The Daily Star

POINT #COUNTERPOINT

No policy is not good policy



FAREED ZAKARIA writes from Washington

OES the United States government really care if North Korea becomes a nuclear power? Oh, it tells us all the terrible consequences that could flow from such a development: a nuclear Japan and South Korea; an arms race in East Asia; loose nukes easily available to al Qaeda or any other high bidder. But is it really trying to stop this from happening? It doesn't look like that to many observers in East Asia, where I've been for the past week

The problem is not that the United States has a flawed policy on this issue, but that it has no policy on it at all. It has, instead, two impulses: one to get North Korea to renounce its nuclear weapons, the second to help undermine and topple Kim Jona II's reaime. But unless these two tracks are carefully coordinated and calibrated, they work against each other. If President Bush keeps

praving and working for Kim Jong Il's overthrow, that will tend to make Kim want to keep his nuclear insurance policy. As a result, US policy has muddled along incoherently for four and a half years now, achieving no progress. If the US wants to succeed, it will have to decide what its primary goal on North Korea is: policy change or regime change. Washington's current position is

that it's all China's fault that North Korea is being stubborn -- that

still those in its government who think in Third World revolutionary ways: more bombs for poor nations means the rich ones will be less powerful. But even these officials have come to recognize that a nuclear North Korea would create tensions in East Asia that would sour the peace and stability they so prize. Chinese officials have publicly announced they have threatened the North Koreans with consequences if Pyongyang tests a

That's why it generally refuses to use its greatest source of leverage: shutting off the vast quantities of food and fuel it sends to Pyongyang. (It may have done so once or twice very briefly.) "Were the United States to get more actively involved in undermining North Korea," one seasoned observer in Singapore told me, "I would bet that China would actively move to shore up the North Koreans. The international stalemate

actually reflects a stalemate in

China is wrong to support a truly ugly dictatorship, and President Bush is absolutely correct when he speaks of the immorality of the Pyongyang regime. But he should have faith in that judgment. North Korea's regime is destined to fall. An American diplomat talking to Pyongyang about eliminating nuclear weapons won't change that. But, meanwhile, constructive diplomacy might save the rest of the world some hair-raising years of danger.

around to this position. There are

Beijing could pressure the Pyongyang regime easily if it wanted to. Beijing has countered that the problem is all in Washing-

ton: if the US were willing to talk to North Korea, things would look better. In fact, Washington and Beijing are talking past each other. The basic problem is that they have one issue on which they agree and one on which they disagree. The key now is to embrace the common position

Both Beijing and Washington do not want a nuclear North Korea. China has taken some time to come announcing and implying that he is

its nuclear umbrella in 1962. Wind

direction was clear: acquisition of a

political life that the aim is to make

India a great power. Assumption is

that military strength makes a power

great. That confers status. Earlier

There is consensus in Indian

nuclear umbrella.

nuclear bomb. Today there is broad agreement between Beijing and Washington on this.

But there is no agreement on the issue of regime change. From Beijing's point of view, the collapse of North Korea would be a nightmare. It would mean refugees, a failed state on its border, demands for aid, and that perennial Chinese fear, instability. It would also mean that after Korean unification. American troops would be on China's border. So Beijing is not going to assist in any policy that

Washington. Bush administration hard-liners want to push for regime change, while the pragmatists want to end the North's nuclear program. Neither side has won the unending policy struggle within the administration, and as a result neither side's policy is really being implemented. Thus one month the administration says that it can imagine giving Kim Jong II "security assurances" and that it is not trying to depose him

common Sino-US position. The Chinese are currently well disposed to help the US on North Korea because Bush helped them on their great, overriding foreign-policy obsession -- Taiwan. (They will never admit to linkage, but the two are obviously linked in Beijing's mind.) In December 2003, when President Bush warned Taiwan's President Chen Shui-bian not to declare independence, he deflated the island's independence movement and helped Taiwanese politicians arguing for a softer line. Many Chinese observers believe that his statement changed the political climate in Taiwan. (So much so that last month Taiwan's two leading opposition-party leaders went to the mainland and spoke of

reconciliation.) China is wrong to support a truly ugly dictatorship, and President Bush is absolutely correct when he speaks of the immorality of the Pyongyang regime. But he should have faith in that judgment. North Korea's regime is destined to fall. An American diplomat talking to Pyongyang about eliminating nuclear weapons won't change that. But, meanwhile, constructive diplomacy might save the rest of the world some hair-raising years of danger.

