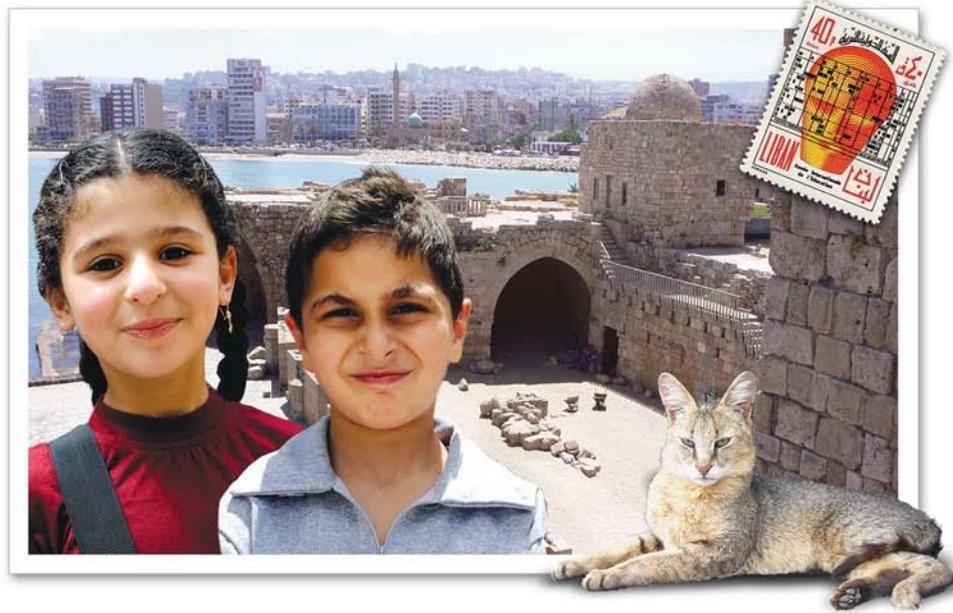


Lebanon in Perspective

An Orientation Guide



Technology Integration Division

January 2012



DEFENSE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CENTER

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CHAPTER 1: GEOGRAPHY

Introduction

Though small in size, Lebanon displays a remarkable diversity in landscape, climate, and plant life. The nation's position at the eastern edge of the Mediterranean Sea has tied its history to other seafaring civilizations. Thus, a mercantile culture developed early on in Lebanon and continues to the present day. Trading was just as important inland from the Lebanese coast, where the fertile Bekaa Valley provided a natural route from the Syrian interior to Mediterranean coastal cities.



© Guillaume Piolle
Lebanese flag

Between the coast and the Bekaa Valley lay rugged mountains that long have provided relative isolation and sanctuary for several religious sects, both Christian and Muslim. As a result Lebanon, despite its limited size, became a region known for its ethnic and religious diversity.

Geographic Regions and Topographic Features

Lebanon is the most mountainous country of the Middle East. Its terrain divides into four distinct regions, all of which run northeast-southwest, parallel to the Lebanese Mediterranean coast.

The Coastal Plain

Along the coast is a narrow coastal plain, which only measures 6.5 km (4 mi) at its widest spot in the Akkar plain near the northern Lebanese border. Further south at Juniyah (just north of Beirut), the coastal plain narrows to just 1.5 km (0.9 mi). Lebanon's rocky shoreline offers no natural harbors or deep river estuaries.¹ The plain consists of river and marine sediments that sustain Lebanon's citrus orchards, most of which are in the southern and northern portions of the plain.^{2, 3, 4}



© -Rejik / flickr.com
Coast of Lebanon

Lebanon Mountains

Immediately inland from the coast lies Lebanon's second geographic region: the Lebanon Mountains (also known as Mount Lebanon). This range extends southwestward from Lebanon's northern border to the Litani River in the south. South of the Litani River, the mountains

¹ As' Ad AbuKhail, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), 43–45.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: Land: Relief," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

³ Wafa Khoury, "Citrus Industry and Certification Programmes in Lebanon," *Options Méditerranéennes: Série B. Etudes et Recherches*, no. 21 (1998): 74, <http://ressources.ciheam.org/om/pdf/b21/99001631.pdf>

⁴ Zinett Moussa and Abdel Kader el Hajj, "Citrus Production in Lebanon: Pre-Feasibility Study of IPM of Citrus (IAM–Bari), 2010, 2, <http://www.lari.gov.lb/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=da%2BPNJGwAvU%3D&tabid=68>

transition to more of a hilly elevated plateau.⁵ The highest peaks of the Lebanon Mountains occur in its northern section, topped by Qornat al-Saouda at 3,088 m (10,131 ft).⁶ Dahr al-Baydar, a saddle section through which runs the main highway and railroad connecting Beirut to the Syrian capital of Damascus, divides the northeastern from the southwestern sections of the range.⁷



© Linaduliban / Wikimedia.org
Mount Lebanon

Bekaa Valley and Anti-Lebanon Mountains

The Bekaa Valley and the Anti-Lebanon Mountains to the valley's east are Lebanon's other two geographic regions. The Bekaa Valley runs for about 177 km (110 mi) between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains at an average elevation of about 760 m (2,493 ft).⁸ It is Lebanon's most important agricultural region, known as the country's breadbasket because of its many wheat and barley fields.⁹

