blocks with exactly similar rocket holes going down into the basements. Akka hospital must, I think, have been hit by a similar kind of rocket a few weeks earlier, which had penetrated into the basement and into the surgical ward. I do not know if the shelter from which we received all those patients was constructed as a shelter or as an underground parking lot, but it was placed between two high buildings and was used by a lot of civilians. There were no military persons in this shelter at all according to those who received patients from the shelter. According to the French anaesthetist, 56 persons were taken out alive from these ruins. When I arrived there I could tell from the smell that there were certainly still corpses buried under the concrete. They did not have the machines to dig them out at that time.

The explanation why all these people had these kind of burns was that they had been located in a part of the shelter which did not collapse. It was under one of the high blocks. The walls and the roof were black and my conclusion, after seeing this and after discussing it with people who are more experienced with weapons than I, was that it must have been a thermal flash, a special very high heat generated during the explosion from one or several of the rockets. So that the people who were staying in here were not hit by concrete or shrapnel, but were heated for a short second to such a point that they later died. Five of these six patients died after four days. In addition to those, we had old people with head injuries whose skulls had to be operated on immediately. We were working with those people very concentratedly for some days.

My conclusion is that from the precision with which I have seen the basements hit, I find it very hard to believe that this was a coincidence. It was obvious that we here have very advanced weapons which are able to hit these kind of goals, but I am not a military expert. I do not know how this functions, but it was said to be rockets.

CROSS EXAMINATION OF DRS. WERGELAND, HEGER, GILBERT, and LUND

Nordic Commission: Mads Gilbert, you said that the ratio of the civilian casualties as to the military was 30:1.

Mads Gilbert: Yes. You understood me correctly and I will explain it to you because on 27 July I was forced to accompany a patient whom we had to transfer from La Hout medical centre to the American hospital, and this was one of the days of heavy bombardment. We had some 30 casualties admitted to La Hout and I had the opportunity to look at all these patients. In the American hospital there was also a very large admis-

sion of severely injured patients. Of course it is very hard to judge exactly who are the soldiers, but when I put up this ratio it was based on the counting of about 70 patients whom I saw, and amongst them there were probably two, no more than three identified as soldiers. The main injuries were children and women. This is I think consistent with the ratio we had in La Hout medical centre. I think that 80 percent is a conservative assessment of the proportion.

Terje Lund: Can I add to that point? There were some on our team who tried to make statistics on La Hout and it was a very difficult thing to do because the documentation on each patient was poor. But I think we must take into consideration that La Hout as its maximum took 90 patients which means that the statistical numbers taken from La Hout does not give scientific evidence on what was the total proportions in Beirut. I know that there is a Lebanese group which is in contact with the Middle East Council of Churches, and is trying to work out good statistics from all the hospitals in Beirut.

Commission: I wonder if this ratio would be different from the different periods; but the numbers you gave were for the period of July?

Terje Lund: Yes, this was from the beginning of the heavy bombardment period and it was the day when they first bombed the area. I think there is one more point to make, and that is, medically speaking it was logical that those who were less mobile—that is the children and the old people—would be the majority of the patients and this was what we found. Old people and children very often had the most severe damages.

Commission: As far as I understood, you contended that hospitals and other medical centres were bombed with the intention of destroying them. Of course it is very hard to believe that. Could it not have been done by coincidence? As a war was going on it is very hard to avoid such accidents. Are you quite sure that it was intentional?

Terje Lund: I cannot give you solid proof that it was intentional. You will have to ask the Israeli army about that. But I would like to specify that both Akka and Gaza hospitals are bright, rather big buildings, situated in the Chatila/Sabra area. The surrounding buildings and the living quarters are very low, not more than one storey high. Both the hospitals were, as previously stated, marked both with a Red Crescent and with Red Crosses on the walls and roofs and with flags. The hit that these hospitals took were not just single hits or just one random hit; they were continuously being hit and were hit by a large number of shells, grenades or whatever it was.

Commission: Were they completedly destroyed?

Bernt Heger: About Gaza hospital, four upper floors were completely destroyed. I think that after two or three weeks they tried to build them up in a way so that they could use some of the hospital again, but it was closed for 14 days I think.

Terje Lund: I can say that the day after the shelling of Gaza hospital we were at the press conference at the Hotel Commodore in Beirut. Of course we had no newspaper inside Beirut but I talked to a journalist from ABC, I think, some days after and he gave me the impression that the Israelis had admitted they had shelled Gaza and they said that it was a military target. It was run by the PLO and the PLO were a terrorist organisation. This is what the journalist told me.

Commission: Were any of the hospitals close to military positions?

Terje Lund: I am not a military expert. I worked only in a humanitarian capacity and I really do not know. I was around and I did not see any military installations. As I said, the shelter was the only shelter in the sruroundings and we had only civilians down in the shelter when they shelled the building.

Commission: The leaflets you mentioned before, were they addressed to the hospital?

Terje Lund: I do not know, but it was only around the hospital where we got these leaflets.

Mads Gilbert: It is important to know that both Gaza and Akka hospitals, after having been evacuated, resumed some medical functions. I did give anaesthetics at Gaza hospital after the evacuation period, but this was only in the basement operating theatres. That was the only place where we could perform anything. The upper parts of the buildings were destroyed, but I saw how both of these hospitals were working last summer, and it is beyond doubt that it is not possi ble to have them running as hospitals now.

Commission: The point you raised about examples of the bombing of several shelters, did you see other examples of the effectiveness of the weapons, how precisely they hit the target? Have you any comment about this?

Terje Lund: About the precision in general, firstly I would say that I was very astonished to see how the rockets were able to go down between high buildings and down into the basements. I really cannot understand technically how this is possible but I saw this. Concerning other weapons, I saw for instance in one area that there was an office in which some type of military or half military Lebanese organisation was situated. It was bombed with precision, none of the other buildings around was hit. More serious was perhaps the bombing of the Sonieh building. I think it was 6 August when an eight storey apartment block about 15 minutes walk from La Hout medical centre was flattened totally by a bomb. This was really astonishing how they precisely hit one building.

If I may add just one more point. It had been very well documented in the magazine *Newsweek* and in several French magazines, with photographs of Israeli officers studying very, very detailed high power air photographs of West Beirut, planning the attack. I do not know the details of

the electronics of this weaponry, but they beyond doubt knew the location of every single building and probably also the function of the buildings.

Commission: According to your experience some of the bombing was made from helicopters?

Bernt Heger: Again, I can only talk about Gaza hospital. In my opinion there was only shelling from the Israeli positions 1½ kilometres away from Gaza hospital at that time. I heard from a youth that on the same day, on 25 June, there was heavy shelling or bombing from aeroplanes, not helicopters, in the Fakhani area.

Terje Lund: The ambulance driver, who is a paramedic and who was in the team with us from the Norwegian relief organisation, went to the Raouche area to aid in the relief work on the day I talked about. During his work in the ruins of a house, two Israeli helicopters approached the area firing rockets, but they were repulsed by the fire of the joint forces and the Palestinian forces. That is a very firm piece of evidence which we know of.

DR. CONSTANTIOS ALEXIOU, Physician, Greece

I was also witness to merciless, simultaneous carpet bombing from aircraft, artillery and gun boats. Even during the cease-fire agreement, they were brought in systematically. I saw total devastation of bombardment of the residential districts such as Sabra, Chatila, Fakhani, Mazda'a.

My medical group consisted of five doctors and six nurses, and Damascus was the first stop. There the International Red Cross policy towards us, as expressed by those officials in Damascus, can only be termed as strange. I refer to this because besides their negative stand towards a wel-equipped and organised team, they were equally unwilling to hurry through large supplies of blood and the medicines offered by Greece and desperately needed in West Beirut. As it was impossible for all the team to proceed to West Beirut, half of the group stayed in Damascus and after that turned back to Greece. The other half travelled by taxis and arrived in East Beirut after an 11-hour trip.

For three days in East Beirut we attempted to obtain permission to travel into West Beirut but it was impossible. The answer was that Israeli forces had cut off all means of communication with West Beirut. On the fourth day we tried in an official way and succeeded in passing through the blockade of Israeli and Phalange lines. I cannot reveal of course the method used without exposing other people and countries. While waiting in East Beirut we had a continual, extensive 'bird's eye view' of bombardment by air, land and sea of the tragic city, horrific bombardment, quite indiscriminate.

The first hospital I went to in West Beirut was called Akka, nearly totally destroyed. Only in its basement was there something suggesting a first-aid station. There I operated on a crippled man taking from his right leg two metallic pieces. These I think were fragments of a sort of cluster bomb. During that time two ladies were admitted seriously suffering from extensive burns due to the burning bomb explosion. In the same place I saw the children's department totally damaged by shelling, while in the doctors' bedroom it was apparent that the hole in the wall was due to a shell coming obviously from the sea. Because it was not possible for me to work at underground level I left for Gaza hospital. This was a building of six or seven floors, but everything above the ground floor had been destroyed and its function was limited to the first and second basement. Finally we went to a private gynaecological clinic. The Palestine Red Crescent had rented the fourth floor turning it into the general surgical unit for emergency cases. From my stay and work in West Beirut I can assess the hospital conditions as follows. First, there was a lack of medical facilities and supplies and of specialised medical staff. Second, the conditions for the care of the wounded were terribly difficult since hospitals had been already bombed while the functioning of the rest became problematic since they were unable to offer any security. Thirdly, the lack of vital things such as electricity, water, even blood posed significant obstacles for the care of the injured people. Fourthly, a great number of the seriously injured could not be looked after properly by units created in a hurry. All these factors of course resulted in a high rate of mortality and a high incidence of post-operative complications.

During my stay there I have been witness to an absolute blockade of the town from land, air and sea. In spite of any elementary human rights the Israelis and Phalangists deprived 400,000 people of water, electricity, food supplies, making telephone communications difficult when they had not cut them off entirely. I had already realised that medical supplies, even blood, were significantly prevented by Israelis and Phalangists from being sent. I was also witness to merciless, simultaneous, carpet bombing from aircrafts, artillery and gun boats. Even during the ceasefire agreement they were brought in systematically. I saw total devastation by bombardment of the residential districts such as Sabra, Chatila, Fakhani,

Mazda'a. The Israelis as well did not hesitate in bombing indiscriminately refugee camps, hospitals and cemeteries. I must end by alluding to the use of burning bombs, toy bombs, vacuum bombs, etc. I also should tell you about the psychological war exercised daily by false bombing with illuminations and sound bombs and the use of threatening leaflets. The car explosions and the presence of snipers supplemented the atmosphere of terror and anxiety and fear in the besieged city.

Now I will show you some indicative, characteristic slides taken by me. A small child seriously injured when her sister was playing with an unknown weapon, probably a toy bomb; it exploded and her sister died. She was very seriously injured. Another child seriously injured in its abdomen. Next one: again, young people. Next one: another one died, very seriously injured. A baby, it was injured when it was embraced by his mother, who had died from a fragmentation bomb probably which injured it in the perineum and the right groin. Next one: another seriously burned by phosphorus bomb. Next one: this is the insertion of spots of small fragments, probably from a fragmentation bomb. Next one: very extended burn from burning bombs. Next one: another case.

The ratio of the civilians to fighters in my hospital was 25 to 1. Second, the use of prohibited weapons was obvious. Again, the bombardment of residential areas was obvious. Fourth, there were no injured persons by bullet but by fragments from shells, burns and collapsed buildings. My stay in West Beirut was enough to convince me of the size and the dimensions of the Zionist action which is included in the term genocide.

Commission: Dr. Alexion, you mentioned on a couple of occasions that some of the wounds which you saw or treated were inflicted by toy bombs. I would like you to tell us very shortly what proof you have of that because our American expert, Mr. Lamb, told us that according to him there was no evidence of toy bombs having been used.

Dr. Alexion: I did not see this toy bomb, but it was described as a pen, like this, from the people who brought this child, the dead one and the seriously injured one. It was a suggestion, a strong suggestion.

Commission: It was one occasion or several occasions?

Dr. Alexion: Just this occasion.

I would like to make a comment about my experience of prohibited weapons. The burn from phosphorus bombs is deep, and is difficult to heal; you have to take the material off. There is no other substance, not even water, which can stop the phosphorus from burning. It sometimes takes about six hours to burn out.

GS, Observer, Palestine

The present social and health condition of Palestinian residents in the camps in both South Lebanon and Beirut is catastrophic.

The Israeli invasion of West Beirut on 15 September and the consequent massacre of Palestinians has drastically changed the situation in Beirut. The Palestinian community in general, and camp residents in particular, have found themselves totally unprotected and vulnerable to different acts of hostility. Fear, despair and total helplessness is the atmosphere in which the Palestinian lives. This is further complicated by the fact that the very existence of Palestinian camps in Lebanon now appears to be in question. The future role of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS), which in the past provided innumerable services and facilities, is likewise in question. *Immediate* mobilisation of all fronts is *urgently* needed to ensure the safety of Palestinian civilians, as well as the preservation of the Palestinian institutions that serve them.

The testimony is an attempt to provide interested agencies and individuals with both background information regarding the PRCS, as well as information on present conditions in general. While it will focus predominantly on the situation in Beirut, reference will be made to the situation in the south, where the situation is similar, if not worse.

THE PRCS PRIOR TO THE ISRAELI INVASION, JUNE 1982

The PRCS, which was founded on 26 December 1968, has been operating in most Arab countries hosting Palestinians. It has provided both Palestinians and the local population with free medical care, including specialised surgery, hospitalisation and rehabilitation services.

Prior to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, the PRCS operated a total of ten hospitals and eleven socio-medical centres and clinics, representing both curative and preventive medicine. The number of hospital beds available was 600 and approximately 3,000 were seen daily. The eleven centres, distributed throughout the camps, also included maternal and child-care divisions; at the same time, primary health education was provided to all camp residents. The PRCS also set up vocational training centres in the south and in Beirut. A nursing school, which also provided paramedical training for lab technicians and pharmacy assistants, was established in Beirut in 1976. Tuition was free and two types of

diploma programmes were available: a three-year programme for staff nurses and a one-year programme for practical nurses. Graduated nurses and trainees generally staffed PRCS hospitals and clinics. Haifa Hospital (Beirut), which had 100 beds and an active out-patient department, also provided workshops in pottery, furniture-making, carpentry and iron work for the physically and mentally handicapped and disabled. Finally, Ramleh Centre functioned as a rehabilitation clinic for the physically disabled, providing prosthesis to those in need. Social services provided by the PRCS include a centre in Beirut for the preservation of Palestinian folk tradition and art: young women were taught local and regional embroidery patterns. Income from the sale of items they sewed was used for modest social development programmers related to the women themselves.

THE PRCS AND THE SIEGE OF BEIRUT

The PRCS played a significant and important role during the siege of Beirut, quickly and effectively mobilising to face the almost insurmountable and adverse conditions. When the shelling and aerial bombardment throughout the city made it impossible to move freely, the PRCS relocated in several parts of the city. Despite the constant and heavy shelling in that area, Akka and Gaza hospitals remained open and maintained emergency facilities, while twenty-five different centres, including six with operating facilities, were established in our neighbourhoods. The largest hospital established was located at the Near East School of Theology (NEST) in Ras Beirut; almost overnight, this institution was converted into a 150-bed hospital, with a fully equipped operating room, emergency facilities and qualified staff. In addition, the PRCS helped in garbage collection and disposal, as well as in the distribution of water, whether through the drilling of artesian wells or by providing power for the pumping of water. All these facilities and services were available free of charge, to Palestinians and Lebanese alike.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

The present social and health conditions of Palestinian residents in the camps in both South Lebanon and Beirut is catastrophic. The three PRCS hospitals, as well as the clinics that had operated in the south, have ceased to function. Most of the PRCS staff in the region are unaccounted for: large numbers are being held in Israeli prison camps, while others have been reported killed or missing. Camp dwellers are treated in small clinics, where they are available, run by local and international voluntary agencies. In Beirut itself, following the Israeli invasion and the massacre

of Sabra and Shatila residents, which also caused the death of fourteen PRCS staff members including two physicians, the situation is equally disastrous. Haif Hospital, which in the past had operated at a capacity of 100 beds, is presently occupied by some of the homeless. One room has been vacated and is being used as a temporary clinic, run by volunteer doctors provided through the Middle East Council of Churches (MECC). Akka Hospital, which had a capacity of eighty beds, has just re-opened with a limited, but courageous, Palestinian staff. Gaza Hospital has also been reopened and, like Akka, is temporarily under the protection of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC): it is being staffed by members of the PRCS and doctors provided by the MECC. Although it had a capacity of 120 beds, it is now functioning at the level of forty beds only.

Both Sabra and Shatila camps have been severely damaged, with large portions of them being totally demolished. Approximately 20,000 persons have been left homeless; the minimum in terms of sanitary conditions is almost nonexistent. Since the rainy season has already started, health conditions have deteriorated further. The need for shelter has become more urgent, while hygienic and health conditions need immediate attention.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS

1. Palestinians, whether in Beirut or in South Lebanon, need some kind of guaranteed protection. *This is absolutely urgent.* At the same time, their future status in Lebanon must be determined as soon as possible. Rumours quote a figure of 50,000 Palestinian residents remaining in Lebanon. While local Muslim leaders have insisted that Palestinians will remain, the anti-Palestinian atmosphere is overwhelming and extremely discouraging.
2. Housing and shelter for camp residents is equally urgent. While it has been suggested that tents be set up for the Palestinians of the south, pressure needs to be placed on all fronts to avoid the same fate for Beirut's Palestinian population.
3. The future of the PRCS needs to be clarified. Present conditions have made it almost impossible to function properly—decisions are often not taken because of uncertainty with regard to the future. At the same time, the administrative and organisational difficulties faced every day are debilitating and intolerable, and have caused a great deal of stress and tension. It is also important to stress that PRCS staff members, who are more than willing to continue their work, are doing so at their personal risk, since there are no guarantees for their safety. Should it be decided that the PRCS will remain to continue its mission, an itemised list of all

necessary equipment will be forwarded to interested parties. A large part of PRCS equipment has been either stolen or destroyed.

PAMELA COOPER, England

Thus, I think that one of the greatest evils which Israel has wrought upon Lebanon is the fostering of sectarian and religious divisions which that country has tried so hard to heal since gaining independence.

Our lifespan is too brief, at least for most of us lesser fry, to completely discard the ideologies and beliefs of our forefathers, yet despite the peculiarly unpleasant moment of history we have to endure in the 1980s, in Europe we seem to have arrived at some degree of mutual religious tolerance and respect. As Christians we have a duty to love our neighbour since our first loyalty is to a loving God. Thus, I think, that one of the greatest evils which Israel has wrought upon the Lebanon is the fostering of sectarian and religious divisions which that country has tried so hard to heal since gaining independence.

Israel, under Mr. Begin and his cabinet, has become increasingly a confessional state. Like the Turks he would like to divide the rule, to see the Lebanon slit up into cantons of Maronite, Melkite and Orthodox Christians, and Sunni, Shia Moslems and Druzes, retaining a prevailing influence and cooperation with the richer Maronite community.

During the six weeks I lived in besieged West Beirut, where the Israelis doubtless had spies but held no sway, there was a air of what I can only call brotherhood, a belonging, which I personally had never experienced before. As the guns bombed from the sea, the rockets and shells hit us from the south and from the hills to the south east, Lebanese and Palestinians toiled tirelessly together for the dispossessed and the wounded, helped by a small force of doctors and nurses from almost every European country, Australia and New Zealand.

As representatives of OXFAM, my husband and I were closely allied throughout to the joint Lebanese/Palestine Committee, with a smaller group to help administer OXFAM funds. These dedicated men and women, Christian and Moslem who had stayed on in the western part of

the city became our close friends. As the siege tightened its grip, as the merciful black market withered, when the International Red Cross and the UNRWA supply lorries were held up and the fruit and vegetable vans were burned or denied access through the only three crossing places across the Green Line, then with them we were able to buy from local warehouses emergency foods such as sardines, humus, beans in tomato sauce which did not have to be prepared with the dwindling stocks of fuel. We employed women to sew sheets and diapers for the hospitals and families in the high rise blocks and made emergency purchases of medicine and bandages. One of the biggest privations was lack of water to drink or for laundering.

In underground hospitals, excavated as garages for the Mercedes of the departed Lebanese, Belgian, French and Norwegian surgeons operated and amputated limbs under appalling conditions caused by cluster and phospherous bombing and shelling; it might be a child or a woman or old man pulled out of the rubble of a building that had been hit by the most up to date deep penetration weapon.

As the perimetre of the city to the south and east was hit again and again, so more Lebanese and Palestinian families moved into the shrinking centre. In the Rue Clemenceau there was a new block of flats housing 100 families of refugees, not far from the coast and the American University. In the basement garage a young Finn had set up a small clinic and I arranged that an equally young English doctor who had arrived from Athens as a volunteer, should visit twice a week or when a child or woman needed hospitalisation. Except that there was no fuel to pump water to the flats so that it perversely ran down the walls of the clinic garage, the families had settled in gratefully, one to a room, with rolls of bedding and a few cooking pots which UNRWA distributed. Like most Palestinians, when given the chance, they kept the overcrowded rooms neat and clean while every new arrival to this precarious and dangerous family life was welcomed with a welter of affection which I was also expected to contribute to.

One morning at 4:30 a.m. I awoke to the sound of the now familiar salvos fired from the Israeli gunboats off the coast followed by the crash of falling masonry. The shelling continued for most of the day. When we were able to reach the Rue Clemenceau I saw the pathetic Red Cross flag tattered, but still flying to advertise the little clinic. The entire surface of the street was covered with broken glass. One shell had hit the two UNICEF water tanks set up across the street, another had taken out the entire front wall of one floor of the building, but on the floor above the customary colourful array of washing hung along the balcony. In the clinic an exhausted and despairing Finn with one or two helpers told us that they had lost only one life, but had had seventy casualties and only five beds. In the lower garage which was dank and dirty but which had saved so many

lives, many families were still sleeping, but others had returned to their blasted flats. This was the week of some of the cruellest bombardment so that had there been anywhere to move them to it would have been a risky undertaking.

As I watch from the safety of S.W.1 scenes of the P.L.O. fighters, maybe fathers and sons of some of my hundred families embarking for Cyprus, a question haunts me. When the siege is lifted and the Phalangist and Kataeb militias once again move around the devastated streets of West Beirut, will they purposely destroy those bonds of mutual trust, the fabric of social welfare and service which these Christian and Moslem, Lebanese and Palestinian men and women have woven so strongly through their suffering? Will that sense of 'belonging' I am already lonely for, along with the smelly streets, the rotting and burning piles of refuse, the rats and the broken sewers, and those gallant children who all day carry water containers beyond their strength down the streets and up the stairways to their mothers and grandmothers nursing a new baby, be irretrievably lost?

DR. FRANCO CONCELLIERI, Physician, Italy

The situation in the center of the city was better but even there many buildings had been hit even though they were civilian buildings, embassies, hotels or hospitals.

Dear friends, as you have already heard, I am an Italian doctor, an anaesthetist, and I stayed in Lebanon from 5 November to 30 December 1982.

I worked there as part of a surgical staff sent out by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to west Beirut to help both the Lebanese and the Palestinian people hit by the last Israeli attack during the summer of last year.

Our team worked for AMEL, a private Lebanese medical organization, and for the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, the well known Palestinian health association.

We carried out our work in two buildings: the Lebanese one was formerly set up in a garage (as anti-aircraft shelter) and then on two floors

of an abandoned seven floor building just near the "Green Line," the zone dividing east and west Beirut in which the 1975-76 civil war was fought; the Palestinian hospital was the Acca hospital, a two winged building of four floors just near the Shatila refugee camp in south west Beirut.

I should at once point out that we performed our surgical activity only in the Palestinian structure because in the Lebanese one there was a shortage of water, electricity cuts and dirt that made an operating theater activity difficult and dangerous.

When we got to Beirut the city was quiet enough and the peace, guaranteed by the American, French and Italian forces, was only occasionally broken by brief light weapon fighting and blasts. (I myself witnessed two of these blasts, the latter was the attempt to kill the Druze leader Walid Jumblatt.)

Even through life was returning to a semblance of normality through an incredible capacity for recovery, we were quite shocked at the sight of the city.

The majority of the buildings in the western strip near the sea and those in the south-western central zone near the stadium, where the PLO had its headquarters had been shelled by the Israeli ships and tanks and bombed by the aircraft so they appeared as a heap of rubble.

The situation in the center of the city was better but even there many buildings had been hit even though they were civilian buildings, embassies, hotels or hospitals. The water and cleansing situation was much worse even though three months had elapsed since the end of the war: there were a severe shortage of water and frequent electricity cuts, heaps of rubbish and rubble lay everywhere and dogs, cats and rats roamed the streets.

But we saw the worst conditions in the Palestinian camps near the airport: severely hit by shells and bombs many other buildings had been destroyed by the Phalangists using dynamite in September.

There were only a few water taps where people crowded round while sewers ran open along the streets.

Compared with that sight of destruction and ruin, east Beirut looked much cleaner, functional and peaceful.

The day after our arrival we visited the Palestinian Red Crescent Society hospitals of Gaza and Acca inside the Palestinian camps and one of the hospitals of the AMEL organization in a popular quarter in the center of west Beirut.

The conditions at the Gaza hospital were quite good: war damage had been repaired and a staff of Palestinian and foreign doctors and nurses were working, carrying out mainly obstetrics and gynecology; they suffered from lack of orthopedic surgeons, plastic surgeons and anaesthetists. Instead the Acca hospital had perhaps suffered more than the shelling previously, besides the Phalangists during the September mas-

sacres had committed inside it every sort of atrocity and had killed some patients, doctors and nurses. However, the structure, after some repairs, seemed to be suitable for surgical activity while it lacked almost completely skilled staff (there were only six resident doctors and some nurses).

As to the AMEL hospital, we decided not to perform any surgical operations because of the unhygienic conditions and, as I said before, on account of the blackouts and water shortage. For all these reasons and in order to help both the Palestinian and the Lebanese populations we chose to hold the clinic in the AMEL and Acca hospitals, but to do the surgical activity only in the Palestinian one, but not until repairs had been done.

The cases we saw concerned, besides a few common surgical cases (appendicitis, hernia, bowel stoppage and so on), above all traumatology, not so much acute traumas but the outcome of previous traumas, all however consequences of the war, bombing above all with phosphorus bombs. Then we saw also many diseases such as abscesses, phlegmons and so on resulting from poor hygiene.

It is important to underline that the majority of our patients had had either no treatment at all or poor treatment or they had interrupted the treatment inopportunely; that happened both through the war and the country's health system with disastrous results on the people: we saw diseases and lesions that had reached a stage we thought impossible.

After three weeks, when the operating theatres of the Acca hospital had been repaired (in particular the lighting system and the water, gases and vacuum pipes which had been badly damaged by shells and bomb blast) we started to operate.

At the beginning it was rather difficult to persuade people to seek hospital treatment. Palestinians in particular would not cross the road dividing the Shatila camp from the hospital being so terrified by what had happened there; the Lebanese army sentry on duty certainly did not reassure them.

They were reassured only when they saw nothing happened either to us or to the patients we visited; the presence in the hospital of an official foreign government sent staff was considered rightly or wrongly, I don't know, a source of security for them, and we were invited to take residence in an apartment on one floor of the building.

Soon when both the clinic and the surgical work were gradually taking shape, we saw the first signs of hostility from the Lebanese government: some soldiers of the Lebanese army came to the store where drugs and other sanitary articles were kept for Acca and Gaza hospitals and took away most of the stock in two occasions.

We protested to the soldiers but in vain: they had had strict orders which they carried out. That news was reported in the Italian newspapers.

In these days we often saw the Lebanese army in mopping up operations in the Palestinian camps and during one of these operations one patient

was shot and killed in the Gaza hospital. The Italian soldiers intervened many times when the Lebanese army committed brutalities against the Palestinian population but they could do nothing (according to the terms of the multinational force in Lebanon) to avoid the many arrests during the mopping up.

In spite of all this we visited more and more patients, approximately five hundred all together and operated on eighty of them, mostly plastic cases for burn scars and on tendon (hand and forearm) lesion. This activity too had some write up in many Italian newspapers, in a Lebanese progressive newspaper and an Algerian one.

We also made a list of a further one hundred patients, Lebanese and Palestinians, in great need of major surgery, impossible under the conditions I have just described but who could have been treated in Italy.

Unfortunately, as the Palestinians would not have been allowed back in Lebanon once they had left the country, we had to exclude them.

I should point out that patients could have undergone such operations in many Beirut hospitals, even during or just after the war, but the cost of this kind of treatment was enormous in comparison with people's means. Besides Palestinians could not afford the risk of going beyond their camp.

The Palestinian Red Crescent Society which had been so efficient before and during the war had lost the majority of its staff.

The Association of Lebanese Doctors through the health minister expressed its protests to our Ambassador because we were carrying out treatment free. I think this was not so much because we were robbing them of patients who would never have had the means, but because this Doctors Association and the Lebanese government were against the Palestinians and disagreed with the principle that people had a right to be treated whatever their means or nationality.

Many times the Lebanese army entered the hospital asking us and the patients for documents, clearly trying to worry both them and us.

Because of these signs of hostility the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to reduce at least for the moment our presence in Lebanon, so only two of us remained more than two months and they are still there.

As I have already said, we visited only Beirut and only in November and December 1982: in that place, in that moment Israel carried out no military attack but the signs of the previous wild attacks were evident, above all on the poorer quarters of west Beirut and on the refugee camps. These attacks had caused the population serious trouble: we could see the effects from the health point of view on our patients.

Another point to underline is that if the Israelis could not directly rage against the Palestinians such attacks were still carried out indirectly through the Phalangist Israeli-allied Lebanese government and army. The attacks consisted as I said, of mopping up operations, arrest, killing, ill treatment, the chaotic state the camp sites were in and the disinterest as to their health.

DR. MARJUT HELMINEN, Physician, Finland

At their arrival, they had to march through two queues of 500 soldiers who were armed with sticks and beat them. Then they were told to raise their heads; the soldiers used karate blows to beat them in the stomach, the kidneys, etc.

I went to Lebanon in November 1982 as a member of an international delegation, and I would like to tell you something about the discussions we had with various personalities and organisations in Beirut. To avoid repetitions, I shall concentrate on two meetings.

1. Meeting with Dr. Noha Salti, of the American University

During the war, Dr. Salti belonged to a team of doctors responsible for sanitary and hygienic measures in Beirut. She told us that she was working with the refugees and the people in the living areas. For several months, there was neither water nor electricity. The buildings were over-crowded because many houses had been destroyed. People also stayed in unfinished buildings, cellars, ruins, etc. According to Dr. Salti, the following problems had to be dealt with:

- parasites (lice, etc.), because of lack of water and fuel;
- garbage disposal was difficult; the mounting heaps of garbage attracted mice, rats, etc.;
- people could not wash properly nor rinse fruit and vegetables; meals were cooked for several days because fuel had to be saved, but it was also impossible to refridge the food which caused other hygienic problems;
- water came from wells, but it was often contaminated, among others with salt and toxic salts; children—especially dehydrated infants—and elderly people could not drink this water;
- it was feared that the plague might break out, but fortunately this did not happen; it was tried to avoid polio which is an endemic disease in the area;
- the people from the South had had very little access to vaccination and therefore had to be vaccinated; vaccines were difficult to store and had to be kept all in one place where there were generators to keep them cool;
- tetanus and diphteria vaccinations took place, and they should also have been applied to older children; yet it was impossible to obtain the vaccines;
- all people who could be reached were taken care of, but in some cases people were too ill or too far away to seek medical assistance;
- blood and medicine were difficult to obtain; in one case, Israeli soldiers poured out seven blood units;
- even the Lebanese and the International Red Cross could not act;
- in mid-August, the Israelis released the water, but without electricity it was impossible to pump it up; because of the shelling, many pipes were broken, so that when the water came, it went into the ground; the water was cut off again after a couple of hours; many people got ill after drinking the water and there were rumours that the Israelis had poisened it, but there is no evidence and the problem might have been caused by the supply-system.

2. Meeting with Dr. Nasser, Lebanese physician, former prisoner in Israeli concentration camps

Dr. Nasser ran a small clinic in a village near Tyre when the bombardments started. The Israelis came through the village. Dr. Nasser stayed in order to continue his political and medical work. His organisation asked people not to have any relations with the Israelis. The latter said that if the people did not co-operate, they would be taken to prison. On 10 June, the Israelis surrounded the village; they blocked all traffic in both directions and assembled everyone in the main square. They possessed a list of names of militants. To Dr. Nasser they said that he should come with them to take care of some sick children, but instead they led him to one of the officials of the Israeli Army. Three of his comrades were already there. Then Dr. Nasser was taken outside. He saw about thirty persons with their arms tied behind their backs and their eyes bound. There was an Israeli agent who told the Israelis to take four men on whose jackets were the insignia of the PLO. Yet all of them were Lebanese. Each one got a new identification card without the name, just with a number and the indictment. They were told to kneel down, then beaten. They were taken by bus to a factory and beaten several times during the trip. At their arrival, they were divided into two groups. The factory functioned as a concentration camp. The prisoners were told to sit down and put their head between their knees; everyone who looked up was beaten. They did not get any food and could not attend to nature's needs. Every now and then, the Israelis fetched one of them to beat him. The victims of this treatment often came back to their places with broken arms or legs. For seven days, the prisoners were not allowed to sleep, and they had to stay out in the open during the day as well as during the night. When they asked how long they would be kept, they heard that some had already been there for fifteen days and that thirteen persons were dead. After seven days, six hundred prisoners were taken to Israel.

In Israel (Haifa and Nahari) they were marched through the streets and presented to the crowds as both Lebanese and PLO. At their arrival, they had to march through two queues of five hundred soldiers all together who were armed with sticks and beat them. Then they were told to raise their heads; the soldiers used karate blows to beat them on the stomach, the kidneys, etc. Then they were "disinfected" with DDT. They got new clothes and were told to sit down. The prisoners decided not to speak when military officials approached them. The Israelis retaliated by beating them, and even the weaker prisoners who promised to speak were hit.

Dr. Nasser started to establish contacts with other camps. In Al-Ansar, where he was finally taken, the prisoners organised themselves. There were about seven thousand prisoners in Al-Ansar. They organised a hunger strike to obtain the date of their release. They also organised a demonstration to celebrate their feast. In the course of the demonstration, they threw stones on the tanks that passed outside the fenced prison area. The Israelis opened fire, and several people were killed.

Dr. Nasser was tortured to reveal the names of those who had organised the demonstration. He was put into a small metal cell measuring 40x40x160 cm and whose floor was made of blunt metal sticks. He was told to knock when he wanted to tell something and informed that, usually, people died after four hours in this cell. He was naked. He stayed there for twenty hours. After this, he was released from prison.

In the camp where Dr. Nasser was before being brought to Al-Ansar, there were 1,200 prisoners; there are thirteen such camps in all of the occupied territories. In each room, there were sixty prisoners, even though the rooms could only hold twenty. In the bus which took Dr. Nasser to this camp, there were three women who were brought to some other place. Dr. Nasser supposes that there is a special camp for women. Every day, about 150 new prisoners arrived and ten to fifteen detainees were taken to Al-Ansar.

L. FLOROS, A. PAPAGEORGIOU, L. VASILAKOU, C. ALEXIOUS, V. KARANIKA, N. POULI, A. BERIS, S. SKOUFOGLOU, G. PAPPA, C. PAPAPASHALI, G. KOKKALIS, C. CHARALAMBOUS, A. NISIOTIS, C. KANELLIS, G. KANELLI, Z. VOLIKAS; Physicians and Nurses; Greece

Refugee camps with women and children, created by Israeli destructions in South Lebanon and the populated areas of West Beirut, constitute usual targets for the Israeli air force and artillery.

No human language is able to express the feelings of Greek doctors and nurses who witnessed the recent zionist brutality in Lebanon.

With sentiments of indignation, detestation and sorrow the Greek Medical team which visited Lebanon feels the need and obligation to denounce to the Greek and world public opinion the crimes, brutality and barbarism carried on nowadays by the Israeli army in South Lebanon and besieged West Beirut. This report, being an attempt to present briefly the distressing and painful experience and testimony lived closely by the Greek Medical Mission, despite the inevitable difficulties of such a description due to the plethora and polymorphism of the events, is the smallest contribution to the tried and tortured Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the smallest expression of support and solidarity to the heroic struggle of the two nations. Moreover, it is time for the Greek and world public opinion to get objectively informed on the existing dangers created by the actions of a State member of the U.N., which despises the international regulations and denies by fact its respect for human rights, the very right of life and the acquisition of a country for an entire people.

Humanity today, more than ever before, must realize the dimensions and catastrophic sequences of the continuation of the aggressive expansionist militaristic policy of the state of Israel, the continuing toleration of this policy, and its strengthening by the imperialist forces.

Today's example clearly synthesizes (makes) the frame of threat drawn in the horizon for the future of humanity.

Our 25-day stay in West Beirut is enough to convince us of the size and dimension of the criminal plans of zionism which are hardly included in the term "genocide." The manner and the means used for the organized extinction of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples confirm the existence

of programs and plans which have been strictly followed for the success of this goal.

West Beirut's blockade from land, air and sea is one of the most abominable examples in human history.

Without any respect to the elementary human rights and needs of at least 400,000 residents of West Beirut, the Israelis and Phalangists forbid water, electricity and food supplies, making telecommunications extremely difficult. They put obstacles to the entry and exit from West Beirut of all Palestinians, even of physicians who come to fulfill a simple human duty.

Citizens of foreign countries with medical capacity are submitted to terrible hardships in order to be able to move away from and into the blocked part of the city.

We were personally submitted to unacceptable formalities relative to the international and humane regulations, hardship against our personal security, minute questions of interrogatory type referring to our destination, the character of our mission, the place of our residence and the work we performed during our stay in blocked West Beirut, despite the fact that we were supplied and we showed certificates of the Greek, International Red Cross, and in many instances our colleagues were escorted by members of the Greek diplomatic mission in Lebanon. We were submited to strict inspection of our personal belongings despite the fact that from the first look one could clearly find out that it was about pharmaceutical material and exclusively personal things. The uppermost of these actions was the unacceptable minute humiliating body search made of us by the Israelis and Phalangists.

It has been already known that sending medical, pharmaceutical and other material of vital significance for wounded and sick fighters and civilians has been systematically prevented by the Israeli occupation forces. Despite elementary international treaties and regulations, the entry of medico-pharmaceutical material and blood with destination to the Palestinian and Lebanese Red Cross is prohibited.

The same difficulties with some exceptions apply to the International Red Cross, which doesn't use all its possibilities and doesn't respond with determination and promptness to its obligations.

During our stay we personally found out that West Beirut has been almost daily suffering merciless bombing and attacks from land, sea and air. Even the agreed-upon "cease-fires" are broken systematically and purposely by the Israeli troops for psychological and military reasons.

We surprisingly found out that Israelis are not confined in bombing only to military positions but attack with particular rage and intensity populated areas on purpose.

City districts as: Sabra, Chatila, Fakhani, Borj El-Barajnie, Chouaifate, Mazraa, have been completely destroyed and most buildings demolished.

It should be noted that these areas have been continuously bombed up to date. Their population has to choose between leaving and dying. Civilians of these areas unable to quit them increase daily the list of 40,000 dead and victims of this dreadful war with undetermined number of lost who are buried under the ruins of their houses.

Refugee camps with women and children, created by Israeli destructions in South Lebanon and the populated areas of West Beirut, constitute usual targets for the Israeli air force and artillery.

Our medical work enable us to diagnose with sorrow that the number of dead is much larger than the wounded, and the number of civilians wounded, and small children in particular, aged 1-12 years is much greater than that of fighters.

1. The conditions for the care of wounded are terribly difficult since hospitals are bombed purposely and repeatedly, Akka, Gaza, and Barbir hospitals have suffered considerable damages in patient wards despite hospital flags and signs of the International Red Cross flying over them.

A great number of patients is among the victims of repeated bombing around and inside the hospitals. We express our condemnation of the criminal actions of bombing the Psychiatric Hospital resulting in the death of 27 undefended psychiatric patients. The function of the above hospitals has already become problematic. They don't offer moreover any security for the hospitalized.

2. The lack of vital things, electricity, water and food puts significant obstacles even to the elementary efforts for the care of the wounded.

3. The great number of wounded cannot always be absorbed by the nursing units created in a hurry.

4. The critical conditions of the very traumas makes their prognosis problematic and uncertain. We found out that all patients had multiple wounds with extensive and dangerous surgical and orthopedic traumas.

There were very few cases of gun bullet traumas because most wounded had suffered bomb traumas. The quality of traumas which, according to the international traumatologic experience are the most severe ever found to date in war period, show actually the systematic use by the Israeli army of internationally forbidden weapons.

We can report cases of wounded by phosphorous bombs with generalized extensive deep whole thickness burns.

We repeatedly operated on patients perforated by smashing bomb particles and amputated small children with traumas from personnel bombs. The latter result-even far from the site of primary lesion (e.g. radiocarpal or tarsotibial area)—in massive loss of soft parts and other tissues even bones, which necessitate high amputation of entire limbs.

Even in cases of possible avoidance of amputations, the lack of tissues was so great that any attempt for surgical restoration in the future gets

problematic. We may anticipate from now the outcome, noting the inevitable creation of large number of invalids.

We felt indignation, abhorrence and pain from the use of toy-bombs, fact which led us on numerous occasions to amputations of young children aged 4-10 years.

We must also add the systematic use of burning bombs, in areas particularly lacking water, as we found out with our own eyes as well as treating patients with severe burns. We saw patients that have suffered traumas after being run over by Israeli tanks while lying wounded on the ground.

We should add to all these the unacceptable psychological war exercised daily against West Beirut inhabitants with fictitious attacks, and bombing, and casting of illuminating and sound bombs and threatening proclamations (feuilles volantes) by the Israeli planes.

We must not omit the systematic car explosions in the form of booby-trapped cars, which, along with the blind bombings and aside of acts of blanket damage, make a climate and practice of psychological pressure on the civilians and fighters of West Beirut. The presence of snipers in passing-points of the city supplement the atmosphere of terrorism, psychic anxiety and fear for the besieged.

We could refer more extensively and in a detailed form and to supplement this report, with descriptions from testimonies of the brutalities taking place in the occupied regions of South Lebanon against the population and the severe insufficiencies in medico-pharmaceutical care.

We report characteristically that many families arrive daily in West Beirut because it is impossible to live under the Israeli occupation. The conditions of living there are unacceptable. We believe however that such a presentation would be out of the initial purpose for a brief report of our excruciating experiences.

We flatly denounce the criminality of the Israeli Government and army, the objective of which is the moral and physical extermination of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

We demand from all responsible international organizations and world public opinion to condemn with specific measures the brutalities taking place nowadays in Lebanon and to put an end to this actual threat and warning, which endangers the future of humanity.

We also demand from the Greek Government and the Greek public opinion to proceed further, taking practical measures in this direction.

We finally demand, in case of non-compliance, the international isolation of Israel and the application of exemplary measures against it from international organizations, as a horrible criminal of the very world community.

DR. LOUCAS FLOROS, Physician, Greece

The Israelis didn't kill just for the sake of killing. They killed precisely for this, to be able to promote their expansionism.

I am a Greek doctor and have been to Lebanon twice as a representative of the Panhellenic Medical Association. I want to stress this because in my presence there too the Greek people and especially the Greek doctors expressed their interest in and willingness to assist in this tragic situation in Lebanon.

On my second visit to Lebanon, I went as a member of a committee representing all mass organisations of Greece in order to investigate mainly the needs arising out of this fascist invasion. I won't tire you either with too many pictures or with too many descriptions of the consequences

Palestine refugee children during the siege of West Beirut.

of the Israelis' criminal acts in Lebanon. I will only show you some pictures as a base for what I want to say.

A picture of biblical destruction in Beirut. Specific key and carefully selected buildings were bombed by the Israeli fascists. This, I believe, is of special significance.

From here onwards begin some pictures of hospitals.

For as long as we were in Beirut, the hospitals were repeatedly bombed daily, the tragic consequences of course, and patients dying. Specfically 27 mental patients died in one day as a result of the bombing.

Another picture of destruction at Akaa hospital. Bombardment of the hospital.

Even through this picture is not very clear, I would like to draw you attention to the spots on the ceiling of a ward in Gaza hospital, caused by a phosphorous bomb. It was dropped on the hospital and as it was only natural it burned the patients of the ward.

Here we have some repulsive wounds but one should think as to who makes these weapons and who is using them with such results.

These two children are cousins. They attempted to play with a toy bomb, such as those used by Israeli, in Lebanon. There were five children, 3 of them were killed, these two were amputated and had part of their intestine removed.

The same child—we should look at its face, its eyes give an answer to the question of what kind of toy it would want and looks at its hand.

A little girl of 3—a bomb cut her right hand off; she is trying to learn how to use her left hand.

Here was a block of flats in Beirut. As you can see all of it has caved in and disappeared. This is the new weapon. I don't know how many of you have read the statements of White House officials published in the Washington Post that they are satisfied with the effects of their weapons in Lebanon. It is only too evident that they, as technocrats makers of these weapons, should be satisfied with such results.

This is a signpost in South Lebanon, written in Hebrew. That is, conditions of Israeli occupation are prevailing. And this signifies the intentions of Israel for expansion. They didn't kill just for the sake of killing. They killed precisely for this, to be able to promote their expansionism. In this they are not alone of course; they are serving the interests of imperialism. By attacking the region and by committing those horrible crimes they aimed at the Palestinian Revolution which for them constituted a threat because it served as an example of all peoples of the region. They therefore wanted to crush it by any means. I believe that the unity achieved between the Palestinian and Lebanese patriots should be considered as yet another reason for the attack, equally if not more important. The unity of the patriotic forces is of immense significance which was understood by the imperialists, they felt it deeply through the

dismal failure of the so-called unbeatable Israeli war-machine. Not all news of course has been allowed out, the world has not been informed that Israel's fascist army was crushed in its attempt to seize Beirut, it was crushed by this very unity and determination of the Lebanese patriotic forces and the Palestinian fighters. And this was only natural because the patriotic forces were defending their homes, their freedom and their ideas, their right to have their own homeland. The Israeli troops on the other hand were not defending anything. They were the aggressors. Indeed there are many instances where soldiers or officers of the Israeli army refused to participate in these attacks because they knew for sure that they were serving interests other than their own, interests other than the interests of the people of Israel.

This is an Israeli military camp in South Lebanon where the Israelis have started to put up permanent settlements, another indication of their intention to settle there.

Israeli products in markets in South Lebanon. They have destroyed all agricultural production. They prohibit fishing at night. They have destroyed all fishing equipment for the simple reason that they want to sell their own products.

These are oranges from Israel-at the market at Sidon.

Their aim then was precisely this: to interfere and destroy Lebanon's economy. They have bombed many, carefully selected, factories as a result of which there are masses of unemployed. It is only obvious that they would import Israel's products, even chocolates. Beirut is now flooded with such products. We established all these during our second visit to Beirut.

Another picture of destruction in Beirut, that of the offices of the Communist Party of Lebanon.

I would like to add a few things not directly related to the pictures, which I believe are absolutely necessary. There is a risk of limiting ourselves to the pictures of destruction, to the pictures of the crimes, and the pictures of the wounded. Seeing these pictures time and again we end up as some kind of technocrats, concerned with what is this kind of bomb, how it works, what are these wounds exactly. Whilst, we should pass on to another stage of action, facts and investigations should now be over. I don't think that there is anyone who is not convinced about the extent of this horrible crime. There are so many undisputed facts that we needn't try hard to be convinced that this Israeli aggression in Lebanon, covered up by American imperialism, exceeds the Nazi aggression during World War II. From now on though certain tasks are facing all of us here, and not just as medical people. The problem is not only to treat these injuries. Our main task is offering whatever we can to prevent and prohibit through our action the repetition of such aggression.

There are two aspects I think on which to base our further action. The

first aspect is that of information. It is widely known that by controlling the mass media the Zionists pass on many lies as to their intentions. A characteristic of this is that this invasion has been called "PEACE OPERATION IN GALILEE". Yes, indeed! They wanted to impose the kind of peace found in a cemetery. Begin, that butcher had previously managed to get a Nobel which is still in his hands. And what do we do about it? We should not only try to have this taken back from him, we should do our best for this man to be tried by an international court of justice. We should therefore attach great importance to this side of our action, the dissemination of information. The Israeli fascists and their patrons are employing many means in their attempt to distort the truth. A university lecturer told us in West Beirut that every Israeli war is followed by a team of archaeologists. They excavate and destroy all findings so that there is no evidence that this land belongs to the Arabs and not to the Zionists.

Furthermore, with their links with secret services around the world and especially in America they withdraw books from the market. Books written by journalists, researchers and others on the Palestinian question. And this in order to make it impossible for people to be correctly informed. They do of course provide the kind of information they want through the mass media they control.

We therefore have a great task confronting us now. To try and find ways and means whereby to give the world the true picture of what is actually happening now in Lebanon, either through the press, or through art, films, or by whatever other means we can.

We should also concentrate our work on a second aspect, that of assisting effectively in Lebanon. I make an official proposition to the International Inquiry Commission: to proceed to another stage of action. Inquiry and investigation should now be over, we are convinced that this crime has actually been committed. We are absolutely certain as to who committed it. And here, whilst I agree with what the USA delegate has said, I would like to disagree with her on one point. Not only did the Americans know what was going to happen but in my opinion they also planned it. I therefore think that the International Commission of Inquiry, having conducted inquiries and investigations and having established the facts, should proceed to another stage of action. Since all needs, at all levels, have been established, various teams of specialists could be sent to the region.

The winter is coming and people will be outside, in the open. It is not possible to cater for the medical and social needs of either the Palestinians or of the Lebanese, whatever the efforts of the Palestinian Red Crescrent on the one hand and the "Secours Populaire Libanais" on the other, which is the main social agency at the moment trying to help the people of Lebanon.

We should also expect that the struggle of the Palestinians and the unity between the Palestinian and Lebanese patriots will be distorted and belittled. Attempts will be and are already being made to split the two peoples. We should try and inform the world of this unity which developed in the course of the struggle and its results that we saw personally.

Another effort undertaken also by world reaction is that aiming at demoralising the peoples by saying that no matter what they do they cannot defeat Israel's war machine or the Americans who support it.

Dear friends, in my opinion there can be no bigger lie than this, there can be no more infamous attempt than this by the imperialists towards this direction. The results are exactly the opposite of those claimed. First of all, these peoples have not been struggling on their own, they have been waging a struggle with the support and solidarity of all peace-loving forces of the world. And secondly, being united on their struggle and I stress this unity they crushed the Israeli war-machine. The smallest losses that Israel had for 40 days, every single day, were 5 tanks with all their personnel daily. The fascist Minister of Defence, Sharon, boasted that his troops could seize Beirut in a few hours. But they didn't in the end. He repeated daily that the attack just made was not the big one he had planned. But every single attack was successfully averted. That was the result of the determination and strength derived from unity. I think that this is another point to be concluded from our Forum: against this effort of the imperialists they are at pains to promote all over the world that the people are demoralised and disappointed, that this is our fate. This is not our fate, and I am convinced that the peoples of Lebanon and Palestine shall, with our support and solidarity, the support and solidarity of all peace-loving peoples of the world, be victorious. I am convinced that in the end they shall crush the fascists. This conviction is based on all that I have said above and the fact that I have personal experience of the events.

MAJOR DEREK COOPER

From early July the attacks from sea, land, and air got more intense, sustained, and indiscriminate . . . little warning was given and the creeping barrage of destruction grew as the days went by and the siege and blockade began to bite.

BLOCKADE AND SIEGE

West Beirut had become an island under what was to become a mediaeval siege. Surrounded on the east by what became known as the Green Line stretching from the docks in the north to join the Damascus Road south and southeast. This line was guarded and patrolled by Israelis with tanks and backed up by Christian militias, the Falanage or Kaeteib in Arabic. There were three crossing points from East to West Beirut, one at the docks area, one at the Mus'ee National on the Road Avenue Abulla Yafi and the third one at what was known as the Galleria Sammane further to the south.

These check points were guarded on the east side by Israelis and militia units who closed them at will, either for vehicles, pedestrians or both for long periods and in any case everybody was checked. On the west side there were endless check points by PLO or PLA, Syrian or other sympathetic militias.

The southern front by the airport was closely held by the Israelis with infantry, hundreds of tanks and artillery of a heavy calibre. There were 155 mm guns in the foot hills capable of firing into West Beirut from five miles or more. To the north and west was the sea, constantly patrolled by Israeli gun boats heavily armed with multiple rockets and other weapons able to fire and keep out of shore range.

Lastly, the air, constantly patrolled by planes able to carry out devastating bombing attacks at will with little danger of retaliation as mostly out of range of the defending side. They also used deflecting hot air devices which were able to divert the outgoing ground to air missiles.

As the days went by the siege began to tighten. At first there was a semi black market and quite a lot of fruit, vegetables, flour etc. got in and stalls were set up in the streets and quickly moved when there was an air raid, but soon the water was cut off from the east side, the electricity was cut and fuel was stopped, trucks and tankers were turned back at the crossing points and in some cases over turned or burnt when bringing in food and vegetables.

Occasionally when appeals were made the International Red Cross were able to get medical and food supplies in but this soon stopped: occasionally the water was also turned on but this was of little use as there was no electricity to pump it up and through the circuits.

The garbage began to build up into huge piles in the streets some times completely blocking roads and rising as high as the first floor. There was no fuel to cart away the rubbish, rats abounded and could be seen dodging between the people's feet and under cars. There was now a scheme to burn the garbage in situ to stop the rats and flies, this was I think a success and stopped many diseases, however the smell of burning and smoke was always in the nostrils and sometimes buildings caught fire. Wrecked or bombed cars littered the streets or vehicles that had run out of petrol. Candles and torches were on sale in the streets, generators droned away outside the hospitals and the few hotels not requestioned. Drilling for water actually took place in the streets and was piped into the hospitals and pumped in by UNICEF generators. There had been quite good reserves in the ware houses of staple foods, UNRWA had flour in their warehouses and certain fuel reserves. During the early days UNICEF had been able to arrange water points in tanks around the city which was a help.

As the days went by all good drinking water was brought up, the pumped water was saline and had to be treated, it was also polluted. Bread became short and the shops were running short of many items. There were always long lines of refugees, adults and children collecting water in every sort of container from the water points.

It should be remembered that there were some 500,000 people still in West Beirut to be fed housed and cared for together with about 12,000 fighters of all kinds, Christian and Moslem, Syrian, PLO, PLA, various militias.

RELIEF WORKERS IN WEST BEIRUT

The International Red Cross under head delegate John De Salis. There were at first sixteen delegates with some twenty local Lebanese and Palestinian drivers and radio operators etc.

UNRWA, United Nations Relief and Works Agency with John Defrates and six foreign or international field officers in Beirut and South Lebanon, plus Palestinian drivers, storekeepers, doctors, nurses etc.

UNICEF responsible for water supply, engineers, repairs, etc.

OXFAM. Grants and immediate aid to hospitals, refugees, repairs in camps.

Christian Aid. Volunteer doctors and nurses to work in hospitals and clinics, on an international basis in rotation.

Save the Children Fund. Administrator, nurses to hospitals and clinics

plus grants where needed, especially to children.

Local Rescue Groups. Lebanese and Palestinian.

Palestine Red Crescent Society. P.R.C.S. Had their own hospitals in Beirut and South Lebanon plus some twenty requisitioned hotels, schools etc. Doctors, nurses, European workers.

Lebanese Red Cross Society. Clinics only but had their own ambulances and staff and used government hospitals.

Many European Medical Teams. Norwegian, Swedish, French, German, Danish, Finnish, British and others.

Individual Volunteer Drs and Nurses. Order of St. John and Knights of Malta.

Secour Populaire. A local organisation with their own hospitals and staff.

AMEL. Lebanese Association for Popular Action. A local organisation with their own hospitals, clinics, and staff.

There were other committees and various organisations who did invaluable work such as street cleaning (until it got out of hand) and local purchase and looking after refugee families who had been bombed out of their camps and been driven into public buildings, apartment blocks, shops, etc.

THE BOMBING AND SHELLING AND WEAPONS USED

From early July the attacks from sea, land and air got more intense, sustained and indiscriminate, often by night as well as in the day time: little warning was given and the creeping barrage of destruction grew as the days went by and the siege and blockade began to bite. All the refugee camps/townships or suburbs in the southern area of West Beirut were totally destroyed and the Palestinian and Lebanese displaced people were driven ever closer into the central part of the city, where they occupied, shops, unfinished buildings, apartment blocks, cinemas, hotels etc. which in turn were shelled or bombed causing yet more casualties. I estimated that 80% of the casualties were civilian which was agreed with doctors and hospital staff. Accusations of using civilians as a screen are nonsense, the fighters were mostly on the perimeters and sea front and knew how to take reasonable cover, the shelling and bombing was indiscriminate as building after building was destroyed from sea, land and air.

