CHAPTER - I
CHAPTER – 1

LEBANON: GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT

The Republic of Lebanon, with an area of 10,452 square kilometers (4,036 square miles), lies on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, with a population of just 3,925,502 (the United Nations estimates at July 2007).¹ The country has a moderate Mediterranean climate which makes its coastal plains ideal for citrus fruit growing. In between two mountain chains, Mount Lebanon, which is adjacent to the coastal plains, and Anti-Lebanon, lies the Bîqa Valley, which is noted for its grain. Lebanon is also rich in water resources, which includes two major rivers, the Litani in the south and the Orantes in the north.²

Historically, culturally and economically, Lebanon has been an integral part of the Arab world. The population is predominantly Arab Muslim and Christian. The Sunnis, Shiites and Druze comprise the Muslim sects, while the Maronites, Catholics and Eastern Orthodox comprise the major Christian sects, with the Maronites being in the majority among them.³

Culturally, it has been one of the most highly developed countries in the West Asia. It is also the most multi-sectarian state in the region. Once called the Switzerland of the West Asia, Lebanon as a result of inter-confessional tensions resulting to Civil War in 1975 was fragmented, a nation in jeopardy, and a nation in the process of collapse. However, despite periodic setbacks, Lebanon is making

---


steady progress along the road to recovery, and the ongoing peace process brings some hope for stability.⁴

1. The Ancient Lebanon

The agony of conflict which characterizes present-day Lebanon is consistent with the entire history of the country from ancient times to the present. The history of Lebanon is a long chronicle of war and destruction and of continuous domination by foreign powers. Each new conquest of the land brought Lebanon within a new sphere of influence, and each conquest devastated its people and cities.

Perhaps the primary reason for Lebanon's particular role in world history is its geographical location. Lebanon is situated at the centre of a land mass which joins three continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe. At various times in history each region has been the incubator and springboard for hordes of conquering peoples. From the west came the Greeks, Romans, and Crusaders; from the north, the Hyksos, Hittites, and Ottoman tribes; from the east, the Assyrians, Persians, and Mongols; and from the south, the Egyptians, Amorites, Arabs, and Mamluks. Smaller powers originating in these regions were the Aramaens, Philistines, Hebrews, and Seleucids. It must be appreciated that each of these peoples influenced, whether for good or for bad, Lebanese history to varying degrees. Most of the invaders coveted Lebanon's fine natural harbors and outlets to the Mediterranean, her fertile soil and large forests, and especially her strategic geographic location as a gateway between major regions of the world.⁵

---


1.1 Ancient Phoenicia: The People and Their Origins

The area now known as Lebanon first appeared in recorded history around 3000 B.C. as a group of coastal cities and a heavily forested hinterland. It was inhabited by the Canaanites, a Semitic people, whom the Greeks called “Phoenicians” because of the purple (phoinikies) dye, then the land that produces and sells purple. Nothing is known of their original homeland, though some traditions place it in the region of the Arabian Peninsula or the Persian Gulf. Phoenicia lay at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and extended from the Nahr-el-Kabir to Mountain Camel. It included the maritime plain and the adjacent portions of Jabal Nusariyeh, Mountain Lebanon, and highlands of Galilee.⁶

Being on the trade route between the Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, Phoenicia became an important center of commerce. By 1200 B.C. with the decline of Egyptian dominance, Phoenicians led the Mediterranean world in trading and seafaring. They colonized many Mediterranean areas that later became independent states, such as Carthage and Utica. These colonies and trade routes flourished until the invasion of the coastal areas by the Assyrians.⁷

1.2 Religion and Language of Phoenician

The religion of Phoenicians was inspired by the powers and processes of nature. Many of the Gods they worshipped, however, were localized and are now known only under their local names. A pantheon was presided over by the father of

---


Gods, El; Asherah of the Sea was his wife and their mother. Of his family, the goddess Astarte (Ashtart) was the principal figure.

Although the Phoenicians used cuneiform (Mesopotamian writing), they also produced a script of their own. The Phoenician traders carried their alphabet wherever they ventured. The Phoenician alphabetic script of 22 letters was used at Byblos as dearly up to the 15th century. This method of writing, later adopted by the Greeks, is the ancestor of the modern Western alphabet. It was the Phoenicians’ most remarkable and distinctive contribution to arts and civilization.

Phoenician language – Semitic language of the Northern Central (often called Northwestern) group, spoken in ancient times on the coast of Syria and Palestine in Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and neighbouring town, and in other areas of the Mediterranean colonized by Phoenicians. Phoenician is very close to Hebrew and Moabite, with which it forms a Canaanite sub-group of the Northern Central Semitic languages. The earliest Phoenician inscription deciphered dates probably from the 11th century B.C.;

---

8 El (Semitic: “god”), the chief deity of the West Semites. In the ancient texts from Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) in Syria, El (El the Bull) was described as the titular head of the pantheon husband of Asherah, and father of all the other gods (except for Baal). Although a venerable deity, he was not active in the myths, which primarily concerned his daughters and sons. He was usually represented as an old man with a long beard and, often, two wings. He was the equivalent of the Hurrian god Kumarbi and the Greek god Cronus. In the Old Testament, El was used both as a general term for “deity” and as a synonym for Yahweh.

Asherah, ancient West Semitic goddess, consort of the supreme god. Her full name was probably “She who walks in the Sea,” but she was also called “holiness,” and, occasionally, Elath, “the goddess.” According to the texts from Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra), Asherah’s consort was El, and by him she was the mother of 70 gods. As mother goddess she was widely worshipped throughout Syria and Palestine, although she was frequently paired with Baal, who often took the place of El in practical cult; as Baal’s consort, Asherah was usually given the name Baalat. The Old Testament was used not only in reference to the goddess herself but also to indicate a wooden cult object associated with her worship.


Astarte is the name of a Phoenician goddess of love and fertility as known from Northwestern Semitic regions, cognate in name, origin and functions with the goddess Ishtar in Mesopotamian texts. In Syrian art Astarte is frequently represented with two curled ram’s horns on her head. According to scholar Mark S Smith, Astarte may be the Iron Age (after 1200 BC) incarnation of the Bronze Age (to 1200 BC) Asherah.
the latest inscription from Phoenicia proper is from the 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C., when the language was already being superseded by Aramaic.\textsuperscript{10}

Aramaic replaced Phoenician as the main language and by the 4\textsuperscript{th} century Christianity was firmly established. During the early years of the Christian era, when theological differences bred numerous break-away sects, Lebanon became a refuge for religious minorities fleeing persecution.\textsuperscript{11}

1.3 Foreign Conquerors of Phoenicia-Lebanon

Beginning with the Egyptians, from 1900 to 1600 B.C., Phoenician-Lebanese history became - and remains - a long chronicle of conquering army one after another.

The following list summarizes the major eras of foreign rule over Phoenicia-Lebanon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian rule</td>
<td>1900-1600 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyksos rule</td>
<td>1600-1570 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian rule</td>
<td>1530-1400 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyrian rule</td>
<td>9\textsuperscript{th} - 6\textsuperscript{th} B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babylonian rule</td>
<td>6\textsuperscript{th} B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian rule</td>
<td>6\textsuperscript{th} - 4\textsuperscript{th} B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek and Seleucid rule</td>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} - 1\textsuperscript{st} B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman and Byzantine rule</td>
<td>64 B.C.-A.D.636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab rule</td>
<td>A.D. 636-1099.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusader rule</td>
<td>A.D. 1099-1291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian Mamluk rule</td>
<td>A.D. 1291-1516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottoman Turkish rule</td>
<td>A.D. 1516-1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French mandate</td>
<td>A.D. 1918-1941\textsuperscript{12}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{12} Philip Louis Gabriel, N.5, pp.6-7.
To be more precise, as listed above, Assyrian rule (875-608 B.C.) in particular deprived the Phoenician cities of their independence and prosperity and brought repeated, unsuccessful rebellions. By the end of the seventh century B.C., however, the Assyrian Empire was weakened by the successive revolts and ultimately destroyed by Babylonia, a new Mesopotamian power. The Achaemenids ended Babylonian rule when Cyrus, founder of the Persian Empire, captured Babylon in 539-38 B.C. and Phoenicia and its neighbours passed into Persian hands. The Phoenician navy supported Persia during the Greco-Persian War (490-49 B.C.). But when the Phoenicians were overburdened with heavy tributes imposed by the successors of Darius I (521-485 B.C.), revolts and rebellions resumed in the Lebanese coastal cities.

The Persian Empire eventually fell to Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia. He attacked Asia Minor, defeated the Persian troops in 333 B.C., and advanced toward the Lebanese coast. Despite his early death in 323 B.C., Alexander's conquest of the eastern Mediterranean basin left a Greek imprint on the area. The Phoenicians, being a cosmopolitan people amenable to outside influences, adopted aspects of Greek civilization with ease. After Alexander's death, his empire was divided among his Macedonian generals. The eastern part—Phoenicia, Asia Minor, northern Syria, and Mesopotamia—fell to Seleucus I, founder of the Seleucid dynasty.

The last century of Seleucid rule was marked by disorder and dynastic struggles. These ended in 64 B.C., when the Roman general Pompey added Syria and Lebanon to the Roman Empire. The inhabitants of the principal Phoenician cities of Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre were granted Roman citizenship. Upon the death of Theodosius I in A.D. 395, the empire was divided into two: the eastern or Byzantine part with its capital at Constantinople, and the western part with its capital at Rome.13

Phoenicia was to remain in Roman and Byzantine hands for approximately 700 years. Under Roman rule, all of the Phoenician commercial cities, including Beirut, Tyre, and Sidon, enjoyed increased prosperity and an expanded world trade. Greco-Roman culture became widespread throughout the Empire, and Phoenicia was not immune. Canaanite, the indigenous language, became virtually extinct. It had been supplanted mostly by Aramaic and Greek in a transformation which began during the earlier Hellenist period and was completed during the Roman period. Phoenicia cities enjoyed a great degree of self-rule during the first years of Roman dominance, but their rights were considerably eroded in later years.

The most significant change to take place in Phoenicia during the Roman years was the Christian conversion. Christianity, originally a Semitic religion, made inroads into Phoenicia, early and rather easily. Historians record that Tyre was the home of the first Christian community in Lebanon. The Christian of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Phoenicia, and elsewhere managed to survive years of repression by Roman authorities. Christianity existed during these difficult and oppressive times until the fourth century and became the official religion of the Byzantine Empire under Constantine the Great.\textsuperscript{14}

However, in the sixth century a series of earthquakes demolished temples, famous law schools, destroyed the city of Beirut and killing nearly 30,000 inhabitants. Heavy tributes and religious dissension produced disorder and confusion. This turbulent period weakened the empire and made it easy prey to the newly converted Muslim Arabs of Arabian Peninsula.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} Philip Louis Gabriel, N.5, pp.16-17.

\textsuperscript{15} Taru Bahl, M. H. Syed, N.11, p.49.
1.4 Lebanon in the Arab-Islamic Period

By the end of the sixth century, the Byzantine dynasty was at war with Persia, and Persia resumed and held control of the Levant for more than a decade. Byzantium managed to re-establish its authority briefly and to strengthen its grip on Phoenicia, which by then was seething with political unrest. Subsequently, in the seventh century the Arabians invaded the Fertile Crescent.\(^\text{16}\) It took the Arab Muslim a mere seven years, from 633 to 640, to defeat a Byzantine army.\(^\text{17}\) Thus, the Prophet’s successor, Caliph Abu Bakr (632-4) brought Islam to the area surrounding Lebanon.\(^\text{18}\) Most of the Phoenician cities were captured by the Arabs; Beirut was capitulated in 635, Tyre in 636, and Sidon in 636. They offered little resistance to the Arabian conquerors. The 463 years of official Muslim political rule in Lebanon can be divided into three major periods: the Umayyad, from 661 to 750; the Abbasid, from 750 to 969; and the Fatimid, from 969 to 1099.\(^\text{19}\)

\(^{16}\) **Fertile Crescent:** Crescent shaped area between the Anatolian Mountains and the Arabia Desert. The Fertile Crescent covers ancient Elam (south-western Iran), Mesopotamia (Iraq), Assyria (Syria), Phoenicia (Lebanon) and Palestine (Israel and the Palestinian entity). Sometimes the Nile valley of Egypt is included to emphasise the crescent shape. It was the cradle of ancient civilization, with irrigated agriculture going back to ca 8000 BC, and the region provided the base for the Greek and Roman civilizations.

