

LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Sectarianism, centralized political system, and the
failure of the state: Lebanon's new perspective

By
Martine Andraos

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
International Affairs

School of Arts and Sciences

April 2016

© 2016

Martine Andraos

All Rights Reserved



Lebanese American University

School of Arts and Sciences; Byblos Campus

THESIS APPROVAL FORM

Student Name: Martine ANDRAOS I.D. #: 200802706

Thesis Title: The Causes Behind Lebanon's Recurrent Sectarian Conflicts: An Inappropriate Political System

Program: Masters of Arts

Department: Social Sciences

School: Arts and Sciences

The undersigned certify that they have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis and approved it in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:

Masters of Arts in the major of International Affairs

Thesis Advisor's Name: Dr. Marwan Rowayheb

Signature

Date

19/4/2016

Committee Member's Name: Dr. Sami Baroudi

Signature

Date

19/4/2016

Committee Member's Name: Dr. Habib Malik

Signature

Date

April 19, 2016

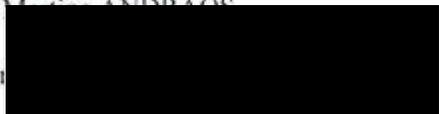


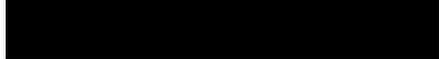
THESIS COPYRIGHT RELEASE FORM

LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY NON-EXCLUSIVE DISTRIBUTION LICENSE

By signing and submitting this license, I, Martine ANDRAOS, grant to Lebanese American University (LAU) the non-exclusive right to reproduce, translate (as defined below), and/or distribute my submission (including the abstract) worldwide in print and electronic format and in any medium, including but not limited to audio or video. I agree that LAU may, without changing the content, translate the submission to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation. I also agree that LAU may keep more than one copy of this submission for purposes of security, backup and preservation. I represent that the submission is my original work, and that I have the right to grant the rights contained in this license. I also represent that my submission does not, to the best of my knowledge, infringe upon anyone's copyright. If the submission contains material for which I do not hold copyright, I represent that I have obtained the unrestricted permission of the copyright owner to grant LAU the rights required by this license, and that such third-party owned material is clearly identified and acknowledged within the text or content of the submission.

Name: Martine ANDRAOS

Signature: 

Date: 



PLAGIARISM POLICY COMPLIANCE STATEMENT

I certify that:

- ✓ I have read and understood LAU's Plagiarism Policy.
- ✓ I understand that failure to comply with this Policy can lead to academic and disciplinary actions against me.
- ✓ This work is substantially my own, and to the extent that any part of this work is not my own I have indicated that by acknowledging its sources.

Name: Martine ANDRAOS

Signature: 

Date: 

Sectarianism, centralized political system, and the failure of the state: Lebanon's new perspective

Martine Andraos

ABSTRACT

This thesis had demonstrated that sectarian affiliations are of a primordial nature and continue to determine how the Lebanese interact politically and socially with each other. Nevertheless, it argued that they should not be held responsible for inter-sectarian conflicts that have been taking place in Lebanon since the 1950s. This thesis demonstrated that the real cause behind these inter sectarian conflicts lies in the adoption of a consociational and highly centralized political system. The inability of the Lebanese political system to function properly did not assist in making the Lebanese sects coexist together peacefully. It even intensified inter-sectarian tensions, fear and lack of trust. Its failures had encouraged factions and groups within each sect to continuously attempt to impose, through illegitimate means and foreign support, their de facto rule of law over geographical locations where the majority of the population shared with them the same sectarian affiliation. This thesis concludes by proposing the replacement of consociationalism and centralization with a federal system.

Keywords: Sectarianism, Primordialism, Political System, Centralized Political System, Consociational Political System, Sectarian Tension, Governmental Deadlocks, Rule of Law, Rights and freedoms, Militia Rule, Foreign Intervention, Federalism.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I- Introduction	1
1.1 Case Study Overview	1
1.2 Literature Review	5
1.3 Theoretical Framework: Primordialism	8
1.3.1 Instrumentalism	8
1.3.2 Constructivism	9
1.3.3 Primordialism	10
1.4 Methodology	13
II- Primordial Sectarianism And Its Implications	16
2.1 Fundamentals	17
2.1.1 Political Affiliations	18
2.1.1.1 Political Parties	18
2.1.1.2 Media	23
2.1.2 Political Identity	24
2.1.3 Political System And Authority	28
2.1.3.1 Political System	29
2.1.3.2 Electoral Law	30
2.2 Willingness To Draw A Unifying Educational System	31
III- Political System - The General Concept And The Lebanese Formula	33
3.1 Political System	33
3.1.1 The Consociational Formula	35
3.1.2 Centralization	37
3.2 The Lebanese Political System	39
3.2.1 The Lebanese Consociational Formula	43
3.2.2 The Lebanese Centralized Authority	51

IV- The Outcome Of The Lebanese Formula - Deadlocks, Freedoms Violations, Unenforced Rule Of Law, Foreign Interventions	55
4.1 Governmental Deadlocks	56
4.1.1 Political Paralysis Caused By Consociationalism	59
4.1.2 Socio-Economic Paralysis Caused By Consociationalism	62
4.1.3 Governance Defects Caused By Centralization	66
4.2 Failure To Enforce Rule Of Law	69
4.3 Failure To Protect Rights And Freedoms Provided By The Constitution	74
4.4 Failure To Prevent Foreign Interventions	79
4.4.1 The Crisis Of 1958	81
4.4.2 The Crisis Of 1969	82
4.4.3 The Lebanese Civil War 1975-1990	83
4.4.4 The Crisis Of 2008	84
V- States Within The State	87
5.1 Failure To Maintain Security	88
5.1.1 Sunni Militia	91
5.1.2 Christian Militia	94
5.1.3 Druze Militia	96
5.1.4 Shiite Militia	97
5.2 Failure To Attain A Unified "Foreign Policy" And Preserve Sovereignty	100
5.2.1 Sunni Foreign Relations	103
5.2.2 Christians Foreign Relations	106
5.2.3 Shiite Foreign Relations	107
5.2.4 Druze Foreign Relations	109
5.3 Geographic Distribution And Autonomous Rule	111
VI-Conclusion: The Federalist Response To The Lebanese Dilemma	117
References	129

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAOM	Civil Administration of the Mountain
EDL	Electricite Du Liban
FM	Future Movement
FPM	Free Patriotic Movement
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
LAA	Lebanese Arab Army
LF	Lebanese Forces
LU	Lebanese University
MP	Member of Parliament
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PM	Prime Minister
PSC	Protracted Social Conflicts
PSP	Progressive Socialist Party
SAR	Syrian Arab Republic
SSNP	Syrian Social National Party
STL	Special Tribunal for Lebanon
UAR	United Arab Republic
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
USA	United States of America

LIST OF TABLES

Title	Page
2.1.1.2 Sectarian Media	23
5.3.2 Distribution Of Parliamentary Seats Per District Per Sect	114
6.1 Minority Group Objectives	121

LIST OF FIGURES

Title	Page
5.3.1 Map Of Historical To-Date Sectarian Militia Cantons Over Areas Of Respective Demographic Dominance	113
6.2 Minority Group Aspirations	120

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. CASE STUDY OVERVIEW

Lebanon has always been depicted as a precarious state as historically it has witnessed recurring civil and sectarian conflicts. This thesis aims to answer the following question: “What is the main reason behind the recurrent sectarian conflicts and the instability of the Lebanese state?”

This research will prove how the prevailing consociational and centralized political system, in light of sectarianism, primordially existing at the core of the Lebanese political culture and its consequential sectarian geographical distributions in Lebanon, is intensifying sectarian tensions, making the Lebanese state a precarious one. Henceforth, this thesis will prove sectarian affiliations are deemed not to be the direct motive of sectarian conflicts as commonly conceived. The cause is rather the mechanism that governs the relationships among the sectarian communities, and the means provided by the political system to regulate inter-sectarian political interactions.

This thesis defines Political Culture as “the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, which defines the situation in which political actions take place”¹. It also considers a constitutional entity as a precarious state if this entity fails to deliver on the fundamentals listed in the definition of a state herein: “The ultimate benchmark of any constitutional structure is to provide rights and freedoms to communities as well as to individuals, to enforce rule of law, to maintain security domestically, and, to protect the country’s sovereignty²”.

Lebanon embraces eighteen different sectarian communities in constant competition. The state’s social schisms emanate mainly from sectarian affiliations which proves to be an intrinsic primordial aspect of the Lebanese socio-political fabric, and which cannot be eliminated or superseded. In the absence of consent over a unifying definition of sectarianism, this paper considers sectarianism as a set of shared religious beliefs, values, history, culture among a group of people, under the authority of religious institutions, and where this group of people lives in a same geographic area for long periods of time. The fact that sectarianism is identified as primordial in Lebanon imposes the need for addressing the concerns of different sectarian constituencies appropriately, so as to ensure their respective rights, security, stability, and equity; which in return, will build trust and revert into peaceful coexistence among the Lebanese communities, and therefore will lead to the viability of the state.

¹ Roskin, M, Cord, R, Medeiros, J, Jones, W, *Political Sciences, An Introduction*. Prentice Hall, 6th. P.125

²Katrib, JP, 2006, *Lebanon and the federal solution*. L’orient Le Jour. P.1.

Although the Lebanese political system has dealt with sectarianism as a primordial characteristic, nevertheless, this system has failed to manage and regulate inter-communal relations in a way that leads to peaceful coexistence among Lebanon's sects. It adopted a consociational formula which granted each sectarian faction a de jure limited autonomy and the legal power to veto any government decision that might not be in its favor. It also provides a central body with primary authority to manage state's affairs unanimously - regardless of the varying needs. This political system, as will be detailed later, has always been causing governmental deadlocks and paralysis, and thus made the Lebanese sects act autonomously in light of the dysfunctional state which consequently made it precarious. Furthermore, as will be demonstrated, this political system has always fallen under the political dominance of the most powerful sectarian faction. Fact that has prompted members of other sects (who felt threatened by such practices), claim they are not fairly treated by the system and thus, opted for illegitimate methods to protect their acclaimed political, social and cultural rights, by imposing a de facto dominance over a well-defined geographic area of their demographic dominance.

Although political reforms to the political system were introduced by the Taif Accord in 1990, these reforms did not integrate any constitutional change to the way sectarian relations are managed and did not, however, help to convince many members of Lebanese sects, referred to in this thesis as "non-state actors", to interlace legitimately in the Lebanese entity. In our case, non-state actors are defined as organized and independent sectarian political actors which acquired, through national or transnational means, economic, political, social, and military capabilities to influence domestic and foreign affairs and challenge the constitutional entity.

As will be demonstrated, sectarian tensions in Lebanon have constantly intensified even after the reforms introduced by the Taif Accord were adopted. Not only did the Lebanese political system continue to disarm the Lebanese government from the ability to resolve inter-sectarian conflicts but also, it has failed to stop the Lebanese sects from acquiring (within geographical lines), the major component of a strong state mentioned in the definition above. The lack of trust in the Lebanese state and its political system to protect their social, political and cultural rights, drives many Lebanese sectarian communities to strongly believe it is their legitimate right to ensure these rights by de facto means, and managed to establish their own rule of law over the areas where their sect has a major demographic dominance. In this respect, this thesis will demonstrate that in Lebanon, even 25 years after the end of the war, the rule of sectarian non-state actors over well-defined geographical areas continues to operate - a situation that is mainly due to the way the Lebanese political system is managing sectarian relations as argued above. The members of sects who have a demographic dominance over well-defined geographically delimited locations, have managed to acquire a de facto social and political authority, and imposed their rule of law and order over their areas of dominance. Thus attaining the constituent of a functional state such as providing welfare, maintaining security, imposing religious and cultural practices, and carrying out independent foreign alliances and relationships (even in areas with mixed sectarian populations), a crystal-clear demographical dominance is identified.

1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Lebanon's pluralistic society, recurrent conflicts and complex dynamic history have made its politics a challenging case study that divided scholars. The novelty of this thesis is that it correlates between primordial sectarianism, consociational system, and the state's precarious balance, and presents the political system as being the reason behind sectarian tensions and state failure. Conversely to usual claims, it does not consider sectarianism as the root problem, or as a factor to be eradicated from the Lebanese formula in order to achieve peace and state viability. Thus, it strongly suggests that if sectarianism is properly managed, it will create a constructive profitable competition between different Lebanese constituencies, governed by peaceful relations domestically, and will also help regulate foreign relations benefiting all Lebanese citizens.

A variety of positions regarding the root of the problem behind Lebanon's precarious condition - including Fawaz Traboulsi's book "From Social Crisis to Civil War," stating that sectarian conflicts are the result of social and economic inequalities³, are discussed in this thesis which argues that the centralized political system is unable to provide equitable distribution of resources, leading to sectarian tensions and struggles over power and authority.

Some literature on sectarianism consider it to be a burden from which Lebanon suffers, perceive it as the cause for Lebanon's turmoil and describe it as a constructed and modern phenomenon which can be eradicated. Those scholars perceive the ongoing turmoil as the result of modern deficiencies, which could be solved through institution enforcement, electoral engineering, application of the consociational formula, and civic activism; citing

³Traboulsi, F, *From Social Crisis to civil War*. P.12

Ousama Makdisi who clearly expresses the above thoughts in his article “*Reconstructing the nation-state: the modernity of secularism Lebanon*”⁴. Makdisi stresses that sectarian identities are modern and amendments in the electoral law could result in proper representation, and consequently, in peaceful relations between Lebanese individuals. Moreover, Samir Khalaf emphasizes on the primordial aspect of sectarianism. He believes that identity in Lebanon is not civil⁵, but rather primordial affiliations persisting through history⁶. Additionally, in Michael Hudson’s article “*The problem of Authoritative Power in Lebanese Politics*”, he does not relate the causes of confessional casualties to one aspect of Lebanon’s state-failures; he states political turmoil and instability are due to the mistrust of the Lebanese in each other, in their political leaders, and in the state instruction. Hudson considers that it is also due to the vertical political division among the Lebanese people which is the result of “primordial” affiliation, leading to the discrimination resulting in unequal social and economic development, and also to Lebanon being a competition arena for neighboring countries, outside parties’ intervention and proxy relations of some Lebanese parties to outsiders’, thus delegitimizing political elites⁷. Similarly to Makdisi, this thesis will recommend a change of the political system and will refute the claims that sectarian identities are modern, but will agree with Khalaf and Hudson by demonstrating that sectarian identities are primordial.

⁴Ussama, M, 1996, *Reconstructing the Nation-State: The Modernity of Secularism in Lebanon*. Middle East Report, No. 200. P.5

⁵Khalaf, S, 1968, *Primordial Ties and Politics in Lebanon*. Middle Eastern Studies. P.243

⁶ Ibid, P.244

⁷ Hudson, M, “*The problem of Authoritative Power in Lebanese Politics*”. P.22

In his book *Peace and War in Lebanon*, and pertaining to the correlation of the political system and the primordial affiliations, Bassam Namani quotes David and Audrey Smock who claim sectarianism is an impediment to political reform⁸. Samir Khalaf acknowledges the need for a change; however, he states that the trial of eliminating confessionalism, (which he clearly describes as unrealistic), would result in instigating sectarian division. Khalaf thus suggests the reform of the system⁹ as an alternative. On another note, there are scholars who admit that the root cause behind continuous conflicts lies at a deeper level: that of a divided political culture, divergent identities, and a discrepancy in belonging and affiliation. Halim Barakat considers Lebanon a mosaic society rather than a pluralistic one¹⁰, thus aggravating the aspect of the sectarian diversity that integrationists and advocates of a unitary state in Lebanon have been trying to disregard. According to Vatikotis, a state characterized by a pluralistic society is subject to conflicts given the divergent interests, suspicions and aims of its various constituencies. In order to manage conflicts and avoid violent hostilities, these constituencies should be integrated in a national commune and, institutions responsible for preserving the national law, should be enforced¹¹. Consequently, the political system which oversees these institutions should be given the capabilities to control, coordinate and contain pluralism. This thesis will stress on the importance of amending the political

⁸Namani, B, 2015, *Peace and War in Lebanon*. Dar Nelson. P.5

⁹Khalaf, S, 1968, *Primordial Ties and Politics in Lebanon*. Middle Eastern Studies. P.263

¹⁰Barakat, H, 1973, *Social and Political Integration in Lebanon: The Case of Social Mosaic*. Middle East Journal. P.2

¹¹Vatikotis, P.J., 1984, *The crisis of Lebanon: A Local Historical Perspective*. The World Today. P.3

system in furtherance of embracing sectarian diversity, and therefore preventing hostilities and governmental deadlocks.

13. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PRIMORDIALISM

Three approaches are to be considered while tackling matters of identity: Instrumentalism, Constructivism, and Primordialism. This thesis adopts Primordialism because it provides the best framework for this case study.

13.1. INSTRUMENTALISM

The Instrumentalist theory regards identity as a means of attaining objectives and as resources used to favor political interest¹² and attain material leverage. Instrumentalism, considers that “cultural trends are subject to prompt alteration. It believes that integration of a variety of constituencies is highly facilitated by industrialization, communication, and urbanization”¹³. Although instrumentalism accounts for identities however, it does not address the non-rational, ‘emotional depth of (sectarian) identity’. This approach is thus an economistic approach which puts weight on the economic interests of a faction - rather than on identity as such, and perceives identity as a circumstantial alternative.

¹²Hutchinson, J, Smith, A, 1996, *Ethnicity*. Oxford University Press. P.33

¹³Hanf, T, 1993, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*. The center for Lebanese studies.P.15

Further from the economic view of the instrumental approach, primordialism and constructivism integrate emotional affiliation and societal association, with an aim to elaborate on the ties upon which the unity of group identities is based.

13.2. CONSTRUCTIVISM

Constructivism claims that identities are constructed and reconstructed based on criteria with which individuals identify. These identities are multi-dimensional as they vary and are subject to change. Such dynamic and fluid identities are behind social revolutionizing and political change. The constructivist approach is relevant when analyzing the cultural differences between different constituencies as it considers social factors, such as gender, religion, norms, values and culture, in order to explain the differences in views and thinking of entities. However, Social Constructivism “offers no predictions about enduring regularities or tendencies in world politics. Instead, it suggests how to investigate them”¹⁴ which means that Social Constructivism can explain a situation, but fails to make predictions whether or not a solution can be found.

Aligned with the above claims, Benedict Anderson, who defines the nation as "an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign"¹⁵, also acknowledges the dynamic nature of identities and the consequential encounter of

¹⁴Baylis, J, Smith, S, 2006, *The Globalization of World Politics – An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford University Press. P.268

¹⁵ Beatty, R, 1999, *Review Essay: Primordialism Versus Constructivism*. The National Project. P.3

communal groups, which are mainly affected by varying circumstances, and the group's "active involvement in the construction and reconstruction of identities, negotiating boundaries, asserting meanings, interpreting their own pasts, resisting the impositions of the present, and claiming the future"¹⁶.

Although Anderson's description of the nation is concise and highlights its origins, however, it does not determine the time or spatial frame for reconstruction nor provides evidence on how to differentiate one community from another, nor does it establish boundaries for communities start and end.

From the above, we conclude that Instrumentalism and Constructivism do not explain why many identities remained unchanged throughout history. Additionally, they do not provide evidence justifying why many political systems failed to incite people to surpass these identities of religious, sectarian, cultural, or ethnic nature, nor why attempts to construct identities embracing a variety of sub-identities failed to deliver.

133. PRIMORDIALISM

As some attachments appear to emanate from a spiritual state of mind rather than from social dynamics, this thesis uses the Primordialist Approach as a theoretical framework to study the relationship between primordial sectarianism, consociational political system, sectarian conflict, and the precarious Lebanese state. The Primordialist Approach is used to study identities, including sectarian identities, and hence, can best explain the

¹⁶ Beatty, R, 1999, *Review Essay: Primordialism Versus Constructivism*. The National Project. P.3

Lebanese case. However, as sectarian identities will always influence people's political choices and behaviour, and in this manner, according to our political system, a consensus is a prerequisite to decision making, the Lebanese government is constantly facing deadlocks and the inability to take actions. This thesis will argue that the primordialist nature of sectarianism, where sectarian identities cannot be constructed or reconstructed or cannot be eliminated, will induce us to conclude that the current Lebanese political system will always lead to sectarian tensions and conflicts, and will not allow the Lebanese state to overcome its failures.

Primordialism is defined as “deep emotional attachments to the group, supplying an internal gyroscope and cognitive map through which the social world is perceived, and historicizes selfhood in a web of primordial cultural meanings”¹⁷.

The Primordialist Approach claims that identities are fixed and cannot be changed, replaced or reconstructed. They are there to stay and will always influence the behavior of people and therefore they are unlikely to be outdated¹⁸. Primordialism considers nations and religious groups to have a primordial origin. As Edward Shils states,

“The term primordial is employed here in the conventional sense to encompass ties of religion and all such congruities of blood, personal and sacred affinities which suffice to note that it has far-reaching implications for the political life in the country. However, primordial ties and loyalties

¹⁷ Beatty, R, 1999. *Review Essay: Primordialism Versus Constructivism*. The National Project. P.1

¹⁸Hanf, T, 1993, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*. The center for Lebanese Studies. P.15

are not, as often assumed, impediments to national solidarity and political unity”¹⁹.

Primordialism is built upon the claims hereafter: (1) identities are constructed around shared societal resemblance such as kinship ties, (2) identities are established and unchangeable once constructed, (3) identities are enhanced inter-group conflicts and challenges, (4) as humans assign an overwhelming significance to their kinship ties, identities acquire an unquestionable influence on behavioral patterns²⁰.

Primordial ties emanate from givens such as assumed blood ties, race, language, region, religion, and custom, which are natural, spiritual, underived, ineffable, thus “binding in and of themselves”²¹.

Shils argues that “modern society is held together by an affinity of personal attachments, moral obligations in concrete contexts, professional and creative pride, individual ambition, primordial affinities and a civil sense”²².

Harold Isaac acknowledges that there is a global leaning towards defragmentation and that bets on modernization, civilizing movements, or enlightenment to flatten the world are pointless. As Humans turn out to be unable to live together, identity develops as a tool for power. These identities which bond communities together are fixed and durable,

¹⁹Shils, E, 1957, *Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil ties*. British journal of Sociology pp. 130-45; Geertz, C, *ibid*. P.105

²⁰ Bayar, M, 2009, *Reconsidering Primordialism: An Alternative Approach To The Study Of Ethnicity*. Ethnic and Racial Studies. P.1643

²¹Eller, J, Coughlan, R, in Hutchinson, J, & Smith, A, 1996, *Ethnicity*. Oxford University Press. P.45

²² Bayar, M, 2009, *Reconsidering Primordialism: An Alternative Approach To The Study Of Ethnicity*. Ethnic and Racial Studies. P.1641

however, dynamic. Additionally, he clarifies that “the functions that identity performs and secures to the individual, in its linkage to the group, in meeting the needs of connection and belonging, explain the powerful persistence of primordial affinities and the lasting power of attachments”²³.

As we aim to enhance humanity, distinctiveness must be guaranteed. The conflict lies not in the differences themselves, but rather in the formula allowing one to rule the other. Henceforth, and to achieve peace, new pluralism, and institutions, systems should be built, capable of embracing the conflicting trends of globalization with the risks of divisions the world is subject to²⁴.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

This study will allow for an assessment of the influence of the political system and its outcomes. It will also highlight the causal relationship between the nature of the Lebanese society (which is highly divided along sectarian lines, as previously demonstrated), and the consociational and centralized political system applied, to then evaluate the viability and failure of the state. Through a case study approach, based on research and on empirical evidence, this thesis aims to understand the complex issue of the Lebanese situation using previous research and findings.