I should add here that out of fifteen refugee camps in Lebanon twelve were destroyed, many of them nothing left but rubble, in turn to be bulldozed to complete the destruction. I saw Ein El Helwe and Rashadya Camps in the south of Lebanon and rarely did one see even in the last world war such utter destruction: the Beirut suburbs were the same. Often the people would return to try and reclaim some of their posessions only to

be shelled again, many had returned to Shatilla and Sabra at the time of the massacres.

The casualties were mounting; in the southern part of Lebanon figures of some 25,000 dead and wounded have been given. A complete estimate may never be known as many were buried under the rubble: around 10,000 or more male members of families were taken away and imprisoned in Ansar Internment Camp or Israel leaving a shortage of man power and the women and children unprotected with disastrous results. There were and still are almost daily incidents of shootings, kidnaping by militia groups or cordon and search roundups by the Israelis.

In the bombing and shelling of the camps in Tyre and Sidon including the towns, nearly all the schools, hospitals and clinics were destroyed or damaged.

As the daily destruction of West Beirut continued and the hospitals filled and more buildings had to be requistioned it was seen that the weapons being used were of the most sophisticated variety. Four different types of U.S. made cluster bombs were identified, these weapons are deadly and used against a civilian civil population caused the most horrible wounds. Basically this weapon can be used by bombing, huge containers spewing out hundreds of lethal grenades at different heights, fragmenting over a wide area or delivered by shelling: bomblets of this cluster variety were identified all over Beirut and used in the south as well.

In addition, phosphorous shells of the red or white variety were used intermixed with incendiaries: I have seen the results of these in buildings and on human beings, the phosphorous goes on burning when it reaches the air and even burns under sand, the results on human flesh can be imagined, I have seen many cases and doctors say that the flesh has to be cut away or amputation is necessary.

Another weapon used for precision bombing was a variety of deep penetration bombs that will penetrate to the bottom of a high rise building causing it to collapse on itself, or penetrate air raid shelters or be directed to the base of a building bringing down the structure burying hundreds of people, I have seen these bombs scoring direct hits, it's almost impossible to rescue people from this type of destruction. I understand that the variety varies from a vacuum bomb or a concussion bomb and yet another which appears to explode as it penetrates each floor. In addition to these weapons many have delayed action fuses, especially the cluster type, and there have been many children and indeed rescue workers killed or injured by these weapons.

On July 26th I wrote in my diary: air attack for the fifth day running followed by land and sea batteries firing on the southern suburbs and the coast line and last night there was again heavy artillery shelling from the hills south east of the city with heavy calibre guns (155 mm) with tanks joining in and again supported by salvoes from the sea: many of these were

now coming very near the central area and you could hear the impact and crash of falling buildings.

The sirens of the ambulances wail as they speed to collect the wounded and the dead and the hospital beds fill up once more. The rescue workers and Red Cross have an almost impossible and dangerous job trying to get through the cratered and rubble strewn streets, there is no water to put out fires.

Morale remains high, remarkably so in a city which is virtually unprotected against bombing and such shelling with the most up to date sophisticated weapons.

At every raid a deafening racket of mostly out dated anti aircraft weapons is put up, the planes are out of range and fly too fast, they come out of the sun, drop their cargo of destruction and away to sea surrounded by puffs of smoke and short fall of exploding shells and often leaving a diversionary lighted object to draw off any attacking rocket.

The night of the 26th/27th was the worst to date, bombs and flares were dropped to light up targets. As time went on it became easier to detect where the bombs or shells come from, land, sea or air, the direction of the incoming missile and the explosion as it lands with the noise of falling masonry.

Daylight of the 27th saw continuing bombardment, an apartment nearby was hit by a deep penetration bomb burying displaced Lebanese and Palestinian families. Helicopters came in from the sea machine gunning the corniche and rescue workers. The central business area was shelled today, more than a hundred people died and twice that number were severely wounded. The Canadian ambassador's residence was destroyed; one of the few foreign ambassadors to remain in west Beirut, he survived.

The plight of the refugees and civilians grows daily, water and light are cut, fuel and food are scarce in addition to the bombardments. People are crowded into shops, cinemas and any available damaged or undamaged buildings often together with the badly wounded. In the Paladium Cinema next door to us, the injured lie on the floor together with the families: buildings are being hit all around, there is no water to wash sheets or clothes, sanitation is completely inadequate, shell damaged public gardens are in use.

The Israeli tactics are now to keep up the creeping barrage of destruction and death from land, sea and air, driving the inhabitants into the already congested central and northern area of the city: they had tried three probing raids with tanks and infantry, from the docks, museum crossing and the south with little success and had taken casualties and lost vehicles in street fighting.

HOSPITALS

By the end of July there were some twenty-five hospitals in West Beirut, many of them requisitioned schools and hotels, run by the Palestine Red Crescent, Government. Secour Populaire or Amel. The PRCS had their own hospitals and clinics based in the Shatilla and Sabra district, the two main ones being the "Gaza" and "Akka" hospitals. Both were hit by shelling over and over again and towards the end were only operating in the basements and first floors; inspite of this they played a great part before during and after the massacre when many of their staff were murdered or rounded up and taken away.

Towards the end of July I was talking to John De Salis the head of the I.C.R.C. who told me that seven hospitals had had direct hits from shelling; a few days later he was to tell me that it was now nine very badly damaged, inspite of having supplied the Israelis with a marked map of all hospitals in Beirut and reminded them at least once about what was happening. By August 14th when I left Beirut seventeen hospitals had been damaged or evacuated.

Part of my job while in Beirut was to visit the hospitals as we had given aid in the form of grants for supplies of various kinds such as bandages and sheets and medical necessities, I soon discovered that about 80% of the casualties were civilian and many of those women and children; the wounds were terrible many from phospherous burns and cluster bomb injuries, there were a great many amputations of legs and arms due to multiple wounds from cluster bombs, one estimate I was given was over three thousand amputations all together.

The staff had to work under almost impossible conditions at times with no light and even limited fuel for the generators: no water for washing sheets etc. I suppose I visited most of the hospitals at some time or other, there were very few that had not sustained severe damage, many of them were in underground garages with little light or air. The Mackassad Hospital, one of the biggest was so badly damaged with many casualties among the patients that it had to be abandoned, the Barbir Hospital near the museum crossing was evacuated under fire, the two forward hospitals of the P.R.C.S. "Gaza" and "Akka" could only be used in the basements and mainly as forward dressing stations. The Hospital for Infirm and Handicapped, orginally about 800 patients with about 75 children situated in one of the worst areas was hit five times with many casualties: there had been a staff of two hundred now down to about twenty: I visited five times with food and clothing and eventually we got 27 children away with some difficulty owing to the shelling and conditions of the approaches with craters and rubble strewn streets. This was a combined operation with the ICRCS and Save the Children Fund.

We found no water to wash the clothes so many of the inmates were

naked, all the top floors were damaged and unusable so that all ages and sex's were crammed into the lower floors and basements. The horror can be imagined when the shelling started, many of the patients were bed ridden or incontinent: the staff told me that some had tried to jump from the windows and many ran screaming into the street into the bursting shells and falling buildings, dust and smoke. One of the staff told me he had shared the basement with the dead during a severe raid, it had been the morgue. The Minister of Social Affairs who I met at this hospital on two occasions said he had sent a message via Mr. Habib to the Israelis to say the building had been hit many times, with little effect. There were Red Cross or Red Crescent flags on all these hospitals and requisitioned buildings. Another building badly damaged with many patients injured or killed was the Triumph Hotel which had been converted into a temporary hospital. The Bristol Hotel had a temporary field hospital run by ICRCS this was also hit.

With the numbers of civilians being killed or injured it was inevitable that the PLO and other defenders should agree to pull out and after the heavy attack from land, sea and air on August 11th and 12th lasting some fifteen hours there was a cease fire. The shelling and air attacks on the 12th were by far the heaviest of the war; at 4 am shelling from the sea started and appeared to be much closer to central Beirut, shells were dropping all around us, you heard the salvoes being fired then crump of the explosion and falling masonry and pieces landing all around us: most people if they could spent a good deal of the day in a basement or shelter.

At one period I had to go to UNRWA warehouse which took a long time with pauses listening to the shells and dodging into shop or garage doorways.

The sea and land shelling was replaced by continuous aerial attacks all day with the continuous scream of the planes coming in low and dropping their bombs with little or no opposition.

By now the population and refugees were huddling in basements and underground car parks. Many buildings were hit and the casualties were heavy.

An approximate estimate of the casualties during the Beirut siege and fighting is put at 6,776 dead and about 30,000 wounded but there are many bodies not recovered from bombed buildings, also these figures do not include the dead from the massacre in Shatilla and Sabra. A very high percentage of these were civilian and women and children and included a high proportion of Lebanese and many other nationals.

THE FUTURE OF THE DISPLACED PEOPLE

After the killing of Bashir Gemayel, promises were broken, the multi-national force of American, French and Italian had left just when they

were needed. The Israelis entered West Beirut, breaking another agreement, the families of the Lebanese and Palestinians were completely unprotected, the fighters had left, more shelling, more killing and then the ghastly massacre under the auspices of the Israelis who were supposed to be the protecters. The Israeli army had advanced well beyond the Shatilla and Sabra areas to the north completely surrounding these camps and so blocking all exits and certainly knew what was going on. I know this area well and it is quite certain that where the Israeli positions were they knew everything that was going on.

The future of the displaced people both Lebanese and Palestinian is indeed grim with winter coming on, there are some 4,500 displaced people both Lebanese and Palestinian who have to be housed, fed and cared for both short term and long term. The P.R.C.S. and U.N.R.W.A. have had hundreds of their work force, doctors, nurses, drivers etc. taken away as prisoners: the average male member of any family is either dead, wounded, in an internment camp or evacuated from Beirut, leaving displaced people all over Lebanon with no protection from the armed militias of Major Haddad or the Falange. The relief organisations are doing their best but are getting little help: the policy of the Israeli's and the Lebanese government is to get rid of as many Palestinians as possible, to the east, Syria, anywhere. There are some 7,000 prisoners in the Ansar Camp near Sidon which is visited by the Red Cross, some have been let out, others have been put in: there are also prisons in Israel in such places as Miggido and Athlit and according to eye witnesses and evidence given in Oslo recently and other sources ill treatment goes on. The only hope of any future for these displaced people is international pressure mainly from America to solve the Palestine problem for all time and find a home land in Palestine for them.

HOWARD BRENTON, England

But I fear a total massacre in West Beirut will sweep Arafat's policies away and a new generation could wreak a terrible revenge. . . .

I had the good fortune to spend three days and two nights, from Monday the 26th of July to the 28th, inside West Beirut. I was asked to go

by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation with one of their staff, Anthony Simpson: we were with six young people from European socialist and social democratic parties (in British terms, Labour Party members).

We would not have seen what we wanted to see in West Beirut nor could we have made the difficult journey frrom Damascus, via the Syrian city of Homs and the dangerously anarchic northern Lebanese city of Tripoli, without the help of the PLO. They were very correct toward us. They warned us they could not guarantee our personal safety but did everything they could to protect it, they acted as any Government would toward foreign visitors, though their arrangements for the journey were hardly those of a package holiday.

The years of war over the Palestinians' homelessness have touched everything in the Middle East. Damascus was tense, radios turned to the news. The Syrian and Palestinian flags flew together everywhere, Syrian troops were fighting in the Bekaa valley, in the desert columns of Syrian tanks passed us on the raod, going south. All the Syrians we met were aware of the potential cost of this support: Damascus is only 50 miles from the Israeli border. We had interminable, maze-like wrangles at Damascus Airport and at the border between Syria and Lebanon: the Arabs are great book keepers, unfortunately in a time of war the books have to be cooked so often to travel one way they have to be re-cooked to travel back. But when it became clear we were what we said we are, a bunch of foreigners determined to be a peace mission and to do the little we could, the bureaucratic stares vanished, we would be saluted and embraced to shouts in English of 'praise to Allah'. You sensed their desperation. That was true with everyone we met, Syrian, Palestinian, Muslim Lebanese, even the intimidating, and classically fascist, leaders of the Maronite Christian Kateib who talked openly of 'the final solution now in progress' as we sat in their air-conditioned offices in East Beirut, arguing with them with heavy hearts to the sound of their Israeli sponsors bombing the West. The human distortion is so great: one tiny incident to show it. In Tripoli an eight-year old boy came up to us in the main square. He offered us nuts from a paper bag then slipped an automatic pistol from beneath the bag and tried to sell it to us. A scene of daily life in a war—a child with a gun to sell to any stranger.

We crossed on foot to West Beirut at two o'clock in the afternoon on the Monday at the 'Museum Gate', ignored by the Israeli soldiers. After a Lebanese checkpoint we hired a taxi (commerce in all its forms was still flourishing, particularly in East Beirut, so much money is being made by the Alexandre Hotel there is a notice in reception 'cash only. We do not take American Express'.) We asked for the PLO Office of Mr. Mahmood Lebady, the driver dumped us at the Commodore Hotel: the office was far away in a heavily shelled area. Another driver told us we were mad and agreed to take us for a hundred Lebanese pounds, about £10 sterling. On

our way an air raid began. Our cheerful, Muslim Lebanese driver swore mightily in English at the planes and drove at hair raising speed to each intersection of the smashed streets where he would break to a stop, sliding the car in the rubble, to judge where the planes were and shoot off in the opposite direction. "Too dangerous" he said and, with great kindness, took us to his house to sit out the raid. His street was half destroyed. Those who had remained had wired up an electricity supply of sorts, wires hanging in the gardens. He had sent his wife and three daughters away and stayed to look after the house with his elderly father and brother-in-law. As the raid continued they gave us tea and cans of Seven-Up. He joked about the accents of Britishers he picked up in his taxi. I had to meet his challenge of going through the dialects of the British Isles. I had never heard a shot fired in anger, let alone the splitting blast of a bomb dropped by an American F15, we all feared what it would be like in a raid. The last thing I expected was to be sitting drinking tea trying to say "Are you alright, Jimmy?" in Glaswegian to three laughing Lebanese Beirut citizens. When the raid stopped he took us to the PLO Office.

His humour, courtesy and resourcefulness was typical of the 'blitz spirit' we met from both Lebanese and Palestinians. My parents have told me of the effortless courage and self-control in the blitz during the last war but I had doubted that it was humanly possible. I even satirised it once in a play, as a myth. But I saw it in West Beirut and the siege was far, far worse than anything London experienced in 1940 and 1941.

"Everything is abnormal here" a PLO guide warned. Indeed it was. You saw the facade of an apartment block, deserted by its wealthy residents, packed with refugees from the south of Lebanon, the families on the balconies hanging out washing, watching TV (the Israelis turned the electricity off on the Tuesday evening), the children played, meals were being eaten though I've no idea of what and all the time bombs were falling not far away, the building humming with voices like a football crowd. Late at night, against the 'crump' of shells from the tanks and ships and the 'whoosh' of PLO rocket fire, the eerie cries of cockerels echoed in the streets—a lot of people were keeping hens in strange places. In daylight, between raids, cars drove about furiously, civilians visiting, shopping, carrying water; we saw wells being pumped; we were driving, a girl-friend called to our PLO guide from a window, we stood with her in the street, a crowd collected, jokes were told. In the appalling conditions daily life seemed irrepressible.

We walked in some of the most devastated districts for two and a half hours on the Tuesday morning. The television reports and photographs had not prepared me for the sight. A big, brash modern city has been shaken in a grotesque kaleidoscope of violence, fragmented beyond all visual sense. We were waylaid by an old man who took us to see the previous day's bombing. He was still living amongst the rubble.

We visited three hospitals. The first, the Dar El Ajazah El Islameih mental hospital, had been hit twice. Its top storey had been blown away, red cross flags hung in the air amongst the jagged concrete. The Director of the hospital, Mr. Omar Hori, told us 300 patients had been evacuated to their families but 500 remained, mostly old and without families or severely disturbed children orphaned by the war. There are no hospitals elsewhere to take them, they are full of the sane but wounded. The distress in those wards during the raids must have been indescribable.

The two hospitals for the wounded that we saw were set up in the Triumph Hotel and what was once the French School. We saw terrible injuries: a PLO fighter whose skin had been burnt off all over his body; an old man in great pain with both legs gone; a PLO fighter with a leg and arm gone, blind in one eye, who was so grateful for a halting conversation he gave us each a biscuit; a child with an arm gone; another child with stomach and genitals horribly mutilated—I cannot continue the list.

After seeing the wards of the French School Hospital, we were on the ground floor in a children's ward. I was talking to the Secretary of the Hospital: her two eldest children were in the North, her three year old daughter was with her. A plane screeched and a bomb fell, 500 metres away. Uncannily her children barely reacted as they were carried into the school. "You see how we have lived for two months" she said. The plane screeched again and a bomb fell very near. The concussion rattled the windows and wafted our clothes. We ran through the garden into the corridor of the main building, now full of patients and staff sheltering. The guide said "we go" and we made for the main entrance and ran out. Into the hospital ran three men each carrying a child covered with blood.

Later that afternoon four of us went down to the seafront amongst the skeletons of shelled buildings and met some PLO fighters. They made us coffee on a calor gas stove. We sat around a table in a smashed room. The wine bottles and vine leaves printed on the table's oil cloth are indelibly stamped on my mind. There was an atmosphere of a terrible concentration, like ozone in the air: it was a most dangerous place. The PLO fighters were utterly still. There was a sheen across their skin, the whites of their eyes were unnaturally bright—an effect of the constant shelling. We spoke to them in Spanish, they didn't seem to know English. Then suddenly one said: "I have lived in England" very quietly, in a near perfect accent. We moved close together. He was a doctor who had trained at Kent University. In a few weeks I go on holiday to near Canterbury with my family, I told him where. His eyes didn't flicker. "I love England" he said, "There is stability there". I gave him my address. He said, "If I live through this war, I will visit you" then added, with an absolute conviction beyond any political slogan or party line, the elegant sentence "And one day you will come, with your family, for a holiday in Palestine". The shells began to fall nearby, we shook hands and were rushed away.

I was no more than a tourist who passed through the overwhelming suffering and courage under the siege in West Beirut. What I saw was beyond grief, beyond tears, beyond human sense. As I write the radio gives news that Israeli tanks are fighting in the streets. It seems that Israel is to do the worst and America nothing to stop it and this article is an elegy for most of the people I met.

Two points, one inhumanly political, one simply human. In lengthy conversations with PLO officials and cadres we heard some wild voices, checked up to now by the PLO leadership's policy of an international settlement, in the end with an Israeli state and a Palestinian state recognised internationally. But I fear a total massacre in West Beirut will sweep Yassar Arafat's policies away and a new generation could wreak a terrible revenge of an international terrorism against Israel, Western and also Arab countries which will be as insane and inhuman as the Israeli assault on West Beirut. All hope of peace in the Middle East will then be finally lost and the region the 'theatre' for a Third World War.

And the human point: I thought I would meet a bunch of thugs in West Beirut, instead I met the Palestinians, an attractive, witty, endlessly resourceful lot, with a love of story-telling and argument. In short, so like Jewish friends I have in England. A line kept coming to me from Georg Buchner: "We are all very like each other. All villains and angels, idiots and geniuses, all things in one". That human reality overpowered everything in West Beirut and now, I fear, it is dying there.

TONY SIMPSON, England

Around the Arab University, and especially in the areas stretching down to the seashore, there are the firing ranges for Israel's land, sea, and air forces. They have worked intensively. The result is terrain which looks as if it had supported a violent earthquake.

Israel's search for a military 'solution' in West Beirut, now stepped up drastically, has been underway for some weeks in the Lebanon war. Their efforts against the besieged city have escalated recently in a further

attempt to break the spirit of the many people still living there. In a war of nerves spun out over many days, military actions are mixed with disruptive electricity cuts, which in turn jeopardise water supplies. Worst of all, regular aid raids terrorise the Lebanese and Palestinian citizens and combatants in the city, as well as the Syrian soldiers that remain.

Yet, as we learnt during our two-day stay in West Beirut, the Beirut blitz, and the suffering it entails, have far from broken the resolve of the Palestinian-led resistance. Their will to fight, and their readiness, if necessary, to die, make them formidable adversaries, despite their vastly inferior armoury.

We entered West Beirut by stepping under a wire at the checkpoint. No one stopped us, challenged us, buttonholed us, or asked to see identification. Nearby, Israeli soldiers looked on, no badges or emblems on their olive green uniforms, while a lorryload of French UN forces waited to depart for duties unknown. A little further along the avenue stood a Lebanese checkpoint, and beyond that the first Palestinian positions. We have come to meet the PLO, intending to see how life goes on for the city's several hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian residents. Our visit was part of a Peace Mission attempting to increase international pressure to limit further major destruction of West Beirut, and aiming at a lasting ceasefire.

Our party of eight, from six countries, comprised activists in the European peace movements and representatives of several European Young Socialist groups. Sponsored by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, the Spanish Movement for Peace, Democracy and Freedom, and the International Union of Socialist Youth, our mission assembled in the Syrian capital of Damascus, where we met with the PLO and then travelled forwards to the Lebanon and Beirut. We also aimed to explore together the wider responsibilities of Europe's peace movements and socialist organisations to campaign both at home and internationally to stop this war.

When we arrived, it was already assuming genocidal proportions. The battle for West Beirut was claiming vast numbers of civilian casualties. The Israeli shelling of the city began on June 4, two days before the invasion of Lebanon commenced. Israeli forces swept northward probably expecting to take the whole city by mid-June. More than a month later, the city was still under siege. Resistance led by Palestinians though organised through joint control with the Lebanese and Syrians was clearly unshaken. Even after seven days of daily air raids by a Israeli airforce, with aircraft returning two or three times in 24 hours bombing both day and night, all thoughts of surrender by the PLO looked out of the question. Rather, the will to fight on seemed to be strengthening. We were left in no doubt that the PLO were willing to die if need be.

There are two halves to besieged West Beirut. One is bustling, noise.

heavily populated and was, until very recently, fairly safe. Together with the considerable Lebansese and Palestinian population who have stayed put, here live the refugees from all over the Lebanon who fled before the advancing Israeli forces. Where they can they have occupied apartments abandoned by residents seeking safer homes outside West Beirut. These refugees have been joined by many families from the areas composing the second half of West Beirut.

The face of this second half of West Beirut is withering testimony of the immense force of Israeli fire-power, much of it even now still held in reserve. Around the Arab University, and especially in the area stretching down to the seashore, there are the firing ranges for Israel's land, sea and air forces. They have worked intensively. The result is terrain which looks as if it had suffered a violent earthquake.

Yet many people still live in these quarters, although nowhere near as many as before the siege. In one part there is a street close by some collapsed university residences which most foreign newcomers to West Beirut visit when they arrive. They have to come here to register with the PLO authorities. You ask the taxi driver for the office of Mahmoud Labadi, a senior PLO man responsible for the foreign information department. Reluctantly our Lebanese taxi driver accepted this dangerous fare, and sure enough we had to turn back at top speed on our first attempt as the afternoon's air raid came thundering in. Early in the evening we went back.

The entrance to Mr. Labadi's office is reached through a modest bank of sandbags rising up to head height. To one side there is an exhibition of some of the shells that have poured down on West Beirut. Their sizes vary greatly. Leaning against the front wall of the building are several bomb cases five to six feet high and well over a foot in diameter. On the makeshift table in front stand a mixture of smaller munitions. As we reach out for the little ones we are warned that the cluster bombs may be live, so it's best not to touch. A walk through nearby streets turns up an abundance of similar fragments, especially the bevelled edges of the anti-personnel cluster bombs.

Organisationally, the city has responded brilliantly to war. Elsewhere in West Beirut, in hitherto safer districts, the Lebanese and Palestinian joint control have worked to measure up to the drastic rise in demand for hospital beds. Dr. Fathi Arafat, Yasser's brother, President of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (Palestinian Red Cross), told us that although they had created several thousand additional beds in temporary hospitals, this was still not enough. The two temporary hospitals we visited, one in an hotel, another in a school, contained both Lebanese and Palestinian casualties. In the men's ward we met combatants and civilians, including very old men, some of whom had lost limbs or suffered dreadful burns. In the women's ward injuries were less obvious, though some old ladies were

clearly terrified.

Finally our guide, a Palestinian woman volunteer working in the hospital office, took us to the nursery. About a dozen children were there, all in good health, a mixture of orphans from the war and children of the hospital's medical workers. Suddenly, this happy place became a scene of slaughter as the Israeli aircraft roared in and let loose a bomb close by. A second fell still nearer. We ran towards the school's central corridors, thronged with evacuees from vulnerable wards opening to the gardens outside. As we waited to leave, early casualties of this latest assault, all of them children, one streaming blood from her head and legs, were rushed in from cars and ambulances. Overhead the fighters continued to swoop and roar, apparently safe from the barrage of PLO fire. It is at this mounting price in human suffering that Israel single-mindedly pursues her military 'solution' in West Beirut. They talk of plans for evacuation and question PLO seriousness in considering such options, yet the Israeli aim is to destroy the infrastructure concentrated in the districts of West Beirut. Bit by bit the siege pressures are stepped up, ceasefires are called and broken within hours. What will be the conclusion?

Within Israel itself, it seems, opposition to the war is running at a high level. Although they are obviously not yet effective in restraining Mr. Begin's military 'solution', 'Peace Now', 'Campaign to Stop the War in the Lebanon', and other oppositional groups in Israel need international support and encouragement. With this in mind, a second limb of our Middle East Peace Mission travelled direct to Tel Aviv, to explain the aims of our visit to the Israeli peace movement.

Internationally, the Habib shuttle had made possible talk of a 'diplomatic' solution, while the casualty lists rapidly lengthen as the military 'solution' is pressed forward. The PLO are most bitter about the lack of support from the Arab world, especially the absence of any moves to apply sanctions to the US, at whose door they lay ultimate blame for the war.

The ultimate opposition to Israel's military offensive in West Beirut lies with the PLO themselves, and particularly with the resistance and civilians who are under siege. Though tense, they were not intimidated by the bombardments. They are proud of their long resistance against all the military odds, and even optimistic that something good might come from this impasse. Possibly there might be a shift in the American positions. Extraordinary as it may seem, relaxing between air raids, the PLO combatants are cheerful and friendly. While we were there they even found the energy for a game of football in the street outside Labadi's office. We asked, "Will you fight street by street?". The answer came back: "No. Room by room."

BEIRUT: THE LIQUIDATION OF A CITY

Special Report by Robin Wright, West Beirut; David Blundy, East Beirut; Henry Brandon and Mark Hosenball, Washington; and Phil Finnegan, Cairo.

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There was no 'pinpoint accuracy' against targets in 'open spaces.' It was not a response to Palestinian fire. This was a blitz against West Beirut.

Shortly before midnight last Saturday, the American ambassador to Lebanon, Robert S. Dillon, finished composing a confidential cable to the US state department in Washington. Embassy staff, he wrote, had just witnessed 90 "unbelievable" minutes of destruction as Israel suddenly escalated its attack on West Beirut just before a ceasefire was due to come into effect.

"Simply put, tonight's saturation shelling was as intense as anything we have seen. There was no 'pinpoint accuracy' against targets in 'open spaces.' It was not a response to Palestinian fire. This was a blitz against West Beirut.

"Our 2100 hours ceasefire announced in advance over local radio stations was transformed instead into a massive Israeli escalation. At best this will be interpreted as the result of US impetus; at worst as another example of US-Israeli collusion in the war in Lebanon. The magnitude of tonight's action is difficult to convey. The flare of exploding shells reflected against the cloud of smoke was an awesome sight . . . a city burning. This was drafted at 2330. It is finally quiet."

Next day, President Ronald Reagan composed a cable to the Israeli leader, Menachem Begin, the man responsible for the action that so appalled Dillon. The cable wished Begin a happy 69th birthday. It was a greeting remarkable not only for its prematurity (the Israeli prime minister's birth is not until August 16) but for its lack of harmony with the sharply-growing mood of anger in the United States and elsewhere at Begin's conduct of the Lebanese war.

For that war is beginning to look less like an attempt to flush out the Palestinian Liberation Organisation's guerrillas than a slow, brutal process of extermination. The bombardment has become more and more indiscriminate, killing hundreds of civilians. Famous landmarks have been erased. Buildings from embassies to multi-storey car-parks have

been reduced to mass graves. Last week Beirut reeked of cordite, unburied dead and despair.

Yet, at the same time, large numbers of PLO fighters have survived, and many of their ammunition dumps and strongholds are still unscathed. Although ceasefire has followed ceasefire, these have been broken by one side or another often at the stage where the cornered PLO guerrillas have seemed on the point of surrendering to leave the devastated city.

The surge of anger that this has caused across America was best captured by one of the country's most distinguished TV commentators. John Chancellor, when he delivered from the rubble of Beirut the most damning attack against Israel ever made in a US news broadcast.

"The Israel we saw here yesterday," he said, "is not the Israel we have seen in the past. The stench of terror was all across the city. Nothing like it has ever happened in this part of the world. I kept thinking of the bombing of Madrid during the Spanish civil war. What in the world is going on? Israel's security problem on its border is 50 miles to the south. What is the Israeli army doing here in Beirut? The answer is that we are now dealing with an imperial Israel which is solving its own problems in someone else's city—world opinion be damned."

Yet official US reaction has been extraordinarily lowkey. When, last week, three members of Reagan's inner circle urged him to threaten sanctions, the president backed by his secretary of state, George Shultz, declined. There was to be no strong confrontation with Begin, he said. "The president" said William Quandt, former National Security Council expert on the Middle East, "doesn't like arguments."

On Thursday, the day after the Israelis had delivered their most savage blow yet to West Beirut, a delegation of Jewish leaders was received by vice-president George Bush and secretary Shultz for a briefing on US policy. They emerged saying that even Begin would have been delighted with what they had been told: no sanctions; PLO to leave Lebanon; Israel to remain key strategic ally.

Earlier, an Israeli military delegation had visited the Pentagon to brief defense intelligence officials on the battles so far conducted, and for an exchange of technical data. There were, apparently, no recriminations.

And although, by Thursday, Reagan was again urging the Israelis to pull back, there was no word to be heard from Washington that the United States was prepared to put anything other than token pressure on its ally.

The Israelis explain the bombing of the city by saying that their only aim is to drive out the PLO, who are deliberately using civilian buildings to protect their gun emplacements and their ammunition dumps. That justification is becoming harder to sustain.

On Wednesday afternoon, a Lebanese woman, Maimonah, who was five months pregnant, was carried in on a stretcher to one of the many

makeshift hospitals, with shrapnel wounds received during an attack that day on an exposed public garden where more than 1,000 refugees were huddled. Both her legs were amputated from the knee. Severe elbow wounds may cost her an arm as well. "She certainly didn't pose a threat to the Israelis," observed the doctor treating her.

John de Sallis of the International Red Cross claims the civilian casualties are far out of proportion to the military presence in West Beirut. "Between one and four percent of the population could be considered combatants. But at least 80 percent of the casualties are civilian, both Lebanese and Palestinian," he said.

After surveying 55 separate areas hit last weekend, the Canadian ambassador, Theodore Arcand, said the destruction "would make Berlin of 1944 look like a tea party."

Among the facilities hit by Israel over the past nine weeks are five UN buildings, 134 embassies or diplomatic residences, six hospitals or clinics, one mental institute, the Central Bank, five hotels, the Red Cross, Lebanese and foreign media outlets and innumerable private homes, office blocks. While some of these may conceivably have been used as cover by the PLO, what is much more striking is how many undeniable PLO facilities have remained intact.

A Lebanese health official said: "If attacking civilian sites is the Israelis' intent, then their public statements about going only for military targets are lies. If it is not intentional, then their claims of accuracy are grossly over-rated. They cannot have it both ways."

Most disturbing of all is Israel's use of the phosphorous bomb—an incendiary weapon which on detonation throws up a distinctive white cloud. The Israelis have increased the use of these bombs, claiming they are useful as markers "so that aircraft and artillery can pinpoint targets."

But the exploding phosphorous bombs and shells have other properties. Amal Shaaban, a 15-year-old Lebanese girl, was in a school shelter with other pupils when one of the bombs hit first the playground, then the shelter. "There were children in the playground: they were all killed," she said. "Then I felt a fire on my back. I tore off my dress and ran from the shelter."

The effects of phosphorous burning are sickening to behold. Early last week, a man in his late 40's was carried into La Haut hospital, covered with small phosphorous burns. An Oxfam America volunteer saw him. "The burns were right through his skin and subcutaneous tissue down to the charred muscles in his arms and chest. His left leg dangled off the operating table. His foot was burned off and the exposed cartilage was still smouldering. When his nose was pinched, puffs of smoke appeared from his lungs. He was burning inside for six hours. He will not survive."

In another well-documented case, twin babies who perished in a phosphorous attack had to be placed in a bucket of water in the hospital and

left there overnight. But the phosphorous continued to burn and they were still smouldering as they lay on the mortuary table.

According to Dr. A. Tonneson, a Norwegian orthopaedic surgeon with one of teams in West Beirut, over 90 percent of the casualties he treats are civilians and many of them have either multiple burns or shrapnel injuries. The phosphorous victims who do survive do so only after amputations.

Medical personnel now say there are further dangers of cholera and typhoid epidemics and even plague from the fast-multiplying rat population. A British surgeon who asked not to be identified said the combined effect of so many people in a small area with dangerously unsanitary condition was a time-bomb just waiting to explode. And before leaving West Beirut on the orders of the Canadian government, Ambassador Arcand said simply: "It is truly a scene from Dante's Inferno."

Contemplating the destruction of Beirut, Israel's prime minister sees a historical parallel. In his response to Reagan's birthday cable, Menachem Begin talked about Berlin. "I feel as a prime minister empowered to instruct a valiant army facing Berlin where, amongst innocent civilians, Hitler and his henchmen hide in a bunker deep beneath the surface."

A couple of days after the "Berlin" message reached Washington, some senior US government officials genuinely seemed to question Begin's mental health. Even in Jerusalem, the disturbing thought has occurred to some Israelis that their prime minister is gripped by a "dark and macabre fantasy."

"He is now living in a surreal world," said a professor from the Hebrew University. "Sometimes I think he is fighting the Warsaw ghetto all over again. He sees the PLO as Nazis and Arafat as Hitler in his bunker." Ze'ev Mankowitz, teacher of holocaust studies in Jersualem, described the prime minister's message to Reagan as "a dangerous and delusionary analogy."

Abba Eban, former foreign minister, points with anxiety to the new vocabulary of the Israeli government: "crush", "cleanse," "liquidate," "fumigate." "There is not one word of humility, compassion or restraint," said Eban.

So what is Begin's political logic, and how far will he go? Behind last week's Israeli resistance to the idea of a multi-national force in Beirut and to United Nations observers lies the fear that these might serve as a buffer between Israel and the PLO. The peace initiative of Reagan's special envoy, Philip Habib, may have provided that extra squeeze on the trigger for the Israeli assault on Tuesday night—what the Israeli army called the "salami" war, slicing off pieces of West Beirut.

Although the distances were small, the advances were critical. The army is poised to cut off the sourthern, PLO-dominated sector of the city from the northern, downtown area, and to divide the city along the central

boulevard, the Corniche Mazraa.

But the Israelis were to pay dearly. PLO snipers fired down side streets and kept up a mortar bombardment. The mood of the Israeli soldiers was grim. "They (the PLO) are fighting very hard," said one. "I don't know why. It was easier before. I don't think they will go from here willingly." And at nightfall the Israelis counted their dead—18, a heavy toll by Israeli standards.

Such casualties seem insignificant against the fate that may now await the besiged Palestinians. No Arab government has been able to offer more than token support and some will be pleased to see the PLO finally annihilated. It is not a new predicament for Yasser Arafat. Once when the North Vietnamese General Vo Nguyen Giap called him the "greatest living soldier", Arafat asked how that could be. Giap replied: "I fought my guerrilla war at least with friends at my back . . ."

Nevertheless, by the end of last week, there were angry stirrings in at least two Arab capitals. In Riyadh, the Saudis came out openly and blamed the Americans for the Israeli advances: in Cairo, Egyptian-Israeli relations had turned bitter.

The Egyptian government is now deeply concerned that failure to achieve a package deal linking the evacuation of the PLO from Beirut to the broader question of an autonomous Palestinian homeland may endanger the stability of moderate Arab regimes. President Mubarek has admitted that he is worried about the security of his own regime.

It is this fear that must now weigh most heavily on the Reagan administration. The problem is that although Arafat has agreed to most of the conditions set for PLO withdrawal from Lebanon by Habib, he has still not provided anything in writing about the exact logistics of the evacuation. The Israelis continue to believe that the PLO is procrastinating and insist that only military pressure will dislodge them.

If, as is suspected in Washington, Begin is intent only on a military solution to the Palestine question, then at that point a real showdown between the two may well at last take place. It will, however, come far too late for the people of West Beirut.

DR. THANASIS PAPAGEORGIOU, Physician, Greece

In sheer contempt for fundamental international conventions and regulations, they prohibit the entry of medical supplies as well as blood destined for the Palestinian Red Crescent, the Lebanese Red Crescent and the Lebanese Red Cross.

My name is Thanasis Papageorgiou and I am a Doctor.

I wish to clarify my presence here. I am not here only in my capacity as a doctor. I am also a member of the Council of the Union of Hospital Doctors. It was in this capacity that I went to Beirut. My experiences are the product of about a month's stay in Beirut. My colleagues and I returned from Beirut only three weeks ago. The decision to go to Beirut was the outcome of a series of actions taken by various medical associations in our country as a fundamental expression of solidarity and support. The climax of these actions, coupled with certain other moves, was to go to Beirut. Furthermore, it is relevant to add that both my colleagues and I also represent the Greek Red Cross Society.

I should like to begin my presentation by making a basic evaluation. It is extremely difficult to describe what is happening in Beirut right now. I truly believe that no human tongue is capable of conveying the feelings of all of us who were witnesses of this recent Israeli bestiality in Lebanon. It was quite difficult to write a text. This was so because the events we experienced were onerous and multiform. Nevertheless, we finally managed, a few days after our return, to write a report. The report has been submitted to the Minister of Social Services as well as to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Both ministers showed interest in the matter and we hope that there will be further aid and solidarity for the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

A fundamental verification I would like to make is that it is high time international public opinion was informed objectively of the dangers evolving from actions of a member state of the United Nations. A state which scorns international law and which at the same time shows in practice its refusal to respect human rights and what is more, negates the very right of a whole people to life and the acquisition of a fatherland. The issue is not so easy. We are not faced simply with some bestialities in a war. Humanity must realize today more than ever before, the dimensions and the consequences that are engendered in the continuation of the aggressive, expansionist, militarist policy of the State of Israel, that is to say the official government and the army of Israel. We distinguish clearly between the government and the progressive forces in Israel.

I started with this statement because I consider it very important.

The first stop in our trip was Damascus. I overlooked to say that the purpose of my visit was to coordinate the solidarity actions of the Greek doctors and nurses.

In Damascus we visited a number of hospitals where we saw a large number of wounded. These hospitals, Palestinian and Syrian, were full of wounded. The wounded there did not differ from those we saw and treated in the hospitals of Beirut. The only difference was that these wounded have come from the Beka Valley and other battlefields outside Beirut. What does this demonstrate? It shows that there is no possibility at all for the wounded to be taken outside Beirut. This fact is quite well-known. It is similarly well-known that Israeli bestiality does not confine itself to Beirut, though Beirut faces the biggest problem. Israeli atrocities extend to the whole of Lebanon. I shall not refer in detail to the condition of the wounded in Damascus. I consider Beirut of much more importance. In any case, as I have already mentioned, the nature of the wounds do not differ at all.

We set out for Beirut on a very difficult journey. A basic characteristic of this journey was that no one was prepared to assure our safety. This was so, not because no one wanted to, but rather because no one could assume such a responsibility. This fact demonstrates the immense dangers that exist as well as the obstacles presented by the Phalangists and the Israelis to doctors wishing to enter Beirut.

The blockade of West Beirut by land, sea and air is an indisputable fact of which we were objective witnesses. This, in my opinion, is one of the most abominable acts in recent history. With no respect for the fundamental human rights and the needs of the 400,000 inhabitants of West Beirut, the Israelis and the Phalangists prohibit the supply of water, electricity and foodstuffs. At the same time, they present great difficulties in telecommunications. They impede every entry to and exit from West Beirut—even of doctors who come to perform a fundamentally humanitarian task. Foreign nationals with a medical capacity are subject to terrible hardships in order to move from and to the blockaded part of the city.

I have to note here that the Israelis make a distinction between different medical teams. They exclude medical teams from Arab countries and socialist countries. They are a little less rigid with European medical teams. This does not mean that their entry into Beirut is easy.

We ourselves were submitted to inadmissible formalities both as regards to international law as well as to humanitarian conventions. We were subject to hardships and threats against our security, detailed questions of an interrogative nature concerning our destination: where we were going; what we wanted; who we were going to attend to; our place of abode; and the work we had done and the work we were going to perform

in West Beirut. All this, despite the fact that we presented identification of the Greek and the International Red Cross societies. In many cases that I have in mind, colleagues who were accompanied by members of the Greek diplomatic mission in Lebanon also had difficulties.

A very thorough inspection of our personal belongings was carried out even though at first sight it could be ascertained that it was a case of strictly personal belongings and pharmaceutical supplies. The climax of all these acts was an unacceptable thorough body search I underwent with the supervision of arms. This is the case with the Israelis as well as with the Phalangists. It is known that these measures are only for medical personnel going to or coming from West Beirut. It is not the same with medical supplies. It is quite well-known that medical and other supplies of vital importance for the casualties and the sick fighters are systematically prevented from entering West Beirut by the Israeli occupation forces.

In sheer contempt for fundamental international conventions and regulations, they prohibit the entry of medical supplies as well as blood destined for the Palestine Red Crescent, the Lebanese Red Crescent and the Lebanese Red Cross. Similar difficulties with only a few exceptions are presented for the International Red Cross.

At this point, I wish to stress that from my experience I cannot say that the International Red Cross exhausts all its possibilities. Neither does it, in my opinion, respond to its obligations with decisiveness and willingness. The argument presented each time is that: "We cannot get the supplies through; we cannot get the blood through; we want to keep neutral; it is a political problem." In my opinion, the political problem does exist. The very action of the International Red Cross Society constitutes a political problem when there are casualties among civilians and fighters without receiving any care from the International Red Cross. What it has done is well below its possibilities.

During my stay in West Beirut, I ascertained what we all know and hear everyday: that it is a reality that West Beirut is daily being bombed. In fact there exists a cease-fire only in words. This cease-fire is made every time to serve some military expediencies of the Israeli occupation forces. Otherwise there are continuous shellings almost everyday. What is most important is to examine the purpose of these bombings.

I declare categorically that according to my evaluation and personal experience, these bombings are not directed at military targets. These bombings are planned and directed against civilians. There is visible evidence of this. Whole quarters that have been completely destroyed. The whole of Beirut is being bombed without exception. Especially with the recent bombings, there is not a single neighborhood that has not received its share. Quarters like Sabra, Shatila, Fakhani—have been destroyed—as well as the Hamra quarter in the northern part of West Beirut, which is in no way a military target, neither can it be said that Palestinians are

hiding there. In my opinion, there is no justification for these bombardments. They are rather carried out purposely with a careful selection of targets. That is to say that they aim at destroying such building complexes so as to create economic and social confusion all over the city.

I shall make special reference to a very serious matter: the bombing of hospitals. During our stay in Beirut, we witnessed continuous, planned bombings of hospitals. You will notice this fact yourselves.
(Here Dr. Papageorgiou presents a series of slides he took of damaged hospitals in West Beirut. They include the Palestine Red Crescent hospitals of Gaza, Acre and various wards of the hospitals.)

As you may realize, under these conditions of merciless bombings of hospitals, it is very difficult to treat the wounded. How many hospitals have been bombed? Gaza Hospital, Acre Hospital, Barbir Hospital and others. The consequence is that these hospitals cannot function correctly.

What is worse, is the continuous bombing of inhabited areas which places civilians in a huge dilemma. They have to choose between death and becoming refugees in a camp. As you may well know, refugee camps are large sites in West Beirut which have bomb shelters. According to the information we had talking with PLO as well as Lebanese officials, the number of dead and wounded from the start of the war to the day we left was about 40,000. This includes a number of missing persons. No one knows if these people were taken prisoner or whether they were buried under the ruins. As I have already said, refugee camps were severely shelled. These camps had been created following the Israeli destruction of south Lebanon. The conditions of life there are far from satisfactory. The refugee camps are quite often the target of the Israeli airforce and artillery. Bombings are carried out from land, sea, and air.

Our stay in Beirut for almost a month gave us the opportunity to realize with grief that this was has a terrible and tragic characteristic. The number of dead is much higher than the number of wounded. I think this is a general impression at least from the medical point of view. The number of wounded among the civilian population and among young children in particular (1-12 years old) is much higher than the number of fighters.

The conditions for treating the wounded are extremely difficult when we consider the following factors:

1. Hospitals are bombed intentionally and repeatedly. The result is that extensive damage is caused to medical care centers. This is so, despite the fact that the flag and signs of the International Red Cross Society are very conspicuous. Unfortunately, though these hospitals had been greatly developed before the war, now they can only serve as first aid centers. They are, of course, improved first aid centers where certain advanced medical treatment up to minor operations can be offered. These centers cannot,

unfortunately, accept wounded as in-patients because their lives will be in danger. There are a number of wounded and dead in the hospitals as a result of the bombings.

2. Inadequacy of vital supplies such as electricity, water and food inhibits greatly even the fundamental efforts of treating casualties.

3. The large number of casualties cannot always be handled by the medical teams that have been set up. I would like to add something at this point.

It is known that in West Beirut there is a joint committee composed of Lebanese and Palestinians. We collaborated with this committee and we offered our assistance. Some 25 temporary medical centers were set up. The purpose was to treat patients coming from frontline hospitals, as well as to meet the needs of each neighborhood being bombed.

4. The critical condition of the wounds themselves makes their prognosis problematic and uncertain. We found out that all patients suffered multiple wounds. There do not exist surgical patients, orthopaedic patients or any kind of patient as such. They all suffer multiple wounds with severe surgical, but mostly orthopaedic implications because of wounds on the limbs. (Here Dr. Papegeorgiou shows slides of wounded patients which he encountered in Beirut's hospitals.)

Here you see cases which, according to international traumatological experience as well as our own, but in particular according to what our Palestinian and Lebanese colleagues have told us,—it is the first time that such wounds are encountered. It is quite possible that these types of weapons and bombs, used repeatedly in the past in Vietnam, have been reinforced, resulting in these terrible wounds. This leads one to the conclusion that Lebanon has been turned into an experimental field for weapons. What is characteristic to note is that even at a distance from the wound (e.g. on a limb, hand or leg) all soft tissues as well as the bones suffer extensive damage. This makes it necessary very often to amputate the whole side even though the damage may be at a distance.

As doctors, we are able to verify that the Israelis use the following types of bombs:

1. The well-known cluster bombs. I am not a military man. But I do know them from my medical experience, but also because I have seen them. It is a large master bomb which has a partition in the middle and in it there is a large number of smaller bombs of a tablelike shape about the size of a hand grenade. This bomb does not explode immediately when it touches the ground. When it reaches a certain height from the ground, it opens up and the smaller bombs are thrown out. One such bomb can cover the area of a stadium. Imagine when a number of them are thrown.

The problem with these smaller bombs is that they do not explode. They fall with the head downwards and then they change course. When they get close to the ground, two feet slide out and they sit on the ground without exploding. Their power is bigger than that of a hand grenade. Consequently, when the wounded are to be collected perhaps the next day, people run the danger of being mutilated by these bombs since they have a very sensitive trigger.

2. The other bomb is known as the fragmentation bomb. It explodes in thousands of fragments. Imagine a metal object which while burning is flung at a great speed. They have the capacity of penetrating even through a wall and obviously the human body. What is important in this case is that the wounded are full of tens or even hundreds of such fragments entering the body at different levels. They can in fact penetrate the lungs, the stomach, the limbs. Naturally, they cause damage to the organ they pierce through. They can even cause a fracture if the fragments go through the bones. What is extremely difficult in these cases is that doctors cannot dedicate three hours in the operation theater to remove all the fragments. What is more, removal itself is difficult and dangerous. In the effort to take the fragments out, one can damage vessels, veins and so on.

3. The third type of bomb used is the phosphorous bomb. We have seen these bombs, their consequences and the wounds they cause: deep, full thickness burns. It is what we have known until now as third degree burns in an extensive form and grave consequences to the patient.

4. Other weapons used are the vacuum bombs, toy bombs and remote-controlled bombs which can be triggered according to temperature and conditions of pressure. Fire bombs are also used systematically in areas where there is an absolute lack of water. I personally counted 10 such bombs during the bombing on the Sunday before we left. The bombing ceased following the cease-fire agreed upon at 9:10. Between 9:00 and 9:10, so many bombs were dropped that buildings were burning through the night and up until the next day.

The problem is not only, as you may imagine, the multiple wounds. There is a problem regarding the future of these patients. Their condition is, of course, dangerous. They also need serious treatment such as operations, new limbs, plastic surgery. This no doubt will create a large number of invalids in turn will cause a grave social problem. So it is not just that their life is in danger. (Here he shows more slides.)

And this is not all. Another element used systematically by the Israelis is psychological welfare. It is something that cannot be forgotten. At first they start by dropping leaflets from planes, the very noise of which brings to mind a previous bombing thus causing terror among the population. Then there follows, especially durng the night, mock air raids and dropping of flares. And you cannot know whether this is an actual air raid

or whether one will follow right after. Very often they use this trick. They send the planes first for a mock bombing and the people take it as such. Then there follows the real bombing. They even choose to do this at midday in order to cause more casualties among the civilians since as we have already mentioned, civilians are mainly their target.

I cannot in any way omit another dangerous element of this psychological war which has rather the nature of sabotage. This is the use of booby-trapped cars—that is to say bombs or dynamite are placed in cars which explode at specific times with the help of modern systems. The result is that you may be walking along without knowing whether you will be killed or not. During my stay in West Beirut there were 6 to 7 such big explosions. One of them caused the death of 20 persons and almost the total destruction of 2 big buildings. I am referring to the well-known explosion at the port. Another one I remember was in a parking lot destroying about 40 cars. . .

There are two other points I wish to make. While we were in Beirut, we learnt that a journalist had been killed. I think he was French, but I cannot say for certain. In any case, this is easy to find out. He was killed on the green line. For six days, neither Palestinians nor Lebanese were allowed to take his body. Only after the efforts and the intervention of the International Red Cross was it possible to take his body. I know this incident not only because I heard about it. I know it because at the time I was making arrangements with the International Red Cross, a representative of the Palestinian Red Crescent had come and mentioned this specific incident.

The second point I wish to make is that the Israelis have no hesitation at all to run over the wounded with their tanks. There is a wounded person being treated at the American University Hospital whose whole right leg from the thigh downwards had been mutilated when an Israeli tank ran over him while he lay on the ground wounded. The tank had almost cut his leg and this person then tore his leg off completely with his hands. It was quite easy because the leg had almost been mutilated. Fortunately, a journalist found him and took him to the American University Hospital hiding him in the trunk of his car.

Many conclusions can be drawn from this incident. Other witnesses have made several points. In any case it is certain that this campaign and these actions of Israel aim at genocide—genocide against the Palestinians. A very large number of Lebanese are also subjected to the same consequences of the malitarist, expansionist war. Nevertheless, I believe that the most important conclusion to be drawn is that it is not only Israel that must be placed in the dock. It is certain that the United States is responsible for all this. It is the U.S. which reinforces Israel, politically, financially and militarily.

Another conclusion must be drawn. It is this: Israel today does not only

constitute a threat for the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and the Arab world in general. It is a challenge and threat for the whole of humanity. Very often we have the impression that the enemy is at a distance from our homes and we express our sympathy and solidarity and whatever. However, we Greeks feel that the enemy is very close. Irrespective of the objectives that Israel or the U.S. may have in this area, what is important is that if other member countries of the United Nations follow in other regions the example of Israel—as repeatedly has been the case—it is absolutely certain that the whole of humanity will be threatened. We must not overlook the fact that if Israel continues the same policy, the eastern Mediterranean and the Mediterranean in general will be endangered.

The third point I wish to make is that we cannot remain mere spectators or simply express our sympathy for the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters. We must go beyond this.

Even though I am a witness, I would like to emphasize the following point, and I ask the audience here to accept this as a proposal or as the conclusion of my testimony. The competent international organizations and governments must take drastic measures—exemplary measures of punishment in the case of Israel. We must become conscious of the fact that Israel constitutes a serious danger and threat to peace in the whole region. We must realize that the objective of international solidarity and support must be a solution to the Middle East problem—a radical solution which cannot but take into consideration the right of the Palestinian people for self-determination, for the establishment of an independent state in the territory of Palestine.

I would also like to make some proposals regarding the issue as I see it. We believe that we should make everything possible. On our part, the Greeks, we believe and declare that we shall support every movement that has been created. It would also be useful to try to gain support for this movement on a national level, following the example of this international effort and in order to consolidate it more. We should try to organize similar activities on a local basis. An international campaign should be undertaken by all international organizations towards this end. I should like to further add that should an on the spot investigation of these problems be made in Lebanon, in the occupied area of south Lebanon, in the West Bank, in Gaza and even in Beirut, we are prepared to participate in it.

ABD AL-QADER AL-YASIN

Israeli planes levelled an 8-story building in the Sanayeh Garden in West Beirut. Over 150 people had been crushed beneath the weight of the fallen building, and only one survivor was found.

During the summer of 1982, from June 5th until mid-August, Israeli occupation troops pounded Beirut, the capital city of Lebanon, with air strikes, artillery barrages and shelling from warships of the Lebanese coast. It was a brutal assault that left thousands of dead and wounded Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, among them many women and children. What follows is nothing more than a selection from a day-to-day diary of the 88-Day War.

June 22nd

Akka Hospital lies in the southern suburb of the city on the road to the International Airport. It is hard to believe that last night's blitz was an accident, especially of an army of such professional efficiency. The hospital stands distinctly apart, a complex of buildings enclosing a garden of hibiscus. Akka took 15 direct hits between 12:00 and 12:30 last night, said Abdel-Rahman Bseiso, editor-in-chief of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society Magazine, who spent the night in the basement.

A 155-milimetre shell came straight through the red crescent painted on the roof. Another hit a large, fortunately empty, ward, punching down into the basement. An operating theatre was destroyed, and the nurses' lecture hall was turned into a tangled wreck of shattered glass, broken window frames, and collapsed ceilings. The Palestinian Red Crescent emblem is painted on the five-story building, and the flag flies outside. Yet five ambulances lay twisted nearby, burnt out or shattered by Israeli shelling.

June 25th

Late in the afternoon Israeli aircraft carried out a raid on the densely-populated residential area of Fakhani. At least three multistory buildings were destroyed in this mixed Palestinian-Lebanese quarter. Less than an hour after the planes struck, more than fifty buildings were destroyed. At the Maqassid Hospital the refrigerator was full and bodies were piled on the floor outside. Whole families have been killed. There were many people going from hospital to hospital looking for relatives.

June 29th

Throughout the streets of Burj el-Barajneh lay the rubble-ragged masses of broken cement, twisted metal, shattered glass and garbage. Corpses still lay under these piles. One knew them by their smell, unmistakable and as powerful as the gases from some putrefying swamp.

July 1st

The phosphorous did not spare the hospital for the aged and mentally-retarded in West Beirut, in spite of the fact that a huge red cross had been painted on its roof. 16 patients died in the bombardment of the hospital and 28 others were wounded.

July 4th

Hospitals, clinics, diplomatic missions, residential districts and refugee camps, along with Beirut's Jewish synagogue were targets in a series of murderous indiscriminate Israeli attacks. Even hotels in which western press correspondents were based were shelled by Israeli troops, and newspaper offices became the targets of the infamous American phosphorous bombs. Elsewhere vacuum and cluster bombs wrecked havoc in residential areas, creating enormous civilian casualties.

July 12th

In the narrow lanes of Sabra neither the wail of ambulances nor the scrambling of the wounded broke the silence after the morning's air raids. The lanes of the camp were so choked with crashed cars and rubble from collapsed buildings that no ambulances could get near. As for the survivors they seemed too shocked even to cry as they tugged and pulled hopelessly at the girders and timber supports protruding from the wreckage of their homes. Whole buildings kneeled over into their sides and those who worked to free their missing families beneath did so in a frantic silence. The only sound was the steady crush of glass.

July 28th

It is hell, hell, hell!

