



SYRIA, THE PALESTINIANS, AND THEIR LEBANESE ALLIES: TERRORISM AND WAR CRIMES

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INTRODUCTION:

Lebanon, a country bruised by an endless war is currently annexed by Syria. This annexation was agreed to by the United States of America in order to prod Syria to sign a peace treaty with Israel.

On October 13, 1990, Syria invaded the last free Christian regions of Lebanon in order to install its peace.

Lebanon is under Syrian protection in a similar manner to France under Nazi occupation.

The West initiated a war of destruction against Iraq following the latter's occupation of Kuwait; however, Kuwait has oil and Lebanon doesn't.

Despite all international reports about Syrian terrorism in Lebanon, Syria, and the world, Hafez el Assad and his cronies are respected and honored.

This document relates true facts about the war crimes committed in Lebanon by the Syrians, the Palestinians, and some of their Lebanese friends.

Lebanon was attacked by the Palestinians under Yasser Arafat's leadership and also by the Syrians under Hafez el Assad. The so called civilized world may offer these two war criminals the titles they wish for, in the eyes of the Lebanese they will remain war criminals and no less than war criminals. The tacit reaction of these so called civilized countries over the crimes committed by Assad and Arafat in Lebanon is the silence of accomplices. Even when western citizens were killed in Lebanon and elsewhere by Syrians or their friends, western governments offered muted responses and demonstrated their indifference and cowardice.

This document refers solely to facts. It is interested only in war crimes committed primarily against the Lebanese People, and/or against Lebanese patrimony, because the war's objective was the extermination of the Lebanese People and the Lebanese nation.

This document was published publicly five years ago. It was submitted to the political leadership of a number of powerful states and primarily to the United States of America.

The present version is an updated form of the old version. We can affirm that everything outlined in this document is the truth. We have not included everything. But the information published in the present document is adequate to arrest the people cited in it and to bring them before a tribunal for crimes perpetrated against humanity and against the Lebanese nation.

1. In September 1975, men belonging to the armed groups of the Palestinian leaders George Habash (a Christian) and Nayef Hawatmeh (a Muslim) executed all the Christian villagers from Beit Mellat in the north of Lebanon, who had fallen into their hands. Nayef Hawatmeh is a member of the DFLP and his group was recently removed from the list of terror groups by the Clinton administration so he could work with Arafat. Subsequently, Israel refused to allow him to enter Gaza as Israel considers him a dangerous terrorist, yet the Clinton administration has not reversed its' decision.

2. September 3, 1975, at Deir Ayach in Northern Lebanon, a monastery transformed in 1947 into a school was twenty eight years later attacked by Lebanese and Palestinians. The school had 960 children (660 Muslims) who mainly were attending at no cost. Three monks aged, respectively, 60, 78, and 93, the sole occupants of Deir Ayach on that day were murdered. The veins of the blind Boutros Sassine's arms were severed. Antoine Tamini was slaughtered, decapitated, and burned. Hanna Maksoud was found in his room, his throat cut. The Christian villagers living around the school monastery fled, and the aggressors destroyed their village.
3. On January 15, 1976, the Palestinians arrived at Kab Elias, an Islamic Christian village situated in the Bekaa. Some ten days later, 16 Christians were killed and another 23 were injured. Following that, we witnessed the exodus of the Christians towards Zahlé, East Beirut and Jounieh.
4. At the beginning of January 1976, in Damour and Jieh, two Christian towns south of Beirut, the Palestinians and Syrians went so far as to cut the fingers of Christian children to ensure that they never would be able to pull a gun's trigger. In Damour, at least 300 inhabitants were killed and their churches profaned.
5. On January 19, 1976, the village of Hoche Barada in the Bekaa was attacked by Palestinians and Muslim Lebanese and completely pillaged and destroyed.
6. In 1976, the Army of Arab Lebanon, founded by the Palestinians, attacked the city of Aintoura and destroyed it. The attack was led by the Lebanese officer Ibrahim Chahine.
7. In 1976, the Lebanese officer Samir Abou Zahr led the massacre perpetrated by the Army of Arab Lebanon on the Emir Bechir Barracks in Beirut. During this massacre, Lebanese soldiers and officers were murdered in their sleep.
8. In 1976, the Lebanese officer Mostapha Sleiman, a member of the Army of Arab Lebanon, led the massacre of the Lebanese population in the city of Chekka.
9. On March 10, 1976, officer Moïin Hatoum, member of the Army of Arab Lebanon led an attack on the Khyam Barracks. Over 30 Lebanese soldiers were killed.
10. May 31, 1976, the Syrians invaded Lebanon and established their rule. The invaders pillaged the towns and villages they went through and humiliated the Lebanese population. The Syrians shelled all the regions under Muslim domination. There must have been over 500 victims, mostly civilians.
11. On March 16, 1977, the date on which the Syrians murdered Kamal Joumblatt, they sent Druze to attack Christian villages. The result: At least 1000 people were massacred. The village of Deir Dourit was erased, with 273 dead.
12. On February 7, 1978, hostilities started between the Lebanese Army and the Arab Force of Dissuasion, the FAD, with its Syrian majority and under the command of the Lebanese lieutenant Sami Khatib, as a result of the installation of a Syrian barrage near the Fayadieh Barracks, the seat of the Lebanese military commander of Mount Lebanon. The Syrian soldiers insisted on controlling all Lebanese military vehicles entering the Fayadieh Barracks. They shelled the residential quarters with Stalin Organs and opened fire on the barracks with MBT guns.
Mention must be made that as of that period, Sami Khatib is one of the best Syrian agents in Lebanon. He is responsible for the incarceration of thousands of Lebanese and the disappearance of hundreds of others following their torture.
13. On June 27, 1978, elements from the "special Syrian forces" dragged out of their beds 30 young men from the villages of Kaa and Ras_Baalbeck and executed them without any form of trial. The man who headed and completed this job was none other than the Syrian officer Ali Dib.
14. On July 1, 1978, the civilian population of East Beirut and its suburbs were shelled by Syrian artillery and started with the residential quarters of East Beirut. The private militia of Rifaat Assad, brother of the Syrian President, circled the free regions around Beirut. The shelling lasted five days and five nights. Heavy caliber shells were used, from heavy cannon to Kaytusha rockets and including all kinds of mortars (up to 240 mm), rockets and missiles. According to some observers, all sorts of weapon were used, except for aerial bombing. Sixty civilians were killed and over 300 injured.