\(^{17}\) Philip Louis Gabriel, N.5, p.17.

\(^{18}\) Taru Bahl, M. H. Syed, N.11, p.50.

\(^{19}\) Philip Louis Gabriel, N.5, pp.17-19.

**Umayyad:** A Damascus-based dynasty, founded by the Muslim general Muawiya ibn Abi-Sufyan (c.605-680), which ruled until 750, also the dynasty’s continued rule in Spain until 1030. It replaced the era of the four Medina-based Caliphs, of whom the last, Ali was murdered in 661.

**Abbasid:** Dynasty of Arab Caliphs (749-1258) descended from Abbas (d.653), uncle of Prophet Muhammad. The early years of Abbasid rule were marked by prosperity and strong government; they reached their high-water mark with the reign of the fifth Caliph Harun ar-Rashid (764-809). The dynasty was finally overthrown by Hulagu Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan, who sacked Baghdad in 1258.

**Fatimid:** (Fatimite) A dynasty of Caliph who reigned over Egypt and North Africa from A.D. 908 to A.D. 1171. They obtained the name from the pretensions of the founder of their dynasty Abu Muhammad “Ubaidu ‘llah, who asserted that he was a Sayyed, descended from Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet and Ali. There were in all fourteen Caliphs in dynasty and was overthrown in 1171 by Salahuddin. His opponents declared he was the grandson of a Jew of Magian religion.
In time, Arab influence permeated the religious, linguistic, and cultural spheres of the conquered territories, which became increasingly Islamized and Arabicized. In 14th century, Arabic had become the language of the region with only small and fragmented minorities resisting.20

To this day, the lands of North Africa and the West Asia remain overwhelmingly Arabic and Islamic. The penetration of Islam in Lebanon was a slower process than in most other parts of the Arab empire. Christians in Syria and Palestine were converted to Islam, and they adopted Arabic much earlier than the Christians of Lebanon, who did not convert until much later. Large numbers of Christians in Lebanon never converted to Islam. In fact, it was during this period in Lebanese history that Mount Lebanon became a heaven for loyal Christians and Muslim dissidents. Perhaps the most important reason that the mountain people were able to resist Muslim rule was that the terrain and cold climate of the mountains were completely unsuited to the desert-oriented Bedouin invaders from Arabia.21

During this period of Arab rule Mount Lebanon was the main ancestral home of two important religious sects – the Maronites and the Druze.

The Maronite was a sect of Christianity, who first appeared in northern Mount Lebanon in the seventh century A.D. The term ‘Maronite’ was used as early as the eighth century A.D. by John the Damascene and was derived from the reference to either the Syrian hermit Saint Maroun or Jean Maroun, the first Maronite Patriarch, who started a religious movement in Homs, Hama, and Aleppo. Whatever its origin, the term clearly referred to a Syriac group of Aramean origin that embraced the

Monothelite heresy (i.e., holding that Christ has one will but two natures) and consequently was persecuted under Emperor Justinian II. As a reaction to this persecution and also due to incursions from Muslim Arabs, between the seventh and twelfth century A.D., the Maronites increasingly retreated into Mount Lebanon. Towards the end of the twelfth century A.D., the Maronite Church abandoned its Monotheist doctrine and entered into partial communion with Rome.\textsuperscript{22}

The Druze on the other hand represented a heretical sect of Islam. An offshoot of Ismailism (which itself is splinter of Shiitism, which in turn is a major sect of Islam) the Druze or Druzes first appeared in Wadi al-Tayn in Southern Mount Lebanon. This religion sprang from the belief in the divinity of the sixth Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, Hakim (996-1020 A.D.) who declared himself to be the last incarnation of the deity. Two of his followers Hamza and Darazi (after whose name Druze are known) spread Hakim's doctrine, embellished with Ismaili philosophy, in Southern Mount Lebanon.\textsuperscript{23}

The first Crusade was proclaimed by Pope Urban II in 1095 at the Council of Clermont-Ferrand in France.\textsuperscript{24} During the Crusades, Mardites were brought from the


\textsuperscript{24} Masudul Hassan, \textit{History of Islam} v.1 (Delhi: Adam Publishers & Distributors, 1995) p.734. 

\textbf{Crusades,} under papal authority, wars waged in the Middle Age (11\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} centuries) by European Christians against the Muslims to recover the Holy Land, particularly Jerusalem. The initial impetus for the Crusades was a revival of religious fervour, as urged by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (1095); however, conquest of territory, attraction of riches, and the possibility of expanded trade with the East were also vital elements. At the end of the First Crusade (1095-1099) Jerusalem was retaken and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was established, as were the orders of the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers. The Second Crusade (1147-49), a response to the loss of Edessa (1144) to the Turks, ended in failure. The Third Crusade was an attempt to recapture Jerusalem, lost to Saladin in 1187. Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I, Richard I of England, and Philip II of France led this crusade, but were only able to achieve a 3-year truce that gave Christians access to the holy city. During the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) the Crusaders seized Constantinople. In 1212 the tragic Children's Crusade was waged. Thousands of children died of hunger or disease or were sold into slavery as they headed toward the Holy Land. The goal of the Fifth Crusade, another failure, was Egypt. There was a Sixth Crusade (1228-1229) in which another short-lived truce was arranged with the Muslims, and then 3 additional Crusades, but Muslim gain held steady. The last Christian stronghold, Akka (Acre), fell in 1291.
Amanus and Taurus mountains (in southern Turkey) to protect coastal towns from Muslim Arab attack. At the end of the Crusade period, Muslim Arabs forced these Mardites to resettle in the Mountain, where they intermingled with the Maronites.25

The Maronite community began developing from an amalgamation of Mardite and Maronite Christian refugees from areas in northern Syrian and along the Lebanese coast. These Christians were able to create for themselves a permanent sanctuary in the mountains and to resist Islam to such a degree that centuries passed before Arabic replaced Aramaic as the language of the Lebanese Christians of Mount Lebanon. To this day in Lebanon, the Christian population exerts a powerful political force, even though it is now out-numbered by its Muslim brethren. From their first appearance in Lebanon, the Maronites were destined to play an important role in the history of their country.26

Their support of the Crusaders and of Catholic and Protestant missionaries and their general identification with Western Christianity account for much of their history of conflict in Lebanon with the Druzes, and with the Lebanese Muslims.27

Under the influence of the Crusaders, Maronite relations with the Rome began to take form in the 12th century. Rome's influence also touched upon Maronite religious doctrines. It was not until 1439, however, that partial union with Rome was achieved at the Council of Florence. Full union was effected only in 1736 at the Synod of Al-Luwzayyah.28

25 Fahim I. Qubain, Crisis in Lebanon (Washington, DC: Middle East Institute, 1961) p.10.
28 Fahim I. Qubain, N.25, p.10.
While the Second Crusade was still in progress, an army of Mamluks was seizing power in Cairo. The Mamluks were destined to gain control first of Egypt and then of most of the land of the eastern Mediterranean, which they were to rule from 1250 until 1516. The same period in Lebanese history was also the time of the Mongol invasions from Central Asia, which brought widespread destruction to most of Syria and Lebanon. These were the historic conquests led by Genghis Khan. The Mongols were finally stopped by the Mamluks in Palestine and were driven from Lebanon and Syria by 1260.

For Lebanon, the Crusader and Tarrar-Mongol invasions and the Mamluks-Muslim reconquests proved devastating. It was during the Mamluk period, however, that peace once again reigned and that Beirut emerged as the center of trade and commerce in Lebanon.

29 Mamluk: meaning “A slave”, the military body of slaves who for a long time ruled Egypt. These military slaves were first organized by Malik as-Salih, who purchased many thousands of slaves from Asia, and brought them to Egypt in the 13th century. They were by him embodies into a corps of 12,000 men, but in A.D. 1254, they revolted, and killed Turan Shah, the last prince of the Aiyub dynasty. They then raised to the throne of Egypt al-Mu’izz, who was himself a Turko-man slave. The Mamluks continued the ruling power in Egypt till A.D. 1517, when Salim I defeated them and put to death Tumaun Bey, the last of the Mamluk dynasty. They were, however, maintained in Egypt as a military aristocracy, and were a powerful body at the time of the French invasion. Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt destroyed their power and influence by murdering many of them in A.D. 1811.

30 Genghis Khan (pronounced Chinggis Khaan, c. 1162–1227), born Temüjin (meaning "ironworker"), was the Mongol founder, Khan (ruler) and posthumously declared Khagan (emperor) of the Mongol Empire, the largest contiguous empire in history. He came to power by uniting many of the nomadic tribes of northeast Asia. After founding the Mongol Empire and being proclaimed "Genghis Khan", he started the Mongol invasions and raids of Kara-Khitan Khanate, Caucasus, Khwarezmid Empire, Western Xia and Jin Dynasty. During his life, the Mongol Empire eventually occupied a substantial portion of Central Asia. Before Genghis Khan died, he assigned Ogedei Khan as his successor and split his empire into khanates among his sons and grandsons. He died in 1227 after defeating the Tanguts. He was buried in an unmarked grave somewhere in Mongolia at a location unknown. His descendants went on to stretch the Mongol Empire across most of Eurasia by conquering and/or creating vassals out of all of modern-day China, Korea, the Caucasus, the Central Asian countries, and substantial portions of modern Eastern Europe and the West Asia. "The greatest happiness is to vanquish your enemies, to chase them before you, to rob them of their wealth, to see those dear to them bathed in tears, to clasp to your bosom their wives and daughters"- Genghis Khan

2. Lebanon under the Ottoman Empire

During Mamluk rule (1291-1516), there witnessed repeated local uprisings, which were suppressed by the Mamluks: for example, the great insurrections of the Druzes and Shiites in Lebanon at the thirteenth century. The period was one of economic decline, partly because of war and unrest, and partly because of the geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century, which changed the course of the world’s great trade routes; but there was still a certain trade with Europe, carried on by Italian merchants. To the economic weakness of the country, Syria and Lebanon, was added the decay of Mamluk rule; and when the Ottoman Turks attacked Syria in 1516 they conquered it without difficulty. \(^{32}\) From 1516 until 1918, Syria remained under Ottoman rule which included much of central Europe, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, part of the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa. The country was divided into several Pashaliks, those of Damascus, Aleppo and Tripoli, and later of Saida; but often the authority of the Pashas was only effective in and around the great towns in which garrisons were stationed. Men gave formal reverence to the Sultan, who had also arrogated to himself the title of Caliph or head of the Islamic community; but the limits of his Government’s action were narrow. In practice customary law was supreme, and social power was in the hands of the feudal lords, on

---

\(^{32}\) Ottoman Empire, vast empire of the Ottoman Turks that at its height, during the reign of Sultan Suleyman I, stretched from the far shore of the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf in the east to Budapest in the north and Algiers in the west. The Ottoman Turks, led by Osman I, entered Asia Minor in the late 1200s and, expanding rapidly, made Busra their capital in 1326. They crossed to the Balkan Peninsula (1345), and in 1453 Constantinople fell to Muhammad II. The empire continued to expand in the 16th century under Selim I, the Terrible (1512-1520), and reached its zenith under Suleyman I. However, Suleyman failed to capture Vienna (1529) and was driven back to Malta (1565). Directly after his death, the Ottoman fleet was annihilated at the naval battle of Lepanto (1571). During the 1700s and 1800s the decaying empire fought against Russia, and Greece won its independence. The reformist Young Turk movement led the empire into World War I on the German side, with disastrous results. The nationalists, led by Mustafa Kamal Ataturk, deposed and exiled the last Sultan, Muhammad, and proclaimed the Turkish Republic in 1922.
whom the Ottoman rulers, like their predecessors, mainly relied for the maintenance of local order and the collection of taxes.33

2.1 The Maans (1120-1697)

When Ottoman sultan Selim-I defeated the Mamluks (rulers of Syria and Egypt) in Syria in 1516, Lebanon came under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire, which established its capital at Istanbul.34 By this time, Feudalism was firmly established in the Mountain and the political policy of the Turks in Lebanon was similar to that of the Mamluks in that it gave a certain degree of autonomy to the local emirs, or lords i.e. Fakhr al Din-I from the Maan family.35 (See Map No.1)

The power of the Maan reached its zenith under Fakhr al Din-II (ruled 1586-1635), the grandson of emir Fakhr al Din-I, who controlled all of Lebanon and parts of northern Palestine and northwestern Syria around the end of the sixteenth century. Fakhr al Din-II was able to unite the Mountain with the Chouf (south-east of Beirut, comprises a narrow coastal strip, the valleys and mountains of the western slopes) into the ‘Emirate of Mount Lebanon’. During his reign the Ottomans did not interfere much in the internal affairs of the emirate, since they regarded it as a ‘tax farm’. Fakhr al Din-II is famous for his unsuccessful attempt to break away from Ottoman rule by signing treaties with European powers and attempting to create a greater Lebanon. He and his son were, however, ultimately defeated and executed in Constantinople by the Turks in February 1635. Because of his deeds he is considered to be the first hero of


34 Philip Louis Gabriel, N.5, p.25.


The Maan family, under orders from the governor of Damascus, came to Lebanon in 1120 to defend it against the invading Crusaders. They settled on the southwestern slopes of the Lebanon Mountains and soon adopted the religion. Their authority began to raise with Fakhr al Din I, who was permitted by Ottoman authorities to organize his own army, and reached its peak with Fakhr al Din II (1570-1635).
the modern Lebanese independent movement and is usually thought of as the “Father of modern Lebanon.”