The Anti-Lebanon Mountains mark the western edge of the Bekaa Valley and are dryer than the Lebanon Mountains. For the most part, only the western slopes of these mountains lie in Lebanon. The arid conditions and poor soils of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains inhibit agricultural activity and thus limit human habitation. Mount Hermon, straddling the southern Lebanon-Syria border and towering above the Golan Heights, is the Anti-Lebanon's highest point at 2,814 m (9,232 ft).¹⁰



© Fouad Awada
Bekaa Valley

Climate

Lebanon's Mediterranean climate is marked by long, hot, and dry summers followed by short, cool, and wet winters. Local changes in landscape and distance from the Mediterranean coast either reverse or intensify this pattern in some locations. For example, the Bekaa Valley and Anti-Lebanon Mountains receive less winter precipitation than the coast and Lebanon Mountains because the high peaks of the Lebanon Mountains capture much of the rain from storms that blow in from the west.^{11, 12}

⁵ Rita Stephan, "Chapter 6: Land Resources," in *State and Trends of the Lebanese Environment 2010* (Beirut: United Nations Development Programme/Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, 2011), 190,

<http://www.moe.gov.lb/Documents/SOER%20Chap%206%20reduced.pdf>

⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon Mountains," 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334207/Lebanon-Mountains>

⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon Mountains," 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334207/Lebanon-Mountains>

⁸ As'Ad AbuKhail, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), 44.

⁹ GlobalEye.org, "The Bekaa Valley," Spring 2006,

http://www.globaleye.org.uk/secondary_spring06/eyeon/BekaaValley.pdf

¹⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Anti-Lebanon Mountains," 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/27617/Anti-Lebanon-Mountains>

¹¹ As'Ad AbuKhail, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), 46–47.

Winter temperatures range from mild along the coast to frigid at the highest altitudes. For example, Beirut has an average temperature of 14°C (57°F) during January, whereas the average January temperature in Bsharri (in the Lebanon Mountains at an altitude of 1,916 m [6,286 ft]) is only 0°C (32°F).^{13, 14} During winter, snow falls on the higher peaks of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains as well as in the Bekaa Valley, and often does not melt until early summer.¹⁵



© Leandra Fallis
Winter in Lebanon

Along the Lebanese coast, summers can be unpleasantly humid despite being mostly free from rainfall. Afternoon sea breezes bring relief from the heat, with the winds reversing during the night.^{16, 17} In the Lebanon Mountains, daytime high temperatures in the summer are similar to those of the coast, but nighttime temperatures drop much lower. Humidity is lower in the mountains.¹⁸ During the late spring and occasionally in the fall, dry winds blowing from Egypt can bring unusually high temperatures and clouds of dust.¹⁹ This type of wind storm, known as the *khamsin*, is dreaded by those with respiratory diseases or allergies, but it mostly affects only those living along the coast and in the foothills of the Lebanon Mountains.^{20, 21} The Bekaa Valley to the east is shielded from the *khamsin* by the mountains. But this advantage is offset by the brutally cold winds from the north that blow through the Bekaa Valley in the winter.²²

¹² Michelle Felton, "Climate of Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and West Bank and Gaza," in *World and Its Peoples: Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, West Bank, and Gaza*, vol. 7 (Tarrytown, NY: Marshall Cavendish, 2007), 871.

¹³ ClimateTemp.info, "Lebanon Climate Guide to the Average Weather & Temperatures with Graphs Elucidating Sunshine and Rainfall Data & Information About Wind Speeds & Humidity," 22 July 2011, <http://www.climatetemp.info/lebanon>

¹⁴ ClimateTemp.info, "Bsharri Climate Guide to the Average Weather & Temperatures With Graphs Elucidating Sunshine and Rainfall Data & Information About Wind Speeds & Humidity," 22 July 2011, <http://www.climatetemp.info/lebanon/bsharri.html>

¹⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: Land: Climate," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

¹⁶ BBC Weather, "Lebanon," 22 March 2011, http://news.bbc.co.uk/weather/hi/country_guides/newsid_9384000/9384098.stm

¹⁷ As'Ad AbuKhail, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), 46–47.

¹⁸ Paul Doyle Jr., "Chapter 1: Background Information," in *Lebanon* (Chalfont St. Peter, Buckinghamshire, UK: Bradt Travel Guides, Ltd., 2012), 4–5.

¹⁹ As'Ad AbuKhail, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), 45.

²⁰ As'Ad AbuKhail, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), 45.

²¹ Maya Abou Nasr, "Annual 'Khamsin Wind' Bears Down Hard on Lebanon," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 3 April 2004, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/Apr/03/Annual-Khamsin-Wind-bears-down-hard-on-Lebanon.ashx#axzz1p1U3PPv7>

²² As'Ad AbuKhail, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), 47.

Bodies of Water

Thirteen perennial rivers, ranging in length from 15 to 48 km (9 to 30 mi) drain the western slopes of Beirut's Lebanon Mountains and discharge into the Mediterranean Sea.²³ Among these are the Beirut and Abou Ali rivers, which flow respectively through Beirut and Tripoli, Lebanon's two largest cities. The Abou Ali in its upper reaches is known as the Qadisha ("Holy") River. The cliffs and caves that the river has carved into the underlying limestone have served for centuries as refuges for Lebanon's Christian communities, particularly the Maronites.²⁴



© Pilar Torres
Orontes river

In the Bekaa Valley, the Litani River flows southwestward through the southern end of the valley before turning westward and carving a canyon to its Mediterranean outlet. This river, whose watershed makes up 20% of Lebanon's total area, is used extensively for irrigation.²⁵ At the southern end of the Bekaa Valley, the Litani is dammed, creating Qaraoun Reservoir, Lebanon's largest artificial lake and a major source of hydroelectricity.²⁶