The Israelis are shelling, bombing and rocketing the city for the eighth straight day. The bombs and shells are falling so thick and so often that they are rocking the building constantly. No one dares venture out in the street because of the continuous shelling. Many risk being buried alive under the rubble of their own buildings if they are hit by Israeli planes.

Power and water have been cut off by the Israelis. We are subsisting on canned food only. We feel so totally isolated, so completely deserted by the Arab "brothers" and the outside world.

August 6th

Israeli planes levelled an eight-storey building in the Sanayeh Garden in West Beirut. Over 150 people had been crushed beneath the weight of the fallen building, and only one survivor was found. The attack had levelled the building in such a way that the floors had crumbled on top of one another and had not affected, except in a minor way, the buildings around it.

August 9th

A day of intensive bombing. The great amounts of water needed (especially distilled water needed for treatment of wounds) to clean shrapnel and burn wounds were not available so that doctors had to rip the skin off such patients to clean their wounds, rather than clean them with water. There were so many emergency cases and severely wounded that the doctors acted without giving anesthetics, because they have no time to wait for the drugs to take affect before operating.

August 11th

The encircling of West Beirut had been complete for several days and the noose was being pulled tighter.

Heavy pieces of Israeli artillery in Ba'abda were systematically pounding the residential neighbourhood adjoing the Museum.

Later on, other guns and gunboats joined in and for hours furiously shelled the mute structures. For those who were trapped in their shelters, survival was impossible. The indiscriminate savage shelling turned their buildings into graves.

By 5 pm the city was fogged in by the smoke of bombs and the dust of destruction. During the night, the indiscriminate shelling continued with clockwork regularity, mortar flares spread disarray and illuminated the night of the battered city for hours. At one point, the battle rages as Israeli forces attempted to inch their way around the Museum. In the process, the Barbir Hospital was also hit. The heavy artillery barrages continued until the early hours of the morning.

August 12th

Shortly after dawn, the Israeli planes, silver darts against the backdrop of blue sky, started their systematic bombing. In response to the ruthless and disproportionate bombing that was rocking the city, Palestinian forces were spare and muted. During the following eleven hours of the Israeli carpet bombing, hundreds of civilians were to be among the dead, the burned and the wounded.

The Palestinian camps of Sabra, Shattila and Burj el-Barajneh burned down under withering bombardment. In eleven hours the Israelis fired more than 180,000 shells and launched more than 150 bombing raids. The attack were so concentrated and prolonged that the Beirut version of a firestorm developed: a huge swirling ball of red earth blown skywards by bombs and mixed with the flames of burning buildings.

In West Beirut, the hundreds of thousands of civilians who refused to leave their homes despite Israeli threats, siege and bombing, took refuge in makeshift shelters, or risked their lives to stand for bread and water while bombs were exploding nearby. By then every hospital had been hit at least once. Those still operating were swamped with new casualties. In the meantime, makeshift hospitals in dorms, classrooms and hallways sheltered the other victims.

By noon the Israeli bombing brought life in the besieged city to an agonizing halt. In the late afternoon, a new negotiated cease-fire brought the eleven-hour carpet bombing to an end.

In the Israeli attempt to take over the Western sector of the Lebanese Capital, the buildings stood as battered witness to the tragic plight of the Palestinian and Lebanese population. In the besieged city, those who shared a destiny of despair and hope, were united in their defiance of death. In their sufferings, the amputees, the burned victims, the wounded and other survivors were bound by an unprecedented sense of caring, compassion and respect for one another. But within themselves, the survivors also shared the traumatic knowledge that having met death they would never be able to fully return among the living.

This war has been the longest Arab-Israeli war, directed with all its savageness against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. The war went beyond the goals that were announced at the beginning. In this murderous war we have suffered 58,000 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians (killed and wounded) as well as 5,300 fighters killed and wounded. We still have about 6,000 fighters missing. The war left about one million Palestinians and Lebanese homeless. The Israeli occupation forces wiped out 14 Palestinian camps and destroyed 32 Lebanese villages and three other cities. Every report of the casualities inflicted by Israeli insists that civilians far outnumber combatants. As a matter of fact, this is the first war in modern history in which the killed outnumber the wounded.

The civilians trapped in the city went underground in a last bid to stay alive. During lulls in the indiscriminate shelling, people emerged from their dark sanctuaries to search for food and water. The Israelis were determined to make that task more and more difficult and inspected even the cars of diplomats entering West Beirut to ensure that no supplies trickled in. They stopped people from carrying just a few loaves of bread. The International Red Cross could not even bring in one bottle of drinking water.

During breaks in the shelling women and children queued up with plastic buckets and jerrycans to get all the water they could carry. Water from private wells was eight times too salty, and water from wells fitted with salt

filters was so precious that people held their places in the line during even the heaviest bombardment.

Although medicine was plentiful, doctors, hospitals beds and ambulances were not. Wounded people packed the corridors of hospitals. Many lay in their own blood on stretchers waiting for someone to tend to them. Ambulances and private vehicles arrived bumper to bumper with as many as six injured people in each load. Many of the worst injuries were caused by "Willie Peters" (white phosphorous shells). Wounds by the blazing liquid were almost impossible to clear.

The Israeli siege had greatly effected the ability of the hospitals to absorb all the wounded, and quickly enough to prevent infections. Those whose limbs have been amputated often got gangrene so that they have to go through another amputation higher up on the limb to prevent infection from spreading.

The supplies of medicine, clothing and food for the displaced, starving and wounded children in that war-torn city were blocked by the Israeli forces for more than six weeks.

Shortly after the assassination of Bashir Gemayyel, Israeli armour and infantry moved past passive and staring Lebanese Army units. General Ariel Sharon had desired this for the last three months and was being prevented from doing so by fierce Palestinian resistance. Sharon ordered his troops to shoot and kill anything that moved. The Israelis met with fierce, if token, resistance from Lebanese national progressive militiamen and a handful of remaining PLO fighters, armed by automatic weapons since their heavy arms as well as their fortified positions had been taken over by the Lebanese Army as per the letter of the ceasefire agreement worked out by Philip Habib.

After the last few pockets of resistance had been wiped out, the Israeli tanks reached the as yet occupied northwest and southern parts of the town while the city was again shelled and bombed by Israeli gunboats creating despair and panic among the stunned civilian population. Official Israeli spokesmen meanwhile bluntly stated that the Israeli forces have taken over the rest of the city in order to ensure peace and quiet in the awake of Gamayyel's assassination.

On Friday evening, September 17th, the Israelis controlled the city. Israeli units went through West Beirut capturing young Palestinian and Lebanese men, blindfolding them and taking them away.

Israeli intelligence officers, with computerized lists of names in their hands, went to the homes and offices of the PLO members active in administrative, clerical and non-military bureaus in the various Palestinian institutions still allowed to operate in West Beirut according to the Habib ceasefire document. They were arrested and taken away to unknown destinations. Hundreds were taken to the football stadium, a procedure sinisterly reminiscent of Chile's putsch, where they were sorted out or killed on the spot.

In the early morning of September 17th, Phalangist and Haddad forces were flown in Israeli military transport planes from Southern Lebanon to Beirut Airport. They assembled at a staging area near the airport. At 6 pm they entered Sabra and Shattila and started a massacre.

While Israeli officers watched from a nearby observation post at a tall building, the Phalangist and Haddad forces killed and maimed, raped and cut open pregnant women, cut off children's heads and castrated both Palestinians and Lebanese who happened to live in the camp.

In the nearby Akka hospital, more than 1,200 Palestinian patients were killed on the spot, or kidnapped. Some women were raped. In the operating threatre, blood flowed as never before.

Men, women and children alike were slit like butchered sheep from the bowels to the neck with a single bayonet slash. Whole families were cut down in their homes. In one Shattila hut, a family sat dead, four children and two adults, in front of a TV set that chattered on, the day after, when the Red Cross arrived.

The massacre of Sabra and Shattila had also hidden, far more devilish dimension than the "simple" horror of death, rape, torture and mutilation. It is obvious that General Sharon, a good strategist, had considered long-range and not just immediate gains when he ordered the massacre to be carried out. Ariel Sharon wanted, of course, to ensure the physical elimination of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, and the removal of Palestinians to Syria. But Sharon also thought of what the massacre would do to the PLO.

The massacre by Phalangist and Haddad militia was only the most horrifying result of an anti-Palestinian blacklash which proceeds now with official sanction. The very horror of those massacres makes them seem to stand out in isolation, makes one think of the Phalangist killers as some aberrant pariahs temporarily run amok. But in fact those Phalangists are now hand in glove with the forces of the State under Phalangist President Gemayel.

OFFICIAL LOOTING OF PALESTINIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

In addition to the unauthorized looting by Israeli soldiers, Israel has assigned a special unit with the legal power to seize Palestinian property. A captain or a major need only state that he is "acting on information received" and declare that "this is property of a terrorist" to confiscate any property he chooses. Property seized and carried in Israel includes whole factories, shops, stocks of iron and metal. Lebanese official estimates state that 60% of the movable property in South Lebanon (including merchandise and industry) has been transported to Israel. The Israelis are

systematically trying to destory the entire fabric of Palestinian social institutions, hospitals, schools, orphanages, workshops and social welfare organizations.

The Institute for Palestinian Studies, an independent 20-year old research institute in Beirut, which has assembled a massive archives on Palestinian history, documents, photographs and research papers, has been emptied of its contents and destroyed. I could almost say that all Palestinian cultural and artistic institutions in Beirut were destroyed: from the Karameh Exhibition with its great wealth of paintings to the seat of the General Union of Palestinian Writers, in addition to private works of art and documents belonging to individuals.

Yet the way in which the Palestinian Research Centre was looted shows that the Israeli policy for looting Palestinian cultural is a programmed policy.

The PLO Research Centre was established in February 1965 as a scientific and cultural institution with the purpose of recording the history of the Palestinian people, the history of Zionism, of the State of Israel and of all the aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Its purpose was also to publish information on the subject for the use of researchers and public opinion. The Centre became one of the most important academic centres in the Middle East, especially its library which was considered one of the largest and most specialized on the Palestine problem, in the affairs of Israel and the world Zionist movement. It contained more than 25,000 volumes, 11,000 of which are in English, 5,000 in Arabic and 3,000 in Hebrew and other languages. As for the Centre's archives they collected and indexed published information and documents from more than 80 Arab and foreign newspapers, 250 periodicals in English, 49 in Hebrew, 63 in French, 160 in Arabic and from 30 publications of the PLO. The Centre collected also historical Palestinian documents and all documents released by Israel.

The Research Centre published a bi-annual volume: The Palestinian Chronology, a day-to-day record of the events of the Palestine problem, 22 volumes have been published to date.

The Centre also published a daily bulletin (Monitoring Israeli Broadcasting), which was distributed to the press.

"Palestinian Affairs" was the first Arab monthly magazine specialized in Palestinian affairs and published by the Centre. The Centre's "Research & Studies" section produced 130 books on Palestinian affairs and 140 on Israeli affairs.

The Israeli armed forces occupied the entire building of the Centre in the West sector of Beirut on the first week of the invasion of the capital. They stayed four days during which they emptied the centre of all it contained: electrical equipment, typewriters, desks, pens, telephone receivers, vacuum cleaners. Everything was loaded into military cars and sent to Israel.

The Israelis left behind them their venerable signature: insults on the walls and shit all over the floor.

Private libraries of Palestinian intellectuals were also looted. The Khalidi museum, a famous museum of Arab civilization, with irreplacable works of art, archeological finds and precious manuscripts (the best museum of its kind in the Middle East) has been considered a terrorist organization, closed and its collection carried to Israel. Israel which treasures every archeological artifact excavated from its soil knows the symbolic importance of relics and culture and history. The looting of these archives is an attempt to deprive Palestinians of their historical memory, their heritage as a people and their cultural identity.

They were not soldiers . . . they were thiefs. This is an act of "cultural genocide" to complete the destruction of the Palestinian social and political institutions and the physical death and dispersal of the Palestinians which has been the aim of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The target of the Israeli invasion was not "Palestinian terrorists" but Palestinian nationhood itself.

The Geneva Convention of 1949 defines genocide as the "systematic destruction of a society or a national or ethnic or group not only by mass killing, but also by destruction of homes, confiscation of property, expulsion of people and destruction of social, political and cultural institutions." By this definition, Israeli actions against the Palestinians is not a war by any recognized standard. It is, simply, GENOCIDE.

The Lebanese army and secret Police have been storming and searching thousands of homes, offices and shops in the Palestinian camps of Sabra, Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh.

The soldiers and plainclothesmen took away the young men. Anyone could be seized and held in this great round-up. More than 2,500 Palestinian prisoners are being held in East Beirut prison, where they are packed too closely to lie down, denied food, forced to live amid their own excrement and beaten during interrogation. The wave of arrests and disappearances of young men has gone largely unreported because of the world's fixation on the massacres in Sabra and Shatila.

On September 25th, the Lebanese army occupied Burj el-Barajneh. They put a tank at every gate of the camp and soldiers all around. They spoke on a microphone telling the inhabitants that a curfew is imposed. They came to every building and asked: "Is there any Palestinian here?" They took 600 people with them.

"How many Christians did you kill?" the jailers scream at their Palestinian prisoners. The answer does not matter. The arrest and beating continue. There is more to come.

Now the Lebanese government is making plans to uproot and scatter hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, who will not be allowed to re-

build their shattered camps. Palestinians will not get work permits. Palestinians without proper papers will be jailed and put out of the country. The most liberal plan under discussion would allow homes (in new remote camps) only for those families who fled Palestine in 1948. That covers less than 5,000 people. Another plan under consideration would allow no more than 50,000 Palestinians to remain in Lebanon. Either way, at least a quarter million people will be set on the run again, turned away from homes—for many the only homes they knew.

It is no exaggeration to say that Palestinians (and many Lebanese) are living under a regime of terror. In the South of Lebanon, Israel had allowed the Phalangist and Haddad militias free reign. These irregular troops have carried out arrests, kidnapping, rapes, killings, arson, property seizure and general terrorizing of the Palestinians. The massacres in the camps are unique only in their visibility. They have received the media attention, but they are only the logical culmination of consistent Israeli policy.

PRISONERS

The Israeli press reported in late September that Menachem Begin acknowledged 9,000 prisoners. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has registrated approximately 8,000 in Ansar Camp alone, and Red Cross officials said that 15,000 prisoners is a "very realistic figure." More have been arrested since then. Israel has failed to provide international agencies with a complete list of prisoners. Thousands of Palestinian (and Lebanese) families have been living for months without knowing whether their fathers, sons or brothers are living or dead.

International organisations, including the ICRC, have insisted from the earliest days of the war that the prisoners be accorded prisoner-of-war status under the Geneva Conventions. Israel, however, has insisted on regarding them as "administrative detainees" and Israeli officials have implied that they will be brought to trial as "criminals." They are denied legal advice or family visits.

Large number of the Palestinians and Lebanese who have been captured or have disappeared have been executed. Israeli refusal to acknowledge or allow international agencies access to prisoners other than Ansar gives credit to fears of executions and brutal mistreatment. Deprivation of food, water, toilet facilities, beatings, severe enough to kill, were reported by medical personnel during the invasion.

Arrests under Israeli occupation have been arbitrary round-ups of all Palestinian males from 16 to 65 including many children and old men. One man, 85 years old, was arrested as a "collaborator" because some years ago he rented fields to Palestinians. A number of Palestinian

prisoners are cripples, without legs or without arms. Some are blind. Prisoners are literally not allowed to leave their tents, except for the group of elderly prisoners over 65 who are allowed to sit in an open space holding their hands above their heads.

The 5,000 arrests by Israel in Beirut constitute an attempt to dismantle the intellectual and political leadership of the Palestinians (similar to the policy of mass deportations of Palestinian leadership from the West Bank and Gaza).

TREATMENT OF REFUGEES

Israel has given free reign to lawless militias to terrorize the Palestinians. In Miyyeh-u-Miyyeh, an exclusively Christian Palestinian camp near Sidon, huge fires were set which burned down half the camp. Women and children fleeing the flames were shot at. Ten Palestinian women were kidnapped at gunpoint by members of Haddah militia, nine were raped repeatedly, killed and mutilated. The tenth was forced to watch and sent back to Ein el-Hilweh camp with the warning that a similar fate awaits others there.

More than 350 Palestinians have been abducted and severely beaten by Lebanese rightists. Many Palestinians have been found dead. One young Palestinian boy was found castrated, with metal skewers, such as are used for Sheishkebab, jammed into his chest. These acts were done as a warning and the bodies left to be discovered.

LIVING CONDITIONS FOR REFUGEES

Palestinian homes in the camps of South Lebanon have been destroyed not only in the bombing and shelling of the war, but weeks after the fighting was over. Whatever homes and buildings were still standing were razed by bulldozers or demolished by explosives. Permanent dwellings are not allowed to be set up in South Lebanon. Palestinians have been living in the rubble or in orchards under sheets of nylon used to cover vegetables.

The 66 UNRWA schools in South Lebanon have been destroyed, damaged or occupied. Some schools have been open for Lebanese, but Palestinian children are not allowed to attend.

In Israeli-occupied Lebanon, residents are not allowed to walk the streets of their own cities and villages unless they are issued a permit by the Israeli authorities. There are frequent all-day round-ups of the male population, Israeli attempts to humiliate people and to fester sectarian resentments by allowing Christian Lebanese to sit in the shade, Muslim Lebanese to sit in the sun, and requiring Palestinians to stand all day in the sun.

The psychological effects of the war and occupation on the Palestinians have been heavy. The destruction of the institutions and structures of the Palestinian society, including the disruption of family life and the disappearance of almost all males from 16 to 65, have brought grievous harm to the emotional and psychological health of survivors.

An entire population now consists of women, children and old men without a roof over their heads living in physical insecurity and emotional anxiety. Many Palestinian women are in a state of shock and not reacting normally to ill health in their families. Under present conditions, the ability and motivation of students to study, concentrate and learn has been impaired. Dr. Ya'acov Meridor, Minister of Economy, was asked about the Israeli policy concerning the Palestinian refugees. He replied: "They should be driven eastward (symbolically waving his arm) in the direction of Syria. Let them go there and don't let them return."

Question: It is a rather serious accusation that the Israelis looted for example the international airport. Can you give us some specifics?

Abd: In fact, I lived less than 500 meters from the airport, in the camp of Burj al-Barajneh. I read the story of the looting, and the same week the Lebanese Minister of Transportation and Public Works held a press conference at the Ministry of Information, announcing that all the technical equiment of the airport, particularly the power section, had been looted. He estimated it would cost at least 15 million dollars to get the airport functioning again. When reporters questioned this high figure, he told them to go see for themselves.

I haven't been to the airport, except when leaving Lebanon, but those who went found everything destroyed, first looted and then destroyed. In fact they even took chairs from the transit hall.

Dr. Tammus, professor of economics and business administration at the American University in Beirut, who also happens to belong to the board of the Middle East Airlines with headquarters and workshops less than 200 meters from the airport building, admitted that same week that the company's loss was estimated at 16 million Lebanese pounds, mainly equipment looted by the Israelis. He later retracted his statement, undoubtedly due to pressure from the president himself, who wanted things to cool down.

Question: Do you know what will be done with the material of the Palestine Research Center which was taken to Israel? Can the U.N. get it back?

Abd: I lived in Burj al-Barajneh and my home was destroyed during the first week of the invasion. My personal library of 9,000 volumes was completely destroyed. Thanks to Dr. Bernan, I found friends in West Beirut I could stay with from late July until the ceasefire. I work for the PLO Planning Center, in charge of the political section. The Planning Center is not a publishing house, it councils the PLO Executive Committee. The Palestine Research Center, on the other hand, is a sort of a publishing house, non-profit. The Israelis occupied the entire building from the very first day they arrived in Beirut, that is less than 2 days after the assassination of Gemayel. August the 25th, when all Palestinian troups left Beirut, I left the place where I had been staying and returned to the camp to live with my friends. One hour after the death of Gemayel was officially announced on Lebanese TV and Radio, a curfew was imposed on the camp. Palestinians were not allowed to enter or leave the camp, at gunpoint. I stayed with friends until after the massacre. My younger brother, his wife, and their six children were butchered.

When the curfew was finally lifted, I believe at least a week before the Muslim holiday Id al-Adha, I went to look for a friend and heard that other friends and colleagues were looking for me, believing I had been taken by the Israelis or killed. So, I went to Hamra where the Research Center is and saw with my own eyes that not a single chair was left, not a single table, not a single book. In fact, even some of the doors had been taken. There were excrements all over the five-story building. The walls were covered with the unmentionable graffiti of the men's room, "Fuck Arafat and the Palestinians!" and so on.

Less than a week later, the 25th or 26th of September, we filed a complaint with the regional headquarters of the UNESCO in Beirut. Incidentally, the Swedish Embassy in Beirut acknowledged and confirmed in a report in late September the looting and destruction of the Center. A Swedish newspaper correspondent in Tel Aviv questioned an Israeli spokesman on what would be done with the material, coming from a cultural institution. The answer was, and I quote: "To us there is no difference. Israeli Intelligence will look over that which is of interest, the rest will be destroyed." This is as far as the Research Center is concerned.

The Institute for Palestine Studies, which is a Lebanese, non-governmental and politically independant institute, was also looted. The loss is immense. Many of these documents are irreplaceable and we have no copies. I myself spent 6 months in the British Museum public record office collecting documents for the Research Center. We had many unpublished documents and private papers. The Center had all Master and Doctoral dissertations on Palestine from the whole world. None of this, unfortunately, was saved.

As far as the U.N. is concerned, the Israeli state has a world record in non-respect of U.N. resolutions. Just to quote Haim Herzog, former head of Israeli Intelligence and Israeli delegate to the U.N. in 1976, when the General Assembly took the resolution considering Zionism to be a form of racism and racial discrimination: in front of all of the members of the United Nations, he said, and I quote, "For us, the Jewish people, this is nothing more than a piece of paper and it will be treated as such." Then he tore it to pieces and threw it in the wastebasket. All U.N. resolutions

since 1948 have been treated in a similar fashion. We are sure the Israeli actions were part of planned, consistent policy, and that no matter what world public opinion does, we will never get any or our documents back again. We have no choice but to start over from scratch. The Center will most likely be reestablished in Tunis, where the seat of the PLO is.

Abd: It is not my intention to take much of your precious time going into details of the Israeli-Phalangist relations. These relations go as far back as 1974. It is no longer a secret that the Israelis supplied the Phalangists with weapons, ammunition, military equipment, and put their training camps in their disposal. Hundreds of Phalangist officers were trained in Israel. During the last five years, the Israelis managed to recruit their own men, that is, to have Phalangist officers trained in Israel for their own service. In fact, there is a proof that the Israeli invasion of the western sector of Beirut was closely connected to the assassination of Bashir Gemayel. Their official story was that they were just to keep law and order and prevent bloodshed. Israeli sources themselves have put the lie to that story. General Sharon had been trying for 88 days to capture the city. In a statement quoted by the Jerusalem Post the 5th or 6th of August, when the negotiations were at a standstill, he made that plain. This was also in the Herald Tribune and the Arab mass media. The Israeli invasion of Beirut took place a few hours after the assassination of Bashir Gemayel. In fact, the Israelis were already at the Kuwaiti Embassy, less than 1 kilometer from the Arab University. The city was taken from several accesses in a coordinated way and at a precise moment.

The destruction and looting of the Planning Center and the Institute for Palestine Studies has nothing to do with the assassination of Bashir Gemayel. It was carried out in braod daylight, and for us, it is part and parcel of the consistent Israeli policy of destroying the very fabric of Palestinian society.

The day after the assassination, it took the Israelis less than 20 hours to gain full control of West Beirut. Press reports at the time gave the impression that the Israelis had siezed the opportunity to get hold of the few hundred Palestinian fighters remaining in Beirut after the evacuation. That was nothing more than an excuse to justify the invasion of the city and impose an Israeli diktat on the Palestinians and the Lebanese government. In fact, the entry into West Beirut should be seen as a constituent part of the invasion of Lebanon as a whole. The reason for the invasion was not to erect a 40-45 km "cordon sanitaire" as Began claimed.

I can sum up the three main goals of the invasion:

1. to liquidate the infrastructure and military power of the PLO
2. to weaken Syria militarilly and politically, to force Syria to withdraw its troups from Lebanon, making possible the third goal
3. to establish in Lebanon a puppet regime prepared to sign a peace treaty with Israel, supplementary to the Camp David accord with Egypt.

These goals were made public months before the invasion. Seen in this light, the Israelis did not occupy West Beirut because Gemayel was killed, but to complete an invasion which had been planned months befor e the 4th of June 1982.

Question: You mentioned that museums were looted. What are their names?

Abd: The museum belonged to professor Wajih al-Khalidi, professor of history at the American University in Beirut. It was a private collection, including historic documents, archeological artifacts, and irreplaceable pieces of art. The Khalidi museum is in Hamra, in the Western sector of Beirut. Professor Khalidi was present when his collection was looted, held at gunpoint by Israeli soldiers. The rest of his belongings—furniture, desks, books, and other things—were piled on the floor and soldiers urinated on them. Before his eyes, they poured gasoline on top and set fire to it. That was during the first week after the assassination of Gemayel. At least 26 Palestinian private libraries were looted on that occasion.

DR. CLAUDE PIERRE LIEN, Physician, France

The food problem had become a critical one and in this regard we may say that the Israelis used the existing needs in West Beirut to wage a psychological war.

Last July I took part in a mission of the French Ministry of Health which lasted for three weeks in Lebanon and which had three objectives: First, to take six tons of medicine to Lebanon, to West Beirut; second, to try to make an assessment of the sanitary conditions there, and third, to intervene directly and as much as possible with regard to the sanitary and social conditions.

We visited Tyre and Sidon as well as West Beirut. We made a few contacts some of them rather secretly. Our contacts were mainly with Lebanese, but also with Palestinians, but none whatsoever with Israelis.

Having visited Lebanon in 1976, I can tell you that I know the country. This gives me the possibility to draw a comparison between the situation in 1976 and the one prevailing today, concluding that it has seriously deteriorated.

Both communities, Lebanese and Palestinian, have been seriously

affected by the war. It is difficult to evaluate the number of casualties (dead and wounded), but we tried to collect figures and they came close to the ones mentioned here. Moreover, many Palestinian and Lebanese personalities, mainly experts, confirmed to us that the great majority of the wounded are doomed to death. This is because of the types of weapons used which was refered to before by other witnesses.

In West Beirut we saw, besides the wounded, cases of psychosomatic disturbances due to war psychosis. Moreover, as stated by other witnesses the danger of epidemics is greater than ever. This danger was not so great in West Beirut in July, but it has increased since. After a short stay in Sidon we came to the conclusion that this danger was much greater than anywhere else due to the deterioration of the environment, the housing conditions, the water supplies, and to the high number of unburied corpses.

Taking as a starting point my knowledge of Lebanon which I visisted six years ago, I can say that the Israelis have largely destroyed the sanitary structures, not only of the Palestinians but also of the Lebanese. I saw with my own eyes the total destruction of a number of refugee camps in West Beirut, in South Lebanon and, above all, the destruction of the El-Bass camp, not far from Tyre, a place which I had visited in 1976. Schools have been destroyed in Sidon, for instance the Israelis have shelled hospitals and generally speaking we can say that the hospitals in the South and in West Beirut were special targets of the Israelis.

The Palestinian hospital in Tyre was not destroyed, but the medical equipment was taken away the day after the Israelis entered the city. The Palestinian hospital in Sidon is out of order just as the government hospitals. In Beirut I visited several times the Acre hospital. It was completely destroyed by the Israelis, forcing the medical team to work in improvised premises. With regard to Acre hospital and other hospitals we can ask what was the objective of the Israelis? This question is for the simple reason that in the case of Acre Hospital, which is not far from Chatila and Sabra refugee camps, there was a house close by—ten or twenty meters away—which was only touched by the shelling. When we remember the sophisticated nature of Israel's weaponry, of its airplanes equipped with computers, we may ask again what was the Israelis' aim.

We saw the streets covered with bombs, the water system destroyed, garbage piled up, rats and unburied bodies. Adding to this grave situation, the blockade imposes on West Beirut additional problems, mainly lack of fuel which is essential for the electricity supplies for hospitals, for the functioning of water pumps and medical transportation. As far as medicine is concerned we noticed where ever we went a lack of blood and plasma, which are indispensable for first aid. We thus may conclude that the Palestinian Red Crescent was not provided with blood or plasma supplies in West Beirut, while all these supplies were piling up on the outskirts of the city, about two kilometers from the centre.

The food problem has become a crucial one and in this regard we may say that the Israelis used the existing needs in West Beirut to wage a psychological war. As a whole, it must be said that Israel is waging the war at different levels: psychological, military, sanitary, and alimentation—a selective war in which Israel carefully chooses it s actions so as to bring the population of West Beirut to a state of depression and capitulation.

I would like also to say that these means seem to be rather Machiavellian.

Speaking about refugees, we can say that they are about 100,00 in West Beirut. This figure seems rather close to the reality since it was given by a body which seems to be very efficient—the mixed Palestinian-Lebanese Commission. The refugees in West Beirut enjoyed better housing and food than those in southern Lebanon. In Sidon we saw 2,200 people living in a small two-floor school, without food and in unsanitary conditions. They were mainly children, women and old people.

MIKKO LOHIKOSKI, Journalist, Finland

Obviously the aim of the shellings and the bombings was to terrify the civilian population . . . .

I have covered for several years as a free lance journalist for various papers and periodicals the international situation and the situation in the Middle East. In this connection I visited several times Arab countries including Lebanon. The last time I was in Beirut, before my recent visit, was in September 1981.

This time I went to Lebanon on July 26 and remained until August 6. I spent three days in East Beirut and the rest in the Western part of the city. It was the time of the massive intensification of air, sea and land bombardment and shelling. Specially devastating were the bombing and shelling on Sunday August 1, and those on Wednesday, August 4,—two days before I left Beirut.

I travelled by a Cypriot boat from Larnaca, Cyprus, to Jounieh, Lebanon—which is a Phalangist-controlled town about 15 kms north of Beirut. The vessel was stopped some 3 to 5 miles away from the Lebanese

coast by a gunboat which had no markings, but the ship's Captain said it was an Israeli gunboat.The ship's personnel said that this was a regular practice. All boats were stopped by the Israelis and the details of all the passengers were radioed to the Israeli warships, and if anything was unclear or suspicious the Israeli forces came on board.

When I travelled the Israeli gunboats only surrounded our vessel. We waited nearly two hours before receiving permission to proceed. We had to go through all the formalities at the harbour, so the check at sea was an additional one made by the Israelis. On my return again by boat we were stopped after leaving Jounieh and had to wait for 4½ hours for the Israelis to check everybody and radio details about all the passengers. Our passports were collected. There was one Phalangist—a Canadian who was born in Lebanon and who worked for 7 years for the Phalangists—who told me that all information about the passengers were fed into a computer for checking. Four or five persons who had something unclear were called by loudspeakers to give further information through radio to the Israeli ship.

On my arrival on Monday evening, July 26, to East Beirut I stayed at the Alexander Hotel. My arrival coincided with a very heavy air raid which lasted for about two hours. It was a very strange scene, very difficult to describe. From the roof of the Alexander Hotel I could see plane after plane come and bomb all parts of the city. I have some pictures of these bombings.

What was peculiar was that on the roof of the Alexander Hotel there were many Israeli officers and many other Israelis in civilian clothes—obviously military observers as they had binoculars and walkie-talkies and they followed the results of the bombings from the roof.

Israeli officers were every where in the hotel which was occupied by foreign journalists. The journalists resented this and demanded that the Israeli officers leave the hotel because their presence made the hotel a military target. But they did not heed the protests and continued to stay in the hotel.

During the days I was in the hotel the Israeli military behaved very arrogantly. They came to the restaurant with their Uzi submachine guns, put them on the table and ordered beer and paid with Shekels (Israeli currency—Editor). The employees refused to take Shekels but nevertheless were forced to take it. There was no argument, the submachine gun was decisive.

I met some Phalangists some of whom as one businessman who spoke to me) said that many Phalangist sympathisers welcomed the Israelis at first because they thought that Israel will help them. But now after a few weeks, a month of Israeli presence and arrogance, they have come to another conclusion. The businessman, who worked in the hotel business, construction and planning of hotels, said he was convinced the Israelis have designs concerning the economic life of Lebanon. It was his strong conviction that the Israelis were deliberately bombing the hotels of West Beirut to eventually enter the hotel business there. It is very difficult for me to confirm this, but the tens of hotels which have been destroyed in the western part of the city can strengthen his conclusion.

When I was in West Beirut I daily visited various parts of the city. I lived in the Hamra commercial area. I visited seven hospitals, many shelters, living areas and Palestinian refugee camps. I was three times in Burj Al-Barajneh which is the most southern of refugee camps, near the airport. On several occasions I went to Sabra, Chatila, Fakahani, the Arab University region, etc. I visited after the intensive bombardments various regions and saw the damage caused and heard what people had to say and went to hospitals to see the victims. I did this during intensive bombing, some of which lasted for 14 consecutive hours. On August 4 the air raid lasted for 23 consecutive hours. I had to trust my luck and roam the streets visiting different hospitals.

The intensive bombing reached even the rich parts of West Beirut—Hamra, Verdan, Ras Beirut—all civilian residential areas where many Lebanese lived. The hotel where I stayed in West Beirut was hit while I was in my room and on the same day as the Hotel Comodore, where journalists stayed, was hit. Offices of news agencies were hit last Wednesday—the UPI office was hit by phosphorous bombs and completely burned. Many other hotels near me, Bristol Hotel and the nearby houses were hit and so on. The residence of the Canadian Ambassador was also hit. Sometimes there was around our hotel mock bombings. Bombs that just made noise but did not contain explosives were dropped by Israeli planes. I do not find any other reason for this except that it is a part of a psychological war. It was quite clear during those days that psychological conditions deteriorated very much. I spoke with a Finnish nurse working in West Beirut, whom I had met few times before, and she said that specially after the heavy bombings many patients came to the hospital where she worked with clear psychosomatic symptoms.

Obviously, the aim of the shellings and the bombings was to terrify the civilian population, to get them to leave. To me it seemed that the military people were qualified to protect themselves much better than the civilians. I think that the casualties among the military—of course I can not calculate but I got information from various sources—was small compared to the civilian casualties.

What is very clear is that the houses—our hotel and other hotels included—were certainly not military targets. And I consider residential buildings certainly not military targets. So I am positively confident that the aim was to hit civilian targets not military targets. I lived there for nearly two weeks and would know if there were Palestinian heavy guns near our hotel, for example. But there were none. I have the impression

that the people who stay in West Beirut, intend to remain there. They do not want to go away and many of them do not have anywhere to go.

Israel claims in its statements and propaganda that the Lebanese want the Palestinians out of their country. I did not detect in West Beirut anything which would substantiate the Israeli claim. There were no clashes or fights between Palestinians and Lebanese. The only quarrels I saw were when people were queuing for water. Sometimes the atmosphere was quite tense.

The civilians were also very terrified by bombings but their morale seemed to be high. Cars were scarce in the daily life ofthe city. The bombings also severely affected the business life.

I have some evidence given to me by an American nurse. It is a 10-page report containing names of children who were wounded by various types of bombs, their age and the location of the incidents. I would like to present it to the Commission requesting that it be treated as evidence.

PAULETTE PIERSON-MATHY, Professor, Belgium

The weapons most used were fragmentation bombs and phosphorous bombs and shells, as well as booby-trapped toys; one explosive doll had caused the death of several children and horribly wounded some others.

The international mission, in preparation for the session of the Commission, went to Damascus (Syria) and Lebanon from 8 to 14 August in order to collect evidence and proofs of crimes committed by Israel in its war of aggression against the Lebanese state and the Palestinian peope.

This mission was composed of Mr. Mikis Theodorakis, member of the Greek Parliament, Mr. Hans Goran Franck, representative of the Social Democrat Party of Sweden and Mrs. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, professor at the Law Faculty of Brussels University.

The mission was received in Damascus by the Bureau of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the Lebanese National Movement and the Committee of Solidarity with Palestine composed of Syrian, Palestinian and Lebanese representatives.

In Damascus, the mission visited two hospitals where civil and military wounded persons were treated: The Jaffa Hospital of the Palestine Red Crescent and the Syrian Harasta Military Hospital. The two hospitals had heavily wounded persons—Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese as well as some other wounded of different nationalities.

The majority of these persons were under treatment for several weeks already: some of them from the very first days of the invasion. The hospital had acquired a slower rhythm because 500 wounded were sent abroad, to different countries that accepted them, for longer required treatment.

The majority of the wounded we met were victims of weapons banned under humanitarian law, which inflict profound and numerous wounds or intense and profound burns. The weapons most used were fragmentation bombs and phosphorous bombs and shells, as well as booby-trapped toys; one explosive doll had caused the death of several children and horribly wounded some others—among them a young boy of 7 years whom we have seen in that hospital. The majority of the wounded were from southern Lebanon and Bekaa. Many of them had their limbs amputated. There were also several cases of paraplegia, profound wounds of the head and one case of a young Tunisian student who was totally blind. The majority of the wounded have lost several members of their families, and their villages and houses were destroyed.

The mission went afterwards to Lebanon. For security reasons, Mr. Mikis Theodorakis—who received death threats from Phalangist elements —could not go to the part of Lebanon occupied by the Israeli army. He visited the Lebanese areas and Palestinian camps destroyed by the Israeli army in the Bekaa. He also went to Tripoli where he had talks with personalities from the Lebanese National Movement and the PLO.

Mr. Mikis Theodorakis was also received by the former President of Lebanon. Mr. Franjieh and had talks with Mr. Karame, former Prime Minister of Lebanon.

The other members of the mission went to South Lebanon and Beirut.

In East Beirut, which is occupied by the Israeli invasion forces, the mission had talks with Red Cross representatives of the International Red Cross, the General Secretary of the Lebanese Ministry for Foreign Affairs as well as with representatives of the diplomatic missions of Sweden and Belgium, direct witnesses of the invasion, of the occupation of Lebanon by the Israeli forces and of the siege of West Beirut.

The mission walked through the suburbs of South and East Beirut, along the road to Sidon and visited the locality of Khalde, entirely destroyed by the invasion forces. The mission could see from the road, the Palestinian refugee camp of Damour against which the Israeli armed forces were dead set. The population of the camp has been driven away

and the camp itself transformed into an aggression base of the occupation forces.

All alongside the road, the mission could note the numerous destruction of civilian targets, as it could see very big Israeli military deployment.

The mission visited the districts of Sidon destroyed by the invasion forces, right in the centre of the town. It walked a long time through different camps of refugees in the very suburbs of the town, camps completely destroyed, even razed with bulldozers. It conversed with survivors: women, children, old people, living as much as they could in these ruins, in the biggest penury and biggest distress.

A more detailed report will contain the most important evidence and findings of the mission concerning the systematic destruction of houses, schools and hospitals according to an organised plan of annihilation of the population and of all economic and social structures.

In East Beirut, the mission could observe the behaviour of Israeli soldiers with members of the foreign press, and the information they wanted to censor. It also witnessed the intensive bombing—from ground, sea and air—of West Beirut on August 12, a bombardment which lasted more than 10 hours.

The mission was also in West Beirut, where it was received by the Directing Committee of the Palestinian Red Crescent, namely by its President Dr. Fathi Arafat. It visited two hospitals for first aid: one established in the underground of the theology (Lahut) school, the other in a former hostel of the students of the American University. The mission saw heavy burns by phosphorus after the bombardment of the day before; the majority of the people atrociously disfigured and the bodies covered with profound burns. They were Lebanese and Palestinian civilians who escaped death from Israeli bombs dropped on a shelter in the South of Lebanon, where more than 100 persons died—all civilians. The mission noted the considerable difficulties in which medical teams were working. The mission also evaluated the devastating effects of the policy of extermination practiced by the Israeli armed forces against the population of West Beirut as well as of the consistent blockade—the cutting of water, electricity, the banning of deliveries to West Beirut, of medicine, food, fuel even by the International Red Cross.

Members of the mission walked systematically through the most destroyed districts of West Beirut and discovered an horrible sight of ruins, buildings of 7 or 8 floors collapsed as castles made of cards, facades destroyed by shells, devastated roads and all this in populated and residential areas as well as in the trade and commercial centre. The mission also visited the Gaza Hospital of the Palestine Red Crescent which was attacked several times by Israeli artillery and which can only function now underground. The mission saw the destruction of the Arab University, of the Stadium and evaluated the effects on such a big city of the strategy of extermination and devastation employed by the Israeli army against the population of West Beirut consisting of Palestinians, Lebanese and foreigners.

The mission had a discussion with Mr. Mahmoud Labadi, official spokesman of the PLO, who showed us and explained the different types of prohibited arms employed by the Israeli army, a big number of which made in the USA.

The mission was also received by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Mr. Yasser Arafat, symbol of the heroic resistance of the Palestinian people and of the whole people of Beirut and its fighters, and informed him of the objectives of the Session of the Commission in Nicosia.

President Arafat launched an appeal to the jurists and other personalities gathered in Nicosia to exercise all the necessary pressures on the Western countries to force Israel to cease immediately their criminal blockade of Beirut and to make known to international public opinion the whole scale of crimes committed against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples by Israel with the support of the United States. He reaffirmed hs conviction that the only way for the restoration of a durable peace in the Middle East lies in the reestablishment of a Palestinian state on Palestinian soil.

TINEKF VLUG, Nurse, The Netherlands

An apartment building 200 metres away from our hospital, in which refugees took refuge, was bombed and completely destroyed. More than a hundred were killed and nearly 200 injured.

I worked in West Beirut since September 1981 at the Palestinian Red Crescent's rehabilitations Centre in Burj Al-Barajneh refugee camp. I was sent there by the Palestine Medical Committee in the Netherlands. I left Beirut two weeks ago.

At the end of the first weeek of the war the Palestinian Red Crescent Society evacuated most of the patients to safer places, in West Beirut. Underground parking places, hotels, apartments and schools were turned

in few days into hospitals At that time a lot of people—Lebanese and Palestinians—who lived in refugee camps fled their camps to safer places in West Beirut—apartment buildings, parks and schools. From what I have seen and known during my stay I can say that the war was against the civilian population—against the Palestinian and the Lebanese peoples, against innocent women and children. Most of the people who were killed or badly injured were civilians. Israel used bombs not only to destry PLO officers or military targets, but to inflict heavy losses on the civilian population—the cluster, fragmentation and phosphorous bombs.

Phosphorous bomb wounds can not be treated easily. The phosphorous penetrates deeply into the subcutaneous tissues and continues to burn. Also booby-trapped toys were used. I heard of green, orange or yellow small balls or dolls being thrown. I know of one boy who picked up one of the ball-points and it exploded. When I left Beirut there were suspicions that nerve gas was also used. One patient died without recovering consciousness and another was still confused.

Continuous bombardment of civilian areas was also used with the aim of completely destroying the refugee camps and civilian residential areas.

An apartment building 200 metres away from our hospital, in which refugees took refuge, was bombed and completely destroyed. More than a hundred were killed and nearly 200 injured.

Hospitals flying the Red Cross flag and which had the Red Cross markings on their roof were shelled, some even several times; among them were also Lebanese hospitals.

The mental health hospital was shelled during the third week of June before the director of the hospital got a message from the Israelis to evacuate all the patients who numbered around 800.

When I left the conditions at the hospital where I worked were very bad—for one week there was no water, electricity or fuel. We had to work under extreme stress because of the bombardment which caused every day hundreds of wounded people who needed immediate help.

During the third week of June and for two consecutive days Israeli planes dropped leaflets, advising the people to move out of West Beirut. This was followed by mock bombings which caused very loud and frightful sound. It frightened everybody as no body knew what was happening. The day after, the Israelis cut the water and electricity for the first time.

What I have seen and experienced was hell.

DR. KEVIN M. CAHILL, Physician, United States

The Israeli occupying forces refuse, however, to accept any direct assistance for Palestinians, stopping even food and medicines from being taken to the ravaged, rat-infested ghettos of West Beirut.

Kevin M. Cahill, M.D., has directed disaster relief programs in many parts of the world and has been an unofficial advisor to previous US administrations. Cahill visited Beirut during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Armenian scholars no longer search for God in the Near East School of Theology in West Beirut. The cool archives room in the cellar is now a blood bank, and the conference hall where ecclesiastrical nuances were once the topic of discussion now contains two operating tables for assembly-line amputations and a bin for several limbs.

This month the Palestinian Red Crescent Society incorporated the School of Theology into one of the most remarkable health-care delivery services in the world, one that maintains 25 dispensaries and a 2,000-bed hospital system serving a half million people still surviving the air and ground attacks that threaten the existence of West Beirut. The world-famous American Universityof Beirut Hospital is the backup center for the field hospital at the theology school, and I had the privilege of examining patients and consulting with doctors in both places last week. Medicine is that rare discipline that permits almost instant acceptability by all sides in a conflict. It offers a unique perspective on war, as close as one gets to the viewpoint of the victim.

I undertook a tour of the war-ravaged areas of Lebanon at the request of Terence J. Cardinal Cooke, who is president of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. Accompanied by Msgr. Edward Foster of the Pontifical Mission, I worked in that scarred and tortured land once fabled for its beauty. Square blocks of the ancient biblical cities of Tyre and Sidon have been bombed away. We could not find a single intact structure—nor a single person—in the formerly Christian town of Damur, and Israeli bulldozers were wiping away evidence that Palestinian camps, once home for tens of thousands of families, even existed.

Statistics are a game that politicians play in war. People far from the scene are having a great debate in the American press about the accuracy of death figures in Lebanon. But there is nothing subtle about the current

carnage in Beirut if one can recognize blood or smell a festering wound or feel the feverish head of a dying child. There is no mystery about the scope of this tragedy if one walks the wards of the university hospital or the School of Theology and sees the limbless bodies, the fractured faces, the blind, the burned. These are real people, men and women and children, hundreds of them, and no amount of sophistry can dehumanize the horrors of this war into a sterile column of figures. They were not numbers I examined but the innocent civilian debris of a war not of their making but caused by policies that have left them a stateless people. Now they have their dead and their maimed to nourish both their hatred and determination.

We saw young refugees in Tripoli in the far north of Lebanon who had traveled hundreds of miles over mountains only to find that parents were lost somewhere on the trek. The frightened, almost hopeless, stare of a hungry orphan can tell a great deal about the wisdom of war. I met an Austrian women whose husband and two children were gone when she returned home from her job as a nurse in west Beirut. They lived in a camp that had been destroyed by incendiary and cluster bombs. "I could find no one," she said, "only bits and pieces of arms and legs. We just pushed the whole camp into a hole and covered it with plastic and earth." Wherver we traveled, official statistics released by the occupying forces referred only to Lebanese casualties, so one often heard ludicrously low estimates. It was as if the Palestinians—those hundreds of thousands of women and children who had nothing to do with Palestine Liberation Organization fighters—simply did not exist.

Aid is received by the governing authorities only for displaced Lebanese who, to be sure, deserve international help, for they have suffered inordinately since the civil war broke out in 1975. The occupying forces refuse, however, to accept any direct assistance for Palestinians, stopping even food and medicines from being taken to the ravaged, rat-infested ghettos of west Beirut.

Unless the indiscriminate bombing and shelling cease for good, the load of shattered limbs discarded from the Near East School of Theology will grow. While the wise men struggle slowly with the semantics of peace, panic-stricken victims scream psychotically in halls where scholars once pondered the words of God. Hatred abounds and the legacy of bitterness that will be reflected a generation hence in cripples on the streets of Beirut will pose a greater threat to the security of the area than militaristic minds seem capable of considering now. The painful process toward reconciliation and eventual peace may be best symbolized today in the joint efforts at healing by Armenians, Palestinians, Christian and Moslem Lebanese, Norwegian volunteers and this American who shall long remember the privilege of making clinical rounds in the Near East School of Theology. Examining patients while shells exploded and fires raged nearby and with the sick smell of death and disease overwhelming my senses, I wondered what ends could ever justify these means.

SAMI J. AL-BANNA, Educator

Children were the innovators: The same small tins used to carry water for families from public water pumps, were seen in the afternoon holding a little soil to help set up embankments.

Sami J. Al-Banna, formerly assistant professor of engineering at Columbia University, was in Beirut during the Israeli invasion.

Defending Beirut against the onslaught of the advancing Israeli forces was a political not merely a military achievement. It involved mobilising the limited capabilities of a people to defeat the enemy's intention of taking over the city. The significance of the battle lies in the fact that an economically and organisationally weaker people, supported by poorly armed fighters and harbouring no illusions about the military and technological superiority of the adversary nor about his intentions, decided to fight rather than surrender or flee.

It has been argued among Israeli and western observers that Israel did not storm Beirut in deference to civilian human life. This is manifestly untrue. The Israelis showed no such deference. In addition to the saturation bombing of densely populated urban areas (millions of kilograms of high explosives were targeted on an area of roughly fifteen square kilometers inhabited by over half a million people for a period of over eight weeks), Israel used internationally prohibited weapons, including fragmentation bombs, cluster bombs and phosphorous bombs. They employed sudden and random shelling during cease-fires—and since at these times the streets thronged with people who had emerged from bomb shelters in search of food, water and missing relations, this tactic ensured heavy civilian casualties. The Israelis also experimented with new weapons, such as the concussion bomb (also known as the Hobo bomb) and with new precision guidance systems—both of which were directed at buildings known to be inhabited by civilians. The Aker building, in Sinaia

district, for example was brought down by a concussion bomb on a Saturday morning when 250 of its inhabitants were still in their apartments. The precision guidance systems, for their part, targeted buildings and more particuarly basements in which were gathered thousands of civilians escaping the inferno of the streets. Last, during five of the more than eight weeks of siege, the Israeli army interrupted electrical and water supplies to West Beirut and prevented all food, medicine, fuel and commodities from entering the city.

The Israelis did, in fact, attempt to take the city many times, and failed in the face of a determined resistance. After every failure, they escalated their bombing to soften that resistance. With every escalation, steps were taken within the city to stiffen resistance. As resistance grew and solidified, the Israelis found an increase in the norms used to measure the possible effects of an assault on the city: estimated (Israeli) casualties, estimated loss of military hardware, estimated duration of battle. The strength of the resistance was the major factor in inhibiting the Israeli entry into Beirut. Outstanding work was done not only in the military, political, diplomatic and cultural arenas, but in all aspects of daily life which were restructured to serve the resistance. It is this vast mobilisation that this paper addresses.

The Military Forces

The Israeli army amassed roughly 50,000 troops directly on the city's perimeter, with over 1,000 tanks. An additional 35,000 troops were within half-an-hour's convoy run from the city. An extensive array of artillery pieces supported these troops, for example, hundreds of 175mm self-propelled howitzers. Throughout the siege the Israeli air force launched sortie after sortie—220 on 1 August alone; the navy blocked sea lanes to the city, continually shelled it and attempted several amphibious landings.

In contrast, roughly 20,000 fighters defended the city, 8,000 of whom were irregulars who had joined during the war. Their weapons were mainly Kalashnikovs, grenades and rocket-propelled grenades (RPG7). They also held a few heavier calibre machine-guns. A small artillery capability, kept extremely mobile at great risk to their crews, proved exacting to the enemy. Daily, they managed to fire 500-1000 rounds of counter-battery and other fire. A conservative estimate of firepower ratio between defenders and attackers was 1:5000.

The Israeli forces attempted to advance on the city along seven lines of attack. With great difficulty, and high casualties and losses, they managed to advance a sum total of one-quarter of a kilometre along six of these lines. They advanced over a kilometre on the seventh. Moreover, the Israelis attempted no less than a dozen major landing operations on three

points along the Beirut beaches for the purpose of establishing beachheads. Each of these attempts was repulsed.

The Israeli forces pumped several million kilograms of high explosives into the city for the sixty days of siege. The area of the bombed region was less than 15 sq km. Conservately speaking, this amounted to 150,000kg per sq km of high explosives (0.15 kg per sq metre) or 2,500 kg per sq km per day.

The Defence of Khalde

The advancing Israeli forces employed a stragegy of rapid forward movement combined with the encirclement of centres of resistance. They arrived at the southern outskirts of Beirut six days after the start of hostilities on 4 June 1982, while fighting continued for over a month in many locations in the south, especially around towns and cities. The Israeli advance was halted unexpectedly in the suburban residential area of Khalde by the Joint (Lebanese-Palestinian) Forces who had stationed a small force there. The battle unfolded over several days, and proved fateful in its implications for the course of the war.

The Israelis pressed on Khalde from two directions, from the south the land forces moved along the Damour-Beirut highway, and from the sea landings were attempted on the Khalde beaches. The Israelis rushed towards the Khalde road junction, less than a kilometre north of which they were brought to a halt. Control of that road junction would have given them—six days after the start of the war—control over the remaining highway connections from West Beirut to the Damascus-Beirut highway, to the east mountains and the Shouf region, and to the south.

The stiff resistance offered the Israelis by the small Joint Forces contingent at Khalde was not only unexpected by the Israelis, but also astounding in terms of the success that the defenders had in beating the much larger, significantly better equipped and far denser firepower of their attackers. Thus, the Khalde battle, along with battles in the south, proved an inspiration for the defenders of Beirut. Furthermore, the Khalde battle provided the necessary few days to complete preparations for the defence of Beirut. The Israelis took Khalde only after they had penetrated the Shouf mountain area and come down from the mountains to add a third east-west line of attack on Khalde several days later.

The Military Defence of Beirut

The besieged area included West Beirut proper and the southern suburbs, (ie, Bourj el-Brajneh, Sheiah, Hai Al-Sulum, Al-Lailaki, Beir

Hassan, the airport area, Sultan Ibrahiem, Sabra, Shatila, Harat Huriak, Al-Goubari and Tariq Al-Judida). This area was divided into eight semi-autonomous military sectors, each having its own military command and field operations. All of these reported to central operations. Each military sector was supplied with sufficient ammunition, food and equipment if the other sectors collapsed. Weapon depots were open to the public. Everyone, irrespective of age, capable of using arms was granted the right to receive weapons, ranging from hand guns to automatic rifles and grenades. The tens of thousands of people who received these served as a people's militia, defending their neighbourhods and homes.

The mining of the streets, of potential lines of attack, become a collective effort not only for fighters and engineering units but for the whole public. As soon as the shelling stopped and the airplanes disappeared, whether because of nightfall or a temporary cease-fire arrangement, thousands of local residents and fighters, usually helped by one or two previously trained persons, would rush to the streets close by to mine those that were not absolutely needed for the survival of the local population. The setting up of anti-tank embankments was another form of collective action for the defence of the city. Every known means of excavating and hauling soil was employed, from the powerful bulldozer-truck combinattions to hand shovels. Children were innovators: the same small tins used to carry water for families from public water pumps, were seen in the afternoon holding a little soil to help set up embankments. Beirut was defended not only by the will and determination of its fighters, but by the innovation of its children.

On the eve of the war, several organisations had small artillery pieces stationed in the city. There were not many of them, and the lack of coordination among the units substantially reduced their combat effectiveness. However, the dedication and experience of officers and gunners was good, and these units participated actively in the city's defence. As the battle extended itself, artillery was integrated under a joint command. The joint command received additional personnel who had withdrawn from the south. The new unit effectively hammered enemy concentrations on the city's perimeter, while eluding the hunter aircraft of the enemy. At many points during the battles, enemy generals made statements to the effect that only one artillery piece was left in Beirut. When the war ended, over 50 per cent of artillery and rocket launchers in Beirut were still operational.

The anti-armour hand-carried weapon known as the RPG7 (rocket-propelled grenade) won the title 'king of the battle'. On the primary lines of attack, the fighters went to within twenty to fifty meters of the attacking Israeli heavy tanks to cripple or destroy them. The very epitome of armed might was thus, on numerous occasions, defeated by the exposed fighter using the RPG7—fatal at this close range.

In a farewell speech given by Abu Ammar a day before his departure from Beirut, he implored the Beirutis and other Arabs to remember 'that one hundred and sixty-seven fighters perished in the defence of the Beirut garbage dump'. The garbage dump is a 200-metre stretch located one-half kilometre north of the Khalde road junction, on the Beirut-Ouzai-Damour highway. The highway has six lanes, open to the sea, with no standing structures at the point where the dump is located. The Israelis attempted tens of times to advance along that road with a flood of tanks supported by intensive air and naval bombardment. The fighters awaited the advancing force in the garbage heaps and ducts. At twenty metres range, they defeated the combined efforts of the Israeli infantry supported by the air force, naval bombardments and artillery. The Israelis never took the dump.