During Fakhr al Din-II’s rule, the influence of the West in Lebanon expanded considerably, particularly throughout the Maronite community. Catholic missionary schools were established in Lebanon by France during the period as part of France’s now infamous “civilizing mission.” The Maronites were also drawing closer to Rome. The ties between the Maronites and the Christian West were based primarily on religion; the Lebanese Christian communities on doubt viewed themselves as small enclaves in a vast world of Islam. To a lesser extent, Maronite contacts with the West were also of a commercial nature since it was they who controlled Lebanon’s lucrative silk industry and, therefore, the large silk trade with Europe.36

Although Fakhr al Din-II failed to keep it, his expression of independence for Lebanon lived on.37 The independent Greater Lebanon which he envisaged and for which he labored was attempted again by another emir, Bashir Shihab-II (1788-1840), but was not fully realized until 1943.38

The departure of Fakhr al Din-II from Lebanon did not end the Maanid line. The emir who followed was Mulhim Maan, a nephew of Fakhr al Din-II, gained control of the Chouf and, by 1658, had added the districts of Batrun and Safad to his domain. Ahmad Maan, the emir Mulhim’s son, succeeded his father in 1667. During his last years, Ahmad Maan, the emir was virtually a prisoner in his own palace and died in 1697, without leaving a male descendant.39


39 Charles Winslow, N.37, p.18.
2.2 The Shihabs (1697-1842)

The Shihabs, who in 1697 succeeded the Maans, trace their pedigree to one of the noblest Arabian tribes, the Quraysh. They originally lived in the Hawran region of southwestern Syria and settled in Wadi at Taim in southern Lebanon. Bashir Shihab-I was elected governor in 1697 by the council of emirs, (landlords) after the last of the Maans died childless.

The house of Shihab achieved the apex of its power under Bashir Shihab-II (1788-1840), who was a baptized Maronite. The destruction of feudal privileges reached its climax under the forceful and ambitious emir Bashir Shihab-II, who succeeded in establishing a firm control over and expanded Shihab realm and ruled it in the manner of an enlightened despot.

In 1810 he helped the Ottomans to repel an invasion by the Wahhabi power of Arabia; but in 1831, he sided openly with Muhammad Ali of Egypt, when that ruler invaded Syria. Bashir-II was interested in getting rid of Ottoman influence over the

---

40 Philip K. Hitti, N.38, p.731.
41 Taru Bahl, M. H. Syed, N.11, p.54.

The Wahhabite movement is both religious and political. The founder of the Wahhabite sect was Mohammad Abd al-Wahhab (1703-87), who after his religious and legal studies at Baghdad returned to Arabia to preach a Muslim Puritanism and a revival of the simplicity of early Islam. Abd al-Wahhab insisted that the Koran was the only source of authority; he preached against the adoration of Muslim saints and against the decoration of their tombs by the pilgrims to Mecca and Medina; he assailed the superstitions and miracles which had, like barnacles, attached themselves to Islamic monotheism; and he insisted on a return to the simple and penurious life of the early Muslim leaders. Among Wahhab's early converts was Emir Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, one of the important local princes of central Arabia.

Wahhabism supported by the political power of Ibn Saud and under the inspired leadership of Wahhab spread between 1770 and 1800 from the Nejd in central Arabia to a considerable portion of the peninsula. With armed forces composed of Wahhabite peasants and nomads Ibn Saud in the first decade of the new century raided the Ottoman vilayats of Syria and Baghdad, captured the Holy Cities of the Hejaz and interrupted the annual Haj (Muslim pilgrimage) to Mecca and Medina. In 1811 Mohammad Ali, Pasha of Egypt, decided to give heed to the Sultan's commands and began to prepare an expedition to Arabia in 1812. By 1818, Mohammad Ali's son, Ibrahim Pasha, captured Daraiya, Ibn Saud's capital in the Nejd, and destroyed the political power of the Wahhabis in Arabia. A little more than hundred years later Ibn Saud as leader of the Wahhabis captured Mecca and Medina, created the
emirate, which he thought Ibrahim Pasha would aid him in doing. The Church also found it propitious to ally with Egypt to get rid of the Ottomans and their allies, the Druze lords.\(^44\)

Holding Lebanon as the vassal of Egypt, he was compelled, however, to apply to the 'Mountain' the unpopular policy imposed by Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Muhammad Ali with the result that a revolt broke out, which, after the Egyptian withdrawal of 1840.\(^45\) The involvement of Bashir-II in the struggle between Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt (backed by the French), and the Ottomans (backed by the British), brought about his downfall in 1840.\(^46\)

The Ottoman wanted to centralize the political machine in the emirate so that they could control it. To this end, they agreed with the European powers to oust Bashir-II and appoint Bashir Qasim Shihab (Bashir-III) as ruler of the emirate. To further their interests in the emirate, the Europeans recognized the Maronite patriarch as the representative of his people and began to deal with him accordingly.\(^47\)

Unlike the Christians, the Druses did not prosper during the Egyptian occupation, and this was also a cause for resentment towards Christians on the part of Druses. As tension built between them, the Maronites began to actively seek the support of France, while the Druses began looking to British and the Ottoman authorities for assistance. In the meantime, the Turkish, or Ottoman authorities were busy provoking religious strife among the mountain people in order that they might

---

\(^44\) B. J. Odeh, N.35, p.33.

\(^45\) Joanne Maher, ed., N.20, p.683.

\(^46\) Michael Curtis, ed., N.42, p.218.

\(^47\) B. J. Odeh, N.35, p.34.
strengthen their control over the area by weakening the ability of the mountain population to govern itself. Civil strife was an inevitable result of all these factors. The initial outbreak of violence between Maronites and Druzes occurred on October 25, 1841. After the first clash, France, England, Austria, Prussia and Russia pressured the Turks into intervening in the growing crisis.\textsuperscript{48}

\textbf{2.3 Double Qaimaqamate 1842-58}

In 1842, the Ottoman replaced Bashir-III with an Ottoman ruler. Displeased with this alternative, the European powers intervened and called for a new arrangement within which they could exert more influence in Lebanon. In 1843, they initiated the two-governorate system, then known as Mount Lebanon. This comprised a northern governorate which was predominantly Maronite and a southern governorate with Druze lords but mostly Christian peasantry.\textsuperscript{49} This arrangement came to be known as the Double Qaimaqamate. (See Map No.2) Both officials were to be responsible to the governor of Sidon, who resided in Beirut. The rest of Lebanon, such as the coast and the Biqa Valley, was placed under the direct control of the Ottoman authorities. The Beirut-Damascus highway was the dividing line between the two districts.\textsuperscript{50}

This partition of Lebanon proved to be a mistake. Animosities between the religious sects increased and nurtured by outside powers. The French, for example, supported the Christians, while the British supported the Druzes, and the Ottomans fomented strife to increase their control. Not surprisingly, these tensions led to


\textsuperscript{50} Malise Ruthven, N.23, p.216.
conflict between Christians and Druzes as early as May 1845. Consequently, the European powers requested that the Ottoman sultan may establish order in Lebanon, and he attempted to do so by establishing a Majlis (council) in each of the districts. Each Majlis was composed of members who represented the different religious communities and was intended to assist the deputy governor.51

2.4 Government of Mount Lebanon (Mutassarrifiyya) 1860-1915

The 1840s witnessed the end of the principality, the cantonization of Mount Lebanon and the establishment of the first confessional-based councils as governing bodies. And by 1858, a revolt by Maronite peasants against their Druze lords was spreading throughout northern Lebanon.52

This era of sectarian and class struggle, two decades of intermittent civil war between peasants and feudal chiefs and between Maronites and Druses, culminated with the massacres of Lebanese and Syrian Christians in 1860. Better armed, better organized, more disciplined, and with significantly more competent leaders than the Christians, the Druzes were able to wreak havoc on their foes for four bloody months.53

At this point of time, which witnessed the death of around 15,000-30,000 Christians and many were homeless in Levant in 1860 that Britain, France, and other powers agreed to send 12,000 troops to bring an end to the conflict, which had also spread to Damascus. When, however, 7,000 French troops landed in Lebanon, the Ottoman ruler Fuad Pasha was already in full control of the situation. He had already clamped down on those directly responsible for the massacres.

53 Philip Louis Gabriel, N.5, p.32.
As a subsequent development in the autumn of 1860, an international commission met to negotiate an agreement for the political reorganization of Lebanon. The commission represented Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia (later Germany) and Sardinia (later Italy), and was presided over by Fuad Pasha, who represented Ottoman interests. Eight months after its first meeting on 5 October 1860, on 9 June 1861, the commission reached an agreement, 'the Reglement Organique', comprising 17 articles, and amended on September 6, 1864. This accord established the Mutassarriyya (governorate) system that unite Lebanon (the two governorates) under an Ottoman ruler and abolished feudalism in the Mountain. (See Map No.3)

Under the new Ottoman administration, which lasted until 1915, Lebanon was divided into six (later seven) districts according to the distribution of different religions in the population. The appointment of Mutassarif (governor) by the Ottoman Sultan was subject to the approval of the European powers. The designate Ottoman governor (the Mutassarif) was always a non-Lebanese Christian and an Ottoman subject. He used to receive support by a central administrative council of twelve and locally recruited police force, civil service and gendarmerie. The whole arrangement was to be under European power protection. This council was to be made up of four Maronites, three Druses, two Greek Orthodox, one Shiite, one Sunni (both

---

[54] 'The Reglement Organique' Agreement:
(1) provided the Mountain with a distinctive and separate status within the Ottoman system;
(2) specified that the jurisdiction would have a Christian governor (mutassarif) whose authority was largely independent of the Ottoman;
(3) created an Administrative Council to apportion taxation and supervise in spending the revenue that was raised;
(4) give the Council a consultative role in the Governor’s employment of Ottoman troops;
(5) divided the country into six districts, each with its own mudir (director) and council, appointed by the Governor in consultation with local leaders;
(6) and (where possible) further divided each district into smaller sectarian cantons which were, in turn, further subdivided by an elected into village communes of approximately 500 persons, each headed by an elected sheikh. In the mixed areas, this official represented only those from his own sect.
(Charles Winslow, N.37, p.41).

Muslim sects) and one Greek Catholic.\textsuperscript{56} The Mutassarrifiyya (governorate) used to comprise Mount Lebanon with the exclusion of Tripoli, Beirut, and Sidon and the valley of the Biqa (the fertile alluvial plain between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon).\textsuperscript{57}

The government of the mountain maintained its own judiciary and preserved order by a local militia.

Da‘ud Effendi Pasha, an Armenian by birth, Roman Catholic by persuasion, director of the telegraph at Constantinople and author of a French work on Anglo-Saxon laws, was appointed as the first governor.\textsuperscript{58} In a speech to the notables of Lebanon, he used the following illustration:

A doctor fell sick, and called in a fellow physician and said to him “We are three, you, I, and the disease. If you help me, we will conquer the disease. If you help the disease you will conquer me.” So we in Lebanon are three; you, the people, I, the ruler, and the traditional animosity of races in Lebanon. Help me and we shall conquer it. Help it, and you will ruin me and yourselves together.

However, a number of Mutassarifis (governors) ruled the country efficiently and conscientiously until Ohannes Koyoumjian Pasha (1912-5), the last in the series and like the first an Armenian, was replaced in August 1915 by a Turkish. Direct Turkish rule continued till the end of the World War I.\textsuperscript{59}


\textsuperscript{57} Michael Curtis, ed., N.42, p.219.