15. Beginning 1979, the Syrians bombed East Beirut and the adjoining Christian regions. 82, 120 and 160 mm shells fell on the targeted sectors.
16. August 1979, the Syrians shell the villages of Niha, Deir Bella and Douma in North Lebanon.
17. On February 24, 1980, Mr. Selim Laouzi, owner and director of the al Hawadess revue, was kidnapped by the Syrians on the road to the Beirut airport. The mutilated and decomposed body of the journalist was found in the Aramoun forest ten days after his abduction. He was shot twice in the head after having been tortured horribly: the ribs on his right side had been crushed by repeated blows with a bar and his right arm was lacerated to the bone, from his armpit to his elbow.
18. In March 1981, the towns of Zahlé in the Bekaa and East Beirut were shelled. In Lebanon, even the Red Cross was a target for the Syrians. Sister [Nun] Marie Sophie Zoghbi was one of the Red Cross ambulance drivers since the beginning of the war. She had forced her way through the front to the south of the town of Zahlé on the Saadnayel road. Alone at the wheel of her ambulance, she'd gone to fetch the dying in Zahlé. The Syrians shot the vehicle, killing her on the spot. The town's hospital was eradicated by thousands of shells which fell on it during one night. Water, food, and medicines grew rarer and the corpses of some of the wounded who'd died under the shelters couldn't be evacuated. In all, the fighting had left some two hundred dead and five hundred wounded in Beirut alone. The Palestinians, too, had participated actively in the Zahlé shelling. The Palestinian military commander was Ahmad Ismail.
19. On July 23, 1980, Riad Taha, president of the press, was killed at Chourane (Raouché) by the Syrians. His car had been sprayed with bullets. Taha was hit by seven bullets in his face, the back of his head and his breast.
20. September 4, 1981, Louis Delamarre, the French Ambassador to Lebanon was murdered by the Syrians in West Beirut. France remained indifferent to this murder.
21. February 1982, in the Syrian city of Hama, an insurrection by the Moslem Brothers was suppressed with rare brutality in modern history. The Alawite army isolated the city, cutting off any contact with the outside, and opened a ground and aerial bombing. According to Amnesty International, the Syrian military had placed rubber pipes at the entrance of buildings where insurgents were said to be hiding and pumped in poison gas. It is claimed that there were some 30,000 dead in Hama. The Alawite army attacked the entire population, both Christians and Moslems.
22. April 3, 1982: the murder of Yacov Barsimentov, third secretary at the Israeli Embassy in Paris. The murder was claimed by the Lebanese Revolutionary Armed Fractions (FARL), a small terrorist group created and manipulated by the Syrians.
23. On April 22, 1982, a booby trapped car exploded Rue Marbeuf in Paris. Two Syrian diplomats were expelled, and the French Ambassador recalled for consultation.
24. On May 24, 1982, a Syrian attack against the French Embassy in Lebanon. At eight AM on a Monday morning, Anna Comidis, secretary at the commercial service of the French Embassy in Beirut entered the gate of the compound at the wheel of her Renault R12. The car exploded at that very moment. Anna Comidis' body was shredded to pieces. Ten additional people were killed and over twenty were injured. The explosion, estimated as some fifty kilograms of inflammable fuel, was operated from a distance at the moment the car was entering the grounds of the embassy.
25. September 14, 1982, Syria murders the Lebanese elected president, Bechir Gemayel. The Syrians used Habib Chartouni as an assassin. The murder was perpetrated at the military HQ of the Phalangists in Achrafieh. Habib Chartouni had belonged to the pro-Syrian party the PSNS, since 1977, and was recruited by Assaad Hardane, head of the pro-Syrian party in Lebanon. Elie Hobeika, head of the Phalangist security had recruited Habib Chartouni. Hobeika acted in accordance with the Syrians. Ali Douba, chief of the Syrian intelligence services supplied Chartouni with the explosives. Chartouni received half a million Lebanese pounds (700,000 FF at the time). Twenty six people were killed in addition to Bechir Gemayel in that explosion. The Syrian consider Chartouni a hero, and they liberated him in October 1990 when they invaded the two Metn.

Elias Hraoui, second post Taif president, announced ironically, following the liberation of Chartouni, that inquiry would be opened to find Gemayel's murderers.

26. Elie Hobeika, with the consent of the Syrians, exterminated the Palestinians of Sabra and Chatila.

Using the pretext of revenge on Bechir Gemayel's death, Elie Hobeika asked the Israeli soldiers present around the two Palestinian camps for permission to enter the camps in order to arrest Palestinian terrorists. His entrance was authorized, and this is how, on Thursday, the 16th of September 1982, one hundred Phalangists entered the two camps and carried out an abominable massacre: between 300 and 500 civilians were massacred. The carnage was stopped by the Israelis on the night of Friday the 18th. One eye witness' report among others on that massacre: "The skull of many corpses were broken, others had their eyes gouged or their bellies ripped open. The skin on some corpses had been partially torn and some babies' corpses carried traces of knife blades".

Elie Hobeika and his men acted exactly the way the Syrians and Palestinians acted towards the Lebanese. The courage and honor of a fighter is not measured by the number of innocents he has massacred, even if those innocents are Palestinians.

27. December 1982, The Syrians destroy the town of Tripoli in Northern Lebanon.

The fighting between the Sunnites of Tripoli and the Syrians started at the beginning of December. The Baal Mohsen quarter was held by the Syrians and their allies while the Bab Tebbanne quarter was controlled by the anti-Syrian Lebanese militia. The Syrians formed a militia loyal to them, the Arab Democratic Party, whose general secretary was Nassib Khatib, though directed by the Alawite Ali Eid. The fighting lasted three years. Tripoli had become a second Beirut.

28. In September 1983, over 110 villages or Christian quarters in the Chouf were ethnically cleansed of their Christian inhabitants: Throats were slit, bodies hacked apart with axes, many were burned alive over fire red, iron bars. Syrian soldiers and members of the Druze community of Lebanon took part in these massacres. Likewise, on November 8, 1982, Israeli Druze officers allowed the Lebanese Druze to massacre the Christian population in certain villages such as Kfarnabrakh, at the foot of the cedars of Mount Barouk.

Walid Joumblatt, the leader of the Lebanese Druze, gave the order to massacre the Chouf Christians.

29. September 1983, a commando of Khomeinist Iranians emerged from its Baalbeck hideout, arrived at Rayak in the Bekaa, and after praying at the mosque exploded a residential building inhabited by Christians, leaving behind dead and wounded. The Syrians present on the premises prevented the Lebanese Civil Defense from removing debris burying two screaming survivors.

Assayed Ahmad Al Fihri, appointed by Khomeiny to head the Hezbollah in the Middle East, is responsible for this massacre at Rayak. The Iranian ambassador in Syria, Ali Akbar Montachami, and the military attaché, Colonel Haromi Zadem, had been placed at Al Fihri's service.

30. On October 23, 1983, 250 American soldiers and 70 French soldiers were killed at their HQs in West Beirut.

Lebanese and Iranian Islamists supported by Syrian logistics headed the operation.

According to certain military sources, both buildings had been packed full of dynamite, which explains the high number of casualties. France and the USA remained indifferent to these massacres. In the wake of this, the soldiers of both countries were repatriated because Beirut had turned into a dangerous city, even for the mightiest fighters of all times.

31. 1983_1984, the Syrians shelled and lay siege to the city of Tripoli in Northern Lebanon. The overt objective was to evict the PLO Palestinians. The Syrian army had mobilized militants from Tripoli to take part in that job.

According to the evidence of former Lebanese militiamen who participated in the battle on Tripoli on the side of the Syrians, the latter shelled residential zones inhabited by Lebanese civilians and where no Palestinians ever dwelled. The Lebanese militiamen who refused to take part in the destruction of their city were systematically arrested, tortured, and then executed.