Fareed Zakaria is Editor of Newsweek nternational (c) 2005, Newsweek Inc. All rights reserved Reprinted by permission

playwright, poet, short-story writer and a dedicated social worker of the country. Her thirst for knowledge was admirable and inspiring as she wanted to know from her husband on the wedding right whether she would be allowed to continue her studies. She did her BA honours from Bethune College, Calcutta after securing a first division in matriculation from Sakhawat Memorial School, Calcutta. She did her MA in Bengali and Philosophy later. While in service she did her diploma and post-graduation in Education and Psychology respectively from Edinburgh University in

1957. During the fag end of her service career she obtained her Doctorate degree in Educational Psychology from Dhaka University Her father late Professor Kazi Sanaullah who was a close associate of Sher-e-Bangla AK Fazlul Huq, Mowlana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani, Dr Muhammad Shahidullah amongst other luminaries, was principal, Hoogly Mohsin

LEST WE FORGET

ERY few Bengali Muslim

women were active on the

social scene of erstwhile

East Pakistan. One amongst those

few was late Dr Maliha Khatun, a

distinguished educationist, writer

and social worker who breathed her

last on 24th May 2002 at Dhaka

She was my mother-in-law whom I

met first in Mymensingh where she

served as the Principal of Teacher's

Training College. The occasion was

a district level coordination meeting

in connection with Independence

Day celebrations. I saw a soft spo-

ken fair-complexioned lady making

her points in a confident manner.

She appeared very sure of the

needful at her end. Little did I know

then that only a year ago she had

lost her elder daughter in a tragic

underground train accident in

London. Death of a daughter, that

too in early twenties, is undoubtedly

an excruciating pain with crippling

effect. However, as I learnt later, this

tragedy did not deter her from

creative pursuits and social service.

Though belated, I now have the

satisfaction and happiness of

recording a tribute that ought to

Dr Maliha's talents were multi-

have been paid long ago.

MUHAMMAD NURUL HUDA

College and a Professor of Arabic and Persian at Presidency College, Calcutta. The responsibility of public office, tireless social work and even the untimely death of her daughter could not put a brake on her quest for knowledge. Even amongst her heavy work schedule she has enquired about the welfare of friends and relations and rendered moral and material assistance. The 'Rokeva Sakhawat Samity' started functioning from her own residence in Dhanmondi where she arranged educational facilities for unlettered

Indomitable Dr Maliha Khatun



young children. 'Kabya Kunja' -- a dimensional -- she was an educawriters salon -- has received literary tionist of repute in addition to being a and financial support from her and is now an active joint for budding and established writers and poets. Professor Afsaruddin is currently its President

> Dr Maliha's philanthropy was exemplary as this virtue was nearly unknown to Bengali Muslims. She has single handedly rendered financial assistance to individuals and groups in distress and has even donated Taka one lakh for the treatment of an ailing colleague. And all this happened without the slightest glare of publicity. Her life long savngs has helped establish a charitable body styled as "Shamsul Hug-Nargis-Maliha Khatun Trust." This trust is rendering financial assistance in according reception to distinguished citizens and meeting educational expenses of the needy and meritorious. Dr Maliha felt very passionately

recognition of her social service she was awarded the state-level 'Rokeva Padak' in 2001. She was the first woman principal of Dhaka Teachers' Training College. She was a keen traveler and has visited many countries in almost all continents of the world. Her travelrelated writings were published in al important newspapers of the country. The most significant of such travel was the eventful journey by car from London to Calcutta in 1957 the details of which find mention in the well-read book "Through the Car Window." authored by her husband late Professor SM Shamsul Haque. a scholar in Urdu and Persian who was Principal. Comilla Teachers Training College and retired from public service as Deputy Director Public instruction in 1971. Dr Maliha has also penned seven books for children. In addition she was regular contributor to

in bodies like Pabna Samity

Rajshahi-Khulna Divisional

Development Society and Dhaka

Divisional women's sports body

She was an active participant and

speaker in seminars and sympo-

siums organised by these bodies. In

several Bengali dailies. Her known publications run beyond thirty. She was awarded the 'Dewan Abdul Hamid Literary Award,' the 'Nazrul National Award' and the 'Sher-e-Bangla National Award' in recognition of her literary accomplishments. She was member of 'Jatiya Mahila Sangstha', Lions Club, writers forum and 'Ahsania Mission' amongst several others