²³ Beatty, R, November 1999, *Review Essay: Primordialism versus constructivism*. The National Project. P.2

²⁴ Ibid, P.2

In order to prove that the problem behind Lebanon's state failure lies in the political system which is unable to manage sectarian pluralism, and not, as conceived, in sectarianism per se, we will start by demonstrating the primordial aspect of sectarianism in Lebanon. For this purpose, we will look for factors that prove how sectarianism has always prevailed and could not be superseded. We will also highlight how aspects of Lebanon's political culture are challenged by unachievable consent on fundamentals such as political affiliations, political identity, political formula and the educational system.

We will then describe the features of the consociational and centralized formulas of the political system. Following this, we will assess the functionality of the state and focus on how this political system is intensifying sectarian tension, and is generating fear and lack of trust among the Lebanese sects. Consequently prompting them to either use their de jure veto power to block governmental decisions, or exploit their de facto power to protect what they consider as their legitimate right.

Thereafter, we will then prove how the Lebanese state lacks the components of a strong constitutional entity. We will look into: rights and freedoms, legitimacy and rule of law, independence, security, and sovereignty. Subsequently, we will probe deeper into how many sectarian factions have strived to achieve a certain degree of authority, and prove how each sectarian community delivers on the features of the definition of a strong state. We will be looking at how sects have managed to impose their de facto authority and their own socio-political ideologies and values on minorities within respective areas; how it has acquired de facto military power and developed its own foreign policies and alliances; and how it acts as a proxy of foreign actors on the Lebanese territory.

Lastly, we will highlight how each faction is exercising its power to rule within the geographical area where it has the predominant sectarian majority. Consequently, this thesis will conclude that, under its current formula, the Lebanese state will not be able to root out sectarian tensions. We will answer our research question by stating that the solution to the state-failure is not by trying to eradicate sectarianism, but rather by designing a political system which embraces the diversity of Lebanon, contains the disagreements of each sect on domestic issues, and achieves consent on the position of Lebanon pertaining to foreign issues. Lastly, we will recommend a change in the political system that is crucial in order to achieve the Lebanese state's viability and preserve its unity. We will propose Federalism as a solution and will justify our choice based on the current irreversible de facto situation.

In order to empirically address my research problem, we will consult a wide range of related literature reviews, books, internet articles, case studies, and narratives that have been published on Lebanon's social and political diversity, and political system.

CHAPTER II

PRIMORDIAL SECTARIANISM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

This second chapter claims that identities are primordial, highlights the materialization and impact of this sectarianism on Lebanon's politics, as well as the weight these have in triggering sectarian conflicts. It will also overview fundamentals upon which Lebanese have been unable to achieve consent and will highlight other practical manifestations of primordial affiliations, it will conclude that sectarianism is in fact deeply embedded in the Lebanese fabric and is a reality which cannot be eliminated or superseded. It is a given in the Lebanese equation that molds the socio-political behavior of the Lebanese.

To evaluate the depth of sectarian cleavage between the Lebanese factions, and in reference to Halim Barakat, we can distinguish two forms of heterogeneous culture: the "pluralistic society" and the "mosaic society". Pluralism represents rather a relationship based on mutual agreement of different communal welfare in a society that is harmonious and united. In a pluralistic society, fairness among different groups is respected and not one specific group has monopoly or domination over the others. A consensus on fundamental principles is achieved and provisions are made in order to ensure a fairly balanced participation, and a fairly balanced distribution of rewards and powers among the groups of which it is composed. This results in some kind of harmonious relationships

of different interests, sects and groups within a unified social arrangement. On the other hand, in a mosaic society, although provisions are made concerning the introduction of some system of checks and balances among its groups, there still remains no consensus on fundamental issues facing these groups²⁵. Consequently, Barakat considers the Lebanese society is rather mosaic than plural consisting of various sectarian groups.

The purpose of this chapter is therefore to demonstrate that almost 70 years after the establishment of Lebanon, the Lebanese are still divided along sectarian lines, and their sectarian identities are still the main drive behind any of their socio-political behavior. Henceforth, primordial sectarian bonds are diligently embedded in political practices²⁶.

2.1. FUNDAMENTALS

The following will examine fundamentals upon which the Lebanese have failed to achieve consensus, in order to highlight the impact of primordial sectarian identities on Lebanon's political course, and reiterate that sectarian affiliations are an unchangeable fact and a given in the Lebanese equation.

2.1.1. POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

²⁵Barakat, H, 1973, *Social and Political Integration in Lebanon: A Case of Social Mosaic*. Middle East Journal, Vol. 27, No. 3. P.3

²⁶Khalaf, S, 1968, *Primordial Ties and Politics in Lebanon*. Middle Eastern Studies. P.244

A first fundamental to look into is Political Affiliations. Two criteria are included in this analysis. The First is Political Parties and the Second is Media. This sub-part aims at proving that political affiliations are rather sectarian than national.

2.1.1.1. Political Parties

Political parties are defined as a “group of people united by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity, organized for the purpose of winning governmental power”²⁷, and have become “the manifestation of the social and other cleavages that animated society at large”²⁸.

In his article on cultural diversity and sectarian attitudes in postwar Lebanon, Simon Haddad refers to Gurr’s definition of a group: “a psychological community whose core members share a distinctive and enduring collective identity based on cultural traits or life ways that matters to them or to others with whom they interact”²⁹, and then quotes Ross who states that “we should regard individual identity as possible only in the context of secure group attachments”³⁰.

Accordingly, we consider that Lebanon’s political parties are an expression of sectarian primordial affiliations which have been discussed above. Political parties in Lebanon revolve around a nationalist; ethno-religious ideology³¹. If we look at the political map

²⁷Heywood, A, *Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan. Third Edition. P.272

²⁸Ibid, P.273

²⁹Haddad, S, 2002, *Cultural Diversity and Sectarian Attitude in Post War Lebanon*. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. P.294

³⁰ Ibid

³¹Sensenig-Dabbous, E, 2009, *The Lebanese Political Party System*. Middle East Political and Economics Institute. P.3

of Lebanon, we notice that the most powerful political parties are sectarian groups. In addition, we discover, through monitoring the number of parliamentary seats, that secular parties were weakened and disappeared gradually due to a decreasing popularity. Examples of such parties are the Communist Party and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party SSNP. Listed below is a compilation of the major political actors, organized into political parties, which memberships are exclusively sectarian³²:

➤ *Phalange – Kataeb Party*

Established in 1936 by Maronite Pierre Gemayel, the Kataeb party is a socio-democratic party which has played a major role in Lebanese Politics since its founding. Pledging complete affiliation to Lebanon as an independent entity, it advocates Christians rights from independence to civil war (during which it had major political and military influence), the post war era, and post Syrian occupation. Currently headed by Samy Gemayel, it is represented by 5 parliamentary members who won their seats in 2009 and holds 3 ministerial portfolios in Tamam Salam’s cabinet since 2013. Its areas of influence are predominantly Christian areas, mainly the Metn and Achrafieh areas, with growing influence in areas such as Keserouane, Byblos, Batroun, and Koura.

➤ *Progressive Socialist Party*

³² NOW Media, 10/05/2008, <https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/Whos-who42129>

Established by Prominent Druze leader Kamal Jumblat and whose leadership was inherited by his son Walid Jumblat. The Progressive Socialist Party PSP is a Druze-dominated party. It has participated in the Lebanese Civil War as one of the militias on the battle ground. Its areas of influence are the Chouf, Alley and Jabal. In 2009, PSP won 12 parliamentary seats.

➤ *Amal Movement*

Amal is a Shiite-dominated movement, led by parliament speaker Nabih Berri, which also was a main actor in Lebanon's civil war. It is a close ally of Hezbollah. Initially a militia, it gained political influence and power gradually. In 2009, it won 13 parliamentary seats. Its areas of influence are predominantly Shiites areas in Beirut Southern Suburb, Bekaa, and South.

➤ *Lebanese Forces Party*

Founded as the military wing of the Phalange-Kataeb party, the Lebanese Forces LF established for itself a political presence in 2005 when it won 5 parliamentary seats, and expanded its presence in 2009 with 8 seats. Lead by Samir Geagea, the LF membership is exclusively Christian. Its areas of influence are predominantly Christian areas in Mount Lebanon, and mainly Bechara areas in northern Lebanon.

➤ *Islamic Group (Al-Jama'ah Al-Islamiyah)*

Established in 1964 in Tripoli with the rise of Nasserism, the Islamic Group is a radical Sunni Lebanese wing of the Muslim Brotherhood. It aims at applying the Shari'a Law in Lebanon. It has always been a popular movement among Sunni's and, in 2009; it gained political power through one seat in the parliament after an alliance with the Future Movement.

➤ *Marada Movement*

Initially established in 1967 as a militia, the Marada movement is Christian dominated, headed by Suleiman Frangieh, which main area of influence is Zghorta in North of Lebanon. It has always been very popular and influential and always had a presence in either the government or the cabinet. It has won 3 parliamentary seats in 2009.

➤ *Hezbollah*

Hezbollah was established in 1984 as a major militia in Lebanon's civil war. It is a Shiite-dominated political party led by secretary general Hassan Nassrallah and supported militarily, financially and politically by Iran. It is a primary ally to the Amal movement domestically, and supports the Syrian regime. It was the only militia to keep its arms after the Taif Accord. It won 12 seats in the 2009 parliamentary elections. Its areas of influence are predominantly Shiites areas in Beirut's Southern Suburb, Bekaa, and the South.

➤ *Future Movement*

Established after the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in 2005, the Future Movement FM is a Sunni-Majority Movement, headed by Saad Hariri, and which areas of influence are West Beirut, Akkar, Tripoli, and Saidon. FM participated for the first time in parliamentary elections in 2005 when it won 36 seats, and then in 2009, when it won 30 seats³³.

➤ *Free Patriotic Movement*

Established in 2005 after the return of General Michel Aoun from Exile, the Free Patriotic Movement FPM that moved from being an opponent of the Syrian Regime and Hezbollah in 2005 to becoming their ally in 2006, is a Christian-dominated movement with an influence in predominantly Christian areas like Metn and Keserouane. In 2009, it won the largest number of Christian parliamentary seats.

The above overview of political parties mirrors how Lebanese choose to support parties which represent their sectarian affiliations. Although the current division is rather between Sunni's 14 March coalition (FM, LF, Kataeb) and Shiite 8 March coalition (SSNP, PSP, Amal, Hezbollah, FPM, Marada), and where Christians are divided between the two sides, it will be demonstrated, in issues pertaining to identity and communal security, Christians have unified positions.

³³Sensenig-Dabbous, E, 2009, *The Lebanese Political Party System*. Middle East Political and Economics Institute. P.2

Media is one additional indicator which we will be over viewing below and upon which an analysis of political affiliations can be based.

2.1.1.2. Media

TV channels and newspapers have adopted stances of respective political parties, and offer them platforms for mobilization. The table below shows the “ownerships” or “partnerships” between political parties, TV’s, and Newspapers. The support provided by the media to respective political parties is mainly sectarian driven.

Table 2.1.1.2: Sectarian Media³⁴

Sectarian Affiliation	TV Channel	News Paper	Radio
Christian	MTV, LBC, OTV	Al-Joumhouriya, Al-Anwar	SawtLoubnan, Al-Mada, Sawt El-Ghad
Druze		Al-Anbaa’	
Shiite	NBN, Al-Manar	Al-Amal	
Sunni	Future TV	Al-Moustaqbal,	Al-Chark

³⁴Salloukh, B, Barakat, R, Al-Habbal, J, Khattab, L, Mikaelian, S, 2015, “*The Politics Of Sectarianism In Postwar Lebanon*”. Pluto Press. P.139

2.1.2. POLITICAL IDENTITY

One other major fundamental upon which Lebanese have been divided along sectarian lines is their Political Identity, having at its core their perception of Lebanon's position within the larger system, and which has a direct implication on Lebanon's sovereignty. In his book *Politics*, Andrew Heywood explains that identity insinuates differentiation, and consequently, recognition of differences determines our "sense of identity". Henceforth, the concept of "politics of recognition" revolves around the preservation of differences³⁵.

The discrepancies in sectarian identities witnessed amongst Lebanese have led to divergent political views, mainly pertaining to Lebanon's position within the larger international system and the component of Lebanese nationalism.

The logic of Nationalism defines a state as a "natural entity, with its different regions forming a single whole, which not only is, but ought to be politically united"³⁶. Yet, the Lebanese state does not conform to the notion of Nationalism. It is also not "natural" as it was shaped by historical events and human decisions in a defined space and time. It is an artificial entity considered either as a unit part of a large Arab whole by some, or as a whole that includes smaller diversified units by others³⁷.

³⁵Heywood, A, *Politics*. Pelgrave third edition. P.212

³⁶Hourani, A, 1985, *Political Society in Lebanon: A historical Introduction*. Centre for Lebanese Studies. P.3

³⁷Hourani, A, 1985, *Political Society in Lebanon: A historical Introduction*. Centre for Lebanese Studies. P.4

After the Ottoman Empire collapsed, the Middle East was remodeled and Greater Lebanon was declared in 1920 as an independent state including, alongside the previously known “Mont Lebanon”, the ports of Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, and the Bekaa valley. In 1926, a constitution text defined Lebanon as a presidential, sectarian state, thus founding a new type of system by the colonial powers³⁸. The National Pact of 1943 which came to reorganize the relationship between the different sectarian factions of the Lebanese society, was a *fait-accompli* imposed on Lebanese citizens, which failed to locate a national base, and which divided power among elites of different sects³⁹. Although the National Pact aimed at bridging the differences between Christians and Muslims, yet not all Lebanese perceived the Pact similarly. To some, it was a national religious integrationist formula; to others, it was a power-sharing agreement that sought coexistence. A third view considered the Pact as a guarantee of the economic interest of a segment over the other. Farid EL-Khazen quotes in this regard “Mass'ud Daher who argues that the National Pact reflects an overlap between confessional and economic strata interests. Such an interpretation also means dissociation from “true Arabism” and creates a situation of total economic dependency on the imperialist West. This reasoning reflects the predominant leftist reading of the National Pact on the eve of the 1975-76 war”⁴⁰. Although all segments showed the will to achieve a common identity through this Pact, however, each had their own vision of “what Lebanon should be”.

³⁸Harik, I, 1990, *The Origins of the Arab State System* in Giacomo Luciani, ed., *The Arab State*. Routledge. P.4

³⁹Makdisi, U, 1996, *Reconstructing the Nation-State: The Modernity of Secularism in Lebanon*. Middle East Report, No. 200. P.12

⁴⁰El-Khazen, F, 1991, *The Communal Pact of National Identities*. Centre for Lebanese Studies. P. 34

The Maronite view Lebanon as a Christian state associated with the Christians west; the Sunni view it as an Arab country; as for the Druze, the Shiites and the Palestinians, each had their own aspirations⁴¹.

As discussed by thinkers like Charles Malik, the notion of an “eternal and everlasting Lebanon” has marked the Christians’ politics and was adopted by parties like the Kataeb Party, National Bloc, and National Liberals Party. They consider Lebanon to be an independent entity and aspire for its full sovereignty and completeness. Contrary to that notion of the eternity of Lebanon, Muslim Lebanese believe that Lebanon of 1920 is a temporary formula and they never acknowledged its independence from a larger Arab entity. Such views were clearly expressed by the Head of The Progressive Socialist Party PSP who considered that a Lebanese nation does not exist, instead, defines it as an Arab nation⁴².

Although the Taif Agreement of 1990 marks the end of 15 years of sectarian hostilities, and aimed at incarnating national reconciliation, however, it founded Lebanese citizenship on sectarian identities, thus enhancing sectarian nationalism. Consequently, Lebanese have not agreed on a sole identity for Lebanon yet, a fact affirmed by Michael Hudson who highlights the intra-sectarian division that is becoming stronger after Taif⁴³.

⁴¹Hourani, A, 1985, *Political Society in Lebanon: A historical Introduction*. Centre for Lebanese Studies. P.11

⁴²Barakat, H, 1973, *Social and Political Integration in Lebanon: A Case of Social Mosaic*. Middle East Journal, Vol. 27, No. 3. P.305

⁴³Haddad, S, 2002, *Cultural Diversity and Sectarian Attitude in Post War Lebanon*. Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies.P.294

They also have not acquiesced on a unifying position for Lebanon within the larger system, as will be discussed later in this thesis.

Muslims considered the Accord as a guarantee of an equitable balance; Christians believed that it was an attempt of marginalization through which they lost their political weight. Quoting Khachan, “it would be injudicious to refer to the Lebanese as people...the inhabitants of this country are merely a plurality of people – or so it seem - having little or nothing in common to warrant the establishment of a viable state”⁴⁴

In Lebanon, the socio-political and cultural alterations were founded on dynamics, having at their core, sectarian affiliations⁴⁵. Lebanese nationalism has been challenged by sectarian loyalties as the Lebanese citizen has sub-national loyalties rather than national. According to Michael Hudson, these sub-national loyalties resulted in wide divisions and created a society embracing autonomous constituencies, each owning a veto power⁴⁶. Economic segregation such as belonging to a certain class can be flexible as the individual can adapt more or less easily to the shifting between classes, however, particularistic affiliations are somehow rigid and prove to be difficult to surmount.⁴⁷

⁴⁴Haddad, S, 2002, *Cultural Diversity and Sectarian Attitude in Post War Lebanon*. Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies.P.293

⁴⁵Khalaf, S, 2003, *On Roots and Rotes: The reassertion of Primordial Ties* in Samir Khalaf, Theodor Hanf, Nawaf Salam, *Lebanon in Limbo: Postwar Society and State in an Uncertain Regional Environment*.NomosVerlagsgesellschaft Baden-Baden. P 136

⁴⁶Barakat, H, 1973, *Social and Political Integration in Lebanon: A Case of Social Mosaic*. Middle East Journal, Vol. 27, No. 3. P.309

⁴⁷Azar, E, Haddad, R, 1986, *Lebanon: An Anomalous Conflict?*. Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 4. P.3

One cannot but notice that Lebanese constituencies have loyalties to external actors who belong to their respective sects; and these loyalties surpasses their loyalty to their homeland Lebanon.

To better highlight the sectarian loyalties that overcome the national loyalties, we will refer to the Iranian President, Mahmoud Ahmadi Nijad's visit to Lebanon in 2010.

Hezbollah's supporters were all mobilized to cheer for Iran's president. The Shiite community, represented by Hezbollah and Amal leadership broke the protocol when Speaker Nabih Berri received the Iranian President instead of the Lebanese President doing so - claiming it was the Iranian's protocol⁴⁸. Such practices prove that the Shiites community affiliate with, and have more respect to the Iranian president than the Lebanese.

Another surprising incident took place in March 2012 during a March 14 event during which, it mobilized its supporters in Martyr Square and where a series of speeches were delivered. As soon as FM MP Saad Hariri took the stage, a poster of KSA's king was displayed on the wall of a nearby building. Such a move from the FM shows that loyalties to KSA go beyond a simple political allegiance.

2.1.3. POLITICAL SYSTEM AND AUTHORITY

Throughout history and bound by its composition, Lebanon has long lent itself to a uniquely devised formulae or political expression. The separateness and distinctiveness

⁴⁸NOW Media, 15/10/2010, https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/nownews/national_bloc_ahmadinejad_made_lebanon_an_arena_of_confro ntation

it displays in the region comes from a combination of unique geographical, sociological structure, and intrinsic communal pluralism⁴⁹.

2.1.3.1 Political System

Lebanese have different historical perceptions; each religious faction has its own political aspirations⁵⁰ and set of fears. Muslims are concerned with their legitimate, socio-political disequilibrium, while Christians have existential fears embedded in demographic and geographic considerations⁵¹.

In his survey, Simon Haddad interrogates a sample of Lebanese from different sectarian backgrounds. The main question was “What is the single most important characteristic of the Lebanese political system?”. The results confirmed that Lebanese saw “a lack of political and social integration at the national level among Lebanon’s various cultural and religious groups”⁵². This interpretation of the Lebanese’ people’s cohesion has been translated into diverging preferences of the type of political system that best suits “Lebanon”; in other words, that which serves best the interest of each sectarian constancy. Haddad thus quotes Phares who claims that Christians have expressed fears that can only disappear under a federal system, and concludes in his study that Druze prefer a secular

⁴⁹Malek, H, 1997, *Between Damascus and Jerusalem. Lebanon and Middle East Peace*. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. P.7

⁵⁰Haddad, S, 2002, *Cultural Diversity and Sectarian Attitude in Post War Lebanon*. Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies.P.292

⁵¹Ibid, P.303

⁵²Ibid, P.302

system, Shiites aim at reforming the current system which is mandated by the Taif Accord, while Sunnis aspire for rather a market oriented economic system⁵³.

Discrepancies of political aspirations, fear, and lack of trust have not only driven preferences pertaining to the political system, but have also impacted public policies such as the electoral law - mainly the issues of eligible electoral age and expatriates votes. These policies are considered to be the legitimate channels through which each sectarian faction attains a degree of authority.

2.1.3.2 Electoral Law

➤ *Eligible Electoral Age*

Eligible electoral age has always been an issue of conflict between sects. The Christians do not approve lowering the voting age to 18 because it will create a disequilibrium since the number of Muslim voters will increase to become much larger than that of the Christian. The overall change is that the proportion of Muslim voters rises from 60% to 61% while the proportion of Christian voters falls from 40% to 39%". Lowering the voting age would require a change in the constitution, requiring two-thirds of both the cabinet and parliament to approve.

Amal, Hezbollah and the PSP support this change, the FPM is against it, the FM has not stated a clear decision, while the Kataeb party and the LF refused it⁵⁴.

⁵³Ibid, P. 303

⁵⁴NOW Media, 29/1/2010,
https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/reportsfeatures/with_lower_age_how_many_new_voters

➤ *Expatriates Voting*

Similar to the conflict regarding the eligible voters' age, expats voting is also an issue that translated into sectarian confrontation. The Christians believe that the majority of the Lebanese diaspora share a similar vision of Lebanon and consequently, would support their participation in the voting process. In opposition, the Shiite are not very keen about this matter because in many places in the world Hezbollah is accused of terrorism. Therefore, they would not be allowed to campaign. On another note, the demographic equilibrium will also impact the result as the Lebanese diaspora is mainly Christian.

Primordial sectarianism has not only been translated in conflicts over fundamentals, but it has also had repercussions on Lebanon's educational system.

2.2. WILLINGNESS TO DRAW A UNIFYING EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Educational systems are the basis upon which a collective memory is built, and a sense of citizenship is achieved. In Lebanon, attempts at drawing a unified "statement" of Lebanon's history and defining rights of citizens have all failed. Hence, we find a large loophole in Lebanon's educational system.

Among conflicts where mismanaged primordial sectarian affiliations are translated, is the conflict regarding the unified "history book". In an attempt to construct a national identity that could transcend sectarian divisions, the Taif accord mandated the drafting of a unified history book to be taught in the Lebanese schools. An attempt was made under the

mandate of Premier Najib Mikati. In 2012, the government appointed a committee to draft the book whose members are partisans of March 8 coalition, including Shiite Hezbollah and Amal, in addition to Christian Marada Movement and the Free Patriotic Movement. They had no sooner submitted the version to the parliament than protest movements arose against the adoption of the version. Protests were mainly initiated by Christian parties who considered the version to be biased, favoring Muslim communities. Hence, currently there is an evident inability to draft a unified history book as each sectarian faction has its own version of history where primordial sectarian affiliations enhanced by unhealed wounds are a primary determinant. The history book issue is just an additional instance which depicts how deep the sectarian division is among Lebanese, and how sectarian affiliations supersede any other affiliation.

