

LEBANON

Lebanon's Legacy of Political Violence

A Mapping of Serious Violations of International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law in Lebanon, 1975–2008

September 2013



Photo Credit: Clockwise from left: Beirut, Lebanon, April 3, 1978, Lebanese refugees in a camp, UN Photo by John Isaac; Naqoura, Lebanon, August 25, 2006, Lebanese woman speaks about bombs that landed near her home, UN Photo by Mark Garten; Tyre, Lebanon, March 30, 1978, Lebanese refugees return to their homes after an air attack by invading Israeli forces, UN Photo by John Isaac; Beirut, Lebanon, August 28, 2006, suburb ruined in the 2006 conflict, UN Photo by Mark Garten; Southern Lebanon, April 10, 1978, guard duty at the Akiya Bridge, UN Photo by John Isaac; and Tyre, Lebanon, March 30, 1978, heavily damaged building after an air attack by invading Israeli forces, UN Photo by John Isaac.

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Acknowledgments

The Lebanon Mapping Team comprised Lynn Maalouf, senior researcher at the Memory Interdisciplinary Research Unit of the Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World (CEMAM); Luc Coté, expert on mapping projects and fact-finding commissions; Théo Boudruche, international human rights and humanitarian law consultant; and researchers Wajih Abi Azar, Hassan Abbas, Samar Abou Zeid, Nassib Khoury, Romy Nasr, and Tarek Zeineddine.

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International Center for Transitional Justice

The International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) works to redress and prevent the most severe violations of human rights by confronting legacies of mass abuse. ICTJ seeks holistic solutions to promote accountability and create just and peaceful societies.

Saint Joseph University

A private university founded in 1875. The Lebanese state officially recognizes the university and its diplomas in accord with the law organizing higher education in Lebanon. Was accredited in 2009 by the French Evaluation Agency for Research and Higher Education.

Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World

The Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World, founded in 1971 and attached to the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the Saint Joseph University of Beirut since 1977, is a center for research and study about the social facts in the Arab Middle East, developing interdisciplinary research along specific lines that are redefined every four years.

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I am sure the Lebanese deserve a better future. At least they deserve to find their own way, in accordance with a rich history that cannot be reduced merely to violence. Yes, we were a laboratory for violence, but we were also, before that, a laboratory for modernity, and in some ways we still are.

Samir Kassir
Young, *The Ghosts of Martyrs Square*, 19

Identity is memory. Identities forged out of half-remembered things or false memories easily commit transgressions.

Jose Zalaquett
Krog, *Country of My Skull*, 32

SERIOUS VIOLATIONS IN LEBANON

North

Tripoli successive wars, 1980-1985
Destruction of Nahr al-Bared camp, 2007

- Killings in various towns
- Shelling of residential areas
- Massive displacement
- Torture
- Enforced disappearance

Northern Mount Lebanon

War of Liberation, 1989
Inter-Christian War, 1990

- Intense shelling of residential areas
- Mass killings
- Abductions, arbitrary detentions, torture, and enforced disappearance

Beqaa

Siege of Zahleh, 1981

- Mass killings in various towns, kidnappings
- Intense shelling of civilian areas
- Massive displacement

Beirut

See separate map of Beirut

Southern Mount Lebanon

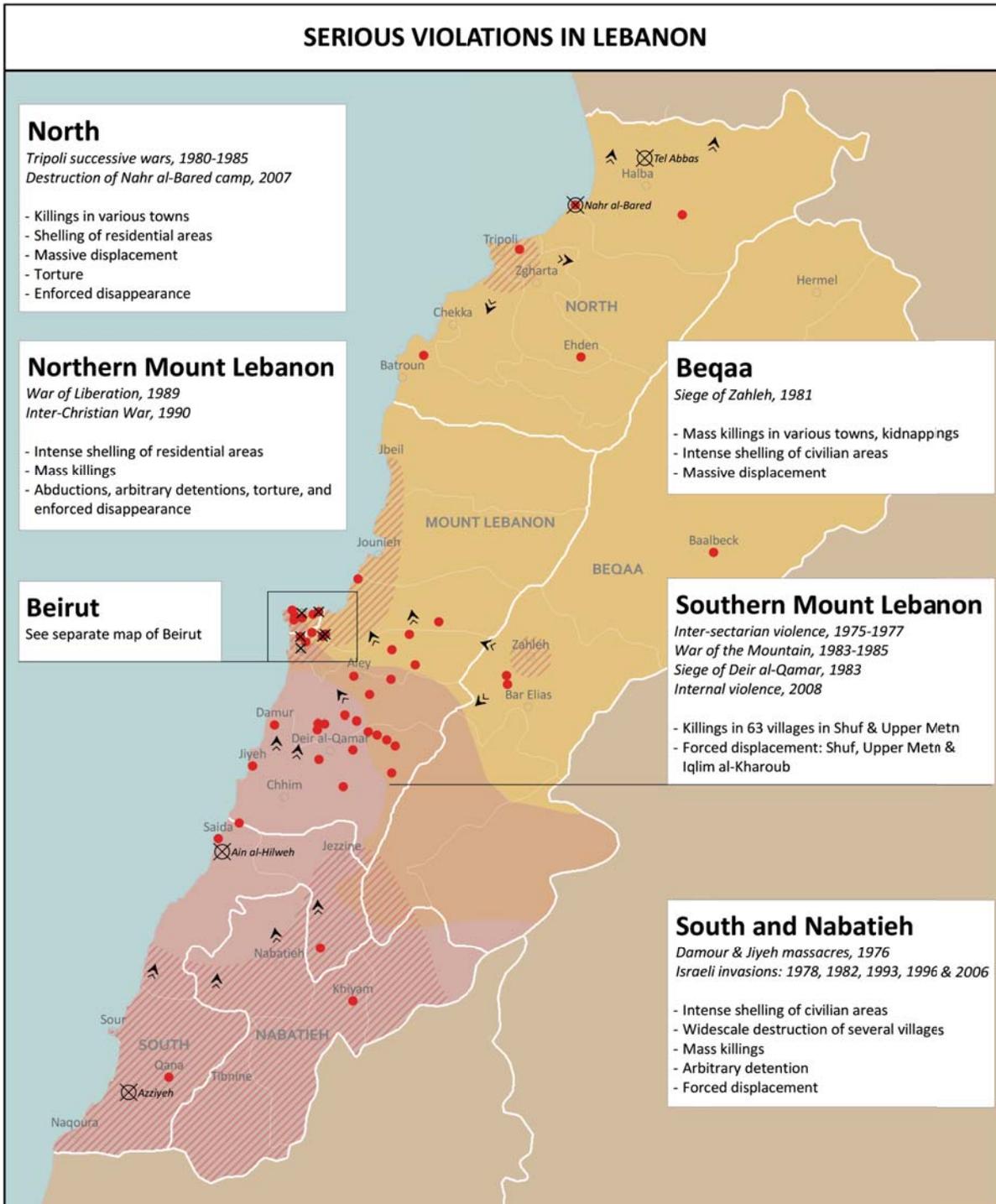
Inter-sectarian violence, 1975-1977
War of the Mountain, 1983-1985
Siege of Deir al-Qamar, 1983
Internal violence, 2008

- Killings in 63 villages in Shuf & Upper Metn
- Forced displacement: Shuf, Upper Metn & Iqlim al-Kharoub

South and Nabatieh

Damour & Jiyeh massacres, 1976
Israeli invasions: 1978, 1982, 1993, 1996 & 2006

- Intense shelling of civilian areas
- Widescale destruction of several villages
- Mass killings
- Arbitrary detention
- Forced displacement



Lebanon was invaded by the Israeli Army, which controlled large parts of the country from 1978 and still occupies areas in the south. The Syrian Army entered Lebanon in 1976 and controlled large parts of the country until 2005.

- Furthest control of Syrian Army
- Furthest control of Israeli Army
- Israeli Army invasions

During the 2006 July War, Israel shelled large parts of the country.

This map illustrates a selection of violations outlined in this report.

Since 1975, numerous serious violations of international law were committed, including mass killings, attacks on and destruction of civilian areas, and massive displacement.

- Mass killings
- Partial or complete destruction of towns and camps
- Forced displacement
- Intense shelling

Geographical divisions in this map reflect administrative divisions.

SERIOUS VIOLATIONS IN BEIRUT

West Beirut

Inter-sectarian war, 1975
Israeli invasion, 1982
Sabra & Chatila Massacre, 1982
Internal violence, 2008

- Intense shelling
- Mass killings
- Abductions and fighting

Southern Suburbs

War of the Camps, 1985-1987
Inter-Shi'a War, 1990
July War, 2006

- Intense shelling
- Widespread destruction
- Mass killings

East Beirut

Black Saturday, 1975
Siege of Palestinian Camps, 1976
The Hundred-Day War, 1978
War of Liberation, 1989
Inter-Christian War, 1990

- Intense shelling
- Mass killings
- Abductions
- Massive forced displacement



Numerous serious violations of international law have taken place in Beirut since 1975.

- Mass killings
- Forced displacement
- ▨ Intense shelling
- ⊗ Partial or complete destruction of towns and camps
- Sniper shootings
- Demarcation line that divided the city

This map illustrates a selection of violations outlined in this report.

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ACRONYMS

AP	Additional Protocol or Associated Press
ADF	Arab Deterrent Force
AFP	Agence France Presse
AUB	American University of Beirut
AUH	American University Hospital
CAT	Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
CEMAM	Centre d'Etudes pour le Monde Arabe Moderne
CIHL	Customary International Humanitarian Law
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
GC	Geneva Convention
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
IHRL	International Human Rights Law
ISF	Internal Security Forces
KDC	Khiyam Detention Center
LAA	Lebanese Arab Army
LCP	Lebanese Communist Party
LF	Lebanese Forces
MP	Member of Parliament
MNF	Multinational Force
NM	National Movement
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
NLP	National Liberal Party
OACL	Organization of Communist Action Lebanon
PRCS	Palestine Red Crescent Society
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PFLP-GC	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command
PHRO	Palestinian Human Rights Organization
PLA	Palestinian Liberation Army
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PNO	Popular Nasserist Organization
PSP	Progressive Socialist Party
RPG	Rocket Propelled Grenade
SLA	South Lebanon Army
SOLIDE	Support of Lebanese in Detention and Exile
SSNP	Syrian Social Nationalist Party
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East
USJ	Université Saint-Joseph

Executive Summary

Lebanon's modern history is rife with conflict. Well before it gained independence in 1943, its people suffered regular bouts of violence, most notoriously class-based insurrections and inter-sectarian fighting that sometimes resulted in mass killings and forced displacement of populations. Political, economic, social, ideological, and religious factors contributed to this history of conflict. The collective memory of traumatic events, transmitted between generations in each community but seldom addressed, was a significant factor in the regular flare-up of violence.

Since fighting formally ended in 1990, the people of Lebanon have suffered from reemerging political violence, sporadic armed conflicts, and two foreign occupations—with a near-total lack of official acknowledgment, reparation, truth, or justice for the thousands of victims over the years.

This report compiles information on hundreds of incidents, highlighting the pattern and nature of the violence that took place from 1975 to 2008 in all parts of Lebanon. Based on information collected from existing sources, the report does not necessarily offer new information, but rather, it aims to present, in one place, incidents of violence in a manner that may feed into a broader, long-term process of acknowledging what has happened to people in Lebanon, across the country and across social divides. The report also provides a legal analysis that enables readers to see the incidents of violence in relation to international human rights law and international humanitarian law. The report's aim is to contribute to the debate in Lebanon on how to break the cycle of political violence and serious violations of human rights and bring about accountability, the rule of law, and sustainable peace in the country.

As outlined in this document's introduction, this report is not a comprehensive mapping, but a key resource on which future research and investigative work can be built. It was reviewed by ICTJ experts as well as a scientific committee established by Université Saint-Joseph. Recognizing the limitations of producing such a work in a restricted timeframe, the authors note that this report is not a scientific work falling within the province of social sciences. It does not, nor can it, claim the exhaustiveness of targeted situations, qualitative and quantitative resources, or bibliographic sources.

The mapping report is one of a set of complementary publications produced by ICTJ as part of a two-year European Union-funded project, "Addressing the Legacy of Conflict in a Divided Society." The other publications include a study of the needs and expectations of people in Lebanon regarding dealing with the past and a report highlighting the impact of ongoing impunity in Lebanon. Together, these publications will serve as resources that can support and inform debates about the past in Lebanon by civil society and policymakers alike. In close coordination with a consortium of academics, civil society representatives, and victims' groups, ICTJ will develop findings into a policy brief outlining recommendations for dealing with Lebanon's past in a way that can support accountability, rule of law, and sustainable peace.

Introduction

Before the Two-Year War broke out in 1975, there were frequent incidents of political violence in Lebanon, including serious violations of human rights and the law of armed conflict. Fifteen years of successive wars followed, linked to local and regional political dynamics and involving a multiplicity of actors, shattering the country and its people.

When the successive armed conflicts ended in 1990, Lebanon remained under the political and military hegemony of its two neighboring countries: Israel and Syria—the first withdrawing its forces in 2000 and the second in 2005. Since then, the country has been far from stable. Targeted assassinations, a full-fledged war with Israel, and several bouts of internal Lebanese fighting have reopened wounds periodically that never healed properly.

While it is true that the country is vulnerable to fluctuating regional and international developments, Lebanon's fragile, fragmented social and political fabric, worsened by weak state institutions, fails to offer a strong buffer to this volatility. Today, the country remains politically and socially divided with a widespread perception that “war can erupt at any time.”¹

Lebanon's state of instability and repeated cycles of violence may in part be due to the failure to address the legacy of the past in a meaningful, sustainable way. Impunity has been the prevailing rule,² embodied in an amnesty law that was ratified in 1991.³ But beyond the absence of the rule of law, Lebanon remains reluctant to engage in any discussion about how to address the past, thus revictimizing those who have suffered from political violence and armed conflict, first by denying them the chance to voice their experiences, needs, and expectations, and second by denying them any form of acknowledgment.

A preliminary examination and understanding of violations of international human rights and humanitarian law that have had an impact on Lebanese society are necessary as a first step to developing informed, conscientious policies that cater to the needs and expectations surrounding any effort to address the past in a manner that feeds into a larger process of nation-building and sustainable peace.

This report aims to take a step in that direction by providing a preliminary source of information about the events of the past three decades, highlighting the nature and pattern of serious violations perpetrated against civilians—individuals and communities, Lebanese and non-Lebanese, on Lebanese soil—regardless of who were the victims and who were the perpetrators.

1 From one of the 150 oral history testimonies collected during the “Badna Naaref” (We Want to Know) a pilot project initiated and implemented by ICTJ, CEMAM, and UMAM Documentation and Research. The project was set over the course of 2011 and 2012 with 44 students from 12 public and private schools in Greater Beirut. The summaries of the collected testimonies are hosted on the website www.badnanaaref.org.

2 Here, crime should not be understood in terms of its legal definition, but as per its commonly used form to mean a particularly serious offense.

3 Republic of Lebanon, “General Amnesty Law,” Law No. (84) of March 28, 1991.

Objective

This report seeks to contribute to a process of addressing the legacy of political violence and armed conflict in Lebanon, with a view of recognizing past and present victims and contributing to a debate on getting guarantees that the abuses will not be repeated. By setting a time frame extending from February 1975 to December 2008, it seeks to shed light on the continued plight of civilians, first during the 15 years of war, but also continuing to this day.

The report compiles information on events and specific incidents as well as more general patterns of serious violations against civilians and other people who warrant protection in Lebanese territory between February 1975 and December 2008. As such, its objective is to be a stepping stone in a currently growing debate about the need to address this legacy, with a focus on recognizing the civilians' suffering.

By its nature, this mapping exercise is not exhaustive and complete. The result of compiling existing information from open sources and data from secondary sources without original investigative or field research can only partially reflect the incidents that occurred during this period. Incidents that were not documented in existing sources, or at least in the sources consulted for the purposes of this report, were left out. Moreover, it has been difficult to gather information on accurate numbers of victims, illustrating the ongoing failure to document past violence and address its legacy in a meaningful way. Clearly this exercise, which was carried out in a limited time frame, cannot claim to establish definite figures or a comprehensive compilation of events, or even to create a balance between events that are well documented and others that are less so.

The authors are fully aware that the report contains certain gaps. Nevertheless, this document seeks to provide a fair indication of the extent and nature of violations that took place in Lebanon over the past three decades. It is hoped that it may highlight areas that need further investigation, because certain events or specific conflicts are better documented than others, and particular gaps persist relating to civilian casualties and the larger impact of violence on the civilian population.

Furthermore, this report does not seek to establish the cause of violence or to provide a political analysis of it. Nor does it aim to establish the criminal responsibility of the individuals who were involved. The descriptions of incidents are voluntarily succinct and lack graphic details. The objective is to offer a preliminary account of the nature and scope of the violence that plagued the civilian population during these years, using international law as the term of reference.

More importantly, this report is not able to express the suffering of victims. However, it was conceived as an essential preliminary step and inducement toward a future, more complete process of truth-seeking and reparation for them.

Mandate and Definition of Terms

The mandate of this project is limited to documenting serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law and the laws of Lebanon committed against civilian populations and people no longer taking part in hostilities in the whole of Lebanese territory from February 1975 to December 2008.

- **Serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law and the laws of Lebanon.** This report describes specific incidents, located in time and space, that reveal the commission of one or more serious violations under international and national law. Serious violations mainly involve crimes against life and physical (and psychological) integrity, in particular when they are committed in a systematic and/or widespread manner and/or motivated by a form of discrimination. The report mentions all groups allegedly involved in incidents whenever that

information is available. However, because a mapping exercise like this one is not an exercise deemed at establishing individual criminal responsibility, the names of individuals who allegedly participated in the commission of crimes are not mentioned. Only the names of individuals who occupied official or political functions within relevant groups are included as historical facts, not with the view of attributing responsibility.

- **Committed against civilian populations and people no longer taking part in hostilities (i.e., persons hors-de-combat).**⁴ These incidents concern violations committed against people or populations that come under the protection of international humanitarian law whenever it applied, specifically the civilian population, and more generally people who were not or were no longer taking part in hostilities at the time of the violation. In terms of casualties, whenever sources did not differentiate between civilians and combatants,⁵ the authors chose to present the figures as including both categories.
- **On the whole of Lebanese territory.** The report aims to cover incidents that occurred in all regions of Lebanon to reflect that, in effect, no part of the country was spared from the violence.
- **From February 1975 to December 2008.** The report covers a limited time period beginning with February 1975, when the first serious violations took place preceding the date of April 13, 1975, which is generally accepted in Lebanese collective memory as the beginning of the war. Moreover, despite the notion that the war ended in October 1990, Lebanon nonetheless remained under the military and political control of two foreign states until 2005, and it continues to see incidents of violence to this day.⁶ The internal violence that occurred in May 2008, though short-lived, brought back memories of the wars, reopening old wounds for those who had lived through those years. Thus, December 2008 was chosen as the cut-off date for the purpose of this report.

Project Implementation and Methodology

Due to limited resources, the project was designed to be completed in four months. These constraints dictated the development of the methodology.

The mapping exercise was conducted by a team of six social science researchers working over a period of three months –March to May 2012– on a part-time basis, under the supervision of the senior researcher, who drafted the report in the fourth month, and the two experts who drafted the legal framework chapter concurrently. All researchers were Lebanese, from diverse backgrounds, with a good general knowledge of the period under consideration.

Sources of Information

The information contained in this report is based exclusively on open and secondary sources and documents.⁷ Open sources include scholarly publications as well as reporting by media or human rights organizations. More specifically, the information was extracted from the following: the works of social scientists and journalists who focused on the 1975-1990- war period; publications containing testimonies of former militia members; newspaper articles available online in the “Memory at Work”

4 A person hors de combat is someone who is no longer participating directly in hostilities, whether because s/he is injured or detained.

5 Here, combatant is used in its generic sense to mean a person involved in fighting and not its technical definition under international humanitarian law.

6 The most recent such incident occurred while this report was being finalized, on October 19, 2012 when a car bomb killed three and wounded over 100 civilians, in Ashrafieh, Beirut.

7 With the exception of the information specifically related to the War of the Mountain, which is derived from the field research conducted by Dima de Clerk for her doctoral thesis, unless otherwise noted.

archive;⁸ articles in daily and weekly local and foreign newspapers; and fact-finding reports produced by nongovernmental organizations and United Nations organizations (such as UN Human Rights Committee, UN Interim Forces in Lebanon or UNIFIL, Security Council). The nature of the sources also varies from one period to another; namely the period 1975-1990- mainly draws on a pool of scholarly work and, to a certain extent, on mainstream media. As for the incidents reported during the subsequent time frame of 1990-2008-, these are largely drawn from the investigative, monitoring, and research work carried out by human rights organizations. Additional visual sources helped provide contextual information, namely Al Jazeera's 15-episode documentary, *Harb Lubnan*, and the 2005 documentary *Massaker*.⁹

The data presented in this report should be understood as a synthesis drawn from a wide variety of sources, selected on the basis of multiple criteria, such as the status of the authors (NGOs, academic researchers, journalists, direct actors, and witnesses in the events); the diversity of the various conflicts, periods, and regions covered; and the language of the source. Whenever possible, the incidents were selected based on cross-checking multiple sources, all referenced. The same holds true for the figures that appear in the report. These must be read with extreme caution because they are very seldom based on actual field investigations or cross-checking of sources. In the present report, a bracket was used whenever possible to highlight a probable minimum and maximum based on the indications of the various sources referenced. The decision to include these figures, rather than to exclude them, was based on the need to provide a general idea of the scope of casualties and highlight incidents that were serious either in their scope or nature.

Gravity Threshold

Because the present report seeks to shed light on some of the most serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law in Lebanon since 1975, it was necessary to undertake a selection of acts committed over more than 30 years of conflict and violence. To identify these, a gravity threshold was used. This provides a set of criteria enabling the identification of violations of sufficient gravity to be included in the final report.

These criteria function as a whole; no one criterion alone can be the decisive factor. All may be used to justify the decision to include an incident in the present report. The criteria used to select the incidents listed in this report fall into four categories:

- **Nature of violations:** Each recorded incident generally indicates the commission of one or more crimes under international law. All of these crimes can be classified on the basis of an objective criterion, whereby violations of the right to life are considered most serious (murder, mass killing, summary execution, enforced disappearance, etc.), followed by violations of the right to physical and mental integrity (sexual violence, torture, mutilation, physical injury, etc.), the right to liberty and security of person (arbitrary arrest and detention, forced displacement, etc.), the right to equality before the law and equal protection of the law without any discrimination (persecution, fair trial), and lastly, violations relating to the right to own property (destruction of civilian property, pillage, etc.). The vast majority of incidents relate to violations of the right to life and to physical integrity.
- **Scale of violations:** Most recorded incidents indicate the commission of several crimes resulting in many victims. The number of crimes committed and the number of casualties—presumed or known to date—was taken into consideration when establishing the gravity of an incident.
- **Manner in which violations were committed:** Violations of a widespread or systematic nature, crimes targeting a specific group (vulnerable groups, religious groups, political groups, etc.), and

8 UMAM Documentation and Research, www.memoryatwork.org. The archive provides comprehensive data on car bombs, disappearances, and targeted assassinations.

9 Al Jazeera, *Harb Lubnan*; Monika Borgmann et al., *Massaker*.

indiscriminate attacks, like disproportionate ones with many civilian victims, are all elements that contribute to raising the gravity level of an incident.

- **Impact of violations:** Separate from the number of victims, certain incidents may have a far-reaching impact on a population, either by triggering conflict, threatening existing peace efforts, instilling widespread civilian panic (such as car bombs, widespread shelling of residential areas, sniping, abductions, and others), or preventing humanitarian relief efforts or the return of refugees or displaced people. The regional impact of an incident or its legacy for a specific community and its particular significance for certain political, religious, ethnic, or other groups may also contribute to raising its gravity level. For instance, a number of political or religious killings fall under this category, even if some may not be considered violations of international human rights or humanitarian law, per se.

Finally, the legal classification of incidents was determined based on the facts as reported by the open sources; thus, they should not be considered conclusive or definitive. Further investigation may produce evidence that alters these classifications.

Structure

The report is composed of seven chapters. The first six represent the core of the report and outline incidents of serious violence. Chapter 7 details the legal framework applicable in Lebanon during the relevant time frame and provides an overview of the legal classification under international law of some of the incidents reported.

These first six chapters generally follow a chronological order, although for the sake of clarity and a better comprehension of specific episodes, this approach was not applied systematically. A decision was made to regroup under the same heading all incidents that relate to a specific conflict, even if these conflicts overlapped in time with other conflicts, albeit always within the chronological framework of each chapter. Moreover, chapters contain thematic listings. For instance, chapters include nonexhaustive lists of targeted assassinations, car bombs, and abductions in a manner that reflects the scope of incidents falling under that category of violation.

1. The Two-Year War: February 1975– December 1976

In the years preceding the outbreak of the war, regular bouts of violence had occurred across Lebanon attesting to a gradual weakening of the state structure and deepening divisions within the political spectrum. In North Lebanon and in the Beqaa, armed gangs were committing robberies and murders; others were making illicit impositions on local factories and businesses. In Beirut and South Lebanon, growing tension between the Lebanese Army, the Lebanese Security Forces, and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)¹⁰ fighters turned from small-scale clashes to higher-intensity confrontations, most notably in May 1973.

Thus it became increasingly difficult to uphold the terms of the 1969 Cairo Accord.¹¹ Indeed, the number of Palestinian fighters had grown significantly since 1967 to become several thousand in the early 1970s, when Lebanon became the main center for the Palestinian struggle against Israel.¹² Clashes erupted occasionally between the Christian Kataeb¹³ militia and the PLO in the area around Tel al-Zaatar, a Palestinian refugee camp in the East Beirut suburb of Dekwaneh. Israeli raids on South Lebanon in retaliation for Palestinian operations conducted from Lebanon or from within Israel were resulting in civilian deaths and property destruction, and pushing Lebanese civilians from the region to migrate north and toward Beirut. Throughout 1974, Israel was conducting land or air raids on villages and towns in South Lebanon on a weekly basis.¹⁴

On the eve of the war, Lebanon was polarized into two radicalized groups, divided over ideological, socioeconomic, and political issues and their views regarding the role of the Palestinian armed struggle in Lebanon. Most radical Christian groups viewed the Palestinian armed presence in various areas of the country and armed actions taken from Lebanese territories as impediments to Lebanese sovereignty. Radical Muslims and Christians affiliated to leftist and other radical groups supported and sometimes participated in the Palestinian military actions against Israel, adopting the Palestinian

¹⁰ Palestine Liberation Organization, Munatham al-Tarir al-Filasiniya, is a political and paramilitary organization created in 1964. It represented several organized Palestinian groups, both armed and unarmed, including: Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestinian People's Party, the Palestine Liberation Front, the Arab Liberation Front, the Palestine Democratic Union, the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front, and the Palestinian Arab Front. Until 1974, it also included the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Command. Most of these groups had been active in Lebanon since the mid-1960s; but following its expulsion in September 1970 from Jordan, the PLO became officially based in Lebanon.

¹¹ The Cairo Accord, signed on November 3, 1969 between the Lebanese Army Commander General Emile Bustani and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, did not only recognize Palestinians' right to work and reside in Lebanon, but also allowed them to be active in the Palestinian armed struggle against Israel. The Lebanese authorities were to facilitate the Palestinian commandos' movement to and from the Israeli border and ensure safe passage until the Arqub region, South Lebanon. All actions and movements by the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command were to be coordinated with the Lebanese authorities. The Accord also placed the 16 officially recognized UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) camps under the authority of the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command, thus confirming its extraterritoriality.

¹² Picard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country*, 81.

¹³ Kataeb (Phalangist) Party: al-Kataeb al-Lubnaniya (Phalanges Libanaises) was founded in 1936 by Pierre Gemayel as a youth organization. It became a political party in the 1950s, and its armed branch was created in the early 1970s.

¹⁴ A House of Many Mansions, 79.

view that the struggle for the liberation of Palestine was to take place from Lebanon. The Lebanese in this group further viewed the Lebanese Army and other state institutions as a Christian dominant force that was hindering the Palestinian armed struggle, which the Palestinian armed force could balance out in their favor.¹⁵

In early 1975 the country's political and social structure was weakened by increased polarization of the street, mounting social discontent with economic issues, the loss of the exclusive use of violence with a proliferation of light weapons and accompanying small-scale clashes and crime, and differing perceptions of national institutions, mainly the army.

The Two-Year War was marked by a series of cross-sectarian clashes, assassinations, enforced disappearances, and mostly massacres and counter-massacres. The most notable events were Black Saturday, the siege of Christian towns and Palestinian camps, and forced evictions. This period ended when Syrian troops entered Lebanon and a ceasefire six months later.

1.1 Beginning of the War

Before April 13, 1975, several violent incidents had occurred already, namely the shooting and subsequent killing of Maaruf Saad in Saida in February 1975.

- February 26, 1975: In Saida, South Lebanon, fishermen demonstrated against the creation of Protein Company, a joint Lebanese-Kuwaiti company that they viewed as a move to monopolize the industry. The company inflamed existing resentment against state monopolies serving the interests of the Christian political elite. The chairman of Protein was Camille Chamoun, former president and head of the Christian party, the National Liberal Party (NLP).¹⁶ Leading the demonstration were Maaruf Saad, former mayor of Saida, former MP, and founder of the Popular Nasserist Organization (PNO)¹⁷ who was popular among the Sunnis community and leftist groups, and MP Nazih Bizri, who represented the conservative Sunni community. During the demonstration, there was a sudden exchange of fire with the army, during which Saad and two other protestors were wounded and one Palestinian was killed. The situation quickly deteriorated as demonstrators used dynamite and rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) against military vehicles, killing an army corporal and injuring two other soldiers.¹⁸ Saad died from his wounds on March 6, 1975.
- March 1–3, 1975: Renewed clashes in Saida left 11 civilians dead, including a seven-month-old baby. At least 90 people were wounded.¹⁹

In the following days, demonstrations in Christian-populated areas in support of the army took place, while the prime minister gave the orders to withdraw the army units from Saida immediately. Accordingly, the units, as well as members of army intelligence and the Internal Security Forces (ISF) were transported to outposts outside the city.²⁰ In this tense atmosphere took place what is widely perceived today as the spark that started the war.

- April 13, 1975: Around 11 a.m., in Ain al-Remmaneh, a Christian-populated neighborhood in East Beirut, a fight took place between Kataeb security members who were deployed as their leader, Pierre Gemayel, was attending a church consecration ceremony, and the passenger of a car with a covered license plate, who turned out to be a Lebanese man belonging to the Palestinian Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).²¹ (The latter was injured and later taken

¹⁵ Ibid., 69; Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 186 and 268.

¹⁶ The National Liberal Party (Hizb al-Wataniyyin al-Ahrar), was created in 1958 and headed by former President Camille Chamoun.

¹⁷ The Popular Nasserist Organization PNO (al-Tanthim al-Sha'abi al-Nasseri) is a Sunni pan-Arab or Nasserist organization.

¹⁸ La Guerre du Liban, 97.

¹⁹ Annahar, 03/04/1975; Chami, Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 22.

²⁰ Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 269.

²¹ Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), al-Jabha al-Dimuqratiya li-Tahrir Filastin, member of the PLO.

to hospital). A few minutes later, two cars with covered license plates drove by the church, and its passengers fired shots toward the entrance as people attending mass were walking out. They killed three civilians and Gemayel's bodyguard.²²

At around 1 p.m., a bus transporting a group of Palestinians returning from a commemoration parade was passing through Ain al-Remmaneh on its way to the camp of Tel al-Zaatar, located in the eastern suburbs. Gunmen attacked the bus, killing all 27 passengers but not the driver.²³

- April 13–16, 1975: Over the course of three days, Christian militias on one hand and Lebanese Leftist and Palestinian militias on the other clashed in various parts of the country.

In Beirut, fighting broke out in areas where there was some proximity between Christian-populated residential areas and Palestinian camps or Muslim-populated areas, which would later become regular conflict zones: Dekwaneh-Tel al-Zaatar, Ain al-Remmaneh, Chiyah, Haret Hreik, Mreijeh, Burj al-Barajneh, Karantina, Maslakh, and Ashrafieh. Weapons included rocket launchers, automatic rifles, and mortars of small caliber. Clashes also broke out in North Lebanon between Tripoli and Zgharta. In the Shuf, Palestinian commandos from the Barja region attacked two neighboring Christian villages (Ain al-Assad and Marj Barja), causing a temporary displacement of population toward the Christian-populated East Beirut.²⁴ And in Saida a general strike was ongoing, with continuous explosions and gunfire.

During this time, according to newspaper reports, 300 people were killed, 1,500 buildings destroyed, and losses amounting to \$200 million were reported by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry.²⁵

Mahmud Riad, the secretary general of the League of Arab States, landed in Beirut on April 14 and announced a ceasefire on April 16. The Kataeb, the PLO, the National Movement (NM),²⁶ and the PNL agreed to retract their armed members from the streets. The Kataeb handed over two of the seven party members who were accused of the bus shooting.²⁷ The ceasefire remained shaky, however, because various incidents of abductions, explosions, and clashes were still taking place across the country.

- May 18, 1975: Clashes broke out between PLO fighters from the camps of Tel al-Zaatar and Jisr al-Basha and the Kataeb in the area of Dekwaneh. On the 20th, the clashes spread to other areas, now between Christian militias and Shi'a Lebanese supported by Palestinian fighters in the Shi'a-populated areas such as Chiyah and Nabaa.²⁸
- May 21, 1975: Shells that fell on Tel al-Zaatar in the eastern suburbs of Beirut injured six people and killed two children, according to Palestinian officials. Also, 13 civilians were wounded in separate incidents, which included Palestinian armed men storming into three residential apartments and shooting at passers-by. That same day, a Lebanese civilian was killed by sniper fire, and four other people were killed in crossfire in Dekwaneh and Fanar.²⁹

22 La Guerre du Liban, 105.

23 Salibi, *Crossroads to Civil War*, 98 writes "it was further charged that the passengers who were killed in the ambushed bus were also armed commandos who were coming to Ain al-Remmaneh to make trouble, although there was no proof to this effect"; Lebanon: A Shattered Country, 105; Chamussy, *Chronique d'une Guerre*, 240; Al Jazeera, Harb Lubnan, episode 3.

24 Labaki and Abou Rjeily, eds., *Bilan des Guerres du Liban*, 57.

25 La Guerre du Liban, 104.

26 The National Movement (al-Haraka al-Wataniya) was a political coalition headed by Kamal Jumblatt backing the Palestinian position in Lebanon. It gathered the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) (al-Hizb al-Taquadumi al-Ishtiraki) co-founded in 1949 by Kamal Jumblatt and other pan-Arab nationalist and radical groups such as the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) (al-izb as-Suri al-Qawmi al-Ijtima'i) that was founded in 1932 and originally called for the creation of a Greater Syria. As of March 1976, it became part of the National Movement, the Lebanese Communist Party (LCP), the Communist Action Organization in Lebanon (OACL) and other independent individuals. Following the October 1973 war, these parties started closely coordinating with the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command in Lebanon.

27 *Crossroads to Civil War*, 101.

28 According to Salibi, *Crossroads to Civil War*, 104: "In the course of the Shi'ite-Christian clashes, a Shi'ite gang which called itself Fityan 'Ali (the Knights of 'Ali) and which claimed to stand for the Shi'ite Movement of the Deprived which was headed by Imam Musa al-Sadr, committed such atrocities that the Imam hastened to dissociate his Movement from it."

29 Annahar, 5/22/1975.

On May 23, 1975, clashes spread across Beirut, with new rounds of confrontations with mortar shells from both sides. The following day, checkpoints manned by militias were set up in West Beirut, dividing the city in two.³⁰ Abductions by all sides, religious-based killings, and mutilations (in many cases, either fingers or genitals cut off) became widespread, and the speed and frequency with which they were happening became the distinguishing feature of this conflict.³¹

- May 30, 1975: Also known as Black Thursday, this marked the beginning of widespread sectarian-based abductions, mutilation, and executions.³² Following the assassination of a Palestinian man in downtown Beirut, between 30 and 50 Christian civilians were summarily executed in the area of Bashura in West Beirut.³³ The bodies were abandoned in a Muslim cemetery, close to the demarcation line, all with their genitals sliced off.³⁴ This immediately led gunmen from both sides to block roads and streets in the areas under their respective control. It is reported that many of those who were abducted—Muslims and Christians—were executed, and those who were released were in many cases mutilated.³⁵
- June 24–25, 1975: A wave of shelling destroyed several residential building blocks in the east Beirut neighborhoods of Ashrafieh, Nasra, Saifi, and Tabaris. Five civilians were killed and 12 wounded in the crossfire on the Chiyah- Ain al-Remmaneh front line in Greater Beirut. A mortar shell fell on a house in Furn al-Chebbak, killing one person and injuring four. When the neighbors gathered to help, another shell fell, killing five (including a woman and a child,) and wounding 14.³⁶
- June 29–30, 1975: Residential areas of Beirut, were bombarded heavily, mainly around the Karantina area.³⁷ Dozens of RPGs fell on the area of Geitawi, in Ashrafieh, fired from Karantina. The Saint George Hospital was hit, and so was the Armenian club of the Tashnag Party, where around 10 people were killed. Also, a bomb fell in Sioufi in Ashrafieh, killing three women. On June 29, a total of 25 civilians were killed, and at least 100 were wounded.³⁸
- June 30, 1975: High-intensity clashes that lasted four hours left 40 people dead (armed and unarmed) and at least 66 wounded.³⁹

Fighting also spread to other regions in the country, including North Lebanon, between the Sunnis of Tripoli and the Maronites of Zgharta, in Zahleh in the Beqaa, and in the Shuf.⁴⁰

- June 29–30, 1975: In the Beqaa, three people were killed in the clashes.⁴¹ In Tripoli, shops and offices owned by Christians were blown up by dynamite, causing Christian families to flee toward Beirut or their mountain villages. In the Shuf, Aley and Upper Metn, acts of violence committed by Druze gunmen against Christians or by Christian gunmen against other Christians affiliated to the NM drove many Christian families to leave the area. These acts included blowing up cars or houses, threats, abductions, and murder.⁴²

Fighting stopped to a large extent on June 30 when the government announced that a cabinet was formed, reached with Syrian mediation. It was agreed that the barricades would be dismantled, heavy weapons withdrawn, and ISF units deployed.⁴³ Still, sporadic attacks took place that evolved into a new

30 Laurens, *Paix et Guerre au Moyen-Orient*, 314.

31 Randal, *La Guerre de Mille Ans*, 95.

32 *Chronique d'une Guerre*, 77.

33 *Le Mémorial de la Guerre*, 30; and Meney, *Même les Tueurs Ont une Mère*, Paris: La Table Ronde, 1986, cited in de Clerck, *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*; and Johnson, *All Honorable Men*, 11.

34 *La Guerre de Mille Ans*, 95.

35 *Crossroads to Civil War*, 109; *Le Mémorial de la Guerre*, 30.

36 *Annahar*, 6/26/1975.

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Annahar*, 6/30/1975.

39 *Annahar*, 07/01/1975.

40 *La Guerre du Liban*, 107.

41 *Annahar*, 07/01/1975.

42 de Clerck, *La Montagne*, 45; *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*.

43 *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*.

round of clashes between August 28 and September 3, 1975, mainly between the Christian-populated city of Zahleh and gunmen from neighboring villages with the support of *as-Sa`iqa*.⁴⁴ A string of abductions on both sides and summary executions took place. The fighting included shelling residential areas as well as looting, destruction of property, and gunfire.⁴⁵

- July 7, 1975: The Christian-populated village of Qa'a in northern Beqaa, which had been under siege since July 1 by neighboring Muslim Shi'a tribesmen and *As-Sa`iqa*,⁴⁶ was attacked and seven civilians killed.⁴⁷ This triggered the beginning of the Christian displacement from northern Beqaa.⁴⁸
- August 1975: *As-Sa`iqa* commandos attacked the Hawsh al-Umara area in the suburbs of Zahleh, killing 15 people and wounding several others.⁴⁹
- August 24, 1975: In Zahleh, a Syrian man was killed, and his companions from the neighboring town of Saadnayel were wounded.⁵⁰ During that time, a fight broke out between a group of Shi'a living in the suburbs of Zahleh with *As-Sa`iqa* commandos against a Lebanese Army unit. This turned into a Muslim-Christian clash, during which identity-based abductions and killings took place, and heavy machine guns and rockets were used. In total, 26 people were killed that day.⁵¹
- August 28, 1975: Three people were killed and nine injured in Hawsh al-Umara and on the road between Chtraura to Baalbeck.⁵²
- August 28–29: The bodies of three Christians were found inside a car in Saadnayel. It was reported that they were shot in their hearts⁵³ as they were crossing the Zahleh-Tarchich-Baskinta road. The total number of people killed over the preceding two days reached 13.⁵⁴
- August 30–31, 1975: Clashes in Zahleh led to the killing of 24 people.⁵⁵
- September 1, 1975: A group of gunmen attacked a mill in Taalabaya, abducting the owner and his five sons (a Christian family). The next day, 11 bodies were found, including the bodies of three of the miller's sons.⁵⁶ Upon his release on September 3, 1976, the miller said he was tortured and had one of his fingers cut off.⁵⁷

On September 2, 1975, in North Lebanon, clashes broke out after a Christian man from the town of Zgharta killed a man in Tripoli. The fighting between gunmen from the two towns lasted until September 6, 1975.⁵⁸

- September 7, 1975: A Christian man from Zgharta executed 12 passengers of a bus that was on its way to Tripoli on the Beirut-Tripoli road. In retaliation, stores, businesses, and buildings owned by Christians in Tripoli were blown up and looted, and so were many homes.⁵⁹
- September 11, 1975: Three elderly Christian priests (93, 87, and 60) were slain in the monastery

44 *As-Sa`iqa*, meaning Thunderbolt in Arabic, was formed in late 1967 as the military wing of the Syrian Baath's Palestinian section.

45 Joseph Saadeh et al., *Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana*, 90; *La Guerre du Liban*, 129.

46 *Chronique d'une Guerre*, 240; Annie Laurent and Antoine Basbous, *Guerres Secrètes au Liban*, 108.

47 *Chronique d'une Guerre*, 88 (five injured); Salibi, *Crossroads to Civil War*, 117; *Bilan des Guerres du Liban*, 74 (20 injured).

48 *Bilan des Guerres du Liban*, 74.

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Chronique d'une Guerre*, 240.

51 *Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana*, 90.

52 *Annahar*, 08/29/1975.

53 *Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana*, 95-96: one of them was the author's son; *Annahar* 08/29/1975

54 *Annahar*, 08/30/1975.

55 *Annahar*, 08/31/1975 and 09/01/1975.

56 *Annahar*, 09/03/1975.

57 *Annahar*, 09/04/1975.

58 *Chronique d'une Guerre*, 100.

59 *Benassar*, *Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation*, 98; Salibi, *Crossroads to Civil War*, 124.

of Deir Ashash, North Lebanon. The same day, armed men attacked the Christian village of Beit Mellat in Akkar, North Lebanon, as they drove in and started shooting. Between five and eight civilians were killed, and ten were disappeared. Also, the militiamen burned down six homes and the church, and stole several cars.⁶⁰

Fighting resumed in Zahleh, Tripoli, and Zgharta, with heavy weaponry. Most Christians fled from Tripoli as well as the Christian villages in the Akkar, and they headed toward the Christian-populated region of Kesrouan, in the northern suburbs of Mount Lebanon. In parallel, tension was on the rise in the capital, paving the way for a resumption of violence.⁶¹ On September 13, 1975, the Dekwaneh-Tel al-Zaatar front in East Beirut flared up, and in the following days, clashes spread to front-line zones, namely Ain al-Remmaneh-Chiyah and—for the first time—downtown Beirut. Snipers, positioned at all the city's main entry points, were shooting at children, women, and men. Some historians reported that scores of civilians were killed at crossroads, under the bridges, and especially in the areas separating Christian areas from Muslim ones.⁶²

- September 17, 1975: The Kataeb launched an attack downtown. During the attack, the souks were burned and looted by the militias from all sides. Most buildings in the downtown area were burned or destroyed by the bombardments, including a hotel that collapsed, causing numerous victims. Snipers were targeting the Lebanese and Syrian fire brigades, which had been dispatched from Syria to help their Lebanese counterparts, even as they were trying to reach fallen victims.⁶³
- October 9, 1975: In the Akkar, North Lebanon, armed men from the neighboring Muslim village of Funaydiq, with Palestinian members of the PFLP,⁶⁴ attacked the Christian village of Tel Abbas with RPGs and gunfire, killing at least 15 civilians and kidnapping nine others. They burned the church and 40 houses. A number of the casualties were Greek Orthodox Christians affiliated with the Lebanese Communist Party.⁶⁵ As a result of this attack, a new wave of Christians from the north left the Akkar and Tripoli and headed toward Syria.⁶⁶
- October 25, 1975: Demonstrations took place all over the country to protest the violence, namely in West Beirut, the southern and eastern suburbs, in Baabda, Hadath, Antounieh, Choueifat, Sin al-Fil, and Nabaa. Women demonstrated in Bourj Hamoud, Mar Mikhaël, Sed al-Bouchrieh, Jdeideh, Dora, as well as in the North and in the Beqaa. At least 40,000 people demonstrated in total.⁶⁷

In December new clashes erupted in Zahleh, Tripoli, and Baalbek, including cross-sectarian abductions. On December 20, PLA units entering from Syria⁶⁸ to the Beqaa assisted Palestinian and Muslim militias in their siege and bombardment of the Christian city of Zahleh.⁶⁹

1.2 Black Saturday

The event known as “Black Saturday” was triggered by the killing of four young Christian men, whose mutilated bodies were found on December 5.

