LOCKED IN TIME ?:
THE HARIRI ASSASSINATION AND THE MAKING OF A USABLE PAST FOR
LEBANON

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ABSTRACT

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Why is it that on one hand Lebanon is represented as the "Switzerland of the Middle East," a progressive and prosperous country, and its capital Beirut as the "Paris of the Middle East," while on the other hand, Lebanon and Beirut are represented as sites of violence, danger, and state failure? Furthermore, why is it that the latter representation is currently the pervasive image of Lebanon? This thesis examines these competing images of Lebanon by focusing on Lebanon's past and the ways in which various "pasts" have been used to explain the realities confronting Lebanon.

To understand the contexts that frame the two different representations of Lebanon I analyze several key periods and events in Lebanon's history that have contributed to these representations. I examine the ways in which the representation of Lebanon and Beirut as sites of violence have been shaped by the long period of civil war (1975-1990) whereas an alternate image of a cosmopolitan Lebanon emerges during the period of reconstruction and economic revival as well as relative peace between 1990 and 2005. In juxtaposing the civil war and the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafic Hariri in Beirut on February 14, 2005, I point to the resilience of Lebanon's civil war past in shaping both Lebanese and Western memories and understandings of the Lebanese state.

I draw from and engage studies on the history of Lebanon by scholars and journalists from the United States and Lebanon, U.S. government documents on Lebanon, and American and Lebanese press coverage of Lebanon. The reactions of the American and Lebanese press and politicians, and the Lebanese people to the Hariri assassination, I argue, have resurrected and

consolidated representations of Lebanon's civil war past as a *usable past* (both inside and

outside Lebanon) that serves to explain the realities confronting Lebanon today and define it as a

failed state.

To my parents who gave me the chance to have a different past than the one described in this

thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The August 16, 1982 cover of *Time* magazine is a picture of Lebanon's capital, Beirut. It was the time of Lebanon's civil war which lasted from 1975 to 1990. The photo is taken from the air. It shows a part of Beirut's coast and the city under siege. What makes this cover stand out is not only the picture, but also the caption which reads "Destroying Beirut." The caption could not better describe what is seen on *Time*'s cover and what took place in Lebanon during its civil war which lasted from 1975 to 1990. Some of the buildings in the photo are still standing while other buildings are clearly on fire, or simply lying in debris. The cover and the caption evoke a work in progress or a job yet to be completed. There are still some buildings standing, and yet from the photo it is evident that there is no turning back. Beirut is surrounded, held in a stranglehold. And as the aircraft from which the photo is taken flies over, the city the world once knew seems to disappear.

What remains, however, is the impression of destruction. In the opening scene of *Lethal Weapon III* (produced in 1993), detective Murtaugh, played by Danny Glover, is concerned about his colleague Riggs, played by Mel Gibson, who attempts to defuse a time bomb in a parking garage. While Riggs is deciding which wire to cut, Murtaugh makes a panicky gesture to flee the garage while saying "this is like Beirut."[1] This remark is not in the official script of Lethal Weapon III.[2] Yet, the director must have found Glover's improvisation to be an appropriate representation of the imminent danger the two men face in the parking garage. Even today, nineteen years after the end of the civil war in Lebanon, the odds are that these images of Beirut persist. Beirut and Lebanon continue to evoke images of destruction and peril. However, the representation of Lebanon as a site of violence is not the only dominant representation of the country. There is another competing representation that is located in a period before Lebanon's

civil war when Lebanon was known for its natural beauty, modernity and prosperity. Lebanon was oftentimes popularly referred to as the Switzerland of the Middle East while its capital Beirut was dubbed the Paris of the Middle East. Yet, today these images appear to have been erased or deferred from public memory. The response to the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafic Hariri in Beirut on February 14, 2005 bears this out.

I was in Lebanon at the time of the assassination as a student at the American University of Beirut. What stood out to me from the reactions to the Hariri assassination was that people, press and politicians from inside and outside Lebanon, referred to Lebanon's civil war past in order to give meaning to the Hariri assassination. For example, the Lebanese press and people pointed to earlier assassinations in Lebanon during its civil war while the American press in particular referred to the bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut and the killing of two hundred and forty-one American service men in Beirut who had acted as peacekeepers during this war. The effect of using the civil war past to provide context for the Hariri assassination was that Lebanon came to be seen as an inherently dangerous place and violence something to be expected in Lebanon. It solidified the representation of Lebanon as a violent place, where the assassination was seen as part of a pathology of violence endemic to Lebanon, and dispelled the earlier representation of the country as the Switzerland of the Middle East.

The Framework of the Project

1. A Usable Past

The making of a new usable past for Lebanon in order to explain the Hariri assassination and the realities confronting Lebanon as well as the resulting impact of this usable past on

representations of Lebanon are the central themes in this project. The idea of a usable past was first introduced in the 1920s by American literary critic Van Wyck Brooks. In his essay, "On Creating a Usable Past" Brooks points out that "the spiritual past has no objective reality; it yields only what we are able to look for in it."[3] Therefore Brooks argues that the past "is an inexhaustible storehouse of apt attitudes and adaptable ideals" allowing people to choose those events that are most consonant to them as far as the past is concerned. As a result Brooks argues, "we are left with multiple interpretations, and histories of one and the same subject."[4] On the making of a usable past Marco A. Portales suggests that "it is our way of looking at the past" that determines which past is legitimate and when.[5] Similarly, Warren points out that "reality is not a function of the event as event, but of the relationship of that event to past, and future, events."[6]

In this project the idea of a usable past is first applied to explain the origins of two different and competing representations of Lebanon (and Beirut). This requires firstly a study of key events in Lebanon's history that have contributed to Lebanon's representation as the Switzerland of the Middle East and Beirut's representation as the Paris of the Middle East and secondly a study of key events that have led to a change of this representation as a place of violence and danger. Next, by analyzing the reactions of the U.S. and Lebanese press, politicians and the Lebanese people, this thesis will illustrate how and why Lebanon's civil war became a new usable past for Lebanon after the Hariri assassination of 2005.

2. A Failed State

This project analyzes the making of a usable past for Lebanon after the Hariri assassination within the framework of a failed state. Apart from the images of danger and violence, state failure is another component of the representation of Lebanon that stems from the

civil war period. As is shown in the following chapters, the perception of Lebanon as a failed state comes from both inside and outside Lebanon. Therefore by taking into consideration criteria that determine whether a state is said to be failing or not, the factors that contribute to the making of a usable past for Lebanon after the Hariri assassination become clear. According to Fearon and Laitin, a failed state or weak state is more susceptible to civil war because rebel leaders feel they have a greater chance of success.[7] Such chances according to Englehart and Kurzman are higher when a state "reduces its military."[8] Englehart and Kurzman also point out that in failing states "non-state actors" are considered by people as defenders of their "security" because the states themselves cannot "defend their citizens against external threats and police against internal ones."[9] Helman and Ratner point out that failing states are confronted with "civil war, invasions, outside arms supplies, gross violations of human rights, massive dislocations of its population, and destruction of its infrastructure,"[10] making them "self-governing only in the narrowest sense."[11]

All the above-mentioned criteria of a failed state applied at some point in time to Lebanon during its civil war. Lebanon's civil war was marked by a massive flow of people leaving the country, a weak government, and multiple non-state actors who sought to protect their communities' interests in Lebanon, the complete destruction of Beirut and surrounding cities, and high numbers of civilian casualties. Today, some of these criteria continue to apply to Lebanon and as such they help explain the making of the civil war period into a usable past for Lebanon after the Hariri assassination. In 2004 for example, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1559 indicated the weakness of the Lebanese government and the lack of sovereignty. The Security Council in UNSCR 1559 points out that it is concerned with "the continued presence of armed militias in Lebanon, which prevent the Lebanese Government from exercising

its full sovereignty."[12] It also calls for "free and fair elections according to Lebanese

constitutional rules devised without foreign interference or influence."[13] The most important part

of this Resolution deals with the presence and call for the "disarmament of all Lebanese and non-

Lebanese militias."[14] This particular clause refers to Hezbollah. Hezbollah is currently the only

armed non-state actor in Lebanon. It operates from South Lebanon where it was founded in 1982

after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.[15] Within Lebanon a large part of the population considers

Hezbollah as protectors of the Lebanese against Israel and also as a provider of schooling,

medical care, and housing. Others however, from both inside and outside Lebanon, consider

Hezbollah to be a terrorist organization. Specifically, the U.S. holds Hezbollah responsible for

the killing of the two hundred and forty-one service men in Beirut in 1983. This view also

contributes to the making of a usable past for Lebanon out of the civil war period after the Hariri

assassination.

<div align="center">**Methodology**</div>

As an ACS thesis, I will focus on the role of culture in explaining key events that are

undeniably political. To that end the methodology used by Melani McAlister in her book *Epic*

Encounters: Culture, Media, & U.S. Interests in the Middle East since 1945 is useful. McAlister

argues that "the politics of culture is important, not because politics is *only* culture (or because

culture is *only* politics), but because where the two meet, political meanings are often made."[16]

In her book McAlister shows for example that politics and culture formed the moral geography

of U.S. encounters with the Middle East. The idea of a moral geography (though in this project

certainly *not* limited to U.S. moral geography only) is useful in considering the impact of the

change in the representation of Lebanon from both inside and outside the country. As is

illustrated in chapter 1, Lebanon was seen as a bridge between East and West before its civil war. However, as its civil war developed, Lebanon gradually was transformed into a "microcosm of all the Middle East's problems"[17] and as such it lost its reputation as a bridge and became deeply seated in the Middle East.

Sources

This project draws from three types of sources: U.S. government documents on Lebanon, U.S. and Lebanese press coverage of and literature on Lebanon, as well as literature on the U.S. role in the Middle East and Lebanon. Most useful for this project regarding U.S. government documents is the Public Papers of the Presidents of The United States, the Catalog of U.S. Government Publications, and the non-governmental archive the American presidency Project. The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States provides a chronological illustration of White House policies and perceptions of Lebanon and, in contrast to materials quoted in newspapers, functions as the *official* source to statements made by the White House on Lebanon. The disadvantage of this source is that these papers are only published after a significant time delay. Thus there is information available only until the early 1990s. Therefore the U.S. Government Publications and the American Presidency Project are useful alternatives. These electronic archives contain among other things, Presidential speeches, radio addresses, and executive orders up to the present year.

After some inquiry as to which American press sources to use for this project, the choice primarily fell on the *New York Times*, *USA Today*, *Time* magazine, and *Newsweek*. There were some limitations to the use of the press sources. The *New York Times* is the only paper for which an archive is available that dates back to at least the 1970s. These articles, just as those from the

weeklies *Newsweek* and *Time* Magazine, are available at no cost. Other newspapers such as *USA Today* offer articles, albeit for a fee, only from a much later time period and they have to be paid for. Hence for U.S. press sources, the *New York Times*, *Time* Magazine, and *Newsweek* have been used primarily for events that took place during Lebanon's civil war, but in order to enrich the content of this project, some paid-for articles from other newspapers, with archives that date back far enough such as the *Boston Globe* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer* have been added as well.

It was easier to access articles from newspapers other than those mentioned above on the Hariri assassination because more articles from newspapers that were available were free of cost. These include among others the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and the *Boston Globe*. Only the articles from the *USA Today* archive on this event and its aftermath had to be paid for and they have been incorporated in this project as well.

The limitations on the use of Lebanese press articles for this project were that no Lebanese newspaper archives were available electronically from the time of the civil war. Moreover, my competency of the Arabic language is not sufficient to read Lebanese newspapers that are written in Arabic. Therefore I was limited to using English-language Lebanese press coverage on the Hariri assassination such as was limited to *The Daily Star* and the Lebanese weekly *Monday Morning*, both Beirut-based papers. However, I have used translated news coverage from *An-Nahar*, an Arabic newspaper in Lebanon, as they became available through the U.S. wire services.

For this project, the literature on the social and political histories of Lebanon functioned to bridge the gap in available newspaper and weekly articles both from inside and outside Lebanon. The literature is also more encompassing and balanced than any single government

document or newspaper article could be. The choice for the literature, which is presented in more detail below, is based on suggestions from colleagues and friends, earlier readings, and also on the results from the PAIX Index, a search engine. Overall, the literature used for this project can broadly be broken down in three categories of studies: studies that provided a picture of the developments in Lebanon before and after its independence, but which do not address the civil war, studies that described the built-up to the civil war and the civil war period, and studies that described the civil war in Lebanon and/or the developments in Lebanon after this period.

Kamal Salibi's *A House of Many Mansions*, is a paradigmatic work on the early history of Lebanon before its independence. In particular this work is useful in understanding the origins of the representation of Lebanon as the Switzerland of the Middle East. Meir Zamir's *Lebanon's Quest the Road to Statehood 1926-1939* picks up from where *A House of Many Mansions* ends for its describes Lebanon just before independence and the emergence of Beirut as a cultural, political and economic center between East and West. At the same time, similar to Salibi's work, this book also addresses earlier frictions between Lebanese communities before independence. Fawwaz Traboulsi's *A History of Modern Lebanon* bridges the studies on the period before independence and after independence and also provides an in-depth overview of Lebanon's civil war. It especially provides an understanding of some of the key events during the civil war and the rise and entrance of the fighting factions in Lebanon.

Theodor Hanf's *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, B.J. Odeh's Lebanon *Dynamics of Conflict*, and Itamar Rabinovich's *The War for Lebanon 1970-1985* provide detailed studies of the rise of militias in Lebanon and the involvement of the Syrian and Israeli army in Lebanon's civil war. These works however do not specifically address U.S. involvement in Lebanon. Here Sandra Mackey's *Lebanon A House Divided* and Thomas Friedman's *From Beirut to Jerusalem*

do provide a more detailed picture of U.S. involvement in Lebanon. Moreover, in contrast to the other studies used for this project, both Mackey and Friedman also address the change in the representation of Lebanon as a result of the civil war. However, since both studies stem from a time period during Lebanon's civil war, there is no picture given as to the change in representation of Lebanon *after* the war which is a key issue of this project.

Some works specifically deal with past events, such as the Syrian and Israeli invasions of Lebanon, that are central to this project and these were used to provide a better understanding of these events and the impact they made on Lebanon's history and representation. These include, *The Battle of Beirut: Why Israel invaded Lebanon* by Michael Jansen, *Syria and the Lebanese Crisis* by Adeed I. Dawisha, and *PLO in Lebanon* by Raphael Israeli. Another key event in this project is the bombing of U.S. Marine barracks at Beirut International Airport and the killing of two hundred and forty-one American service men in Beirut in 1983. Two studies of this event, Eric Hammel's *The Root- The Marines in Beirut* and Michael Petit's *Peacekeepers at War- The Marines in Lebanon* have been particularly useful as they provide personal accounts and detailed information on the developments in Lebanon that led to the bombing in 1983. Other books such as *Civil War in Lebanon 1975-92* by Edgar O' Ballance, Samir A. Makdisi's *Lessons of Lebanon* and John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt's *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* provide detailed information to some of the causes of key events in Lebanon's civil war.

Nicholas Blanford's *Killing Mr. Lebanon: The Assassination of Rafik Hariri and its Impact on the Middle East* is a comprehensive work on Lebanon's political developments under the Hariri era between 1992 and early 2005. On the cultural representation of Lebanon and Beirut before Hariri was assassinated, *Heart of Beirut: reclaiming the Bourj* by Samir Khalaf,

Beirut City Center by Larry E. McPherson and *The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover from Disaster* by Lawrence J. Vale and Thomas J. Campanella are useful studies.

Other books that have been used and incorporated in this study functioned mainly to substantiate or affirm the above-mentioned studies and for further enquiry on specific events that are central in the next chapters. Chapter 1 is an historic overview of Lebanon until its independence in 1943. It also addresses pre-independence representations of Lebanon and traces their origins. Chapter 2 leaps forward in time to the bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks on October 23, 1983. The series of events that led to the bombing and the change in Lebanon's representation as a result of these events are described as well. As this chapter illustrates different visions of Lebanon's past formed the foundation to these events. Chapter 3 discusses the gradual revival of Lebanon's (and Beirut's) earlier representations as the Switzerland of the Middle East through the efforts of Hariri. Hariri worked to realize his vision for Lebanon's future after the civil war. This vision was based on a period in Lebanon's past that stemmed from the period before the civil war. The final chapter discusses the making of a new usable past for Lebanon after the killing of Hariri in 2005. This time the usable past lies within Lebanon's civil war and as such once more changes the representation of Lebanon and Beirut.

CHAPTER 1

LEBANON: SWITZERLAND OF THE MIDDLE EAST

This chapter sets out the geography, history, religions, and politics of Lebanon. Lebanon is a small country located on the East coast of the Mediterranean. Syria borders Lebanon to the north and east. Since 1948 Israel borders the south of Lebanon. Originally, Lebanon was a small strip of land consisting of the Lebanon Mountains and coastal areas excluding the bigger coastal cities as can be seen in figure 1 below. This strip of land was also known as the Mutessarifate. The borders of the Mutessarifate were drawn in 1861 by the French during the late Ottoman Empire. In 1920 when France received a mandate over Lebanon these borders were extended into all directions as is also illustrated on the map below. Currently, the territory of Lebanon is approximately four thousand square miles.[1]

Fig. 1.   Map of Lebanon's Borders
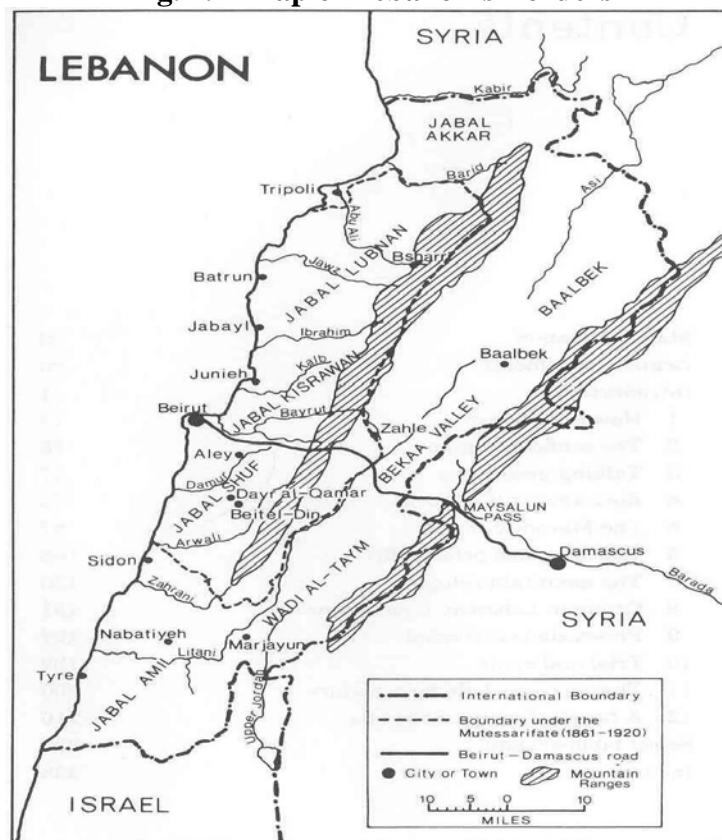
Map of Lebanon showing the borders before and after the Ottoman Empire.[2]

Within the four thousand square miles there are diverse landscapes. Lebanon's coastal landscape is marked by sand and rock beaches. Here the warm and humid temperature is somewhat offset by the sea wind. In the mountains the temperature is always cool, the scenery green during summer and white during winter allowing for ski tourism.[3] Folklore has it that the name of Lebanon originates from the snow on its mountains. When the first people discovered snow on the Lebanon Mountains they, not surprisingly, had no idea what it was. Because of its white color they named the snow *laban*, which means *yoghurt* in Arabic. It is also because of this mountainous landscape that Lebanon has been named the Switzerland of the East by Lamartine and de Nerval who compared them to the Alpes.[4]

Beirut: Paris of the Middle East

Lebanon is mostly known because of its capital Beirut. Beirut's long history is marked by different cultural influences which had given it a cosmopolitan allure well before it officially became part of Lebanon. From Phoenician times when it was a trading hub no larger than five acres[5] to the Roman times when it became a "center for the study of Roman law,"[6] to the early and late nineteenth century when the more modern foundations, such as the Beirut Damascus road under the Ottomans, were being laid, Beirut gradually developed into a leading economic and cultural center in the Middle East.[7]

Christians and Muslims living in Beirut became successful in business. They met European demands for silk during the nineteenth century. Under the French mandate Beirut was not only used as a point of transit for goods from and to the West, but also a city that focused on services such as banking and tourism.[8] Since independence in 1943, Lebanon has offered

banking secrecy with a market economy thereby attracting large amounts of money from abroad, thus adding another dimension to its reputation as the Switzerland of the Middle East.[9]

Since the mid-nineteenth century the groundwork for Beirut's cosmopolitanism was also laid in part by the activities of Western missionaries. For instance, ever since the U.S. secured its access to and through the Mediterranean in the early nineteenth century, American missionaries engaged in a new Manifest Destiny or "restoration," spreading the word of Christ in an otherwise Islamic region.[10] In Lebanon, the missionaries found less resistance towards their work since there were already Christian communities there. The missionaries founded the Syrian Protestant College, later known as the American University in Beirut (AUB) in 1866, which as an institution by itself is considered a bridge between East and West.[11] Beirut also became the publishing center of the Middle East because freedom of press, a unique feature in the Arab world, was guaranteed by the French and later the Lebanese government.[12] Foreigners from the West and the Arab world felt attracted to this "oasis of freedom"[13] and they communicated their ideas often in the French and sometimes in the English language.[14]

As France invested heavily in infrastructure during its mandate over Lebanon in the 1920s and 30s,[15] Beirut also attracted tourists from the Arab Gulf, offering them the luxury of newly-built hotels, resorts, and reliable public transportation. Tourists enjoyed the scenery of the Mediterranean while walking on the now-famous *Corniche* Boulevard in Beirut. Arab tourists in particular would enjoy alcohol served in nightclubs and bars and prostitution, pleasures forbidden in their own countries.[16] Hence, Beirut became a "playground," for Arab and Western tourists.[17] The latter, because of their familiarity with the architecture of the newly French-built buildings, baptized Beirut as a new Paris. Mackey, although acknowledging Lebanon to be a bridge between East and West suggests that Beirut in fact is "not an Arab city,"[18] but Salibi

points out that Lebanon by means of Beirut had become "the showcase of the Arab world,"[19]

forming a bridge where "the East and the West could meet on an equal footing" in multiple and

unprecedented ways. [20] It should be noted however that apart from the cosmopolitanism of

Beirut and the open-mindedness of its inhabitants, other areas of Lebanon, such as the south and

the east, were less cosmopolitan and accessible, therefore the equation that the whole of Lebanon

is Beirut or vice versa is false.[21]

The idea of Lebanon as a bridge between the Middle East and West not only stemmed

from the country's geographical location, but also because of the population's composition.

Lebanon's population is a "mosaic"[22] of "minorities"[23] that consists of Christian and Muslim

communities. The Christians are composed of: Maronites, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic,

Melkites, Armenian Orthodox, Syrian Catholic, Armenian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Roman

Catholics, Chaldeans, Assyrians, Copts, and Protestants. Shiites, Sunnis, Druze, Isma'ilite, and

Alawite constitute the Muslim population.[24] Lebanon has not conducted an official census since

1932.[25] However, a general picture of the demographics of religious affiliations over the last

seventy years may be inferred and is in Table 1. Figure 2 shows how this religious patchwork is

distributed over Lebanon.

Table 1 shows that none of the different religious communities have a majority

representation in Lebanon's population. For this reason, Lebanon, in contrast to its Arab

neighbors, does not have a state religion.[26] The Maronites are the largest Christian sect, but in

relation to the whole population they are relatively small. Also, though the Muslims have

become a majority overall in Lebanon, within the Muslim communities there is no single

community that outnumbers the other communities.

Table 1
Communities in Lebanon[27]

Communities	1932 census in %	1973 estimate in %	1975 estimate in %	2004 estimate in %	2008 estimate in %
Maronites	29	24	23.6	16	
Greek Orthodox	10	9	6.4		
Greek Catholic	6	7		11	
Other Christians	1	2	10		
Armenians	4	6		4	
Total % Christians	**50**	**49**	**40**	**31**	**39**
Sunnites	23	16	22	20	
Shiites	20	29	32	40	
Druze	6	6	6	6.25	
Other Muslims				1.5	
Total % Muslims	**49**	**51**	**60**	**67.75**	**59.7**
Other	**1**	**0**		**1.25**	**1.3**

Fig. 2.   Map of Lebanon's Communities.
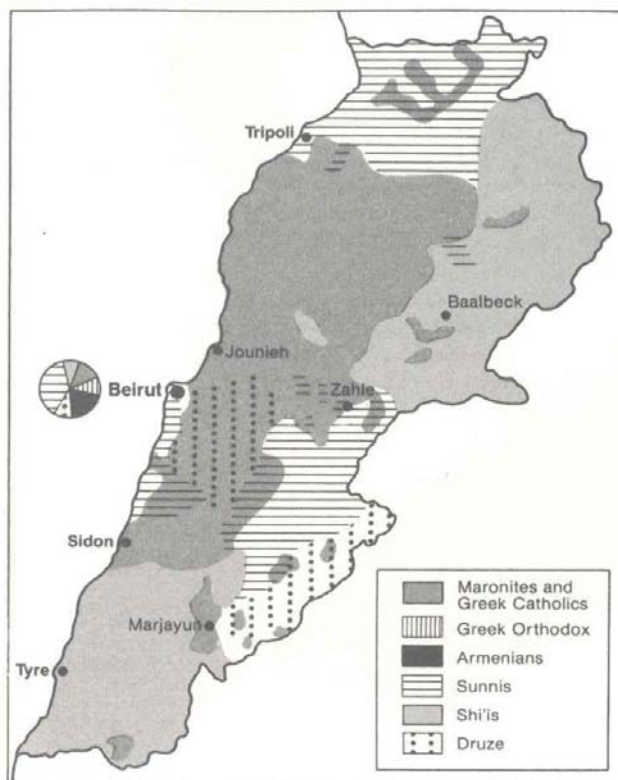
Geographic division of the different religious communities in Lebanon.[28]

The majority of the Christians (Maronites, Armenians, Greek Orthodox, and Catholic) live in the Lebanon Mountain area and the Shouf as well as at the coastal cities below these two mountains. Most Sunni Muslims reside in the Akkar region in the north, the Beqaa valley in the east, and in the coastal cities of the Shouf. Most Shiites are settled in South Lebanon as well as in the north of the Beqaa valley. The Druze community traditionally has always been present mainly in the Shouf Mountains, but some of them have established villages in the south of the Beqaa valley. To understand how so many different religious groups have come to live in such a small country one needs to look at the history of the territory that is now known as Lebanon.

Ancient "Lebanese" History

The territory that is known as Lebanon today has a history that goes back at least 4,000 years. It is marked by invasions and occupations. There is no agreement over a common past for Lebanon. In fact there is still a "war" between Christians and Muslims over Lebanon's history.[29] This conflict over history is inextricably linked to identity. Some Lebanese, both Muslims and Christians, consider themselves as Lebanese and not as Arabs.[30] Others more specifically consider themselves to not be Arabs because in their view they are descendents of the Phoenicians, who were a seafaring people in the Mediterranean area from 1,600 BC.[31] The Phoenicians in fact form a missing piece to the puzzle of Lebanon's ancient history. It is ironic that not much is known today[32] about these people who "transmit[ed] the alphabet to the West."[33] Maronite Christians prefer to believe that in the beginning Phoenicians might not have been Arabs[34] and that Lebanon today is nothing more than a "natural continuation of the history of ancient Phoenicia."[35] Other Lebanese who do not necessarily claim to be descendents of the Phoenicians, but still deny being Arab, "take pride in laying claim to being Lebanese."[36] It

makes them feel "somehow superior to all other Arabs."[37] To the Arab nationalists in Lebanon who have no hard evidence to counter such claims these ideas are a thorn in the eye and an injustice to "their" history.[38]

The Phoenician period ended with the Persian conquest during the sixth century BC which in its turn was replaced by Alexander the Great during the fourth century BC.[39] In the last century BC, the territory that forms present-day Lebanon was conquered by the Romans.[40] It is this period in particular that would mark the presence of Christianity in Lebanon. Not until the seventh century AD would Lebanon fall into the hands of Arabs and become part of several Islamic empires until the fall of the Sunni Muslim Ottoman empire in 1918.[41]

Loyalties and Rivalries

The struggle in Lebanon between Christians and Muslims over their past has not only affected their sense of identity but also their loyalty. The loyalties of the four religious communities discussed here are those that would eventually affect Lebanon's history most. These are the Maronites, the Druzes, the Sunnis and the Shiites. A distinction needs to be made between the Maronites and Druzes on the one hand and the Sunnis and Shiites on the other. The former two communities, unlike the latter two, have a long history and presence since the medieval period in the Lebanon area that later became the Mutessarifate (see fig. 1) which consisted of Mount Lebanon and the Shouf.[42]   The Sunnis and the Shiites did not have a similar historic presence in Lebanon until their incorporation into Greater Lebanon in 1920 by France under the French mandate.

In essence both the Maronite and the Druze communities that resided in Mount Lebanon were tribal in nature albeit in varying degrees. In Mount Lebanon the Maronite leaders could

count on the loyalty of their people, but at times had to use force to secure their position. Thus the people were not unconditionally loyal to their leaders. [43] Unlike any other religious community in Lebanon, the Maronites also had an allegiance to the West. This loyalty stemmed from the first century BC when the Roman Empire introduced Christianity to the Middle East and Lebanon. [44] Since then the Maronites have remained loyal to the Church of Rome despite the fact that over time other (Islamic) empires prevailed over the Middle East and Lebanon. [45] The Maronites were further allied with Europe when in 1649 Louis XIV of France "declared himself to be the protector of the Christian Maronites" in 1649. [46] This historic declaration would have profound consequences for the future role of France in Lebanon.

In the Shouf Mountain, Maronites and Druzes worked on Druze-owned land. The Druzes were more loyal to their leaders than the Maronites. This, for example, was illustrated during the Ottoman (Sunni Muslim) Empire when the Ottomans attempted to exert influence over the Druzes by assigning tax farmers in the Shouf. These attempts were wholly unsuccessful because the Druzes, unlike the Maronites, would only listen to their tribal chiefs. [47] One explanation for the Druzes' preference for "communal identification" and resistance to the Sunni Muslim Empire is the fact that the Druzes neither consider themselves nor are considered to be "real" Muslims. [48] As Mackey points out, the Druzes do not conform "to the five pillars of Muslim faith," such as praying five times a day or refraining from alcohol consumption. [49] More importantly, however, in contrast to Shiism and Sunnism, Druzism allows for Druzes to "betray" their religion in order to protect or improve their lives and that of others. [50] Therefore, Druzes are considered dissenters within Islam. [51]

Interestingly, as Salibi points out, the Sunni tax farmers in the Shouf sought to ally themselves with the Maronite Christians to exert more pressure on the Druzes. This alliance

helped the tax farmers enhance their own positions vis-à-vis the Maronites at the expense of the local Maronite leaders. Eventually the tax farmers even converted to Christianity during the eighteenth century. The Ottomans had no problems with this conversion of faith so long as the tax farmers would be able to collect their money in the Shouf.

What complicated the situation however in terms of loyalty was the fact that the land the Maronites worked on in the Shouf, in contrast to the land in Mount Lebanon, was owned mostly by the Druzes. Thus the Druzes acted as the Maronites' "feudal overlords."[52] Yet the Maronites considered the newly converted tax famers as their real leaders, whereas the Druzes in their turn despite having to pay taxes to these same Maronite tax farmers only regarded their tribal chiefs to be their true leaders. There was thus a double layered hierarchy between the Druzes and Maronites in the Shouf. This complex situation in the Shouf would precipitate for conflict between the Druzes and the Maronites.

A central figure in this conflict during the late 1820s was the Maronite-born tax farmer Bashir Shihab II. In contrast to their local leaders, the Maronites considered him to be their true leader, or even "prince" of Lebanon.[53] The Druzes only considered him a nuisance who collected their money and certainly did not look up to him as their leader, let alone a "prince." The Druzes' own leader at that time was Bashir Jumblatt. He challenged Shihab's power in the Shouf and eventually was hanged.[54] As Salibi points out it was since then that the Druze would wait for "revenge."[55] One such occasion for revenge took place in 1860. It was to become the bloodiest confrontation between the Druzes and the Maronites when a large number of Maronites from the Shouf were massacred.[56] Up to this day that tragic event has been a trauma that haunts the Maronites. Moreover it has since functioned as a point of reference on which Maronites would establish their political positions in Lebanon vis-à-vis the Druzes and the other communities.[57]

The other two communities, Shiites and Sunnis, who would eventually become part of Lebanon, had histories of their own.[58] The Sunni Muslims were to be found in Beirut, the Beqaa valley, and in the Akkar region north of Mount Lebanon. The Shiites in their turn, though a small community overall, lived in the Beqaa valley and south of the Shouf Mountains. Like the Druze and the Maronites both Sunni and Shiite Muslim communities are tribal in nature.[59] Despite the fact that both communities are Muslim, there are some irreconcilable differences in their religious convictions that highly affect and distinguish the loyalties of Sunni and Shiite communities despite the fact that both stem from Islam. These differences stem from the moment Prophet Mohammed died.[60] The Sunnis, who comprise the majority of the Muslims, believed that Mohammed's successor should be elected.[61] The Shiites, a small minority, believed that he should be succeeded by a member of his direct family.[62] Since only the Prophet's daughter Fatima was alive and, as a woman, not considered a legitimate successor, Mohammed's cousin Ali became the spiritual leader.[63]

Ali would succeed Mohammed but not until after Mohammed had first been succeeded by three elected caliphs.[64] The murder of Ali in Karbala would eventually seal the official split between the Sunnis and Shiites.[65] Since then, Shiites have developed their own cultural and theological beliefs and consider themselves to be "the underdogs in the Muslim world."[66] Those Shiites who ended up living in Lebanon would build close relations with other Shiite communities in the Gulf and Iran.[67] Given the account above it would thus be a mistake to consider Sunnis and Shiites to be one people professing the same belief and loyalties.

The distinction between Sunnis and Shiites would become clearer within the new borders of Lebanon after 1920. Sunnis adhered to Arab nationalism because they felt that it would ensure Lebanon to become culturally tied to the Arab hinterland instead of the West.[68] Druzes and

Shiites as small minorities felt they were better off in a land like Lebanon where Sunnis did not make up the majority.[69] Interestingly this is also exactly how the Maronites felt. The Maronites felt they could escape Sunni domination in Lebanon, as well as protect themselves from the Druzes who in their turn refused to be dominated by the Maronites.

Politics in Lebanon before Independence, 1861-1943

This section is an overview of the political developments in Lebanon up to the moment of its independence in 1943. It serves to foreground chapter 2 to understand the complexity of events in Lebanon during the 1970s and 80s as described in chapter 2.