32. February 1984, occupation of West Beirut by Amal, the pro-Syrian Shi'ite militia. On February 6, 1984, Amal supported by Syrian troupes, attacked the Lebanese army stationed in West Beirut. The fighting left at least one hundred dead and over 400 injured. Nabih Berri, Head of Amal, and Ghazi Kanaan, commander of the Syrian forces in Lebanon, are responsible for this slaughter.
33. March 1985, exodus of tens of thousands of Christians from Iklim El_Kharroub and the eastern part of Saida. The Palestinians and Lebanese Druze laid siege to, pillaged and burned over twenty Christian villages. Kamal Joumlatt, Yasser Arafat and Syrian officers, planned these massacres.
34. December 1985, ratification and signature in Damascus of the tri-partite agreement between Elie Hobeika of the Lebanese Forces, Nabih Berri of the Shi'ite movement Amal, and Walid Joumlatt of the Druze Progressive Socialist Party.
The agreement contains numerous clauses which allow Syria absolute control over Lebanon. The clauses of this tri-partite agreement were drafted by Rafic Hariri, Jean Ghanem a top official of the Lebanese Forces, a journalist, Sarkis Naoum, Michel Samaha, a top official of the phalangists and a minister in the first post-Taef government, and Johnny Abdo, old chief of the Lebanese intelligence services, later ambassador to Paris under Elias Hraoui's mandate. General Michel Aoun drafted the military clauses of the tripartite agreement.
35. January 1986. Cancellation of the tri-partite agreement by a war between Amine Gemayel's phalangists and Samir Geagea's Lebanese Forces which opposed the agreement on the one hand, and Elie Hobeika's partisans on the other hand. Hobeika found refuge among his Syrian friends.
36. The series of car bombs.
Following the failure of the tri-partite agreement, car bombs started to appear in Beirut and its eastern suburb.
On Tuesday, March 21, 1986, 11 hours 35, a car bomb exploded in Furn_El_Chebbak (East Beirut), leaving 30 dead and at least 132 injured.
On May 20, 1986, the French Prime Minister Chirac announced that he was in favor of strengthening ties between France and Syria. He added that a solution for Lebanon could only be found together with Syria. The next day, a car bomb exploded in the Christian sector, leaving 7 dead and over 100 injured.
On July 29, 1986, a Mercedes exploded on the Wadih Nahim Street in Ein el Remmaneh, a Beirut suburb, with 31 dead and 128 injured.
On July 30, 1986, a booby trapped Mercedes exploded in Barbir, West Beirut. The result: 22 dead and 163 injured. Syria and Elie Hobeika instigated these terrorist cases.
37. September 1986. Syria is responsible for the terrorist attack on the Rue de Rennes.
On Wednesday, September 17, 1986, an explosion took place in the Rue de Rennes in Paris, in front of the doors of the Tati store. Three women and two men were killed, and over 52 were injured.
The French Secret Services accused Colonel Ghazi Kanaan of acting as the terrorist chief. Colonel Kanaan manipulated the killers within a framework of operations determined jointly by Iran and Lybbia under the aegis of Damascus. The operation having concluded successfully, Colonel Kanaan was promoted to the rank of General.
38. Thursday, September 1986: Colonel Christian Gouttière, French military attaché in Lebanon was killed near the French embassy in Mar Takla, in the region of East Beirut. In Damascus, far more rapidly than was their custom, the Syrians hastened to condemn the murder of the French military attaché.
39. 1987: The provocation of the Druze-Shi'ite inter-faith war and the occupation of West Beirut.
Since the beginning of 1987, the tension between Joumlatt and Berri was reaching its apex. For over a year, the two rival militias shared everything in West Beirut, thefts, racketeering and crimes. This tension culminated in the most violent fighting ever seen in West Beirut. These fights, well orchestrated by the Syrians, lasted for a long time, with neither of the two militias managing to gain the upper hand. The Syrians entered West Beirut in February 1987. The Lebanese Prime Minister Salim Hoss and other political and Moslem religious leaders approved the Syrian decision, preferring an Arab army to the Lebanese Army. Hafez

el Assad later got rid of the Sunnite Mufti Hassan Khaled on the day the Mufti requested the Syrians to leave Lebanon. The Syrian secret services placed 200 kgs of explosives under his car.

40. On May 8, 1988: An inter-Shi'ite war is provoked between Amal and Hezbollah.

The fighting lasted three weeks, in the course of which the Amal militia, financed and manipulated by Damascus, collapsed before the rival militia. This war enabled the Syrians to deploy their forces in the southern Shi'ite suburb of Beirut, having done so a year before in the western suburb.

Those who believe that Hezbollah can do anything in Lebanon without Syrian approval and assistance are greatly mistaken. Iran and Lebanon don't have a common border, all military equipment destined for Hezbollah must pass through Syria, and every political and military act carried out by Hezbollah in Lebanon is carried out under the direction of Damascus.

41. March 1989, the Syrians shell the eastern regions of Beirut.

At the end of February 1989, the Lebanese Prime Minister, General Michel Aoun, decides to close all the illegal ports in Lebanon that allow for drug traffic. The Syrian response was rapid: A shelling of the regions controlled by the Lebanese army, with an average of 6000 shells per day. The Syrian forces used for this fight totaled about 20,000 men who were under the command of Generals Gazi Kanaan and Ali Hammoud.

42. The Syrians killed the Spanish ambassador to Lebanon.

In their wild shelling of the Lebanese population, the Syrian hit the residence of Mr. Pedro Manuel de Aristegui, Spanish Ambassador to Lebanon. A shell exploded and destroyed the building where the diplomat's residence was located, killing the ambassador, his father-in-law, his sister-in-law, and the Lebanese writer Toufic Youssef Aouad. Despite the confirmation that the 240 mm shell had come from the Syrian lines, the official circles in Madrid refused to accuse the Syrians.

43. The Lebanese Maronite Patriarch, Nasrallah Sfeir, and the Lebanese delegates announce their alliance with the Syrians against the Lebanese.

Sfeir wanted to silence the cannons, because "the Lebanese are condemned to maintain good relations with the Syrians." This type of language has often been utilized during World War II and at that time it was called "treason." Today, it goes under the name of "moderation." Later, Sfeir announced his rallying with the Syrians. This would be the first time in the history of the Maronite church that the highest religious dignitary of the Christian community would betray his people and become the collaborator of a colonialist Arab state.

44. On October 22, 1989, Lebanese delegates sign in Taef, Saudi Arabia, a document which transforms Lebanon into a Syrian vassal state.

The sojourn of the delegates in Saudi Arabia was secured by the Saudi speaker in Lebanon, the billionaire Rafic Hariri. A note of interest, Saudi Arabia itself insists on ignoring the mere notion of a Constitution. And it is this country which dispenses lessons on law to the descendants of Ulpian, Papinian, and Paul, creators of the Roman Law.

The Lebanese Forces, the religious heads of all the Lebanese communities, the phalangists and the Christian leaders in the north, led by Soleiman Franjeh, were all in favor of this agreement. The Lebanese Prime Minister, General Michel Aoun, the Guardians of the Cedars and the Lebanese population rejected this agreement.