The Civil Defence of Beirut

The main work of defending the city was shouldered by the 'Joint Committee', composed of Lebanese and Palestinians, and joined by other Arab and foreign nationals living in Beirut. The political and financial backing for these committees came from the PLO, the Lebanese National Movement, Amal organisation and such affiliated institutions as the Palestine Red Crescent Society, Al-Najdah Al-Sha'bia (Popular Relief), Al-Haia Al-Watania Li-Al-A'mal Al-Sha'bi (A'mal, The National Board for Popular Work, the Worker), Social Relief (Association Najda), General Union of Palestinian (GUP) Women, GUP students, GUP workers, Democratic Youth-Lebanese, Democratic Youth-Palestinian, Palestinian Youth, Democratic Women-Lebanese, Al-Jarah Youth Scouts, Civil Defence Volunteers organisations and other local youth, women and workers' groups.

The list that follows, while far from exhaustive, highlights the Joint Committee's activities.

During the first week of the war, initiatives were taken by the youth and women's organisations to organise relief work for the thousands of refugees flooding into the city without food, money, shelter or even clothes. At the end of the first week, these organisations, along with other individuals, formed the 'Joint Committee for Relief' (JCR). JCR formed four subcommittees to handle the work: the Social Committee (JCR-SC), the Survey and Statistics Committee (JCR-SSC), the Financial Committee (JCR-FC) and the Housing Committee (JCR-HC). JCR-SC assumed responsibility for dispersing relief funds and distributing food and household goods. JCR-SC further assumed the responsibility for public health and garbage collection along with the Preventive Medicine Committee of the Joint Committee for Health.

JCR-SSC was responsible for registration of refugees and the needy, as

well as gathering and processing statistics for overall decision-making and planning. JCR-FC was responsible for finance and accounting, and JCR-HC was responsible for establishing refugee centres in schools, theatres and public places and housing refugees in them.

The activities of JCR and its subcommittees continued well after the withdrawal of the Palestinian fighters. The defended area was divided into seven sectors, with at least one social and registration centre serving a sector. The sectors were further divided into squares for the purpose of managing relief work.

On the eve of the war, West Beirut boasted one of the best health and medical systems in the Middle East, despite seven years of civil war. The primary health system was in the private sector. However, partly because of the continuing state of war, a strong public health sector had developed parallel to the private sector, spearheaded by the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS) and supplemented by institutions affiliated to the Lebanese National Movement, such as Al-Najdah Al-Shab'i (popular relief), A'mal (the Worker), and the Lebanese Red Crescent Society (LRCS).

When the war began, the public sector pooled resources and formed the Joint Committee for Health (JCH). JCH immediately placed all the hospitals and medical facilities on emergency war footing and opened a number of field processing centres for the wounded. By the end of June, the private medical sector had virtually collapsed, because of either the destruction of hospitals and clinics, or the departure of many of the doctors. The administrative personnel of JCH assumed responsibility for general health, preventive medicine and ordinary hospital services, as well as emergency medical services for war victims. By the end of July, JCH had opened, equipped and managed twenty-five medical facilities, including hospitals, rehabilitation centres, field clinics and emergency processing centres. At the same time, the private sector was reduced to the partial and sporadic operation of three privately owned medical centres.

For the purpose of improving services, the defended area was divided into five medical sectors, each serviced by a medical centre and a set of medical facilities, such as emergency centres, rehabilitation centres and maternity centres.

A Joint Committee for Security (JCS) had existed before the war. It co-operated with existing police forces to ensure the population's safety and order in the area. It was transformed radically at the end of June to meet the challenge of securing an area torn by war, shortages of food, water, power, medical services and housing and interruptions of local market activities. In the third week of July the Joint Committee on Coordination (JCC) was created to facilitate social, medical, economic, relief and security work in the besieged city. Under it, local Joint Coordinating Committees (LJCCs) were also set up at sector level. Their function was to

ensure that vital social, medical and security needs (including water, power, garbage collection, etc.) were properly addressed. These committees also provided a self-governing and self-defending mechanism to shoulder the tasks of defending their sector in case other sectors collapsed.

This structure grew out of the work of the various groups involved with medical needs, relief (which was directed at the entire population, not only refugees), social needs and security. In essence, it constituted a first step towards a people's democracy, in which people managed their affairs by themselves, by their own mandate and initiative, and not according to the decisions of others. This included the transformation of one of the social centres, the 'club house', already engaged in major relief efforts, into a Centre for Social Efforts Coordination (CSEC) and the transformation of the JCR-Survey and Statistics Committee into a Joint Committee for Statistics and Planning (JCSP), and the formation (never fully implemented) of a Joint Committee for Utilities and Services (JCUS). Several units to manage utilities and services had existed since the outset of the war. Although JCUS was never fully established, these units maintained Beirut's uninterrupted communications internally, as well as with the outside world, and produced fuel, electric power and water throughout the ordeal.

JCC managed to sponsor the formation of LJCC's in all sectors. On the sectorial level, Sector Social Committees and Sector Medical Committees were also formed. The Sector Security Committees were in the process of formation when the siege ended.

For the sake of brevity, we have not even outlined the superb efforts that took place in the fields of information and media, food distribution, counter-psychological warfare, diplomatic support, garbage collection, the protection of children, conduct of children's programmes, performing arts, preventive medicine and many more fields of human existence. Beirut's was a society determined to assert the human will to survive with dignity and against repressive and overwhelming odds.

ABDUL RAHMAN LABAN, Psychiatrist, Lebanon

"On the first occasion the bombing of the hospital stopped within half an hour as a result of Habib's communication of restraint to the Israelis. This however did not stop the Israelis hitting the hospital in the shelling of Beirut which followed. The top floor of the hospital which was the children's quarter was completely destroyed, such that the 60 children were transferred elsewhere and some were looked after by Mother Theresa's helpers."

Commission: What has been the experience of the Islamic Hospital since the invasion?

Laban: The area around the hospital and the Sports City was bombarded before the 6 June invasion but the hospital was only lightly damaged. However after the invasion and during the siege of Beirut the hospital was hit by 20-25 shells (some were phosphorus bombs). Nine patients were killed and 22 injured, two of which died later on. I informed the President of Lebanon and he being highly distressed communicated his concern to Habib. On the first occasion the bombing of the hospital stopped within half an hour as a result of Habib's communication of restraint to the Israelis. This however did not stop the Israelis hitting the hospital in the shelling of Beirut which followed. The top floor of the hospital which was the children's quarter was completely destroyed, such that the 60 children were transferred elsewhere and some were looked after by Mother Theresa's helpers. The staircase and dormitories were also hit. Due to the bombing and the general insecurity only 15 of the 270 staff turned up to work; whilst 400 of the 800 patients were taken away by their families.

During the bombardments of Beirut movement around the city was very difficult and this alone meant that people suffered from a shortage of provisions. There was also no water, electricity or petrol and most general public services were destroyed. The ability to come and go to and from the hospital was seriously impaired except during the cease-fires which usually occured at 5 to 5.15 in the afternoon. These conditions were not unique to my hospital and were experienced by many other hospitals. Makassad and Barbir hospitals were also badly damaged, especially the latter.

I am also the president of the High Relief Committee which was set up in 1977 and caters for homeless and displaced families. Our main task is

to provide food, blankets, beds, medical supplies and general provisions to the needy. During the siege it was really very difficult to cope. We were all lucky in one respect in that due to some foresight we managed to physically put ourselves up in West Beirut and also managed to transfer large amounts of rice, sugar and general provisions into the city. In the final analysis these provisions to a certain degree saved the population from virtual starvation since bare necessities were distributed to hospitals, schools, orphanages, old people's homes and families.

During the siege itself water, electricity, fuel and most food supplies were cut off. At the beginning of the siege I sent a letter to the International Red Cross demanding the entrance of basic provisions into the city [Letter dated 12 July]. Two essential needs were flour (for bread) and milk. I also asked for some trucks to be allowed in to clear the rubbish. However the Red Cross were unable to get through the bulk of these provisions. I asked UNICEF to declare this fact publicly. The Israelis argued that these provisions would be used by the Palestinian guerrillas but the Palestinians were well provided for as they had foreseen the situation and it was the civilian population who were in need. The danger of famine and health hazards were rife during the siege. Luckily we managed to cope with the situation although this does not in any way excuse Israel's criminal act. We were not only besieged physically but also psychologically through leafletting. Many people were deeply disturbed by the mock Israeli air raids (especially at night) which unlike real bombings damaged everyone psychologically.

Q: How often did these raids take place?

Laban: A few times, but they were severe enough. There was continuous bombardment from land, sea and air, whch had a total psychological effect. People felt totally insecure. Every minute day and night was tense. All the population was materially and psychologically coerced as well as feeling isolation since all the communication lines were destroyed. These three factors of constant bombardment, awareness of material deprivation and socio-political isolation are very psychologically damaging, 600,000 people lived in these inhuman conditions. Most of the hospitals were closed due to damage and scarcity of medical supplies and thereby most patients were concentrated in the American Hospital. We had to fetch fuel from devastated buildings, pumping out what fuel they had and concentrating it all in this one hospital in order to meet the needs. Even the trucks which were let in by UNICEF were emptied of their fuel so that nobody could pump it out for other use. The Red Cross had to vow to the Israeli/Phalangist soldiers that it would not allow anybody to take fuel from the tanks.

Q: What did people do who had no monetary resources in this period?

Leban: The High Relief Committee provided free food and provisions to the people who needed it. Generally people co-operated and helped each other such that people did not go without basic foodstuffs.

Q: Was there a significant influx of people into Beirut?

Laban: No, not really, since many people from the central and southern suburbs left town and went to East Beirut. The people who went were the richer class since life in East Beirut is expensive. People left for East Beirut at the continuous suggestion of Israeli Radio broadcasts. The ones who were left were mostly from the poorer classes . . . Most of the ones who did leave however returned after the evacuation of the Palestinian fighters.

Q: We were informed that there was an increase in the population of Beirut due to people fleeing from Southern Lebanon.

Laban: No, not Southern Lebanon but the southern suburbs of Beirut. The southern suburbs have been under continuous bombardment. This sector which is known as the slums of Beirut is the most populated area as most of the working classes live there. The reason for this is that most industries are in the proximity of the southern suburbs and they were all destroyed during the shelling. Many of the workers in the area were Lebanese—about 1.2 million—who worked at the industries and they all fled to the city. I cannot tell you how many came into Beirut or went to the south or how many stayed. These are all impressions and not based on statistics. There are no statistics in Lebanon today. We could tell however that areas were specifically mapped out to be devastated by Israeli bombardment and this had the migratory effect. If you walk around the city you will see stark evidence of this pattern of destruction and its magnitude. This destruction was aimed at the base of the community and could have no military purpose. The idea must have been to shell carelessly within sectors so as to hit everything. It was obviously callously planned like this since they are able to hit what they want with their sophisticated weaponry. It cost billions of dollars to destroy Beirut and if we had as much money to rebuild it we would not be near to repairing the damage done. This is mainly due to the massive disruption and destruction of the intricate interpersonal relations which existed in the Beirut community. Just one example is the chaos which now exists in property relations, ie former rented/owned accommodation.

Q: In looking at the problems of reconstruction what immediate problems do you foresee in the winter?

Laban: Our winter is very wet. We have lots of rain although its not very cold. This will cause more hardship than is usually the case. We will also face a lack of manual labor since most of our labour was Palestinian and Syrian with almost half a million working in building and agriculture. There is also a lack of skilled labour as well as materials and this will raise prices of both as demand is now high. The third problem is that most of our industry has been destroyed. Consequently industrialists are not able

to pay workers and many industrialists are attempting to dismiss workers. Due to the emergency situation the Government will allow these industrialists to get rid of as many workers as they see fit in order to survive. There will therefore be an increase in uemployment which will cause further social problems. Means therefore must be found to repair this damage as soon as possible. It was of course Israel's aim to land us exactly in this situation; to destroy the Lebanese community and infrastructure—industry, tourism, social services, etc. Israel has done this to destroy competition from the most efficient national economy in the Arab world. Generally speaking I can see no justification for laying siege to a modern city which is dependent for all its basic needs on outside supplies ie, water, electricity, food, medical provisions, etc. It is the most inhuman act and transcends all military excuses because in laying siege to a city you know that it will tragically affect everybody—women, children, the sick, old people, the handicapped and innocent civilians in general. It is unwarranted, uncivilized and inhuman.

J. MICHAEL KENNEDY, Journalist, USA

" 'To me as a surgeon, it's not only phosphorus or cluster bombs, it's the high intensity and velocity of the shrapnel. You see it in the X-rays. The tissue and bone are one; everything has become just like a porridge,' he said."

© *Los Angeles Times*, August 19, 1982

Beirut—From her hospital bed Fatmeh Aytawi told of the bomb.

All she can remember is the searing flash that hit like liquid fire in the underground shelter where she and the seven members of her family were hiding near the Palestinian refugee camp of Borj el Brajne on the southern outskirts of West Beirut.

Fatmeh's mother died of her burns on Monday, but the seven others, father and brothers and sisters, are in the makeshift hospital at International College, adjacent to the American University.

A walk through the wards is a chilling reminder of what the now-silent guns have done during the Israeli siege of West Beirut. Dr Joseph Awwad, a Palestinian who was practicing medicine in Spain until he volunteered to work here, said the Aytawi family suffered the effects of an Israeli phosphorous bomb.

Each Face Disfigured

Each of the seven faces is disfigured now, with only the eyes and mouth looking recognizably human.

"There was no military position there. There never have been any military positions," Fatmeh said. "We were in the shelter from 6 in the morning, and the bomb fell about 4 in the afternoon. Everything suddenly went dark, and then I remember a brilliant white flame, and then I flet I was on fire."

As she was speaking, Fatmeh, who is 17, held her gauze-covered arms above her, awayfrom the bed, to relieve the pain.

Awwad said that his hospital was running out of gauze to treat the burns and that skin ointment he had been using ran out three days earlier. As he was speaking, 72-year-old Ahmed Salah walked by with the help of a nurse and his cane. His arms and legs had sufered second- and third-degree burns in another Israeli attack.

Beirut is a city full of wounded. Drive down any street and you will almost always see a man or woman with a missing limb.

No one has any accurate figure about how many people have been killed or wounded in this war—not even in Beirut alone, where dozens of tiny field hospitals and first aid stations have been set up. No one has time to keep track of numbers.

But what doctors here do know is that the damage to bodies brought to them has been extreme and that hospitals without proper facilities have had to amputate almost as many limbs as they have been able to save.

"Forty percent of the wounded require amputation," said Dr. Troy Risli, a Norwegian surgeon who also worked with the wounded in Southeast Asia. "I feel very sad to see the development of these weapons," he said. "Compared to what I have seen here, Cambodia was nothing."

Speaking in the lobby of the Near East School of Theology, whose basement has been turned into a hospital, Risli said he has no particular political leanings, that he is in West Beirut to save as many lives as he can.

Then he spoke of people who were brought to him.

He told of a man, about 60, who had inhaled phosphorus and was exhaling smoke when he was brought to the hospital. They did what they could for him, but he died two weeks ago.

"There was one young man with burns and shrapnel in the ankle. It was crushed and he was still burning, so we had to amputate one of his legs."

He told of how shrapnel, apparently coated with phosphorus, digs into the skin and burns internally so that there is nothing to do but remove all the tissue around the wound.

"To me as a surgeon, it's not only phosphorus or cluster bombs, it's the high intensity and velocity of the shrapnel. You see it in the X-rays. The

tissue and bone are gone; everything has become just like a porridge," he said.

No Operating Gowns

"We have no operating gowns," he said, "because we cannot wash them. Food is a problem. If the patient does not get eggs, there is not enough protein, and you can see from the charts as the patient gets more anemic every days."

Berbir Hospital has been closed since last week's intense shelling and bombing around the hospital, near both the National Museum and one of the principal crossings between the Christian and Muslim sections of the city.

The American University Hospital, Beirut's largest, is the only hospital to escape direct hits from Israeli shells. It is also the only one that has kept reasonably good records.

They show that since the war began, 149 people were treated and released, 266 were dead on arrival and 495 were admitted. The records do not specify how many of those admitted later died.

Dr. Samir Shehadi, the chief of surgery, said, however, that those figures must be taken "with a grain of salt."

"If we have 50 or 100 people coming through the emergency ward, a few patients will escape having their charts done. Some are afraid to give their names. On days when many people arrive dead, some might be immediately wheeled to the morgue," he said.

Shehadi also said the emphasis of the hospital has changed, with 995 of the cases now being trauma victims. There is no time any more for the ordinary illnesses that normally would be handled by the hospital.

"If it is severe enough, if it is urgent, they will be admitted to the hospital," he said.

Another doctor in the hospital, who asked that his name not be used, said it is not advisable to have routine surgery done there now. He said sanitary conditions have deteriorated to the point where the hospital is losing roughly half its intensive-care patients and that there is no way to maintain the strict sanitary conditions enforced beforethe war.

T. ELAINE CAREY, Journalist, USA

"Only 12 of West Beirut's 17 hospitals and emergency centers are operating. Half of those have been hit by shellfire."

© *Christian Science Monitor,* August 13, 1982

Israeli bureaucracy—not Israeli bombardment—is the greater hindrance to the International Committee of the Red Cross in West Beirut.

Red Cross information spokesman Jean-Jacques Kurz says that Israeli restoration of normal water and electricty supplies to the west side would do far more toward stabilizing the situation for the civilian population than truckloads of food and medicine.

On August 6, ICRC vice-president Harald Huber and ICRC deputy head of operations Michel Conbers met with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defense Minster Ariel Sharon.

The "agreed in principle" to allow the ICRC to ferry food and medicine to the estimated 500,000 residents of the west, Mr. Kurz said.

The next day, August 7, a convoy of five trucks rolled into West Beirut carrying 6.5 tons of baby milk, 7 tons of medical supplies, and 2,250 "family kits," which have basic foodstuffs for a family of six for two weeks.

But on August 9 when ICRC representative John Di Salis went to get the necessary papers for another convoy, he was told he could no longer get them at the Israeli Command Center at Baabda, just above east Beirut, Mr. Kurz said.

Mr. Di Salis was sent to Bhamdoun, about seven miles from Baabda as the crow flies. Kurz said that after an hour and a half at Bhamdoun and one radio call, Dr. Salis was told to return the next day, August 10.

Di Salis had spent five hours searching for permission to start the food and medicine convoy, Kurz said.

Another ICRC delgate returned to Bhamdoun the next day and was told he had to go to Baabda. After seven trips back and forth between the two villages, that ICRC representative was informed only one man, who was Israeli, could sign the paper, Kurz said. He added that the man who could sign "was absolutely untraceable."

The ICRC refused to identify the Israeli, but other sources involved in relief work said his name was "Brigadier Amos."

The shipment did cross to West Beirut but without the proper paper. "The ICRC delegate found an Israeli lieutenant in charge of Lebanese civilian affairs who gave him a paper," Kurz said.

The Israeli soldier at the Beirut Port checkpoint honored the paper Tuesday but not Wednesday.

Tuesday the ICRC brought in 10 tons of blood, more family kits, and two trucks with hospital equipment to set up another field hospital.

Wednesday a convoy of five trucks tried to go to West Beirut the same way, bringing 43 tons of supplies including baby milk, hospital beds, and flour.

The trucks started through the port during an Israeli air raid and found that the soldier at the checkpoint was no longer willing to shoulder the responsibility.

As a result, Kurz said, the ICRC has sent a message to its headquarters in Geneva to explain its predicament.

Now only 12 of West Beirut's 17 hospitals and emergency centers are operating, Kurz said. Half of those have been hit by shellfire.

"The increasing number of wounded civilians and a present lack of sufficient local medical personnel has led the ICRC to decide to set up its own emergency field hospital at the Hotel Bristol," said Di Salis.

The Bristol has already been hit by an Israeli phosphorous shell, but the ICRC is setting up 60 beds and two operating rooms in its underground ballroom.

"As of August 6 there were 130 beds available in West Beirut out of a total of about 1,400," Kurz said.

Kurz pointed out that Lebanon's health services have always been private and not well suited to coping with the situation.

The majority of the doctors and nurses working in the city have fled.

For example, at the Islamic Home for the Handicapped only 15 out of 200 staff members remain. It has been repeatedly shelled.

Several of the retarded children have died of starvation for lack of someone who has the time to feed them properly.

Berbir Hospital is now just an underground dormitory with generators churning away to give the few patients air.

The city's best hospital, the American University Hospital, on bad days turns away people—often choosing only those who look salvageable, the staff admits.

Despite the desperate state of medical facilities, Kurz maintains that normal water and electricity are more important than the other supplies.

"Without electricity and fuel for generators, we are unable to keep blood and drugs," he said.

The water came back last Saturday, August 7. But it creates another problem because often the water is polluted by dirt or ruptured sewage pipes, Kurz said.

"People can keep cleaner but it could be dangerous," he said.

However, the water has not reached most neighborhoods because of the lack of electricity to pump it and broken water mains. Much of the precious liquid simply gushes through the capital's rubble-filled streets.

JOHN YEMMA, Journalist, USA

"Israel's military pattern around West Beirut the past six weeks has been to pressure the outskirts of the city through day after day of bombing, shelling, and minute encroachment."

© *Christian Science Monitor,* July 24, 1982

The yellow flames of little stoves sap the oxygen in the lobby of the building that houses Reuters news agency in the heart of West Beirut.

Women and children squat as they cook over the stoves. Young men sleep on mats on the cool stone floor.

Conditions in West Beirut are not always so dire. But every day Israeli bombs and shells displace more people and create more situations like the one in the Reuters lobby. Whole neighborhoods have packed up and fled, leaving parts of West Beirut virtual ghost towns. Other parts teem with squatters.

Though the Israeli Army is still only at the gates of West Beirut, its guns are forcing families out of their living quarters on the edges of the city. More and more people are falling back into the center of West Beirut—especially to the Hamra and Verdun areas—and the center of Burj Al Barajneh refugee camp.

"The Israeli guns are all around," says Malek Khouri of the Lebanese-Palestinian Joint Relief Committee as he traces the perimeters of a map of West Beirut.

"From the hills they hit the southern suburbs, and from the sea they hit the coast, and from the air they hit anywhere," he says.

Mr. Khouri says the Israeli pounding of the city's edges is causing residents to congregate in the center of West Beirut. If the bombing tapers off for more than 24 hours, he says, people begin to try to return to their houses.

The latest uprooting of a neighborhood was occurring July 28 in the Rouche area, on a cliff overlooking the Mediterranean. Israeli jets and gunboats bombarded this neighborhood intensively July 27. Other coastal neighborhoods were also hit.

Cars piled high with personal possessions—a familiar sight in this country since the Israeli Army invaded June 6—were streaming out of Rouche. Many of these displaced families would leave the city and others would look for safer shelter in West Beirut.

Mr. Khouri estimates that there are 9,000 displaced families in the southern suburbs of Beirut and 8,000 in West Beirut proper. This equals about 102,000 persons, 11,000 of whom are children under two years of age.

For the moment there seems to be adequate stocks of food, clothing, and medical aid in West Beirut to meet the needs of the displaced. A combination of humanitarian agencies, some cooperating and others in competition, have distributed supplies since the opening days of the conflict.

The Red Cross sometimes is best equipped to aid people near the front lines, particularly in the Burj Al Barajneh camp. The Higher Relief Commission concentrates on Lebanese nationals. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) aids Palestinians. And Amal, a Shiite political organization, primarily aids the city's large and hard-hit Shiite population.

In recent weeks, the Lebanese-Palestinian Joint Committee, which was founded in early June by the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Lebanese leftist National Movement, and Amal, has taken over most relief distribution. This reflects the fact that the PLO and National Movement are the predominant military powers in West Beirut and have had to coordinate the movement of displaced persons with their military movements in Beirut.

Israel's military pattern around West Beirut the past six weeks has been to pressure the outskirts of the city through day after day of bombing, shelling, and minute encroachment. Along with Israel's continuing cutoff of electricity (and water, too) military pressure seems aimed at clearing the population out of these areas in preparation for an Israeli attempt to seize some amount of territory.

Some observers here believe the recent shelling of the West Beirut seacoast was in preparation for an Israeli landing operation. Regardless of what its purpose might be, the shelling was succeeding in restricting movement even further in this besieged sector of Beirut and compounding the feeling that this is an urban prison.

If the military pressure continues—and lack of a diplomatic breakthrough July 28 seemed to foreshadow more fighting—then the refugee situation is likely to worsen. John Makarian of Haigazian University believes the number of displaced will soon begin to decrease in Burj Al Barajneh as the fighting there makes it uninhabitable. He believes the

center of Beirut will eventually be crowded with Palestinians, Lebanese, and foreigners who have chosen it as the last refuge in this increasingly claustrophobic city.

A problem that may come then is that the center of Beirut will also be the last fallback position for the beleaguered PLO—and consequently another inviting target for Israeli jets and cannons. If that time comes, it seems that there will be no more room to which the many-times-homeless of Beirut can run.

ALEX EFTY, Journalist, Cyprus

"Minutes later a taxi, its horn blaring continually, arrived with a shocked woman holding a child about 6 or 7 years old with the back of his head missing. In the next half hour a stream of ambulances, taxis and private cars and trucks arrived in quick succession, bringing more casualties."

Beirut, June 25—A Beirut slum neighborhood exploded today as shelling from Israeli gunboats and land-based artillery and bombs from Israeli jets slammed into tenement buildings at the rate of more than a dozen a minute. The roar was deafening. Smoke and dust cut off the light of the afternoon sun. Terrified inhabitants took shelter as best they could.

I and AP photographer Phil Say were visiting the mixed Palestinian and Lebanese Moslem neighborhood of Chiyah during a lull in the bombardment to report on the earlier shelling and air raids.

People stood on street corners exchanging accounts of the attacks earlier in the day. Some took us through the maze of alleys to show ramshackle one- and two-story houses that had been hit.

"We are all Lebanese civilians here. There are no military positions around," said a woman whose home had been reduced to rubble.

Suddenly, as we were talking, a devastating new barrage struck the area with the impact of an earthquake.

The roar of jets diving low on their bombing runs mixed with the whistle of incoming shells, the sound of mortars, the reverberating dry crash of the naval guns offshore and heavy artillery on the adjacent Israeli-occupied hills.

As bits of shrapnel whizzed past and earth, stones and broken masonry from the explosions fell all around us, the people we were interviewing rushed terrified into a basement.

We cowered in a doorway trying to take photographs of men, women and children running in panic in search of shelter. Puffs of smoke and dust mushroomed all around, cutting off the light.

Fearing his car might be destroyed, our Lebanese driver insisted on leaving at once. Racing down the deserted streets, we encountered a group of people waving for the car to stop.

We saw they wanted us to take an old man, bleeding from several wounds, to a hospital. We bundled him into the back seat with a younger man accompanying him and rushed at even greater speed.

Shouting to make himself heard above the deafening noise of the explosions, the young man pleaded with us to take them to Barbir, the nearest hospital, about two miles away.

To get there, we drove along the wide Avenue Jamal, running along the eastern edge of the Sabra Palestinian neighborhood, where the Palestine Liberation Organization and other guerrilla groups have offices.

The dust and smoke from the barrage created a choking darkness, lit by the flashes of exploding shells and bombs.

At the hospital, orderlies at the emergency entrance quickly transfered the old man, who looked near death, onto a stretcher and straight into surgery.

Minutes later a taxi, its horn blaring continually, arrived with a shocked woman holding a child about 6 or 7 years old with the back of his head missing.

In the next half hour a stream of ambulances, taxis and private cars and trucks arrived in quick succession, bringing more casualties.

"We have had 30 or 40, maybe more, and as you see, they keep arriving all the time," Dr. Amal Shammas said.

"The hospital is full, we are putting them in corridors, in the canteen, any place we can find. But the worst thing is we are running short of plasma and medicine. This is a terrible situation," she added.

There were some men among the wounded who might be guerrillas or Lebanese militiamen, she said, "but the vast majority, 90 percent, are civilian men, women and children."

HAL PIPER, Journalist, USA

"The cycle of violence is catching up a second generation, the doctor says. 'My son is 9 months old. I was 9 months old when we left Haifa.' "

© *The Sun* (Baltimore) June 21, 1982

Beirut Lebanon—The family fled their home on the southern outskirts of Beirut when the Israelis came. For days they squatted in the "Green Garden," a park in downtown Beirut. It was dirty and uncomfortable. They all needed baths and they had heard there was a cease-fire.

The pretty young mother told her story in a hospital ward, her right arm in a bloodstained cast. They had gone home only for a bath, and only because they had heard there was a cease-fire.

Unluckily for her, that was the moment when one of the "sporadic artillery duels" reported all week around Beirut erupted.

Her small daughter was hit first. The mother rushed to pick her child and a second shell exploded. The little girl will be all right. Her light wound was bandaged and she is with relatives. The mother, too, will be home in a few days.

This is the Gaza Hospital, an intensive-care unit run by the Palestinians in southern West Beirut, scarcely a mile from the edge of the international airport where most of the artillery duels have occurred.

In the bed next to the young mother is an elderly midwife with nothing where her legs should be. She left her house to draw water from a community well when the shell hit—again, on a "cease-fire" day when news reports said things were generally quiet.

Two women at the well with her died instantly, she says. "If I had stayed at home, probably nothing would have happened." Her voice is clear and forceful, but the doctor doubts she will recover. Old people with amputations, he says, are prone to develop complications, to become "indirect victims of the war."

The hospital is not crowded. It is too close to the airport. It is safer for the patients to be moved as soon as possible to recovery units that have been placed farther away from likely war zones.

There are Palestine Liberation Organization guerrillas wounded while fighting, more civilians and some mysteries. "Unknown Case No. 54" is a fiftyish man found on street with a shrapnel wound in the neck and a brain contusion. He is confused and can't remember who he is. A nurse is feeding him from a metal hospital tray. They chat softly.

The doctor lives in his hopsital around the clock now. He says it reassures both staff and patients to know that he hasn't moved to safety. Many of the staff of the American University Hospital in Beirut, he says, have evacuated, and he no longer can refer patients for some tests there because the technicians who ran the equipment are gone.

The doctor, a neurosurgeon, does not want his name to be used. He has relatives in Israel and believes they might suffer reprisals. He was born in the port city of Haifa in 1947, but his family left the next year when the state of Israel was born in war.

The doctor believes the wounds coming into his hospital are more grievous than in previous Israeli-Palestinian fighting. "Our mortality rate now is 30 to 50 percent," he says, meaning that many of their patients—the hospital takes only the seriously wounded—will die. That, he says is about triple the rate of past years.

He blames the Israelis for using more sophisticated, more lethal weapons. He also insists that Israeli gunners deliberately shelled his hospital the other day. "They pride themselves on their military skill. They can't say they didn't know what they were shooting." The shells slightly damaged a garage next door.

If the war resumes in earnest, the hospital will be a scene of confusion, he says. Civilians crowd into the hospital when the shooting starts, assuming it to be a sanctuary, getting in the way.

Most of his nurses have family members living in the nearby Borj el-Barajneh camp, which will be a main target if the Israelis decide to attack the Palestinian redoubt. "Whenever someone comes in, all the nurses crowd around, trying to get a look at the face. It might be a father or daughter."

So far, medical supplies have been sufficient, but the doctor is sardonic about the future. "We didn't start this war, you know," he says. "If we had started it we would have thought to bring in more medical supplies."

The cycle of violence is catching up a second generation, the doctor says. "My son is 9 months old. I was 9 months old when we left Haifa."

RICHARD BEN CRAMER, Journalist, USA

"There are real hospitals and there are other places: a hotel, a doctor's office, a college, a grade school, a Bible institute, a massage salon. They fill and they refill when space is vacated by the lucky or the dead."

© *Philadelphia Inquirer* June 24, 1982

Beirut, Lebanon—This much was certain from the start: The Acre Hospital was hit overnight by Israeli shells.

The morning sun shone through a three-foot hole in the roof. The walls were blown into patients' rooms and beds had bounced about like bumper cars.

A shell slamming into a children's ward had smashed a water pipe that still, hours later, sprayed a fitful mist on the floor. Another shell had pierced the outer wall and had blasted through the ground floor and into a basement storage room that was supposed to serve as a shelter.

Muhammed Sheikh, the Palestine Liberation Organization information man who showed this damage, said, with unwanted precision, that 18 shells hit, in salvos of three, between midnight and 12:30 a.m. The hospital's 70 patients had been evacuated by ambulance-runs through the bombardment. He said three children died. Another three patients were wounded.

He was hustling the hospital tour along. Shells were still blasting on nearby streets in the southern suburb called Sabra. Israeli guns never seem to stop here. After two weeks of this random thunder, Sabra is only a place to run through.

Outside Acre Hospital the street was deserted, except for a breathless woman dragging a girl by one thin arm in a zig-zag stumble between mountains of red earth heaped here and there as barricades. Ten yards off the pavement, on a pile of stone and cement shards, a PLO guerrilla yanked with inept haste at a tangle of wire he was supposed to unravel.

"Come on, come on!" Muhammed Sheikh pleaded. The tour was stalled at the whitewashed hospital wall painted over in better times with Palestinian children's art. Fifteen or 20 paintings showed warplanes raining bombs, men with Jewish stars on their hats shooting smaller people, children falling backward with red gushing from their chests.

"They might have been told to paint this," said the Time-Life man, changing lenses in his camera. Someone said: "Does that matter?"

"Come on! Finished! Now!" Muhammed Sheikh pushed them off the street. The rumbling booms came more often, closer.

"Where are the kids?"

"Kids?"

"The dead ones. Where are they?"

In the bouncing car, Muhammed Sheikh looked annoyed. "They are taken away." He did not understand this reporter business. The tour was finished for him. He shook his head. "You could check the other hospitals. Is this important?"

So began a day of wandering through West Beirut, the suburbs, the refugee camps, hospital after hospital—a strange homage to a fact-god foreign here—to make sure three children did die when shells hit a hospital.

Does that matter?

It's hard to tell, here, in the middle of this random death. Shells fly into the city, hitting not something but anything.

How many: 300? 500?

Is that "sporadic shelling"? Maybe a "shaky cease-fire."

How many died? Maybe 300. Maybe 3,000.

Is this important?

These are, after all, the "facts" that carom between world capitals. They fill whole newspaper columns. The Red Cross says 1,500 dead in Sidon. The Lebanese government says more than 2,200. The Israelis say more than 400.

This is, perhaps, a currency with which truth may be purchased. Or peace. Maybe when enough have died there will be Peace for Galilee, as the Israelis call their campaign.

Here are a few more facts:

There are dozens of hospitals in this battered half of Beirut. There are real hospitals and there are other places: a hotel, a doctor's office, a college, a grade school, a Bible institute, a massage salon. They are warehouses for the wounded. They are poor. They are grubby. They fill and they refill when space is vacated by the lucky or the dead.

There are no hospitals, now, in the refugee camps. Some were hit by shells or bombs. Ambulances were hit, too. Anyway, those hospitals couldn't cope with this. "On June 5, we thought we had supplies for two months," said a Palestinian doctor. "Two weeks later, now, and we have no more. Finished!"

Tuesday night, the camps were bombed. Most of the people who were hit had nowhere to go. Another doctor, working on the wounded, said: "Those we get, OK, we try. But last night, I think, 40 percent just died where they were." Most of them bled to death.

How many? Hard to say.

In Gaza Hospital, there was a boy being shifted from a bed to a rolling stretcher. He'd had his operations: left leg amputated at mid-thigh, right arm cut off below the elbow. Now he would leave the hospital to make room for others.

Orderlies slid him of the stretcher. His leg stump smacked in a spasm against the stretcher rail.

Ach . . . Ach . . . Ach. His throat caught the screams that leapt from him. His back arched and cords stood out at the base of his brown neck.

The leg twitched. A nurse tried to hold it.

Aach . . . Aach . . . .

Regular as waves of sound that rumble off an exposion . . . *Aach . . . Aach* . . . Each breath he drew to feed the pain that was he . . . *Auach . . . Auach . . . .*

Before the doors of the ambulance closed him off, he screamed 18 times.

ALEXANDER COCKBURN and JAMES RIDGEWAY
Journalists, USA

"Quite rightly, the Israelis treat the Reagan administration and the U.S. Congress with arrogance and contempt. They can go to the cave of echoes and call American bluff till the end of time."

© *Village Voice* June 29, 1982

The Israelis have been bombing and shelling civilians in west Beirut, penning them in a ghetto of terror. There have been other towns in the 20th century where people did this, and they were not forgotten.

The American-Israeli relationship has come down to this: while Prime Minister Begin visits President Reagan in Washington, Israeli gunners on the edges of Beirut International Airport lob shells into civilian apartment buildings in the western part of the city. And as Begin reiterates his statements that Israel does not covet either Beirut or an inch of Lebanese territory, Israeli armor draws a tighter ring around west Beirut, and Israeli planners to the south speculate on the reopening of a railroad across the border, the estabishment of Israeli branch banks, and other ventures. The Sixth Fleet hovers supportively at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and there are reports of a new U.S. arms airlift to Israel going on right now.

Quite rightly, the Israelis treat the Reagan administration and the U.S. Congress with arrogance and contempt. They can go to the cave of echoes and call American bluff till the end of time. Back in 1973 Ariel Sharon said, "Israel is now a superpower and nothing will happen to it if America will cease to send the Phantoms. But it is nonsense to think the Americans will impose sanctions on us, because there is nothing more important for the Americans than a strong Israel. All the forces of European countries are weaker than we are. Israel can conquer in one week the area from Khartoum to Baghdad and Algeria, but there is no need to do this."

So now Israel has conquered and laid waste the area from northern Galilee to Beirut and beyond. Next month it may be Damascus; the month after, Iraq. Next year, Defense Minister—perhaps Prime Minister—Sharon may decide the time has come to reclaim the Sinai, consolidating after the de facto and perhaps de jure annexations of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and his own dream of expulsion of the Palestinians from Lebanon and the territories and even from Israel into Jordan. There will always be an excuse: a shell, a mine, an attempted or actual assassination.

Sharon and Begin are not—even given their murderous megalomania—transitory perturbations on the surface of some imagined Israeli "moderation." Israeli plans for a Christian Southern Lebanon go back decades. Maps of a greater Israel incorporating the Golan Heights and the West Bank can be found in Zionist literature from 60 years ago. Plans far more grandiose can be found in reputable Israeli publications today.

On just one day, Sunday June 13, doctors at the American University Hospital in Beirut removed 1100 limbs from victims of bombing and shelling attacks on the city. At the start of this week, Samita Hanna-el-Daher, the Lebanese consul general in New York, told us that the same hospital was averaging 1000 "traumatic" operations a day.

The consul general added that antibiotics were in desperately short supply and that the danger of epidemics, including cholera, was "considerable" owing to the destruction of water systems and the piles of refuse and dead bodies. In one suburb to the south of Beirut, 300 bodies were found, "inaccessible" because of the stench.

On Thursday, June 17, in France, viewers of the 8 p.m. news on the main (TFI) TV channel were taken aback at the sight of Israeli soldiers in Lebanon marking with black chalk the outstretched forearms of lines of men, to indicate if they were Lebanese. Other reports have suggested that people are being marked with crosses on their shirts, designating them for questioning by Israelis.

Both the London *Times* and *Le Monde* said on Monday, June 21, that Israelis in Lebanon were marking ID cards with the Star of David. According to the Reuters story run in *Le Monde*, "As the suspects get off

the bus, the Israeli soldiers put a stamp bearing the Star of David on their ID cards to indicate that they have been processed. Those who don't have a card are marked with the stamp on their wrist. An Israeli photographer says, 'It reminds me of the way the Nazis tattooed the Jews in the concentration camps.' "

The Lebanese consul reflected on Monday on Israeli claims that only 300 civilians had been hospitalized in the town of Tyre. They seemed proud, she noted, that so few were hurt. Then she explained that the entire hospital capacity in Tyre is 120. Thus, even the 300 figure is appalling.

A UN report describes the devastation in Sidon, which has a population of some 300,000 (not a claimed 100,000, which dates from 1977 population figures before a large influx from the south). The report notes the destruction of one of the main hospitals, Labib Abu Taher, bodies decaying in the street, and extensive damage to port facilities. Two thousand killed, 10,000 wounded, 200,000 left homeless. The report was issued on June 17, five days after "effective relief efforts started," according to the UN. Thus the period from June 5 to June 12 leaves countless people and much property unaccounted for.

Many dispatches have reported the difficulty of getting medical supplies in Lebanon, with the Israelis insisting that the International Red Cross operate through Tel Aviv, and repeatedly blocking supplies into West Beirut; and with ships from Cyprus turned back from Sidon on the grounds that the waters were mined.

Cluster bombs have been used by Israelis, as were incendiary shells. Civilian transportation was attacked on the roads, including a busload of Turkish workers crossing a northern border. . .

There are only a very few of the reports coming out of Lebanon. Behind all of them are the questions: What did happen to the civilian population of Sidon, Tyre, and scores of other towns and villages?; What distinction, if any, is being made by Israelis between "PLO terrorists" and Palestinians, many of whom have lived in Lebanon since 1948?; Why do the Israelis appear to have made it deliberate military policy to destroy the refinery, electricity, water, and highway systems which are the country's infrastructure?; What is happening to the Palestinian prisoners presumably taken to Israel? (The French press reports some of these prisoners being flown across the border, crammed into nets slug below helicopters.)

Only with this week did the U.S. media begin to make some effort at reporting the extent of the desolation in Lebanon. And very often such reports are carefully "balanced" with stories of the welcome accorded the Israelis by Lebanese, usually Christians, and by thoughtful analyses of the political perspectives opened up in the wake of the blitz.

The slow awakening of the U.S. media has been scarcely paralleled by any kind of political response in Washington.

One after another, politicans on Capitol Hill told us "off the record," "for background only," "definitely not for attribution" that the situation was terrible, but "complicated." There was, they said, little they could do. Why? The proximity of the elections, which required all their time and the political power, which they universally evoked, of the Israeli political lobby.

To cite one example, Democratic Congressmen Toby Moffett of Connecticut, Lebanese by origin, and with a proven track record of support for Israel, is seeking election to the U.S. Senate this fall. He may find himself in a three-way race between the vice-president's brother, Prescott Bush, who may get the Republican nomination, and Lowell Weicker, who may run as an independent. Moffett has been savagely attacked by Morris Amitay, former executive director of the American-Israel Political Affairs Committee, Israel's main lobbying organization in the U.S. Amitay has conducted a letter-writing campaign against Moffett, and Weicker has weighed in.

Moffett's campaign organization believes financing has dried up as a result, and that in consequence anything to do with Israel is, in the words of a Moffett aide, "sensitive." Moffett's remarks since the invasion of Lebanon have been, unsurprisingly, of a subdued nature. Like most of his colleagues he steered well clear of a resolution introduced by Congressman Nick Joe Rahall II of West Virginia and eight others, calling for withdrawal of Israeli combat forces, and suspension of all deliveries of combat equipment to all combatants until the U.S. determines whether the equipment has been used legally or not.

By Monday night, June 21, only 13 congressmen had signed, and action veered to discussion of derisory amounts of aid to be sent to Lebanon for humanitarian purposes.

But even here there were reservations. Last week there was much talk of the imminent promulgation of a "Dear Colleague" letter by Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas, urging aid to Lebanon on these same humanitarian grounds. Tsongas never sent the letter, reportedly fearing that it might be too controversial. Members of the Senate and House took refuge in quiet deliberations in their committees, with Tsongas proposing $50 million in relief (a puny sum in the circumstances) in the Foreign Relations Committee.

Congress people who were only too pleased to rush to El Salvador or refugee camps in Honduras and declaim to the press upon return are nowhere to be seen now that the focus has moved to the Middle East. "I've been trying to handle this for a week," a prominent aide, who, like everyone else, insisted on anonymity, told us, "and it's too hot." He added dejectedly, "People who have been strong in the past on human rights have taken a walk on this one."

So far, in a nation of 200 million people, devoted to democracy, justice, and the pursuit of happiness, the most conspicuous objection to a savage

invasion accomplished with American equipment has been one advertisement hastily organized and signed by about 200 people and placed in *The New York Times* last Sunday. For the silence among American Jews, we refer our readers to Nat Hentoff's column this week.

Our impression is that on the liberated left, the main reaction is one of extraordinary reluctance to think about the events of the past two and a half weeks at all. The abdication of intellectual and moral responsibility has, if anything, deepened throughout the de facto annexation of the West Bank, the annexation of East Jerusalem and of the Golan Heights, the persecution of the West Bank mayors, the eviction of democratically elected town councils, the unfolding of "settler law," the censorship, and all the other outrages being perpetrated on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip on a daily basis. The invasion of Lebanon has not changed this refusal to look history in the face and to speak up.

ROBERT FISK, Journalist, England

"Listen", the Israeli said, "I know you are tape-recording this but personally I would like to see them all dead. I would like to see all the Palestinians dead because they are a sickness wherever they go."

© *The Times* (London), June 17, 1982

"Listen", the Israeli said, "I know you are tape-recording this but personally I would like to see them all dead. I would like to see all the Palestinians dead because they are a sickness wherever they go."

He was a young man whose curly hair and silver-framed glasses gave him a gentle, almost ascetic appearance that quite belied the things he was saying. He seemed at first quite out of keeping with the tanks and troop-carriers here on the hill above the battlefield of Haddeth.

The Phalangist guns had been banging away from beside the yellow-stone Maronite church on the hill to our left and the soldier had walked up to us with a quiet "shalom", volunteering in an academic fashion that the artillery was 155mm.

Below us, on the narrow plain that separates the hills from the sea and the international airport, shells were exploding across the science faculty of the Lebanese university: bright little flames that rippled along the side of the silver retangular building.

"There are terrorists down there and in the camp on the right," the young soldier said, and waved his hand vaguely in the direction of West Beirut.

He had lived in France for most of his life, emigrating to Israel only six years ago, and he spoke English with a soft French accent. He was going to start his first term at law college in Jerusalem in the autumn.

But now he was a soldier and he had fought his way up from southern Lebanon through Tyre and Sidon and he evidently knew that not everyone approved of what his army had done in the past 10 days. He had seen the ruins of Sidon.

"It was not really beautiful, I guess," he said. "But one has to do one's job. You know, you journalists must never forget what the villages in Galilee look like when they have been bombed."

We looked together down at the shellfire in Haddeth as the gunners traversed their artillery to the right, sending clouds of grey smoke up from the edge of Bourj el-Brajneh camp. But did he not think, we asked, that perhaps the destruction and slaughter in Lebanon these past few days—the killing of almost 10,000 people—had been somewhat out of proportion to that wrought on Northern Israel?

His response was immediate. "Listen," he said, "it is not the difference between one dead and a thousand dead. It hurts as much. Seeing dead children and women here is not really nice but everyone is involved in this kind of war, the women too, so we can't always punish exactly the right people because otherwise it would cost us a lot of deaths.

"And for us, I guess, I hope you understand this, the death of one Israeli soldier is more important than the death of even several hundred Palestinians.

"We don't play football. I mean it's not the quantity of deaths—it's what we are trying to do. I hope there is going to be peace in Lebanon and if it costs a lot of lives, well that's it."

The soldiers seemed unaware of any contradiction in this argument. Israel, he said, was trying to find a solution for future years. "Maybe having a peace, a Christian government, even with the Muslims, having some arrangement where at least one our neighbours would be at peace with us."

He did not regard Egypt as being at peace with Israel, he refused to say why, but he spoke of Israel as a country with a mission.

"Here," he said, "we really have a chance for lasting peace because the people here need us. We need them as peaceful neighbours but they need us because we are stronger, we are more organized, we can help them. We may like, or not like, the people but we need them because it's in our interest."

The Phalangist guns fired again and once more the flames erupted across the university building below us. There was a sustained pattering of machine guns—strength made manifest through fire.

And what, we asked, about the Palestinians? The soldier sighed slightly, as if he knew the question had been coming all along. The Palestinians were a sickness. He wanted them all dead But was that not, we asked gently, what Hitler had once said about the Jews?

"It is," he replied. "But there is a slight difference because the Palestinians receive help and they have so many countries around here that are ready to support them and to help them.

"But it's hypocrisy, you know. The Arab countries help them only in order to destroy Israel. They are not interested in the welfare (of the Palestinians). I know it is a bit hard to put because maybe I'm a bit emotional about it. Personally, I wouldn't mind seeing the Palestinians all dead and helping to do it."

Perhaps it was the microphone in front of him that cause the soldier to hesitate. "I know it doesn't sound very nice and. . ." he paused, "you were talking about Hitler. I know the argument that the Jews have suffered from Hitler and that nobody else has to suffer from the tyranny of the Jews. But I don't understand it.

"Our foremost interest is to live in peace and to flourish in our country, and if somebody disturbs us and tries to destroy us, there is no reason why we shouldn't destroy him first. You know they said this in the Bible too."

The shooting was growing more intense on the plain below and it seemed to influence the soldier whose right arm had come to rest on his rifle "I don't say 'kill everyone.' It's a wish, you see.

"Personally, I don't think our Government would take the responsibility for massacring a lot of Palestinians, but anyway the least we can do is destroy their military capacity and diplomatic organization. He foresaw a new Palestinian organization that Israel "would support and organize."

But the soldier's mind had returned to the question of Israel's power. "But we are strong," he said. "There is no doubt about it. And we are strong enough to make the choices. If we don't go now into West Beirut itself, it's not that we can't, it's because we don't want it.

"But now we are in a position to pressure. I hope the Palestinians will never go back to the south. Unless there is going to be a real force here—and I hope it's not going to be an Israeli force rather an American one—unless this force exists the Palestinians will go back in a few years and all this will be for nothing.

We looked again down on to the plain where the smoke from the university building had now formed a plateau of dark clouds across the west of the city: a rim of grime above the sea that merged imperceptibly with the heat haze. Peace, it seemed, was going to go on costing lives.

IV

ISRAEL'S USE OF AMERICAN WEAPONS DURING ITS INVASION OF LEBANON

Editor's Note:

While precise information has not been available, it has been reliably estimated by United Nations and U.S. Pentagon personnel that, in its June 6 invasion, Israel deployed nearly a third of its regular army, including nine armored divisions with 90,000 troops, 1,300 tanks, 12,000 troop and supply trucks, 1,300 armored personnel carriers, 350 ambulances, and 300 buses. Most of the equipment was supplied by the United States, including 85 percent of all Israeli aircraft, more than 60 percent of its tanks, and more than 90 percent of its artillery, as well as virtually all of its missiles, including the Sidewinder, Maverick, Sparrow, and Shrike missiles.

Indeed, according to a study commissioned by an organization belonging to the Israel Lobby, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), and reported in its newsletter February 25, 1983, "Israel used in Lebanon more than 100 weapons systems that had not previously seen full-scale combat." All of the weapons listed below were confirmed either by explosive ordnance disposal units of the multinational force or by Pentagon sources as having been shipped to Israel and/or used by Israel during the 1982 invasion.

It should be borne in mind that Israel's violation of United States arms laws, noted below, including the 1952 bilateral treaty (Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement) and the 1961 U.S. Arms Exports Control Act, as amended, are not limited to the nine types of cluster bombs Israel has used in Lebanon. The laws apply equally to all American weapons provided to Israel.

Combat and Transport Helicopters

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
Bell	AH-1 Sea Cobra Gunship
Hughes	500 MD Defender
Bell	HU-205 (Huey)
Bell	206A Jetranger
(Unavailable)	CH-47 Chinook Transport
(Unavailable)	CH-53
(Unavailable)	S-65 A/CH-53
(Unavailable)	UH-1H Iroquois

Combat and Transport Aircraft

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
McDonnell-Douglas	F-15 Eagle Interceptor-Fighter
McDonnell-Douglas	F-4E and RF-4 Phantom II Reconnaissance (with "Wild Weasel" electronic system)
McDonnell-Douglas	A-4 Skyhawk Attack
Cessna	U206-C Super Skywagon Transport
General Dynamics	F-16 Fighting Falcon Fighter (Israel used all 72 of its F-16s in Lebanon)
Lockheed	C-130H Hercules Transport
Beech	RU-21E Reconnaissance/Utility
(Unavailable)	E-2C

Howitzers, Missiles, and Other Projectiles

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
Bowen-McLaughlin-York	M109-A2 155 mm Self-Propelled Howitzer
Hughes	AGM-65 Maverick Air-to-Surface Missile
Ford (Ford-Raytheon)	AIM 9 Sidewinder Air-to-Air Missile
Vought	MGM-52C Antitank Ground Weapon
Ford	MIM-72C Chaparral Air-to-Air Missile
Ford	MIM-72C Chaparral Air-to-Air Missile Launchers
(Unavailable)	MIM-3 Nike Missile
General Dynamics	RIM-66/67 Standard ARM Surface-to Air Missile
Norris Industries	M-483 155 mm High-Explosive Projectile

Howitzers, Missiles, and Other Projectiles (Continued)

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
General Dynamics	MK-15/2 Vulcan Phalanx 20 mm Naval Antiaircraft Gun
(Unavailable)	M-163 20 mm Vulcan Gun
(Unavailable)	M-107 175 mm Self-Propelled Gun
(Unavailable)	M-109 155 mm Self-Propelled Howitzer
(Unavailable)	Self-Propelled Antiaircraft Gun
Rockwell	GBU-15 Cruciform (Glide Bomb Kit) Wing Bomb Unit
Hughes	BGM-71A TOW Antitank Ground Weapon
Hughes	BGM-71A TOW Antitank Ground Weapon Launchers
McDonnell-Douglas	RGM-84-A H Harpoon Antiship Missile
(Unavailable)	81 mm Mortar Ammunition
(Unavailable)	60 mm Mortar Ammunition
(Unavailable)	155 mm HE Artillery Projectiles
(Unavailable)	175 mm Ammunition Rounds
(Unavailable)	175 mm Special Extended-Range Artillery Projectile
Rockwell	Walleye I Bomb
Raytheon	AIM-7F Sparrow Air-to-Air Missile
(Unavailable)	175 mm and 155 mm Artillery Air-Intercept Ammunition, Thermal Night Sights
Hughes	AGM-45A Shrike (Antiradar Defense Suppression) Air-to-Surface Missile
Raytheon	MIM-23B I-Hawk Skyhawk Surface-to-Air Missile
Raytheon	I-Hawk Batteries
Raytheon-Kollsman	M-47 Dragon Antitank Ground Weapon
Raytheon-Kollsman	M-47 Dragon Antitank Ground Weapon Launchers
Rockwell	AM-62 Walleye II Bomb (GBU-15V4/B)
Colt	M16-A1 5.56 mm Rifle
General Dynamics	MIM-43A Redeye Surface-to-Air Missile
Hughes	M65-LAAT Antitank Ground Weapon

Tanks and Armored Vehicles

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
Chrysler	M-728 Combat Vehicle with 165 mm Gun Support

Tanks and Armored Vehicles (Continued)

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
ex-U.S. Army	Royal Ordnance Factory Centurion Tank and parts
(Unavailable)	M-48 Patton Tanks
Bowen-McLaughlin-York	M-88 AL Tank Recovery Vehicle
(Unavailable)	Infantry Combat Vehicle
(Unavailable)	M-60 A-7 Main Battle Tank
Chrysler	M-60 A-3 Tank and Support Vehicles
Ford	M-577A1 Command Post Carrier
(Unavailable)	M-113A1 Armored Personnel Carrier
Ford	M-113A2 Armored Personnel Carrier
(Unavailable)	Other armored vehicles, primarily armored cargo carriers and armored weapons carriers
(Unavailable)	ICC-130 Tanker/Transport
(Unavailable)	M-548 Cargo Carriers

Miscellaneous Military Hardware

Manufacturer	Type/Model Description
(Unavailable)	Dabur-class Coastal Patrol Craft
Teledyne-Ryan	M-124 R-1 Firebee Reconnaissance Drone
Chrysler	M-60-A3 Fire Control System and parts
Texas Instruments	AAQ-10 Reconnaissance System
Grumman	Flagstaff II Hydrofoil
(Unavailable)	M-232 Target-Drone/Support
(Unavailable)	E2C Hawkeye Airborne Warning and Control
(Unavailable)	FMU 124 A/B Fuses

In addition to these weapons and military equipment, scores of other American military hardware and software items were supplied to Israel and many of them were used in Lebanon, e.g., Smith and Wesson handcuffs which due to the manner of their use caused much suffering among prisoners taken by Israel. Much of this material is not reflected in available military data sources, either because the specific purchases were relatively small, taken singly, or, as in the case of cluster bombs, because both the U.S. government and Israel preferred that these sales be secret. Nonetheless, recent purchases of the M-42, M-46, and M-43 cluster bomb grenades have sometimes appeared on Foreign Military Sales (FMS) lists.

Weapons Not Used in Lebanon

Contrary to several reports the use of certain weapons such as nerve gas, napalm, and chemical warfare by Israel has not been substantiated. Convincing probative evidence to support these claims has not been forthcoming and consequently it must be concluded at this time that these weapons were not used. Reports that they were can be attributed to wartime confusion and misinformation particularly the intensive bombings and mass panic.