\textsuperscript{58} List of Governors (Mutasarrifates) of the Mount Lebanon (1861-1915):

1. Da‘ud Effendi Pasha 1861-1868
2. Nasri Franco 1868-1873
3. Rustem 1873-1883
4. Wasah Pasha 1883-1892
5. Na‘um Pasha 1892-1902
6. Muzaffar Pasha 1902-1907
7. Yusuf Franco 1907-1912
8. Ohannes Koyoumjian Pasha 1912-1915

3. Lebanon after World War I

The end of World War I witnessed major changes in West Asian geopolitical configuration. Having been the recipient of series of agreements and treaties such as the Sykes-Picot agreement, Balfour Declaration, and Sherif Hussein-McMahon correspondence, the region underwent many changes. In effect, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire opened the opportunity to the nations of the West Asia, and more precisely to its nationalist movements, to attempt to achieve their historical goals.\textsuperscript{60}

3.1 World War I

The outbreak of World War I in August 1914 brought for Lebanon further problems, when Turkey entered the War as an ally of Germany and Austria-Hungary (Central Powers) and found themselves at war with Britain, which had been their major prop throughout most of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{61} Ottoman authorities used the opportunity to occupy Lebanon and Syria and to exercise direct rule over them and appointed Jamal Pasha, the minister of the navy, as the commander in chief of the Turkish forces in Syria, with discretionary powers.\textsuperscript{62} The next year, they suspended the Mutassarrifiyya, the privileges which Lebanon had enjoyed since 1861, and recalled the Armenian Mutassarif, Ohannes Pasha, to Istanbul, annulling the Reglement and abolishing the Administrative Council. Jamal Pasha then subsequently

\textsuperscript{60} Walid Phares, N.21, p.65.

\textsuperscript{61} World War I, also called First World War, or Great War an international conflict that in 1914–18 embroiled most of the nations of Europe along with Russia, the United States, the Middle East, and other regions. The war pitted the Central Powers—mainly Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey—against the Allies—mainly France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Japan, and, from 1917, the United States. It ended with the defeat of the Central Powers. The war was virtually unprecedented in the slaughter, carnage, and destruction it caused. World War I was one of the great watersheds of 20th-century geopolitical history. It led to the fall of four great imperial dynasties (in Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey), resulted in the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and, in its destabilization of European society, laid the groundwork for World War II.

\textsuperscript{62} Nicola A. Ziadeh, Syria and Lebanon (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957) p.46.
appointed Muslim Governors for Lebanese: Ali Munif Pasha (1915-17), Isma'il Haqqi Pasha (1917-18), and Mumtaz Pasha (July-September 1918).^53

In February 1915, frustrated by his unsuccessful attack on the British forces protecting the Suez Canal, Jamal Pasha initiated a blockade of the entire eastern Mediterranean coast to prevent supplies from reaching his enemies and indirectly caused thousands of deaths from widespread famine and plagues. Lebanon suffered as much as, or more than, any other Ottoman province.64 The blockage deprived the country of its tourists and summer visitors, and remittances from relatives and friends were lost or delayed for months. The Turkish army cut down trees for wood to fuel trains or for military purposes.65

In 1916, Turkish authorities publicly executed twenty-one Syrians and Lebanese in Damascus and Beirut, respectively, for their alleged anti-Turkish activities, in other words, 'Arab Nationalism'.66 The date, i.e. May 6, is commemorated annually in both countries as 'Martyrs' Day,' and the site in Beirut has come to be known as Martyrs' Square.67

---

^53 Charles Winslow, N.37, p.54.


66 Arab Nationalist: Thus, in Arab nationalist historical theory, Arab history came to be depicted as passing through four different phases:
(1) A pre-Islamic phase when the history of the Arabs was still parochial, although their potential for subsequent greatness was already discernible.
(2) A phase of unity, power and glory, which began with the rise and expansion of Islam under Arab leadership, and ended with the extinction of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad.
(3) An age of degeneration when the Arabs fell under Turkish or Persian rule and were politically and culturally dormant.
(4) An age of national reawakening (called 'asr al-nahdah) which began in the nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth, pointing the way to the future.
(Kamal S. Salibi, N.27, pp.211-212).

Relief came, however, by September 1918 after the Allied powers defeated the Turkish army in the Middle East (henceforth will be referred as West Asia) and occupied all the Arab provinces formerly under Ottoman rule. Emir Faisal-I, the son of Sherif Hussein, helped the British army, led by General Edmund Allenby, in defeating the Turks in Palestine and Syria. The British subsequently permitted the establishment of an Arab government in Damascus under Faisal.

Between 1918 and 1920 the Lebanese Christians, particularly the Maronites, which by then were a large, well-established community, feared that in the political restructuring that would take place, Lebanon would be incorporated into a Pan-Arab Islamic state in which they would lose their autonomy which they enjoyed under the Ottomans. Moreover, the Lebanese Christians, particularly the Maronites, demanded an independent state in Lebanon and they were supported by France, whose colonial ambitions were seriously threatened by Arab national aims. During 1919, therefore, various Maronite delegations, including one led by the Maronite Patriarch Elias Botrus al-Howeik, himself traveled to Paris and Versailles to plead for the creation of a separate state for themselves under French supervision.

Daud Ammun, the president of the Administrative Council of Mount Lebanon, appeared on 13 February 1919 before the Supreme Council of the Allies to demand the independence of Lebanon and the extension of its territories to its ‘historical’ and ‘natural’ frontiers. As Ammun puts it,

---

68 Hussein had four sons: Ali, Abdullah, Faisal, and Zayd. Ali succeeded his father in 1924 as second king of Hejaz, but he abdicated the following year. Abdullah became king of Transjordan (subsequently Jordan), and Faisal became king of Iraq as Faisal I.


“The territories within the said frontiers are necessary to our existence. Without them, neither commerce nor agriculture is possible for us and our population is bound to migrate. The mere closing of our frontiers by administrative measures would drive us, as has happened during the War, to actual starvation.”

The Muslims of Syria at whose expense Mount Lebanon was sought to be enlarged, however, were resolutely opposed to the Christian demand. Nationalist sentiments among them were running high. However, Emir Faisal, son of Sherif Hussein of Mecca who was also the Britain’s war time ally, attempted to extend his authority over Mount Lebanon and over the Lebanese coast as well, by setting up an Arab government in Damascus. Syrian nationalists wanted complete independence of geographical Syria, on the basis of British war time pledges to Sherif Hussein contained in the Sherif Hussein-McMahan correspondence in 1915 and 1916.

But the British had concurrently concluded secret Sykes-Picot Agreement with France for dividing geographical Syria among themselves after the culmination of war. Very soon, therefore, General Henry H. Allenby along with the French forces

---

72 Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills, eds., N.26, p.150.

73 The Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, the entry of the Ottoman Empire into World War I on the side of the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary), the British Government and its allies encouraged the Arabs revolt against the Turks. To this end, they gave them several pledges to recognize their independence from Ottoman at the end of the war. The correspondence exchanged in 1915 and 1916 between the British High Commissioner in Cairo, McMahon, and the Sherif of Mecca, Hussein (published in full in 1938 and in the official English version in 1939). From these letters Hussein appeared to believe that he had reached a precise understanding with Great Britain on the formation of a unified Arab state comprising the whole zone of the Fertile Crescent and the Arabian Peninsula, that is in all the Arab lands of the dissolving Ottoman Empire. His original demands were even wider: he wanted to include such areas of somewhat doubtful ‘Arabness’ as the Turkish provinces of Mersin and Adana, but McMahon induced him to drop this idea. He also made special conditions with regard to the coastal zone of Syria (that is, the Lebanon) as being of particular interest to France, and on Iraq (provinces of Baghdad and Basrah) where British interests were involved; while rejecting all Anglo-French claims in principle, Hussein consented to discuss these conditions later.

74 Sykes-Picot Agreement (May 9, 1916), secret convention made during World War I between Great Britain and France, with the assent of imperial Russia, for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The agreement led to the division of Turkish-held Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Palestine into various French- and British-administered areas. The agreement took its name from its negotiators, Sir Mark Sykes of Britain and Georges Picot of France. Its provisions were as follows:

1. Russia should acquire the Armenian provinces of Erzurum, Trebizond (Trabzon), Van, and Bitlis, with some Kurdish territory to the southeast;
moved into Lebanon, replaced the Arab administration in Beirut and set up a
temporary military administration over the region. Syrian nationalists vigorously
protested this division of Syria and the imposition of British and French control.\footnote{26}

3.2 The French Mandate 1920

After war, two trips to London and Paris with respect to the peace settlement,
Emir Faisal belatedly discerned his naiveté in accepting wartime commitments at face
value. Learning at first hand, the unreliability of Western diplomats, he became the
personal victim of slippery French diplomacy and astute British imperialism. The
Arabs desired independence, and the Allied Powers would not grant it as League of
Nations imposed mandate.\footnote{26}

On March 8, 1920 ‘General Syrian Congress’ of nationalists had proclaimed
an independent kingdom of Greater Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine, with

\begin{itemize}
\item[2.] France should acquire Lebanon and the Syrian littoral, Adana, Cilicia, and the hinterland
adjacent to Russia’s share, that hinterland including Aintab, Urfa, Mardin, Dîyarbakır, and
Mosul;
\item[3.] Great Britain should acquire southern Mesopotamia, including Baghdad, and also the
Mediterranean ports of Haifa and Akka (Acre);
\item[4.] between the French and the British acquisitions there should be a confederation of Arab states
or a single independent Arab state, divided into French and British spheres of influence;
\item[5.] Alexandretta (Iskenderun) should be a free port; and (6) Palestine, because of the holy places,
should be under an international regime.
\end{itemize}

This secret arrangement conflicted in the first place with pledges already given by the British to the
Hashimite dynast Husayn ibn Ali, sharif of Mecca, who was about to bring the Arabs of the Hejaz into
revolt against the Turks on the understanding that the Arabs would eventually receive a much more
important share of the fruits of victory. It also excited the ambitions of Italy, to whom it was
communicated in August 1916, after the Italian declaration of war against Germany, with the result that
it had to be supplemented, in April 1917, by the Agreement of Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, whereby
Great Britain and France promised southern and southwestern Anatolia to Italy. The defection of
Russia from the war canceled the Russian aspect of the Sykes-Picot Agreement; and the Turkish
Nationalists’ victories after the military collapse of the Ottoman Empire led to the gradual abandonment
of its projects for Anatolia. The Arabs, however, who had learned of the Sykes-Picot Agreement
through the publication of it, together with other secret treaties of imperial Russia, by the Soviet
Russian government late in 1917, were scandalized by it; and their resentment persisted despite the
modification of its arrangements for the Arab countries by the Allies’ Conference of San Remo in April
1920.

\footnote{25} Michael Curtis, ed., N.42, p.220.

\footnote{26} Redhey Shyam Chaurasia, \textit{History of Middle East} (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors,
Faisal as king. The prominent members of the Christian community swore allegiance to him; and even the Muslims on Lebanon's Administrative Council came to Damascus to pay him homage.

One month later, the granting of the mandate over Syria and Lebanon to France at the San Remo Conference in April 24, 1920 was an official recognition of France's long-standing ties with the Levant. The French now had legal authority to deal with the unfriendly Arab administration in the interior, whose troops had unofficially attacked French military positions near the demarcations-line between the two zones, while the Arab authorities carried anti-French propaganda, and obstructed French commerce; the French in their turn were not guilt less of counter-provocation.

In July 1920, General Henri Joseph Eugene Gouraud sent Faisal an ultimatum for the unqualified acceptance of the French mandate for the whole country. While Faisal was attempting to negotiate, there were armed clashes between his troops and the French.

However, Emir Faisal's negotiation with French failed. On July 24, a small band of Faisal's forces met the French army at Maysalun Pass and, after a six-hour battle, were thrown back in disarray. In August 7, General Henri Joseph Eugene Gouraud entered Damascus and raised the French Tricolor. After a few additional

---


78 Charles Winslow, N.37, p.58.

79 Meir Zamir, N.70, p.38.

**Levant**: (French: derivative of lever, to rise, as applied to, say, sunrise). Historically, the term was applied to the lands along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Subsequent to the French mandate of Syria and Lebanon in 1920, these countries were called the Levant State. Today the term Levant applies to the independent states of Syria and Lebanon.