Dr Maliha has left two sons and a daughter. The elder son, Humayun Kamal, a member of erstwhile Pakistan foreign service has since retired after serving as Ambassador in China, Korea and Poland. Her younger son, Khurshid Anwar, an engineer by profession lives in USA Her daughter, Nishat, a postgraduate from Dhaka University, has served for several years in an international NGO and was very innovative as a social entrepreneur in her responsibilities as President of PUNAK -- police women welfare body for two years.

May the soul of Dr Maliha Khatun rest in eternal peace.

for the welfare of greater society Muhammad Nurul Huda is a former Inspector beyond the requirements of the General of Police and Secretary to the individual and group. She was government. active as an important office-bearer

Nuclear weapons require command and control systems, costs \$ 3 billion and God knows how much more for keeping it updated and in maintaining it operational. Anyway, an arms race is built into nukes because all weapons have to be kept updated all the time. Each side has to keep ahead of the adversary, who is doing the same. An unstoppable vertical proliferation results when two adversaries are at it.

seen as the currency of power. It supposedly attracts respect and awe from others.

But what is the actual result? Pakistan's knee-jerk reaction was to test-fire six nuclear weapons within davs. With that India sank to equality with Pakistan. An essential hyphenation with Pakistan took place to Indians' chaorin. The world saw both linked with each other also through these hostile nuclear weapons aimed against each other. Since Pakistan made no bones about its motivation, willy nilly the Indian nukes have to counter Pakistan's No matter how much India protests that its nukes are not Pakistancentric, the world sees no other use of Indian nukes. Although India hates to be equated with Pakistan, the May 11 decision led to its own down gradation to Pakistan's level. Can nukes really help attain a world power status for India, necessarily at the cost of vacating high moral ground? Indians have to figure that out. An outsider is only aware of nuclear weapons being feared and hated. They are 60 years

It could be that the PNE in 1974 the possession of a sophisticated Indian Nuclear Triad -- that is conor the five explosions by Vajpayee government later, may have been stantly being updated and expanded -- help India achieve this political ploys. They did give a aim? An outsider's judgement is, not political resonance, favourable to too many powers would want to the government. But factually they denv India a seat in an expanded helped chauvinism and jingoism grow. This is an easy road to popu-UN Security Council. But few would larity. In both countries the tests like it to get a veto. For one, veto has been used in a manner that has left imed to be a great achievewere

means to security and peace. All told, expenditures on these weapon systems should include the cost of a subsequent accelerated arms race between India and Pakistan that each has to incur. India, richer than Pakistan, is scarcely rich enough country that can waste a lot of money on nuclear weapons and on

Nuclear weapons require command and control systems, costs \$ 3 billion and God knows how much more for keeping it updated and in maintaining it operational. Anyway, an arms race is built into nukes because all weapons have to be kept updated all the time. Each side has to keep ahead of the adversary, who is doing the same An unstoppable vertical proliferation results when two adversaries are at it. The amount of money devoted to the nuclear triad has serious opportunity costs. Moreover, once the two nuclear powers have achieved rough equivalence in nuclear weapons, such as India and Pakistan have they had to start a new arms race because the nuclear weapons notionally cancel each other out. as noted. All of it is unaffordable. Costs include the loss of goodwill and high esteem that the people of

Finally, Indians should consider Michigan where the tax on a pack o

The Hezbollah factor **RON CHEPESIUK**

BOOK REVIEW

N 1992, in a quiet neighborhood Lightning out of of Charlotte, Mohammed Yousef Lebanon Hammoud began operating a cell for the Lebanon-based by Tom Diaz and Hezbollah, a group the US

Barbara Newman Ballantine Books,

New York, 2005,

carefully avoided any accusation of direct involvement in the massacre. The mysterious Imad Fayez

Mugniyah, the coordinator of Hezbollah's cell network in the Western Hemisphere who has a \$5 million US bounty on his head, sent Hammoud to Charlotte to establish the fund raising network. If bin Laden ever is taken down, look for Mugnuyah to be the next poster

PLAIN WORDS

and another month it's signaling that the regime is doomed. This is unfortunate because now threatens the North Korean regime. is a good moment to try to forge a

India and nukes: Seventh anniversary

old. All people of goodwill condemn

nuclear weapons whether held by

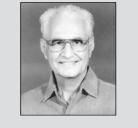
Big Five or Israel or India or

Pakistan. No one respects India and

Pakistan because of their nuclear

weapons. On the contrary these

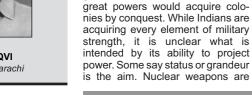
lead to a loss of others' goodwill.