The 1860 massacre in the Shouf triggered a French response to protect the Maronites from further onslaught.[70] Austrian Chancellor Metternich, known for his policy to keep all sides happy,[71] drew out a plan to divide Mount Lebanon between Christians and Druzes.[72] With the approval of the Ottomans, France carved out a small region that would continue fall under the Ottoman Empire but, at the same time, would guarantee the safety of the Maronites within its borders with the help of France. The exact area of this Mutessarifate is seen in Figure 1. Soon, however, it was proven that Metternich's plan had been out of touch with the reality in Lebanon. After all, as Traboulsi points out, under this plan "the Christians' military defeat [in the Shouf] was transformed into a political victory by the intervention of the European powers."[73] Suddenly, the Maronites found themselves to be not only the majority of the people in the new Lebanon area, or Mutessarifate, but they also became the owners of most of the land as the Druzes were forced to withdraw from the Shouf.[74]

In 1920 France received a mandate over Lebanon and Syria at the San Remo conference.[75] Upon receipt of this mandate France, along with Great Britain, dismantled Greater

Syria, a short-lived (two years) entity between the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the French mandate.[76] They carved out Lebanon, the Transjordan, Palestine, and Iraq.[77] As Friedman points out, the drawn-out borders of these principalities were out of touch with the reality "on the ground."[78] These borders were forced on a people who did not recognize or accept these newly mapped "countries" as authentic homelands. France's decision to separate Lebanon from Syria for example was not based on French sympathies for the Lebanese Christians who wanted a separate state, but because it was a division that enhanced French interests.[79] The French saw the mandate as a means of "civic education and political emancipation" for all the people living in Lebanon.[80] Lebanon would become "a showcase of France's 'mission civilicatrice',"[81] with the aim of bringing the different communities together under one nation.[82]

France did not take into consideration the (potential) conflicts and loyalties among the different religious communities in Lebanon.[83] Arab nationalists in Lebanon and Syria were not happy with the French mandate over Lebanon,[84] while the French were eager to ensure that Lebanon would be a successful project. The French expected "the nation . . . to grow out of the state" instead of "the state growing out of the nation."[85] The impracticality of this is best described by Israeli who points out that "the ethnic, cultural and religious make-up of Lebanon is so varied [that it defies] the conventional definitions of nationhood."[86]

As the French were looking for ways to manage Lebanon, the Maronite notables who looked after their business interests in Beirut were eager to assist them. They pointed out exactly what they wanted and eventually came to be the most dominant community of Lebanon.[87] The Maronites wanted the Mutessarifate as designed of 1861 to be extended westwards to include the coastal cities of Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre and eastwards to include the Beqaa valley.[88] The Maronite notables argued that the incorporation of these cities could prevent foreign competition

from these other coastal cities and ensure that Beirut would remain the leading city for trade.[89] The French realized that the incorporation of these Muslim areas into a Greater Lebanon would mean that the Maronites would no longer be an absolute majority thus potentially undermining their safety again.[90] However, France decided to go ahead with the incorporation of the above-mentioned regions and cities.[91] Although many other Christians opposed the expansion of Lebanon's borders, on September 1, 1920 France declared Lebanon to be a state with Beirut as its capital and French became the official language of Lebanon.[92]

Since many Lebanese held the Maronite notables responsible for the creation of Greater Lebanon, the Maronites complained to the French that they were more vulnerable vis-à-vis the other communities in Lebanon.[93] Arab nationalists, including the Sunnis, Shiites, Druzes, and even some Christians, blamed the Maronites for the partition of their Greater Syria.[94] Interestingly as Traboulsi points out, the creation of the four states —the Transjordan, Palestine, Iraq, and what remained of Syria— were equally "artificial."[95] Yet, as both Salibi and Traboulsi argue, it was mainly the idea that Lebanon, more than these other four states, was a French invention that triggered opposition from many Arabs.[96] Many Arab nationalists, both Christians and Muslims, did not consider Lebanon to be a natural state, but an artificial one. The Greek Orthodox wanted an independent Lebanon, not a French mandate. The Sunni Muslims wanted Lebanon to be re-united with Syria.[97] The Druze and Shiite Muslims as small minorities were in favor of an independent Lebanon but only if it was to become an "Arab Lebanon." The Maronites themselves were divided over the issue. As pointed out earlier, the more well off Maronites, or notables, were in favor of a Lebanon backed by the French, but other Maronites preferred either an independent Lebanon or unification with Syria, or even unification with France.[98]

Despite such different and even opposing ideas Lebanon received a constitution in 1926 which officially marked the separation of Lebanon from Greater Syria.[99] As Salibi points out, tribalism would not disappear by the simple declaration of a new state.[100] The allocation of government positions as outlined in the constitution was the central cause for the different religious communities' dissatisfaction with the new constitution. Government positions were allocated based on religious representation. This religious representation was derived from a census held in 1926. Initially, in the years following 1926, this census would be updated annually to conform the representation of each religious community in Lebanon, but as the representation of the Maronites in Lebanon was shrinking, the French and the Maronites were less enthusiastic about holding a new census. Therefore the census held in 1932, which to the relief of the Maronites and the French showed that the Maronites were still the largest religious group in Lebanon, but only slightly, would be the last official census held. This census was used to determine the allocation of key government positions.[101] Consequently, the Maronites received the most power, including the presidency. This spurred antagonistic feelings among the other religious communities. There have been many calls on the Muslim side for a new census. However, discussions as to who should be included in this census, Lebanese Christians living abroad or Muslim Kurds and Bedouins in Lebanon, always reached a deadlock.[102]

In 1936 Lebanon was headed for independence. An agreement was signed with the newly-elected Lebanese President Emile Eddé who agreed that while Lebanon would become an independent nation, it would allow France to use Lebanon as a military base to keep a tighter control over Syria. Many Lebanese were angered by this agreement and protested. Subsequently several paramilitary organizations started to appear in Lebanon to rebel against France. [103]

The first paramilitary organization, the Syrian Nationalist Social Party (SNSP), also known as the Parti Populaire Syrien (PPS), had already been established in 1932 by Antun Sa'adeh, a Greek Orthodox Christian.[104] This party was against pan-Arabism, which it equated to "pan-Islamic hegemony" and against Lebanese nationalism.[105] However, the SNSP sought to re-link a secular Lebanon to Syria with the Sunni Muslims[106] in order to free themselves from Maronite dominance in both politics and economics.[107] Opposing the PSS (or SNSP) was Pierre Gemayel's Phalange organization. The Phalange considered itself to be the true defender of Lebanese Christians.[108] Under the French mandate its goal was to have a Lebanon independent from France and Syria and[109] to create a nation not just for Christians, but for all Lebanese, thus reconciling both Christians and Muslims in Lebanon.[110]

In 1937 Druze leader Kamal Jumblatt founded the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP). Although the PSP wanted the abolition of the religious or confessional basis in Lebanon's political system, Kamal Jumblatt demanded a secular political system for Lebanon.[111] There is an intriguing aspect to this demand which is two-fold. First of all, secularization of Lebanon from the outset would be impossible given the Lebanese Muslims' adherence to the *shari'ah*, Islamic law, instead of civil law regarding personal issues.[112] While in all other areas Muslims had accepted civil law in Lebanon, they would not allow for the government to meddle in such issues as "marriage, divorce, and inheritance."[113] Secondly, Druze political interest would not be better served with secularization in Lebanon given the fact that the Druzes made up only a fraction of the population. Thus secularization would still mean that their votes overall counted for very little in Lebanon.[114] However, while at the surface they seemed to demand the impossible and at the same time least useful policy for themselves, the Druzes were fully aware

that anything that would come slightly near the fulfillment of secularization would mean the fulfillment of their ultimate desire: a reduction in Maronite political power.[115]

The rise of paramilitary organizations in Lebanon can be explained by the tribal nature of loyalties in Lebanon and the "sectarian/familial/clientist" nature of its politics.[116] Individuals live for their community and as such do not feel any connection to a potential political party. Instead, until Lebanon's civil war ended in 1990, they preferred that their interests were served by an individual from the same community in parliament. Thus, until the end of the civil war, communities in order to channel their "voice" in a more efficient way organized themselves into paramilitary groups.[117]

The different ideologies of these rising paramilitary organizations shifted the debate from "Christian protectionism" and "Muslim unionism" to Lebanonism versus Arabism.[118] For many years under the French mandate it seemed impossible to reconcile these two sides. However, an economic crisis brought them together for a brief period as they blamed France for the decline in living conditions as the economy weakened. The so-called National Pact of 1943 was the culmination of this temporary reconciliation amidst the social and political unrest in Lebanon under the French mandate.

Beshara al-Khuri and Riad al Solh were the founding fathers of the unwritten agreement known as the National Pact.[119] They sought to overcome the fundamental differences between those who considered Lebanon to be a Christian nation belonging to the West and those who aspired for Lebanon to be part of Greater Syria in the East and who opposed this "creation of French colonialism."[120] Solh and Khuri seized this momentum and opportunity against the French. Among other things, they agreed on the following: after independence, Lebanon would be neither Eastern nor Western with Christians giving up their search for Western backing while

Muslims abandoning their quest for pan-Arab unification, for example, with Syria.[121] Moreover, the president would at all times be a Maronite, the prime minister a Sunni, and the speaker of parliament a Shiite.[122] Finally, the National Pact confirmed the distribution of parliamentary seats on a confessional basis.[123] Again, the proportional representation was derived from the 1932 census. This meant that the seat ratio of Christians to Muslims would be 6:5.[124] The National Pact was designed to allow for a democratic parliamentary system to work in Lebanon.[125] After all, with no religious community having absolute majority in terms of demography, only a democracy could ensure that all communities' interests would be considered.

It would not, however, be easy for the Lebanese to rid themselves of French influence. In the end it was the fall of France under the Nazis in 1941 that resulted in Lebanon's independence.[126] When the Lebanese themselves agreed on a new constitution in 1943, which was based on the National Pact, France did not recognize it. Only after Great Britain pushed France to move ahead with Lebanon's independence did it proclaim Lebanon to be independent on November 22, 1943.[127] The religious communities in Lebanon, through their paramilitary organizations and alliances with foreign militaries and militias would gradually change the face of Lebanon and dispel its representation as the Switzerland of the Middle East and of Beirut as the Paris of the Middle East during the 1970s and 80s.

CHAPTER 2

THE BIG EXPLOSION: LEBANON ON FIRE

Beirut, Sunday October 23, 1983

As Beirut slowly awakens to welcome another sunny day in October, a U.S. Marine sentry notices a yellow Mercedes Benz dump truck. The truck looks like one of the many vehicles that pass by daily at Beirut International Airport (BIA). It is twenty minutes after six. A few minutes earlier the truck had passed through a Lebanese Army checkpoint at the airport. Now it enters the airport's parking lot. The truck does not halt there however. Instead it starts circling and accelerates. Before the Marine sentry realizes it he meets the eye of the truck driver. The driver smiles at the guard as he forces his truck through a wire fence. The truck heads for the entrance of the Battalion Landing Team (BLT) Headquarters. It is now twenty-one minutes after six when the driver crashes his truck through the front of the BLT headquarters. One minute later he "delivers" his cargo of six tons of TNT to the headquarters' lobby.[1]

From miles away people in Beirut could see a thick black cloud rising high above Beirut International Airport. Most U.S. Marines inside the BLT headquarters were asleep as the four-story building was lifted up and consequently "fell in upon itself" like a house of cards.[2] U.S. Marines who were stationed in nearby camps were rudely awakened by the rumble and the "choking dust" that filled their rooms.[3] As they rushed outside towards the BLT headquarters, they were confronted by a "crater forty-feet across and ten-feet deep."[4] Marines tried to free their colleagues from under the rubble. Sniper fire coming from outside the airport area initially made this an almost impossible task.[5]

For most Marines, however, it would be too late. Two hundred and twenty U.S. Marines died in this explosion along with eighteen U.S. Navy personnel and three U.S. soldiers. The American servicemen were on a peacekeeping mission in Lebanon, but now those who survived the blast found themselves to be "peacekeepers at war"[6] who fiercely dug for their fallen colleagues in the hope of finding them alive. Some Marines simply would not stop digging. To them this was a form of therapy. They were used to many things. Sniper fire was nothing new to them. But this car bomb, "the largest non-nuclear blast ever detonated on the face of the earth,"[7] was not just a new experience for the Marines. It was the Marines' "Beirut experience."

Why did this tragedy happen in Beirut? Was Beirut not the city where East and West could meet on an equal footing, a city that the West considered to be an extension of itself in an otherwise alien region? What impact would this event have on the future of Beirut and Lebanon? To answer the first question, it is first necessary to know the conditions in Lebanon at large and Beirut in particular when the U.S. decided to become involved in Lebanon in 1982.

When the U.S. Marines entered Beirut in 1982 they had in fact entered "a microcosm of all the Middle East's problems."[8] Lebanese militias and their foreign allies present in Lebanon were armed to their teeth, fighting each other with full force. In 1982 there were twelve militias and militaries which controlled parts of Lebanon. Most militias had organized themselves into fighting coalitions. In contrast to the foreign militaries that were present in Lebanon, most militias were organized around a shared religion. Some militias however were secular in nature. Table 2 shows the ten most significant Lebanese militias in 1982 categorized by religion. Table 3 highlights the alignment of each militia into a coalition in 1982. Finally, Table 4 provides an overview of non-Lebanese fighting factions and militaries in Lebanon in 1982.[9]

Table 2
Lebanese Militias in 1982

Lebanese Militia	Religion
Phalange	Christian Maronite
Tanzim	Christian
Guardian of the Cedars	Christian
National Liberal Party (NLP)	Christian
Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP)	Secular
Progressive Socialist Party (PSP)	Druze
Mourabitoun	Sunni
Amal	Shiite
Hezbollah	Shiite
Army of Free Lebanon (AFL)	Mixed (mostly Christians)

Table 3
Coalitions Formed by Militias

Coalition	Militias			
Lebanese Forces (LF)	Phalange	Tanzim	Guardian of the Cedars	National Liberal Party
Lebanese National Movement (LNM)	Syrian Social Nationalist Party	Progressive Socialist Party	Mourabitoun	Amal

Table 4
Non-Lebanese Militia and Militaries

Non - Lebanese Militia and militaries	Alliance Partners
Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO, including Fatah)	Lebanese National Movement
Israeli Army	Army of Free Lebanon
Syrian Army	Lebanese National Movement
UNIFIL (non fighting faction)	**N/A**

The fighting coalitions, militias, and militaries were engaged in three overlapping battles in Lebanon.[10] In the first battle, the Lebanese Forces fought the PLO-backed Lebanese National Movement. The second battle was between the Israeli army, which for some time was backed by the Lebanese Forces, and the PLO which in this conflict was particularly backed by Syria. The third battle was between Hezbollah and any faction or military that Hezbollah considered to be a

threat in South Lebanon. In addition, more than any other militia, Hezbollah made fierce efforts

to destroy specifically Western targets in Lebanon. On top of all these struggles the Syrian

military tried to exert influence in Lebanon by fighting any faction that was undermining its

interests over there.

Fig. 3.   Map of Lebanon's Division among Militias and Militaries in 1982[11]
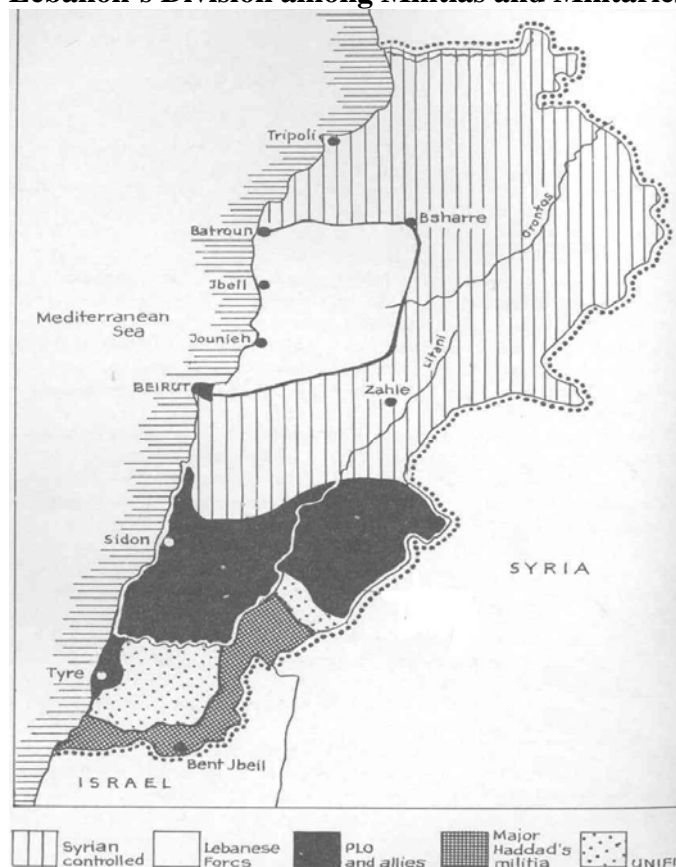
As the map in figure 3 shows, Lebanon was held in a stranglehold. The Lebanese Forces

(LF) controlled the Lebanon Mountain and its coastal cities Batroun, Jbeil, and Jounieh. The

Syrian army had seized the area that lay adjacent to that of the LF. The area they controlled

stretched from Lebanon's northern border down to the Shouf Mountain. The Shouf Mountain

and its hinterland in the Bekaa valley as well as the coastal cities of Sidon and Tyre in the south

were to a large degree controlled by the Lebanese National Movement (LNM) which allied with

the PLO.[12] Beirut was the center stage of the three aforementioned battles and had its own

particular division among the militias and militaries: East Beirut was controlled by the Christian Lebanese Forces while West Beirut was controlled by the Muslims/Druze, the PLO, and the Syrian military. The division of Lebanon's capital was demarcated by a "Green Line" where most fighting occurred between Muslims and Christians.[13] After the Israeli invasion in the summer of 1982, the Israeli army surrounded the fighting factions in West Beirut with a naval blockade and stationed troops on the east side of the Green Line side by side with the Lebanese Forces.[14]

Under these circumstances the Lebanese civilians and those who lived in Beirut in particular were literally caught between the firing lines. Also given the militias' multiple stranglehold of the country, the Lebanese civilians would often find themselves living in an area that was controlled by a faction that, in terms of religious affiliation, was not on their side.[15] Hence, Beirut formed the most schizophrenic divide with civilians being caught in the crossfire of the various fighting factions.

But where did these battles come from? Why had Lebanon slipped into an armed stranglehold that seemed to get only tighter, only eventually to become a microcosm of the problems in the Middle East? Scholars and journalists agree that one incident in particular on April 13, 1975 led to the eruption of the fighting in Lebanon. On that day, in Ain Al Rummaneh, which lies in east Beirut, shots were fired into a congregation at the Church of St. Maron. Pierre Gemayel leader of the Phalange militia was one of the participants in that congregation. It is said that later that day a bus with armed Palestinians passed by this church. Phalange militia who stood guard considered this a provocation and killed the Palestinians in the bus.[16] From that moment onwards armed fights in Lebanon became structural and over time more factions entered the conflict.

Although the events of April 13, 1975 may explain how the fighting started it does not explain from where the enmity among different factions in Lebanon stemmed. After all, Lebanon as the "only parliamentary democracy in the Arab East"[17] seemed unlikely to form a breeding ground for such open hostilities among its own peoples. The significance of the April 13 events in 1975, which set in motion a series of events that would eventually lead up to the 1983 bombing of the U.S. barracks, is rooted in the unofficial starting point by which Lebanese Christians and Lebanese Muslims came to mutually accept each other in the new Lebanese state: the passage of the National Pact.

The National Pact Revisited: Lebanon, 1943

As explained in the first chapter, the National Pact was an unwritten agreement between the Lebanese Christians and Lebanese Muslims. The Pact "corrected" laws and regulations of the French-designed constitution that was put in place in Lebanon during the French mandate, but which did not reflect the reality of Lebanon as did the Pact.[18] Unlike the constitution, the Pact acknowledged that Lebanon's population was not homogenous and thus could not be "governed with the support of only one half of the population."[19] To this end, the Pact's two most significant agreements addressed the division of power among the different religious sects and Lebanon's identity. These two agreements would have significant consequences on social and economic issues and foreign policy in Lebanon.[20] It was agreed that Lebanon would be "neither Eastern nor Western." Instead Lebanon's "Arab features" were to be recognized beyond doubt.[21] In terms of foreign policy this implied that Lebanon was to remain neutral at all times.[22]

On the issue of power sharing it was agreed in the Pact that instead of "simple majority," as designed in the constitution, Christians and Muslims would share political power: that is,

despite the fact that the ratio of parliamentary seats between Christians and Muslims was 6:5 in the constitution, decision-making would only be possible through "consensus and compromise."[23] In practice however, the Maronite Christians would get more executive power by means of their exclusive right to the presidency. This latter point was not only part of the constitution, but it was also agreed upon in the Pact. This specific inequality in the power division would ripple through socially and economically in Lebanon. Ironically, on social and economic issues the Pact remained silent.[24]

After World War II Lebanon's economy outperformed those of its neighboring countries.[25] As Makdisi points out, new industries were developed such as "paper, chemical and metal industries" that served both local and regional demand.[26] Lebanon also developed a workforce and an educational system that was superior to most of its neighboring Arab countries.[27] But not everyone in Lebanon gained from these economic developments. In fact there was a wide divide in "income distribution"[28] which can be mainly ascribed to Lebanon's "laissez-faire economy and Western-oriented business class."[29] With a limited role for the government in the free market, most economic activity simply centered around Beirut and Mount Lebanon, thus excluding other (rural) areas.[30] Overall Christians gained more from Lebanon's prosperity than Muslims. For example, the government would fund Christian schools, but Muslim schools were not subsidized. Consequently, Muslims had less access to high-earning jobs and this widened the social divide between Christians and Muslims.

And Then There Was Nasser

While economic and social inequalities in Lebanon were one cause for unrest, Lebanon's foreign policy was another factor that stirred the country. The disagreements over foreign policy

stem from the ambivalence of the Pact's definition of Lebanon's identity. "Neither Eastern nor Western" implied that Lebanon was to remain neutral in its foreign policy. Yet, in reality, Lebanon as a small country with a heterogeneous population simply could not afford to remain neutral. Even if it did, it would not remain untouched by events that took place outside its borders in the Middle East. In 1948, Lebanon stood the first test as it refrained from any overt stand in the Arab-Israeli war.[31] Here the short duration of the war also contributed to Lebanon overcoming this issue without any real internal debate or divide. Eight years later, however, the internal division of the Lebanese people would be painfully revealed through an external event.

In 1956 Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. In retaliation Israel, Britain, and France bombed strategic locations in Egypt. The Arab world actively supported Nasser, but Camille Chamoun, Lebanon's president at that time, did not dare to take an overt stand for either side.[32] Chamoun undermined the National Pact however by maintaining diplomatic relations with Britain and France during this crisis. Other Arab states had broken off these relations.[33] A year later, Chamoun would further compromise Lebanon's neutral stand when he accepted the Eisenhower Doctrine.[34] This Doctrine was designed by the U.S. to assist countries economically and/or militarily to protect them from the Soviet Union.[35] As Shulimson points out, the Suez crisis gave rise to pan Arabism and therefore no country in the Middle East was willing to make use of the Eisenhower Doctrine.[36] However, against the wishes of most Lebanese politicians, Chamoun accepted it. This acceptance deteriorated Lebanon's internal affairs. After all, if a declaration of neutrality in 1956 was seen as covert support of France in the Suez crisis by part of the Lebanese population, accepting aid from the U.S. in 1957 was clearly a sign to them of Chamoun taking sides with the West and thus violating the National Pact.[37]

The creation of the United Arab Republic in 1958 strengthened the call for pan Arabism among Sunni Lebanese Muslims who supported Nasser.[38] They echoed Nasser's call for Lebanon to join in this new Republic.[39] This call was also underwritten by Druze leader Kamal Jumblatt.[40] At this moment in time Sunni Lebanese Muslims started to turn against their Christian president for two reasons. Not only had Chamoun betrayed the National Pact by tipping Lebanon's political stand in the world towards the West, he now also sought to amend the constitution to make possible his reelection.[41] Chamoun's plans for reelection seemed the last straw that led to civil strife in Lebanon.[42] Outraged by their president's betrayal of the Arab world and by the perceived abuse of his power to amend the constitution Lebanese Sunni Muslims, Druzes, and even some Christians, started revolting. Against this revolt, Pierre Gemayel's Phalange, Antun Saadeh's SSNP, and some smaller militias sided with the president.[43] This was the start of the first civil war in independent Lebanon.[44]

The Lebanese army did not take a stand in this war.[45] As Shulimson points out, "The Lebanese army was a reflection of Lebanese society. General Fouad Chehab, the commander-in-chief and a Christian . . . was afraid that any attempt to put down the revolt by armed forces would mean the dissolution of his army into Christian and Moslem armed cliques."[46] This explains why historically the Lebanese army has played the role of a binding factor in Lebanon's society and not that of a police agent.[47] For this reason the army became a highly ambivalent party to Lebanon's civil war between 1975 and 1990. It never operated with one particular mission against other fighting factions because this could lead to the desertion by soldiers. As such the Lebanese army also symbolizes the failure of Lebanon as a cohesive state and reinforces Salibi's argument that Lebanon was not considered a natural state by all.[48] Without help from the Lebanese army, Chamoun looked to the United States to gain an edge in the civil strife.[49] Half a

year later, without a solution to the question of whether or not Lebanon should join the UAR, but with the election of General Chehab as new president, the strife ended.[50]

Despite the fact that over two thousand Lebanese died in this battle, it still was a war fought with sticks and stones. No faction, be it Christian, Druze, or Muslim, had any real military capabilities. Most participants in the battle were amateurs who would fight part-time after working hours. In light of the much more profound events that occurred in the 1970s and 1980s in Lebanon, the use of the term civil war for the strife of 1958 is not fully justified, even though it has come to be known as Lebanon's first *civil war* since independence.

Chehab's election in 1958 did not remove the ongoing tension over the social and economic inequalities in Lebanon. Nor did his election satisfy the pending question of unification with the United Arab Republic. However, in 1959 Nasser promised Chehab that he would respect Lebanon's independence and refrain from further calls for unity after the latter promised to show "solidarity with the Arab world."[51] Having solved this foreign policy issue, Chehab could now start to build unity among the Lebanese by addressing the social and economic disparities. He introduced developmental programs for "depressed" regions and sought to foster equal access to education and the workforce for Christians and Muslims. [52]

Initially Chehab's proposed changes seemed to work. Both Muslims and Christians believed in his reforms and during his entire presidency Chehab was backed by Gemayel's Phalange *and* Jumblatt's PSP. This goodwill also spilled over to the Sunni Muslims.[53] Over time however Chehab's implemented changes backfired as any reform attempt went against the principles of Lebanon's free market economy.[54] Moreover, Chehab's presidency did not create the envisioned unity among the Lebanese people. The Lebanese would continue to identify themselves first and foremost with their family and their religious community and only after that

with the nation.[55] Chehab's successor Charles Helou, in an attempt to build upon Chehab's

reforms,[56] faced the same problems because the nature of the Pact prevented any development in

Lebanon in which religion would *not* play a role.[57] The Lebanese political establishment, be it

the independents or the parties, Christians or Muslims, had personal stakes and gains in

Lebanon's thriving free market economy. [58] Consequently, hardly any voices were raised inside

parliament to alter the limited role the government played in the sustenance of social/economic

inequalities.[59]

Outside parliament these inequalities were fiercely criticized. Ironically, such critiques

were sometimes initiated and organized by the same people and parties from parliament albeit

under the guise of militias. Over time all religious communities would have their own militia.[60]

The militias' initial function was to protest on the streets to demand socio-economic changes

which remained unaddressed. Druze leader Kamal Jumblatt was the only politician with his

Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) who agitated both inside and outside parliament for a radical

change of the Lebanese political system.[61] Similar to his demands in the years prior to Lebanon's

independence, Jumblatt demanded in essence secularization of the political system. He "insisted

on the abolition of the sectarian quotas in the elections"[62] and the special allocations of key

government positions to certain religious communities. To this end the Druze leader hoped to

reduce the Maronites' power.[63]

Apart from the elite, the Maronites had no problem with secularization in principle. On

the one hand, they, more than any other religious community in Lebanon wanted a "Lebanese"

Lebanon because this meant that at least Lebanon would not be Islamic and perhaps even not that

much Arab.[64] On the other hand, in order to ensure that under a secular system the Maronites

would be safe against the Druzes, they demanded to remain in charge of the presidency.[65] This was unacceptable to Jumblatt.

The Greek Orthodox and Armenians also supported Jumblatt in his attempt to reduce Maronite power.[66] They supported secularization of an independent Lebanon, but not to the extent that Lebanon would isolate itself from other Arab countries.[67] Moreover, some Greek Orthodox people, apart from supporting secularization, were also in favor of reuniting Lebanon with Syria.[68]

The Lebanese Sunnis were divided over the issue of change. On the one hand they would not oppose political secularization for under the current system they did not have much power anyway given that the presidency was for the Maronites only. On the other hand, Sunnis opposed the secularization of Lebanese society since this would mean the end of the shari'a law in Lebanon leading to their isolation from the larger *umma*, or Muslim community.[69] Therefore, by one interpretation, a readjustment of the "sectarian formula" in terms of parliamentary seats and the presidency would be a more favorable scenario.[70]

For the Shiites, who were worst off of all people in Lebanon, any change seemed desirable because their situation could not deteriorate much more.[71] Despite the fact that they were rapidly becoming the largest religious community in Lebanon, they did not receive an appropriate number of parliamentary seats to reflect their proportion of the population.[72] Therefore the Shiites did not outright oppose plans for secularization of the Lebanese political system, as long as it would not affect the shari'a law for civil matters such as marriage and divorce.[73]

It is clear that in the early decades of independence the Lebanese state had failed to take socio-economic measures that would put the religious communities at a more equal level and

promote improved communal co-existence.[74] But economic/social measures alone could not have prevented the civil war in 1975. The ambivalence of Lebanon's identity resulting in an equally ambivalent "neutral" foreign policy was also not without consequences.

As already described above, almost all segments of Lebanese society had organized themselves into political groups or militias. Eventually the tensions between these groups and militias came to a head in 1958. Yet this civil strife was relatively moderate in terms of violence and casualties. Since none of the factions were well organized, equipped, let alone convinced that it was necessary to use violent means, the Lebanese would continue to pursue their wish for political, economic, and social change by protests, strikes, and sometimes heated debates in parliament.[75] It was a precarious situation, but, with the exception of 1958, the Lebanese could still co-exist.[76] As such the developments recounted above only partially explain the events that would take place in Lebanon during the 1970s and 1980s. The question then is where did the "dialogue by fire"[77] (for which Lebanon came to be known) come from? The answer to this question is rooted in a series of events outside Lebanon starting in the second half of the 1960s when Israel attacked the Arab East.

Egypt, Gaza, Israel, Jordan, Syria, and the West Bank, 1967

On June 10, 1967 Israel surprised the Arab nations and the rest of the world with a quick but highly effective military operation. Within six days Israel had conquered the Egyptian Sinai, the Golan Heights in Syria, parts of Jordan, the Palestinian territory of Gaza and the West Bank and "the whole of Jerusalem."[78] All of a sudden the Palestinians became stateless refugees. The Six Day War was a "humiliating defeat" for Arabs."[79] The Palestinians came to realize that from now on they would be the only ones fighting for the Palestinian cause.[80] The Palestine Liberation

Organization (PLO) emerged as the organization leading the struggle to regain Palestine.[81]

Yasser Arafat, the leader of Fatah, the largest Palestinian guerilla organization, became the

PLO's chairman in 1968.[82] Consequently, Fatah would take over the PLO's agenda.[83] Arafat

was of the opinion that the PLO as a stateless entity would be entitled to "operate unhindered

from [any] Arab territory." [84] The PLO's first choice to set up camp was in Jordan. The

Jordanian King Hussain soon realized however that the PLO's increased military activity

undermined his country's sovereignty and would trigger Israeli retaliation. In 1970, the king

ordered the Jordanian military to wipe out the PLO. The conflict now known as "Black

September"[85] cost the lives of more than twenty thousand Palestinians.[86] Those Palestinians who

survived "Black September" fled to Lebanon while others were removed by Syrian troops and

forced to move to Lebanon.[87]

Making of the First "King" and the Failure of Lebanon as a State

During the 1960s the struggle for political reform and social/economic equality continued

in Lebanon. By the time the PLO was forced into Lebanon, the Lebanese people, apart from the

government, had organized themselves into two main political camps. On the one hand, there

was the Lebanese National Movement (LNM) consisting of Jumblatt's PSP and several

Communist parties and other smaller Left parties. The LNM stood for social and economic

reform, abolition of confessionalism and Pan Arabism. Druzes, Muslims, and even some

Christians were part of this movement.[88] On the other hand, there was the Lebanese Front[89]

which consisted of Christian militias only: Pierre Gemayel's Phalange, Camille Chamoun's

National Liberal Party and the Guardian of the Cedars, the Tanzim, the Tiger militia, and the

Marada.[90] In contrast to the LNM, the Christian militias were in favor of a Christian nation or a

secular one, if no other alternative was at hand so long as Christians maintained their dominance

in Lebanon. In the middle of this was the Lebanese government with the support of the Christian

and Muslim elite.

During the 1960s and until the entrance of the Palestinian guerilla fighters in Lebanon,

the internal struggle in Lebanon was hardly violent, with the exception of 1958. In fact it is safe

to conclude that until 1967 the Lebanese factions/coalitions were nothing more than "paper

tigers" given the little impact they had made on the political, economic, and social status quo.

Even the government due to the "delicacy" of its military composition lacked the actual means to

end the struggle by using violence. The entrance of the Palestinian guerillas however changed

the balance of power in Lebanon dramatically when Jumblatt noticed the unique opportunity

these guerilla fighters could offer him for his cause.[91] If he could win over the PLO, Jumblatt

must have reasoned, he would be able to defeat the Lebanese Front and the government and

disrupt the status quo. Thereupon Jumblatt presented himself as the "protector" of the PLO in

Lebanon.[92] To Arafat's delight, Jumblatt actively campaigned to allow for the PLO to attack

Israel from Lebanese soil.

Other Arab leaders, who were relieved that the PLO was no longer on their territories,

also pressed hard to grant the PLO the right to establish itself in Lebanon and to operate from its

soil against Israel.[93] The Lebanese government, paralyzed by the prescription of the National

Pact on neutrality and the division of its own people on this matter, could not raise a voice strong

enough against the outside pressure, nor was it successful in removing the PLO from its country

by force.[94] Here already the first real signs of Lebanon's state failure are visible. The state's

inability to "use militaries to defend their citizens against external threats and . . . to defend

against internal ones,"[95] characteristics of a failed state as outlined by Englehart and Kurzman,

would certainly apply to Lebanon from this moment onwards. Several clashes between the Lebanese army and the PLO only led to the deterioration of the internal situation in Lebanon. Under pressure from other Arab leaders, the Lebanese army and the PLO signed an agreement that would compromise Lebanon's sovereignty in 1970 and *de facto* formalize its failure as a state in charge of its own land and borders. The Cairo Agreement, as it became known, formalized the Arab leaders' wishes.