80 George E. Kirk, N.77, p.163.

attempts to reach an accord with the French, Emir left Syria for Italy and, finally, moved on to Baghdad where, in 1921, the British installed him as King of Iraq.\(^\text{82}\)

Evoking the historical memory of the Crusades, General Henri Gouraud dramatically enacted the role of faithful protector in 1920 when he visited the famous tomb of Saladin outside the Umayyad Mosque soon after arriving in Damascus. On reaching the tomb he is supposed to have knocked on the door and said to its inmate, "Listen, Saladin, we have returned!" The French saw themselves as the political midwife for the creation of a Maronite-dominated state and its ultimate guarantor.\(^\text{83}\)

Despite, the position of France in Syria and Lebanon was not a happy one. Although, the Supreme Allied Council in April 1920 at the Conference of San Remo had awarded the mandate for Syria and Lebanon to France, the French were obliged to secure control of Syria by military operations against the Syrians. After the capture of Aleppo and Damascus in July 1920, the French ruled Syria and Lebanon quite arbitrarily for more than three years before the mandate of the League of Nations became effective legally on September 29, 1923.\(^\text{84}\) (See Map No.4)

3.3 The Greater Lebanon

The World War I (1914-18) led to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the military occupation of its Syrian provinces by British and French troop. After the end of the war, the League of Nations (fore-runner of the United Nations) decreed that

---

\(^\text{82}\) Charles Winslow, N.37, p.38.


Greater Syrian was to be partitioned into two French mandate, Lebanon and Syria, in order to prepare them for self-government and eventual independence.  

General Henri Joseph Eugene Gouraud, now the French High Commissioner in Lebanon (who was also commander-in-chief of the armed forces in Syria and Lebanon), proclaimed on September 1, 1920, for the establishment of state of Greater Lebanon (Le Grand Liban) with Beirut as its capital. The boundaries of this new state which coincide with those of contemporary Lebanon, diverged considerably from the portion of the Ottoman Empire that had constituted the area previously referred to as Lebanon. The annexed areas to the Mount Lebanon consisted of the former autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire largely consisting of the Christian population, constituting in the districts of Akkar in the north, the fertile Biqa Valley in the east, the country areas of Jabal Amel in the south up to the Palestine border, as well as the coastal towns and city-ports of Tripoli,

---

85 B. V. Rao, History of Asia: From Early Times to A.D. 2000 (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd., 2001) p.419-420. Britain, France’s chief European rival and the world’s leading industrial power, was not idle in the race to extend its commercial and political influence abroad. By the end of the nineteenth century, British foreign policy led to direct intervention in and control of vast territories inhabited wholly or by significantly large populations of Muslims in West and East Africa, Egypt and Sudan, Aden and the Trucial States of Arab/Persian Gulf, India, and north Borneo and Malaya in southeast Asia. Anglo-French rivalry was extended in the immediate aftermath of the World War I to the two counties dividing the remnants of the now defunct Ottoman Empire between them. The League of Nations (forerunner of the United Nations), founded and dominated by the Western nations which had emerged victorious from the war against Germany and its Ottoman ally, granted France a mandate over Syria and Lebanon, while Palestine and Iraq were mandated to Britain. Although Britain and France were the major beneficiaries of this global political politico-economic carve-up, especially as it affected Muslim areas, other Europeans, for example the Dutch, Belgians, Germans, Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese were actively involved as well. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the only significant Muslim territories to have escaped direct European political domination were Turkey (the core of the old Ottoman Empire), Iran, Afghanistan, the Yemen, and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in Arabia. (David Waines, An Introduction to Islam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) pp.215-216).

86 In 1914 the Ottoman Arab East had been divided into three provinces (Aleppo, Suriyya and Beirut) and three special districts (Lebanon, Dair az-Zur and Jerusalem).
Sidon (Saida), Tyre and Beirut. Precisely, the area that constitute to the present-day Lebanon. (See Map No.5)

France’s decision in 1920 tripled Lebanon’s land area and increased its population by half from 400,000 to 600,000. More critical still, the residents of the annexed areas differed significantly, particularly in terms of religion, from those of the core area. The former state, consisting principally of the area of Mount Lebanon, was composed primarily of Maronite and Greek Orthodox Christians and Druze, while most of the residents of the annexed areas were Shiite and Sunni Muslims. (See Map No.6) Given the social, economic, and political significance of religious identity in the area, this new configuration had enormous import for the viability of the enlarged state.

In the new republic, the French ensured that the Maronite Christians, who had sought French protection against their Ottoman rulers as early as the 17th century, formed the largest religious community and would therefore dominate the new state politically and economically. Yet the enlargement of the Lebanon incorporated into the large numbers of Muslims and Christians who would have preferred to remain part of Syria and who were deeply attached to the Arab world.

Many of these people had little allegiance to their new country and, like their Syrian neighbours, deeply resent what the French had done. Muslim opinion was divided between those who wished to see Lebanon reunited with the Arab world and

---

87 Hussein Sirriyeh, N.52, p.3.
88 Robin Fedden, N.22, pp.250-251.
those who wished to build a new Lebanon in partnership with their Christian compatriots.

The Maronites were also divided between those who felt that Lebanon should not turn its back on Arab world, and those who regarded Lebanon as a Christian homeland belonging to the same Mediterranean world as France. The latter regarded the Muslims as potential danger to what they believed to be the ‘Christian’ state of Lebanon.91

3.4 The Pre-constitutional Period: 1920-1926

The period between 1920 and 1926 witnessed a clear difference between Muslim and Christian attitudes toward the establishment of the new entity. Ideologically, the debate was essentially between the supporters of Arab nationalism and the promoters of modern Lebanese nationalism. The question at hand was double fold; whether or not Lebanon should be an independent state, separate from the Syrian-Arab hinterland, and what should be its relations with the French under the mandate.92

The Greek Catholics concurred with the Maronites and consequently were pro-French and favored the creation of Greater Lebanon. In contrast, the Greek Orthodox held diverse views and were less sure of their stand. Compared to the other Christian communities, the Greek Orthodox were more pan-Arab in orientation and many of them supported the Sunni position. The anti-French and anti-Maronite sentiments of most Greek Orthodox reinforced this predilection. Yet, many Greek Orthodox were not anxious to be swallowed up in an overwhelmingly Sunni state. The Druze tended to share the ambivalence of the Greek Orthodox although, like the


92 Walid Phares, N.21, p.77.
Greek Orthodox, they inclined towards the Sunni point of view. Likewise, the Shiites tended to be pro-Syrian, anti-Greater Lebanon, and anti-French, but not so uniformly or emotionally as the Sunnis.\textsuperscript{93}

Since the annexation by the French of four provinces (Beirut, Biqa, Akkar, and Jabal-Amel) to Mount Lebanon, the Muslim population of these areas resisted integration to the new state. Despite, the Declaration of Greater Lebanon on September 1, 1920, and the establishment of a local Lebanese administration under the auspices of the French mandate, most of the Muslim leadership boycotted the French-backed bureaucracy. Kamal Salibi wrote:

> When in 1920, the Lebanese territory was enlarged in order to include the regions of the littoral and the inland adjacent to Mount Lebanon, the Muslim majority of the annexed regions opposed this annexation and refused to accept it as a final arrangement.\textsuperscript{94}

The traditional Sunni political families, however, remained attached to the mainstream Syrian movement, fundamentally opposed to French rule and the Christians who they felt were their “local Christian surrogates.” By opposing the new realities, the Muslim political forces did not contribute to the internationally recognized entity and remained excluded from the buildup of the new state.\textsuperscript{95}

Faced with this new State, into which they had been thrust against their will, Islamic Communities at first reacted with an attitude of total refusal: this rejection of the new entity took on three main forms. Firstly, boycott: many Muslims refused to have the word “Lebanese” stamped on their identity cards and the mandatory authority was obliged to leave their nationality blank. Many boycotted the 1921


\textsuperscript{95} Walid Phares, N.21, pp.77-78.
census and the 1922 and 1925 elections which were designed to ensure representation of the communities at the legislative council of the Greater Lebanon. They also refused, using religious and civil notables as their spokesmen, particularly in Beirut, Tripoli, Saida and Baalbeck, to take part in the preparatory consultations in 1926 for the organic statute (constitution) of the new State. Finally many notables and learned young Muslims refused the positions offered to them in the new administration, so as not to collaborate with a State which they saw as predominantly Christian linked to France, and embodying their enforced separation from the Syrian homeland.96

The rejection of the Lebanese State also took the more active form of political protest: in 1923, 1926, 1928 and on many other occasions, meetings (often called “conferences”) were held, usually at the home of one of the notables, which always finished with communiqué or petition addressed to the French authorities or sometimes to international opinion. These petitions ceaselessly reaffirmed the following leitmotifs: the annexation to Lebanon had been carried out against their wishes and without consultation of the Islamic community, who in fact reject the new State and its institutions; they demanded, on the basis of the rights of nations (Wilson’s precepts), their reattachment to Syria on decentralized lines. Qadis, Muftis, wealthy merchants, notables, presidents of municipalities and even elected members of the representative Council signed these petitions, which would seen to indicate a certain unanimity (ijma) among the community or at least a strong popular pressure in this direction. Close examination of these texts shows greater intransigence and a more violent tone in the petitions coming from Tripoli and Saida. In fact, these two towns, with a large Sunni majority, had lost, to Beirut’s gain, the greater part of their

commercial exchanges with the Syria hinterland; felt their marginalization as a direct effect of the new political entity.\textsuperscript{97}

Some of Lebanon’s Muslim communities, moreover, associated their struggle with that of the Arab nationalist movement in Syria. Muslim elements from Lebanon supported Arab uprisings in the Syrian mainland, and Arab nationalists from Syria often infiltrated Lebanon to wage guerrilla warfare with locals against the mandate (and the Christians). The peak of Lebanon’s Muslim communities' involvement in anti-French, anti-Greater Lebanon activities was during the great Syrian revolt in 1925, known as al-Thawra as-Suriya al-Kubra. Extending a large military uprising launch in various Syrian provinces, mainly in the Jabal al-Duruz, Druze and other nationalist forces crossed the borders into the Biqa and southern Lebanon, participated in ambushed against French units, and raided many Christian villages in the area. This controversy encouraged armed Shiite factions in South Lebanon, for both political and commercial purposes, to attack, massacre, expel, and loot the Christian towns.

By March, the following year, the French troops with the help of Christian auxiliaries had been largely successful in putting down the revolt.\textsuperscript{98}

The major revindication of the Muslims in Lebanon was the reunion with Syria. They called for a detachment of the four districts from Mount Lebanon and their merger with the hinterland. The Muslims’ fears were based on the threat that a Christian-dominated Lebanon would compel its Muslim population to serve its natural ties with the Arab-Muslim world and make them second-class citizens.\textsuperscript{99}


\textsuperscript{98} Meir Zamir, N.70, pp.207-209.

The Christian political establishment followed mainly a pro-French line. The Christian mainstream current attempted to reach the following objectives:

1. First was to secure a separate entity of Greater Lebanon from any type of unification with Syria. During the first years of the mandate, the majority of the Christian leadership opposed any attempt by the French that could jeopardize the status of a separate Lebanon with its extended borders. On many occasions, the Christian establishment, under the umbrella of the Maronite patriarchate, strongly resisted French plans to create a Syrian federation, even with the pledged Christian upper hand. Thus, the Maronite preference was to protect and consecrate the territorial gains obtained in September 1920. In the twenties, Lebanese nationalism among the Christians meant the inclusion of all the territory the borders establishing in 1920. The Christians sought to insure a hasty domination of the Lebanese inland.

2. The second trend of Christian policies immediately after the creation of Greater Lebanon was to guarantee full control of governmental institutions. Profiting from the Muslim boycott of the administration, prominent Christian families sent their members to occupy the different echelons of the ministries. Since this period, Lebanon’s governmental apparatus was mostly controlled by the political establishment as a way to give additional support to the Lebanese identity of the state.

3. The third trend was to consolidate an alliance with the French, in order to ensure the above-mentioned objective; that is, a separate Lebanese entity and Christian domination. In the early twenties, France was considered a world power. For the Lebanese Christians in particular, France was viewed as a protector and promoter of their interests. Therefore, the Lebanese Christians maintained constant pressure on French authorities both in Beirut and in Paris. Yet relations between the two ameliorate their relations with the Muslim of Lebanon and Syria, proposing to fulfill some of their demands at the expense of the Lebanese Christians. Constantly alert to these attempts, the latter organized a network of contacts with the French cabinet, the legislative branch, and even with the opposition. The “Lebanese Lobby” in Paris operated efficiently, and Christian spiritual and political leaders in Lebanon repeatedly asserted these claims as extension of the Lebanese-French historical relations.