Three of Lebanon's perennial rivers flow into neighboring countries. The northeastern end of the Bekaa Valley is drained by the Orontes River (also known as the Asi River), which flows northward into Syria and ultimately drains into the Mediterranean in the Hatay region of Turkey. The Al-Kebir River forms most of the northern Lebanon-Syria border and receives tributaries originating on both sides of the border. In southern Lebanon, the Hasbani River flows southward into Israel from the western slopes of Mount Hermon in the Anti-Lebanon Mountains. Before crossing the Israeli border and eventually emptying into the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan River, the Hasbani's west bank briefly becomes the border between Lebanon and a section of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights.^{27, 28} Water diversions from springs that feed the Hasbani River on this section, near the small village of Ghazar, have been a flashpoint at times in Lebanese-Israeli relations.²⁹

²³ Republic of Lebanon, Ministry of Environment, *2001 State of the Environment Report*, "Chapter 8: Water," 2001, 112–114, <http://www.moe.gov.lb/SiteCollectionDocuments/www.moe.gov.lb/Reports/SOER2002/Chap%208.%20Water%20.pdf>

²⁴ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "Tripoli and the North," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 310.

²⁵ Réseau International des Organismes de Bassin, "Litani River & Litani River Authority Projects," 8 June 2007, http://www.riob.org/IMG/pdf/Sleiman_Antoinette_Litani_River_and_Litani_River_Authority_Projects.pdf

²⁶ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Aquastat, "Lebanon: Water Resources and Use," 2008, <http://www.fao.org/nr/water/aquastat/countries/lebanon/index.stm>

²⁷ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Aquastat, "Lebanon: Water Resources and Use," 2008, <http://www.fao.org/nr/water/aquastat/countries/lebanon/index.stm>

²⁸ Arnon Medzini and Aaron T. Wolf, "Towards a Middle East at Peace: Hidden Issues in Arab-Israeli Hydropolitics," *Water Resources Development*, vol. 20, no. 2, June 2004, 196.

²⁹ BBC News, "Israel Hardens Stance on Water," 17 September 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2265139.stm

Cities

Beirut

Like many of Lebanon's major coastal cities, Beirut's history extends several millennia to the time of the Phoenicians. From the limited written historical record, it appears that the city was secondary to other Phoenician city-states of the time, such as Sidon, Tyre, and Byblos.³⁰ Beirut's first heyday came during the Roman period, when a School of Roman Law was founded in the city, one of only three such schools in the Roman Empire.³¹



© 3ammo / flickr.com
Downtown Beirut

But a devastating earthquake and subsequent tsunami in 551 C.E. began a decline in the city's fortunes. From 635 C.E. until the early part of the 20th century, the city was ruled by a series of Muslim dynasties, interrupted only by a 180-year span in the 12th and 13th centuries when Christian crusaders assumed control.³²

During the latter part of the 19th century, Beirut began to thrive again as a trading center for Lebanese silk. Foreign investors, Maronite Christian refugees, and missionaries began to flow into the city, rapidly expanding the population. Some of the latter group founded the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, today known as the American University of Beirut, one of the Middle East's most academically prestigious universities.^{33, 34}

After the collapse of the Turkish Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I, Beirut became the capital of Greater Lebanon, a component of the French Mandate of Syria and the Lebanon. The city regained its renown as a tourism center and one of the primary banking and commercial centers of the Middle East.^{35, 36} Unfortunately, the Lebanon Civil War, beginning in 1975, left many parts of Beirut in rubble and the city's economy in tatters. During this time, the city effectively became divided into Muslim and Christian quarters, separated by a no-man's land strip known as the Green Line.³⁷

Since late 1989, when the Taif Agreement was signed, marking the first step toward national reconciliation, programs to rebuild Beirut have been ongoing. One such effort is the Solderé redevelopment project in heavily damaged downtown Beirut. This public-private joint venture is a mix of new development and restoration efforts.³⁸

³⁰ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "Beirut," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 22.

³¹ Phoenicia.org, "Phoenicia's Roman School of Law," 2012, <http://phoenicia.org/law.html>

³² Paul Doyle, "Chapter 3: Beirut," in *Lebanon* (Chalfont St. Peter, Buckinghamshire, UK: Bradt Travel Guides, Ltd., 2012), 92.

³³ Margaret L. Goldstein, "The Land: Cities," in *Lebanon in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 2005), 16.

³⁴ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "Beirut," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 236.

³⁵ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "Beirut," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 236.

³⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Sidon," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/543141/Sidon>

³⁷ Margaret L. Goldstein, "The Land: Cities," in *Lebanon in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 2005), 16.

³⁸ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "Beirut," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 236.