The weakness of the state was made evident by the fact that the Lebanese parliament, instead of safeguarding Lebanon's sovereignty and interests, ratified the Cairo Agreement without knowing the exact content of the document.[96] Lebanon was now to facilitate all PLO operations by giving the Palestinians, among other things, "the right to work, residence, and movement . . . in Lebanon . . . . The establishment of posts of the Palestinian Armed Struggle . . . [and the right] for Palestinians resident in Lebanon . . . to participate in the Palestinian revolution through the Armed Struggle."[97] Ironically these rights were purportedly framed "in accordance with the principles of the sovereignty and security of Lebanon."[98] In actuality, with this agreement the PLO had obtained a "state within a state" and Lebanon's sovereignty had thus been compromised.[99] In fact, Lebanon had become a "surrogate state," a second Palestine, and Beirut would become Arafat's New Jerusalem.[100]

Meanwhile, Jumblatt's active lobby with the PLO started to bear fruit. The PLO decided to ally with Jumblatt's National Movement. The PLO members sympathized with the challenger to the Lebanese establishment because both had a secular nationalist ideology. They also felt that they could further their interest in addressing the deprived situation of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and to recruit more refugees to their cause.[101] As Odeh points out, the Lebanese government had kept a tight control over these refugees by keeping them in camps.[102]

Many Lebanese, mostly Christians, had opposed the PLO's presence in Lebanon from the outset.[103] They actively protested and demanded from their government "fortification and defense of border villages."[104] These calls were never met for the army was unable to effectively fight the PLO to defend its borders and people. Moreover, the Lebanese government had no intention of expanding its military despite the situation.[105]

In response to the LNM's newly received arms from the PLO, the formal approval of the Cairo Agreement, the increased Lebanese Muslim support for the PLO, and the Lebanese government's failure[106] to do anything about this foreign "intruder," the Maronite Christians started to take matters into their own hands.[107] What followed was a race to get ahead: numerous Lebanese (Christian) militias such as the Phalange, Tanzim, Guardian of the Cedars, and the National Liberal Party (NLP) started to arm. Some militias even received help from the PLO; others sought help either from Western allies, Syria, or Iran.[108] This development of "outside arms supplies" to non-state actors in Lebanon, which the Lebanese government could not prevent, was yet another characteristic of a failing state.[109]

The Civil War and Jumblatt's Usable Past, Lebanon, 1975-76

The events of April 13, 1975 in Ain Rummaneh were the spark that set in motion the first phase of Lebanon's civil war. But as explained above, the ingredients to this war cannot only be ascribed to the situation in Lebanon itself. Rather, through its own failure to protect its borders and its people, Lebanon came to absorb other conflicts from Palestine, Israel, Syria, and Jordan which then became part of Lebanon's own struggles.[110] This combination turned out to be explosive: now Jumblatt's LNM together with Arafat's PLO faced the Lebanese Front which included Pierre Gemayel's Phalange.[111] Fighting erupted throughout Lebanon in the Lebanon

Mountain, the Shouf, Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, and the Bekaa between (smaller) militias belonging to either camp. But Beirut with its mixed population became the real center stage of all the fighting militias.[112]

Lebanese President Sulayman Franjieh tried to implement some damage control in the first phase of the war by setting up a "military government."[113] The Christian militias incorrectly assumed that the military government would be able to strike a decisive blow against the LNM and the PLO or to attack them.[114] But all the government could do was order the military to "showcase" force on the streets of Beirut, a gesture that did not impress the fighting militias.[115]

The first real clash between Muslim militia and the Lebanese army took place five months after the Ain Rummaneh incident and stirred up heavier fighting in Beirut.[116] Militia street fights in Beirut and elsewhere not only shocked the Lebanese civilians, but also the rest of the world, disrupting Lebanon's image as the Switzerland of the Middle and Beirut's image as the Paris of the Middle East. Violence and destruction came to be associated with Lebanon and its capital. By October 1975 the material damage in Lebanon totaled "$700 million."[117] Fifteen thousand people became unemployed as Beirut witnessed an exodus of foreign companies that no longer saw any viability for their business in Lebanon. Not only did the departure of these companies mean a significant loss of foreign capital, but at the same these companies would be followed by twenty thousand Lebanese and Westerners who could not bear to live under the circumstances of the civil war.[118] It was clear that in contrast to 1958, the fighting would persist.

The government and the leaders of the Christian militias were aware that the key person to negotiate an end to this violent impasse would be Jumblatt, for he tightly held the ropes of the LNM and had the backing of the heavily armed PLO.[119] Jumblatt's LNM received extra support from Amal a newly founded Shiite militia. Imam Musa Sadr, an Iranian born Shiite, had created

Amal, which means *hope*, to end the deprived conditions of the Shiites in South Lebanon and the

Bekaa. At the early stages of the war it seemed logical for them to join the LNM since it fought

for economic and social equity. Moreover, like Jumblatt, Sadr believed that the PLO should have

the right to fight Israel and that the PLO formed a good buffer against Israeli violence in South

Lebanon.[120]

Meanwhile Lebanon's civil war attracted Syria's interest. Syria had never recognized

Lebanon as a separate political entity[121] since the latter's creation by France at the Conference of

San Remo in 1920. Initially Syria considered the PLO as a means to regain control of Lebanon.

In early 1976 Syria tried to broker a cease fire and peace agreement in the hope to increase its

influence in Lebanese politics. Facilitating Jumblatt's call for equality, Syria proposed equal

distribution of parliamentary seats, but not equal power sharing.[122] Jumblatt rejected the Syrian

proposal and stuck to his vision of abolishing the confessional character of the political system in

Lebanon. This was still unacceptable to both the government and the Christians who preferred to

stick with the sectarian base in politics as "outlined" in the National Pact.[123] Consequently, the

fighting continued. Beirut got divided into a Muslim (West) and a Christian half (East) as the

militias of the respective religious groups had gained an upper hand in these areas.[124]

Syria' President Hafez Al-Assad, in a final attempt to appease Jumblatt before invading

Lebanon, invited the Druze leader to Damascus, Syria. There Assad enquired of Jumblatt what it

was that he wanted. Jumblatt's response was both chilling and revealing because his response did

not address any of the issues that he so vociferously strove for before and during the civil war in

Lebanon. He did not mention anything about secularism, nothing about pan-Arabism, let alone

co-existence in Lebanon. Instead Jumblatt clarified to Assad that all he wanted was "revenge."[125]

He wanted revenge against the Maronites for what they had done to his people in the early 1800s

in the Shouf Mountain when Bashir Jumblatt was killed and the Maronites later, thanks to France, were given a primary position in Lebanon. Therefore, in Jumblatt's eyes, the Lebanese Front, consisting of mainly Maronite Christians, had to be destroyed.[126]

It is at this point that Assad realized that Jumblatt was simply a man thirsty for power in Lebanon. Jumblatt was willing to risk his people's lives to accomplish this goal and, more importantly, Jumblatt would never accept any foreign intervention in Lebanon, let alone Syrian annexation. Moreover, Jumblatt's strong standing in the civil war[127] had put Jumblatt in a position to make or break Lebanon for within less than a year the LNM had come to control around eighty percent of Lebanon's territory.[128] At this point Assad also realized that the PLO's actions were not in Syria's interest in Lebanon.[129] Therefore Assad decided to "assist" the Lebanese government and intervene against the PLO to bring back "stability."[130]

Death of Jumblatt

Before invading Lebanon, Syria took two precautionary measures. First, it prevented arms from being transported across its border to the LNM/PLO forces.[131] Second, it pressed Lebanese politicians to vote for Elias Sarkis, the candidate it favored most during the next Lebanese presidential elections. To the outrage of Jumblatt, both tactics worked. The LNM/PLO had trouble in rearming and Sarkis was elected president.[132] With Sarkis in place, Syria for the first time since 1920 had a foot in the Lebanese political doorstep and it would make sure that soon the door would be wide open to never close again.

By the middle of 1976, Syria delivered on its promise to assist the Lebanese government and the Christian militias in their struggle against the LNM and PLO.[133] Now the PLO, as it struggled to get new arms, faced three different camps that were ready to strike a decisive blow

against it. However this blow was never struck as the PLO requested a ceasefire with Syria. Syria granted this request and the civil war temporarily halted.[134]

The outcome of this ceasefire however was a nightmare for the Christian militias and the Lebanese government. Syria concluded that the PLO could maintain its "state within a state" in Lebanon, albeit further down the south in Lebanon.[135] Moreover, Syria decided it should keep its own military force in Lebanon to ensure stability. Thus, if the Cairo Agreement had not already ended Lebanon's sovereignty, then Syria's agreement with the PLO certainly did. Not only the Lebanese Christians, but also Jumblatt openly opposed Syria's prolonged presence in Lebanon.[136] Less than a year later on March 17, 1977 Kamal Jumblatt was assassinated while on his way to Damascus, Syria. New rounds of fighting started in Lebanon.[137]

CHAPTER 3

MAKING OF A NEW "KING": BASHIR GEMAYEL'S USABLE PAST, BEGIN'S INTERPRETATION, REAGAN'S TRANSLATION

The second round of fighting in Lebanon was marked by a shift in alliances among the fighting factions. Syria had turned against the Christian militias, who no longer accepted Syria's presence in Lebanon, and found a new ally in the weakened PLO.[1] While President Sarkis was still tied to Syria, the militias of the Lebanese Front were divided over the issue of Lebanon's national identity and political alliances. The Christian militias were confronted by the question of whether Lebanon was an Arab country or not. Some Christians believed that given its vulnerability in the region, Lebanon would be much better off with Syria. Pro-Syrian Lebanese, such as the majority of the Greek Orthodox, revived this idea of rejoining the motherland.[2] The Phalange members, under their new leader Bashir Gemayel (son of Pierre Gemayel who was succeeded by him), and the National Liberal Party under Chamoun were outright against such ideas.[3] Instead they supported Bashir Gemayel's Lebanese Solution[4] of a "Lebanon for the Lebanese."[5] Bashir Gemayel came to attract and represent a new generation of Christian Lebanese. Bashir Gemayel's solution foresaw a Lebanon in which both Christians and Muslims, along with Druzes, would live together albeit under strong Christian leadership.[6]

In March 1978 after Palestinians had killed thirty-four passengers in a bus near Haifa, Israel invaded Lebanon. Israel's purpose was to establish a safety zone in Lebanon to prevent further PLO attacks.[7] Initially Israel had gone as far north up to the Litani River. Only after UN resolution 425 called for Israeli pull-out and their replacement with United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) units did Israel retreat. However, instead of a complete withdrawal, Israel

established a ten-kilometer, safety zone south and east of the newly established UNIFIL zone in

Lebanon.[8]

Meanwhile, Bashir Gemayel's Phalange and Chamoun's Lebanese National Movement

were battling Franjieh's militia since the latter supported Syrian military presence in Lebanon.[9]

Syrian troops joined in to support Franjieh's militias in this struggle for control of Beirut. What

followed was the most devastating conflict up to that moment in East Beirut. Lebanese civilians

paid a heavy price. Many of their houses and apartments were destroyed during the battle. Those

who were lucky would only find their homes pockmarked by bullets and their windows

shattered. The less fortunate people would find their valuables stolen or, even worse, find

militias using their homes as strategic sniper points. The number of casualties was high and the

material damage was enormous as more and more Lebanese lost their jobs. Beirut became a "hell

on earth" and a large number of Lebanese Christians fled from Lebanon to Europe, the Gulf, or

the United States.[10] In response to the Christians' flight from Lebanon, Chamoun "accused

[Syria] of attempting genocide against the Christian Community."[11] Surprisingly though, under

the leadership of Bashir Gemayel, the Phalange eventually managed to force the Syrian troops

out of East Beirut.[12] With the exodus of Lebanese Christian civilians, Bashir Gemayel,

representing the Phalange, had become the last Lebanese Christian man standing over the rubble

and smoke in Beirut.[13] Bashir Gemayel also defeated other smaller dissident Christian militias

that were not part of his Phalange and founded a new coalition under the banner of the

"Lebanese Forces."[14]

Bashir Gemayel's popularity and his military capabilities had not gone unnoticed in

Israel.[15] In fact a year before Bashir Gemayel's victory over Syria in East Beirut, the then newly-

elected Israeli Prime Minister Menachim Begin had even developed an alternate approach

towards Lebanon. Instead of viewing Lebanon as an inherently problematic country, Begin came

to inscribe Lebanon as a Christian nation that was facing "genocide" by the PLO and Syria.[16]

After the Phalange had proven itself capable of facing Syria, Begin considered the possibility of

killing two birds with one stone by supporting this pro-Lebanese militia in driving out the PLO

from Lebanon and putting pressure on Syria to leave. To this end, a year before Begin's election,

Israel had already applied an "open fence policy"[17] by which Lebanese Christians and dissidents

from the Lebanese army could live and work in Israel and join a new military faction to fight

along with the Israeli army: The Army of Free Lebanon (AFL).[18] Two years later, in 1978, it was

clear that Bashir Gemayel did not mind "Israeli assistance" against Syria and the PLO.[19]

The closer cooperation between the Lebanese Forces and Israel stirred violent responses

from both the PLO and Syria against the Jewish State.[20] By the end of 1978, the Palestinians

made several attempts to break through the UNIFIL zone to strike at Israel. The UNIFIL troops,

deployed for observation and thus not prepared to fight, were a vulnerable target of the PLO.

Consequently the PLO had no problems in resuming its strikes at Israel.[21] Meanwhile Syria,

aware that Bashir Gemayel sought help from Israel, undertook more battles against the Lebanese

Forces in northern Lebanon, in particular in the city of Zahle, east of Beirut.[22] With these actions

Syrian President Assad tried to impose Syria's will on the Christian resistance in Lebanon.[23]

In 1981 Israel's new Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon planned to expand military

operations in Lebanon in support of the Lebanese Forces.[24] In Sharon's view Israel together with

the Lebanese Forces would be able to purge the PLO and Syria out of Lebanon.[25] In line with

Prime Minister Begin's vision of Lebanon, Sharon designed a plan that would ensure the upper

hand for the Christians in Lebanon.[26] Thereupon Bashir Gemayel should become Lebanon's next

president and sign a peace treaty with Israel. Ultimately then, both Sharon and Begin reasoned

that Israel would no longer be the only "non-Arab" state in the near Arab East.[27]

On June 6, 1982, Israel executed "Operation Peace for Galilee" and invaded Lebanon.[28]

Within four days the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) stormed through the UNIFIL zone, the coastal

cities of Tyre and Sidon which were almost completely flattened as the IDF passed through, and

also the Bekaa Valley, clashing with the PLO and Syrian military, to eventually reach the south

and east of Beirut where the PLO and Syrian military were ready to fight the IDF.[29]

Although the IDF's march through Lebanon had been rapid and it had secured its position

in East Beirut,[30] the IDF was less successful in defeating the PLO in the West part of Lebanon's

capital. The PLO would bend, but not break. What followed was an all-out Israeli aerial attack

on Beirut, Tyre, and Sidon. Most significant was Israel's strike on Beirut on August 12, 1982. In

an attempt to force the PLO to surrender, the IDF bombed West Beirut for eleven consecutive

hours.[31]

"Destroying Beirut" and U.S. Evacuation of PLO Militia

The Israeli raids formed spectacular footage for TV news media, but also newspapers and

weeklies sketched a telling picture of a beleaguered Beirut. Their audience would come to learn

of a "new" Beirut, this time not of a city that was founded on an East-West binary but one

scarred by violence as it was systematically being destroyed by an outside force.[32] "Israel

Tightens the Noose," declared the August 16, 1982 cover of *Time* magazine under its heading

"Destroying Beirut" and the accompanying picture of black, white, and orange smoke coming

from the apartment buildings on the city's coast in the background bore witness to the

catastrophic effects of the bombing. The destruction of Beirut surpassed that of any destruction

that had occurred in the first phase of the civil war in Lebanon in 1975-76 since Israel used high-tech warplanes, gunboats, and carriers with soldiers.[33] The Israeli raids not only crippled Beirut's infrastructure, they were also psychologically and emotionally devastating for the Lebanese as "hour after hour"[34] "building after building [came] crashing down."[35] Sleepless and exhausted, the Lebanese developed an almost daily ritual in which they sought shelter in the basements of their homes and apartment buildings.[36] In West Beirut people had no water and electricity. Israel's naval blockade resulted in food shortages and the exorbitant prices for staple goods while the city also ran out of medicines.[37] Tens of thousands of people tried to flee to East Beirut which was being shelled less although here the PLO fought Israeli with artillery.[38] From the early days of the invasion, hospitals, already burdened with wounded people from the civil war, were being overwhelmed with new victims from the Israeli bombardments.

For example, the American University Hospital (AUH) in West Beirut, the most advanced of all hospitals in Lebanon, was a scene of chaos as people inside and outside the hospital building begged for help because they could get no medication and food. The overworked staff had no place for newly wounded people being carried in as all the beds and rooms were already stacked with patients.[39] To add to their woes, at some point the AUH was shelled and patients were forced to move to the hospital's basement.[40] To relieve some of the burden at the AUH, hospitals in East Beirut tried to move patients through the Green Line (not an easy task), and the Lebanese Red Cross made a call for doctors from anywhere to come help relieve a situation that was already out of hand.[41]

The impasse between the IDF and the PLO was finally broken with a plan designed for the PLO to leave Lebanon in an "honorable" way. U.S. President Ronald W. Reagan ordered U.S. Marines to help evacuate and move PLO militia fighters from Beirut to several countries

such as Tunisia, Algeria, and Jordan in September 1982.[42] As part of the deal the U.S. promised

Arafat that they would keep U.S. Marines in West Beirut for at least a month to prevent Israeli or

Phalange militia from entering the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.[43] However,

after the quick and successful PLO evacuation, U.S. President Ronald Reagan did not consider

this to be important and sent the U.S. Marines back to sea.[44]

Death of Bashir Gemayel

The PLO evacuation from West Beirut left a vacuum between the fighting factions in

Lebanon. Their respective leaders, among whom were Walid Jumblatt (son of Kamal Jumblatt

and successor to his father as the leader of the Lebanese Druzes), Bashir Gemayel, and Lebanese

President Sarkis, discussed what to do with this sudden change in Lebanon.[45] Both Walid

Jumblatt and Bashir Gemayel agreed that Syria had to leave Lebanon. However, Walid Jumblatt

and Bashir Gemayel could not compromise on the latter's backing by Israel.[46] Walid Jumblatt

found the Israeli intervention against the Palestinians unacceptable and yet another form of

"genocide."[47] Bashir Gemayel strongly disagreed with Walid Jumblatt. Knowing that Israel

wanted him to become the next president he defended their temporary presence as a means to

liberate Lebanon.[48] To some extent this disagreement again highlights the discussion of pan-

Arabism versus Lebanese particularism and Walid Jumblatt's commitment to realize his father's

vision of a Lebanon that would not be dominated politically by Maronite Christians. In fact, to

that end Walid Jumblatt would later ally himself to Syria.[49]

As mentioned before, Begin had envisaged having Lebanon as a Christian neighbor. Up

to Bashir Gemayel's election in September 1982, Begin assumed that this was also what the

Phalange leader had envisioned. Yet, to Begin's astonishment, Bashir Gemayel after his election

made it clear that his vision for Lebanon was "slightly" different from Begin's. When Bashir

Gemayel shared his vision with Begin in the late 1970s, he always had emphasized the special

position of the Maronite Christians in Lebanon and Lebanon's particular position in the Arab

world. However, instead of arguing for an exclusively Christian nation as Begin did, Bashir

Gemayel actually spoke of "a country of Lebanese Christians and Muslims."[50]

Bashir Gemayel shared his father's vision to create unity among all Lebanese where

Christians, Muslims and Druze co-existed peacefully. He believed that strong (Maronite

Christian) leadership was necessary and that he was the right man for the task. However, from

his meeting with Walid Jumblatt after the PLO evacuation, Bashir Gemayel knew that Israel's

presence would undermine his authority vis-à-vis the Muslim community inside and outside

Lebanon. Moreover, to Bashir Gemayel the idea of a Lebanon without Muslims, without any

connection to the Arab world, and with a sole connection to the Jewish State, was irreconcilable

with his vision of a Lebanese past with origins in 1861. From 1861, Lebanon and the Maronites

had prospered thanks to Lebanon's close relations with the West and its function as a

commercial bridge between the Arab East and the West. This was also the Lebanon that his

father sought to protect before and after Lebanon's independence as the Maronite Christians

slowly became a minority in Lebanon. Bashir Gemayel therefore considered a peace treaty with

Israel an obstacle to his vision of a united Lebanese people. [51]

Shortly thereafter, on September 14, 1982, as Bashir Gemayel met with Phalange

members in East Beirut, a bomb explosion flattened the building he was in.[52] Days before Bashir

Gemayel's inauguration, Lebanon had lost its future king.[53] It is not clear who was responsible

for this assassination, some claimed that Syria was behind it, others said that it may have been

militia from Franjieh, and again others accused Israel.[54]

The reaction to Bashir Gemayel's assassination was devastating for the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. On September 16, 1982, Phalange militias with the assistance of the IDF marched through West Beirut to reach the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. Once the Phalange had entered the camps, the IDF stood guard around the camps.[55] During the next two days, the Phalange militia systematically killed between eight hundred and one thousand Palestinians.[56]

An attempt to erase this two-day massacre failed as some victims had managed to escape and inform people of the horror that was taking place in the two camps.[57] Soon, journalists who were led into the camps reported yet another horrific event from Lebanon.[58] Within days the world was confronted with pictures of trampled children with open skulls, men with jaws broken and fractured heads, and babies with arms cut-off.[59] People throughout the world turned their anger towards the United States.[60] After all, against its promise to Arafat the U.S. had ordered its Marines back two weeks too early thus making it easier for any militia or military to reach the Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut.[61] It was at this point that President Reagan once again ordered the U.S. Marines to go to Beirut.[62]

Apart from Reagan's order to evacuate the PLO militia from Beirut, the U.S. had not played an active role in the Lebanon crisis thus far. A year earlier Reagan had sent Ambassador Philip Habib with the task to negotiate peace between the warring parties in Lebanon and Bashir Gemayel's assassination was a blow to the White House since it "groomed [Bashir] for the presidency" in 1980.[63] But Reagan's decision to send the U.S. Marines back to Beirut after the Sabra and Shatila massacres was a step that went beyond the mere passive stand the U.S. had taken towards Lebanon since 1958. In fact Reagan's decision to send the Marines back to Beirut revealed a new course of direction for U.S. foreign policy in the entire Middle East.

This new course under the Reagan Administration was surprising because initially Reagan had presented his government as the most pro-Israeli government in U.S. history.[64] Israel, since its foundation in 1948, has always had a special relationship with the U.S. The Six Day War in 1967 in particular had proven that in Israel the U.S. had found a militarily strong ally in the Arab East. However, what Israel could not offer the U.S. was a fulfillment of American oil needs.[65] To that end and in light of the aftermath of the Iranian revolution and the subsequent loss of the U.S.'s oil-rich Persian ally, Reagan had started to strengthen diplomatic relations with the oil-rich Arab state of Saudi Arabia.[66]

Reagan had also started to lean more towards Saudi Arabia because at times Israel did not act in the U.S.'s best interest with regards to its peace efforts in the Middle East.[67] For a long time the U.S. had considered peace between Egypt and Israel as a primary condition for peace to prevail in the Middle East at large. However, the effect of this peace was minimized as Israel expanded its military operations elsewhere.[68] Israel's invasion in Lebanon was a case in point.[69] It had heightened the risk of a war between not only the PLO and Israel but also a war between Egypt and Israel[70] and possibly Syria and Israel. In contrast to Israel as a Jewish State, Saudi Arabia as an Arab Muslim state would be able to get other Arab states at the negotiation table and at such instances the king of Saudi Arabia could use his oil resources either as a stick or a carrot towards the countries that needed to reach an agreement.[71] Hence, Reagan had come to consider Saudi Arabia's "checkbook" diplomacy as a suitable and effective means to support U.S. peace efforts in the Middle East.[72]

U.S. diplomatic engagement of Saudi Arabia required careful balancing.[73] As such, intervention in Lebanon offered Reagan the opportunity to kill two birds with one stone. Intervention could create goodwill in the Arab world while at the same time intervention could

also help to create, as Reagan put it, "more Egypts."[74] With the latter Reagan meant "Arab

nations that are willing to come forward as Egypt did and establish a peace treaty [and] recognize

the right of Israel to exist."[75] Since the founding of Israel Lebanon had made it clear that it

would be the second Arab state to sign a peace treaty with Israel. As a small nation surrounded

by the Arab world, it could not afford to be the first. However, when Egypt became the first to

sign a peace treaty with Israel in 1979, Lebanon was no longer in a position to sign such a treaty

for a year earlier Israel had invaded Lebanon to fight the PLO. In 1982 a renewed and

devastating invasion of Israel, although under the pretension that Bashir Gemayel would

eventually sign a peace-treaty, made an official peace between Lebanon and Israel simply

impossible. Hence, Reagan considered that some form of intervention after the Israeli invasion in

Lebanon could be a means not only to fulfill the requirement of balancing Saudi Arabia's

checkbook diplomacy, but also to create yet another "Egypt."

Thus, as part of a change in U.S. foreign relations and policies in the Middle East based

on American oil interests and the awareness that Israel was not always acting in American

interests in the region, Lebanon was suddenly put at the fore of U.S. foreign policy in 1982. It

was the first time since 1958 when U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower had sent Marines to

Beirut, during Lebanon's civil strife, that Lebanon again became the center focus of U.S. foreign

policy in the Middle East.[76] The Marine operation in Lebanon in 1982 would be in stark contrast

to the operation of '58. The '58 operation is said to be the most successful U.S. military

operation "of its kind" since the end of World War II.[77] In fact it was so successful that at times

it would not even be considered a genuine military operation. Moreover, it had little impact on

Lebanon's image and representation as a beautiful and cosmopolitan country at that time. [78]

"Operation Blue Bat," Beirut, 1958

The success of the U.S. Marines' mission "Operation Blue Bat" can be ascribed partly to the U.S.'s awareness of the complex situation in Lebanon in 1958. The U.S. had decided not to meddle too much in Lebanon's affairs, but rather let its Marines act as a showcase of force in Lebanon: they were to make clear to those who rebelled against Chamoun what diplomatic capabilities the Lebanese government had.[79] That is not to say that the U.S. Marines were simply a tool for Chamoun himself during the civil strife. On the contrary, the Marines' mission would end the minute Lebanon had elected a new president.

The Marines' mission revealed that the violence of the civil strife in 1958 in Lebanon by no means was as destructive as that of the civil war that started in 1975. The two Marine landings of 1958 were most telling in that regards. During the first Marine landing, which later was described as "an open-air circus,"[80] while anticipating resistance from rebels the Marines were actually welcomed by "bikini-clad sunbathers"[81] who were eager to help the Marines unload their equipment on the beach.[82] The second Marine landing was even mocked by the U.S. press as mere "entertainment to the Lebanese public"[83] as "the Lebanese knew [the Marines] were to land and the Marines knew there would be no fight."[84] In describing the situation the U.S. Marines found themselves in, a "military authority at the Pentagon" said that it was "not war, but like war."[85]

Indeed, the situation the Marines found themselves in during the operation in Beirut in 1958 came close to the situation of a Lebanon during peace time. Even during the operation the press could still describe "Downtown Lebanon as an Alice-in-Wonderland place"[86] where Marines would grab a quick beer at the famous St. George Hotel while surrounded by the local jet set,[87] enjoy free coffee, cola, and sweet corn from the vendors at the coast[88] and were thrown

fruit at as a sign of welcoming in Beirut.[89]   When Reagan sent U.S. Marines to Lebanon twenty four years later after their successful evacuation of the PLO from Beirut things would be very different.

U.S. Marines in Lebanon and a Shiite Usable Past, Beirut, 1982-83

Initially the re-entry of the twelve hundred[90] U.S. Marines in Beirut brought a sense of optimism in Lebanon. With Israel appeased by U.S. military presence and with the PLO already out of Beirut, the Lebanese felt that the war would be over soon.[91] As shops re-opened in Lebanon, the Lebanese went out to buy fresh vegetables and fruits, took walks on the *Corniche*, and even began talking business again.[92] Lebanese who had fled the country started to come back and some reconstruction was taking place around the Green Line in Beirut thanks to a generous gift from a Sunni Lebanese businessman in Saudi Arabia.[93] Hence, except for the destroyed buildings, for a short while the Marines got a taste of the Beirut their predecessors had enjoyed in 1958. The Lebanese in turn were happy with the Marines' presence as they considered the Marines to be the protectors of Lebanon against Israel.[94] Soon however this perception and optimism would change. Lebanon had been off the White House's foreign policy radar for too long. The complex situation the U.S. now literally faced with the Marines' presence in Lebanon went beyond the White House's information and imagination. It was as if the White House had taken a seat in front of a "time bomb"[95] wired with a large number of local militias and foreign militaries. And the U.S., optimistic because it considered that with the PLO gone there was potentially less danger in Beirut, had no idea which wire(s) "to cut."[96]

The redeployment of the Marines to Beirut was not free of concerns and critiques. U.S. Senators were divided over the redeployment of the Marines as some feared that the Marines'

presence would ignite new fighting in Lebanon.[97] Other Senators preferred to wait with the Marine redeployment and first see how the militias would act in Lebanon as Amin Gemayel had become the president.[98] Also, concerns were raised by the press. One journalist asked Reagan whether "the Marine presence [in Lebanon] could lead to another long entanglement such as Vietnam."[99] Reagan immediately dismissed this notion of a Vietnam-like situation for the Marines in Lebanon saying that he believed that the other foreign forces, Syria and Israel, present in Lebanon would leave Lebanon as soon as possible. Moreover in a letter to Congress Reagan stated that "there is no . . . expectation that U.S. armed forces will become involved in hostilities."[100] Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger was less optimistic about the mission and he expressed his fears that the Marines in Lebanon could be drawn into combat.[101]

Indeed, from the outset the situation of the Marines in Lebanon was, as one Democratic representative put it, "a man walking barefoot in a glass factory."[102] Six factors in particular contributed to the increased danger the Marines in Lebanon would find themselves in. First of all, Reagan had sent the Marines on a peacekeeping mission. This was remarkable, for, besides UNIFIL in South Lebanon, the U.S. Marines would be the only force at that time that had entered Lebanon without a combative purpose. Moreover, there simply was no peace to begin with in Lebanon. True, the PLO had been evacuated, but there still was a lot of tension between Syria, Israel, and all the Lebanese militias in Lebanon. The Marines as a non-combatant group in Beirut were thus like "sitting ducks."[103]

Secondly, the failed effort of the U.S. to restore Lebanon's stability not only prolonged the Marines' presence in Lebanon, but also increased the tense situation the Marines would find themselves in. Here the White House's misperception of the reality of Lebanese politics played a role. As it had become obvious that Lebanon had lost all control over its own country, Reagan's

plan aimed to "restore the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon"[104] by creating a "single united Lebanese army and government [that would control] its own territory."[105] As Friedman points out, the assumption that underlined this plan was that the U.S. had "made Lebanon an extension of what it knew."[106] It saw that Lebanon had "a 'President,' a 'parliament,' and [an army]."[107] It considered that if these institutions would be reinforced then the problem would be solved in Lebanon.[108] But it was exactly the precarious characteristics of these institutions and their failure to work together and take care of their people that had contributed in part to the start of Lebanon's civil war in 1975.[109]

A third factor that heightened the Marines' vulnerability was the result of a contradiction between U.S. perception of and policy towards Lebanon in 1982. As implied in the previous point, the U.S. had *de facto* considered Lebanon as a failed state. Hence it had sent Marines to Beirut. These Marines were stationed at Beirut International Airport (BIA). However, at the same time, the U.S. considered it necessary to give the impression to the outside world that the Lebanese government was still in control over its land. To this end, the U.S. considered BIA as a gateway to the rest of the world and an important symbol and sought to create an impression of Lebanese autonomy.[110] Therefore, they left the Lebanese army with the responsibility of taking charge of security measures in and around the compounds at BIA. Consequently the Marines were forced to accept all "civilian traffic of every variety" and had no adequate means to take care of their own safety at their base.[111]

Another factor that would increase the Marines' vulnerable position was that Lebanese President Amin Gemayel "instead of using the Marines as a crutch to rebuild his country, began to use them as a club to beat his Muslim opponents."[112] The U.S. had given in to the insistent request of Amin Gemayel to train the Lebanese military to make it more effective in combating

fighting between the various militias.[113] Amin Gemayel, however, would abuse this support by giving the militias the impression that the U.S. was allied with him.[114]

A fifth factor that would add to the Marines' vulnerability was Amin Gemayel's refusal to sign a peace treaty with Israel.[115] This particular point will be explained further on in the chapter. Finally, the most significant factor which not only increased the Marines' vulnerability but also eventually exploited it was the birth of a new militia in Lebanon: Hezbollah. This militia was a split off of Amal. Hezbollah came to represent the decades' long frustration over deprivation of a people in Lebanon who quickly became the largest religious community: The Shiite Muslims.[116]

Close to Beirut International Airport was a Shiite village named Hay-es-Salaam. After the Marines' first surveillance of this village they baptized it "Hooterville." What had struck the Marines about this village was the fact that there were only women, children and aged men. Upon enquiring the absence of young men in the village, hence the Marines' label "Hooterville," the Marines were informed that all the men had fled after the Sabra and Shatila massacres. The men were afraid that they would be the next victims of the Maronites' anger over Bashir Gemayel's assassination.

Initially, the Marines had not received any intelligence to question this story. Yet, when the men returned to Hay-es-Salaam soon thereafter, it became evident that by no means had these men simply fled. Hay-es-Salaam would rapidly be transformed into a site that would symbolize the rise of a new Shiite movement which applied unprecedented fighting tactics in Lebanon's complex war situation. Before discussing this however, it is first necessary to consider the role of the Lebanese Shiites since Lebanon's independence and how and why Hezbollah came into existence.

      If there is one group of people who served as living proof of the Lebanese government's failure to act as a government for all its people, it is the Shiite Muslims. Before Lebanon's independence the Shiites under the French mandate were already at a disadvantage. France did not assign any significant government position nor an adequate number of parliamentary seats based on population ratios to the Shiites. When the Shiites protested this in 1934, France simply ignored them.[117] After Lebanon's independence the Shiites were only granted the speakership of parliament, a very symbolic function. And while the Shiites were becoming the largest religious community in Lebanon they still received only a number of seats based on the 1932 census.[118] The Shiites more than any other people suffered most from the social and economic inequalities before the civil war started.[119] It is no coincidence that during the heydays of Lebanon's economy the most depressed regions were South Lebanon and the Bekaa.[120] Even during the Chehab presidency investments in these areas would be minimal because in Lebanon Shiites were generally considered second class citizens.[121] After Imam Musa Sadr's arrival in South Lebanon from Iran, he started to mobilize some of the more well-off Shiites. These people had made money in either Africa or the Gulf. Sadr would press them to do whatever they could to gain a foothold among the political and social elite in Beirut.[122]

      Sadr challenged the Lebanese political establishment and organized strikes to force the Lebanese government to assign funds to the south and the Bekaa. He even founded a political movement named "the Movement of the Deprived"[123] and after the outbreak of the civil war founded a militia named *Amal*, which means hope.[124] Despite Sadr's efforts most Lebanese Shiites remained "politically docile."[125] After Sadr disappeared while on a visit in Libya in 1978, it seemed that the Shiites in Lebanon once more were headed to being invisible minorities. A dramatic event in Iran however altered this course of direction a year later.