M B NAQVI writes from Karach

HATEVER India intended, it flagged off a nuclear arms race with Pakistan by exploding five nuclear devices in May 1998. For, Pakistan soon followed suit, exploding six. Earlier, there were some indications that a secret arms race was going on. Frequent testing of different missiles by both gave away the terrible game.

World knew Indian nuclear capability since its test explosion in 1974, though Mrs. Indira Gandhi assured that India would not fabricate nuclear weapons. Missile tests were attributed to its space programme. It was known between 1974 and 1998 that India was developing missiles unrelated to satellites or space programme. They could only be militarily-oriented.



nised as a great and region's preeminent power while America wants it to be world's major power. India wants to become a permanent

India's political establishment they are useless for defence. India's has set its heart on being recogimpressive nuclear triad cannot defend India against a sneak nuclear attack by Pakistan and vice versa. Nuclear weapons have reduced the national security of both member of the UN Security Council, with the veto. The question is: would India and Pakistan.

difference these MDWs have made to India's national security? Plain answer is that it has been a negative development for India's national security. Why? because Pakistan has developed a nuclear deterrent that is aimed at India. Now, these MDWs are weapons of offence: the secondary arms race too.

for India.

former nonaligned countries had

1995 and 1999, the cell smuggled cigarettes from North Carolina to

government has designated a

Pakistanis believed India was continuing to fabricate nuclear weapons. From the hindsight, it seems India was fabricating nuclear weapons perhaps in a leisurely fashion

Question of India's motivation crops up insistently. India was one of the leaders of Non-aligned Movement. Its moral stock was high because of its earlier decision to abiure nuclear weapons. Which is why world was astonished at its PNE in 1974. If India did not intend becoming a nuclear power, why did it test explode a bomb it had fabricated? Fact is that the Indians had stabbed the anti-nuclear movement

in the back. The 1974 was not an isolated event. Nehru himself had asked for American military aid and everyone unhappy. It is antidemocratic; it violates sense of fairplay among states. In international law, it is a violation of its natural principles. In short, neither India nor Pakistan can expect any rise in their status simply because they are nuclear powers

Indians do not much talk about national security being strengthened by having nukes. But in the decision to become a nuclear power, it is certain that the security wallahs must have weighed in with the argument that nuclear weapons will make national security impregnable. That leads to a simple question: Was India more secure on May 14, 1998 (after the explosions) or it was on May 9, 1998? What precise

ment. Whatever the intent, the two sets of nukes have enhanced chauvinism and jingoism -- the true legacy of these weapons.

India, all said and done, is still a developing country with the largest pool of poverty. It has miles to go before it can ensure a decent living for all its people. These weapons are horribly costly. One is aware that their promoters (local industrialmilitary complexes) sold it as the cheapest way to greatness and absolute security. They are nothing of the kind. In the regional context, it was a dishonest sales pitch by hardliners of both India and Pakistan, who had been in frequent contact and had jointly popularised nuclear weapons as the cheapest

these nukes are doing to Indian economy and society. Are they not aggravating inequality and poverty? Let's consider just this one: lf India had not undertaken anv expenditure on nuclear weapons and even if it was spending all that it is spending on conventional weapons, the money available to invest for reinforcing the rate of growth would be greater, with more available for health, education and scientific research.