- December 5, 1975: The mutilated bodies of four young Christians, who were kidnapped the previous day, were found in Fanar, in the Metn. A fifth young man was found, seriously injured. Three months earlier, one of the victims' brothers had been killed in the Beqaa during a rally paper.

60 Chronique d'une Guerre, 101; Andari, Hathihi shahadati, 27; Annahar 09/12/1975; Salibi, Crossroads to Civil War, 124.

61 Salibi, Crossroads to Civil War, 125.

62 Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation, 102; Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 44.

63 Salibi, Crossroads to Civil War, 126.

64 Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine, or al-Jabha al-Sha'biyyah li-Taḏīr Filasṭīn.

65 Chronique d'une Guerre, 243; Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation, 104; Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 74; La Guerre du Liban, 151-152.

66 Annahar, 10/10/1975.

67 Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation, 108; Annahar, 10/26/1975.

68 The Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA) was formed as the military arm of the PLO as of the year 1964. The units that entered into Lebanon at the time were under Syrian command (cf. La Guerre du Liban, 160).

69 Hanf, Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 211.

- December 6, 1975: In response to this killing, Kataeb members set up checkpoints in the port district in East Beirut, which was in the vicinity of the group's headquarters. They proceeded to kill and abduct unarmed Lebanese Muslims or Palestinians, most of whom worked at the port. One of the perpetrators, the father of one of the boys who was found killed the previous day, reported that they would kidnap Muslims from the streets or their homes, and if the ISF saw them, they would look the other way. He also described how they kidnapped and then killed Palestinians and threw the bodies in a garbage dump in the Tahwita area of Beirut.⁷⁰ Other Palestinians were detained and tortured through such means as extracting their teeth.⁷¹ It is reported that between 56 and 70 civilians in East Beirut were summarily executed; the fate of 300 others who were kidnapped remains unknown.⁷²

On December 8, 1975, in retaliation for Black Saturday, the Murabitun,⁷³ Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), and Palestinian militias launched an attack against the Kataeb in downtown Beirut and the hotel district. The hotel district battle flared up again in March 1976, when the pro-Palestinian Lebanese militias drove out the Kataeb from there and also in Ain al-Mreissch.

1.3 Forced Displacement and Violence

Subsequent developments show that Christian militias' military actions were designed to displace civilians and homogenize the populations between Christian-dominated and Muslim-Palestinian dominated areas. In East Beirut and its suburbs, Palestinian militias were controlling the camps of Tel al-Zaatar (close to the industrial and residential Christian-populated areas of Mkalles and Dekwaneh) and Jisr al-Basha (close to the Christian residential area of Hazmieh); those areas along with Nabaa, Karantina/Maslakh, encircled East Beirut (Ashrafieh, Badaro, Furn al-Chebbak, Ain al-Remmaneh).⁷⁴ Over the previous years, these militias had been blocking main arteries in the area, cutting off civilian and military communications and movement; moreover Christian residents of Dekwaneh and Mkalles, endured daily atrocities including abductions, murders, theft, and rape, which prompted them to leave for safer places.⁷⁵

- December 11, 1975: After three days of shelling, the Kataeb went into the Muslim-populated neighborhood of Haret al-Ghawarneh-Antelias in Beirut's northern suburbs and forced its residents to leave. About 150 civilians were expelled, and ISF trucks transported them to Burj al-Barajneh and other areas in West Beirut. Thirteen bodies were found, two of them charred.⁷⁶ This was the first forced displacement of population to occur since war began.⁷⁷
- December 16, 1975: Despite a ceasefire reached the previous day, the PNL did the same for the residents of Sebnay, a Muslim village southeast of Beirut, in the predominantly Maronite neighborhood of Hadath. All 450 residents were expelled from the village⁷⁸ (400 were transported by the Lebanese Army, which also helped release the 50 who had been detained by the Christian militias).⁷⁹
- December 20, 1975: At least five civilians were killed by sniper fire in various parts of East Beirut.⁸⁰ In Tripoli, Gov. (Muhafez) Sheikh Qassem al-Imad was assassinated,⁸¹ causing the situation to deteriorate further. Until December 31, artillery bombardment and religious-based abductions continued from both sides and in many regions.⁸²

70 Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana, 118-119.

71 Ibid., 221.

72 Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 57; Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 210 (mentions 200 killed); Sneider, J'ai Déposé les Armes, 44; La Guerre du Liban, 134; Annahar 12/07/1975 (mentions 56 killed and 300 disappeared); As-Safir 12/07/1975 (mentions 70 killed and 300 disappeared).

73 A Nasserist militia that fought alongside the National Movement armed forces.

74 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre; Salibi, Crossroads to Civil War, 149-150.

75 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

76 Annahar, 12/14/1975.

77 La Guerre du Liban, 135.

78 Ibid.; Salibi, Crossroads to Civil War, 149.

79 Annahar, 12/17/1975.

80 Annahar, 12/21/1975.

81 Chronique d'une Guerre, 245.

82 La Guerre du Liban, 135.

- December 22, 1975: Fighting between Palestinian and Muslim militias on the one hand and Christian militias on the other resumed in North Lebanon. Tripoli, Zgharta, and Zahleh saw hundreds of shells, mortars, and rockets dropped on densely populated areas. People were being kidnapped on both sides, and summary executions took place.⁸³ For instance, in Zahleh alone, at least 500 mortar shells were fired from villages and towns surrounding the city. The Lebanese Army responded by firing in the direction of these places. It was estimated that 30 civilians were killed that day alone, and at least 40 had been wounded.⁸⁴

1.4 Sieges and Violence

In early January 1976, the warring parties resorted to a new form of violence. On January 4 Christian militias began a siege of the Palestinian camps of Tel al-Zaatar and Jisr al-Basha, and the shantytowns of Maslakh and Karantina, as well as Nabaa and the Palestinian camp of Dbayeh, which were all located on the eastern side of Beirut. This became a full-blown confrontation and civilian massacre, which ended in August of that year.

Meanwhile, Palestinian militias and their Lebanese allies laid siege to the Christian towns of Damour and Jiyeh on January 9, during which time repeated assaults caused scores of civilians to be killed. The siege ended on January 20, and residents were killed en masse; survivors were forcibly displaced.

During these sieges, military confrontations between the opposing parties were playing out in other areas of the country, notably in Zgharta and Zahleh, as a means to put pressure on their mutual adversaries to lift sieges. Sectarian-based killings were also taking place in the Beqaa and North Lebanon.

The siege of Palestinian camps

- On January 4, 1976, Christian militias stopped a number of supply trucks heading to Tel al-Zaatar and Jisr al-Basha, even though they were escorted by ISF patrols.⁸⁵
- January 4–August 12, 1976: The siege involved blocking access to medical supplies, water, and electricity. Mainly Palestinian refugees lived in the camps, but there also were some Lebanese, Syrians, and Egyptians there. The main power cable supplying Beirut, located in the vicinity of Tel al-Zaatar, was hit on June 23, depriving all of Beirut of power for more than four months.
- January 12, 1976: The Kataeb and PNL laid siege to the camp of Dbayeh, inhabited by around 1,500 Palestinian refugees, a majority of whom were Christian, in the eastern suburbs of Beirut. The militias entered the camp two days later.⁸⁶
- January 18, 1976: The Kataeb and PNL militias launched an attack on the Maslakh-Karantina area, bombing it with mortar shells. About 30,000 people inhabited the camp, including 13,000 Lebanese Shi'as, as well as Palestinian, Armenian, and Kurd refugees,⁸⁷ besides the Palestinian armed groups. On January 19, they raided the area, going from house to house, shooting those who tried to escape.⁸⁸ The number of casualties varies according to different sources; from 600 to 1,000⁸⁹ to 1,500.⁹⁰ A number of survivors reportedly said that the Palestinian fighters in the camp were preventing noncombatants from escaping.⁹¹ At least 20,000 civilians were evacuated towards Tel al-Zaatar, Nabaa and West Beirut.⁹²

83 Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 59.

84 Annahar, 12/22/1975.

85 La Guerre du Liban, 155; Salibi, *Crossroads to Civil War*, 150.

86 *Chronique d'une Guerre*, 245; Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana, 152; Salibi, *Crossroads to Civil War*, 152; La Guerre du Liban, 156.

87 La Guerre du Liban, 157; Sinno, *Harb Lubnan*, 279.

88 Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana, 156-157.

89 La Guerre du Liban, 157; La Guerre du Liban, 107.

90 Harris, *Faces of Lebanon*, 162.

91 La Guerre du Liban, 106.

92 Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 62.

- June 22, 1976: The Christian militias laid siege to the Lebanese Shi'a neighborhood of Nabaa, located in Beirut's eastern suburbs. On August 6, 1976, the residents surrendered. About 400 wounded people were evacuated by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and residents were displaced to West Beirut and the Beqaa.⁹³
- June 22, 1976: Christian militias launched an attack against the Palestinian camps of Jisr al-Basha and Tel al-Zaatar. The attack was led by the PNL, with the support of other Christian militias and splinter groups of the Lebanese Army. The Kataeb joined after June 27. For 53 days, the militias launched more than 70 attacks, using 155-millimeter mortar shells—sometimes at a rate of three bombs per minute—and resorted to a few dozen armored tanks.⁹⁴ Jisr al-Basha fell on June 29, 1976, and Tel al-Zaatar on August 12, 1976.
- August 12, 1976: When Tel al-Zaatar fell, between 1,000 and 1,500⁹⁵ Palestinians were killed; some were summarily executed, including a number of them who had already evacuated the camp and were reaching West Beirut. However, the distinction between armed elements and civilians is unclear.⁹⁶ Many bodies were mutilated, and a number of women were raped.⁹⁷

Between 11,000 and 15,000 civilians were evacuated from Tel al-Zaatar, through the ICRC and the Arab League, and more than 400 wounded were handed over to the ICRC.⁹⁸ While several thousand civilians and fighters from the camp were killed and thousands injured as a result of the shelling, many—particularly children—died because of the shortage of medication and water.⁹⁹

The number of total casualties since the beginning of the siege varies between 2,200 and 4,280 Lebanese and Palestinian,¹⁰⁰ including those killed the day the camp fell. This was the largest massacre in the war that was yet to happen.

- August 14–24, 1976: Residential areas in East and West Beirut and their suburbs came under intense shelling with the Christian militias shelling West Beirut and the Joint Forces shelling East¹⁰¹. Each day at least 25 people were killed and dozens wounded among the fighters and the civilians.¹⁰²

After the camp attacks, the Lebanese Forces (LF)¹⁰³ came into creation. Its president was Bachir Gemayel, representing the Kataeb, and its vice president was Dany Chamoun, representing the PNL.

The siege of Christian towns

On January 9, 1976, five days after the siege of the Palestinian camps had begun, Palestinian armed groups laid siege to the two Christian towns of Damour and Jiyeh, located on the southern coastal road between Beirut and Saida, an area under the control of the PLO and NM.

93 There is no consensus on the population number, as it varies between 100,000 (Picard, p. 110) and 200,000 (Traboulsi, Fawaz, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 201).

94 *La Guerre du Liban*, 221

95 *La Guerre du Liban*, 157; For an overview of figures, see Sune Haugbolle, *The Historiography and the Memory of the Lebanese Civil War*.

96 It is to note that an estimated 800 fighters from the Christian militias were killed during the attack.

97 *La Guerre du Liban*, 225.

98 *Le Mémorial de la Guerre*, 94; *Chronique d'une Guerre*, 253; *Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation*, 163; *La Guerre du Liban*, 225.

99 *Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana*, 194.

100 An association for victims from Tel al-Zaatar documented the death of 3,500 Palestinian civilians and 14 Palestinian Red Crescent volunteers. See Faris, Hussein, *Tall el-Za'tar, Zakira Filistiniyya Khalida*, Dar el-Nada, Beirut, 2007.

101 The National Movement, a number of PLO armed groups, and the Arab Liberation Army created in March 1976 grouped together and formed the armed group known as the Joint Forces.

102 *Le Mémorial de la Guerre*, 84; *Chronique d'une Guerre*, 254; *Annahar* 08/14/1976 – 08/24/1976.

103 After the Tel al-Zaatar siege and attack, the Christian militias of Kataeb, NLP, Tanzim, Guardians of the Cedars formed the Lebanese Forces under the command of Bachir Gemayel. However, the Christian militia known as Marada and headed by the son of President Sleiman Frangieh, Tony, refused to join.

- January 9, 1976: Militias cut off access to water, supplies, and electricity, and stopped the Lebanese Red Cross from entering to evacuate people wounded from the shelling assaults.¹⁰⁴
- January 16-17: The PLO and NM entered Jiyeh and attacked one of the entry points to Damour, burning houses and killing 40 civilians, the majority of whom were women and children.¹⁰⁵

While Damour was under siege, one way out was kept open, and the Lebanese Army was telling people to flee from there. Some 6,000 civilians sought refuge in the neighboring town of Saadiyat, where then-minister of Interior and former president Camille Chamoun was staying. In the following two days, the civilians were evacuated by boat and Chamoun by helicopter, after which his residence was looted and burned on January 24.¹⁰⁶

- January 20, 1976: The militias went into Damour and Jiyeh and proceeded to kill entire families, including children, women, and elderly people.¹⁰⁷ Rapes, burning, looting, and destruction also occurred. Civilians who had sought refuge in the church were killed or summarily executed. Graves were desecrated. A priest who survived the attack reported that whole families were killed in their homes, many women were gang-raped, and few of them were left alive afterward.¹⁰⁸ Between 150 and 500 civilians were killed that day,¹⁰⁹ out of an estimated population of 35,000.¹¹⁰ The groups that took part in the attack were mainly formed of NM and PLO militias, DFLP, Fatah, as well as as-Sa`iqa, LCP, OCAL, and Murabitun.¹¹¹ There was a decision to “empty the city,” and the operation was conducted under the command of Fatah and as-Sa`iqa.¹¹²

Related violence in other parts of the country

The sieges, which started in January, set off clashes on several fronts across the country, marked by a rise in the number of cross-sectarian abductions. As Christian militias were laying siege to Palestinian camps and Muslim-populated neighborhoods in East Beirut and its suburbs, Palestinian and Muslim militias were attacking Christians in cities and villages in North Lebanon and the Beqaa, as well as on the southern coastal road. This displaced the Christian population from these areas.¹¹³

In central Beirut, NM militias attacked Christian militias in the areas of Kantari and Ain al-Mreisseh. On January 8, 1976, residential areas in East Beirut (Ashrafieh, Sioufi, Geitawi, and Dfouni) came under intense shelling from Ras al-Nabeh, Bechara al-Khoury, and Tel al-Zaatar, all of which were under the NM's control.¹¹⁴

- January 20, 1976: In reaction to the Karantina-Maslakh massacre, armed men set up checkpoints in various areas of West Beirut, stopping and executing around 30 Christians.¹¹⁵
- January 31, 1976: As-Sa`iqa forces attacked the offices of two newspapers in Beirut, al-Muharrir and Beyrouth, killing the editor and six others. The papers were known to be close to the pro-Palestinian groups.¹¹⁶

104 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

105 Annahar, 01/17/1976.

106 Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 64.

107 La Guerre de Mille Ans, 107.

108 See the testimony of Father Mansour Labaki to the Lebanese Red Cross, quoted in Becker, *The PLO*, 124.

109 Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 57; Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 64; and Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 276 mention 500 victims; Pity the Nation, 99 mentions 350 victims; La Guerre de Mille Ans, 90 mentions 150 victims. PLO admitted that “5000 Palestinians fighters and their Lebanese allies occupied, burned and completely destroyed the towns of Damour and Jiyeh (35, 000 residents) killing 200 persons, injuring 500, and displacing all the rest.” See Munathammat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniya (PLO), Yaoumiyat al-Harb al-Loubnaniya, Part II, 299.

110 Yaoumiyat al-Harb al-Loubnaniya, Part II, 299.

111 Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 192; La Guerre du Liban, 157.

112 La Guerre du Liban, 157.

113 Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 273.

114 Annahar, 01/09/1976; 01/20/1976.

115 Annahar, 01/21/1976.

116 La Guerre du Liban, 165.

In Tripoli, clashes resumed between the Christian militia al-Marada from Zgharta and Sunni Muslim militias from Tripoli. Further north, in the Akkar, Muslim tribes from Funaydiq, with as-Sa`iqa commandos, attacked several Christian (Maronite and Greek Orthodox) villages, killing civilians and burning and looting homes, thereby displacing a population.¹¹⁷ In the Beqaa, Lebanese Muslim, As Sa`iqa and PLA units were shelling Zahleh, while they were attacking Christian civilians in different towns and villages.

- December 1975: The Christian town of Taalabaya, on the outskirts of Zahleh, was attacked and 35 residents killed.¹¹⁸
- January 18, 1976: Hawsh-Barada, a Christian town close to Baalbeck, was attacked. Three civilians were killed, and the town was damaged. The population of 800 people moved to Zahleh and East Beirut.¹¹⁹
- January 19, 1976: Nine civilians, including two priests, were killed in the village of Deir Janine, and two civilians were killed in the village of Bkarzla in North Lebanon.¹²⁰
- January 20, 1976: Fifty civilians from the village of Rahba in Akkar were killed.¹²¹
- January 23, 1976: During an attack in the village of al-Qiddam in Baalbek, seven civilians were killed.¹²²
- Late January 1976: The Christian neighborhood of Kab-Elias south of Zahleh was attacked and 16 people killed. This prompted 300 families to move toward Beirut and Ain Dara in the Shuf.¹²³

On January 18, 1976, PLA units re-entered the Beqaa from Syria,¹²⁴ joining the assault on Zahleh and Deir al-Ahmar.

On January 25, 1976, a ceasefire was announced as PLA units entered Lebanon. However, in March 1976 a new phase of the war began marked by growing tension among Syrians, Lebanese leftist parties, and Palestinians. Ceasefires no longer restored normalcy, and fighting occurred across the country.¹²⁵ By the end of January 1976, some 14,000 Syrian soldiers were in Lebanon, with 5,000 to 6,000 Sa`iqa and PLA units.¹²⁶ On March 19, 1976, a bomb was placed in the plane that was taking Speaker of Parliament Kamel al-Asaad, Prime Minister Rashid Karami, and Saeb Salam to Damascus; this assassination attempt was foiled.¹²⁷ A few days later, the Lebanese Arab Army¹²⁸ (LAA) was marching toward the presidential palace in a bid to force President Sleiman Frangieh to resign.

- March 25, 1976: The LAA heavily bombarded the palace with 155-millimeter shells, forcing Frangieh to flee and relocate in Zouk Mikael, in the capital's northern suburbs.¹²⁹
- The Joint Forces launched a massive attack against Christian-populated areas in the cazas (counties) of Baabda, Aley, Shuf, and Upper Metn.¹³⁰ They attacked the villages of al-Abadieh (in Baabda),

117 Crossroads to Civil War, 153; Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 64.

118 Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 74.

119 Ibid., 75.

120 Annahar, 01/20/1976.

121 Annahar, 01/21/1976.

122 Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 75.

123 Ibid., 75.

124 La Guerre du Liban, 161.

125 Ibid., 167.

126 Chronique d'une Guerre, 173.

127 Ibid., 248.

128 The Lebanese Arab Army (LAA) was a force of around 1,000 Muslim soldiers (this number varied across time) who defected from the Lebanese Army which they viewed as supporting the Christian leadership. The LAA was united under the command of Lieutenant Ahmad al-Khatib and was supported and may have been commanded by Fatah (see La Guerre du Liban, 163).

129 Chronique d'une Guerre, 248 ; La Guerre du Liban, 174.

130 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre; A History of Modern Lebanon, 198 ; Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 75; Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 274.

Mtein, Tarchich, and Aintoura (Upper Metn), and later in Mansourieh-Bhamdoun¹³¹ and North Lebanon. As a matter of example:

- March 15, 1976: They attacked the Christian village of Qobayat in North Lebanon, with the support of the Fatah in the Beqaa.¹³²
- March 19, 1976: In the village of al-Abadieh, a group of armed Druze men attacked an entire Christian family of eight despite its allegiance to Kamal Jumbatt.¹³³
- March 25, 1976: Fifty-three Christian civilians, including a nun, were killed in Mtein. A number of them were affiliated to the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP). Their houses were looted and burned, churches were destroyed, and some graves were desecrated.¹³⁴

Between April and June 1976, Druze militias, with the support of the LAA and NM allies, were killing Christian civilians and destroying and looting their villages.¹³⁵ These incidents prompted the Christian population to flee toward the Western Beqaa, Zahleh, and the Metn (Bikfaya), areas under the control of Christian militias. This offensive killed numerous civilians.

- Bmaryam (two killed); Chbaniye (five killed); Shwit (eight killed and their bodies mutilated); Zandouka (four killed); Hammana (two killed); Qortada (four killed, two others kidnapped then executed); Jwar al-Hawz and al-Abadieh (eight killed); Debbieh (three killed); Tarchich and Aintoura in the Upper Metn (at least 10 killed); Ain al-Halazoun in Aley, (three kidnapped and executed); in Ain al-Hawr (two killed); Maasser al-Shuf (three killed); Botmeh (two killed); Khaldeh (four kidnapped, two were later found dead close to Damour, their bodies mutilated); Rishmayya, in Aley (three killed); Ain Dara (five killed); and Klayliyeh (one kidnapped and killed).¹³⁶

Meanwhile, in downtown Beirut, fighting between the Kataeb and Murabitun was ongoing. Widespread looting of banks and hotels took place. The Kataeb took control of the Beirut port and, during the course of several weeks, systematically looted it to generate revenues.¹³⁷

- April 12, 1976: Caritas issued the following estimates: 95 villages were looted and their inhabitants displaced, 250,000 people were homeless, and 750,000 were in urgent need of food.¹³⁸

On May 8, 1976, Elias Sarkis, the 52-year-old Central Bank governor, was elected president of the country. Kamal Jumblatt, Saeb Salam,¹³⁹ and Raymond Edde¹⁴⁰ refused to attend Parliament. The NM, headed by Jumblatt, opposed this Syrian-mediated presidential election. This opposition translated into armed clashes in Beirut and Tripoli,¹⁴¹ and was accompanied by targeted assassinations and assassination attempts.

- May 18, 1976: The Christian Maronite patriarchate in Bkerke and the Christian-populated town of Jounieh were bombed heavily.¹⁴²

131 La Montagne, 45; Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 78.

132 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.

135 Ibid.

136 Ibid.

137 Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana, 178; La Guerre du Liban, 183.

138 Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation, 142.

139 Saeb Salam, a prominent Sunni politician who served as Prime Minister for six terms between 1952 and 1973. He played a key role in the Geneva and Lausanne talks in the mid-1980s. After surviving two assassination attempts, he went into exile to Geneva in 1985.

140 Raymond Edde was the leader of the National Bloc (al-Kutla al-Wataniyya), a Christian political party traditionally opposed to pan-Arabism. He presented himself as a presidential candidate, a move which observers thought was symbolic to express discontent with the Syrian-mediated elections. He went into exile in France after surviving three assassination attempts.

141 La Guerre du Liban, 180.

142 Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation, 146.

- May 25, 1976: Edde was injured in an assassination attempt that took place in Antelias, in Beirut's northern suburbs.¹⁴³
- May 27, 1976: Linda Jumblatt, sister of Kamal, was killed in her apartment in Beirut's eastern suburbs, and her two daughters were injured by a group of armed men who broke in and opened fire.¹⁴⁴

On the night of May 31, 1976, it is reported that approximately 2,000 Syrian soldiers entered Lebanon through the north in the Akkar, allegedly to “put an end to the massacre in Qobayat;¹⁴⁵ 4,000 more went in through the Beqaa, advancing along two groups—one toward the hilltops overlooking Beirut and the other toward Saida.¹⁴⁶ This led the way to a full-blown confrontation between the Syrian Army and the Joint Forces.

In Beirut

- June 2-4, 1976: The Syrian Army bombed residential areas in West Beirut, from the hilltops of Mount Lebanon.¹⁴⁷ These areas included Sabra, Tarik al-Jdideh, Corniche al-Mazraa, and Ras al-Nabeh. The shelling and the fighting in and around Beirut on June 2-3 reportedly killed 92 people and wounded 169; 42 bodies were found in different areas of the city.¹⁴⁸
- June 9-10, 1976: The Syrian Army heavily shelled residential areas in West Beirut (namely Sanayeh and Hamra) and the Palestinian camps, at a rate of one bomb every six minutes. At least 78 people were killed, 147 wounded, and 12 bodies were found in downtown Beirut.¹⁴⁹

In South Lebanon

The conflict at the Lebanese-Israeli border between PLO militias, with their Lebanese allies, and Israel had been going on for several years. In February and September 1972, the Israeli Army had already invaded Lebanese territory, crossing until the Litani River¹⁵⁰ and conducted a number of deadly air raids. Also, between 1975 and 1977¹⁵¹ Israel conducted air strikes against Palestinian camps in North and South Lebanon, killing scores of civilians.

- August 5, 1975: Israel launched an air, land, and sea attack against two Palestinian camps close to Sour, killing 18 people and injuring 29. The Lebanese Army fired back; four officers were killed and three others wounded.¹⁵²
- December 2, 1975: Israel launched air strikes on the Palestinian camps in North Lebanon of Nahr al-Bared and Beddawi, and in South Lebanon on Nabatieh, killed at least 60 civilians and wounded at least 100.¹⁵³

Moreover, the regions in and around Saida and Sour were in the grip of the fighting between the Joint Forces and their allies on the one hand, and the Syrian Army and the Lebanese Front militias on the other hand.

- The Syrian Marine force was blocking the civilian ports of Tripoli, Saida, and Sour.¹⁵⁴

143 Al Wasat, no. 173, 24.

144 Chronique d'une Guerre, 250.

145 La Guerre du Liban, 199; Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 83.

146 Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 83.

147 La Guerre du Liban, 203-204.

148 Annahar, 06/03/1976-06/05/1976.

149 Annahar, 6/10/1976.

150 Lebanon: A Shattered Country, 84.

151 Israel had already been conducting air raids against Lebanese villages and Palestinian camps in South Lebanon for several years prior to 1975, as part of its conflict with Palestinian commandos and their Lebanese allies.

152 Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation, 96.

153 Chronique d'une Guerre, 244; Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 57.

154 La Guerre du Liban, 216.

- June 9–10, 15–16, 1976: The Syrian army shelled Saida, the Palestinian camp of Ain al-Hilweh, and Mieh w Mieh. Between 125 and 140 people were reportedly killed, including children, and between 350 and 400 were injured.¹⁵⁵
- June 30, 1976: In Sour, the Institute of Islamic Studies and the Technical Institute in the Palestinian camp of Burj al-Shamali was attacked by 60 members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command (PFLP-GC),¹⁵⁶ according to a statement issued by the institute. The buildings were shelled and partly destroyed, and one citizen was killed while another was permanently disabled.¹⁵⁷

The Shi'a community in South Lebanon was becoming increasingly unhappy about the protracted war between the Israelis and PLO militias with their Lebanese allies, because the Shi'a were bearing the brunt of it. As of the summer of 1976, there had been some short-lived clashes between Amal¹⁵⁸ members and the PLO already.¹⁵⁹ In parallel, the Joint Forces were also fighting against Christian militias based in the areas of Marjeyoun and Khiyam.¹⁶⁰ These were also known as border militias. The Israeli Army supported them, transporting by sea some of their members from the center of the country to the south and by way of artillery shelling.¹⁶¹

October 19, 1976: The Joint Forces attacked the Christian village of Aychiyi, south of Jezzine in South Lebanon. It was reported that during this attack between 40 and 65 civilians, including women and children, were killed.¹⁶²

Further incidents

- June 16, 1976: U.S. Ambassador Francis Melloy, his economic advisor, Robert Waring, and the embassy's driver were kidnapped on the East/West Beirut border and killed by unidentified assailants. Two days later 263 foreigners left the country.¹⁶³
- June 27, 1976: Christian militias bombed West Beirut, also hitting the Beirut airport. The airport closed and remained closed until November 19, 1976.¹⁶⁴
- June 30, 1976: The LAA attacked the headquarters of the Higher Shi'a Council in Baabda-Hazmieh by heavily bombing it with 155-millimeter shells.¹⁶⁵
- July 5, 1976: Palestinian gunmen and radical Muslims (members of a group called Jund Allah) from Tripoli attacked the villages of Chekka and Hamat, populated by Christians traditionally loyal to the SSNP. They shut down the exit of a tunnel in which dozens of civilians were fleeing toward the town of Batroun. They were trapped inside and burned in their cars.¹⁶⁶ Around 200 civilians were killed, and homes were looted and burned over the course of several days.¹⁶⁷

155 Annahar, 06/10/1976 and 06/17/1976. The Syrian army renewed its shelling on the Palestinian camps around and in Saida on 6, 9 and 12 July, 1976.

156 The PFLP-GC was initially part of the PLO but only until 1974. It has acted as a pro-Syrian armed force in Lebanon.

157 Chronique d'une Guerre, 253; Annahar 07/01/1976.

158 Amal was founded in 1975 as the military wing of the Movement of the Deprived, a political movement created by Imam Moussa Sadr, the head of the Supreme Shi'a Council. Following Sadr's disappearance in Libya in 1978, and with the overthrow of the Shah of Iran a year later, the Shi'a community mobilized rapidly in Beirut and in South Lebanon and Amal grew into a full-fledged militia under the leadership of Nabih Berri.

159 Paix et Guerre au Moyen-Orient, 322.

160 Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 274.

161 La Guerre du Liban, 261-262; Paix et Guerre au Moyen-Orient, 320, 358-359: Contacts between Israel and Lebanese Christian leaders had already started in 1975, and in subsequent years, these became closer with the Israeli State supplying armament and training to Christian militias.

162 According to La Guerre du Liban, 262; Chronique d'une Guerre, 256; and Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 67 the number of victims is 40, 65, and 52 respectively.

163 Chronique d'une Guerre, 251; Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation, 151.

164 La Guerre du Liban, 218.

165 Chronique d'une Guerre, 252. According to the author, this was supposedly done in reaction to Imam Moussa Sadr's support of Syrian intervention.

166 Hathihi shahadati, 35.

167 Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 94.

- July 30, 1976: Khalil Salem, director general of the Ministry of Finance, was abducted in North Lebanon. His body was found three days later, in the trunk of a car in the area of Koura.¹⁶⁸

On September 23, 1976, Elias Sarkis was elected president. Five days later, the Syrian Army led a massive attack against all the positions of the Joint Forces, starting in Zahleh, then spreading toward Tarchich, Mtein, Hammana, and Falougha with the aim of restoring control over the areas that the Joint Forces had taken over in March-May 1976.

- March–May 1976: Druze gunmen from Btater (Aley) kidnapped nine Christians from Mansourieh-Bhamdoun. They were slaughtered and their bodies thrown on the roads to be seen.
- September 27, 1976: The looting and burning of Greek Orthodox and Maronite churches in the area. These incidents provoked a wave of population displacement from Mansourieh-Bhamdoun and neighboring villages.¹⁶⁹

By September 30, 1976, the Syrian Army occupied all of the Upper Metn area. During this time, civilians were being massacred, which caused mass displacements. The Druze community headed toward the Shuf, Aley, and Syria.¹⁷⁰

- September 28–30, 1976: In the Upper Metn village of Salima, members of the Kataeb and other Christian fighters from Damour killed 29 Druze civilians.¹⁷¹
- October 1, 1976: In Mtein, also in the Upper Metn, Christian militias summarily executed three elderly Druze and an elderly Christian.¹⁷²
- October 28, 1976: Fourteen Christian civilians, including a family of eight, were summarily executed by PSP members in Maasser Beit Eddine. That same day, two other Christians in the same region were killed by Druze gunmen and their bodies thrown on the road. “The forced displacement was being done in a systematic manner from one zone of the Mountain (Shuf) to another.”¹⁷³

On October 21, 1976, an Arab summit (involving Syria, the PLO, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Kuwait) announced a new ceasefire and created the Arab Deterrent Force (ADF). In principle, this was to be placed under President Sarkis's command. This decision, which became known as the Riyadh Accord, was ratified by the Arab League on October 25–26, 1976, during a meeting in Cairo. The ADF, made up of 30,000 men, was primarily composed of Syrian soldiers (25,000), and also had Saudi, Emirati, Sudanese, Libyan, and North and South Yemeni soldiers.¹⁷⁴ The units deployed in all areas across Lebanon, with the exception of the south.

The ceasefire went into effect on November 15, 1976, in Beirut and on November 21 in Saida and Tripoli. The ADF took up its positions in Beirut on November 15.

- November 15-19, 1976: The ADF occupied the headquarters of seven newspapers in West Beirut.¹⁷⁵

168 Chronique d'une Guerre, 253.

169 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

170 Ibid.

171 As-Safir, 10/04/1976; Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

172 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

173 Ibid.

174 Sinno: Harb Lubnan, 283: The non-Syrian units of the ADF withdraw entirely on March 28, 1979, leaving the ADF composed solely of Syrian troops and funded by the Arab League and under Syrian command. The Syrian Army remained on Lebanese territories until April 26, 2005. For purposes of clarity, we will refer to these troops as ADF until end of March 1979, after which we will refer to them as the Syrian Army since they were under direct Syrian command.

175 Chronique d'une Guerre, 257; La Guerre du Liban, 256: The fact that some newspapers had maintained a sense of neutrality during the war, confirmed that it was not simply a matter of settling scores with the left or with Iraq, but rather reflected a first step towards legalizing the presence of Syrian troops in Lebanon, writes Kassir.

The Two-Year War officially ended at this point, and an uneasy quiet settled over Beirut and most of the country. On December 8, 1976, a new government headed by Salim El-Hoss was formed. The past two years had scarred the country deeply. The massacres and forced displacements that took place had created sectarian-based homogeneous cantons, transforming the country's demographics in a permanent manner. For instance, between 1975 and 1976, approximately 100,000 Christians and around 5,000 Druze from the Baabda district had fled the mixed Druze-Christian region of the Mountain.¹⁷⁶ Approximately 50,000 Christians left the regions of Zahleh and Baalbeck, including 20,000 who left permanently.¹⁷⁷ Between March and November 1976, up to 800,000 Lebanese went into exile,¹⁷⁸ some temporarily and others not.

While this shaky truce gave some breathing space to most of the country's residents, in South Lebanon the climate kept deteriorating as PLO fighters gradually returned to the area.

¹⁷⁶ *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre; La Montagne*, 148. Some Christians returned to their villages during the course of the first three months of 1977, under the protection of the ADF.

¹⁷⁷ *Bilan des Guerres du Liban*, 76.

¹⁷⁸ *Le Mémorial de la Guerre*, 90 and 93.

2. An Untenable Truce: January 1977–December 1982

With the deployment of the ADF in November 1976, which was intended to ensure that the ceasefire held, preserve the country's sovereignty, and guarantee the application of the 1969 Cairo Accord, the country seemed to have entered a new phase of normalcy. The ADF, mainly composed of Syrian troops, deployed heavily in West Beirut, the Beqaa, Tripoli, Saida, and the Shuf, and had a lighter presence in East Beirut. It was everywhere except South Lebanon. Throughout the month, heavy and light arms were being collected, and banks reopened after 10 months of disruption. Violations continued to be committed, however,¹⁷⁹ albeit on a smaller scale. At this point, only South Lebanon was witnessing increasing turmoil, with sustained fighting between the Christian border militias, supported by Israeli artillery shelling, and Joint Forces.

The truce, however, would not hold long, and in the following years, the country would once again find itself in the grip of violence. A series of sectarian-based violent incidents took place in the Shuf; the Syrian bombardment of East Beirut, known as the Hundred-Day War; the siege of Zahleh; two full-scale Israeli invasions, Operations Litani and Peace for Galilee leading to the siege of West Beirut and the massacre of Sabra and Chatila; and the increasing use of new forms of violence, namely car bombs and targeted assassinations.

2.1 Sectarian-based Violence in the Shuf

Following the March 16, 1977, assassination of Kamal Jumblatt,¹⁸⁰ founder of the PSP, traditional leader of the Druze community, and leader of the NM, as well as former MP and minister, a series of mass killings took place in the Shuf, which went on throughout the following months.¹⁸¹

- Following news of Jumblatt's death, 177 Christian civilians (including women, elderly, and children) were killed in several villages in the Shuf, but also in some areas in West Beirut¹⁸² that were under the control of Joint Forces militias, where Christian civilians were kidnapped and executed. In the Shuf, Christians were kidnapped and executed, bodies were mutilated and left on the roads to be seen, and women were raped. The killings took place in Mazraat al-Shuf (52); Maasser al-Shuf (21); al-Barouk (28); Botmeh (9), Kfarnabrakh (6), Fraydis (6), as well as in Baadaran, Shurit, and Ain-Zhalta. Many victims were mutilated and women sexually abused.

179 See Chap. 1, Nov-Dec. 1976

180 Jumblatt had already escaped a first assassination attempt.

181 All of the incidents reported below, extending until the July 1980 incident, are drawn from *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre* unless otherwise noted.

182 *Anatomie d'une Guerre et d'une Occupation*, 179.

- In Maasser al-Shuf, civilians were attending a funeral in the church. When the attack took place, nine people from the village were killed, and others were killed as they were fleeing, including nine who came from another village, Machghara, to attend the funeral. As a result of this killing, 25,000 Christians fled the area, moving to East Beirut, and its northern, eastern, and southeastern suburbs.¹⁸³
- August 21, 1977: A massacre in the village of Brih, known as the massacre of the Saint George Church, occurred. Thirteen Christians were shot and killed by automatic gunfire inside and around the church. The Christian population of Brih left the village.

Between the summer of 1975 and 1977, as a result of successive attacks that terrorized the population, around 260,000 people (more than 60 percent of the region's Christians) left.

- August–December 1977: Several incidents targeting Christians took place in the Upper Metn, and Aley, killing three in Rwaisat al-Naaman, two in Rishmayya, two in al-Abadieh, and one in al-Mreijat.
- July 1978: Two Christians from 'Ammatur were stopped in their car, summarily executed, and their bodies mutilated. This also happened to a man from Deir Qubil in Aley.
- October 1978: Armed Druze men from the village of Kfarmatta kidnapped and killed four Christians.
- November 1978: A Druze man from Choueifat went to the village of Baalchmay and killed a family of nine, including women and children.
- June 1979: Armed Druze men surrounded the Greek Catholic village of Sirjbal, at the entrance of the Shuf, and killed two people. This operation was aimed at pushing Christians out from the seven villages of the valleys (al-Wadaya) to clear the Shuf road for the Joint Forces. In effect, 500 Christians from these villages left their hometowns and moved to the southeastern suburbs of Beirut.
- July 1979: Druze gunmen attacked the village of Ain Dara (Shuf entrance, from the Damascus road) and executed five Christians there. During an attack on Dakoun, a Christian village at the entrance of Aley, four young Christian men were executed. A Christian family was stopped in their car in Aynbal. The daughter was killed; the rest of the family was able to flee to Beirut, despite their injuries.
- July 1980: Armed Druze men killed three Christians in Ras al-Harf (Upper Metn), two in Rishmayya (Aley), one in Kfarmatta, and a disabled Christian person from Sirjbal.

In 1978 the strategic alliance between the Lebanese Front¹⁸⁴ and Syria came to an end. Chamoun and Frangieh were calling openly for Syrian troops to withdraw from Lebanon, and some minor incidents had occurred between Christian militias and ADF troops (namely in North Lebanon).¹⁸⁵

- February 7, 1978: A clash erupted in front of the Lebanese military barrack of the military school in Fayadieh in the northeastern suburb of Beirut. An ADF (Syrian) unit had set up a checkpoint in front of the barrack, despite several requests by the Lebanese Army for its removal. When the checkpoint was not removed, the Lebanese Army attacked it. This marked the open confrontation between the Lebanese army (and the Christian militias) and the ADF. As a result, the ADF shelled the school and then shelled Christian residential neighborhoods of Ain al-

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ The Lebanese Front (al-Jabhat al-Lubnaniya) was a coalition of Christian parties formed in 1976, and composed of NLP leader Camille Chamoun, Kataeb leader Pierre Gemayel, Sleiman Frangieh, and a number of independent officials.

¹⁸⁵ Sinno, *Harb Lubnan* Vol. 1, 284.

Remmaneh, Karm al-Zeitoun, and Badaro in East Beirut; at least 100 civilians were killed and 200 wounded.¹⁸⁶

Other incidents that reflected the open confrontation between the Christian leadership and militias and Syria took place between February and June, paving the way for the Hundred-Day War.

- April 9–11, 1978: Fighting between the PNL and the ADF broke out on the Chiyah–Ain al-Remmaneh axis in Beirut.
- On April 12, the ADF bombed Ain al-Remmaneh and Badaro, killing at least 60 civilians and injuring 250.¹⁸⁷
- May 6, 1978: Three civilians were killed during renewed clashes among the ADF, PNL, and some Kataeb members during the bombardment in Ain al-Remmaneh.¹⁸⁸

2.2 South Lebanon and Operation Litani

The conflict between the border militias, supported by Israel, and the PLO and their Lebanese allies continued throughout this period, with several attacks and counter-attacks—all resulting in civilian casualties.

- January 27, 1977: The border militias took control of Deir Mimas and Kfar Kila, South Lebanon.
- February 17, 1977: The border militias occupied the village of Khiyam.
- February 1977: The border militias pounded villages and towns with artillery shelling.¹⁸⁹

Meanwhile, the Israel military sustained its deadly air raids,¹⁹⁰ leading to a full-fledged military operation.

- November 9–11, 1977: In response to rockets launched from South Lebanon, the Israeli Army carried out an air and sea attack of the Lebanese coast, in particular Sour, and destroyed the village of Azziyeh. It also heavily bombed the town of Nabatieh and the villages of Yarin and Khiyam.¹⁹¹ More than 100 civilians were killed.¹⁹²

Following an operation by Palestinian fighters in Tel Aviv on March 11, 1978, Israel carried out a full-fledged military operation, mobilizing between 25,000 and 30,000 soldiers and invading Lebanon on the night of March 14. The invasion was officially termed Operation “Stone of Wisdom” and became better known as Operation Litani. Its stated objective was to remove the Palestinian bases along the Lebanese-Israeli border. The Israeli Army took control of the area south of the Litani River.

- March 16, 1978: The Israel Kfir and F-15 planes bombed the port of Sour and commercial sectors around it, killing more than 10 Lebanese civilians and injuring at least 73.¹⁹³
- March 19, 1978: During its bombardment of heavily populated areas in Sour, Arqoub, and Nabatieh, the Israeli Air Force used cluster bombs for the first time.¹⁹⁴ A month later, on April 14, 1978, U.S. President Jimmy Carter’s administration acknowledged the use of cluster bombs by Israeli forces.¹⁹⁵

186 La Montagne, 148; Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 284.

187 Anatomie d’une Guerre et d’une Occupation, 205; La Guerre du Liban, 330.

188 La Guerre du Liban, 330.

189 Ibid., 263.

190 See Chapter One for air raids conducted in 1975.

191 La Guerre du Liban, 288.

192 Anatomie d’une Guerre et d’une Occupation, 191; Glubb, International Law and South Lebanon, 14.

193 Anatomie d’une Guerre et d’une Occupation, 193.

194 La Guerre du Liban, 302.

195 Ibid., 318.

- During the invasion, a single air raid that hit a mosque killed 176 people and wounded 392.¹⁹⁶
- During the invasion, the Christian border militia, allied with Israel, killed more than 100 Shi'a civilians, including children and women. In one incident, the militia forced around 70 civilians into a mosque in the village of Khiyam and shot them all to death.¹⁹⁷
- Between 700 and 1,000 Lebanese and Palestinians were killed during the operation,¹⁹⁸ and between 160,000 and 250,000¹⁹⁹ fled toward Saida and Beirut.

On March 19, 1978, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 425, calling on Israel to withdraw from all Lebanese territories, and Resolution 426, creating a 4,000-strong peacekeeping force, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), to monitor the withdrawal and assist the Lebanese government in restoring its authority over the region.²⁰⁰ Three days later, the first UNIFIL soldiers arrived.