Tripoli

Tripoli, Lebanon's second-largest city, lies on the country's northern coast, just 30 kilometers from the Syrian border. The city continues to be Lebanon's second busiest seaport, behind Beirut, and the port is undergoing expansion to facilitate container trade.^{39, 40} Tripoli's modern name comes from the Greek "three cities," a reference to the ancient Phoenician city layout in which traders from Sidon, Tyre, and Arwad (Aradus) each had their own walled-off quarters.⁴¹ The present-day configuration of Tripoli comprises two parts: the Mediterranean port area of Al-Mina; and the city proper, which has a modern section and the "old city" to its east.^{42, 43} Sunni Muslims make up the majority of the city's population today. Tripoli is considered to be one of Lebanon's most religiously conservative cities.⁴⁴



© AJ Leshouni
Central Tripoli

During the Lebanon Civil War, Tripoli suffered significant damage, but nowhere near the destruction unleashed in Beirut to the south.⁴⁵ Much of the worst of Tripoli's destruction came in late 1983, when rival Palestinian factions carried their battles from the nearby refugee encampments into the city proper, while Israeli gunboats shelled the combatants.^{46, 47} The fighting badly damaged the Tripoli oil refinery, one of Lebanon's two refineries at the time. The refinery eventually was repaired and put back into production, but subsequently was shut down in 1992 and remains closed.^{48, 49}

Sidon

Coastal Sidon (also known as Saida), lying south of Beirut, was one of the famed Phoenician trading centers, referenced in the poems of Homer and in the Old Testament.⁵⁰ The coastal waters of this stretch of the Lebanese coast were rich with mollusk species whose glands

³⁹ Port of Tripoli, "Services and Facilities," n.d., <http://www.portdetripoli.com/about-us.aspx>

⁴⁰ DredgingToday.com, "Lebanon: Tripoli Port Expansion Project Progresses Well," 10 February 2012, <http://www.dredgingtoday.com/2012/02/10/lebanon-tripoli-port-expansion-project-progresses-well/>

⁴¹ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "Tripoli," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 300.

⁴² Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "Tripoli," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 301.

⁴³ Margaret L. Goldstein, "The Land: Cities," in *Lebanon in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 2005), 17.

⁴⁴ Chris Zambelis, "Syrian Unrest Dries Lebanese Tinderbox," *Asia Times*, 6 August 2011, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/middle_east/mh06ak04.html

⁴⁵ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "Tripoli," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 301.

⁴⁶ Advisory Committee on Human Rights in Lebanon, "Toward Legal Order and Respect for Human Rights," in *The Palestine Yearbook of International Law 1984*, vol. 1 (Safat, Kuwait: Al-Shaybani Society of International Law Ltd., 1984), 221.

⁴⁷ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "Tripoli," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 301.

⁴⁸ John Roberts, "Chapter 3: The Economy, in *Lebanon: A Country Study* (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), 127.

⁴⁹ Thomas R. Yager, 2007 *Minerals Yearbook*, "The Mineral Industry of Lebanon," March 2010, <http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/country/2007/myb3-2007-le.pdf>

⁵⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Sidon," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/543141/Sidon>

produced a mucus that was the primary ingredient of purple and royal blue dyes, highly sought-after items in ancient times.⁵¹ The city today is primarily a fishing and trade center, serving as the marketplace for the surrounding agricultural region. The Sidon region was once the terminus of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline, the largest pipeline of its era and the first to deliver Saudi Arabian oil to the Mediterranean Sea. But pipeline operations in Lebanon ceased in 1976.⁵²

To the south and east of the main part of Sidon lie two Palestinian refugee camps. One of these (Ain al-Hilweh) is the largest Palestinian camp in Lebanon, officially housing more than 50,000 people. It is called Lebanon's "most conflict-prone camp."^{53, 54} Because Sidon is not nearly as large as Beirut or Tripoli, the Palestinian refugees are a sizable percentage of the city's Sunni majority. Some of the Sidon refugees have obtained Lebanese citizenship, thus enabling them to vote in local elections and making Palestinian concerns a prominent aspect of the city's political landscape.⁵⁵



© eutrophication&hypoxia / flickr.com
Waterfront of Sidon

Tyre

Along with Sidon, Tyre was one of the two great Phoenician city-states lying in what is today southern Lebanon. The city was originally built on an island just off the southern Lebanese coast. Since 333 B.C.E., Tyre has been connected to the mainland via a land bridge built by Alexander the Great's engineers during a siege of the city.⁵⁶ Like its northern neighbor Sidon, Tyre was known in Phoenician times for its mollusk-derived purple dyes. Tyre's seagoing traders traveled throughout the Mediterranean region, often founding new trading centers in far-off lands. Many substantial ruins still exist in Tyre from the later Roman era. In 1984, these archaeological treasures were declared a UNESCO World Heritage site.⁵⁷



© Heretiq / Wikimedia.org
Waterfront of Tyre

The city's more recent history has been far less illustrious. Tyre's proximity to the Israeli border has inevitably drawn it into Israel's frequent conflicts with adversaries based in southern Lebanon. The most recent of these occurred in July–August 2006, when Israel and the Shi'ite

⁵¹ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "The South," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 341.

⁵² Al Mashriq, "Tapline," n.d., <http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/300/380/388/tapline/>

⁵³ Are Knudsen, "Nahr el-Bared: The Political Fall-Out of a Refugee Disaster," in *Palestinian Refugees: Identity, Space and Place in the Levant*, eds. Are Knudsen and Sari Hanafi (Abingdon, Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2011), 101.

⁵⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency, "Palestine Refugees: A Special Case," 2011, <http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/20111002306.pdf>

⁵⁵ Are Knudsen, "Nahr el-Bared: The Political Fall-Out of a Refugee Disaster," in *Palestinian Refugees: Identity, Space and Place in the Levant*, eds. Are Knudsen and Sari Hanafi (Abingdon, Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2011), 101.