There are, however, plausible reasons for the reports. For example, although napalm was not used in Lebanon, many of the people who suffered burns from white phosphorus, which is similar in many respects, believed it was napalm. In point of fact, a white phosphorus burn can be every bit as terrible as one from napalm. Nor was there evidence that nerve gas was used, although CS gas grenades were used at Beaufort Castle, after the Israelis failed to remove the defenders by aerial and artillery bombardment.

In an effort to account for reports of chemical weapons, military personnel along with their doctors were interviewed in Damascus hospitals. It was learned that white phosphorus gives off a toxic gas when in burns, and a number of defenders in South Lebanon and around the Bir Hassan area of Beirut were overcome by this chemical reaction.

In addition, a number of fighters from Tyre and Sidon were affected by what was thought to be a "cotton candy" like substance which drifted out of the sky following the firing of certain rockets and flares. Some of the soldiers thought this was a kind of chemical weapon, but it was in fact the lining of certain red magnesium flare casings that had a toxic effect on the skin, creating a sort of itching and numbing effect and causing the fighter to feel weak and faint and sometimes to experience partial paralysis.

The matter of toy bombs is still being investigated, but the point should be made that cluster bombs are in fact "toy bombs," because they look like balls or interesting butterfly-type objects, lighters, or batteries. Many Israeli soldiers as well as American Marines have been attracted to these objects, have picked them up out of curiosity, and have been killed or wounded as a result. There are numerous claims about other types of toy bombs. These weapons such as booby-trapped dolls and clocks used by the American Military in Vietnam are some of those claimed to have been used in 1973 against Syria and in 1978 and at other times in the camps of Lebanon. Sufficient proof has not yet been available to allow a definite judgment whether Israel used these weapons in Lebanon in 1982.

Overview of Israel's Use of U.S. Weapons

Several times prior to the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Israel's use of American weapons and equipment had been questioned: (1) the raid on

Sammu, Jordan, in November 1966; (2) the attack against Egypt in June 1967; (3) the Beirut Airport raid in late December 1968; (4) the 1978 invasion of southern Lebanon; (5) the June 7, 1981, attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor; and (6) the July 17, 1981, bombing of Beirut in which more than 350 people were killed and more than 1,000 injured.

Twice—August 6, 1979, and April 5, 1981—the Carter Administration chose to make a public finding that Israel "may" have violated the July 7, 1952, Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (MDAA) with the United States by using American-origin military equipment in operations conducted in southern Lebanon against Palestinian refugee camps and positions, but the United States did not suspend or terminate Israeli arms sales, credits, or deliveries in either case.

Shortly after receiving a large American shipment, during the October 1973 war, Israel used American-supplied cluster bombs as early as 1974, dropping them on the Bedawi refugee camp near Beirut, as well as on refugee camps, farms, and villages in southern Lebanon. Israel admitted having done so in 1976, after being challenged during discussions with the American government, and in April 1978, then-Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur told the Israeli newspaper *Davar*: "I . . . recall that we used cluster bombs two years ago to hit terrorist bases from which they were shelling our settlements."

Broken Promises

On December 16, 1976, as part of a secret agreement, Israel promised the Ford Administration that it would not use American cluster bombs except "against military, fortified targets" and then only "if Israel were attacked by more than one country." Although this agreement is still classified, congressional sources briefed by the State Department confirm this restriction.

On March 14, 1978, Israel again invaded Lebanon and made widespread use of American-supplied cluster bombs throughout southern Lebanon. Israel at first denied to Pentagon officials that it had used American-made cluster bombs. Confronted with incontrovertible evidence, including Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) photographs showing cluster bombs all over the fields surrounding Nabatiyeh and the refugee camps of Rashidiyeh and Bourg-al-Chemal, Israel admitted using the bombs but insisted they were dropped only on military targets. But, as American University Professor Kevin Danaher has pointed out, "On-the-spot dispatches by U.S. correspondents and U.S. military intelligence reports have said that cluster bombs rained down on refugee camps, farms, and villages."

On April 5, 1978, the State Department wrote to Rep Lee H. Hamilton (D.-Ind.), Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. The letter said that the government of Israel had confirmed using cluster bombs in southern Lebanon and that the Israeli action constituted "a use contrary to previous accurances given to us and that a violation of U.S. law may have occurred. We will make every effort to assure that the government of Israel institutes measures that will prove effective in guarding against the misuse of this weapon in the future." The same day, the Carter Administration made a finding that the Israelis "may have violated their 1952 agreement with the United States through the use of American weapons against the people of Lebanon," and that what the U.S. government had asked of Israel "in guarding against misuse" was for new and tighter restrictions on American-supplied cluster bombs. The Carter Administration asked that Israeli field commanders in the future not use cluster bombs without clear authorization from politically responsible superiors. This request followed Israeli claims that cluster bomb use in 1978 was "accidental."

In March 1978, Israel's Defense Minister Ezer Weizmann acknowledged Israel's use of American-supplied cluster bombs in southern Lebanon, but said he had been unaware of any restrictions on their use, and that they would not be used in the future in any violation of an agreement with the United States. The U.S. government did not suspend or terminate any Israeli arms sales, credits or deliveries—as it could have done, according to law—and Israel agreed to comply with the new requirements.

On April 10, 1978, following an Israeli air attack, Associated Press reporters in South Lebanon filed this dispatch:

> Cluster bombs were dropped on areas ranging from the Mediterranean coast to the west, to the foothills of Mt. Hermon in the east, and around the refugee camps of Rashidiyeh, and Bourg Shamal, near the biblical port of Tyre, and in the outlying southwestern hamlets.
>
> On March, the second day of the Israeli invasion, cluster bombs hit the house of Salim Shaf-Eddin, a 60-year-old Lebanese farmer in Kfar Tibnit. The farmer showed visitors holes in the ceilings, the small cavities in his fields, and the shell casing. He pulled two tin cans from behind his garden wall and gingerly took out a handful of dirt-covered metal spheres, each the size of a lemon and weighing about a pound. They were the CBU-58 type.

According to the Associated Press reporter at the scene

> Each small bomb consisted of a hollow brass-colored sphere filled with explosive TNT and covered by a thick steel casing. The inside of the TNT-filled ball is deeply cut into a grid that becomes more than two-hundred diamond-shaped pieces of shrapnel when the bomb explodes.

On April 13, 1978, National Security Advisor Brzezinski Zbigniew wrote to Rep. Paul McCloskey (R.-Calif.) that the government of Israel had confirmed that it had used American-supplied cluster bombs and that such use was in violation of the agreement between Israel and the United States. Brzezinski noted that "the State Department had communicated to the Israeli government U.S. concern over this matter."

Rep. McCloskey protested to Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz about Israel's violation of U.S. laws: Dinitz acknowledged the violations, referring to

> . . . additional secret assurances that were communicated by us to your Government on December 16, 1978, under which the use of the CBU was not permitted in an operation such as the one that took place in Lebanon.

In his *Washington Post* article of April 30, 1978, H.D.S. Greenway commented, "Defense Minister Weizmann now says he was unaware of Israel's promise not to use cluster bombs on offensive operations. This statement does not inspire confidence in Weizmann or the Defense Ministry."

A New Agreement

Following Israel's repeated violations of U.S. law and the MDAA, the United States initiated a series of classified diplomatic discussions aimed at putting an end to Israel's use of cluster bombs in all but the most extreme circumstances. The discussions culminated in yet another agreement between the United States and Israel, consisting of an exchange of notes dated April 10 and 11, 1978, in which Israel reaffirmed its acceptance of additional stipulations and conditions on the use of American cluster bombs. This secret agreement, of which much has been made since Israel's June 1982 invasion of Lebanon, is still classified, although its contents have become public knowledge. The agreement prohibits the use of American-supplied cluster bombs except against "regular forces of a sovereign nation and under special wartime conditions," that is, a major war in which Israel is attacked by two or more of the nations Israel faced in 1967 and 1973. The agreement also prohibits the use of cluster bombs "against any areas where civilians were exposed." Israel agreed not to use cluster bombs even against military personnel if the soldiers were housed in or near a civilian population center. Moreover, Israel specifically promised to evacuate civilians from any area where military personnel were present before using cluster bombs. Israel repeatedly and flagrantly violated this condition in Lebanon during its June 1982 invasion.

The focus of the 1978 agreement, which has not been grasped in media speculation, is the clear prohibition against using cluster bombs against civilians wherever they are. Recently, Rep. McCloskey correctly protested in Congress that Israel had again violated all three of the provisions of the 1978 secret agreement, as well as subsequent assurances, during the June 1982 invasion. It did so, according to McCloskey, "by using cluster bombs in a situation when Israel was not being attacked by another nation, using the munitions against guerrilla forces, rather than against regular troops, and using them in areas where civilians were exposed."

One of the reasons for the particularly precise formulation of the 1978 secret agreement was that Israel had been consistently claiming, contrary to reports supplied to the State Department, that it used cluster bombs in South Lebanon only against military personnel, and not in the refugee camps and villages. Upon condemnation by the U.S. government for its flagrant and indiscriminate use of American-supplied cluster bombs against civilians in South Lebanon, and being advised of CIA report substantiating its violations, Israel did not immediately reply. When it did, its first response was that its use of cluster bombs was only against miltary targets. When the U.S. government expressed incredulity over this explanation, Israel changed its response. Its "classified" response to the State Department was that Israel had always evacuated civilians from any area in which it dropped cluster bombs. But Israel has never specified how or where the evacuations took place.

During the spring and summer of 1979, Israel again attacked southern Lebanon. Cluster bombs were dropped on heavily populated villages and refugee camps. From April through August 1979, Israeli attacks resulted in more than 600 casualties and forced some 200,000 Lebanese and Palestinians from their homes.

According to a report in the *Christian Science Monitor*, the Lebanese government gave the U.S. Embassy a report listing the names, ages, and occupations of 969 Lebanese civilians killed and 224 wounded by Israeli air strikes and shelling during this period. The report added that during just one 24-hour period in April 1979, the Israeli bombardment caused nearly 100 Lebanese civilian casualties.

On August 6, 1979, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance issued the statement that Israel "may have violated" the 1978 agreement on the use of cluster bombs. Vance also acknowledged that Israeli use of U.S. arms and the transfer of arms to Israel's southern Lebanese ally, Major Saad Haddad, may have violated U.S. law.

Israel's Current Explanation

In a July 18, 1982, memorandum, Israel's Department of Foreign Affairs claims that in its invasion of Lebanon

> The Israeli forces took every possible precaution to protect the civilian population . . . including the temporary removal of civilians from

> zones of operation . . . [A]nd directing military operations solely at specific terrorist objectives, with the aim that the effects be limited only to such objectives . . . such operations were carried out only on the basis of the concrete and direct military advantage.

In addition, Israel argued that it had complied with the requirement that cluster bombs be used only against regular forces of a sovereign nation and under special wartime conditions, i.e., major wars against two or more nations such as Israel faced in 1967. The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that Syria was one of the Arab states. But Syria did not attack Israel. And which state was the second? As *Time* magazine put it, "Israel not only does not consider the PLO to be a state: it does not recognize the organization as a legal entity."

A report on CBS News on July 17, 1982, quoted CIA officials as saying they had evidence that Israel did indeed use cluster bombs "indiscriminately against civilian targets," a statement that confirmed our findings. Given such reports, as well as the weight of evidence, one State Department official called the latest Israeli explanation "absurd. It's an insult to our intelligence as well as our intelligence community."

Further Israeli Aggression

Israel's bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor on June 7, 1981, prompted the Reagan Administration to conclude that Israel might have violated its July 23, 1952, Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement (MDAA) with the United States. The pertinent segment of the 1952 agreement between Israel and the United States reads as follows:

> The Government of Israel assures the United States Government that such equipment, materials, or services as may be acquired from the United States . . . are required for and will be used solely to maintain its internal security, its legitimate self-defense, or to permit it to participate in the defense of the area of which it is a part, or in United Nations collective security arrangement and measures, and that it will not undertake any act of aggression against any other state.

In light of the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr., reported to Congress on June 10, 1981, that the Israeli use of American-supplied military equipment in this raid "may" have constituted a substantial violation of the MDAA. The United States questioned Israel's description of the two air strikes as "legitimate self-defense." That same day, pending review of the facts of the case, President Reagan exercised authority set forth in sections 2(b) and 42(3)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA) to suspend "for the time being"

the shipment of four F-16 aircraft that had been scheduled for export to Israel on June 12. Section 42(e)(1) of the AECA states that

> Each contract for sale entered into under sections 21, 22, and 29 of this Act shall provide that such contract may be cancelled in whole or in part, or its execution suspended by the United States at any time under unusual or compelling circumstances if the national interest so requires.

On July 1, and again on July 13, 1981, Israeli sources said the United States would deliver the four F-16s on July 17, 1981, the scheduled date for the delivery of six additional F-16s. The White House would not confirm the reports. On July 17, the White House announced that delivery of the six F-16 aircraft would be delayed "indefinitely." The announcement coincided with and was prompted by the Israeli bombing of Beirut on that same day, which killed 387 and wounded more than 1,100.

Prime Minister Begin, Israel's foreign minister, and the Israeli ambassador to the United States, as well as the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and other Jewish organizations that make up the Israel Lobby in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere, claimed that the United States had breached "a contract" to deliver the planes to Israel. This charge was unfounded; section 42(e)(1) of the AECA provides clear authority for the Administration to act precisely as it did. But on August 17, 1981, the Reagan Administration lifted its suspension on deliveries to Israel and all of the planes were transferred. Secretary of State Haig announced on August 17, 1981 , that the deliveries would be resumed, and added that there was no "legal or juridicial" decision necessary to determine if Israel violated its agreement with the United States.

The June 1982 Invasion of Lebanon and U.S. Arms Laws

On July 16, 1982, following the CIA reports noted above, Acting Secretary of State Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., informed Congress about Israel's invasion of Lebanon on June 6, 1982, and made another finding that Israel may have committed a substantial violation of the AECA. This communication was classified, the State Department stated, "due to factors related to the highly sensitive and delicate negotiations . . . for the peaceful departure of the PLO from Beirut."

Some members of Congress criticized the message as circuitous and for remaining silent on a key question of whether Israel had used cluster bombs. According to House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Clement Zablocki (D.-Wis.): "It reached no judgment on whether Israel used cluster bombs, and there's no doubt in my mind that they did." When Zablocki complained that the letter ignored the cluster bomb issue, Undersecretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger assured him there would

be a separate report on cluster bombs. To date, no such report has been made.

On September 13, 1982, the State Department declassified Stoessel's July 16 communication. It was addressed to Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and reads as follows:

> I am providing the following information pursuant to Section 3(c)(2) of the Arms Export Control Act.
>
> On June 6 Israeli forces entered Lebanon and began a series of military operations against Palestinian and Syrian forces. These operations have involved the use of a large quantity and variety of defense articles that had been furnished to Israel under the Foreign Military Sales program, including armored vehicles, aircraft, artillery, and munitions of various types.
>
> Sales to Israel under the Foreign Military Sales program are governed by various restrictions in agreements with the United States, particularly the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement of July 23, 1952 (TIAS 2675), which provides in pertinent part:
>
> "The Government of Israel assures the United States Government that such equipment, materials, or services as may be acquired from the United States . . . are required for and will be used solely to maintain its internal security, its legitimate self-defense, or to permit it to participate in the defense of the area of which it is a part, or in United Nations collective security arrangements and measures, and that it will not undertake any act of aggression against any other state."
>
> In these circumstances, I must report on behalf of the President, pursuant to section 3(c)(2), that a substantial violation by Israel of these provisions may have occurred.

The next day, July 17, the United States imposed a temporary ban on the shipment of 4,000 155 mm artillery shells earmarked for Israel. On July 27 this ban was extended "indefinitely." Although on June 22, Israeli Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan had flatly denied Israel had used even one cluster bomb in Lebanon, on June 26 he sent a message to Army officers serving in Lebanon warning them that eight Israeli soldiers had been injured picking them up. This report was carried on Israeli military radio. On June 27, against a backdrop of overwhelming evidence, Major General Aharon Yariv, Special Advisor to Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, admitted that Israel was using cluster bombs, although he claimed they were used

"only against organized resistance, mainly the Syrians, army and infantry. They were not used against civilians and not on civilian areas." Israel's pronouncements that its use of American cluster bombs had been used only against military targets has virtually no evidentiary support. Moreover, Israeli officials themselves, in candid moments, admit that the Israeli Army uses the bombs against civilians. Former Chief of Staff of the Israeli Army, General Mordechai Gur, in a May 1978 interview with *Al-Hamishmar*, probably fairly accurately presented the Israeli government's attitude.

> *Al-Hamishmar:* Is it true [during the March 1978 Israeli invasion of Lebanon] that you bombarded agglomerations [of people] without distinction?
>
> *General Gur:* I am not one of those people who have a selective memory. Do you think that I pretend not to know what we have done all these years? . . . Since when has the population of South Lebanon become so sacred? They knew perfectly well what the terrorists were doing. After the massacre at Avivim, I had four villages in South Lebanon bombed without authorization.
>
> *Al-Hamishmar:* Without making distinctions between civilians and noncivilians?
>
> *General Gur:* What distinctions? What had the inhabitants of Irbid [a large town in Jordan] done to deserve bombing by us [in the war of attrition after the 1967 war]?
>
> *Al-Hamishmar:* But military communiques always spoke of returning fire and of counterstrikes against terrorist objectives.
>
> *General Gur:* Please be serious. Did you not know that the entire valley of the Jordan had been emptied of its inhabitants as a result of the war of attrition?
>
> *Al-Hamishmar:* Then you claim that the population ought to be punished?
>
> *General Gur:* Of course, and I have never had any doubt about that . . . It has now been thirty years . . . that we have been fighting against the civilian [Arab] population which inhabited the villages and towns, and every time that we do it, the same question gets asked: Should we or should we not strike at civilians?

On June 17, the United States had inquired, through its embassy in Tel Aviv, about Israel's use of American-supplied cluster bombs. The Begin government did not respond until July 17. At that time, the Israeli government claimed that its use of the cluster bombs was entirely "defensive" and was consistent with the restrictions contained in the 1976 and 1978 agreements. According to *The Washington Post* of July 18, certain State Department officials suggested that the Israeli reply "apparently is not definitive"; i.e., that it didn't contain any details.

Cluster Bomb Use in West Beirut

Although the United States had a good idea of how Israel was using American-supplied weapons in violation of U.S. arms laws, Israeli officials revealed little evidence or confirmation concerning the use of cluster bombs in West Beirut until October 2, 1982. In early July, Israel again admitted making very limited use of American cluster bombs. This time, the Israeli Army said, it was in the south of Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley, but not in West Beirut, which is the commercial and residential center of Lebanon. One Israeli spokesman in Baada did tell a *Christian Science Monitor* reporter that it "could be that some bombs were dropped on the city [Beirut]." He added that a few cluster bombs might have been dropped in Beirut by jet fighter-bombers returning to Israel after a bombing mission in the Bekaa.

However, on the Cable News Network program, "Newsmakers," aired October 2, 1982, from Washington, D.C., Major General Menachem Meron, Israel's military attache to the United States, became the first Israeli official to acknowledge that cluster bombs were widely used around the Hamra (central West Beirut) district. General Meron also made a remarkable comment on why so many cluster bombs were found unexploded in West Beirut:

> There is a well-known fact that unfortunately too high a percentage of the bomblets that are falling down, they do not explode. *Some of them did not explode. They can be collected from all over the place.* [Emphasis added.]

Major General Meron appeared puzzled and slightly frustrated that so many cluster bombs did not explode. I, too, was surprised to see so many undetonated bombs lying throughout Lebanon, thinking perhaps it was because they had been manufactured almost ten years ago—November and December 1973, according to the markings on some of the dispensers. However, on returning to Washington, D.C., I discussed various serial numbers and technical aspects of different cluster bomb munitions with Pentagon officials. Their response was that age makes little difference

with most explosives, including cluster bombs. The Pentagon has stated that much World War II ordnance is still in perfect condition and in current NATO arsenals. Indeed, as was learned from the Multinational Forces (MNF) during a mid-January 1983 visit to Beirut, some of the more than 100 different types of ordnance they found dated from World War I.

Concerning General Meron's puzzlement, the apparent reason for such a high explosion failure rate has to do with the angle and timing of the release of the bomblets from the dispensers. Most cluster bombs must have a certain speed in order to "arm" the detonator, and training pilots often miss the optimum angle required to develop the speed. Some cluster bombs get caught in trees or bushes, hit soft sand, get blown off balance by other exploding cluster bombs or high winds, or have defective fuses.

Suspension of Shipments to Israel

After finding that Israel "may" have violated U.S. arms laws, the Reagan Administration on July 27, 1982, extended the suspension of a shipment of 4,000 155 mm howitzer artillery shells, each filled with 64 M-42 and 24 M-46 cluster bomb grenades. However, on November 1983 during a visit by Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, President Reagan announced the willingness of the United States to resume cluster bomb shipments to Israel if a new "usage agreement" could be worked out. According to White House sources the new agreement will be tougher than earlier ones. As of March 1984 no agreement had been finalized.

One State Department specialist on Israel's use of U.S. weapons has noted that the United States found on two other occasions that Israel may have committed a substantial violation of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA), but chose not to make the findings public. This brings to six the number of times Israel has formally been found to have violated the AECA. At his news conference on June 30, 1982, President Reagan Acknowledged that two investigations were underway regarding possible violations of agreements between the United States and Israel regarding the use of American-supplied arms during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The investigations have been completed. The findings have been classified, but it is known that the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA have all concluded that Israel flagrantly violated U.S. arms laws during its invasion of Lebanon by its use of cluster bombs, not to mention other U.S. arms. Yet, despite these findings, neither the president nor the Congress has acted to enforce the clear requirements of either the 1952 Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement or the 1976 Arms Export Control Act.

The following testimony details and expands upon the evidence of Israel's unlawful use of American-supplied weapons in Lebanon.

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"This collective record directly contradicts Israel's assertions that it has honored agreements with the United States governing the use of cluster bombs . . . the experience of these civilians must now put to rest any reasonable doubt about whether and how Israel has used in Lebanon cluster bombs supplied to it by the United States."

The following testimony is excerpted from a report on Israel's use of American weapons presented to the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations committee of the U.S. Congress, as well as to the McBride Commission. Part of this testimony was presented at some of the assemblies noted in the introduction. The full report is contained in a forthcoming book on the subject.

By far the clearest data and information about the physical effects of cluster bombs on the civilian population are the observations of the victims themselves as well as eyewitnesses in Lebanon and West Beirut. Because of earlier Israeli cluster bombings in 1974, 1975, 1976, 1978, and 1979, some citizens are able to discuss the differences between the bombings of these years and those of the June 1982 invasion.

It may well be that it is the civilian population in the Palestinian refugee camps and the Lebanese population at large, rather than the fighters, who have had the most experience with cluster bombs. This is because the fighters are often underground and in a defensive military posture whereas the civilians are in the open and more exposed to the bomblets.

Below is an excerpt from the compiled evidentiary record concerning the use of U.S. cluster bombs by Israel against the civilian popation of Lebanon. The time span covered is 1974 through 1982, with the earliest recorded 1982 use being June 11 at Ain Dara in the Chouf area. The sources include victims, family members, medical personnel, and eyewitnesses.

This collective record directly contradicts Israel's assertions that it has honored agreements with the United States governing the use of cluster bombs. While the record is by no means exhaustive, it accurately illustrates the all-pervasive effect of the cluster bombs dropped by Israel upon the civilian population of Lebanon. The experience of these civilians must now put to rest any reasonable doubt about whether and how Israel has used in Lebanon cluster bombs supplied to it by the United States.

- During March and April 1974, Bedawi refugee camp, located approximately 10 kilometers east of Tripoli, Lebanon, was showered with cluster bombs during three separate Israeli attacks. Twenty-five people were killed and 63 wounded. (This was most likely Israel's first use of cluster bombs, since they acquired the bombs from the United States only six months earlier during the Yom Kippur War.) The names of those killed at Bedawi camp included Isam Zyghmot, 15 years old, and his five brothers and sisters. Also killed were Mohammad L. Hateri and his family, including eight children, ages 1 to 18.

- Another early use occurred in 1974, during four days of Israeli attacks on Palestinian refugee camps in South Lebanon. The attack took place in Hasbayla and Rachaya areas, located north of Marjeyoun in southern Lebanon. This area, near the Sheik Mountains and the Syrian border, was saturated with CBU-58 (BLU-63 B) bomblets.

- During late July 1975, Hendrick K. Jellman of the Swedish Broadcasting Service witnessed the dropping of M-43 cluster bombs in the Rashidiyeh refugee camp. Others have confirmed this report. It is believed that this was the first instance of the Israeli use of the M-43 cluster bombs in Lebanon.

- During the fall of 1979, two boys, aged 10 and 12 were killed at Yahahmar, near Beaufort Castle by CBU-58 (BLU-63 B) bomblets.

- Dr. Bernt Heger, a Norwegian surgeon working in Rashidiyeh refugee camp in 1979, reported to the researcher that during August 1979, CBU-58 (BLU-63 B) cluster bombs were dropped several times on the camp. This report has been confirmed by other sources.

- Dr. Rusli, a Norwegian surgeon reported that on October 9, 1982, a woman was killed and her six-year-old boy was injured by a cluster bomb. The child was playing at Sabra camp. The child's mother saw the youngster picking up a Butterfly bomb (the M-43 type). The mother ran to the child, and as she approached, the bomb exploded. Both were severely injured and taken to the Gaza Hospital. The mother died. The child was operated on by Dr. Rusli who, because of the condition of the tissue and bone injury, had to amputate the child's leg.

- On October 15, 1982, the Lebanese daily newspaper *an-Nahar* reported that a cluster bomb blast killed a 14-year-old boy near the airport.

- Dr. Berit Schei, a Norwegian doctor, and Britt Nygard, a Norwegian occupational therapist, independently confirmed the Israeli use of M-

43 Butterfly cluster bombs on Monday, June 7, 1982, at Bourj al-Chamali, in southern Lebanon. Bourj al-Chamali is a Palestinian refugee camp southeast of Tyre, with approximately 15,000 residents. The bombs were dropped at approximately 2:30 p.m. according to these witnesses.

- A Swedish doctor, Margaretta Carlson, confirmed that on Saturday, June 5, and Sunday, June 6, 1982, the M-43 Butterfly bomb was dropped on the Rashidiyeh refugee camp.

Photos of four of the children who were survivors of the November 11, 1979, Israeli use of American CBU-58 cluster bombs described above by Dr. Bernt Heger. The names of these boys have been withheld by request.

- Norwegian surgeon Dr. Bernt Heger worked in the clinic of the Palestinian refugee camp Rashidiyeh in South Lebanon between September 1 and December 18, 1979. Dr. Heger gave an account which I have found to be fairly typical of cases resulting from Israel's use of American bombs against civilians in South Lebanon. The surgeon reported:

  It was November 11, 1979. The clinic in the Palestinian refugee camp of Rashidiyeh on the outskirts of the town of Tyre in South Lebanon was full of patients. I was examining a totally deaf heart patient when the rest of us heard a piercing explosion. In no time the clinic was deserted. Only the deaf patient and myself were left behind. There were no more explosions, but just afterwards people came running in to get us out. A small bomb had exploded in the schoolyard.

We ran there, and found ten children, nine boys and a girl, lying on the ground, bleeding and covered with burns and shrapnel wounds. A ten-year-old, Ali, had found a cluster bomb and played with it until it exploded. It was a ghastly sight. Four of the children, three boys and a girl aged ten or eleven died. Ali was one of them. The next day the schoolyard was searched once more, and Ali's brother found another cluster bomb, of the same American make which had killed his brother the day before. Israel had been dropping the bombs on targets in South Lebanon such as Rashidiyeh Camp and Tyre.

Two out of the ten children caught in the explosion died instantly. The third died on his way to the hospital in the nearby town of Sidon. Altogether, four out of the eight survivors were sent on to the hospital. The doctors tried to save the fourth by sending him to a special ward in Beirut. He died the following day in the hospital there. Two of the hospitalized ones endured major stomach operations. One lost a foot. All the survivors had many shrapnel wounds. (See photo on page 00).

Some shrapnel pieces we could dig out. Others we just had to leave because they were located too deep. We had no X-ray equipment in the Rashidiyeh Hospital.

Rashidiyeh is situated very close to the Israel border. One can watch Israel television there. The same night, after Ali and the others were dead, we watched the news on Israeli TV. The announcer stated that three children (the fourth didn't die until the following day) were killed in an explosion in the schoolyard in Rashidiyeh. The bomb was placed there by Palestinian terrorists, Israeli television said, and was aimed at the school's headmaster. This lie sickened me.

According to another report from the Norwegian medical team at Rashidiyeh camp,

The last major attacks on Rashidiyeh and Tyre of 1979 started on August 23. For one week between August 23 and September 1, the camp was constantly bombed with artillery and planes from Israel, and from Israeli gunboats along the coast. After these attacks, twelve volunteers picked up 1,500 cluster bombs from the beach outside Rashidiyeh. The schoolyard in the camp was searched several times, but still there were two bombs that escaped detection, one of which exploded killing four and wounding ten. In another incident, a farmer in the vicinity of Rashidiyeh was killed when his plough ran into one of these cluster bombs.

Following the Israeli bombings in August 1979, the children were drilled to refrain from picking up strange objects. But children are children, and some couldn't help themselves when they found the object. Children cannot control themselves, and the farmers cannot stop ploughing the earth—both risk their lives on a playground and in a field which is converted into a mine area.

- During March and April 1979, Dr. Ebba Wergeland, a Swede, and Dr. David Henley, an American doctor living in Sweden, witnessed the use of CBU-58 (BLU-63 B) cluster bombs in Rashidiyeh refugee camp. Dr. Henley collected several of the grenades.

- According to Dr. Henley, who has had long experience in southern Lebanon, the Rashidiyeh refugee camp has been shelled many times over the last few years. A study by Dr. Henley showed that the Rashidiyeh camp was shelled 710 times by a cumulative total of more than 15,000 bombs or artillery shells since 1976. More than 250 people have been killed. Dr. Henley points out that this number preceded the June 1982 Israeli invasion. Dr. Henley has found that many of the shells contained cluster bombs, although Israel denies having used them during most of this period.
- On April 10, 1978, the Associated Press reported the results of a team which had visited South Lebanon following an Israeli air attack. According to the report:

  Cluster bombs were dropped on areas ranging from the Mediterranean coast in the west, to the foothills of Mt. Hermon in the east, and around the refugee camps of Rashidiyeh, and Bourg al-Chemali, near the biblical port of Tyre, and in the outlying southwestern hamlets.

  On March 16, the second day of the Israeli invasion, cluster bombs hit the house of Selim Shaf-Eddin, a sixty-year-old Lebanese farmer in Kfar Tibnit. The farmer showed visitors holes in the ceilings, the small cavities in his fields, and the shell casings. He pulled two tin cans from behind his garden wall and gingerly took out a handful of dirt-covered metal spheres, each the size of a lemon and weighing about a pound. They were the CBU-58 type.

According to the Associated Press reporter at the scene,

Each small bomb consisted of a hollow brass-colored sphere filled with explosive TNT and covered by a thin steel casing. The inside of the TNT-filled ball is deeply cut into a grid that becomes

more than two hundred diamond-shaped pieces of shrapnel when the bomb explodes.

- On August 20, 1982, following an Israeli attack on Bourj al-Barajneh, a Palestinian man and his wife returned to the refugee camp and entered their home. Their eight- and ten-year-old daughters remained outside to play. One of the girls, the ten-year-old, picked up a M-43 cluster bomb and her hand was partially blown off when it exploded. The X-rays of the child's hand showed three pieces of metal shrapnel. Two were approximately 2 mm in diameter. One was a half-millimeter and lodged in the soft tissue at the top of the wound.

- On July 2, 1982, at the Kuwaiti embassy located near Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp, both M-43 type and M-42 cluster bombs were dropped. Six people were wounded in the legs and face.

- The next day, on July 3, 1982, an eight-year-old Palestinian youth from Bourj al-Barajneh also was injured by an M-43 cluster bomb. The child was taken to the Makassed Hospital and subsequently to College Protestant for treatment. His photo is on the following page.

- In mid-July, 1982, an 18-year-old girl was injured in Sabra camp and treated in Lahout Medical Centre. The X-ray showed cluster fragments from the M-42 grenade. In this instance, the victim's body contained both little cluster bomb pieces and a larger piece which came from the casing of the cluster bomb grenade.

- A 28-year-old man from Shatila refugee camp was killed during the June 23 and June 25, 1982, Israeli bombing of the area. The man left seven children and his wife. As the photo below shows, the main injuries were to his right foot, his leg and his groin. Extensive necrosis of the muscles extended from the left ankle all the way up the leg to the knee joint, necessitating amputation of the leg. The right foot also had to be amputated. According to Norwegian doctor Hans Husem, who treated the patient, the external skin looked relatively good. But as is typical with cluster bomb wounds, inside the body was great destruction and necrosis of the tissue, as well as shattering of the leg and ankle bones. (See photo on age 00).

- In October 1979, following Israeli shelling of the Rashidiyeh refugee camp, three children were killed outside the camp while walking on the beach. At about the same time, a farmer was killed in the area while working in his field.

- In a July 22, 1982, report by retired British Army officer Major Derek Cooper (one of those representing Oxfam in Lebanon) stated, "Some bombs leave small devices like cigarette lighters, which are in turn fused to go off on being handled or trodden on. A number of children have been injured by these, and I have been shown children who have lost a hand or leg or been seriously hurt by such devices in West Beirut." Major Cooper's report refers to the M-42 type. The general public in Lebanon has not had much available technical information on cluster bombs, and the M-42 type is sometimes described as a cigarette lighter device because of its appearance. It should be noted that I did *not* confirm this incident to be one of the so-called "toy bombs" claimed to have been used by Israel. These bombs are described in detail later in this report.

This photo shows a nine-year-old Palestinian boy, Hamid, who was injured by a BLU-63 B cluster bomb grenade near bourj al-Chemali refugee camp during an Israeli attack in March 1978. He had more than 30 wounds and numerous cluster bomb projectiles in his body. This photo is not so clear but on close study 23 wounds, starting from above his right eye to below his naval can be seen. Norwegian doctors worked for more than five hours to save him. He recovered and this photo was taken on September 15, 1978, by a Norwegian Labor delegation visiting South Lebanon. On June 9, 1982, he was arrested by the invading Israeli army as a "terrorist" and is believed to be in Ansar Prison Camp. His family name is withheld at the request of his parents while the International Committee of the Red Cross seeks his release.

- Hans Goran Franck is a Swedish lawyer who visited West Beirut during early August 1982. In describing general conditions and the difficulty his delegation had in moving around West Beirut, Mr. Franck pointed out,

> The difficulties were also enormous because we had to move around, particularly in West Beirut, in order to contact people (during the bombing), and there was always great danger, especially from cluster bombs. A cluster bomb is a big container which has small bombs that explode at a certain height or on touching the ground. Many of them had not exploded and could easily be stepped on.

- Perhaps the most heavily bombed areas outside South Lebanon were the Bir Hassan, Quzai, Sabra, Chatila and Bourj al-Barajneh areas of Beirut. Israel dropped M-42 Lighter bombs, M-43 Butterfly bombs, and MK-2 antitank bombs in these areas beginning in late June and continuing until the August 1982 ceasefire. Three or four times a week during these months, waves of from five to ten aircraft made up to four bombing runs. Each plane on the bombing run dropped two or three Mod-7 canisters. In addition, the Israelis fired 155 mm and 175 mm shells containing M-42 and M-43 bomb grenades into these areas virtually every day from the small valley in the Dowaha area. They were fired from self-propelled gunmounts often pulled by old Sherman tanks adapted for this purpose.

- On July 20, 1982, a Greek doctor named Constantine Alexiou witnessed the shelling of the Akka Hospital in West Beirut. At approximately 11:00 a.m., Dr. Alexiou saw M-43 grenades fall around the courtyard of the hospital. On the same day, Dr. Alexiou operated on a young girl who had been injured by one of these cluster bomb grenades.

- Dr. Shafiq Islam was working in South Lebanon when he was arrested by the Israeli Army in June 1982. On October 30, he described his experience with cluster bombs, including seeing people with cluster bomb wounds in camps at Ansan.

> For example, a 19-year-old Palestinian boy had traumatic amputation of the right big toe, third toe, right middle finger, as well as multiple medium-sized wounds over the left half of his body from a cluster bomb. When I contacted a doctor from the Israeli Army, he would prescribe no dressing or antibiotic, he told me to just clearn the wounds with soap and that the patient does not need anything. "He is a Palestinian. A terrorist. If he dies, we cannot help," he told me.

A 4½ year old cluster bomb victim.

- On July 27, 1982, Lt. Marouf Handen, a Lebanese fire brigade officer at the main Boshura fire station, (one of only two fire stations in West Beirut still functioning at that time) described how a fire crew fighting a blaze at Beirut International Airport was caught in Israeli artillery fire. Two Lebanese firemen were hit by Israeli-dropped cluster bombs, he stated.

- In a June 1982 incident in the southern Beirut suburb of Bourj el-Baraqueh, three children were injured when one of them touched a triangular M-43 cluster bomb he found in front of a store. The child who touched the bomb had his right arm amputated, and also had surgery for shrapnel wounds in his kidneys and intestines. The two children accompanying him, the boy's brother and his cousin, also suffered shrapnel wounds.

- Another child from Bourj el-Baraqueh found so many of these triangular shaped cluster bombs (the M-43 type) during the invasion that he became an expert in detonating them. American journalist Janet Stevens met a 14-year-old boy who showed her how he could pick up the so-called Butterfly bomb without touching its wings or triggers and then throw it over a wall to detonate it. He authoritatively explained that the triangular-type cluster bomb is more powerful when it explodes than the battery-shaped type. According to the boy, its shrapnel covers a wide area and causes great injury to the victim who touches or trips one of its two detonators. The boy's teacher made the comment that many of the children were becoming quite expert on American cluster bombs.

- Hadiya Ezzeddin Shamo, a 12-year-old Lebanese girl at Berbir Hospital, was injured when another child picked up one of the "small bombs" and brought it into her house in Meshref, south of Beirut. It exploded there, and a piece of shrapnel pierced Hadiya's skull.

  It was a piece of steel, shaped like this, [drawing it in the air] and it exploded. My two brothers and two cousins were wounded, but not very badly. My wound was bad, so they took me to a hospital in Alay, and there they said they couldn't do the operation, so they brought me here, and now my family doesn't know where I am.

An eight-year old cluster bomb victim from Sabra Refugee Camp, West Beirut.

A seven-year old child who lost her legs to a cluster bomb in Mid-July, 1982. Photo taken at La Hout Hospital, West Beirut.

- At the Gaza Hospital, a 14-year-old boy who had his hand blown off, explained,

  It was one of those things they call cluster bombs. I didn't know what it was, and that's why this happened. I was walking along with my cousin—we were going to buy bread in Ghobeiry—and I saw this little piece of metal. I picked it up, and it exploded as soon as I touched it. One of my cousins was wounded, but not very badly. Me, I got many wounds all over me, and my hand was cut off—see?.

- On November 2, 1982, *A Christian Science Monitor* reporter wrote about two cluster bomb cases.

  This writer, as a result of visiting Bourj al-Barajneh camp and several hospitals, found two incidents in which an explosive device, apparently a cluster bomblet, was actually held before exploding.

  In one case, 13-year-old Muhammad Snono of Bourj al-Barajneh found a black triangular object that he says he thought was a magnet. He says he found it next to the road near the camp and that he picked it up. He says he carried it with him for more than an hour. Then it suddenly exploded. Muhammad lost his left hand in the blast. His 14-year-old cousin, Amin Snono, who was with him, was slashed across the chest and stomach by shrapnel. His lifts his shirt and displays two long, thick scars. It happened two-and-a-half months ago.

  Recently five-year-old Fatima, also of Bourj al-Barajneh, found what she describes as "a battery with a rope attached to it" in the garden outside her house. She says she thought it was a toy. It was shiny, like silver, she says. She picked it up and carried it inside, where her mother was nursing her 14-month-old brother on the bed. She threw her new toy down on the floor. The explosion killed her brother. Her mother lost her right leg. Fatima lost her left leg.

  In addition to Fatima and Muhammad there are scores of others in the camps and neighborhoods here who have lost limbs or were injured in bomb blasts.

- On June 13, 1982, a *Philadelphia Inquirer* staff writer, Richard Ben Kramer, gave the following account of the effect of cluster bombs in West Beirut.

  On the first day of the ceasefire, the slum called Shatila came alive. People crawled out of cellars to restock.

Amin and Mohammed Sinunu, cousins, 12 and 14, went to buy bread for their parents. They went up the main street in boyish high spirits; they had not been out for days.

Mohammed spied a shiny bit of metal. Amin saw it, too. He was close when Mohammed picked it up.

Amin, 12, arrived at Gaza Hospital with a big hole in his stomach. A piece of the bomb had smashed through the bottom ribs on his left side. A lung collapsed. His stomach, colon and small intestines were hanging out of the wound.

Mohammed, 14, also was ripped open from the blast of the bomb, but the pieces that tore into him were smaller. He lost his spleen. His colon and stomach had to be sewn up. His left hand was amputated. His face all around his left cheeck was burned, and he can't see much through his left eye.

Neither of these boys, their friends, their parents, nor their doctors knew much about weapons that kill and maim indiscriminately. But with the Israeli Army using "modern means" to depopulate Palestinian neighborhoods in West Beirut, everybody is learning fast. And the way the boys described it, what blew up in their hands was a cluster bomb.

Kramer continued,

> The Israelis have used cluster bombs, made in America, to get the maximum kill per hit. Those being found here are one of two types the United States has sold to Israel. [Ed. note: Actually, the United States sold at least four types of cluster bombs to Israel.]
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> Each casing has 650 bomblets, little baseball-size things with serrated edges that spin away in all directions. They explode when someone picks them up, or steps on them, even after a ceasefire.
>
> Some Israeli shells have scattered antipersonnel mines, little aluminum casings with a bomb inside and pop-up wings made of a light metal alloy. They sit in the dust, in the grass, or on the street. The wings keep them upright, with the detonators up, and they can explode when touched by those who happen by after the shelling has stopped.
>
> These little mines are scattered all over during Israeli shellings. People pick them up by the dozens; some PLO men have collected hundreds. The mines that have blown up are pieces of jagged aluminum. This shrapnel is fine and sharp and cuts into flesh like a scalpel.

- Dr. Troy Rueli, a surgeon at La Hout Hospital in West Beirut, stated on August 10, 1982,

  > The people of Lebanon are being subjected to a series of internationally banned weapons, including cluster bombs. The hospitals in Lebanon are full of these victims. Most are civilians. Many children have been killed because they picked up something that looked like a lighter or toy in the street, following an Israeli attack. These booby-trapped objects have been dropped in camps and residential areas and they most often explode in the hands of a child.
  >
  > A cluster bomb wound is characterized by many small fragments and punctures. Many of the areas wounded must be amputated because of the devastation to the tissue and circulatory system. Other bomb wounds are usually identified by larger pieces of shrapnel that are close together. Limbs of cluster bomb victims often must be amputated because the high velocity, and high energy, of the fragments destroy the skin and bone tissue, stopping circulation of blood and leaving the limbs with no possibility of rejuvenation. Forty to 50 percent of the cases brought into Lahout hospital with cluster bomb fragments result in amputation.

- A group of 26 Greek doctors and medical personnel spent approximately one month in the midst of the Israeli bombing in West Beirut treating the injuries of the population there. Following their return to Athens, the doctors issued a report in which they described the medical conditions existing in West Beirut, and specifically made reference to the characteristics of wounds caused by cluster bombs. An excerpt from their report:

  > We surprisingly found out that the Israelis did not confine their bombing only to military positions, but attacked with particular rage, intensity, and purpose, civilian populated areas. Refugee camps with women and children created by Israeli destructions in South Lebanon and the populated areas of West Beirut, constituted usual targets for the Israeli Air Force and artillery. Our medical work enabled us to diagnose with sorrow that the number of dead is much larger than the wounded. The number of civilians wounded, and small children in particular, aged one to twelve years, is much greater than that of fighters.
  >
  > The conditions for the care of wounded were terribly difficult since hospitals were bombed purposely and repeatedly; Akka, Gaza and Barbir hospitals have suffered considerable damage in patient wards despite hospital flags and large painted signs on the roof depicting the International Red Cross.

With respect to cluster bombs, we repeatedly operated on patients perforated by small, slashing bomb particles and amputated a very high percentage of children with traumas from this type of bomb.

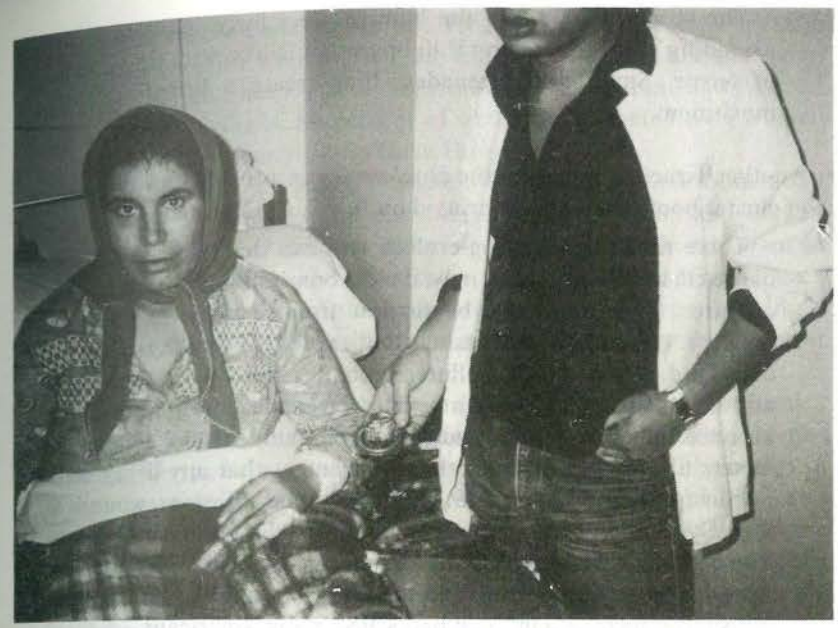
The latter results—even far from the site of the primary lesion (e.g., radiocarpal or tarsotibial area)—in massive loss of soft parts and other tissues, even bones, which necessitated a high percentage of amputation of the entire limbs.

Even in cases of possible avoidance of amputations, the lack of tissues was so great, that any attempt for surgical restoration in the future was very problematical. We may anticipate the future outcome, noting the inevitable creation of a large number of invalids.

- Dr. and Mrs. Charles Nucho, reporting from the Hamlin Hospital in Hammana, Lebanon, on June 11, 1982, to the World Council of Churches, described the damage to their hospital from the Israeli attack. The damage included "255 broken panes of glass windows and doors, some with frames and locks blown out." Dr. and Mrs. Nucho ended their report, "We are now receiving quite a number of casualties resulting from people picking up fragments of bombs which explode when touched—many are children."

- Two articles from Israeli newspapers also provide some impressions of eyewitnesses to the use of cluster bombs. One featured an Israeli soldier assigned to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The Israeli daily newspaper, *Al Hamishmar*, in a piece by Uri Paz on July 19, 1982, reported on another soldier's impressions of cluster bombs during the invasion.

  In a moment of truth, after a heavy shelling of . . . targets in Beirut, the young officer in charge of the shelling confessed, "Only now do I begin to understand what this diabolic bomb does. I see the horror and the killing, it is like a horror film that overcomes your imagination and doesn't leave you in peace." Only eight kilometers from Beirut—the army has not yet reached the Lebanese capital. Heavy shelling—on targets of the southern entrances of town. The young officer is tired from the endless nine fighting days. Only a few minutes ago, he had a short rest with the declaration of the first ceasefire. Mainly this is the time to do some thinking and consider the order, consider the words that make up the sharp sentence, "*Three cluster bombs on the target.*" [Ed. note: Three canisters with up to 650 bomblets in each.]



Above Mrs. Zainab Mahuman, a 45 year-old Palestinian refugee who lives at Bourg Al-Brajeneh camp lost her three year-old son as well as her right leg on October 11, 1982 as a result of a CBU-58 (BLU 63) type cluster bomb. In addition, her left leg and ankle sustained compound fractures. She is shown at Gaza Hospital in Sabra Camp with a nurse attendant holding a BLU 63 cluster bomblet from his "collection." Mrs. Mahuman explained that her son came into their house and was rolling an object on the floor near the bed where she was sitting. The object rolled under the bed and her son crawled after it. The bomblet exploded a few seconds later killing her son and blowing her leg off.

Paz continued with this account:

During the first days of fighting, the foreign reporters were the ones who reported that Israel is using the cluster bomb. The Israeli Army did not reply, not one word about firing the cluster bomb.

Only after heavy American pressure did Jerusalem confirm what many of us knew already: the Israeli Army did, indeed, use the cluster bomb . . . . The experts admit that this bomb is made by Satan. A bomb that contains many hand grenades. It opens in the air and the grenades spread over a large area, and each one explodes separately, touching ground or a bit above ground. The bomb is aimed at people and "soft" targets such as vehicles, communication posts, and missile stands.

The scope of killing of the bomb is very large. No less is its wounding scope. Watching it in operation is like watching a rain of terror. Small fatal grenades, that create a horrific death mushroom.

- Another Israeli newspaper, the *Hoalam Haze*, provided an impression of cluster bombs. An article printed on July 7, 1982, stated,

  There aren't many people alive who can describe the effects of the cluster bomb. It is a most deadly bomb. But we know how it operates. The bomb can be thrown from a plane or shot by artillery. It is built of a container that explodes at a certain height over land. From it falls splinter grenades filled with explosives and metal slivers or fragments. These grenades jump up into the air once they reach land, and then explode in the air one or two meters above land. This method guarantees that any living soul within quite a considerable radius shall be killed or wounded severely. Some of the grenades remain on the ground as mines. The bomb was developed by the American Army in Vietnam. The Americans are very sensitive to the use of it, mainly because that in its latter form as a mine, it had killed many Americans.

  When Menachem Begin last visited Washington on June 16, he was asked by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee whether Israel had used these bombs. He replied that he didn't know and he doubted it, but that he would give them an answer. The answer did not follow and the Americans began to put on pressure.

  The Israeli silence was strange because General Yarib, Sharon's propaganda expert, already admitted on February 7, 1982, that the Israeli Army had used the cluster bombs. He said this at a press conference in Tel Aviv: "We restricted the use of the cluster bombs and used them only against Syrian commandos and infantry in armored concentrations. We were careful not to use them in areas where our forces had to pass."

  Citing General Yarib's comment, Professor Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human Rights, wrote,

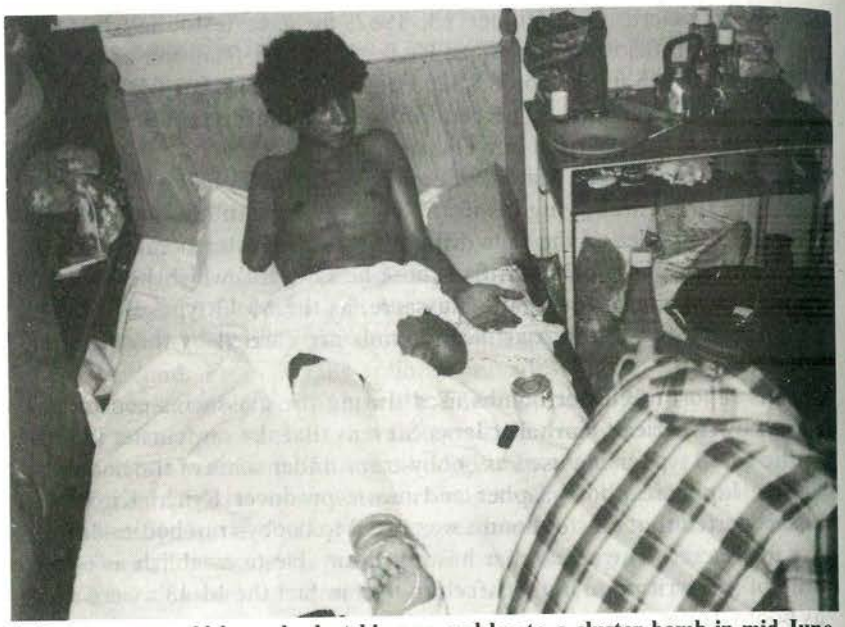
  This is a complete lie, just as his use of terroristic targets is a corruption of language and of reality worthy of Hitler himself. Cluster bombs are used all the time on every sort of target in Lebanon, especially on the civilian ones.

- Dr. Per Machumshagun is a Norwegian surgeon who arrived at Gaza Hospital inside Sabra camp at about 3:00 p.m. on September 15. Dr. Machumshagun was inside the refugee camp throughout the Sabra-Shatila massacre. On October 13, 1982, he gave testimony in Oslo before the McBride Commission. He testified that from the afternoon of September 15 until noon on September 17, a constant flow of dead and wounded civilians, 80 percent of whom he estimated were women and children, were carried into Gaza Hospital.

  Dr. Machumshagun stated, "Some of the injuries came from small explosive toys." Following his testimony I spoke with him and showed him some samples of the four different type of cluster bombs used in Lebanon. He positively identified those he saw, and which he believed caused the wounds during the massacre, as the M-43 type. It is likely that 155 mm or 175 mm artillery rounds are carried by these cluster bombs.

  This report of cluster bombs used during the massacres confirms a report by American journalist Janet Stevens that she saw cluster bombs of the M-43 type being used as booby-traps under some of the bodies in Sabra. Japanese photographer and movie producer Ryichi Kirokawa also reported that cluster bombs were used to booby-trap bodies during the massacres. The researcher has not been able to establish as of the date of this writing to his satisfaction that in fact the M-43's were used as booby-traps.

A young girl who lost her eye from a cluster bomb suffered near Armenian Hospital at Aazzouniye.



A fourteen year old boy who lost his arm and leg to a cluster bomb in mid-June, 1982.

- Saturday morning September 18, 1982 toward the end of the Sabra-Shatila massacre, a group of men from the camps were being forced-marched to the nearby Sports Stadium to be delivered to the Israeli Army. On the route to the stadium, according to several witnesses in the group, one of the detainees stepped on an unexploded cluster bomb, detonating it. One man and his son were killed and several others were wounded. The type of cluster bombs was not definitely established but is believed to have been an M-43 "butterfly" or "birdie" type.

- In conversation with Commission member General Efrat on the subject of unexploded cluster bombs found in West Beirut and Lebanon, the general acknowledged their widespread use by Israel in Lebanon and told me that approximately 15 to 20 percent of the cluster bombs do not explode. This information was based on a study by the Israeli Defense Force. This high rate of "duds" is double what the Pentagon considers acceptable. We also discussed my findings on the subject of why so many cluster bomb grenades do not explode on initial impact, thus becoming a great hazard to the civilian population. The general confirmed the findings about characteristics of cluster bombs contained in this report.

- *London Times* correspondent Robert Fisk wrote in the July 2, 1982, edition that "Israel's use of cluster bombs during her invasion of Lebanon . . . appears to have been both widespread and frequent." According to Fisk, many Western correspondents found unexploded cluster bomblets around the Palestinian refugee camps of Beirut, in the mountains near Syrian positions at Mdeirej, and in central West Beirut including Corniche Mazraa. "Many of those injured by the bombs appear to have been civilians," Fisk noted.

- *The New York Times* of July 8, 1982, reported that Western journalists observed unexploded cluster bombs and cluster bomb fragments on the Soviet Embassy grounds in densely populated West Beirut.

- *The London Guardian* of the same date carried a report by its Beirut correspondent David Hirst, in which Hirst described a demonstration of American cluster bombs which had been dropped by Israel. During the briefing conducted by PLO explosive expert Abu Husam, one of the "two-inch-high cones with a kind of ribbon on top" [Editor's note: M-46 type] was inadvertently blown off the table and it exploded. The first charge blew a 24-inch hole in the ground [Editor's note: the M-46 is designed to penetrate six inches of hardened steel]. An antipersonnel fragmentation charge was then detonated. According to Abu Husam, these cluster bomb types were used by the Israelis "as much against civilians as military targets," in Bourg al Brajneh, Sabra and Shatila camps, and in the Shi'i area of Ouzai near Beirut International Airport.

- *Time* magazine Middle East bureau chief William Stewart reported on August 1982, following Prime Minister Begin's pledge not to use cluster bombs, seeing from the 14th floor of the Carlton Hotel, Israeli planes drop cluster bombs on Ramlet al Baida, a fashionable section of Beirut. "As each falls on the boulevard, there is a shower of small explosions," Stewart reported.