In fact, the Lebanese Christian circles were looking forward to consecrating their objectives through legal, constitutional, and diplomatic documents. The first battle concerned the establishment of a constitution.100

---

100 Walid Phares, N.21, pp.80-81.
3.5 French Mandatory Policy and Administration

The League of Nations assigned Syria and Lebanon both to France in 1922 in a single mandate with the condition that they be governed as separate parts of one political entity. Instead, France subdivided the area into several autonomous states. Lebanon was not created along the lines of the autonomous Ottoman province established in 1861, however. Thus, any French Government which wished to preserve the essential interests of France felt bound to pursue a policy in Syria and Lebanon which would serve:

1. To protect the Catholic and other Christian communities, in accordance with the French tradition in the Levant, and also the other minorities;
2. To safeguard the work of the missions and the position of French culture in Syria and Lebanon;
3. To assure her control over at least one naval and one air base, and perhaps over other strategic points as well;
4. To conform with her general policy in the other Arab and Muslim territories which she controlled;
5. To conform with British policy in the surrounding Arab countries; and
6. To safeguard her investments, her commercial interests, and her access to the oil of Iraq, by means of the pipeline to Tripoli, and also to the oil of Syria itself if it should prove to be worth exploiting.

One other political interest of France must be mentioned. She was the dominant power in North West Africa, of which the majority of the inhabitants are Arabic-speaking Muslims. One of the motives for occupying Syria was her desire to control so important a centre of Arab and Muslim opinion; and in framing her policy in Syria and Lebanon, she had always to take into account the repercussions it was likely to have in Morocco, Algeria and Tunis. To repress nationalism in the Levant might have caused unrest in North Africa; but to concede everything to nationalism in

---


the Levant might have strengthened the demand for similar concessions in North Africa, where it would have been more difficult for France to grant them.103

Yet France did not want to create a really independent state. Lebanon was therefore enlarged to include enough Christians to justify setting up a separate government, but also a sufficient number of Muslims to assure the need for continued French protection of their political hegemony. The heartland was Mount Lebanon where some 340,000 Maronites lived. It included the area of the former autonomous Ottoman province created in 1861. This area was tripled in size in 1920 by adding the predominantly Muslim city of Beirut; Muslim Tripoli in the north; Sidon in the south; southern up to the Palestine border, with a predominantly Shiite population; and the fertile Biqa Valley, occupied by a mixture of Muslim and Greek Orthodox residents. Maronites, who had constituted the majority of the Ottoman province, became the largest minority in the new French-controlled Lebanon. They and other Christian groups constituted just a little more than half the population. Sunni, Shiite, and other Muslim sects and the Druzes made up the rest. Emigration was at first forbidden lest the Christian-Muslim balance be disturbed.

A number of native governments were also established in Syria and one in Lebanon, each with its own constitution.104 The native government was staffed by Lebanese, while the high commissioner's organization was manned by French colonial officials responsible for both Syria and Lebanon. At his Beirut headquarters, the High Commissioner was assisted by a French political and military cabinet who

---


104 Ibid., p.169.

Dual government was theoretically a provisional system designed to enabled peoples who "politically speaking, are still minors to educate themselves so as to arrive one day at full self-government."
took charge of departments of security, education, public works, and antiquities and an organization for Bedouin affairs.\textsuperscript{105}

In Lebanon, where the High Commissioner was always close at hand, the country experienced a succession of four French Governors leading to the establishment of French constitution for the new State:

1. Georges Trabaud 1920 – 1923
2. M. Privat-Aubouard 1923 – 1924
3. General Vanderberg 1924 – 1925
4. Leon Cayla 1925 – 1926

Between the High Commissioner and the Governor was a Secretary General in charge of designing and implementing the French strategy of political and economic development for the Mandate. The man who, more than anyone else, drew up the programme of reform that the French hoped would modernize Syria was Secretary General Robert De Caix. From 1919 to 1923, he put through his ideas of organization which “laid the foundations of a new Lebanese administration” and enlisted the talents of a new class of native Lebanese, mostly Christian, who had recently graduated from the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary schools. Due to the efforts of De Caix, the first two High Commissioners, Gouraud and Weygand, not only developed a Lebanese civil service but also established a new electoral law, a new currency, new laws regulating land tenure, and a reorganized police and local militia.\textsuperscript{106}

Because of their favoured position, French businessmen easily acquired financial control of the railroads, public utilities, and banks. Since the language of the government administration was French, that language became much more useful in

\textsuperscript{105} Don Peretz, N.102, p.322.

\textsuperscript{106} Charles Winslow, N.37, pp.62-63.
official and intellectual circles than Arabic. At this juncture economic policy also favoured France. On the one hand, tariffs were inadequate to protect local enterprise from cheap imports. On the other, French companies received the most important economic concessions. Currency instability resulted from linking the Lebanese pound to the fluctuating French franc.

However, during the mandatory period law and order was effectively enforced, especially in the mountainous hinterland that in the past had managed to remain free from Ottoman control. Roads were built to link urban areas with the countryside and to help develop it. Better communications also facilitated the suppression of Bedouin incursions. Expansion of the school system raised the already high literacy rate. Development of health services and easier access to medical care considerably improved health standards. During this period, Beirut expanded into a metropolis and became a leading Mediterranean port. As a consequence of French material improvements, the availability of food and clothing became more plentiful and desire for emigration declined.¹⁰⁷

Mandatory officials were often corrupt, avaricious, and arbitrary. Local employees were not chosen wisely, properly trained, or given an appropriate measure of responsibility. Too often, the Lebanese charged, they were treated like an African colony and regarded by colonial officials with contempt. Basic civil rights were violated and political suspects were frequently imprisoned without trial. Security agents even instigated disorder in their attempts to discredit native governments.

During the period, the Syrian and Lebanese native governments also had little opportunity to develop the powers they did have, however, whenever a native

government threatened to exercise too much independence, the High Commissioner merely suspended its constitution and took over its administration.

French policy originally satisfied the Maronites, although some Christians and most Muslims objected to being cut off from the Syrian hinterland. Because of the favored Maronite position, French control was considerably milder in Lebanon than in neighbouring Syria, where several uprisings were harshly suppressed.

Material progress without more rapid development of local government only created the inevitable colonial dilemma. The more sophisticated and familiar with Western ways the population became, as a result of its higher living standards, the greater its dissatisfaction with the slow attainment of self-determination. Even many formerly pro-French Maronites became impatient with the delays in developing self-government. Thus, Lebanese Christians also began to demand full independence and to identify with neighbouring Arab nationalist movements.108

3.6 The Constitution 1926

In 1922, two years after the League of Nations had given the French a mandate over the newly created state of Lebanon, it allowed the election of a Representative Council (RC) with thirty members. This Representative Council did not turn out to be the compliant body that the French had anticipated. In 1925, it moved to exercise its constitutional right to choose the chief executive. Despite French objections, the Representative Council was determined to elect Bishara al Khouri, a Maronite who enjoyed the support of many Muslim leaders and was opposed to the French presence.109 The French high commissioner, General Maurice


109 Bishara al Khouri (1890 – 1 January 1964) was the first post-independence President of Lebanon, holding office from 21 September 1943 to 18 September 1952, apart from an 11-day interruption (11-22 November) in 1943. He had previously served two brief terms as Prime Minister, from 5 May 1927 to 10 August 1928 and from 9 May to 11 October 1929. A lawyer by training, Khouri founded the Ad-
Sarrail, repeatedly applied pressure on the Representative Council to change its mind and choose France's preferred candidate, Emile Edde. But the Representative Council could not be swayed. In desperation, Sarrail dissolved the assembly, and elections for a second Representative Council were conducted.

From the rebellion of 1925-27 came one benefit, the start of a constitutional process in the mandated territory which, while inconclusive for Syria, did result in a constitution for Lebanon. In early 1926, Henri De Jouvenal was sent to Beirut as High Commissioner, replacing General Serail, whose inept and rigid policies had done much to expand and prolong the hostilities. He immediately gave permission to the

Dustour Party (Constitutional Bloc Party) and served as a Cabinet minister prior to his election as President on 21 September 1943. He was a strong nationalist who opposed the French Mandate, and on 11 November 1943, he was arrested by Free French troops and imprisoned in the Rashaya Tower for eleven days, along with Reyad El-Sohl (the Prime Minister), Pierre Gemayel, Camille Chamoun, and numerous other personalities who were to dominate politics in the generation following independence. Massive demonstrations forced the Free French forces to release the prisoners, including Khouri, on 22 November 1943, a date now celebrated as Lebanon's national independence day. Khouri is remembered for his part in drawing up the National Pact, an agreement between Lebanon's Christian and Muslim leaders which forms the basis of the country's constitutional structure today, although it was not codified in the Constitution until the Taif Agreement of 1989. Khouri's years in office were marked by great economic growth, but the 1948 Israeli War of Independence (in which Lebanon fought on the Arab side) strained the Lebanese economy with its financial cost and with the influx of some 100,000 Palestinian refugees. These factors, along with suspicions of corruption in Khouri's administration, provoked massive demonstrations which forced him to resign on 18 September 1952. He was succeeded by Camille Chamoun, although technically Fuad Shihab succeeded him temporarily as acting president.

Constitutional Bloc Party (Hizb Al-Kitla Al-Doostooriya): The Constitutional Bloc Party was formed in 1936 to call for the restoration of the constitution in Lebanon after its suspension by French mandate authorities. It was headed by Bishara al-Khouri, who championed the cause of Lebanon's independence. Although the Bloc cannot be considered a political party, it did not differ from other political organizations in Lebanon in terms of its personality-oriented structure. Its members were drawn from the commercial and political elite, who did not agree with the views of Emile Edde, a supporter of French policies in Lebanon. It was most active in Mount Lebanon and Beirut, among Maronites and Druze. After 1941, the bloc became identified with British policy in the West Asia The cohesiveness of the bloc, which was based on the shared goal of independence, quickly splintered after al-Khouri was elected president in 1943. He continued to use the Bloc as a tool against his well-organized enemies. It continued to strengthen itself as a political force, with limited influence and appeal, into the 1960s. After al-Khouri retired, his son Khalil al-Khouri assumed leadership of the bloc. With the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War in 1975, the Bloc ceased to exist, and Khalil retired to France.

Émile Eddé (1886 - 1949) was a Maronite Lebanese political figure. He served as Prime Minister of Lebanon from 11 October 1929 to 25 March 1930. He served as the President of Lebanon from 1936 to 1941. He also founded the Lebanese National Bloc party.

Representative Council to act as a Constituent Assembly and draft a constitution, which would be subject to restrictions that protected the Mandatory’s privileges.

De Jouvenal, though a liberal who was also determined to protect French interests, did not hesitate to suppress resistance to the Council’s work from all quarters. Petitions were organized by the Unionists, and after many weeks of discussion and consultation with the High Commissioner’s officer, a draft was accepted, and Lebanon, on May 23, 1926, was proclaimed as Constitutional Republic.112 Drawn up by a French committee which sat in Paris, mostly in private, with little consultation with the Lebanese, it was presented to the Representative Council with the understanding that it was to adopt it. On 23 May 1926, the constitution was promulgated; on the 24th the Council became the Chamber of Deputies; on the 25th members of the Senate (Higher Chamber) were appointed by the High Commissioner; on the 26th both Chambers met and elected the first President of the Lebanese Republic (Charles Dabbas); and on the 31st the first Cabinet was formed. Religious confession was the basis for the distribution of seats in the Chambers and the Cabinet. Thus, by 31st May a parliamentary republic was established in Lebanon.113

The legislature was initially divided into two houses, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. However, a constitutional amendment adopted in 1927 abolished the Senate. The constitution was amended in 1929 at the initiative of the French, who wanted to strengthen the presidency at the expense of the legislature, extended the President’s term from three years to six years but made it non-renewable.114

112 Charles Winslow, N.37, p.65.
113 Nicola A. Ziadeh, N.62, p.51.
114 Abdo Baaklini, Guilain Denoeux, and Robert Springborg, N.111, p.81.
It adopted for its national flag - the tricolour with the cedar in green imposed in the white, later modified into one with three horizontal bars, red-white-red, with the cedar in the centre.