⁵⁶ E. L. Skip Knox, Boise State University, "Alexander the Great: The Siege of Tyre (333), n.d., <http://europeanhistory.boisestate.edu/westciv/alexander/07.shtml>

⁵⁷ UNESCO, "Tyre," 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/299>

terrorist organization Hizballah traded missile- and airstrikes across the Lebanon-Israel border. Many of the Israeli strikes targeted locations in Tyre.⁵⁸

Zahlé

Zahlé is the largest city of the Bekaa Valley and the largest Lebanese city outside the coastal region. The city actually lies above the valley floor on the eastern side of the Lebanon Mountains, in a region known for its vineyards, wineries, and *arak* distilleries (*arak* is an aniseed-flavored brandy, similar to the Greek *ouzo* and Turkish *raki*).⁵⁹ In the summer, Zahlé serves as a resort for city dwellers, conveniently accessible via the Beirut-Damascus road that runs a few kilometers south of the city. The local population is primarily Christian, with Greek Catholics the dominant sect.^{60, 61}



© Nassif.seif / Wikimedia.org
View over Zahlé

Nabatiyé

This predominantly Shi'ite capital city of the Nabatiyé Governorate is located in the southern section of the Lebanon Mountains, near the point where the Litani River turns westward in its final stretch before reaching the Mediterranean. Nabatiyé is a market town for the surrounding countryside, which traditionally has been Lebanon's primary tobacco-growing region.⁶² During the July–August 2006 Israel-Hizballah conflict, Israeli missiles and bombs either destroyed or heavily damaged 100 buildings in Nabatiyé and its surrounding region (based on United Nations satellite data).⁶³



© Julien Hameis
View over Nabatiyé

Natural Hazards

Although recent decades have seen many people killed or left homeless in Lebanon by human actions, natural disasters can also cause significant destruction. The nation's location along major faults makes it potentially vulnerable to extremely destructive earthquakes of up to magnitude 7.5.⁶⁴ Even less-intense earthquakes can be highly damaging. In 1956, 136 people were killed and 6,000 buildings were destroyed when two earthquakes of magnitude 6.3 and 6.1 rocked the

⁵⁸ Sabrina Tavernise, "Tyre Reels From Attacks That Never Fail to Shock," *New York Times*, 27 July 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/27/world/middleeast/27lebanon.html>

⁵⁹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Zahlah," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/655397/Zahlah>

⁶⁰ Terry Carter and Lara Dunston, Coordinating Authors, "The Bekaa Valley," in *Syria & Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2004), 321.

⁶¹ Deen Sharp, Electoral Reform Lebanon, "Zahle and the Politics of Tradition," 19 May 2009, <http://lebelections.blogspot.com/2009/05/key-electoral-battle-of-zahle.html>

⁶² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Al-Nabatiyyah al-Tahta," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/401258/Al-Nabatiyyah-al-Tahta>

⁶³ Unitar's Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT), "Satellite Identification of Damage in Nabatiye, Lebanon," 12 October 2006, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/14790D7E2E524FF585257217007FBF3E-unosat_DMG_lbn061012.pdf

⁶⁴ IRIN, "Lebanon: Earthquake Threat Looms Large," 19 July 2009, <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/85300/LEBANON-Earthquake-threat-looms-large>

area around Sidon (Saida).^{65, 66} The Lebanese building code mandates that seismic considerations be part of new building plans. But in practice, the law is neither uniformly followed nor enforced, especially during times of conflict and in areas outside the major urban centers.⁶⁷

South Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley are viewed by scientists to be the nation's regions most vulnerable to large earthquake activity. Between February and July 2008, southern Lebanon was struck by a flurry of light- to moderate-level quakes, ranging in magnitude from 2.3 to 5.1. Lebanon's last major earthquake occurred in 1759, killing about 40,000 people in Damascus and Beirut. The average recurrence interval for such major tectonic events in Lebanon is estimated to be 250 to 300 years.⁶⁸



© Julien Harnais
Earthquake damage

Flooding happens regularly in Lebanese cities after heavy rainstorms.^{69, 70} Occasionally, these floods can have catastrophic consequences. In 1955, the Abou Ali River flooded the city of Tripoli, leaving 415 people dead and thousands of families temporarily homeless.⁷¹ After the flood, the river section adjacent to the old part of the city was straightened and contained within high concrete walls.⁷²

Heavy rain can also create havoc on roads in Lebanon's steep river valleys. Mudslides during rainstorms can cause highway blockages leading to large traffic jams.⁷³ Building damage or

⁶⁵ C. Huijjer, M. Harajli, and S. Sadek, "Upgrading the Seismic Hazard of Lebanon in Light of the Recent Discovery of the Offshore Thrust Fault System," *Lebanese Science Journal* 12, no. 2 (2011): 68,

<http://www.cnrs.edu.lb/info/LSJ2011/No2/harajli.pdf>

⁶⁶ SaidaOnline.com, "An Earthquake Similar to That of 1956 Could Hit Lebanon," 1 July 2008,

<http://www.saidaonline.com/en/news.php?go=fullnews&newsid=3902>

⁶⁷ Rita Stephan, "Chapter 6: Land Resources," in *State and Trends of the Lebanese Environment 2010* (Beirut: United Nations Development Programme/Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, 2011), 195,

<http://www.moe.gov.lb/Documents/SOER%20Chap%203%20reduced.pdf>

⁶⁸ IRIN, "Lebanon: Earthquake Threat Looms Large," 19 July 2009,

<http://www.irinnews.org/Report/85300/LEBANON-Earthquake-threat-looms-large>

⁶⁹ Mohammad Azakir, "Flooded Beirut—In Pictures," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 18 November 2011,