- Columnist Jack Anderson, who visited Lebanon during the Israeli invasion, wrote on August 16, 1982:

  > . . . Dale Van Atta, who accompanied me to Beirut, checked with American sources on Israel's use of cluster bombs. Under the agreement which the U.S. provided the bombs, Israel was to use them only for defensive purposes, against fortified military targets and only if Israel was attacked by two or more "Arab states."
  >
  > Yet the Israelis have reportedly been using the cluster bombs since their 1978 anti-PLO action in Lebanon. Civilians, unfortified cities and even an Armenian hospital have been hit on a

number of occasions. One source said the bombs have been used so often in the past four years in Lebanon that, in some areas, fragments are "as common as pine cones in a pine forest."

Even soldiers find the bomblets attractive souvenirs. Lt. Gen. Rafael Eitan, Israel's Chief of Staff, warned his troops not to pick up the bomblets, "because your life may depend on it." Eitan's directive revealed that eight Israeli soliders had been injured in souvenir hunts.

In the past, the Israeli government denied using cluster bombs. But in the 1978 incursion, an Israeli journalist saw some dropped on civilians; he was badly injured by one. He wrote a story about the bombing from his hospital bed. Instead of printing it, his paper ran a government press release that played down the use of the weapons.

- The McBride Commission, which inquired into Israeli violations of International Law in Lebanon, in finding that Israel's use of cluster bombs against civilians caused "indiscriminate death and injury," stated on page 96 of its report:

  . . . was contrary to the principle of discrimination and was thus a violation of the laws of war.

"The Commission had similar evidence to this effect from an IDF paratroop captain, Mr. Shmuel Rubinstein. Naturally, not only soldiers were affected. One incident is described in the following article 'Cluster in urban areas,' *Hotam:* 'The Sergeant Major was not the only one who was injured. Two children and a woman, their mother, from the nearby village were also injured. Cluster bomb grenades that did not explode when thrown during the war, have turned the area into a wild minefield, an area of danger of death to anyone passing there.'

". . . At 1:45 p.m. on the 2 September, 1982, the Commission heard testimony in the Akka hospital in Beirut from Mme. Hedla Ayyubi, acting head of the PRCS, accompanied by Dr. Nabila Nashashibi. While the evidence was being taken, sirens were heard, and when the ambulance arrived at the hospital, the sound of screaming and wailing. The Commission members went to the windows to look out. It transpired that a badly wounded child was being brought in and who had been injured by a bomb. He was with his relatives. The Commission asked if one of them would be prepared to testify to us as to what had happened. At 2:15 p.m. a man was brought in to see us. He had blood all over his shirt. He was very quiet, but tense; he seemed to be in shock. He gave his name as Ali Admad Ismail, an accountant, a Lebanese living in Bourj al Brajneh, aged

23. He said the children had been playing in Bourj al Brajneh, on the way to the airport, when one of them touched a cluster bomb, not knowing what it was. It exploded. It was his nephew, 12 years old, named Yacub Ismail. The child was hit in the heart and had died. The other children, aged 10 and 9, were injured. The incident happened at 1:45 p.m. He said the cluster bomb looked like a small ball. He thought it looked like a toy. He then left us. Continuing with her evidence to the Commission, Mme. Ayyubi said these incidents occurred almost daily. There were numerous findings of cluster bombs in the camps. She had seen many cases of people from the camps suffering from cluster bomb injuries."

- In Sidon, the Israeli Army launched a massive barrage against the whole town, using dozens of 155 mm cluster shells as well as MOD 7 canisters, containing Rockeye cluster bombs.

On July 5, a particularly heavy concentration of 155 mm cluster bomb shells was concentrated by the Israelis on Hachem Al Khalil Street. As John Bullock, correspondent for the London Daily Telegram, noted: "At this time, Israel was consistently denying reports from West Beirut that it was using cluster bombs and cluster shells, weapons which had been supplied to it by America on the strict understanding that they were to be used only "for defensive purposes." This time the people of Talat Al Khayat were determined to disprove the Israelis. At the warehouse, a man who gave his name only as "Mahmoud" and said he had been trained in the Lebanese Army, showed an unexploded 155 mm shell which he had carefully dismantled. Some of the 150 "bomblets" it contained were laid out in neat rows on the hood bonnet of a car; others were left still packed inside the shell casing to show how it all worked.

"The use of the cluster shells in the area—at least 20 fell—showed a total disregard for possible civilian casualties. It was a pattern which was to be repeated many times over."

In addition to the above noted incidents of Israeli use of U.S. cluster bombs, Lebanese newspapers including *Al Safir* and *An Nahar* have reported more than 150 cases of cluster bomb casualties between 1978 and 1982.

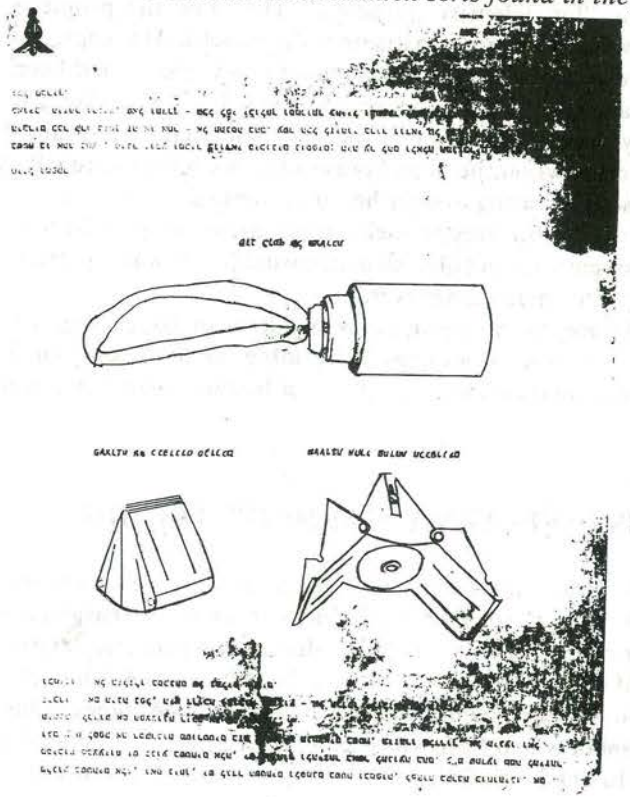
THE ISRAELI ARMY WARNS ITS TROOPS

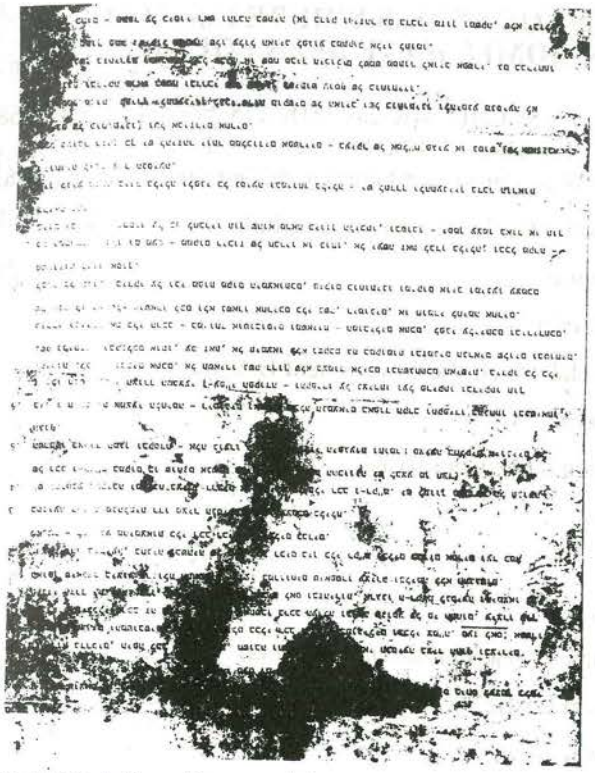
While Israel has consistently either denied use of cluster bombs in Lebanon or offered a limited admission of its "occasional use against military concentrations," much evidence to the contrary exists. Following weeks of silence or denials, on June 26, 1982, Israeli Chief of Staff Eitan made an announcement, carried on Israeli armed forces radio, that eight Israeli soldiers had been killed or injured picking up unexploded cluster bombs in Lebanon. On June 27, General Yariv, against the backdrop of

accumulating and irrefutable evidence, admitted that Israel was using cluster bombs. Even with these admissions, other Israeli Army and political leaders continued to deny the use of cluster bombs.

Reproduced below is a bloodstained copy of an Israeli Army order in Hebrew, removed on September 5, 1982, from the body of an Israeli officer east of Beirut's Akka Hospital. This document was issued on June 25, 1982, by Chief of Staff Eitan in his orders of the day, and is titled *Safety Instructions to Commanders and Soldiers Staying in Lebanon and in the Northern Area.* It states in part:

> In areas where cluster-fragmentation bombs (bomblets) have been put into action, from the air or by artillery, *there are a lot of falls* [Editor's note: i.e., many unexploded ones on the ground.] One must avoid moving in those areas, and if possible, these zones must be fenced-off and they must be signaled both on the ground and on the maps, *at least in the vicinity of our forces.* If, for operational reasons, these areas must be moved through, special precautions must be taken while moving. In order for you to know what to be aware of, and also in order to satisfy curiosity, *here are sketched the two most common sorts found in the field.*





> Beware not to talk on them and do not touch them and do not be tempted to check if it is empty or loaded. *Remember, if it has fallen, it is loaded and ready to explode—do not experience its efficiency on your own bodies*—and indeed do not overlook the danger of other projectiles. [Emphasis added.]

The three diagrams are titled:

- An extra sort of bomblet
- Bomblet with open wings
- Bomblet with closed wings

The fact of the Israeli government's issuing these orders regarding cluster bombs constitutes probative evidence of their use. Moreover, the language of the military order expressly conveys the fact of their widespread use and identifies two of the most common types. Although not named, they are the M-43 and the M-42 antipersonnel grenades. These weapons were supplied to Israel by the United States under the U.S. Foreign Military Sales Program.

VERIFIED LOCATIONS WHERE U.S.-MADE CLUSTER BOMBS HAVE BEEN FOUND

American-made CBU MK-20s (MK-118 bomblets), CBU-58s (BLU-63/Bs and BLU-61s), M-43s, M-42s, and M-46s were found on many occasions in West Beirut and Lebanon during the Israeli invasion.

- Aazzouniye (at the Armenian Hospital)
- Ain Anoub
- Aley district
- Ain El Helweb (at the Government Hospital)
- Ain Daya
- Ain Dorg in the Chouf area
- Al Bass
- Aley
- Baada
- Beach road near Ouzai (U.S. marines)
- Beaufort Castle
- Bedawai
- Bir Hassan
- Borj Chamali
- Cite Sportif
- Choueifat
- Chouf region
- Chouaifate
- Damour
- Ein El Hilweh refugee camp
- Ein el Roumaneh
- Ghabein
- Hammana
- Hadath
- Hasbaya

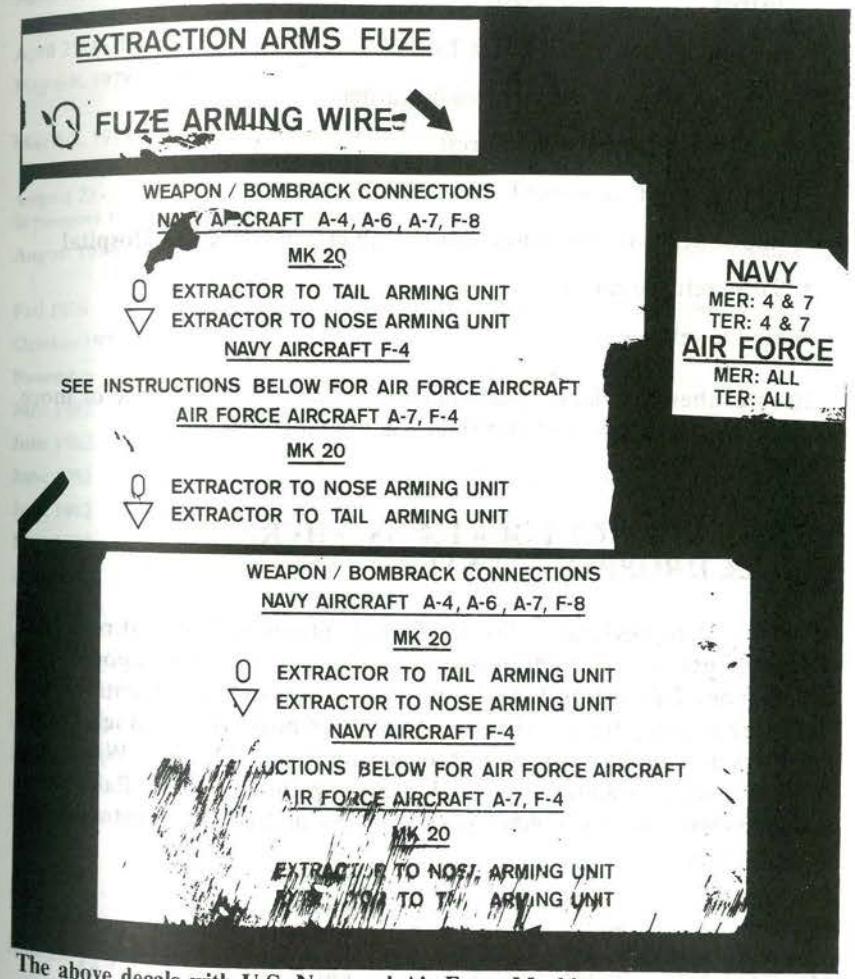
- Haviet Hrait
- Horch el Qatil
- Jnah
- Kafi Chima
- Khalde
- Lailake
- Marche
- Marjeyoun
- Meshref
- Mesceti
- Nabityeh refugee camp
- Nabr el-Bared
- Ouzai
- Ramlet El Baida
- Raouche
- Rachaya
- Ras al Ain
- Rashidiyeh
- Sidon
- Souk El Tharb
- St. Michel district near Bir Hassan
- Taibe
- Talat al Khayat residential district, West Beirut
- Tyre
- Yahamar
- Zahle
- Zahrani

The above photo, provided by London Daily Telegraph photographer Jill Brown, shows parts from five types of cluster bombs used by Israel, including CBU-58 (BLU 63/B), MK-20 "Rockeye", MK-42, M-46, and M-43 "Butterfly". In the background can be seen MK-7. Mode 2 type dispensers used for the "Rockeyes".

Within West Beirut itself, the researchers established to their satisfaction the following sites where CBU-58 CBU-58 (BLU-63B), CBU-59/B APAM (BLU-77/B), MK-20 Rockeye, M-43, M-42, or M-46 type cluster bombs had been dropped by Israel (map follows) between June and September 1982:

- Avenue General de Gaulle at Rue Negrib Ardati, near the Hotel Lords
- Boulevard Saleheddine El Ayoubi, near the Hotel Marhaba
- Bourj al-Barajneh

- Cite Sportive
- Corniche Maazra
- Fakhani
- Hamra, at the Central Lebanese Post Office



The above decals with U.S. Navy and Air Force Markings were removed by the writer from a cluster bomb dispenser which hit West Beirut in late July, 1982. Upon returning to Washington, D.C. the researcher showed these and other decals, serial numbers taken from other cluster bombs, photos, slides, pieces of other cannisters which had been cut up for transport, and examples of the bomblets themselves to U.S. Pentagon specialists. These specialists conclusively identified all parts as coming from American manufactured cluster bombs.

- Henry Ford Street, near the Sunrise Hotel
- Madame Curie Road, near the Crystal Hotel
- Mariri Street, 1-½ blocks from the USSR Embassy
- Off Maszoudi Street, behind Protestant College
- The warehouse on Hachem al Khalil Street in the Talat Al Khayat district
- Ramlet El Bida at Rue Farid Tard
- Rue Alameddine, near the public garden
- Rue Jalloul, near the Pine Crest
- Rue Suleiman, near the Lebanese University
- Rue Sowraty at Rue Caise, near the American University Hospital
- Sabra refugee camp
- Shatila refugee camp

Each of these particular place-name locations was hit by one or more cluster bombs between mid-June and August 1982.

PARTIAL LIST OF LOCATIONS WHERE ISRAEL DROPPED CLUSTER BOMBS

Below is a representative listing of dates, places and verified results of the Israeli use of U.S.-made cluster bombs against the civilian population of Lebanon. This listing is by no means exhaustive. Each identified use was attested to by the eyewitness testimony of medical personnel, family members of the killed or wounded, or journalists on the scene. While only verified civilian casualties are noted, a closer estimate of total Palestinian and Lebanese victims is 400 killed and 725 injured—the vast majority being civilians.

Date	Place	Cluster Bomb Type	Killed	Wounded
March-April 1974	Bedawi refugee camp	various CBU-24 CBU-58	25 9 children	63
1974	Hasbayla & Rachaya	CBU-58	unknown	unknown
July 1975	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	M-43	unknown	unknown
July 1975	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	CBU-58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown

Date	Place	Cluster Bomb Type	Killed	Wounded
March 16, 1978	Kfar-Tibnit	CBU-58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown
March-April 1978	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	CBU-58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown
April 10, 1978	Bourj al-Chemali	CBU-58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown
April 21-25, 1978	Nabatiyeh refugee camp	various	47	80
May 6-8, 1979	near Beaufort Castle	CBU-58 (BLU-63B)	2	
May 6-8, 1979	Nahr el-Bared Mohamarah (wedding party)	various	7	40
August 23 - September 1, 1979	Rashidyeh & Tyre refugee camps	1,500 cluster bombs found on beach		
August 1979	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	CBU-58 (BLU-63B)	unknown	unknown
Fall 1979	Yahamar	unknown	unknown	unknown
October 1979	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	unknown	unknown	unknown
November 11, 1979	Rashidiyeh schoolyard	unknown	4 cildren	
June 1982	Ain Dara			
June 1982	Ain Anoub			
June 1982	Meshref	various		1
June 1982	Hammana	various	unknown	unknown
June 1982	Kaber Choun			
June 1982	Souk El Tharb			
June 1982	Ghabeiry	various		1
June 1982	Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp	M-42, M-43, M-46, MK-20 Rockeye		3 children
June 5, 1982	Ain El Helweh	M-43	unknown	unknown
June 5, 1982	Nabityeh	M-42, M-43, M-46	unknown	unknown
June 5-6, 1982	Rashidiyeh refugee camp	M-42, M-43, M-46, MK-20 Rockeye	unknown	unknown
June 7, 1982	Bourj al-Chemali refugee camp	M-42, M-43 M-46	unknown	unknown
June 13, 1982	Shatila refugee camp	M-42, M-43, M-46, MK-20 Rockeye		2
mid-June-mid-August 1982	Bir Hasan	M-42, M-43, M-46, MK-20 Rockeye	unknown	unknown

Continued on Next Page

LIST LOCATIONS *(Continued from previous page)*

Date	Place	Cluster Bomb Type	Killed	Wounded
June 23-25, 1982	Shatila refugee camp	M-42, M-43 M-46, MK-20 Rockeye, CBU-58	1	
July 2, 1982	Kuwaiti Embassy	M-43		6
July 3, 1982	Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp	M-43		1
mid-July 1982	Sabra refugee camp	M-42, M-46	unknown	unknown
July 22, 1982	West Beirut	M-42, M-46	unknown	unknown
July 27, 1982	West Beirut International Airport	M-43	unknown	unknown
August 20, 1982	Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp	M-43		1
mid-June-August 4, 1982	West Beirut (Avenue General de Gaulle, Boulevard Salaheddine El Ayoubi, Cite Sportive, Cornische Maazra, Falchani, Hamra, Henry Ford Street, Madame Curie Road, Mariri Street, near Maszoudi Rd., Ramlet El Bida, Rue Alameddine, Rue Jalloul, Rue Soleiman, Rue Souraty)	M-42, M-43, M-46, CBU-58B, MK-20, Rockeye	unknown	unknown
October 9, 1982	Sabra refugee camp	M-42		1
October 15, 1982	West Beirut	M-43	1 child	1
October 30, 1982	South Lebanon	various	unknown	unknown
November 2, 1982	Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp	CBU-58		4

LEBANESE CITIZENS DISTRIBUTE POSTERS WARNING NEIGHBORS OF CLUSTER BOMBS

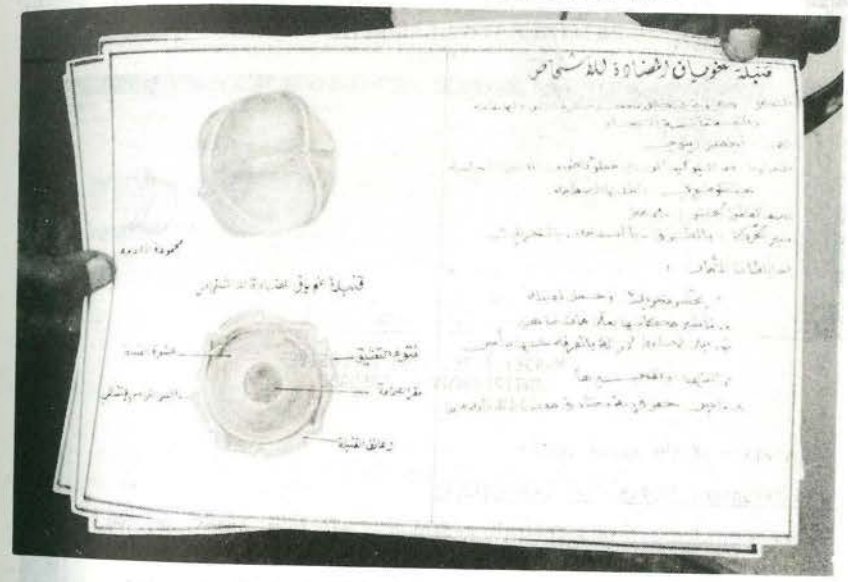
While the civilian population of Lebanon lacks technical information about cluster bombs, many have become rather expert on how they function as well as their effects.

One refugee camp leader in West Beirut reported: "I can tell how the bomb works basically, the name we have given to the bomb, where it hit, how much damage it did, how many people it killed, but I cannot always tell you the exact terms for its mechanisms in English."

Several community organizations including an association of women from various refugee camps, distributed posters warning citizens of the danger from the four most commonly used cluster bombs discussed above.

The following pages show photographs of these posters which warn the local population against picking up or disturbing unexploded cluster bomb grenades. The posters are found mainly in refugee camps and village areas. The Arabic writing warns the citizens of the danger of cluster bombs; not to touch unexploded cluster bombs; to call responsible persons for help; and to dig a large hole if the bomb is to be made safe by burial.

PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTER WARNING AGAINST BLU-63 HIGH EXPLOSIVE CLUSTER BOMB



Translation of the above poster:

Antipersonnel "Goyak" Bomb (BLU/63B)

Shape: Circular in the size of a tennis ball, it has eight ridges opposite of each other.

Color: Olive green

Contents: Pink minol-fills the inside of the brass center which is inserted inside the detonator.

Half Dimension Danger: (Danger Zone) 50 metres (Danger zone).

Direction of movement: In highways, by shock and by gravity.

Safety precautions: Do not carry the bomb. Designate the location in a conspicuous way. Inform a military person about it in order to secure its removal or its destruction. Dig individual holes and cover the hole or trench to safeguard from it.

PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTER WARNING AGAINST M-43E1 CLUSTER BOMBS

M-43E1 TYPE, HIGH EXPLOSIVE
ANTIPERSONNEL GRENADE

Translation of the above poster:

Anti-Personnel "Butterfly" Bomb (M43E1)

Shape: Looks like a triangle made out of aluminum, and it has two wings made of steel in black color.

Contents: It is like a metalic mineral ball the size of a chestnut inside the triangle. It is covered with holes from inside and loaded with deadly explosives.

Movement: Highways by shock (concussion) or by oressing on it.

Safety area: Approximately 40 metres.

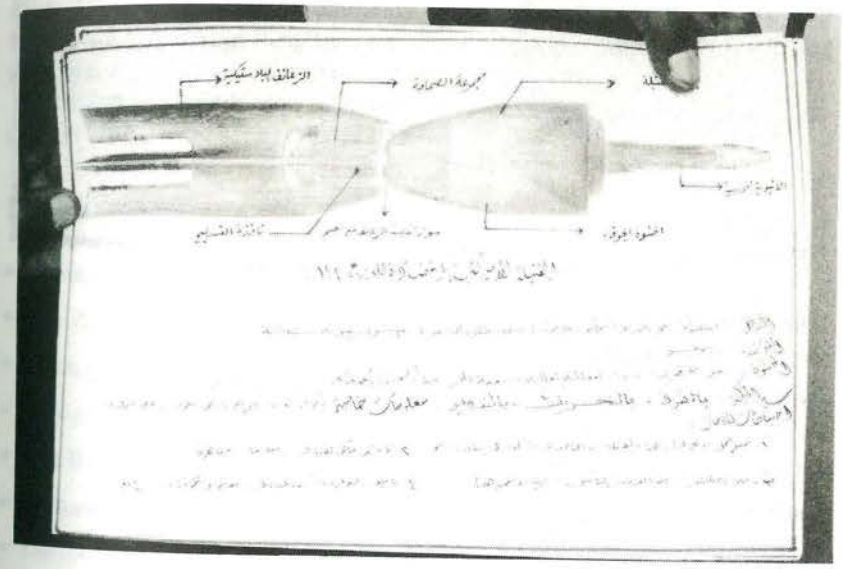
Safety precausions: Don't carry it, or remove it or, attempt to disassemble it. Designate its location very clearly. Inform a military person to secure its removal or to detonate it. Dig individual holes and cover them to safeguard against it.

It is the submission of the writer that the fact that the Lebanese neighborhood associations felt compelled to distribute this kind of poster—given all the other pressing problems of the Israeli siege—is itself rather probative evidence of the widespread Israeli use of the cluster bombs

against the civilian population of Lebanon. Below, the photos of the posters show:

1. The CBU-58 Bomblet or BLU-63 High Explosive Fragmentation Bomb
2. The MK-20 "Hawkeye" Bomblet, called by the Pentagon MK-118 Antivehicle/Antipersonnel Bomb

PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTER WARNING AGAINST MK 20 (MK 118) CLUSTER BOMBS



M-42 HIGH EXPLOSIVE DUAL PURPOSE GRENADE

Translation of the above poster:

"Lighter"-Anti-Personnel and Anti-tank Bomb (M-42)

Shape: Cylindrical shape-like a lighter.

Color: It may be brass yellow or lead color.

Contents: Minol fills the empty cone, which has a strong penetration power.

Movement: Operates by trigger or on the highway by shock (concussion).

Safety area: Approximately 50 metres

Safety precautions: Do not carry it, remove it, or touch the trigger or play with it. Inform a military person so it can be removed or destroyed. Dig individual holes and cover the holes to safeguard from it.

PUBLIC INFORMATION POSTER WARNING AGAINST M-42 CLUSTER BOMBS

MK 118 ANTIVEHICLE/ANTIPERSONNEL BOMB

Translation of the above poster:

American Anti-tank Bomb 118

Shape:	Cylindrical shape cut from brass, it has a line painted in yellow color and in the rear there is a plastic feather (tail or fin).
Color:	Usually yellow
Contents:	High explosives Designed on the basis of the emoty shell with high explosives inside.
Direction of movement:	On highways, movement by blast.
Special information:	There is a window which appears red if the bomblet is armed or green if the safety is on.
Safety precautions:	It is extremely dangerous to carry or remove this bomb, especially when the red color is showing from the window. Clearly mark the place where the bomb is located. Inform a demolition expert or military person to secure its removal and to detonate it. Dig individual holes and cover the ditches to safeguard against the bomb.

3. The "Butterfly" or M-43E1 type high explosive, antipersonnel grenade
4. The "Battery" or "Lighter" Bomb, technically named the M-42 High Explosive Dual Purpose Grenade.

MEDICAL AFFIDAVITS CONCERNING CLUSTER BOMB INJURIES

Of the 25 hospitals and clinics operating in West Beirut during late July and August 1982, many were partially destroyed by Israeli aerial, sea, or land bombardment, despite exhibiting Red Cross and/or Red Crescent insignias. Dr. Samir Thabit, acting president of the American University of Beirut, told me that he was considering having the large red cross painted outside Jessup and West Hall removed. His reason was that from what he had been advised by civil defense workers and Red Cross personnel around West Beirut, the Red Cross insignia actually appeared to draw Israeli fire—certain elements of the Israeli military apparently feeling that bombing hospitals presented an opportunity to "finish the job" against wounded "terrorists" and their sympathizers.

Included is a partial list of damaged or destroyed hospitals or clinics, some of which were hit by cluster bombs:

BEIRUT AREA

- Haifa Hospital
- Dar Al Ajazy Handicapped Center
- Islamic Mental Hospital
- Al Kafayat School for the Disabled
- Ras Beirut Hospital
- Makassed Home for the Elderly
- Development Organization for Human Abilities at Aramoun (DOHA) (an International Year of the Handicapped project)
- Al Ramadham Orphanage in Ouzai
- Islamic Psychiatric Hospital in Beirut
- The Armenian hospital at Aazzouniye, 16 miles southeast of Beirut
- Al Mau Hospital
- Chtaura Hospital in the Bekka Valley
- Triumph Hotel Clinic
- La Hout Hospital (Near East School of Theology)
- Gaza Hospital
- Berbir Hospital

- Makassed Hospital
- Mouseitbi Medical Center
- Antranic Center
- French Center (College Protestante)

SIDON and TYRE

According to a July 12, 1982, report of the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) the following hospitals were completely destroyed or damaged:

- Rashid Khoury Hospital
- Labib Medical Centre
- Shoaib Hospital
- Elias Eli Hospital
- Ramzi-Shaab Hospital
- Dalaah Hospital
- Hammoud Hospital
- Al Haji Hospital
- Osseiran Hospital
- Government Hospital (completely destroyed)
- Jabal Amel Hospital
- Palestine Red Crescent Hospital (forced closure)
- Dr. Ismail Bahr Hospital (totally destroyed)

The functioning clinics of West Beirut were primarily makeshift, put together from the salvage and supplies of hospitals and clinics bombed earlier in the invasion. La Hout Hospital, for example, was set up in the library of the Near East School of Theology, and other clinics were set up at the Triumph Hotel and at the French Protestant College, Basta Center, and others. Many of the most serious cases were transferred to the American University Hospital (AUH), a facility partly funded by the U.S. government.

On August 4, 1982, day of intensive Israeli bombing and shelling, more than 2,000 refugees sought haven in the AUH. These desperate people correctly believed that, partly because the hospital was American, they might be safe at AUH. They slept in the hallways and many children were placed, with blankets, in large "Project Hope" cardboard boxes.

Doctors at the following 19 hospitals and clinics signed sworn medical affidavits concerning their treatment of cluster bomb patients, most of whom had sustained their wounds in locations throughout Lebanon. From mid-June to the end of August 1982, however, most of the patients arriving at these facilities had been injured in West Beirut itself:

- American University Hospital
- Akka Hospital
- Gaza Hospital
- Makassed Hospital
- Barbir Hospital
- Trad Hospital
- El Turk Hospital
- Najjar Hospital
- Al-Nasra Hospital (for children)
- Beirut Hospital
- La Hout Center (Near East School of Theology)
- French Center (College Protestante)
- Haret Hrek Center
- Triumph Center
- Antranic Center
- Hagazian Center
- Basta Center
- Mouseitbi Center
- Abdel Kader Center

The affidavits indicate that the number of civilian cluster bomb casualties—in proportion to victims of other types of wounds—had been very great in West Beirut and throughout Lebanon. Furthermore, the affidavits are probative evidence of the widespread and indiscriminate use by Israel of American-made cluster bombs against the civilian population of Lebanon and West Beirut.

AFFADAVIT

I Dr. M. KATTAN, specialist in Gral Surgery solemnly swear to the truth of the statement written below and affirm that the attached x - ray _____ (if available) was prepared in the course of medical service rendered at AUH hospital / ~~clinic~~ on 3.8.82 (date).

It is my medical opinion that the injury of civilian patient Sabah Obeid 552625 was caused by a cluster bomb (weapon) on 3.6.82 (date) near the geographical location of Beirut.

COMMENT:

60 y' old female with shrapnel to her abdomen operated at our center.

AUH
Hospital/Clinic

(signature)

DR. M. KATTAN
(please print)

CLUSTER BOMB TECHNOLOGY

Cluster bombs or cluster bomb units (CBUs) are a type of fragmentation munition designed to maximize the effectiveness or "kill power" of the fragmentation principle. According to Pentagon document Navair 11-5A-30:

> Cluster bombs are air-to-surface free-fall unguided weapons for delivery from low-speed, or high-speed fixed-wing aircraft. The CBU -55 bomb cluster may also be delivered from rotary-wing aircraft (helicopters). The weapons are effective against personnel in defensive positions, light material targets, booby traps, foliage, and in clearing helicopter landing zones.

Fragmentation munitions themselves, much in use in all wars in the 20th century, function by the explosion of a large number of fragments at high velocity, normally in a symmetrical pattern around the exploding munition. Weapons, from hand grenades to percussion bombs, are based on the fragmentation principle of employing destructive shrapnel or projectiles.

The United States manufactures more than 100 kinds of cluster bomb munitions and more than 30 are currently listed in its inventory. Cluster bombs are highly refined technologically to achieve a selected result through controlled fragmentation. That is, they can hit more people at greater velocity in one of several available configurations. Cluster bombs are designed for use with missiles, helicopters, high-speed/performance aircraft, such as the F-15 and the F-16, 155 mm or 175 mm artillery shells, or 8-inch cannon and 16-inch cannon for a variety of combat conditions and perceived requirements.

As a result of state-of-the-art technology, a single CBU munition has the equivalent impact of a pinpoint barrage of more than 600 simultaneous rounds of 81 mm fire.

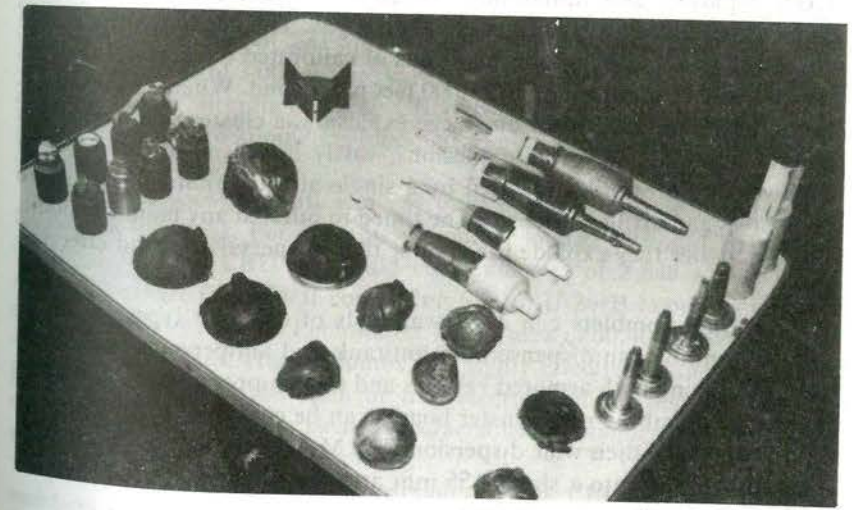


Photo: Franklin Lamb

Above photo shows samples of 8 types of American cluster bombs which Israel used against Lebanon. From left to right: M-42, M-46, CBU-58 A/B (BLU-61/B), CBU-58/B (BLU-63/B), CBU-24 "GUAVA", (BLU-26/B), CBU-59/B APAM (BLU 77/B), MK 20 "Rockeye" (MK 118), and the M-43 ("Birdie" as the U.S. Marines refer to it) at the top of the photo.

Distinction Between Cluster and Fragmentation Bombs

As the name implies, "cluster" munitions or bombs are deployed in aggregates, as many as 670 bomblets in a dispenser. A traditional fragmentation munition, such as the "iron" bomb, is a single munition which explodes into relatively few pieces. Militarists have learned that, for many close-support functions, the traditional "iron" bomb is of rather limited use. For example, with respect to armored vehicles such as tanks, even a 1,000-pound bomb must land very close to a tank to damage or destroy it. Given even the best achievable delivery accuracy the chances of a "kill" are fairly minimal.

One method of improving the destructive power of a bomb is to subdivide the fragmentation explosive into sub-bomblets so as to attain a shotgun-like dispersion of the destructive power. This is the principle of the cluster bomb. One of the first steps, taken in the early 1960s, to increase the number of lethal fragments from munitions of a given weight and size was to introduce the Bomb, Live Unit (BLU), an individual bomblet case weighing one or two pounds with its own explosive filler, packed by the hundreds into a larger container, the Suspended Underwing Unit (SUU). The fully assembled container with bomblets is called the Cluster Bomb Unit (CBU). In cluster bombs, a metal casing surrounds a very high explosive such as composition-A, cyclotol or minol (a mixture of TNT, RDX explosive and aluminum). When detonated, the high explosive converts instantaneously to hot expanding gas. The gas blows the scored container and its casing into hundreds of calibrated or scored fragments which travel at speeds of up to 21,000 feet per second. Whereas a fragmentation bomb produces only one large explosion, a cluster bomb produces several hundred individual explosions, vastly increasing the number of high-velocity projectiles released by a single air munition. Cluster bomb cannisters and artillery shells can be timed to burst at any point in midair, but the higher they explode the greater their dispersal area and effectiveness.

Individual bomblets can carry warheads of different types, so that a single munition can dispense both antitank and antipersonnel bomblets, thus destroying both armored vehicles and their supporting ground troops in a single bombing run. Cluster bombs can be considered an "area weapon" because of their wide dispersion. The M-42 and M-46 cluster bombs, packed together into a single 155 mm artillery shell or any 8-inch or 16-inch cannon, are a good example.

Given area targets such as armored formations or convoys, aircraft equipped with bomblet-dispensing cluster munitions can wreak great destruction amidst densely packed targets. This concentrated firepower is one of the fundamental reasons why the United States and the Soviet Union have emphasized the development of cluster bombs. As can readily be imagined, they are even more devastating to humans than to vehicles or other targets.

The physical effects of cluster bomb projectiles are also easily distinguishable from those of fragmentation bombs and bullet holes. The conventional fragmentation bombs of 155 mm caliber explode, on average, into 2,000 to 3,000 fragments weighing approximately five grams each (see Photo # xxx). The same 155 mm caliber shell filled with cluster munitions produces 45,000 projectiles weighing less than .5 grams each at five times the velocity. This means that, on the average, a victim of a cluster bomb might be hit by three ultra-high-velocity fragments of 1.5 grains rather than by one slower fragment of 65 grains. If a SUU-type canister, rather than an artillery shell, is used to drop the cluster bombs, the results increase. For example, each cluster bomblet or grenade may fracture into as many as 300 projectiles. A cluster bomb with approximately 650 grenades (CBU-58) can eject over 200,000 projectiles at rifle-bullet velocity. Loaded with cluster bombs, one aircraft attack can detonate more than 15,000,000 high velocity projectiles over a predetermined area.

Area of Destruction

Although the precise area of destruction of CBUs is classified, various experts have estimated that each CBU-24 (now somewhat outdated) kills or wounds in an area of 100 square yards. Newer cluster bomb types can devastate an area of 3,000 square yards. Some experts have estimated that a single fighter aircraft carrying CBUs could covers an area measuring from 1 to 15 square kilometers (one-half to nine square miles), depending on how it is dropped.

Given that some aircraft can carry 20 or more cluster bombs, this becomes a vast area. For example, a bomber loaded with 38 CBU-24/Bs (or the equivalent CBU-58) would cover an area of 2,548 square kilometers. A single CBU-24/B containing 670 BLU-26/B bomblets (one of the types used by Israel in Lebanon) coves an area of 80,400 square yards.

For these reasons, cluster bombs are highly effective against soft targets—combatants in the open or unprotected civilian populations—as well as vulnerable targets such as radar stations, nonarmored vehicles, light vessels, aircraft, and helicopters.

Because of this vast area of destruction per unit, CBUs dropped in large numbers in a single attack have indiscriminate effects: there is a great danger of hitting nonmilitary targets, even if single warheads are directed against military targets such as an antiaircraft unit near a population center. Given such factors as height, speed, winds, and structural design of the release system and of the bomblets themselves, exact targeting is not possible.

TYPES OF CLUSTER BOMBS

Historical Background

The concept of cluster bombs dates from before World War II, but it may be said that cluster bombs "came of age" in Vietnam. One of the most widely used cluster bombs in Vietnam was the so-called Pineapple. The Pineapple is in fact a cylindrical BLU-3 antimateriel fragmentation bomblet with pop-out vanes for stabilizing the bomblet in flight and causing it to land upright. Each Pineapple contains .16 kg of cyclotol. Upon detonation, approximately 250 1/4-inch steel balls embedded in the sides of the BLU-3 and in the center cavity are propelled in all directions at very high velocity. The SUU-7 dispenser, similar to the SUU-30 dispensers Israel used in Lebanon, contain approximately 630 of the BLU-3 Pineapple bomblets.

A Vietnam-era precursor to the cluster bombs Israel used in Lebanon is the CBU-24. This type is dropped from an SUU-30 series dispenser which contains 670 of the BLU-26/B bomblets. In Vietnam, as in Lebanon, the technical data were unknown to the population, and the CBU-24, which is the size of a tennis ball, became known as the Guava. Like the Pineapple, the Guava consisted of steel balls embedded in the casing of the bomblet and was propelled by the high explosive cyclotol at very high speed. Flanges cause the bomblets to spin and stabilize them in flight, so that they are dispersed universally. The CBU-24 can be made to explode on the ground or with a delayed fuse hours after the attack. For example, the BLU-36 consists of a BLU-26 fitted with a delay fuse so that it will explode later.

Above. Twenty-two CBU-24 (Blu 26/B) cluster bombs which were dropped on South Lebanon near Nabatiyeh on April 19, 1978. This type of cluster bomb which is very similar to the CBU-58 cluster bomblet contains 300 ball bearings which explode in all directions upon explosion. It was not used during the June 1982 Israeli invasion probably because, being an older model and having been used by Israel against Southern Lebanon since 1974, Israel has few, if any, left.

A third type of cluster bomb used in Lebanon was the CBU-25, which consists of a BLU-24 bomblet known as the Orange and which was dropped by the SUU-14 dispenser. The BLU-24, like the BLU-26 and 36, is spherical (about the size of a baseball) and contains the high explosive cyclotol. It can be armed with a time-delay fuse. Curved plastic vanes are attached at one end of the bomblet to aid in stabilization and arming. All of these bomblets operate in a similar fashion and release hundreds of high-velocity projectiles.

Among the arms manufacturers who developed and manufactured the Pineapple, Guava and Orange cluster bombs were Honeywell, Inc., Aero Jet General Corporation and Avco Corporation.

Israel's Purchase of Cluster Bombs

While the United States has sold cluster bombs to approximately 15 countries, including NATO countries, as well as Iran, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia, by far the greatest concentration of shipments has been to Israel. Between 1973 and 1975 Israel received more than 20,000 cluster bombs of the CBU-24/B Guava, CBU-52/B, CBU-58/A/B, CBU-59/B, and MK-20 types. All types of cluster bombs were also used in Vietnam. Indeed, one of the reasons why Israel received them was that, following urgent requests during the October 1973 Yom Kippur War, the United States emptied some of its warehouses of supplies left over from Vietnam and sent them to Israel. In addition to the CBU's noted above, thousands of 155 mm artillery shells filled with M-42, M-46, or M-43 type cluster bombs were sent to

Israel, as well as an uncertain number of cluster bombs filled with flechettes.

The latest announced purchases of cluster bombs in dispensers—i.e., the CBU-58 Family and the MK-20 Rockeye—were in 1975 and 1976. The latter was a $72.8 million purchase of MK-20 Rockeyes, along with MK-82 Snakeye and M-117 Destructor bombs, as well as other air munitions, for a total of 180,000 bombs.

Israel has continued to purchase large quantities of cluster munitions fired in 155 mm artillery shells: the M-42, M-46, and M-43 types—27,384,355 between January 2, 1979, and December 4, 1980.

Exact statistics on Israel's cluster bomb purchases are difficult to ferret out because such purchases usually are classified (at the request of Israel). Under Sections 25a, 36a, and 36b of te Arms Export Control Act, notifications of purchases from the State Department or the Defense Security Assistance Agencies are made to Congress, but this information is classified if it takes the form of "order of battle" information. In other words, if the recipient does not wish the information made public, it can request that the purchase be classified. It should be borne in mind that the U.S. Government classifies information for basically two reasons, national security and foreign policy. The classification of Israel's weapons purchases comes under the heading of foreign policy. The recent, fairly standard reply given by the U.S. government to inquiries concerning arms shipments to Israel is that "negotiations with Israel over events in Lebanon are in a very delicate stage" and "making public information about arms shipments may be damaging to this effort."

CHARACTERISTICS OF CLUSTER BOMBS WHICH ISRAEL USED IN LEBANON

CBU-24/B (BLU-26/B Guava Bomblet)

Like the CBU-52 and the CBU-58, the CBU-24 makes use of the SUU-30 cluster bomb dispenser. It contains 670 BLU-26 fragmentation bomblets which, according to the Pentagon, are antipersonnel/antimateriel weapons; that is, their primary use is against people, but they also are designed to be used against vehicles such as trucks.

The BLU-26/B bomblet, which people in Southeast Asia came to call the Guava, is spherical, approximately 7 cm in diameter. It has a veined surface which causes it to rotate after it falls from the dispenser; when it reaches 2,000 rpm it arms.

The Guava's main charge is approximately 35 grams (3 ounces) of cyclotol A-3, which impels approximately 300 steel ball bearings in all directions. One of the reasons for replacing the BLU-26 in the late 1960s was a shortage of ball bearings. The Pentagon developed the replacement BLU-61 and BLU-63 bomblets without ball bearings. The CBU-24 using the BLU-26 bomblets was perhaps the most heavily used cluster bomb in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The Guava rained down on many parts of Indochina—literally hundreds of thousands were dropped—with devastating results to the civilian population.

CBU-52/B (BLU-61 Bomblet)

The CBU-52 uses the same SUU-30 dispenser as the CBU-58, and is similar to the CBU-58 in many other respects. The CBU-52 is no longer manufactured, but stockpiles still exist. It was replaced by the CBU-58.

Instead of using 650 BLU-63 bomblets as the CBU-58 does, the CBU-52 carries 254 BLU-61 antipersonnel/antimateriel bomblets.

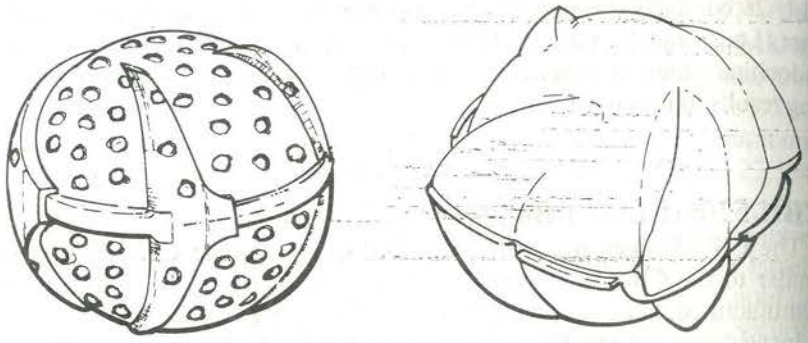
The BLU-61 bomblet is larger than the BLU-63: It is about the size of a large orange and weighs 2.2 pounds; whereas the BLU-63 is approximately the size of a tennis ball and weighs 0.9 pounds. The BLU-61 contains zirconium and composition-B high-explosive filler and can be used as an incendiary bomblet to cause widespread fires, whereas the BLU-63 contains cyclotol. Both are made of steel and have a scored lining but, because of its different explosive and design, the BLU-63 is somewhat more powerful. In 1971 it replaced the BLU-26 Guava bomblet and the CBU-52.

When the BLU-61 came into general use, an ordnance expert from the Air Force testified about the BLU-61 bomblet before a congressional hearing. In describing the 2.2 pound fragmentation bomblet, he testified that

> . . . The BLU-61 bomblet, which the gentleman is holding up here, we put lots of these (254) in dispensers, dropped them on light material targets. They do fine from the standpoint of explosives and shrapnel. But in order again to set on fire the fuel, we added a liner in the thing to help make it burn. This liner is zirconium. It was fairly high-cost item. Our engineers felt that perhaps by using particles in the explosive itself it would work just as well and it would be cheaper. This did work just as well. The liner has been replaced by zirconium particles in the explosive, and this year it is going to save us about $2 per little bomblet, which means the inventory for 1972, the buy, about $8,000,000 cost savings.

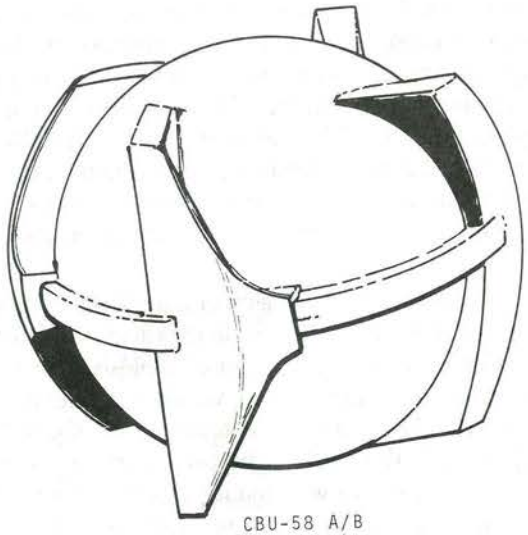
Presumably this meant that the purchase for 1972 was four million of the BLU-61 bomblets. Certainly Israel received supplies of these cluster bombs from stockpiles that had accumulated during the last few years of the Vietnam conflict, and has used them widely in Lebanon.

THREE OF THE 10 TYPES OF AMERICAN CLUSTER BOMBS ISRAEL USED IN LEBANON



CBU-24
(BLU-26/B)

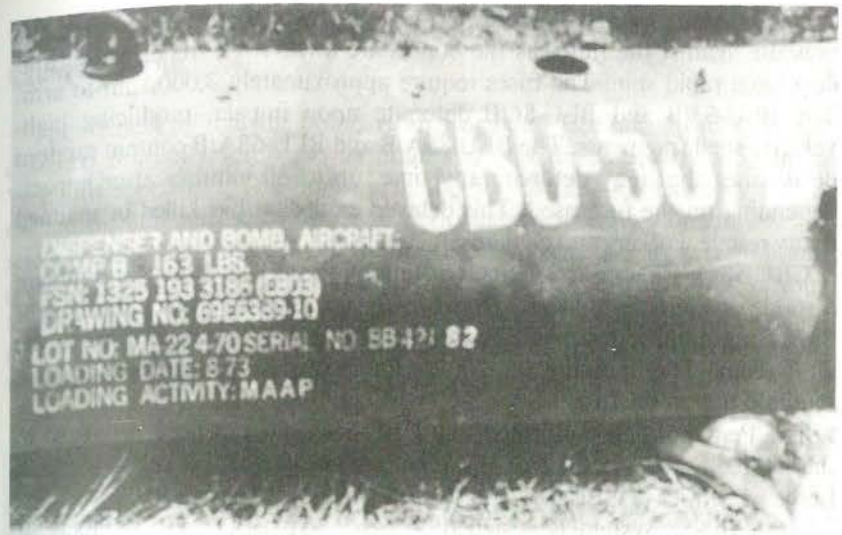
CBU-58/B
(BLU-63/B)



CBU-58 A/B
(BLU-61/B)

The CBU-58 Series (BLU-63/B, BLU-63A/B, BLU-86/B and BLU-86A/B)

The bombs are submunitions dispensed from the seven-foot-long, SUU-30 series air-launched, free-fall dispenser. Together they are designated by the Pentagon as the Cluster Bomb Unit-58/B.



This CBU 58/B cluster bomb dispenser contained 650 BLU 63/B grenades when it was dropped by the Israeli air force near Burg al Baragneh refugee camp in West Beirut on July 5, 1982.

The unexploded CBU-58 and M-42 fit into the palm of the hand.

The bomb fuses arm themselves by centrifugal force produced by air pressure against the flutes as the bombs arc away from the dispenser and develop a rapid spin. The fuses require approximately 3,000 rpm to arm. The BLU-63/B and BLU-86/B detonate upon impact, producing high-velocity shell fragments. The BLU-86A/B and BLU-63A/B contain random delay fuses that may detonate any time, up to 30 minutes after impact, depending on the fuse used. This delayed explosion has killed or maimed many rescue workers and civilians in Lebanon.

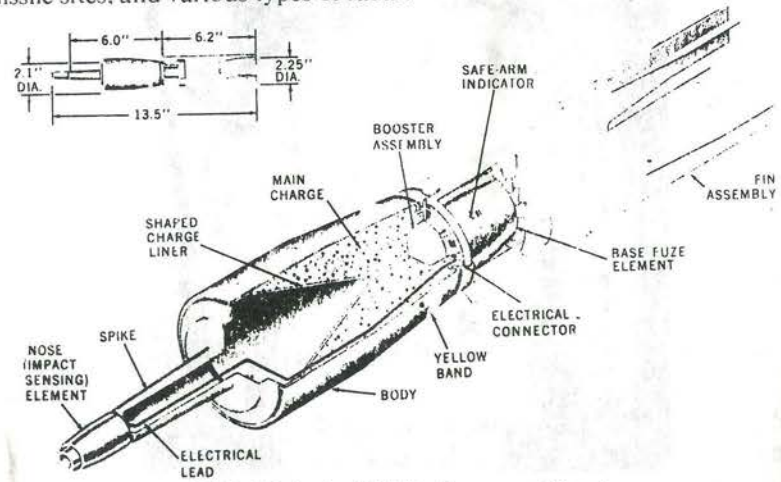
CBU-58s were used in Vietnam beginning in the mid-1960s, and remain a staple of the U.S. military. They are always released from some type of dispensing munition. On release, the bomb spins as it travels through the air stream. The spinning (at 2000 rpm) provides the centrifugal force required to arm the fuse.

The Pentagon has confirmed that CBU-58s have not been produced in the United States since 1975, although large stockpiles are acknowledged. Large quantities of CBU-58s were sold to Israel in the early 1970s.

The CBU-58 system is designed to carry 650 BLU-63/B bomblets of approximately 2.17 inches diameter at 450 pounds, and contain a main charge of approximately 113 grams (4 ounces) of cyclotol. All of the BLU-26/B, BLU-36/B, BLU-59/B, and BLU-63/B have a booster of 1.5 grams of RDX and a fuse. The filled canister weighs 450 pounds.

The area covered by the bomblets depends on several factors, including dispenser load, altitude and wind conditions.

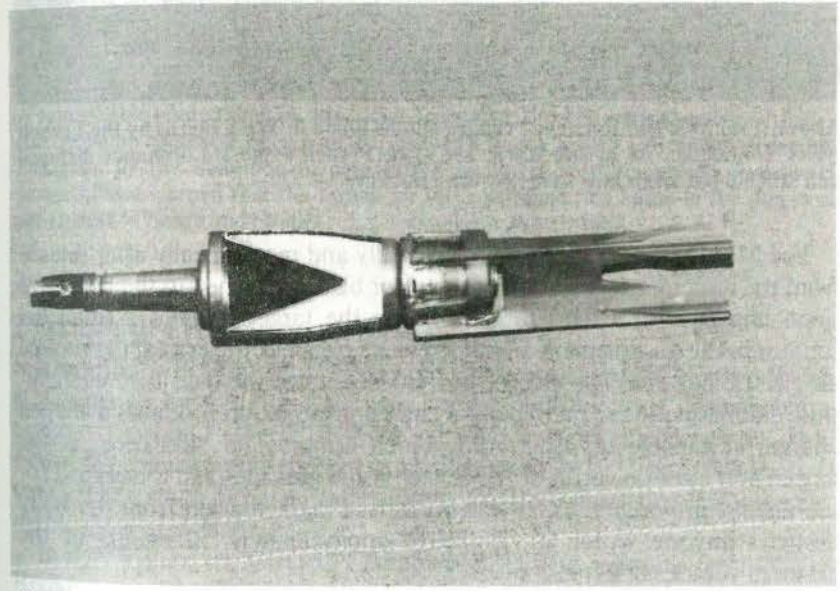
When the bomb is on surface, the lethal radius is 450 feet. For buried bombs, the radius decreases. Some estimates have suggested the average area "covered" is 5,700 square feet. The CBU-58 system was designed primarily for use against light armor vehicles, trucks, Soviet surface-to-air missile sites, and various types of radar.