The above chapter demonstrates how primordial sectarianism which characterizes Lebanon's social fabric is translated in the supremacy of sub-loyalties over national loyalties. An unachievable consent on fundamentals refers to the incapability to build a unifying identity, an inconsistent set of changing political formulas, and the inability to draw a cohesive educational system. As these primordial loyalties materialized in violent political behavior, the following chapter will argue that primordial affiliations are not the direct cause behind these phenomena, but rather, the political system that regulates these primordial sectarian affiliations.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL SYSTEM - THE GENERAL CONCEPT AND THE LEBANESE FORMULA.

3.1. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The major objectives of any constitutional structure is “to enforce rule of law, to maintain security domestically, to provide basic rights to communities as well as to individuals, and, to protect the country’s sovereignty”⁵⁵. The state, being formed of people, territory, and political system, the latter is an enduring structure defined by a constitution which is “a set of rules, legally established or extralegal, by which a government conducts its affairs”⁵⁶. The constitution, which regulates the correlation between people, territory, and political system, is thus the framework within which the state delivers its responsibilities.

It is important to acknowledge that a political system is formed of a set of institutions and social structures, which respective role is the performance of a specific function⁵⁷. As Marion Levy claims, for a system to be categorized of a specific nature, it has to carry

⁵⁵Katrib, J.P., 2006, *Lebanon and The Federal Solution*, L’orient Le Jour. P.1.

⁵⁶Roskin, M, Cord, R, Medeiros, J, Jones, W, 1997, *Political Science, An Introduction*. Prentice Hall. P.45

⁵⁷Almond, G, 1965, *A Developmental Approach to Political Systems*. Cambridge University Press. P.184

out specific tasks and functions having at their core that particular nature⁵⁸. Aligned with the ultimate objective of a state, we identify the prerequisites hereafter that fall under the aspired outputs of a political system.

First is state empowerment⁵⁹, by which a state acquires an official jurisdiction over a well-defined territory. The source of state empowerment is the people. Consequently, this prerequisite is crucial for establishing legitimacy as it institutes the trust of the people in their state, and, ascertains the capabilities of the state to enforce rule of law.

Second is establishment of national principals, mainly the identity of the state. This prerequisite regulates state/individual relationship, and is essential for guaranteeing the civic and human values such as, but not limited to “freedom of expression, freedom of religious worship, freedom of assembly, and freedom of movement”⁶⁰, in addition to the fundamental rights, socio-economic, cultural and welfare rights such as the right to education, healthcare, work... This prerequisite is however very notorious especially in plural and mosaic societies as it sets forth the basis of either an imposed sense of national identity that transcends the diversity and represses freedoms, or a sense of distinctiveness within the larger state, and thus protects liberties.

Third is the sanctification of government’s institutions. This includes clarifying the division of power, determining the role of the central government, the executive, the legislative, the judiciary, and the armed and security forces. This prerequisite is core for

⁵⁸ Ibid, P. 184

⁵⁹ Heywood, A, 2007, *Politics*. Palgrave Foundations. P. 322

⁶⁰ Ibid, P. 323

guaranteeing security and stability. Accordingly, it is fundamental for assuring peace on a macro level, and for sustaining the decision making mechanisms that govern the day-to-day concerns of citizens on a micro level.

Fourth is the ability to position the state in world order, attain diplomatic recognition and ensure independence. This prerequisite is major for preserving the state's sovereignty.

Nevertheless, a major point that needs to be addressed is the major objective of a political system, mainly in a mosaic society, which is to regulate the relationship between the different communities that live within the boundaries of the state. The political system thus aims to achieve peaceful coexistence between the factions and provide them with legitimate channels to manage their differences according to a well-defined formula.

3.1.1. THE CONSOCIATIONAL FORMULA

Consociationalism is a system where the main objective is to contain complex and plural societies. As Ronald Rogowsky states, it is designed to cope with conflict witnessed among people “who are bound by corporate identities which are not necessarily congruent with the legally defined body politic of the state. Moreover, such corporate identities are often colored by historical memories of persecution or revanchism as well as deep prejudice against the neighboring communities - ethnic, religious, tribal, or racial”⁶¹.

⁶¹ Hudson, M, 1976. *The Lebanese Crisis: The Limits of Consociational Democracy*. University of California Press. P.111

Consociationalism is “non-territorial where constituent units share power that is concentrated in a common overarching government”⁶². Although this regime entails national reconciliation, it however requires a prerequisite to deliver on its role, which is, the willingness of all camps to compromise and concede to the balance of power agreed upon⁶³. Based on “compound majoritarian rather than simple majoritarian”⁶⁴, it is characterized by four features: First, the *Segmental Autonomy* which grants each leader of a segment enough authority to rule over his respective faction autonomously, and influence the decision-making process. This also means that opposition also participates in the government. Second, *Grand Coalition* is when Leaders of the diversified strata in the deeply divided society are given the means to mutually rule the state. Third is *Proportionality* on which representation, appointments in key positions and, distribution of resource are based. Fourth is *Minority Veto*, which guarantees, as its nomenclature designates, a veto power of participation and influence for minorities in crucial matters, thus preventing any attempts of hegemony by majorities”⁶⁵.

Consequently, a functional consociational regime requires first that leaders acquire capabilities to rule over their segment which necessitates a strict hierarchy within each segment, and second, leaders ought to reach agreement on macro and micro issues. Henceforth, consociationalism is manifested in two types of politics: one where power is condensed at the upper levels, and guaranteed by a strict hierarchy; and the other is rather

⁶²Elazar, D, 1977, *Federalism and Consociational Regimes*. Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. P.2

⁶³Ibid, P. 28

⁶⁴ Ibid, P. 1

⁶⁵Ibid, P. 30

an organic model where power is concentrated at the center but also includes decision makers which are representatives of peripheral bodies.

On the other hand, Lijphart recommends six conditions for consociationalism to deliver on its objectives:

- “Distinct lines of cleavage
- Multiple balance of power
- Popular attitudes favorable toward a grand coalition
- External threat
- Moderate nationalism
- Relatively low total load on system”⁶⁶.

3.1.2. CENTRALIZATION

Defined as “the concentration of political power or government authority at the national level rather than peripheral level”⁶⁷. A centralized system holds responsibilities that touch macro as well as micro issues. Decisions regarding issues ranging from political, economic, social welfare to diplomatic affairs and international positioning are all taken by a narrow segment of representatives. It therefore does not necessarily meet the diversified needs of peripheral districts, especially in mosaic societies.

The major objectives behind the adoption of a centralized system in a state are:

⁶⁶ Hudson, M, 1976. *The Lebanese Crisis: The Limits of Consociational Democracy*. University of California Press. P.112

⁶⁷ Heywood, A, 2007, *Politics*. Palgrave Foundations. P. 164

First is *National Unity*, where it is considered that a centralized government has the capabilities to guarantee common interest, whereas a weak and dispersed authority could lead to disintegration.

Second is *Uniformity*, which means that a strong center can draft uniform laws and thus fair and equitable ones. These laws allow for a dynamic rather than a static socio-political behavior as it transcends geographic borders between different regions.

Third is *Equality*, insinuates that only a central government can allow for equality of resources because it does not restrict a district or areas which are poor in resources to access other areas assets.

Fourth and last is *Prosperity* which means that a central government is capable of preserving the national currency value, design fiscal strategy which benefits the state as a whole, and guarantee sustainable development and advancement”⁶⁸.

The following section analyzes the main features of the Lebanese political system.

3.2. THE LEBANESE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Lebanon’s political system is built upon three main pillars: The constitution of 1926, the National Pact of 1943, the Taif Accord of 1990. These pillars divide the history of “the

⁶⁸Heywood, A, 2007, *Politics*. Palgrave Foundations. P. 164

formation of modern Lebanon”⁶⁹ into four main periods: before 1926; 1926 to 1943; 1943 to 1990; 1990 to-date.

Situated in the dynamic area of the Middle East, Lebanon has been subject to administrative and geographical changes. However, its plural aspect has always been recognized by the ruling system, namely, its Christian majority that distinguished it from its surrounding Muslim neighborhood. Tracing briefly the history of power-sharing formulas in Lebanon, one should stop at the management of the government of Mount Lebanon (1860-1920) under Ottoman rule. After the failure of Kaymakamate and the massacres of Deyr-El-Qamar in 1860 by the Druze that led Christians to flee⁷⁰, the Mount Lebanon divided between the Northern Christian Kaymakamate and the Southern Druze Kaymakamate lost some of its administrative autonomy to the Ottoman Khurshid Pasha. After major violations of Christian’s rights in Lebanon, Syria and Palestine, a coalition of Britain, France, Russia, Austria and Prussia established a committee under the presidency of Khurdish Pasha for the “reorganization of Lebanon”⁷¹. In 1861, the new Lebanese statute known as the Reglement Organique established the autonomous Lebanese Mutasarrifate.

Although France was among the sponsors of the Reglement Organique, however, they aspired for additional independence for Maronite by thus nurturing the ideology of Christian Nationalism. Additionally, Maronite resentment towards the non-Lebanese

⁶⁹Zamir, M, 1988, *The formation of Modern Lebanon*. Cornell University Press

⁷⁰Salibi, K, 1965, *History of Modern Lebanon*. Caravan Books. P.106

⁷¹Ibid, P.109

Mutassarif and the reduced territory of Lebanon was growing⁷². The Druze however embraced their position as a minority and aspired for a tighter bond with the Ottoman Mutassarif. France was considered to be the “kind mother”⁷³ of Christians, and after it ousted the Ottoman Empire took tutelage over Lebanon in 1918 - thus it answered Maronite aspirations and extended the Lebanese Territory. On September 1, 1920, the State of Greater Lebanon was declared, now including Beirut, the Bikaa, Saida, Tyre, Tripoli, and Akkar. In 1926, its constitution was approved and the state of Greater Lebanon became the Lebanese Republic, and from 26 May 1926 the first President of the Republic took office - Greek Orthodox Charles Dabbas⁷⁴. As per the constitution, Lebanon is a Republic, with a parliamentary system where the President of the Republic should swear loyalty to the Lebanese Nation and the Lebanese territory defined by the current boundaries unalterable. Although Maronite rejoiced the enlargement of the Lebanese territory, however, the annexed areas - which were predominantly Muslims - witnessed waves of agitation as locals felt they belonged to Muslim Syria rather than Christian Lebanon. In 1936, the “Conference of the Coast”, brought together prominent Muslim figures who called for the detachment of the annexed areas from Lebanon and their reintegration in Syria⁷⁵. This is the era when parties or movements such as separatists the Syrian National Party (1932), Christian Nationalist Kataeb Party (1936), and Muslim Scout Najjada (1937) were established⁷⁶.

⁷²Ibid, P.118

⁷³Ibid, P.119

⁷⁴Ibid,. P.167

⁷⁵Ibid, P.180

⁷⁶Ibid, P.181

In 1939, the Franco-Lebanese treaty which was passed unanimously by the Lebanese Chamber obtaining Christian and Muslim representatives' approval, brought changes to the status of the Lebanese State. It stated that Lebanon shall be considered Independent and Sovereign, and a potential League of Nations member. However, it would still provide France with military services.

This remained in force until 21 November 1941, when as a result of combined Christian-Muslim resilience, and Muslim recognition of an Arab yet independent Lebanon, led to the French declaring Lebanon an Independent State. This paved the way towards a new era in Lebanon's history.

In 1945, President Bechara El-Khouri and Premier Riad El-Solh put forth the National Pact, a "gentleman's agreement" between Christians and Muslims which aimed at determining Lebanon's identity and position within the larger regional and international system. The Pact set the parameters of collaboration between the religious factions. Although Lebanese had found a Christian-Muslim co-operation formula through the National Pact, however, it did not prevent the eruption of a fifteen years' bloody civil war, which divided the Lebanese from 1975 to 1990 along sectarian lines.

In 1990, the Taif Accord or the National Reconciliation Accord sponsored by the USA, KSA, and Syria, ratified by the Lebanese government on 5 November 1989, aimed mainly at re-establishing peace and maintaining the diversity that characterizes Lebanon through balancing the power among sects and preserving their rights. It marked the end of the civil war and re-institutionalized consociationalism and centralization. It reformed the power sharing formula in response to Muslim demands. Although it aimed at constructing

a national identity, however it determined in its preamble that Lebanon is Arab in its identity. Referring to the draft of the Taif Accord published on the United Nations official website⁷⁷, acknowledging the Lebanese system aims at:

First, establishing legitimacy, in reference to point (d) of the preamble, which states that “the people are the source of authority”.

Second, founding national principals and identity and consequently preserving human rights liberties, with reference to the preamble’s point (c)⁷⁸ which tackles clearly matters of equality; and the preamble’s point (g) which tackles socio-economic welfare, freedom of expression life (Part A, Chapter 1, Article 13), as well as participation in public life (Part A, Chapter 1, Article 12).

Third, guaranteeing security and stability through institution enforcement, discussed in depth in Part B, where separation of power is sanctified and the role of each of the branches is determined.

Fourth, preserving sovereignty through positioning Lebanon within the larger system as mentioned in the preamble part (b).

The accord called for radical reforms such as the abolition of sectarianism and the establishment of a decentralized administrative system, reaffirmed consociationalism and centralization.

⁷⁷ https://www.un.int/files/Lebanon/the_tauf_agreement_english_version_.pdf

⁷⁸Ibid

3.2.1. THE LEBANESE CONSOCIATIONAL FORMULA

The first form of power-sharing between the diverse sectarian factions in Lebanon was put forth in the time of the Mutassarifate which excluded Beirut, the Biquaa, Sidon, and Tripoli. Governed by an Ottoman Christian Catholic Moutassarif, himself appointed by the Ottoman Porte, the Moutassarif was to be assisted by a council of twelve elected members representing the sectarian diversity of the Mutassarifate: “One Shiite, One Suuni, One Greek Catholic, Two Greek Orthodox, Three Druze, and Four Maronites”⁷⁹.

Under the French Mandate, the State of Greater Lebanon was governed by French governors who were assisted by an Advisory Committee of seventeen nominated sectarian representatives, and a Representative Council whose members were elected along sectarian lines. The Representative Council, which became the Chamber of Deputies in 1926 under the new constitution, was to elect a president of the Republic, Greek Orthodox Charles Debbas⁸⁰.

Quoting Michel Chiha, a main contributor in the drafting of the constitution, “Lebanon is a country which tradition must defend against force”⁸¹. Consequently, the constitution did not clearly specify the dynamics of collaboration between the diverse sectarian communities. The text laid down the foundation for equitable representation of the various strata of the Lebanese society; however, it did not specify ratios nor assigned specific governmental positions to specific sects. During Orthodox Debbas presidential

⁷⁹Salibi, K, 1965, *History of Modern Lebanon*. Caravan Books. P.110

⁸⁰ Ibid, P.165

⁸¹Ibid, P.167

term which extended until 1929, several Maronites were appointed to head the Lebanese Cabinet. As for the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, they were headed by Sunni Muhamad Al-Jisr, who was condemned by Muslim counterparts for his participation in the Government. Afterward, in 1937, the appointment of Sunni Khayr Al-Din Al-Ahdab as Prime Minister set the foundation of a general belief that Presidents shall be Maronites and Premiers shall be Sunnis. Later, under President's Edde, the Franco-Lebanese treaty which was signed in 1939, introduced the "6-6 bis"⁸² an essential element which was considered to be a guarantee of fair representation of all sects.

The post-independence new era brought with it new power-sharing formulas. In 1943, a Chamber of Deputies of fifty-five seats, thirty of which assigned to Christians, and twenty-five to Muslim and Druze⁸³, was designed before the 1943 elections. This is when the precedence 6:5 ratio was set, and was abided by until 1990. The elected Chamber voted for Bechara El-Khoury to head the state, who appointed Riad El-Solh as Premier and called him to form a government representing the six major sects in Lebanon. With the end of the French mandate on November 22, 1943, Khoury and Solh founded the basis of co-operation between Christians and Muslims in what is known as the National Pact, "a gentleman's agreement" including the points below:

- a. Foreign Policy: Christians shall not seek foreign intervention, and recognize Lebanon as an *Arab*-affiliated state. Muslims shall leave behind their ambition to annex Lebanon to Syria.

⁸²Ibid, P.181

⁸³Grassmuck, G, Salibi, K, 1995, *A Manual Of the Lebanese Administration* .Public Administration Department of the American University of Beirut. P.12

b. Power-sharing:

- The President of the Republic is Christian Maronite.
- The Prime Minister is Sunni Muslim.
- The Speaker of the Parliament is Shi'a Muslim.
- The Deputy Speaker of the Parliament and the Deputy Prime Minister are Christian Greek Orthodox.
- Parliament members are always in a ratio of six Christians to five Muslims⁸⁴

As this pact is an agreement between the confessions, it consequently involved a so-called sectarian consideration as it ensures the agreement on power-sharing centers in departments and public institutions between the communities based on sectarian criteria. It is through this National Pact that the consociational system was firstly introduced to Lebanon. Nevertheless, since this Pact was not featured in any constitutional amendments, therefore, it was misinterpreted by parties, each according to its own interests and hence, palpably created intractable religious tensions within the population.

Similarly to the National Pact, the recent consociational formula has been institutionalized in the Lebanese political system with the aim to guarantee stability, neutralization, and fair representation among Lebanon's two major communities, Christians and Muslims. It also aimed to reconcile the concerns of different sects in order to build trust among them and henceforth, prevent conflict, achieve peace and enforce coexistence. The Taif Accord, the revised consociational formula and the "pacted

⁸⁴O'balance, E, 1998, *Civil War in Lebanon*. Macmillan Press Ltd. P. 218

democracy”⁸⁵ based on which the National Pact, attempted to achieve inter-communal equilibrium by embracing a consensual sectarian logic”⁸⁶. The Accord is divided into two sections. The first, which constitutes three quarters of the document, deals with internal reforms. It determines procedures for restructuring the power balance, reallocating governmental positions, and granting the veto power to all sectarian factions. The second is devoted to external relations relevant to the Arab-Palestinian-Israeli conflict and to Lebanese-Syrian relations.

What are the main features of the Lebanese consociational formula which were reformed by the Taif Accord?

Firstly, it established a Chamber of Deputies of one hundred and eight seats divided equally between Christians and Muslims⁸⁷. In 1992, the number of seats in the parliament was increased to one hundred and twenty eight, sixty four Christians, and sixty four Muslims⁸⁸. Pertaining to proportionality; The Taif Accord distributed key positions based on a 50:50 ratio. Article 95 of the constitution states “*As a transitory measure and for the sake of even justice and concord, the communities shall be equally represented in public posts and in ministerial composition, without damage to State interest resulting there from*”. Parity in representation preserved a balance between sects and attempted to

⁸⁵Fakhoury, T, *Debating Lebanon's Power Sharing Model: An Opportunity Or An Impasse For Democratization Studies In The Middle East*. P.223

⁸⁶ Haddad, S, 2009, *Lebanon: From Consociationalism to Conciliation*. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics. P. 404

⁸⁷Barack, O, 2007, *Don't mention the war? The politics of remembrance and forgetfulness in Postwar Lebanon*. Middle East Journal.

⁸⁸ Shields, V, 2008, *Political Reform In Lebanon: Has the Cedar Revolution Failed?*. The Journal Of Legislative Studies. P. 480

prevent either the army or any one religious or political group to exercise hegemony over others⁸⁹.

Secondly, pertaining to segmental autonomy; the Lebanese constitution enshrines the concept in Article 9 “*Liberty of conscience is absolute. By rendering homage to the Almighty, the State respects all creeds and guarantees and protects their free exercise, on condition that they do not interfere with public order. It also guarantees to individuals, whatever their religious allegiance, the respect of their personal status and their religious interests*”, and Article 10, “*Education is free so long as it is not contrary to public order and to good manners and does not touch the dignity of creeds. No derogation shall affect the right of communities to have their schools, subject to the general prescriptions on public education set by the State*”⁹⁰.

Thirdly, pertaining to minority veto, and aiming at preserving the “covenant of mutual existence” a veto power is granted to each of the sectarian factions. Mutual sectarian veto is used in major national or foreign affairs decisions⁹¹.

Fourthly, pertaining to grand coalition, this characteristic is clearly missing⁹². Lebanon’s consociational formula has however been characterized by main divergence from the initially recognized consociational model. Although leaders are granted by constitution

⁸⁹Makdisi, S, Marktanner, M, 2009, *Trapped By consociationalism: The Case of Lebanon*. American University of Beirut Department of Economics and Institute of Financial economics. P.2

⁹⁰El-Chidiac, E, 2013, Ziad Majed in *On Consociationalism and Confessionalism in Lebanon*. <http://lebanonism.com/lebpw/?>. P.1222

⁹¹Salloukh, B, Barakat, R, Al-Habbal, J, Khattab,L, Mikaelian, S, 2015, *The Politics of Sectarianism in Postwar Lebanon*. Pluto Press. P.22

⁹² Haddad, S, 2009, *Lebanon: From Consociationalism to Conciliation*. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics. P. 401

means to rule the state mutually, however, these means seem to be dysfunctional in practice. The veto power granted by the consociational system to the ruling elite, and their consent being at the core of the decision-making process functionality, allowed for recurrent deadlocks, in light of elites constant disagreement. Sectarian leaders had not healed past wounds caused by the civil war, nor had they re-established trust among them. The veto power, which is supposed to be used constructively, is thus used to secure communal interest rather than national interest. Elite employ it as a means through which they can block any decision that might threaten their respective communities' wellbeing.

The Taif consociational formula has also weakened the President who still ought to be Maronite. The President is unable to legislate without the Premier's consent, and is thus "subject to a Sunni Veto"⁹³. The President is granted the power of delay of fifteen days, which dispossesses him from any influence over cabinet decisions. It favored the Sunni Prime Minister, which gave the cabinet the legitimate authority to exercise the responsibilities which has been previously assigned to the president. In the cabinet, decisions regarding "fundamental questions such as declaration of war, international agreements, electoral laws, citizenship, and administrative decentralization law"⁹⁴, required, in practice, a two-third majority quorum for decision approvals. Shiite speakership also got reinforced by extending the mandate of the speaker to four consecutive years, which included in its scope a major influence on the President's

⁹³ Winslow, C, 1996, *Lebanon: War and Politics in a Fragmented Society*. Routledge. P.274

⁹⁴ Makdisi, S, El-Khalil, Y, 2013, *Lebanon: The Legacy of Sectarian Consociationalism and The Transition to a Fully-fledged Democracy*. Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs. P. 4

election, cabinet formation and activity, and responsiveness to Ministerial Bills. Decisions in the Parliament require a majority vote⁹⁵. With the new power balance, a consensus among the major three posts was a requirement for any decision. The three officials are the sponsors of their respective communities and guardians of their interests⁹⁶. The “Troika” allowed for off-institutional settlements⁹⁷ and compromise on national interest in favor of sectarian interest. However, it resulted in a confusion of powers, and consequently to deadlocks regarding complex issues⁹⁸.

Furthermore, the Lebanese model is a “hybrid model since the electoral system is centripetal or incentive-based: multi-member constituencies and reserved seats but common and not communal electoral rolls”⁹⁹. The Taif Accord called for elections on the basis of Muhafaza’s which are six in Lebanon; North Lebanon, Beirut, Mount Lebanon, Beqaa Valley, Nabatiyah, and South Lebanon. Elections are based on proportional representation with a preferential vote¹⁰⁰. However, each election held after the Taif Accord was based on a newly designed electoral law. Electoral laws were designed to keep the ruling class in power and to suppress any possibility of resistance or change.