<http://dailystar.com.lb/PhotoGallery.aspx?id=221#axzz1pt9NVk1q>

⁷⁰ Jessy Chahine, "Storms Cause Flood Damage Along Beirut River," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 25 January 2005,

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/Jan/25/Storms-cause-flood-damage-along-Beirut-River.ashx#axzz1prQWcuhg>

⁷¹ Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, "Climate Change: Table B2-3. Examples of Different Kinds of Damages (Impacts) and Stressed Communities Resulting from Climate Extremes, and Indication of Disaster Management," n.d., http://www.moe.gov.lb/ClimateChange/Climate2/main/tables/pdf/b2_3.pdf

⁷² Council for Development and Reconstruction, "Chapter 5: Tripoli," in *Stakeholder Analysis and Social Assessment for the Proposed Cultural Heritage and Tourism Development Project* (Beirut: Information International, 2001), 66, http://charbelnahas.org/textes/Amenagement_et_urbanisme/Cultural_Heritage_Report/E-Tripoli_64-106.pdf

⁷³ "Heavy Storms Cause Road Closures Throughout Lebanon," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 28 January 2012,

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/2012/Jan-28/161350-heavy-storms-cause-road-closures-throughout-lebanon.ashx#axzz1prQWcuhg>

collapse because of shifting hillsides may occur during particularly wet periods, such as the winter of 2011–2012.⁷⁴

Environmental Concerns

Lebanon is a highly urbanized nation, with an estimated 88% of the population living in cities. Half of this urban population lives in Greater Beirut, consisting of the city proper and its northern and southern suburbs.⁷⁵ One effect of this growing urbanization has been an increase in the pumping of groundwater from coastal aquifers to meet the water demands of the cities. As aquifer levels have fallen, saltwater intrusion has become a concern. Additionally, the amount of untreated sewage from coastal urban areas has increased because Lebanon's strapped budget has not allowed for the development of urban water treatment systems to keep pace with the growing amounts of wastewater and solid waste.⁷⁶ Adding further complexity to Lebanon's water issues is preliminary evidence that the nation's average snow and rain levels have been declining since the mid-1960s. Whether this decline in average precipitation is a result of global climate change is impossible to say, but the short-term effect has been decreased levels of flow in Lebanon's rivers and springs.⁷⁷



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Oil spill on the Lebanese coastline

Increasing urban expansion in Lebanon is one of the driving factors in Lebanon's loss of forest land and other natural habitat, which in turn reduces the nation's biodiversity.⁷⁸ In 1965, 35% of Lebanon was covered by forests, but that percentage dropped to 13% over the next four decades.⁷⁹ Other causes of habitat loss or degradation include overgrazing of pastoral lands and an increasing number of devastating forest fires. Between 2004 and 2006, an average of 634 ha (1,566 acres) of Lebanese forests burned per year, but that average jumped to 2,900 ha (7,166 acres) over the following three years (2007–2009).⁸⁰ The increasing number of large fires is

⁷⁴ *Daily Star* (Lebanon), "Wall Collapses at Metn Church," 17 March 2012, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/2012/Mar-17/167020-wall-collapses-at-metn-church.ashx#axzz1prQWcuhg>

⁷⁵ Zuhier El Hassan, "Chapter 3: Water Resources," in *State and Trends of the Lebanese Environment 2010* (Beirut: United Nations Development Programme/Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, 2011), 53–54, <http://www.moe.gov.lb/Documents/SOER%20Chap%203%20reduced.pdf>

⁷⁶ Zuhier El Hassan, "Chapter 3: Water Resources," in *State and Trends of the Lebanese Environment 2010* (Beirut: United Nations Development Programme/Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, 2011), 54, <http://www.moe.gov.lb/Documents/SOER%20Chap%203%20reduced.pdf>

⁷⁷ Zuhier El Hassan, "Chapter 3: Water Resources," in *State and Trends of the Lebanese Environment 2010* (Beirut: United Nations Development Programme/Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, 2011), 56, <http://www.moe.gov.lb/Documents/SOER%20Chap%203%20reduced.pdf>

⁷⁸ Ghassan Ramadan Jaradi, "Chapter 5: Biodiversity and Forests," in *State and Trends of the Lebanese Environment 2010* (Beirut: United Nations Development Programme/Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, 2011), 150–151, <http://www.moe.gov.lb/Documents/SOER%20Chap%205%20reduced.pdf>

⁷⁹ IRIN News, "Forest Fires 'Pushing Lebanon Toward Desertification,'" *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 26 September 2008, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/Sep/26/Forest-fires-pushing-Lebanon-toward-desertification.ashx#axzz1prQWcuhg>

⁸⁰ Ghassan Ramadan Jaradi, "Chapter 5: Biodiversity and Forests," in *State and Trends of the Lebanese Environment 2010* (Beirut: United Nations Development Programme/Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, 2011), 151–152, <http://www.moe.gov.lb/Documents/SOER%20Chap%205%20reduced.pdf>

believed to be tied to steady declines in average precipitation and average number of rainy days in recent decades, leading to drier trees that burn more readily.^{81, 82}

Lebanon's primary sources of air pollution are forms of transportation—primarily cars and trucks—that burn fossil fuels. The number of registered vehicles in Lebanon grew at an average annual rate of 15% from 2001 to 2008, and nearly 70% of these vehicles are privately owned cars.⁸³