In 1979 Iran was shaken by an Islamic revolution. The Shah, who was in power until the revolution, was overthrown and the Iranian people put the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini in power. The successful revolution turned Iran into an Islamic Republic dominated by Shiite Muslims. Thus, Iran formally became the heartland for every Shiite in the world.[126] The successful revolution in Iran had a profound impact on the Lebanese Shiites. For the first time they could see that "a well organized and mobilized Shiite community" would be able to achieve political power.[127] In turn, the cause of the Lebanese Shiites attracted the attention of Khomeini. He considered their cause as part of a larger Shiite movement, and felt that Lebanese Shiites could empower themselves if they were offered military and financial support.[128] In contrast to Imam Sadr who envisioned improving the situation of the Shiites within the framework of a politically secular Lebanon, Khomeini considered Lebanon as the "chosen" land to which he would extend the Islamic revolution. Lebanon was to become a second Islamic state free of any Western influence.[129]

Khomeini's words were well received by the Lebanese Shiites who, after the second Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, started to put his words into practice.[130] At this point the militia fighters of Amal became split over their fate. Some members stuck with Sadr's vision of a secular Lebanon and remained with Amal. The Amal dissenters however organized themselves into a much more radical organization. Sheikh Muhammed Hussein Fadlallah, an Iraqi-born Lebanese, was the founder of this organization which would eventually be named Hezbollah after an Iranian militia. In line with Khomeini, Fadlallah set out Hezbollah's ideology and aimed all Shiites who had suffered from being in the middle of the shelling in South Lebanon, "One must face force with equal or superior force. If it is legitimate to defend self and land and destiny, then all means of self defense are legitimate."[131] Ultimately, Hezbollah's goal was (and

still is) to transform Lebanon into an Islamic Republic that would be situated within the *umma*.[132]

The foundation of Hezbollah not only completed the transformation of Lebanon as a "microcosm of all the Middle East's problems," at that time, but it would also add new dimensions to the representation of Lebanon as a violent place. What distinguished Hezbollah from all other fighting factions and military present in Lebanon in 1982 was its aggressive stand against the West. Backed by Iranian funds and one thousand Revolutionary Guards from Iran,[133] Hezbollah started to mobilize and train Shiite men in Lebanon not simply to defend territory in the south but also to attack Western targets in Lebanon.

Within no time the Shiites shook West Beirut. They came to dominate their once superior Sunni counterparts, demanding their respect through their show of force and the imposition of their traditional values.[134] Upon the return of the men to Hay-es-Salaam after the Marines had set up their camp at Beirut International Airport, the village became a showcase and a symbol of Iranian-backed aggression towards Western targets.[135] This development would not only lead to the West becoming more occupied and concerned with the situation in Lebanon overall. It would also further damage Beirut's already deteriorated image to the outside world and dispel Lebanon's image as a bridge between East and West.

Shattered Image: Lebanon a Vietnam of the Middle East?

1. *U.S. Embassy Attacked*

The U.S. Marines were not the only Western force present in Lebanon. In fact there was a "Multinational Force" consisting of British, French, U.S., and Italian troops,[136] although every

participating country did so on its own terms.[137] Soon however it would become clear that the

U.S. was the main target of the opposition to the Multinational Force in Beirut.[138] The first blow

was struck on April 18, 1983 when a pickup truck loaded with 2,000 pounds of explosives

crashed into the U.S. Embassy in West Beirut.[139] Eighty-nine people were killed in this attack,

many of them Americans.[140]

Both Americans and Lebanese reacted with shock as they were confronted with reports of

the bombing of the eight stories-high embassy. The building was completely stripped off its front

side while remaining parts of each floor were hanging downwards like laundry on a chord. The

high death toll and the ongoing rescue operation of American diplomats who were lying under

the rubble heightened the shock the bombing had created in the country. The explosion at the

U.S. embassy was also a "psychological blow" to Lebanon's optimism which had been revived

when the Marines entered Beirut.[141] The U.S. embassy which had survived every attack on West

Beirut thus far was considered one of the safest sites in an otherwise ruined half of the city. But

now even this site had been destroyed by a car bomb leaving in its wake many Western

victims.[142] Besides the ruinous scenes of Beirut, the car bomb in particular would become

another pervasive image from 1983 and onwards that rendered Beirut as a place of horror.[143]

In Washington DC voices were raised for the immediate pullout of the U.S. Marines from

Lebanon.[144] After all, the U.S. had sent Marines only to keep peace not to become part of the

war itself. Reagan's declaration after the embassy bombing that the U.S. would continue its

efforts until all "unauthorized foreign forces"[145] would be out of Lebanon, and his continued

support for Amin Gemayel did not help the Marines' peacekeeping mission in Beirut.[146]

Meanwhile, the Marines, shocked by the tragedy at the U.S. embassy, had begun to

notice that after the return of the young men to Hay-es-Salaam, women and children were slowly

disappearing from this village. What also struck the Marines was the increased animosity towards them in Hay-es-Salaam and the Shiites' admiration for Iran and Ayatollah Khomeini whose illustration hung in every corner of the village.[147]

As the summer of 1983 progressed, fights throughout Lebanon intensified. The Shouf Mountain became the center stage of a showdown between the Druzes and their allies and the Lebanese Army. The Marines would only observe the shelling from a distance at BIA, but towards the end of the summer they too would become targets of nonstop artillery fire from Hay-es-Salaam. The catalyst to this artillery attack was the withdrawal of the IDF from Beirut. After the assassination of Bashir Gemayel, Israel made several attempts to make Amin Gemayel sign a peace treaty with them. Gemayel, despite signing some informal agreement with Israel refused to do this as he believed he could win the war with American backing. Hence in an attempt to force Amin Gemayel to sign a peace treaty, the IDF withdrew, leaving the weakened Lebanese military and Lebanese forces on their own to confront the Muslim militias who eagerly awaited them behind the rubble in West Beirut.[148]

The IDF's departure was a detriment to the safety of the U.S. Marines in at least two ways. First, the IDF's withdrawal eliminated whatever had remained of the Marines' "credibility" to stay in Lebanon as protectors against Israel.[149] Second, as the IDF moved southwards, all militias sought to fill the vacuum in the eastern and southern parts of Lebanon's capital. The White House already had realized the potential impact of Israel's withdrawal from Beirut and even tried to persuade Israel to stay. But Israel, disillusioned by the failure to obtain a peace treaty and facing divisions at home over its devastating operations in Lebanon which had not produced the desired result, moved on.

2. U.S. Marines under Fire

Despite the heavy artillery fire and shelling from Hay-es-Salaam on the Marine compound, the Marines could not do anything. Their rules of engagement would not allow for them to strike back nor to take any preventive measures.[150] On several occasions however the Marines felt compelled to ignore the rules of engagement as they saw no other way to survive certain attacks.[151] During the first days of September, as the shelling of the Marine compound increased, the Marines requested the White House permission to augment the security at BIA. As Hammel points out "each request was rebuffed with a warning that [BIA] could not be fortified."[152]

The time bomb the White House had faced since the Marines' entrance in Lebanon was now ticking faster and the White House felt the pressure to start making a decision as to what action to take. In the second week of September, 1983 the Druzes were gaining the upper hand in their battle with the Lebanese Army in a small Shouf village named Suq-al-Gharb. The Reagan Administration reasoned that a defeat of the Lebanese Army in this small village could lead to the downfall of the Amin Gemayel government and bring Lebanon even closer to the brink of collapse.[153] Reagan ordered American warships to bomb the Druzes and their allies in Suq-al-Gharb.[154] With that order Reagan cut the wrong wire. Once the U.S. had started its military actions in Lebanon there was no way back. Druze militias retaliated by striking the U.S. embassy in West Beirut and the U.S. would respond with air strikes on Suq-al-Gharb.[155] The U.S. Marines were no longer peacekeepers, but yet "another warring faction."[156]

The Marines at BIA were well aware of the possible consequences. With no extra safety measures in place at their compounds, they were easy targets for retaliatory strikes for this bombardment.[157] In the second week of October the Marines observed new entrants into Hay-es-

Salaam. According to Hammel these entrants were fighters from other militias. As these new entrants set up camp in the village, the remaining women and children left.[158] The stage for a final battle with the Marines was set. Calls to withdraw the Marines from Beirut were made with more urgency, but to no avail. Even calls for fiercer security measures at the airport were not granted. The Marines were trapped in their compound. Heavy artillery rained over them day after day and night after night. In the final week of October the artillery abruptly stopped. The men from Hay-es-Salaam retreated into the village. An unusual silence suddenly dawned over the Marine compound. This silence would only be broken the next morning by an approaching yellow dump truck.

Hours after the explosion, which had flattened the four stories-high BLT building, news stations communicated the message of the horrific event that had struck the servicemen in Beirut. As the people in the United States were slowly waking up they were presented with TV footage of seemingly endless piles of concrete rubble, metal, rubbish, and loose cables through which the Marines were working feverishly. But not only Americans were glued to their seats as they viewed the results of the "most effective terrorist attack in the history of terrorism"[159] which also was the "deadliest single attack" on Americans since World War II.[160] The whole world watched as the U.S. Marines, assisted by Red Cross and Red Crescent volunteers, dug and climbed over the rubble in search of surviving colleagues.

Screams for help were heard from under the rubble from Marines who miraculously had survived the blast.[161] Bodies and body parts were uncovered from beneath the destroyed BLT building. For the next several days scenes of survivors and casualties being carried away on stretchers or in body bags from the ruins of the Marine compound became ingrained in the TV viewers' minds. ABC Nightline featured American families who had waited for hours in front of

their TV screens in the hope of catching a glimpse of their sons, brothers, fathers and/or husbands.[162]

The attack on the BLT building would also significantly affect Lebanon and in particular Beirut's image in the rest of the world. Near the bombed BLT an improvised road sign was set up. The sign read "Beirut 12km [north] Vietnam 15000 km [east]."[163] Indeed, the image of the Vietnam War was invoked as the story of the Marines' fate in Lebanon unfolded.[164] In Beirut some Marines who had had a long career in the Marine Corps recalled similar acts of bloodshed only during their times in Vietnam,[165] but even in Vietnam the U.S. never had experienced such a single deadly blow as in Beirut.[166]

At home Marines at Camp Lejeune in North Carolina fiercely criticized the fact that their colleagues in Beirut had not been allowed to strike back and to defend themselves in preemptive ways. They too felt that Lebanon had become another Vietnam.[167] At the site of destruction most Marines closed ranks however. With a few exceptions of Marines claiming that they spoke on behalf of everyone when saying that they wished Reagan would pull them out of Lebanon, they did not reveal their true feelings to the press.[168] In personal accounts with their families and among themselves the Marines made no secret of their fears and anger regarding their situation. They were scared to die in this "messed up"[169] country in which "there aren't any civilians."[170]

3.   *Lebanon: a Violent Place and a Failed State*

What heightened the sense of fear after the attack in Beirut was the fact that no one had any idea who was responsible for it. It could have been any faction, militia, and/or military. The complexity of the conflicts in Lebanon underlined that. Whenever Marines were asked who they thought had done it, all they could do was point towards the hinterland of Lebanon in frustration

and exclaim "those people."[171] Walid Jumblatt was one of the first to deny any involvement in the blast.[172] Some accused Syria of being involved together with the Soviet Union. Others accused Iran. One Iranian newspaper called the bombing of the Marine compound an "appropriate reply [to] imperialist intervention in Lebanese affairs."[173] Still the question as to who did it remained unanswered during the immediate aftermath of the bombing. This unknown faceless enemy who could strike from anywhere heightened the sense of imminent danger in Lebanon and, in particular, Beirut as the center stage of the violence. It made the calls for a Marine withdrawal stronger. Cars were everywhere in Beirut, but which one would contain a bomb?

Fear was also the overriding emotion of the Lebanese people in response to the terrorist attack that befell the U.S. Marines. This fear was multifold. On the one hand the Lebanese people were afraid of the now obvious, and yet equally obscure, new force that had entered the battlefield in their country. The explosion at the U.S. embassy, as mentioned earlier, already was a psychological blow to the last illusory "margin of security" in Lebanon.[174] The Lebanese now feared that whoever was responsible for this tragedy would prevent a reconciliation and agreement for peace in the country.[175] Moreover, the Lebanese, against the realities of everyday life in Lebanon, had clung to a spark of hope that their country could be rebuilt soon after the U.S. Marines had entered Lebanon. They feared that this hope was nothing more than a shattered dream, especially if the U.S. decided to withdraw from Lebanon, which the Lebanese hoped would not happen. Even the Lebanese people however realized that a further commitment from Reagan to Lebanon could lead to another Vietnam-like situation.[176]

Earlier critics of the Marines' mission, among whom was Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, argued that the Marines should not have been in Lebanon in the first place, given

the vagueness and ambivalence of the mission from the outset.[177] Former Secretary of State

Henry Kissinger argued that the U.S. would "either have to do more or less in Lebanon," but was

convinced that overall the mission did not serve "a useful purpose."[178] Bill Green, a

Representative from the Republican Party in Massachusetts, considered the mission in Lebanon

as nothing more than "seeking an ideal that was not of such importance to the [interests of the]

United States."[179]

The perception of Lebanon as a failed state that cannot be restored or saved also rippled

through in the media. New York City's mayor Edward Koch was quoted as arguing that a pullout

was justified based on the perception that Lebanon appears not to be a country, "but a group of

warring, feuding factions [without a] central government supported by the Lebanese."[180] Media

critics referred to the futility of Lebanon's situation: the Marines could not "impose order,

political stability, on the warring, hating, barbarous factions that are there," said one editorial in

the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.[181] A journalist from the *New York Times* concluded that "Lebanon's

anarchic situation has made it relatively easy for terrorist groups to function in Lebanon."[182]

Many in the White House did not consider Lebanon to be of any vital interest to the

U.S.[183] As the days went by the debate over the mission in Lebanon intensified. "What the hell

are we supposed to be doing over there?" exclaimed one of the House Democrats, who opposed

further support to the mission, to the gathered press in Washington DC.[184] Former White House

chief of staff Hamilton Jordan was equally vociferous saying "we shouldn't be here, let's get the

hell out."[185] President Reagan however insisted that the U.S. would not give into terrorist acts

and refused to withdraw the Marines from Lebanon.[186] He exhorted everyone to continue with

the U.S. mission and his policy towards Lebanon, claiming that the U.S. had "vital interests in

Lebanon . . . [because] peace in Lebanon is key to the [Middle East's] stability" which if lost

could mean the loss of U.S. access to the "vast resource areas of the Arabian Peninsula."[187] Furthermore, Reagan argued that a hasty departure of the Marines from Lebanon might not be without consequences for Israel. Finally, Reagan explained that he still believed that Lebanon could become prosperous again and form a "gateway to the East."[188] Vice President George Bush while visiting the site of destruction two days later confirmed that U.S. foreign policy would not be "shaken" by "a bunch of insidious terrorist cowards."[189]

Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, who, after the bombing of the U.S. embassy had declared that the relations between Lebanon and the U.S. only had strengthened, now felt that despite Reagan's comforting words, he had lost an ally. During November 1983 he visited Washington and begged Reagan for help claiming that he was "in an impossible bind."[190] This time however, Reagan could not assure Amin Gemayel. Amin Gemayel left the White House uncertain about Reagan's plans.[191]

Two months later Reagan publicly reversed his outlook on Lebanon. As the fighting continued between the Lebanese army and the Druzes and their allies, the Lebanese Army was weakening. For the first time Reagan now considered an early withdrawal feasible. Early in 1984, as the U.S. began to prepare itself for presidential elections, the Marines' mission in Lebanon became a hands-off issue in American politics. Presidential candidates, including the incumbent preferred not to discuss this issue. On February 6, 1984, when the Lebanese Army collapsed under the force of the Druze, the Sunni and the Shiite attacks, Reagan no longer saw any opportunities for the Marines' mission in Lebanon.[192] Secretary of State Shultz was quoted as describing the situation thus: "in Lebanon the light at the end of the tunnel can be the train coming at you."[193] On February 26, 1984, to the shock of Amin Gemayel who had continued to hope for American backing to end the war, the Marines boarded their ships to go home.[194] Not

much later the rest of the Multination Force, which had also suffered heavy blows in Beirut, followed.

The Lebanese were now left on their own. Their civil war would continue for six more years. During this period over three hundred thousand Lebanese fled the country.[195] On several occasions Beirut became the center stage of more terrorist acts. Hijacked planes were rerouted to Beirut's airport and Westerners who still dared to reside in Lebanon were assassinated or kidnapped by militias to get ransom they desperately needed to buy weapons. And as the fighting continued the remains of Lebanon's cities were further destroyed. Lebanese people would buy pictures of Beirut from before the civil war. They would hold on to their memories of the "togetherness" of all religions in one city because they believed that the Beirut they had lived in would never return.[196]

A narrative that now has become an urban legend in Lebanon captures the feelings of emptiness many Lebanese felt as they reminisced over their pictures of what once was, but never would be again: Overlooking Beirut from the mountain in Harissa stands a statue of the Virgin Mary. Her arms are stretched downwards while her hands seem to reach out to those who seek comfort. Her head is slightly tilted to the side giving the statue a melancholic appearance. After the fierce destruction of Beirut, the killings of thousands of civilians, and the devastating blow suffered by the Marines, the statue turned its back towards the city. It could no longer bear the view of destruction and death beneath its socket.

The gate that Lebanon, and in particular Beirut, once formed between East and West was now firmly entrenched in the Middle East and its problems. Lebanon seemed to have lost forever its beauty and virtue.

CHAPTER 4

RISE FROM THE ASHES

Beirut, Lebanon, 1999

If one took a tour of Beirut in 1999 one would have noticed that the city was being rebuilt. In the city's center, the results of reconstruction projects are already visible. For instance, on Riad El Solh Street, named after one of the Lebanese heroes who helped Lebanon gain independence from France in 1943, one finds the renovated business center of Beirut.[1] Further down Riad El Solh Street one sees renovated government buildings and shops before coming to the heart of Downtown Beirut: Nejmeh Square, also known as Place de L'Etoile.[2] All buildings around this square are being restored to the way they appeared in 1934, but with a modern touch.[3]

The reconstruction projects in Beirut were executed by the Lebanese Company for Development and Reconstruction *Solidere*. Next to the renovated buildings around Nejmeh Square, *Solidere* had undertaken another reconstruction project. This project was the renovation of Martyr's Square, named for the people hanged there in the early twentieth century, just before the fall of the Ottoman Empire.[4] This location had been part of the so-called Green Line which was the dividing line between East and West Beirut, or between Christian and Muslim militias respectively, during Lebanon's civil war. This area was of such strategic importance to the Lebanese militias that it was completely ruined by the end of the war due to the intense fighting that occurred there.[5]

The significance of the renovation of Martyr's Square lay in *Solidere*'s attempts to construct it in such a way that both East and West Beirut would symbolically be connected

again. To do this, *Solidere* built a new mosque, the Mohammed Al Mine mosque, diagonally

across the St. Elie Armenian Catholic Church and next to the Maronite St. Georges Cathedral

which had already been on the Green Line before the civil war started. Behind *Solidere*'s efforts

to renovate and revitalize Beirut, stood one man: Rafic Hariri. This chapter discusses the critical

role that Hariri played in Lebanon's reconstruction after the civil war and his efforts to restore its

image as the Switzerland of the Middle East.

Rafic Al Hariri and his Usable Past for Lebanon, 1982-2002

Well before leading the reconstruction activities of *Solidere* in Beirut, Rafic Hariri had

already committed himself to large development and aid projects in Lebanon in earlier years. For

example, he donated ten million dollars along with bulldozers, trucks, cranes, and hundreds of

laborers for the cleanup of Beirut's city center in 1982 after the U.S. Marines had evacuated the

PLO fighters.[6] Hariri's development aid activities during the 1970s and 80s had not gone

unnoticed by the warlords in Lebanon at that time. Bashir Gemayel, who was heading to become

the president of Lebanon in 1982, was particularly interested in Hariri. He sent two people to

Paris, France, with the assignment to find out more about Hariri.[7] Hariri's personal narrative

astonished them because at the time that Lebanon was descending into chaos, Hariri's career had

taken off.

Rafic Bahaeddine Al Hariri was born on November 22, 1944 into a relatively poor Sunni

Muslim family of five in Sidon.[8] During his youth, Hariri and his family faced the hardships of

living in a deprived region in the south of Lebanon.[9] Aware of the limited opportunities for

Sunni Muslims from the south who had no connections to the Sunni elite in Beirut, Hariri moved

to Saudi Arabia in 1965 looking for work.[10]

In 1969 Hariri opened up his own subcontracting business in Saudi Arabia.[11] The choice to fully engage in subcontracting was smart given the rapid rise of Saudi Arabia's wealth as the country became the main supplier for the world's oil consumption. But Hariri would face a severe setback in business during the oil crisis of 1973. In 1976 however, the year that Syria invaded Lebanon, Hariri received his million to one shot. Together with a colleague he received a project from the Saudi Royal Family to build a hotel in Taif, Saudi Arabia. The deadline for this project was extremely tight. Hariri and his colleague only had six months to deliver the hotel. Hariri however knew that fulfillment of the Saudi Royal Family's wish meant that the sky would be the limit for him.[12]

Eventually the hotel was finished a week ahead of schedule. Saudi King Fahd from that moment considered Hariri as a member of the Royal Family and granted him Saudi nationality the same year.[13] By 1982, the year Lebanon faced the heaviest destruction of its coastal cities under the second Israeli invasion, Hariri had become a multi-billionaire,[14] but Hariri's personal narrative of success would not stop there. In fact it was just the beginning and over time the developments in Lebanon would become inextricably linked to Hariri's work.

During Lebanon's civil war, Saudi King Fahd had appointed Hariri as his special envoy to Lebanon. Hariri knew how to use Saudi checkbook diplomacy and arranged on several occasions for the warring parties to negotiate a ceasefire or national reconciliation.[15] Hariri would also help facilitate peace talks between the warlords in Lebanon. The backing of the Saudi king ensured that Hariri was regarded as an important figure by these warlords, for they knew that when Hariri spoke, they *de facto* heard king Fahd speak.[16] In 1982 for example, Walid Jumblatt and Bashir Gemayel could not agree on a neutral location for reconciliation talks, but they came to an agreement when Hariri proposed to arrange and pay for hotel rooms in Geneva,

Switzerland. Two years later Hariri did the same for the Lausanne (Switzerland) conference. During this conference Hariri was said to move back and forth between the rooms of all conference participants "24 hours a day trying to convince [them] to take a conciliatory position."[17] His efforts were in vain and eventually the conference collapsed. The failure of this conference in particular saddened Hariri for a short while although he soon regained his optimism for a better future of Lebanon.[18] For instance, after the destruction of Beirut by the warring militias and the Israeli raids in 1982, Hariri designed his own scale model that showed how a new Beirut should look like. He took it with him wherever he went and showed it to whomever he needed to realize his dream.[19]

Hariri experienced one of his finest moments in 1989, when in the hotel that he had built for the Saudi Royal family in Taif, Saudi Arabia, an accord was signed which formally ended the civil war in Lebanon.[20] The groundwork for the Taif Accord was initiated by the Arab League under the patronage of Saudi Arabia.[21] Since only the Lebanese parliament from before the war was considered to be a legitimate body by all the warring factions in Lebanon these members of Parliament had to stamp out an agreement to end the war once and for all.[22] Locked up in the hotel, away from the press and the rest of the world, and with the message from the Saudi Foreign Minister that *this* time "failure [was] forbidden,"[23] the by now aged and sometimes ill members of Parliament started their negotiations towards national reconciliation.[24] What was supposed to last three days eventually took 23 days.[25]

The Taif Accord brought constitutional reform to Lebanon. It confirmed some of the unwritten agreements of the National Pact in writing and it made changes to some agreements in the Lebanese constitution.[26] Some agreements of this accord need special mention here. First of all, the Taif accord confirmed the Arab identity of Lebanon in writing. Thus there would be no

more debate as to the nature of Lebanon as a country. It now officially became part of the Arab world.[27] Secondly, the accord outlined the need for social reforms to reduce inequalities throughout the country.[28] Thirdly, and most significantly, the accord changed the power sharing as outlined in the constitution. The ratio of the parliamentary seats between the Christians and the Muslims were now set on a fifty-fifty basis.[29] And whereas the distribution of the key government positions remained the same (the president being a Maronite, the prime minister a Sunni, and the speaker of parliament a Shiite), the powers invested in each changed.[30]

The presidency now served largely a symbolic function as it lost most of its executive power.[31] The president could no longer appoint a prime minister without "binding parliamentary consultation" and could not dismiss him. [32] The president would however remain in charge of the army.[33] At the insistence of Saudi Arabia, the prime minister (exclusively assigned to Sunni Muslims) gained much more power.[34] Instead of the president, now the prime minister was to chair cabinet meetings and implement the policies from the council of ministers. Also he would be responsible to "sign all decrees, except for decrees naming [him]."[35] Finally, the speaker of parliament also gained more power.[36] Most significantly his voice as to whom should be nominated for the prime minister post turned the speaker's position into one of "kingmaker."[37] In 1992, Rafic Hariri became Lebanon's new "king."

Hariri's first government of 1992 consisted mainly of businessmen[38] as he did not appoint deputies to his cabinet.[39] His government operated like a company and focused mainly on the reconstruction and economic growth of Lebanon.[40] With a breakaway from the old political establishment and an emphasis on economic revival, Hariri's government at that time was dubbed an "experiment." [41] Hariri's approach was very pragmatic: whenever it took too long

for parliament to come to an agreement to approve Hariri's project proposals, Hariri would

simply pay for the expenses himself.[42]

Indeed, Hariri was a man who knew the power of wealth. He knew that eventually any

person could be moved with crispy green dollar bills. He used these bills for every important

negotiation.[43] Within Lebanon Hariri ensured that he would have influential people on his side

from both the Christians and the Muslims.[44] Due to his close connections to the Saudi Royal

Family, Hariri also had gained prominence among world leaders. He held especially warm

relations with leaders from France, the U.S., and the Middle East. These leaders also regarded

Hariri as being one of them.[45] As such, while Lebanon had lost its image as a bridge between

West and East, Hariri himself came to embody that bridge for Lebanon neatly constructed with

petrodollars from Saudi Arabia.[46]

Hariri attracted large funds from overseas by, among other things, offering low income

taxes to foreign investors. This was part of his goal to revitalize Beirut's reputation as a financial

center, a financial bridge between East and West.[47] The reconstruction of downtown Beirut in

particular was vital to Hariri for he believed that "rebuilding the heart of Beirut would bring life

to all of Lebanon."[48] For the most part during the first phase of the twenty-five year

reconstruction plan, Hariri was prime minister of Lebanon (between 1992 and 1998 and again

between 2000 and 2004).[49]

Apart from his reconstruction efforts, Hariri also helped to restore some traditional and

cultural practices. For instance, he revived the traditional international Festival in 1997 that used

to take place in Baalbek, the Beqaa Valley, annually.[50] But Hariri's, and hence Lebanon's,

biggest victory in that same year was the U.S. decision to lift the travel ban to Lebanon. During

his first term as prime minister, Hariri already made attempts to move the U.S. to make this

decision after it had installed the ban as a result of the hostage-taking and killings of Americans in Lebanon during the civil war. Previously the White House had declared that Lebanon was still "a dangerous place for Americans" and as such did not want to risk American lives.[51] Now, however, under pressure from American companies who wanted a piece of the reconstruction projects in Lebanon and with the personal assurance of Hariri and his promise to ratify an international treaty that obliged the Lebanese government to cooperate and mediate should a hostage case take place, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright lifted the ban.[52] The lifting of the ban on travel had an immediate effect on representations of Lebanon in the U.S. While the travel advisory remained cautious in urging American travelers to only go "with compelling reasons,"[53] the images of Lebanon as a country with "gun-toting guerrillas . . . lurking in the shadows ready to pounce on Americans" was now to some extent discounted in the media.[54] The reopening of a rebuilt Beirut International Airport a year later was the cherry on the pie.[55] Lebanon once more was ready to receive the rest of the world.

For the Lebanese even more significant than these successes was the withdrawal of the Israeli soldiers from South Lebanon. The last Israeli soldiers left Lebanon on May 25, 2000.[56] The withdrawal brought the Lebanese more together as a nation and helped them to focus on other issues that are normally the main concerns of countries free of war, namely those concerning the economy. In 2000 when Hariri was re-elected as prime minister, he was expected to help the Lebanese economy recover after it had slid into a recession due to the high public debt and negative growth of the preceding two years. Hariri fulfilled this expectation with two successful international conferences —Paris I and Paris II— in which the international community such as the European Union (EU), the World Bank, and businesses gave significant

financial aid to Lebanon in its efforts to revitalize the economy, refinance public debt, and help

improve the productivity of the public sector.[57]

Don't Mention the War

At the turn of the millennium the results of the reconstruction projects in Lebanon caught

the attention of the international press. Notably they noticed how Lebanon's capital had changed

from a "gutted no-man's land filled with bombed buildings and packs of wild dogs that fed on

human flesh" to a place with potential to once more become the Paris of the Middle East.[58] The

only real danger in Lebanon now appeared to be from (taxi) drivers who ignored red traffic

lights. However as the press correctly observed, there were hardly any tourists to enjoy this

rebirth.[59] Indeed, the influx of Western tourists was something Hariri, despite his other

restoration efforts and achievements, could not bring back to Lebanon. He was however able to

facilitate it after he gained an unexpected "windfall" in a way that even he could not foresee.

After September 11, 2001, when two hijacked airplanes crashed into the twin towers of New

York City, the Arab (Muslim) world suddenly seemed to be barred from the West. Arab tourists,

particularly from Saudi Arabia, did not feel welcome anymore in either Europe or the United

States. Obtaining visas for a Western country was hard for them and even if they did get one,

they felt uncomfortable using it. Under these circumstances the Arabs, and in particular the

Saudis, rediscovered Lebanon as the Switzerland of the Middle East.[60]

One cannot fail to escape the irony here that whereas a terrorist attack on an American

target in Lebanon in 1983 chased away the last hope for a revival of Lebanon as the Switzerland

of the Middle East, or a Beirut as the Paris of the Middle East, another attack—this time on

American soil— brought all of this back to Lebanon. Virtually overnight all the hotels, apartment

buildings, and seaport slots that were rebuilt in less than a decade, were now filled and in use by citizens from Saudi Arabia.[61] During an international summit in Beirut in 2002 (a fulfillment of another goal of Hariri to restore Beirut's venue as an "international public sphere"[62]), while the press observed how the city "[boogied] its way out of the ashes," Hariri confidently stated: "Lebanon is better than it was before the war."[63]

That statement was as remarkable as it was revealing of Hariri's vision for Lebanon. It was remarkable in that Hariri himself used the words "war" and "Lebanon" in the same sentence, because in Hariri's reconstruction efforts there literally and figuratively was no place for "war." In fact it seemed that whatever his company *Solidere* touched from the remains of the civil war, particularly in Beirut, was transformed by an "amnesia" about this period in Lebanon's past.[64] For instance, *Solidere* was criticized for not providing a place in Beirut where people could commemorate the civil war. In 1999, faced with public discontent, *Solidere* organized a competition to design a site for a war memorial but only after strong interest from the international community did it make efforts to actually build the winning design, the "Garden of Forgiveness."[65]

The building of a war memorial also illustrates how from the start the entire reconstruction project of Beirut had always been challenged. Before the reconstruction activities started, many different visions as to how to reconstruct Beirut clashed with each other. Each vision drew from a particular point of the city's past leading to a clash of competing pasts for Beirut.[66] Some drew from the period of the French mandate, others envisioned the reconstruction of the Beirut from the 1960s and early 1970s, and others referred to imagined pasts in Beirut.[67] As such the past that eventually came to embody the framework of *Solidere*'s work was ambiguous. Instead of a particular point in time, it was the *function* of Beirut as a commercial

hub between East and West that came to dominate Beirut's facelift. This time however it was shaped by the demands of a modern city that needed to be economically viable.

The result was that the expansion of the commercial areas, for example, the heart of Beirut, changed the character of the city. The popular *souks*, or small traditional shops, in Beirut were not rebuilt. Instead they were replaced by modern stores.[68] Apartments and other noncommercial buildings, even though they could be saved, were simply demolished.[69] The disappearance of such sites that "survived" the devastating period of fighting also contributed to the amnesia of Lebanon's civil war period (from a physical point of view, only the "pockmarked" buildings that had not yet been "touched" by *Solidere* countered this). This amnesia was also heightened by a strong tendency towards consumerism by those who could afford it.[70] After the war the Lebanese lavishly spent money on desires they had not been able to fulfill previously.[71] Consequently, their consumption contributed to the revived cosmopolitanism of Beirut as expensive clothing and apparel, mobile phones, plastic surgery, Mercedes, Porsches and BMW's, became commonplace.

The result was that the average Lebanese citizen no longer was able to partake of what his or her city had to offer. Only high-end users such as wealthy Lebanese and tourists from Saudi Arabia would be able to enjoy Beirut's "facelift."[72] The influx of Saudis, who were able to move into one-million dollar apartments located on the coast, created distaste among those Beirutis who felt once again displaced in their own city. As such Hariri came to be viewed as a "king" who ruled over Beirut and turned it into a Saudi "playground."[73] One Lebanese interviewed by *Newsweek* in 1997 had already sent a warning that would resonate in the years to come:"What [*Solidere* is] trying to do is to restore a kind of tourist culture . . . . We need real cultural restoration, not a facade that everything is OK."[74] Indeed, Hariri's reconstruction efforts were

mainly focused on Beirut. This aspect points to the irony of Hariri's statement that Lebanon is better than before the war. Hariri's vision for Lebanon was defined by his vision for Beirut, but Beirut is not all of Lebanon and all of Lebanon is not Beirut. Moreover, even behind Beirut's facelift, there were still scars that remained from Lebanon's damaged past that even Hariri could not erase.