The Israeli military continued its attacks for two days after these resolutions, while the PLO pursued its attacks into northern Israel until March 28, 1978, whereupon PLO leader Yasser Arafat agreed to a general ceasefire and ordered his forces to cease their attacks. The Israeli Army withdrew on June 13, 1978. UNIFIL took up its positions along the border, as Israel maintained control of a 5- to 10-kilometer strip, which became known as the “security belt.” Israel maintained control of that strip through its allied militia—headed by Saad Haddad—that became better known as the South Lebanon Army (SLA) as of 1979. It was composed mainly of Christians, most of whom had been fighting PLO militias and their Lebanese allies in previous years, but also included some Shi'a. The militia was funded entirely by Israel.²⁰¹

2.3 The Hundred-Day War

This open war between the Christian militias and the ADF (mainly the Syrian troops), was triggered by the assassination of President Frangieh's son in Ehden, North Lebanon, on June 13, 1978. Since May 1978, the Lebanese president and Rashid Karami had reconciled under the auspices of the Syrian ADF commander in the north. Frangieh withdrew from the Lebanese Front on May 11, after which Marada fighters loyal to Frangieh and local Kataeb members clashed numerous times. In the preceding months, the rift between the Marada and the Kataeb had escalated to the point in which both sides were abducting militiamen in North Lebanon.

- Early June, 1978: Jude al-Bayeh, the head of the Kataeb in Zgharta, was kidnapped and killed.²⁰²
- June 13, 1978: In Ehden, an LF commando attacked the house of Tony Frangieh, killing him as well as his wife, daughter, and 28 others.²⁰³

Syria saw this as a direct assault. On June 17 Frangieh said no Kataeb member would be left alive in North Lebanon. So an estimated 25,000 loyalists of the Kataeb left the region, moving toward Jbeil, Kesrouan, and the Metn.²⁰⁴

- June 27–28, 1978: Syrian special forces kidnapped between 26 and 36 Christian men from their homes in the villages of al-Qaa, Ras Baalbeck, and Jdeidet al-Fekha, executed them, and

196 Paix et Guerre au Moyen-Orient, 359.

197 La Guerre de Mille Ans, 237.

198 Amnesty International (AI), Unlawful Killings During Operation “Grapes of Wrath,” 3.

199 Sally Mallison and Thomas Mallison, Armed Conflict in Lebanon, 6.

200 Between 1978 and 1982, UNIFIL grew from 4,000 to 6,000 UN soldiers.

201 La Guerre du Liban, 385.

202 Ibid., 333.

203 Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana, 265-266; La Guerre du Liban, 331; See Labévière, La Tuerie d'Ehden.

204 Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 64.

dumped them in a mass grave.²⁰⁵

- August 24-26, 1978: Syrian troops launched an attack in the areas of Koura and Batroun. In the Beqaa, ADF troops entered the Christian villages of Ainata, Mshatiyyeh, and Deir al-Ahmar. Thirty-seven people were killed.²⁰⁶
- August 27-28, 1978: ADF soldiers kidnapped six Lebanese citizens from the town of Bcharre in North Lebanon, killing them, burning their bodies, and handing the remains over to local officials.²⁰⁷

Effectively starting on July 1, 1978, the Hundred-Day War started with the ADF Syrian units bombarding Christian-populated areas of East Beirut for more than three months, using Grad missiles and phosphorus bombs.²⁰⁸ Residential areas, schools, hospitals, and factories were systematically destroyed. On some days, 2,000 bombs hit Ashrafieh alone.²⁰⁹

- July 2, 1978: The ADF heavily bombed Hadath, Ashrafieh, Ain al-Remmaneh, Furn al-Chebbak, using 240-millimeter caliber artillery. Sixty people were killed that day, and 300 were wounded. Three hospitals were hit: Hotel-Dieu de France (hit by 130 shells, destroying 20 of its rooms), Saint Georges Hospital, and the Geitawi Hospital.²¹⁰
- July 1978: The ADF bombed the Christian-populated areas of Beirut and Zahleh without interruption over the course of several hours, sometimes at the rate of one bomb per minute.²¹¹
- July 23, 1978: The ADF heavily shelled the Christian-dominated town of Hadath, killing 10 civilians and injuring at least 100.²¹²
- September 30, 1978: The ADF shelled East Beirut and its suburbs, as well as the eastern sectors of Mount Lebanon and the northern town of Jounieh. That day alone, 70 civilians were killed and 300 were wounded.²¹³
- During the Hundred-Day War, in which the ADF consistently shelled East Beirut and its suburbs, Metn in Mount Lebanon, and Jounieh- several hundred civilians were killed, and more than 1,000 were injured.²¹⁴ It also temporarily displaced 150,000 to 250,000 people, emptying Beirut of nearly half its population, while 60,000 buildings were partially or totally destroyed.²¹⁵ During this period, the bombardment resulted in a shortage of food and medication in East Beirut.

The war ended on October 7, 1978, following a ceasefire agreement between President Sarkis and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, and the renewal of the ADF's mandate. In subsequent months, the fighting saw Marada and/or ADF troops and the LF clashing against each other in the north; in the Upper Metn area, there were clashes between the SSNP, supported by the Syrian Army, and the LF.

205 J'ai Déposé les Armes, 72; La Guerre du Liban, 335; also mentioned in an interview with Joseph Abou Khalil in the Al Jazeera documentary Harb Lubnan, episode 6, who talks about "around 40" men killed; Guerres secrètes au Liban, 118, mentions 36 victims, based on an ISF report dated June 28, 1978; Choueifaty, citing the same ISF report, lists the names of 26 victims, in Choueifaty, Ma'arek Suriyya fi Lubnan, Vol. 1, 63.

206 La Guerre du Liban, 339.

207 Hathihi shahadati, 73; according to Choueifaty, their bodies were found thrown in the woods: signs of torture were evident, including teeth extraction, and burns in Ma'arek Suriyya fi Lubnan, Vol. 1, 136.

208 Ma'arek Suriyya fi Lubnan, Vol. 1, 90; La Guerre du Liban, 337.

209 Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 239.

210 Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana, 266; l'Orient-le Jour, 07/03/1978.

211 J'ai Déposé les Armes, 73 (unofficial translation).

212 L'Orient-le Jour, 07/23/1978.

213 Annahar, 10/01/1978.

214 Choueifaty cites an October 9, 1978 ICRC report which mentions that between 500 and 600 civilians were killed and 1,500 injured in Ma'arek Suriyya fi Lubnan, Vol. 1, 106. Moreover, Choueifaty (p. 106) and Kassir in La Guerre du Liban, 341 refer to another ICRC report issued on October 27, 1978, which mentions between 350 and 450 civilians killed and one thousand injured. Choueifaty says that this report only covers the period from the end of August to the end of September.

215 La Guerre du Liban, 340.

There were growing power struggles between the Numur²¹⁶ and the Lebanese Forces. Syrian forces withdrew significantly from East Beirut, re-positioning their forces mainly in the Beqaa.

In Beirut, in addition to ADF shelling of the eastern part of the city, other wars were ongoing. These included inter-Christian power struggles, and fighting between Amal, and Palestinian factions and the pro-Iraqi Baath Arab Liberation Front.²¹⁷

- August 13, 1978: A bomb destroyed an eight-story building in the Fakhani area of West Beirut, housing offices of the PLO and Fatah. The explosion killed a minimum of 87 people,²¹⁸ according to preliminary data, and a few days later, the number rose to 148.²¹⁹
- May and September 10–11, 1979: Clashes in the area of Bourj Hamoud and Nabaa between militiamen of the Armenian Tashnag Party and of the Kataeb and PNL led to the deaths of 30 people and an undetermined number of injured people.²²⁰ On September 11 alone, 24 people were killed, and 40 were kidnapped.²²¹
- May 28, 1980: Amal and pro-Iraqi Baath, LCP, and Palestinians clashed in Burj al-Barajneh, killing 15 people and wounding at least 30.²²²
- July 7, 1980: LF commandos attacked the Numur in Safra, and several other PNL offices in Beirut and elsewhere. In a matter of hours, they took control of the PNL. At least 50 armed and unarmed people were killed in that operation, and about 60 were wounded.²²³

In North Lebanon

- November 15, 1978: A group of Marada gunmen attacked the two villages of Alali and Rasha. They kidnapped 15 civilians, beat them, and then killed two.²²⁴
- February 5, 1980: Following clashes between the Kataeb and the Marada, Syrian special forces attacked and occupied the village of Qnat. The fighting lasted more than 10 days, and several towns and villages in the region were shelled. By February 17, 1980, 50 civilians had been killed in Qnat and the surrounding region.²²⁵ Several thousand civilians were temporarily displaced during the process, and stranded in cold weather and snow.²²⁶
- April 22, 1980: Marada gunmen attacked a group of civilians at a house party in Shamout. They fired into the house, killing some of those present, and then abducted the others, taking them to their offices in Batroun and then to Zgharta. At least 15 unarmed people were killed.²²⁷
- October 12, 1979: The Marada handed over to the ICRC 170 people the militia had kidnapped in Selaata, Chekka, and Batroun a month earlier.²²⁸

216 The armed wing of the NLP.

217 Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 245; Paix et Guerre au Moyen-Orient, 367: Starting April 198, Amal articulated the Shi'a interests demanding the withdrawal of Palestinian armed groups from all residential areas and the deployment of the Lebanese Army. Moreover, the Movement was locked in a bitter struggle against pro-Iraqi Baath groups, namely the Arab Liberation Front. The fighting lasted between 1980 and 1982.

218 Annahar 08/14/1978 (87 bodies removed and 100 wounded by the next day); As-Safir 08/14/1978 (96 bodies removed and 50 injured by the next day).

219 As-Safir, 08/16/1978.

220 Hathihi shahadati, 88; Independent Television Network (ITN) , 09/12/1979-09/13/1979.

221 L'Orient-le Jour, 09/12/1979.

222 L'Orient-le Jour, 05/28/1980.

223 Ménargues, Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban, 54 ; Annahar 07/08/1980 ; L'Orient-le Jour, 07/08/1980.

224 Hathihi shahadati, 81.

225 Annahar, 02/18/1980.

226 La Guerre du Liban, 380 ; Ma'arek Suriyya fi Lubnan, Vol. 1, 169.

227 Hathihi shahadati, 81-82.

228 Annahar, 10/13/1979.

In South Lebanon

- January 4, 1979: The SLA, with the support of the Israeli Army, heavily bombarded the areas of Nabatieh and Hasbaya. The majority of the towns' populations fled as a result.²²⁹
- January 19, 1979: The Israeli Army used its air, land, and naval forces to bomb the towns of Arnun, Aychiyi, Qasmieh, and Sour.²³⁰
- May 23, 1979: An Israeli air raid on Damour left 10 people dead and 50 wounded.²³¹

2.4 The Battle of Zahleh

In late March and early April 1981, the battle of Zahleh began. The LF was seeking to regain control over the Christian city of Zahleh²³²—a strategic location for Syria, close to its borders. Previously, there had been an armed confrontation between the LF and the Syrian Army in and around the city.

- December 22, 1980: In Zahleh, an ambush that killed five Syrian soldiers led to the Syrian army bombing the city for six hours nonstop in a bid to force residents to hand over those responsible for the ambush. When they refused, the city was shelled for another uninterrupted 48 hours.²³³

Three months later on March 31, 1981, LF members attacked a Syrian unit on the outskirts of the city. The next day, the Syrian Army carried out an intensive bombing of the area, marking the beginning of the battle of Zahleh; this extended to Beirut and its suburbs, and involved reciprocal shelling between the Syrian Army (including PLA units) and the Lebanese Army. As of early April, the Syrian Army blocked all roads leading to the city, and intense fighting broke out between its forces and the LF militias, during which the Syrians made several attempts to enter the city. At the same time there was a direct confrontation between the Syrian and Israeli armies, when the latter's jets gunned down two Syrian helicopters on April 28, 1981. The next day Syria stationed SAM-2 and SAM-6 (surface-to-air) missiles in the Beqaa, threatening to escalate the conflict. The crisis was settled diplomatically through U.S. negotiation.²³⁴

Following U.S. mediation, the Syrian Army lifted its siege of Zahleh on June 30, after having bombed the residential neighborhood on several occasions afterward.²³⁵ That day, 95 LF militias evacuated the city and returned to Beirut, taking with them their small arms and handing over their heavy weaponry to Syrian troops and Lebanese security forces. In the three-month siege of Zahleh, 200 civilians were killed, and more than 2,000 injured²³⁶ out of a civilian population of 200,000.²³⁷

- April 1–2, 1981: The Syrian Army fired hundreds of bombs on Zahleh, hitting residential neighborhoods, hospitals, schools, and Lebanese Red Cross convoys.
 - The Syrian forces blocked passage for food supplies.²³⁸
 - Syrian shelling led to the collapse of a multi-storey building in Hawsh al-Umara, killing 30

229 La Guerre du Liban, 384.

230 Ibid., 384.

231 L'Orient-le Jour, 05/24/1979.

232 Paix et Guerre au Moyen-Orient, 361.

233 Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban, 107; La Guerre du Liban, 449.

234 Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 250.

235 La Guerre du Liban, 461.

236 Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban, 171.

237 According to Laurent and Basbous in Guerres secrètes au Liban, 328 this figure comprises Christians from neighboring villages in the Beqaa; Harris in Faces of Lebanon, 270 puts the original figure at 130,000.

238 J'ai Déposé les Armes, 96.

civilians, mainly women and children, who were in the building's shelter.²³⁹

- April 4, 1981: Sister Marie-Sophie Zoghby, Khalil Saydah, and Salim Hammoud, all medical staff, were driving in a Lebanese Red Cross car to distribute bread and medication to the hospitals in Zahleh. The car came under intense fire, and all three were killed.²⁴⁰
- April 9, 1981: The Lebanese Red Cross was allowed to evacuate 18 seriously injured people. After that one-day ceasefire, the Syrian Army cut off the main supply routes to the city, although it briefly reopened them on April 11 and again on April 17, allowing in a supply of flour.²⁴¹

The Syrian Army made repeated attempts to invade the city, but failed. It continued to attack the residential areas and maintained its siege.

In Beirut and its suburbs

- April 2, 1981: The Syrian Army, in reaction to the confrontation in Zahleh, extended its shelling to East Beirut, hitting residential neighborhoods at a time when schools and offices were open and streets busy. In response, the LF bombed the Muslim-populated areas close to the capital's demarcation line. That day alone, 45 civilians were killed, and more than 200 were injured.²⁴²
- April 4, 1981: The shelling from all sides extended to the whole of Beirut, as well as the northern suburbs (Jounieh on April 20), West Beirut (Mazraa and Ras Beirut), and the eastern suburbs of Hazmieh, Sin al-Fil, Mkalles and Furn al-Chebbak. The LF bombed the Beirut airport, which closed until mid-May.
- April 6, 1981: The Syrian Army shelled Lebanese Army positions in Beirut, leading to the partial destruction of the military hospital (mainly its operating rooms and emergency facilities).²⁴³ The fighting covered the areas of Galerie Semaan, Hadath, and Baabda, with the shelling killing 10 civilians and injuring 67 people.²⁴⁴
- May 10, 1981: The shelling of residential areas reached the towns of Ajaltun, Jounieh, Harissa, Beit Mery, and Ain Saadeh in the eastern and northern suburbs of Beirut, killing at least 18 civilians and wounding 170.²⁴⁵
- May 18, 1981: Shelling in Beirut killed at least 25 civilians and wounded 118.²⁴⁶
- The bombing of residential areas forced approximately 100,000 civilians to flee East Beirut, toward the north and the Metn.²⁴⁷

2.5 Targeted Assassinations and Car Bombs

The following section will report specifically on targeted assassinations and car bomb attacks, two forms of violence which had considerable impacts on civilians' daily lives,²⁴⁸ causing widespread terror and instigating internal displacement. The systematic use of bomb attacks and targeted assassinations in Lebanon had become an instrument of war per se, sparing no region and no political or religious community.²⁴⁹

239 Annahar 04/03/1981; Ma'arek Suriyya fi Lubnan, Vol. 2, 66.

240 Ma'arek Suriyya fi Lubnan, Vol. 2, 70.

241 La Guerre du Liban, 455.

242 La Guerre du Liban, 453; Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban, 111; Annahar 04/03/1981 mentions 42 killed and 185 injured.

243 Ma'arek Suriyya fi Lubnan, Vol. 2, 170.

244 Annahar, 04/07/1981.

245 L'Orient-le Jour, 05/12/1981

246 L'Orient-le Jour, 05/19/1981 ; Ma'arek Suriyya fi Lubnan, Vol. 2, 197.

247 La Guerre du Liban, 454; Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 81.

248 La Guerre du Liban, 405.

249 Ibid., 472.

While this report already notes specific cases of car bombs or targeted assassinations linked to specific chapters of the wars, this section provides an incomplete list of the most serious attacks committed from 1979 to 1982. The period between September 1981 and July 1982 in particular saw a growing wave of bomb attacks, including some against diplomatic institutions and representatives.

Targeted assassinations

- March 16, 1977: Kamal Jumblatt was assassinated as he was leaving Moukhtara, his village in the Shuf, and driving through Deir Dourit. He and the two other passengers were trapped in an ambush 100 meters away from a Syrian checkpoint²⁵⁰ and were shot to death.
- January 22, 1979: In Verdun, Snobra, a remote-controlled device caused an explosion as the car of Palestinian official Abu Hassan drove by, killing him and his bodyguards. At least four civilians were killed and two dozen injured, many of them students and parents who were just coming out of the Collège Protestant school.²⁵¹
- June 4, 1979: Twenty kilograms of TNT was used to target Pierre Gemayel's car in Nahr al-Kalb, Kesrouan, Mount Lebanon, killing a civilian and injuring 14, including three of his bodyguards.²⁵²
- February 23, 1980: Maya, the 20-month-old daughter of Bachir Gemayel, was killed in a car bomb in Ashrafieh, East Beirut. Eight civilians were killed and 32 injured.²⁵³
- February 24, 1980: Salim al-Lawzi, the editor-in-chief of al-Hawadess, was kidnapped. His mutilated body was found on March 4, his hand dipped in acid.²⁵⁴
- March 12, 1980: In Dora, Mount Lebanon, a remote-controlled bomb targeted the car of Camille Chamoun. One bodyguard was killed while Chamoun, the driver, another bodyguard, and a passerby were slightly injured.²⁵⁵
- May 2, 1980: Imam Hajj Hassan Shirazi, a Shi'a cleric, was assassinated in Ramlet al-Bayda.²⁵⁶
- July 9, 1980: An Iraqi diplomat was shot and killed in Mazraa in West Beirut.²⁵⁷
- July 23, 1980: In West Beirut's Raouche area, Riad Taha, president of the Lebanese Journalists Association, was assassinated. His two bodyguards were also killed. Taha suffered gunshot wounds to his face, chest, and the back of his head when his car was sprayed with bullets.²⁵⁸
- July 28, 1980: Moussa Chayb, a poet and a leader of the Iraqi Baath party, was assassinated on the airport road in West Beirut.²⁵⁹
- August 16, 1981: In Hamra, West Beirut, armed men ambushed a car and gunned down the passengers inside: Elias Hannush,²⁶⁰ his nine-year-old daughter, his seven-year-old son, and two bodyguards.²⁶¹

250 Ibid., 273; in *Guerres secrètes au Liban*, 117 the authors mention that the car of the assassins, which was in an accident, was found in the vicinity and it was later discovered that it belonged one of the Syrian intelligence officials based in Beirut's eastern suburbs. Also in Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 285.

251 As-Safir, 01/23/1979; l'Orient-le Jour, 01/23/1979

252 As-Safir, 06/05/1979.

253 Hathihi shahadati, 98; Annahar 10/28/1979.

254 Human Rights Watch (HRW), *Syria and Syrian-controlled Lebanon*, 4.

255 Annahar, 03/13/1980.

256 L'Orient-le Jour, 05/03/1980.

257 Annahar, 07/20/1980.

258 *Syria and Syrian-controlled Lebanon*, 4.

259 *La Guerre du Liban*, 402.

260 Hannush was the leader of the NLP in Ain al-Remmaneh. He led the battle against the LF in Zahleh, as a defecting unit of the NLP.

261 *Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban*, 177.

- September 9, 1981: French Ambassador to Lebanon Louis Delamare was assassinated. His body was found riddled with bullets.²⁶²
- April 26, 1982: Sheikh Ahmad Assaf, a Sunni cleric and head of al-Mashari` al-Islamiya (Islamic organizations) was shot and killed in Aisha Bakkar, West Beirut.²⁶³
- September 28, 1982: Senior PLO commander Saad Sayel, known as Abul Walid, was killed in an ambush on the Rayak-Baalbeck road.²⁶⁴
- October 27, 1982: Three Irish members of UNIFIL were shot and killed at a checkpoint they were controlling close to Tibnine in South Lebanon.²⁶⁵
- December 1, 1982: In Kantari, Beirut, between three and six people were killed and dozens injured by a car bomb comprised of 40 kilograms of TNT designed to assassinate Walid Jumblatt.²⁶⁶

Car bombs

- January 3, 1977: A car rigged with 50 kilograms of TNT exploded in the heavily populated area of Accaoui in Ashrafieh. At least 30 people were killed, and around 100 wounded.²⁶⁷ This was the first attack of its kind. As a result, Syrian ADF units took up positions inside East Beirut.
- February 1, 1978: A bomb explosion in Martyrs' Square in downtown Beirut killed 20 civilians.²⁶⁸ Two days later, another explosion on Marad Street took place, also in downtown Beirut.
- October 27, 1979: A remote-controlled bomb of 30 kilograms of TNT exploded in the area of Basta, West Beirut, close to the headquarters of the Arab Lebanese Army. Eight civilians were killed and 32 wounded. Dozens of houses, stores, and cars were burned.²⁶⁹
- March 6, 1980: In Zahleh a car bomb killed four civilians and injured 29.²⁷⁰
- July 30, 1980: In Ashrafieh, East Beirut, a bomb with 40 kilograms of TNT exploded near the house of Bachir Gemayel, killing five civilians, including two women, and injuring 15.²⁷¹
- July 1980: According to the police, there were 64 bombs across Lebanon, killing 363 civilians.²⁷²
- August 7, 1980: In Ashrafieh, East Beirut, close to Sassine Square, a bomb with between 35 and 40 kilograms of TNT exploded, killing one civilian and injuring 40.²⁷³
- August 24, 1980: In Rayfoun, Kesrouan, a bomb with 60 kilograms of TNT exploded in a car parked in front of a café and cinema. Six people were killed and 34 injured, 17 of them seriously.²⁷⁴
- November 10, 1980: Two car bombs exploded in Ashrafieh, East Beirut, 15 minutes apart, killing 10 (including seven women) and wounding at least 62.²⁷⁵

262 Annahar, 05/25/1982.

263 Annahar, 04/29/1982.

264 Chami, *Le Mandat Amine Gemayel*, 13.

265 *Ibid.*, 19.

266 *Le Mandat Amine Gemayel*, 28; *As-Safir*, 12/02/1982.

267 *La Guerre du Liban*, 256; *Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana*, 257; *Hathihi shahadati*, 47.

268 *La Guerre du Liban*, 297.

269 Annahar, 10/28/1979.

270 *As-Safir*, 03/07/1980.

271 *Ibid.*

272 *Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban*, 19.

273 Annahar, 08/08/1980.

274 *Ibid.*, 08/25/1980.

275 *Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban*, 56 ; Annahar 11/11/1980.

- March 6, 1981: In Saida a bomb exploded, killing three people and wounding 28 in a travel agency.²⁷⁶
- April 13, 1981: In Aley, Mount Lebanon, two civilians were killed and 16 wounded in a car bomb. The 40 kilograms of TNT caused substantial material damage to neighboring stores and cars.²⁷⁷
- May 13, 1981: In Beirut, in the area of Chiyah, Hayy Madi, a bomb made of 40 kilograms of TNT and 10 kilograms of hexogen exploded close to the SSNP headquarters. Six civilians were killed, including three teenagers, and 32 were wounded.²⁷⁸
- May 28, 1981: In Burj al-Barajneh in the western suburbs of Beirut, two people were killed and four injured (including two children) due to a car bomb placed close to the Amal headquarters.²⁷⁹
- September 17, 1981: Twenty-five people were killed (including at least four children) and at least 108 civilians wounded (including at least 13 children) when a 120-kilogram bomb was detonated near the offices of the Joint Forces, in Saida. That same day in Chekka, North Lebanon, another bomb killed at least three and wounded at least seven people.²⁸⁰
- September 18, 1981: A bomb that exploded in Burj al-Barajneh, in the western suburbs of Beirut, killed three, including a mother and her three-year-old, and wounded four children.²⁸¹
- September 28, 1981: On the Saida-Sour road in South Lebanon, at a checkpoint of the Joint Forces, a car bomb killed 15, including three women, and injured 70, including at least four children.²⁸²
- October 1, 1981: Close to the Arab University in West Beirut in the area of Tarik al-Jdideh, a bomb was placed in a parked car in front of the offices of the Communist Party; it was made with 40 kilograms of hexogen mixed with 80 to 100 liters of gasoline. The bomb killed 83 civilians and injured 85, and caused a fire in a textile factory where 35 female workers burned to death.²⁸³
- December 10, 1981: In Tripoli 12 people were killed and 80 wounded (many seriously) by a 90-kilogram TNT bomb.²⁸⁴
- December 15, 1981: Some 100 kilograms of explosives destroyed the Iraqi Embassy in Ramlet al-Bayda, West Beirut, and surrounding buildings. Altogether, 32 people were killed, while another 22 were still missing four days later, including the Iraqi ambassador and consul, and a further 110 people were injured.²⁸⁵
- December 19, 1981: In the UNESCO area of West Beirut, a car bomb exploded in the Total gas station, killing six people, including five ISF members who approached the car to examine it after it was suspected of being rigged.²⁸⁶
- December 20, 1981: Two civilians were killed and a third wounded by a car bomb in Tarik al-Jdideh, West Beirut. That day, a huge wave of panic swept over residents, many of whom rang the ISF about suspicious cars.²⁸⁷
- February 13, 1982: Close to the Ain al-Hilweh Palestinian camp, four civilians were killed and 24

²⁷⁶ Annahar al-Arabi wa>d-Duwali, 09/23/1985.

²⁷⁷ Annahar, 04/14/1981.

²⁷⁸ Annahar, 05/14/1981.

²⁷⁹ Annahar, 05/29/1981.

²⁸⁰ Annahar, 09/18/1981; As-Safir 09/18/1981.

²⁸¹ Annahar, 08/19/1981; As-Safir 08/19/1981.

²⁸² Annahar, 09/29/1981.

²⁸³ Annahar, 10/02/1981.

²⁸⁴ Annahar al-Arabi wa>d-Duwali, 09/23/1985.

²⁸⁵ Annahar, 12/18/1981.

²⁸⁶ Annahar, 12/21/1981.

²⁸⁷ Annahar, 12/21/1981.

- injured in a bomb that was placed under a parked car.²⁸⁸
- February 23, 1982: In Raouche, West Beirut, seven people were killed and 62 wounded in two car bombs that detonated 10 minutes and 200 meters apart.²⁸⁹
 - February 27, 1982: In Ouzai, West Beirut, four people were killed and 28 injured in a 50-kilogram TNT bomb placed in a car parked 50 meters away from a Syrian Army checkpoint.²⁹⁰
 - March 6, 1982: A car bomb killed at least five civilians and injured 16 in Jnah, West Beirut.²⁹¹
 - March 10, 1982: In Zouk Mikael, Maameltein, in the Kesrouan area, two bombs exploded 20 minutes apart, injuring at least 20 people and triggering a fire that destroyed at least 25 cars.²⁹²
 - March 16, 1982: A woman and baby were killed and 11 civilians wounded in a bomb explosion in Ramlet al-Bayda, West Beirut.²⁹³
 - March 31, 1982: Two people were killed, and four were injured in a car bomb explosion in Corniche al-Nahr, the Tahwita area in Beirut, a few meters away from a LF checkpoint. Another bomb was defused some 70 meters away.²⁹⁴
 - May 24, 1982: A 40 kilogram TNT bomb placed in the car of a French embassy employee blew up when the car was inside the embassy in Clemenceau Street West Beirut, killing nine civilians and injuring 26.²⁹⁵
 - June 13, 1982: A car bomb in Barbir, West Beirut, killed seven civilians and injured 25.²⁹⁶
 - June 24, 1982: In Ain al-Mreisseh, West Beirut, a pair of explosions caused the total destruction of two apartment blocks: 32 civilians were killed, and 236 were wounded.²⁹⁷
 - August 10, 1982: In Tripoli an explosive device in a car killed nine civilians and injured 39, and caused significant material damage within a 500-meter perimeter.²⁹⁸
 - August 14, 1982: Six civilians were killed (including at least two women) and 35 wounded in a car bomb parked close to a LF checkpoint in Bhamdoun, Mount Lebanon.²⁹⁹
 - September 11, 1982: In Tripoli a bomb containing 40 kilograms of TNT mixed with hexogen killed three civilians and wounded 19 (including several women and children).³⁰⁰
 - October 14, 1982: In Marjeyoun a car bomb killed three civilians, injured 40, and caused significant damage to stores and cars in the surrounding area.³⁰¹
 - November 13, 1982: A car bomb in Choueifat in Mount Lebanon killed five and wounded 15, and burned 15 cars. The same day, an explosive device inside a sewing workshop in the Beirut area of Burj

288 As-Safir, 02/14/1982.

289 As-Safir, 02/24/1982.

290 As-Safir, 02/24/1982.

291 Annahar, 03/07/1982; As-Safir, 03/07/1982.

292 Annahar, 03/11/1982.

293 Annahar and As-Safir, 03/17/1982.

294 As-Safir, 04/01/1982.

295 Annahar, 05/25/1982.

296 Annahar, 06/14/1982.

297 Annahar, 06/25/1982.

298 As-Safir, 08/11/1982.

299 As-Safir, 08/15/1982.

300 As-Safir, 09/12/1982.

301 Annahar, 10/15/1982.

al-Barajneh killed one person and injured three girls. Two later died of their wounds.³⁰²

- November 14, 1982: In Aramoun in Mount Lebanon, a three-year-old was killed and four civilians wounded by a car bomb. Eight cars were burned and several stores damaged.³⁰³
- November 26, 1982: In Chiyah, in Beirut's southern suburbs, a 30 kilogram TNT bomb exploded, killing 12 people and injuring 20.³⁰⁴
- December 1, 1982: A 40-kilogram TNT bomb exploded in the area of Kantari, West Beirut, killing three people.³⁰⁵

2.6 Escalating Violence in South Lebanon and Israel's Operation Peace for Galilee

Between May and July 1981, Israel stepped up its attacks in South Lebanon,³⁰⁶ with a particularly heavy civilian toll in July. Between July 8 and 25, 1981, the conflict between Israel and the PLO (and their respective allies in Lebanon) intensified in scope and territorial coverage.

- May 28, 1981: Israel conducted an air raid on Joint Forces positions in Damour and Na'meh; it also bombed Nabatieh (May 29, June 12) and Saida (June 12). The Israeli Navy went as far as North Lebanon, bombing the Palestinian camp of Nahr al-Bared, close to Tripoli (June 3).³⁰⁷ In total, at least 20 people were killed, and 42 were wounded.³⁰⁸
- July 10–12, 1981: The Israeli Army conducted air raids that hit Zahrani and Nabatieh and the coastal villages of Damour and Naameh.³⁰⁹
- July 16, 1981: Israel destroyed six bridges in South Lebanon, and the next day, it destroyed two others.³¹⁰
- July 17, 1981: The Israeli Army conducted a massive aerial bombing of the Beirut area of Fakhani, where the PLO was based. Six buildings housing Palestinian organizations were entirely destroyed; the raid caused around 150 civilian deaths in the capital and on the coastal road, and wounded at least 600. It was the first time that Israel bombed inside the capital.³¹¹
- July 24, 1981: A ceasefire agreement was maintained until April 1982, the longest period of quiet for South Lebanon since 1976. More than 200 Lebanese and Palestinians (mostly civilians) were killed and another 800 wounded.³¹²
- April 5, 1982: Seven successive air raids on the Palestinian camps of Sabra, Chatila, and Burj al-Barajneh, as well as the Cité Sportive—where the PLO had its base—killed 60 people and wounded 270. Two hours later, the Palestinians sent rockets into northern Israel, killing one civilian and wounding three.³¹³ This was the first time that the July 24, 1981, ceasefire had been violated.

The attempted assassination of Israeli Ambassador Shlomo Argov in London on June 3, 1982, put an end to the July 24, 1981, ceasefire among Syria, the PLO, and Israel. Israel launched a full air, land, and sea attack, which it called Operation Peace for Galilee. On June 5, the UN Security Council

302 Annahar, 10/14/1982.

303 Annahar, 11/15/1982.

304 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 20.

305 Ibid., 28.

306 Cited in *La Guerre du Liban*, 464.

307 *La Guerre du Liban*, 464.

308 Annahar, 06/05/1981; *L'Orient-le Jour* 05/29/1981

309 Annahar, 07/11/1981.

310 *Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban*, 179-180; *La Guerre du Liban*, 464.

311 *La Guerre du Liban*, 464; *Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban*, 181.

312 *La Guerre du Liban*, 465

313 *Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban*, 258; *L'Orient-Le Jour*, 04/22/1982 mentions 80 victims, killed and wounded, in total.

unanimously passed Resolution 508 calling on the parties to cease all military activities in Lebanon and across the Lebanese-Israeli border. The next day, the council passed Resolution 509, reaffirming the previous day's resolution, and demanded Israel to withdraw unconditionally to the internationally recognized borders of Lebanon.

Between June 4 and September 30, 1982, 19,085 people were killed and 31,915 wounded, according to reports by the police, hospitals, the Lebanese Red Cross, and the Council of the South.³¹⁴ These figures include 6,775 people killed in Beirut and its suburbs alone, as a result of the Israeli invasion, clashes between the Lebanese Army and various militias (killing a total of 569 people), and clashes between PSP and LF militias in the Mountain (killing 363). In West Beirut, two mass graves were discovered, one in Mar Elias, where 25 bodies were found, and another in the Summerland area, where 15 bodies were found.³¹⁵

From June to September 1982, the following events and incidents were reported.

- June 5-6, 1982: For two days Israel carried out the heaviest and most sustained air attacks on Lebanon since the July 17, 1981, attack. The air, sea, and land assault targeted 38 villages in South Lebanon, killing 158 civilians and wounding 250.³¹⁶ The majority of the victims were Palestinian and Lebanese. Some refugee camps, particularly in the south, were completely destroyed. A number of towns and cities were reduced largely to rubble. It was reported that "there were PLO offices, ammunition deposits, or other facilities, in some of the population centers, but there was no attempt to limit the destruction to such facilities".³¹⁷

On detentions and harassment of civilians:

- Mass arrests were carried out during the first weeks of Israel's invasion. The International Commission to enquire into reported violations of International Law by Israel during its invasion of the Lebanon—better known as the MacBride Commission³¹⁸—reported that several thousand people were detained in Israeli-controlled prisons between June and September 1982 in all the areas controlled by the Israeli Army, namely Beirut, South Lebanon, and Mount Lebanon.³¹⁹
- Detainees were withheld under difficult conditions, which included having their hands bound, stifling heat, scant food and water, and severe beatings.³²⁰
- The MacBride Commission found that the Israeli government violated international law by refusing to treat combatants as prisoners of war with internment of medical personnel, maltreatment, torture, humiliation, and confiscation of personal possessions.³²¹ The commission reported, "The exceptional extent of the arrests, the ways in which they were made and the treatment of detainees... are largely incompatible with Geneva Conventions of 1949."³²²

The Siege of Beirut

By June 15, Israeli forces positioned themselves on the outskirts of Beirut. The siege lasted until September 1982.

³¹⁴ Established in 1970 by the Council of Ministers, the Council of the South was created to develop the southern part of the country. A decade later, its responsibilities were expanded to include reconstruction of the region and the provision of reparation to families affected by Israeli assaults.

³¹⁵ Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 22.

³¹⁶ Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban, 259.

³¹⁷ Armed Conflict in Lebanon, 11.

³¹⁸ The MacBride Commission was an international commission composed of six jurists and headed by former Irish foreign minister and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Seán MacBride. The commission investigated and produced a report on Israeli violations of international law during the 1982 invasion.

³¹⁹ MacBride, *Israel in Lebanon*, 116.

³²⁰ Armed Conflict in Lebanon, 53.

³²¹ *Israel in Lebanon*, 130.

³²² *Ibid.*, 117.

- July 4–5 1982: The Israeli Army cut off the electricity and water supply to West Beirut, depriving at least 300,000 civilians of water and electricity for about three months.³²³ The siege had severe consequences on the civilian population; as a matter of example, one hospital reported the death of a two-year-old girl who died of dehydration because she did not have clean drinking water.³²⁴

During the siege, the Israeli Army carried out air, land, and sea attacks in three successive waves separated by a few periods of respite: June 13-25, July 2-18, and July 22-August 12.³²⁵ The bombing was particularly fierce on August 1, 4, and 12.³²⁶

- July 27, 1982: The bombardment killed 112 civilians and injured 232. An eight-storey residential building collapsed as a result of that day's bombardments, causing dozens of civilian deaths.³²⁷
- July 29, 1982: During a new wave of Israeli air strikes over West Beirut, 165 civilians were killed and 400 wounded.³²⁸
- August 6, 1982: A building in Sanayeh, West Beirut, was targeted and destroyed, killing 250 people. In this case, the MacBride Commission noted that the possible presence of a PLO leader did not justify the sacrifice of those people.³²⁹
- The bombardment of West Beirut resulted in the partial or total destruction of all categories of buildings: residential; government and diplomatic buildings such as ministries and embassies;³³⁰ churches and mosques; cultural centers; universities and schools; hospitals; orphanages; and mental asylums.

The MacBride Commission reported that the scale of the destruction showed that the Israeli Army had blanket-bombed these areas instead of attacking precisely defined targets.³³¹ Army's air, land, and sea bombardment of residential neighborhoods of West Beirut was largely indiscriminate.³³² The state of destruction of all civilian properties shows that the besieging army made no effort to spare them.³³³ In the case of the hospitals' destruction, the commission noted that there were no weapons or ammunitions in these establishments,³³⁴ yet the Gaza Hospital was bombed heavily for three hours.³³⁵

The commission noted that the Israeli Army used weapons prohibited by the 1907 Hague Convention IV Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, mainly incendiary bombs, cluster bombs, and phosphorus mortars.³³⁶

In total, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) reported that from the beginning of the Israeli attack on June 4 to August 15, 1982, 29,506 Lebanese and Palestinians had been killed as a result of the Israeli bombardments, 80 percent of them civilians.³³⁷

The Israeli Army's advance into the Shuf and the Aley area enabled the LF to reintegrate that region. Incidents of violence were reported at that time:

- June 29, 1982: In South Metn, the LF tried to enter Kubbay and al-Qurayyah, and clashed with

323 Ibid., 157; Lebanon: A Shattered Country, 124 author refers to a population of 200,000.

324 Annahar, 08/02/1982.

325 *Israel in Lebanon*, 145.

326 *La Guerre de Mille Ans*, 273.

327 *Israel in Lebanon*, 148 ; *L'Orient-le Jour*, 07/27/1982.

328 *Les Secrets de la Guerre du Liban*, 384.

329 *Israel in Lebanon*, 147.

330 Ibid., 148.

331 Ibid., 146.

332 Ibid.

333 Ibid., 149.

334 Ibid., 150.

335 Ibid., 152.

336 Ibid.

337 Lebanon: A Shattered Country, 214.

an SSNP unit supported by Syrian soldiers. Five people were killed, including a 72-year-old priest from the monastery of Kubbay'.³³⁸

- July 1, 1982: In Maasser Beit Eddine, in the Shuf, a gas station owned by a Christian was blown up, killing the owner, his wife, and his two sons.³³⁹
- July 2, 1982: A resident of Kfarmatta, two from Dahr al-Abadieh, and one from Bhamdoun al-Mahatta—all of which are in Aley in Mount Lebanon—were killed.³⁴⁰

The Sabra and Chatila Massacre

The ADF's mandate came to an end in July 1982. At that time, President Sarkis did not request a renewal. Almost a month later, on August 21, a U.S.-brokered ceasefire paved the way for the evacuation of 15,000 Palestinian fighters and several thousand Syrian soldiers.³⁴¹ A 2,000-strong Multinational Force (MNF), composed of U.S., French, and Italian battalions, was deployed to supervise the evacuation. Yasser Arafat headed to Greece, with a number of his loyalists, while the other Palestinian armed men were to be dispatched toward several Arab countries and Greece. The new PLO headquarters were to be in Tunis. On August 23, 1982, Parliament elected Bachir Gemayel, head of the LF, president. Three weeks later, he was assassinated.

- September 14, 1982: At 4 p.m., a massive bomb blast rocked East Beirut. A charge of 50 kilograms of TNT, equipped with a remote-controlled explosive device, totally demolished the headquarters of the Kataeb Party in Ashrafieh, killing Gemayel³⁴² and 23 other people, while 70 more were seriously injured. Two days later, Habib Chartouni, a Lebanese man affiliated with the SSNP, was arrested by the LF and confessed at a press conference to having executed the operation. He was then handed over to the judiciary, arrested, and imprisoned.³⁴³

In the days following Gemayel's assassination, more than 300 LF militiamen entered the Palestinian Sabra and Chatila camps, and massacred civilians between September 16 and 18, 1982.³⁴⁴

- September 14, 1982: Israeli troops encircled the camps.
- September 15, 1982: The Israeli Army started shelling the camps in the afternoon. The first casualties from sniper fire and artillery shelling started arriving at Gaza Hospital.³⁴⁵
- September 16, 1982: Israeli armored vehicles and troops completed the encirclement. The Israeli Army turned back civilians trying to leave the camps at gunpoint. At noon, people with high-velocity gunshot wounds began arriving at Gaza Hospital; about 30 of them were so seriously wounded that they died before receiving medical attention.³⁴⁶
- September 16, 1982: At 6 p.m. the LF entered the camps. Survivors recounted that some began stabbing people to death.³⁴⁷ In the first hours, hundreds of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians were killed.³⁴⁸
- September 16, 1982: Armed men turned up at Akka Hospital, killing several patients and staff members as well as camp residents who had found shelter in the premises. A Palestinian nurse was

338 Hathihī shahadati, 127; Khreich, *Hurub al-Aliha*, 25.

339 Hathihī shahadati, 127; *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*.

340 Hathihī shahadati, 127-128.

341 Lebanon: A Shattered Country, 124.

342 Kapeliouk, *Sabra et Chatila*, 5.

343 Habib Chartouni was released and left the country on October 14, 1990, when the Syrian Army took control over the eastern "Christian-controlled" territory.

344 Israel in Lebanon, 171.

345 Sabra et Chatila, 16.

346 Israel in Lebanon, 172.

347 Ibid., 173; written testimony submitted by Anne Sunde, Beirut, September 18, 1982.

348 Sabra et Chatila, 22.

raped multiple times, and her body so mutilated that she could be identified only by her ring.³⁴⁹ Staff members at Gaza Hospital also were killed.³⁵⁰

- September 16-18, 1982: Scores of witness and survivor accounts relate numerous forms of violence committed against the Palestinian and Lebanese residents of the camps. These included smashing children's heads against walls; the rape of a seven-year-old girl; gang-rape of many women and cutting the breasts off of some; disembowelment of pregnant women and removing their fetuses; slitting throats of entire families in their homes; the torture of many men before being killed, and mutilation of some after death; and dragging some men alive behind military vehicles through the camps' streets. Their corpses were later found piled up in a garage. From time to time, militiamen inspected the heaps of corpses, finishing off those who moved.³⁵¹

Survivors reported that family members including women and children were crammed into trucks by militiamen and taken to unknown destinations. These people were never seen again.³⁵²

Several attempts by camp residents, including women, elderly men, and medical people, to stop the violence failed and ended up in more killings and rapes. For example, three Palestinian doctors and an Egyptian doctor emerged from Akka Hospital carrying a white flag in an effort to stop the shooting. A hand grenade was thrown at them, killing three.³⁵³ In another instance, four elderly men were sent from the camp to negotiate peace with the Israeli Army. Two days later, three of them were found dead.³⁵⁴

There has been no official calculation of the number of victims. Israel's official figure of 700 people killed, which was reported by the Kahan Commission of Inquiry, is highly unlikely in light of subsequent findings. Indeed, the figure should vary between 1,390, based on a list of identified victims compiled during a two-year field research project,³⁵⁵ and 3,500.³⁵⁶ The latter calculation includes the bodies that were identified and buried by local rescue teams (302); unidentified bodies reburied in mass graves (212); and bodies identified and returned by the ICRC (248), as well as approximately 2,000 people who were buried in mass graves that were never opened, bodies that had remained under destroyed homes, and those who were transported by trucks and never seen again.³⁵⁷

With the PLO's evacuation from the camps, the vast majority of the victims were civilians. On the basis of testimony from witnesses, the MacBride Commission concluded that Sabra and Chatila were neither centers of military resistance nor hiding places for large numbers of fighters; the fact that there may have been some light weapons in the camps and that inevitably many people had links with the PLO did not deprive the camps of their general civilian characters.³⁵⁸

All of the evidence indicates that the massacre was perpetrated by LF members, between the time they entered the camps and left. The Kahan Commission concluded that then-minister of Defense Ariel Sharon and several others were at least negligent in their duty and should have known that there was a danger that such massacres might occur.³⁵⁹ The MacBride Commission concluded that Israel shared responsibility with the Lebanese militias for the massacre, on the grounds that Israel was an occupying power from the time its army entered West Beirut on September 15, 1982, until its withdrawal on September 26, 1982. According to witness accounts, the Israeli Army prevented civilians from

349 Ibid., 31.

350 Ibid., 37.

351 Ibid., 30 and 38; see victims' complaint from Universal Jurisdiction and the Dilemmas of International Criminal Justice: The Sabra and Shatila Case in Belgium; See, Massaker on accounts of six perpetrators; Al-Hout, Sabra And Shatila.