Though amended several times and suspended more than once by French authorities, the constitution remained substantially in force. More liberal than all neighbouring constitutions, the Lebanese had no provision for any state religion or the head of state religion; it made freedom of worship a reality. The time-honoured tradition giving the corporate religious communities (sing. millah) the right of jurisdiction over matters relating to the personal status of their members – be they Christians or Muslims – was retained. Gradually, a new tradition developed making a Maronite President of the Republic, a Sunni Prime Minister, a Shiite Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies and a Druze Minister of Defence, thus, keeping a balance among the major elements in the population.\footnote{Philip K. Hitti, N.59, p.490.}

At the end of Charles Dabbas’s first term in 1932, Bishara al Khouri and Emile Edde competed for the office of president, thus, dividing the Chamber of Deputies. To break the deadlock, some deputies suggested Sheikh Muhammad al Jisr, who was chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Muslim leader of Tripoli, as a compromise candidate.\footnote{Taru Bahl, M. H. Syed, N.11, p.58.} However, as a result of nationalist agitation and demonstrations against Paris in 1932, the French High Commissioner, Henri Ponsot, suspended the 1926 Constitution.\footnote{Don Peretz, N.102, p.324.} On May 9, 1932, he extended the term of Dabbas for two years: in this way, Henri Ponsot prevented the election of a Muslim as president. Dissatisfied with Ponsot’s conduct, the French authorities replaced him.\footnote{Philip K. Hitti, N.59, p.490.}
with Comte Damien De Martel. A new, revised constitution was promulgated in 1934 by the High Commissioner, restricting the power of the Chamber of Deputies and ignoring the religious proportionment that had characterized elections and parliamentary representation. An uneasy truce prevailed between the nationalists and France until 1932, when outbreaks in Damascus forced Paris to reopen negotiations with both Syria and Lebanon.

On January, 30, 1934, Habib al Sa’d (1934-36) was nominated as the first Maronite President by Comte Damien De Martel, the French High Commissioner. The first one elected president by the Chamber was Emile Edde (1936-41). In fact he was the first Lebanese to hold the presidency by election. French control became

119 Don Peretz, N.102, p.324.
120 List of Presidents of Lebanon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before Independence</th>
<th>After Independence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Dabbas</td>
<td>Amine Gemayel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoine Privat-Aubouard (acting)</td>
<td>23 September 1982 – 14 September 1982 (Assasinated 10 days prior to the beginning of his office term).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habib Pacha Es-Saad</td>
<td>Renee Moawad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emile Edde</td>
<td>Elias Hrawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre-Georges Arlabosse (acting)</td>
<td>Michel Suleiman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Naqqache</td>
<td>25 May 2008 – present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayub Thabit (acting)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petro Trad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 September 1926 – 2 January 1934
2 January – 30 January 1934
30 January 1934 – 20 January 1936
20 January 1936 – 4 April 1941
4 – 9 April 1941
9 April 1941 – 18 March 1943
19 March – 21 July 1943
22 July – 30 September 1943
21 September – 11 November 1943
11 – 22 November 1943
22 November 1943 – 18 September 1952
18 – 22 September 1952
23 September 1952 – 22 September 1958
23 September 1958 – 22 September 1964
23 September 1964 – 22 September 1970
23 September 1970 – 22 September 1976
23 September 1976 – 22 September 1982
23 August 1982 – 14 September 1982 (Assasinated 10 days prior to the beginning of his office term).
23 September 1982 – 22 September 1988
5 November – 22 November 1989
24 November 1989 – 24 November 1998
25 May 2008 – present
indirect, operating through “advisers”. However, the *services spéciaux*, comprising a host of intelligence agents, were maintained.\(^\text{121}\)

Emile Edde was elected president on January 30, 1936 defeating his rival Bishara al Khouri with a margin of one vote. A year later, he partially reestablished the Constitution of 1926 and proceeded to hold elections for the Chamber of Deputies. However, Gabriel Puaux, who succeeded De Martel as High Commissioner in January 1939, dissolved the Lebanese Chamber on 21 September, by suspending the Constitution for a second time, and confirmed Emile Edde as President and Head of State, at the outbreak of World War II. He hoped that the situation would stabilize in Lebanon, as well as in Syria for the duration of the war.\(^\text{122}\)

### 3.7 The Census 1932

From 1861 to 1914, the Lebanon Mountains comprised an autonomous territory within the Ottoman Empire. Subsequently in 1920, the French formed *Grand Liban* (“Greater Lebanon”) by adding to Mount Lebanon – including the predominantly Muslim population cities resultant in a mixture of Muslim and Greek Orthodox residents.\(^\text{123}\)

Therefore, the Lebanese population is comprised of different religious communities, some Christian (mainly Maronite, Greek Orthodox, and Greek Catholic), others Islamic (Sunni Muslim, Shiite Muslim and Druze). Consequently, in the old Mount Lebanon there had been an overwhelming Christian majority, but in the new Greater Lebanon there was a closer balance between Christians and Muslims. Apart from the Armenians of Lebanon, who are relative newcomers to the country, all

\(^\text{121}\) Philip K. Hitti, N.59, p.492.

\(^\text{122}\) Kamal S. Salibi, N.96, pp.179-184.

\(^\text{123}\) Redhey Shyam Chaursia, N.76, p.227.
the Lebanese communities—Christian and Muslim—have historically spoken Arabic, and shared at the traditional level in what may be described in common language as an Arab way of life.\textsuperscript{124}

Religious communities are all-important in Lebanon, yet little solid information is available on the size of any, since the subject is politically sensitive. The country has operated on the political fiction that the 1932 census, taken by the French, accurately reflected the distribution of the sects.\textsuperscript{125} Of fundamental importance to an understanding of Lebanon's various religious communities is a recognition that there are many such groups and that no one sect constitutes more than 30 percent of the country's total population: the Lebanese Government officially recognize seventeen different sects.\textsuperscript{126} Lebanon's religious sect can be thought of in terms of two broad grouping, Muslim and Christian, but the subdivision within these grouping are several and significant.\textsuperscript{127}

The Maronites who were absolute majority in Mount Lebanon were now reduced to the status of largest single sect in Greater Lebanon. According to the census of 1932, the Maronite constituted approximately 29 percent of the population and all the Christian sects together constituted only 51.7 percent of the population. Even this majority was largely attained by including the Armenians who had settled in Lebanon after the World War I. In contrast, the Sunnis who had constituted only 3.5

\textsuperscript{124} Kamal S. Salibi, N.27, p.4.


percent of the population of Mount Lebanon now became the second largest sect in Greater Lebanon comprising 22 percent while the Shiites increased from 5.6 to 19.4 percent. (See Map No. 7) More important than this loss of overwhelming Christian majority was the fact that the inhabitants of the incorporated territories, who were predominantly Muslim, resented their inclusion in Greater Lebanon.128

On this basis (the number of Christians slightly exceeded the number of Muslims) political and administrative positions were divided between Christians and Muslims on a 6:5 ratio. Seats in the unicameral parliament, positions in the civil service, and posts in the cabinet have been apportioned according to this ratio.129

Leaders of the Christian-rightist alliance in the civil war defended this system and had been willing to modify it only slightly. They had consented to change the ratio from 6:5 to 5:5, with seats in the parliament and cabinet distributed on the basis of this new formula. They also agreed to abolish the sectarian distribution of positions in the civil service except at the highest level, and to have persons selected for such jobs solely on merit. Leaders of the Muslim-leftist alliance argued that the sectarian ratio should be abolished altogether, and that religious community should cease to be the foundation of which the Lebanese political system is structured.130

The widespread reluctance in Lebanon to organize another census reflects uncertainty regarding the precise nature of the demographic shifts among the sects since 1932. Some sources have portrayed the Lebanese population as now being about equally divided between Christians and Muslims. It is quite likely, however, that the Muslims outnumbered the Christians in Lebanon, both because Christians tend to

128 Ibid., p.76.
129 Bruce Borthwick, N.125, p.123.
130 Ibid., pp.123-124.
have a higher rate of permanent emigration and because they (Christians) tend to have a lower birthrate.\(^{131}\) But since 1932, successive Lebanese government have refused to conduct another census due to opposition from the Christians. This political arrangement was not adjusted, in the absence of a new census, until 1990, even though there has been an obvious Muslim majority for years.\(^{132}\)

3.8 The Franco–Lebanese Treaty 1936-39

By 1936, French policy in the Levant was also influenced by Socialist Premier Leon Blum's Popular Front government.\(^{133}\) Socialist ideology opposed colonialism and Blum's government was sympathetic to nationalist aspirations. Hence, Syria was first to obtain greater self-determination in 1936.\(^{134}\)

Meanwhile, on 9 September 1936, the Franco-Syrian Treaty was signed in Paris. The French also negotiated in the same year in Beirut for a similar Treaty with Lebanon. Subsequently in November 1936, a twenty-five-year Treaty between French and Lebanon was signed. The treaty was negotiated between President Edde and High Commissioner Damien De Martel.\(^{135}\) By the terms of these Treaties, Syria and Lebanon were recognized as independent and sovereign states, to be recommended

\(^{131}\) David R. Smock and Audrey C. Smock, N.127, p.76.

\(^{132}\) Colbert C. Held, N.4, p.263.

\(^{133}\) \textbf{Leon Blum} (1872-1950), creator of the modern French Socialist party, and the first socialist and first Jewish person to become premier of France. As premier in 1936-37, he led the Popular Front, a coalition of Socialist and Radicals opposed to fascism. Blum was imprisoned by the Germans, 1940-45. He became premier again in 1946-47. (Michael D. Harkavy, ed., N.7, p. 142)

\(^{134}\) Don Peretz, N.102, p.324.

\(^{135}\) Philip K. Hitti, N.59, p.492.
for admission to the League of Nations after a preparatory period of not more than three years. The two states were to be allies of France in peace and war, providing her specific land, air, and sea facilities for military purposes. France was moreover supposed to have a privileged position in the two states. The Syrian and Lebanese armies were to be recognized under French supervision; the Syrian and Lebanese governments were to seek all technical help and advice from France; the French diplomatic service was to protect the rights of Syrian and Lebanese subjects abroad; and the French ambassador in Damascus and Beirut was to have precedence over all others. In addition, there were detailed provisions regarding currency, the rights of foreigners, the privileges of foreign institutions, and other technical matters. In the case of the Lebanese Treaty, an exchange of notes between President Edde and High Commissioner De Martel, added as an annex, specified among other things that the Lebanese Republic should guarantee the fair representation of all the country's sects in the government and high administration. This item, known after its code number in the correspondence as '6-6 bis', was to outlive the Treaty and its annex and continue to be the fundamental principle of Lebanese political life.

The text of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty was unanimously passed by the Lebanese Chamber on 13 November, by the Muslim deputies joining the Christians in its approval. Outside the Legislature, however, Muslim opinion took the Treaty to be a final confirmation of Lebanon's territorial composition and independent status, and consequently opposed it with vigour.137

The reaction in Lebanon was varied. In general, it was felt that there was a need for a Treaty which would guarantee Lebanon's independence. On the other hand,


137 Kamal S. Salibi, N.96, pp.181-182.
it was feared by some sections of the Lebanese population that such a Treaty would
destroy any hope of possible union with Syria. Although this was, generally speaking,
the feeling of the people of Tripoli, Sidon and the Maronites living in parts of Beirut.
Some important spokesman at least, felt that the Treaty did not give them any special
 guarantees and it was finally abandoned in 1939.\textsuperscript{138}

Once the Treaty was approved, trouble broke out in all Muslim districts. There
were violent demonstrations and a strike in Tripoli, and anti-Christian rioting in
several religiously mixed districts. In Beirut, on 15 November 1936, a particularly
serious clash between Christians and Muslims resulted in a number of casualties. It
was indeed this last incident which immediately led to the formation of the Kataeb
organization as a counterpoise to the Muslim street forces in the capital. In the
Lebanese Legislature, however, the mood remained unchanged.

By the terms of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty, Lebanon, like Syria, was to be
admitted to the League of Nations as a fully independent state before the end of 1939.
By the late summer of that year, however, the Treaty was still unratified by France.
The outbreak of the World War II on 3 September 1939 indefinitely delayed the
implementation of the Treaty. Meanwhile, between 1936 and 1939, Lebanon had been
allowed to enjoy three years of constitutional government in which considerable
political progress was made. De Martel proclaimed the full restoration of Lebanese
constitutional life on 4 January 1937. On the same day, in keeping with the spirit of
the Franco-Lebanese Treaty, President Edde called upon a Muslim deputy, Khayr al-
Din al-Ahdab, to form a government.\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{138} Nicola A. Ziadeh, N.62, p.56.

\textsuperscript{139} Kamal S. Salibi, N.96, p.182.
The changed circumstances in Lebanon this justified the decision to appoint a Muslim premier. A Constitution, a Treaty, and the passage of sixteen years had given ample guarantee to the integrity of Greater Lebanon as the events of November 1936 had brought into relief the difference in political attitude between those Muslims who were associated with the government and those who were not.  