MB Naqvi is a leading columist in Pakistan.

cigarettes was \$1.20 higher. When Hammoud and his enterprising band of bootleggers were finally busted, authorities learned that the profits had been used to buy night vision goggles, global positioning systems, advanced air analysis and design software, and other equipment for the Hezbollah movement.

terrorist organisation. Between

In Lightening out of Lebanon, Barbara Newman and Tom Diaz use this local story as a backdrop to investigate Hezbollah and the nature of the threat it poses to our national security. Diaz is a journalist and a consultant to the US government on counter-terrorism. Newman, a former host of NPR's "All Things Considered," is currently a senior fellow at the Washington. DC-based Defense of Democracies Foundation, a credit that doesn't appear in her bio for the book Members of the foundation's board of directors include such neoconservative luminaries as William Kristol, James Woolsey, Jean Kirkpatrick, Charles Krauthammer, and Frank Gaffney, the cheerleaders for the toppling of Saddam Hussein in 2003 who are now clamouring for a tougher stance towards

Iran, Hezbollah's sponsor. The authors contend that the US remains a major target of Hezbollah and that the group continues to infiltrate the US, making it "potentially" a more dangerous threat to our country than al Quaeda. It's a timely subject, indeed, and a book claiming to have the goods on the "enemy within" should merit our attention. I have to report, though, that, while an interesting read, Lightning out of Lebanon presents no hard evidence to support the authors' claims.

It's true that Hezbollah, the socalled Party of God, which the Iranian Revolutionary Guards founded in 1982, has done harm to our national interests abroad, and the authors spend considerable space recapitulating the legacy of blood and terror. As they point out, Hezbollah killed more Americans than any other terrorist group before the 9-11 trauma

Some of the most high profile examples include the 1983 truckbomb attack on the US marine barracks in Beirut that killed 241 US soldiers, the brutal torture murders of the CIA station chief William terrorist for the War on Terrorism

The authors quote one anonymous Israeli intelligence official as assessing, "Bin Laden is a school boy in comparison with Mugnivah. They attempt to establish a connection between the two terrorists and Iran, but once again the reader will ask: where is the beef?

One might also ask: why Charlotte? According to the authors, "it fit the bill perfectly" because "Hezbollah was looking for American cities where the focused of law enforcement was far removed from terrorism, new operatives could infiltrate a legitimate expatriate Lebanese community and opportunities existed to engage in middling but profitable criminal schemes.

Hammoud and fellow employees at a local Domino Pizza store (some of whom were not Lebanese) pursued their smugaling activities until law enforcement brought the network down. The investigation, by the way, began in 1977, when a lawabiding member of the local Lebanese community told the FBI about his suspicious neighbours.

The authors contend that it was one of at least 14 US cities that "fit the bill." So how serious is the Hezbollah threat to our domestic security? Diaz and Newman draw this "conclusion" a few pages into the book: "One part of this story cannot be told, because it remains unknown -- and that is whether even more hidden layers of Hezbollah's dark enterprise lie undetected, coiled to strike in America." It's relevant to note that not one case has been tried since the conviction of

Hammoud and his associates two vears ado. The ominous but substance

devoid claims in Lightning out of Lebanon do more to chill and frighten than inform and enlighten, exemplifying the book's weakness. Current and well-researched books about Hezbollah are needed, given the War on Terror and the recent events in Lebanon. Discerning and informed readers, however, may be disappointed and somewhat confused by the findings of Lightning out of Lebanon.

Ron Chepesiuk is a visiting professor at Chittagong University and a Research Associate with the National Defense College in Dhaka.

Anwar's self-confidence worth emulation

A G M ALAMGIR

NWAR Hossain of Badaigaon is a glaring examle that relentless hardwork and perseverance can take a man to the pinnacle of success. Now he does not think of himself only, his fellow villagers are also in his vision. He is now working hard to make the people of Badaigaon, Kabirpur and Shimulia self-reliant and selfdependant.

Anwar is a son of the village Badaigaon under Shimulia Union Parishad, Savar Upazila. He is the third among four brothers and one sister. After obtaining graduation degree he started teaching in the local Goalbari High School in 1992. But teaching could give him neither satisfaction nor financial solvency; the money he used to get as salary from the school was not enough to meet the need of his family. Demands of his family kept on increasing every day putting him in utter difficulty to meet the situation. He thought of various ways to earn more money, but none gave him the results

Anwar gave up teaching in 1995. He was provocated by some manpower traders to go abroad and earn bags of money. He, being thus allured, gave Tk 2 lac to a manpower trader to get a job in South Korea. But the irony of fate was that in long three years he could not get the necessary visa or work permit to go to S Korea and all his money was lost. Anwar



become totally disappointed and about to lose heart. At that time some Swanirvar Bangladesh programme (rural self-reliance) was going on in Shimulia Union Parishad. Anwar involved himself in that and took up a small summer vegetables cultivation project with assistance from the programme. With polythene roofing he made a green house and started there cultivation of tomato and other vegetables. This time fortune smiled on him. He was awarded the best vegetables farmer of the Union Parishad. In 2003 Anwar participated in the 300th batch of the animators training programme organised by the Hunger Project. The training brought about a change in him. He thought to

mobilise the people for a permanent

organisation for rural development.