352 Sabra et Chatila, 30.

353 Israel in Lebanon, 174.

354 Sabra et Chatila, 23.

355 Sabra and Shatila, cited in Leila Shahid and Linda Butler, The Sabra and Shatila Massacres, 36.

356 Kapeliouk in Sabra et Chatila estimated the number of victims to vary between 3,000 and 3,500 and to include the persons killed and those disappeared. Both Kapeliouk and al-Hout in Sabra and Shatila concur on this estimate.

357 Leila Shahid and Linda Butler, The Sabra and Shatila Massacres, 36. See also: The Kahan Commission and Abba Eban, The Beirut Massacre, 40; Sabra et Chatila, 43-44; Sabra and Shatila, 52; Israel in Lebanon, 176; Pity the Nation, 385.

358 Israel in Lebanon, 169.

359 Sharon was forced to resign from his post; however, he was later rehabilitated and became Prime Minister of Israel in January of 2001.

escaping the camps and arranged for the camps to be illuminated throughout the night by flares.³⁶⁰

In subsequent months, a new wave of sectarian-based violence erupted in the Shuf and Aley.³⁶¹

- November 8, 1982: PSP militias attacked a funeral ceremony taking place in the Christian village of Kfarnabrakh, killing 11 civilians and wounding 11 others. Moreover, nine civilians were abducted, including two children. On November 23, 1982, the bodies of the abducted victims were found at the bottom of a well outside the village. The militias burned around 20 houses, including the home of the Bishop of Saida and Deir al-Qamar, and of that of the village priest.³⁶²
- November 11, 1982: LF members attacked the Druze village of Kfarfakoud, killing two civilians and injuring several people.³⁶³
- November 25, 1982: Clashes between fighters in the villages of Bhamdoun and Baalchmay, Mount Lebanon, led to the deaths of three civilians and the wounding of two; 13 residents of Sofar were kidnapped.³⁶⁴
- December 3, 1982: Thirty civilians were kidnapped by both sides, between Bhamdoun and Aley, and five people were killed in clashes in Brih.³⁶⁵
- December 8, 1982: Two Christian civilians were killed in Bkhashtey in the Aley.³⁶⁶
- December 13, 1982: Renewed clashes in the Souk al-Gharb area led to the killing of five people.³⁶⁷
- December 20-22, 1982: Fighting in the mountains in the Aley led to the deaths of at least 33; dozens more were wounded.³⁶⁸
- December 26, 1982: Four Druze men from Niha were abducted, and their bodies were later found in Mechref.³⁶⁹
- December 29, 1982: The bodies of two Druze brothers, their wives, and three of their children were found near Kfarmatta.³⁷⁰
- December 1982: Four brothers from a Christian family were killed in Chbaniye, in the district of Baabda.³⁷¹

In South Lebanon, on November 11, 1982, a 17-year-old man—who had lost several members of his family during Israel's 1978 invasion—drove a car loaded with explosives into Israeli military headquarters at the northern entrance to Sour. This destroyed an eight-storey building, killing between 89 and 140 people, the majority of whom were Israeli military and intelligence staff. However Lebanese and Palestinians were detained there, and many had relatives visiting. Civilians were present also for administrative reasons.³⁷² This would mark the first suicide bombing and the beginning of a new form of resistance against Israel, which Hezbollah would lead in the subsequent years.

360 See generally Israel in Lebanon, 169 and 173; Sabra et Chatila, 31. On the role of the Israelis: The Beirut Massacre, 45.

361 *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*.

362 *Ibid.*

363 *Le Mandat Amine Gemayel*, 20.

364 *Hathihi shahadati*, 39.

365 *Ibid.*, 40.

366 *Ibid.*

367 *Ibid.*

368 *Ibid.*

369 *Le Mandat Amine Gemayel*, 28.

370 *Ibid.*

371 *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*.

372 Hirst, *Beware of Small States*, 196 mentions at least 141; Annahar, 11/14/1982 mentions 75 Israelis and 15 Lebanese and Palestinians; *Paix et Guerre au Moyen-Orient*, 374 mentions 89 dead including 75 Israelis.

3. Old Wars, New Wars: January 1983– December 1988

Following Bachir Gemayel's assassination and the Sabra and Chatila massacre in 1982, Amine Gemayel, Bachir's brother, was elected president. On May 17, 1983, he concluded an agreement with Israel and the United States that stipulated the withdrawal of all Israeli, Syrian, and Palestinian forces from Lebanon. The National Salvation Front³⁷³ and Syria immediately opposed this agreement, and though the Lebanese Parliament ratified it on June 15, 1983, the president refused to issue the relevant decree. However, during this period Israeli forces withdrew from central Lebanon and were redeployed toward South Lebanon.

More generally, the period between 1983 and 1988 saw an escalation of all conflicts: the War of the Mountain between the LF and the PSP and its allies, new fighting in and around Palestinian camps, better known as the War of the Camps, and two successive wars in Tripoli. No region in Lebanon was spared, with continuing clashes in Greater Beirut and South Lebanon. On August 20, 1987, several hundred Lebanese citizens clad in white demonstrated against the war and formed a human chain that crossed West and East Beirut through the National Museum. Bomb attacks, abductions, and targeted assassinations took place across Lebanon, with a marked rise during this period in the abduction of foreigners or representatives of foreign institutions.

3.1 War of the Mountain

In September 1983 the Israeli Army withdrew from Beirut and Mount Lebanon, and established a front line at the Awali River in South Lebanon, leaving the Druze (PSP) and Christian (LF) militias facing each other. Though Israel's presence in no way prevented clashes or helped protect civilians from being abused by both sides, its withdrawal paved the way for an intensification of incidents, thus opening the chapter of the War of the Mountain, which lasted from the end of August 1983 and December 1983.

The end result of the war was the quasi-total eviction of Christians from the region. Deir al-Qamar, a town where thousands of Christians from surrounding villages had sought refuge, was besieged for three months. The legacy of this war lasted much longer, however, because the violence spread to the Ech Chehhar (February 1984), east of Saida and Iqlim al-Kharoub (1985).

The opponents were the LF on one side and the PSP, with members of two pro-Syrian Palestinian factions, Fatah al-Intifada and PFLP–GC, and support from the Syrian Army on the other. During this

373 A pro-Syrian coalition based in North Lebanon, representing Rashid Karami, Sleiman Frangieh, PSP and Amal.

period, U.S. and French troops, as part of the MNF, also intervened.³⁷⁴ For example, on December 4, 1983, U.S. aircraft took off from the Sixth Fleet and bombed Druze-Palestinian positions that were locked in clashes with the Lebanese Army in their bid to reach Baabda. The United States also attacked Syrian positions on the hilltops above Beirut. On February 8, 1984, the USS New Jersey bombed PSP positions in the Mountain.³⁷⁵

As noted, before the outbreak of the War of the Mountain, incidents had taken place between the same groups from 1982 through the summer of 1983. In early January 1983, fighting between the LF and PSP was under way on the Souk al-Gharb-Aley front, using RPGs, heavy gunfire, and artillery. It quickly expanded to cover most villages and town in the Aley-Shuf district and northern Mount Lebanon, an area controlled by Israeli forces. By mid-1983, the fighting extended to cover East Beirut and its suburbs, as PSP and Syrian artillery pounded residential areas, which were under the LF's control.

- January 11, 1983: Fighting on the Hadath-Kfarshima-Baabda front between the LF and PSP led to the killing of four civilians and wounding of 15.³⁷⁶ By January 15, the fighting had expanded to cover other parts in the Northern Metn areas and Aley (Shanay, Sharun, al-Mansourieh, Bhamdoun, Btater, Kfarniss, Rishmayya, and Broummana).
- February 6, 1983: PSP militias attacked, looted, and ignited the Christian quarters of 'Aley, killing several families. Survivors were forced to leave. The Israelis reportedly made no attempt to intervene.³⁷⁷
- Early February 1983: The PSP and the Syrian Army fired artillery shells and Grad rockets on several Christian residential neighborhoods in East Beirut (Ashrafieh, Badaro, Palace of Justice, and General Directorate of General Security headquarters, Dora, Bouchrieh, and Zalka), wounding 37 civilians and killing two General Security guards.³⁷⁸
- May 5, 1983: The fighting between LF and PSP in the Shuf reached Beirut and its suburbs again, with heavy shelling of residential areas. At least 24 civilians were killed in this round, and many were wounded; material damage was caused to cars and buildings, and property was set on fire.³⁷⁹
- May 22, 1983: In the Shuf, 23 civilians were summarily executed in the Druze village of Kfarhim and the Christian village of Deir Dourit. Also, 100 civilians were kidnapped from both sides, and Israelis were mediating with the PSP and LF to secure their release.³⁸⁰
- June 20, 1983: In Ashrafieh, East Beirut, two civilians were killed and 20 wounded in a heavy round of shelling over the area. The LF responded by shelling the villages of Falougha, Hammana, Kobeih, and Chbaniye in the Upper Metn, without causing any casualties.³⁸¹
- July 20, 1983: Syrian Grad missiles hit Ashrafieh, killing two people and injuring 17.³⁸²
- July 22, 1983: Syrian and PSP artillery pounded East Beirut residential areas, killing 18 people and injuring 66.³⁸³

374 The US intervention came following the bombing that targeted the Marine headquarters (cf. Reported under the section of car bomb attacks in this report). During this period, the French Navy and the US Marines got involved in the fighting. The French stroke Iranian Revolutionary Guard barracks in the Beqaa in November, the USS New Jersey fired again on December 14 and 15, 1983, and the French troops fired on Amal positions in the Beirut suburbs in January 1984. The MNF forces withdrew in February and March 1984. See *Beware of Small States*, 196.

375 *L'Orient-le Jour*, 02/09/1984.

376 *Annahar*, 01/12/1983.

377 *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*.

378 *Annahar*, 02/05/1983.

379 *Annahar*, 05/08/1983.

380 *Annahar*, 05/22/1983.

381 *As-Safir*, 07/22/1983.

382 *Le Mandat Amine Gemayel*, 53.

383 *Ibid.*, 51.

Between August 31 and September 13, 1983, mass killings took place nearly each day, bringing the region into the full thrust of the War of the Mountain.³⁸⁴

- August 31, 1983: In the village of Bmaryam, which was under Syrian control, 31 Christians were killed that night, including the priest, the mayor, and their families. Only 10 bodies were recovered.³⁸⁵ Their throats were slit and their homes were set on fire.³⁸⁶
- That same night, 15 houses in al-Abadieh belonging to Christians were set on fire and two people killed.³⁸⁷
- September 4–5, 1983: Eight Christians were killed in Ammiq in the Shuf, and on the next day, six Christians were killed in Selfaya, in the district of Aley.
- September 5, 1983: In Kfarmatta 107 Druze civilians were killed, including a sheikh and his family.
- September 4–6, 1983: The PSP, with the support of Palestinian gunmen, took control of the town of Bhamdoun and its surrounding villages; 384 Christians were killed³⁸⁸ (284 from Bhamdoun al-Dayaa, 30 from Bhamdoun al-Mahatta, as well as 70 who were not from these villages originally). Most of their bodies were never found. The town was then open to widespread looting and burning of houses, hotels, and shops.
- September 6, 1983: Twenty-five Christians from Mansourieh-Bahmdoun were killed. Eleven more, mostly elderly, were killed in the village of al-Fouara in the Shuf, and six people were killed in Bkhashtey in Aley.
- September 6–7, 1983: The LF killed around 20 Druze in Ech Chahhar, 50 Druze in al-Binnay, 28 in Abay, and 7 Druze in Ain Ksour. The LF desecrated the tomb of a prominent religious man in Abay.
- September 7, 1983: PSP militias killed 12 Christians in al-Mreijat. As they advanced through the villages of Shurit, Kfarniss, and al-Bireh, they killed 63 civilians in Majdel Meouch and two in Ain Trez.
- September 8–9, 1983: The PSP and their allies killed 19 Christians in Burjayn. In Beiteddine they killed LF members taken prisoner and the civilians remaining in the village, including five who were older than 75.
- September 9, 1983: Thirty-two Christians were killed in al-Bireh, Shuf. Around 20 were executed inside the church where they had sought refuge. Some 60 others were disappeared.³⁸⁹
- September 9, 1983: A PSP member from the village of Maasser al-Shuf murdered 63 Christians.
- September 11, 1983: Twenty-seven Christians in the mixed Druze-Christian village of Ras al-Metn in the district of Baabda were killed. That same day, 21 Christians, including 3 children, were killed in Maasser Beit Eddine in the Shuf. In the same district, 38 Christians were killed in Shartun, 5 each in Shurit and Deir Dourit; and 34 in Wadi al-Sitt. Before the Christians were murdered in Deir Durit, the LF set up a checkpoint and killed 12 Druze who were passing through.

384 All information below is based on the findings provided by *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*, unless otherwise noted.

385 *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*; *l'Orient-le Jour*, 09/02/1983; Hurub al-Aliha, 115 (35 victims).

386 Hurub al-Aliha, 115.

387 *L'Orient-le Jour*, 09/02/1983.

388 Hurub al-Aliha, 115 mentions 240 victims from Bhamdoun and its neighboring villages.

389 *Ibid.*, 115.

- September 16, 1983: Eleven Christians were killed in Majdliyya in the district of Aley, and 10 were killed in Shwit in the district of Baabda.

Other sectarian-based killings took place between September 7 and 16, 1983:³⁹⁰

- In Baabda: Jwar al-Hawz (3), Baalchmay (10), Ras al-Harf (17), Ain Muwaffaq (12), and Qtaleh (4).
- In Aley: Rishmayya (39), Bmahray (17), Ain Anoub (12), Ain al-Jadida (9), Aley (8), Rijmeh (7), Abu Zuraydeh (a 5-member family), Rimhala (4), Rwaisat al-Naaman (4), Btallun (4), Ain Dara (2), and Abay, Dfun (3).
- In the Shuf: Brih (19), Kfar Qatra (14), Ain Zhalta (11), Sirjbal (11), Binwayti (10), Barouk (2), Damour (7 elderly people), Fraydis (3), Kfar Nabrakh (5), Kfarnis (2), J'ayil (7), Wadi Bnahlay (13), Mazra'at al-Shuf (6), and Chwaliq Deir al-Qamar (2).

Siege of Deir al-Qamar: September–December 1983

As early as September 4, 1983, the Christian population started fleeing their villages, some heading toward the Christian town of Deir al-Qamar in the Shuf and others toward Beirut, Jezzine, or the Beqaa. Approximately 8,000 Christians from more than 60 villages sought refuge in Deir al-Qamar, in the Shuf. Several hundred LF fighters had also sought refuge there. Around September 7, 1983, the PSP and its allies began a siege of the town that lasted until December 15, 1983.

- During the siege, shelling, gunfire, and various tactics were used to scare the refugees as well burning houses in nearby villages, and making threats through loudspeakers.³⁹¹ Several people were killed as a result of the bombings (15 victims by December 1, 1983).
- During the siege, eight people died as a result of lack of access to medical and food supplies.³⁹²

On October 1, 1983, a ceasefire was reached. There were breaches, however, in the following days.

- October 6, 1983: Seven Christians were found killed in Ammiq.³⁹³
- October 7, 1983: The Christian quarters in the villages of Kornayel, Salima, and Arsoun were burned and kept burning for 11 days.³⁹⁴
- December 4, 1983: For two hours PSP militias shelled a monastery in the village of Jun, in South Lebanon, which was sheltering families that had sought refuge from their villages in the Shuf and other places.³⁹⁵

In the end, the War of the Mountain resulted in the killing of 1,155 Christian³⁹⁶ and 207 Druze civilians;³⁹⁷ moreover, the fate of 2,700 civilians remained unknown,³⁹⁸ and at least 163,000 Christians and several thousand Druze were displaced from the villages.³⁹⁹ During the entire period, 116 villages were damaged or burned, in addition to 135 churches and monasteries that were destroyed, burned and desecrated in the region of Mount Lebanon, Shuf, Aley, and Baabda.⁴⁰⁰

390 All information below is based on the findings provided by *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre* unless otherwise noted.

391 Kanafani-Zahar, *La Guerre et la Mémoire*, 146.

392 *Ibid.*, 146.

393 *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*.

394 *Ibid.*

395 Hurub al-Aliha, 34.

396 *Bilan des Guerres du Liban*, 59.

397 *Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre*, 47.

398 *Bilan des Guerres du Liban*, 59.

399 *Ibid.*

400 Hurub al-Aliha, 30.

Two months later, the Lebanese Army lost control of the region of the Ech Chahhar⁴⁰¹ to the PSP and its allies. This paved the way for renewed killings and, with these, new waves of mass population displacement.

- Mid-February 1984: In Bayqun, in the Shuf, 13 Christians were killed.⁴⁰²
- In Mechref, 14 Christians were killed.⁴⁰³
- Some 5,500 Christian civilians left the Shuf and headed to Jezzine in South Lebanon, and 3,500 headed to eastern Saida.⁴⁰⁴
- Houses in the villages of the Shuf and Iqlim al-Kharoub between Saida and Beirut were systematically destroyed to stop the owners from returning.⁴⁰⁵

Resurgence of the War of the Mountain in other regions

During March 1985 a new battle raged in the region of Saida between the LF and the Lebanese Army's Sixth Brigade⁴⁰⁶ following the Israeli withdrawal. This lasted five weeks, during which the brigade was supported by PSP militias and the PNO, and a month later, the PLO. The LF withdrew from the region in late April.⁴⁰⁷

- March 29, 1985: Six people were killed including a child, and 43 people were injured.⁴⁰⁸
- March 30, 1985: Twenty-eight people were killed and at least 40 wounded, the majority of whom were Lebanese and Palestinian civilians.⁴⁰⁹
- April 3, 1985: Rounds of shelling and gunfire in and around Saida killed one civilian and injured more than 14.⁴¹⁰
- Second half of April 1985: Heavy bombing of residential areas in Saida and in the Palestinian camps of Mieh w Mieh and Ain al-Hilweh caused the deaths of at least 13 civilians and injured 90 more, including Lebanese Red Cross medical workers.⁴¹¹

In the neighboring region of Iqlim al-Kharoub (a cluster of mixed Sunni-Greek Catholic villages), the LF withdrew its 400 fighters in late April and early May 1985. PSP, Nasserists, and Amal militias attacked and took control of the area. During this attack, several mass killings mainly of Christians occurred.

- April 24, 1985: Around 1,000 civilians from Jiyeh escaped by boat during the night; one took 500 people to the port of Jounieh, and the other 500 people to the port of Beirut.⁴¹²
- April 25, 1985: The PSP and its allies shelled the village of Darb al-Seem, and then went in, looted the houses, and burned them. The residents had fled to neighboring villages already.⁴¹³

401 The Ech Chahhar is the area linking the coastal parts south of the Shuf to Saida.

402 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

403 Ibid.

404 Ibid., citing Salma Hussein in Les Cahiers de l'Orient, 1993-1994.

405 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

406 The Sixth Brigade was mainly composed of Lebanese Shi'a soldiers.

407 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

408 Hurub al-Aliha, 184.

409 Ibid.

410 Annahar, 04/04/1985.

411 Annahar, 04/23/1985.

412 Annahar, 04/29/1985.

413 Annahar, 04/26/1985.

- April 26–May 4, 1985: Christians were killed most notably in Jiyeh (90), Alman (21), and in at least 13 other villages. The total number of civilian victims was around 217.⁴¹⁴ Children, the elderly, and women were killed with axes and knives, bodies were mutilated, and more than 100 people were wounded, in addition to an undetermined number of people disappeared.⁴¹⁵
- May 4, 1985: Around 1,200 refugees were displaced from the Iqlim al-Kharoub and Saida area and fled to the eastern parts of the country, mainly to Jounieh. Around 100,000 people fled from 86 villages. In addition to the killing, destruction of houses and institutions, and forced displacement, the militias also desecrated graves in cemeteries in the villages of Jiyeh, Majdaluna, Jamiliyyeh, and Basri in Iqlim al-Kharoub.⁴¹⁶

3.2 Wars in Tripoli

In Tripoli during 1983, the fighting raged between the Syrian Army, its Palestinian (Fatah al-Intifada and DFLP-GC) and Lebanese allies (ADF, SSNP, and the LCP) on one hand, and the PLO and its Lebanese allies (including the Islamic Tawhid Party, the Popular Resistance group and the pro-Iraqi Baath) on the other.⁴¹⁷ Rocket shells and artillery fire was used in densely populated areas, mainly in the Jabal Mohsen-Bab al-Tabbaneh front line and Qobbeh,⁴¹⁸ incurring many casualties. On September 16, 1983, Yasser Arafat returned to Tripoli, assuming command of PLO fighters based in the city.⁴¹⁹

- January 3, 1983: The heavy bombardment concentrated between the residential neighborhoods of Ba'l Mohsen-Qobbeh-Bab al-Tabbaneh led to 17 civilian deaths, a number of them were killed in their underground shelters; and 30 more were wounded.⁴²⁰
- January 6, 1983: Another day of heavy fighting left 20 dead and 35 wounded in less than 24 hours. Civil defense and rescue teams were unable to access the areas of fighting to retrieve the dead bodies and the wounded.⁴²¹
- June 16, 1983: A number of armed men opened fire on civilian cars entering Tripoli. Sixteen civilians were killed and eight wounded.⁴²²
- August 5, 1983: Twenty people were killed and 40 wounded as they were coming out of a mosque after Friday prayers by a 100-kilogram TNT bomb and 122- and 155-millimeter bombs.⁴²³
- August 19, 1983: A bomb exploded in front of a hospital and a school, killing one person and injuring 23, including several members of the medical staff. Parts of the hospital and school were damaged, along with 19 neighboring buildings and cars, and 8 stores.
- September 1983: Upon Arafat's return, the Syrian Navy blockaded the ports of Tripoli and Chekka.⁴²⁴
- October 11–19, 1983: The Islamic Tawhid Party took control of the city and occupied the premises of the Lebanese Communist party and other leftist parties (OACL, Socialist Action, and the

414 Mémoires en Conflit dans le Liban d'Après-Guerre.

415 Hurub al-Aliha, 200.

416 Ibid., 194.

417 Harakat al-Tawhid al-Islami headed by Sunni Sheikh Saeed Shaaban; and al-Muqawama al-Shaabiya headed by Khalil Akkawi and based in Tripoli.

418 Annahar, 01/03/1983.

419 Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 294: "What followed was essentially a repetition of the events of 1982 in Beirut, except that Syrians, not Israelis were besieging Palestinians in a large Lebanese city."

420 Annahar, 01/04/1983.

421 Annahar, 01/07/1983.

422 Annahar, 06/17/1983; Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 46.

423 As-Safir, 08/06/1983.

424 Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 295.

SSNP). They then summarily executed around 100 leftists.⁴²⁵

- November 3-18, 1983: Six hundred people were killed and 1,055 wounded during shelling; the casualties included civilians and combatants.⁴²⁶

A physician working with the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS) reported that in November alone, 1,500 casualties were brought to the PRCS hospital, which was the closest to the front lines.⁴²⁷ From the beginning of this war, estimated sources of deaths range between 383 and 969 Lebanese and Palestinians, and between 1,572 and 2,047 wounded.⁴²⁸

On December 19, 1983, following two months of particularly heavy bombardments, the PLO capitulated. Arafat and 4,000 supporters evacuated the country by sea, heading to Tunis on the next day. They left their ammunition to their allies, mainly the Tawhid. Again, dozens of communists and leftists were killed in the aftermath.⁴²⁹

New war in Tripoli: September 1985

Throughout September 1985, Tripoli was in the grip of fierce fighting between the Islamic Tawheed and other groups that formed al-Liqa' al-Islami and the Arab Democratic Party (Hizb al `Arabi al Dimocrati),⁴³⁰ as well as the Syrian Army, which was positioned around the city. During this time, heavy artillery, mortar shells, and Grad missiles were used, causing scores of civilian casualties.

In July, a short-lived clash occurred causing multiple deaths.

- July 13, 1985: The ICRC reported at least 40 civilians had been killed and 142 injured in fighting that took place in Tripoli in the preceding days between al-Liqa' al-Islami and the Arab Democratic Party.⁴³¹
- September 16, 1985: Shelling that day killed 30 civilians, and injured 70; also, a Lebanese army barracks was shelled, killing 10 officers and wounding around 50 other soldiers during their sleep.⁴³²
- September 16-17, 1985: Heavy artillery, including Grad missiles and RPGs, was used for 40 hours nonstop, with a reported 50 civilians killed and at least 100 injured. By September 19, an estimated 60 civilians were killed and at least 240 injured.⁴³³
- September 20, 1985: An estimated 75,000 residents had fled the city.⁴³⁴
- September 27, 1985: An estimated minimum of 124 civilians were killed and 550 wounded.⁴³⁵
- September 27, 1985: Armed men were stopping cars leaving Tripoli. They stopped two cars close to the Bahsass bakery, let the women out, and then took 10 men out (including a father and his three sons). They lined the men up against a wall, and shot them.⁴³⁶
- September 29, 1985: In a particularly fierce round of fighting, at least 50 combatants died.

425 Ibid.; Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 64.

426 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 68.

427 See Israel in Lebanon.

428 Annahar, 11/06/1983 citing official Lebanese sources; Annahar, 11/22/1983, citing ICRC; Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 31 cites 800 killed and wounded in a few weeks, by January 9, 1983.

429 Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 305-306.

430 Hurub al-Aliha, 182.

431 Annahar, 07/04/1985.

432 Annahar, 09/17/1985.

433 Annahar, 09/18/1985 and 09/20/1985.

434 Annahar, 09/21/1985.

435 Annahar, 09/19/1985 and 09/27/1985.

436 Annahar, 09/28/1985.

Witnesses recounted that the hospitals were overwhelmed with wounded and dead; the Islamic Hospital wasn't capable of taking in any more casualties. A security source said at least 70 civilians had been killed and 100 wounded.⁴³⁷

- September 1985: An estimated 400 civilians had been killed in Lebanon, including 300 in Tripoli.⁴³⁸
- October 1, 1985: Some 55,000 refugees fled from Tripoli to the districts of Koura, Batroun, Zgharta and Akkar. The ICRC sent humanitarian aid to them.⁴³⁹

On October 7, 1985, around 20,000 Syrian soldiers entered the city. The successive wars in Tripoli between 1980 and 1985 between the Palestinian groups and their Lebanese allies, and the Lebanese pro-Syrian groups, with the intervention of the Syrian Army and intelligence, left 2,295 people killed, 6,897 wounded, and at least 100,000 displaced. Those displaced began returning in November 1985.⁴⁴⁰

3.3 South Lebanon and Israeli Violence

In September 1983, the Israeli Army withdrew from Beirut and Mount Lebanon, and established a front line at the Awali River in South Lebanon, as per the May 1983 agreement. In the following years, most of the incidents of violence in that area related to Israel's occupation, which continued until May 2000. In 1982 the Lebanese National Resistance Front was formed by the LCP, OACL, and the Arab Socialist Action to conduct operations against Israel. In the ensuing years however, Amal and increasingly Hezbollah, an Islamic Shi'a armed group, spearheaded the military action against Israel and its proxy, the SLA. In the context of this protracted war, several thousand Lebanese and Palestinians were deported to the detention center of al-Ansar, while a significant number of people disappeared following arrests conducted by the Israeli Army or the LF.⁴⁴¹

Timur Goksel, former spokesman and senior advisor to UNIFIL, described Israel's practices generally in the south in 1985 as follows:

The Israelis called it the iron grip policy. I called it the worst practices of an occupation that I ever saw in my life. They would round up men in a schoolyard or mosque and leave them there under the sun the whole day, question them, humiliate them, search some houses.⁴⁴²

- February 1983: Some 208 Palestinian families from the area of Saida were forced to leave their homes, following threats and the killing of 15 Palestinian civilians.⁴⁴³
- June 14, 1983: In South Lebanon the Israeli Army laid siege to the village of Deir Qanoun, cutting off the water supply. Also, the army reinforced its siege on Ansar following an insurgency on June 6, during which soldiers killed a prisoner trying to escape.⁴⁴⁴
- June 25, 1983: Members close to the LF forced 12 Muslim families to evacuate their homes in the area of Saida.⁴⁴⁵
- June 28, 1983: The Israeli Army entered Saida and arrested seven civilians in 48 hours. It set up checkpoints in the city center with armored vehicles, causing widespread fear among the civilian population.⁴⁴⁶

437 Annahar, 09/30/1985.

438 Hurub al-Aliha, 274.

439 Annahar, 10/02/1985.

440 Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 65.

441 Paix et Guerre au Moyen-Orient, 374.

442 Al Jazeera, Harb Lubnan, episode 12.

443 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 96.

444 Annahar, 06/15/1983.

445 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 96.

446 Annahar, 06/29/1983.

- January 21, 1984: In the town of Hallusia, South Lebanon, an Israeli unit arrested Sheikh Abbas Harb, taking him from his home. When the residents tried to block the unit's exit points to stop the soldiers from taking him, an Israeli helicopter ferried the unit and the sheikh away.⁴⁴⁷
- September 20, 1984: In the Shi'a village of Sohmar, South Lebanon, the SLA grouped the population in the central square and opened fire on them. Thirteen civilians were killed, and 20 others were wounded.⁴⁴⁸
- December 31, 1984: In Jiyeh, on the southern coastal road between Beirut and Saida, a civilian boat that was mooring at the port was bombed, killing 2 people and wounding 20.⁴⁴⁹
- March 11, 1985: In South Lebanon, the Israeli Army attacked the village of Zrariah, which was the front line and where the Lebanese Army was based. The Israelis invaded the town for about 10 hours, killing at least 21 residents, and detaining others. The next day the Lebanese Red Cross managed to retrieve 21 bodies and evacuate 22 wounded people.⁴⁵⁰
- January 12, 1987: An Israeli raid on Palestinian bases in Maghdouche, South Lebanon, killed two civilians and injured nine, and destroyed the police station.⁴⁵¹
- May 31, 1987: Following an attack against SLA positions in Jezzine, the Israeli Army retaliated by heavily bombing 21 villages and towns in South Lebanon and the Western Beqaa, killing at least four civilians and injuring 24.⁴⁵²
- September 5, 1987: An Israeli air raid on the camp of Ain al-Hilweh, close to Saida in South Lebanon, killed 39 people and injured 70.⁴⁵³
- January 3, 1988: In response to an operation conducted against Kiryat Shmona, Israel launched a series of air and sea raids on Lebanese and Palestinian residential neighborhoods in the Ain al-Hilweh camp and Iqlim al-Kharoub in South Lebanon. The first raid targeted a former office for the Fatah al-Intifada, and three others targeted offices of the Katibet Shuhada' Iqlim al-Kharoub and the DFLP– GC, in the towns of Jiyeh and Barja. The raids killed at least 25 people and injured 15, including women and children.⁴⁵⁴
- October 21, 1988: Israel carried out a series of raids against Lebanese and Palestinian civilian areas and military positions controlled by Fatah and Hezbollah in the area of Saida, Iqlim al-Tuffah, and West Beqaa, killing 6 people and wounding at least 20.⁴⁵⁵
- October 26, 1988: The Israeli Army conducted two more air raids, this time targeting the camp of Mieh w Mieh, South Lebanon, and the town of Naameh, on the southern coastal road, killing at least 15 people and injuring 41.⁴⁵⁶

Apart from its military activity in South Lebanon, the Israeli Army conducted sporadic military attacks outside their occupation zone, notably in North Lebanon and the Beqaa:

- January 4, 1984: At least 97 people were killed and tens injured, along with an undetermined number

447 Annahar, 01/22/1984; Pity the Nation, 559.

448 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 104.

449 Annahar, 12/31/1984.

450 Annahar, 03/11/1985 and 03/12/1985.

451 Annahar, 01/13/1987.

452 Annahar, 06/01/1987.

453 Annahar, 09/06/1987; L'Orient le-Jour, 09/06/1987.

454 Annahar, 01/04/1988; Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 259.

455 Annahar, 10/22/1988.

456 Annahar, 10/27/1988.

- of missing people, and significant property damage after an Israeli air raid hit Baalbeck, in the Beqaa.⁴⁵⁷
- August 28, 1984: Forty Palestinians, civilians and fighters, were killed and 25 wounded in an Israeli raid against a Palestinian base located between Taanayel and Bar Elias, in the Beqaa.⁴⁵⁸
 - July 10, 1985: An Israeli air raid targeting the camps of Beddawi and Nahr al-Bared in North Lebanon killed 22 people and injured 87, a large majority of whom were Lebanese and Palestinian civilians.⁴⁵⁹
 - July 3, 1987: An Israeli raid on SSNP positions in the Western Beqaa caused the injury of 13 civilians, including women and children. Seven houses were partially destroyed, and neighboring stores and houses were damaged.⁴⁶⁰

3.4 Multiple conflicts in Greater Beirut

Before and during the War of the Camps, several other conflicts were raging in Greater Beirut. In March 1984 Lebanese President Amine Gemayel denounced the May 13, 1983, agreement with Israel, following new rounds of talks in Geneva in late October and early November 1983 and in Lausanne in March 1984. The Syrian Army reinstated its control in 1985 over most of Lebanon (namely in the North, the Beqaa, and West Beirut). Between 1983 and 1988, there was ongoing fighting between the LF (which also saw bitter internal power struggles) and the Lebanese Army on one side, and the Syrian Army and its allies on the other. Moreover, various groups fought for control over West Beirut and its suburbs, namely among Amal and groups that were part of the Joint Forces alliance, for instance, with the Murabitun and the PSP.

On November 24, 1985, Amal and PSP agreed to a ceasefire. A month later, a tripartite agreement was concluded in Damascus among the LF, Amal, and the PSP to put an end to their war.⁴⁶¹

However in Beirut and its suburbs, fighting between the Syrian Army and its allies based in West Beirut, and the LF with the Lebanese Army led to intensive shelling of densely populated areas between East and West Beirut, as well as the Shuf and the capital's eastern, northeastern, and southern suburbs.

- August 10, 1983: PSP shelling over East Beirut and its suburbs, including Yarzeh, Jamhour, Mkalles, Baabda, and Mansourieh, killed 12 civilians and injured 25.⁴⁶²
- December 26, 1983: The Lebanese Army, in its clashes with Shi'a militias in the southern suburbs, resorted to heavy artillery shelling, leaving 40 dead and 150 wounded.⁴⁶³
- January 13, 1984: A school bus from the Antonine School in Baabda, in the eastern suburbs, was transporting children in Kfarshima when it came under gunfire. The driver was killed and between three and 15 children were wounded.⁴⁶⁴
- January 16, 1984: Greater Beirut, Metn, Kesrouan, Aley, and the Shuf came under heavy shelling for almost 12 hours. The bombardment reached schools, killing a number of students. In total, 22 civilians were killed, and more than 75 people were injured.⁴⁶⁵
- January 20, 1984: Another day of intensive bombings covered Greater Beirut, Metn, Kesrouan,

457 Annahar, 01/05/1984 and 01/06/1984.

458 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 103.

459 Annahar, 07/11/1985.

460 Annahar, 07/04/1987.

461 Annahar, 12/29/1985.

462 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 55.

463 Ibid., 74.

464 Annahar, 01/14/1984; Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 81.

465 Annahar, 01/17/1984.

- Aley, and the Shuf. At least 10 civilians were killed and 38 wounded.⁴⁶⁶
- January 21, 1984: A bomb fell on a factory in Kfarshima, killing six Indian employees.⁴⁶⁷
 - Early February 1984: The Lebanese Army and Amal exchanged fire, with violence quickly escalating to the use of mortar shells on Metn, Shuf, Aley, and Kesrouan. At least 50 civilians were killed and 200 injured.⁴⁶⁸
 - Mid-February 1984: Around 8,000 people had fled from the Beirut suburbs and the coastal Shuf areas, and they headed to South Lebanon.⁴⁶⁹
 - May 14, 1984: The artillery shelling on residential areas saw one shell hit a school playground in Ashrafieh, killing one 12-year-old and injuring 23, including 5 children whose legs were amputated.⁴⁷⁰
 - May 1–19, 1984: Shelling killed 55 people and wounded 390 in Greater Beirut.⁴⁷¹
 - June 11, 1984: During a day of intense shelling concentrated on the front lines, between 81 and 90 civilians died and between 220 and 353 were wounded.⁴⁷²
 - January 1, 1985: Heavy shelling took place over Kfarshima, Hadath, Baabda, Hazmich, Fayadieh, Yarzeh, Arayya, Sin al-Fil, Dekwaneh, Ashrafieh, Jdeideh, Broummana, Beit Mery, Mansourieh, Ajaltun, Ballouneh, Klayaat, Aley, and Khaldeh, killing an unknown number of people.⁴⁷³
 - January 24, 1985: Shelling occurred in East Beirut, namely the neighborhoods of Ashrafieh, Hadath, and Ain al-Remmaneh. Because some schools were hit between 7 and 8 a.m., some students and parents were killed.⁴⁷⁴
 - April 30, 1985: A new round of fighting erupted between East and West Beirut, concentrated on the front lines. Warring parties exchanged bombs that hit residential areas on both sides, leading to the closing of schools and roads between the two sides of the capital. By mid-May, at least 40 civilians had been killed, and 160 were wounded.⁴⁷⁵
 - August 12, 1985: Between 1 and 5 a.m., hundreds of mortar shells and long- and medium-range missiles were fired across East and West Beirut, the northern and southern suburbs, the Metn, and Kesrouan; eight people were killed and 55 injured.⁴⁷⁶
 - August 20, 1985: East and West Beirut came under heavy shelling, as well as Jbeil and Batroun in North Lebanon. Thirty-one civilians were killed that day and at least 121 injured.⁴⁷⁷
 - August 21, 1985: The bombing continued, reaching 190 towns, villages, and residential sections of Beirut, Metn, Kesrouan, Aley, and Jbeil, killing 26 civilians and injuring 96. The Beirut airport was hit also, and two commercial planes were destroyed.⁴⁷⁸

466 Annahar, 01/21/1984.

467 Annahar, 01/24/1984.

468 Annahar, 02/02/1984 and 02/04/1984.

469 Annahar, 02/18/1984.

470 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 93.

471 Ibid., 92.

472 L'Orient-le Jour, 06/12/1984 ; Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 97.

473 Annahar, 01/03/1985.

474 Hurub al-Aliha, 156.

475 Annahar, 05/16/1985.

476 Annahar, 08/13/1985.

477 Annahar, 08/21/1985.

478 Annahar, 08/22/1985.

- September 28, 1985: East and West Beirut, the southern suburbs, the northern and southern Metn, and Kesrouan, as well as the presidential palace, the airport, and the Ministry of Defense came under heavy shelling for six hours. At least 32 civilians were killed and at least 87 injured. The shelling greatly damaged civilian infrastructure, which resulted in the closing of the passage between East and West Beirut and the closing of the airport. Planes that were landing were rerouted to the Larnaca airport in Cyprus.⁴⁷⁹

In the Beqaa:

- Early February 1984: The Syrian Army shelled Zahleh three days in a row, and at least seven people were killed.⁴⁸⁰

In West Beirut, the in-fighting among different militias continued until the end of November 1985, with some particularly intensive periods.

- January 21, 1985: Fighting between Amal and Murabitun militias in Sabra and Beirut left 4 civilians dead, including 2 children, and 11 wounded.⁴⁸¹
- April 18, 1985: Heavy fighting between Amal and Murabitun militias forced residents to spend two days in underground shelters. At least 35 civilians were killed and 167 injured, according to AFP medical sources.⁴⁸²
- July 1, 1985: An eight-hour battle between Amal and PSP led to the closing of offices, schools, universities, and banks. Six civilians were killed, and 29 were injured.⁴⁸³
- August 5, 1985: One student was killed and three others injured when a bomb fell inside the American University of Beirut (AUB).⁴⁸⁴
- November 21–22, 1985: Intense fighting in West Beirut between Amal and PSP left 53 civilians dead and 225 wounded.⁴⁸⁵ More than 400 people were kidnapped that day by both parties.⁴⁸⁶

3.5 War of the Camps

The War of the Camps was a struggle for control over West Beirut and was considered an extension of the political struggle between Syria and the PLO. It took place between May 1985 and January 1988. The fighting extended to South Beirut and South Lebanon, which translated into heavy fighting between the Syrian backed Shi'a militia Amal, headed by Nabih Berri, and various Palestinian organizations, including the PFLP and PLO, which had returned to the camps in Beirut and Saida. The first clashes had taken place already in June and July 1984.⁴⁸⁷ In 1985, with the Israeli Army evacuating towns in the regions of Sour and Nabatieh, Amal assumed control, setting up positions around the Palestinian camps of Rashidiyyeh and al-Buss.⁴⁸⁸

On May 19, 1985, Amal—supported by the Lebanese Army Sixth Brigade—laid siege to the Palestinian camps of Sabra, Chatila, and Burj al-Barajneh. By early June, Sabra had been destroyed, and in Chatila, the PLO fighters were trapped in a tiny area. Amal blockaded Burj al-Barajneh.⁴⁸⁹ The PFLP and PLO, positioned in the Shuf, were shelling Beirut's southern suburbs, where Amal was mainly based.

479 Annahar, 09/29/1985.

480 Annahar, 02/02/1984 and 02/04/1984.

481 Annahar, 01/22/1985.

482 Annahar, 04/19/1985.

483 Annahar, 07/02/2012.

484 Annahar, 08/12/1985.

485 Annahar, 11/25/1985; As-Safir, 11/24/1985.

486 Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 305.

487 Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 410.

488 MERIP reports, June 1985, No. 133, 6.

489 Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon, 194.

- May 20, 1985: Fighting went on 21 hours. By the end of the month, between 76⁴⁹⁰ and 96⁴⁹¹ people had been killed, and 630 were injured from the fighting in Burj al-Barajneh and Chatila. These included summary executions of prisoners, Palestinian civilians, and victims of the artillery shelling.
- Early June 1985: As Amal overran Sabra and Chatila, its militiamen carried out summary executions of Palestinian captives.⁴⁹²
- June 17, 1985: At least 120 civilians were killed, and several hundred were injured.⁴⁹³
- September 8, 1985: Fighting between Amal and Palestinian militias in Burj al-Barajneh and its vicinity since early September left 42 people dead and 183 injured, according to the Associated Press (AP).⁴⁹⁴
- December 13, 1986: Amal's shelling of the Chatila and Burj al-Barajneh killed 20 people and wounded 70. Newspaper reports mention that Amal had destroyed 90 percent of Chatila. PFLP and PLO militia based in 'Aley were bombing Beirut's southern suburbs, killing 20 people and wounding 70.⁴⁹⁵

On December 31, 1986, limited-scale clashes took place around the camps of Rashidiyyeh in Sour, and Burj al-Barajneh and Shatila in Beirut.

- Early February 1987: The War of the Camps worsened, and Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh were targeted, as well as various areas in Beirut's southern suburbs. On February 7, 10 people were killed and at least 65 injured.⁴⁹⁶
- February 8, 1987: Fifteen people were killed and 13 wounded, including civilians.⁴⁹⁷

January 20, 1988: Amal and the Sixth Brigade of the Lebanese Army evacuated their positions, and the Syrian Army deployed near Chatila and Burj al-Barajneh as part of a unilateral plan put in place by Amal leader Nabih Berri to end the War of the Camps.⁴⁹⁸

- January 8, 1987: Residential neighborhoods of Hadath, Baabda, and Hazmieh came under an intense round of shelling, which caused the death of at least seven civilians and the injury of 41.⁴⁹⁹
- February 16–20, 1987: Fighting in West Beirut between Amal and the Communist Party together with the PSP was particularly strong. It was reported that 200 people were killed and more than 450 injured, both civilians and fighters.⁵⁰⁰
- November 16, 1987: Fighting broke out between the Nasserite Popular Organization and Fatah fighters in Saida and the areas around Ain al-Hilweh and Mieh Mieh in South Lebanon. Six people were killed and at least 44 wounded, both fighters and civilians.⁵⁰¹

490 Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 410.

