

it. Dr. Tuma observed the popular character of the revolt and how it took the traditional political leadership by surprise. After dealing with the development of the revolt and then its halt, the book discusses the situation in Palestine during and after World War II. During the years that followed the war, the Palestinian leadership was shattered, while the Zionist institutions were strengthened, ending with the partition that was a turning point in the history of the Palestinian question.

No presentation of *The Roots of the Palestinian Question*, no matter how lengthy, can cover all the ideas contained in the book. In his review, Dr.

Anis Sayegh said that every idea in the book is «worthy of attention». Dr. Tuma's book showed the correct way to document Palestinian history.

THE PALESTINIAN ARAB NATIONAL MOVEMENT SIXTY YEARS

We must also point to another book of Emile Tuma, that is just as important: *The Palestinian Arab Nationalist Movement-Sixty Years* was published in 1978, by the PLO's Media and Education Department, and the Iben Rushd publishing house. The book expands the ideas of his two other books, *Arab*

Unity and The Roots of the Palestinian Question. It focuses on the Palestinian struggle with its Arab dimension, the big achievement of the Palestinian people, i.e., the establishment of the PLO, the PLO's achievements and the coming dangers.

Experience has proven that Dr. Tuma's works are indispensable to anyone doing research in Palestinian history, and to every reader. One year after his death, we salute the great Palestinian historian and writer whose works merit further study to define his position in the Palestinian political and cultural history.

Four Years After the Sabra-Shatila Massacre



The following article appeared in *Al Safir*, the Lebanese progressive nationalist newspaper, on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the Sabra-Shatila massacre. It was a presentation by Bayan Nwaihed Al Hoot, progressive Palestinian journalist, telling about the field research he did on the Sabra-Shatila massacre, to the international conference held in Bonn, March 1985 to discuss Israeli crimes against the Lebanese and Palestinian masses.

Time: Thursday, September 16, 1982

Place: Sabra and Shatila, Beirut

Area: Approx. One square kilometer

Inhabitants: Mostly Palestinians and Lebanese. the area is one of the camps for Palestinian refugees from 1948. It is also a popular, poor Lebanese area. Persons of various other nationalities also live here, but they are not asked for their ID cards. Though the people are poor, they survive, and being a foreigner does not rule out the right to live and be secure.

Subject: The massacre - Murderers spread death and fear for three days and departed, but they are known. From Thursday evening until Saturday morning, for forty continuous hours, the massacre went on.

Casualties: Many of the victims have vanished, buried by bulldozers, and many of the survivors are dispersed. Those who remain are identified by a torn ID card, a leather shoe or the color of their shirt. Their names have been recorded, but they were few. Many names were absent from the list for a variety of reasons. Yet the victims are all known. They are immortal in our life and memory.

GOALS OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research is not merely to satisfy scientific curiosity, nor to serve coming generations as is normally taken for granted. The obstacles to writing on this matter challenge the scientific curiosity and commitment to writing history of any writer.

The question is: Why were they killed? And why do we remain? Was it the crime of the Lebanese among them, to be

born in Shabaa, Magdal Zoun, Beaufort Castle and Bint Jabil (villages of South Lebanon)? Was it the crime of the Palestinians among them, to be born in Tarshiha, Deir Al Qasi, Khalisa, Suhmata and Safouria (villages in Palestine, destroyed by the Zionists)? Or was it the crime of the two peoples, that they were forced to migrate time after time, from Saida, Sour and Nabatiyeh, from Dekwani, Tal Al Zaatar, Bourj Hammoud and Karantina?

And we, why did we stay alive? Is it because we were born in the capitals, or because the murderers' capacity, no matter how big, had its limits? Thank God that their capacity did not exceed one square kilometer, and that we have money to rent an average or deluxe apartment outside the border of the popular areas. Maybe that's why we stayed alive, because we have enough to live outside the 'borders', so we have to pay the price for remaining. This is not a financial one. It is the desire to search for answers to the questions: Why? What happened?

In our great tragedy, in our struggle with the Zionist enemy, we, the Arabs, are unaware of a great deal about this tragedy. We think that we know. We are content with generalities. We do not take an indepth look at each tragedy so as to prevent the coming one. Yesterday was the tragedy of Deir Yassin, Kibya, Kafr Qasem and Al Samu'. Yesterday was Bahr Al Baqar (site of Israeli air raid on Egypt) and Khiyam (village where Saad Haddad committed a massacre). Yesterday was Sabra and Shatila, and tomorrow the bloody story will repeat itself anywhere the struggle with the Zionist enemy continues. The