Rafic Hariri, who headed the third pro-Syrian, post-Taef government proclaimed on February 2, 1993, that the Syrian presence in Lebanon was indispensable for keeping order in the country because, according to him, the Lebanese army was incapable of doing so.

Rafic Hariri is a traitor par excellence. He buys silence and dictates the behavior of numerous Lebanese and foreign politicians with his dirty money.

45. Syria chooses René Moawad as the first post-Taef president.

The "presidential election" orchestrated by Damascus took place Sunday, November 5, at Qlaiaat in Northern Lebanon. René Moawad, a feudal chief of the town of Zgharta in Northern Lebanon, was chosen by Hafez el-Assad as the first post-Taef Lebanese president. René Moawad was always a defender of Arabism and of the Arab population of Lebanon. He was one of Nasser's friends and considered himself a friend of Assad. According to him, Syria alone can help Lebanon retrieve its sovereignty and Israel alone is responsible for Lebanon's troubles.

He was also Yasser Arafat's friend. In other words, Moawad was the friend, or believed he was the friend of all those who opted and still opt today for the destruction of Lebanon. Can Lebanon have a better president? The Maronite Patriarch Sfeir, approved Moawad's nomination and defined this election as "a period of national reconciliation." The Patriarch was molested by the Lebanese following his approval of Moawad's nomination and he escaped to his summer residence at Dimane in Northern Lebanon. Thus, the Maronite Patriarch found refuge among his Syrian friends.

46. On November 22, 1989, Assad frees Moawad of his functions.

It was 13 hours 50 in Beirut, when the armored Mercedes of René Moawad, accompanied by Syrian soldiers was blown into pieces. Two hundred kilos of TNT had exploded under his car. In addition to Moawad, 17 Syrian soldiers perished as well. This is how the life of a traitor who had entered Syria's service ended.

It is to be noted that René Moawad's wife never submitted any complaint against the Syrians. Worse still, she continues to this day to collaborate with the Syrians, her husband's murderers.

47. Assad appoints a drug dealer, Elias Hraoui, as the second post-Taef president.

Three days following Moawad's assassination, the Syrians appoint Elias Hraoui, the ex-deputy from Zahle, as the second post-Taef president. Assad and Hraoui share the same interest: the drug traffic. The day following his nomination by Damascus, Hraoui asks for Syria's help to invade the free regions.

48. Samir Geagea, head of the Lebanese Forces' militia, announces his rallying with Syria.

The Americans and their Syrian allies decide to use the Lebanese Forces in order to break the resistance of the free regions to the Arab occupation. On 31 January 1990, war broke between the Lebanese Army and the Lebanese Forces. The Lebanese Army was unable to put an end to the militia termed The Christian because the latter had prepared itself for a long time towards such a battle. The Lebanese Forces acted as a Trojan horse in the effort to ratify the Taef Treaty which delivers Lebanon into Syria's hands. After three days of fighting, there were 145 dead and 700 wounded. The pro-Syrian militias installed themselves in the residential buildings and forced the inhabitants to stay there, too, turning thereby the Lebanese artillery "unusable". Many buildings and roads were mined, preventing the movement of the Lebanese Army. In this manner, the Christian (by name only) militia utilized the civilians like a human shield, a step used by the Syrians and the Palestinians. After 20 days of fighting, the free zones (1000 square kms) were cut in two: The first zone of 700 square kms was controlled by the Lebanese Forces, and the other zone of 300 square kms was controlled by the Lebanese Army.

49. On September 30, 1990, the Lebanese Forces shoot the Lebanese population.

The Lebanese Forces shot any person visible in the north of Beirut, on Nahr el Mott, or river of death, killing at least 15 civilians and wounding 14 others. "We were in the third row of the targeted area when the Lebanese Forces started shooting. My friend Majed fell close to me, I walked over his body in order to flee. It was terrible."

The Lebanese Forces shot long bursts from their automatics, and, very quickly, they shelled. Colonel Fouad Malek, former member of the Lebanese Army and military commander of the Lebanese Forces is responsible for the massacre on Nahr el Mott. As for Samir Geagea, who is actually incarcerated at the Lebanese Ministry of Defense by his old friends, the Syrians, he is responsible for the betrayal of the Lebanese nation. This betrayal has cost the life of many innocent Lebanese and allowed for the annexation of Lebanon by Syria.

50. Syria invades the two Metn: The New World Order is established in Lebanon.

On Friday, October 13, 1990, at 7.07AM, in Beirut, the Syrian Air Force begins to bomb the free regions. The bombing lasted until 14.00 hours, five hours after the surrender of the Lebanese Prime Minister.

In this manner, while the West was bombing the Iraqis, the Syrian allies of the West forced a liberal and independent country to its knees. To note: American politics is aiming, since the beginning of the war, i.e. 13 April 1975, for the disappearance of Lebanon. When the war started, the United States ambassador to Lebanon, Dean Brown, said to the Christians that the presence of Christians in then Moslem Arab world was a historical aberration. Launching one of the most hallucinating initiatives in American post-war diplomacy,

Washington offered to provide 50,000 residential permits to the Christian Lebanese who desired to leave the country in which they'd been living for centuries, in order to move to Canada, the USA, or any other part of the world. Since 1975, the USA had accepted the notion of "Great Syria". The Syrians didn't take care of the civilians of the two Metn (New World Order). There were thefts, rapes, and massacres.

51. The Syrians liquidated the Sayah family in the village of Bsous.

On October 13, 1990, Coletter Sayah, aged 18, awoke one morning to the noise of Syrian airplanes. The Sayah family hastened to take shelter in a ground floor room. Shortly before 8 AM, Colette heard the first bursts of an automatic and the rumble of tanks in the village streets. Outside, men were shouting: "Out! Out! You dogs, you!" One by one, the members of the Sayah family left their shelter. In the street, in the house, there were many tens of Syrian soldiers. They took away Colette, her mother and her aunts into an adjoining building under construction. They'd barely arrived there when they heard a series of shots.

The Syrians had just killed all the men of the family. The father and a cousin with a bullet in their heads, one of the brothers was shot through his heart. Another brother was still breathing. Colette asked them to call an ambulance, but the Syrians preferred that the boy die. He will die in his sister's arms. Emile and Joseph, the two uncles, were executed in a staircase. The corpses will lie in the middle of the road until evening, surrounded by a humming cloud of flies and bees.

The Hraoui government announced that there had been no massacres.

52. The massacre of Dahr al_Wahch.

The people of the village of Dahr al_Wahch saw Syrian soldiers push a column of Lebanese prisoners who were walking in their shorts towards some unknown destination. A nun, a nurse at the governmental hospital of Baabda, saw the arrival of corpses and of the Red Cross ambulances. "I counted between 75 and 80, she explained. Most of them had a bullet in the back of their heads or in their mouth. The corpses still carried the mark of cords around their wrists." The rigidity of the corpses fixed their crossed arms behind their backs. They were naked, wearing only shorts. Some ten of them had their eyes gouged out, another ten had an arm or leg cut off. All had been shot in their heads. There can be no doubt about their execution. The Hraoui government announced that there had been no massacres.