⁹⁵Makdisi, S, El-Khalil, Y, 2013, *Lebanon: The Legacy of Sectarian Consociationalism and The Transition to a Fully-fledged Democracy*. Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs. P. 5

⁹⁶Salloukh, B, Barakat, R, Al-Habbal, J, Khattab,L, Mikaelian, S, 2015, *The Politics of Sectarianism in Postwar Lebanon*. Pluto Press. P.23

⁹⁷Makdisi, S, El-Khalil, Y, 2013, *Lebanon: The Legacy of Sectarian Consociationalism and The Transition to a Fully-fledged Democracy*. Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs. P. 14

⁹⁸ Najem, T, 2012, *Lebanon, The Politics of a Penetrated Society*. Routledge. P.62

⁹⁹ Haddad, S, 2009, *Lebanon: From Consociationalism to Conciliation*. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics. P. 400

¹⁰⁰El-Husseini, H, 2016, *Al-Ousbou’ fi Sa’a*. Al-Jadid TV

On another note, The Taif Accord called for the re-establishment of the Senate where all sectarian families will be represented and will be responsible for dealing with crucial issues. However, 25 years after the signing of the contract, the Senate has not been formed yet. In 2008, the Doha agreement has brought a new feature to Lebanon's consociational formula. The "guaranteeing third" of the "blocking third" has been introduced in the cabinet formula. This feature has not been included in the constitution and it was only used under the Saad Hariri mandate, in the cabinet of 2009.

The main reason why the Lebanese had adopted consociationalism is to give assurances to all communities by giving them the power to veto any decisions that is not in their respective favor, which will consequently secure their right, deter their fears, rebuild trust among them and help integrate them under the umbrella of the Lebanese state.

3.2.2. THE LEBANESE CENTRALIZED AUTHORITY

Following the era of the Kaymakamate when Lebanon was divided into two administrative units, the Mutassarifate divided Lebanon into seven administrative casas each governed by a Kaymakam representing the dominant sect within the district. Each district was also divided into villages where local people elected heads of villages. Security was maintained by judicial police. As for the budget, it was based on the taxes collected within the territory. The Judiciary was formed by a court of first instance and appeal. The Ottoman administration was aspiring for an intensified centralization which offended Christians who benefited from a degree of self-rule in Christian districts and

consequently did not believe the promises of equality between Christians and Muslims in an Empire with a majority of Muslims¹⁰¹.

After Maronite aspirations were met and the State of Greater Lebanon was recognized in 1926, under the administration of French Secretary General Robert De Caix, the Lebanese administrative system was founded:-the Lebanese electoral law, real estate law, gendarmerie, in addition to the introduction of the Syro-Lebanese pound which issuance rights were given to the Banque de Syrie et Du Liban¹⁰². As for governmental institutions, the Legislative was to be formed of a Chamber of Deputies which was mandated for four years, and a Senate which was mandated for six years. The President was to be elected by the two houses in a mutual session, sits in power for three years, renewable. The Lebanese constitution was subject to its first amendment in 1929 when the Senate was abolished and the mandate of the President extended to six years, non-renewable. In 1934, a Code of Civil Procedures was introduced to the Chamber of Deputies and the judicial branch was reformed.

In Lebanon under French mandate, a highly centralized authority was established to help colonial power strengthen their grip over the colonies. Even after its independence, Lebanon was still suffering from the previously established patronage system. Former Army General Fouad Chehab, who headed the state from 1958 to 1964, was known to have tried to strengthen governmental institutions. However, the centralized authority which was subject to rooted to a clientelistic system based on sectarian affiliations, proved unable to be broken.

¹⁰¹Salibi, K, 1965, *History of Modern Lebanon*. Caravan Books. P.152

¹⁰²Ibid, P.166

The Taif Accord has recognized the repercussions of a centralized administrative authority and the struggle over power and resources it leads to, within a divided society along sectarian lines. In order to deter the corrupt and clientele system it had called for the application of an administrative decentralization.

It aimed at balancing between regions, and serving all the districts irrespective of the sectarian demographic/geographic distribution, through introducing new requirements for an inclusive economy within a capitalist system¹⁰³. However, through practices, it reinforced a centralized administration. However the formula proposed was ambiguous and was not implemented - even today, 25 years after the ratification of the agreement.

At the bottom of the pyramid is the President of the Municipality who rules over a village and is elected by the habitants of that same village. He has the authority the execute projects which cost is below three million Lebanese pounds and has a very limited authority. The President of the Municipality reports to the Ka'emMakam who is appointed by the government and rules over a district. Lebanon is divided into 26 districts. The Ka'emMakam reports to the Governor who is also appointed by the government. The Governor or Mouhafez, agent of the central authority rules over a province, and there are 6 provinces (larger entities including combining several districts) in Lebanon. However, the Governor's scope of action is very limited. Enjoying very limited authority, the Governor has no jurisdiction over his province. He reports to, and is held liable, by the Minister of Interior and Municipalities and shall respond the minister's requests regardless of his area's needs. Whenever requested by the Minister, the Mouhafez can

¹⁰³ Barclay, S, 2007, *Consociationalism in Lebanon*. University of Pennsylvania.P.32

dissolve the Council of Municipality, control Municipal budget, and influence officials' recruitment¹⁰⁴. It is important to note that the appointed Ka'emMakam and Governor are never natives of the areas over which they rule, and therefore limits their capabilities to address the needs of the habitants. Consequently, all decisions are taken at the center and are then imposed unanimously among districts; while ignoring the specific needs of each area. Whether it was a macro decision that targets one aspect of the constitutional entity, or a micro decision that touches the citizens' day-to-day lives, distinctiveness of geographical areas and sectarian communities are never tackled equitably. Local areas are not allowed to manage their own local affairs.

The above chapter has discussed the main features of Lebanon's consociational system and mainly the veto power granted to conflicting sectarian factions on the one hand, and the centralized system which has concentrated the authority and all types of policy and decision-making procedures at the central level on the other.

The following chapter will evaluate the functionality of the consociational formula and the centralized administration in light of sectarian divisions and will demonstrate how the current Lebanese system is leading to governmental deadlocks and paralysis.

¹⁰⁴ Iskandar, A, 1964, *Bureaucracy in Lebanon*. American University of Beirut. P.60

CHAPTER IV

THE OUTCOME OF THE LEBANESE FORMULA: DEADLOCKS, FREEDOMS VIOLATIONS, UNENFORCED RULE OF LAW, AND FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS

The following chapter will evaluate the functionality of the consociational formula and the centralized administration in light of sectarian divisions. It will demonstrate that, despite the fact that the sectarian facet of the Lebanese society has been recognized by this system, and despite the system itself being designed with the objective of achieving peaceful coexistence and prosperity, it has, however, fallen short from achieving its objectives. The ultimate benchmark of any constitutional structure is “to enforce rule of law, to provide rights and freedoms to communities as well as to individuals, to maintain security domestically, and, to protect the country’s sovereignty”¹⁰⁵. However, as it will be demonstrated hereafter, the Lebanese political system could not deter recurrent

¹⁰⁵Katrib, JP, 2006, *Lebanon and the federal solution*. L’orient Le Jour. P.1.

governmental deadlocks and paralysis. Henceforth, its dysfunctionality has led to its failure to enforce rule of law, or provide basic human rights and freedoms.

It will then be verified that the failure of the State to deliver on its role has intensified inter-sectarian conflicts, and foreign interventions were needed to hinder violent clashes, making Lebanon a permeable country whose sovereignty is continuously violated.

4.1. GOVERNMENTAL DEADLOCKS

The consociational formula and the centralized authority in light of primordial sectarianism, have led to governmental deadlocks in decision making. Whether pertaining to macro issues such as national security and foreign affairs, or micro issues such as the economy and social welfare, Lebanese statesmen have proven unable to achieve consent. This situation rendered the system dysfunctional.

The political system aimed at creating a more balanced relationship among the state's three highest officials- the President (Maronite), Prime Minister (Sunni), and Speaker of Parliament (Shiite) along with the introduction of equitable representation for Christians and Muslims in Parliament¹⁰⁶. However, it hindered the functionality of the decision making process.

The weakening of the President is clearly stated in the Taif Accord in Articles 55 (3) which considers under precise circumstances a Presidential Decree to dissolve the

¹⁰⁶Barack, O, 2007, *Don't mention the war? The Politics of Remembrance and Forgetfulness in Postwar Lebanon*. Middle East Journal. P.5

Chamber as null, or Article 56 (2) which grants the President a period of fifteen days to review a decision and even if he refuses it, it is the Council of Ministers call to promulgate it. Article 57¹⁰⁷ imposes on the President consultation with the Council of Ministers on laws, which are considered operational whenever a time limit is exceeded, even without the approval of the President.

Initially, the reformed political system strengthened the role of the Council of Ministers as a stand-alone institution. The Council of Ministers operates under a two-third quorum, where decisions are taken by "consensus", and made by a majority plus one voting whenever an impossibility of agreement presents itself. Although the constitution explicitly mandates that the “core subjects” need to be approved by a vote of two thirds of the members of the Government, with a clear specification of the content of the “core themes”, only rarely the Government resorted to a vote. It rather sought consensus to resolve the dispute. Hence, if the parties reach an agreement on a matter, no clear problem is identified, but if parties do not agree, the country witnesses a crisis of governance.

Lijphart claims, “decision making that entails accommodation among all subcultures is a difficult process, and consociational democracies are always threatened by a degree of immobilism”¹⁰⁸. Hence the recurrent deadlock in decisions pertaining to macro and micro issues are discussed further in this chapter.

Regarding centralized administration, the impotence of the Government itself, and its failure to address the needs of peripheral communities, prompted sectarian leaders to take the lead, organize themselves, and operate in favor of their own interests. Consequently,

¹⁰⁷Salamey, I, 2013, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*. Routledge. P.188

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, P.10

and as Edward Shils assumes “there cannot be a government with a real authority because the political leaders are too much concerned or drawn in the interests of particular groups of individuals”¹⁰⁹. Additionally, and as Malcolm Kerr claims: "Governments are not made to create public policy, nor to choose between clear-cut alternatives entailing the triumph of one set of demands over another, but to reflect faithfully and adjust the competing interests of various groups"¹¹⁰.

The political system mandated by the Taif Agreement is, in itself, a direct cause behind the recurrent crises which plunged Lebanon into the turmoil and kept the “solutions” depending on the system’s contradictions¹¹¹. Hence, these political reforms proposed by the Taif Agreement revealed a contradiction between the primordial sectarian affiliations, that proved to be a given in the Lebanese formula, and the construction of a secular, national identity. The Agreement resulted in a reproduction of the Lebanese confessional state under a new formula.

Governmental deadlocks are translated into two categories of deadlocks: the first is the paralysis in decision-making pertaining to political issues, and the second is the paralysis in decision-making pertaining to socio-economic or day-to-day issues.

¹⁰⁹Hourani, A, *Visions of Lebanon*. P.7

¹¹⁰Hourani, A, 1985, *Political Society in Lebanon: A historical Introduction*. Centre for Lebanese Studies. P. 6

¹¹¹ <http://loubnanouna.org/Reports/TaifAgreement/2006>

4.1.1 POLITICAL PARALYSIS CAUSED BY CONSOCIATIONALISM

The first political deadlock discussed is that of the Presidential elections of 2008, when President Michel Sleiman was only elected after a dialogue was held in Doha under the patronage of Qatar. The same case was witnessed again in 2014 at the end of the President Sleiman's mandate, where the Lebanese schisms and involvement in regional crisis has led to the Presidential vacancy. Currently, we can count almost two years of Presidential vacuum. Instead of abiding by the constitution by electing a President, and keeping negotiations under the umbrella of Government, political parties launched bilateral discussions aiming at facilitating the Government's operations in light of a vacant Presidential position. The Free Patriotic Movement headed by Michel Aoun and the Lebanese Forces headed by Samir Geagea, known rival Christian camps aimed through their dialogue at facilitating the Presidential elections, enforcing and activating state's institutions, and enhancing their collaboration between the two camps¹¹². On another note, head of future movement Saad Hariri initiated a dialogue with head of Marada Movement, Sleiman Frangieh, and although both movements are rivals, the former part of the March 14 coalition and the latter part of the 8 March coalition, Hariri suggested the election of Frangieh as a convenient option that would help resolve the Presidential dilemma¹¹³. Although these dialogues look like a light of hope, however, the consociational system that provides the Veto power to different sectarian factions, and

¹¹²Aliwaa, 19/1/2015, <http://www.aliwaa.com/Article.aspx?ArticleId=233576>

¹¹³Annahar, 15/12/2015, <http://www.annahar.com/article/293701>-الحريري-يستمر-متى-الى-فرنجيه-ترشيح-في-الحريري-يستمر-متى-الى-

requires a consensus among them in decision-making, seems not to provide proper legitimate channels to end the presidential vacuum.

The second political deadlock discussed is one that reached the design of the Parliamentary electoral law. President Michel Sleiman issued a decree calling for Parliamentary elections in June 2014, but political parties were unable to agree on an electoral law. And thus, the Parliament extended its mandate twice and currently operates illegitimately. With the Future Movement and the Progressive Socialist Party who oppose the adoption of the law based on proportional representation¹¹⁴, highly supported by Hezbollah and Amal movement, on the one hand, and the Christians who call for the design of an equitable law that guarantees Christian representation on the other, the consensus over the matter seems hard to reach.

Additionally, and also relating to the electoral law, Eligible electoral age has always been an issue of conflict between sects. The Christians do not approve lowering the voting age to 18 because will increase the number of Muslim voters and out weight the number of Christian voters: "the overall change is that the proportion of Muslim voters rises from 60% to 61% while the proportion of Christian voters falls from 40% to 39%". Lowering the voting age would require a change in the constitution, meaning two-thirds of both the Cabinet and Parliament. Amal Movement, Hezbollah and the Progressive Socialist Party support this change, the Free Patriotic Movement is against it, the Future Movement has not stated a clear decision, while the Kataeb Party and the Lebanese Forces only accept

¹¹⁴L'orient Le Jour, 3/12/2015, <http://www.lorientlejour.com/article/958343/au-coeur-des-enjeux-la-nouvelle-loi-electorale.html>

if they let the Lebanese citizens abroad vote too¹¹⁵. This suggestion was put forth because the Lebanese Diaspora, which has a Christian majority, will balance the disequilibrium which will be caused with the lowering of the electoral age.

The third political deadlock resulting from the failure of consensual consociationalism, has impacted the appointments and dismissal of first-class Government staff. Whenever the agreement over appointments is impossible to reach, the council of Ministers would refrain from appointing, which will result in vacuum and prevent the institutions to fulfill its managerial and regulatory roles. A crucial position is the appointment of the Army General. Due to the consociational formula, paired with sectarian affiliations and a vertical political division among Lebanese political actors, no agreement on the appointment of the Army General has been reached. The consecutive sessions of the National Dialogue have once again proved the failure of the parties to tackle the military appointments. With the Free Patriotic Movement representatives disagreeing on discussing the matter after their incapability to reach an agreement with other Lebanese faction on the promotion of General Chamel Roukoz¹¹⁶, they threatened boycotting ministerial and dialogue meetings, thus aggravating the paralysis which surely would not have taken place if the political system had been a consociational democracy, granting each party a veto power.

¹¹⁵NOW Media, 21/1/2010, https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/reportsfeatures/with_lower_age_how_many_new_voters

¹¹⁶L'orient Le Jour, 8/10/2015, <http://www.lorientlejour.com/article/948350/a-lhorizon-le-blocage-total-du-gouvernement.html>

The deadlock has not only impacted macro political issues, but it has also reached micro issues which affects citizens' day-to-day lives as discussed below, thus aggravating the paralysis that contaminated all socio-economic levels on the Lebanese scene.

4.1.2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC PARALYSIS CAUSED BY CONSOCIATIONALISM

Starting with the major issue that became Lebanon's trademark in 2015, and also seems to mark 2016 due to the inability of the Lebanese leaders to reach consent over a solution, is the garbage crisis. In July 2015, the contract of the Lebanese state with the privately-owned Sukleen, company, which was contracted to assemble garbage in Lebanon for more than a decade, was terminated due to speculations of corruption, and the Lebanese state drowned in tons of waste. Consecutive extraordinary meetings were held bringing together political leaders in an attempt to find the proper solution. Once again, the Council of Ministers took the decision to cancel tenders due to their exorbitant prices and the possible relation of companies with several political leaders¹¹⁷. Previously, Lebanon's waste was land-filled in Nehmme, where at least 10,000 habitants live in the vicinity of the landfill¹¹⁸: a condition that breaches all health international standards, which instigated the habitants to protest for having to suffer alone on behalf of all Lebanese. With growing sectarian tensions, solutions like the creation of landfills for each sect

¹¹⁷Le Monde, 25/8/2015, http://www.lemonde.fr/proche-orient/article/2015/08/25/le-gouvernement-libanais-echoue-a-trouver-une-issue-a-la-crise-des-dechets_4736442_3218.html

¹¹⁸Middle East eye, 11/8/2015, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/reportages/la-crise-des-d-chets-du-liban-couve-depuis-40-ans-1786343947>

where witnessed, thus aggravating any possibility of consent over the solution to the crisis.

A second good example on how sectarian affiliations contribute to the paralysis in a consociational and centralized system is the case of Electricité du Liban (EDL), the public establishment that supplies Lebanon with electricity, where conflict arose between political allies because of sectarian attachment. After the Taif Accord was signed, several Shiite Ministers held the portfolio of the Ministry of Energy and Water. As the clientele system operates in a sectarian state like Lebanon, Shiite

Ministers appointed huge numbers of Shiite maintenance workers (مياومين) on a contractual daily basis. In 2013, Gebran Bassil was appointed as the minister of Energy and Water. Bassil is a member of Free Patriotic Movement FPM, the Christian movement that is the main ally of the Shiites. In an attempt to reinstate the electricity institution where corruption was at its utmost costing Lebanon huge debts, Bassil conducted a study that revealed that the number of contractual workers exceeded the demand, that their hiring was not based on merit, and thus they are a burden on the institution without adding any apparent benefit to the EDL. Minister Bassil decided then to delimit their numbers by holding merit exams and studying the market to identify the needed number of maintenance contractual workers. The study prompted the need to fire a considerable number of employees who happened to be from the Shiite community. Huge protest invaded and echoed all over Beirut and the EDL headquarters claiming that this incident was nothing but a scheme played by the Christians an attempt to marginalize the Shiites. Although the matter was one of reform - alleviating corruption and enhancing

performance - the final decision resulted in an inter-sectarian clash between the Christian Free Patriotic Movement FPM and the Shiite Amal Movement that are allies of the 8 March coalition, a political coalition that is so called "trans-sectarian".

The third example is another economic issue, which was handled as being a matter of sectarian prevalence, is the Beirut Port fourth basin. A consensus over Beirut Port's Authority decision to fill the facilities of the fourth basin of the port was never reached. Truckers and port workers who happened to be of a Christian majority refused the filling plan, claiming that it is illegal and will cause port workers to lose their jobs. They reverted to Christian Ministers who also objected the project. Maronite Patriarch Beshara Raii, and Christian parties such as the Free Patriotic Movement (FPM), the Lebanese Forces, the Marada and the Kataeb party have also sided with the workers against the project¹¹⁹. As for Sunni Prime Minister Tamam Salam, he contacted the Director General of the Port and demanded the discontinuity of the project until the cabinet reaches its final decision. This is one additional case where an issue of economy and welfare results in sectarian clashes¹²⁰.

The Fourth concern is that of the Lebanese University LU. The LU conflict is yet another prime example. In an article entitled "Lebanon's only public university latest victim of the sectarian system"¹²¹ published on July 11, 2014 in Al-Akhbar, a pro

¹¹⁹The Daily Start, 15/12/2014, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Local/2014/Dec-15/281031-plan-to-fill-port-of-beiruts-basin-4-sparks-controversy.ashx>

¹²⁰ The Daily Star, 19/2/2015, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Local/2015/Feb-19/287931-salam-orders-halt-to-work-at-port-of-beiruts-fourth-basin.ashx>

¹²¹ Al-Akhbar, 11/7/2014, <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/20633>Hussein Mahdi

Hezbollah newspaper, Hussein Mahdi, showed that even academic institutions, mainly the one and only public academic institution, the Lebanese University LU, are subject to the harmful effect of sectarianism. Driven by their respective sectarian and political interests, ministers were not able to agree and approve full-time Professors' contracts or to appoint Deans to the Lebanese University Council. Moreover, they were indifferent to contract Professors open strike with 72,000 students' exam results and pending futures, which threaten to shut down the university: The Christian Kataeb Party wants to appoint two Deans, and the party with the Christian Free Patriotic Movement, believes that the Druze Progressive Socialist Party PSP has no right to choose the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine since it is directly linked to the sectarian quota of the Christians.

Another sectarian issue, relating to the Lebanese University LU third branch in Tripoli, was the appointment of a Christian Director at a faculty of Business and Economics, an event that gave rise to protest movements by Sunni students in the city requesting the replacement of the Christian Director with a Sunni one, taking into account that the two other branches are directed by a Shiite and a Christian. Bou Saab, the minister of Education and Higher Education in Lebanon said that the problem relates more to the feeling of marginalization of a certain group. He declared that the appointments should consider the merit and sect of the candidate and should be done in adherence to the 1943 National Pact that divides power between Muslims and Christians. Ministers' failure to resolve those issues leads us to conclude that sectarian and political interests overrule the interests in preserving the University's academic standards. The Shiite president of LU requested neutralizing the University from politicization. He was accused

of ignoring the norm of maintaining an equal number of Sunni and Shiite Directors and of neglecting to discuss the engagement of Sunni Directors with Sunni parties.

4.1.3. GOVERNANCE DEFECTS CAUSED BY CENTRALIZATION

Centralization is aimed primarily at balancing between regions, and serving all the districts irrespective of the sectarian demographic/geographic distribution, through introducing new requirements for an inclusive economy within a capitalist system¹²². However, through practices, it reinforced a centralized administration. However the formula proposed was ambiguous and was not implemented even today, 25 years after the ratification of the agreement.

What are the criteria that characterize Lebanon's administrative system¹²³;

First, State Capacity; the centralized administration is one that overburdens the central authority and consequently diverts the capacity of the latter to perform its core tasks. It thus prevents peripheral bodies from performing tasks which fall within the needs and interest of local areas.

Second, Organizational Structure; the centralized system is departmentalized and highly concentrated whether at the level of the Ministries in Beirut where we witness a lack of

¹²²Barclay, S, 2007, *Consociationalism in Lebanon*. University of Pennsylvania. P.32

¹²³ El-Saad, F, 2001, *Strategy for The Reform and Development of the Public Administration in Lebanon*. Office of the Minister of the State for Administrative reforms. P.3

cooperation due to an established ministerial autonomy on the one hand, or at the level of the central state where local authorities in region have no authority.

Three, Policy Making; the centralized system is one that conceives unadaptable and outdated policies. Lebanon's political system is highly centralized, concentrated and authoritarian; the central Government is the only source of legislation and the large majority of offices function within the ministerial boundaries¹²⁴. Whether related to minor day-to-day issues or to issues of a national scale, Ministerial and Parliamentary agencies at the highest levels of administrations, design and issue laws, and provinces are forced to apply. Consequently, the central authority regulates peripheral areas, which enjoy very limited authority. Regardless of provinces specific sectarian and developmental conditions, rules issued by the central government are applied unanimously to all regions.

Four, Civil Services; the centralized administration includes in its body a large number of incapable staff whom are not recruited based on merit. With large number of vacant positions, recruitments are done with an aim to simply fill in gaps. Citizens find no interest in Government jobs where no authority is delegated, and where training and development are concentrated at the center, with little attention paid to employees in peripheral areas.

Fifth, Governance; with the central authority having little or no means or channels to meet peripheral needs, clientelistic systems have been established between local political leaders and partisans. These channels are illegitimate and are not included within the

¹²⁴ Iskandar, A, 1964, *Bureaucracy in Lebanon*. American University of Beirut. P.54

umbrella or written policies and procedures. In 1997, a legislative Decree 118 was issued. It called for fiscal autonomy for municipalities which grants them the authority to “adopt annual budget, determine taxes and fees, manage municipal funds, control town planning and public transport provisions, name streets, develop natural resources, oversee electric power projects, maintain and equip fire and rescue services, and draft and regulate laws for municipal employees”¹²⁵.