MK-118 Antivehicle/Antipersonnel Bomb

The MK 20 "Rockeye" MK 118 Antivehicle/Antipersonnel Cluster Bomb

The "Rockeye" cluster bomb is an unguided free-fall cluster weapon designed primarily for heavy armour and was developed by US Naval Weapons specialists. The bomb is in the 500 lb (227 kg) category and is carried on and released from high performance aircraft. Sometime after release from the aircraft 247 bomblets are dispensed from the bomb providing a pattern of coverage at ground level for destruction of various targets. Research and development for this weapon was initiated in 1963 and was put in production in 1967. The Rockeye II system was in service with the U.S. Navy in Vietnam beginning in 1968.



Above. An MK-20 "Rockeye" cluster bomb. (Photo courtesy French Multinational Force, West Beirut).

Rockeye cluster bombs have been procured in considerable quantities over a period of ten years, and the current US inventory contains several hundred thousand of these weapons. In October 1977, multi-year contracts were awarded for approximately 100 million dollars for the supply of additional quantities.

The MK 118 is dispensed from the MK 20 "Rockeye" cluster bomb. A MK 7 Mod 2 dispenser contains the 247 bomblets which are 8-inch dart type grenades.

Above. Two MK-20 "Rockeye" cluster bombs found in West Beirut by the French MNF contingent. As of late April, 1983, the French explosive ordnance disposal unit still did not know how to defuse the "Rockeye".

The MK 118 bomb fuze arms electrically and mechanically after release from the dispenser by rotation of the rotor blades attached to the base fuze upon impact with a hard target. Hitting the target initiates a small detonator in the nose element which stresses a piezoelectric crystal to produce an electric current. The electric current detonates the base fuze element, thus detonating the main explosive charge. Detonation produces a shaped charge jet capable of penetrating 6-inch armor. The "Rockeye" is the largest and most powerful of the cluster bomb grenades and is designed for use against armored vehicles and bunkers. Fragmentation from the body destroys anyone within a vicinity of approximately 50 meters of the armored vehicles or explosion.

Each of the 247 submunitions contains 1.1 lbs. of high explosive inside a heavy-density casing. The grenade shrapnel explodes at speeds of 4,000 feet per second.

The MK 20 cluster bomb was a primary weapon used by Israel in several West Beirut locations between mid-June and late August 1982. In just the period between September 29, 1982 and January 15, 1983, the Italian contingent of the multi-national force (MNF) found in West Beirut 208 unexploded MK 118 bomblets while the U.S. Marines found 190. The French unit also found many.

The MK 118's are always used in the MK-20 Mod 7 dispenser. It has been provided to Israel in large quanities through the U.S. Foreign Military Sales program.

A remarkable photo taken by American Journalist Janet Stevens showing a Mod. 7 cluster bomb dispenser filled with 247 MK-118 Rockeye (MK-20) cluster grenades. Designed by the Pentagon to penetrate 6 inches of steel for use against heavy armor, Janet learned that the Israeli air force dropped this bomb in the pine tree grove next to Sabra and Shatila refugee camps on July 5, 1982.

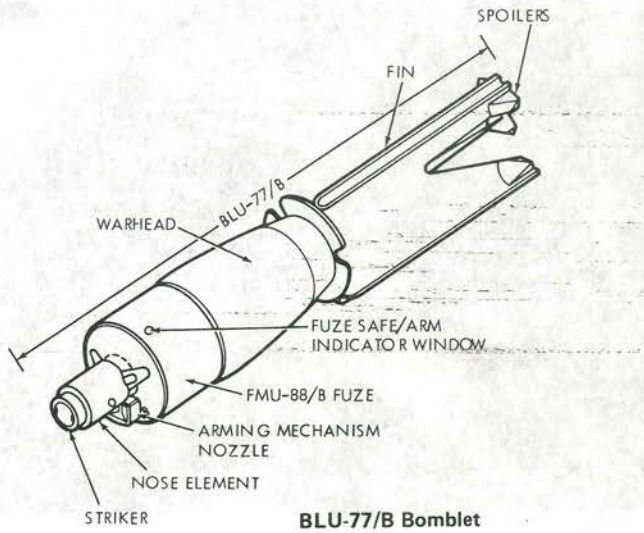
CBU-59/B APAM (BLU-77/B Bomblet)

The BLU-77/B Bomblet, 717 of which make up each CBU-59/B APAM, is designated by the Pentagon as a "target discriminating shaped-charge airburst bomblet." The CBU-59/B APAM was developed by the U.S. Naval Weapons Center and put into production in 1974 by Honeywell. It consists of a shaped-charge, fragmenting warhead, stabilizing fins, nose element, and FMU-88/B fuse.

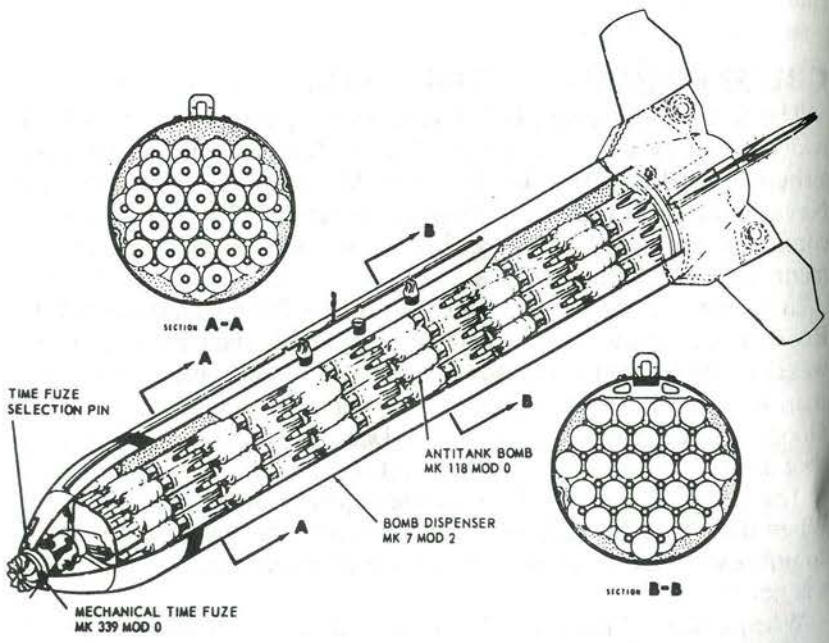
In appearance, the CBU-59's bomblets BLU-77/B resemble the MK-118 Rockeye bomblets and the two are often confused. The CBU-59/B APAM was designed for light armor as well as a much broader spectrum of targets than Rockeye. It was the CBU-59/B (as well as CBU-58's) that Lt. Robert Goodman dropped on Syrian forces on Dec. 5, 1983, the day his plane was shot down.

The BLU-77/B bomblets fall from the dispenser—they are not propelled. When they reach 259 miles per hour (225 knots) the bomblets arm. If they do not reach a speed of 180 mph (165 knots) before striking a target, they will not explode.

When a BLU-77/B bomblet hits a hard target, the striker detonates the warhead. If the bomblet strikes a soft target, the bomblet will penetrate the target until resistance and deceleration activate the delay firing train. A gas



BLU-77/B Bomblet



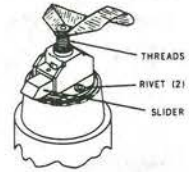
The CBU 59/B APAM with BLU 77/B Bomblets.

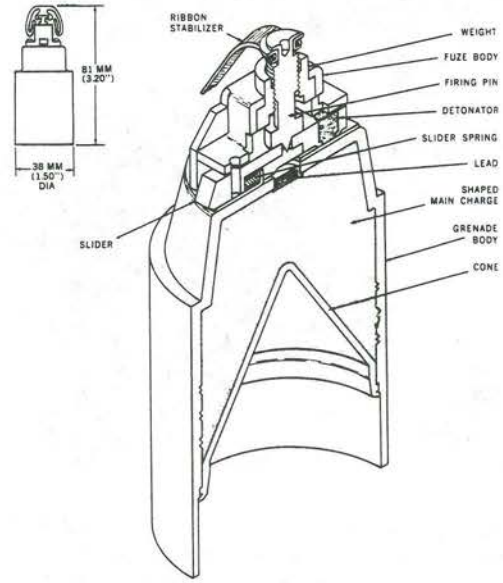
cartridge propels the warhead into the air (pop-out) and, at a predetermined time, the delay fuse detonates the warhead. The same dispersion is used for the CBU-59 as for the Rockeye. The APAM uses 717 bomblets to the Rockeye's 247. Large quantities of CBU-59's were sold to Israel in the early 1970s.

M-42 High-Explosive Cluster Bomb Grenade

Because of its shape, the M-42 cluster bomb grenade is commonly referred to among the Lebanese and Palestinian population as the "battery" bomb or "lighter" bomb. Israel used the M-42 widely during its June 1982 invasion of Lebanon, although it was not common during the Israeli bombardments of 1976, 1978, or 1979.

According to Pentagon sources, the purpose of the M-42 is to provide antimateriel and antipersonnel capabilities in a 155 mm artillery shell or an eight-inch howitzer cannon shell.





M42 HE Dual-Purpose Grenade.

The grenade's nylon ribbon stabilizer extends as soon as the grenade is expelled from the projectile. The stabilizer orients the grenade, and its rotational force causes the threaded firing pin to loosen from the weight (semi-armed), pulling the firing pin out of the slide assembly. The slide assembly is then free, and moves into the armed position by action of the slide spring and centrifugal force. The spring maintains the slide assembly in the fully armed position.

Upon impact, inertia weight drives the firing pin into the detonator M-55, initiating the firing train. A shaped-charge jet blasts downward while the body bursts into a large number of fragments able to penetrate 2.75 inches of homogeneous armor plate. The fragmentation of the grenade body can kill or cause serious injury.

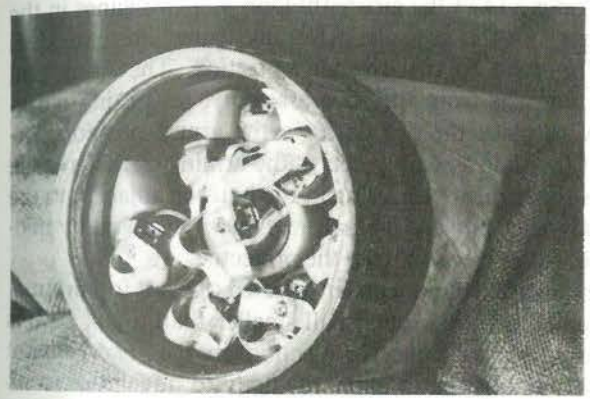
Although the Pentagon designed the M-42 both to pierce armor and to destroy troops, the Israeli's have used the grenade indiscriminately in civilian areas and refugee camps of Lebanon. Its use was evident in West Beirut where there were no defined troop concentrations and relatively few troops compared to the size of the civilian population. Dark grey M-42s are designed to deliver both a blast and high-velocity shrapnel in a concentration of personnel. Sixty-four M-42 grenades are packed in a 155 mm artillery shell with 26 M-46 bomblets. SUU dispensers drop 360 M-42s simultaneously.

Photo: Jill Brown

Above. This 155 mm artillery shell containing 64 M-42 and 24 M-46 cluster bomb grenades was among a barrage of cluster bomb shell fired by Israel on the Talat Al Khayat residential district in West Beirut on July 5, 1983. The gentleman pictured is "Mahmoud" who was trained in the Lebanese Army and who explained that more than 20 155 mm shells fell on Talat Al Khayat on July 5.

The United States has provided large quantities of the M-42 cluster bomb units to Israel, as well as to other foreign countries through the U.S. Foreign Military Sales Program. The M-42 was the weapon involved in the July 1982 suspension that resulted from Israeli violations of U.S. arms laws In that shipment, Israel was to receive 4,000 155 mm howitzer artillery shells, each filled with 64 M-42 cluster bomb grenades and 24 M-46 grenades.

Of the M-42 victims I visited, most had at least one limb amputated, as well as multiple wounds around the body. A great number of children and other passersby were attracted by the M-42's white ribbon and, thinking it a toy or treating it as a kind of souvenir, picked it up, only to be killed or maimed.



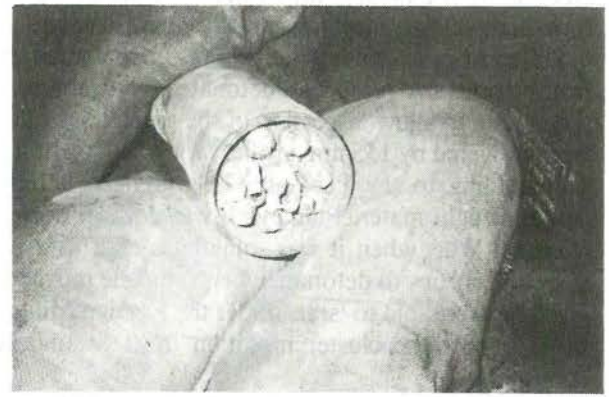


Photo: Franklin Lamb

The above photos show M-42 and M-46 cluster bomb grenades packed together in 155 mm artillery shells which hold a total of 88 each. This combination destroys both people and armor with a single unit.

M-43 High-Explosive (Antipersonnel) Cluster Bomb Grenade

The second most common type of American-supplied cluster bomb used by Israel against the Lebanese and the Palestinians in Lebanon is known in Beirut as the Butterfly bomb. The official Pentagon designation is "M-43 high-explosive antipersonnel grenade." It consists of a housing assembly with two spring-loaded vanes and a two-piece steel ball filled with 2.25 grams of composition-A5 high explosive. As Diagram 00 illustrates, it is a metal triangle with metal wings that pop up when the grenade is propelled from the casing.

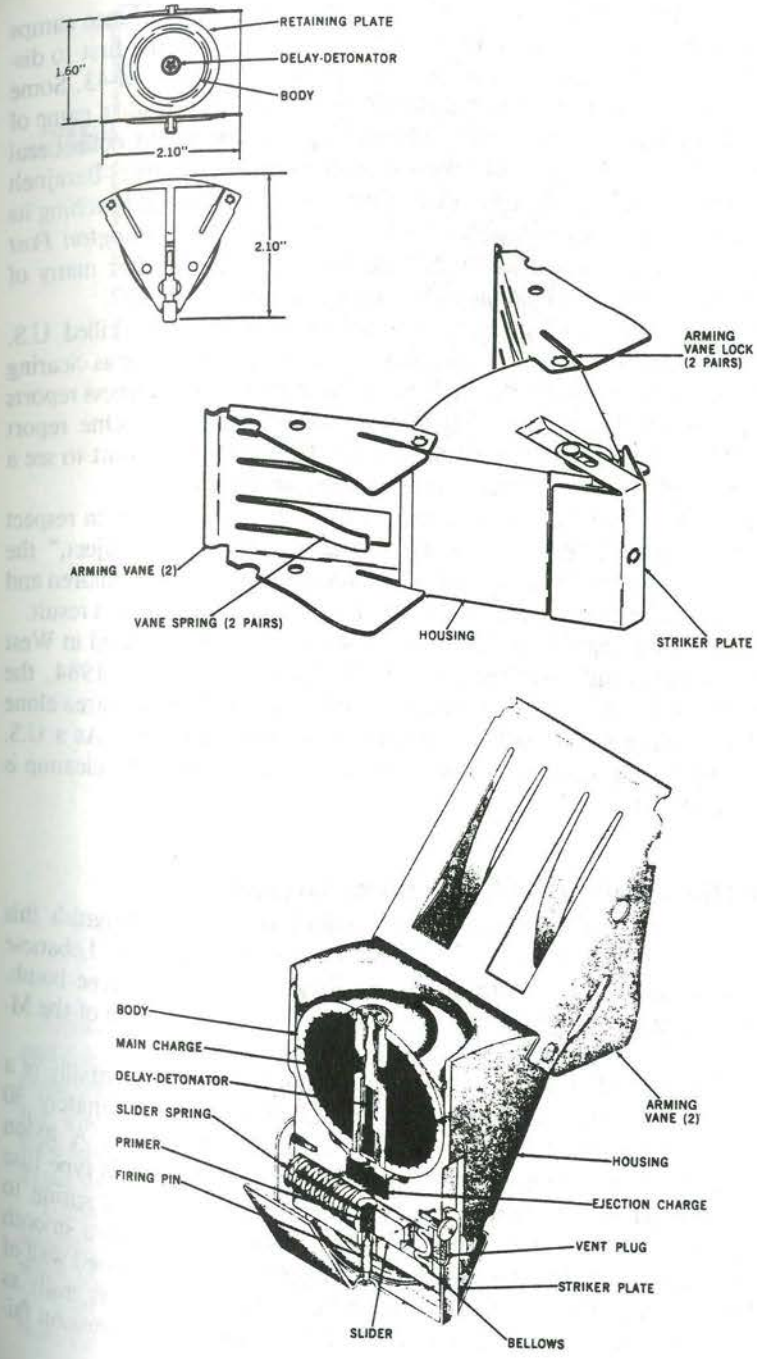
The M-43 is an airburst munition that is expelled from the projectile in flight. It arms shortly after ejection from the projectile, when the vanes open and orient the grenade in a vertical or near-vertical position. The energy of the vane springs and of the airstream locks the two vanes in the open position and stabilizes the grenade. After the vanes are extended, yoke springs move the yoke to the extended position. The firing pin, attached to the yoke, retracts from the slide assembly, permitting movement of the assembly to place the detonator in the armed position. Restricting movement of the slide assembly delays the arming of the grenade by allowing air to pass through a porous slug in the housing adjacent to the slider recess. This delay helps prevent premature explosion caused by mid-air collision immediately after ejection from the projectile.

Upon impact, the explosive components are ejected upward for airburst. The body of the bomblet, a round metal ball smaller than a golf ball, is ejected from its housing by an explosive ejection charge. The ejection charge ignites a delayed detonation to allow the body to travel four to six feet above the ground before the main high explosive charge detonates. Detonating the main charge causes the prescored body to break into uniform high-velocity steel fragments that are deadly.

Different quantities of the M-43 antipersonnel grenades are dispensed from various size projectiles detonated by mechanical time fuses above the target area to allow dispersion of the grenades. In Lebanon, most grenades were delivered by 155 mm artillery rounds or eight-inch cannon shells.

According to the Pentagon, this grenade is designed for use against troops or light materiel targets. It was popular during the latter part of the Vietnam War, when it was sometimes used as a boobytrap, dropped on trees and shrubs to detonate when someone moved it. Thousands of M-43 grenades were sold to Israel under the Foreign Military Sales Program. The M-43 also is the cluster munition most commonly supplied to NATO countries.

Lebanese citizens point out that a Butterfly bomb may not explode if it lands on its side or if one of the two wings malfunctions and the grenade does not hit the striker plate on the point of its triangle. In this case, it will not explode until it is triggered. This fact may explain why so many unexploded M-43 grenades are seen scattered about Lebanon.



N43E1, HE, Antipersonnel Grenade.

It is my impression that, along with the M-42, Lebanese refugee camps were most often hit by the M-43. Lebanese children, often the first to discover live grenades, appeared to be most familiar with the M-43. Some Palestinian children in the Bourj-al-Barajneh refugee camp made a game of collecting them in the same way children in peacetime might collect real butterflies. It was this type of bomb that one child in Bourj-al-Barajneh used to demonstrate his skill. He picked up a bomblet without touching its trigger and tossed it over a wall in order to explode it. *Washington Post* reporter Jonathan Randal photographed Butterfly bombs after many of them hit the Armenian Hospital at Aazzouniye during June 1982.

It was also the M-43 cluster bomb which exploded and killed U.S. Marine Cpl. David L. Regan on September 30, 1982, while he was clearing cluster bombs from around Beirut Airport. According to eyewitness reports given to the Pentagon, Cpl. Regan was "horsing around." One report stated: "He saw this object and yelled to us, 'Hey you guys, want to see a birdie?' He picked it up and was waving it and it exploded."

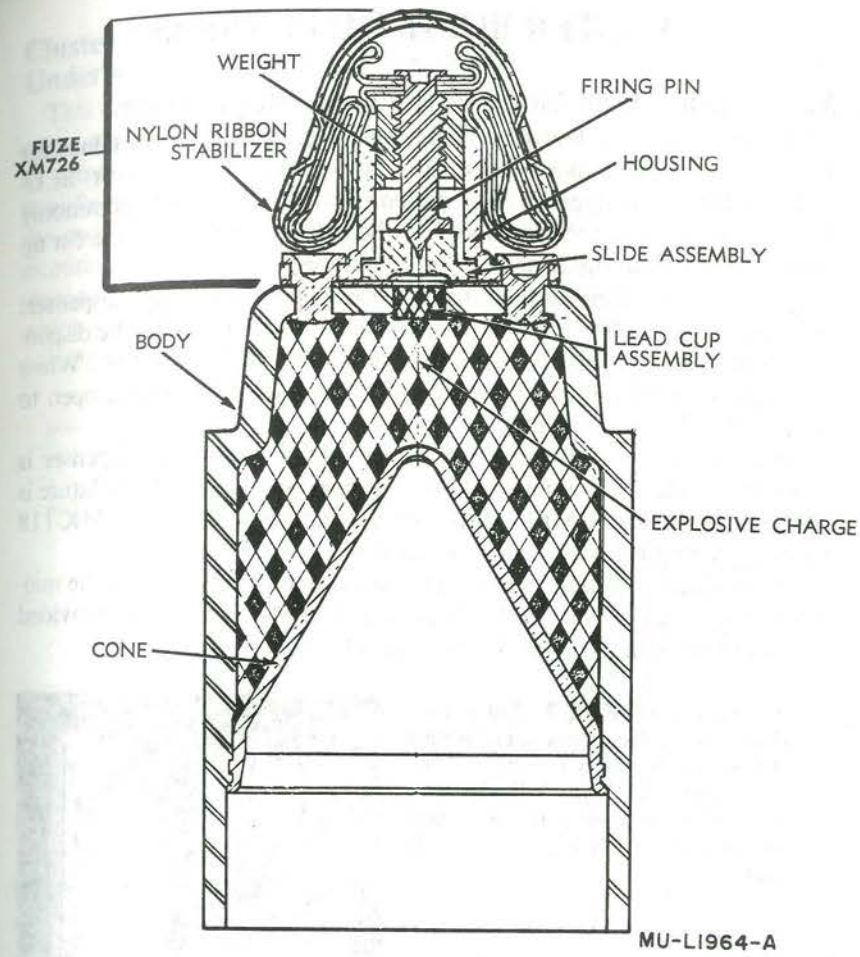
I submit that if an American soldier, presumably well-trained in respect to cluster bombs, is enticed by the Butterfly—the "shiny object," the "birdie," "the battery," "the lighter"—it is no wonder so many children and civilians in Lebanon have similarly been enticed and have died as a result.

I brought back many samples of the M-43 cluster bombs found in West Beirut between June and September 1982. As of February 1, 1984, the Multinational Forces (MNF) cleaning up ordnance in the Beirut area alone have found more than 1,000 unexploded M-43 cluster bombs. As a U.S. Marine explosive ordnance disposal officer indicated to me, the cleanup is far from complete.

M-46 High-Explosive Cluster Bomb Grenade

The population of Lebanon understandably does not distinguish this cluster bomb grenade from the M-42, previously discussed. For Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, both are the "battery" or "lighter" type bomb. Indeed, the characteristics of the M-46 are quite similar to those of the M-42.

The M-46 grenade is a ground burst munition consisting essentially of a 1.5-inch diameter cylindrical shell body loaded with approximately 30 grams of composition-A5 high explosive in a shaped charge. A nylon ribbon loop stabilizer orients and arms the grenade. The inertia-type fuse has a slide assembly containing an M-55 detonator and a coil spring to force the slide into the armed position. The M-46 grenade has a smooth inner sidewall that makes the body wall stronger than the embossed wall of the M-42 grenade. For this reason the wall does not fragment as easily as the M-42 grenade wall, but has extra strength to prevent compression failure during setback.



Cross-section diagram of the M-46 Cluster bomb grenade.

Upon expulsion from the projectile, the nylon ribbon stabilizer extends and orients the grenade. Rotational forces unthread the threaded firing pin from the weight (semi-armed) and pull the firing pin out of the slide assembly. The slide assembly then moves into the armed position by action of the slide spring and centrifugal force. The spring maintains the slide assembly in the fully armed position.

Upon impact, the inertia weight drives the firing pin into the M-55 detonator, initiating the firing train. A shaped-charge jet is expelled downward while the body bursts into a large number of fragments to penetrate 2.75 inches of homogeneous armor plate. Fragmentation of the grenade body can kill or cause serious injury.

CLUSTER BOMB DISPENSERS

MK-20/MK-7 Mod Air-Launched Free-Fall Dispenser

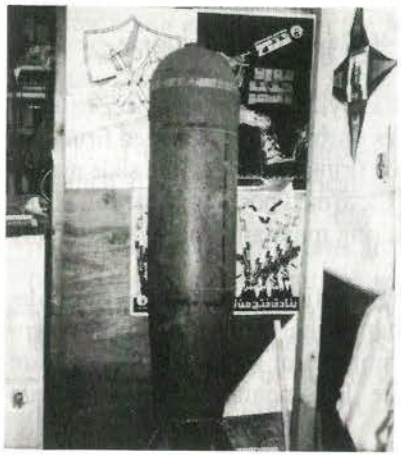
This dispenser, developed by Honeywell, Inc., is a cargo container for antimateriel/antipersonnel bombs, usually MK-118 Rockeyes or BLU-77/B bomblets. This type of CBU dispenser was the one most commonly dropped by Israel on Lebanon and West Beirut. The writer had one cut up and brought back to the Unted States for analysis.

An MK-339 mechanical time fuse controls the opening of the dispenser. This fuse initiates a flexilinear explosive shaped charge that cuts the dispenser longitudinally to disperse the Rockeye bombs above the target. When the dispenser is released from the aircraft, four folding fins spring open to stabilize the dispenser in flight.

An empty dispenser is referred to as an MK-7. When the dispenser is loaded with MK-118 antimateriel/antipersonnel bombs the nomenclature is MK-20 Rockeye. An MK-7 dispenser can accommodate 247 MK-118 bombs, and weighs 500 pounds when loaded.

MK-20 Rockeye cluster bombs were used in Vietnam starting in the mid-1960s, and are a U.S. standard service item. The MK-20 has been provided to Israel through the Foreign Military Sales Program.

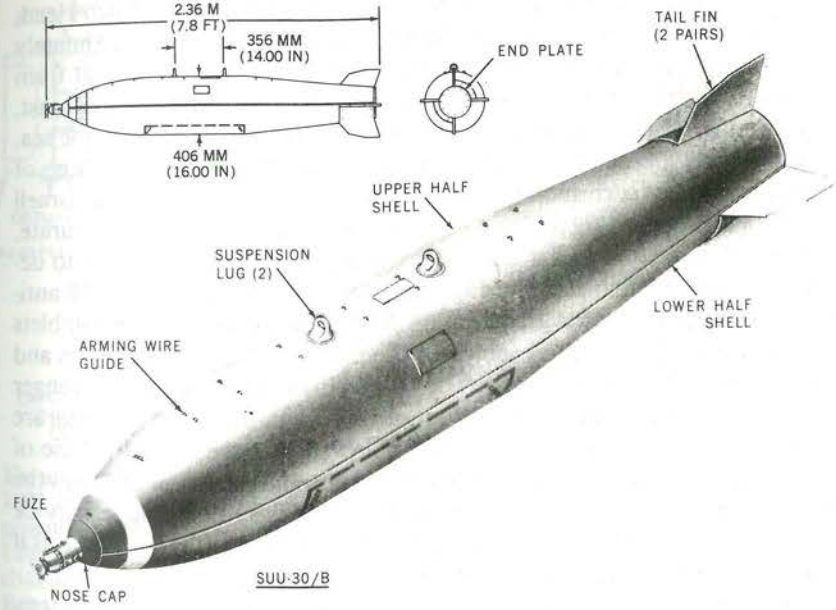
A collection of Mark 7 Mod 3 Type cluster bomb dispensers found around Beirut and Southern Lebanon as late as August 12, 1982. With the nose fuze and wings in place the dispensers measure approximately 7½ feet in length.



An older type SUU-30 series Air-launched Free-Fall Dispenser, dropped on South Lebanon by Israel in March of 1978. This type carries 650 CBU-58 (BLU 63/B) bomblets about the size of a medium sized orange.

Cluster Bomb Dispensers—The CBU-58 - SUU (Suspended Underwing Unit)-30 Series Air-Launched Free-Fall Dispenser

This dispenser, developed by Aerojet General Corporation in 1966, is a cargo container for various types of cluster bomb antipersonnel/antimateriel submunitions. This dispenser opening is controlled by various types of time fuses which cause the nose cap to eject from the dispenser, releasing the upper and lower half shell to open by air pressure to dispense the submunitions over a wide target area. Approximately 650 submunitions (depending upon size) can be carried in this 1/8 inch aluminum dispenser, which weighs approximately 770 pounds, is 7.8 feet long, and is the size of a single demolition bomb.



SUU-30 Series Air-launched Free-Fall Dispenser

Another dispensing technique, developed in the SUU-7 series, is to eject the bomblets sequentially by compressed air in a long trail behind the aircraft, discarding the SUU dispenser when it is empty.

There are six models (variations) of the SUU-30 dispenser, including the SUU 30/B, 30A/B, 30B/B, and 30C/B. The differences are primarily the size of the tail fins, addition and location of tip plates, and provisions for different types of nose fuses. The researcher identified four different types of cluster bomb dispensers in Lebanon which are designed so that they can be interchangeable as far as possible. The SUU-30 (suspension and release unit) designation constitutes an empty dispenser. When the dispenser is

loaded with munitions the designation is changed to Cluster Bomb Unit (CBU), i.e., the SUU-30 dispenser loaded with BLU-63/B antipersonnel fragmentation bombs becomes the CBU-58/B.

The CBU-58/B itself has been in existence for a considerable time and was utilized in the Vietnam War beginning in the mid-1960s and is a U.S. service item that has been provided to Israel through the U.S. Foreign Military Sales Program.

155 MM Artillery Shell Projectile

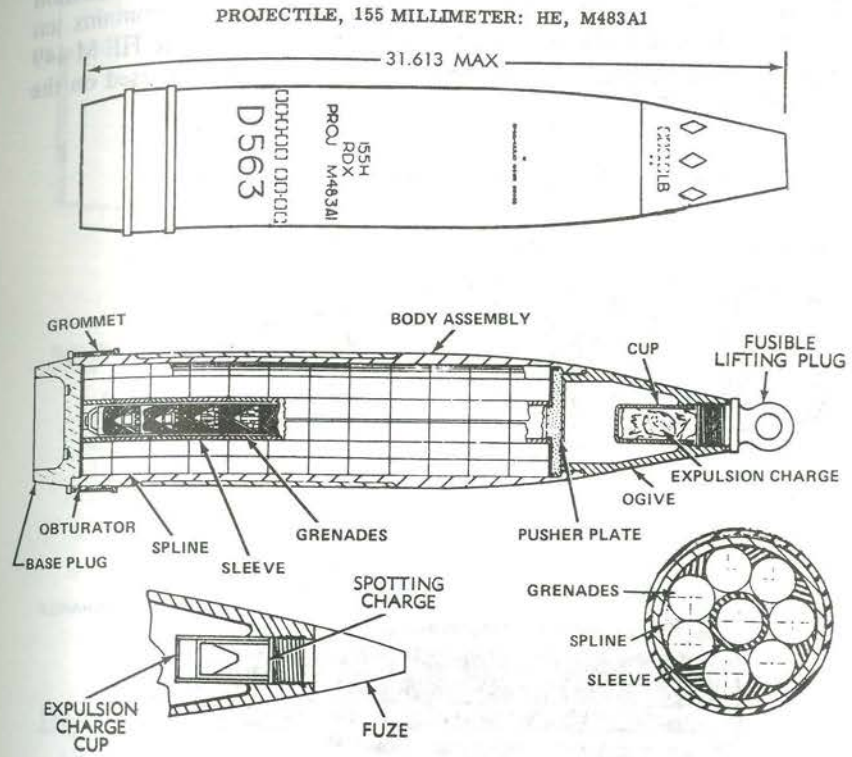
The 155 mm artillery shell is a separate loading type and is 35.4 inches long, weighing 102.6 pounds empty and 874 pounds when filled with 88 cluster bomblets. According to the Naval Ordnance School at Indian Head, Maryland, the 155 mm shell can deliver cluster munitions approximately 11 miles. Consequently, Israel was able to fire them on West Beirut from the south, from East Beirut, and from their ships off the Lebanon coast. Defenders of Beirut reported that the "wildest" shelling came from the sea. These reports are consistent with journalistic acccounts such as those of *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan Randal to the effect that Israeli off-shore shelling during its June 1982 invasion was notoriously inaccurate.

The 155 mm shell uses a fuse, a propelling charge, and a primer to deliver the cluster bomblets. The 155 mm usually contains a total of 88 antipersonnel and antiarmor grenades, 64 M-42 and 24 M-46. The bomblets are stacked in 11 rows of 8 each, with the first eight rows being M-42s and the last three rows being M-46s. The M-46 cluster grenades have stronger bodies to carry the load at the rear on setback when fired. The grenades are contained by a base plug with a lefthand thread screwed into the base of the shell. For normal use, an expulsion charge, contained in a cavity in the nose of the projectile, ejects the grenades. This expulsion charge may be replaced by a spotting charge designed to detonate the entire projectile as if it were a bulk-loaded high-explosive artillery projectile.

When the primer is detonated, the flash ignites the propelling charge, producing gases that force the spin-stabilized projectile out of the gun and propel it toward the target. The fuse, having been set to function at a predetermined time in flight, detonates the expulsion charge, ejecting the entire grenade load from the rest of the 155 mm shell. Centrifugal force disperses the grenades radially from the projectile line-of-flight. The M-42 and M-46 grenades are designed to explode on impact. With the alternate loading of the spotting charge instead of the expulsion charge, the fuse detonates the entire 155 mm shell over the target like a fragmentation shell except there would be thousands of higher velocity projectiles from the cluster bomblets.

A "typical" 155 mm artillery shell usually ejects approximately 3,000 fragments weighing more than 0.5 grams. By contrast a "typical" cluster

ISRAEL'S USE OF THE M483 155 MILLIMETER ARTILLERY SHELL TO DROP CLUSTER BOMB GRENANDES



The most common means of cluster bomb delivery Israel employed during its June 1982 invasion of Lebanon for the M-42, M-46 and M-43AI type cluster bomb grenades was the 155 mm artillery shell. Literally thousands were fired throughout Lebanon with heavy concentration around the South Beirut area including the civilian areas at Bin Hassan, Ouzai, Jinih, Sabra, Shatilla, Bourq Bareneh and Beirut Airport areas as well as South Lebanon.

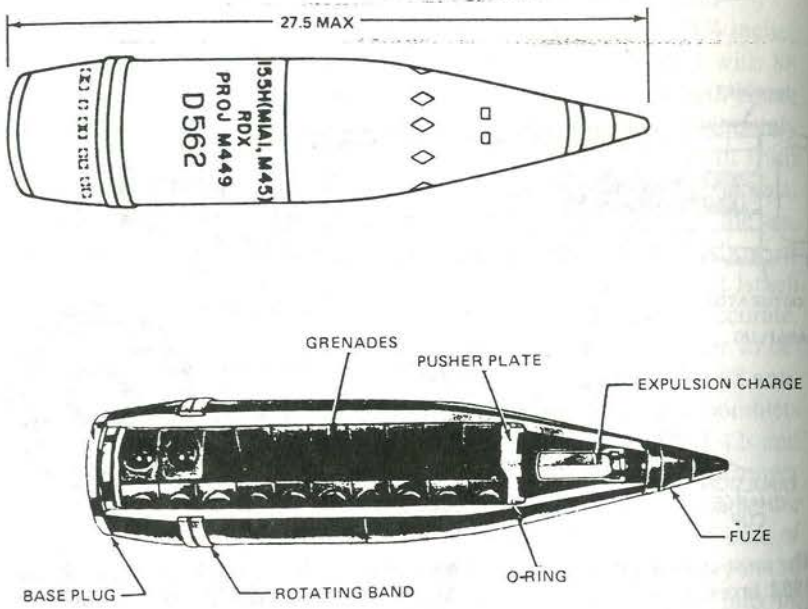
bomb 155 mm projectile produces approximately 15,000 fragments weighing less than 0.5 grams. It has been estimated that a person within 45 feet from any one of the cluster bomblets carried in a 155 mm artillery round is certain to be struck by at least 5 projectiles.

The 155 mm artillery shell was the means Israel most often used to disperse M-42, M-46, and M-43 grenades during its June 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Thousands were fired throughout Lebanon, with heavy concentration around the South Beirut area, including the civilian areas at Bin Hassan, Ouzai, Jinih, Sabra, Shatila, Bourj-al-Barajneh and Beirut Airport areas as well as South Lebanon.

M-449 Artillery Projectile

Another type of 155 mm artillery projectile used by Israel in Lebanon was the HE-M-449 series. This 155 mm artillery projectile contains ten layers of M-43 grenades with six grenades in each layer. The HE-M-449 shell functions similarly to the 155 mm M-483-A1 type discussed on the preceding page.

PROJECTILE, 155 MILLIMETER: HE, M449 SERIES



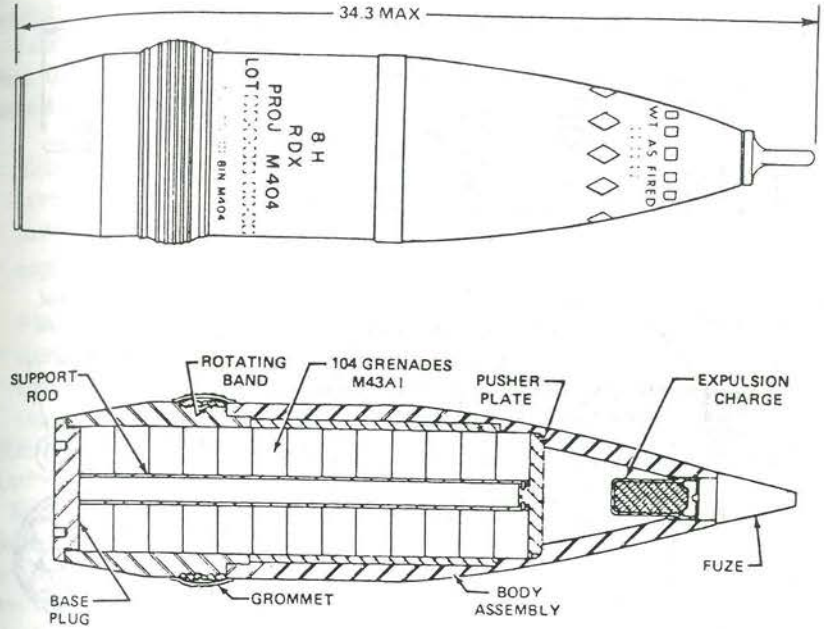
Eight-Inch High-Explosive M-404

The eight-inch M-404 "shell" or "round" contains 13 layers of M-42 grenades with eight grenades in each layer. Thus, 104 M-43 Butterfly grenades, each containing 21.25 grams of composition-A high explosive, can be fired nearly 16 miles with devastating effect.

The functioning of the 200-pound eight-inch M-404 is similar to that of the 155 mm HE-M-483 artillery projectile. Centrifugal force disperses the grenades radially from the shell. On the impact, the M-43 is expelled from its housing and projected upward to explode at four to six feet above ground.

The following diagram illustrates two eight-inch cannon projectiles used by Israel to supplement the 155 mm shells for firing cluster munitions.

PROJECTILE, 8-INCH: HE, M404



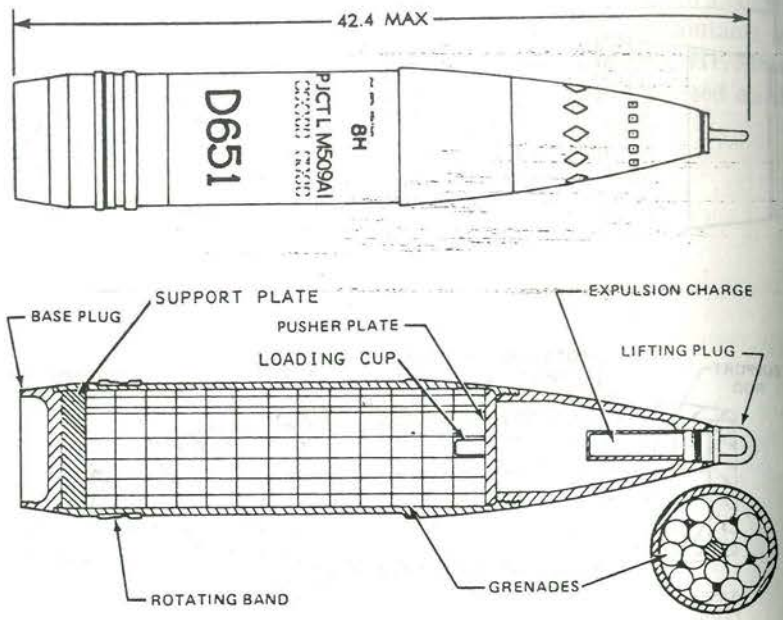
High-Explosive M-509-A-1 Projectile

This eight-inch, 207-pound projectile usually contains 12 layers of M-42 grenades with 15 grenades in each layer for a total of 180. This projectile functions similarly to the 155 mm M-483. The fuse, having been set to function at a predetermined time in flight, detonates the expulsion charge, ejecting the M-42 grenades. They disperse radially as a result of centrifugal force. The M-42s are ground explosion cluster grenades, each containing 30.5 grams of composition-A5 high explosive that detonates on impact.

Flechettes

Another American high-velocity projectile weapon used by Israeli in Lebanon that is properly considered a cluster munition is called "flechettes." Flechettes are small ultra-high-velocity needle-like darts or miniature arrows usually made of steel, weighing as little as from 0.5 to 1.2 grams. Flechette "arrows" or "darts" have small fins to stabilize them and can travel at speeds up to 4,500 feet per second. Some types of flechettes are made of two types of metals in order to weight the front end to increase the wounding power while others could contain a poison to infect the

PROJECTILE, 8-INCH: HE, M509A1



victim. Still others are designed to tumble upon impact or to penetrate the flesh sideways or as they are turning end over end and, as a consequence, they inflict particularly heinous wounds which are often lethal. In an article published in *The Army Times,* one officer, asked about the medical difficulties of treating flechette wounds, was quoted as saying, "Don't kid yourself. It is not a job for a surgeon but for graves registration."

The United States has tested flechettes under research and development programs for the past fifteen years and has developed special 90 mm, 105 mm, 155 mm, and 175 mm artillery shells to fire up to 8,000 flechettes in a single howitzer shell.

One way to fire flechettes developed for use in Vietnam is the so-called Beehive projectile which contains approximately 2,000 flechettes. Another version of the Beehive projectile contains up to 5,600 flechettes in the M-377 shell. Beehive projectiles containing flechettes range up to 155 mm. A typical 155 mm beehive shell can disperse flechettes over an area of approximately 400 yards by 120 yards. A fighter-bomber can carry several dozen flechette cluster bombs as well as other bombs.

The Pentagon has stated that flechettes are primarily intended for use when an artillery battery is in danger of being overrun and, during the Vietnam war, instances were documented in which hundreds of enemy

soldiers were killed in a single battle against a battery firing flechette rounds.

Like the cluster bombs discussed above, the ultra-high-velocity flechettes that travel at the speed of approximately 3,000 feet per second cause devastating wounds.

> Due to its long, thin shape, there is a lack of rigidity, and the flechette turns into a hook on impact with the target. It becomes totally unstable and hurl its full kinetic energy to the target, producing an explosive-type wound . . .
>
> Flechettes tend to buckle into a hook upon impact with flesh, and since this is a very poor ballistic shape, and since flesh is about 800 times denser than air, the buckle gyrates, and gives up its energy very rapidly, thus earning high marks as an effective projectile.

(SOURCE: SIPRI, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Antipersonnel Weapons, pp. 105, 106.)

Reports coming out of Vietnam, including a December 14, 1967, Associated Press report and a January 2, 1968, UPI report, indicate that artillery rounds filled with flechettes were used against the Vietnamese in 105 mm howitzer shells which sprayed thousands of dart-shaped steel shafts, i.e., flechettes, over very broad areas. According to AP, one officer reported "seeing enemy soldiers actually being nailed to trees by these things." In the UPI report it was stated that the flechettes were used against the Vietnam guerillas with such effect that the artillery shells "exploded into hundreds of 1/2-inch darts, i.e., flechettes, that shredded the Viet Cong." Flechettes were also used in Cambodia and Laos.

There is very strong evidence that the Israeli army has used flechettes during their recent invasion of Lebanon. Several Scandinavian nurses working throughout South Lebanon have brought from the villages and refugee camps a number of flechettes which they have testified were fired by the Israeli military at various locations in South Lebanon.

Among the arms manufacturers who developed flechettes are International Harvester Company, Whirlpool Corporation, General Time Corporation, Northrop Corporation, and Miller Research Corporation.

DR. HANS HUSUM, Physician, Norway

"This is a girl 10 years old, a Palestinian, who was injured in the Salva area during August. There was a ceasefire and she was playing with some sort of ball about 15 cm in diameter and this so-called ball exploded after being played with some one or two minutes."

I will present some cases of injuries from cluster bombs and fragmentation missiles.

First some cases of cluster bomb injuries. A car was placed 100 metres away from Gaza hospital. Just at this point a cluster bomb was dropped by Israeli aeroplanes. Cluster bombs are filled up with hundreds of pieces of small metal shrapnel, varying in size from 2 mm to 15 mm. You could see the effect in this car, the small holes and the bigger holes from those pieces of shrapnel. I do not know the explosive power of the cluster bomb, but definitely the power must be rather big, since the velocity of those small and light pieces of shrapnel must be so high that they can penetrate the car. The car was hit on about 20 June. It was in a civilian area near to a civilian hospital in Sabra.

(A photograph is shown of an eight year-old Lebanese boy who was standing near the car at the time of the explosion). This is his right leg. You can see the multiple inlet wounds from the small pieces of shrapnel. The X-ray of his left leg shows that those small pieces of shrapnel have a high enough velocity to crush the bones. His right leg also had multiple crush-fractures. The X-ray also demonstrates definite signs of osteomyelitis, that is infection in the bone. In my opinion in Beirut we had more osteomyelitis in the open crushed fractures in this war than reported from war injuries from the 1960s, in cases from Belfast, from the Cyprus war in 1974 and from the Vietnam war. This specially high incidence of osteomyelitis also holds for the fractures from cluster bomb shrapnel. The high velocity of the cluster bomb shrapnel causes a high energy output when the shrapnel hits the body and a pressure necrosis of the tissue that has low elasticity, that means especially the bone, the tendons and the muscles. Secondly, most patients hurt by cluster bombs receive multiple injuries, multiple wounds, that means more extensive tissue damage, a high degree of destruction of blood circulation, and therefore necrosis, that is dead tissue and infection.

This high energy output from the cluster bomb shrapnel can be illustrated by a case I operated on in Gaza hospital on 25 June. It was a 10

year-old Palestinian, he was brought in from the Borj el Barajneh camp. He was hit by shrapnel from an aeroplane bomb one hour before admission. He had small inlet wounds 1 to 2½ cms in diameter in the abdomen, the left femur, the right femural area with arterial bleeding from the femural artery, multiple wounds beneath both knee joints and a crushed open fracture of the right ankle joint. What I want to stress is that during this operation I explored the muscles and the vessels above the right ankle joint and we could see he had a total necrosis of the muscles in the lateral compartment of his leg up to the knee joint. This means that the energy output from this heat in the ankle joint must be so high that the pressure wave has destroyed all muscles up to the knee joint. In this case we had to amputate through the knee joint. Inside the smaller wounds in the left leg we found small pieces of shrapnel varying in size from 2 mm up to 10 mm. These, together with the multiple wounds, in my opinion prove that the cause of the injury must have been a cluster bomb. It is impossible to explain the injuries in another way. I should also stress that such extensive necrosis as this and so far away from injury wound is not reported earlier in war surgery. Therefore I would put forward the hypothesis that either cluster bomb injuries from earlier wars with this kind of extensive tissue damage have not been reported in medical records or the explosive power of the Israeli cluster bombs used in Beirut this summer is higher than seen in clusters before. I hold the last explanation for the most likely because these injuries are very interesting from a surgical view point and would have been reported in the medical literature if seen earlier.

This is an example of a cluster bomb not detonated on first contact but by some delayed fuse. This is a girl 10 years old, a Palestinian, who was injured in the Sabra area during August. There was no war in Beirut then, it was silent. There was a ceasefire and she was playing with some sort of ball about 15 cm in diameter and this so-called ball exploded after being played with some one or two minutes. In the soft tissue of this hand we found three small pieces of shrapnel from 2mm to 5mm in diameter. This case therefore illustrates the point I mentioned, that some clusters do not explode at first contact but later on after being touched or turned.

Now I will draw your attention to another type of injury, namely from the fragmentation missiles. Most of the injuries I witnessed were due to that type of weapon. Fragmentation bombs from aeroplanes or fragmentation grenades from artillery. Those weapons have in common that the shells around the explosive are made of very heavy metal and laminated so that the pieces of shrapnel from those missiles are heavy, between 500 and 1500 grammes. They are extremely sharp-edged and irregular. They have a very high velocity judged from extensive tissue damage they make. This case is a boy of 10 years, he is a Lebanese. He was hurt during an air attack in the southern suburbs of Beirut in the last days of June. You can see the crushed fracture in his heel, in his calcaneal bone. During lots of

operations we tried to get this wound clean and it was very hard for this young patient. He got very depressed and he would not eat. He would not talk. It was rather a common psychological complication we saw in the injured children. Despite all efforts it was impossible to clear up this wound. He developed hard osteomyelitis bone infection again, in my estimation, because of the very high energy output of the shrapnel hitting his heel.

This case illustrates the same point—18 year-old Lebanese boy hurt in an air attack in the central parts of Beirut in the middle of July. His knee joint is crushed by artillery shrapnel approximately 10 cm deep. The X-ray pictures demonstrate the osteomyelitis. The leg suffered a big abscess, total necrosis of the muscles all through his leg down to his ankle. It was a case for amputation. A man of approximately 70 years old, a Lebanese, was hurt in an air attack at Borj el Barajneh camp on 12 August. He had multiple fragments, dirt, small stones, and small fragments of shrapnel. What I want to stress is that in this case, judged from the X-ray, we could have hoped to have saved his hand, but this case also developed extensive osteomyelitis in the first and second fingers and it was a case for amputation.

The heavier the shrapnel, the higher the energy output. The higher the entry velocity the higher the energy output. Thus the most effective shrapnel is very heavy, it has a very high velocity, and it is stopped inside the body. This is why those irregular big pieces of shrapnel from fragmentation weapons are very effective: because of their shape they are stopped inside the body and the energy output is high. This also accounts for the extensive tissue necrosis we can see after cluster bomb shrapnel. They are not high mass but they must have a very high velocity otherwise we could not explain this tissue damage. This big problem of osteomyelitis in the open crushed fractures is reported in earlier war surgery literature but I have looked at these reports as I have said from Vietnam, Cyprus and from Belfast and it is never described as extensive tissue damage like the cases I have reported here. This type of pressure necrosis in bones has never been described as I have described here. Therefore my conclusion is that during this war in Beirut we can say that we met a new generation of well known weapons. They have been developed technically to cause trouble and problems like this. All the cases presented here are civilians.

DR. THOMMESSEN, DR. RUSLI and DR. HUSUM
Physicians, Norway

"Artillery grenades suspected to be chemical anti-personnel fire bombs have been reported to have hit at random many parts of Beirut. The weapon has been reported to have hit crowds of people inside bomb shelters after the destruction of the shelter by anti-shelter rockets."

Nordic Commission: Dr. Husum, you have mentioned that to create the high entry energy and the low exit energy the fragment has to be shaped in a certain manner. Do you have any examples of such fragments? Did you find any examples to demonstrate the shape in which they have been made?

Witness: I am sorry I have no photographs of this here. Perhaps someone else has. The most effective shrapnel is the one that is stopped inside the body. If the shrapnel is round like a complete round bullet it is not effective in that manner because the friction between the projectile and the tissues is not so high. You get higher friction if the shrapnel is irregulary formed and if it is rotating or dipping like this; this means that those fragments talked about are from 5 cm to 15 cm. They are irregularly shaped and they are sharp-edged and they are slung out not like a bullet, going in just one line, but they are rotating somewhat.

Nordic Commission: From a previous witness also I think we heard that fragments also made out of nylon or plastic were found in Beirut. Did any of you trace fragments of that kind?

Witness: I have not seen any fragments of that kind.

Nordic Commission: Dr. Thommessen, you showed us slides of people, as I understand it, hurt by phosphorus bombs. Is that correct, slides of patients hurt by phosphorus bombs? My question is could it not have been cluster bombs?

Witness: No, there were no fragments and there were signs of chemical burns.

Witness: I would also like to stress here that especially the one photograph he showed of the leg taken at a very close distance, with very round shaped wounds, you could never get from shrapnel inlets. The cause of this type of wound is more like a liquid. The anti-personnel chemical bombs hit the victim in a form of liquid, very hot liquid.

Nordic Commission: Do you think it would be possible to offer any form of adequate medical treatment to the victims of cluster bombs and frag-

mentation bombs, apart from the poor medical conditions you were working under? Is it in your opinion possible to give adequate medical treatment to the victims of these bombs? I think one of you, I think it was Troy Rusli, used the world irreparable damage.

Witness: Of course you can give them adequate treatment. The photographs of the boy I showed you hit by cluster bombs in both legs—you can amputate both legs.

Nordic Commission: But that is the only possibility?

Witness: Yes. That is why the amputation rate was very high during this war.

Nordic Commission: Is the same true for the phosphorus bomb?

Witness: Yes, the only way we could treat it was to cut out the burnt tissue from the fresh tissue.

Witness: Concerning the phosphorus injuries: if you have some copper sulphate, then you can determine where the phosphorus lies and you can pick up all phosphorus fragments in the dark room. At the time we did not have these possibilities. First came the time problem, secondly we had no copper sulphate.

Witness: Thirdly, perhaps we would not have used it because it is very poisonous, so it is more a laboratory procedure. I just want to stress one point about the adequacy of that treatment. Crushed open fractures like this when they have to be operated on should be operated on by so-called external fixation, that means not screws and plates on the bones, but external fixation apparatus. This is a rather advanced and very expensive apparatus. It was not available in Beirut and because of the blockade it was impossible to get it into Beirut. We tried to get it into Beirut but it was impossible. That is also the reason why we had to do so many more amputations than we would have done here.

Nordic Commission: Do you agree with the last sentence that Dr. Husum gave, all the cases presented were civilian victims? Have you any impression regarding the ratio between civilian and military victims?

Witness: I also know of these patients that Dr. Husum presented. They were all civilians, yes.

Witness: I have made a bit of a study in our hospital and while it is very difficult to say that 80 percent of casualties were civilians, I will say it was 50 percent. It depends on the day and it depends on the periods. La Hout is a second line hospital and treated also soldiers. Maybe an average of 50 percent were soldiers, but in some periods 80 percent were civilians, that is true.

Nordic Commission: Is it not very hard to distinguish between civilian victims and military victims because as far as I understand many civilians also carried weapons?

Witness: Yes, in many cases it is impossible to distinguish. Partly we rely on what they say, but lots of those people will not say if they are soldiers. However, the cases I showed you, children of eight, 12 years of age, and an old man of 70—they are not soldiers.

Nordic Commission: Yesterday we heard reports that Israeli military personnel prevented, even arrested medical staff, doctors, thereby preventing them from doing their work. Did you feel during your work in Beirut that you were exposed to the same treatment? Were any kind of difficulties prepared for you or were the difficulties you had in obtaining medicine etc due to the situation, or did you feel that the Israeli authorities tried to prevent you from obtaining what you needed?

Witness: Yes, definitely they not only tried to prevent us getting materials into Beirut, they did stop them and they told us. I was in and out of Beirut two times and all the time I was told that I cannot bring medical material. The first time I left Beirut I was told by an Israeli soldier that, 'OK you can go out now but you can never enter again.' He said medical materials were not allowed to be taken into Beirut. We went to Beirut and we got some materials inside but that was by smuggling.

Nordic Commission: Your colleagues had the same experience?

Witness: I personally did not have the same experience.

Nordic Commission: But did you have the opposite experience, that you could bring materials back and forth?

Witness: No.

Witness: I do know that the International Red Cross had tried at least twice to come through the blockade with all the medicine and food stuff. They were turned down. They could not go through West Beirut and as Dr. Husum said, a lot of the instruments and medicines we had with us were through the help of our Norwegian Embassy. I do not believe if you had all this material alone you could have passed through the blockade.

Nordic Commission: Were they representatives of the International Red Cross who told you that they had been prevented from entering Beirut?