Despite the disarmament of all the militias in 1990 in accordance with the Taif Accord,[75] there was still one fully equipped militia that reigned over the south of Lebanon, namely Hezbollah. Instead of turning in its arms, Hezbollah continued its struggle against the Israeli occupation of Lebanon. Since the Israeli withdrawal in 2000, Hezbollah has been lauded in the Arab world for its strikes against villages in the south that were inhabited by Israeli collaborators, particularly Lebanese who had joined the South Lebanese Army, and Israeli soldiers.[76] Hezbollah was even "hailed in the Arab world as the only force that ever defeated the Israeli Army."[77]

In Hezbollah, Hariri also had a competitor in the rebuilding of Lebanon. In contrast to Hariri who mainly focused on the area in and around Beirut, Hezbollah undertook to provide social services in the south and the Bekaa.[78] What made this possible was a changeover in the vision of this militia. In the early 1990s Nasrallah, in contrast to his predecessor Abbas al Musawi, widened the vision of Hezbollah. Instead of a narrow militant focus, Nasrallah promoted Hezbollah as spearheading a "national resistance movement."[79] The changeover included becoming part of the Lebanese political system (it had members in the Lebanese parliament), running a TV station, two radio stations as well as constructing hospitals and schools for deprived Lebanese in the south and the Bekaa .[80] It also took care of the water distribution in these areas.[81] Thus, particularly in these two regions, Hezbollah had created a lot

of goodwill and come to be viewed as a "parallel government" that offered social services which did not come from Beirut.[82]

Hariri's stance towards Hezbollah was ambivalent to say the least. Hariri considered Hezbollah counterproductive to Lebanon's economic revival and considered it to be a "state within a state," just like the PLO was in the 1970s and early 1980s in Lebanon.[83] Moreover, Hariri realized that Hezbollah's presence was not good for Lebanon's image in the rest of the world, not for its stability and security. Hence Hariri renewed his own efforts to generate funds from overseas to rebuild Lebanon.[84] Hezbollah on its part also was ambivalent about Hariri. The Hezbollah leadership did not know anything about the "Saudi" businessman, but it was aware of Hariri's strong diplomatic relations with the West and the East and hence Hezbollah remained cautious.[85] As a "man of compromise"[86] however, Hariri reached out to Hezbollah and built a relationship with its leader Nasrallah.[87]

Blanford points out that Hariri's pre-occupation with and worries about Hezbollah "paled" however over a whole other factor that was present in Lebanon.[88] In fact it was hard for anyone to ignore the presence of this factor. Everywhere *Solidere*, built a picture and a flag would be added as a finishing touch and reminder that no matter its efforts to make an independent and sovereign state with a revived reputation as the Switzerland of the Middle East, it would always be discounted, at least in part if not whole. This picture and flag were also visible in every major intersection and at every entrance and exit of Lebanese villages. The flag did not carry the red, white, and green of Lebanon's flag. Nor did the picture portray a Lebanese who was involved in Lebanon's reconstruction. This person whose depiction also decorated Lebanese cars reminded the Lebanese of who was actually in charge of the country ever since it had entered Lebanon in 1976 during the civil war. It was none other than Syria's President Hafez

Al Assad. To understand Syria's control of Lebanon it is necessary to go back once more to the negotiations in Taif, Saudi Arabia, where the only legitimate constitutional body was feverishly working to draw out an agreement as the rest of the world held its breath.

Syria's Usable Past for Lebanon and the Taif Accord, 1989-1991

The Taif Accord was not only about solving Lebanese problems. It also addressed a whole other issue that until the Accord only informally simmered through Lebanon ever since its creation by France in 1920. This was Syria's perception of Lebanon, not as an independent state, but as a part of Syria itself. This stems from the time just before the San Remo Conference of 1920 and just after the fall of the Ottoman Empire after World War I in 1918 when for a short while a large population of Arabs in the Middle East considered themselves to be part of "Greater Syria."

Only a handful of books have been written about Greater Syria, but hardly any history or political book on the Middle East fails to at least mention it. Even though it was a short lived entity, Greater Syria has always continued to play a significant role in the psyche of the Syrians, in particular of those Syrians in power and especially as it relates to Lebanon. Greater Syria, as pointed out in the first chapter, is the historical territory that included the territories of what today are Syria, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Palestine.[89] Just like the creation of the other states, Syria considered Lebanon's creation to be artificial.[90] Yet, from the Syrian perspective Syria had a particular claim to Lebanon. As Salibi points out whereas the people of the other newly-created nations still had a bond with Syria based on a Pan-Arab identity, the Lebanese Christians did not consider themselves Arabs and hence held a different position. Therefore, in contrast to the other

nations, Syria refused to recognize a separate identity for Lebanese Christians and Lebanon as an independent country.[91]

In fact Syria considered an independent Lebanon nothing more than a small geographic aberration of its own land and Syrian President Assad had always explained that Syria and Lebanon were "one country and one people."[92] Ever since Britain and France divided up Greater Syria in these aforementioned nations, save for Israel which did not exist at that time, there have been several attempts to bring these nations back to Syria.[93] For instance the idea that Lebanon actually belonged to Syria took ground in Lebanon during the years just before and just after Lebanon's independence. A case in point is the Syrian Social Nationalist Party founded by Antun Saadeh.[94] This party wanted nothing else but for Lebanon to be reunited with Syria. But SSNP never gained a majority backing in Lebanon as Lebanon in the early years was dominated politically by the Maronite Christians. Later, when Nasser created the United Arab Republic, an alternative to Lebanon's reunification with Syria was at hand but, as explained in chapter two, this never happened. Therefore, historically after the split up of Greater Syria, the first real move towards reunification came when Syria invaded Lebanon in 1976.

The 1976 invasion of Lebanon was a response to protect Syrian interests in Lebanon. First and foremost, Syria considered South Lebanon with its mountains a vital frontier against potential Israeli invasions on its own soil.[95] Hence, a strong army had to be put in place to stop potential Israeli invasions into Lebanon (Lebanon itself lacked this). Moreover, Syria considered that should Israel come to occupy the south of Lebanon then this would undermine Syria's own position in the region, for it would be more vulnerable then to Israeli assaults from Lebanese soil.[96] Also, on a different note, Syria has always considered a potential split up of Lebanon among the different religious communities (a serious threat in 1976) to be an asset to Israel. A

division of Lebanon could be used by Israel as a rationale to preclude Palestinians' co-existence

with Jews in one state, for obviously even in Lebanon different religious groups could not co-

exist in one nation.[97] Finally, a more recent Syrian interest in Lebanon arose in 1988 at the end

of the Gulf War between Iran and Iraq. Syria was the only Arab country to back Iran in this war.

Consequently Iraq provided weapons to Syria's opponents in Lebanon. Hence Syria needed to

strengthen its position in Lebanon or else it would be under threat from both its eastern and

western borders.[98]

Before the Lebanese parliamentarians could discuss the details of the Taif Accord, the

Arab League first had to discuss the plans with Syria, for Syria had more than 30,000 troops in

Lebanon. In these circumstances the Arab League was aware that for the Taif Accord to bear

fruit, Syria had to approve the accord. However, the provisions that were made to suit Syria

could not be annulled by the Lebanese parliamentarians. They had to accept the provisions

regarding the international relations between Lebanon and Syria as set out by Assad. To that end

the Taif Accord would describe the role of the Syrian army as assisting "the legitimate Lebanese

government to spread the authority of the State of Lebanon within a set period of no more than 2

years" to ensure that all agreements in the Accord would be met.[99] It was further stated that after

this period of two years, "the Syrian Government and the Lebanese National Accord

Government shall decide to redeploy the Syrian forces."[100] However in the Accord no time

frame was set to determine when the Syrian troops would move out of Lebanon. The Lebanese

members of Parliament protested the indefinite nature of the provision regarding the presence

Syrian troops in Lebanon.[101] Assad however was only willing to add another clause to this

provision which had nothing to do with a time frame. This clause, which stated "in a manner that

accomplishes the two fraternal countries' interests within the framework of the sovereignty and

independence of each of them," was reminiscent of the Cairo Agreement when the PLO received a state within a state in Lebanon.[102] This time however it appeared that when Syria's occupation became legalized by means of the ratification of the Taif Accord, Lebanon itself would become a state within a state. Remarkably, the rest of the world and foremost the U.S. approved the Taif Accord and the Syrian presence in Lebanon.[103]

Once the Accord was ratified Syria was all too eager to fulfill its requirements, most significantly disarming all militias in Lebanon.[104] It did so by first ensuring that a pro-Syrian president would be put in place as the president had to give orders to the army to disband the militias. Elias Hrawi became Lebanon's first post-war president. Emile Lahoud, who perhaps more than Hrawi was tied to Syria, was appointed Commander-in-chief of Lebanon's army.[105] Lahoud led his army with an iron fist and by 1991 had disbanded all militias except Hezbollah, because Syria considered Hezbollah in South Lebanon to be a strategic asset against the Israeli occupation of South Lebanon.[106]

Now that Syria had fulfilled its obligations of the Taif Accord, it was time for the Lebanese government to implement the second part of the Taif Agreement: The Lebanese government together with the Syrian government had to agree on Syria's military presence in Lebanon.[107] Despite the fact that the two governments would decide on the redeployment and later the removal of the Syrian forces from Lebanon, all Lebanese MPs were aware that this was never going to happen, at least not in this way.[108] The "Treaty of Brotherhood"[109] which was drawn up to fulfill the second part of the Taif Accord, though filled with words such as "cooperation," "the two governments," and "their individual sovereignty,"[110] was nothing more than a formal agreement to give Syria full control of Lebanon's security and foreign policy.

Moreover, instead of outlining a time frame for the Syrian withdrawal of its troops, it only repeated the words that in the future the two governments would agree on a deadline.[111]

France and the U.S. now realized that the Taif Accord was a Damascus-made Trojan Horse and urged Syria to redeploy and subsequently withdraw from Lebanon.[112] Syria would have none of that. Instead it communicated to the Lebanese what they could expect now that the Treaty of Brotherhood had been signed when Syrian General Ghazi Kanaan said: "Each has his domain in Lebanon: yours is trade; ours, politics and security."[113] Lebanon would have autonomy in its economic issues, but not in security and foreign policy, let alone other non-economic internal policies.[114]

Thus, while Beirut was gradually being revived as a bridge between East and West, there were still remnants from the war that would hinder the restoration of Lebanon to its prewar reputation. For one thing Lebanon was far from being a sovereign nation. Syria did whatever it could to keep a firm grip over Lebanon's security and foreign policy. It did so in particular with its now most infamous puppet, Emile Lahoud who was president of Lebanon between 1998 and 2008. Lahoud was Hariri's nemesis. In Hariri's eyes, Lahoud was "a symbol of the rigid security and military ties that bound Lebanon to Syria [and an] antithesis of the open, free market enterprise economy that the [he] was attempting to kindle in Lebanon."[115] Therefore, to understand the consequences of the tragedy that took place on February 14, 2005 it is first necessary to consider the results of legitimating Syrian presence in Lebanon after the civil war. One way to do that is to consider the developments in the relationship between Hariri, as the embodiment of the new Lebanon after the war, and Emile Lahoud, as the embodiment of Syria's refusal to recognize Lebanon as an independent state.

Lahoud v. Hariri, Lebanon, 1992-2004

Between 1992 and 1995 Hariri had been prime minister under President Hrawi. Hrawi was pro-Syria, but only to the extent that it was necessary. That is to say, Hrawi did whatever was needed to protect Lebanon from further problems with Syria. During that time Lahoud was the General of the Lebanese army and in contrast to Hrawi he was a strong pro-Syrian factor in Lebanon. He did not even consider himself accountable to the Lebanese government and only desired to communicate with Damascus.[116]

In 1995 when it became clear that Syria was attempting to make Lahoud the next president of Lebanon, Hariri used all his political strength to amend the constitution in order to extend the term of the incumbent.[117] Hariri succeeded in doing this and temporarily enjoyed his victory over the General who had too much power in Lebanon due to his backing by Syria.[118] However, after Hrawi's extension ended in 1998, there was nothing Hariri could do to prevent Lahoud from becoming the president.[119]

To the detriment of Hariri, Assad assented to Lahoud becoming president. He did so because his son Bashar Assad, who was being groomed as Assad's successor, favored the Lebanese General.[120] Hariri then refused to form a new cabinet and withdrew his candidacy for the prime minister's position.[121] To Assad the rationale to support Lahoud was logical. His health was fragile and he was preparing his son, Bashar Assad to become the next president of Syria. Bashar Assad lacked political experience however [122] and so it was important for Damascus to have a strong ally in Beirut.

The death of Assad in June 2000[123] marked a turning point in relations between Hariri and Syria. In contrast to his father, Bashar Assad, could not deal very well with Hariri. He did not like the Sunni businessman with his extravagant wealth and diplomatic skills and considered

him a threat to Syria's interests in Lebanon.[124] Lahoud and Bashar were very close and the former was building up a Syrian regime in Lebanon with a strong military and intelligence system.[125]

But less than three months after Assad's death, Bashar Assad and Lahoud faced a significant setback. Although Bashar Assad and Lahoud considered themselves to have been rid of Hariri since 1998, they could not prevent Hariri from seizing the prime minister-ship again in 2000. To realize his comeback Hariri had "reached across the old civil war lines."[126] Hariri had the backing of Walid Jumblatt who raised his voice against Syria's continued grip over Lebanon. He also had the support of most Christian communities, including the Maronites, and even Hezbollah was on his side.[127] Hariri was able to build a coalition with 106 MPs out of a total of 128.[128] What helped Hariri in this case was the weak economy. After Hariri had stepped down in 1998 Lebanon faced negative growth of its GDP and all agreed that only one man would be able to solve this problem: Hariri.[129]

Not only Hariri's landslide victory in 2000, but also his deep relations with the White House and France were a nuisance to Damascus. In April 2001, for example, Hariri had a successful meeting with newly elected U.S. President George W. Bush who explained after he had talked with Hariri that he would be "engaged" in the Middle East peace process.[130] Also, in an effort to help Lebanon recover from its economic setbacks, Hariri used the help of French President Jacques Chirac to organize the Paris I and Paris II talks. Angered by this success, Lahoud used his power to block further reconstruction projects of *Solidere* and froze the promised financial aids from Paris I and Paris II.[131]

By the end of 2003 Bashar Assad decided that he wanted to extend Lahoud's term.[132] This was unacceptable to Hariri and he mobilized both the White House and France to step up

against this wish. For a brief moment this seemed to have worked for Bashar Assad suddenly withdrew his plan.[133] But he reversed this by August 2004. Bashar Assad once more summoned the prime minister to come to Damascus. There he informed Hariri that Lahoud was to remain president of Lebanon after all. Shocked by this information Hariri tried to change Bashar Assad's mind. But Bashar Assad replied: "there is nothing to discuss . . . I am Lahoud and Lahoud is me. If your friend Chirac wants me out of Lebanon I would sooner break Lebanon on your head and the head of Chirac than break my word."[134]

Upon hearing this news from Hariri, his advisors this time advised Hariri to leave the country. In doing that, no proposal for the amendment of the constitution to extend Lahoud's term could be made possible. Hariri did not listen.[135] Within two days he chaired a meeting to let the ministers decide to make the proposal for the amendment to parliament.[136] With the exception of Walid Jumblatt's Ministers in the government and a few others who stayed away from the meeting, all Ministers, including those from Hariri, complied.[137] Outraged by Bashar Assad's decision, the U.S. and France jointly[138] drafted a UN resolution which reflected their different interests in Syria and Lebanon. UN Security Council Resolution 1559 called for "free and fair elections according to Lebanese constitutional rules devised without foreign interference or influence" and "all remaining foreign forces to withdraw from Lebanon" (in other words Syria).[139]

The pitfall of this resolution however came from a U.S. designed clause to 1559 which addressed more specifically Lebanon's state failure. This clause called for the "extension of the control of the government of Lebanon over all Lebanese territory" and "the disbanding and disarmament of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias."[140] This clause had nothing to do with Syria, but with Hezbollah. Consequently the efforts to unite all Lebanese to rid themselves of

Syria under UN Resolution 1559 were undermined by this particular clause for it divided the Lebanese people once more according to religious lines, this time between the Shiites and the rest over Resolution 1559.[141] Hariri was split over Resolution 1559. No doubt he was in favor of Syria's withdrawal, although he could not state that publicly, but he was less prone to support the disarmament of Hezbollah as he realized that this could lead to internal chaos.[142] Damascus however blamed Hariri for Resolution 1559.[143] The Lebanese parliament was now faced with the task of accepting or rejecting the proposal to the constitutional amendment to extend Lahoud's term.[144] For this extension to be realized Lahoud needed eighty-six out of the one hundred and twenty-eight MPs to vote in favor. It came down to Hariri's bloc of eighteen MPs.[145] Before the vote many of the yet undecided MPs received a series of death threats, were blackmailed, and offered bribes.[146] Hariri however had already made up his mind. Once more he would give in to Syria's demand, in his eyes, to save Lebanon from a disaster.[147]

French President Chirac was furious about Hariri's vote but at the same time came to conclude that Hariri was in a peculiar situation. In fact all seemed to realize that Hariri no longer was safe in Lebanon. One of his closest friends and later prime minister of Lebanon, Fouad Siniora even asked Hariri if he really did not feel any fear of being killed. Hariri's response yet again reflected his belief that Lebanon was better than before the war as he responded: "No, these violent acts belong in Lebanon's past."[148]

CHAPTER 5

DEATH OF ANOTHER "KING": A NEW USABLE PAST FOR LEBANON

Beirut, February 14, 2005, 12:55 pm

The blast sounded unusual. It could have been the rumbling noise of heavy demolition

equipment that had been used to tear down old buildings or even a jet plane that had gone

through the sound barrier. But neither option fully satisfied the question why strong vibrations

made some muscles shake uncontrollably and why ears felt painful. "Ooh" exclaimed a Lebanese

man with a deep sounding voice. He seemed to instantly grasp what kind of blast it was. Outside,

thick black smoke towered above the city. Within a large range of the blast, windows were

shattered. A few minutes later live footage from the site where the smoke was rising from

appeared on the TV channel "Future TV."[1]

The blast had taken place right across the St. George Hotel. After years of reconstruction

this hotel had almost been completely restored after its destruction during the war period, but

now the camera showed that the front of the hotel was shattered again.[2] As the scene unfolded,

the Lebanese viewers became more anxious to know what had happened. Suddenly a cameraman

from Future TV who had walked close to a fireman captured some of the fireman's words. While

his hands covered his eyes the fireman cried out: "it's Hariri!" Then screams erupted from

people both at home and at the site of destruction. It was clear now that what was shown on TV

were the remains of an assassination attempt.

Hospital employees, heavily guarded by soldiers, carried away stretchers carrying

swollen bodies, which had turned yellow and purple in the flames.[3] The bodies were taken to the

American University Hospital (AUH) in Beirut. Hundreds of people gathered in and around the

hospital while the wounded were brought inside.[4] With growing impatience the crowd waited.

Sadness, fear, and anger befell the crowd and many other people in Lebanon when the final word

came. Rafic Hariri was dead.[5]

Lebanon Represented by a New Usable Past

The significance of the Hariri assassination lay not only in Lebanon's loss of a key figure,

but also in the way his killing was linked to Lebanon's past. That is to say, to many the killing of

Hariri brought the "ghosts of the not-so-distant past," that is the civil war, "howling into

[Lebanon's] present-day reality."[6] This civil war past was a usable past to invoke after the Hariri

assassination because it provided context that showed that violence of this caliber was not an

aberration to Lebanon's pathology of violence. Consequently, the Hariri assassination as well as

the reality of Lebanon became situated within the context of Lebanon's civil war past of 1975-

1990.

Drawing from this past, violence and failed state became key components in the

representation of Lebanon in the aftermath of February 14, 2005 while the fifteen years of peace

and stability between 1990 and 2005 was dispelled. This chapter seeks to illustrate how to the

Lebanese people, the Lebanese press, the Lebanese politicians, the American press, and the

American politicians, the civil war period became the usable past for Lebanon after the Hariri

assassination and how this impacted the representation of Lebanon. To this end, an analysis is

provided on the specific events and/or factors from the civil war period that were invoked by the

above-mentioned parties. What will become clear from the analysis is that to all parties

concerned Lebanon's civil war period became a usable past albeit at times for differing reasons.

1.   The Lebanese People: the 1970s War Years

The *Washington Post*'s headline "Lebanese Warn Of Parallels to 1970s Volatility" after the Hariri assassination, reflected the feelings of the Lebanese people as reported in the Lebanese and American press. The reports in the Lebanese and American papers and magazines made clear that, it was the violence of the earlier years of Lebanon's civil war that the Lebanese people drew on after the assassination of Hariri. In considering why and how the civil war was a usable past to the Lebanese people and why in particular the early years of this war contributed to that, two factors from the reports from the press spring out.

First, it appears that the timing and the nature of the Hariri assassination was perceived as being similar to that of assassinations and assassination attempts in the early years of the civil war. As illustrated in chapter two, assassinations and assassination attempts —for example the shooting at the congregation in the church where Pierre Gemayel was present on April 13, 1975, or the killing of Kamal Jumblatt in 1977— took place after periods of stability and relative calm in Lebanon, but these events ignited and later heightened the fighting in Lebanon. As such from the reports of the Lebanese and American press on the reactions of the Lebanese people, the timing of Hariri's killing, after a period of stability, and Hariri's high profile as a politician and businessman contributed to their references to the civil war's early years. Second, just as before the civil war, Lebanon's society was still divided along strong religious lines. Hariri, was seen as a member of the Lebanese Sunni Muslim community, just as earlier Pierre Gemayel and Kamal Jumblatt were seen as people of their respective Christian Maronite and Druze communities. As such in the immediate aftermath, Hariri's killing was considered as a potential starting point for sectarian violence as witnessed during the civil war thus brining to the fore the image of Lebanon as a violent place.

"There will never be any one like [Hariri]" a shocked Lebanese who had waited outside the hospital in Beirut was quoted saying, "we are back to the time of the civil war; back to a horrible time of pain and death."[7] "He alone could guarantee national unity," "Lebanon will not survive. It's going to break apart into sectarian enclaves," was the reaction of another Lebanese man.[8] "I just hope this doesn't mean that Lebanon will fall into another civil war" an eye witness to the assassination said.[9] Only few Lebanese were described as either hopeful or convinced that a new civil war would not occur.[10]

The Lebanese people's memories of the early years of the civil war and the fear of its return were pervasive in the reporting by the American and Lebanese press, thus re-inscribing Lebanon as a violent place. Hundreds of people took to the streets in Beirut, Tripoli, and Hariri's birthplace Sidon, beating up Syrian guest workers and demolishing their properties. For many Lebanese the civil war became a usable past as reports by the Lebanese and American press revealed the Lebanese people's reflections on past events from the civil war period that in their eyes were similar to Hariri's killing. Some recalled the 1975 assassinations of two politicians who also came from Sidon.[11] "They took the king of this country" an older woman commented, adding "it's now the start of 1975."[12] Interestingly, the Lebanese press also reported that not only the older generation that had experienced the civil war in Lebanon, but also the younger generation that was born after or near the end of this period felt the threat of this violent period's return.[13]

2.   *The Lebanese Press and Politicians: the 1970s War Years*

Lebanon's civil war as a usable past to "explain" the violence and destruction of February 14, 2005 also came to the fore in the analyses and editorials of the Lebanese press. These

analyses and editorials reveal that the enormity of the destruction brought by the killing of Hariri and the fact that a key figure in Lebanon was killed brought back the memories of Lebanon's civil war past to the Lebanese press. Another factor that played a role in the resilience of the civil war to the Lebanese press was the historical divide of Lebanon's society between religious communities. This factor was predominantly apparent in the speculations in the Lebanese press about the possible consequences of Hariri's assassination. As such, the images of the earlier developments of Lebanon's civil war during the mid 1970s that produced and triggered fighting factions along sectarian lines were "useful" to the Lebanese press to resurrect in the aftermath of February 14, 2005. At the same time the resurrection of these images by the Lebanese press highlighted the representation of Lebanon as a violent place.

One Lebanese weekly, *Monday Morning*, described the site of the bombing as "a battlefield recalling the scenes of horror of the years of the war."[14] *The Daily Star*, an English language Lebanese newspaper, reminisced over the scene as a "trail of carnage not seen since the 1975-1990 Lebanese civil war."[15] *The Daily Star* also listed a series of bombings in Lebanon to portray its "tortured history." This list contained assassinations of Lebanese politicians such as the murder of Kamal Jumblatt in 1977 and of Bashir Gemayel in 1982.[16] The editors of the *Star* also wondered how after this "momentous event" Lebanon could be prevented "from tottering over the brink of an abyss."[17] A day later, as Hariri was laid to rest in the Mohammed Al Amine Mosque[18] the editors even claimed that "there can be no doubt that the light at the end of this dark tunnel is a freight train coming our way fast,"[19] showing the impact of Hariri's murder on Lebanon.

The Lebanese politicians' outlook on the country after the Hariri murder was, as the reports by the Lebanese and American press reveal, dominated by their view of the precarious

balance of Lebanon's society built-up along religious lines. Aware of the events that ignited the

civil war in 1975 and the role the different religious factions had played in this, the early period

of Lebanon's civil war was turned into a usable past by the Lebanese politicians as they

considered the consequences that the Hariri assassination could have on their country.

Lebanese politicians and religious community leaders as reported in both the Lebanese

and American press worried about the "peaceful Christian-Muslim coexistence the country had

achieved since the war's end"[20] and argued that the murder was "aimed at destroying dreams for

a better tomorrow."[21] "We're now in 1975. All we are missing is someone to start the shooting"

said interior minister Suleiman Franjieh.[22] As if in response to Franjieh, at least rhetorically, the

Grand Mufti Qabbani, the highest authority in the Lebanese Sunni community, publicly stated

that the Hariri murder was "an attack on the Sunnis' presence in [Lebanon] . . . and an attack on

their role and their dignity."[23] As *The Daily Star* explained, Qabbani's words reflected the

feelings of Sunni Lebanese on the day of the assassination (after all Hariri was also a Sunni).[24]

Not long after, Hassan Nasrallah, leader of the Shiite Hezbollah responded with a warning that

Lebanon "could plunge…back into civil war" and that "we must not repeat the mistakes of the

past."[25]

3.   *The American Press and Politicians: the 1980s War Years*

As indicated above, the resilience of Lebanon's violent past came to the fore not only in

the Lebanese press, but also in the American press after the killing of Hariri. Headlines such as

"Lethal Blast rocks Lebanon,"[26] "Murder in Beirut,"[27] and "Terror in Lebanon"[28] provided a

familiar picture of Lebanon evocative of an earlier time. Other headlines such as "Violence

returns to Lebanon,"[29] and "Old-school terror in Beirut,"[30] acted as a reminder that the Hariri murder was certainly not the first political assassination to take place in Lebanon.

On the one hand, the evocation of Lebanon's civil war by the American press and politicians revealed an overlap in the way the Lebanese people, press, and politicians came to point to this time period. Similar to the viewpoint of the Lebanese people, press, and politicians, the American press and American politicians assumed that the historical divide of Lebanon's society along religious lines could potentially ignite a resumption of the civil war after Hariri's killing. On the other hand, the reactions of the American press and politicians also revealed different memories that contributed to this. Interestingly while they saw, the civil war as a usable past for Lebanon, reflected in their specific references to the killings that had taken place in Lebanon during the early 1980s, the American press and politicians —in contrast to the Lebanese press, people, and politicians— found a usable past in the 1970s period of the civil war when the U.S. was physically involved in Lebanon's civil war. Thus, the presence of the U.S. Marines in Lebanon and the Hezbollah-led suicide attack on the Marines in 1983, turned out to be a "landmark" event that dominated the memories the American press evoked to provide a context for the violence on February 14, 2005.

While politicians the world over, also immediately used the civil war as a point of reference to explain the Hariri assassination, United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan for example called it "a reversion to a chapter in Lebanon's history that we had hoped was long past,"[31] and a European Union (EU) diplomat stated that "this is going to destabilize the country significantly for a long time to come"[32] U.S. politicians were quoted as calling the assassination "an ominous development" while warning that "Lebanon could plunge back into the civil war that it suffered throughout the 1980s."[33] Martin Indyk, a former Middle East official in the

Clinton Administration, also seriously considered the possibility that Lebanon could "[descend] into hell."[34]

Similarly, the American press explained to its readership that "Beirut was frequently the scene of car bombings and street battles"[35] as they reported that the "devastation harked back to Lebanon's violent past,"[36] and "stunned a country that has been relatively stable since [the] civil war ended in 1990,"[37] calling this "a 15-year timeout,"[38] the U.S. media noted that this bombing "marked the first time since . . . 1990 that such a high-level politician was killed."[39] Some American newspapers referred to particular events during Lebanon's civil war. *The Philadelphia Inquirer* for example pointed out that the bombing resembled the one that "killed Lebanese President Bashir Gemayel in 1982" and the one that "blew up hundreds of U.S. . . . peacekeeping troops in 1983.[40] In explaining to its readers that "not long ago, Lebanon was synonymous with chaos and violence," *USA Today* also referred to the bombing of the U.S. barracks in which in which two hundred and forty-one American service men lost their lives in Beirut.[41] Similarly, to *The Daily Star,* the *Knight Ridder Washington Bureau*, and the *Boston Globe* listed violent events in Lebanon to provide a historical background to Hariri's murder. These lists started with killings during the early 1970s, but in contrast to the list that was drawn up by *The Daily Star*, these killings were followed with references to the 1983 killing of the U.S. Marines in Beirut.[42] Even the non-American press such as the London based *The Independent* had noted a list of assassinations in Lebanon, including the Marine bombing of 1983. The Hariri murder of 2005 had become yet another bullet point on this list.[43]

To the American press, Lebanon's civil war past was also useful in representing the realities that could confront Lebanon in the aftermath of the Hariri murder. That is, with the exception of *ABC News* which explicitly reported on its website that there would not be "a return

to the same factionalism that led to the Lebanese civil war of 1975-1990,"[44] the majority of the American press also considered the return of a civil war possible in Lebanon, specifically because they assumed that the hostilities among different religious communities could trigger fighting once more. The American press variously reported that Lebanon "once again would become a battleground for the country's dueling ethnic and religious groups,"[45] that the killing "raised the specter of new sectarian violence"[46] or "could once again unleash the violent centrifugal forces."[47]

Hariri's role in Lebanon and the symbolism of the blast's location between the hotels and business offices Hariri had helped to rebuild were viewed by the American press as significant indicators of the collapse of Lebanon's economy and impending civil war.[48] After his death, the American press credited Hariri with the rebuilding of Lebanon and for having functioned as a binding factor in the country to maintain stability between the religious communities.[49] Hence, Lebanon's time of peace and prosperity came to be situated within the context of Hariri's career which now had come to an end: "Mr. Hariri . . . helped bring peace to his country, and there is a danger that his death will reignite the passions he helped to rein in," one American newspaper commented on Lebanon's current affairs.[50]

4. *Lebanese Expatriates in the Lebanese and American Press: The War Years*

The response of the Lebanese expatriates as seen in both the American and Lebanese press predominantly dovetailed with these media representations of Lebanon as a violent place. The reactions of these expatriates to the Hariri murder reveal that the scenes from Beirut on February 14, 2005 mirrored their experiences and feelings at the time they had fled the country.

The Lebanese expatriates who were quoted by the press had resurrected the images of the civil

war in Lebanon when confronted with the scenes of the Hariri assassination.

One expatriate living in the U.S. was quoted as saying that he "still sees the country as a

pot set to boil on the stove" as he recalled how back in the 1980s "Lebanon was like hell every

day."[51] Another Lebanese expatriate living in the U.S. was reported as explaining that now that

he had a wife and children he would not consider going back anymore.[52] Likewise, a Lebanese

expatriate living in Venezuela was cited by *The Daily Star* as saying he had decided that he

"would never go back there again," sharing his feelings with other expatriates from the

community who, given the situation, were also described as being wary to return to Lebanon.[53]

But not all Lebanese expatriates who were represented in the American and Lebanese press were

of the same opinion. Some said they would wait a little longer to return while others were

described as being eager to go back as they felt that history was in the making.[54]

Effect of Lebanon's New Usable Past: Tourism and Business in Lebanon

The Lebanese and American press reports on the aftermath of the Hariri assassination and

its impact on tourism revealed the impact the assassination had made on Lebanon's image and

how the violent past played a role in this. For tourists the question of whether or not to stay after

Hariri had been killed was a no-brainer. These tourists had come to Lebanon persuaded by

advertisements that built upon the success of the summer of 2004 to "rediscover Lebanon."[55]

That summer, Lebanon had reached "pre-war records" of visiting tourists, twenty percent of

whom came from the U.S. and visitors from Europe even outnumbered those from the Arab

world.[56] This success had helped to highlight Lebanon's recuperated status as the Switzerland of

the Middle East[57] under the Hariri era. The assassination of Hariri now dispelled this representation once again.

With their hotel windows "pulverized and balconies blown out," the media reported that tourists headed for Beirut International Airport (BIA) as quickly as they could. Many in their fear and haste did not even bother to take their luggage with them.[58] While guests were leaving their hotels, the hotels also reported that most of their reservations being cancelled.[59] "Tourism and instability cannot live together," the president of the Lebanon Hotel Association was quoted saying while he looked down through the shattered windows of his office to the thirty feet wide and nine feet deep crater across the St. George Hotel.[60] "Who wants to come here now? Who wants to stay in a hotel in this country?" a businessman enquired,[61] illustrating the impact the Hariri assassination had made on Lebanon's image.[62]

In the immediate aftermath of the assassination, even foreign investors and foreign companies already present in Lebanon with plans to take part in rebuilding projects and industry in Lebanon announced that they would now freeze or withdraw their commitments to do so. Most of the investors' commitments were tied to personal agreements and guarantees with Hariri and without his presence Lebanon suddenly came to be viewed in a different light by them.[63]

Lebanon's Civil War as Usable Past: Representing Lebanon as a Failed State

The reports from the Lebanese and American press, the statements by the Lebanese and American politicians, and the reported reactions of the Lebanese people to the Hariri killing reveal another explanation why Lebanon's civil war was turned into a usable past for Lebanon in the aftermath of February 14, 2005. This was the fact that the Hariri murder came to highlight Lebanon's state failure which, as explained, is inextricably linked to the civil war period. The

reports, statements, and reactions of the above-mentioned parties from the Lebanese and American side not only also show factors that contributed to the perception of Lebanon as a failed state, but they also reveal that these particular factors are remnants of Lebanon's civil war period in the Lebanon of today.

The notion that the Lebanese government was still considered a weak government due to Syria's political dominance in Lebanon ever since the end of the civil war, the continuing presence of Syrian military within Lebanon ever since 1976, and the fact that an armed militia, namely Hezbollah, was (and is) still present within Lebanon's borders highlighted Lebanon's civil war past. Thus in the immediate aftermath of the Hariri assassination, for American and Lebanese politicians and press and, the Lebanese people Lebanon's civil war past, besides defining it as a violent place, also came to represent Lebanon as a failed state.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the U.S. government had already addressed this presumed weakness of the state before the Hariri assassination, but was now even more vociferous about it. Simultaneously, many Lebanese people and politicians from the opposition movement, and also the Lebanese press now dared to agitate openly against Syria and the pro-Syrian Lebanese government and hence criticize the weakness of their own government while calling for Syria, whom they held responsible for the Hariri assassination, to leave Lebanon.