491 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 134.

492 Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 410; MERIP reports, June 1985, No. 133, 7.

493 Annahar, 05/22/1985 and 06/18/1985.

494 Annahar, 09/09/1985; Hurub al-Aliha, 236.

495 L'Orient-le Jour, 12/14/1985.

496 Annahar, 02/08/1987.

497 Annahar, 02/09/1987.

498 Annahar, 01/21/1988.

499 Annahar, 01/09/1987.

500 Annahar, 02/21/1987.

501 Annahar, 11/17/1987.

3.6 Targeted Assassinations, Car Bombs, and Abductions

As in the preceding chapter, the following section reports specifically on targeted assassinations, car bomb attacks, and abductions—all forms of violence that had a widespread impact on the daily lives of people in Lebanon.

The present section provides a nonexhaustive list of the most serious targeted attacks committed between 1983 and 1988.⁵⁰²

Targeted attacks

- April 18, 1983: A pickup truck drove into the courtyard of the U.S. embassy and exploded 150 kilograms of TNT. The suicide attack killed 63 people, including Robert Ames, the CIA chief intelligence officer for the Middle East. More than 100 people were injured.⁵⁰³
- October 23, 1983: In Beirut, a suicide operation targeted the U.S. Marine barracks—where approximately 300 Marines were staying—with a force equal to 6,800 to 9,500 kilograms of TNT. Some 241 Marines were killed. Twenty seconds later, another suicide bomber killed 58 French paratroopers at the French Drakkar forces, also killing a woman and her three children in a neighboring building.⁵⁰⁴
- December 1, 1983: Druze Sheikh Halim Takieddin was assassinated in his home in West Beirut.⁵⁰⁵
- January 18, 1984: American University of Beirut (AUB) President Malcolm Kerr was shot and killed on campus. The Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.⁵⁰⁶
- February 1984: In Jibsheit, South Lebanon, Sheikh Ragheb Harb was shot to death in his home.⁵⁰⁷
- September 9, 1984: In Rawsheh, West Beirut, four civilians were killed, including one woman, and 27 injured by a remote-controlled bomb of 75-kilograms of TNT placed in a car. This bomb was meant for Prime Minister Salim el-Hoss, who was on his way to see Mufti Hassan Khaled.⁵⁰⁸
- September 20, 1984: In Awkar, Mount Lebanon, a suicide attack at the recently built U.S. embassy killed at least eight people and injured between 50 and 100 people, including the U.S. and U.K. ambassadors. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.⁵⁰⁹
- December 28, 1984: In B'akleen, in the Shuf, four gunmen assassinated Druze Sheikh Khalil al Tawil.⁵¹⁰
- January 21, 1985: In Saida, a 30-kilogram TNT bomb targeted Mustafa Saad, the son of Maaruf Saad and leader of the PNO. Two civilians were killed, and 45 wounded (including Saad, his wife, and their three children).⁵¹¹
- March 4, 1985: In Sour, 11 people were killed and at least 28 wounded by a bomb (75 kilograms of TNT) placed in an office where a meeting was under way with of Amal leaders.⁵¹²

502 For an exhaustive listing of car bombs and targeted assassinations, refer to www.memoryatwork.org

503 Ana al-dahiyya wal-jallad ana, 293; Annahar, As-Safir, 04/19/1983 and 04/22/1983.

504 Beware of Small States, 194; As-Safir, 10/24/1983.

505 Hurub al-Aliha, 36.

506 Annahar, 01/19/1984; Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 80.

507 Pity the Nation, 559.

508 As-Safir, 09/07/1984.

509 As-Safir, 09/21/1984.

510 Annahar 01/01/1985.

511 As-Safir, 01/22/1985.

512 Annahar al-Arabi wa-d-Duwali, 09/23/1985.

- March 8, 1985: An explosion in the Beirut suburb of Bir al-Abed (mainly Shi'a), targeted Sayyed Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah. Fadlallah escaped the attempt, but more than 80 people were killed and around 200 were injured.⁵¹³
- December 18, 1986: Nabila Breir, staff member of UNICEF, was gunned down by four men in West Beirut. Her parents had also been assassinated in the same manner in 'Ayn el Remmaneh in 1975⁵¹⁴.
- January 7, 1987: In Corniche el Nahr, Beirut, a car bomb that was targeting the President Camille Chamoun killed at least four people, including three of his bodyguards, and wounded at least 39, including the president.⁵¹⁵
- February 17, 1987: The Communist intellectual Hussein Mroueh was assassinated in his home in Ramlet el Bayda, in West Beirut.⁵¹⁶
- June 1, 1987: Prime Minister Rachid Karami was killed by a bomb placed under his seat in a Lebanese Army helicopter while he was on his way to Beirut.⁵¹⁷
- September 24, 1987: Three armed men stormed into the office of Father André Mass, the director of USJ's branch in Saida, and shot him three times, killing him.⁵¹⁸

Car bombs

- January 28, 1983: In Shtura, in the Beqaa, at least 30 civilians were killed, dozens wounded and several missing (including civilians and militia members) by a car bomb that destroyed a three-storey building that housed offices of Palestinian organizations. Most victims were Palestinians.⁵¹⁹
- February 5, 1983: On Caracas Street in West Beirut, a bomb equivalent to 240 kilograms of TNT exploded, killing at least 12 civilians, including three younger than 18 years old, and injuring at least 110 others; it also triggered fires in two buildings and surrounding cars. The bomb was placed in front of the Palestinian Research Institute, which temporarily housed the offices of the PLO.⁵²⁰
- February 16, 1983: In Antelias, Mount Lebanon, two civilians were killed and five wounded in a car bomb placed close to offices of the Kataeb Party.⁵²¹
- April 8, 1983: In Baalbek, in the Beqaa, two people were killed and 15 injured, including two seriously, by an explosive device placed close to offices of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards.⁵²²
- July 20, 1983: Six employees of the Summerland Hotel were killed and 15 injured, including six women, by a bomb placed in a car that was taken by two armed men who escaped after killing two hotel security guards.⁵²³
- August 7, 1983: In Beqaa, Baalbek, a 100-kilogram TNT bomb blew up in a busy vegetable market, killing 39 civilians and wounding 133.⁵²⁴

513 Annahar, 03/10/1985; Al Jazeera, Harb Lubnan, episode 13.

514 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 212.

515 As-Safir, 01/08/1987; Annahar, 01/08/1987.

516 Annahar, 02/18/1987.

517 Annahar, 06/02/1987.

518 Annahar, 09/25/1987.

519 Annahar, 01/29/1983; As-Safir, 01/29/1983; Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 30 reports 45 persons killed.

520 Annahar; As-Safir 02/06/1983.

521 As-Safir, 02/17/1983.

522 As-Safir, 04/09/1983.

523 As-Safir, 07/22/1983.

524 As-Safir, 08/08/1983.

- September 4, 1983: In Beirut's southern suburb of Haret Hreik, 13 people were killed, including 5 women and 3 children, and 40 wounded by a car bomb.⁵²⁵
- September 7, 1983: In Tarik al-Jdideh, West Beirut, 6 people were killed and 36 injured when a bomb exploded in a car parked in front of a mosque near the offices of the Murabitun and the Lebanese Red Crescent. The clinic was entirely destroyed.⁵²⁶
- December 5, 1983: In West Beirut, Tarik al-Jdideh, a 150-kilogram TNT bomb killed at least 16 civilians (including 6 children and 4 women), and injured at least 100, including 7 children, 300 meters away from the Makassed Hospital.⁵²⁷
- December 21, 1983: On Damascus Road, near the Faculty of Medicine, in Beirut, 15 civilians were killed and 85 injured by a bomb placed in a truck parked close to French paratroopers. Five minutes later, another bomb in Hamra, West Beirut, exploded inside the Marble Tower Hotel, killing one person and injuring four.⁵²⁸
- February 29, 1984: In Tallet al-Khayyat, West Beirut, an adult and 6-month-old baby were killed and 60 were injured (including 19 women and 7 children) by a car packed with dynamite.⁵²⁹
- November 29, 1984: In 'Aley, Mount Lebanon, 4 people were killed and 16 wounded in a bomb that was placed in a busy commercial area.⁵³⁰

More than 100 explosions had taken place across the country in the last two months of 1984.⁵³¹

- January 11, 1985: A bomb that exploded in a bank in Musseitbeh, West Beirut, killed 3 civilians and injured more than 40 people.⁵³²
- February 1, 1985: In Tripoli, North Lebanon, 6 people were killed (including a woman) and 80 injured (including 29 women) by a car bomb of 60 kilograms of TNT, parked in front of the mosque during Friday prayers.⁵³³
- February 10, 1985: Another bomb exploded in Tripoli in front of the Islamic Tawhid Movement office, killing 7 civilians and wounding 20. That same day, a car bomb in Verdun, West Beirut, killed two civilians and wounded a woman.⁵³⁴
- February 19, 1985: A car bomb placed in the southern suburbs of Beirut killed 5 and injured 44 (including 10 women and a child).⁵³⁵
- February 25, 1985: A truck loaded with explosives killed 4 civilians and injured 42 (including 14 women and six children), in the Beirut southern suburb of Hayy Madi.⁵³⁶
- May 22, 1985: Thirty civilians were killed, 177 wounded (mostly students and passersby), and 15 civilians were missing in a bomb blast in Sin al-Fil, Northern Metn, in Mount Lebanon.⁵³⁷

525 As-Safir, 09/05/1983.

526 As-Safir, 09/08/1983.

527 Annahar, 12/06/1983.

528 Annahar, 12/22/1983.

529 As-Safir, 03/01/1984.

530 As-Safir, 11/30/1984.

531 Hurub al-Aliha, 182.

532 Annahar, 01/12/1985.

533 Annahar, 02/02/1985.

534 Annahar, 02/11/1985.

535 As-Safir, 02/11/1985.

536 As-Safir, 02/26/1985.

537 Annahar, 05/23/1985.

- June 14, 1985: In West Beirut, Jnah, close to the Summerland Hotel, a 200-kilogram TNT bomb placed in a car parked at a checkpoint of the Lebanese Army killed 15 people, including the driver, passenger, and three soldiers.⁵³⁸
- June 20, 1985: In Tripoli, a 100-kilogram TNT car bomb placed in front of an ice cream parlor at the beach killed at least 50 people and injured 110, the majority of whom were women and children because it was a religious holiday.⁵³⁹
- August 14, 1985: In Sed al-Bawshriyyeh, in Beirut's eastern suburbs, 13 people were killed (including a woman and 3 children) and 118 people injured, as well as two children missing, as a result of a 200-kilogram TNT bomb.⁵⁴⁰
- August 17, 1985: In the northern suburbs of Beirut, on the Jal al-Dib–Antelias Highway, 31 civilians, including at least 4 women, were killed, 1 missing, and 85 civilians wounded in a 250-kilogram hexogen bomb that was placed in front of a supermarket at a busy hour.⁵⁴¹
- August 18, 1985: A car bomb close to a supermarket in Ashrafieh killed 30 people and wounded 80.⁵⁴²
- August 19, 1985: In Caracol el Druze, West Beirut, a car bomb killed 22 civilians and injured 98. The same day, two other bombs in the southern suburbs of Beirut and on the crossing point between West and East Beirut killed two and injured six.⁵⁴³
- August 20, 1985: In Tripoli, 56 civilians were killed (including 4 women and a child) and 120 injured by a car bomb.⁵⁴⁴
- September 4, 1985: In Zahleh, a car bomb killed 14, including 4 children and 2 women, and injured 42 civilians.⁵⁴⁵
- February 24, 1986: In Beirut's eastern suburb of Sin al-Fil, a car bomb exploded, killing 4 civilians (including a woman and a child) and injuring 17 people (including 4 women and a child).⁵⁴⁶
- March 26, 1986: Another car bomb in Sin al-Fil killed 6 people, including a woman, and injured 73 people (including 46 women).⁵⁴⁷
- April 8, 1986: A bomb in Kesrwan, Jounieh, in the northern coastal suburbs of Beirut, killed 10 civilians and injured 114.⁵⁴⁸
- April 10, 1986: In Saïda, 3 people were killed and 36 wounded by a 100-kilogram TNT bomb placed in a car parked in a busy residential and commercial area.⁵⁴⁹
- May 23, 1986: Six people were killed and 87 injured (including 45 women) by a car bomb parked in front of a printing press in Sin al-Fil.⁵⁵⁰
- January 30, 1987: A bomb placed between two cars on a main street in the area of Zalka, Mount

538 Annahar al-Arabi wa'd-Duwali, 09/23/1985.

539 Annahar al-Arabi wal Duwali, 09/23/1985.

540 Annahar, 08/15/1985 and 08/16/1985.

541 Annahar, 08/18/1985 and 08/19/1985.

542 L'Orient-le Jour, 08/18/1985.

543 Annahar, 08/20/1985.

544 As-Safir, 08/21/1985.

545 Annahar 09/05/1985.

546 As-Safir, 02/25/1986.

547 As-Safir, 03/27/1986.

548 As-Safir, 04/09/1986.

549 As-Safir, 04/11/1986.

550 As-Safir, 05/25/1986.

- Lebanon, blew up as a school bus passed. Two pupils were killed, and 45 injured, most of them students; 18 were in serious condition.⁵⁵¹
- February 9, 1987: A car bomb in the Beirut southern suburb of Ruweiss, a heavily populated area, killed 15 people and injured 62 civilians.⁵⁵²
 - March 19, 1987: In Zalqa and neighboring Jal al-Dib, a car bomb killed the driver, the woman passenger, and injured the three remaining passengers. Two others outside the car also were injured.⁵⁵³
 - March 28, 1987: A car bomb in Ramlet al-Bayda, West Beirut, killed 6 people and injured 12.⁵⁵⁴
 - November 11, 1987: A bomb was set off at the Beirut airport, killing 3 civilians and injuring 65 in the departure area.⁵⁵⁵
 - November 14, 1987: A woman suicide bomber carried a time bomb into the American University Hospital (AUH) and killed herself and 6 civilians and injured 31. The bomb caused extensive damage to the hospital.⁵⁵⁶
 - April 23, 1988: A car bomb blew up in Tripoli, in the neighborhood of Bab al-Tabbaneh, at the vegetable market at a busy morning hour; 66 people were killed and 90 injured. The bomb was made of 150 kilograms of TNT and hexogen.⁵⁵⁷
 - May 30, 1988: In Ashrafieh, Rmeil, in Beirut, a car bomb of 60 kilograms of TNT exploded close to the Greek Orthodox Hospital, killed 16 civilians, including 8 women, and injured 81.⁵⁵⁸
 - June 7, 1988: A car bomb in the area of Ouza'i, West Beirut, targeted a checkpoint controlled by the Syrian Army and the Lebanese ISF, killing 4 civilians and injuring 40.⁵⁵⁹
 - October 19, 1988: A car rigged with 150 kilograms of explosives was driven into an Israeli position on the Kfar Kila-Tell el Nahhas road in Marje'yun, South Lebanon. Two women were killed in the operation, as well as seven Israeli soldiers.⁵⁶⁰

Abductions, assassinations and disappearances⁵⁶¹

In the first few years of the war, hundreds of civilians—mostly Lebanese and Palestinian—were victims of abductions that took place in the context of sectarian-based violence or Lebanese-Palestinian violence. A vast number of them ended up being forcibly disappeared.

As the abductions continued, this period was further marked by a clear targeting of foreigners and foreign entities in the country, including civilians active in the diplomatic, educational, religious, and medical and press corps. Responsibility for a vast number of these were claimed by the Islamic Jihad, a Shi'a pro-Iranian armed group widely seen as the predecessor of Hezbollah, which only came into official existence in 1985. The abductions generally either ended in enforced disappearances, whereby the fate of the victims remained unknown, or ended in the victims' release through negotiations or exchanges between militias.

551 Annahar, 01/31/1987.

552 Annahar, 02/10/1987.

553 Annahar, 03/19/1987.

554 Annahar, 03/29/1987.

555 Annahar, 11/12/1987.

556 Annahar, 11/15/1987.

557 Annahar, 04/25/1988

558 Annahar, 05/31/1988.

559 Annahar, 06/07/1988; the wounded included two policemen and two Syrian soldiers.

560 Annahar, 10/20/1988.

561 This list may include abductions of persons whose fate was later clarified, but that information is not available here.

- February 11, 1983: Two nuns, one of whom was the sister of the Zahleh Maronite bishop, were abducted. They were released after suffering abuse.⁵⁶²
- May 21–22, 1983: The LF and PSP abducted members from each other's militias in Deir Durit and in Kfarhim respectively, in the Mountain, and they also took 21 civilians.⁵⁶³ On May 22, 1983, 23 of these hostages were killed (9 Christians and 14 Druze).⁵⁶⁴
- January 17, 1984: Hussein Farrash, a consul at the Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Beirut, was abducted and released on May 20, 1985.⁵⁶⁵ This took place the day after AUB President Malcolm Kerr was killed.
- March 7, 1984: Jeremy Levin, the Beirut bureau chief of Cable News Network (CNN) was abducted by the Islamic Jihad in Beirut. He escaped on February 14, 1985.⁵⁶⁶
- March 12, 1984: Peter Kilburn, an AUB employee, was abducted. His body was found on April 17, 1984, in Sofar, Mount Lebanon.⁵⁶⁷
- March 16, 1984: William Buckley, political officer at the U.S. embassy, was abducted in Beirut. A statement issued on October 3, 1985, by the Islamic Jihad claimed that the group had executed him.⁵⁶⁸
- May 8, 1984: Rev. Benjamin Weir, teacher at the Protestant school in Hamra, was abducted in West Beirut. He was released on September 18, 1985.⁵⁶⁹
- July 2, 1984: Raoul Mizrahi, a Lebanese Jew, was abducted. His body was found 10 days later.⁵⁷⁰
- August 15, 1984: Salim Jammous, a Lebanese Jew and secretary of the Jewish Council, was abducted in West Beirut and disappeared.⁵⁷¹
- January 3, 1985: The Swiss Chargé d'Affaires, Eric Wehrli, was abducted in Rawcheh, West Beirut. He was released four days later.⁵⁷²
- January 8, 1985: U.S. priest Martin Lawrence Jenco, who worked for Catholic Relief Services, was abducted in West Beirut. He was released on July 26, 1986.⁵⁷³
- March 14, 1985: Nicolas Kluiters, a Dutch Roman Catholic priest, was abducted. His body was found in the Caza of B'albeq on April 1, 1985. A forensic doctor concluded that he had been strangled to death shortly after having been kidnapped; his hands were tied behind his back.⁵⁷⁴
- March 14, 1985: UK citizen Geoffrey Nash was kidnapped and released 14 days later.⁵⁷⁵
- March 16, 1985: Terry Anderson, chief Middle East correspondent for AP, was abducted. He was released on December 4, 1991.⁵⁷⁶

562 Hurub al-Aliha, 28.

563 As-Safir, 05/23/1983.

564 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 43.

565 Associated Press (AP), Foreigners either abducted or missing in Lebanon listed.

566 Ibid.

567 Hurub al-Aliha, 358.

568 Annahar, 04/10/1985.

569 Foreigners either abducted or missing in Lebanon listed.

570 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 126.

571 Ibid.

572 As-Safir, 01/04/1985.

573 Annahar, 07/27/1986.

574 Annahar, 04/02/1985.

575 Foreigners either abducted or missing in Lebanon listed.

576 Ibid.

- March 22, 1985: Two French diplomats, Marcel Carton and Marcel Fontaine, were abducted in Beirut, along with Danièle Perez, Carton's daughter.⁵⁷⁷ They were released, with another hostage, French journalist Jean-Paul Kauffmann, on May 5, 1988. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.⁵⁷⁸
- March 23, 1985: Gilles Peyrolles, head of the French Cultural Center in Tripoli, was abducted. He was released on April 2, 1985.⁵⁷⁹
- March 25, 1985: Alec Collett, a British journalist who was on a mission for United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), was abducted⁵⁸⁰ with his driver. His body was found in November 2009.⁵⁸¹
- March 29, 1985: Dr. Elie Hallak, vice president of the Jewish Council in Lebanon, was abducted from his home and disappeared.⁵⁸²
- March 30, 1985: Two Lebanese Jews, Elie Youssef Srour and Haim Cohen, were abducted and disappeared.⁵⁸³
- March 31, 1985: Isaac Sasson, president of the Jewish Council, was abducted en route from the airport.⁵⁸⁴
- May 22, 1985: French writer/researcher Michel Seurat was abducted in Beirut⁵⁸⁵ by the Islamic Jihad. A year later, the group announced that Seurat was dead. His remains were found in October 2005 in the Shi'a-populated southern suburbs of Beirut.
- May 22, 1985: Jean-Paul Kauffmann was abducted in West Beirut on the airport road, along with Michel Seurat. He was released on May 4, 1988.⁵⁸⁶ The Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.
- May 27, 1985: Denis Hill, a U.K. national and teacher at AUB, went missing. His body was found on May 29, 1985; he had been shot to death.⁵⁸⁷ Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.
- May 28, 1985: David Jacobsen, an American and AUH director was abducted in West Beirut. He was released on November 2, 1986.⁵⁸⁸ Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.
- June 9, 1985: Thomas Sutherland, AUB's dean of agriculture, was abducted in Beirut on his way to the university. He was released on November 18, 1991, on the same day as Terry Waite, the envoy of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁸⁹
- June 27, 1985: Iranian national Alfred Yagoubzadeh, a photographer working for Sipa Press, was abducted and released on August 16, 1985.⁵⁹⁰
- July 11, 1985: Wajed Doumani, a Lebanese national and press officer at the Kuwaiti embassy, was abducted in Saqiet al-Janzir, West Beirut, and released one month later on August 10, 1985.⁵⁹¹

577 Annahar, 03/23/1988.

578 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 126.

579 Foreigners either abducted or missing in Lebanon listed.

580 Annahar, 02/06/1988.

581 Foreigners either abducted or missing in Lebanon listed.

582 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel 126.

583 Ibid.

584 Ibid.

585 Syria and Syrian-controlled Lebanon, 4.

586 Libération, 05/07/1998.

587 New York Times, 06/04/1985.

588 BBC News, "1986: US hostage freed in Beirut," 11/02/1986, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/2/newsid_2537000/2537987.stm.

589 BBC News, "1991: Church envoy Waite freed in Beirut," 11/18/1991, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/18/newsid_2520000/2520055.stm.

590 AP, 08/18/ 1985.

591 Annahar, 08/11/1985.

- August 3, 1985: Shakib Sa'id Hmaydan, director of ABC News in Lebanon, was abducted in Rawsheh in West Beirut.⁵⁹²
- August 12, 1985: Swiss national Stephane Jacquemet, head of the ICRC delegation, was abducted in 'Adlun in South Lebanon and released on August 20, 1985.⁵⁹³
- August 19, 1985: Three Lebanese executives from the Central Bank (Banque du Liban)—André Cheaib, Iskandar Dib, and Jacques Germani—were abducted. That same day Lebanese Red Cross volunteers Alfred Kettaneh Jr. and Semaan Geadah were abducted in Barbir, West Beirut, with Semaan's uncle Kamal Gadeah.⁵⁹⁴
- September 14, 1985: In Sidon, South Lebanon, Lebanese national and LCP member Mudieddine Hashisho, was abducted. His fate remains unknown.⁵⁹⁵
- September 20, 1985: In Hamra, West Beirut, Zahi Khoury, his brother Suheil Khoury, the latter's wife, Maha Hourani, and their son Nizar were kidnapped.⁵⁹⁶
- September 26, 1985: UK nationals Hazel Moss and Amanda McGrath who was an AUB teacher were abducted in West Beirut. They were released on October 8, 1985.⁵⁹⁷
- September 30, 1985: Soviet diplomats Valery Mirikov, Oleg Spirin, and Arkadi Katkov, and the Soviet embassy physician, Nikolai Sversky, were abducted in Mar Elias and in the Cola area, both in West Beirut.⁵⁹⁸ Katkov's body was found close to the Cité Sportive in West Beirut on October 2, 1985.⁵⁹⁹ On October 30, 1985, the three other victims were released in Corniche el Mazra'a.⁶⁰⁰
- October 4, 1985: Amal and the LF exchange 12 hostages at the Beirut Hippodrome.⁶⁰¹
- December 8, 1985: Lebanese nationals Munir Shma'a and Joe Salameh were abducted as they were leaving their home in Bliss, West Beirut.⁶⁰²
- December 17, 1985: Fifteen Syrian civilians who had been detained were released in Ain al-Tuffaheh, in the northern Metn. That same day, the head of the Teacher's Syndicate and two other teachers from the Lycée Abdelkader were abducted between West and East Beirut.⁶⁰³
- December 18, 1985: The Jewish Higher Council issued a statement confirming that seven Lebanese Jews, including the council's president, were abducted in places around Beirut in March and in May 1985. Two of their bodies were found in December 1985.⁶⁰⁴
- January 17, 1986: Three employees from the Spanish embassy were abducted in Beirut and released on February 19, 1986.⁶⁰⁵
- January 31, 1986: In Ramlet al-Bayda, West Beirut, the second secretary at the South Korean

592 Annahar, 08/04/1985.

593 Annahar, 08/21/1985.

594 Annahar, 08/15/1986.

595 Annahar, 09/14/1986.

596 Annahar, 01/03/1990.

597 Los Angeles Times, 08/10/1985; New York Times, 10/10/1985 (<http://www.nytimes.com/1985/10/10/world/around-the-world-two-kidnapped-britons-are-freed-in-lebanon.html>)

598 Annahar, 10/01/1986.

599 Annahar, 10/03/1986.

600 Annahar, 10/31/1985.

601 Annahar, 10/05/1985.

602 Annahar, 12/09/1985.

603 Annahar, 12/18/1985.

604 Annahar, 12/19/1985 and 01/01/1986.

605 Annahar, 02/20/1986.

- embassy, Do Chaie Sung, was abducted.⁶⁰⁶ He was held in captivity for more than a year.
- February 15, 1986: Yehuda Benesti, a Lebanese Jew, and his two sons were abducted. He and one son were executed. The Organization of the Oppressed on Earth claimed responsibility.⁶⁰⁷
 - February 16, 1986: In Nabatieh 16 civilians, including doctors and nurses who had been abducted in previous days, were released.⁶⁰⁸
 - April 9, 1986: French national Michel Brillant, a teacher at the Collège Protestant, was abducted in Hamra, West Beirut. He was released four days later in the Beqaa and then transported to Damascus.⁶⁰⁹
 - March 22–April 9, 1986: Ten French nationals had been abducted and 21 foreigners in total.⁶¹⁰
 - April 11, 1986: Irish national Brian Keenan, an English teacher at AUB, was abducted in Beirut. He was released four years later on August 24, 1990.⁶¹¹
 - September 12, 1986: AUB employee Joseph James Cicippio was abducted in Beirut, and another American, Herbert Reed, was also abducted.⁶¹² Reed was released at the end of April 1990⁶¹³ and Cicippio in December 1991.⁶¹⁴
 - January 5, 1987: In Hamra, West Beirut, the director of Dar al-Handassah, Saba Abdo, was abducted.⁶¹⁵
 - January 13, 1987: French reporter Roger Auque was abducted in West Beirut.⁶¹⁶ He was released on November 27, 1987, close to the Summerland Hotel in Beirut.⁶¹⁷
 - January 17 and January 21, 1987: Two West Germans, Alfred Schmidt and Rudolph Cordes, were abducted in West Beirut.⁶¹⁸ Schmidt was released in September 1987 and Cordes in September 1988.
 - January 20, 1987: U.K. national Terry Waite, who had come to mediate the hostage crisis, was abducted in the Beqaa.⁶¹⁹ He was released in November 1991.
 - June 17, 1987: American journalist Charles Glass was abducted in West Beirut. He was with the son of the Lebanese minister of Defense, Adel Osseiran, and his bodyguard, both of whom were also taken. The latter two were released one week later. Glass escaped 62 days later.⁶²⁰
 - July 16, 1987: Two employees of the Middle East Airlines (MEA), Elias Moukheiber and Wadih al Hajj, were abducted at the Museum crossing in Beirut. They were released on June 6, 1988.⁶²¹

606 Annahar, 02/01/1986.

607 Le Mandat Amine Gemayel, 221.

608 Annahar, 02/10/1986.

609 Annahar, 04/13/1986.

610 Annahar, 04/10/1986.

611 BBC News, "Irish hostage released in Lebanon," 08/24/1990, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/24/newsid_2511000/2511857.stm.

612 Annahar, 09/14/1986.

613 Annahar, 05/03/1990.

614 Los Angeles Times, 12/03/1991.

615 Annahar, 01/07/1987.

616 Annahar, 01/14/1987.

617 Annahar, 11/28/1987.

618 Annahar, 01/18/1987 and 01/22/1987.

619 As-Safir, 02/04/1987.

620 ABC news, "ABCNEWS' Charles Glass," <http://abcnews.go.com/WNT/story?id=129780&page=1#.UCQnvUogdrM>.

621 Annahar, 06/07/1988.

- January 27, 1988: West German Ralph Schray was abducted in West Beirut. He was released in Damascus on March 3, 1988 and handed over to the West German embassy there.⁶²²
- February 5, 1988: Two UNRWA employees, Norwegian William Jorgensen, and Swede Jan Stening, were abducted on the road between Sour and Saida.⁶²³ They were released on March 1, 1988, in West Beirut.⁶²⁴
- April 24, 1988: Monseignor Albert Khreish was abducted from his home in Ghadir, in Kesrwan. His car was found five days later on the road between B'abdat and Brumana in the Northern Metn. His body was found in the woods on May 1; the forensic doctor said Khreish was killed by 15 bullets, 13 of which were six millimeter and two 9 millimeter.⁶²⁵
- May 21, 1988: Jan Cools, a Belgian doctor working with the Norwegian Aid Committee, was abducted at the Rashidiyyeh camp in South Lebanon. He was released on June 16, 1989.⁶²⁶
- November 17, 1988: Peter Winkler, head of the ICRC mission in Saida, was abducted. One week later, the ICRC had evacuated its staff from offices there and moved them to West Beirut. Winkler was released on December 16, 1988. On December 20, the ICRC announced that it was ceasing operations in Lebanon and withdrawing its representatives who had received death threats.⁶²⁷

3.7 Arbitrary Detentions and Torture

Besides the abductions, civilians and captives were also victims of arbitrary detention and torture in detention centers and state prisons, some ending with summary executions, while the fate of others remains unclear. A number of captives were released in 1985.

- April 3, 1985: Israel released 752 prisoners detained at the Ansar Prison, a detention center set up three years earlier north of the Litani River in South Lebanon. It transported 1,131 other detainees to prisons inside Israel. This release marked the permanent closing of the prison in Lebanon.⁶²⁸
- August 28, 1985: Israel released 113 Lebanese and Palestinians it had been detaining in Haifa, Israel. They were transported by bus to Saida and Sour.⁶²⁹
- October 28, 1985: The Syrian Army released 31 Lebanese prisoners from among tens of detainees. Some of them had been detained for more than four years.⁶³⁰

The following section represents a sample of cases of torture or summary execution.

- January 11, 1985: Jamal Sharara was abducted from his home and detained in the SLA's "Center 17" in Bint Jbeil, South Lebanon, and then in the Khiyam Detention Center (KDC), without charge or trial. He was tortured, including by electric shock, and dragged behind a moving car. He was released on May 1, 1996.⁶³¹
- November 1, 1985: Ali Khashish was arrested and detained until July 1996 without charge or trial.

622 Annahar, 01/28/1988 and 03/04/1988

623 Annahar 02/06/1988.

624 Los Angeles Times, "U.N. Workers Freed in Lebanon," http://articles.latimes.com/1988-03-01/news/mn-354_1_relief-workers.

625 Annahar, 05/03/1988.

626 Los Angeles Times, "Belgian Hostage Freed by S. Lebanon Captors," http://articles.latimes.com/1989-06-16/news/mn-1981_1_abu-nidal-cools-fatah-revolutionary-council.

627 HRW, *The Persecution of Human Rights Monitor December 1988 to December 1989*, 184.

628 Annahar, 04/04/1985.

629 Annahar, 08/29/1985.

630 Hurub al-Aliha, 279.

631 Al, *Israel/South Lebanon: The Khiyam Detainees: Torture and Ill-Treatment*, MDE 15/018/1997, 13.

- He was severely tortured during detention and said Israeli soldiers took part in the interrogations until 1987.⁶³²
- Mid-January 1986: Samir Geagea led an insurrection within the LF against Elie Hobeika's followers. By February, Hobeika's men were arrested in their houses and detained by Geagea loyalists; most of the detainees were summarily executed.⁶³³
 - September 1986: Hobeika and his men tried to return to East Beirut, and, following a battle, he ordered his men to surrender. According to one of the militia member's testimony, Geagea's men then proceeded to round up Hobeika's men, sometimes killing them on the spot or tying them to a car and dragging them in Ashrafieh, East Beirut. Some were tied to rocks and thrown into the sea.⁶³⁴
 - March 4, 1986: A 36-year-old man detained in Khiyam died after torture and ill-treatment.⁶³⁵ There are reports of several cases of death subsequent to torture in Khiyam.
 - May 1986: A man from Shaqra died in custody in South Lebanon, in Center 17.⁶³⁶
 - 1986–1987: Eleven Lebanese were captured in Lebanon, transferred to and tried in Israel. Most of them were tortured. By 1997, they were still detained in Israeli prisons after their sentences had expired. They were arrested in the towns of Tibnine, Mays al-Jabal, 'Ayta al-Sha'b, and Majdal Salm, all in Israeli-occupied South Lebanon.⁶³⁷
 - June 20, 1987: A South Lebanese man in his 50s from Hula was arrested because he refused to collaborate with Israeli forces. He died as a result of torture and ill-treatment in detention in Khiyam in early July.⁶³⁸
 - November 1987: One hundred and twenty detainees from Khiyam went on a three-day hunger strike. After a forced-feeding attempt, they were taken to the yard, beaten, and soaked with water.⁶³⁹
 - November 16, 1987: Two Lebanese were arrested at a LF checkpoint in Beirut; they were detained in the suburbs of Adonis and allegedly tortured. Their family and the ICRC were allowed to visit only after several months. They were transferred to Israel secretly in 1990, and their place of detention was revealed two years later. In 1997 they were still in detention, with no family access, and without charge or trial.⁶⁴⁰
 - November 7, 1988: Souha Bechara was arrested and detained without charge or trial until 1998 at Khiyam for attempting to kill SLA leader Antoine Lahd. Her family was allowed to visit her for the first time in 1995.⁶⁴¹ She was released on September 3, 1998. Out of the 10 years she spent there, 6 were spent in solitary confinement. She reports that she and other women detainees were tortured, which included beatings, threats, rape, electrical shocks, and sexual harassment by other women prisoners.⁶⁴²

632 Al, Israel/South Lebanon: Israel's Forgotten Hostages: Lebanese Detainees in Israeli and Khiyam Detention Center, 13.

633 As-Safir, 02/02/1986 citing Reuters; Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 430; also see Sneifer's testimony about this episode in J'ai Déposé les Armes.

634 J'ai Déposé les Armes, 175-176.

635 Israel/South Lebanon: The Khiyam Detainees: Torture and Ill-Treatment, 29.

636 Ibid., 29.

637 Israel/South Lebanon: Israel's Forgotten Hostages: Lebanese Detainees in Israeli and Khiyam Detention Center, 5-9.

638 Israel/South Lebanon: The Khiyam Detainees: Torture and Ill-Treatment, 29.

639 Ibid., 36.

640 Israel/South Lebanon: Israel's Forgotten Hostages: Lebanese Detainees in Israeli and Khiyam Detention Center, 8-10.

641 Ibid., 14.

642 Beshara, Resistance: My Life for Lebanon.

4. The End of the War: January 1989– October 1990

In September 1988, President Amine Gemayel's term expired. Because Parliament could not agree on a successor, he appointed Michel Aoun, the Army commander in chief, as prime minister for a provisional military council. In West Beirut however, Salim Hoss, who had replaced Karami after he was assassinated, still headed a civilian cabinet. Hoss and many Muslims considered Gemayel's decision to be a breach of the constitution and a violation of the National Pact, which stated that the prime minister was supposed to be Sunni, and a breach of the Constitution. In contrast, the majority of Christian Lebanese as well as some Muslims supported Aoun, viewing him as a man who was confronting the Syrian Army and seeking to put an end to the militias' rule. Lebanon was thus divided between a Christian military government in East Beirut and a civilian government in West Beirut.

During 1989, an Arab League committee had started working on a national reconciliation plan to end the war. The Lebanese MPs⁶⁴³ agreed to it in October 1989, in Ta'if, Saudi Arabia, and Parliament ratified it on November 4, 1989. The National Reconciliation Accord, better known as the Ta'if Agreement, was largely based on reforms that had been put forth before in 1976, 1983, and 1985, redrawing the sectarian-based political structure. But it also called for the dissolution of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias. Moreover, Syrian forces in Lebanon were to "assist Lebanon to spread [its] sovereignty over the whole country" during a period of no more than two years; Lebanese and Syrian governments would agree on the redeployment of the Syrian Army to the Beqaa.⁶⁴⁴

Three days after Parliament ratified the agreement, Aoun refused to acknowledge it. Presidential candidate René Moawad was elected. Aoun, with Iraqi backing, had already announced a War of Liberation against Syria, which lasted from March 14, 1989, to September 23, 1989. He also embarked on a war against the militias, seeking to restore the rule of law by abolishing the illicit sources of trade, including the ports controlled by the LF and the PSP. This brought him into an open confrontation with the LF in what became a primarily inter-Christian war; it lasted throughout the first half of 1990 and was marked by very heavy civilian casualties. While this was ongoing, Amal and Hezbollah were locked in an internecine fight over Shi'a control of West and South Beirut and South Lebanon. Finally, in October 1990, following an assault by the Syrian Army against the Christian-held enclave, the war in Lebanon came to a close.

643 The last parliamentary elections had taken place in 1972.

644 The full text can be accessed <http://www.lp.gov.lb/SecondaryAr.aspx?id=13>, and an English translation on: <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cahier/proche-orient/region-liban-taef-en>,

4.1 The War of Liberation

When Aoun announced a War of Liberation on March 14, 1989, the vast majority of the Christian population lived in East Beirut and the northeastern suburbs of Greater Beirut. These areas were surrounded by Syrian troops, which were based in West Beirut, Mount Lebanon, the southern suburbs of Beirut, and the Northern Metn.⁶⁴⁵ Aoun's declaration of war, which was followed by an official letter on March 27 calling for the withdrawal of Syrian troops,⁶⁴⁶ resulted in a Syrian siege of this enclave, with daily, massive bombardments. The Lebanese Army, under Aoun's command, carried out heavy artillery shelling of residential areas controlled by the Syrian Army, including densely populated West Beirut.

Many civilians were killed by the bombings as well as from a lack of medicine and health care in East Beirut.

- February 15, 1989: Five civilians were killed in Ain al-Remmaneh, by a Grad missile fired by the Syrian Army.⁶⁴⁷ The fighting that day resulted in 40 people killed and 165 wounded.⁶⁴⁸
- March 14–15, 1989: Two days of particularly heavy fighting occurred as the Lebanese Army, under Aoun's command, shelled residential areas in West Beirut, and the Syrian Army shelled residential areas in East Beirut. Around 32 civilians were killed in total and 145 wounded.⁶⁴⁹
- March 20, 1989: Both sides shelled the areas of Kesrwan, the Beqaa, 'Aley, Metn, Shuf, and the Beirut airport leaving at least 6 people dead and 21 injured. By March 31, at least 101 people were killed and 474 wounded during the 17 days of shelling over the areas of Beirut, Metn, Aley, and Kesrwan.⁶⁵⁰
- The Syrian Army continued shelling throughout April 1989, hitting residential areas in Beirut and its southern suburbs, Metn, Kesrwan, Aley, Jbayl, the Beqaa, and Batroun. There were civilian casualties every day; on April 16, 23 people were killed, including the ambassador of Spain and his father-in-law, renowned novelist Toufic Youssef Aouad.⁶⁵¹
- June–July, 1989: Daily bombardment of residential areas covered Beirut, Kesrwan, Metn, Monteverde, Mkalles, Mansurieh, and North Lebanon (Koura, Batroun and Jbeil) killing and wounding scores of civilians. Notably, on June 29, two bombs hit the Barbir Hospital in West Beirut.⁶⁵²
- August 10, 1989: Forty percent of the population of West Beirut and its suburbs had fled from the area, while scores had fled from East Beirut toward the mountains.⁶⁵³
- August 9–11, 1989: The Syrian Army dropped 20,000 bombs over East Beirut.⁶⁵⁴
- March–September 1989: The bombardments between the Lebanese and Syrian armies left around 850 dead and another 3,000 wounded, most of whom were civilians.⁶⁵⁵ Around 500,000 people from all religious affiliations left Greater Beirut, and went toward South Lebanon, the Beqaa, and North Lebanon.⁶⁵⁶

645 Al Jazeera, Harb Lubnan, episode 14.

646 Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 283.

647 Annahar, 03/15/1989 and 03/17/1989.

648 L'Orient-le jour, 02/16/1989.

649 L'Orient-le jour, 03/16/1989.

650 Annahar, 03/31/1989.

651 Annahar, 04/17/1989.

652 Annahar 06/30/1989.

653 Faces of Lebanon, 258.

654 Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 472.

655 Faces of Lebanon, 252 ; Annahar 09/04/1989.

656 Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 53.

4.2 Inter-Shi'a War

Following the War of the Camps, an inter-sectarian war broke out between Amal and Hezbollah, which had supported the Palestinians as both struggled for power over West Beirut and South Lebanon. This period saw several ceasefires brokered by Iran and Syria, but none held very long. The clashes took place in Beirut's southern suburbs, in the Beqaa, Iqlim al-Tuffah, and between Jezzine and Nabatieh, among other places. The war lasted until November 1990, when Syria brokered a final truce that gave Hezbollah taking control over Beirut and Amal of South Lebanon. Following their truce, both sides exchanged prisoners. Until 1990, this war had killed around 3,000 people, both civilians and combatants.⁶⁵⁷

- April 5, 1988: Clashes in the areas of Nabatieh and Zawter, South Lebanon, took place. On the third day, a ceasefire was announced after the fighting had extended to Sour and Ghazieh. Most casualties were fighters, with some civilian casualties.⁶⁵⁸
- May 6, 1988: The fighting resumed, this time in the southern suburbs of Beirut; in the first two days, 53 people were killed and at least 200 were wounded. In the following days, at least 23 more people were killed and 137 wounded.⁶⁵⁹
- November 25–27, 1988: Clashes in West Beirut and the southern suburbs (Burj Abi-Haidar, Noueiri, Basta, Khandaq al-Ghamiq, Wadi Abu Jamil, and other areas) left 30 people dead and 85 wounded.⁶⁶⁰
- January 1989: Fighting concentrated in Beirut's southern suburbs reached Iqlim al-Tuffah. On February 1, Reuters' monthly report said the death toll was the highest ever recorded in one month's time, with 660 people killed, 500 of whom victims of the Amal-Hezbollah war. While this figure did not specify the number of civilians, on February 8, Amal announced that 25 of its fighters had been killed, and Hezbollah announced that 30 fighters were killed.⁶⁶¹
- During December 1989, the fighting saw at least 10 people killed and tens wounded in West Beirut and Iqlim al-Tuffah; it was not clear how many were fighters and civilians. On December 23, 30 people were killed and 100 wounded,⁶⁶² and on December 26, 50 people were killed and 175 injured in those areas.⁶⁶³
- March 13, 1990: Clashes between Amal and Hezbollah in the southern suburbs of Beirut resulted in 4 deaths and 33 wounded.⁶⁶⁴
- April 18, 1990: Fighting in West Beirut and the southern suburbs left 9 people dead and 34 wounded.⁶⁶⁵
- September 1, 1990: Fighting between the two militias spread to the town of Baalbeck, in the Beqaa. Fifteen people were killed that day and dozens were injured.⁶⁶⁶

4.3 Inter-Christian War

The conflict between the LF and the Lebanese Army under Aoun's command, grounded in economic, political and ideological factors that had been simmering since 1989. It was put on hold

657 Sinno, *Harb Lubnan*, 417.

658 *Annahar*, 04/08/1988.

659 *L'Orient-le Jour*, 05/08/1988.

660 *Annahar*, 11/28/1988.

661 *Annahar*, 02/02/1989.

662 *L'Orient-le Jour*, 12/24/1989.

663 *Annahar*, 12/27/1989.

664 Khashan, 'Amud el-Meleh, 240.

665 *Ibid.*

666 *Ibid.*, 241.

during the War of Liberation, and then turned into an open confrontation when Aoun announced a mandatory “uniting of weapons” on January 30, 1990. A month before, Samir Geagea voiced his consent to the Ta'if Agreement. So in January the Lebanese Army sought to evacuate a school in Furn al-Chebbak East Beirut, where the LF had taken up a position. This marked the outbreak of one of the fiercest intersectarian conflicts since 1975; around 1,000 people were killed, 3,000 wounded, and 200,000 temporarily displaced.⁶⁶⁷ A truce was reached in May 1990. In February 1989, and again in August 1989, short-lived clashes had taken place between the two groups, before the full resurgence 11 months later.