Sixth, Accountability; with leaders and partisans having recourse to custom-made channels and procedures, and the central authority being far from citizens in peripheral areas, corrupt practices have found fertile grounds in the centralized system, and no means of accountability have been developed.

We can conclude that in light of sectarian identities which influence socio-political behavior and which drive inter and intra-communal relations as in the case of Lebanon, a consociational democracy can lead to attempts of partition, disintegration, violent casualties, and in most cases to the dominance of one sectarian faction over the other. The veto power granted to sectarian leaders has allowed them to block any decision that does not fall within the interest of their community. In addition, having a centralized authority where decisions on macro and micro issues are taken, sectarian divisions have not only paralyzed the central authority, but it has also affected the daily lives of citizens where authorities overseeing their areas have absolutely no power to legislate minor socio-economic laws, which at least can allow for sustaining a decent life and provide basic needs.

¹²⁵ Shields, V, 2008, *Political Reform In Lebanon: Has the Cedar Revolution Failed?* The Journal Of Legislative Studies. P. 481

The Lebanese formula has not only led to Governmental deadlocks and governance deficiencies which in turn has obstructed daily activities, it has also led to the failure of the state to enforce rule of law and order on the Lebanese territory. Consequently, each sectarian faction has established its own rule of law and order in its area of dominance - as will be discussed hereafter.

4.2. FAILURE TO ENFORCE RULE OF LAW

A state is an established authority that enjoys jurisdiction over a core territory and people, for an extended period of time, stretching over at least several generations. The jurisdiction includes power to implement the law, impose taxation, and demand military service, loyalty and allegiance to the established authority¹²⁶.

This section will demonstrate that the Lebanese state is not capable of enforcing Rule of Law, by exposing instances that prove how sectarian non-state actors have acquired de-facto capabilities to impose their own Rule of Law in their areas of geographic dominance, and therefore challenge the legitimate constitutional entity.

This chapter adopts Brian Tamanaha's notion of the Rule of Law as:

“ A principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently

¹²⁶Harik, I, 1990, *The Origins of the Arab State System*, in Giacomo Luciani, ed., *The Arab State*. Routledge. P.20

*adjudicated, and which are consistent with international Human Rights norms and standards. It requires, as well, measures to ensure adherence to the principles of supremacy of law, equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the application of the law, separation of powers, participation in decision-making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness and procedural and legal transparency."*¹²⁷

For example, in May 7 2008¹²⁸, violent clashes erupted in the Lebanese capital Beirut, for what basically seemed to be the issue of Hezbollah's private telecom network. Hezbollah, with no authorization from any Lebanese legitimate institutions, launched a field work in his areas of dominance and have established its private telecom infrastructures which the Government cannot supervise. As soon as the other Lebanese counterparts raised questions about the matter, casualties exploded preventing any attempt of stopping the illegal behavior. What started out as a dispute over what seemed a harmless telecom network turned out to have bigger needs related to high security promotions and to much more dangerous use for the telecom network. The showdown ended leaving the network fully functional given Hezbollah's autonomous authority within its areas¹²⁹.

Special Tribunal For Lebanon STL prosecutor Daniel Bellemare accused four Hezbollah partisans of the assassination of Hariri. Although their names, photograph and personal

¹²⁷Report of the Secretary-General: The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies" (2004) - http://www.unrol.org/article.aspx?article_id=3

¹²⁸ The Daily Star, 24/10/2011, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2011/Oct-24/152056-hezbollah-telecoms-network-security-promotions-to-challenge-cabinet.ashx>

¹²⁹Lebanon Wire, 9/5/2008, <http://www.lebanonwire.com/0805MLN/08050901CSM.asp>

information were published, Mustafa Badr al-Din, Hussein Nisi, and Salim Ayyash, and Assad Sabra were never arrested. Regardless of the Lebanese commitment to arrest the suspects, detain and transfer them to the Tribunal pursuant to resolution 1757 adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations, General Attorney of the Lebanese Court for Discrimination reported that none of the accused in the case of an attack February 14, 2005 were arrested¹³⁰. Such incidents mirror clear impotence of the Lebanese state to challenge the Rule of Law established by Hizbollah in his areas of influence.

In a TV report¹³¹ broadcasted on the Lebanese TV Chanel MTV, shed the light on the autonomous rule of law of Shiite residents in the areas of Bekka namely Baalbek and Britel. Drug addicts, dealers, and mafia leaders, and fugitives escaping justice, are all hiding in an area where the Lebanese state is unable to enter. Autonomous rule of law has been established by residents and collaboration with the Lebanese security forces requires one non-negotiable prerequisite: “General Amnesty”.

After a series of bombing targeting Beirut Southern Suburb known to be Hezbollah’s area, the party who had acquired legitimacy and authority within his area, established its own security force and put in place his security checkpoints on the “Dahiyat” entrances¹³². Armed partisans of Hezbollah are given the responsibility and right to undergo security checks on all Lebanese who enter the area.

¹³⁰ Al-Akhbar, 30/7/2015, <http://www.al-akhbar.com/node/18692>

¹³¹MTV Lebanon, 21/2/2016, http://mtv.com.lb/Programs/tahkik/Season_8/Videos/للطفار_العفور_ddotddotddot

¹³²Lebanon Files, 21/11/2015, <http://www.lebanonfiles.com/news/965370>

These incidents demonstrate perfectly the deviation from Tamanaha's definition of Rule of Law. Hezbollah's practices highlight the inequality before the law and the unfairness in the application of the law between the different sectarian communities. The Shiites community - which was once marginalized - had recourse to illegitimate means in order to preserve its rights and attain leverage, and consequently created a state of fear among other factions which in turn, resorted to same practices.

Similarly to the Shiite areas, the state was unable to impose rule of law and order in areas dominated by Sunnis. In Saida, which is a Sunni area, the salafi Sunni Sheikh Ahmad El Assir, part of the growing Sunni movement in Lebanon and other Arab countries, has built for himself an empire in Sidon¹³³. His empire soon mobilized a big number of supporters who agreed with the claims of "protecting the Sunnis rights". As they perceived the Syrian President Bashar El Assaad as their main enemy, breaking Hezbollah's – Assad's Lebanese ally - hegemonic behavior became a main goal. Al Assir did not spare the Lebanese Army either and the main controversial behavior was when Al-Assir supporters surrounded an army checkpoint in Abra-Saida and attacked them with gunfire¹³⁴. The incident left many dead among Al-Assir supporters and the army. As a reaction, Al-Assir decided to breach public places classification and decided to bury his supporters in Saida's roundabout, thus behaving illegitimately and in full autonomy. Al-Assir was hoping to extend his autonomy outside Sidon but his antics

¹³³ NOW Media, 22/2/2013, <https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/mtv-armed-assir-partisans-deploy-near-sidons-bilal-bin-rabbah-mosque-army-requests-reinforcements>

¹³⁴ Al-Akhbar, 23/6/2013, <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/16213>

were a temporary phenomenon that soon lost its glory. Such incidents also show that the state is incapable of enforcing rule of law.

Since the beginning of the Syrian Crisis, the border area of Arsale - known for its Sunni majority inhabitants - have been making headlines after a series of clashes between armed residents and the Lebanese Army. Having established their own rule of law, Arsale residents got involved with their neighbors' Syrian counterparts in arm smuggling and war, alongside Sunni extremists movements such as the Daech and Al-Nousra Front. As the Lebanese Army fails to re-establish its authority in Arsale, it has been sacrificing martyrs to armed groups in the area¹³⁵ and is still unable to arrest them.

Tripoli's situation is very similar to that of Arsale. Chady Al-Mawlawi and Oussama Mansour are two names who made headlines for the past few years. Both involved in Salafi groups in the Tripoli area, they were able to mobilize militiamen and launch their own military actions in the area¹³⁶, mainly against the Lebanese Army. Although military Investigative Judge Nabil Wehbe announced he was seeking the death penalty for Mawlawi and Mansour for their terrorist actions, yet none of them were arrested. Despite their absence, their legacy is still operational and their supporters are still in action in Tripoli, their autonomous area of influence.

Similarly to the failure of the state to impose rule of law and order in Sunnis and Shiites areas, and in the absence of the state's authority, Christians took their fate in hand. Threatened of marginalization, local residents of Christian Kfardebian-Mount Lebanon,

¹³⁵ Al-Akhbar, <http://www.al-akhbar.com/node/183942>

¹³⁶ The Daily Star, 3/10/2014, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2014/Oct-03/272834-tripolis-terror-duo-mawlawi-and-mansour.ashx>

found themselves in need to impose their own rules. They felt offended by a visit to a ski resort by the Salafist Ahmad al-Assir and perceived the visit as a potential threat; they blocked the main road to the mountain. Although Al Assir had previously announced that he will be visiting the ski resort on the occasion of the prophet's birthday, nevertheless around 50 protestors formed "a human barricade" to block the road in a convoy. Despite Christian Minister's calls upon the residents to open the road, such an action was considered very normal and anticipated by locals from Kesrwan's who were trying to protect the tourism season¹³⁷. But the question is whether local residents who have no legitimate authority, have the right to decide who enters their areas of dominance.

4.3. FAILURE TO PROTECT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS PROVIDED BY THE CONSTITUTION.

This section will demonstrate how the Lebanese state is unable to provide its citizens and communities with their rights and freedoms guaranteed by the constitution. It will describe how each sectarian community acquired means to protect its rights within respective areas of demographic dominance and consequently, violate the rights of the minority sects in these areas.

In article 9, the constitution clearly states "*There shall be absolute freedom of conscience. The state is rendering homage to the Most High shall respect all religions and creeds and guarantees, under its protection, the free exercise of all rites provided that the public*

¹³⁷Nahar Net, 24/1/2013, <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/69560>

*order is not disturbed. It also guarantees that the personal status and religious interests of the population, to whatever religious sects they belong is respected*¹³⁸, however, its application has been far from achieved; in the absence of the state's authority whose main role is to guarantee the protection of the rights and freedoms.

A case that posed a threat to the basic rights and freedom of expression is the clash between the Christian comedy writer and actor Charbel Khalil, and the Shi'i Hezbollah. Khalil's international satirical show "Bas Met El Watan" is known for its sarcastic scripts which caricaturizes corrupt practices in Lebanese Politics. After Khalil impersonated in his show Hezbollah secretary general Hassan Nasrallah¹³⁹, apologizing was not a choice for the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC) which airs Khalil's show for more than two decades. Furious supporters of Hezbollah threatened Charbel Khalil and protested against his show by burning tires in the streets of the Southern Suburbs of Beirut and Baalbeck, areas under Shiite dominance. The issue raised the question on whether there are figures in Lebanon which status is above freedom of speech or constructive criticisms

A similar example of freedom violation is a campaign targeting a series of shops selling alcohol in Lebanon's southern cities. Discretely or not, these shops have been burned to the ground. As Alcohol consumption is considered as being "haram" or a sin for Islam, in regions like Nabatieh, an area with a Shiites dominance, campaigns against liquor selling and consumption has been advertised. Many sources from Nabatieh acknowledged

¹³⁸Salamey, I, 2014, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*. Routelage. P.181

¹³⁹The Daily Star, 11/11/2013, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2013/Nov-11/237427-lbci-wont-apologize-for-hezbollah-skit.ashx>

that such actions imply more than just alcohol banning¹⁴⁰. Non-Muslim residents explain it as pressure on those who do not politically agree, or religiously affiliate with the pressure group and perceive it as an explicit breaching of individual freedoms. Although the municipality communicated the campaign as if it was the result of its own decision¹⁴¹, however, in Nabatieh, the area under Hezbollah's de facto jurisdiction, it is clearly the party of God's decision.

Even in the entertainment business we find violation of basic rights, such as the Brazilian samba troupe who were banned from performing in Tyre by a group of Lebanese Muslim scholars. One of those scholars named Seikh Yassin commented that Tyre is not the right place for such a performance because it is a conservative city and its people would not accept such acts¹⁴². The Brazilian troupe had several performances in different cities. And even with a promise from the Ministerial advisor of the Brazilian embassy that the dancers will dress appropriately, the performance was declined¹⁴³. The decision upset a large group of open minded Lebanese who blamed Hezbollah, as Sheikh Yassine is one of their main supporters.

Another relevant example is that of the Danish newspaper which was considered to have insulted the prophet Muhammed through caricaturizing him wearing a turban with a bomb hidden inside. This cartoon - although Danish - caused a quick reaction in

¹⁴⁰NOW Media, 20/4/2011, https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/reportsfeatures/sobering_up_in_nabatiyeh

¹⁴¹The Daily Star, 26/7/2011, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Article.aspx?id=144604>

¹⁴² NOW Media, 1/10/2009, https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/nownews/lebanese_muslim_scholars_samba_troupe_should_be_banned_from_performing_in_tyre

¹⁴³Lebanon Wire, 9/10/2009, <http://www.lebanonwire.com/0910MLN/09100911EBLW.asp>

Beirut¹⁴⁴. Attacks were launched by Sunni extremists targeting the Danish Embassy in Achrafieh. According to a member of that mob, "if anybody insults the Prophet, he will have to take a punishment". After that, the Lebanese Government apologized to the Denmark for the behavior in those "angry riots"¹⁴⁵.

A notable incident that breached the freedom of belief is the one that took place in Abra, a Christian village within Saida's district, a district with a main Sunni influence. Christian Abra's mayor Walid Nicolas Al Mchantaf, released a memo requesting the residents of Sidon to be "considerate of fasting Muslims and abstain from dining at restaurants and cafes during the holy month of Ramadan." Such a memo was criticized by officials who accused the municipality of "violating citizen's freedom of belief", and destroying Lebanon's diversity instead of protecting it. After realizing the reverse impact of the decision, the municipality voided the memo by justifying that it will not breach the Lebanese constitution, especially the clauses that recommend the protection of freedom of belief¹⁴⁶. Such memo would not have been published in the first place had radical Sunni residents not pressured the Mayor to do so. This example shows that Sunnis are attempting to impose their traditions on non-Sunni citizens who reside in their area.

¹⁴⁴The Daily Star, 7/2/2006, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2006/Feb-07/7118-bakri-cartoonists-depicting-prophet-should-be-executed.ashx>

¹⁴⁵ The Daily Star, 7/2/2006, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2006/Feb-07/7115-government-apologizes-to-denmark-for-angry-riots.ashx>

¹⁴⁶The Daily Star, 25/6/2014, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2014/Jun-25/261518-ramadan-memo-nonbinding-abra-municipality.ashx>

A major event which equates to rights and freedom violations is what happened when Sunni Minister of Interior, Nouhad al Mashnouk, made a proposal about removing a sculpted slogan in Tripoli's Al-Nour square. Although Tripoli had always included a Christian community, however a sculpture of the word "Allah", followed by "Tripoli, the Fortress of Muslims" was implanted in the 1980s by the Islamic unification movement¹⁴⁷. His proposal was welcomed and was categorized as an attempt to alleviate the sectarianism tension that was flooding in Tripoli. Conversely, Sunni extremist MP Khaked El-Daher was quick to intervene and to reply by requesting the Christians to remove their symbols and statues from their areas - mainly the statue of Jesus-Christ in Jounieh- Mount Lebanon. A number of critics were unleashed on the MP accusing him of disrespecting the Christian religion.

4.4. FAILURE TO PREVENT FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS

Lebanon's permeability to foreign interventions is the result of Lebanon's internal divisions, where different sectarian Lebanese constituents seek foreign assistance and support in order to acquire an edge of authority over other sectarian communities.

¹⁴⁷The Daily Star, 10/2/2015, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2015/Feb-10/286948-hands-off-tripoli-allah-statue-north-lebanon-sheikh.ashx>

Consequently, Lebanon is witnessing continuous insecurity, instability, division and above all - a defect of sovereignty.

As the Lebanese state was unable to impose rule of law and consequently resolve inter-sectarian conflicts, sectarian communities have allowed for foreign interventions. Foreign interventionism in Lebanon can be classified into two broad categories: tactical interventionism and strategic interventionism - both aiming at providing leverage for one group over the others. Relevant examples are:

- 1) The case of Libya's support for Islamic groups like the Nasserite in the name of pan-Arabism
- 2) The interventions of France and the United States and their continuous influence in domestic Lebanese affairs during President Gemayel's term, that preserved the status quo, in the name of legitimacy
- 3) The case of Iran's support for Shiites in the name of Islam that is still relevant today.

This kind of support offered these groups marginal bargaining benefits over others in Lebanon at precise periods¹⁴⁸.

Justified principally by the need for security, the second category of interventions, labeled as strategic interventionism, has had destructive consequences on national institutions, education and religion. By virtue of their geographical proximity, its actors, Syria, Israel and the PLO had always sought long-term influence and control over internal Lebanese

¹⁴⁸Azar, E, Haddad, R, 1986, *Lebanon: An Anomalous Conflict?*. Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 4. P.13

political affairs and institutions. In order to exercise control over the Lebanese communities, these actors encouraged inter-group and inter-sectarian conflicts and rivalries which further hindered internal reconciliation ¹⁴⁹. Accordingly, Lebanon witnessed two types of influence: Israel and Syria gained a major role in Lebanon through Lebanese proxy alliances on the one hand, and the PLO operated in parallel to Lebanese institutions and created their own ghettos where the Lebanese government was unable to control, on the other.

Lebanese internal conflicts have allowed for foreigners to intervene in Lebanese affairs and impose agreements which, on the outset promoted peaceful settlements, but ended up with favoring one group over the other.

4.4.1. THE CRISIS OF 1958

Earlier in 1956, under the mandate of the Lebanese Christian President Camil Chamoun, tensions with Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser rose as Lebanon kept close diplomatic relations with the West, even after it attacked Egypt during the Suez Crisis. This tension was further increased when Chamoun adopted the Baghdad Pact, considered by Abdel Nasser as a pro-western Pact constituting a threat to Arab nationalism. Egypt and Syria created the United Arab Republic (UAR) as a reaction to the Baghdad Pact. In July 1958, Lebanon faced a threat of a civil war between Maronites Christians and Muslims because the Lebanese Sunni Prime Minister Rashid Karami wanted the government to join the United Arab Republic, while President Chamoun wanted to

¹⁴⁹Ibid, P.13

remain associated with the West. Consequently, the UAR supported a Muslim civil revolution, which prompted President Chamoun to lodge a complaint to the United Nations Security Council. However, inspectors claimed they were not able to find any proof of major intervention from the UAR. On July 15, 1958, Eisenhower, President of the United States, authorized the Operation Blue Bat, that marked the first steps of the implementation of the Eisenhower Doctrine, under which the U.S. announced that it would intervene to protect regimes considered threatened by international communism. In the case of Lebanon, the operation had to support the pro-Western Lebanese government of President Camil Chamoun against threats from Syria and Egypt, mainly by securing Beirut International Airport, and Beirut Port. Consequently, the U.S. Marines landed in Lebanon in 1958. President Eisenhower sent his personal representative, the American diplomat, Robert D. Murphy, to Lebanon, to convince both domestic conflicting sides to compromise and agree to elect moderate Christian Army General Fouad Chehab as Lebanese President, succeeding Chamoun. The U.S. withdrew its forces from Lebanon on October 25, 1958.

The USA intervention is an attempt by the Christians to acquire autonomy over other sectarian factions in Lebanon through the support of foreign actors.

4.4.2. THE CRISIS OF 1969

For thirty years, different terms and definitions were attributed to the Arab-Israeli conflict: a border conflict, a colonial conflict, an ethnic conflict and a religious struggle. It has been seen as a product of Big Powers intervention or a repercussion of World War

II¹⁵⁰. However, and regardless of its branding, the Arab-Israeli conflict was imported to Lebanon due to mistrust among its different sectarian constituencies, where each community sought empowerment over others through foreign alliances.

On November 2 1969, the Chairman of the PLO Yasser Arafat and the Lebanese army commander General Emile Boustany reached the *Cairo Accord*, under the patronage of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The agreement gave the Palestinian residents of Lebanon the right to "join the Palestinian Revolution through armed struggle" and allowed them to legally control their refugee camps in Lebanon; in addition to the right to attack Israel from south Lebanon. Moreover, the Cairo Agreement stipulated that the 16 official United Nations Relief and Works Agency UNRWA camps in Lebanon sheltering approximately 300,000 Palestinian refugees, be placed under the authority of the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command instead of being overseen by the Lebanese Army's Deuxième Bureau. Consequently, the agreement resulted in allowing the PLO to effectively establish a Palestinian State within the Lebanese state.

This agreement favored the PLO and its local Sunni allies.

The military developments of the PLO led to the eruption of the 1975 civil war that opposed the Christians Lebanese Front supporting the army on the one hand, and the leftist Muslim Lebanese National Movement supporting the PLO.

¹⁵⁰Azar, E, Jureidini, P, McLaurin R, *Protracted Social Conflict; Theory and Practice in the Middle East*. P.1

Similarly to the previous case, the Cairo Agreement was an attempt of the Sunni's to gain authority through a Sunni demographic expansion, as Palestinians were in majority Sunni's.

4.4.3. THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR 1975-1990

The Lebanese civil war ended in 1990 as a result of US, KSA, and Syrian interventions. The Taif agreement was tied to regional changes and the end of the cold war. Furthermore, the international and the national actors were not all fully vested in the agreement.

As discussed at length previously, the Taif Agreement, drafted under the tutelage of the USA, the KSA and SAR, was the institutionalization of Sunni authority, which also gave additional power to Shiites, and marginalized Christians. The reformed political system did not deliver on its objectives: that of re-establishing an equitable balance of power, and reconciliation of conflicting parties. It rather replaced the Maronite hegemony by the Sunni and Shiite hegemony on the one hand, and contributed later on to the eruption of sectarian clashes in May 2008 opposing Sunnis and Shiites on the other. It has thus institutionalized the sectarian cleavage. As Ahmad Beydoun states, “the reasons behind violence in Lebanon do not lie in previous wars, but in the peace settlements that were adopted”¹⁵¹, as these settlements included major loopholes that resulted in “the reinforcement of sectarian identity, the weakening of the state, the proliferations of

¹⁵¹ Haddad, S, 2009, *Lebanon: From Consociationalism to Conciliation*. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics. P. 411

alternative power centers, the prevalence of the inert nature of the government and its failure to absorb new social forces, and the incapacity of this rigid political organization to adapt to a changing demographic environment”¹⁵².

4.4.4. THE CRISIS OF 2008

After 18-months of political deadlock in Lebanon, the Doha Agreement of 2008 came as a preventive measure to an eventual civil war. It was agreed upon by rival Lebanese political parties on 21 May 2008 in Doha, Qatar after the initiative of Qatar's Emir Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani. A national dialogue was initiated in Doha aiming at re-establishing the Lebanese state's authority.

The Agreement led to constitutional amendments and stipulated the following:

Firstly, the Lebanese Parliament was to elect General Michel Suleiman, Head of the Lebanese Army as President. The President was agreed after the consent of all parties. Such a prerequisite annulled any advantage given to the sole Christian position in the Lebanese Troika and victimizes Christians after inter-sectarian conflicts between Iran/KSA proxies.

Secondly, the agreement called for the formation of a National Unity Government, granted 8 March, known to be under Hezbollah's jurisdiction, the veto power through a newly designed formula “the blocking third”. This characteristic resulted in a Ministerial deadlock after two years when the March 8 coalition, under Iranian assistance, decided to break up the government, and form a new one.

¹⁵²Ibid, P.411

Thirdly, the agreement gerrymandered Lebanon's districts for the 2009 Parliamentary elections. The division of districts also served external interest and helped pave the way toward pre-set results, and was promoted as being an attempt to avoid any intra-sectarian clashes.