1.   U.S. Policy and Perception: Lebanon as a Failed State

Although there was a flurry of attention from the Bush Administration on Lebanon after the Hariri assassination, it was short-lived. During this short time-span, President George W. Bush repeatedly called for Lebanon's independence and free elections. Indeed, an analysis of U.S. policy during this period makes clear that in particular the continued dominance of Syria

over Lebanon's politics, the presence of Syrian military and the presence of Hezbollah within

Lebanon's borders, came to determine U.S. government perceptions of Lebanon as a failed state

and the Bush Administration's policies towards Lebanon. In considering this perception and

political stand by the Bush Administration towards Lebanon, one needs to consider that since the

9/11 attacks in the U.S., the U.S. has heavily invested in combating terrorism in the Middle East

and South Asia.

As explained in the previous chapter, the U.S. concerns over Lebanon's lack of

sovereignty came to the forefront of U.S. foreign policy due to the role of Syria in the Middle

East. The U.S. was particularly concerned about Syria's subversive role in Iraq. In his State of

the Union address, almost two weeks before the Hariri assassination, Bush had pointed to the

free elections that were held in Afghanistan, the Palestinian territories, and in Iraq while he had

raised his concern over Syria "[allowing] its territory, and parts of Lebanon to be used by

terrorists."[64] In the same address Bush also sent a warning to Syria saying that he "[expected] the

Syrian government to end all support for terror and open the door to freedom."[65] Like the

Reagan Administration, the Bush Administration focused on Lebanon not so much for the sake

of Lebanon itself but, instead, to urge Syria to leave Lebanon after Hariri's assassination because

Syria represented a "destabilizing force in the region."[66]

Thus, strengthened by the momentum of free elections in some areas in the Middle East,

the White House presented the Hariri assassination as "a terrible reminder that the Lebanese

people must be able to pursue their aspirations and determine their own political future free from

violence and intimidation"[67] while U.S. President George W. Bush declared that "Syria must end

its occupation of Lebanon."[68] Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs William

Burns asserted that Hariri's killing "must give renewed impetus to achieve a free, independent

and sovereign Lebanon" pointing out that United Nations Security Council Resolution 1559

should be implemented.[69] As described in the previous chapter, besides free elections in

Lebanon, Resolution 1559 called for the disarmament of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias

and for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon.[70] State Department spokesman Richard

Boucher backed this statement as he was quoted saying that the assassination is "another sign

that Lebanon needs to be free of violence . . . . stand on its own and take care of itself,"[71] adding

later that 1559 also needed to be implemented.[72]

2.   *The American Press: Lebanon as a Failed State*

The American press representation of Lebanon as a failed state dovetailed with U.S.

policy and perception. Especially, Syria's dominant role in Lebanon's politics and the presence

of Syrian military on Lebanese soil contributed to American presses' portrayal of Lebanon as

having a weak government and hence as being a failed state. Moreover, the presence of

Hezbollah was highlighted by the American press to represent the weakness of Lebanon as a

state.

The U.S. media described Lebanon as a "client state of Damascus,"[73] "Syria's own

fiefdom,"[74] and a "protectorate" of Syria,[75] pointing out that Syria "has played the dominant role

in Lebanon's politics since it moved troops into the country in the 1970s."[76] The *Boston Globe*

referred to Syria as "the hovering puppeteer behind Lebanese politics" illustrating the weakness

of the Lebanese state.[77] The *New York Times* explained further that Syria's dominant role in

Lebanon went beyond politics and that it "held sway over Lebanon's political and economic life

through its military and proxy government, arming Hezbollah, and using the country as a

gateway into the global economy."[78] Explaining to its readers about the inability of Lebanon to

control its own borders and guarantee its people safety, *Newsweek* referred to the fact that the

Taif Agreement of 1989 had not yet been fulfilled, because there were still fifteen thousand

Syrian troops in Lebanon and that Syria maintained "proxy control" of the Lebanese

parliament.[79] On the latter issue, the *New York Times* wrote that "Syria perverted Lebanese

democracy by forcing Lebanon's parliament to accept a three-year extension for a Syrian

puppet."[80]

The American press was keen to point out that U.S. policy towards Syria, and hence

Lebanon, converged with the mood of many Lebanese as they reported "a newly emboldened

opposition movement renewing calls for Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon.[81] A close aide of

Hariri was quoted calling upon the U.S. to "rescue the oldest real Arab democracy, Lebanon,

from the Syrian grip."[82] Hence, the American press considered Lebanon a "critical test case" of

George W. Bush's commitment to push "freedom and liberty and human rights" in the Middle

East[83] as U.S. politicians saw the "ferment" in Lebanon as "an opportunity to remake the Middle

East."[84] At the same time the American press wondered how the U.S. would do this because they

also noticed that calls for a Syrian pullout only represented half the story of the developments in

Lebanon.[85]

3. *The Lebanese Press, People, and Politicians: Lebanon as a Failed State*

In Lebanon, the weakness of the state was addressed by the press, the people, politicians

from opposition movement, and even some politicians from the Lebanese government, after the

Hariri assassination. Their reactions show that the representation of Lebanon as a failed state was

based on factors stemming from the civil war period, in particular the weakness of the Lebanese

government to provide security within its own borders, the continued dominance of Syria over

Lebanon's politics, and the presence of Syrian military within Lebanon's borders.

The Daily Star criticized the Lebanese government for "its virtual absence from . . . the

duties of state," arguing that "this 'government' is nowhere to be seen politically, socially or

economically," and concluding that "this government has, in effect, abdicated its

responsibilities."[86] *An-Nahar*, another Lebanese daily, accused the Lebanese government of

"failing to take responsibility when the volcano of hell exploded."[87] Using the assassination as a

paradigm, Gebran Tueni, a journalist of *An-Nahar*, depicted Lebanon as a "captive state in the

hands of the Syrians," stating that "there isn't any more obvious proof that Lebanon lacks its

independence and freedom."[88]

Not surprisingly Lebanese President Lahoud's statement that the murder was a

"despicable crime . . . [aimed at breaking] civil peace and stability,"[89] his promise to bring the

assassins to justice, and Interior Minister Franjieh's pledge that the government would do

anything to "protect national peace and stability"[90] fell on deaf ears. In fact these statements

were rejected by the Lebanese press and the opposition movement who wanted to "reclaim

[their] country"[91] after the murder of Hariri, whom they had viewed as Lebanon's "defense

wall,"[92] against Syria and its "puppet" regime headed by Lahoud.[93]

Druze leader Walid Jumblatt, who had the backing of a large majority of Druzes, Sunnis

and Maronites, embodied the opposition's voice in full.[94] "I charge the Lebanese-Syrian police

regime with the responsibility for Hariri's death"[95] he stated. His words were also supported by

former Lebanese President Amin Gemayel who blamed Syria and the Lebanese government for

the murder.[96] Michel Aoun, a former Lebanese General who lived in exile because he had

resisted Syria's role in Lebanon, also accused Syria of the murder and *de facto* implied

Lebanon's state failure noting that "nothing moves [in Lebanon] without being controlled by the Syrians"[97] while he referred to the Lebanese government as "the feeble regime imposed by Syria."[98]

Some politicians from the Lebanese government themselves also contributed to the representation of Lebanon as a failed state. In light of the mass mobilization of Lebanese people and the intense pressure that was put on the government from both inside and outside Lebanon, some government officials could not resist the accusations that indeed the Lebanese government was nothing more than a "lackey" government.[99] This was first illustrated when the Minister for Tourism, Farid Khazen resigned only five days after the Hariri assassination. Khazen explained that he resigned because "the government was not able of running the country at this crucial period."[100] Opposition "leader" Walid Jumblatt agreed. "We have no national sovereignty. Lebanon and all its institutions are in the thrall of the Syrian military intelligence service. Sovereignty no longer exists," Walid Jumblatt said, while increasing the pressure on the government to step down.[101]

To everybody's astonishment, Prime Minister Omar Karami, "a Syria loyalist," dissolved the Lebanese government during an hour-long parliamentary hearing "out of concern that [the government] does not become an obstacle to the good of the country."[102] The dissolution of the Lebanese government was received elatedly by the opposition supporters who now turned all their attention to the pending departure of Syrian troops and intelligence services from their country. The White House considered the dissolution as a step in the right direction and President Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice seized the moment to push for Syria to leave Lebanon.[103]

Lebanon's Civil War as Usable Past: an Enduring History and Representation

The Lebanese government's dissolution and the imminent withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon however did not dispel the representations of a violent Lebanon and of Lebanon as a failed state. On the contrary, it only served to reveal that, apart from the historical divide of Lebanon's society along religious lines, some of the factors that were inextricably linked to the civil war past were still deeply embedded in Lebanon. Specifically, the weakness and the precarious build-up of the Lebanese military which, as explained in chapter two, could dissolve during any internal struggle in Lebanon, and the presence of a heavily armed Hezbollah in Lebanon since 1982 were central factors here. Therefore, to understand how and why the representation of Lebanon by the Lebanese and American press and politicians, and the Lebanese people, after the Hariri assassination, consolidated the events of Lebanon's civil war past, it is necessary to consider how these deeply embedded (historical) factors of Lebanon influenced the continued bleak outlook of the country by the different parties.

1. *The Lebanese Politicians, the Press, and the People: Outlook on Lebanon*

In the aftermath of the Hariri assassination the image of Lebanon's civil war continued to hang over the country giving an enduring character to Lebanon's representation as a failed and violent state. Within Lebanon all sides feared that a Syrian pull-out would lead to a resumption of "sectarian rivalries."[104] For instance, after Karami had stepped down he concurred with Syrian President Bashar Assad who had argued that without the presence of Syrian troops, Lebanon "could revert to the bad old days."[105] Karami's argument that "the [Lebanese] military [would] splinter along factional lines," pointing out that "we've tried this before and the army disintegrated," was even backed by politicians from the opposition.[106] Franjieh also conveyed his

concern for the "settling [of] scores in the wake of the Syrian troop withdrawal."[107] Earlier

Walid Jumblatt, in the midst of Lebanese calls for the Lebanese government's dissolution, had

echoed similar concerns and doubts when he remarked "will we survive or not? . . . I don't

know."[108]

As reported by the Lebanese and American press, the division in Lebanon's society along

religious lines increased fears for sectarian strife after a Syrian pullout. Here one must note that

not every Lebanese resented Syria.[109] In fact a large part of the Lebanese population did not

participate in the opposition movement's protests against the presence of Syrian troops in

Lebanon. In particular, the Lebanese Shiites tended to follow the guidelines that were set out by

Hezbollah, and not that of the opposition movement, out of fear that the opposition would disarm

Hezbollah after a Syrian withdrawal and thereby undermine the hard-fought status the Shiites

have achieved in Lebanon since the early 1980s.[110] Therefore, within a week of the dissolution

of the Lebanese government, Hezbollah's leader Nasrallah made it clear that the Lebanese

should be grateful to Syria's role as stabilizer in Lebanon.[111] A day later his party mobilized half

a million Shiites to hold a pro-Syria march in Downtown Beirut.[112] During his speech at the

rally, Nasrallah underscored Hezbollah's loyalty to Damascus and fiercely agitated against

possible foreign intervention, warning the U.S. in particular not to meddle in Lebanese affairs.

He also warned the opposition of more Shiite rallies if the opposition movement would not

follow his call.[113] Hezbollah's ability to mobilize "hundred [*sic*] of thousands of people in

obedience to its policy" concerned the other Lebanese and most of the Lebanese press.[114]

The size of Hezbollah's march reportedly was a "slap in the face" and "shattered the

euphoria of the revolutionary movement."[115] It also brought heated reactions from shocked

Lebanese who supported the opposition and who felt betrayed by Hezbollah's maneuver towards

Damascus. [116] Thus far the opposition movement had received most coverage from the world news and was even called the "favorite cause of the Bush administration."[117] Hezbollah's march however, which had outnumbered the opposition's march from a week before by at least seven times,[118] showed that a polarization was taking place in Lebanon in the aftermath of the Hariri assassination.[119] Shiite Lebanese warned that the opposition movement was "[pushing] its luck" which could lead to a backlash "with echoes of the civil war."[120] Many Lebanese, pro or anti-Syria, were described by the Lebanese and American press as viewing the Hezbollah march as a signal that they should not discount the party's role in Lebanon even if Syria was to depart.[121] Suspicions about more car bombs and a re-emergence of "sectarian fault lines" became daily talk in Lebanon as the outlook for Lebanon's present and future was represented by its civil war past.[122] Even a second march by the opposition movement on March 14, 2005 in which more than one million people participated to commemorate Hariri's death could not take away the feeling of insecurity and anxiety about new violence in Lebanon.

2.   *The American Press and Politicians: Outlook on Lebanon*

The outlook of the American press and politicians on Lebanon shows that Lebanon's social divide between religious communities, Lebanon's weak government, and the precarious nature and weakness of Lebanon's army which easily could disintegrate if inter-sectarian rivalry was to occur, framed their representations of Lebanon and also consolidated the image of Lebanon's civil war past. Moreover, the presence of an armed Hezbollah in Lebanon, whose attack on the Marines in 1983, had not been forgotten, equally contributed to an image of Lebanon that was formed through the lens of its civil war past by the American press and politicians.

For instance, the American press did not fail to acknowledge that before Syria formally took over control of Lebanon in 1990, Lebanon was "a violent and dangerous place where warlords and terrorists roamed free for lack of a strong government."[123] Hence the media had reasoned that with a Syrian pullout "the different groups will again descend into civil war."[124] In that sense, while estimating the Shiites to be forty percent of the Lebanese population, the American press considered Hezbollah's pro-Syria march to represent the "other face of Lebanon"[125] or "a very different Lebanon."[126] This face also came to dominate the representation of Lebanon in the American press similar to the way it had come to dominate the short-lived euphoria of the opposition movement within Lebanon. In the eyes of the American press, Hezbollah's march also represented a "reality check" to U.S. foreign policy in Lebanon.[127] It debunked the idea of U.S. policymakers, such as President Bush and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, that if Syria withdrew from Lebanon there would be an opportunity to install a pro-Western government in that country, because Hezbollah, and thus forty percent of the Lebanese population, would never accept it.[128]

Of course the White House was aware of Hezbollah's powers and it was informed about the concerns from within Lebanon that the Lebanese army might not be able to stand up against Hezbollah should that be necessary after Syria had withdrawn its troops.[129] In response, Secretary of State Rice suggested on several occasions that the U.S. might support the sending of international peacekeepers to Lebanon in order to fill the vacuum after Syria's withdrawal "and prevent the kind of sectarian fighting in Lebanon that Syria used to justify its military deployment there."[130] Rice's suggestion never materialized. Nonetheless, the reaction of some of the American press to this suggestion emphasized the new usable past shaped by Lebanon's civil war and, now, after the Hariri assassination: "We have been down this road before, during

Lebanon's civil war, it ends with Americans killed or taken hostage in terrorist attacks" the *New York Times* wrote in response to Rice's suggestion.[131] Likewise *Newsweek* rebuffed the idea of U.S. intervention in this "small but complicated nation," pointing out that earlier "when the United States tried to intervene . . . its citizens were kidnapped and its troops targeted by terrorists," and that "in a single incident in October 1983, 241 Americans were killed by an enormous suicide-bomb attack on a Marine barracks in Beirut."[132]

Lebanon's Usable Pasts

After the assassination of Hariri, Lebanon's civil war shaped a new usable past. Here the theoretical approaches to a usable past, as described in the introduction of this thesis, are useful in understanding the representation of Lebanon as a failed state.

Brooks' idea on the making of a usable past that the past allows people to choose events that are most consonant to them as far as the past is concerned,[133] Portales's suggestion that "it is our way of looking at the past" that determines which past is legitimate and when,[134] and Warren's notion that "reality is not a function of the event as event, but of the relationship of that event to past, and future, events"[135] have clearly come to the fore in the process by which the different parties reacted to the Hariri assassination and by extension to Lebanon itself.

As this thesis argues, the Lebanese drew from the early civil war years as they connected Hariri's murder and its possible consequences to assassinations and assassination attempts and their consequences during the mid to late 1970s in Lebanon. Moreover, what stands out in the reactions of the Lebanese parties is the role of the historical divisions in Lebanon's society along religious lines. This fact in particular contributed to the idea of the Lebanese parties that the Hariri killing could once again ignite the fighting.

Moreover from the reactions of the various Lebanese parties it also becomes clear that the perceived weakness of the Lebanese government, the persistent dominance of Syria over Lebanon's politics, the presence of its military on Lebanese soil, and the presence of an armed Hezbollah in Lebanon influenced their perceptions of the aftermath of February 14, 2005. These factors heightened the sense among the various Lebanese parties that the consequences after the Hariri assassination could be similar to those of the 1970s. Finally, the fears about what could happen in Lebanon, considering the afore-mentioned factors, if Syria were to withdraw its troops from Lebanese soil highlighted the sense among the Lebanese that a new civil war would be a inevitable. As such, drawing from these events and factors from Lebanon's civil war, this past became a usable past for the Lebanese after the Hariri murder.

For Americans, Lebanon's civil war was also a usable past to evoke after the Hariri assassination. In contrast however to the Lebanese side, the American side considered the 1980s period of the civil war, specifically the early 1980s, as a usable past for Lebanon. The reason that this period of the civil war functioned as a usable past can mainly be explained by the fact that only during this time did the U.S. become involved in Lebanon's civil war. The physical involvement of the U.S. in the early 1980s also triggered events that literally converged, albeit to a different degree, with the Hariri assassination. The explosion that blew up two hundred and forty-one American servicemen in Beirut in 1983 particularly functioned as a means for Lebanon's civil war to provide the context for Hariri's assassination.

Moreover, similar to the Lebanese side, the reactions from the American side illustrate that the historical build-up of Lebanon's society among religious communities, the weakness of Lebanon's army due to its precarious nature, the weakness of the Lebanese government, and the presence of an armed Hezbollah contributed to the making of Lebanon's civil war as a usable

past and civil war as a possible outcome for Lebanon, especially if Syria were to withdraw its troops from Lebanon.

The civil war as a usable past for Lebanon impacted Lebanon's representation both from inside and outside the country after the Hariri assassination. This representation described Lebanon as a violent place and a failed state. However, as also illustrated in this thesis, these images of Lebanon have not been the only representation for Lebanon. In fact as shown in this thesis, during the sixty-six years of its independence, two contrasting representations of Lebanon have come to the fore that were drawn from different usable pasts.

First, there was the representation of Lebanon as the Switzerland of the Middle East. This representation stemmed originally from the French mandate, but it was prolonged and cultivated during the first thirty-two years of Lebanon's independence. The cosmopolitan appeal of Lebanon's capital Beirut, dubbed during this time as the Paris of the Middle East, where the freedom of press, commerce, and banking, the newly built infrastructure, and the natural beauty around the city and of the country attracted large numbers of international scholars, journalists, politicians, businessmen and tourists, helped to bring this representation to the fore. Additionally, Lebanon during this time was not considered to be a Middle Eastern country, but a mere bridge or a place in-between the West and the Middle East.

When the civil war broke out in Lebanon, the image of Lebanon as the Switzerland of the Middle East and Beirut as the Paris of the Middle East was dispelled. Instead, in the wake of the years of war, Lebanon came to be known for its violence and its state failure. The strong divisions between Lebanon's religious communities and the inequality gradually led to the development of fighting factions between the religious communities that at times were backed by

foreign allies. As political assassinations and assassination attempts had changed the reality in Lebanon, fighting factions fought battles with each other during a period of fifteen years.

Not only from within Lebanon did the country's representation change to one of violence and state failure as people fled the country and as its infrastructure was destroyed while the Lebanese government was unable to end the war. Lebanon's representation was also transformed from outside. This thesis in particular addressed the physical encounters of the U.S. in Lebanon's civil war and how certain events during U.S. involvement impacted Lebanon's representation. First, the U.S. decision, backed by Great-Britain, France and Italy, to send peacekeeping troops to Lebanon in order to restore peace, stability and the authority of the Lebanese government, was a clear sign to the outside world that Lebanon was a failed state. Second, the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, but especially the killing of the two hundred and forty-one American servicemen in Beirut in 1983 served the changing representation of Lebanon into one of a violent place. Thus, Lebanon lost its particular status as a bridge between East and West and instead was perceived to be deeply seated within the Middle East.

Not surprisingly, after the civil war was over, it was hard for Lebanon to move away from the aftermath of the civil war and establish a new path for a new future. Yet, Rafic Hariri sought to give Lebanon a new future by rebuilding the country, albeit mainly Beirut, out of the ashes. Hariri tried to reconstruct Lebanon in a way that represented the country as it had been in the past before the civil war. Over time, especially in the early 2000s, it seemed that indeed Lebanon was gradually recuperating its shattered image from before the war. This was illustrated from reports that came from the media on such developments as the lifting of the U.S. travel ban to Lebanon, the rebuilding of Beirut, and the revived tourism industry in Lebanon. During this

time, Hariri himself embodied the political and economic bridge that Lebanon once was between East and West.

The killing of Hariri however shifted the focus back to Lebanon's violent past and state failure because to all sides concerned (and within the scope of this thesis that means the U.S. and Lebanese press, the U.S. and Lebanese politicians, and the Lebanese people), the past of Lebanon's civil war became useful to give meaning to the Hariri assassination and to explain the realities confronting Lebanon after February 14, 2005.

Although as illustrated above, the Lebanese and American sides chose to link the Hariri assassination to different events and factors that were tied to the civil war period, the period as a whole was evoked after the murder. In that sense it is ironic that whereas many of the battles were fought in Lebanon between 1975 and 1990 due to different perspectives of Lebanon's past (and hence future), these battles together came to form a past that, as the aftermath of the Hariri assassination showed, was so pervasive that it consolidated and affirmed a new usable past for Lebanon's present.

To a large extent, the evocation of the civil war past has erased what had been the restored representation of Lebanon as the Switzerland of the Middle East under the Hariri era. Further, more than ever before, the Hariri assassination and the way it came to contextualize Lebanon's civil war past and its present have served to resurrect and solidify earlier representations of Lebanon as a violent place and a failed state.

The fears for a new civil war in Lebanon after the Hariri assassination were telling in that, as chapter two showed, the build up to the civil war of 1975-1990 consisted of a highly complex series of events both inside and outside Lebanon. These events laid the groundwork to the civil war. Although such events as the April 13, 1975 shooting and the killing of Kamal

Jumblatt were culminations of this groundwork that triggered and prolonged the civil war respectively, it never started simply because of a single incident. In that sense, the fact that fears of a resumption of the civil war arose after the killing of only one person, though admittedly an important person, revealed that there were still remnants of the factors that laid the groundwork of the civil war in Lebanon. More importantly, these included the social divide among religious lines, the weakness of the Lebanese government, the weakness and precarious state of Lebanon's army, and the presence of an armed militia.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the Hariri assassination has come to form a turning point that reveals the making of a new usable past for Lebanon, out of its civil war past, to explain the realities which confront the country today.

CONCLUSION

LEBANON: A COUNTRY LOCKED IN TIME?

The conclusion that the Hariri assassination has come to form a turning point in the making of a new usable past for Lebanon out of its civil war to explain the realities which confront the country today is strengthened by the fact that up to this day Lebanon has "re-experienced" several episodes of its violent past. These events have only highlighted the violence in Lebanon and the persistent inability of the country to control everything within its borders.

After a peaceful Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon which was completed in April 2005, Lebanon was shaken by several assassinations and assassination attempts of Lebanese politicians and journalists who had been critical of Syria. One of the consequences was that daily life in Lebanon became characterized by frequent checks for bombs at parking lots, shopping malls, restaurants and other public places. Moreover, more often than not would public places remain closed due to bomb threats or because people would not dare to go out anymore.

In the summer of 2006, the gates of the 1982 "hell" were reopened as Israeli air raids wiped out the entire rebuilt infrastructure in Lebanon and killed one thousand Lebanese in retaliation for Hezbollah's kidnapping of Israeli soldiers and its launching of rockets into Israel from South Lebanon. The summer of 2007 brought back earlier memories of Lebanon's war time when Palestinian militiamen in a northern refugee camp attempted to create a Palestinian state in Lebanon. It took the Lebanese army the greatest effort and time in order to crush down the militiamen in this refugee camp.

A year later, civil tension arose in particular between the Lebanese Shiites and Druzes during the month of May after Druze leader Walid Jumblatt had accused Hezbollah of running an illegal intelligence service in and around Beirut International Airport. Shiite militia men took

to the streets in West Beirut and lay siege over this part of the city fighting Druze militia and killing any non-Shiite passer bye.

On each of these occasions between 2005 and 2008, news reports would refer to the Hariri assassination and then in turn refer to Lebanon's civil war to explain these more recent developments in Lebanon. The conflict between Hezbollah and Israel in particular showed the state Lebanon has been in since February 14, 2005. Many Lebanese argued in 2006 that it had become obvious that Lebanon was lacking a person like Hariri whose solid diplomatic relations could prevent or minimize the kind of carnage that took place during the summer of 2006.

Hence thus far it seems that, although an actual return of the civil war did not take place, since Hariri's killing Lebanon has been struck by violence every year. One cannot deny that the remaining factors of Lebanon's civil war continue to scar the country. In that sense one can only wonder what is going to happen this year in 2009 and in the coming years in Lebanon. Meanwhile these events have only solidified even further the representation of Lebanon as a violent place and a failed state and have prolonged the function of Lebanon's civil war as a usable past for Lebanon's reality today.

Therefore, until a new period arises that would undo this pervasive representation of Lebanon's violent past and state failure, perhaps with an entirely "new Hariri," Lebanon is locked in the past, the past of its civil war between 1975 and 1990.

NOTES

Notes to Introduction

[1] *Lethal Weapon 3.* Video, Directed by Richard Donner, Burbank, CA: Waner Bros. Picures, 1993.

[2] Jeffrey Boam, *Lethal Weapon 3: Screenplay*. Rev. ed. Hollywood, CA: 1991.

[3] Van Wyck Brooks, *Van Wyck Brooks, the Early Years: A Selection from His Works, 1908-1925*. Rev. ed. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 220.

[4] Ibid., 223 and 224.

[5]Marco A. Portales, "Literary History, a "Usable Past," and Space," *MELUS* 11, no. 1 (Spring, 1984): 97, http://www.jstor.org.

[6] Robert Penn Warren, *All the King's Men* (New York: Modern Library, 1953), 407.

[7] Fearon, James D. Fearon, and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (Feb., 2003): 75 and 76, http://www.jstor.org.

[8] Neil Englehart and Charles Kurzman, "Welcome to World Peace," *Social Forces* 84, no. 4 (2006): 1964, http://www.jstor.org.

[9] Ibid., 1965

[10] Gerald B. Helman, and Steven R. Ratner, "Saving Failed States," *Foreign Policy* 89, no. Winter (1992-1993): 14, http://www.jstor.com.

[11] Ibid., 17

[12] United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 1559* (September 2, 2004): http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/498/92/PDF/N0449892.pdf?OpenElement.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Roy R. Andersen, Robert F. Seibert, and Jon D. Wagner, *Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation*, Second ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1987), 279.

[16] Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, & U.S. Interests in the Middle East since 1945* Second ed. (CA: University of California Press, 2005), xviii.

[17] Dr. Abdullatif quoted in *Identity, Lebanon,* Directed by Jim St. Lawrence. Chicago, IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corp, 1984.

Notes to Chapter 1

[1] Lebanon is as big as Connecticut. See Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook –Lebanon,

http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/le.html. Meir Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest the Road to Statehood 1926-1939* (New York: I.B. Tauris & CoLtd., 1997), 1.

[2] Sandra Mackey, *Lebanon A House Divided* (Paperback ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006), 18.

[3] Ibid., 18.

[4] Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (Michigan: Pluto Press, 2007), 92.

[5] Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenicians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 68.

[6] Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 171.

[7] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest,* 41. See Traboulsi, *Lebanon's Quest*, chapter 4 pages 52-72 for a detailed analysis of the Ottoman Empire.

[8] Traboulsi, *A History*, 92.

[9] Theodor Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon* (London: The Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1993), 160.

[10] Michael B. Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2007), 90. For more information on the activities of the U.S. missionaries during the nineteenth century in the Middle East see also chapter 4, "Illuminating and Emancipating the World."

[11] See Michael B. Oren, *Power,* 90. Salibi, *A House*, 44. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 25. Traboulsi, *A History*, 60-61. Jack Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon, 1958* (Washington DC: Historical Branch, G-3 Division Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1966), 2.

[12] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 9. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 41.

[13] Salibi, *A House*, 191.

[14] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 44.

[15] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 237 and 240.

[16] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 86. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 41.

[17] Salibi, *A House*, 191.

[18] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 5 and 19.

[19] Salibi, *A House*, 191.

[20] Ibid., 192.

[21]   Mackey, *Lebanon*, 10-11.

[22] Salibi, *A House*, 192.

[23] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 38.

[24] Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook – Lebanon.

[25] Davis, *40 KM*, 56. Hanf. *Coexistence*, 86. Salibi. *A House*, 198.

[26] Salibi, *A House*, 197.

[27] Table based on original data: 1932 census taken from Hanf, *Coexistence*, 88. 1973 estimate quoted and in Hanf, 88. The 1975 calculations are based on estimates provided by Macky, *Lebanon*, 12 and 30. The 2004 estimates taken from Demographics of Lebanon Indopedia, the Indological knowledgebase http://www.indopedia.org/Demographics_of_Lebanon.html. The 2008 estimates taken from Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook – Lebanon, November 9, 2008.

[28] Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon 1970-1985*, Revised ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 23.

[29] Ibid., 3.

[30] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 83.

[31] Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 11. Salibi, *A House*, 4.

[32] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 20. Salibi, *A House*, 170.

[33] See Ibid., 11. According to Markoe this is due to the destruction of most written records of the Phoenicians over time, leaving researchers only with records from other civilizations about the Phoenicians and with the remains of the Phoenician settlements in Lebanon. However Harb argues that despite the fact that indeed the Phoenicians did introduce the alphabet to the Greeks they themselves were not "writers of history." Instead they preferred to keep their way of life secret and hardly wrote anything about themselves. Ibid., 11. See also, Antoine Khoury Harb in Holst Sanford, *Phoenicians Lebanon's Epic Heritage* (Los Angeles, CA: Cambridge & Boston Press, 2005) viii. See also, Sanford, *Phoenicians*, 1.

[34] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 20. Salibi. *A House*, 85-86.

[35] Salibi, *A House*, 171.

[36] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 83.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Salibi, *A House*, 175.

[39] Ibid., 5. Shulimson, *Marines*, 2

[40] Salibi, *A House*, 5.

[41] See Salibi, *A House*, 5-6. Shulimson, *Marines*, 2. See Traboulsi, *Lebanon's Quest* chapter 4 pages 52-72 for a detailed reading of the Ottoman Empire. A common misperception about Mount Lebanon is that it originally functioned as "an island of refuge" for Christians who had escaped from the Muslims in the East. Salibi dispels both the notion of Mount Lebanon as a refuge and as a refuge for Christians escaping Islamic oppression. He suggests, it is not because of "Muslim persecution" that the Maronites fled towards the Lebanon mountain, but because they were persecuted by the Byzantine church which considered the Maronites as dissenters for believing that Christ only had one "energy" and one "will" instead of two. Moreover, as Salibi suggests, the term "refuge" for Christians fleeing Muslims incorrectly assumes that Mount Lebanon was not occupied or part of any Islamic empire whereas in fact even in this mountain Maronites were under Ottoman rule because they had to pay taxes to the Ottoman appointed Sunni Muslim tax farmers. Thus the idea that Mount Lebanon was a refuge where the Maronites could live without any form of Islamic control in that sense is a myth, but to some this myth would become useful. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 34. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 1. Salibi, *A House*, 6, 91, 135 and 139.

[42] Salibi, *A House*, 229.

[43] Ibid., 92.

[44] The first official contact between Maronite Christians and the Church of Rome took place at the end of the eleventh century AD under the Crusaders' Empire, see Salibi, *A House*, 75.

[45] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 24. Salibi, *A House*, 75. This unquestioned loyalty was highlighted when a schism erupted between the Church of Rome and the Church of Byzantium in 1054. Many Christian groups in the Middle East and Lebanon at that time decided to align themselves with the Byzantine church except for the Maronites.[45] In 1510, for this and for keeping up their Christian beliefs under Islamic empires, Pope Leo X declared the Maronites to be the "Rose among the Thorns of infidels." Shulimson, *Marines*, 2. Salibi, *A House*, 67.

[46] Shulimson, *Marines*, 2.

[47] Abu-Husayn, Abdul-Rahim, "Problems in the Ottoman Administration in Syria during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The Case of the Sanjak of Sidon-Beirut," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, no. 4 (1992): 666, http://www.jstor.org. Salibi, *A House*, 67.

[48] Abu-Husayn, "Problems," 666. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 61.

[49] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 60.

[50] Abu-Husayn, "Problems," 666.

[51] Ibid., 667. Mackey, A House, 60.

[52] Salibi, A House, 113.

[53] Ibid., 109.

[54] Traboulsi, *A History*, 11.

[55] Salibi, A House, 109.

[56] Ibid., 69.

[57] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 60. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 41.

[58] Salibi, A House, 165.

[59] Ibid., 180.

[60] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 57.

[61] Thomas L. Friedman, *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (New York: Random House, 1995), 12.

[62] Salibi, A House, 10. Friedman, *From Beirut*, 12.

[63] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 57. Friedman, *From Beirut*, 12.

[64] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 58.

[65] Ibid., Edward Mortimer, *Faith and Power* (New York: Random House, 1982), 44. For an in-depth analysis on the divisions within Islam see Mortimer, *Faith*, chapter 2 pages 50-81.

[66] Mortimer, *Faith*, 44.

[67] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 80.

[68] Salibi, *A House*, 180. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 68.

[69] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 56.

[70] Ibid., 41.

[71] Oren, *Power,* 528.

[72] Traboulsi, *A History*, 24.

[73] Ibid., 43.

[74] Ibid., 47-48.

[75] Salibi, *A House*, 131. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 2. Traboulsi. *A History*, 78.

[76] Adeed I. Dawisha, *Syria and the Lebanese Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 35 and 72.

[77] Salibi, *A House*, 31. Zamir. *Lebanon's Quest*, 2.

[78] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 98-99.

[79] Salibi, *A House*, 70. See also Traboulsi, *A History*, 75.

[80] Traboulsi, *A History*, 88.

[81] Traboulsi, *A History*, 241.

[82] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 140.

[83] Salibi, *A House*, 20.

[84] Ibid., 28 and 34.

[85] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 99.

[86] Raphael Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), 1.

[87] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 99.

[88] Salibi, *A House*, 25. Traboulsi, *A History*, 80.

[89] Traboulsi, *A History*, 86.

[90] Salibi, *A House*, 26. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 5-7.

[91] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 7.

[92] Traboulsi, *A History*, 90.

[93] Ibid., 84.

[94] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 10.

[95] Ibid., 75.

[96] Salibi, *A House*, 26-27. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 75.

[97] Traboulsi, *A History*, 81

[98] Ibid., 82-84.

[99] Salibi, *A House*, 27.