⁸¹ Zuhier El Hassan, "Chapter 3: Water Resources," in *State and Trends of the Lebanese Environment 2010* (Beirut: United Nations Development Programme/Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, 2011), 55, <http://www.moe.gov.lb/Documents/SOER%20Chap%203%20reduced.pdf>

⁸² IRIN News, "Forest Fires 'Pushing Lebanon Toward Desertification,'" *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 26 September 2008, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/Sep/26/Forest-fires-pushing-Lebanon-toward-desertification.ashx#axzz1prQWcuhg>

⁸³ Capricia Chabarekh, "Chapter 4: Air Quality," in *State and Trends of the Lebanese Environment 2010* (Beirut: United Nations Development Programme/Ministry of Environment, Republic of Lebanon, 2011), 102, <http://www.moe.gov.lb/Documents/SOER%20Chap%204%20reduced.pdf>

Chapter 1 Assessment

1. Several of Lebanon's larger coastal cities are built on the site of ancient Phoenician city-states.

TRUE

Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre were all once Phoenician ports.

2. The Bekaa Valley, between Lebanon's two major mountain ranges, is an important farming region.

TRUE

The Bekaa Valley runs for about 177 km (110 mi) between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains. It is known as Lebanon's breadbasket because of its many wheat and barley fields.

3. Sidon is the largest Lebanese city not located along the Mediterranean Sea.

FALSE

Zahlé is the largest city of the Bekaa Valley and the largest Lebanese city outside the region.

4. Beirut, Lebanon's largest city, is a young city, tracing its origin to the Ottoman Empire era.

FALSE

Like many of Lebanon's major coastal cities, Beirut's history extends several millennia to the time of the Phoenicians. Beirut's first heyday came during the Roman period.

5. Most of Lebanon's air pollution is produced by large industrial facilities in the Beirut area.

FALSE

Lebanon's primary sources of air pollution are forms of transportation—primarily cars and trucks—that burn fossil fuels.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY

Introduction: First, the Phoenicians

Lebanon is a small country with an expansive history. The civilizations and empires that have marked Lebanon by either conquest or migration are giants in world history: the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Ottomans, and the French, among others. But Lebanon as a separate, independent nation-state is a relatively recent entity. The struggle to find a national identity in a social and political structure that divides along sectarian lines is the theme of recent Lebanese history. But equally important is the role that neighboring nations and refugees have played in shaping conflicts that have plagued Lebanon since 1948.



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Greek ruins in Lebanon

Ancient Lebanon was part of a region known as Canaan. It included much of modern Israel, the Palestinian Territories, and coastal and southern inland Syria.⁸⁴ The inhabitants of this region spoke Semitic languages, including the now extinct Phoenician language. Most historians believe that the term “Phoenician” derives from the Greek translation of the Phoenician word for “purple,” a reference to the valuable purple-dyed textiles that Phoenician traders were famed for across the Mediterranean.⁸⁵

The Phoenicians spoke a common language, but they were far from unified. There was no Phoenician empire; rather, Phoenicia comprised a number of coastal city-states.⁸⁶ Among the most important of these Phoenician settlements were Byblos, Tyre, and Sidon. The Phoenician city-states emerge in the historical record around 1200 B.C.E., but ample evidence shows that these seaports had existed for centuries (or millennia in the case of Byblos) prior. For example, Byblos was exporting cedarwood, wine, and olive oil to the Egyptian pharaohs during the third millennium B.C.E. in exchange for gold and other items.^{87, 88, 89}



© Daniel Roy
Ruins at Byblos

⁸⁴ Jonathan N. Tubb, “Chapter 1: Canaan and Canaanites,” in *Canaanites* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 13.

⁸⁵ Niels Peter Lemche, “Chapter 2: The Canaanites and Their Land in Ancient Near Eastern Documents: The 2nd Millennium BCE,” in *The Canaanites and Their Land: The Tradition of the Canaanites* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 26.

⁸⁶ Ann Malaspina, “Chapter 2: A Snail’s Gold,” in *Creation of the Modern Middle East: Lebanon* (New York: Chelsea House, 2009), 19.

⁸⁷ Afaf Sabeah McGowan, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting,” in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

⁸⁸ Sanford Holst, “Origin of the Phoenicians: Interactions in the Early Mediterranean Region” (paper presented at Queen Mary College, London, 29 June 2008), http://www.phoenician.org/origin_of_phoenicians.htm

⁸⁹ Salim Khalaf, “History of the Phoenicians: 3000 B.C. to 634 A.D.,” 2012, <http://phoenicia.org/history.html>

Between 1200 B.C.E., when Egyptian control over the Phoenician coast began to wane, and 900 B.C.E., the Phoenician city-states peaked in influence. Trading colonies were established in North Africa, Asia Minor (Anatolia), Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, and ultimately Spain.⁹⁰ Besides their famous purple textiles, the Phoenicians produced carved ivory, metalworks, and glassware.⁹¹ Their skilled seafaring and navigation allowed them to chart new trade routes, including the first circumnavigation of the African continent.⁹² Notably, the Phoenicians introduced to other civilizations and cultures a 22-character set of symbols that the Phoenicians used to record their trade transactions: the predecessor of all modern alphabets.⁹³