- February 16, 1989: Reuters reported that after three days of fighting in East Beirut, 56 people had been killed and 110 wounded; Agence France Press (AFP) reported 76 people killed, including 13 civilians, and 200 wounded.⁶⁶⁸ These three days of clashes between the LF and the Lebanese Army marked an open rift in the eastern Christian area that would develop into a full-fledged war.
- February 1989: The war was particularly fierce, namely in the battle of Ain al-Remmaneh,⁶⁶⁹ when scores of civilians were blown up by mines that were put on the new demarcation line in East Beirut.
- August 1989: Five days of particularly intense fighting extended to Beirut, its suburbs, Metn, the Mountain, Kesrwan, Jbeil, and the Beqaa. This left 103 people dead and more than 550 wounded.⁶⁷⁰
- January 27–May, 1990: Both sides pounded the Christian enclave daily. The LF took over army positions in Jounieh, Kesrouan, and the coastline until Beirut, as well as Ashrafieh in Beirut, and the army positioned itself in Metn and the eastern suburbs of Beirut. In the first 18 days, 615 people died, and more than 2,000 were wounded, half of them civilians.⁶⁷¹
- April 18, 1990: A school bus driving through the museum area in Beirut was hit by snipers positioned in Ashrafieh, an area under the LF's control. Eleven teachers and students burned to death.⁶⁷²
- October 1, 1990: The LF opened fire on a pro-Aoun demonstration in Nahr al-Mot. Between 13 and 25 people were killed, and between 36 and 82 were wounded.⁶⁷³

It was estimated that the civilian toll of the War of Liberation and the LF-Army war amounted to 4,300 civilians killed and 7,000 wounded; furthermore, some 5,000 homes were destroyed, and 2,200 others were damaged. Ten hospitals were destroyed, as well as 120 schools and charity organizations, and 620 factories.⁶⁷⁴

4.4 Syrian Assault

On the morning of October 13, 1990, Syria launched a full-fledged land and air assault that would ultimately defeat Aoun's army. During the assault, numerous Lebanese soldiers and civilian supporters of Aoun were arrested, detained, and some were summarily executed.

- October 13–14, 1990: In Baabda, Mount Lebanon, at least 30 soldiers taken prisoner were reportedly executed following their capture by Syrian troops. Amnesty International (AI) reports “Young men . . . partially stripped . . . hands tied behind their backs . . . shot in the head at close range.”⁶⁷⁵

667 Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 53; Hathihi shahadati, 293.

668 Annahar, 02/18/1989.

669 During which the army took control of the area from the LF.

670 L'Orient le-Jour, 08/17/1989.

671 Faces of Lebanon, 270.

672 Le Mémorial de la Guerre, 291.

673 Al Jazeera, Harb Lubnan, episode 15; Annahar, 10/02/1990.

674 Sinno, Harb Lubnan, 483.

675 AI, Extrajudicial Executions, Lebanon: Over 30 people captured and executed by Syrian forces, 1.

- Another source mentions a hospital receiving the bodies of 73 Lebanese Army soldiers, all executed at close range with a bullet in the lower right side of the skull.⁶⁷⁶
- October 1990: In several towns in Mount Lebanon, extrajudicial execution of both soldiers and civilian supporters of Aoun were carried out by Syrian troops.⁶⁷⁷
 - 14 civilian men in Bsous
 - 19 civilians including three women in Hadath
 - Two priests in Deir al-Kalaa abducted then disappeared
- October 1990: Two hundred Christian supporters of Aoun were arrested by Syrian forces, and most of them were transferred to Syria or to Anjar in the Beqaa. Twenty-four were released shortly thereafter.⁶⁷⁸
- October 13–14, 1990: In Mount Lebanon, in the towns of Baabda, Dahr al-Wahsh, Bsous, Houmal, and Beit Mery, 240 prisoners, including civilians, were executed by Syrian forces and the pro-Damascus Christian militia headed by Elie Hobeika during and after the Syrian military assault on Aoun's forces.⁶⁷⁹
- October 1990: In Baabda, 14 high-ranking officers loyal to Aoun were abducted. One was released and handed over to the Lebanese authorities. The other 13 were detained in various Syrian prisons.⁶⁸⁰
- It is reported that in 1990, more than 2,000 of the 7,500 political prisoners detained in Syria were transferred through Syrian detention centers located in Lebanon. Those held in Syria were detained at the Mezze military, Adra, Sednaya, Kfar Soussa, and the military interrogation branch's prisons in Syria.⁶⁸¹

In South Lebanon

During these two years, the protracted war in South Lebanon—mainly between Hezbollah and Israel together with the SLA—continued. Israel conducted several air raids in the south but also in the Beqaa.

- February 28, 1989: An Israeli air raid in the village of Aynab in the southeastern suburbs of Beirut targeted a position controlled by the DFLP and an adjacent plot belonging to the Aynab high school. Two were killed and 27 injured, including two students and a teacher.⁶⁸²
- December 4, 1989: Israeli and SLA shelling of Nabatieh, Kfar Rumman, and other villages and towns killed four people and left several dozens injured.⁶⁸³
- March 20, 1989: An Israeli air raid in the Beqaa, in Zahleh, against positions controlled by the PFLP killed 15 people and injured 30.⁶⁸⁴
- May 18, 1989: The SLA bombed Saida, killing four people and injuring six, acting on its threat to bomb if the occupied zone was not supplied with flour.⁶⁸⁵

676 Faces of Lebanon, 277.

677 Ibid.; AI, Extrajudicial Executions: Lebanon: Further killings and arrests by Syrian forces, 1; AI, The Wire, 6

678 AI, Extrajudicial Executions, 1.

679 Syria and Syrian-controlled Lebanon, 6-7.

680 Ibid., 7.

681 Ibid., 1.

682 Annahar, 03/01/1989.

683 L'Orient-le Jour, 12/05/1989.

684 Annahar, 03/20/1989.

685 Annahar, 05/19/1989.

4.5 Targeted Assassinations and Car Bombs

Reflecting the continuing state of chaos, war, and political struggles, car bombs and targeted assassinations continued throughout this period. The Lebanese, Syrian, and Israeli armies, as well as militias, were arresting people arbitrarily based on their political or family affiliations. In some cases, these arrests were either followed by summary executions or enforced disappearances. Many cases of torture also were reported.

- January 13, 1989: A car bomb in Rweiss in Beirut's southern suburbs killed 1 civilian and injured 20.⁶⁸⁶
- January 29, 1989: A car bomb in the Beqaa killed 1 civilian and wounded 25.⁶⁸⁷
- January 30, 1989: A car bomb in Furn al-Chebbak, East Beirut killed 2 civilians and at wounded least 18.⁶⁸⁸
- February 9, 1989: Anwar al-Fatayri, a senior member of the PSP, and his driver were assassinated in Deir al-Qamar in Mount Lebanon.⁶⁸⁹
- March 7, 1989: A car bomb in Hamra, West Beirut, killed 2 civilians and injured 21.⁶⁹⁰
- March 17, 1989: A car bomb in Jal al-Dib, in Beirut's northern suburbs, killed 13 people and injured 119.⁶⁹¹
- May 16, 1989: A car bomb (136 kilograms of TNT) exploded as the convoy of the Sunni Grand Mufti of the Republic of Lebanon, Sheikh Hassan Khaled, was passing through West Beirut, killing him and 9 other people, and wounded 76.⁶⁹²
- May 1989: Sheikh Subhi al-Saleh, a Muslim scholar, was assassinated.⁶⁹³
- June 9, 1989: A car bomb in Raouche, West Beirut killed four and injured six.⁶⁹⁴
- July 18, 1989: An explosion in the church of Sabtieh, in Beirut's eastern suburbs, killed one person and injured four people.⁶⁹⁵
- September 5, 1989: Eighty kilograms of explosives killed two people and wounded seven in Mkalles, in the eastern suburb of Beirut.⁶⁹⁶
- September 22, 1989: MP Nazem el-Qadri and his bodyguard were shot and killed by unknown assailants in Verdun, West Beirut.⁶⁹⁷
- November 22, 1989: On Independence Day, an explosion killed President-elect René Mouawad and tens of others as his convoy traveled through West Beirut.⁶⁹⁸

686 Annahar, 01/14/1989.

687 Annahar, 01/30/1989.

688 Annahar, 01/30/1989.

689 La Guerre et la Mémoire, 52.

690 Annahar, 03/08/1989.

691 Annahar, 03/18/1989.

692 Annahar, 05/17/1989.

693 Syria and Syrian-controlled Lebanon, 10.

694 Annahar, 06/10/1989.

695 Annahar, 07/19/1989.

696 Annahar, 09/06/1989.

697 Annahar, 09/22/1989.

698 Annahar, 11/23/1989.

- January 19, 1990: Elias Zayek, leader of the Kataeb, was shot and killed in Jbeil.⁶⁹⁹
- October 21, 1990: In Mount Lebanon in Baabda, Dany Chamoun (the son of former president Camille Chamoun and head of the PNL), his wife, and his two sons were killed in their house by unidentified gunmen wearing military fatigues.⁷⁰⁰

4.6 Abductions, Arbitrary Detentions, and Summary Executions

- 1989: In Tripoli, Beirut, and the Beqaa, hundreds of people were arrested and brutally interrogated by the Syrian military intelligence at the Madrasat al-Amirkan, al-Mafraza, and Anjar detention centers. Some of the most senior prisoners were taken to Damascus for further interrogation and imprisoned there.⁷⁰¹
- July 28, 1989: Abdel Karim Obeid, a Shi'a sheikh from Jibchit, South Lebanon, who was close to Hezbollah, was taken prisoner in South Lebanon by an Israeli commando. He was detained in Israel for 12 years, without charge or trial.⁷⁰²
- During its war with the Lebanese Army, the LF took hundreds of prisoners, including civilians.⁷⁰³
- According to witnesses' accounts, both the LF and the Lebanese Army arbitrarily arrested civilians.⁷⁰⁴
- Survivors and medical staff attested to summary executions of prisoners that the LF conducted with guns and axes.⁷⁰⁵

4.7 1975–1990 in Numbers

This chapter marked the end of the succession of wars that had erupted in 1975 and opened a new era during which Lebanon, in its Second Republic (as of September 21, 1990), came under Syria's security, political, and economic control. Thirty thousand troops were stationed in the country, and intelligence services operated there also. Israel and its proxy militia, the SLA, continued to control South Lebanon.

In March 1992 the Lebanese government issued a report estimating the total number of war casualties, as follows: 144,240 killed; 197,506 wounded, including 13,455 with permanent disabilities; 17,415 missing, among whom 13,968 were "kidnapped and presumed dead."⁷⁰⁶

Subsequent work carried out by Labaki and Abou Rjeily, based on sources by the Lebanese Red Cross, various parties and militias, Reuter's monthly reports, other media outlets, and the Lebanese Army and security forces concluded that 71,328 people were killed, 90 percent of them civilians (2.7 percent of the population); 97,144 were wounded, 86.1 percent of whom were civilians (4 percent of the population); 9,627 were disabled permanently (0.36 percent of the population); and 19,860 disappeared (0.75 percent of the population).⁷⁰⁷ They further estimated that more than 800,000 Lebanese were displaced (30 percent of the population) permanently or not,⁷⁰⁸ and more than a third of the population permanently left the country (894,717 people).⁷⁰⁹ Moreover, 156 public schools and 272 private schools were destroyed during the war.⁷¹⁰

699 As-Safir, 01/20/1990.

700 As-Safir, 10/22/1990.

701 HRW, World Report 1989/Syria, 4.

702 AI, Israeli/Lebanon: Amnesty International Calls for the Release of all Hostages, 1.

703 AI, Summary of Amnesty International's Concerns During 1990 in Countries Involves in the Gulf Conflict.

704 Union des Jeunes Européens, Livre Blanc du Conflit Armée Libanaise-Forces Libanaises 31 janvier 1990, 31.

705 Ibid., 45-46.

706 HRW, World Report 1993/Lebanon, 1.

707 Bilan des Guerres du Liban, 211.

708 Ibid., 20.

709 Ibid., 212.

710 Franck Mermier and Christophe Varin (eds.), Mémoires de guerres au Liban (1975-1990), 344 and 349.

But while a semblance of normalcy returned and reconstruction efforts (mostly concentrated in Beirut) were launched, serious violations continued to take place, with sporadic resurgence of armed conflicts that would continue to mar the country.

5. Foreign Presence and Withdrawals: January 1991–December 2005

Lebanon emerged from war a shattered country, with its economy, infrastructure, education system, and state institutions gutted, and its people broken. The newly adopted Ta'if Agreement did not much to resolve deep-seated political problems. Lebanon's sovereignty over its territory was deeply curtailed, with Israel and its proxy militia controlling South Lebanon, and Syria, with 30,000 troops and an undetermined number of security services, controlling much of the rest.

A new government was formed, which included former warlords such as Walid Jumblatt (head of the PSP), Nabih Berri⁷¹¹ (head of Amal), and members of government from the LF, the Marada, and others. In March 1991 a ministerial declaration called on all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias to disarm, with the exception of Hezbollah⁷¹² (and de facto the SLA since the government had no control over South Lebanon). Parliament issued an amnesty law on August 26, 1991, absolving all politically motivated crimes perpetrated before March 28, 1991, with the exception of assassinations of political and religious leaders and diplomats. A number of militia members were reinstated into state institutions.

Despite this apparent return to some form of normalcy, the 15 years that ensued were marked by fresh rounds of violence, most notably by the ongoing conflict in South Lebanon, punctuated by two Israeli attacks in 1993 and 1996. Human rights violations continued as scores of Lebanese and Palestinians were arrested or abducted by Syrian forces operating in Lebanon or by Lebanese military agencies, and they were reportedly transferred to Syria. The use of torture against political detainees was common in Syrian detention centers in Lebanon as well as in Lebanese prisons. As for the Israeli forces in South Lebanon, they or the SLA continued to abduct and arbitrarily arrest or detain people and torture them in their detention centers.⁷¹³ Moreover, targeted assassinations and car bombs continued during the post-war years, with a marked increase in 2004 and 2005.

Israeli forces withdrew in May 2000, and the SLA disintegrated. Syrian forces left in April 2005. These major events marked a new chapter in Lebanon's contemporary history.

5.1 Israel in Lebanon: Continuing Armed Conflict

As the Lebanese Army started deploying north of the Awali River and collecting weapons from Palestinian militias as part of the wider demilitarization effort, it was caught in a short-lived armed confrontation with Palestinian armed groups based in the Palestinian camps of Ain al-Hilweh and Mieh w Mieh, most notably in July 1991. The PLO ended up handing over its weapons to the army.

⁷¹¹ In October 1992, he became Speaker of Parliament.

⁷¹² As per a Syrian-Iranian agreement concluded in April 1991.

⁷¹³ Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme (FIDH) and Support for Lebanese Detained Arbitrarily (SOLIDA), *L'attente continue pour les familles de détenus et de disparus*, 3.

Although large-scale armed conflicts had ended in the rest of the country, the civilian population in South Lebanon continued to bear the consequences of the conflict between Hezbollah and Israel/the SLA.

- June 3, 1991: An Israeli air raid on Palestinian positions in eastern Saida killed three people and injured nine.⁷¹⁴
- June 4, 1991: Another Israeli raid in the same area killed 10 people and injured 50, in the harshest attack since June 1982.⁷¹⁵
- June 28, 1991: Reciprocal shelling between Hezbollah and the SLA and the Israeli army at the Kfarfalous front in South Lebanon extended to Saida and its suburbs, killing 2 and injuring 12.⁷¹⁶

Seven-Day War or Operation Accountability

On July 25, 1993, Israel conducted an artillery and air attack over South Lebanon, known as Operation Accountability. Its aim was retribution against Hezbollah, which was launching rockets against Israeli and SLA positions in South Lebanon. The Israeli Army carried out what appeared to be calculated direct attacks on purely civilian targets:

- An attack was carried out in Saida's vegetable market, without any prior warning. At least two people were killed and six injured.⁷¹⁷
- Between three and five ambulances were hit over the seven-day period. Medical and relief personnel were transporting victims in the vehicles.⁷¹⁸
- Israel and Hezbollah used weapons that caused disproportionate civilian casualties.⁷¹⁹
- Israel may have used flechette shells and phosphorus in populated areas of southern Lebanon.⁷²⁰

Though Israel issued warnings to the residents of South Lebanon to leave their homes, these were "ambiguous and therefore ineffective," one Israeli officer said and gave them too little time to evacuate.⁷²¹

At the end of the Seven-Day War, the estimated toll on civilians was substantial.

- The Israeli attack killed at least 118 Lebanese civilians and wounded 500, with a high number of children and elderly. Also, 55 villages were severely damaged, and 300,000 civilians displaced.⁷²²
- Hezbollah's attacks on areas of under SLA control caused extensive damage and casualties among noncombatants.⁷²³
- Israeli forces cut the water and electricity supply, and destroyed civilian infrastructure, including schools, mosques, churches, cemeteries, roads, and bridges.⁷²⁴

714 'Amud el-Meleh, 243.

715 Ibid.

716 Ibid.

717 HRW, *Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, 6.

718 Ibid.

719 Ibid.

720 Ibid.

721 AI: NWS 11/089/1993, 4.

722 These are the official Lebanese figures as per *Unlawful Killings During Operation "Grapes of Wrath*, 4 and 9; however, to date there are no confirmed figures. For an overview of sources and figures provided, see *Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, 81.

723 HRW, *World Report 1994/Lebanon*, 5.

724 *Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, 5.

Two months later:

- September 13, 1993: Eight civilians—six men and two women—were killed and more than 30 injured during a Hezbollah-organized demonstration in Beirut to protest against the Israel/PLO Declaration of Principles signed in Washington, D.C. Lebanese soldiers shot in the air and then into the crowd.⁷²⁵ On September 12 the Central Security Committee (headed by the minister of the Interior) issued a statement that apparently “reminded citizens of the ban on demonstrations ordered by the Cabinet.”

Continuing clashes between Israel and Hezbollah

Despite an unwritten understanding reached in 1993, that Hezbollah would refrain from firing rockets into Israel, which in turn would not attack civilians or civilian targets in Lebanon, violations targeting civilians continued. Some examples include:

- September 14, 1993: Two civilians were killed in South Lebanon, in retaliatory artillery and mortar attacks between the Israeli Army and the SLA, and Hezbollah.⁷²⁶
- June 2, 1994: In the eastern Beqaa, in the town of Ain Kawkab, during an Israeli attack on what it referred to as Hezbollah's “indoctrination camp,” 35 people the majority of whom were 12- to 18-year-olds, were killed.⁷²⁷
- August 4, 1994: An Israeli jet fired a missile on a residential building located in Deir al-Zahrani, South Lebanon, killing 6 civilians and wounding 11.⁷²⁸
- August 8, 1994: In Deir al-Zahrani, six civilians were killed and 17 injured by an Israeli air strike.⁷²⁹
- September 19, 1994: In Nabatieh al-Fawqa, South Lebanon, four civilians were killed and four wounded by Israeli flechette-filled shells.⁷³⁰
- October 19-20, 1994: Israeli and its proxy militia attacks in Nabatieh killed seven civilians and wounded four⁷³¹ (four of the dead were killed by flechette shells).⁷³²
- March 31, 1995: Following the killing of Hezbollah leader Riad Yassin by an Israeli helicopter attack, artillery exchanges killed four civilians in South Lebanon.⁷³³
- June 22, 1995: One woman was killed by an Israeli shell that fell in the town of Shaqra, South Lebanon.⁷³⁴
- July 8, 1995: Three children were killed and four others were wounded in Nabatieh as a result of Israeli tank-fired flechette shells.⁷³⁵
- October 22, 1995: Israel tanks fired flechette shells into Nabatieh and Kfar Rumman, killing seven civilians and injuring seven others.⁷³⁶
- April 8, 1996: A 14-year-old Lebanese boy was killed and three of his friends wounded by a

725 AI, Killing of Demonstrators/Fear for Safety, 1; HRW, All Demonstrations Banned, 3.

726 Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border, 62.

727 *Ibid.*, 24.

728 HRW, World Report 1995/Lebanon, 3.

729 Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border, 63.

730 *Ibid.*

731 HRW, World Report 1995/Lebanon, 3.

732 Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border, 63.

733 *Ibid.*

734 *Ibid.*

735 *Ibid.*, 64.

736 *Ibid.*, 29.

roadside bomb in the village of Baraachit, South Lebanon, north of the occupied zone.⁷³⁷

April War or Operation Grapes of Wrath

The boy's death on April 8 effectively signaled the end of the understanding that had prevailed since 1993 and set off Israel's second full-fledged attack since the end of the war in 1990.

- This war took place between April 11 and 26, 1996, during which time Israeli military attacks in Lebanon killed 154 civilians and wounded 351 civilians. It caused the displacement of more than 300,000 civilians, according to Lebanese military records.⁷³⁸
- The Israeli army destroyed power stations in Jamhour and Bsalim in Beirut's suburbs, as well as sections of roads and bridges in South Lebanon. For the duration of this war, Israel maintained a steady barrage of artillery, air, and naval fire. Its helicopter and plane attacks reached Beirut, the Beqaa, and South Lebanon. Targets included roads and an electricity station north of Beirut. As of April 13, the Israeli Navy blockaded the ports of Beirut, Saida, and Sour.⁷³⁹

Some of the main events reported include:

- April 13, 1996: In al-Mansouri, a village close to a UNIFIL battalion, an Israeli helicopter fired at an ambulance, killing two women and four girls as they were escaping from their village. The ambulance bore a red crescent. The next day, Israeli forces attacked another ambulance, wounding four passengers.⁷⁴⁰
- April 18, 1996: An Israeli warplane destroyed a two-story house in upper Nabatieh, killing nine civilians, including a mother and her seven children. It was reported that there was no evidence that any Hezbollah fighters were in the house or the two neighboring ones that also were hit.⁷⁴¹
- By far the largest attack during this war took place on April 18, 1996. The Israeli Army bombed the UNIFIL Fijian battalion in Qana, Sour, in South Lebanon, where between 500 and 800 civilians had taken refuge. At least 100 were killed and hundreds wounded, along with four UNIFIL personnel.⁷⁴² The UN commissioned a report that was submitted to the UN Security Council on May 7, 1996. It stated, "While the possibility cannot be ruled out completely, it is unlikely that the shelling of the United Nations compound was the result of gross technical and/or procedural errors."⁷⁴³

The operation ended after a new, written understanding was reached between the warring parties on April 26, 1996, stipulating the same basis as the 1993 understanding; in essence, provisions for the protection of the civilians. But unlike the previous one, this one was put in writing and made public. It also established a monitoring group representing the United States, France, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel to supervise its implementation.⁷⁴⁴

Both parties violated this understanding, however, on several occasions, before Israel withdrew from South Lebanon in May 2000. In Lebanon:

737 AI, *Unlawful Killings During Operation "Grapes of Wrath,"* 4. Hezbollah responded by firing rockets into northern Israel, which injured 6 civilians, including one seriously.

738 HRW, *Israel/Lebanon: "Operation Grapes of Wrath,"* The Civilian Victims, 3.

739 *Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, 10-11.

740 *Unlawful Killings During Operation "Grapes of Wrath,* 14-15; *Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, 10.

741 *Unlawful Killings During Operation "Grapes of Wrath,* 13-14; *Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, 11.

742 *Unlawful Killings During Operation "Grapes of Wrath,* 14-15; *Civilian Pawns, Laws of War Violations and the Use of Weapons on the Israel-Lebanon Border*, 11.

743 U.N. Security Council, Letter dated 7 May 1996 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, 1996 (New York: Official Record S/1996/337), <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/62D5AA740C14293B85256324005179BE>.

744 However, as of July, new low-intensity exchange of fire with civilian casualties was reported, without the monitoring group playing an effective role.

- December 22, 1998: A Lebanese woman and her six children were killed in an Israeli air raid on their home in the Beqaa.⁷⁴⁵
- May 17, 1999: Two Lebanese civilians were killed in Zawtar al-Sharkiyeh, South Lebanon, during an Israeli air raid.⁷⁴⁶
- June 24, 1999: Israeli aircraft targeted civilian infrastructure in 10 raids, namely power stations in Jamhour, Bsalim, Baalbeck, and Bint Jbeil, and a mobile telephone station in Jiyeh, north of Saida. It also destroyed the Awali River bridge close to Saida.⁷⁴⁷ Civilian casualties are listed below:
 - In Jamhour, five firefighters dead and 12 people wounded.
 - In Damour, on the coastal highway, two dead.
 - In Baalbeck, around 30 people wounded.
 - At the Awali bridge, five civilians and two Lebanese soldiers wounded.
- During this period, Lebanese civilians, including children and elderly, continued to be forcibly expelled from the Israeli-occupied territory by the SLA. Several hundred people were victims of this practice, which began in 1985.⁷⁴⁸
- February 8, 2000: An Israeli air raid damaged three major power stations, wounding 15 civilians.⁷⁴⁹
- May 5, 2000: Israeli warplanes destroyed or severely damaged two civilian power stations in Beddawi in North Lebanon and in Bsalim in Beirut's eastern suburbs.⁷⁵⁰

Arbitrary detentions, torture, and enforced disappearances

- May 20, 1994: In the town of Kasarnaba in the Beqaa, Mustafa Dirani, a Shi'a activist, was the victim of an Israeli raid on his house during which he was taken prisoner. It was reported that he was "tortured by beatings and degrading treatment after his arrest and was never charged, tried, or allowed access to the ICRC".⁷⁵¹

The Khiyam Detention Center (KDC) was set up in 1985 in the Israeli-occupied zone and operated directly by the Israeli Army until at least 1987. The SLA was in control then, although Israeli officers reportedly were involved in torture possibly until 1988.⁷⁵²

- 1985–1987: Detainees were tortured physically and starved, as well as deprived of water, electricity, and bathrooms.
- 1994: At least 200 detainees were reportedly held at KDC and tortured during interrogations without access to the ICRC.⁷⁵³

745 HRW, World Report 2000/Lebanon, 328.

746 Ibid.

747 AP, 06/26/1999.

748 HRW, World Report 2000/Lebanon, 328.

749 AP, 02/08/2000.

750 Annahar, 05/06/2000. The Israeli raid also targeted an arms depot in the Beqaa.

751 Israeli/Lebanon: Amnesty International Calls for the Release of all Hostages; Israel/South Lebanon: Israel's Forgotten Hostages: Lebanese Detainees in Israeli and Khiyam Detention Center, 11. In January 2004, in a German-mediated prisoner swap, Dirani along with 22 other Lebanese detainees, about 400 Palestinians, and 12 Israeli-Arab prisoners were released in exchange for the bodies of three Israeli soldiers and Israeli businessman Elchanan Tannenbaum.

752 AI, Stopping the Torture Trade, 3, 45, and 46.

753 AI, Israel and the Occupied Territories, Oral Statement to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on the Israeli Occupied Territories, 2.

- May 23, 2000: After KDC closed, 144 former detainees testified about the torture that took place there. The various forms included beatings, burning with cigarettes, being tied to poles outdoors in harsh weather, electrical shocks, being the subjects of medical experiments at the Marja'yun hospital, and sexual abuse. During that period, 14 detainees died under torture.⁷⁵⁴

Several rounds of exchanges of prisoners and bodies, coordinated by the ICRC, took place between Israel and Hezbollah.

- January 2004: Following German mediation, Israel released 30 Lebanese detainees, including Sheikh Abdul Karim Obeid and Mustafa Dirani, as well as the remains of 59 Lebanese, in exchange for the bodies of three Israeli soldiers who were captured in 2000, and an Israeli businessman, abducted in 2000 in Dubai.⁷⁵⁵
- July 16, 2008: Israel handed over the remains of almost 199 Lebanese and Arab nationals, as well as five Lebanese prisoners. Lebanon has since identified the remains.⁷⁵⁶

Withdrawal of the Israeli Army and Disintegration of the SLA

In May 2000, Israel withdrew its army from South Lebanon, evacuating the first outpost on May 21. Over the following five days, all outposts were deserted, the Israelis withdrew, and thousands of Lebanese SLA officials and members fled to Israel.

During the withdrawal:

- May 22–23, 2000: On the Hula-Mays al-Jabal road in South Lebanon, the Israeli Army fired from the Israeli side of the border at Lebanese civilians, killing four and injuring five. While some of the civilians were armed, they did not attack the troops, nor were there retaliatory attacks from Hezbollah after the incident.⁷⁵⁷

5.2 Syria in Lebanon: Arbitrary Detentions and Enforced Disappearances

In May 1991 Lebanon and Syria signed the Treaty of Brotherhood, Cooperation and Coordination, and four months later, the Defense and Security Agreement, thus in effect setting the stage for what many took to calling the Pax Syriana in the ensuing years. This stage was marked by increasing repression of institutions and people who opposed the status quo, until 2005 when the Syrian Army withdrew. Moreover, the amnesty law was shaped in such a manner that prosecutions were still possible and were indeed practiced against those who were deemed threats to the newly established order. Indeed, those responsible for assassinations of diplomats as well as political and religious leaders were exempted from this law.⁷⁵⁸

It was in this atmosphere that arbitrary arrests, assassinations, and torture, as well as transfers to detentions centers inside Syria were carried out, primarily by Lebanese security agencies and Syrian intelligence services.⁷⁵⁹

754 U.N. Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, 57th Session. Civil and Political Rights, Including the Questions of: Torture and Detention, (New York: Official Record E/CN.4/2001/NGO/132) <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/o/C654564D21F4BoFC85256C790074D33E>.

755 BBC News, 01/29/2004.

756 AI, Never Forgotten: Lebanon's Missing People, 10.

757 AI, Israel/Lebanon: Attacks on Lebanese Civilians in South Lebanon by Israeli Forces, 2; AI: Killing of Lebanese Civilians by Israeli Forces in South Lebanon Must Be Investigated: several witnesses, 1.

758 Lebanese Forces leader Samir Geagea was indicted for a 1994 church bombing, since as the amnesty law only covered crimes prior to March 1991. While he was subsequently cleared for this bombing, he nonetheless lost his amnesty benefits and received multiple life sentences as he was found responsible for ordering four political assassinations including that of PM Rashid Karami in 1987. In 2005, he benefited from another amnesty law passed following the withdrawal of Syrian troops and security apparatuses from the country, which allowed his release and reintegration into the Lebanese political life.

759 HRW, Syria and Syrian-occupied Lebanon, 6.

- 1990: Human Rights Watch (HRW) reported that, “Over 2,000 were in Syrian detention facilities in Lebanon [. . .] Hundreds of other prisoners, including some abducted from Lebanon, were jailed in al-Mezze Military Prison, al-Adra Prison, Saydnaya Prison, Kafr Sussa Detention Center, the Military Interrogation Branch’s prison and other facilities in Syria.”⁷⁶⁰
- July 23–August 8, 1992: Between 50 and 200 men and women, mainly supporters of Aoun, were detained without any arrest warrants and held at the Ministry of Defense, where they were reportedly tortured.⁷⁶¹
- November 22, 1992: Two hundred people believed to be supporters of Aoun were arrested, detained, tortured, and subjected to ill-treatment at the hands of Lebanese security forces and Syrian intelligence agents.⁷⁶²
- 1992: Some 1,500 Palestinians and Lebanese were believed to be still in detention in Lebanon or transferred to Syrian prisons. They were detained without trial or access to the ICRC or any other independent organization.⁷⁶³ Between 250 (documented by HRW) and up to 1,250 (reported by Syrian human rights committees) Lebanese citizens suspected of having pro-Iraqi Baathist loyalties were being detained in Syrian prisons.⁷⁶⁴
- 1996: Syrian security forces detained an unspecified number of Lebanese citizens and Palestinian refugees, who then disappeared. Some of these abductions began with short-term detentions at the Beau Rivage Hotel, headquarters of the Syrian intelligence headquarters in Beirut, and were followed by transfer to Syria and detention without charge.⁷⁶⁵
- 1997: At least four confirmed cases of enforced disappearances were reported. The victims, Lebanese and Palestinians, reportedly were transferred to Syrian prisons.⁷⁶⁶
- August 2001: Several waves of mass arrests targeting youth activists demonstrating against Syria’s presence in Lebanon were conducted. Members of the PNL, the Free Patriotic Movement (supporters of Aoun), and of the then-banned LF, including senior advisors, were arbitrarily detained and reportedly subjected to torture and ill-treatment at the Military Intelligence headquarters at the Ministry of Defense.⁷⁶⁷

In the years just prior to Syria’s withdrawal from Lebanon, Syria released a number of Lebanese and Palestinian detainees who had been held in its prisons, some of whom had been there for many years.

- March 6, 1998: Syria released 121 Lebanese nationals, some of whom had spent 18 years in Syrian detention centers.⁷⁶⁸
- December 11, 2000: Syria released 54 detainees, including 46 Lebanese and eight Palestinians who were residing in Lebanon when they were abducted.⁷⁶⁹

760 Ibid., 1.

761 Al, Lebanon: Mass Arrest of Suspected Supporters of General Michel ‘Aoun, 1.

762 Al, Further Arrests of Suspected Supporters of General Michel ‘Aoun Including Antoine Samieh. 1 ; HRW, World Report 1993/Lebanon, 1.

763 Syria and Syrian-controlled Lebanon, 8.

764 HRW, World Report 1993/Syria, 2.

765 HRW, World Report 1997/Syria, 3.

766 HRW, World Report 1998/Syria, 3.

767 Gambill, “Lebanon’s Shadow Government Takes Charge,” Middle East Intelligence Bulletin, 3:8.

768 The full list of names can be accessed: <http://www.flpdinsyria.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/121out.pdf>, SOLIDE press release, in Annahar, 07/28/2000.

769 Annahar, 12/12/2000; HRW: World Report 2002/Syria; the full list of 54 released prisoners can be accessed: http://www.flpdinsyria.com/?page_id=2.

- November 2005: The bodies of 24 people were found in a mass grave in Yarzeh, on the premises of the Ministry of Defense. Thirteen—reportedly buried there during an October 1990 Syrian assault—were identified and the remains were returned to their families.⁷⁷⁰
- The Lebanese NGO SOLIDE (Support of Lebanese in Detention and Exile) reports that it has received files from families for at least 640 individuals who are believed to be in Syria.⁷⁷¹
- Former detainees who had been detained in Syrian prisons or detention centers in Lebanon reported that they were tortured during their detention. Methods included extended stays in solitary confinement (one prisoner recounted spending five years in solitary confinement),⁷⁷² severe beatings, electric shocks, deprivation of food and water, degrading treatment, and harassment.⁷⁷³

5.3 Lebanese Army and Islamic Militant Group Armed Conflict: January 2000

In the northern region of Dinnieh, the Lebanese Army led an armed battle against members of a Sunni militant group, Takfir wal Hijra. The militants held around 100 civilians hostage in the village of Kfar Habou during a siege that lasted several hours.⁷⁷⁴

- Four civilians were killed, including two women hostages and at least 10 were wounded.
- Two soldiers who were held hostage were later found killed, including Major Milad Naddaf, whose body was found decapitated.

5.4 Withdrawal of the Syrian Army and Intelligence Services

The increasing demand that Syrian troops leave Lebanon gained momentum in the years following the Israeli withdrawal. Internationally, in September 2004, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1559, which called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon. That same month, 29 Lebanese parliamentarians voted against a constitutional amendment that was designed to extend the mandate of President Emile Lahoud, a staunch ally of Syria.

The assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri sparked a series of mass demonstrations calling for the truth about his assassination and the withdrawal of the Syrian Army. These were met by counter-demonstrations organized by Syria's allies in Lebanon. This led to the resignation of the government, widely seen as favoring Syria's hegemony over Lebanon, and on April 26, 2005, the remaining 14,000 Syrian troops and the Syrian intelligence services left the country.

5.5 Targeted Assassinations and Car Bombs

Between 1991 and 2005, while armed conflicts largely ceased everywhere except South Lebanon, targeted assassinations and car bombs went unabated in a continuing climate of impunity facilitated by the lack of prosecutions.

770 AI: MDE 18/009/2005 ; AI: MDE 18/011/2005.

771 HRW: World Report 2008/2009, 4.

772 The Ghosts of Martyrs Square, 74.

773 More generally, see Testimonies by victims of torture and enforced disappearance, compiled by the Khiyam Rehabilitation Center for victims of torture: <http://www.khiyamcenter.org/en/p.php?lang=en&aid=123>; and stories compiled by the Former detainees in Syrian Prisons. <http://www.flpdinsyria.com/?cat=3>.

774 The Daily Star, "Lebanese Army Ousts Islamic Militants," 01/04/2000.

Targeted assassinations⁷⁷⁵

These assassinations mainly targeted political leaders, activists, and journalists. A number took place in the ongoing conflict between Israel and Hezbollah;⁷⁷⁶ others targeted former Christian militia representatives or Palestinian political leaders. Although they occurred throughout this period, they peaked in 2005.

- December 1991: Mustafa Jaha, a Lebanese Shi'a writer, was assassinated.⁷⁷⁷
- February 16, 1992: Israeli Apache helicopters attacked the motorcade of Sheikh Abbas Moussawi, the secretary general and co-founder of Hezbollah, killing him, his wife, son, and four others.⁷⁷⁸
- June 3, 1992: An unarmed doctor was killed by Hezbollah partisans in Sour after he criticized the party.⁷⁷⁹
- January 29, 1994: The first secretary at the Jordanian embassy in Beirut, Naeb Imran Maaytah, was shot and killed.⁷⁸⁰
- August 31, 1995: Sunni cleric Sheikh Nizar Halabi, member of the pro-Syrian Islamic group al-Ahbash, was shot and killed in front of his home.⁷⁸¹
- June 8, 1999: Judges Hassan Uthman, Assem Bou Daher, Walid Harmoush, and Imad Shehab were shot to death inside the South Lebanon Criminal Court in Saïda.⁷⁸²
- January 24, 2002: Elie Hobeika, former minister and LF commander in 1985 was killed in a car bomb outside his home in Baabda, Hazmich, in the eastern suburbs of Beirut. He was known for his role in the Sabra and Chatila massacres.⁷⁸³
- May 7, 2002: Ramzi Irani, a political activist working on student affairs for the LF, was abducted in Hamra, West Beirut. His body was found in the trunk of a car on May 20, 2002.⁷⁸⁴
- May 20, 2002: In the area of Tallet al-Khayyat, West Beirut, Jihad Ahmed Jibril (son of the PFLP founder) was killed after a bomb placed under the driver's seat of a car he was in exploded.⁷⁸⁵
- May 2, 2004: The body of Pierre Boulos, former chairman of the LF student branch, was found dead in the trunk of his car two days he went missing.⁷⁸⁶
- July 19, 2004: Ghaleb Awali, a senior Hezbollah official, was killed by a car bomb in front of his house in Beirut's southern suburbs.⁷⁸⁷
- October 1, 2004: A car bomb explosion severely injured MP and former minister Marwan Hamadeh and killed his driver.⁷⁸⁸

775 For a list of targeted assassinations, see <http://www.memoryatwork.org/?/subtopic/1/15/10052>.

776 Luft, Gal, "The Logic of Israel's Targeted Killing," *The Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2003, <http://www.meforum.org/515/the-logic-of-israels-targeted-killing>.

777 HRW, *World Report 1993/Lebanon*, 4.

778 <http://www.memoryatwork.org/?/subtopic/1/15/10052>.

779 HRW: *World Report 1993/Lebanon*, 4.

780 <http://www.memoryatwork.org/?/subtopic/1/15/10052>.

781 <http://www.memoryatwork.org/?/subtopic/1/15/10052>.

782 Mohammed Zaatari, "Sidon's four slain judges remembered," *The Daily Star*, 06/07/2011, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/2011/Jun-07/Sidon-4-slain-judges-remembered.ashx#axzz28JQ7CgJH>.

783 Annahar, 01/25/2002. One of his closest aides, Michael Nassar, was shot in Brazil in March 2002. Two weeks earlier his other aide, Jean Ghanem, died in a car crash on January 14, 2002. Hobeika reportedly expressed his views that this crash had not been accidental (See *The Daily Star*, 25/01/2002).

784 *The Daily Star*, 05/21/2002.

785 Annahar, 05/21/2002.

786 *The Daily Star*, 05/03/2004.

787 Annahar, 07/20/1994.

788 BBC News, "Timeline: Lebanon explosions," http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4521178.stm.

- February 14, 2005: A car bomb explosion in downtown Beirut killed former prime minister Rafic Hariri and 22 others. Basil Fuleihan, MP and formerly the minister of the Economy and Trade, who was traveling with Hariri at the time of the explosion, died on April 18, 2005, as a result of his wounds.⁷⁸⁹
- June 2, 2005: In Ashrafieh An Nahar columnist and historian Samir Kassir was killed in a car bomb explosion.⁷⁹⁰
- June 21, 2005: In Wata al-Msaytbeh in Beirut, a car bomb explosion killed George Hawi, former LCP secretary general.⁷⁹¹
- July 12, 2005: A car bomb explosion killed two people and severely injured former defense minister Elias Murr in Naccache, Mount Lebanon.⁷⁹²
- September 25, 2005: TV anchor May Chidiac was seriously injured and permanently disabled in a car bomb explosion in Jounieh, north of Beirut.⁷⁹³
- December 12, 2005: In Mkalles, the eastern suburbs of Beirut, a car bomb explosion killed journalist and MP Gebran Tuani and three others, while injuring 10.⁷⁹⁴

Car bombs

In contrast, there were only a few car bombs that took place in the years following the Ta'if Agreement, and some targeted political leaders. Such bombs, however, started taking place at a regular pace during 2005, together with the political assassinations listed above.

- March 20, 1991: In Antelias, in the northern suburbs of Beirut, 8 civilians were killed, including 5 in one car that caught fire, and 38 people were injured, including 15 women, when a car bomb detonated remotely as the convoy of the Defense Minister Michel Murr was passing.⁷⁹⁵
- December 30, 1991: A car bomb exploded in the densely populated area of Basta in West Beirut, killing at least 30 civilians and injuring around 120, including former prime minister Shafiq Wazzan, who was passing through the area.⁷⁹⁶
- December 20, 1993: A bomb-rigged truck exploded in the headquarters of the Kataeb Party in Saifi, in Beirut, killing 3 people and wounding more than 100.⁷⁹⁷
- February 27, 1994: In the town of Jounieh, a bomb exploded at the Sayidat al-Najat (Lady of Deliverance) church, killing 10 people and wounding 54.⁷⁹⁸
- March 19, 2005: A bomb in New Jdeideh in Beirut's eastern suburbs wounded 11 civilians.⁷⁹⁹
- March 23, 2005: A bomb in a shopping center in Beirut's Ashrafieh neighborhood killed three civilians and injured seven.⁸⁰⁰

789 The case of the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri and possibly other cases, if proven to be connected within a determined timeline, fall under the jurisdiction of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon (STL). The STL is a hybrid court based in The Hague, and it is the only mechanism that was created to prosecute those responsible for a crime of terrorism to date.

790 BBC News, "Timeline: Lebanon explosions," http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4521178.stm.

791 Ibid.

792 Ibid.

793 Ibid.

794 Ibid.

795 Annahar, 03/21/1991.

796 AP, "Car Bomb in Beirut Kills at Least 30; Shiite Ambush in South", 12/30/1991.

797 Annahar, 12/21/1993.

798 Annahar, 02/28/1994.

799 Annahar, 03/20/2005.

800 Annahar, 03/24/2005.

- March 26, 2005: A bomb in a Bouchrieh, in northeastern suburbs of Beirut, wounded six civilians.⁸⁰¹
- April 1, 2005: A bomb in a shopping center in Broummana, in the Metn, wounded nine civilians.⁸⁰²
- May 6, 2005: A bomb at the “Voice of Charity” radio station wounded 11 people.⁸⁰³
- July 22, 2005: A bomb in a Beirut nightclub wounded 13.⁸⁰⁴
- August 22, 2005: A bomb in Zalka, in the northern suburbs of Beirut, wounded 11.⁸⁰⁵
- September 16, 2005: A bomb in Ashrafieh killed 1 and wounded 10.⁸⁰⁶

801 Annahar, 03/26/2005.

802 Annahar, 04/02/2005.

803 Annahar, 05/07/2005.

804 Annahar, 07/23/2005.

805 Annahar, 08/23/2005.

806 Annahar, 09/17/2005.

6. New Wars, No Peace: January 2006–December 2008

Despite the withdrawal of the two foreign forces from Lebanon, the country continued to suffer from political violence and armed conflict. Israel carried out yet another full-fledged attack in the summer of 2006, which had devastating consequences on the country's civilian population and infrastructure. This period also saw a three-month armed conflict in 2007 between the Lebanese Army and a Sunni militant group, Fatah al-Islam, based in a Palestinian refugee camp. The year 2008 brought clashes among Lebanese armed groups that lasted few days, which revived the deep trauma of the civil war. The string of political assassinations and car bombs that started in 2004 continued throughout this period, painful reminders of the war-era car bombs and political assassinations.