[100] Ibid., 165-166.

[101] Ibid., 35.

[102] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 89.

[103] Traboulsi, *A History*, 100-101.

[104] Salibi, *A House*, 134.

[105] Hanf, Co-Existence 76.

[106] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 38.

[107] Ibid., 39.

[108] Ibid., 48.

[109] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 234.

[110] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 50-52. Traboulsi, *A History*, 102. Pierre Gemayel —admired both Hitler and Mussolini for their strong leadership and the nationalistic fervor they induced in their people.

[111] Salibi, *A House*, 194.

[112] Ibid., 194-195.

[113] Ibid., 14.

[114] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 63.

[115] Salibi, *A House*, 195. See also Hanf and Mackey.

[116], Samir A. Makdisi, *Lessons of Lebanon: The Economics of War and Development* (New York: I.B. Taurus & Co. Ltd., 2004.), 11.

[117] Salibi, *A House*, 188. Hanf, *Coexistence*, 79. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 95-96.

[118] Traboulsi, *A History*, 102.

[119] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 33.

[120] Ibid., 38-42.

[121] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 72. Salibi, *A House*, 186. Traboulsi, *A History*, 110.

[122] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 72. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 65. Salibi, *A House*, 185-186. Traboulsi, *A History*, 110.

[123] Shulimson, *Marines*, 2

[124] Davis, *40 KM*, 58. Hanf, *Coexistence*, 90. Salibi, *A House*, 186. Traboulsi, *A History*, 110.

[125] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 43.

[126] Traboulsi, *AHistory*, 104.

[127] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 72. Salibi, *A House*, 17. Traboulsi, *A History*, 108.

Notes to Chapter 2

[1] See, Thomas L. Friedman, *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (New York: Random House, 1995), 201-204, Eric Hammel, *The Root- The Marines in Beirut August 1982-February 1984* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1985), 293. Sandra, Mackey, *Lebanon A House Divided*, Paperback ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006), 210-211. Michael, Petit, *Peacekeepers at war: A Marine's Account of the Beirut Catastrophe*, (Boston, MA: Faber and Faber, 1986), 3 and 166, U .S. Department of Homeland Security, 2004, *Potential threat to homeland using heavy transport vehicles*, ed. Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, http://agr.wa.gov/FoodSecurity/docs/ThreatBulletin.pdf (accessed January 9, 2009).

[2] Hammel, *The Root*, 303.

[3] Petit, *Peacekeepers*, 3.

[4] Ibid., 167

[5] Sgt. Foster Hill quoted in *Nightline: Massacre of Marines in Beirut*, ed. Ted Koppel, ABC News, TV (Oak Forest, Il: 1983). Steven Strasser, et al.,"The Marine Massacre" in Newsweek, (October 31, 1983), http://www.lexisnexis.com. Francis X. Cliness, "Attack is Assailed," in *New York Times*, (October 24, 1983), http://www.proquest.com.

[6] Petit, see title book.

[7] Hammel, *The Root*, 303

[8] Dr. Abdullatif Hares quoted in Jim St. Lawrence, *Identity, Lebanon*, eds. Denise Boiteau, David Stansfield (Chicago, IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corp., 1984).

[9] Theodor Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon* (London: The Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1993), 191-192. Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A history of Modern Lebanon* (Michigan: Pluto Press, 2007), 210. Note that the Lebanese military is not mentioned here. Although it certainly was a part of Lebanon's civil war its highly ambivalent nature (which symbolizes Lebanon's civil war) which will be explained later, makes it difficult to categorize it here. For an overview of all the fighting factions that have participated throughout the fifteen years of war – including those that have not played a role of any significance in this battle — see B.J. Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics of Conflict* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1985), 213-218.

[10] Ironically the complex interweaving of these three battles has often been simplified by the simple depiction of "Lebanon's civil war."

[11] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 254.

[12] Ibid., 254. Raphael Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), 4.

[13] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 215. Edgar O' Ballance, *Civil War in Lebanon, 1975-92* (New York: St. Martin's Press, INC, 1998), 40. Samir Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut: Reclaiming the Bourj* (London: Saqi Books, 2006). Mackey, *Lebanon*, 165.

[14] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 261-262.

[15] Ibid., 194.

[16] Ibid., 204. O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 1. Khalaf, *Heart*, 126. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 157-158. Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 3. Traboulsi, *A History*, 183.Samir Makdisi comes to the same conclusion that there is agreement that this event "marks the beginning of the civil war." See Samir A. Makdisi, *Lessons of Lebanon: The Economics of War and Development* (New York: I.B. Taurus & Co. Ltd., 2004), 29. There are different versions of this anecdote. However, overall there is agreement among scholars and journalists over the shooting during the congregation and the fight that occurred later that day.

[17] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 160.

[18] Traboulsi, *A History*, 110.

[19] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 118.

[20] Traboulsi, *A History*, 111.

[21] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 72. See also Traboulsi, *A History*, 110. Traboulsi points out that Lebanon was considered a "country with an Arab profile that assimilates all that is beneficial and useful in western civilization," 110.

[22] Ibid., 72. The reader may understand that this neutrality was the third major component of Lebanon that led it to be described as the Switzerland of the Middle East.

[23] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 13. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 73. Traboulsi, *A History*, 110.

[24] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 74.

[25] Makdisi, *Lessons*, 14.

[26] Ibid., 15.

[27] See Makdisi, *Lessons*, for a more detailed overview on comparisons between Lebanon and other Arab countries with regards to human resources, labor market, and employment, 17-29.

[28] Makdisi, *Lessons*, 23.

[29] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 13. Estimates of the early 1950s show that 78% of the population belonged to the working class but only made 20% of national income whereas the Lebanese upper and middle class made 80%. See Makdisi, *Lessons*, 23-25 for more statistics and an explanation of Lebanon's income distribution during the early decades. Statistics such as these are also common in the United States. Yet in Lebanon, this inequality led to social unrest in particular because certain regions were almost completely deprived of any economic development from the Lebanese government.

[30] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 13. Makdisi, *Lessons*, 12-13. Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 83-84. Traboulsi, *A History*, 128. For instance, whereas investments in infrastructure were often times made in the coastal cities, hardly any such investments were made in the hinterland. Also, the industrial capital of Beirut and Mount Lebanon was far higher than in the Bekaa and South Lebanon.

[31] Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 1. Traboulsi, *A History*, 113.

[32] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 116. Traboulsi, *A History*, 131.

[33] Hares quoted in Jim St. Lawrence, *Identity*. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 116.

[34] Hares quoted in Jim St. Lawrence, *Identity*. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 116. Jack Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon, 1958* (Washington DC: Historical Branch, G-3 Division Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1996). Traboulsi, *A History*, 132.

[35] Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon*, 4.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 96.

[38] Ibid., 5. Traboulsi, *A History*, 133.

[39] Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 2. Dr. Abdullatif Hares quoted in Jim St. Lawrence, *Identity*.

[40] Roger J. Spiller, "'Not War But Like War': The American Intervention in Lebanon," *Leavenworth Papers,* no. 3 (Fort Leavenworth, Kan.: Combat Studies Institute U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1981), 14.

[41] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 116. Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon*, 4. Traboulsi, *A History*, 133-134.

[42] Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon*, 4.

[43] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 117.

[44] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 5.

[45] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 117. Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon*, 5. Traboulsi, *A History*, 134.

[46] Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon*, 5.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions* (University of California Press: Berkerley, 1988), 1.

[49] Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 2. Traboulsi, *A History*, 134 and 136.

[50] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 102. The war ended in a state of "no-victor-no-vanquished."

[51] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 120.

[52] Makdisi, *Lessons*, 12. Traboulsi, *A History*, 138.

[53] Traboulsi, *A History*, 143.

[54] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 7-8. For example, see Traboulsi, *A History* 146. When Chehab's social security law was finally put into effect after his term was over, employers would simply fire employees to avoid paying social security. And although Christians supported the idea of developmental aid in Muslim regions, they did not want to pay the price for it. In fact, the Lebanese Christians argued that since they paid most of the taxes they

should also receive most of the government's spending. Traboulsi, *A History*, 161. Thus, under Chehab's presidency social and economic inequality was reduced but not overcome. Traboulsi, *A History*, 161.

[55] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 46. Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 1. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 12.

[56] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 8-9.

[57] Ibid., 15-16.

[58] For example, "corruption, nepotism, clientilism." See Makdisi, *Lessons*,14. Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 115. In fact many relatives of the most powerful politicians "held monopolistic control" over important economic sectors of the Lebanese economy.

[59] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 109. Traboulsi, *A History*, 173.

[60] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 233-234. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 82.

[61] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 82. Jumblatt could afford to openly protest the effects of the National Pact in Parliament. As the Druze leader he was a natural leader to his people, hence no matter what stand he took he could always count on the backing of his people and their votes.

[62] Traboulsi, *A History*, 125.

[63] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 136. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 240. Moreover, Jumblatt considered the confessional basis in Lebanon's political system to be an irreconcilable obstacle towards the creation of a true Lebanese identity and nation.

[64] Ibid., 132, 134, and 139.

[65] Ibid., 139.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 133.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., 139. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 74-75.

[70] Makdisi, *Lessons*, 13.

[71] However, reunification with Syria or any other form of pan Arab solution was not an option for the Shiite Lebanese, because then they would become absorbed into a Sunni-dominated world. As illustrated in the previous chapter, to the Shiites this would equally be a form of oppression. See Mackey, *Lebanon*, 79.

[72] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 88.

[73] Ibid., 242-243. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 88. During the 1960s and early 1970s Imam Musa Sadr, who will be discussed later in this chapter, tried to mobilize the Shiites and improve their economic situation.[73] This did not have

much impact before the start of the civil war. Friedman, *From Beirut*, 226. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 108. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 15. Makdisi, *Lessons*, 25. Traboulsi, *A History*, 177-179.

[74] Makdisi, *Lessons*, 28.

[75] Traboulsi, *A History*, 164.

[76] Makdisi, *Lessons*, 13 and 15.

[77] Traboulsi, *A History*, 189.

[78] Thomas M. Davis, *40 KM into Lebanon* (Washington DC: National Defense University Press, 1987), 32-33. Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 7.

[79] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 107.

[80] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 148-149.

[81] Ibid., 149.

[82] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 16.

[83] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 107.

[84] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 149.

[85] Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 3.

[86] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 10.

[87] Davis, *40 KM into Lebanon*, 42-43. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 151 and 168.

[88] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 124.

[89] Since 1976 it has been named the Lebanese Front prior to this that there was no official name for this "coalition," see Hanf, *Co-existence*, 190

[90] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 190.

[91] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 124.

[92] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 127.

[93] Ibid., 114.

[94] Ibid., 164-165.

[95] Neil Englehart and Charles Kurzman, "Welcome to World Peace," *Social Forces* 84, (4) 2006: 1965.

[96] Ibid., 166.

[97] Lebanonwire, Middle East Historic Documents –"The Cairo Agreement November 3, 1969," http://www.lebanese-forces.org/lebanon/agreements/cairo.htm, November 15, 2008.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 114. Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 2 and 4.

[100] Israel certainly perceived Lebanon in these terms, and would always retaliate Palestinian strikes on Israel by hitting Lebanese civilian targets in Lebanon.

[101] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 108. These refugees, who were by no means guerilla fighters, had fled to Lebanon as a result of the foundation of Israel in 1948 after the UN vote on the creation of Israel on November 29, 1947.[101] As Odeh points out, the Lebanese government had kept a tight control over these refugees by keeping them in camps.[101] Now with the Cairo Agreement in place, "[the] refugee camps…became the setting for paramilitary training…mass mobilization…and arms stockpiling" for the PLO. See, Davis, *40 KM into Lebanon*, 28. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 147. John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), 99. Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 4 and 22-23. Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 107. Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 107.

[102] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 107.

[103] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 109.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Englehart and Kurzman, "Welcome to World Peace," 1964. As Hanf points out, Lebanon's strength of openness and neutrality had now become its weakness. Jumblatt even argued that any act of the Lebanese army against the PLO would be to the benefit of Israel. This resulted in wider support for the PLO among the Lebanese Muslims who felt connected to their Palestinian brothers and hence entrenched the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in Lebanon. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 177.

[106] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 109.

[107] Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 3.

[108] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 12.

[109] Englehart and Kurzman, "Welcome to World Peace," 1964. Gerald B. Helman and Steven R. Ratner, "Saving Failed States," *Foreign Policy* 89, (Winter 1992-1993), 14.

[110] Eventually, the absorption of these external conflicts contributed to an exacerbation of the violence in Lebanon.

[111] Traboulsi, *A History*, 187.

[112] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 199.

[113] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 7.

[114] Ibid., 7-8.

[115] Ibid., 11. This can be in part explained by the manpower that was mobilized in Lebanon in 1975. The Lebanese army including the air force and the police numbered around 24,000 men. The Christian militias totaled around 12,000 men whereas the LNM and the PLO together numbered 11,000.

[116] Ibid., 18-19.

[117] Ibid., 23.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid., 12.

[120] Traboulsi, *A History*, 179. Ironically, the Shiites suffered most from Israeli retaliation of PLO strikes in the south. Obviously, the civil war blurred the vision of most militia leaders, if not that of the Lebanese government.

[121] Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 1.

[122] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 212.

[123] Traboulsi, *A History*, 189.

[124] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 215.

[125] Quoted in Hanf, *Co-existence*, 215. See also, Adeed I. Dawisha, *Syria and the Lebanese Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 127 and 128.

[126] Traboulsi, *A History*, 194.

[127] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 216-217.

[128] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 186.

[129] Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 4. Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 173. O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 8. Traboulsi, *A History*, 194.

[130] Odeh, *Lebanon Dynamics*, 184 and 191.

[131] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 218.

[132] Ibid., 218-219.

[133] Ibid., 220.

[134] Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 5.

[135] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 226.

[136] Ibid., 213.

[137] Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon*, 4-5.

Notes to Chapter 3

[1] Raphael Israeli, *PLO in Lebanon* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), 5.

[2] Theodor Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon* (London: The Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1993), 234.

[3] On this issue Bashir Gemayel and Kamal Jumblatt actually agreed before the latter was assassinated. See also Edgar O' Ballance, *Civil War in Lebanon, 1975-92* (New York: St. Martin's Press, INC, 1998), 53.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Thomas L. Friedman, "Is There Hope for Lebanon?" *New York Times*, August 1, 1982, http://www.proquest.com.

[6] Traboulsi, *A History*, 216-217.

[7] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 74-75.

[8] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 230.

[9] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 79.

[10] Ibid., 81. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 348-349.The statistics show that the largest flow of Lebanese migrants took place in the first year of the civil war. However in 1976 when Syria intervened against the PLO almost all of them returned under the assumption that the war was over. As the fighting resumed a large portion of the Lebanese left again between 1977-1979.

[11] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 81.

[12] Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (Michigan: Pluto Press, 2007), 240. "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri."

[13] Sandra Mackey, *Lebanon A House Divided* (Paperback ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006), 238.

[14] Hanf, 192, 193.

[15] Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon 1970-1985* Revised ed. ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 108.

[16] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 233.

[17] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 65.

[18] Traboulsi, *A History*, 206.

[19] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 240 and 257-258.

[20] Ibid., 233.

[21] Ibid., 241.

[22] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 250. O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 106.

[23] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 106.

[24] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 257. *Time*, "Sharon's Plan," March 1, 1982, http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,922795,00.html, (accessed December 28, 2008).

[25] "Sharon's Plan," *Time*.

[26] Ibid. Traboulsi, *A History*, 214.

[27] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 157. See also, Michael Jansen, *The Battle of Beirut: Why Israel Invaded Lebanon*, 1st U.S. ed. (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1983), 11, Hanf, *Co-existence*, 233 and William B. Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy: Trial and error," *The Middle East Journal* 38, (2) (Spring 1984): 240.

[28] Davis, *40 KM into Lebanon*, 75 and 93. O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 113.

[29] Davis, *40 KM into Lebanon*, 93.

[30] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 114.

[31] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 179.

[32] Jansen, *The Battle of Beirut*, 39.

[33] William E. Smith, "Beirut Goes up in Flames" *Time*, August 16, 1982, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,950719,00.html, (accessed December 28, 2008).

[34] Ibid.

[35] "View from the Target" August 16, 1982, *Time*, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,950721,00.html, (accessed December 28, 2008).

[36] Smith, "Beirut Goes up in Flames."

[37] Jansen, *The Battle of Beirut*, 54 and 57. O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 115.

[38] One cannot escape the irony that the Israeli invasion, even for a brief period, united the Beirutis from West and East. See also "View from the Target." See also, "Shattered, Tense -Beirut a City of Murdered Sleep."

[39] "Invasion Victims Swamp The Hospitals of Lebanon" *New York Times*, June 14, 1982, http://www.proquest.com.

[40] Walter Isaacson, "When Push Comes to Shove," *Time*, August 16, 1982, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,950716,00.html, (accessed January 5, 2009).

[41] "Invasion Victims Swamp The Hospitals of Lebanon," *New York Times*.

[42] Eric Hammel, *The Root- The Marines in Beirut August 1982-February 1984*, 29. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 264. O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 115-116.

[43] Hammel, *The Root*, 15-16.

[44] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 190-191. Hammel, *The Root*, 33-34.

[45] Traboulsi, *A History*, 215.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Quoted in Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] In an interview in 2008 with the Guardian, Jumblatt explained his choice to ally with Syria by saying that it was a choice "between the sea, Israel, or Syria— a no-brainer for any Arab nationalist." See, Ian Black, "Druze defiance," Guardian.co.uk, February 21, 2008, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/feb/21/lebanon/print, (accessed February 21, 2008).

[50] Traboulsi, *A History*, 216-217.

[51] Davis, *40 KM into Lebanon*, 101. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 259. Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon*, 165. Jansen, *The Battle of Beirut*, 192. Traboulsi, *A History*, 216-217.

[52] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 118. Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy," 240.

[53] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 158. Traboulsi, *A History*, 218.

[54] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 118. Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon*, 150.

[55] Thomas L. Friedman, *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (New York: Random House, 1995), 160-161. Hammel, *The Root*, 34. Traboulsi, *A History*, 218.

[56] Ibid., 163. Hammel, *The Root*, 34.

[57] Jansen, *The Battle of Beirut*, 105.

[58] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 119.

[59] Jansen, *The Battle of Beirut*, 104-108.

[60] Photographer Bill Foley won the Pulitzer Prize for his pictures of Sabra and Shatila in 1983. It is a widely-held belief that Ariel Sharon orchestrated the massacre: See George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph - My Years as Secretary of State* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), 105. Sharon was forced to resign his post as Minister of Defence after an Israeli investigation. See also Traboulsi, *A History*, 219. Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy," 240.

[61] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 191. Hammel, *The Root*, 34.

[62] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 120. As Hammel points out "there is no doubt that some burden of guilt for the massacre –which is not to say responsibility— may have been felt by the Reagan administration . . ." *The Root*, 34. Friedman quotes a senior member of the American embassy saying "The Marines were sent back to Beirut because we felt guilty about what happened in the camps. We couldn't say that, of course. So at the time we decided to send them back, Washington developed a rationale for their presence." See Friedman *From Beirut*, 191

[63] Traboulsi, *A History*, 211.

[64] Leslie H. Gelb, "U.S. Focus on Saudis: How It Was Improvised," *New York Times*, December 16, 1981, http://www.proquest.com.

[65] John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), 56.

[66] It should be mentioned that the effort of improving U.S.-Saudi relations was not entirely new as Reagan's predecessor Jimmy Carter had made a similar attempt in his final year as President.[66] Reagan initially had reversed Carter's policy at the start of his presidency, but now came back to it. The significance of Reagan's turn in U.S. foreign policy towards the Middle East was reflected mostly in the U.S. sale of Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) aircrafts to Saudi-Arabia in 1981 which angered Israel. Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy," 238. Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, 37. The change in America's foreign policy led to the resignation of Secretary of State Alexander Haig who was replaced by George Shultz during mid-1982. See Hanf, *Co-existence*, 263. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Ronald Reagan 1982 Book I –January to July 1 1982 (United States Government Printing Office Washington: 1983), 819. O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 115. In his letter of resignation Haig, the most firm supporter of Israel in the Reagan Cabinet, wrote that he could not find himself in the changed Middle Eastern policy, see Public Papers of the Presidents of The United States, Ronald Reagan 1982 Book I, 820. Already earlier in 1981. The *New York Times* declared that Haig "seemed most concerned among the Reagan advisors that too much emphasis not be placed on Saudi Arabia and that the basic commitment to Israel not be neglected." See Gelb "U.S. Focus on Saudis."

[67] For example, the Israeli air raid of an Iraqi nuclear plant and the annexation of the Golan Heights. See Gelb "U.S. Focus on Saudis."

[68] Gelb, "U.S. Focus on Saudis." Smith, "Beirut Goes up in Flames," (p. 2).

[69] Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy," 238. Although Begin always gave the impression of having received a "green light" from the White House to invade Lebanon in 1982, Reagan has always denied this. See Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Ronald Reagan 1982 Book I, 831. See also page 731 of Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Ronald Reagan 1982 Book I. Reagan had written Begin a letter the night before the invasion expressing "hopes that the Government of Israel would seriously consider that no further action be taken that could widen the conflict." See also Isaacson "When Push Comes to Shove" (p.1).

[70] Ibid.

[71] Gelb, "U.S. Focus on Saudis."

[72] Ibid.

[73] The sale of AWACS was a start. But to gain real goodwill from the Arab world, while strengthening American-Saudi relations, the U.S. had to give something more.

[74] Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Ronald Reagan 1982 Book I, July 1, 840.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy," 237.

[77] Jack Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon, 1958* (Washington DC: Historical Branch, G-3 Division Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1966), 1.

[78] Sam Pope Brewer, "Lebanese Cheer U.S. Mock Landing," *New York Times* September 11, 1958, http://www.proquest.com. When U.S. President Eisenhower sent Marines to Lebanon in 1958 he did so for two reasons: First, to ensure that the U.S.'s oil supplies that came from a pipeline between Iraq and Lebanon would be safe given the tension in Lebanon and the overthrow of the Iraqi government by Arab nationalists. Second, to prevent the overthrow of the Lebanese government and the risk of Lebanon falling in the hands of Communists. Just as in 1982, although for different reasons, it made one wonder why the Marines were there.

[79] Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon*, 6. Spiller, "'Not War But Like War,'"32.

[80] "Control in Beirut Taken by Marines," *New York Times,* July 17, 1958, http://www.proquest.com.

[81] Ibid., 12.

[82] Ibid., 12-13. One Marine in his confusion over such a reception on the beach was quoted saying "this beats the hell out of Korea, Mac….But what the hell is it?" See W.H. Lawrence, "Flocks to Beach in Holiday Mood." *New York Times,* July 21, 1958, http://www.proquest.com.

[83] Brewer, "Lebanese Cheer U.S. Mock Landing."

[84] Ibid.

[85] Quoted in Jack Raymond, "U.S. Forces Move to Back Marines," *New York Times,* July 16, 1958, http://www.proquest.com.

[86] "Control in Beirut Taken by Marines," 3.

[87] "Life with Marines on Duty in Lebanon," *New York Times,* July 17, 1958, http://www.proquest.com.

[88] Jay Walz, "Airlift from Turkey On," *New York Times,* July 19, 1958, http://www.proquest.com.

[89] Lawrence, "Lebanese Cheer Marine Patrols." *New York Times,* August 6, 1958, http://www.proquest.com. The biggest challenge for the Marines was *not* to avoid being shot at by rebels, but rather to prevent being stung by mosquitoes, being sun burnt, or being struck by dysentery. When the mission ended the U.S. Marines had incurred four deaths in total. One Marine was killed by sniper fire, the other three died because of friendly fire, drowning, and a plane crash. See Shulimson, *Marines in Lebanon,* 30 and Sam Pope Brewer, "Beirut is Quiet as Firing Abates," *New York Times*, July 28, 1958, http://www.proquest.com.

[90] Hammel, *The Root*, 38.

[91] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 192. Hammel, *The Root*, 47. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 269. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 189. Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy," 241.

[92] "Coming Back to Life," *Time,* November 8, 1982, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,925835,00.html (accessed December 28, 2008).

[93] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 192. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 269.

[94] See for example Michael Petit's *Peacekeepers at War.* There were several military encounters between the U.S. Marines and Israeli soldiers which helped the Lebanese to accept the U.S. Marines' presence in Lebanon

[95] Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy," 24.

[96] Friedman ascribes this to "the American psyche: a can-do optimism." See *From Beirut*, 192. Richard Halloran, "Mission of Marines Will Differ From Previous Task in Beirut," *New York Times*, September 21, 1982, http://www.proquest.com.

[97] Gwertzman, Bernard, "A 3-Nation Force," *New York Times*, September 21, 1982, http://www.proquest.com.

[98] Gwertzman, Bernard, "Studying Options," *New York Times*, September 20, 1982, http://www.proquest.com.

[99] "Questions and Answers," *New York Times*, September 29, 1982, http://www.proquest.com.

[100] Leslie H. Gelb, "The Marines In Lebanon," *New York Times*, September 30, 1982, http://www.proquest.com.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Democrat Representative Clement J. Zablocki quoted in Shribman, David, "New Questions Arise Over War Act," *New York Times*, October 1, 1982, http://www.proquest.com.

[103] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 189.

[104] Weinraub, Bernard, "Marines In Beirut, Control Airport; Role Is Uncertain," *New York Times*, September 30, 1982, http://www.proquest.com.

[105] Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Ronald Reagan 1982 Book I, 840.

[106] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 193.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] The majority of the members of parliament were independents elected by people of their villages only. Political parties with a more national focus and rank and file hardly gained a foothold in Lebanon's parliament. And again, the army because it consists of soldiers with different religious affiliations, could not act to protect the Lebanese government. Thus the idea to rebuild Lebanon's government and its army did not take into consideration whether indeed this was feasible and whether this would solve anything at all in Lebanon.

[110] See also Hammel, *The Root*, 42.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 194.

[113] Hammel, *The Root*, 57 and 214. O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 122.

[114] Hammel, *The Root*, 39-40. This ties in with the U.S.'s misconceptions about Lebanese politics. In 1958 the U.S. had understood the complexity of Lebanon's politics and as a result it had decided at that time that the Marines should be used only to help the Lebanese government in general and *not* the sitting president in particular. Instead the Marines in 1958 only had to ensure that a new president all Lebanese could live with could be elected to end the war.

[115] O'Ballance, *Civil War*, 123.

[116] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 12. Hezbollah would also become a central player in the already changing representation of Lebanon into a violent place and failed state from both inside and outside the country.

[117] Meir Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest the Road to Statehood 1926-1939*, (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1997), 156.

[118] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 13, 75, 108.

[119] Dr. Abdullatif Hares quoted in Jim St. Lawrence, *Identity*. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 75.

[120] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 102. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 76. The Lebanese government until the Chehab presidency did not even make any investments there to improve the situation in these regions. Although generally percentages do not always tell the whole story one example Mackey provides is quite telling. During the 1970s while 17% of Lebanon's population was living in the south, this region only received 0.7% of government spending. Whereas the average annual income in Lebanon was $ 2,082 the Shiites earned no more than $ 1,511 per year on average. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 76.

[121] Mackey, *Lebanon*, 15. Chehab came to recognize the economic deprivation suffered by the Shiites in the South and the Bekaa. Still, hardly any money would flow to these regions as Chehab's plan to invest more money was not supported widely by the other politicians. When Chehab was succeeded by Charles Helou in 1964, the funding to the Lebanese Shiites virtually stopped, see Mackey, *Lebanon*, 195. As a portion of the Shiite population from the south and the Bekaa sought to improve their situation they moved to Beirut. There they faced even more discrimination, especially by their well off Sunni counterparts who owned most businesses together with the Maronites. Lebanese Shiites were denied access to education, jobs, and identity cards. Even joining the Lebanese army was virtually impossible for the Shiites. See Friedman, *From Beirut*, 226. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 76-78. Remarkably the Lebanese Shiites, perhaps as Mackey points out, the Shiites appeared to be resigned to their fate although, deprived of any political power in Lebanon, they also did not have the means to better their lives. Ibid., 196.

[122] Ibid., 197. As an Iranian, it was not easy for Sadr to gain the trust of the Lebanese Shiites and to create a change in attitude from resignation to active resistance towards their suffering. Therefore he attempted to win them over by stressing the pride that Shiites should take from the historical tragedies they had suffered, especially of Ali's son Hussein's murder in Karbala. Ibid.

[123] Ibid., 199.

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[124] Ibid., 200.

[125] Ibid., 195. After Sadr had disappeared while on a visit in Libya in 1978, it seemed that the Shiites in Lebanon once more were headed to being invisible minorities. See Ibid., 200-201.

[126] Ibid., 59.

[127] Ibid., 202-203.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid. Khomeini had already ousted all Western elements from Iran and humiliated the United States by keeping American embassy personnel hostage for 444 days. Khomeini called upon the Shiites by saying that "freedom is not given but regained with . . . sacrifices" and that "aggression can be repelled only with sacrifices and dignity gained with the sacrifices of blood." See Ibid., 205.

[130] To many Shiites in South Lebanon the Israeli invasion was a breaking point of all the violence they suffered ever since the PLO had set up camp in Lebanon in 1970. From the moment the PLO had fled to Lebanon the Shiites had to pay the price of Israeli retaliation against PLO strikes from Lebanese soil to Israel. At no point did the Lebanese government do anything to protect the Shiites from the conflict between the PLO and the Israeli army.[130] When with the approval of Bashir Gemayel Israel once more invaded Lebanon in 1982, the Lebanese Shiites, tired of being in the middle of shelling, for the first time decided to take matters into their own hands. The Lebanese government also did not do anything to protect the Shiites from the IDF raids in 1978.

[131] Ibid., 205-206.

[132] Ibid., 243.

[133] Ibid., 206.

[134] For example, they trashed every shop and hotel that sold alcohol and imposed their traditional norms and values on the Western part of the city that once was proud of its modernity. See Friedman, *From Beirut*, 226.

[135] At that point in time however the U.S. Marines were not aware of Hezbollah's existence. Hence whenever they were attacked from Hay-es-Salaam, they would think that these attacks were orchestrated by Amal fighters only. Amal (ex-) fighters were certainly part of these attacks, but the big blows came from Hezbollah. See "Hezbollah's Global Reach" a Joint Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia of the Committee on International Relations House of Representatives, One Hundred Ninth Congress, Second Session," September 28, 2006, http://www.foreignaffairs.house.gov/archives/109/30143.pdf (accessed November 1, 2008).

[136] Petit, *Peacekeepers*, 28.

[137] Ibid., 76.

[138] Ibid., 33.

[139] The size of the explosion which eye witnesses described as a "ball of fire" was so big that a traffic light not far from the building simply melted under the high temperatures of the flames. Thomas L. Friedman, "33 Reported Killed in Beirut as Bomb Hits U.S. Embassy," *New York Times,* April 19, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[140] U .S. Department of Homeland Security. 2004. *Potential threat to homeland using heavy transport vehicles*, ed. Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, http://agr.wa.gov/FoodSecurity/docs/ThreatBulletin.pdf (accessed January 9, 2009). Friedman, *From Beirut*, 198. Hammel, *The Root*, 77. Mackey, *Lebanon*, 2-3.

[141] James Kelly, Roberto Suro, and George H. Wierzynski, "The Horror, the Horror!," *Time,* May 12, 1983, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,953838,00.html (accessed December 28, 2008).

[142] Thomas L. Friedman, "Toll at Least 40 in Beirut Bombing as Dead are Taken from Rubble," *New York Times,* April 20, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[143] The Rand Corporation, a think tank on among other things international terrorism, already made the prediction early in 1983 that this would likely "be the year of the car bomb," see Brian Michael Jenkins, *Some Reflections on Recent Trends in Terrorism*, Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, 1983, http://www.rand.org/pubs/papers/2006/P6897.pdf, 12 (accessed December 29, 2008). James Kelly, Roberto Suro, and George H. Wierzynski, "The Horror, the Horror!," http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,953838,00.html (accessed December 28, 2008). According to Friedman and Hammel the attack on the U.S. embassy was meant to warn the U.S. not to meddle in the Lebanon war by siding with Amin Gemayel, see Friedman, *From Beirut*, 198. Hammel, *The Root*, 82-83.

[144] Bernard Gwertzmans, "Marines in Lebanon: Congress is Becoming Wary," *New York Times,* April 20, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[145] Quoted in Bernard Gwertzmans, "Reagan Calls Bombing Cowardly," *New York Times,* April 19, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[146] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 200. Hammel, *The Root*, 82-83. Ironically in an official statement on April 22, 1983 Reagan misstated himself by first talking about the "urgent withdrawal of all American forces from Lebanon" but he corrected himself by stating he meant "all foreign forces." Yet this correction still leaves some room for interpretation since the U.S. *de facto* was also a foreign force in Lebanon. "Transcript of President's News Conference on Foreign and Domestic Matters," *New York Times,* April 23, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[147] Hammel, *The Root*, 105 and 109-110.

[148] Ibid., 117 and 172.

[149] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 199.

[150] For rules of engagement, see Hammel, *The Root*, 427. This frustrated the Marines. For instance, whenever Marines observed the unloading of weapons in Hay-es-Salaam they knew these weapons would be used against them. Yet the rules of engagement prevented them from taking protective measures. The fighters in Hay-es-Salaam were well aware of the Marines' rules of engagement. Consequently an odd daily ritual developed between the fighters and the Marines. Whenever the fighters were done shooting, often times when evening fell, they would openly drop their weapons, wave to the Marines while making certain gestures and then come back the next day to continue their shooting. See Hammel, *The Root*, 202.

[151] Ibid., 196-197

[152] Ibid., 213.

[153] Ibid., 218-219.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid.

[156]Thomas L. Friedman, "Peacekeepers Become another Warring Faction," *New York Times,* October 23, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[157] Hammel, *The Root*, 220.

[158] Ibid., 251 and 264. Hammel argues that new entrants belonged to either the Islamic Amal, Iranian Revolutionary Guards, the Syrian army, see page 275.

[159] Bilal Saab, quoted in "Haunting Memories of the Blast that Shook the World - Beirut Bombing 25 Years Later," USA TODAY.com, http://www.usatoday.com/news/military/2008-10-15-beirut-barracks_n.htm (accessed December 30, 2008).

[160] Michael B, Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2007), 555.

[161] Steven Strasser, et al., "The Marine Massacre," *Newsweek,* October 31, 1983: www.lexixnexis.com. (accessed December 31, 2008). Thomas L. Friedman, "Buildings Blasted." *New York Times,* October 24, 1983, http://www.proquest.com. "'Don't Leave Us Trapped Men Cry'," *New York Times,* October 24, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[162] William E. Smith, "Carnage in Lebanon," *Time,* October 31, 1983.

[163] *West Beyrout*, DVD, Directed by Ziad Doueri, 1998.

[164] William E. Smith, "Carnage in Lebanon." McFadden, Robert D. "Americans React to Attack with Frustration and Doubt." *New York Times,* October 31, 1983, http://www.proquest.com. E.R. Shipps, "Camp Lejeune Marines are Irate and Uncertain," *New York Times,* October 24, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[165] Steven Strasser, et al., "The Marine Massacre."