Hafez el Assad, Ghazi Kanaan, Elias Hraoui, Selim Hoss, and Emil Lahoud, are all responsible for these massacres. Assad, as head of the state occupying Lebanon, Kanaan, as the military commander of the Syrian soldiers in Lebanon, Hraoui and Hoss, as the Lebanese president and Prime Minister who collaborate with the occupying forces and Emil Lahoud, as commander of Hraoui's Lebanese Army, and who had done nothing to stop these massacres. As for General Michel Aoun, his defection is inexplicable. How could the General, in whom the Lebanese population had placed its trust, abandon his duties? At the start of the war with the Syrians, General Aoun had announced that he was at the head of this war in front of everyone, not behind them. But in effect, the General was the first to defect, and to this very day, he has never given any explanation for this defection.

A second responsibility must be imputed to this same General: how could he have allowed the Christian Lebanese delegates to go to Taef? In the worst case, he should have let them come back to Lebanon and have them arrested. The General has demonstrated, in this affair, huge political naivete, if not a certain lack of responsibility.

The third error committed by the General: he counted too much on France's political support, though France plays only a minor role in the Middle East. The General didn't dare take the step he should have taken and seal a military alliance with Israel. The same error had been committed by Amine Gemayel when he was President of the Republic. Amine Gemayel had promised the Israeli leaders, in the presence of Gen.. Ariel Sharon, of his father and of Camille Chamoun, the former Lebanese president, that he would continue in the wake of his assassinated brother Beshir. Amine Gemayel did not keep his word and did not dare take a step which was decisive: Signing a peace treaty with Israel under the sponsorship of the United States of America. As for our Israeli friends and allies, they have more often than once shown a certain political naivete with regard to Hafez el Assad. To this day, Assad is exploiting the Shi'ite militias -- Amal and Hezbollah -- to harass the Israelis. And they, instead of bombing massively, once and for all, the Syrian positions in Lebanon,

waste their time by shelling Lebanese villages in the south, where the Hezbollah fighters are said to be found. Additionally, in military terms, when a military power such as Israel descends to the level of a small, local militia, it weakens itself and lends more strength to that militia than it is really worth.

53. Nominal list of soldiers executed in the vicinity of the Presidential Palace in Baabda.

Akram Hanna : Sergeant, 102nd battalion.
Samir Estéphané : Corporal, Presidential guard.
Ghassan Ali : Soldier, 102nd battalion.
Ibrahim Eid : Staff Sergeant, 101st battalion.
Imad Salamé : Soldier, 54th battalion.
Kamil Makhoul : Warrant officer, 102nd battalion.
Georges Ishac : Chief Warrant officer.
Maurice Salamé : Sergeant, 102nd battalion.
Simaane Adam : Soldier, 102nd battalion.
Boutros Yamine : Sergeant, 102nd battalion.
Gaby Makhoul : Soldier, Presidential guard.
Kassem Saleh : Soldier, Presidential guard.
Simon Makhoul : Sergeant, Presidential guard.
Chahine Chahine : Sergeant, Presidential guard.
Souheil Rizk : Staff Sergeant.
Walid Abou Saad : Soldier, Commandos.
Fady Abdel Karim : Staff Sergeant, 102nd battalion.
Johnny Maroun : Staff Sergeant, Presidential guard.
Ahmed Almoujeh : Soldier, Presidential guard
Naïm Metri : Warrant officer. Presidential guard.
Ohannès Badresslian : Soldier, 101st battalion.
Georges Soualhom: Lieutenant, 102nd battalion.
Rony Abou Nicolas: Corporal
Mahmoud Al Hadchini: Staff Sergeant. Presidential guard.
Ronald Salamé : Corporal, 102nd battalion.
Charbel Honeini : Staff Sergeant, Presidential guard.
Bassam Chahine : Staff Sergeant, 81st battalion
Georges Lattouf : Staff Sergeant, Presidential guard.
Rabih abou Zeidan : Officer cadet.
Majed Attallah . Staff Sergeant, 95th battalion.
Pierre Abou Youssef : Officer cadet.
Elias Al Kadi : Soldier, Logistic.
Hossein Merhe. Soldier, 81st battalion.
Cheilane El Bitar : Staff sergeant, 101st battalion.
Maroun Al Zouhbi : Warrant officer, 85th battalion
Claude Matta : Soldier
Ghassan Abou Abbas: Staff Sergeant, Presidential guard.
Ralph Sarkis : Soldier.
Maroun Hnoud : 102nd battalion.
Georges Chamoun : staff Sergeant, 102nd battalion.
Raymond hatchiti : Staff Sergeant, 102nd battalion.
Farid Freiha : Sergeant. 102nd battalion.
Farès Youakim : Corporal. 104th battalion.
Maroun Younès : Chief warrant officer.
Joseph Rached : Chief warrant officer.
Nabil Farès : Sergeant, 102nd battalion.
Amer Bayeh : Soldier, 102nd battalion.
Ali Labib: Officer cadet.
Albert Tannous: Captain, 102nd battalion.
Haidar Abdo : Corporal, 102nd battalion.
Hanna Abou Malhab: Sergeant, 101st battalion.

54. Lockerbie: Documents of the American secret services designate Iran and Syria and not Libya.

According to an AFP telegram dated 24 January 1995 and issuing from London, Iran on the basis of the documents of the American secret services is responsible for the terrorist attack on the PanAm airplane, with its 270 dead in Lockerbie (Scotland) in 1988. This revelation was made by the Scottish paper: The Daily Record.

According to these documents, issued by the intelligence services of the US Air Force, and dated 1991, a high Iranian leader, the Ayatollah Mohtachami, paid 10 million dollars in cash and in gold to the Abou Nidal and other organizations in order to perpetrate terrorist attacks against western countries, including that of Lockerbie.

Iran may have wished, additionally, to avenge itself on the destruction, in July 1988, of an Iranian airbus, shot mistakenly over the Gulf by the American cruiser USS Vincennes, killing 290 people.

Not willing to designate either Iran or Syria as responsible for this attack in the middle of the Gulf War, the American and British governments accused Libya, whom they consider an ideal culpable scapegoat. The publication of these documents occurred following information published by the Sunday Telegraph, according to which Germany had liberated recently an important suspect in the Lockerbie affair, as a result of a secret agreement with Iran.

The man, Abdel Ghandanfar, aged 53, sent back to Syria, was one of the two people sentenced for terrorism in Frankfurt, in October 1988. Material for the fabrication of bombs similar to that used in the Lockerbie attempt had been found at the time of his arrest. Abdel Ghandanfar is one of the mercenaries employed by the Iranians in the Lockerbie terrorist affair. This type of transaction between states is not done, generally, free of charge.

Why was Flight No. 103 chosen, and how were the Syrians implicated in the attack? Let us recall that most of the Palestinian terrorist organizations are located in Damascus, and hence the Syrians are constantly informed about the activities of these organizations.

In their aim to locate the American hostages in Lebanon, the American government, in accordance with the DEA and the CIA, send to Lebanon in 1988 a group of officers headed by Major Charles Dennis McKee.