The fourth paragraph stressed, mainly after violent clashes in Beirut on the 8th of May, the adoption of peaceful political practices. It also called for resuming the Lebanese dialogue that later in 2011 issued the Baabda Accord, an Accord that called for the Neutralization of Lebanon. Unfortunately, due to external pressure, both Shiite and Sunni clans got involved in the Syrian conflict, thus breaching the only pure Lebanese Agreement.

The fifth paragraph placed stress on "Lebanese political leaders to immediately abstain from resorting to the rhetoric of treason or political or sectarian instigation".

Although the agreement got international support in 2008, due to its permeability, Lebanon remained subject to regional shake-ups, mainly it was the Syrian crisis that made the agreement dysfunctional.

The Doha Agreement, (mainly the Blocking Third it granted to Shiites) led to the March 8 Coalition which was an attempt by the Shiites community to take over Lebanese domestic and foreign affairs.

The Lebanese system unable to address the concerns and grievances of all of its constituencies, and impotent in the face of the pluralistic and mosaic aspect of the Lebanese society, required domestic parties to turn to outside protectors and imposed on Lebanon agreements that favored one sect over the other.

The following chapter demonstrates that the imbalance caused firstly by the state impotence to enforce Rule of Law and protect Human Rights; and secondly by the external interventions that reinforced one group of Lebanese over the other have resulted in the creation of autonomous militia rule and a foreign policy dilemma.

CHAPTER V

STATES WITHIN THE STATE

The previous chapters have demonstrated that the political system is unable to embrace sectarianism, a primordial aspect of the Lebanese society. Consequently, the Lebanese state has proven dysfunctional, subject to deadlocks, unable to enforce rule of law and protect rights and freedoms of citizens.

The impotence of the state has thus intensified sectarianism and led to violence, which prevented the Lebanese from building transparent and cooperative inter-sectarian relationships. With fear and lack of trust prevailing amongst them, quarrels were perceived by sectarian factions as opportunities to strengthen their position within the Lebanese formula. Accordingly, Lebanon witnessed two recurrent phenomena (which will be discussed further in this Thesis):

Firstly, each sectarian faction managed by internal and external means, to ascertain its own security force by establishing sectarian armed militia and welfare institutions within geographic areas of their respective demographic predominance.

Secondly, having had recourse to foreign assistance, sectarian factions have developed their autonomous foreign relations with actors of their same sectarian affiliation thus creating a foreign policy dilemma.

This phenomenon could closely be labeled as the emergence of states within the state.

5.1. FAILURE TO MAINTAIN SECURITY

This section will highlight the security defect in Lebanon. It will prove how the weakness of the state led to the establishment of sectarian armed militia, which aimed at maintaining the security of their communities. It will show how these militias acquired a degree of authority within their respective areas of demographic dominance, threatened other sects, and challenged the Lebanese Army.

Security is defined as the responsibility of the state, mainly its legitimate army, to guard its citizens from any internal and external threat. The term Security embraces on the one hand, Military Security¹⁵³ which entails the capacity of the state to prevent any kind of military aggression, whether foreign or domestic. It is the “condition that results from the establishment and maintenance of protective measures that ensure a state of inviolability from hostile acts or influences”¹⁵⁴. On the other hand, it includes Political Security, which

¹⁵³Prabhakaran,P, 2008, *National Security: Imperatives And Challenges*. New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill. P. 521

¹⁵⁴ Dictionary Of Military And associated Terms, 2001, *Security*. P.477.

implies the security of the social order and the deterrence of threats to sovereignty; and by Sovereignty, it is meant the State's control of the means of coercion.

A militia is defined as an autonomous armed organized faction aimed at attaining Governmental authority and popular foundation¹⁵⁵ through challenging the state itself, and competing with factions which adopt conflicting views. In the case of Lebanon, it is of crucial importance to note that the majority of militia groups were political parties who had their autonomous welfare systems, who carried arms, and who gained authority, in a precise period of the Lebanese history, over a well-defined geographical area. Additionally, the founding parties of this militia were sectarian; mirroring the nature of the Lebanese society¹⁵⁶ and each sectarian faction has identified itself with one of these bodies¹⁵⁷. "Thus, apart from Beirut in which almost all religious groups are represented, each party has a regional stronghold"¹⁵⁸.

During the civil war, sectarian militia emerged and replaced the state by taking over its role and achieving a degree of autonomy within their areas of influence. Through means of coercion and military capacities, these militias were able to establish their own welfare systems, tax regulations, and ports or airports. The repercussions of this oppressive

¹⁵⁵Suleiman,M, 1967, "*The role of political parties in a confessional democracy: the Lebanese case*". The Western Political Quarterly.P 683

¹⁵⁶ El-Khazen, F, 2003, "*Political Parties in Postwar Lebanon: Parties in search for Partisans*". Middle East Journal.P.606

¹⁵⁷El-Khazen, F, 2003, "*Political Parties in Postwar Lebanon: Parties in search for Partisans*". Middle East Journal.P.607.

¹⁵⁸Suleiman,M, 1967, "*The role of political parties in a confessional democracy: the Lebanese case*". The Western Political Quarterly. P 685

clientele system have prevailed even after the disarmament of the militias. The weakness of the state led to the establishment of mini-states within the Lebanese state.

Two decades after the end of the civil war, we can still identify ex-Militia leaders, who were re-integrated in the political life, enhancing their elitist role, and aiming at additional autonomy within their mini-states which prove once again the strength of the sectarian affiliations. There continues to be popular support of this as a reality.

As Samir Khalaf states “sectarian sentiments and their associated clientelistic loyalties appear to have reaffirmed themselves more than ever before. Military and economic reasons have doubtless played a crucial role in the process, as affiliations with militias rapidly became the most effective means for ensuring one’s physical security, as well as providing vital goods and services”¹⁵⁹.

Sectarian communities in Lebanon were created based on deeply rooted religious ideologies. As such, they had to organize themselves not as a need for political expression, but rather as a prerequisite to survive. Accordingly, their leaders were the channels by which their day-to-day needs and demands were conveyed. That is when welfare associations operating under the umbrella of sectarian militia such as the Christian Phalange, and Shiite Amal emerged. Although this phenomenon seemed peaceful and ordinary, it however challenged the legitimacy of the state and created platforms by which these communities operated outside the frame of the government.

Lack of trust prevailing among Lebanese sectarian communities in light of the dysfunctional system that is unable to enforce rule of law, protect rights, and guarantee

¹⁵⁹Khalaf, S, in Hunf,T, Salam,N, 2003, “ *Lebanon in Limbo: Postwar Society and State in an Uncertain Regional Environment*”.Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft Baden-Baden.P 136

peaceful inter-sectarian relations, triggered fear, and prompted sects to arm their partisans in order to maintain their security.

5.1.1 SUNNI MILITIA

Sunni militia never formed a single umbrella organization. They have been organized in different brigades, widespread in different areas known to have a predominant Sunni population such as Tripoli, Arsale, and Sidon.

Previous to the eruption of the Lebanese civil war in 1975, the motive behind the establishment of these armed groups was the Arab identity and the disassociation of Sunnis from a Lebanese identity. Sunnis of Lebanon always felt they were part of a larger Arab whole. Lebanon entered the tunnel of the Arab-Israeli conflict after a wave of Palestinian immigrants who were mainly Sunnis, invaded its soil. Additionally, the revolution of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt in 1952 and the rise of Arab nationalism and Arabism created among Sunnis a feeling of political marginalization which was not suitable and equitable to their growing demographic number. Resentment towards the ruling class was cemented in the revolution of 1958 against President Chamoun, an event during which Lebanon witnessed the first signs of political change by the means of illegitimate use of military force.

The first group to discuss among the Sunni Militia were the Nasserite Activists, Mourabitoun, founded in 1957 after the rise of Pan-Arabism with Gamal Abdel Nasser, headed by Ibrahim Koulaylat. It mobilized about 2000 militia men against President

Camille Chamoun and the Lebanese army. The Mourabitoun continued their military activism and joined the Arab-Leftist front during Civil War.

The revolution against President Chamoun was followed by the defeat of the Arabs in the 6-days war in 1967 against Israel, which consequently, led to the displacement of an additional number of Palestinians. This defeat created a feeling of discontent among Arabs towards the Christian West, accused of supporting Israel against the Arabs and Muslims, and gave rise to the first organized militia on the Lebanese territory, the Palestinian Liberation Organization - PLO. The PLO was backed by Arab Islamic and specifically Sunni Lebanese. In addition to its resistance against Israel, the PLO launched internal military activities that defied the Lebanese National Army.

The emergence of the PLO has created a state of fear among Christians in Lebanon which prompted their leaders to create their own military force aiming at protecting the Christian presence in Lebanon. Similarly, Druze and Shiite established their own military power. The materialization of the practices of "sectarian militias" was witnessed at the beginning of the 1975 civil war on the battle ground. Militia rule thus appeared in Lebanon as a result of threats. As one sect organized itself, others felt menaced. Consequently, they sought to establish their own security forces in their respective areas of influence. Muslim Sunnis organized their military capabilities as a reaction to Christian leadership and identity in Lebanon, and saw the arrival of the PLO on the Lebanese soil an opportunity to strengthen their authority. One other group was the Lebanese Arab Army (LAA), founded by Sunni Lebanese Army Lieutenant Ahmad El-Khatib in the Bekaa, in the wake of Civil War in 1976. Khatib mobilized more than 2000 soldiers and prompted them to quit the national Lebanese army. Supported by Fatah, the main Palestinian militia, the

LAA fought on the Arab-Leftist side of the battle ground. The Tawhid التوحيد was a military wing of the Lebanese Islamic group, centered in Tripoli, and headed by Cheikh Said Chaaban. It also supported the Palestinian cause.

After the ratification of the Taif agreement that ended the civil war and called for the disarmament of militias, with the exception of Hezbollah, Sunnis were satisfied with their status. Christians were marginalized.

However Shiites communities' power rose and their ascending popularity as a resistance to Israel grew. As part of a regional equation, the relationship of Sunnis, represented by Rafik Hariri, with the Syrian regime, deteriorated, and the support the Assad regime for Hezbollah grew. Following the assassination of Rafik Hariri in 2005 and with the speeding events in neighboring Syria in 2011, Sunni resentment towards Shiites internally, and regionally, matured. As a reaction, juvenile un-organized armed groups started emerging in the areas of Aarsal and Tripoli and their sources of funding and their leaders stayed in the shadow of their militants.

A similar movement, however more organized and ambitious came forward on the Lebanese scene. Sheikh Ahmad Al-Assir, initially the Imam of Bilal Bin Rabbah Mosque in the area of Sidon, initiated a rebel armed Sunni group which aimed at challenging Iran's and Shiites' hegemony in Lebanon and the region in the wake of the Syrian War. Militant for his Sunnis People "Ahel Al Sunna" Al-Assir was appointed Emir of the Emirate of Lebanon in the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS)¹⁶⁰ recognized globally as a terrorist radical Sunni group. His militancy started in 2012 with a series of speeches

¹⁶⁰Al-Arabiya, 28/1/2015, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/01/28/>

during Friday masses criticizing Hezbollah's practices in Lebanon and its interference in the Syrian crisis, which caused Sunnis bloodshed. His activities multiplied, he launched military clashes between his militants and Hezbollah. In June 2013 the Lebanese Army invaded his fortress in "Abra" where dozens of soldiers were killed and hundreds wounded but the battle ended with the capturing of his supporters and Al-Assir was not seen until August 2015, when he was captured by the Lebanese Security Forces at Beirut International Airport, when he was trying to escape from Lebanon.

It is clear, these Sunni groups confronted the Lebanese army, contested Christians, Shiites, Alawites and Druze counterparts, created cantons where they imposed their rule of law and order and challenged the state.

5.1.2 CHRISTIAN MILITIA

Similarly to the Sunni's, Christians also established their own armed forces. Although Christians trained fighters never aimed at operating outside the umbrella of the Lebanese army, however, after the Army division in 1973 between Christians and Muslims, and in reaction to the PLO's military practices backed by Lebanese Sunni, Christians felt the need to defend their presence and authority. Consequently in 1976 they organized themselves under the umbrella of the Lebanese Front.

The Lebanese Front included the military wings of the Kataeb Party (Phalange), Tyous Team of Commandos, Al- Ahrar (Liberal National Party), Al-Tanzim, Al-Marada Brigade, the Guardians of the Cedars and others were supported by the USA, and Israel.

This led to an attempt to reestablish Maronite dominion in 1982 in the operation Gualilee¹⁶¹.

The Lebanese Front which was founded by prominent leaders and thinkers such as Charles Malek, Fouad Efram Al-Boustani, Said Akl, and Maroun El-Khoury, Camil Chamoun, Pierre Gemayel, Boulos Naaman, Etienne Sakr, was declared to be the “the directory council for all Christian leadership in Lebanon”¹⁶². Over 25000 fighters joined the ranks and fought the Lebanese 15-years Civil War. The Lebanese Front was coordinated by the Lebanese Forces (LF), under the supervision of founder Bachir Gemayel. The LF conducted major battles against Palestinian aggressions and were able to rule Eastern Beirut, Zahle, and the Christian areas spreading from Bechare, Zghorta, Koura, Batroun, Jbeil, Keserouane, and Metn.

Samir Geagea took jurisdiction over the LF, after the assassination of Bachir Gemayel in 1982, following a series of internal clashes. He then re-organized the militia and created a social welfare system, in his areas of dominance, namely, the Christian area known as Mount Lebanon. Through military power and service provided to partisans, in addition to a mobilization based on the “Christian Cause”, the LF ran an autonomous state within the state in the areas known to have a predominantly Christian majority.

In 1988, the “Elimination War” broke out between the Lebanese Army led by General Michel Aoun who refused the Taif agreement, and the LF led by Samir Geagea who

¹⁶¹Zisser, E, 1996, “*The Maronites, Lebanon, and The State of Israel: Early Contacts*”. Taylor and Francis. P.889

¹⁶²Rowayheb, M, 2006, “*Lebanese Militia: A New Perspective*”. Taylor and Francis. P.311

supported the Taif Agreement. This ended after Syria took over Christian East Beirut and imposed the Taif Agreement.

Consequently, the LF militia was dissolved, Samir Geagea was imprisoned after his relationship with the Syrian regime deteriorated, and General Michel Aoun was exiled to France. The Taif Agreement dissolved the Christian Militia. Since then, Christians have chosen to back the legitimate Lebanese armed forces and Lebanese army, even in the light of growing armament of Shiite and Sunni groups and their awareness of the growing risk.

5.1.3 DRUZE MILITIA

Similarly to how Christian Militias were created as a reaction to Sunni Militia, the Druze also felt the need to organize themselves. The exclusive Druze militia is the Popular Army¹⁶³ operating under the umbrella of the Progressive Socialist Party PSP, located in the Chouf, Aley, and Al-Jabal, which had in its ranks approximately 5000 fighters in 1980. Its weaponry was mainly donated by Syria and Palestine. The PSP fought during the civil war on the leftist side and achieved victory against the Lebanese Forces in a battle known as the Jabal Battle in 1984, which resulted in the wounding and displacement of thousands of Christians. After the ratification of the Taif Agreement which called for the disarmament of militia, Head of PSP Walid Jumblat, who was not an opponent of the agreement, found it beneficial to accept it for several reasons:

¹⁶³Harik, J, 1994, “*The Public And Social services Of The Lebanese Militia*”. Center for Lebanese Studies. P.10

Firstly, the agreement granted Druze two additional parliamentary seats,

Secondly, the integration of its militiaman in the Lebanese Army brought economic privileges such as salaries, (which the PSP were not able to maintain after its channels of support were broken)

Thirdly, it allowed Al-Jabal to preserve its somewhat autonomous administration. Similarly to other militia's, the Druze had established earlier in the 80's the Civil Administration of the Mountain (CAOM)¹⁶⁴, that aimed at providing social services in Chouf, Aley, Iklim Al-Kharoub, and other predominantly Druze areas.

Although the Druze seemed to have accepted the agreement, their acceptance emanated not from pure conviction, but was rather a pragmatic acceptance of the need to integrate and attain a "modus vivendi" with the Lebanese State¹⁶⁵. The Druze preserved their areas of influence and currently continue to dominate their areas of demographic majority.

5.1.4 SHIITE MILITIA

Starting as a welfare movement for the Shiite, the Movement of the deprived or المحرومين, established by Imam Mussa As-Sader in 1974, aimed at providing educational and healthcare services for disadvantaged Shiites in the South. In the wake of the civil war, this social movement developed into a resilient militia group, Harakat Amal, recruiting thousands of Shiite militia men. In 1982, Iran-backed Hezbollah was established and

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, P.18

¹⁶⁵Picard, E, 1999, "*The Demobilization of the Lebanese Militia*".Center for Lebanese Studies. P.12

became involved in the armed struggle mainly against Israel however also opposing Amal. Hezbollah's growing popularity among the Shiite community pushed Syria to interfere and end the Hezbollah-Amal struggle, thus unifying the Shiites cause.

After the ratification of the Taif Agreement in 1990 that called for the disarmament of militias, Amal gave up on its weapons, dissolved its military wing, and integrated its partisans in administrative positions within Lebanon's institutions. Hezbollah however was the only militia to keep its arms under the pretext of the Israeli threat.

In 1997, an army of 3000¹⁶⁶ combatants was formally established. Hezbollah succeeded to integrate the political life. In 1992, it gained its first Parliamentary seats and grew its authority over the Shiite community by establishing an autonomous welfare system that benefited Shiites in the areas of Shiite demographic dominance. In 2000, it was able to end the Israeli invasion of the south. This event increased its popularity. Paired with massive Iranian support and funding, Hezbollah was able to reach a high degree of independence within the Lebanese state.

In 2006, it breached the National Dialogue agreements and went independently from the state to what is known as the July War against Israel. This cost Lebanon thousands of wounded and misplaced, and millions of dollars in infrastructure. In 2011, although it was among the signatories, Hezbollah also breached the Baabda Accord that called for the neutralization of Lebanon, by engaging military in the neighboring Syrian Crisis. The Syrian conflict which is categorized under the Sunni/Shiite conflict in the Middle East, induced a Sunni domestic reaction, which resulted in several terrorist bombings within

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, P.22

the southern suburbs of Beirut: Hezbollah's area of influence. Consequently, Hezbollah decided to ensure its own security separately from the state, and his loyalists turned the suburbs into a "fortress".

Anyone entering Hezbollah areas are checked meticulously by its members who patrol the area in uniforms whilst carrying walkie-talkies. According to a Hezbollah guard, the suburb habitants are more comfortable this way and security is better maintained¹⁶⁷. The concept of "self-protection" that Hezbollah has established, pushes one to question if this is not an attempt to build "a state within the state".

Allies of Hezbollah have also acquired their benefits: although Jabal Mehsen Alawite area, which is part of the 10452 km² land of Lebanon, and is part of the Larger Tripoli, located in the North of Lebanon, however, it is far from being Lebanese. It is "a tiny community in Lebanon which has long been a Syrian client state". The Alawite sect, "an offshoot of Shiite Islam", which represents 2% of the population in Lebanon, represents 99% of the population in Jabal Mehsen¹⁶⁸. They have gathered in one place and imposed their autonomy, but they do not live peacefully in their region because they are often in clashes with Sunni Muslims who live in their proximity Beb El Tebbeneh.

Hezbollah has thus established an autonomous security system, and has taken action that challenges the presence of the Legitimate Lebanese Army and that benefits its allies in areas of predominantly Shiite majority such as the Bekaa, Hermel, Beirut Southern Suburb, and South of Lebanon.

¹⁶⁷Nahar Net, 21/8/2013, <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/94875>

¹⁶⁸Nahar Net, <http://m.naharnet.com/stories/en/83039-attacks-against-lebanese-alawites-deepen-fears>

The following section highlights how the impotence of the state to deliver on its fundamental objectives, has prompted sectarian faction to establish their autonomous foreign relations based on their need for foreign support, which has consequently led to Lebanon's permeability and foreign policy dilemma.

5.2. FAILURE TO ATTAIN A UNIFIED “FOREIGN POLICY” AND PRESERVE SOVEREIGNTY¹⁶⁹

Primordial sectarianism in Lebanon, lack of trust between Lebanese factions, and the weak state that is unable to govern, encouraged political leaders to look for external support, and thus enabled foreign interference.

In countries made up of minorities, as is the case of Lebanon, social conflicts labeled as Protracted Social Conflicts (PSC) often arise, as in such competitive environments each minority has two concerns: One, fear of marginalization and two, struggle to dominate other minorities.

As it is hard to rely on minority's self-strength, the best way to approach these concerns is by seeking external support from foreign countries and groups that would enable the minority to empower itself, address possible absorption, or exercise control over others. Unfortunately, dependency on external support becomes a need that perpetuates

¹⁶⁹Andraos,M, 2014, “*The Recurrent Foreign Policy Dilemma in Lebanon:A conflict of SectarianIdentities*,unpublished student paper for the seminar Lebanon in International systems.

conflict¹⁷⁰, shakes equilibrium and weakens the state. Hence, the surge of inter-communal grievances, and violent¹⁷¹ PSCs, dormant during equilibrium times(as occurred in Lebanon for about thirty years with one interruption in 1958), usually reemerge.

Lebanon's permeability is the result of Lebanon's internal divisions, where different sectarian Lebanese constituents seek foreign assistance and support in order to acquire an edge of authority over other sectarian communities. As previously discussed the failure of the consociational and centralized system in light of primordial sectarianism to enforce rule of law, protect rights and freedoms, and to provide security has prompted sects to behave autonomously.

The absence of the state as a regulator has also created lack of trust among the Lebanese. Consequently, each sect aimed at establishing its own authority which could not be achieved without the sponsorship of a regional or super power (patron), who in return, expected precise positions and stances from their Lebanese client. Lebanon has thus become permeable and was subject to defect of sovereignty.

Each period in Lebanon's history witnessed the mandate of a sectarian hegemony. Whether a sect aimed at strengthening its position as a reaction to a threat, or sought to empower its community through foreign support, sectarian leaders had to establish autonomous foreign proxy and diplomatic relations aligned with their supporters' interest. Hence, Lebanese actors have failed to attain a common Foreign Policy by which all would

¹⁷⁰Azar,E, Haddad, R, 1986, “ *Lebanon: An Anomalous Conflict?*”.Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 4. P.7

¹⁷¹Azar,E, Haddad, R, 1986, “ *Lebanon: An Anomalous Conflict?*”.Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 4. P.3

abide, represent, and act upon. Conflicts framed by the Sunni/Shiite confrontations, the position of Christians v/s Muslims, inter-state relations with neighboring countries mainly Israel, the Saudi/Iranian opposition, and the West/Islamists split have all had an impact on Lebanon's sectarian factions' behavior with regards to external events

What is the reason preventing any kind of Foreign Policy agreement among different Lebanese actors? The following will establish the main cause behind the everlasting Foreign Policy dilemma is the failure of the centralized system to create trust and guarantee rights between different Lebanese factions, and which consequently results in inter-sectarian constituency's attempt to reach autonomy and diplomatic prevalence.

Foreign Policy conflicts are the extension of specific ideologies framing each party's vision of Lebanon and its Foreign Relations, and are directly related to the survival, prevalence, and dominance of each sectarian community. The polarized identity along sectarian lines has shifted the debate from one over Foreign Policy, to one over the prevalence and supremacy of sectarian community through foreign support. Although each constituency at a period of the history militarized itself and sought power over the Lebanese state, none were able to acquire enough military and political influence to monopolize power.

In this regard, it is of importance to note that Lebanon is characterized by:

- a. *"The omnipresence of trans-national alliances of varying degrees of intensity and mobilization of external support for promoting domestic goals;*
- b. *The confrontational nature of the political rhetoric, especially in relation to the foreign affairs of the Lebanese state;*

c. *The various forms of unremitting foreign interventions in Lebanese politics*¹⁷².