[166] Fox Butterfield, "Toll in Beirut Blast Exceeds any Single Vietnam Incident," *New York Times,* October 26, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[167] E.R. Shipps, "Camp Lejeune Marines are Irate and Uncertain."

[168] "'Don't Leave Us Trapped Men Cry'." Melinda Beck, et al., "Inquest on a Massacre," *Newsweek,* November 7, 1983, www.lexisnexis.com.

[169] Rick Hampson, "25 Years Later, Bombing in Beirut Still Resonates," *USA TODAY,* October, 15, 2008, http://www.usatoday.com/news/military/2008-10-15-beirut-barracks_n.htm, (accessed December 28, 2008).

[170] Petit, *Peacekeepers*, 202.

[171] Melinda Beck, et al., "Inquest on a Massacre."

[172] "Druse Leader Condemns Attacks," *New York Times,* October 24, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[173] Quoted in William E. Farrell, "Unanswered Question: Who was Responsible?" *New York Times,* October 25, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[174] Judith Miller, "Fear is Common Thread that Rules in Lebanon," *New York Times,* October 26, 1983, www.proquest.com.

[175] Judith Miller, "Fear is Common Thread that Rules in Lebanon." Ihsan A. Hijazis, "Disruption of Peace Parley is Termed Terrorists' Goal," *New York Times,* October 24, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Rick Hampson, "25 Years Later, Bombing in Beirut Still Resonates."

[178] Quoted in Russell Watson and John Walcott, "Why are the Marines in Lebanon?" *Newsweek,* November 7, 1983: www.lexixnexis.com. (accessed December 30, 2008).

[179] "New York Area Officials Urge Marine Pullout," *New York Times,* October 24, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[180] Ibid

[181] "Slaughter in Lebanon: A Tragic, Flawed Policy." *Philadelphia Inquirer,* October 24, 1983, http://nl.newsbank.com/nl-search/we/Archives?p_action=doc&p_docid=0EB2965C2EF0FAD5&p_docnum=1&s_accountid=AC01081231204 83023933&s_orderid=NB0108123120481723896&s_dlid=DL0108123120484023969&s_ecproduct=DOC&s_ecpro dtype=&s_trackval=PHNP&s_siteloc=&s_referrer=&s_username=jona1980&s_accountid=AC01081231204830239 33&s_upgradeable=no, (accessed December 6, 2008).

[182] Farrell, "Unanswered Question: Who was Responsible?," http://www.proquest.com.

[183] Hanf, *Co-existence*, 288.

[184] Quoted in William E. Smith, "Carnage in Lebanon."

[185] Quoted in Russell Watson and John Walcott, "Why are the Marines in Lebanon?"

[186] Francis X. Cliness "Attack is Assailed," *New York Times,* October 24, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[187] Public Papers of the Presidents of The United States, Ronald Reagan 1983 Book II – July 2 to December 1, 1983 (United States Government Printing Office Washington: 1984), 1501.

[188] Ibid.

[189] Farouk Nassar, "Bush Inspects Devastation in Beirut\ Terrorists Won't Change US Policy, He Declares," *Boston Globe,* October 26, 1983, http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/, (accessed December 6, 2008).

[190] Quoted in Thomas L. Friedman, "Gemayel Visit: Plea for U.S. Action to Break Impasse," *New York Times,* November 30, 1983, http://www.proquest.com.

[191] Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy," 248.

[192] Nicholas Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon* (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2006), 26. Friedman, *From Beirut*, 220. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 291-292.

[193] Quoted in Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Ronald Reagan 1984 Book II – January 1 to June 29, 1984 (United States Government Printing Office Washington: 1985), 248.

[194] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 208-209. Hanf, *Co-existence*, 292.

[195] See Hanf 348; See also Blanford, *Killing*. In total 144,000 people died, 13,000 became handicapped, and 184,000 were wounded Blanford 41.

[196] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 222-224.

Notes to Chapter 4

[1]Larry E. McPherson, *Beirut City Center* (Gőttingen, Germany: Steidl, 2006), 40 and 84. Samir Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut: Reclaiming the Bourj* (London: Saqi Books, 2006), 130 and 134.

[2] Named after the famous French Square in Paris.

[3] Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut*, 134. The renovated streets that come together in Place de' L'Etoile are filled with restaurants, bars, coffee houses, and designer clothes stores as well as high end souvenir shops. One of those renovated streets named Maarad Street in particular became popular as people from both East and West would meet as they sit by a sidewalk over a coffee, beer, or wine, for dinner, or *nargileh*, water pipe.

[4] Lawrence J. Vale and Thomas J. Campanella, *The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover from Disaster* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 289.

[5] Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut*, 144. Of course as pointed out in the previous chapter, Lebanon's Southern neighbors also had their fair share to the destruction of this area.

[6] "Coming Back to Life," *Time,* November 8, 1982, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,925835,00.html (accessed December 28, 2008). See Nicholas Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon* (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2006), 24. During the late 1970s, as the civil war continued, Hariri also invested hundreds of millions of dollars in South Lebanon to provide the Lebanese children, irrespective of their religious background, with education.

[7] Blanford, *Killing*, 21-22.

[8] This also Lebanon's Independence Day. "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri," *Rafic Hariri - The Official Web Site*, http://www.rhariri.com/english.aspx?ID=466 (accessed January, 5, 2009). Blanford, *Killing*, 14.

[9] Blanford, *Killing*, 17. Hariri's father worked as a fisherman one part of the year and during the other part he worked in an orchard. Hariri would help his father carrying crates of mandarins, grapes, and lemons selling them for a couple of Lebanese Lira. During his late teens Hariri graduated in Business Administration at the Arab University of Beirut, but as mentioned in the text of this thesis, he was aware that as a Sunni Muslim he would not have a chance of getting a good job in Beirut, because he lacked connections to the elite.

[10] Ibid., 17. "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri." For a brief period Hariri taught mathematics at a school in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia but quickly became involved in subcontracting.

[11] Ibid.

[12] "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri." What followed was an intense period in which Hariri is said to have worked 24 hours a day.[12] Towards the end of the deadline he faced problems in getting the paint dry on the outside of the hotel. Hariri, who spared no costs to meet the deadline, rented two Boeing engines to blow-dry the paint. Blanford, *Killing*, 18.

[13] Blanford, *Killing*, 18. "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri."

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., 25. Hariri was even called "the Cheque Book" Johnny Abdo quoted in Blanford, *Killing* 33. "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri." In 1983, for example, just before the war between the Druzes and the Lebanese army heightened in the Shouf Mountain, Hariri successfully assisted in a ceasefire that temporarily halted the hostilities around Beirut International Airport (BIA). BIA was one of the sites Hariri cared for the most during wartime, because he needed the runway to be able to fly to and from Beirut to keep King Fahd informed on the situation in

Lebanon. Thus, during the time that the U.S. Marines were being shelled at BIA, Hariri put a lot of energy into mediating ceasefires with nearby militias. Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 26.

[17] Amin Gemayel quoted in Blanford, *Killing*, 26

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., 24.

[20]Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (Michigan: Pluto Press, 2007), 240. "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri."

[21] David Commins, *Historical Dictionary of Syria* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 256. Theodor Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon* (London: The Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1993), 589. Traboulsi, *A History*, 242.

[22] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 583 and 592.

[23] Ibid., *583*. Blanford, *Killing*, 36.

[24] Several Members of Parliament had not even survived the end of the war, either by natural death or other causes.

[25] Blanford, *Killing*, 36.

[26] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 585.

[27] "The Taif Agreement," point I B, *The Middle East Information Network* - Document Room, http://www.mideastinfo.com/documents/taif.htm (accessed January 17, 2009). Hanf, *Coexistence*, 585. Traboulsi, *A History*, 244.

[28] Ibid., point, I G. Hanf, *Coexistence*, 585.

[29] Ibid., point 5 a. Traboulsi, *A History*, 244. Vale and Campanella, *The Resilient City, 282.*

[30] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 586. Blanford, *Killing*, 36.

[31] Blanford, *Killing*, 36. Ibid., 587. Traboulsi, *A History*, 245.

[32] "The Taif Agreement," point B 6.

[33] Ibid., point B.

[34] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 588.

[35] "The Taif Agreement," point C 4.

[36] Blanford, *Killing*, 36.

[37] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 586. The Taif Accord also made provisions for secularization of the Lebanese political system, but up to this day secularization has never been implemented. One cannot fail to notice that even though the Taif Accord created parity between the two religious groups of Christians and Muslims, there still was

inequality of power sharing *within* the religious groups given the distribution of key government positions and their power. Also, it should be noted that not everybody was completely satisfied with the Taif Accord. Nonetheless, it came into effect on August 26, 1990. Walid Jumblatt best worded the attitude of many Members of Parliament when they decided to ratify the Accord by saying, "There is no alternative to Taif. It will be hard to revise because that could lead to new wars" quoted in Hanf, *Coexistence*, 610

[38] Many of whom were his former employees, Blanford, *Killing*, 43.

[39] Blanford, *Killing*, 43. Ibid., 634.

[40] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 634.

[41] Ibid., 644.

[42] Ibid., 644. To that end, Hariri's Solidere, the largest company in Lebanon executing Hariri's plans for reconstruction and thus became a powerful institution, See Blanford, *Killing*, 43 and 191.

[43]See Blanford, Killing, 30. Hariri was dubbed not as "corrupt" but a "corrupter."

[44] Ibid., 31.

[45] Ibid., 33. "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri." Tegenlicht, "Een potje domino in Libanon" VPRO, Dire. Shuchen Tan, Prod. Mariska Schneider October 23, 2005, http://www.vpro.nl/programma/tegenlicht/afleveringen/24506286/media/24587864/, (accessed February 1, 2008).

[46] See "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri." It also contributed to Hariri's nickname and reputation of "Mr. Lebanon," for in the eyes of many he represented a chance for Lebanon to have a new future.

[47] Blanford, *Killing*, 46-47.

[48] "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri."

[49] Ibid.

[50] Mark Dennis and David Gordon, "Tunes among the Ruins," *Newsweek,* August, 4, 1997, http://www.lexisnexis.com. Before the war this festival brought in top performers like musicians, actors, and artists from all over the world. They would play in a setting of the ancient Roman temples. Also in 1997 Beirut hosted the pan-Arab Games in the Camille Chamoun Stadium which during the war was a central location of PLO "activities."

[51] Marilyn Greene, "Beirut: Forbidden Fruit for U.S.," *USA TODAY,* October 27, 1993, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[52] Michael Lee Katz, "U.S. may Lift Lebanon Travel Ban Advocates Say Nation no Longer a Terrorist Hive." *USA TODAY,* July 30, 1997, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[53] Quoted in Steven Erlanger, "U.S. Lifts the Ban on Travel to Lebanon," *New York Times,* July 31, 1997, http://query.nytimes.com (accessed January 3, 2009).

[54] Rep. Nick Joe Rahal quoted in Katz "U.S. may lift Lebanon travel ban."

[55] "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri." Blanford, *Killing*, viii.

[56] Jeffrey Bartholet et al., "New Red Lines for Lebanon," *Newsweek,* June 5, 2000. , http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[57] "Biography: Mr. Rafic Hariri."

[58] Joshua Hammer, "At the Heart of the Matter," *Newsweek,* May 28, 2001, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[59] On a personal note, I can confirm this. In 1999 when I visited Lebanon with my family we barely saw other tourists. Often times we would be the only guests in the hotels as we travelled from one place to another and during trips to touristic sites, we only encountered local people who were also visiting them.

[60] John Kifner, "Since 9/11, Rich Arabs are again Frolicking in Lebanon," *New York Times,* September 9, 2004, A 10.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut*, 178.

[63] Scott Macleod, "Having a Good Time on the Green Line," *Time,* April 1, 2002, http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1002122,00.html (accessed January 3, 2008).

[64] Vale and Campanella, *The Resilient City*, 283.

[65] Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut*, 162. Vale, and Campanella, *The Resilient City*, 285. Prince Charles of Great Britain, for example, donated money from his Foundation, see Khalaf 162. This "garden" was squeezed into the newly built commercial area of Downtown Beirut and many Lebanese are unaware of the garden's purpose. Only during my last visit to Lebanon did I actually stumble upon this garden, but there were no signs there to indicate its purpose. I learned of the garden's function as a site where the Lebanese could "transcend painful memories and grievances" and "[encourage] social reflection and integration" see, Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut*, 161 only after reading the aforementioned sources for this thesis!

[66] Vale and Campanella, *The Resilient City*, 284.

[67] Ibid., 284-285.

[68] Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut*, 152-153.

[69] According to Vale and Campanella about 85% of the buildings in Beirut that were destroyed could have been recovered . See *The Resilient City*, 283.

[70] Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut*, 161.

[71] Ibid., 118.

[72] Ibid., 178. See also Kifner, "Since 9/11, Rich Arabs Are Again Frolicking in Lebanon." Vale and Campanella, *The Resilient City*, 283.

[73] Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut*, 233-234.

[74] Elias Khoury quoted In Dennis and Gordon, "Tunes Among the Ruins."

[75] "The Taif Agreement," Part 2, point A.

[76] Shibley Telhami, "Does Terrorism Work?," *New York Times,* May 30, 2000, A 23.

[77] Hammer, Joshua and Joanna Chen, "'Another Lebanon'," *Newsweek,* March 4, 2002, http://www.lexisnexis.com. Hezbollah's Public Relations effort to achieve this status was strengthened by its

militants immediately seizing every village that was left by the Israelis and their collaborators. Hezbollah's leader, Hassan Nasrallah was quick to claim victory over the Israeli Army, conveniently tweaking Israel's side of the story that it no longer had a rationale for the deaths it incurred every year among its soldiers on Lebanese soil. It gave Hezbollah however a "heroic stature" throughout Lebanon in 2000. See, Telhami, "Does Terrorism Work?" Deborah Sontag, "Israelis Out of Lebanon," *New York Times,* May 24, 2000, A1 and A12. See also, Sontag, "Israelis Out of Lebanon." Susan Sachs, "Hezbollah Offers a Helping Hand in Southern Lebanon," *New York Times,* May 31, 2000, A3. Despite its exclusively Shiite Muslim ideology Christians in the south came to see that Hezbollah was not considering them to be their next target. Hariri was criticized for his "Beirut-centric focus" by Hezbollah Members of Parliament (MPs), see Blanford, *Killing*, 67

[78] Hariri was criticized for his "Beirut-centric focus" by Hezbollah Members of Parliament (MPs), see Blanford, *Killing*, 67.

[79] Sachs, "Jubilant Hezbollah Chief Leaves His Next Move Open."

[80] Ibid.

[81] Blanford, *Killing*, 67.

[82] Sachs, "Hezbollah Offers a Helping Hand in Southern Lebanon." Joshua Hammer, "Letter from Beirut," *Newsweek,* May 9, 2001, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[83] Blanford, *Killing*, 84.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., 65.

[86] Ibid., 66.

[87] Nasrallah once told Hariri:" You are the resistance that will remove the suffering of the people [in Lebanon] and our party is the resistance that will remove the occupation from our people on the border. If we become allies and agree, our resistance will be your resistance and the country will move on very well. But if we disagree, you will lose both your resistance and my resistance." Hariri replied, "I am with you 100 per cent." (Quoted in Blanford, *Killing*, 66). In 1996 when Israel decided to launch the massive "Grapes of Wrath" attack against Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hariri was able to put the cause of Lebanon to the members of the UN Security Council and mobilize them to end the attack. Within days Israel's raid was over. But Hezbollah's "anti- Israel agenda" would continue to undermine Hariri's policies. Even after the Israeli withdrawal in 2000, Hezbollah considered it necessary to keep its arms. It did so with the message that the Israeli retreat was not complete for a small strip of land known as the Shebaa Farms was still not returned to Lebanon. Commins, *Historical Dictionary of Syria*, 176. Blanford, *Killing*, 66. "Hezbollah Vows to Keep its Weapons," *New York Times,* May 30, 2000. The Shebaa Farms is considered to be part of the Syrian Golan Heights. See for example, Blanford, *Killing*, 79. However, Hezbollah insists it is part of Lebanon. See, Bartholet, Power, Klaidman, Chen, and Dickey, "New Red Lines for Lebanon." Israel has occupied this strip of land since the Six Day War of 1967.

[88] Blanford, *Killing*, 84.

[89] Commins, *Historical Dictionary of Syria*, 116. Adeed I. Dawisha, *Syria and the Lebanese Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 37. Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions* (University of California Press: Berkerley, 1988), 28.

[90] Ibid. Dawisha, *Syria and the Lebanese Crisis*, 72.

[91] Not until 2008 would it have an embassy in Lebanon or have any kind of diplomatic relations.

[92] Dawisha, *Syria and the Lebanese Crisis*, 37.

[93] Ibid.

[94] See chapter 1.

[95] Ibid., 72-73.

[96] Ibid., 74.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 568.

[99] "The Taif Agreement," second part, point D.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 589.

[102] Ibid. "The Taif Agreement," fourth part.

[103] Blanford, *Killing*, 38-39. Hanf, *Coexistence*, 590. According to Hanf the U.S. approval of Syria's presence in Lebanon can in part be explained by Assad's insight, that the political balance was changing in the Middle East towards the end of the 1980s as Communism was about to collapse. More and more Assad tried to "court" Washington. Assad would, for example, support the U.S.'s plan to invade Iraq after Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein had sent his troops to invade Kuwait, see Hanf, *Coexistence*, 608.

[104] "The Taif Agreement," second part point A. Hanf, *Coexistence*, 590.

[105] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 597.

[106] Ibid., 623. Traboulsi, *A History*, 243.

[107] Ibid., 617.

[108] Ibid., 618.

[109] Ibid., 622.

[110] Governments of Lebanon and Syria, Lebanon-Syria Treaty of Cooperation, May 20, 1991, MidEast Web historical Documents, http://www.mideastweb.org/syrialeb1.htm (accessed January 15, 2009).

[111] Ibid., article 4.

[112] Philip Jacobson, "France to Urge Syrian," *The Times (London),* May 30, 1991, http://www.lexisnexis.com, (accessed January 21, 2009). Ray Wilkinson and Jane Whitmore, "The Riddle of the Sphinx," *Newsweek,* May 18, 1992, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[113] Quoted in Traboulsi, *A History*, 246.

[114] Hanf, *Coexistence*, 644.

[115] Blanford, *Killing*, 50.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid., 52-53.

[119] As Lahoud campaigned for the presidency he did so by condemning Hariri's method of working. He presented himself as a "clean" and incorruptible man who was against "overspending".

[120] Ibid., 69.

[121] Officially Hariri stated that he stepped down by claiming that in violation of the Taif Accord, not all Members of Parliament had offered their "obligatory consultation" to the president to propose the next prime minister, see Ibid., 70.

[122] Bashar's brother Basil was supposed to succeed his father, but he died in a car crash in 1994, see Ibid., 52.

[123] John Kifner, "Lebanon Challenger Takes on Syria Too," *New York Times,* September 3, 2000, 8.

[124] Blanford, *Killing*, 69 and 74. Most of this grievance however was whispered into Bashar Assad's ear by Lahoud. See also, John Kifner, "Lebanon Challenger Takes on Syria Too."

[125] Blanford, *Killing*, 77.

[126] John Kifner, "Lebanon Challenger Takes on Syria Too."

[127] Ibid.

[128] Blanford, *Killing*, 78.

[129] Ibid., 79. What would Hafez Assad have Said? *Newsweek,* September 18, 2000. , http://www.lexisnexis.com., (accessed January 5, 2009). Despite his overwhelming victory, Lahoud and Bashar Assad attempted to prevent Hariri from becoming the prime minister but in this case, following the rule of the Taif Agreement where the president could only decide upon mandatory consultations with the MPs, they were not successful.

[130] Barbara Slavin, "Bush is Paying More Attention to the Mideast," *USA TODAY,* April 27, 2001, http://www.lexisnexis.com., (accessed January 5, 2009).

[131] Blanford, *Killing*, 90. At this point in time (in 2001), many of Hariri's close aids, among them Marwan Hamade his Minister of Economics, urged him to resign for it was obvious that Damascus and Lahoud were sabotaging his efforts.[131] But Hariri did not listen to that. Not even when Bashar Assad had summoned Hariri and heavily criticized and insulted him. Nailed to his chair Hariri sat out the tirade, but refused to give in to his advisors to resign. In the eyes of Bashar Assad, Hariri was "a tool of the Americans" and a traitor to Damascus. See, Ibid., 88, 93 and 94.

[132] Ibid., 91-92.

[133] Ibid., 98-99.

[134] Quoted in Ibid., 100.

[135] Ibid., 101.

[136] Ibid., 102.

[137] Ibid.

[138] This was the first time both countries agreed since their disagreement over the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

[139] United Nations Security Council. *Resolution 1559 (2004).* (September 2, 2004): , http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/498/92/PDF/N0449892.pdf?OpenElement (accessed January 20, 2009).

[140] Ibid.

[141] Blanford, *Killing*, 103. Moreover, it took away the attention among the Lebanese of the more urgent problem at hand, namely the imminent extension of Lahoud's term as president of Lebanon. Ibid., 189.

[142] Ibid.

[143] But it did not affect Syria's stance towards the presidential extension, for Syria reasoned that regardless of their decisions to extend the presidential term, Resolution 1559 would have been drawn up anyway. Moreover, Bashar Assad considered that perhaps the U.S. would once more "[turn] a blind eye to [its] hegemony in Lebanon" as it had done in 1990. See Ibid.

[144] Ibid., 106. Lahoud was guaranteed seventy-seven MPs because these were "Syrian" MPs. Walid Jumblatt's MPs however would vote against him.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Ibid., 108.

[147] Ibid., 106.

[148] Quoted in Ibid., 139.

Notes to Chapter 5

[1] A TV channel owned by Rafic Hariri.

[2] Nicholas Blanford, "Former Premier Assassinated as the Bombers Return to Beirut," *The Times (London),* February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[3] YouTube, *Prime Minister Car BoMbB (Rafic Hariri) R.I.P,* Anonymous 2005, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a66aygS_lyA, (accessed February 1, 2009).

[4] Nicholas Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon* (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2006), 136.

[5] YouTube, *Rafik Hariri Assassination,* Anonymous 2005, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g8YdZikIWMs, (accessed February 1, 2009).

[6] "On the Brink of an Abyss," *The Daily Star,* February, 15, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb (accessed February 2, 2009).

[7] Quoted in Rym Ghazal, "Doctors at American University Hospital Rush to Treat Wounded," *The Daily Star,* February 15, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb.

[8] Quoted in Ibid.

[9] Quoted in Ibid.

[10] Steven Komarow, "Bombing could Thwart Beirut's Turnaround; Slain Leader was Business Champion," *USA TODAY,* February 18, 2005, http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/USAToday/search.html?POE=Essentials, (accessed February 12, 2009).

[11] Mohammed Zaatari, "Sidon Mourns Loss of 'Father of Reconstruction'," *The Daily Star,* February 15, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 2, 2009).

[12] Quoted in Scott Wilson, "Lebanese Warn of Parallels to 1970s Volatility," *The Washington Post,* February 16, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[13] Ibid.

[14] "Who Benefits from the Country?"

[15] Marianne Stigset, "Beirut Sea Front Becomes a Blazing Inferno," *The Daily Star,* February 15, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb.

[16] "Lebanon's Tortured History of Political Assassination," *The Daily Star,* February 15, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb (accessed February 7, 2009).

[17] "On the Brink of an Abyss," *The Daily Star*.

[18] See, "Fallen Son Laid to Rest as Lebanese Vent their Anger," *The Daily Star,* February 17, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb (accessed February 7, 2009) and Hassan Fattah, "Wails at Loss of Lebanese Leader, Cries for His Vision," *The Daily Star,* February 17, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 7, 2009).

[19] "Syria and Lebanon must Change Course Fast to Avoid being Derailed," *The Daily Star,* February 16, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 7, 2009).

[20] Bassem Mroue, "Lethal Blast Rocks Lebanon," *The Star-Ledger (Newark, New Jersey),* February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[21] Linda Dahdah, "Rafik Hariri, from Rags to Riches to a Symbol of Lebanon's Rebirth," *The Daily Star,* February 15, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 2, 2009).

[22] See, Eileen E. Flynn, "A Tale of Life, Love, Loss and Liberty; Pizza Delivery Driver Chronicles History of His Lebanese People" and Wilson, "Lebanese Warn of Parallels to 1970s Volatility."

[23] Quoted in "Qabbani Calls Assassination an Attack on all Sunnis," *The Daily Star,* February 16, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 7, 2009).

[24] See for example Leila Hatoum and Jessy Chahine, "Beirut Bombing Draws Sorrow, Fear and Anger from the People," *The Daily Star,* February 15, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 7, 2009).

[25] Quoted in "Militant Urges Restraint as Lebanese Chafe Under Syria's Grip," *New York Times,* February 20, 2005, http://www.proquest.com.

[26] Mroue, "Lethal Blast Rocks Lebanon."

[27] "Murder in Beirut," *The Washington Post,* February 16, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[28] "Terror in Lebanon," *The Augusta Chronicle (Georgia),* February 16, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[29] "Violence Returns to Lebanon," *The Berkshire Eagle (Pittsfield, Massachusetts),* February 16, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[30] Trudy Rubin, "Old-School Terror in Beirut," *The Philadelphia Inquirer,* February 17, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[31] Quoted in Mayssam Zaaroura, "World Condemns Slaying of Former Premier," *The Daily Star,* February 15, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 7, 2009).

[32] Quoted in Nicholas Blanford, "Former Premier Assassinated as the Bombers Return to Beirut," *The Times (London),* February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[33] Quoted in Steven Weisman R., "U.S. Seems Sure of the Hand of Syria, Hinting at Penalties," *USA TODAY,* February 15, 2005, http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/USAToday/search.html?POE=Essentials, (accessed February 12, 2009) and Saleem Shahzad, "Assassination: All Eyes on Syria," *Asia Times,* February 16, 2005, http://atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/GB16Ak02.html, (accessed February 16, 2009).

[34] Steven Weisman R. and Hassan Fattah, "U.S. Recalls its Envoy in Syria, Linking Nation to Beirut Blast," *New York Times,* February 16, 2005, www.proquest.com.

[35] Dan Ephron, "Assassination in Beirut Car Bomb Kills Former Lebanese Leader," *Boston Globe,* February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[36] Mroue, "Lethal Blast Rocks Lebanon."

[37] Antonio Castaneda, "Hariri Death Raises Fears of Instability," *Associated Press Online,* February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[38] Tony Karon, "Why Syria Feels the Heat from a Beirut Bombing," *Time,* February 15, 2005, http://www.time.com, (accessed February 7, 2009).

[39] Ephron, "Assassination in Beirut Car Bomb Kills Former Lebanese Leader."

[40] Rubin, "Old-School Terror in Beirut."

[41] Komarow, "Bombing could Thwart Beirut's Turnaround; Slain Leader was Business Champion."

[42] Azadeh Moaveni and Soraya Sarhaddi Nelson, "Car Bomb Kills Lebanon's Former Prime Minister," *Knight Ridder Washington Bureau*, February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com. Ephron, "Assassination in Beirut Car Bomb Kills Former Lebanese Leader."

[43] "Beirut Bombing: Lebanon Thirty Years' War and Peace," *The Independent,* February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[44] Fawaz A. Gerges, "Analysis: Can Lebanon Region Be Calmed?," ABC News World, ABC News, http://abcnews.go.com/International/Story?id=511984&page=3, (accessed March 8, 2009).

[45] Azadeh Moaveni and Soraya Sarhaddi Nelson, "Car Bomb Kills Lebanon's Former Prime Minister."

[46] Ephron, "Assassination in Beirut Car Bomb Kills Former Lebanese Leader."

[47] Karon, "Why Syria Feels the Heat from a Beirut Bombing."

[48] See, "Violence Returns to Lebanon," *The Berkshire Eagle (Pittsfield, Massachusetts)*, Johanna McGeary, "The Trouble with Syria," *Time,* February 21, 2005, http://www.time.com (accessed February 7, 2009), and Rubin, "Old-School Terror in Beirut."

[49] See, Nicholas Blanford, "Former Premier Assassinated as the Bombers Return to Beirut," *The Times (London),* February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com, Weisman R. and Fattah, "U.S. Recalls its Envoy in Syria, Linking Nation to Beirut Blast," Michael Theodoulou, "Beirut Blast Kills Savior of Lebanon," *The Express,* http://www.lexisnexis.com, and "Violence Returns to Lebanon," *The Berkshire Eagle (Pittsfield, Massachusetts)*, http://www.lexisnexis.com. *USA TODAY* even stated that "Hariri's name was synonymous with the rebuilding of his beloved Beirut," see "As Hopes Bloom in Lebanon, U.S. Needs to Tread Carefully," *USA TODAY,* February, 24, 2005, http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/USAToday/search.html?POE=Essentials, (accessed February 12, 2009).

[50] "Violence Returns to Lebanon," *The Berkshire Eagle*.

[51] Quoted in Flynn E., "A Tale of Life, Love, Loss and Liberty; Pizza Delivery Driver Chronicles History of His Lebanese People," *Austin American-Statesman (Texas),* http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[52] Jessy Chahine, "Lebanese Diaspora Fears Uncertain Times Ahead- Expats Dread Return to Civil War Chaos," *The Daily Star,* February 16, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 8, 2005).

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid. Investments on advertising for tourism was had increased with 16% that year. See Will Rasmussen, "Spending on Advertising in Lebanese Market Soars for First Time in Six Years," *The Daily Star,* March 2, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb (accessed February 19, 2009).

[56] Komarow, "Bombing could Thwart Beirut's Turnaround; Slain Leader was Business Champion."

[57] Theodoulou, "Beirut Blast Kills Savior of Lebanon." Komarow, "Bombing could Thwart Beirut's Turnaround; Slain Leader was Business Champion."

[58] Linda Dahdah, "Downtown Hotels Caught Up in Fallout from Bomb Blast," *The Daily Star,* February 16, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 7, 2009). "Who Benefits from the Country?" *Monday Morning* February 21, 2005, http://www.mondaymorning.com, (accessed February 7, 2009). Some guests who could not leave immediately were rerouted to hotels far away from the blast. See Dahdah, "Downtown Hotels Caught Up in Fallout from Bomb Blast."

[59] Linda Dahdah, "Beirut Business Braced for Losses in Wake of Tragedy," *The Daily Star,* February 16, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 7, 2009).

[60] Quoted in Komarow, "Bombing could Thwart Beirut's Turnaround; Slain Leader was Business Champion."

[61] Quoted in Dahdah, "Beirut Business Braced for Losses in Wake of Tragedy."

[62] A month later it became clear that tourism would be drastically affected in 2005. See Rasmussen, "Spending on Advertising in Lebanese Market Soars for First Time in Six Years."

[63] Osama Habib, "Gulf Investors Jittery Over Lebanon- Hariri's Assassination and Political Tension Prompts Apprehension," *The Daily Star,* February 17, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 7, 2009). Osama Habib, "Death Casts Shadow Over Country's Economic Revival," *The Daily Star,* February 15, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 13, 2009). Hanna Anbar and Michael Glackin, "His Lasting Legacy for a United Lebanon is within Reach," *The Daily Star,* February 17, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 13, 2009). A local branch owned by Dutch beer giant Heineken saw a drop in sales of 35% after the Hariri murder as nightlife ceased. As a result Heineken decided to put expansion plans on hold. The manager Ronald Voorn was quoted as saying:"Everyone was looking at Lebanon as a country that was opening up; was preparing itself for the future….I think that the current events…will change that perception." See Habib Battah, "Heineken Puts Lebanese Expansion Plans on Hold," *The Daily Star,* March 11, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 19, 2009).

[64] The American Presidency Project, "Address before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union," http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu, (accessed February 15, 2009).

[65] Ibid.

[66] Bob Deans, "Nations Increase Pressure on Syria," *Austin American-Statesman (Texas),* February 16, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[67] Weisman R., "U.S. Seems Sure of the Hand of Syria, Hinting at Penalties."

[68] Quoted in "An 'Arab Umbrella' for Syria's Withdrawal," *Monday Morning* February 28, 2005, http://www.mmorning.com, (accessed February 2, 2009).

[69] Quoted in Marianne Stigset, "International Community Calls for a Free and Sovereign Lebanon," *The Daily Star,* February 17, 2005, http://www.dailystar.com.lb, (accessed February 3, 2009).

[70] United Nations Security Council. *Resolution 1559 (2004).* (September 2, 2004): , http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/498/92/PDF/N0449892.pdf?OpenElement (accessed January 20, 2009).

[71] Quoted in Moaveni and Sarhaddi Nelson, "Car Bomb Kills Lebanon's Former Prime Minister."

[72] *State Department Official Remarks on Death of Former Prime Minister of Lebanon,* States News Service, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[73] Michael Hirsch, Mark Hosenball, and Daniel Klaidman,"Is Syria Helping Or Hurting U.S. in Iraq?" *Newsweek* February 26, 2005, http://services.newsweek.com, (accessed February 2, 2009).

[74] Tony Karon, "Why Syria Feels the Heat from a Beirut Bombing," *Time* February 15, 2005, http://www.time.com, (accessed February 7, 2009).

[75] "Violence Returns to Lebanon."

[76] Weisman R. and Fattah, "U.S. Recalls its Envoy in Syria, Linking Nation to Beirut Blast."

[77] "Syria Out of Lebanon," *Boston Globe,* February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[78] Hassan Fattah, "Lebanon's Pro-Syria Government Quits After Protests," *New York Times,* March 1, 2005. "Syria Pledges Pullout again Amid Protests by Lebanese," *New York Times,* February 22, 2005.

[79] Tom Masland, "Name of the Father," *Newsweek,* February 28, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis.com.

[80] Thomas L. Friedman, "Hama Rules," *New York Times,* February 16, 2005, A29. Interestingly, with the exception of *Newsweek* and the *New York Sun* no other newspaper or weekly mentioned the role the U.S. had played in the acceptance of Syria as a powerbroker in Lebanon. The *New York Sun* made a reference to the U.S.'s de facto green light for Syrian presence in Lebanon when it noted "[Lebanon's] daily governance is conducted not from the presidential palace in Beirut's Baabda district but from Bashar Assad's fashionable home in the shadow of the American Embassy in Damascus." Pranay Gupte, "When Hariri Resigned, He Signed His Death Warrant," *The New York Sun,* February 15, 2005, http://www.lexisnexis (accessed February 3, 2009). See also Masland, "Name of the Father."

[81] Fattah, "Wails at Loss of Lebanese Leader, Cries for His Vision."

[82] Quoted in Friedman, "Hama Rules,"

[83] Christopher Dickey, "Shadowland: Democratic Terrorists?" *Newsweek* February 24, 2005, http://services.newsweek.com, (accessed February 10, 2009).

[84] Lally Weymouth, "Like a Virus that Spreads," *Newsweek* February, 2005, http://services.newsweek.com, (accessed February 7, 2009).

[85] As Hopes Bloom in Lebanon, U.S. Needs to Tread Carefully."

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