First he organised the Badaigaon Krishak Samity (farmers' association). In few months the Samity stood out to be a popular organisation. The number of members of the samity is now 40. Each member now contributes Tk.10 a month.

Anwar then organised the Badaigaon Juba Samity (youth society) with the youth of the area. Members of the Juba Samity are now 28. They also contribute Tk 10 each to the Samity. Anwar's 3rd step was to organise the women of the area and he formed the Badaigaon Mahila Samity. There are 104 members of the Samity now. With this Samity, he organised the women, inspired them to participate in different training programmes. He also inspired them to gather at the house of the presi-

dent or secretary of the Samity time to end he has started work and his aim time to discuss problems of the area and draw up plan of action. Members of these Samities are now working for their own development and also helping others to develop themselves

Anwar, with assistance from Youth Development Dept. and Swanirvar Bangladesh, helped the youth of his areas, to receive different training. By this time he helped five youths for training in poultry, 50 women in pickle preservation, and 15 women in developed earthen cooker manufacture

Inspired by the training, Anwar took initiative to construct one km rural road from Badaigaon Pagla Bazar to Badaigaon Primary School, by the local people on voluntary basis. Anwar, with the help of the members of the Samity and elected members of the Union Parishad, brought 197 families under the Small Family Programmes. He also inspired the members of the Samities to plant 3000 saplings. He distributed hygienic latrines to 20 families and made more than 200 people aware of nutrition and sanitation.

Animator Anwar is constantly trying to change the mindset of the people of his area and inspiring them to receive training. As a result, two batches of the Animators Training were held in Kabirpur Angana High School. Now he has offered to organise another training programme for 100 men and women at Goalbari Zirani under sadar upazila. To that

is now to create people's awareness in all the union parishads of the sadar upazila Anwar has created a unique example by cultivating vegetables in Shimulia Union Parishad. He earns

more than Tk.30,000 a year by this. He can now make a good savings from his vegetables farming after meeting his family expenses. He wants to make the entire Shimulia Union Parishad a model of vegetables farming. By now, he has motivated about 100 persons for cultivating vegetables on commercial basis. Anwar Hossain believes that behind his success, the assistance

from Swanirvar Bangladesh and inspiration from Hunger Project had worked tremendously. The Animators Training Programme has made him a catalyst. Now he feels himself more responsible for development of his area. He could now have united his thought with work and is more conscious about the society. Anwar Hossain, who has strug-

gled hard and at last won can now be an example for others. If men like Anwar in the society come up to inspire others to develop themselves to get self-employed, Bangladesh will soon be known as a hunger and poverty free country.

A G M Alamgir is Asstt. Programme officer of The Hunger Project





Buckley and Marine Corp Lt. Colonel William Higgins in the mid-1980s, the 1985 hijacking of the TWA Flight 847 from Athens to Beirut, and the 1996 attack on the Khobar Towers US military housing complex in Saudi Arabia.

But these events that transpired ten to twenty years ago and happened in the pre 9-11 world won't necessarily help us understand the realities of the Middle East today. As many Middle Experts are pointing out, Hezbollah appears to be positioning itself to become a major player in Lebanese politics, and it -as well as its chief sponsor, Iran -don't look eager for direct confrontation with the Bush administration or provoke the world's sole superpower with reckless action.

Still, the book is well written, and the information about the Hezbollah connection, interesting. The authors profile Hammoud's early life in Beirut's slums and his involvement with Hezbollah and how like many other local Shiite youth he grew up to possess a deep hatred of Israel. They chronicle the major events of Lebanese-Israeli relations but omit some relevant details important for an understanding of Lebanon's recent history.

For instance, no mention is made of Ariel Sharon's role in the 1982 Sabra and Shatila refuge camp massacres in which rampaging Christian militia murdered hundreds of unarmed Palestinian refugees. An official Israeli commission of inquiry found that Ariel Sharon, among other Israelis, had responsibility for the massacre, although it