6.1 The Devastating War: July–August 2006

The protracted conflict between Hezbollah and Israel took a sharp turn in the summer of 2006 when Hezbollah fighters crossed into Israeli territory on July 12. Eight soldiers were killed, and two others were taken prisoner. Immediately following this raid, Israel launched a full-scale military air, sea, and land attack, which lasted 33 days and covered most regions in Lebanon, with a heavy concentration on South Lebanon and Beirut's southern suburbs. Israel's defense minister announced that the attack would seek to eradicate Hezbollah from South Lebanon and would continue until the Lebanese Army deployed to the area.

- During the 33 days, 1,109 Lebanese were killed, the large majority of whom were civilians. The injured numbered 4,399, and approximately 1 million civilians were displaced. An estimated one third of the casualties were children. The displaced, mostly from South Lebanon and Beirut's southern suburbs, represented approximately one fourth of the Lebanese population; there were around 735,000 internally displaced people and 230,000 who fled from the country. Furthermore, according to Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the rockets launched by Hezbollah between July 12 and August 14, 2006, killed 43 Israeli civilians and injured 101, including 33 seriously.⁸⁰⁷
- July 13, 2006: Israel imposed a land, sea, and air blockade on Lebanon that continued until September; the Israeli bombed the runways of the Beirut international airport and its fuel tanks.
- The Israeli strikes caused massive destruction to civilian infrastructure, including 50 schools that were completely destroyed; 300 more were damaged, as well as 109 bridges and 137 roads.⁸⁰⁸ Water and medical facilities, numerous mosques and churches, TV and radio transmission stations, and historical, archaeological, and cultural sites also suffered massive damage. Moreover, 7,500 homes

807 HRW, *Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War*, 6.

808 AI, *Lebanon Report 2007*, 3.

were destroyed and 20,000 damaged in South Lebanon. Around 400 homes were destroyed and 5,000 damaged in the Beqaa and Baalbeck.⁸⁰⁹ Some 127 factories were hit by the strikes.

This war was documented extensively by international NGOs and the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC), all of which issued public reports. The incidents below are all derived from the investigations these organizations conducted. All of these reports concluded that the primary victims of this war were Lebanese civilians, and that they had died as a result of indiscriminate, disproportionate use of force by the Israeli Army.⁸¹⁰

Targeting civilians and disproportionate attacks

- On July 13, 2006: Multiple Israeli air strikes on villages in South Lebanon killed several dozen civilians, including entire families. Each of the reports indicates that there was no Hezbollah activity near any of the sites hit, nor were any of people hit members of the group:⁸¹¹
 - In Zibqin, South Lebanon, 12 members of the same family were killed, and 2 others were wounded.⁸¹²
 - In Bafay, 10 civilians were killed, including a man, his wife, and their five children, aged 4 to 18, as well as two Kuwaitis and one Sri Lankan. They were all killed as the strike destroyed the two-storey house they were in.⁸¹³
 - In Srifa, a 34-year old man, his wife, and two children were killed. They were Brazilian/Lebanese nationals spending their summer holidays in Lebanon.⁸¹⁴
 - In al-Dweir, an Israeli air strike on the house of a cleric killed him, his wife, and 10 of their children (ages 2 months to 18 years old) as well as a Sri Lankan. The cleric was believed to be affiliated to Hezbollah, but had no military activity.⁸¹⁵
 - In Shhur, an Israeli missile attack on the home of a German-Lebanese national spending holidays in Lebanon killed him and five relatives (all civilians). The only survivor was his 12-year-old son, who was severely wounded and transferred to Germany after that.⁸¹⁶
 - In Barashit, two civilians were killed and three severely injured from the same family in an air strike that targeted a Hezbollah arms storage site, located in the basement of the neighboring house. According to HRW, "Hezbollah violated the humanitarian law prohibition to avoid locating military objectives in densely populated areas."⁸¹⁷
 - In Shehabiyyeh, an Israeli air strike on the home of a Hezbollah official wounded three of his sons (20, 17, and 10 years old). HRW notes that "even if Israel was targeting a legitimate military target, Israel would be responsible for taking into account the likely civilian casualties of attacking him in his home."⁸¹⁸

809 AI, *Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War*, 4.

810 HRW, *Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War*, 21; U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC), 3rd Session. Implementation of General Assembly Resolution 60/251 of 15 March 2006 entitled "Human Rights Council," Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Lebanon pursuant to Human Rights Council resolution S-2/1 (New York: Official Record A/HRC/3/2, 2006), 3.

811 AI, *Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War*, 32-33; *Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War*, Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Lebanon pursuant to Human Rights Council resolution S-2/1, 29.

812 *Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War*, 32.

813 *Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War*, 81-82.

814 *Ibid.*, 82-83.

815 *Ibid.*, 84-85.

816 *Ibid.*, 85-86.

817 *Ibid.*, 89-90.

818 *Ibid.* 84.

- On July 15, 2006:
 - Israeli navy warship and helicopter missiles attacked a convoy of families fleeing from the village of Marwahin, South Lebanon. The attack left 23 civilians dead, most of them children.⁸¹⁹ The convoy was fleeing after the Israeli Army ordered the residents to evacuate.
 - July 15, 2006: In Bint Jbeil, South Lebanon, two civilians were killed as a result of the destruction by an Israeli drone of a three-storey building, and two other civilians were killed as they were trying to rescue the victims of the first attack.⁸²⁰
- On July 16–18, 2006:
 - In the village of Aytaroun, two Israeli air strikes killed 21 civilians, many of them children, including six children younger than 12 and elderly people.⁸²¹
 - The Israeli Air Force hit a 13-story building in Sour where dozens of civilians from villages from the south had sought refuge. At least 11 were killed.⁸²²
 - July 18, 2006: A family of nine, including five children, was killed by an Israeli air strike on two houses in the village of Aytaroun. Hezbollah had been firing rockets from inside the village, but none of the victims had any connections with Hezbollah.⁸²³
- July 19, 2006: Twenty-seven Lebanese civilians were killed by helicopter missiles in various air strikes in the villages of Selaa (8); Srifa (5); in Nabi Sheet, in the Beqaa (7); in 'Aynata (4 killed and 3 wounded, all from the same family); and in Debbine (a man and his 2 children).⁸²⁴
- On July 23, 2006:
 - In Mansuri, two civilians were killed and four children severely burned in a helicopter or drone attack on their three-car convoy fleeing to Sour and waving white flags. An Israeli Apache helicopter hit another civilian vehicle fleeing from Mansuri, wounding nine civilians as the car was in sight of a hospital.⁸²⁵
 - Multiple attacks were carried out on roads in South Lebanon by Israeli Apache helicopters on civilian vehicles, killing at least 6 civilians and wounding 27. This included 3 killed and 14 wounded from one family, who were fleeing from al-Tiri in a van and waving white flags.⁸²⁶
- On July 24, 2006:
 - In Hallusiyeh, Sour, 11 civilians, including five children and five women, were killed in an air strike that destroyed seven to 10 buildings.⁸²⁷
 - In Haris, South Lebanon, eight civilians were killed in an air strike on a house 10 minutes after 4 militants were killed in another house. There was no military presence in the second house targeted. According to HRW, this incident constituted two breaches: first, the presence of

819 See survivor account in Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War, 23.

820 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 89-90.

821 Ibid., 98-101.

822 Ibid., 93-98 (HRW mentions 14 civilians); Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War, 36.

823 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 100-101.

824 Ibid., 100-103.

825 Ibid., 157.

826 HRW, The Hoax That Wasn't: The July 23 Qana Ambulance Attack, 10; HRW: Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 155-157.

827 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 110-111; also see detailed report on incident in The Hoax That Wasn't: The July 23 Qana Ambulance Attack.

Hezbollah military activity in a civilian neighborhood, and second, Israel failing to distinguish between civilians and military.⁸²⁸

- July 28, 2006: The Israeli Air Force attacked a house in the center of the village of Ainata, South Lebanon, near the mosque, killing 15 civilians, including 12 women and children.⁸²⁹
- July 29, 2006: On the coastal road between Sour and Saida, in Numeriye, South Lebanon, an Israeli air strike demolished a house, killing a woman, her four children, and a neighbor.⁸³⁰
- July 30, 2006: In Qana, 27 civilians were killed, including 16 children, in an Israeli air strike on several houses, including a three-storey building where 63 civilians from two families had sought shelter.⁸³¹
- August 1, 2006: In Nabatieh, South Lebanon, an Israeli air strike destroyed a house, killing two women and a 12-year-old girl.⁸³²
- August 5, 2006: In al-Qaa, in the Beqaa, close to the Syrian-Lebanese border, two Israeli air strikes killed at least 23 Syrian agricultural workers, including 5 women.⁸³³
- August 7, 2006:
 - An Israeli air strike on an apartment building in the densely populated neighborhood of Chiyah in Beirut killed 39 people without previous warning, including 11 children.⁸³⁴ AI reported that the Israeli Army dropped leaflets calling on residents to leave Chiyah, as well as Hay al-Selloum and Burj al-Barajneh only three days later.
 - An Israeli air strike on an apartment building in Ghazieh, Saida, killed at least 16 civilians, including eight women and children from the same family.⁸³⁵
 - In Britel, in the Beqaa, eight civilians, including four women were killed during an Israeli attack. A ninth civilian was killed by a missile that hit his car while he was taking one of the wounded to the hospital.⁸³⁶
- August 8, 2006:
 - In Beirut's southern suburb of Chiyah, 39 civilians were killed in an air strike on three buildings.⁸³⁷
 - In Maaroub, South Lebanon, an Israeli air strike on the basement of a school where a family had taken shelter killed a mother and her three children.⁸³⁸
 - That same day, in Ghazieh 10 civilians were killed in three separate incidents. An air strike targeting a house killed seven civilians: another air strike that hit a funeral procession for victims of the previous day killed a 2-year-old and injured her pregnant mother; and an air strike on two houses killed two people.⁸³⁹

828 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 112.

829 Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War, 36.

830 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 118-119.

831 Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War, 37-39.

832 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 123-124.

833 AI, Lebanon/Israel: Urgent need for ceasefire and investigation of war crimes, 1-2.

834 Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War, 39-40.

835 Ibid., 41; Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 134-136.

836 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 137-138.

837 Ibid. 138-140.

838 Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War, 40.

839 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 140 – 141.

- August 11, 2006: In Jib Janine, on the Kefraya road in the Beqaa, a large convoy of civilian vehicles fleeing from Marjeyoun with the permission of Israeli authorities was hit by Israeli missiles a few hours later. Seven civilians were killed, including a Lebanese Red Cross worker, and 32 were injured.⁸⁴⁰
- On August 13, 2006:
 - In Burj al-Shamali, South Lebanon, two women and three children were killed in an air strike.⁸⁴¹
 - In Rweiss, in Beirut's southern suburbs, 36 civilians (and four Hezbollah members) were killed by an Israeli air strike on a complex of 8 to 10 buildings.⁸⁴²
 - In Britel, in the Beqaa, 6 civilians were killed and 18 wounded by a single missile from an Israeli warplane that destroyed a two-storey house.⁸⁴³

Targeting civilian objects and medical facilities⁸⁴⁴

The reports document cases of direct and indirect attacks against medical and relief personnel and property:

- July 13–15, 2006: The Israeli Air Force bombed the Jiyeh power station in South Lebanon. This caused 10,000 to 15,000 tons of fuel to spill into the Mediterranean Sea; 55,000 tons burning; and the pollution of 120 kilometers of coastline.⁸⁴⁵ The UN Human Rights Council (HRC) expressed its belief that this attack was premeditated and that the oil spill would affect two-thirds of Lebanon's coastline.⁸⁴⁶
- July 23, 2006: In Qana, South Lebanon, two clearly marked Lebanese Red Cross ambulances were struck by missiles fired by an Israeli drone, wounding all six workers and three civilians, including one child. Two of the civilians suffered permanent disability as a result. This happened as workers were transferring patients from one ambulance to the other.⁸⁴⁷

Attacks against UN observers

Thirty direct attacks by the Israeli Army were documented to have taken place against UNIFIL positions, leading to the death of four unarmed UN observers at the Khiyam base. The UN HRC concluded that these attacks were not justified.⁸⁴⁸

- July 25, 2006: In Khiyam, South Lebanon, four UN observers were killed by an Israeli precision-guided missile fired on their clearly marked post. HRW reports of frequent attacks on UNIFIL positions and reminds that peacekeeping forces "are entitled to the same protection from attack afforded to civilians."⁸⁴⁹

Use of cluster bombs

- The Israeli Army dropped an estimated one million cluster submunition "duds" on South Lebanon, the vast majority during the last 72 hours of the conflict, after the ceasefire had been agreed to, but

840 Ibid., 162; Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War, 42.

841 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 143 – 145.

842 Ibid., 143 – 145.

843 Ibid., 143 – 145.

844 Yediot Aharonot, "Israel warns Hizbullah war would invite destruction," 10/03/2008, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3604893,00.html>: Israel's targeting of civilian infrastructure using disproportionate force was expressly articulated as a military strategy by Israeli general Gadi Eizenkot, a strategy that is otherwise known as the "Dahyeh doctrine."

845 Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War, 25.

846 Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Lebanon pursuant to Human Rights Council resolution S-2/1, 5.

847 Israel/Lebanon: Out of All Proportion – Civilians Bear the Brunt of the War, 43; The Hoax That Wasn't: The July 23 Qana Ambulance Attack, 3.

848 Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Lebanon pursuant to Human Rights Council resolution S-2/1, 5, 4.

849 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 114-118.

before it took effect. By September 2011, 51 civilians had been killed (including four children), and 357 were wounded (including 311 children).⁸⁵⁰ The attacks had severely damaged the economy in a region where the primary source of income was agriculture.⁸⁵¹

Following the truce agreed to on August 14, 2006, UNIFIL and the Lebanese Army began to deploy along the border with Israel. Since then, no large-scale clashes have taken place, but numerous violations of territorial space continue to take place regularly, and sporadic violent incidents occur:

- August 6, 2007: Israeli soldiers shot and killed four civilians in al-Taybeh.⁸⁵²

6.2 Nahr al-Bared: Widespread Displacement of Refugee Population and Prolonged Arbitrary Detention

Between May 20 and September 2, 2007, an armed conflict between the Lebanese Army and a Sunni militant group, Fatah al-Islam, took place in the Palestinian refugee camp of Nahr al-Bared in North Lebanon. The civilian population of around 40,000⁸⁵³ found itself hostage to this conflict, as the militia had established armed positions inside the camp, and the army resorted to heavy artillery shelling and aerial bombardment in its bid to gain control over the group. Between 26,000 and 27,000 camp residents (Palestinian refugees and Lebanese nationals) were able to flee to the neighboring Beddawi camp. However, by June 2007, between 3,000 and 5,000 civilians had been unable to leave the camp, including those who were elderly, disabled, or minors, and were unable to get food and medical care. As a result of the fighting, the camp was largely destroyed (a damage assessment showed that the entire camp had to be rebuilt).⁸⁵⁴ By September 2011, the first phase of the reconstruction allowed more than 300 families to return, while 8,000 Palestinians were still awaiting the camp's reconstruction.⁸⁵⁵

The vast majority of the casualties were members of the Lebanese Army and of Fatah al-Islam, according to military and government sources. At least 40 civilians were killed, most of them Palestinians.⁸⁵⁶

- May 22, 2007:
 - Two civilians were killed and others injured when an explosive device hit a UN humanitarian convoy delivering supplies inside the camp.⁸⁵⁷
 - Two other civilians were killed, including one pregnant woman, and others were wounded as their bus, fleeing the camp, approached an army checkpoint.⁸⁵⁸
- June 11, 2007: Two Lebanese Red Cross volunteers were killed at the northern edge of the camp by the fighting.⁸⁵⁹
- June 29, 2007: At least two unarmed Palestinian civilians were shot and killed by Lebanese soldiers during a demonstration; the demonstrators were Palestinians, asking that they be able to return to their homes in the camp.⁸⁶⁰

850 Rajana Hamyeh, "Clearing Cluster Bombs and Landmines: Lebanon's Long and Winding Road, Al-Akhbar, 09/13/2011, <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/585>. Interview with General Mohammad Fahmy, chairman of the Lebanese Mine Action Center.

851 HRW, *Flooding South Lebanon*, 1.

852 *Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War*, 177.

853 Palestinian Human Rights Organization (PHRO), *Camp in Fear, Camp in Want: Human Security Assessment for Nahr al-Bared Camp*, 1.

854 UNRWA, *Reconstruction of Nahr Al-Bared Camp and UNRWA Compound, Progress Report 1 September 2007–31 October 2010*, (New York), 5.

855 HRW, *World Report 2012/Lebanon*, 3.

856 AI, *Lebanon Report 2008*, 2 (according to this report, 168 Lebanese soldiers and 220 Fatah al-Islam members were killed).

857 AI, *Lebanon Report 2008*, 2.

858 AI, *Lebanon Report 2008*, 2.

859 AI, *Lebanon: Amid Reports of Harassment at Army Checkpoints, Continuing Concern for Civilians Affected by Fighting at Palestinian Refugee Camp*, 1.

860 HRW, *World Report 2008/Lebanon*, 2.

Since the three-month conflict and to date, scores of Palestinians have been victims of extended arbitrary detention and restricted movement by Lebanese security forces and the Lebanese Army:

- May 20–September 2, 2007: Around 200 people were arrested for suspected involvement with Fatah al-Islam, and many were tortured by Lebanese soldiers and ISF.⁸⁶¹

According to a coalition of NGOs:⁸⁶²

- The majority of the arrests took place at Lebanese Army checkpoints and without a proper judiciary order.
- All the detainees were denied legal representation while in military custody.
- Most of the arrested Palestinians have continued to be detained, without fair trial, or were tried before the military court.⁸⁶³
- More than 200 cases of torture and ill treatment were documented, including two cases of death during investigation and detention. The vast majority of the victims were arrested at checkpoints at the outskirts of the camp by military intelligence, transferred to the Ministry of Defense, and then to the Roumieh Prison. The methods of torture documented include severe beatings, the “Balanco” (in which the prisoner is suspended and whipped), deprivation of food, forced confessions, electric shocks, and other methods conducted by Lebanese security forces.⁸⁶⁴

Moreover, the civilian population continues to suffer from severe restriction of movement in and out of the camp:

- Since the end of the conflict, the Lebanese Army declared the camp and its adjacent area as a “military zone,” which is in breach of Lebanon’s local and international legal obligations, according to the monitoring organization Palestinian Human Rights Organization (PHRO).⁸⁶⁵ Access to this zone is regulated by military checkpoints, which means that all Palestinian residents and visitors must have permits from military intelligence to enter. Moreover, it is reported that this permit process “has been unclear, and no precise procedure has been communicated to the Palestinian community. During the past three years, the permit system has repeatedly changed with little or no explanation.”⁸⁶⁶ Moreover, these restrictions on the freedom of movement have been seriously affecting the economic, social, and psychological situation of the civilian population.⁸⁶⁷

While documentation and research by monitoring human rights organizations has focused on victims of Nahr al-Bared, they also have presented information showing that torture has been used for more than 15 years “displaying a systematic pattern and use of torture.”⁸⁶⁸

6.3 Resurging Internal Violence: May 2008

Tension has grown during the past few years in the wake of Hariri’s assassination, the Syrian withdrawal, and the string of assassinations and car bombs from 2005 onward. It climaxed in May 2008, after months of political paralysis. The government’s decision to remove a senior security officer known to be close to Hezbollah and to investigate Hezbollah’s parallel telephone system

861 Ibid.; AI, Lebanon Report 2008, 3.

862 For the bullet points below, see: “A Selective Submission on Palestinian Socio-Economic and Civil Rights in Lebanon.” (Joint NGO Submission to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights on the occasion of the 9th session of the Universal Periodic Review 2010, Lebanon, 2010). http://lib.ohchr.org/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session9/LB/PHRO_PalestinianHumanRightsOrganization_JS.pdf.

863 This remains the case at the time of writing, as of October 2012.

864 Al Karama for Human Rights, *Torture in Lebanon: Time to Break the Pattern*, 17-18.

865 PHRO, *Lebanese Restrictions on freedom of movement: Case of Nahr El Bared*, 13.

866 Ibid., 18.

867 Ibid., 22.

868 *Torture in Lebanon: Time to Break the Pattern*, 15.

sparked full-blown clashes between government supporters and the opposition, led by Hezbollah, on May 7, 2008.

In the subsequent two weeks, at least 71 people, including 14 civilians, died in the clashes. Fighters armed with machine guns and RPGs were first in Beirut and then extended to Aley, the Shuf, the Beqaa, and North Lebanon over the next three months; 40 were killed, including civilians.⁸⁶⁹ Both sides attacked civilians and civilian property. Between May 7 and 9, 2008, the opposition—namely Hezbollah, Amal, and the SSNP—took over West Beirut.

- During their takeover of the capital, Hezbollah, Amal, and SSNP members attacked and shut down media offices affiliated with the Future Movement.⁸⁷⁰
- May 8, 2008:
 - In Ras al-Nabeh, Beirut, a 59-year-old woman and her son were killed when an RPG hit their car as they were fleeing. The woman's two sons were later seriously injured when opposition gunmen shot them in their backs as they were trying to reach their mother and brother at the hospital.⁸⁷¹
- May 10-12, 2008:
 - An Amal member shot at a funeral procession, killing six people, in Tarik al-Jdideh, in Beirut.⁸⁷²
 - Three captive Hezbollah members were killed by pro-government PSP members in Aley.⁸⁷³
 - In Halba, in the region of Akkar, North Lebanon, Future Movement and PSP members attacked an office of the SSNP. One civilian was killed in the clashes,⁸⁷⁴ and at least 11 captive SSNP fighters were killed.⁸⁷⁵

The government revoked its two decisions that had sparked the clashes. On May 21, 2008, the warring parties reached a political settlement in Doha, Qatar, which paved the way for the election of a president, and the opposition granted veto power in the government. One year later, only one indictment had been issued, and no other action was taken to hold those responsible for the killings accountable.⁸⁷⁶

6.4 Targeted Assassinations and Car Bombs

Between 2006 and 2008, dozens of targeted assassinations and car bombs continued, carrying a heavy civilian toll and incurring a severe destabilizing effect on the country as a whole.

- February 13, 2006: Bombs exploded in two civilian buses, killing 3 civilians and injuring 20 in Bikfaya, Mount Lebanon.⁸⁷⁷

869 HRW, "Lebanon: A year later, no accountability for killings", 05/07/2009, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2009/05/07/lebanon-year-later-no-accountability-killings>

870 HRW, World Report 2009/Lebanon, 2.

871 AI, "Lebanon: Leaders must prevent human rights abuses," 05/14/2008, http://www.amnesty.org.au/news/comments/lebanon_leaders_must_prevent_human_rights_abuses/; HRW, "Lebanon: Political Talks in Qatar Should Address Abuses," 05/18/2008, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2008/05/17/lebanon-political-talks-qatar-should-address-abuses>.

872 Lebanon: Leaders must prevent human rights abuses, 1.

873 Ibid.

874 HRW, World Report 2009/Lebanon, 2.

875 The Daily Star, 05/10/2012.

876 One individual was accused of killing two civilians and wounding six others during a funeral procession in Beirut on May 10, 2008, as reported by HRW in: HRW, "Lebanon: A year later, no accountability for killings," 05/07/2009, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2009/05/07/lebanon-year-later-no-accountability-killings>.

877 Annahar, 02/14/2006.

- May 26, 2006: Mahmoud Majzoub, known as “Abu Hamza,” a leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and member of the Shura Council, was severely injured by a remote-control car bomb in Saida. He died the next day. His brother Nidal was killed on the spot.⁸⁷⁸
- November 21, 2006: Pierre Gemayel, minister of Industry and leader of the Kataeb Party, was shot dead in his car by unknown assailants in Jdeideh, Mount Lebanon.⁸⁷⁹
- June 13, 2007: In Manara, Beirut, MP Walid Eido was killed in a car bomb attack, along with 9 other people, including his eldest son; at least 11 were injured.⁸⁸⁰
- June 24, 2007: An UNIFIL convoy traveling near Khiyam, South Lebanon, was targeted in an explosion. Six peacekeepers were killed.⁸⁸¹
- September 19, 2007: In the Sin al-Fil neighborhood of Beirut, MP and Kataeb Party member Antoine Ghanem was killed in a car bomb attack along with five others.⁸⁸²
- December 12, 2007: In Baabda, Mount Lebanon, Gen. François el-Hajj, Army chief of operations during the Nahr al-Bared conflict, was killed with his bodyguard in a car bomb attack.⁸⁸³
- January 25, 2008: Captain Wissam Eid, the senior terrorism investigator at the ISF, was assassinated in a car bomb in Hazmieh.⁸⁸⁴
- August 13, 2008: In Tripoli 14 people were killed, including 9 Lebanese Army soldiers, while traveling on a commercial bus that blew up. Around 40 people were injured in the attack, which occurred during a busy time of day.⁸⁸⁵
- September 10, 2008: In Baysour, Saleh Aridi, a leading member of the Lebanese Democratic Party, a Druze pro-Syrian party, was killed by a car bomb. Six other people also were injured in the attack. Aridi had been a key figure in reconciling the two rival Druze groups (the Democratic Party and the PSP) during the 2008 clashes and forging a reconciliation agreement between their leaders.⁸⁸⁶
- September 29, 2008: Five people were killed in Tripoli and 35 wounded by a bomb that targeted a military bus.⁸⁸⁷

878 Annahar, 05/27/2006.

879 Annahar, 11/22/2006.

880 Annahar, 06/14/2007.

881 Annahar, 05/27/2006.

882 Annahar, 09/20/2007.

883 Annahar, 12/13/2007.

884 Annahar, 01/26/2008.

885 AFP, 10/20/2008, http://afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5jWqYL2cRZXuL4v5jsqfmbd2C9_Pg.

886 Annahar, 09/11/2008.

887 Annahar, 09/30/2008.

7. Applicable Law and Legal Classification

7.1 Legal Framework and Applicable Law

This section provides a description of the applicable legal framework in Lebanon during the period under consideration. It also examines the extent to which relevant law applies to the people involved, including international obligations which apply to nations operating on Lebanese territory (Lebanon, Syria, and Israel), and the roles numerous armed groups and militias played, which also have obligations under international law.

7.1.1 Temporal scope of the mapping report and relevant applicable law

Over the period this report covers, Lebanon was subject to changing applicable law, most notably international humanitarian law. The states involved in the conflict ratified or acceded to international human rights and humanitarian law treaties at different times. For example, Lebanon acceded to the two 1977 Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, on July 23, 1997. Furthermore, customary international law binding on states even when they are not party to international treaties may have evolved significantly over the course of the three decades covered in this report.

Under international law, facts must be assessed and classified according to the principles and rules in force at the time they took place. *Nullum crimen sine lege* (or principle of legality) is a fundamental principle of international criminal law: a person is criminally responsible only if the act he or she committed constitutes a crime at the time it is committed.

7.1.2 Relevant applicable law

This report focuses primarily on international humanitarian law and international human rights law (IHL and IHRL respectively) whose norms are to be found in international treaty law, comprised of the relevant conventions ratified or acceded to by Lebanon, Syria, and Israel, as well as in customary international law that is binding as a general practice accepted as law. This latter source is particularly important because it exists independent of treaty law and provides for additional protection when the states are not party to certain conventions or when relevant conventions leave some gaps.

While IHL applies in times of armed conflict (be it international or not) and IHRL in times of peace, the continued applicability of the latter during armed conflicts is widely recognized, including in situations of occupation.⁸⁸⁸ The interaction between those two sets of norms is commonly governed by

⁸⁸⁸ See for example, *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*, Advisory Opinion of 8 July 1996, I.C.J. Reports 1996, para. 25; *Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory*, Advisory Opinion of 9 July 2004, I.C.J. Reports 2004, para. 106; *Armed activities on the territory of the Congo (Democratic Republic of the Congo v. Uganda)*, Judgement, I.C.J. Reports 2005, para. 216.

the principle of *lex specialis*: in other words, given that IHL is designed to be applied in times of armed conflict, it prevails as being the specific law in cases of contradictory norms.⁸⁸⁹

Applicable international humanitarian law

Definition and scope of application

IHL's primary aim is to ensure the protection of certain people and objects in times of armed conflict. It seeks to regulate the conduct of hostilities through rules limiting or prohibiting the use of means (weapons) and methods of warfare. It further seeks to protect certain categories of people, namely the civilians who do not participate directly in hostilities, and people hors de combat (i.e., who are no longer taking part in hostilities for such reasons as injury or detention). It does not apply in "situations of internal disturbances and tension, such as riots, isolated and sporadic acts of violence and other acts of a similar nature, as not being armed conflicts," as stated in Article 1(2) of the 1977 Protocol II Additional to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II.) The majority of the applicable rules are found in the four 1949 Geneva Conventions⁸⁹⁰ and their two 1977 Additional Protocols,⁸⁹¹ the 1907 Hague Conventions and the annexed regulations, and specific conventions governing the use of weapons as well as customary international law.

The absence of a clear definition of armed conflict in treaty law complicates the classification of a specific situation, and this report covers a period of successive situations and different levels of violence involving different actors at different times. However, it is generally agreed that an armed conflict requires the resort to armed force, a degree of organization of the parties involved, and a certain level of intensity of the violence.

While armed conflict is necessary to trigger the application of IHL, an additional important distinction lies in the difference between international armed conflict and noninternational armed conflict, since applicable IHL norms vary depending on the specific character of the conflict.

> International armed conflict

The main criterion to qualify as an international armed conflict relates to the nature of the parties to the conflict. An international armed conflict usually refers to an interstate conflict. Common Article 2 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions governing the application of these treaties states, "In addition to the provisions which shall be implemented in peace-time, the present Convention shall apply to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them."⁸⁹²

Situations of occupation. IHL also addresses specific rules relating to situations of occupation, even though that may exist without an actual armed conflict. Common Article 2 specifies, "The Convention shall also apply

889 The International Court of Justice (I.C.J.) elaborated the various types of relationship between these two bodies of law: "As regards the relationship between international humanitarian law and human rights law, [...] some rights may be exclusively matters of international humanitarian law; others may be exclusively matters of human rights law; yet others may be matters of both these branches of international law. In order to answer the question put to it, the Court will have to take into consideration both these branches of international law, namely human rights law and, as *lex specialis*, international humanitarian law." Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, *op. cit.*, para. 106.

890 Convention (I) for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field; Convention (II) for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea; Convention (III) relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War; Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

891 Protocol relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I); Protocol relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II).

892 The 1977 Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I) also applies in other situations referred to Common Article 2, see Article 2 para.3.

to all cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a High Contracting Party, even if the said occupation meets no armed resistance.” Although the 1949 Geneva Conventions do not define occupation, the 1907 Hague Convention IV states: “Territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army. The occupation extends only to the territory where such authority has been established and can be exercised.”⁸⁹³ Therefore belligerent occupation requires the presence of foreign troops, the absence of consent, and the exercise of authority over the occupied territory.⁸⁹⁴ The key factor here is to be able to ascertain what degree and extent of control or authority is necessary to conclude that a certain territory is occupied.

It is commonly acknowledged that the precondition for a situation of belligerent occupation is the lack of consent of the state whose territory is subject to the presence of a foreign force. A nonbelligerent situation of occupation exists in cases when there is a military administration of a foreign territory, but with the consent of the government of the state. Consequently, if a state gives its consent to an occupation but does not renew such consent, like when the government asks the foreign authorities to leave the country, the law of belligerent occupation would apply in the same way that the situation of belligerent occupation ends when a genuine form of consent is given to the foreign presence.⁸⁹⁵

> Noninternational armed conflict

IHL also contains rules that are applicable in noninternational armed conflicts, albeit less developed. There are two thresholds in identifying the law applicable in such cases. The first is Common Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, the only provision of those treaties relevant to internal armed conflicts. However, this article does not define what an armed conflict of such character is. It is nonetheless recognized, as explained in the ICRC commentary, that those conflicts are “armed conflicts, with armed forces on either side engaged in hostilities/conflicts, in short, which are in many respects similar to an international war, but take place within the confines of a single country. In many cases, each of the Parties is in possession of a portion of the national territory, and there is often some sort of front.”⁸⁹⁶ Therefore, the application of Common Article 3 does not necessarily require that an armed group controls a territory.

Article 1 of Protocol II sets a higher threshold.⁸⁹⁷ It requires specific conditions such as the organized nature of an armed group, the existence of responsible command, as well as territorial control. It does not have the same field of application as Common Article 3.⁸⁹⁸ They overlap; however, in as far as Common Article 3 contains the minimum applicable rules in times of all armed conflicts.

> Internationalized armed conflict, transnational armed conflict, and the coexistence of different types of armed conflicts

Given that numerous actors were involved in Lebanon and there were sometimes simultaneous different situations of violence over the period covered by this report, it would be useful to refer to other scenarios that are relevant in terms of legal classification of a conflict. The first scenario refers to an armed group

893 Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, annexed to Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, The Hague, 18 October 1907.

894 ICRC, Expert Meeting, Occupation and other forms of administration of foreign territory, 10.

895 *Ibid.*, 11.

896 ICRC Commentary on the Four Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, 36.

897 Article 1: “This Protocol, which develops and supplements Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 without modifying its existing conditions of application, shall apply to all armed conflicts which are not covered by Article 1 of the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I) and which take place in the territory of a High Contracting Party between its armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organized armed groups which, under responsible command, exercise such control over a part of its territory as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement this Protocol.”

898 ICRC Commentary on the 1977 Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, 1348. In the *Tadić* case, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) departed itself from the wording of Common Article 3 for the sake of the application of the ICTY Statute, when providing a general definition of an internal armed conflict. The ICTY stated that a non-international armed conflict exists when there is: “protracted armed violence between governmental authorities and organized armed groups or between such groups within a State.” *Prosecutor v. Tadić*, Case No. IT-94-1, Decision on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, (Oct. 2, 1995), ¶ 70.

involved in a prolonged armed violence against a state, but operating from another state's territory. In such a situation of "transnational" armed conflict, the leading analysis is that this conflict is a noninternational one; therefore the corresponding IHL norms apply.⁸⁹⁹

The second scenario relates to what is called an "internationalized" armed conflict. This is relevant when a certain state intervenes with its armed forces on the side of another state in a noninternational armed conflict. This does not affect the classification of the conflict, which remains noninternational, unless the intervening state takes part in hostilities on the side of the armed group that is fighting against the government forces; in such a case the conflict becomes international. Finally, as stated by the International Court of Justice (ICJ), two different types of conflict can occur at the same time and therefore are governed by different sets of norms if they are different.⁹⁰⁰

End of application of International Humanitarian Law

The successive truces and peace accords concluded over the period covered by the report raise the question as to whether these ended the application of IHL. This issue is far more complicated than the issue of considering when IHL begins to be applicable. Treaty law refers to different wording in this regard: the 1949 Geneva Convention IV refers to "general close of military operations" (Article 6, paragraph 2), while Additional Protocol II refers to "end of the armed conflict" (Article 2, paragraph 2).

The judges at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) made an attempt to clarify this by stating the following: "International humanitarian law applies from the initiation of such armed conflicts and extends beyond the cessation of hostilities until a general conclusion of peace is reached; or, in the case of internal conflicts, a peaceful settlement is achieved."⁹⁰¹ Therefore, a mere ceasefire (whether temporary or definitive) or even an armistice are not sufficient to end the application of IHL. On the other hand, even after a general conclusion of peace is reached or a peace settlement is achieved, some rules of IHL may still continue to apply to cover a factual situation, such as that of people detained in the conflict and until their final release and repatriation, or their establishment in the country of their choice.⁹⁰²

The strict separation between *jus in bello* and *jus ad bellum*

Any considerations relating to the *jus ad bellum* (i.e., the body of law defining lawful reasons for a state to engage in war, based on the UN Charter's clause enshrining the general prohibition in international law of the use of force between states, with strict exceptions) fall outside the scope of this report. It is, however, important to restate the fundamental principle of separation between *jus ad bellum* and IHL (or *jus in bello*), the latter regulating the use of force once a war has begun. IHL applies equally to the parties to a conflict regardless of the reasons for it, and whether or not the use of force in the first place was justified under international law or on moral grounds.

Consequently, a certain state's intervention with the consent of another state bears no impact on the applicability or content of obligations binding it under IHL. This clear distinction and separation

899 See for example, ICRC Opinion Paper, "How is the Term 'Armed Conflict' Defined in International Humanitarian Law?" March 2008.

900 "The conflict between the contras forces and those of the Government of Nicaragua is an armed conflict which is 'not of an international character.' The acts of the contras towards the Nicaraguan Government are therefore governed by the law applicable to conflicts of that character; whereas the actions of the United States in and against Nicaragua fall under the legal rules relating to international conflicts," Military and Paramilitary activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Merits, Judgment of 27 June 1986, ICJ Report 1986, 114; see Prosecutor v. Tadić, Case No. IT-941-A, Appeal Judgment, (Jul. 15, 1999), ¶ 84, where the Court reaffirmed this approach of fragmenting between different types of armed conflicts that coexist simultaneously depending on the nature of the parties involved.

901 Prosecutor v. Tadić, IT-94-1, Decision on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction (Oct. 2, 1995), ¶ 70.

902 See for example, Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (75 U.N.T.S. 135, Aug. 12, 1949), art. 5. See also Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (75 U.N.T.S. 287, Aug. 12, 1949), art. 6 para. 4. See also Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), (1125 UNTS 3, Jun. 8, 1977), art. 3(b). See also Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II), (1125 UNTS 609, Jun. 8, 1977), art. 2, para. 2.

also applies to cases of occupation, except when the state hosting foreign troops consents. Whenever a situation factually amounts to an armed conflict or a belligerent occupation, IHL shall apply equally to all parties and to the same extent.

Therefore the classification of acts of violence under IHL in the context of this report is done regardless of the lawfulness of the resort to force or occupation by another state in Lebanon over the period covered.

Substantive principles and rules under IHL

> The distinction between international and noninternational armed conflicts

As noted earlier, IHL application depends on the existence of an armed conflict and on the nature of the parties involved. Since these two conditions were met in Lebanon during the various periods of violence considered, the key issue remains to distinguish between IHL principles and rules applicable in time of international armed conflict, and those relevant in noninternational armed conflict.

This is particularly important considering that IHL conventional norms applicable to internal armed conflicts are far less developed than those applicable to international armed conflicts. While such a distinction tends to blur as a result of the development of customary international law,⁹⁰³ this trend only emerged recently and might not be relevant for the earlier periods covered in the report, in particular the Two-Year War in 1975/1976 when an internal armed conflict was taking place in Lebanon. Consequently, and as highlighted under the section related to the temporal scope, it may not be possible to apply the recent development of substantive norms applicable in noninternational armed conflicts at the time of the beginning of the war. However, this does not mean that there was no rule governing internal armed conflict during this period, and core rules of IHL may be applicable.

> Common Article 3 as the core set of rules applicable in all armed conflicts

While Lebanon only became a party to Additional Protocol II in 1997, Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions has been binding on this country since 1951.⁹⁰⁴ The norms contained in this provision, as confirmed by the ICJ, constitute a “minimum yardstick” for all armed conflicts and reflect “elementary considerations of humanity.”⁹⁰⁵ Common Article 3 states:

In the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties, each Party to the conflict shall be bound to apply, as a minimum, the following provisions:

(1) Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed “hors de combat” by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, color, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria.

To this end, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons:

- (a) violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;
- (b) taking of hostages;

903 Out of the 161 customary rules identified by the ICRC in its Study on Customary IHL 159 are applicable to non-international armed conflicts. Jean Mary Henckaerts, “Study on customary international humanitarian law: A contribution to the understanding and respect for the rule of law in armed conflict,” *International Review of the Red Cross* 857 (2005): 189. See for the comprehensive study, Jean-Marie Henckaerts and Louise Doswald-Beck, *Customary International Humanitarian Law*, Vol. 1, Rules Volume II.

904 Lebanon ratified the 1949 Geneva Conventions on April 10, 1951.

905 Case concerning Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (*Nicaragua v. United States of America*), para. 218.

- (c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment;
 - (d) the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples.
- (2) The wounded and sick shall be collected and cared for.

While these rules do not contain specific norms prohibiting or restricting means and methods of warfare, it is recognized that at least the core principles are of a customary nature and apply in internal armed conflict. For example, the obligation, when initiating an attack, to distinguish between people taking part in hostilities and military objects, and those who do not or no longer are taking part and civilian objects. This was the case prior to the mid-1970s⁹⁰⁶ when the conflict in Lebanon began. Obviously, for situations of international armed conflicts and occupation in Lebanon during the period covered by this report, the relevant rules of IHL apply.

> Key legal instruments ratified by Lebanon, Syria, and Israel

During the period covered by this report, all three states were party to the four 1949 Geneva Conventions and the 1954 Hague Convention and its Protocol. Lebanon became party to the 1977 Additional Protocols I and II in 1997; Syria became party only to Additional Protocol I in 1983; and Israel is still not a party to either.

While essential differences remain between IHL regulating international armed conflicts and IHL applicable in noninternational armed conflicts, several important IHL rules apply to both kinds of conflicts and are described as containing principles and norms governing the conduct of hostilities and norms related to the treatment of people. The fundamental tenets of this body of norms consist of the immunity of the civilian population and its corollary, the principle of distinction, and the general principle that the right of the parties to the conflict to choose methods or means of warfare is not unlimited.

IHL requires that parties to a conflict distinguish at all times between combatants and civilians, as well as between military objectives and civilian objects, and that they direct their operations only against combatants and military objectives.⁹⁰⁷ Civilians lose their immunity from attack when and only for such time as they are directly participating in hostilities.⁹⁰⁸ In this regard, and as far as objects are concerned, IHL defines military objectives as objects that by their nature, location, purpose, or use make an effective contribution to military action and whose partial or total destruction, capture, or neutralization, in the circumstances ruling at the time, offers a definite military advantage. Civilian objects are all objects that are not military objectives. Civilian objects, such as homes and schools, are protected against attack, unless and for such time as they are used for military purposes.

In application of this principle of distinction, IHL further prohibits indiscriminate attacks defined in three categories: those (a) not directed at a specific military objective; (b) that employ a method or means of combat that cannot be directed at a specific military objective; or (c) that employ a method or means of combat the effects of which cannot be limited as required by international humanitarian law; and consequently that, in each case strike military objectives and civilians or civilian objects without distinction.

906 With regard to the customary development of rules applicable in non-international armed conflict the ICTY stated that state practice accounted for "certain rules concerning international armed conflict applied. Among rules deemed applicable were the prohibition of the intentional bombing of civilians, the rule forbidding attacks on non-military objectives, and the rule regarding required precautions when attacking military objectives." See *Prosecutor v. Tadić*, Case No. IT-94-1, Decision on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, (Oct. 2, 1995), ¶ 100 and ff.

907 As to who qualifies as a "combatant", see Articles 4(A)(1)-(3) and (6) Geneva Conventions III and Articles 43-44 of the Additional Protocol I. "Civilians" are all those who do not qualify as combatants thus defined, cf. Article 50 of the Additional Protocol I.

908 See for example Additional Protocol I, art. 52(3).

Among the cases of indiscriminate attack are bombardments by any method or means that treats as a single military objective a number of clearly separated, distinct military objectives located in a city, town, village, or other area containing a similar concentration of civilians or civilian objects. Such attacks are prohibited.

Even when an attack is directed at a clear military objective, IHL also prohibits such an attack as being indiscriminate if it is expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete, direct military advantage anticipated; these attacks are also called disproportionate attacks. The determination of proportionality can be one of the most complex aspects of IHL, and the relevant assessment requires an understanding of combat conditions. The application of the relevant norms ought not to be a process of second-guessing the decisions of commanders after the event, but of assessing the totality of the circumstances they faced while determining the legality of their actions.

In addition to the obligations to direct attacks only against combatants and military objectives, and to respect the principle of proportionality, the parties to the conflict must also take a series of precautions at the time of planning, ordering, or leading an attack. Codified in Article 57 of Protocol I, the precautions are grounded in the principle that military operations must be conducted with constant vigilance to spare the civilian population and civilian objects. All possible practical precautions must be taken to avoid and reduce to a minimum human casualties in the civilian population, injuries to civilians, and incidental damage to civilian objects. These precautions include doing everything feasible to verify that the objects of attack are military and not civilians or civilian objects, and giving “effective advance warning” of attacks when circumstances permit. Finally, IHL also contains principles and rules on weapons.

As stated earlier, while not all the specific rules contained in Additional Protocol I applicable in international armed conflict apply in internal conflicts, the core principles underlying such rules do. IHL also contains rules regarding fundamental guarantees and how people are treated, including the prohibition of torture and forms of cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment, and rape, as well as the treatment of detainees.