Witness: Yes, both the International Red Cross office in Damascus and the UNICEF centre in Damascus told us the same. On 20 June and about 10 July they told us the same thing. It was impossible to get things through the blockade and they talked about convoys in East Beirut. Into West Beirut they said they could not enter.

Witness: When I arrived in Beirut on 24 July I had a meeting with the International Red Cross representative in East Beirut and he told me I would not be able to get in, except with the help of the Norwegian Embassy. That was according to his information.

Witness: And for sure we did have a problem with a lack of instruments as Dr. Husum said. We had problems with the external fixations. We had been waiting for these instruments for nearly one-and-a-half months and until the war ended we still did not get them until one of our representatives from Norway got them and passed through. I asked the International Red Cross if there was any possibility of getting these external fixations for

us and he said, first it was very expensive and they could not afford it and secondly, it was very difficult to get them through.

Kjell Bygstad: I have had a statement from a representative of the Lebanese National Movement which is relevant to the last discussion. It reads as follows: 'According to UNICEF we had in Beirut only 29,506 killed or injured and the statistics were one military for every 30 civilian casualties. 55 percent were children under the age of 15, and 25 percent were people over 60.'

DR. TROY RUSLI, Physician, Norway

"Because of the Israeli blockade, all the hospitals had difficulties remaining in operation. Many of them had to stop their activities. Some which did continue working were later forced to stop because they were hit by Israeli shells."

During the siege in West Beirut I worked at La Hout field hospital as part of a Norwegian health team. We worked side by side with many other medical personnel from all over the world. I also worked as a consultant at several provisional convalescent hospitals—the Protestant school, the Triumph hotel, the Armenian school and Trat hospital.

There were an estimated 600,000 civilians in West Beirut. The Israeli forces had complete control over the area. All traffic in and out of West Beirut had to pass through Israeli and the Phalangist check points. The attempt by Israel, (by dropping warning pamphlets), to frighten civilians into leaving the city is considered to be in violation of Article IV of the Geneva Convention. Only small numbers of well to do residents who could afford the inflated prices in East-Beirut or other parts of Lebanon, were able to leave. The rest stayed behind cursing fate and praying that the next bomb would not land on them. Many had to remain in the city, because they were Palestinian, or they belonged to the liberal movement or they just did not want to leave their beloved homes.

Without electricity and with shortage of water and food, under continual bombing and shelling, the people in West Beirut demonstrated amazing courage and self-discipline. They truly deserve the sympathy of the rest of the world.

The Dreadful and Modern Conventional Weapons

I do not claim to be a weapon expert, but today we are witness to the increasing use of brutal weapons causing painful and irreparable damage to their victims.

It seems to me that the more "advanced" we become, the less ethical our behaviour becomes.

The varying severity of wounds caused by these modern weapons is dependent on several factors:

a. the velocity of the projectile
b. the behaviour of the projectile
c. the shape of the projectile

Any missile travelling more than 2000 feet per second can be considered a high velocity missile. The greater the velocity 'the greater risk of perilous wounds.' (The destructive energy is directly proportional to the effective velocity of a missile).

When a high velocity projectile enters the body of a human being the missile will change its direction, and begin to yaw and tumble, due to the aerodynamic effect.

The sharper and more irregular the shape of the projectile, the more severe is the wound it creates.

After penetration into the human body, a high velocity missile creates a large cavity, approximately 30 to 40 times the size of the missile itself. This effect is known as *cavitation effect.* The effect of this cavity becomes more damaging when the bone is fragmented and acts as a secondary missile. The high velocity missile shears the tissue, disrupts the tissue, ruptures bloodvessels and nerves.

The wound exit is usually larger than the wound entrance and creates more serious and lethal injuries than the low velocity missile.

The weapons that have been used in West Beirut are mostly high velocity weapons and can be divided into following groups:

- Concussion bombs
- Fragmentation bombs or shells
- "Anti-shelter rocket"
- The phosphoros shells
- Cluster bombs

Concussion Bombs

The bomb penetrates three floors of a building from the top and explodes. It then penetrates another two or three floors explodes again and after propelling itself down three or four floors it explodes for the last

time. Each time it explodes it causes a great deal of vacuum pressure. In this way a concussion bomb can reach the basement of a building.

On the 6th of August we admitted a 65 year old Lebanese civilian patient from Sanaya building. The patient had multiple fractures of his right upper arm. He was considered very lucky to have just broken his arm. He was in some way protected by the ruins and managed to get out of the building. The following day when I visited the bomb site they were only Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. The building was totally flat. But the neighbouring buildings were not damaged.

Fragmentation Bombs or Shells

A fragmentation bomb is usually wired so that a cord attached to a trigger is fitted with coil mechanism. The bomb explodes in the air at a high speed and resulting fragments penetrate foxholes and trenches. It may be released at a distance of 50 meters above the ground so that its fragments are distributed over a large area.

On 1 August, we admitted a 40 year old women with both legs traumatically amputated. Her right elbow was totally destroyed. She was in shock with possible internal bleeding. We operated on her immediately and found that she was 6 months pregnant. She had multiple lacerations of the intestine and rupture of her right kidney. She died the next day after the operation. She left her 5 children without a guardian. Her husband had been killed some time ago.

"Anti Shelter Rocket"

The anti-shelter rocket is a type of weapon never used previously. The rocket explodes over a shelter in three stages. The first explosion exerts a great pressure over the shelter. The second emits flames and the third scatters lethal shrapnel. It was this type of rocket that was used against the Arab University's engineering school shelter and in Haret Hreik.

On 12th of August we admitted 22 patients from Haret Hreik. Five patients died. Nearly all of them got severe burn injuries. Some of them had thermoflash burn injuries, which were due to high temperatures not directly to the fire. Two of the patients got shrapnel in their heads. A few days later I visited the place and there were 90 Palestinian civilians hiding in this shelter. Many of them were still buried under the rubble.

The Phosphorus Shell

Israel used the phosphorus shell usually only as "markers" to guide artillery, because the smoke helps gunners to aim at their targets. When it exploded phosphorus makes a huge flame which meets the phosphorus

causing point shaped burns. The phosphorus particles penetrate the skin and enter soft tissues, most likely causing injury through acid burns. When it burns white phosphorus produces phosphous pentoxyde, which can cause severe damage to the respiratory organs.

A 60 year old patient was admitted on 27 of July. The patient came from the Rauche area. He had respiratory distress and with every painful breath smoke came out of his nose. Another patient was a 25 year old man, he had multiple circle round burns with greyish particles in the bottom. No signs of flame burns being present. The lesions were cold and inactive.

Cluster Bombs

Cluster bombs are basically large canisters filled with submunitions known as BLU's (for Bombs, Live Unit). When the canister opens, the submunition (BLU) spews over a wide area. Each canister can carry approximately 650 submunition (BLU). Very often cluster bomb submunitions are fitted with unreliable delayed action fuses and thus constitute a long term hazard.

Many children lost their lives or their extremities, because they were curious and had touched the bombs. One 74 year old woman lost part of one foot and severe damage to the other from the cluster bomb wounds.

Medical Services During the Siege in West Beirut

Because of the Israeli blockade, all the hospitals had difficulties remaining in operation. Many of them had to stop their activities. Some which did continue working were later forced to stop, because they were hit by the Israeli shells. Barbir hospital, a private Lebanese hospital with 10 floors had been shelled in nearly every floor. Their generator was also destroyed. The few hospitals like PRCS Hospital and AUH continued to function under very difficult conditions. We couldn't get enough oxygen, blood and other necessities. I had to let several patients die, because we had to save oxygen and blood for the ones who had a higher priority. We urgently need external fixation surgical equipment to treat multiple open fractures. I tried to get it from ICRC without any result. Unofficially the ICRC said that it was very difficult and expensive to get. They also needed it for themselves. (During the bombardment the ICRC field hospital was not functioning at all). Topical burn cream such as sulfa couldn't be found when we had used up our supply.

Patients had to pay to be treated at the private Lebanese hospitals such as American University Hospital.

The Red Cross convoy with all essential food and medicine was turned back at the entrance. The bombardment by land, sea and air combined

with an almost complete blockade of West Beirut created inhuman conditions especially for the children and the women. In our hospital the lack of electrical and water supplies resulted in the following situation:

1. A desperate shortage of clean linen, with the result that patients were lying on at best dirty and often bloody sheets.
2. Common high protein foods were impossible to provide for patients as were fresh fruits and vegetables containing essential vitamins. Thus, weakened, post-operative patients could not regain their strength and the healing process was at least retarded and in some cases stopped. A significant number of patients suffered from anaemia.
3. Operation theatre—clean operation gowns were not always available and often surgeons were only able to clean their hands with alcohol between the operations.
4. Without electricity it was often not possible to sterilize dressings equipment.
5. Patient hygiene was at times impossible to maintain-they were not able to wash and bed pans and urinal bottles were often impossible to clean adequately.
6. General garbage disposal was difficult.
7. Without constant and adequate lighting it was at times very difficult to do basic nursing procedures such as regulating I.V. infussions.

JANET STEVENS, Journalist, USA

"The variety of bombs used and the intensity of the bombing by land, sea and air, sometimes all at the same time, have left thousands dead."

I visited Mohammed Sannoun, fourteen and a half years old, at his home in Burj al-Barajneh to ask him why he had touched the triangular-shaped cluster bomb that had blown off his right arm. "It looked like some kind of aluminum cup painted red on the top, yellow on the bottom, with a black casing on the sides," he said. "I wanted to open it to see what it was." Mohammed and two other children accompanying him found the bomb outside a bakery in Burj al-Barajneh where they were buying bread, and all suffered shrapnel wounds from the explosion.

Another child resident of Burj al-Barajneh, Tarik Muayyen, 14, found so many of these triangular-shaped cluster bombs that he decided to become an expert in exploding them. He explained to me how he picked the bomb up so that neither of its two triggers would go off: "I lift the triangle sideways and then throw it quite a distance at a certain angle so that it explodes when it lands." He told me that he had detonated as many as 20-25 cluster bombs in one day, and that the shrapnel from such bombs "looks like little nails."

Tarik also gave me a description of another type of bomb he had seen: "It is the size and shape of a medium-sized battery, aluminum in color, with a white silk ribbon dangling from its trigger. When the ribbon is pulled, it goes off, and scores of shrapnel pellets burst out."

Verification checks with military experts at various outposts in the southern Beirut suburbs bore out Tarik's description of this kind of bomb. Residents in Hayy as-Sillim even gave me some detonated samples they had collected. I was surprised to find some samples which were not aluminum in color, but red, white, or green. "I doubt the fancy-colored ones were intended for us," a joint forces military commander in Lailiki told me.

If some kids in Burj al-Barajneh are becoming bomb experts, others are feeling scared. Taher Mustafa, 11, described to me with dread how one of his friends, Ghassan, had pulled the ribbon of a battery-shaped cluster bomb and bled to death from shrapnel wounds. "Ghassan throught he was picking up a piece of shrapnel . . . I will never collect shrapnel again," Taher said.

In the opinion of Maher Abu Khaled, a commanding officer in the *Murabitun* forces, what is even more frightening than "these booby-traps" are the advanced weapons used most extensively by Israel in the war in Lebanon: cluster bombs, fragmentation bombs, scatter bombs, phosphorus bombs, vacuum-packed rockets (ranging between 500-4,000 lbs.), 200-lb. anti-shelter rockets, concussion bombs. The variety of bombs used and the intensity of the bombing by land, sea and air, sometimes all at the same time, have left thousands dead.

The F-16 and F-15 war planes undoubtedly give Israeli forces unchallenged military superiority. They accurately hit targets reconnaissanced by drones. The F-16 can hit targets from a height of more than seven kilometers. Anti-aircraft fire from the Joint Forces can only reach a maximum height of four kilometers.

The Joint Forces had to improvise ways to protect themselves from such advanced weapons. One fighter from Damur expressed his first experience with the F-16: "My group was on the first floor of a seven-story building in Damur when one of the men turned on his wireless. We didn't know that the F-16 could pinpoint us when we had our wireless turned on. Within a minute, we heard the sound of the F-16 diving toward us. Three seconds

later, a rocket had landed in the room next to the one we were sitting in. We quickly left the building and ran up the slope, not realizing also that the gunboat off the coast could spot us there with binoculars. The gunboats sent our way some fragmentation bombs that put out some white smoke so that the plane knew our position again, and in less than four minutes of our leaving the building, the F-16 bombed us again with another rocket.

"However, out of 23 men, we only lost one—his leg had been shattered and he told us to leave him to die. We learned quickly that we had to be constantly mobile and keep in small groups, or we couldn't cope.

"It's like the first time we saw fragmentation bombs and scatter bombs and we dived for our foxholes, but some were wounded. We learned that if we covered our trenches with something, then the shrapnel couldn't get to us. We also learned that buildings were sometimes safer, especially when cluster, scatter and fragmentation bombs were raining down upon us all at one time."

Lebanon as a Laboratory

While Lebanese and Palestinian military and medical personnel struggled with their limited means to meet the crisis the invasion had provoked, Israel used the invasion as a laboratory for American-made weapons. A Joint Forces military expert described the flattening of a ten-storey building near Summerland with a vacuum-packed type of rocket: "When it struck the lower part of the building, tremendous air pressure from the rocket sucked up the air in the building and collapsed the walls. Such strong suction destroys the target building and all those in it at the time but does not affect the buildings around it."

A military officer at Burj al-Barajneh noted that the 107 mm rocket used against shelters was a type never used before. The rocket weighs approximately 200 pounds and explodes over a shelter in three stages. The first explosion exerts great pressure over the shelter. The second explosion emits flames, and the third scatters lethal shrapnel pellets. This type of bomb was used against the engineering school shelter in west Beirut.

A concussion bomb also explodes in three successive stages. The rocket penetrates three floors of a building from the top and then explodes. It penetrates another two or three floors and explodes again and finally propels itself down three or four more floors and explodes a last time. Each explosion creates a great deal of pressure. The concussion bomb in this way can reach the shelter of a building. The pressure that accompanies their explosions usually causes internal injuries—internal bleeding not always evident when the victim is first examined. The pressure produced by these bombs covers a range of approximately 200 square meters.

Fragmentation and cluster bombs both contain a series of small bombs that break down into shrapnel after a series of explosions. Scatter bombs, which are similarly structured, explode in the air into tiny pieces of shrapnel at a high speed, so that they can penetrate foxholes and trenches. A fragmentation bomb is usually wired so that a cord attached to a trigger is fitted with a coil mechanism. If, after the bomb is released in the air it does as many turns as are in the coil, the bomb explodes in the air. If not, it will land on the earth undetonated until the turn is completed by another movement, usually a human one. The shrapnel of fragmentation bombs is usually larger than that of cluster bombs. It may be released at a distance of 25-50 meters above the ground so that its fragments are distributed over a larger area. Its shrapnel can be destructive to buildings as well as to human beings, for the final pellet released is actually like a tiny firebomb.

Cluster bombs come packed 350 to each shell with instructions written in English, clearly indicating their American origin. The shell usually opens at about 100-200 meters off the ground and releases its payload. The triangular-shaped cluster bomb explodes upon impact of its trigger-head with some object or surface. Those which land without being detonated can explode when the head is simply touched. The other type of cluster bomb (battery-shaped with ribbon, each one containing about 60 shrapnel pellets) detonates when the ribbon is pulled or if its trigger-head strikes the ground after it is tossed.

Cluster bomb shrapnel usually causes multiple wounds, severely damages skin and tissue, and adversely affects blood circulation. More than one doctor told me that small pieces of shrapnel (including those from scatter bombs) are often more harmful than larger pieces. They may be more numerous, penetrate deeper and be more difficult to extract. In the meantime, they leave burning substances in the body which can gradually enter the bloodstream.

The extensive use of fire-bombs, especially phosphorus bombs, resulted in a very high ratio of deaths to injuries, Dr. Hawari at Haifa Hospital told me. "We were not sure how to treat phosphorus burns in the beginning," he said. "We tried to treat the blackened outer skin burn at first with water to clean it, but then we realized that this only aggravated the wound because of the oxygen content in the water. So we scraped off the burnt skin and then cleaned the wound with water before applying salves."

The phosphorus bombs can be air dropped or fired from land or sea. A 155 mm phosphorus bomb gives off huge flames of fire before it explodes. Such fire-bombs were aimed at al-Lailiki, Hayy as-Sillim and Burj al-Barajneh. The bombs leak out asphyxiating yellow fumes and cause damage to buildings whether its construction material is inflammable or

not. The fires caused by phosphorus bombs are difficult to put out and require chemical extinguishers.

Doctors at the Haifa Hospital and the Triumph Hotel clinic told me that most of the patients treated since the invasion have been civilians, and that more than 70 percent were suffering from wounds caused by internationally-banned weapons.

Civilian and Military Targets

"The Israelis do not differentiate at all between civilian and military targets," a military officer in Burj al-Barajneh said. "And as Palestinians we are civilians who have become military men so that we can fight for the right to become civilians again—citizens in our own country, Palestine. At our last meeting with the regional commander in Burj al-Barajneh, we decided that it was our duty to send out garbage-collection patrols in addition to patrols to the front. I live in Burj al-Barajneh, only about two kilometers from what the Israelis have delineated as 'the front.' When I am at home and resting between battles, I am a civilian. So is my neighborhood a military or a civilian area? When the Israelis bomb civilian areas and then we rush to set up military defense posts or anti-aircraft fire, has that civilian area then become a military front?"

I asked an anti-aircraft gunner how it felt to fire at the F-16 when he knew that he couldn't reach it because it was flying 37,000 feet overhead, several kilometers out of the range of his gun. "The Israelis are afraid to face us. They are afraid to create a real front with us," he said. "At least I'm showing them that I'm here, that if they would come down to face me, I exist."

CLAUDIA WRIGHT, Journalist, England

"With advance knowledge of the invasion, the U.S. sent arms to Israel and moved in ships."

The Lebanon war has differed from the four earlier Arab-Israeli wars in the ferocity of the Israeli attack and the degree of U.S. involvement. There has been widespread speculation in the international press, bordering on conviction in the Arab world, that these two things are connected—part of a joint Israeli-U.S. plan to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and redraw the political map of Lebanon once and for all.

This much is certain: The violence has been far more concentrated, indiscriminate and devastating than in the earlier wars. And the record of American actions from just before the fighting began through the first week of the war indicates that the U.S. anticipated what was about to happen.

From the preliminary and censored estimates of casualties currently available, it is apparent that the number of Israeli dead in the Lebanon war is less than the numbers killed in each of the earlier wars, except for the 1956 Suez conflict. On the Arab side, however, one must go back to the first war of 1948 to count a similar number of casualties.

One reason for this recent shift in the ratio of casualties was the one-sidedness of the battle between the enormous fire-power of the Israeli air, naval and artillery forces and the light arms operated by pockets of Palestinian guerrillas holed up in the Lebanese cities of Tyre, Sidon and Beirut. Although Israel had been claiming for months that the PLO tanks, truck-mounted rockets and heavy artillery had given the Palestinians a new degree of military potency, the new weapons either failed to enter the action and were captured or were easily demolished by the Israeli blitzkrieg. And Israeli command of the air and sea was never challenged by the Palestinians, who have no air or sea force.

Israel's victories over the Syrian air force was inevitable for the following reasons: the superiority of Israel's F-15s and F-16s over the Soviet-built MiG-21s the Syrians used; the greater flexibility of Israel's American-built *Sidewinder* air-to-air missiles; the enormous Israeli advantage in electronic techniques for suppressing their adversaries' target computers; and the complete Israeli radar surveilance of Syrian aircraft movements inside Syria itself. With radars overlooking southern Syria from Mt. Hermon and unchallenged aerial radar reconnaissance from the EC-2 *Hawkeye* aircraft looking over Syria's western border, Israel's air force could anticipate every move the Syrians made, while Syrian pilots were flying blindly into ambushes their own radar could not spot.

Thus, the military evidence confirms a markedly different picture of the military balance between Israel and its Arab neighbors than either Israeli leaders or their supporters in Washington have claimed in the past.

And the following evidence indicates that the Reagan administration did a great deal to encourage the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and to assure its military success.

Who's Telling the Truth?

In an Israel radio interview on August 14, Israeli Defense Minister Gen. Ariel Sharon suggested that U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Wein-

berger and former Secretary of State Alexander Haig not only had advance knowledge of Israel's plans to invade Lebanon, but also had approved those plans. Weinberger's office responded by calling Sharon's claim untrue, saying, "At no time did the Israeli defense minister say or allude to the fact that Israel had plans to invade Lebanon."

Weinberger's statement is not an outright denial of Sharon's claim. Instead, he evades the issue of how much he knew when Sharon was in Washington last May. The Israeli general did not need to discuss the invasion plans directly, because those details had already been made known to the Pentagon from U.S. intelligence reports and from earlier visits to Washington by military officers, including the visit, just days before Sharon arrived, of his aide, Arye Ganger.

On May 20, as Sharon prepared to leave Israel for Washington, a spokesman told the Tel Aviv newspaper *Ma'ariv* that "Jerusalem wants to maintain complete freedom of action" regarding Lebanon. That was a carte blanche for the Israeli military, and apparently nothing Sharon was told at the Pentagon indicated that there were U.S. reservations about Israel's plans. Indeed, everything that happened during Sharon's visit between May 22 and 27 suggested the U.S. government's resolve to back him as much as possible.

On May 24, the administration sent an informal notice to Congress of its decision to sell Israel 75 F-16 jet fighters, worth about $3 billion. Two days later, an administration offer of another 11 F-15s, costing $510 million, cleared Congress. The offer was then dispatched to Jerusalem. On the same day, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to add $125 million to the $785 million in economic support funds already authorized for Israel in 1983, and to convert the entire $910 million to a grant, dropping the administration proposal that one-third be treated as a loan. The reason, the committee claimed, was that "Israel's qualitative edge" in weaponry "continues to erode . . . necessitating increased arms purchases," at the same time heavy debts on past arms purchases were straining the Israeli economy.

On May 26, Haig gave a speech in Chicago hinting for the first time at how far the U.S. was prepared to go to find a new political solution in Lebanon, and how far, therefore, the Israelis could go toward eliminating the Palestinian and Syrian presence in Lebanon.

"The time has come," he said, "to take concerted action in support of both Lebanon's territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders and a strong central government capable of promoting a free, open, democratic and tradtionaly pluralistic society." To Sharon and the Israeli cabinet, there was no doubt what this "concerted action" meant. Former President Jimmy Carter has said he was told by "very knowledgeable people in Israel" that their plans to invade Lebanon had been given "a green light from Washington."

After Carter made these comments in an interview with the *Atlanta Constitution* on August 19, Secretary of State George Shultz responded by saying that Carter was "not correct." "My understanding is that the U.S. government was not informed and the U.S. government was and is on the record as having opposed the invasion." Like Weinberger's response to Sharon, this also evades the specific contention that Washington knew of the invasion in advance and tacitly gave its go-ahead. It was possible, Shultz said, that "somebody came through here and talked about [the invasion] as a possibility."

Even if Sharon and his subordinates had spoken vaguely of their plans, U.S. naval deployments in the eastern Mediterranean could not have occurred with out at least 10 days advance warning of the likely date of the Israeli attack. According to the Pentagon, deployments were ordered even before Sharon had left Washington for home, thereby stationing one of the most powerful U.S. armadas ever assembled in the eastern Mediterranean offshore from Lebanon at the same time Israel invaded. The armada gave that operation vital protection from Soviet or Arab threats from the west.

According to the Pentagon, in one of these deployments, the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier the *USS Ranger* was ordered to sail from San Diego, Calif., to the Indian Ocean to relieve the *USS Kennedy*. The *Ranger* reached its station June 1, two days before the shooting of the Israeli ambassador in Britain, Shlomo Argov, an assassination attempt used by Jerusalem to justify its attack on Lebanon. The *Kennedy* then headed for the Suez Canal, passing through immediately after the assassination attempt. By the time Israeli forces had begun to move, the *Kennedy* had taken up a position off the Lebanese coast, where its surveillance and interceptor aircraft covered Israel itself and Israeli naval operations off the Lebanese coast from surprise air or sea attacks from the west. The *Ranger's* relief of the *Kennedy*, said the Pentagon officials at the time, was routine, but the timing of the move and the *Kennedy's* new battle station were not.

Also on June 1, according to the Pentagon, the aircraft carrier *USS Eisenhower* and its escorts left Naples, sailing southeast to take up a position within range of Soviet naval anchorages near Crete. In a third coordinated move U.S. Marines and amphibious landing equipment were assembled at the Spanish port of Rota, and readied for sailing to Lebanon.

According to naval officials, the Marine task force left Rota on June 6—the day the war began. Its purpose, according to the official Pentagon press spokesperson, was "humanitarian—in case of the need of evacuation of Americans from Lebanon."

That was most likely a cover, because U.S. Marine preparations for a mission in Beirut appear to have preceeded the war. According to Lt. Col. Robert Johnston, an officer with the 32nd Amphibious Marines who

landed at Beirut on August 25 and spoke that day with a reporter from the Mutual Broadcasting System, his unit had been in training for such an operation "for two or three months." Navy officials in Washington and at Atlantic Fleet headquarters in Norfolk, Va., reveal that the helicopter carrier *USS Guam*, from which the main force of Marines disembarked at Beirut, had originally set sail for the Mediterranean from Norfolk on May 24. It reached Rota on June 3, the day of the Argov shooting.

Thus the vast armada of U.S. sea and air power that patrolled the Israeli and Lebanese coasts for the duration of the war had already begun moving into position before the war began. These prompt naval deployments stand in marked contrast to the long delays in leaving port of the Sixth Fleet's aircraft carriers during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war—the war that caught both the Israelis and the U.S. by surprise.

In an interview in mid-August with the Italian writer Oriana Fallaci, Sharon emphasized that this time around U.S. officials could not have been surprised. "I used to see Habib, Haig and Weinberger exclusively to discuss the problem of terrorism and the PLO. I never kept secrets from them: I never made mysteries . . . when I spoke about Lebanon, I kept warning them: 'Don't be caught by surprise if or when we will do it.' Or: 'If or when we do, don't tell us that you were caught by surprise. The situation is such that we cannot restrain ourselves anymore.' "

Sharon then said, "We had evaluated the various possibilities of a Soviet intervention, and we had examined them with the Americans. . . . Then we had reached the conclusion that the Soviet Union wouldn't intervene." But this wasn't exactly what happened.

At the time the Israelis launched their attack, the Pentagon estimated publicly that the Soviet Mediterranean squadron was under its normal strength—about 10 surface fighting ships and an undisclosed number of submarines. At the outbreak of the 1973 war, it had more than double that number. In the second and third weeks of the recent war, the Soviets began to react militarily after issuing veiled threats against Israel at the United Nations and in two letters delivered to President Reagan. On June 23, a Pentagon spokesperson said Soviet naval reinforcements had brought the total in the Mediterranean squadron to 39 ships, including 16 surface combatants and 23 supply vessels—the nuclear-attack submarines remained uncounted.

But as the Soviets began reinforcing, so did the Pentagon, using a "readiness exercise" as the cover. On June 18 the Navy issued a public notice announcing a "NATO exercise" code-named "Daily Double 1-82." This operation, directed by Vice Adm. William Rowden, U.S. commander of Naval Strike Forces for Southern Europe, was said to "demonstrate an ability to reinforce carrier battle groups in the Mediterranean, to project power ashore in support of land battles and to demonstrate that NATO in the southern region has the flexibility to take advantage of major short-notice training opportunities."

The "exercise," which took place between June 24 and 28, added two new carriers to the Sixth Fleet—the *USS Independence* and the *USS Forrestal*. Along with their escorts and tenders, submarines and the three carriers already off the Lebanese coast, the U.S. fleet had grown to "more than 50 ships," according to the Navy. It was the largest number of carriers ever assembled by the U.S. in the Mediterranean. NATO participation in the "Daily Double" exercise was also a cover. Defense Department officials said they knew of no non-American ships in the exercise.

U.S. Arms Surge

In the early days of the 1973 war, the White House deliberately stalled shipment of fresh arms and ammunition for Israel as a means of controlling Israel's military advance on Egyptian and Syrian territory. At the time, Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State, told the Israeli government that the Pentagon bureaucracy was to blame. In fact, according to James Schlesinger, then Secretary of Defense, that "was a cover story in that period—that the source of resistance was to be the Pentagon. This story was basically to protect the realities of national policy."

This time White House and Pentagon policy was equally deceptive but quite different. The Defense Secretary's public role during the Lebanon war was to appear far more hostile to the Israeli operation than he actually was, while he secretly facilitated the arms shipments the Israelis wanted.

Pentagon figures, released in response to a Freedom on Information request, reveal a massive surge of military equipment and ammunition from the U.S. to Israel in the first months of this year, as Israel completed plans for its invasion. In the first quarter of 1982 Israel took delivery of $217,695,000 worth of military equipment from the U.S. This is almost 10 times the value of U.S. military goods delivered to Israel in the same period in 1980; it is nearly 50 percent more than the value of deliveries at the same time last year.

The main weapons accounting for the surge are 10 F-15 aircraft—considerably more costly than the 14 F-16A aircraft delivered in 1981—14 tank-recovery vehicles, 19 self-propelled 155-mm howitzers, and over $6 million in bombs and ammunition.

The tank recovery vehicles have been extensively used in the fighting in Lebanon. And as U.S. television cameras have recorded, the 155-mm howitzers, shipped from the U.S. early this year, have been the main source of the artillery fire raining down on Beirut for weeks. Although the Pentagon has not yet released delivery figures for the second quarter of

this year, a Defense Department spokesperson has confirmed that 25 M-60 tanks were handed over to Israel in May, and another 15 were shipped in June. The Defense Security Assistance Agency, which administers U.S. foreign military sales, compiles detailed delivery figures for weapons types for each quarter. In just-released figures going back to 1980, there is nothing comparable to this rate of tank shipments.

Another highly unusual item in the arms inventory delivered to Israel just before the war began is listed in Pentagon data as "Guided Bombs." In the first quarter of 1982, the Israel defense forces took delivery of 14 of these, at a cost of $4.4 million. Bombs of this type, which have highly sophisticated guidance devices and delayed fuses, are widely believed to have been used by Israel in the attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad on June 8, 1981. One or more bombs of the same type were dropped on a multi-story apartment building near Hamra Street, West Beirut, on August 6.

The effect was devastating—the entire building was leveled, trapping or killing more than 100 people. This bombing attack involved extraordinary precision by just two Israeli aircraft, operating over one of the densest sections of the city. Press reports indicate that the Israelis believed the building was a hideout for Yasser Arafat, and that he may have been in the building within an hour of the attack. In his August 14 radio interview, Gen. Sharon admitted that the aim of recent raids was to kill PLO leaders.

Col. Mark Foutch at the Pentagon told this reporter on June 11 that there had been no surge in U.S. arms deliveries to Israel before the war, and that it was impossible for this to occur in an arms program that is planned years in advance. Foutch refused to provide detailed delivery information, claiming this was classified.

The release of the information two months later indicates an extraordinary coordination between U.S. weapons delivery schedules and Israeli military plans for Lebanon. Starting at least three months before the invasion of Lebanon, it appears the Pentagon knew that Israel was stockpiling weapons at a massive and costly rate. And the willingness to continue the shipments, even after the war had begun, suggests the active collusion of the Pentagon in Israel's actions.

As Sharon suggested in his August interviews, it is too late for the U.S. to disclaim knowledge or responsibility.

JONATHAN C. RANDAL, Journalist, United States

"The Israelis appear to have used every weapon at their disposal."

Dispatch in *Washington Post*, June 14, 1982

Aazzouniye, Lebanon, June 13—Visitors were welcome today, but the car had to be left outside because the driveway was strewn with butterfly-winged, silver cones each containing a sphere slightly larger than a squash ball and equipped with a plunger detonator.

To weapons buffs the objects littering the grounds at the Armenian sanitarium in this mountain town 16 miles southeast of Beirut are known as CBUs, short for cluster bomb units.

One canister contains hundreds of these bomblets. The canister breaks open when dropped from an airplane and explodes before hitting the ground, spraying the exploding antipersonnel devices over an area the size of a football field.

When the Israelis dropped CBUs on the Palestinian refugee camp at Rashidiyeh during their 1978 invasion of southern Lebanon, the U.S. Congress considered holding up further arms supplies to the Jewish state on the grounds that they had been meant for defensive use only.

Lebanese intelligence sources said that the Israelis also dropped CBUs yesterday on Bourj el Brajneh, the Palestinian refugee camp closest to Beirut's airport.

The sanitarium here was damaged when the Israelis used the weapons to back up their armor's lightning drive through the Chouf region, which almost dislodged the Syrians from their vital communications link that is the Beirut-Damascus highway just three miles farther north.

Here, in the Lebanon range that dominates the rich Bekaa Valley to the east adjoining Syria, the Israelis took no chances.

In the heat of a major tank, artillery and later air battle, the Israelis appear to have used every weapon at their disposal. There was no evidence that the destruction of the sanitarium was anything more than an accident of war. There were also confused reports of Syrian soldiers being in the area of the sanitarium during the fighting.

The CBUs gouged holes in the driveway at the sanitarium that, since 1937, has cared for tuberculois patients, and now houses aged and often bedridden patients of Lebanon's many creeds and communities as well.

No one was killed, although three villagers were wounded severely later when they picked up unexploded CBUs out of curiosity.

Nor were the CBUs the Israelis' only calling card here. Blown-out windows and doors, smashed equipment, a punctured water tower, gaping

holes in the roof and walls and collapsed concrete slabs littered the hospital. That the sanitarium building survived so well bore testimony to the ability of the reinforced concrete in the three-story building to withstand the explosives hurled onto it by Israeli heavy artillery.

The red cross painted on the hospital roof and a small Red Cross flag flying from the third floor should have been visible at the time the Israelis opened fire, according to hospital administrator Gabriel Mikalian.

But he also noted that at one point during the air and artillery bombardment in this front-line town, Syrian troops had taken shelter overnight under the trees in the garden near the adjoining research center.

Mikalian said he could not remember just when the Syrians had been there. He and the other staff and the 146 patients seemed still confused and battered by the travail that the sanitarium had endured.

During the bombardment, which went on for about four days, the staff had moved most of the patients to the safety of the basement.

The three wounded patients were all among the bedridden who could not move themselves and whom the staff did not rescue for days because they were too frightened by the fighting to leave the basement.

Dressed in red pyjamas, Berdjohi Ananian, crippled at 52 with severe rheumatism, sat half propped up in her bed, a small Japanese radio next to her pillow and a cheap color Nativity scene pinned to the now paneless window.

She had lain there unattended for days on end during the worst of the fighting, unable to move and left behind by the staff.

Her bright black eyes darting, she said in excellent French, "Of course I was scared." And had she been hungry? "I was so frightened I did not want to eat," she said.

And what had she done during that terrible time?

"I listened to the news on the radio," she said.

ROBERT FISK, Journalist, England

"Israel's use of cluster bombs during her invasion of Lebanon, about which President Reagan has expressed his concern, appears to have been both widespread and frequent."

Dispatch in *The Times* of London, July 2, 1982

Israel's use of cluster bombs during her invasion of Lebanon, about

which President Reagan has expressed his concern, appears to have been both widespread and frequent.

Western correspondents have discovered several of the weapons unexploded in and around the Palestinian camps in Beirut and a number of the plastic bomb casings—still clearly marked with the code and date of American manufacture—have been found in the capital and other parts of Lebanon. I came across two of them in the mountains near bombed Syrian positions at Mdeirei above Beirut.

The weapons, which kill opponents with clouds of steel balls and metal fragments, are supplied to Israel by the United States under restrictions which the American Administration refuses to make public.

Two types of cluster bombs have been sold to Israel for use against tanks and smaller vehicles, but not as anti-personnel weapons. It is their discovery in the Palestine camps that has caused such concern in Washington, for many of those injured by the bombs appear to have been civilians.

One type of cluster bomb which I have seen and examined consists of a set of triangular metal caskets, each of which contains a cylindrical pellet of explosive of a white, powdery chemical. It looks like a bomb known in the United States as a CBU-58 which is specifically designed for use against jeeps, mobile radar sets and other lightly-armoured equipment. Several of these weapons have been discovered near Corniche Mazraa, a heavily populated civilian district in Beirut.

Another type—which appears similar to the "rockeye" anti-tank cluster bomb—contains a number of small, heavy "bomblets" crudely made in three parts and about three inches in diameter. Several of these caskets, which look at first sight like large, thick arrowheads, fell unexploded on roads near Quzai, along the southern end of the Beirut seafront.

Most of the cluster bomb casings are made of a light, plastic-like material about 9 ft in length and break into two parts once the bombs have been released. The Palestine Liberation Organization, which, of course, has its own propaganda reasons for publicising the Israelis' use of the weapon, has found several of these casings around Beirut over the past three weeks, identical to the ones I saw at Mdeirej.

One of those now in the PLO's possession contains the following codes: "MK 20, MOD 3, anti-tank bomb cluster DL 2605107, FSN 325-255-6307-E173". It is marked as "Lot no 115-6-73". Another bomb in a white casing with yellow stripes running the length of it, carries the serial number BB39824 and "Drawing no 69E6389-10".

DAVID HIRST, Journalist, England

"We were lucky." Abu Husam said, "we recognised the driver." He said that the Israelis had promised him 150,000 Lebanese pounds for the job.

Dispatch in *The Guardian*, July 8, 1982

The trestle table bore an array of unfamiliar, but not particularly eye-catching, objects. They could have been odds and ends from an ironmonger's shelf. But Abu Husam asked us to be particularly careful with a two-inch high cone with a kind of ribbon on top. He turned it upside down and pointed to a copper lining." It has not been detonated," he explained. "I picked it up outside the Gaza hospital."

He put it gingerly down and took us aside to see scores more, still packed neatly into their delivery system, an ordinary 155mm shell. They eject in separate batches of 50 each on the descending trajectory, to spread over as wide an area as possible.

Suddenly there was a loud report. This was an unintended, but impressive, part of Abu Husam's demonstration. A gust of wind had blown the cone off the trestle. Fortunately for us, it had landed bottom down, as it was supposed to do. So the explosive charge thrust downwards. It drilled a neat, narrow hole in the hard, dry earth, 24 inches deep.

That was the penetration charge, the part that is supposed to go through the roofs of buildings. You could not detect the difference, but a second charge went off a split second later. That was the antipersonnel fragmentation charge which normally goes off in the building's interior.

These were the intestines of cluster bombs which, under an agreement with their US suppliers, the Israelis are supposed to use only in a "defensive" role.

They now admit that they have been using them—but only against "organised military targets."

Abu Husam is one of the PLO's top explosives and ballistic experts. According to him, the Israelis have been using them all over the place, as much against civilians as military targets. In Beirut, the refugee camps of Bourj al-Brajneh, Sabra, and Chatila or the Shia suburb of Ouzai have been hit.

In these areas, thrust into the front line of Palestinian resistance to Israel's tightening blockade, it is almost impossible to distinguish between civilian and military targets.

The cluster bombs are obviously well suited to the congested urban landscape of Beirut. They come, according to Abu Husam, in at least six varieties, and can be fired from land, sea, and air.

One of them looks like a miniature rocket. It comes 360 at a time, in a large container, dropped from the air, which releases its cargo about 900 feet from the ground. It operates on the same principle as the cone—penetration and then fragmentation. The general penetration zone is about 100 yards in diameter, the fragmentation potential of each unit about 30 feet in diameter.

Another device was a triangular spring mechanism. They come 100 at a time. Abu Husam said, throwing out their charges in every direction, depending on how they land. There was also a miniature grenade, for use in open spaces.

One item was a plastic container. Hydrogen cyanide, said Abu Husam, 160 at a time. They had been used mainly against the Syrians. They had also been dropped on Bourj al-Brajneh and the adjoining suburb of Hai al-Salum.

The Syrians had earlier accused the Israelis of using nerve gas. The Israelis denied this. Dr. Sathi Arafat, Yasser's brother and the head of the Palestine Red Crescent, said that there were no proven cases of gas poisoning among the Palestinians, only cases of dizziness and vomiting which were possible symptoms of it.

All or most of these devices, as markings showed, were American made.

On display, too, were the dismantled ingredients of the most familiar of mass killers, the car bomb. The perpertrators usually diguise their identity. The Palestinians believe that frequently they have been Israelis. But they have rarely been able to furnish evidence.

Abu Husam produced what looked like a slab of nougat. It had Hebrew lettering on it. That, he said, was part of 250 kilograms of TNT that his men had found in a predominantly Lebanese quarter of Beirut. He produced 30 "tatril" primers which, he said, were designed to intensify the explosion. They also had Hebrew on them.

"If it had gone off in an open space the blast would have been felt a kilometre and a half away."

"We were lucky," Abu Husam said, "we recognised the driver." He said that the Israelis had promised him 150,000 Lebanese pounds for the job.

Doctors have had no chance to compile the data which might corroborate what the ballistic experts say. But they agree that they are dealing with injuries different from any they have hitherto seen or heard about.

Dr. Khalid, a Palestinian neuro-surgeon, said that the ratio of dead to wounded instead of being the more normal one to five, is now about 50-50, and that small pieces of shrapnel caused extraordinarily severe lacerations.

TERRY ANDERSON, Journalist, United States

"We had to leave the babies in a bucket of water overnight."

AP dispatch in *The Guardian*, July 31, 1982

Three-year-old Ahmed Baitam, his face and part of his chest covered with severe burns, was tied to the bed with soft bandages. As Dr. Amal Shamma leaned over to point out the injuries caused by burning phosphorus, the baby's heart stopped.

The boy, who was declared dead an hour later, was among 14 members of a single family who were hit by a phosphorus shell in Wednesday night's shelling of West Beirut by the Israelis. His twin five-day-old sisters were dead on arrival. His aunt, grandmother, and grandfather, as well as four cousins, were severely burned, his mother, another aunt, and two other children suffered less severe, but still serious burns.

The doctor said the wounded were trapped for two hours in the cellar where they lived. "Nobody could get to them because of the shelling. That's why I think the babies died." Phosphorus ignites on contact with the air and continues to burn as long as there is an air supply.

At the hospital morgue, Dr. Shamma wheeled out a drawer containing what looked like a snarled bedsheet. Unwrapping the sheet, she revealed the two tiny bodies of the five-day-old twins covered with burns. "They brought them in. They were still smouldering," she said. "We had to leave them in a bucket of water overnight."

Dr. Shamma, aged 34, said the oldest of the nine children hit by the phosphorus was seven years old. These were not the first phosphorus patients she has treated since Beirut came under attack, she said.

"We have had several cases from the beginning of the war of people who have been burned with phosphorus," she said. "We have had two casualties. One was a one-and-a-half-year-old girl who died. The family of one of our employees here, the mother and six or seven children died of phosphorus burns (at another hospital)."

Dr. Shamma said she could think of no reason why the Israelis would use the phosphorus shells. "In civilian areas, where it can hurt people? It's not going to burn stone," she said.

SELIM NASSIB, Writer, Lebanon

"In the shelter there was a mother and her baby. She only had one feeding bottle, but she passed it around so that all the children could have some milk. As for the adults, they had had nothing to eat or drink since the day before. Plus, the shelling was getting more intense minute by minute. We thought we were done for. We said our farewells."

Beirut: 12 August 1982

Israel's murderous activities around Beirut have run into extra time. The pilots take off from airports in northern Israel. Within minutes they are over the besieged Lebanese capital. They carry out a dummy run over their designated targets. Behind them they drop regularly-spaced decoy flares, designed to draw the anti-aircraft fire of the SAM missiles. Then they come over on a second run. The computer on board triggers the plane's firing mechanism, and it drops its lethal load. Several tons of metal drop to earth, blasting buildings, killing and mutilating people, and tearing up the ground . . . From six in the morning to the end of the day the skies over Beirut are hardly empty for a moment.

The Israelis' naval guns and land artillery have also played their part. The four Palestinian camps in the southern part of the city have been hit again and again. Sabra, Shatila, Bourj el-Brajneh and Mar Elias. Leaving aside any political or military considerations, it seems that Israel is pursuing a policy of destruction for its own sake. The camps in southern Lebanon have been bulldozed flat. The camps in Beirut are being systematically destroyed, from a distance. Israel's intention is that, at the end of the war, the Palestinians should have no roof over their heads. The Israelis work methodically . . .

Many of the Palestinian refugees from the deserted camps have taken shelter in the two-storey basement of Beirut's shopping centre, the 'Concorde'. Two thousand people, the majority of them women and children, are crammed together in this small space. . .

Beirut: 13 August 1982

Friday the 13th. Seventieth day of the war; sixty-ninth day of the siege. The city woke up painfully this morning to a situation of complete calm. A normal, peaceful summer's day. Those daily newspapers which are still appearing published several pages showing the destruction and the horrors of the day before. Scenes of everyday life in summer 1982. . .

But the people of Beirut have gone beyond anger and indignation. They no longer have the strength. The city is in the grip of a kind of gloomy fatalism, a feeling that everything is useless. The Palestinians had just agreed to a whole set of concessions; only a few points of detail stood in the way of final agreement; but still the birds of ill omen came back for eleven hours on end, dropping their bombs on a virtually unarmed population. Just like that, gratuitously, with impunity, in order to kill and maim.

A shrug of the shoulders greets the moral outrage of the outside world. Reactions are a little half-hearted as people hear the news of the disagreements within the Israeli cabinet, the belated anger of America's President Reagan, and the Security Council resolution calling for the lifting of the blockade of Beirut. . .

People are confused by Israel's apparent determination. In a way this has been a phoney war. Israel invaded Lebanon and destroyed its capital city in order to kill an *idea*—the idea of the existence of a Palestinian people. This show of strength has been fundamentally important for Israel. It is by this means that Israel hopes to become one of the world's important countries, hopes to 'join the others'. Leaving aside all political and military calculations, this war has an almost metaphysical aspect. In order to exist, one has to make the other disappear. The problem is that this disappearance can only be symbolic. Whatever may be said by certain people who have lost their sense of proportion, the Israelis as a nation are not unanimous about this war. They are not capable of physical liquidation of an entire people. Therefore, they are obliged to try and annihilate them in moral terms.

What more can one say? The Palestinians have no land, nothing that belongs to them in their own right. They have nothing that can be held to ransom, to force them into an agreement. All they have is an idea in their heads, the idea that they belong to a nation. How can this idea be rooted out? All that you can ask of them is that they disperse. They reel under their blows, but they refuse to comply. The law of the jungle applies. But military force and metaphysics have always made bad bedfellows. Metaphysics plays tricks, and it can sometimes end by turning things into their opposite. Remember the parable of the 'last shall be first'.

By refusing to evacuate Beirut thus far, the Palestinians have shown that they are not about to disappear into nothingness. Perhaps just the contrary. Beirut may be worn out, bled dry, and subjected to a daily pounding, but its Lebanese and Palestinian population are still holding out. Faced with an Arab world that is powerless and defeated, this resistance of the weak has become a kind of challenge for the future. Who can say, who would dare to say, that as from today the Palestinian people is not a reality?

Beirut: 1 July 1982

She was helping her mother hand out the washing when she stepped on a round metal object the size of a melon. The pressure of her foot set off the detonator. The fragmentation bomb came out of the ground as it exploded, spinning around at high speed and sending off fragments of shrapnel in all directors. The shrapnel from a normal shell only kills when it hits some vital part of the body. But it may only wound a hand or a foot. You have a chance of escaping with your life. But there was no such chance for little Houeida. She was 12 years old. Her name was Houeida Dia. She lived in Sfair, in the southern part of Beirut.

The registrar let us see the hospital's doctors: On 17 June, Samir Ahmad Kurmo, aged 3, had his left hand burned by a phosphorus bomb that fell on Horch (south Beirut). He survived. The same day, a 9-year-old girl (only her first name is recorded—Suzanne) died on arrival at the Gaza Hospital (Palestinian hospitals are named after towns in Palestine). She died of widespread phosphorus burns. Then on 24 June, in Bourj el-Brajneh, next to the Palace Cinema, Ahmed Sakka, aged 32, was injured by an exploding phosphorous bomb. He died from his injuries. On 25 June, according to the same witnesses, on the airport road, Samir Kamel (22), Khalil El-Hajj (22), Said Ahmad (28) and Samir Khalil (27) died from burns. Phosphorous burns are recognisable by their colour—yellowish—and the swelling that surrounds the burn. No sign of shrapnel, and no pus. Immediate formation of a scab, and a smell of matches.

Amal Shamaa, a young woman doctor in her early thirites, is in charge of emergency out-patients at the Berbir Hospital. She tells us that she has seen only one case of phosphorus burns. The shell fell on Bourj el-Brajneh on 14 June. The victim was Hassan Hodrouj, aged 40. Phosphorus burns, she tells us, are medicated much the same as other burns: you wash them and treat them with an ointment that marks out the location of the phosphorous. It can then be removed in order to prevent continued burning. However, this treatment was not able to save Hodrouj. . .

In the heart of West Beirut, the Hotel Triumph (a hotel owned by Palestinians) has been transformed into a field hospital. Said Hegazi, aged 20, lies there. He looks extremely weak. Lying on his back, he can speak only with difficulty. His arms (from shoulders to fingertips), his head and his belly are swathed in bandages. He has a compress on his nose, and the burns on his face are covered with a yellow ointment. A fly keeps settling on his face; his friends sit there and wave it off. He tells us that he was walking down a street in Bourj el-Brajneh on Friday, 25 June, when a phosphorous bomb exploded a few metres away from him. He doesn't remember much more. He realised that it was phosphorous because his skin swelled up; the wounds continued to burn, and he had not been hit by shrapnel.

The use of phosphorous bombs, and also of fragmentation bombs, is explicitly banned under the Geneva Convention. Presumably dropping 500-kilo bombs on civilian targets is 'permitted'? But that's another matter. For the outside world, these revelations may cause a degree of horror or indignation. But for the besieged people of Beirut City, they are a foretaste of what perhaps is still to come.

The Fall of Tyre

Beirut: 12 July 1982

A young woman has managed to cross the siege-lines into West Beirut. Her husband is with her. He is wanted by the Israelis. She experienced the fall of Tyre at first hand. Here is her story.

'On Friday, 4 June, there was shelling, but it only affected the Palestinian camp at Rashidiyeh and the outskirts of Tyre. Then, on the 6th, the shells started falling on the city itself. Aircraft, land artillery and the navy were all involved. The firing was so intense that we couldn't even make a run for the shelter—which was totally inadequate anyway. We stayed in the stairwell of the house. From what we could see, the bombing made no attempt to distinguish between Palestinians and Lebanese, civilians or soldiers. It was designed to terrorise and destroy.

'On Sunday, 6 June, at 10.00am, helicopters dropped red, blue and green leaflets over the city. They read: "Surrender! All the other cities have fallen." What could we do? We didn't even dare show our noses in the street.

'After half an hour the shelling started again. How can I describe it? It was even more terrible than before. The aircraft was firing (special shells which are able to go through several layers of concrete before exploding). Some of them landed next to our house. Imagine—I had been so happy when we found a flat overlooking the sea! By now we couldn't even see each other because of the smoke which was filling the stairwell. All you could hear was shouting and screaming.

'We took an alley leading to the house next door. Luckily, broken water pipes had put out the fire in the passage, but the building itself was on fire. We were able to reach the shelter which the Palestinians had built in the city. We stayed there from 5.00pm on Sunday until 11.30am on Monday. The soldiers occasionally came in to tell us what was going on above. A group of Saad Haddad's militia [the Israeli puppet controlling the territory on Israel's northern frontier] strayed into the positions held by the city's defenders. Thinking that he was among his own people, the leader of the group, a man called Abu Emile, who is very well known in Tyre, introduced himself. "Welcome, Abu Emile", said the soldiers, and executed him and his men on the spot.

'Five tanks advanced to the edge of the city. But they were met with rocket fire, and one of them was hit. So they withdrew. Then the artillery started firing again.

'In the shelter there was a mother and her baby. She only had one feeding bottle, but she passed it around so that all the children could have some milk. As for the adults, they had had nothing to eat or drink since the day before. Plus, the shelling was getting more intense minute by minute. We thought we were done for. We said our farewell. Then at 11.30 the firing stopped. We learned afterwards that the Red Cross and the town's Catholic bishop, Msgr George Haddad, had won permission for the civilians to be evacuated to avoid a collective massacre. We came out of our hole. A Red Cross car had been driving around town with loud speakers, asking all the inhabitants to go down to the Rest House Hotel on the beach. We went there. The soldiers stayed on in Tyre.

'The whole population of Tyre was gathered on the beach. Between 10,000 and 15,000 people, standing in the sun. A Red Cross representative came and told us that the Israelis were demanding that the men of the city should go over towards the Palestinian camp at Rashidiyeh to provide a human shield for the Israeli tanks which would follow behind. The news provoked utter rage and anger. The women began crying and beating their faces and tearing their clothes. In the end the men decided not to go. They said, "If we're going to die, then let's die here."

'After this episode, the aerial bombing started again. It lasted for four hours, from 12.30pm to 4.30pm. Those were the most terrible four hours of my life. The whole population of Tyre stook and watched, helpless, as their now empty city was burned and destroyed. Later, someone said that the reason why the Israelis attacked the city so thoroughly was because they wanted to make an example of it.

'All of a sudden the bombardment stopped. Flames were rising from all over the town—it's not a very big town. Total silence followed the hellish noise of the explosions. Then tanks flying the Israeli flag began to move in on the destroyed city. The city seemed completely dead. But the tanks had barely reached the first houses when a field gun of the joint forces [the Palestinian and progressive forces] began firing at them. It was miraculous. On the beach, as one person, we began shouting, singing and dancing.

'The tanks immediately turned back. They were not even out of sight when the planes returned to the attack. Really, without their aircraft the Israelis would not have overcome our resistance. They bombed and shelled with impunity. The building from which the field gun had fired was reduced to a pile of rubble. . .

'Then the tanks came back again. They advanced, firing cannon and heavy machine-guns, and taking up the whole width of the road. Where they found cars in the road, they drove over them and squashed them flat

as pancakes. Once they entered the town, we didn't see them again. But we could still hear Kalashnikov fire, and the sound of B7 rocket launchers.

'At 10.30pm the Red Cross came to tell us that those who wanted could, at their own risk, spend the night with them, on condition that they returned to the beach by 5.30 the following morning. Many people decided not to budge. The Red Cross had asked the Israelis (in vain) to be allowed to bring milk for the children, and to evacuate the seriously wounded.

'I saw doctors crying in helpless rage, faced with wounded people who were bleeding profusely, for whom they could do nothing. In the end a number of wounded were taken off to hospital—to an Israeli hospital. There was one man who had his guts burst open. He was shouting, "I'm going to die . . . but please, not in Israel." They took him away anyway, and he must have died down there.

'That night six women went into labour on the beach. Three of them were only seven months pregnant. The inhabitants of the town took it in turns to come and give blood. All the babies survived.

'On Tuesday at 5.30am the air force started bombing the city again. By this time it was obvious that they were doing it out of spite, just for the sake of destroying Tyre. Then they stopped. They went back into the city. Finally, at 4.30pm we heard that the operation had ended.

'But the three Palestinian camps which surrounded Tyre were still holding out. We could clearly hear explosions and the rattle of machine-guns and Kalashnikovs. Then the Israelis came and ordered all men between the ages of 16 and 60 to step aside from the crowds gathered on the beach. We all thought they were going to kill them. The women all began crying again, but what could they do? The men were taken away.

'Later on, those who came back told us that they had been paraded under floodlights before being taken, one by one, in front of informers who were disguised behind hoods. Those who got through were given permits allowing them four days freedom of movement. The others—most of whom had nothing to do with anything—were taken on a bus which left for an unknown destination. Now we understood why so many people had been taken in. Those who had done "nothing wrong" were told by the Israelis: "Very good. Now, we want you to tell us who in Tyre is involved with politics and terrorism." In this way, by a process of cross-checking, they were able to get a far more precise idea of the exact role played by those they had arrested. And at the same time they were able to break the morale of the "innocent".

'On Wednesday they began collecting up weapons. Some of these were hidden, others were given up. When the Israelis found a Kalashnikov abandoned in the street, they would never pick it up themselves. They told the children of Tyre to go and bring it to them, in case it was booby-trapped. On Thursday food lorries arrived. We had no choice but to accept food from it. How could we do otherwise? I believe that the systematic destruction undertaken by the Israelis was intended, among other things, to make us dependent on them. With our economy destroyed and an entire population to feed, we would be forced to trade with Israel.

'Doctors were issued with movement permits valid for one week. One of them told me that an Israeli officer had said that they would soon be issuing permits valid for six months. Six months. Do you realise what that means? It means that the Israelis are here to stay. . .'

Two CBU-58 (BLU 63/B) cluster bomblets. These bomblets arm by spinning after leaving the dispenser. Picking them up is extremely dangerous because, as in "Russian-roulette" the next spin on turn can be fatal.