The following will outline the history of foreign relations of each sect and will highlight its position regarding major regional and international events. It will emphasize the divergent and autonomous position of Lebanese parties as part of their quest for foreign support.

5.2.1. SUNNI FOREIGN RELATIONS

Muslims of Lebanon, mainly Sunnis, identified themselves with neighboring Arab countries and Arab Leaders. Muslim ideology was based on Arabism, a criteria that rejects any type of pluralism, and considers diversity as a menace to the supreme “umma”¹⁷³. It was imbedded in a nationalist frame and created a congruent political ideology and identity that rejected Lebanese nationalism and is responsive to external actors. This led to the creation of independent radical Islamic constituencies, which were supported by Arab powers such as Egypt, Syria, Iraq and KSA. Consequently, Muslims of Lebanon considered themselves part of the resilient movements fighting the Palestinian battle, the first cause the Muslim world had unanimously advocated. They have expressed this through supporting the PLO’s military actions on Lebanese soil.

Sunnis of Lebanon have always been Syria’s ally in Lebanon. Their support of the Baath regime provided them with legitimate constitutional tools and illegitimate military

¹⁷²Kurtulus, E, 2009, *“The Cedar Revolution: Lebanese Independence And The Question Of Collective Self-Determination”*. British Journal of Middle Eastern studies. P.201

¹⁷³Hitti, N, 1989, *“The Foreign Policy of Lebanon: Lessons and Prospects for the Forgotten Dimension”*. Centre for Lebanese studies. P. 4

support to impose their hegemony in Lebanon for over a decade. However, after Sunni leader Rafik Hariri attempted to acquire a degree of independence and disassociate from the Baath Regime, led to his assassination in 2005, the relationship with the ruling regime in Syria deteriorated. The regional Shiite-Alawite/Sunni conflict materialized in Lebanon in 2011, in the wake of the Syrian Crisis.

The Syrian Crisis that started as an Arab uprising and ended up being a bloody civil war, created a schism between Sunni's, who supported the so-called marginalized Sunni majority in Syria, and the Shiites, who considered the dominance of the Assaad Regime as an ultimate interest.

The long carried resentment of Sunni's towards the Syrian regime re-emerged with the beginning of the Syrian conflict especially in northern Lebanon and the Bekaa. This hatred is due to repetitive attempts to marginalize Sunnis politically and economically in bordering areas, the prosecution of Islamist activists, the empowerment of Hezbollah, and the assassination of Rafiq El-Hariri among other factors. The Sunni's perception of the Syrian Conflict as being an opportunity to reinforce their influence is thus clear.

This opportunity however is a double edged sword. On a regional level, it allows Sunnis to avenge the Syrian Regime; and on a domestic level, it allows Sunni's to challenge Hezbollah. With their perceived victory in Syria, Islamists have allowed themselves to even challenge the Lebanese authorities, presenting themselves as a new, emerging, independent, powerful, non-state actor. Alongside avenging the Syrian Regime and his domestic proxy's, Islamists have chosen to apply the Hezbollah canton model to the northern area and the Bekaa area in Lebanon. Furthermore, they aspire to empower themselves militarily, thus creating a deterring balance in the face of Hezbollah and the

Lebanese army. Simultaneously with the Syrian conflict, a series of violent acts - kidnapping, stealing, and murdering have been witnessed on the Lebanese territory.

In the wake of the Arab spring, a sectarian-tribal civil war erupted in Yemen between Sunni and Houthis, a Yemeni Shiite rebel group hailing from northern Sa'ada organized under the leadership of Abdel-Malek al Houthi". Perceiving it as a threat to its security and sovereignty, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) decided to intervene militarily to contain the uprising movement of the Shiite. It formed a coalition of Arab nations including Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, and Bahrain and initiated the "Decisive Storm" operation, which launched air strikes aimed at the defeat of the Iran backed Houthis movement.

The Sunni, naturally, adhered to the decision of Saudi Arabia to declare war on the Shiite Houthis. Saad El-Hariri, the Sunni Leader, when asked about the Decisive Storm operation during his visit to the USA, described it as "very successful" and wished it would spill-over to other Arab countries like Syria¹⁷⁴. Sunni Premier Tamam Salam supporting KSA in a regional summit, announced that "This is a natural stance that stems from Lebanon's Arab belonging and its keenness on the unity of the Arab nation and its ability to confront the challenges it is facing".

5.2.2. CHRISTIANS FOREIGN RELATIONS

¹⁷⁴ The Daily Star, 23/4/2015, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2015/Apr-23/295451-hariri-wants-operation-decisive-storm-moved-to-syria.ashx>

Historically, Christians, mainly Maronites were known for their close ties with France and the Vatican. After the independence of Lebanon, Christian ties with foreign powers were labeled as the Lebanese Christians relationship with the “West” including Europe and the USA. The West supported Christian against Muslim Lebanese attempts to marginalize Christians and consequently the Christians of Lebanon had to serve the Western interests in Lebanon.

Lebanese were genuinely divided on numerous key concerns - one of which is the Palestinian cause¹⁷⁵. Conversely to Muslims, Christians Lebanese called for the neutralization of Lebanon, the disarmament of the Palestinians on the Lebanese soil, the prevalence of the sole Lebanese identity, and the maintenance of Lebanon’s Sovereignty. Christian identity was clearly independent from the Arab World and even after the National Pact, their position was not aligned with that of the Arab World.

With the illegitimate military empowerment of the PLO, Christians identified a violation of the Lebanese sovereignty and a weakening of their already precarious state.

Lebanese Christian Nationalists (mainly under the leadership of Bachir Gemayel) opted for a radical behavior, seeking to re-establish the Lebanese sovereignty and preserve the Christian presence. This was only seen to be possible through militarization, and clear anti-Arabism stances equally distant from Israel and the Arab world. That is when the notion of the neutralization of Lebanon first emerged.

Conversely, a leftist Arab front reallocated its capabilities behind the PLO, recognizing its military power, and collaborating with it on domestic issues. It also served as an extension to Abdel Nasser’s policies.

¹⁷⁵Hudson,M, 1996, “*Palestinians and Lebanon: The Common Story*”.Centre for Lebanese studies. P.7

Similarly to their position regarding the Palestinian cause, Christians also called for the neutrality of Lebanon regarding the Syrian Crisis and other conflicts opposing major regional powers. Their position materialized with the adoption of the Baabda Accord, and with Lebanon's abstention from voting in favor of an Arab Military Coalition against terrorism in the Arab League Summit for Ministers of Foreign Affairs in January 2016.

5.2.3. SHIITE FOREIGN RELATIONS

Since their early establishment, Shiites patron is Iran. Although Shiites took time to embark on the Arab journey of freeing Palestine from the "enemy", however, to-date, they position themselves as the primary resistance against Israel.

As Lebanese recognized their domestic conflicts in light of the Syrian war, and identified their respective victory with specific outcomes of the conflict, Shiites aimed at meeting Iran's interest in extending its influence in the Arab world.

Additionally, Hezbollah's main concern was to preserve arms and status, this translated into an assessment of their position regarding the Syrian conflict. In fact, the Assaad regime, Iran's main ally, provided Hezbollah with extensive support in an attempt to preserve the Shiite movement's power, in return, Hezbollah fought alongside the regime in its strategic conflicts.

In this sense, Hezbollah views its prevalence and consistency as directly related to the survival of the Assaad regime. Furthermore, given that Hezbollah is an extension of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a country which is the principle ally of the Syrian regime, pushes the Shiite movement to feel more concerned and get more involved in defending Bachar El Assaad.

Similarly to any regional event having a sectarian dimension, Yemen's events created a controversy in Lebanon. Sunnis, represented mainly by the Future Movement, (FM) supporting Saudi Arabia and, Shiites, mainly represented mainly by Hezbollah, supporting the Houthis movement and Iran.

Despite the fact that the Yemen war coincided with rounds of mediations and dialogues between FM and Hezbollah, it did not prevent the two parties from adopting radical opposing attitudes pertaining to the "Decisive Storm" operation.

Hezbollah attacked Saudi Arabia for her "Decisive Storm" intervention in Yemen. Covering Nasrallah's speech of Tuesday May 5, 2015, The Daily Star newspaper reported him as saying that the operation resulted in a total defeat for Saudi Arabia who has not only failed to reestablish legitimacy, but also did not achieve any of their set goals¹⁷⁶.

Shiite Minister Hussein el- Hajj Hassan, one of Hezbollah's representatives in the Cabinet, criticized Prime Minister Tammam Salam's remarks at the Arab League Summit. He stated their support for Saudi Arabia when he said that Lebanon approves of any act that preserves Yemen "sovereignty and territorial integrity". Hassan said that Nasrallah's remarks do not represent the views of the Lebanese government or the viewpoint of all Lebanese - neither Lebanon's official position, as they were not discussed or agreed upon by the Cabinet. He criticized Salam for supporting the Egyptian proposal to create a joint Arab force to counter terrorism; he also considers that Salam justifies the aggression against the Yemeni.

¹⁷⁶The Daily Star, 5/5/2015, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2015/May-05/296947-saudi-arabia-has-failed-in-yemen-nasrallah.ashx>

5.2.4. DRUZE FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Druze community, who supports in its vast majority the Jumblat's, forms alliance based on its sole interest - that of the Druze community security and autonomy. Druze had historically taken positions aligned with Arab positions. During clashes between Lebanese and the PLO, the Druze fought alongside the PLO. They also developed close ties with the Baath regime, even after it was publically held responsible for Kamal Jumblat's assassination. It was not until 2005, that Walid Jumblat clearly expressed his opposition to the Al-Assad regime, and from then until 2011, he was part of the coalition supported by the USA and KSA. During that period, he was a major player in conducting diplomatic meetings with Europeans and Americans calling for the resignation of the Assad regime backed President Lahoud¹⁷⁷.

After 2011, although Jumblat still expressed his resentment towards the Assad regime, he joined the Iranian- backed coalition in Lebanon, and since then has differentiated himself from Lebanese counterparts, by expressing blurry stances and unclear positions, only denouncing war atrocities in the region.

Once more, Lebanese sects have taken autonomous positions pertaining to regional events with an aim to satisfy the regional sponsor, which provides channels and means of empowerment domestically.

¹⁷⁷Kurtulus, E, 2009, "*The Cedar Revolution: Lebanese Independence And The Question Of Collective Self-Determination*". British Journal of Middle Eastern studies. P.204

The failure to achieve a common Foreign Policy has cost Lebanon its sovereignty and independence, and has resulted in inter-state conflicts. That is why, it is crucial to identify the main cause behind the Foreign Policy dilemma in order to find appropriate solutions to help Lebanon build a strong and independent state.

In this article, it is empirically proven that Foreign Policy¹⁷⁸ in Lebanon is constructed based on sectarian identities where each sect seeks its supremacy and complete power, and allows foreign actors to interfere in Lebanese affairs. Why? This is precisely due to the insecurity of these constituencies, their fear of marginalization, and the incapability of the state to address their grievances. Thus internal parties strive to seek foreign help to protect themselves, and thus in return have to compromise their state's interest and align their behavior with the strategy of their protector.

As it was previously demonstrated, each sectarian faction exercises its influence in a well-defined area. Below highlights the segregation per region per sect.

5.3.GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION AND AUTONOMOUS RULE

The interesting observation that one can draw is the congruence between the sectarian militia's areas of influence and its respective demographic dominance. Throughout history, each sectarian militia developed its operations, enhanced the mobilization of

¹⁷⁸Hitti,N, 1989, "*The Foreign Policy of Lebanon: Lessons and Prospects for the Forgotten Dimension*". Centre for Lebanese studies, p. 9

partisans, and strengthened its autonomy within a well-defined area where it had a demographic dominance.

Autonomy is defined as a private sphere proper to a cluster which have full jurisdiction over decisions pertaining to its security and welfare, independently of any outer interference¹⁷⁹. Another definition identifies autonomy as “a device to allow an ethnic group or other groups claiming a distinct identity to exercise direct control over important affairs of concerns to them while allowing the larger entity to exercise those powers which are the common interest of both sections”¹⁸⁰.

Thus, in Lebanon, we can talk about a de-facto partition, where each sect acquired jurisdiction over an area of their respective demographic dominance. Political leaders’ aimed to meet their “clients” aspirations. They thus created their respective cantons, each powerful in its own area, and denying completely the legitimacy of the unitary state itself.

Figure.5.3.1 below shows the sectarian militia autonomy within each area without any specific time frame. In the northern areas of Tripoli and Akkar, and the southern areas of Sidon and South Bekaa, (where the majority of population is Sunni), Sunni militias have been established.

In the eastern area of North Bekaa and in the South, Shiites militia Hezbollah have established an autonomous state.

¹⁷⁹Khalaf, S, in Hunf,T, Salam,N, 2003, “ *Lebanon in Limbo: Postwar Society and State in an Uncertain Regional Environment*”.NomosVerlagsgesellschaft Baden-Baden.P 138

¹⁸⁰ Shields, V, 2008, “*Political Reform in Lebanon: Has The Cedar Revolution Failed?*”. The Journal Of Legislative Studies. P. 275

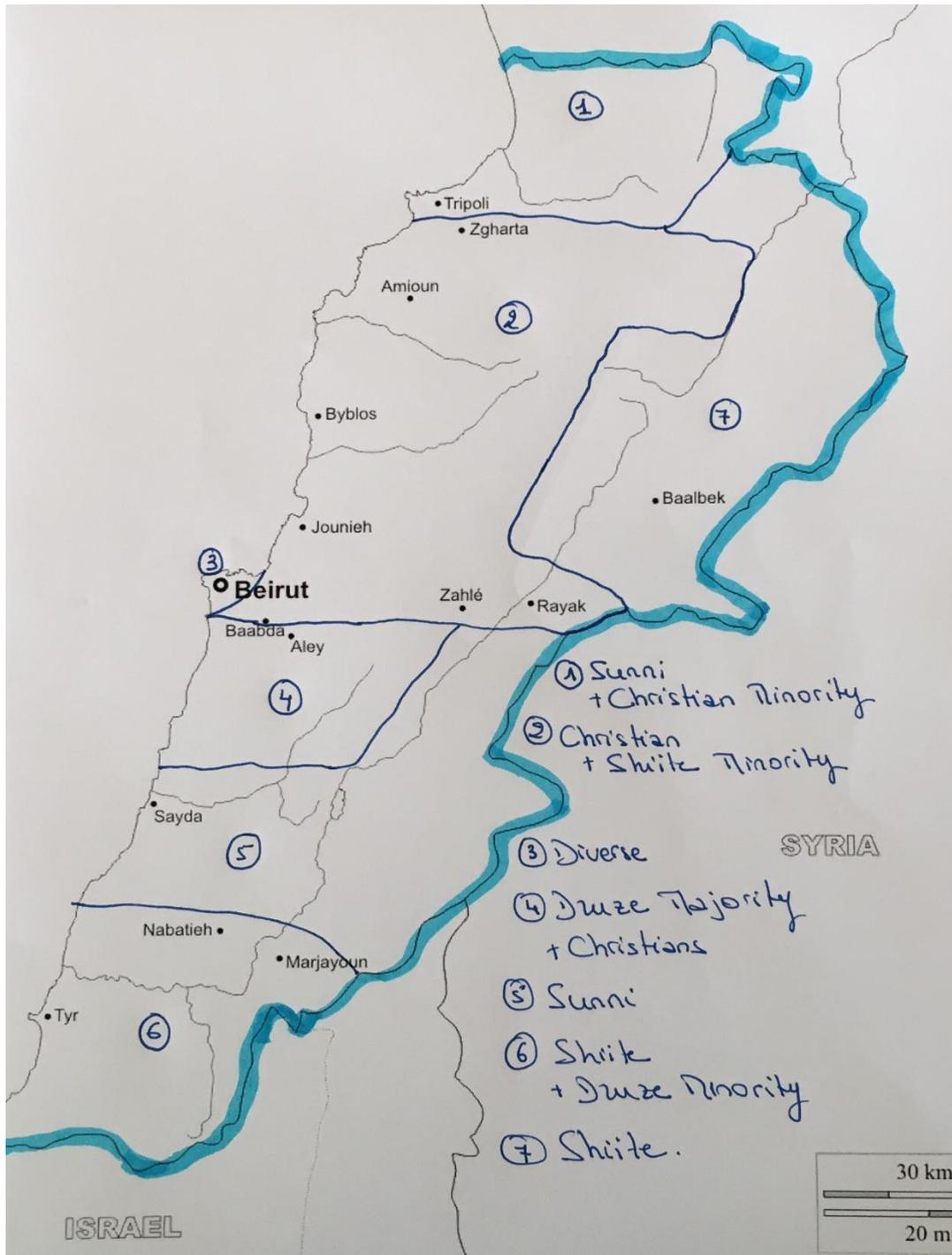
Similarly, the Druze has reinforced their fortress in the areas of Chouf and Al- Jabal.

Christians, on the other hand, took control over Mount Lebanon.

As for Beirut, Christians, Sunnis and Shiites all got their respective share of the capital.

Figure 5.3.1: Map of historical to-date sectarian militia cantons over areas of respective demographic dominance¹⁸¹.

¹⁸¹ Map drawn by Martine Andraos



This sectarian distribution among the Lebanese regions as mentioned previously is clearly translated in the Lebanese electoral law and the distribution of parliamentary seats. Table 5.3.2 shows the distribution of parliamentary seats per district per sect¹⁸²:

Table 5.3.2: Distribution of parliamentary seats per district per sect

	Christians & Minorities	Sunni	Shiite & Alawites	Druze	Total
North (Akkar, Diniyeh, Minieh, Tripoli)	5	11	2	0	18
Mount Lebanon (Becharreh, Zghorta, Koura, Batroun, Jbeil, Keserouane, Metn, Baabda) &Zahleh	33	1	4	1	39
East Beirut	5	0	0	0	5
West Beirut	3	5	1	1	10
Beirut Southern Suburb	2	1	1	0	4
Jabal (Chouf, alley) &Jezzine	10	2	0	4	16
Saida	0	2	0	0	2
South (Tyre, zahrani, Marjeyoun, Nabatiyah, BintJbeil)	2	1	14	1	18
Bekka (West Bekaa, Rachaya, Hermel, Baalbak)	4	4	7	2	15
Total	64	27	29	8	128

¹⁸² IFS Lebanon Briefing Paper, 2009, “*Lebanon’s 2009 Parliamentary elections: The Lebanese Electoral System*”. P.3

The Lebanese political system failed to guarantee security. Security defect is thus translated by the recurrent emergence of sectarian armed militias. “Militias were de-facto ruling parties in the areas they controlled¹⁸³”. Ghassan Tueini mentioned the “de-facto situation where local self-appointed authorities exercised power but never claimed legitimacy”¹⁸⁴. Additionally, Habib Malik stated, “in Lebanon the society, not the state, is consistently the stronger and more durable of the two”¹⁸⁵. On another note, Simon Haddad quotes Samir Khalaf where he acknowledges that:

“since 1975, territorial identities have been ceaselessly redefined and that forms of solidarity and social affiliation based on class or other secular ideologies proved more distant and abstract than confessional identities, without which individuals and groups are literally rootless, nameless, and voiceless”, to then add that “by 1990 more than 1.2 million Lebanese, about 30 per cent of the total population, had been uprooted from their homes and communities (Charif 1994). Massive population shifts, accompanied by the reintegration of displaced groups into more homogeneous, self-contained and exclusive spaces, have also reinforced communal solidarity. Confessional ‘cleansing’ of geographical areas and the consequent physical separation have led to increased social division and

¹⁸³ El-Khazen, F, 2003, “Political Parties in Postwar Lebanon: Parties in search for Partisans”. Middle East Journal. P.623

¹⁸⁴ Tueini, G, 1982, “Lebanon: A New Republic?”. Foreign Affairs P.91

¹⁸⁵ Malik, H, 1997, “Between Damascus and Jerusalem. Lebanon and Middle East Peace”. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. P.22

the fragmentation of political culture, constraining political and social integration in the country”¹⁸⁶.

In the above chapter, this thesis has demonstrated that in light of the impotence of the state to maintain security, each sect has founded its own militia and consequently, has established its own rule in its area of predominant demographic majority.

Then it has proved that each militia has established autonomous foreign relations based on Patron/Clients relationship. Lastly, it has highlighted the congruence between geographic distribution, sectarian majority, and autonomy.

¹⁸⁶Haddad, S, 2002, “*Cultural Diversity AndSectarianAttitudes in Post War Lebanon*”.Routledge. P. 297

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION: THE FEDERALIST RESPONSE TO THE LEBANESE DILEMMA

In analyzing socio-political interactions in pluralistic and mosaic societies, it is noted that there is an “intrinsic fear of 'aloneness,' the flight from insecurity which causes a great clustering into separateness that will, it is thought, improve, assure, or extend each group's power or place, or keep it safe or safer from the power, threat, or hostility of others”¹⁸⁷.

The world counts a variety of plural/mosaic states – ethnic, cultural, sectarian- that embraces a variety of minorities. These minorities might sense an extent of disappointment vis-à-vis their status and hence, aspire for a degree of change. While these groups affiliate with their communities rather than their state as a whole, continual and

¹⁸⁷ Beatty, R, November 1999, “*Review Essay: Primordialism versus constructivism*”. The National Project. P.1

all-enveloping conflicts arise between sub-national identity/sub-national identity, and sub-national identity/national identity¹⁸⁸.

As Geertz acknowledges, two drives regulate the behavior of the people of a state: the first, is the aim to be recognized, noticed within the frame of the identity, here identity is a means of assertion. The second motive is the pragmatic aim that targets domestic welfare policies, social justice, and the role in international politics¹⁸⁹.

As shown is Table 6.1 below, sub-national constituencies' aspirations range from identification, admission, and involvement to division, independence, and self-rule taking into consideration the geographical circumstances¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁸ M.W. Mikesell, A. B. Murphy, 1991, "A Framework for Comparative Study of Minority-Group Aspirations". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 81, No. 4.P.1

¹⁸⁹ Geertz, C, in Hutchinson, J, & Smith, A, 1996, " *Ethnicity*". Oxford University Press. P.41

¹⁹⁰ M.W. Mikesell, A. B. Murphy, 1991, "A Framework for Comparative Study of Minority-Group Aspirations". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 81, No. 4. P.1

Table 6.1: Minority Group Objectives

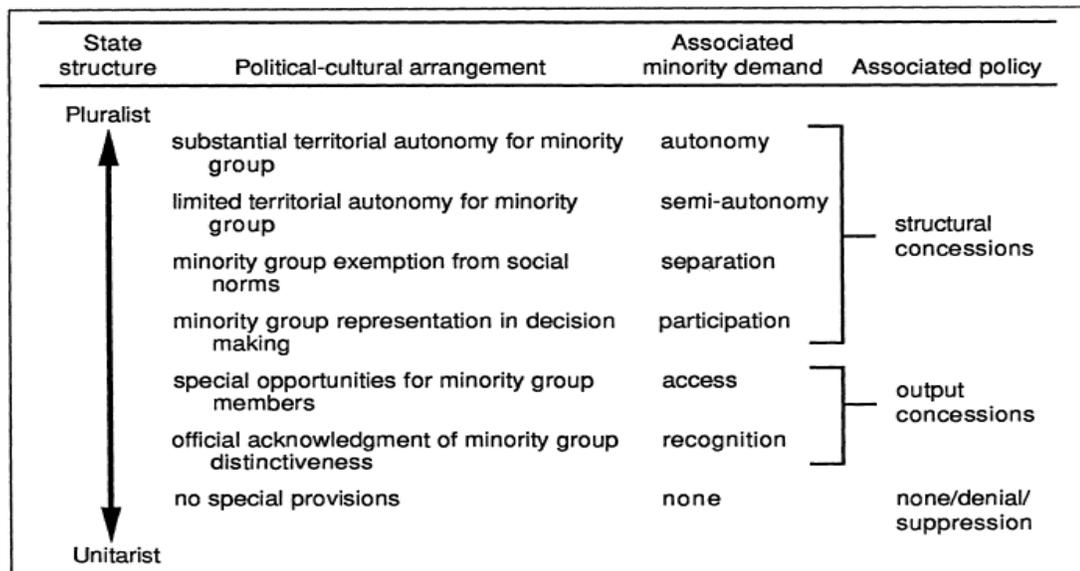
Aspiration	Type of Associated Policy Demands	Political Arrangement Sought
Independence	New state transfer to neighboring state	Recognized secession
Autonomy	Control of Minority Region, Devolution,	Confederalism, Federalism, Regional Autonomism, Regional Administrative Decentralization
Separation	Exemption from Societal Norms	Community Autonomism
Participation	Power-sharing input into Policy Making	Proportional Representation, Ethnic quotas
Access	No-discrimination, Advancement Opportunities, Special Subsidies	Affirmative action, Anti-Discrimination laws, Economic Development Assistance
Recognition	Acknowledgment of group's existence, Respect for group's special attributes	Official language or religion special, Cultural institutions

Lebanon is no exception to the rule. It is formed of diversified, self-determined, sectarian groups. As proven, each sectarian community has acquired authority and a degree of autonomy over well-defined geographical areas where these minorities have a respective demographic dominance.