The list that follows sets out some of the main actions prohibited both in international and noninternational armed conflicts by IHL applicable in Lebanon under the relevant convention and customary rules of IHL (GC-Geneva Convention; AP-Additional Protocol; ICC-Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court; CIHL-customary international humanitarian law according to the ICRC study).

- **Unlawful attacks on life, particularly murder in all its forms:** Common Article 3(1)(a) to the GC I-IV; GC I, Art. 50; GC II, Art. 51; GC III, Art.130; GC IV, Art. 147; AP I, Art. 75(2); AP II, Art. 4(2)(a); ICC, Art. 8(2)(a)(i) and 8(2)(c)(i); CIHL Study, Rule 89.
- **Unlawful bodily injury, particularly mutilation, cruel treatment, torture, or torment:** Common Article 3(1)(a) to GC I-IV; GC I, Art. 50; GC II, Art. 51; GC III, Art.130; GC IV, Art. 147; AP I, Art. 75(2); AP II, Art. 4(2)(a); ICC, Art. 8(2)(a)(ii) and 8(2)(c)(i); CIHL Study, Rules 90 and 92.
- **Rape, sexual slavery, and other forms of sexual violence:** Common Article 3 (1)(c) to GC I-IV; GC IV, Art. 27 (2); AP I, Art. 75(2) (b) and Art. 76(1); AP II, Art. 4(2)(e) and (f); ICC Art. 8(2) (b)(xxii) and 8(2)(e)(vi); CIHL Study, Rule 93.
- **Intentional direct attacks against the civilian population:** AP I, Art. 85(3)(a); AP II, Art. 13(2); ICC Art. 8(2)(b)(i) and 8(2)(e)(i); CIHL Study, Rule 1.

- **Indiscriminate attacks or attacks in the knowledge that they will cause disproportionate loss of civilian life:** AP I, Art. 85(3)(b) and 51(5)(b); ICC Art. 8 (2)(b)(iv); CIHL Study, Rule 14.
- **Attacks aimed at spreading terror among civilians:** GC IV, Art. 33; AP I, Art. 51(2); AP II, Art. 4(2)(d) and 13(2); CIHL Study, Rule 2.
- **Intentional direct attacks against personnel, installations, material, units, or vehicles employed in the context of a humanitarian assistance or peacekeeping mission in accordance with the UN Charter:** AP I, Art. 71(2); AP II, Art. 9 and 11(1); Convention on the safety of UN and associated personnel (1994), Art. 7 (1) and 9; ICC, Art. 8(2)(b)(ii) and 8(2)(e)(ii); CIHL Study, Rules 31, 32, and 33.
- **Forced displacements of populations:** GC IV, Art. 147; AP I, Art. 85(4)(a); AP II, Art. 17(1); ICC, Art. Art. 8(2)(b)(viii) and 8(2)(e)(viii); CIHL Study, Rules 129 and 130.
- **Intentional direct attacks against civilian objects, i.e. objects that are not military targets:** AP I, Art. 52(1); ICC, Art. 8(2)(b)(ii); CIHL Study, Rules 7 and 10.

Applicable international human rights law

Due to the complex succession of internal disturbances and tensions as well as situations of armed conflicts, insecurity, abductions, and enforced disappearances in Lebanon over the past three decades, both IHL and IHRL are relevant and offer complementary protection of people and property.

While under IHRL treaties it is possible for states parties to derogate temporarily from some of their obligations under those treaties.⁹⁰⁹ Article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) explicitly lists the provisions that are not derogable and must therefore be respected at all times. These include the right to life; the prohibition of torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading punishment; the prohibition of slavery, the slave trade, and servitude; and freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. Furthermore, measures derogating from the ICCPR must not involve discrimination on the grounds of race, color, sex, language, religion, or social origin.

The UN Human Rights Committee also listed the other elements of the covenant that cannot be lawfully derogated from under Article 4, such as the right of all people deprived of their liberty to be treated with humanity and respect for the inherent dignity of the human person; the prohibition against taking hostages, abductions, and unacknowledged detentions; certain elements of the rights of minorities to protection; the prohibition on deportation or the forcible transfer of population groups; and the prohibition against propaganda for war and against the advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that would constitute incitement to discrimination, hostility, or violence. As this report focuses on serious violations of IHRL committed in Lebanon, most of the acts considered fall under the category of nonderogable rights.

It is also important to stress that IHRL obligations were recognized as being applicable to a state outside its own territory as long as the state controls such areas, provided that people fall under its jurisdiction.⁹¹⁰ This includes cases of occupation.⁹¹¹ Consequently as long as Syria or Israel exercised effective control over parts of Lebanon, whether as occupation or not, they were bound by IHRL's core norms.

909 See International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (999 U.N.T.S. 171, Dec. 16, 1966), art. 4(1).

910 The UN Human Rights Committee noted that "a State Party must respect and ensure the rights laid down in the Covenant to anyone within the power or effective control of that State Party, even if not situated within the territory of the State Party." See U.N. Human Rights Committee, 18th Session. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: General Comment No. 31 [80] Nature of the General Legal Obligation Imposed on States Parties to the Covenant, 2004 (CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.13), para. 10.

911 See for example Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, paras 111-113.

- Key legal instruments ratified by Lebanon, Syria, and Israel

The three states involved in the different conflicts in Lebanon ratified two of the key International Human Rights Conventions, namely:

- » The 1966 ICCPR, acceded to by Lebanon on November 3, 1972; by Israel on October 3, 1991; and by Syria on April 21, 1969.
- » The 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), acceded to by Lebanon on October 5, 2000; by Israel on October 3, 1991; and by Syria on August 19, 2004. Lebanon acceded to its Optional Protocol on December 22, 2008.

7.2 Legal Classification of Patterns in Lebanon

With the main objective of highlighting the nature and patterns of violence that have affected Lebanon over the past three decades, this report does not seek to legally classify each of the hundreds of violent incidents that were reported in the first six chapters, nor to identify individual perpetrators who could be held criminally responsible. Bearing this in mind, the report takes a general approach of exemplifying a given practice in breach of international law, constituted of several similar specific incidents that would provide a preliminary account and legal analysis for the many violations committed over the period covered, and that could potentially serve as a basis for further investigation.

For the purpose of this report, the classification will therefore be done based on both serious violations of IHRL and IHL that entail individual criminal responsibility, and other violations of IHRL and IHL that, while not bearing a particular consequence under international criminal law in terms of individual responsibility, remain crucial to describe the main patterns of unlawful conducts that marred the past three decades in Lebanon. The following legal classification will nevertheless pay specific attention to violations that are serious, in the sense that “it must constitute a breach of a rule protecting important values, and the breach must involve grave consequences for the victim.”⁹¹² These include war crimes, crimes against humanity, torture, enforced disappearances, and extrajudicial killings.

In light of the legal framework illustrated above, most of the acts of violence documented in this report were committed during an armed conflict, be it an internal one with fighting carried out among various armed groups and militias based in Lebanon, a situation of occupation considering the case of Israel and Syria, or an international armed conflict. Moreover, they were committed in many instances as part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population. These elements mean that such violations may amount to crimes under international law. The majority of the most serious incidents identified in this report constitute crimes under international law either as war crimes or crimes against humanity, and often both.

In addition, the vast majority of the acts of violence that happened in Lebanon against civilians during that period are likely to constitute crimes under Lebanese law in one way or another.

This chapter will proceed with the legal classification of some of the emblematic cases documented in the previous chapters, in a bid to highlight certain patterns characterized by the gravity of the violations and the impact on the victims, as well as what they represent in the country's collective memory.

912 Prosecutor v. Tadić, Case No. IT-94-1, Decision on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, (Oct. 2, 1995), ¶ 94. According to some experts, “Violations are treated as serious – and consequently as war crimes – when they endanger protected persons or property, or when they infringe important values.” See Jean-Marie Henckaerts and Louise Doswald-Beck, *Droit international humanitaire coutumier*, Tome 1, Les Règles, 752.

7.2.1 Legal definition of serious IHL and HR violations

War crimes

For the purposes of matters considered in this report, “war crimes” refers to serious violations of IHL committed during an international or internal armed conflict. The expression “serious violations of IHL” encompass acts that are criminalized in times of international armed conflict and during internal armed conflict. As for the latter case, this is part of the generic notion of war crimes as described by the 2002 International Criminal Court (ICC) Statute that distinguishes between serious violations of Common Article 3 and other serious violations of IHL applicable in noninternational armed conflict.⁹¹³ The ICC Statute represents the most recent codification and illustrates the remaining difference between the two main types of conflicts because there are fewer acts listed for internal armed conflicts than for international ones.

While war crimes committed in an internal armed conflict are considered to have been the object of a more recent criminalization (for which individual perpetrators may be held criminally liable), their basic nature as war crimes (covering the most serious acts prohibited by Common Article 3) remains the same in cases of both international and noninternational conflicts. Such crimes are derived primarily from the 1949 Geneva Conventions and their 1977 Additional Protocols I and II. These include “grave breaches” and other serious violations of IHL during an international armed conflict as well as war crimes committed during an internal one.

In general, to establish that a war crime was committed, there needs to be evidence of four main elements:

- a) A prohibited act (such as murder, causing bodily injury, or rape).
- b) Committed against people (such as the civilian population or people not or no longer taking direct part in the hostilities), or objects protected under IHL.
- c) During an armed conflict.
- d) and the existence of a nexus between the armed conflict and the act committed, in that the crime must have been committed in the course of or as part of the hostilities in or occupation of an area controlled by one of the parties. It must be closely related to the armed conflict as a whole.

Crimes against humanity

The definition of crimes against humanity has become much more specific since it was first formulated in international law in the 1945 Statute of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Article 7(1) of the Rome Statute of the ICC defines the court’s jurisdiction regarding crimes against humanity. It lists 11 acts (including murder, rape, and inhumane acts) that, when they are committed “as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack,” constitute crimes against humanity.

The development of crimes against humanity in customary international law has been a complex process. It has involved developments on a range of issues like the nexus to an armed conflict that is not required by the Rome Statute and was not required by customary international law probably since the 1950s. However, it is not an easy matter to say which provisions relating to crimes against humanity were customary in respect to the violence in Lebanon at the time it was committed. For the purpose of this report, the ICC definition should serve as a starting point, although a more detailed analysis may

913 See Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (2187 U.N.T.S. 90, Jul. 1, 2002), art. 8.

show that the elements of the crime at an earlier period may have been in some respects different.⁹¹⁴

What emerges from this definition is that three main elements must coexist for classification as a crime against humanity:

- a) An act or series of acts (such as murder, rape, or serious injury to body or physical health).
- b) Committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack.
- c) Directed against any civilian population.

Serious violations of IHRL

While in the context of the violence in Lebanon, most acts were committed during an armed conflict, some also were committed as part of the general state of insecurity not necessarily related to the conflict, like certain waves of targeted assassinations and abductions. The limitations of who can be held accountable under international law should not diminish the gravity and trauma caused by such acts as part of the generalized violence in Lebanon.

It was not possible in this report to identify the multitude of individual cases of human rights violations. Nonetheless, there were hundreds or even thousands of individual incidents of serious violations perpetrated by security forces. The most common violations are related to the right to life, the right to liberty and security of person, and the prohibition of torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment.

The right to life

The right to life is nonderogable and has been reaffirmed in all core human rights treaties. As stated by Article 6 of the ICCPR: "Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life." Under IHRL, the state may only resort to the use of potentially lethal force when absolutely necessary and may only use that amount of force necessary to deal with the threat posed. The state is under an obligation to attempt to carry out an arrest wherever possible.

Torture

Apart from constituting a crime against humanity when it is part of a widespread or systematic attack, torture is also a serious violation of human rights. The prohibition against torture is absolute and nonderogable in IHRL as well as in IHL. It is recognized as part of customary international law. Numerous international instruments prohibit the use of torture, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ICCPR, and CAT.

Arbitrary detention

Under IHRL, in particular Article 9 of the ICCPR, everyone has the right to liberty and security. Furthermore this provision specifically prohibits arbitrary arrest or detention; no one shall be deprived of their liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedures as are established by law.

914 Over time the issues, among others, of nexus to an armed conflict, the distinction between persecutory acts and other inhuman acts, the relevance of persecutory motive and the need for a plan of policy have all developed or varied. For a detailed treatment of this issue see Phyllis Hwang, "Defining Crimes Against Humanity in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court," *Fordham International Law Journal* 22 (1998). Also see Dörmann, *Elements of War Crimes under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court - sources and commentary*, accessed <http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/publication/po-521-81852-4.htm>.

Enforced disappearances

Similarly to torture, apart from constituting a crime against humanity when it is part of a widespread or systematic attack, enforced disappearances are absolutely prohibited under international law. While the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance only entered into force in 2010, this prohibition already existed before as part of the right to liberty and security. The most recent definition of enforced disappearance refers to “the arrest, detention, abduction or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which place such a person outside the protection of the law.”⁹¹⁵ Disappearances and similar acts of unacknowledged detention are violations of Article 9 of the ICCPR.

Classification of some emblematic cases of violations of IHRL and IHL during the multiple conflicts and periods of violence in Lebanon

Most of the violent incidents reported in the preceding chapters amount to war crimes and crimes against humanity under international law. Most reveal the commission of prohibited acts such as killings and causing bodily or mental harm (war crime and crime against humanity), committed during an armed conflict (war crime), against a civilian population (war crime and crime against humanity), and were part of a systematic or widespread attack (crime against humanity).

The expression “serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law” referred to in this report encompasses various specific crimes triggering individual criminal responsibility under international law, such as “grave breaches” in the 1949 Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol I, “war crimes,” “crimes against humanity,” “torture,” or “enforced disappearances.”

Another expression often used to cover those acts is “crimes under international law” defined as “crimes by individuals that are defined by international law itself and that international law permits or requires states to punish.”⁹¹⁶ Following the end of the Second World War, the Nuremberg Tribunal had already defined an international crime as “an act universally recognized as criminal, which is considered a grave matter of international concern and for some valid reason cannot be left within the exclusive jurisdiction of the state that would have control over it under ordinary circumstances.”⁹¹⁷

Due to the many incidents that took place during the successive waves of violence and armed conflicts over the past three decades, this section only address some emblematic cases based on the previous chapters that illustrate the nature and scale of violations committed. This shall in no way be construed as meaning that other incidents listed do not constitute violations of IHRL or IHL and do not warrant legal classification. On the contrary, the following emblematic cases give a sense of the magnitude of the crimes under international law that to date remain unaddressed. Furthermore, as demonstrated in the preceding chapters, this report highlights the gaps between incidents that have been documented extensively and qualified as serious violations of IHL and IHRL over the past years and incidents for which very few sources exist, showing the failure to investigate and address the need for the truth and the right to reparation and justice for victims.

Finally, the legal classification of these incidents is based on the facts as reported by the open sources used in this report; thus, such classification should not be considered conclusive. Further investigation may produce information that alters these classifications.

⁹¹⁵ See International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (Dec. 20, 2006), art. 2.

⁹¹⁶ AI, *The Time For Justice is Now: New Strategy Needed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, 66.

⁹¹⁷ *US v. List et al.*, 19 February 1948, *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuremberg Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1950) Vol IX 1230, 1241.

Nature of the conflicts in Lebanon: Armed conflicts under IHL

As this report illustrates, the vast majority of people involved in violence and unlawful behaviour were either armed groups or state armed forces (Lebanese, Israeli, and Syrian armies), and considered under IHL as parties to an armed conflict, with some armed groups being more organized (for example, Joint Forces, Kataeb, LF, PSP, Amal, and Hezbollah), and often supported and armed by neighboring countries. The PLO had unique characteristics as it was a non-Lebanese organization but did not qualify as a state under international law. Consequently, hostilities between the PLO and another armed group or a state would be considered noninternational.

The level of violence, the resort to armed force, and the use of weaponry, including RPGs and mortar shells, allow for classifying the fighting between various groups in Lebanon as noninternational armed conflicts governed at least by Common Article 3 and core rules of IHL on the conduct of hostilities. Incidents not related to such conflicts still constitute violations of IHRL, including the right to life and the right to security of person.

Similarly, armed interventions by Israel, followed in some cases by the Israeli Army's effective control of various parts of Lebanese territory, can be qualified as an international conflict and as cases of belligerent occupation. As for the 2006 war, it was qualified by the UN Commission of Inquiry on Lebanon as an international armed conflict partly because Israel carried out sustained attacks against Lebanese infrastructure, turning this "transnational" armed conflict into an international one.⁹¹⁸ Syria's intervention can be qualified as an internal armed conflict when fighting took place with various armed militias since Syria intervened formally with the Lebanese government's consent. Conflict between the Syrian Army and the Lebanese Army, like the fighting that occurred in October 1990, qualifies as an international armed conflict. Syria's occupation of Lebanon became belligerent occupation at those times when Lebanon officially demanded that the Syrian military leave the country on July 27, 1982, when the ADF's mandate expired; on September 24, 1987, when President Gemayel requested that Syrian and other foreign troops leave when he addressed the UN General Assembly; and in March 1989 when Prime Minister Aoun launched the War of Liberation. It is important to note the Tà'if Agreement, ratified by the Lebanese Parliament in November 1991, stipulated a staged redeployment of Syrian troops to specific regions of Lebanon, which was not carried out. Hostilities between Lebanese forces and armed groups amount to an internal armed conflict.

Crimes against humanity committed in Lebanon

The multiple incidents described in the preceding chapters show that most of the acts of violence perpetrated during these years were part of attacks against civilians, residential neighborhoods, refugee camps, and waves of retaliation, all of which in general terms translated into a series of widespread or systematic attacks against civilian populations and can therefore be classified as crimes against humanity. The widespread, systematic nature of the attacks is demonstrated by the high number of victims and crimes committed in several regions in the country, the organized nature of the attacks, and the pattern of the violence perpetrated against civilians.

The massacres of Karantina and Damour committed in 1976 were systematic and widespread killings that would fit the definition of crimes against humanity codified by the ICC Statute. Similarly, the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacres carried out by the LF with Israel's support, amount to a crimes against humanity, because the murder of civilians there were widespread and systematic.

The multiple acts of violence perpetrated against Christians during the War of the Mountain (1983-1985) offer another typical example of crimes against humanity. Several acts listed in the definition of crimes against humanity were perpetrated against them, including murder, deportation, and other inhumane acts that intentionally caused great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

918 Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Lebanon pursuant to Human Rights Council resolution S-2/1, paras. 53, 58 and 60.

They also display the essential elements of persecution as a crime against humanity: the Christians were an identifiable group whose members were persecuted for religious reasons and were victims of a virulent anti-Christian campaign started by the most senior political officials in the area at the time.

Emblematic cases: Decades of human rights and IHL violations

As stressed above, the following emblematic cases are not intended to provide an exhaustive description of the violent incidents reported in the previous chapters but rather to give a sense of the nature and extent of serious IHL and IHRL violations committed over the past three decades. This section is articulated as much as possible on the basis of the legal classification of facts to provide an account of the type of violations committed by all parties, notably war crimes, crimes against humanity, and serious violations of IHRL, in particular torture, arbitrary detention, and enforced disappearances.

SCORES OF WAR CRIMES AND OTHER SERIOUS IHL VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY ALL PARTIES AGAINST CIVILIANS

The inventory of violent incidents set out in the previous chapters pointed to the commission of multiple prohibited acts against people who warranted protection during an armed conflict and with a nexus between the prohibited act and the armed conflict. In general terms, this connection appears clearly in the incidents described in this report. Almost all of the victims identified in this report belong to protected groups, generally civilians who are not taking part in the hostilities. It is also important to note that this applies to people living in refugee camps, who constitute a civilian population that is not participating in the hostilities, in spite of the presence of military personnel and organized armed groups among them in some cases.⁹¹⁹

Murders, wilful killings, causing injury to body or health, and intentional attacks directed against the civilian population

Throughout the civil war in Lebanon, murders and wilful killings were committed within cycles of reprisals against civilians and on a sectarian basis.

The hostilities among Christian militias, Leftist, and Palestinian fighters that started in mid-April 1975 amount to an internal armed conflict because it was prolonged and involved the resort to armed force, including through the use of rocket launchers, automatic rifles, and mortars by organized groups such as the Kataeb and PLO. The Two-Year War (1975-1976) was marked by a series of war crimes such as identity-based assassinations and enforced disappearances (e.g. the abduction and killing of Muslims on December 6, 1975).

On January 20, 1976, in reaction to the Karantina/Maslakh massacre, armed men set up checkpoints in various areas of West Beirut, and they executed around 30 Christians.

Between April and June 1976, Druze militias, with the support of the Arab Liberation Army and other National Movement allies, killed Christian civilians and destroyed and looted their villages.

In 1977, 177 Christians, including women, elderly people, and children, were killed in several villages in the Shuf and some areas in West Beirut. On August 21, 1977, a massacre occurred in the village of Brih, in the Shuf area, and it became known as the massacre of the Saint George Church. During the 1978 Operation Litani, the Lebanese militia of Major Saad Haddad, allied with Israel, killed more than 100 Shi'a children, women, and men. In one incident, the militiamen forced around 70 civilians into a mosque in the village of Khiyam and shot them dead.

919 See Additional Protocol I, para. 3, art. 50; Prosecutor v. Kordić et Cerkez, Case No. IT-95-14/2-A, Appeals Chamber Judgement, (Dec. 17, 2004), ¶ 50.

During 1978's Hundred-day war between Christian militias and the Syrian Army, Syrian soldiers kidnapped, killed, and burned six Lebanese citizens from the town of Bcharre, North Lebanon. Between June 27 and 28, in the northern Beqaa, at least 200 Syrian special forces kidnapped between 32 and 36 Christian men from their homes in the villages of al-Qaa, Ras Baalbeck, Jdeideh, and al-Fekha, executed them, and dumped them in a mass grave.

The 1982 Sabra and Chatila massacre constitutes a war crime and a crime against humanity. The LF killed several hundred camp residents over two days, including several patients at the Akka and Gaza hospitals, as well as several staff members and camp residents who had found shelter on the premises. Israel at best failed to respect its obligations under international law to care for and protect the population of the camps who were protected people living in territory recently occupied by its military; at worst, it facilitated or even participated in the planning of these massacres.⁹²⁰

The War of the Mountain and the War of the Camps also were marked by numerous killings of civilians that constitute war crimes under IHL applicable to noninternational armed conflict.

The siege of Christian towns and Palestinian camps facilitating the commission of other war crimes

The practice of besieging Palestinian camps and Christian villages during the Two-Year War period also violates IHL because it involved cutting off access to water and electricity, and blocking access to medical supplies with no aim to achieve a legitimate military objective as provided under IHL. While the prohibition of starvation as a method of warfare does not prohibit siege warfare, this is so as long as the purpose is to achieve a military objective and not to starve a civilian population.

Furthermore, these sieges facilitated the commission of other war crimes such as murders and willful killings of civilians. For example, Palestinian militias and their Lebanese allies laid siege to the Christian towns of Damour and Jiyeh, carrying out repeated assaults that left scores of civilians dead. During the siege of the Tel al-Zaatar camp, several thousand Palestinian civilians were killed or injured as a result of the shelling, but many-particularly children- also died from lack of medication and water.

Israel's Operation Peace for Galilee led to the siege of West Beirut from June 15, 1982, to September 1982. During this time, troops cut off the electricity and water supply, depriving at least 300,000 people of water and electricity for three months.

Approximately 8,000 Christians from more than 60 villages sought refuge in the Christian town of Deir al-Qamar in 1983 when the siege started which was marked by numerous war crimes. The presence of several hundred LF fighters in this town did not justify the shelling, gunfire, and various tactics used to scare the displaced civilians there. Several dozens were killed as a result of the bombing, and during the siege, eight people died from lack of access to medical and food supplies.

Indiscriminate attacks

The shelling and use of mortars and rockets by the PLA, PLO armed factions, Lebanese leftists, right-wing Christian militias, and the Lebanese Army in Tripoli, Zgharta, and Zahleh in December 1975 constitute indiscriminate attacks in violation of IHL because they were not specifically directed at military objectives or they caused disproportionate harm to civilians or damage to civilian objects. Using such means of warfare in densely populated areas constitutes a breach of the rules protecting civilians from the effects of hostilities.

920 See Israel in Lebanon, 190-191.

During Operation Litani in 1978, the Israeli Army shelled heavily populated areas of Sour, Arqoub, and Nabatieh, with cluster bombs that cannot distinguish between military objectives and civilians when used in urban populated areas. This was the first time these bombs were used.

The Hundred-day War in 1978, an internal armed conflict between the Syrian Army and Christian militias, and the battle of Zahleh in 1981 were marred by Syria's shelling populated areas, which violated its obligation to distinguish between military objectives and civilians. In particular, the Syrian Army's use of Grad missiles against the Christian-populated areas of East Beirut was a clear breach of IHL. The use of such missiles in populated areas does not permit direct attacks solely against military objectives due to their radius of impact. Residential areas, schools, hospitals, and factories were destroyed.

When the Syrian Army shelled Saida, the Palestinian camp of Ain al-Hilweh, and Mieh w Mieh in 1976, between 125 and 140 people were reportedly killed, including children, and between 350 and 400 were injured. The IHL violations committed during this period of the internal armed conflict amount to war crimes as violations of Common Article 3 due to the development of state practice and the adoption of the 1977 Additional Protocol II, although the latter does not contain rules on the conduct of hostilities.

During the hostilities against the Lebanese Army in February 1978, the Syrian Army shelled residential areas in East Beirut for 100 consecutive days, with complete disregard for the principles of distinction and proportionality under IHL. While bombing the military school constitutes a legitimate military objective, the indiscriminate shelling of civilian residential areas afterward amount to a clear breach of IHL.

In Operation Peace for Galilee and the 2006 war, Israel conducted attacks by air, land, and sea that amount to war crimes and thus violated the IHL principles of distinction and proportionality in part because it used weapons such as cluster bombs in 1978 and 2006, and fragmentation and incendiary weapons in 1982 and 2006 in populated areas. The 2006 war was documented extensively by international NGOs and the UN Commission of Inquiry. The incidents below were derived from the investigations these organizations conducted. All of these reports concluded that the primary victims of this war were Lebanese civilians and that they had died as a result of indiscriminate, disproportionate attacks by the Israeli Army.⁹²¹

Forced displacement of civilians

Civilians started to be displaced in the Two-Year War. Parties to a conflict may order the displacement of civilians if justified for the security of the civilians involved or by imperative military reasons. However in December 1975, when the Kataeb forced residents of the Muslim-populated neighborhood of Haret al-Ghawarneh-Antelias in Beirut's northern suburbs to leave to Burj al-Barajneh and other areas in West Beirut, none of these justifications appear to have been met. This incident would therefore amount to war crimes as a violation of the prohibition of forced displacement under IHL.⁹²² Similarly, the forced displacement of thousands of Christians and Druze while fleeing from other serious violations of IHL, like indiscriminate attacks during the War of the Mountain, may amount to a war crime even if these displacements were not ordered.

921 Why They Died, Civilian Casualties in Lebanon During the 2006 War, 21; Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Lebanon pursuant to Human Rights Council resolution S-2/1, 3.

922 See for example, Rule 129 of the Customary International Humanitarian Law, Vol. 1.

Crimes Against Humanity

As stated earlier, an act prohibited under the definition of war crime may also constitute a crime against humanity if it is part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population. In that regard, the series of acts listed in the definition of crimes against humanity essentially reflect the most serious violations of human rights, in particular violations of the right to life and serious injury to personal physical and moral integrity. The inventory of serious violations set out in the preceding chapters reveals the commission of multiple acts listed in the definition of crimes against humanity, including: murder, enforced disappearance, torture, rape, deportation or forcible transfer of the population, other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

However for the acts listed previously to be classified as crimes against humanity, they must be committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack. An attack, according to the Rome Statute, consists of multiple acts of violence like those listed in the definition. It does not necessarily have to consist of a military attack or armed conflict.⁹²³ Nonetheless, a single act can constitute a crime against humanity if it is part of a larger attack. The widespread nature of the attack is based on its scale, the number of people targeted, or “the cumulative effect of a series of inhumane acts or [through] the specific effect of a single, large-scale act.”⁹²⁴ Its systematic nature is inferred from the “organized character of the acts committed and [from] the improbability of their being random in nature.”⁹²⁵ The ICC Statute also includes the requirement that the attack must be committed “pursuant to or in furtherance of a State or organizational policy.”⁹²⁶ But in the jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY), this requirement has been interpreted not to constitute “a separate legal element of a crime against humanity,” although it is still “evidentially relevant” in proving the widespread or systematic nature of an attack.⁹²⁷

In light of the above, one can consider that some of the prohibited acts committed in Lebanon over the past three decades were part of a widespread or systematic attack. For example, the massacres of Sabra and Chatila were part of a series of attacks against civilians. Furthermore, the scale of the attack in which hundreds of civilians were killed in few hours as well as the cumulative effect of a series of inhumane acts as described by the survivors clearly demonstrate that it was widespread. The acts carried out as part of this attack also were conducted in an organized manner with the LF killing civilians for two days, and with the Israeli Army surrounding the camps and sending flares up to facilitate the attacks. The LF even proceeded to kill hospital patients and staff.

Finally, the notion of crime against humanity is intended to protect civilian populations, hence the requirement that the widespread or systematic attack be directed against them. A civilian population is defined not only as people who are not in uniform and have no link to the public authorities, but as all people who are “out of combat” and thus are not or are no longer taking part in a conflict.⁹²⁸ The expression “civilian population” needs to be understood in its broad sense and refers to a population that is primarily made up of civilians. A population may be classified as “civilian” even if it includes noncivilians, provided that civilians are in the majority.⁹²⁹ As a result, refugees in camps constitute a civilian population even if armed elements are also present. Again, it can be stated that the vast majority of victims in the cases listed constituted civilian populations.

923 See ICC, Elements of Crimes, art. 7.

924 See Prosecutor v. Kordic and Cerkez, Case No. IT-95-14/2-A, Appeals Chamber Judgement, (Dec. 17, 2004), ¶ 94.

925 Ibid.

926 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, art. 7(2)(a).

927 Prosecutor v. Kunarac, Kovac and Vokovic, Case No. IT-96-23 and IT-96-23/1, Appeals Chamber Judgement, (Jun. 12, 2002), ¶ 98. See also Prosecutor v. Seromba, Case No. ICTR-2001-66-A, Appeals Chamber Judgement (Mar. 12, 2008), ¶ 149. See also Prosecutor v. Nahimana, Barayagwiza and Ngeze, Case No. ICTR-99-52-A, Appeals Chamber Judgement, (Nov. 28, 2007), ¶ 922; Prosecutor v. Gacumbitsi, Case No. ICTR-2001-64-A, Appeals Chamber Judgement, (Jul. 7, 2006), ¶ 84.

928 See Prosecutor v. Mrkšić and Šljivančanin, Case No. IT-95-13/1-A, Appeals Chamber Judgement, (May 5, 2009), ¶ 32 and 33.

929 See Prosecutor v. Fatmir Limaj, Case No. IT-03-66-T, Appeals Chamber Judgement, (Nov. 30, 2005), ¶ 186.

As highlighted by the MacBride Commission, Sabra and Chatila were neither centers of military resistance nor hiding places for large numbers of fighters; and the fact that there may have been light weapons in the camps and that inevitably many people had links to the PLO did not deprive the camps of their general civilian character.⁹³⁰

The MacBride Commission also concluded that Israel shared responsibility with the Lebanese militias for the massacre on the grounds that Israel was the occupying power of the camps area when the Israeli Army entered West Beirut on September 15, 1982, until its withdrawal on September 26, 1982. According to witnesses, the Israelis prevented civilians from escaping and arranged for the camps to be illuminated by flares during the nights of the massacre.⁹³¹

It is important to stress that some of the other serious violations described in the preceding chapters point to the existence of multiple attacks launched by the various groups involved in the conflicts being widespread or systematic in nature, therefore being crimes against humanity.

Other IHL And IHRL Violations: Arbitrary Arrests And Detentions, Torture, And Ill-Treatment

Torture and ill-treatment are similarly prohibited under IHL and IHRL. However, when it comes to arbitrary detention, their standards vary. Indeed, under IHL applicable to international armed conflict, an enemy combatant may be detained without judgment for the duration of the hostilities to prevent them from fighting. Differences exist between the two different fields of IHL and IHRL on the rights of detainees to have the lawfulness of their detention determined during times of armed conflict, occupations, or peacekeeping operations. This report does not seek to address the specificities of the two bodies of law but rather to focus on the widespread practice of arbitrary detention in times of occupation or when Syria and Israel exercised effective control over parts of Lebanese territory.

Throughout the war in Lebanon and at the hands of Syrian security forces after the end of hostilities, civilians and captured fighters were victims of arbitrary detention and torture in detention centers, some being summarily executed, while the fate of others remains unknown to date.

During Operation Peace for Galilee, mass arrests of civilians were carried out during the first weeks of Israel's invasion. As reported by the MacBride Commission, several thousand people were held in Israeli-controlled detention centers between June and September 1982, in all the areas controlled by the Israeli Army.⁹³² Detainees were held under difficult conditions, which included stifling heat, scant amounts of food and water, and severe beatings.⁹³³ The commission found that the Israeli government violated international law by refusing to treat combatants as prisoners of war-with internment of medical personnel-maltreatment, torture, humiliation, confiscation of personal possessions, and other violations reported.⁹³⁴ The commission stressed in particular "the exceptional extent of the arrests, the ways in which they were made and the treatment of detainees . . . [to be] largely incompatible with Geneva Conventions of 1949."

In addition to the violations described above, Syria throughout its presence in Lebanon committed numerous other IHL and IHRL violations. Syria remained bound by IHRL even though it may not be considered a belligerent occupying power since it entered Lebanon and controlled most of the country with the express consent of the Lebanese authorities.

930 Israel in Lebanon, 169.

931 See generally MacBride and Kapeliouk on the role of the Israelis. The Beirut Massacre, 45; Israel in Lebanon, 169 and 173; Sabra et Chatila, 3.

932 Israel in Lebanon, 116

933 Armed Conflict in Lebanon, 53.

934 Israel in Lebanon, 130.

As noted earlier, in 1989, hundreds of people in Tripoli, Beirut, and the Beqaa were arrested and brutally interrogated by the Syrian military intelligence at the Madrasat al-Amirkan, al-Mafraza, and Anjar detention centers.

The Continued Tragedy of Missing and Forcibly Disappeared People

The case of missing and forcibly disappeared people during the political violence and armed conflicts in Lebanon merits specific attention due to the very nature of this IHRL violation. It bears particular meaning in the collective memory of the Lebanese, mainly because relatives of a missing person cannot obtain closure as long as they do not know the fate of their loved one. It is important to note that these violations of the right to liberty and security of person were closely linked to another human rights violation: the practice of arbitrary detentions leading to enforced disappearance.

In the first few years of the 1975 to 1990 wars, hundreds of civilians, mostly Lebanese and Palestinian, were victims of abductions. These generally ended in enforced disappearances.

In this regard, the Syrian security services operating in Lebanon at the end of the 1990s and in the 2000s carried out arbitrary detentions resulting in enforced disappearances. The UN Human Rights Committee expressed deep concern about disappearances of Lebanese nationals arrested in Lebanon by Syrian forces, then transferred to Syria.⁹³⁵

7.3 Responsibility for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law

As stated in the introduction, this report focuses on serious violations of IHRL and IHL, and does not aim to identify individual perpetrators bearing responsibility under international law. It is, however, important to clearly state the international legal obligations of the states and other nonstate actors who were involved in the conflict in Lebanon.

Under international law on state responsibility, a state can be held responsible for acts attributed to it and that constitute breaches of any obligation in force vis-à-vis this state. For the sake of this report, it is only necessary to recall that those principles apply in the context of IHRL and IHL obligations.

The question of the responsibility of armed groups, especially with regard to the numerous groups and militias involved in the acts of violence in Lebanon is more problematic, at least under IHRL. As parties to an armed conflict, such groups are bound by IHL. For example, Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions summarizes the main customary rules of IHL that are binding upon all states, as well as any insurgent group that has attained some measure of organized structure, both during an internal or an international conflict.⁹³⁶ However, a recent trend has emerged considering that armed groups as such could also be bound by human rights norms. There is a growing recognition that nonstate actors have obligations under human rights law, including in the context

935 U.N. Human Rights Committee, 71st Session. Concluding observations of the Human Rights Committee: Syrian Arab Republic, 2001 (New York: Concluding Observations/Comments CCPR/CO/71/SYR, 2001), para. 10.

936 Case concerning Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), para. 218.

of Lebanon.⁹³⁷ This is particularly significant in cases when a nonstate actor exercises effective control of a territory.⁹³⁸

The central question for this report lies with the issue of the responsibility of individuals for violations of IHRL and IHL. A clear distinction must be made between a mere violation of international law and a violation that entails the individual criminal responsibility of the perpetrator under international law. The expression “serious violations of IHRL and IHL” referred to in this report encompasses various specific crimes triggering individual criminal responsibility under international law, such as “grave breaches” to the 1949 Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol I, “war crimes,” “crimes against humanity,” “torture,” or “enforced disappearances.”

Another expression that is often used to cover those acts is “crimes under international law,” defined as “crimes by individuals that are defined by international law itself and that international law permits or requires states to punish.”⁹³⁹

As highlighted earlier with regard to the temporal scope of this report, international criminal law requirements, notably the principle *nullum crimen sine lege*, preclude criminalizing conduct when this is not firmly recognized under international law. As stated by a former judge at the ICTY: “It should . . . be clear that drawing upon general principles should never be used to criminalize conduct that was previously not prohibited by a criminal law . . . To hold the contrary would mean to admit serious departures from the *nullum crimen* principle, contrary to the whole thrust of current international criminal law.”⁹⁴⁰

The principle of individual criminal responsibility was first clearly stated by the Nuremberg Tribunal: “Crimes against international law are committed by men, not by abstract entities, and only by punishing individuals who commit such crimes can the provisions of international law be enforced.”⁹⁴¹ While crimes against humanity were part of the crimes falling under jurisdiction of the Nuremberg Tribunal, under IHL, individual criminal responsibility was for a long time only conceived in the context of certain violations of IHL applicable in international armed conflict. The criminalization of acts committed in the context of an internal armed conflict violating relevant specific rules of IHL only emerged recently and with strict requirements.

The ICTY insisted on those requirements in the Tadić case, one being that “the violation of the rule must entail, under customary or conventional law, the individual criminal responsibility of the person breaching the rule.”⁹⁴² As a result, the mere finding of a violation of IHL is not enough, especially

937 The joint report on Lebanon and Israel by a group of four UN special rapporteurs stressed that “although a non-State actor cannot become a party to these human rights treaties, it remains subject to the demand of the international community, first expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that every organ of society respect and promote human rights.” See U.N. Human Rights Council, 2nd Session. Report of the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, Philip Alston; the Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, Paul Hunt; the Representative of the Secretary-General on the human rights of internally displaced persons, Walter Kälin; and the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, Miloon Kothari, 2006 (New York: Official Record A/HRC/2/7, 2006), para. 19, quoted by Andrew Clapham, “Human rights obligations of non-state actors in conflict situations,” *International Review of the Red Cross* 863, 2006.

938 *Ibid.*, para. 19.

939 The Time For Justice is Now: New Strategy Needed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 66.

940 Cassese, *International Criminal Law*, 155.

941 See The Trial of Major War Criminals: Proceedings of the International Military Tribunal Sitting at Nuremberg Germany, Part 22, 445 and 447.

942 The ICTY spells out the test for a violation of IHL to entail individual criminal responsibility:

“The following requirements must be met for an offence to be subject to prosecution before the International Tribunal under Article 3:

(i) the violation must constitute an infringement of a rule of international humanitarian law;
(ii) the rule must be customary in nature or, if it belongs to treaty law, the required conditions must be met (see below, para. 143);
(iii) the violation must be “serious”, that is to say, it must constitute a breach of a rule protecting important values, and the breach must involve grave consequences for the victim. Thus, for instance, the fact of a combatant simply appropriating a loaf of bread in an occupied village would not amount to a “serious violation of international humanitarian law” although it may be regarded as falling foul of the basic principle laid down in Article 46, paragraph 1, of the Hague Regulations (and the corresponding rule of customary international law) whereby “private property must be respected” by any army occupying an enemy territory;
(iv) the violation of the rule must entail, under customary or conventional law, the individual criminal responsibility of the person breaching the rule ». See Prosecutor v. Tadić, Case No. IT-94-1, Decision on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, (Oct. 2, 1995), ¶ 94.

in the light of the principle of legality.⁹⁴³ In this regard, the ICTY referred to the requirements as described in the Nuremberg Tribunal jurisprudence.⁹⁴⁴ However, it based its decision on state practice criminalizing violations of certain IHL rules in times of internal armed conflict that dates back to before the violence began in Lebanon.⁹⁴⁵ It is difficult and outside the scope of this report to assess which specific IHL rule of internal armed conflict was criminalized under customary law at the time because most of the state practice developed over the past two decades.⁹⁴⁶

The fact that many acts were committed in Lebanon before this evolution limits the possibility to classify certain acts as serious violations that give rise to individual criminal responsibility under international law. However numerous acts committed during the period covered by the report, including the 1975–1990 war, amount to both violations of and crimes against IHL or IHRL. Some acts may amount to crimes against humanity, which were already defined in the Statute of the Nuremberg Tribunal and was part of customary international law before being codified by the ICC Statute.

Against the scale of serious violations of IHL and IHRL committed, and the number of victims who suffered harm over the past three decades of violence in Lebanon, there is a general obligation under international law for Lebanon to conduct thorough, independent, and impartial investigations into such violations and bring perpetrators to justice. As stated in the UN Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation: “In cases of gross violations of international human rights law and serious violations of international humanitarian law constituting crimes under international law, States have the duty to investigate and, if there is sufficient evidence, the duty to submit to prosecution the person allegedly responsible for the violations and, if found guilty, the duty to punish her or him.”⁹⁴⁷

Furthermore, other states, through the principle of universal jurisdiction, have a duty to investigate and prosecute suspected perpetrators of certain international crimes under the 1949 Geneva Conventions and 1977 Additional Protocol I; they also may do so under the current understanding of permissible universal jurisdiction (whereby a state may give jurisdiction to its own courts for crimes committed by nonnationals outside its territory).

943 International Criminal Law, 50–51.

944 See Prosecutor v. Tadic, Case No. IT-94-1, Decision on the Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction, (Oct. 2, 1995), ¶ 128.

945 Ibid., paras 130 and ff.

946 See Customary International Humanitarian Law, op. cit., 552–553.

947 U.N. General Assembly, 60th Session. UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, 2005 (New York: Official Record A/RES/60/147,2005), para 4.

Conclusion

In the past three decades, the term “Lebanonization” has come to signify full-out war, be it through the total disintegration of the state, civil war, sectarian-based killings, or a space where foreign states carry out their power struggles through proxy of local militias. Although the war officially ended some 20 years ago, Lebanon continues to find itself in the grips of violence a violence that is well known, its politics profusely analyzed, its players’ motivations elaborated, and justified. And yet, its victims, the Lebanese people and all communities that have resided on Lebanese soil during these years of violence, remain largely ignored.

First, these victims were told that they should forget what happened as a necessary means to forgive. As a means to seal this, they were told that seeking justice was not possible. Today, the Lebanese people have not forgotten. What is worse is that today there is a widespread sense that violence is the permanent, unchangeable condition of the Lebanese people, that their country is doomed to remain a place of divisiveness, communal fear, and insecurity, with the potential for violence to erupt at any time. This is not the life that survivors of these conflicts deserve. Moreover, it is not the legacy that the children of Lebanon deserve.

It is time to start questioning the logic of forget and forgive. The time of occupations and foreign presences has ended. Teenagers and young adults are asking questions about their country’s past and the suffering of their parents. They have no reference at school or at home that would enable them to begin to understand the legacy that they carry, which often forms part of their personal history and identity.

It is time to start exploring a process of acknowledgment. Whether it ends in forgiveness, in reconciliation, or in political stability remains to be seen. But the people in Lebanon, all of whom have suffered the direct or indirect consequences of violence, deserve that their suffering be acknowledged. They also have the responsibility to acknowledge the suffering of other individuals or communities, be they religious or geographic.

This report, with its account of incidents, makes clear that all communities, Lebanese or not, living in the country, suffered during the war and to this day, and continue to live in fear. Several thousand people have never stopped demanding that their state assume its responsibilities in shedding light on the fate of their loved ones, whose sudden disappearance disrupted their lives and those of their families forever. It is time to start exploring serious, transparent manners of responding to these demands and taking into account the demands, needs, and rights of victims to truth, justice, and reparation. At a more general level, it is time to start discussing at a national level, what can be done with the legacy of pain, of rupture, of suffering, of guilt, of terror, not necessarily to heal, but maybe in the hope of building the grounds for a more secure environment for generations to come. In other words, just as violence has disrupted the lives of hundreds of thousands of civilians, a process of acknowledgment may help disrupt the cycle of violence to which this country seems doomed.

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