Lebanon: The Moukhabarats in Lebanon, including their activities, power and organization; whether they have any ties with Syria; how Syria's withdrawal has changed them (2005)

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When they came to Lebanon in 1976, the Syrian Secret Service, known as the Syrian Moukharabats, [translation] "infiltrated Lebanese society and took control of all operations" (L'Orient-Le Jour 21 Nov. 2005; UN 21 Oct. 2005). At the end of April 2005, two days after Syrian troops withdrew from Lebanon, [translation] "the [Lebanese] Council of Ministers made a series of decisions that radically changed the structure and direction of the [Lebanese] security service and judiciary" (RFI 30 Apr. 2005). The resignation of the director of the Lebanese General Security Administration, Jamil Sayyed, is the [translation] "first tangible result of waning Syrian influence" (ibid. 26 Apr. 2005). The consequences were the dismissal of the country's attorney general, Adnane Addoum, and of the head of Internal Security Forces, General Ali el-Hajj (ibid. 30 Apr. 2005). However, Syrian influence is still widespread (ibid. 30 Apr. 2005), and [translation] "President Emile Lahoud is an ally of Syria, as is the head of the army, General Michel Sleima" (ibid.).

According to the European Strategic Intelligence and Security Center (ESISC), the Lebanese secret service - which was controlled by the Syrian security service for decades (ESISC 23 Oct. 2005) - is represented by the following:

[translation]

The Military Intelligence Directorate (Kalam el-Istikhbarat el-Askariah)

Formerly known as the Makhtab el-Tani (Second Bureau), the powers of this service grew over the years to include the supervision of all matters relating to domestic and foreign security. Military Intelligence reports directly to the president.

General Security Administration (El-Aman el-Am)

Part of the public service, El-Aman el-Am falls, in theory, under the Ministry of the Interior. It handles counter-intelligence and counter-terrorism, and fights subversion and foreign interference.
Internal Security Forces (Forces de Sécurité Intérieures, FSI)

Under the jurisdiction of the gendarmerie, the FSI was placed under the direction of General Ali el-Hajj (now in custody), a close friend of Syrian General Rostom Ghazalé, the former director of Syrian intelligence in Lebanon.

The Republican Guard

Headed by General Hamdane, who is currently being detained, the Republican Guard is not, strictly speaking, an intelligence service, but its methods and powers go well beyond those of a protective service for the head of state, and it is generally considered to be an "army within the army." (ibid.)


[T]he assassination of Rafik Hariri on 14 February 2005 also claimed the lives of 22 others. The murder was committed by a highly organized group that had considerable resources and means . . . [A] great deal of corroborating evidence indicates that both Lebanese and Syrians were involved in the terrorist attack. Considering that it is a matter of public record that Syrian military intelligence services were omnipresent in Lebanon - until recently - and that they were responsible for appointing high-ranking Lebanese security officials, the Commission finds it difficult to imagine that such a complex assassination plot would have been masterminded without their knowledge, given that Syrian and Lebanese intelligence services, working together, had infiltrated Lebanese institutions and society. (UN 25 Oct. 2005)

A 31 August 2005 article in Le Figaro reported the arrest of four Lebanese generals in charge of Lebanese security and intelligence services when Rafik Hariri was killed:

Jamil el-Sayed, former director of the General Security Administration; General Raymond Azar, former director of Military Intelligence; and Ali el-Hajj, former director of Internal Security Forces. ... Moustapha Hamdane, a fourth security official . . . also appeared before the Investigation Commission. (see also AP 30 Aug. 2005)

An article published in Le Monde on 9 November 2005 cited the notice to appear issued by Judge Detlev Mehlis to the following high-ranking Syrian officials:

General Assaf Chawat, brother-in-law of President Bachar Al-Assad and head of Military Intelligence Services . . . General Bahjat Sleimane, former director of Domestic Intelligence Services; Colonel Rostom Ghazalé, who has headed Syrian military services in Lebanon since 2000; his assistant, Jameh Jameh; and colonels Abdel Kérim Abbas and Zafer Al-Yousouf, who both hold high-ranking positions in intelligence services.

The same article noted that Judge Mehlis was unhappy with the Syrian authorities' failure to cooperate in the UN's investigation (Le Monde 9 Nov. 2005). The investigation into Rafik Hariri's murder is still ongoing, and on 21 October 2005, Kofi Annan indicated [translation] "his intention to extend the Commission's

The 2 June 2005 attack that claimed the life of journalist Samir Kassir also strained relations between the Syrian and Lebanese intelligence services (AI 2 June 2005; RSF 21 July 2005; RFI 4 June 2005).

[Translation]

Samir Kassir had been harassed by the Lebanese authorities before. . . . "The assassin was well known" to Elias Atallah, president of the Democratic Left, the opposition party to which Kassir belonged, referring directly to Syria and "to what is left of the security forces led by President Emile Lahoud." (ibid.)

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The French daily Le Figaro reported that the attacks that have shaken Lebanon since the assassination of former prime minister Rafik Hariri are attributed to [translation] "what is left of the Lebanese-Syrian security services" (24 Aug. 2005).

This Response was prepared after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the Research Directorate within time constraints. This Response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim for refugee protection. Please find below the list of additional sources consulted in researching this Information Request.

References


Le Figaro. 31 August 2005. "Quatre anciens chefs de la sécurité libanise arrêtés." (Factiva)

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Additional sources consulted

**Internet sites, including:** British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); European Country of Origin Information Network (ecoi.net); Freedom House; Human Rights Internet; Human Rights Watch (HRW); Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques; *Jane's Intelligence Review*; Lebanese Army; Lebanese General Security Administration; *Le Monde diplomatique*; *Le Nouvel Observateur*; Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); *Ouest France*; United States Department of State.
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