Moreover, the DEA, which maintains relations with notorious drug traffickers, asked for the cooperation of the Syrian Monzer al Kassar. Kassar's wife is a relative of Assad, and Ali Duba, the Head of the Syrian intelligence services, is Kassar's brother in law.

Kassar is a trader in drugs and arms, very well known to the American and European services. It seemed as though Kassar possessed an American authorization to ship drugs and arms to the United States.

The drugs were sent from the Bekaa, and then exported to American cities such as Detroit and Los Angeles via the airports of the big European cities such as Frankfurt. In 1988, a meeting took place in Paris between Kassar and Ahmed Jibril, member of Arafat's PLO and leader of the Popular Front of the Liberation of Palestine General Command. Jibril informed the Syrians that Iran had asked him to explode a civilian American plane in order to avenge the destruction by mistake of the civilian Iranian plane by the American warship, The Vincennes. Jibril, whose HQ is located in Damascus, contacted Kassar because he knew that the DEA was working with him.

In good time, Kassar gave Jibril the number of the flight that McKee and his team were to take. The bomb was placed in Frankfurt by Jibril with the complicity of Kassar. The photographs enabling the localization of the hostages were found in the airplane's debris. Kassar lived between Syria and Spain, where he was arrested by the Spanish police on June 4, 1992 around 6 P.M. Officially, his arrest had to do with the drug traffic. In reality, Kassar is implicated in the attack on the PanAm which exploded over Lockerbie in Scotland. His "arrest" took place upon his and Assad's agreement, to avoid accusing Syria and the Assad family of being not only behind the PanAm terrorist attack but likewise in that of the DC 10 of the French UTA over Africa. The French intelligence services have long suspected the Syrians of being behind these two terrorist attempts. However, since International politics "oblige", it was considered preferable to accuse only the Libyans. The French accusations against Syria were actually the one reason for which Foreign Minister Roland Dumas' visit

to Damascus was adjourned in December 1991. In the case that the Syrian regime is found guilty following Kassar's arrest, the so-called Israeli-Arab peace negotiations will stop definitively and the sole preoccupation of the West will be to prepare the after Assad. Let us note that for over 5 years, Syria is equipping itself with ultra-sophisticated weapons with the complicity of the United States of America. One of those famous operations took place on mars 1992 in the Persian Gulf. The American warships have let the North Korean ship Dae Hung Ho deliver its shipment in the Iranian port of Bandar Abbas. The shipment includes Scud-C missiles that have a range of 500 kms, twice the range of the Scud-B. The missiles were then transported to the Syrian port of Lattakié. The Iranians have paid the price of the missiles and all the transactions occurred via The Bank of Credit and International Commerce (BCCI). Officially, this arming will serve in an eventual war with Israel, but in reality, Assad is preparing the Alawite State which, according to Syrian sources, will extend from the town of Tripoli in northern Lebanon up to the Turkish border. In fact, the number of Alawites installed in the north of Lebanon keeps growing. George Bush had wanted to present a "save face" persona to his friend Hafez Assad, and hence why the "arrest" of Monzer Kassar was presented like a banal arrest of a drug and arms trafficker the police sought. On the evening of his "arrest," the French television announced that there were international warrants of arrest against Kassar. And yet, as of June 5, 1992, we haven't heard anything about Kassar. Why? Where is, actually, Monzer Kassar? Why do the Americans protect him?

The United States of America and the European countries wish, at all price, to preserve the innocence of Hafez Assad's Syria in order to save the peace negotiations in the Middle East. Thus, the governments of the USA and France have become, today, accomplices in the murder of French and American citizens.

55. Torture "made in Syria".

All the world organizations that struggle to defend the Rights of Man have published documents about torture in Syria. The following is a document published in Geneva in May 1984 by the "Swiss Association for the Defense of the Liberties of Political Prisoners in Syria." This document, entitled "The Rights of Man in Syria" refers to the treatments reserved for political prisoners held by the Damascus secret services.

1. The prisoner is stripped naked.
2. His whole body is shaved.
3. Cigarette butts are extinguished over the more sensitive places of his body
4. They burn his scalp.
5. They pull out his nails.
6. They tie his genitals with a nylon thread that they secure to a nail on the wall after transfixing the prisoner to a ring fixed on the opposite wall. Then, one of the tormentors strikes the taut nylon thread repeatedly with a stick.
7. They flog the soles of a prisoner's feet with lashes of a whip, a cane, or a plastic pipe, a minimum of two hundred lashes a time.
8. Then, stretch out the prisoner inside a container of cold water.
9. They invert the prisoner into a car's tire's rim and then strike him all over (the process: they insert a leg into the middle of the tire, followed by the head and the arms in such a manner that the prisoner is bent over and immobilized in the form of a U inside the tire's circle).
10. They hang the prisoner by his feet with his head down.
11. They force the prisoner to remain standing during several days while preventing him from sitting down or falling asleep by ordering him to raise his arms fully stretched and very straight.
12. They force the prisoner to stand for long periods of time on one foot, administering blows each time he lowers his raised foot.
13. They force the prisoners to run while carrying heavy loads and sustaining blows until utterly exhausted or in a faint.
14. Pour all of a sudden boiling water over the prisoners.
15. They force the prisoner to sit on a stake.

16. They force the prisoner to sit on the neck of a bottle.
 17. They subject the prisoner to electric shock by using an alternative electric current and tying the wires to the more sensitive parts of the body, especially to the genitals.
 18. They force pump water or air into the prisoner.
 19. They force sexual intercourse with the prisoner.
 20. They tear out chunks of the prisoner's flesh from various parts of his body with the help of pliers.
 21. They rope the prisoner to a car and drive it full speed until death occurs or till the victims' bodies are torn apart and then the victim's bodies are desecrated by gouging an eye or cutting an ear, the tongue, the fingers and in some cases the genitals, and by sticking them into the victim's mouth.
 22. They force the prisoner to run around a large room surrounded by torturers who strike him with diverse instruments of torture.
 23. Force the prisoner to drink his own urine.
 24. They throw the prisoner into a basin of electrified water.
 25. They tie the prisoner's genitals to prevent him from urinating after forcing him to drink diuretic liquids.
56. Emile Lahoud, third post-Taef president of Lebanon, an exemplary torturer.
- General Emile Lahoud was nominated by the Syrians as the third post-Taef Lebanese President. The choice of Emile Lahoud was not accidental: In 1989, the Syrians had appointed him Chief Commander of the Lebanese Army. He participated in the arrest of the Lebanese who fought against the Syrian occupation. He didn't condemn the execution in October 1990, of Lebanese officers and soldiers at the hand of the Syrians in the vicinity of the Presidential Palace in Baabda. He ordered the Lebanese army to shoot at the Lebanese protestors in the town of Sidon, manifestors who were protesting against the high cost of living. A pupil of the Lebanese General, Sami Katib, who'd been the first Lebanese officer to collaborate with the Syrians since 1978, when he participated in the shelling of East Beirut and the adjoining mountains, Emile Lahoud soon became not only a Syria collaborator but also a torturer of the first degree. With the help of the Syrians, he installed in the Ministry of Defense, several chambers of torture to which Lebanese are taken, tortured, and sometimes killed.
- a. The murder of Fawzi al Rassi with sulfuric acid.
On the 27th of February 1994, a bomb exploded in the Saydat al NaJ'at church (The Lady of the Deliverance) at Zuq Michel near Jounieh. In March and April of that same year, the Beirut government ordered the arrest of some hundred persons from the Lebanese Forces, Samir Geagea's ex-militia. Let us recall that the latter had approved the Taef agreement which delivered Lebanon to Syria, and that Geagea's militia collaborated with the Syrians in 1990, facilitating their entry into still free regions. Most of the people arrested had been set free after two to three days. Geagea and his deputy, Fouad Malek received life sentences. Some people, however, remained prisoners and were tortured "so that they'd admit their crime".
Fawzi al Rassi, like other prisoners, were tied to a chair and then given charges of electric current on their feet until they bled. The prisoners weren't given any water or food, and allowed to sleep 3 to 4 hours a day. The Lebanese military who were torturing them stuck them, walked over them, hurt their sexual organs by spreading their legs wide. Fawzi al_Rassi was tortured during two weeks. On the 22nd of April 1994, he was strung by a cord with his head down and was given electric shocks continuously. Finally, realizing that they couldn't get anything out of him, his torturers poured acid the length of his body. He was transferred, then, from the Ministry of Defense to the hospital, where he died. The Lebanese authorities announced that Fawzi_al_Rassi had died from a heart attack.
 - b. George Haddad was arrested December 23, 1993 where he worked in Beirut. He was taken to the Ministry of Defense where he was held for 37 days in isolation, during which time he was tortured before being transferred to the prison of Roumieh.