Pluralistic/mosaic countries, mainly those which were unable to follow a process of state and nation building, and which were unable to address sub-communities' aspirations, are

subject to Protracted Social Conflict (PSC). In these countries, consensus is unachievable, lack of trust prevails amongst citizens, and thus stability of the structure is unattainable¹⁹¹. We talk about precarious states. That is precisely the case of Lebanon. Insecurities and threat of marginalization in light of the absence of a de jure guarantee of existence, prevalence, active role, and distinctiveness, have led to PSC's.

Protracted Social Conflict needs long-term strategies as it touches every aspect of the state; territory, society, political system. Addressing institutions solely is not enough while tackling PSC¹⁹². It is crucial to note that whenever a state cannot manage its PSC, demands and aspirations of the various social groups, ranging from recognition to autonomy start ascending the scale, as shown in Figure 6.2 below.



193

Figure 6.2: Minority Group Aspirations

¹⁹¹E.Azar, R. Haddad, 1986, "Lebanon: An Anomalous Conflict?". Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 4. P.4

¹⁹² Ibid, P.13

¹⁹³ M.W. Mikesell, A. B. Murphy, 1991, "A Framework for Comparative Study of Minority-Group Aspirations". Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 81, No. 4. P.10

In such cases, and mainly whenever the demands of the groups skew towards autonomy and independence, a unitary state gradually loses its ability to sustain its stability, unless it is able to disregard these demands based on a consensus with the various other groups – the case of authoritarian regimes. In addition, demands starting with the bottom of the spectrum, like recognition and access, if ignored, or not addressed properly especially in a unitary state, might be pushed further due to dissatisfaction, and demands for autonomy¹⁹⁴.

In Lebanon specifically, the PSC is an enduring characteristic that pushes one to question, not how to solve the conflict, but rather how to manipulate it in a manner that enforces equilibrium, alleviate tensions, and create positive dynamics between different constituencies. If we were to apply the above dynamics to Lebanon, one would suggest that the best way to address demands of various groups and manage the PSC positively is to shift from a unitary state which is deficient in pluralistic and mosaic societies, to a system, whereby each constituency is able to reach full citizenship, cultural, sectarian, and geographical satisfaction.

Three forms of governmental formulas could be considered;

First, Administrative Decentralization defined as “*where a central government establishes basic policies in all areas, but then devolves the power to administer these policies to lower levels of government, typically regional or municipal government*”¹⁹⁵.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, P.19

¹⁹⁵ Kymlicka, W, “*Is Federalism a viable alternative to secession?*”. In Theories of secession. P. 117

Second, Federalism defined as *“an organization of government where powers and responsibilities are both divided and shared between the federal (national) Government and the “constituent unit” (state, province, regional and local) governments*

Third is Confederation defined as *“where two or more sovereign countries agree to coordinate economic and military policy, and so each devolves the power to administer these policies to a supranational body composed of delegates of each country”¹⁹⁶.*

The first option, administrative decentralization offers no integrated solution to the Lebanese dilemma, especially in light of primordial identities. Although it helps reestablish equilibrium between regions in Lebanon, which results in equitable development, it does not however tackle issues of identity and distinctiveness. Based on the analyses conducted in this thesis that highlights the deficits in Legitimacy, Rights and freedoms, Security and Sovereignty, this option should be eliminated as it only addresses problems of economic equity.

The third option, Confederalism, is not applicable in Lebanon. Although the sectarian schism seems very deep, there remains consensus among Lebanese that the Lebanese entity is definitive and its 10452 Km² territory is not to be reconsidered regardless of internal and external conflicts.

The second option, Federalism, although subject to challenges, seems to offer applicable and adaptable solutions to the Lebanese dilemma. Federalism is a solution that was first

¹⁹⁶Ibid, 117

proposed in 1977 as a reaction to raising Arabism, Nasserism, and Islamic Arabism, at the Retreat of Sayidat Al-Bir¹⁹⁷ where the Lebanese Front alongside the Maronite cleric and intellectuals like Charles Malik recognized the right of each religious constituency to distinctiveness within the Lebanese entity.

The challenges that prevented the adoption of Federalism in Lebanon are:

Since Federalism was firstly proposed by Christians, scholars, mainly those of Arab background, rejected the idea of Federalism, describing it as a Christian project seeking Christian's ultimate interest without analyzing the Federalism solution.

There is a misconception that Federalism is a step ahead of secession that challenges the 10452 Km² and was believed to be a threat to the Lebanese entity. There is often a misconception in Lebanon that Federalism leads to Partition.

Integrationists argue against Federalism claiming that Lebanon is a small territory and dividing it into smaller rather independent regions could damage its economy. Advocates of the unitary state, consider that geographic distribution after the rural exodus, makes it impossible to draw geographic borders that are congruent with sectarian presence.

Building on the fact that sectarian communities have acquired the capabilities of a state within well-defined geographic areas, and a situation of a de-facto autonomy has been witnessed in these areas, it is assumed that this situation is irreversible, and a suitable solution that embraces the current situation is needed.

¹⁹⁷Rowayheb, M, 2006, "*Lebanese Militia: A New Perspective*". Taylor & Francis. P. 312

Federalism is a political system widespread in the world and designed primarily to better manage governance issues that may emerge in multicultural, multilingual or multi-sectarian societies, like the case of Lebanon, from many perspectives.

What are the opportunities presented by this model that answers the deficiencies discussed in this thesis, and the challenges discussed herein.

First, in matters pertaining to legitimacy and rule of law, Federalism helps re-establish legitimacy of the state and its capability to enforce the rule of law. One of the basic characteristics of the Federal state is that it puts the Government in direct contact with the people, since local committees have the authority to legislate based on local needs. These committees are directly elected by the people which enhances the democratic process and accountability. This will lead the people to trust their Government and consequently, will help the latter to enforce the rule of law. Federalism is thus a system that is applied bottom-up.

Second, in matters pertaining to rights and freedoms, Federalism allows for a degree of autonomy, since it grants regional authorities a de jure right to self-rule on issues relating to education, economy, social security, environment, and others laws and policies. Such an advantage will build a feeling a security among distinct communities, which will lead to peaceful inter-sectarian communities' interactions and will help build trust. Lebanon is characterized by its diversity and freedoms. Whenever these freedoms are compromised upon, Lebanon loses the characteristics that differentiate it from its surrounding. It is of crucial importance to note that if adopted, federalism should not

allow for any faction within its autonomous area to conduct practices which violate universally recognized human rights under the pretext of freedoms and distinctiveness.

Third, in matters pertaining to security, Federalism allows for autonomous, regional police and public security officials. Thus, members of sectarian communities will not turn towards forming their own militia, but rather, will integrate partisans into the Lebanese regional police. Consequently, the gap between sects and the government with regards to security practices will be abolished.

Fourth and lastly, pertaining to external relations; After Federalism has provided the framework and means to enforce the rule of law, protect rights and freedoms, and maintain security, sectarian communities will no longer need to turn to foreign actors to safeguard their rights within the Lebanese entity, nor would they enhance their proxy relations. The appeal to foreign actors will be at a minimum. As a result, the Lebanese Government will be able to reach a consensus over Lebanon's position within the International System, namely, neutralization. Neutralization, mainly armed neutralization, is a prerequisite to Federalism as it leads to constructive interventionism.

Addressing the first challenge, the general belief that Federalism is a Christian idea could be resolved by conducting academic campaigns aiming at raising awareness about the flexibility of the Federal model and the possibility to tailor adaptable processes which benefits all sectarian factions in Lebanon.

In the same manner, the second challenge, which is the belief that federalism means partition, could be addressed, by explaining scientifically and empirically that Federalism is rather unity in diversity and is a preventive measure for partition.

Lastly, the third challenge, that of the demographic/geographic distribution, could be resolved by the appointment of an ombudsman representing minorities in districts. Ombudsmen will be the representatives of minorities in the local Government and will be responsible to safeguard minorities' rights. In addition, federalism does not necessarily need to be geographic. It is a flexible formula that could be tailor-made to fit the needs of Lebanon and its particularity.

This research paper demonstrates first that sectarian affiliations are of a primordial nature. Thus, they are core to any political, societal, or cultural behavior. Additionally, they cannot be eliminated or reconstructed. Second, it analyzed the consociational and centralized formula and verified how it led to Governmental deadlocks and inequitable distribution of resources, which eventually perpetuated sectarian tensions. Third, it highlighted the failure of the state to deliver on a state's basic fundamentals, in light of primordial sectarianism. This failure has been translated into issues pertaining to rule of law, basic human and citizen's rights, security, and sovereignty, and has prompted sectarian communities to autonomously acquire state capabilities, and consequently to create their own areas of authority that overlap with their areas of demographic dominance.

Therefore the problem behind the precarious condition of the Lebanese state and the tensions among the different sectarian factions lies not in sectarianism itself, but rather, in the political system. The solution to Lebanon's sustained turmoil is to reform the system and adopt a formula that aims at establishing trust between Lebanese factions on the one hand, enforce Governmental institutions, and earn the trust of citizens in the Lebanese state, while preserving each sectarian community's distinctiveness from each other.

The solution to Lebanon's sustained turmoil is the reform of the political system from unitary to federal. Federalism is a system that has been proven successful in many pluralistic societies. This is because it combines De Jure sectarian self-rule in areas, with sectarian shared rule at the level of the central authority. It is able to grant each group a degree of distinctiveness and autonomy, it allows each faction to benefit from an absolute power over its own values and cultural patterns, it prevents deadlocks on micro issues even in light of divergent views pertaining to macro-national issues at the level of the central authority. Consequently, Federalism helps in building trust among communities, alleviating tension, and preventing any attempt of secession.

Since the socio-political or socio- historical considerations of the 18 religious communities that make up the fabric of Lebanon are not the same, Federalism remains a unifying solution to the benefit of the whole society. It also re-establishes state authority and thus ameliorates the precarious situation that has befallen the Lebanese state.

Federalism could be considered as the best suited deterrent to any prospect of civil war, and could eventually provide a framework within which the Lebanese state could regain

its legitimacy, enforce its institutions, protect the rights of distinctiveness of each sectarian community, guarantee the Lebanese army as the sole armed force on the Lebanese soil, and unify the position of Lebanon within the international system and safeguard its sovereignty.

REFERENCES

- Al-Akhbar, 23/6/2013, <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/16213>
- Al-Akhbar, 11/7/2014, <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/20633> Hussein Mahdi
- Al-Akhbar, 30/7/2015, <http://www.al-akhbar.com/node/18692>
- Al-Akhbar, <http://www.al-akhbar.com/node/183942>
- Al-Arabiya, 28/1/2015, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/01/28/>
- Aliwaa, 19/1/2015, <http://www.aliwaa.com/Article.aspx?ArticleId=233576>
- Almond, G, 1965, *A Developmental Approach to Political Systems*. Cambridge University Press.
- Annahar, 15/12/2015, <http://www.annahar.com/article/293701> -في-الحريري-يستمر-متى-الى-
فرنجيه-ترشيح
- Azar, E, Jureidini, P, McLaurin R, *Protracted Social Conflict; Theory and Practice in the Middle East*.
- Azar, E, Haddad, R, 1986, *Lebanon: An Anomalous Conflict?*. Third World Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 4.
- Barack, O, 2007, *Don't mention the war? The Politics of Remembrance and Forgetfulness in Postwar Lebanon*. Middle East Journal

- Barakat, H, 1973, *Social and Political Integration in Lebanon: The Case of Social Mosaic*. Middle East Journal.
- Barclay, S, 2007, *Consociationalism in Lebanon*. University of Pennsylvania.
- Bayar, M, 2009, *Reconsidering Primordialism: An Alternative Approach To The Study Of Ethnicity*. Ethnic and Racial Studies.
- Baylis, J, Smith, S, 2006, *The Globalization of World Politics – An Introduction to International Relations*. Oxford University Press.
- Beatty, R, 1999, *Review Essay: Primordialism Versus Constructivism*. The National Project.
- Dictionary Of Military And associated Terms, 2001, *Security*.
- El-Chidiac, E, 2013, Ziad Majed in *On Consociationalism and Confessionalism in Lebanon*. <http://lebanonism.com/lebwp/>
- Elazar, D, 1977, *Federalism and Consociational Regimes*. Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.
- El-Husseini, H, 2016, “*Al-Ousbou’ fi Sa’a*”. Al-Jadid TV
- El-Khazen, F, 1991, *The Communal Pact of National Identities*. Centre for Lebanese Studies.
- El-Khazen, F, 2003, *Political Parties in Postwar Lebanon: Parties in search for Partisans*. Middle East Journal.
- Eller, J, Coughlan, R, in Hutchinson, J, & Smith, A, 1996, *Ethnicity*. Oxford University Press.

- El-Saad, F, 2001, *Strategy for the reform and Development of the Public Administration in Lebanon*. Office of the Minister of the State for Administrative reforms.
- Fakhoury, T, *Debating Lebanon's Power Sharing Model: An Opportunity Or An Impasse For Democratization Studies In The Middle East*.
- Geertz, C, in Hutchinson, J, & Smith, A, 1996, *Ethnicity*. Oxford University Press.
- Grassmuck, G, Salibi, K, 1995, *A Manual Of the Lebanese Administration*. Public Administration Department of the American University of Beirut.
- Haddad, S, 2002, *Cultural Diversity and Sectarian Attitude in Post War Lebanon*. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies.
- Haddad, S, 2009, *Lebanon: From Consociationalism to Conciliation*. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics.
- Handbook of Federal Countries: 2002, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Hanf, T, 1993, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*. The Center for Lebanese Studies.
- Harik, I, 1990, *The Origins of the Arab State System* in Giacomo Luciani, ed., *The Arab State*. Routledge.
- Harik, J, 1994, *The Public And Social services Of The Lebanese Militia*. Center for Lebanese Studies.
- Heywood, A, *Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan. Third Edition.
- Hitti, N, 1989, *The Foreign Policy of Lebanon: Lessons and Prospects for the Forgotten Dimension*. Centre for Lebanese studies.
- Hourani, A, *Visions of Lebanon*.

Hourani, A, 1985, *Political Society in Lebanon: A historical Introduction*. Centre for Lebanese Studies.

[https://www.un.int/files/Lebanon/the taif agreement english version .pdf](https://www.un.int/files/Lebanon/the_taif_agreement_english_version_.pdf)

<http://loubnanouna.org/Reports/TaifAgreement/2006>

Hudson, M, 1976. *The Lebanese Crisis: The Limits of Consociational Democracy*. University of California Press

Hudson, M, 1996, *Palestinians and Lebanon: The Common Story*. Centre for Lebanese studies.

Hudson, M, *The problem of Authoritative Power in Lebanese Politics*.

Hutchinson, J, Smith, A, 1996, *Ethnicity*. Oxford University Press.

Iskandar, A, 1964, *Bureaucracy in Lebanon*. American University of Beirut.

Katib, JP, 2006, *Lebanon and the federal solution*. L'orient Le Jour.

Khalaf, S, 1968, *Primordial Ties and Politics in Lebanon*. Middle Eastern Studies.

Khalaf, S, 2003, *On Roots and Rotes: The reassertion of Primordial Ties* in Samir Khalaf, Theodor Hanf, Nawaf Salam, *Lebanon in Limbo: Postwar Society and State in an Uncertain Regional Environment*. Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft Baden-Baden.

Kurtulus, E, 2009, *The Cedar Revolution: Lebanese Independence And The Question Of Collective Self-Determination*. British Journal of Middle Eastern studies.

Kymlicka, W, *Is Federalism a viable alternative to secession?*. In Theories of secession.

Lebanon Files, 21/11/2015, <http://www.lebanonfiles.com/news/965370>

Lebanon Wire, 9/5/2008, <http://www.lebanonwire.com/0805MLN/08050901CSM.asp>

Lebanon Wire, 9/10/2009,
<http://www.lebanonwire.com/0910MLN/09100911EBLW.asp>

Le Monde, 25/8/2015, http://www.lemonde.fr/proche-orient/article/2015/08/25/le-gouvernement-libanais-echoue-a-trouver-une-issue-a-la-crise-des-dechets_4736442_3218.html

L'orient Le Jour, 8/10/2015, <http://www.lorientlejour.com/article/948350/a-l-horizon-le-blocage-total-du-gouvernement.html>

L'orient Le Jour, 3/12/2015, <http://www.lorientlejour.com/article/958343/au-coeur-des-enjeux-la-nouvelle-loi-electorale.html>

Makdisi, S, El-Khalil, Y, 2013, *Lebanon: The Legacy of Sectarian Consociationalism and The Transition to a Fully-fledged Democracy*. Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs.

Makdisi, S, Marktanner, M, 2009, *Trapped By consociationalism: The Case of Lebanon*. American University of Beirut Department of Economics and Institute of Financial economics.

Makdisi, U, 1996, *Reconstructing the Nation-State: The Modernity of Secularism in Lebanon*. Middle East Report, No. 200.

Malik, H, 1997, *Between Damascus and Jerusalem. Lebanon and Middle East Peace*. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Middle East eye, 11/8/2015, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/reportages/la-crise-des-dechets-du-liban-couve-depuis-40-ans-1786343947>

M.W.Mikesell, A. B. Murphy, 1991, *A Framework for Comparative Study of Minority-Group Aspirations*. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 81, No. 4.

MTV Lebanon, 21/2/2016,
http://mtv.com.lb/Programs/tahkik/Season_8/Videos/الطفاار_العفو

Nahar Net, 24/1/2013, <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/69560>

Nahar Net, 21/8/2013, <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/94875>

Nahar Net, <http://m.naharnet.com/stories/en/83039-attacks-against-lebanese-alawites-deepen-fears>

Najem, T, 2012, *Lebanon, The Politics of a Penetrated Society*. Routledge.

Namani, B, 2015, *Peace and War in Lebanon*. Dar Nelson.

NOW Media, 10/05/2008, <https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/Whos-who42129>

NOW Media, 1/10/2009,
https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/nownews/lebanese_muslim_scholars_samba_troupe_should_be_banned_from_performing_in_tyre

NOW Media, 21/1/2010,
https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/reportsfeatures/with_lower_age_how_many_new_voters

NOW Media, 29/1/2010,
https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/reportsfeatures/with_lower_age_how_many_new_voters

NOW Media, 15/10/2010,
https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/nownews/national_bloc_ahmadinejad_made_lebanon_an_arena_of_confrontation

- NOW Media, 20/4/2011, https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/reportsfeatures/sobering_up_in_nabatiyeh
- NOW Media, 22/2/2013, <https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/mtv-armed-assir-partisans-deploy-near-sidons-bilal-bin-rabbah-mosque-army-requests-reinforcements>
- O'balance, E, 1998, *Civil War in Lebanon*. Macmillan Press ltd.
- Picard, E, 1999, *The Demobilization of the Lebanese Militia*. Center for Lebanese Studies.
- Prabhakaran,P, 2008,*National Security: Imperatives And Challenges*. New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill.
- Report of the Secretary-General: The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies” (2004) - http://www.unrol.org/article.aspx?article_id=3
 IFS Lebanon Briefing Paper, 2009, “*Lebanon’s 2009 Parliamentary elections: The Lebanese Electoral System*”.
- Roskin, M, Cord, R, Medeiros, J, Jones, W, *Political Sciences, An Introduction*. Prentice Hall, 6th.
- Rowayheb, M, 2006, *Lebanese Militia: A New Perspective*. Taylor and Francis.
- Salamey, I, 2013, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*. Routledge.
- Salibi, K, 1965, *History of Modern Lebanon*. Caravan Books.
- Salloukh, B, Barakat, R, Al-Habbal, J, Khattab, L, Mikaelian, S, 2015, “*The Politics Of Sectarianism In Postwar Lebanon*”. Pluto Press.
- Sensenig-Dabbous, E, 2009, *The Lebanese Political Party System*. Middle East Political and Economics Institute.

Shields, V, 2008, *Political Reform In Lebanon: Has the Cedar Revolution Failed?*.The Journal Of Legislative Studies.

Suleiman,M, 1967, *The role of political parties in a confessional democracy: the Lebanese case*. The Western Political Quarterly.

The Daily Star, 7/2/2006, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2006/February/07/7118-bakri-cartoonists-depicting-prophet-should-be-executed.ashx>

The Daily Star, 7/2/2006, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2006/February/07/7115-government-apologizes-to-denmark-for-angry-riots.ashx>

The Daily Star, 26/7/2011, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Article.aspx?id=144604>

The Daily Star, 24/10/2011, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2011/October/24/152056-hezbollah-telecoms-network-security-promotions-to-challenge-cabinet.ashx>

The Daily Star, 11/11/2013, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2013/Nov-11/237427-lbci-wont-apologize-for-hezbollah-skit.ashx>

The Daily Star, 25/6/2014, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2014/June-25/261518-ramadan-memo-nonbinding-abra-municipality.ashx>

The Daily Star, 3/10/2014, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2014/Oct-03/272834-tripolis-terror-duo-mawlawi-and-mansour.ashx>

The Daily Start, 15/12/2014, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Local/2014/December/15/281031-plan-to-fill-port-of-beirut-basin-4-sparks-controversy.ashx>

The Daily Star, 10/2/2015, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2015/February-10/286948-hands-off-tripoli-allah-statue-north-lebanon-sheikh.ashx>

The Daily Star, 19/2/2015, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Local/2015/February/19/287931-salam-orders-halt-to-work-at-port-of-beirut-fourth-basin.ashx>

The Daily Star, 23/4/2015, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2015/Apr-23/295451-hariri-wants-operation-decisive-storm-moved-to-syria.ashx>

The Daily Star, 5/5/2015, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2015/May-05/296947-saudi-arabia-has-failed-in-yemen-nasrallah.ashx>

Tueini, G, 1982, *Lebanon: A New Republic?*. Foreign Affairs.

Ussama, M, 1996, *Reconstructing the Nation-State: The Modernity of Secularism in Lebanon*. Middle East Report, No. 200.

Vatikotis, P.J., 1984, *The crisis of Lebanon: A Local Historical Perspective*. The World Today.

Winslow, C, 1996, *Lebanon: War and Politics in a Fragmented Society*. Rotledge.

Zamir, M, 1988, *The formation of Modern Lebanon*. Cornell University Press

Zisser, E, 1996, *The Maronites, Lebanon, and The State of Israel: Early Contacts*. Taylor and Francis.