As a consequence, the movement of discontent with sectarianism was greatly strengthened, and many Lebanese, especially among the young, began to look for an alternative. At one extreme the 'Phalanges libanaises', the party of the Lebanese nationalism, received much support. So did the 'Syrian National Party', with its doctrine of the total separation of Church and State; while the Arab Nationalists pointed to the failure of the constitutional system as a proof, if one were needed, that an independent Lebanon was too divided, artificial and unstable to exist by itself.  

4. World War II and Independence

The World War II had severely weakened the traditional European colonial powers and made it very difficult for them to control the revolutions for national independence that were accelerating throughout their colonies. Ultimately many of these colonies achieved independence in the late 1940s. Lebanon's and Syria's

---

140 Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills, eds., N.26, p.149.

141 A. H. Hourani, N.33, pp.182-183.

142 World War II, second global conflict lasting from 1939 to 1945 that involved civilian populations in an unprecedented scale. Military deaths probably amounted to some 17 million, but civilian deaths were undoubtedly much higher because of mass bombing of cities, starvation, epidemics, massacres, and other war-related causes. The parties to the conflict involved nearly every major power in the world, divided into 2 groups: the Allies (principally France, Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China) and the Axis Powers (principally Germany, Italy, and Japan). A war whose origins lay in three different conflicts which merged after 1941: Germany's desire for European expansion; Japan's struggle against China; and a resulting conflict between Japanese ambitions and US interests in the Pacific. The development -- and use -- of the atomic bomb late in the war ushered in the nuclear age. Along with World War I, World War II was one of the great watersheds of 20th-century geopolitical history. It resulted in the extension of the Soviet Union's power to nations of Eastern Europe, enabled a Communist movement eventually to achieve power in China, and marked the decisive shift of power in the world away from the states of Western Europe and toward the United States and the Soviet Union.
independence was part of this process that continued through the 1950s and 60s in Asia and Africa.\textsuperscript{143}

4.1 World War II

On the eve of the World War II, the situation in Lebanon, because of the presence of the French army headquarters and because of the French proclivities for the Maronites, was not as volatile as in Syria. There were nationalists in Lebanon—Christians, Muslims, and Druzes—who were members of the Syrian National Party and wanted union and independence. On the whole, however, the initiative for nationalist agitation was very active in Syria. In 1936, however, a treaty similar to the Franco-Syrian one was arranged by the French administration with Lebanon. But the French did not deal any better with the Lebanese than they had with the Syrians. They simply were not able to let their mandates go free and let the “civilizing mission” of France take its own course.

The approach of World War II ended the short-lived semi-independence of both Syria and Lebanon. After the fall of France in 1940, the puppet Vichy government that Germans had created in France claimed suzerainty over the French colonial empire.\textsuperscript{144} Before the Vichy government sent General Dentz to Syria-Lebanon as High Commissioner in November 1940, a number of French officers and soldiers had escaped to Palestine to join the Free French forces. With the arrival of General Dentz, Syria-Lebanon became an open field for Axis espionage against the British.

\textsuperscript{143} B. J. Odeh, N.35, p.3.

\textsuperscript{144} Vichy Government: In World War II, the right-wing government of unoccupied France after the country’s defeat by the Germans in June 1940, named after the spa town of Vichy, France, where the national assembly was based under Prime Minister Pétain until the liberation in 1944. Vichy France was that part of France not occupied by German troops until November 1942. Authoritarian and collaborationist, the Vichy regime cooperated with the Germans even after they had moved to the unoccupied zone in November 1942. It imprisoned some 135,000 people, interned another 70,000, deported some 76,000 Jews, and sent 650,000 French workers to Germany.
Syrians and Lebanese considered the fall of France as an opportunity to press for their immediate independence. The collapse of the French franc, and economic hardship that resulted, gave the Syrians and the Lebanese occasion to carry on strikes, organize political demonstrations, and demand independence. The measures that General Dentz took to satisfy the nationalists were not effective.\textsuperscript{145}

Although in his effort to stabilize the situation General Dentz appointed Alfred Naccache, a Maronite judge of known integrity, to take over as Chief of State. A board of four under-secretaries, under the chairmanship of the Sunni engineer Ahmad Da’uq, was put in charge of the country’s administration.\textsuperscript{146}

The new arrangement established by Dentz lasted only for a short time. However, on 8 June 1940, for reasons connected with their general war strategy, British and Free French forces began the invasion of Syria and Lebanon from Palestine. On the same day, in an attempt to secure local goodwill, Allied aircraft dropped thousands of leaflets over the two countries, proclaiming their sovereignty and independence in the name of Free France. The leaflets were signed by General Georges Catroux, de Gaulle’s representative in Cairo. Consequently, when the Allies finally occupied Syria and Lebanon towards mid-July, the Lebanese, like the Syrians, looked forward to a rapid termination of French tutelage.\textsuperscript{147}

4.2 Independence and National Pact

After signing the Acre Armistice, General Charles de Gaulle visited Lebanon, officially ending Vichy control, and the French subsequently replaced the High Commissioner by a Delegate-General. Lebanese national leaders took the opportunity


\textsuperscript{146} Kamal S. Salibi, N.96, p.184.

\textsuperscript{147} Yahya Armajani and Thomas M. Ricks, N.145, p.274.
to ask de Gaulle to end the French Mandate and unconditionally recognize Lebanon's independence. As a result of national and international pressure, on November 26, 1941, General Georges Catroux, Delegate-General under de Gaulle, proclaimed the independence of Lebanon in the name of his government. The United State, British, the Soviet Union, the Arab States, and certain Asian countries recognized this independence, and some of them exchanged ambassadors with Beirut. However, even though the French technically recognized Lebanon's independence, French, continued to exercise authority.\textsuperscript{148} The new arrangement provided for the appointment of a Cabinet representing Lebanon regionally and confessionally. Under this new arrangement, the security forces and organizations were to be subjected to war needs; that France's privileged position resulting from centuries of association and the holding of the mandate was to be maintained; and that the treaty of 1936 was to be the basis for future Franco-Lebanese relations.\textsuperscript{149}

General elections were held, and on September 21, 1943, the new Chamber of Deputies elected Bishara al Khouri as president. He appointed Reyad as Sulh (also cited a Solh) as prime minister and asked him to form the first government of independent Lebanon.\textsuperscript{150} On November 8, 1943, the Chamber of Deputies amended

\textsuperscript{148} Tarh Bahl, M. H. Syed, N.l 1, p.59. However, Syrian and Lebanon independence was soon recognised by the Powers. Britain did so in February 1942, and Spears, who had been the head of a Britain political mission, became the first British Minister. Belgium and Czechoslovakia announced the recognition in March, the United States sent her notice of recognition in August 1942, Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia in October 1943, and the U.S.S.R. recognised Syria in July and Lebanon in August 1944.

\textsuperscript{149} Nicola A. Ziadeh, N.62, pp.68-69.

\textsuperscript{150} Reyad as-Sulh (1894 – July 17, 1951) was the first Prime Minister of Lebanon (1943–1945), after the country's independence. Like all of his successors as prime minister of Lebanon, he was a Sunni Muslim. He later served as prime minister of Lebanon again from December 14, 1946 to February 14, 1951. Several months after leaving office, he was assassinated in Amman, Jordan. He was known as one of the most important personalities in Lebanon's struggle for independence and as a person able to unify Lebanon's various religious groups in the struggle for independence. He was married to Fayza Al-Jabiri and had five daughters. His eldest daughter, Aliya born in 1935, continued in her father's path in the struggle for a free and secure Lebanon. Aliya propagated the rich cultural heritage of Lebanon abroad until her death in Paris on April 26, 2007.
the Constitution, abolishing the articles that referred to the Mandate and modifying those that specified the powers of the high commissioner, thus, unilaterally ending the Mandate in 1943. This day has been celebrated as Independence Day in Lebanon.

The foundations the new Lebanese state were established in 1943 by an unwritten agreement between the two most prominent Christian and Muslim leaders, Khouri and Sulh. The contents of this agreement, later known as the National Pact or National Covenant (al-Mithaq al-Watani), were approved and supported by their followers. The National Pact laid down four principles.

1. Lebanon was to be a completely independent state. The Christian communities were to cease identifying with the West; in return, the Muslim communities were to protect the independence of Lebanon and prevent its merger with any Arab state.
2. Although Lebanon is an Arab country with Arabic as its official language, it could not cut off its spiritual and intellectual ties with the West, which had helped it attain such a notable degree of progress.
3. Lebanon, as a member of the family of Arab states, should cooperate with the other Arab states, and in case of conflict among them, it should not side with one state against another.
4. Public offices should be distributed proportionally among the recognized religious groups, but in technical positions preference should be given to competence without regard to confessional considerations.

Moreover, according to this accord the three top government positions should be distributed as follows: the President of Republic should be a Maronite; the Prime Minister, a Sunni Muslim; and the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, a Shiite Muslim; the Deputy Speaker, Greek Orthodox; the Defense Minister, Druze; and the Commander of the Military, Maronite Christian. The ratio of deputies was to be six

---


After 1934, the President was always a Maronite Christian; after 1937 the Prime Minister were Sunni Muslims (except for brief periods in 1943 and 1952); and after 1947 the Speaker of Legislative Assembly or Parliament was always a Shiite Muslim.
Christians to five Muslims. Post in the civil service, the judiciary, the military, and seats in the parliament itself were allocated according to the sectarian distributions reported in the 1932 census. On that basis, the ninety-nine-members Chamber of Deputies allocated fifty-four seats to Christians and forty-five to non-Christians (Muslim and Druze). Since neither the Christian nor non-Christian sides were doctrinally homogeneous, each major sect was also jealous of its proper representation.

Table - 1

Allocation of Seats in the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies, According to Religious Sect 1943

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Christians (54)</th>
<th>Non-Christians (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maronites</td>
<td>Sunni Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Orthodox</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Catholic</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shiite Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian Orthodox</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minorities</td>
<td>Druze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In addition, the Lebanese constitution guaranteed freedom of religion and respect for the religious interests of each community.

From the beginning, however, the balance provided for in the National Pact was fragile. Many observers believed that any serious internal or external pressure

---

153 George E. Kirk, N.99, p.117.

General Edward Spears, the British representative in Beirut, mediated between feuding Muslims and Christians about the apportioning of parliamentary seats. Using the 1932 census, showing Christians to be 52 per cent of the population, Spears recommended a ratio of six Christian seats to five Muslim. (Later the 6:5 ratio was also applied to posts in the civil service, judiciary and military).

might threaten the stability of the Lebanese political system, as was to happen in 1975.

Lebanon subsequently became a member of the League of Arab States (Arab League) on March 22, 1945. It also participated in the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations (UN) and became a member in 1945. On December 31, 1946, French troops were completely withdrawn from the country, with the signing of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty.

The Arab League, officially called the League of Arab States, is a regional organization of Arab states in Southwest Asia, and North and Northeast Africa. It was formed in Cairo on March 22, 1945 with six members: Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan (renamed Jordan after 1946), Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Yemen joined as a member on May 5, 1945. The Arab League currently has 22 members. The main goal of the league is to: "draw closer the relations between member States and co-ordinate collaboration between them, to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and to consider in a general way the affairs and interests of the Arab countries." The Arab League is involved in political, economic, cultural, and social programmes designed to promote the interests of its member states. It has served as a forum for the member states to coordinate their policy positions, to deliberate on matters of common concern, to settle some Arab disputes, and to limit conflicts such as the 1958 Lebanon crisis. The league has served as a platform for the drafting and conclusion of many landmark documents promoting economic integration. One example is the Joint Arab Economic Action Charter which sets out the principles for economic activities in the region. Each member state has one vote in the League Council, while decisions are binding only for those states that have voted for them. The aims of the league in 1945 were to strengthen and coordinate the political, cultural, economic, and social programs of its members, and to mediate disputes among them or between them and third parties. Furthermore, the signing of an agreement on Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation on 13 April 1950 committed the signatories to coordination of military defense measures. The Arab league has played an important role in shaping school curricula; advancing the role of women in the Arab societies; promoting child welfare; encouraging youth and sports programmes; preserving Arab cultural heritage and fostering cultural exchanges between the member states. Literacy campaigns have been launched, intellectual works reproduced, and modern technical terminology is translated for the use within member states. The league encourages measures against crime and drug abuse, and deals with labor issues—particularly among the emigrant Arab workforce.