PERSPECTIVES.

We are beginning the 26th year of war. The Syrian occupation of Lebanon is growing more oppressive and ever more present. The Iranian occupation is expanding and assuming bigger dimensions with the presence in Lebanon of two Shi'ite militias (Amal and Hezbollah) reporting exclusively to Iran directly and also through Iran's client Syria.. The Alawite implantation in the north of Lebanon is accelerating and the Palestinians are always present on the Lebanese soil.

All these phenomena can only lead to an implantation of the Palestinians in Lebanon, to the creation of an Alawite state on the Lebanese-Syrian coast, to a Shi'ite state in the Bekaa and in one part of southern Lebanon, and to a Druze state in the Chouf and southern-Metn, effectively dismembering Lebanese..

This dismemberment is further facilitated today by the intention of some Lebanese political leaders to change the Constitution so that the President of the Republic will be a Moslem, preferably a Sunni. This project had been proposed by Rafic Hariri and is taken up again, now, by Sélim Hoss. However, since Lebanon's

secularism has not been admitted as yet by the 21 religious communities that constitute Lebanon, and in the presence of foreign troupes on Lebanese soil, any project of introducing changes in the constitution can only accelerate the dismemberment of Lebanon and/or its annexation by Syria.

Additionally, the Lebanese state is headed by traitors appointed by Damascus and who receive their orders directly from Damascus. As a consequence, the Lebanese administration is incapable of taking serious steps that will enable it to liberate Lebanon or even to attain a respectable economic level.

Why inflation? a high rate of unemployment? Short-term contracts? and the many layoffs? Serious investments in Lebanon are very "timid" for the simple reason that this is an occupied country. Syria steals the country's resources and imposes its law via a government that is at its mercy. And under occupation, one cannot construct a country.

The Lebanese authorities suffer from a congenital weakness.

On the regional level, there is an international willingness to impose a peace rather than to set up a real one. The present configuration no longer meets the urgent needs of the people of the region:

The Arabs or Persians,

The Christians and the Moslems,

The West or the East.

Nobody finds any satisfaction there: Because, while the Sykes-Picot treaty establishes the geographic limits of the present map, the Yalta pact establishes the political limits. But this was prior to the creation of the State of Israel and the emergence of the petrol phenomenon, the explosion of the Soviet Union and the appearance of sovereign states in the ancient countries of East Europe.

In other words, the setting up of a new map in the dimension of ethnic-religious minorities and of the petrol strata.

Where, in this general context, does one situate a motherland, a state and a cause?

We see, first of all, an abdication of responsibilities.

The abdication of responsibility has always been justified officially by the communities' diversity. But this is a false problem as the State lacks political courage and political initiative. The State bends before the Syrians and the Iranians just as it bent in 1975 before the Palestinians. Nothing, however, justifies this withdrawal from legitimate governmental responsibility:

3. If the Lebanese State would confront Syria, nobody in Lebanon would be placing his legitimacy in doubt, quite the contrary.
4. If the Moslems would rise against the Iranians, nobody in Lebanon would suspect their loyalty to Islam.

The ensemble of these contradictions led to an erroneous understanding of the concepts of "unification" and "liberation".

By "unification" we understand an agreement among Lebanese about the political, economic and social regime, with an aim to ensure Lebanon's superior interests and territorial integrity. This unification must be the objective of an internal conviction, limited solely to Lebanon. It should not be considered provisional tactics awaiting the establishment of enlarged, regional units. This unification is intended to liberate Lebanon from its alienations: external hegemonies, the Palestinian problem. It should prevent the use of Lebanon as a tool for exchanges, a card for compromises, in the quest of a solution for the Middle East problems.

Our martyrs are dead and go on dying so that the whole of Lebanon, its 10452 square kms are free, and not in order to decompose Lebanon or turn it into a Syrian province. The cowardice of the Lebanese leaders in the face of the Syrian-Palestinian-Iranian occupation can only lead to the partition of Lebanon or to its disappearance.

What do we expect from the new regime? What type of security and of liberty do we look for? Is that the security that Moslem regimes accord to the Christians of the Arab world? Or the one which the Communist

Soviet Union accorded its Soviet citizens? Is it the liberty granted by the Syrian in the Lebanese areas they occupy?

We refuse this kind of liberty and this kind of security. True security, according to our understanding, is the one that protects the security of the Constitution, of the legislation. Authority should not transform itself into oppression, and liberty should not be transformed into anarchy. Hence, then, the question if the present Lebanese State would be able to secure these changes. The answer is negative, and this for numerous reasons:

5. It is a state that lacks security. Its borders are open to all, its will robbed.
6. Because the governing team does not believe in the opportunity of a new regime. It believes the regime itself can be made to evolve. We believe, conversely, in the regime's positive, qualitative transformation.
7. Because the State fails in all its enterprises. It neither creates a strong army that could defend the interests of the Lebanese, theirs uniquely, nor forms an effective government, nor established its sovereignty over the whole of its territory, nor has the Army intervenes where it was important to do so, nor have they evacuated the Syrian occupiers, nor put an end to the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, nor realized the inter-community agreement, nor protected the minorities, nor repatriated the refugees from the mountains, the north and the south.

The failure of the government does not surprise us at all, because of the mentality which prevails among the governing team or its in-adaptation to events' consequences.

By what can we replace this failing authority?

By an efficacious authority which incarnates its people's ambitions, its historical dimensions and its hopes with regard to its future.

Where does a State find its strength?

The strength of a State is its Army. Where is the State's army?

The strength of a State's Army resides in its cause. Where is the Army's cause?

The problem of the Lebanese Army is that instead of fighting for the motherland's cause, it gets entangled in the causes of its commanders. It is a shame that officers and soldiers of the Lebanese Army are afflicted with a commandment which forbids them to implement their military oath concerning the preservation of their country's independence, sovereignty, and liberty. The Army's commanders dream of palaces, not about trenches. It is shameful, for the Army's commandment, to admit they have 35,000 soldiers, while they fail to liberate even 25 meters of territories under Syrian occupation.

The Lebanese soldiers and officers enlisted in the Army to become heroes. Their commanders have turned them into functionaries.

It is clear today, and evident, that the present regime is incapable of incarnating the national will.

It is therefore important today that Lebanon undergoes a political act of conscience, an action, with the aim of establishing a new regime.

The Lebanese regime installed in 1943 neither benefited the religious community nor acted to the other's detriment. It benefited a class composed at once of Christians and Moslems, who exploited at once all the Lebanese citizens, Christians and Moslems, without any distinction.

It is imperative that the post-war Lebanese State becomes the political instrument of a true democracy.

On April 13, 1975, the Lebanese citizen had no institutions he could have recourse to. The Christian found himself without an army, though he had demonstrated in the streets of Beirut and had died for her. The Moslem found himself at the mercy of the Palestinians and the Syrians, having acted in their favor. The experience of the Lebanese formula of coexistence was not conclusive. This formula had failed, more than once, and in many domains in times of peace, in times of war, as in periods of floating.

This old Lebanese formula failed not only on the lines of demarcation separating the two Beiruts, but also on the regional level. Because, when a Copt is persecuted in Egypt, a Shi'ite in Iraq, a Sunnite in Iran, the Christians in Syria, this is also a failure of the Lebanese formula. We gave this formula many opportunities, varied and prolonged. We gave it blood and martyrs. We accorded it concessions so that she might find its viability. She didn't succeed. Enough experiences of this sort.

The bodies of the Lebanese are not fields for formula experimentations. The West must understand that Lebanon is not its way of access to petroleum resources. The Middle East must also understand that Lebanon is not its beachhead leading to a civilization of leisure and luxury. The Vatican, too, must understand that the Christians of Lebanon are not an experimental material for an Islamic-Christian dialogue in the world. The "Lebanon-Bridge" must come to an end. The "Lebanon-courtier" must also end, as should the Lebanon of weakness, because our acceptance of "Lebanon-sacrifice" has turned the Lebanese into sacrificial victims. We want, today, a stable Lebanese territory. A strong state, a distinctive nation whose aerial, maritime, and terrestrial space won't be violated by any soldier, airplane or navy.

The concept of Lebanon has changed following the sacrifice of our martyrs. Prior to them, the Lebanese Cause resided in the way the West could exist in the Orient. Today, it resides in the possibility of life for the oriental Christians and for the Lebanese in Lebanon itself and in the Orient.

CONCLUSION

At present, an artificial solution has been imposed on the Lebanese. This solution consists in letting Syria go on occupying Lebanon. But the Lebanese-Syrian war is far from over. We would remind Westerners that 50 years of communist dictates in Eastern European countries never choked these peoples' legitimate national aspirations.

From 1975 to 1984, the 750,000 inhabitants of East-Beirut and its vicinity (some 200 square kms) have contended with 67 kilos of explosives per person, namely 50 million kilos for the entire targeted region. A comparison with the Second World War: each German contended, between 1939 and 1945, with 5 kilos of explosives. In any case, while Germany paid for Hitler's paranoia, Lebanon, on its part, has never committed aggression against any one. Damascus feeds its imperial ambitions and has always dreamt of becoming a "Great Syria" in which Lebanon would be no more than one of the docile provinces. And yet, this means nothing: The annexationist dream is turning into reality under the silent complicity of nations considered civilized. Later, these same nations will say: "We didn't see anything, we didn't hear anything, thank you little Jesus".

Is it because the Lebanese do not have oil resources and because in Lebanon there are Christians who wear a cross around their neck that they must be sacrificed on the great altar of Realpolitik?

The Western hostages were exploited by the Syrians as a means of blackmail. International terrorism is still exported from Lebanon under their aegis: Abou Nidal, Ahmed Jibril, Amal and Hezbollah; the drug traffic, the growing of poppies and other illicit traffics are all under the Syrians' patronage. The poppies are cultivated in the Bekaa valley, heroine is refined in the laboratories they control and is exported through the seaports they rule and the Beirut airport they control.

There were western hostages in Lebanon solely because the Syrians wanted it. Many hostages were kidnapped 50 or 100 meters from the Syrian barracks, "fled" their kidnappers and came upon the Syrians after a 5 minute walk, or were liberated by the Syrians following some James Bond scene.

Assad owes his conquest of Lebanon to his patience, to the State terrorism he has every leisure to practice, and to international hypocrisy. President Hafez el Assad and his brother Rifaat have, in order to stay in power, constructed a system whose motor functions on violence. Deprived of this fuel, the system stops.

The Syrian leaders and the entire regime live in a state of permanent siege. The dictator had a palace-fortress built for him on the summit of Damascus, when he will be able to shell the city, even if it in its entirety rebels against him.

Syria has no tribunals, only prisons and tombs.

We cannot forget as well the Palestinian terrorism in Lebanon, and we refuse to accept this curious logic which states that the Palestinians must be excused for destroying Lebanon under the pretext that their "own country" was "taken" by the Israelis.

The plot of the nations who believe that by sacrificing the integrity of Lebanon they will be able to solve the problems of the region according to their own interests, this plot seems to have reached even those capitals regarded as incarnating the defense of the free world's values.

It cannot be accepted that the peace in the Middle East will be done with Assad and, who knows, maybe Hitler's heir will receive the Nobel Peace Prize. Hasn't a war criminal like Arafat received this same prize?

Peace must be achieved, but without Assad and without all those war criminals who surround him and who are preparing themselves as his successors. They must be arrested and judged for their crimes against humanity.

Three hundred thousand Lebanese dead because of Syria, twenty five thousand Lebanese handicapped because of Syria, half a million Lebanese in exile because of Syria. Was it necessary for Assad to use gas chambers so that his crimes against Lebanon might be called "war crimes"?

To those who tell us that the Syrians are in Lebanon in order to maintain peace between the Lebanese, we will answer that the Nazis were in France in order to maintain peace among the French.

To those who tell us that fighting the Syrians is extremism, we will answer that the French Resistance against the Nazis was no more than a farce.

To those who tell us that agreeing to work with the Syrians is moderation and sound common sense, we will answer that Maréchal Pétain of 1943 and all the collaborators were national heroes and not traitors.

To those who tell us that peace in Lebanon will be achieved by forgetting the past, we will answer that judging the Nazis and their French collaborators was a historical error.

To those who tell us that the Palestinians must be allowed to stay in Lebanon until a solution is found for them, we will answer "Since you love them so, why don't you take them to your home?"

The Lebanese Resistance believes firmly that only justice and the law will win. It believes in stability and in peace for the region of the Middle East. But it must be clear that this peace must be achieved without Hafez el Assad and without all the war criminals who surround him.