Assyrians and Babylonians

But the Phoenicians' skills as traders, artisans, and seafaring navigators did not extend to military prowess. In addition, the fragmented city-states left each port city vulnerable to attack from large invading armies. In 877 B.C.E., one such army—that of Assyrian ruler Ashurnasirpal II—reached the Phoenician coast and placed the Phoenician city-states under a subordinate vassal status.⁹⁴ Over the following 270 years, the Phoenician cities periodically rebelled against Assyrian domination, with little success. The Assyrians destroyed Sidon in 676 B.C.E. for one such rebellion.⁹⁵



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Carving of Assyrian king

The Assyrians, along with their Egyptian allies, were vanquished around 605 B.C.E. by a Babylonian army led by Nebuchadnezzar II.⁹⁶ The Babylonians were overrun in 539–38 B.C.E. by the armies of Cyrus the Great, the leader of the Achaemenid Empire centered in Persia (modern Iran). Under Achaemenid vassalage, the Phoenician fleets supported the Achaemenid navy in its lengthy war with Greece during the first half of the fifth century B.C.E. But by the fourth century B.C.E., Tyre and Sidon were in revolt against the Persians' heavy taxes.^{97, 98}

Greeks and Romans

In 332 B.C.E., the Phoenicians were conquered by a force arriving for the first time from the west rather than the east. The Macedonian king Alexander the Great was not warmly received in Tyre, resulting in an eight-month siege of the city. It ended only after the Alexander's engineers

⁹⁰ Salim Khalaf, "Phoenician Colonies," 2012, <http://phoenicia.org/colonies.html>

⁹¹ Afaf Sabeah McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

⁹² Afaf Sabeah McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

⁹³ Salim Khalaf, "The Phoenician Alphabet," <http://phoenicia.org/alphabet.html>

⁹⁴ Mark Healy, "The Neo-Assyrian Empire," in *The Ancient Assyrians* (Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 1991), 10.

⁹⁵ Salim Khalaf, "History of the Phoenicians: 3000 B.C. to 634 A.D.," 2012, <http://phoenicia.org/history.html>

⁹⁶ Livius.org, "Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar (ABC 5)," 1 April 2006, <http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/abc5/jerusalem.html>

⁹⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: History: Phoenicia: Persian Period," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

⁹⁸ Afaf Sabeah McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

built a land bridge to Tyre's island fortress. After Alexander's death less than a decade later, Phoenicia and the Bekaa Valley (known to the Greeks as Coele Syria) became—for nearly 100 years—the front lines in a series of territorial wars between two successor Hellenistic states: the Seleucid Empire and the Ptolemaic Kingdom.^{99, 100} By the time the wars ended, the armies of the next great western power were moving toward the eastern Mediterranean region. In 64 B.C.E., Roman general Pompey conquered all of modern Lebanon. A new golden era for the region soon followed.¹⁰¹

During Lebanon's Roman Era, Phoenician fell out of use as the vernacular language, replaced by Aramaic. Among the educated, Greek was the scholarly language. Most of Phoenicia became part of the Roman province of Syria, although the important port cities of Sidon and Tyre were allowed to be self-governing.¹⁰² The port cities' thriving trade within the Roman Empire and points east fueled a period of economic prosperity and construction of public works. During this time, the cities of Heliopolis (modern Baalbek) and Bertyus (Beirut) rose in prominence.¹⁰³ Today, the ruins of the elaborate Roman temple complex at Baalbek continue to draw visitors to the Bekaa Valley city.



© Steven Damron
Ruins of Roman baths

After 395 C.E., the Lebanese cities became part of the eastern or Byzantine Roman Empire, ruled from Constantinople. Political and economic decline set in during the sixth and seventh centuries as natural disasters, religious dissension among the Christian sects, and attacks from Persia created greater disorder.¹⁰⁴ When Arab warriors arrived from the south in 636 C.E., bringing with them the new religion of Islam, Byzantine forces could not effectively resist.

Maronites, Druze, and Shi'ites

The Arabs were not the only group to establish a presence in Lebanon during the latter half of the first millennium C.E. According to Maronite history, a disciple of the Christian monk Maron spread Christianity to the inhabitants of the northern parts of Mount Lebanon in the fifth century.¹⁰⁵ Towards the end of the seventh century, Byzantine emperor Justinian II, displeased with the appointment of John Maron as Patriarch of Antioch, set his armies upon the Antioch region. John Maron and his supporters fled to Mount Lebanon, where they defeated the

⁹⁹ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹⁰⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Syrian Wars," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/579047/Syrian-Wars>

¹⁰¹ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹⁰² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: History: Phoenicia: Greek and Roman Periods," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

¹⁰³ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: History: Phoenicia: Greek and Roman Periods," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

¹⁰⁴ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹⁰⁵ International Maronite Foundation, "Who Are the Maronites," 2001, http://www.maronet.org/who_maronites.htm

Byzantine army in a battle at Amioun and established the new seat for Antioch Patriarchate.^{106,}

¹⁰⁷ The Maronites, as the Mount Lebanon Christians came to be known, ultimately absorbed the Arabic language of the Muslim Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties in daily life. But their relative isolation in the mountains and the “light hand” of the Arab rulers toward other “people of the book” helped them to sustain their religious traditions.^{108, 109} Even today, their liturgy is still given in Syriac, a dialect of ancient Aramaic.¹¹⁰



© Gregg Carlstrom
Maronite church

In the late 10th century, the Fatimid Dynasty conquered Egypt and later Lebanon. In Egypt the Fatimids, members of a Shi’ite sect of Islam, built the city of Al-Qahirah (Cairo) to serve as the capital of the caliphate. There, followers of Fatimid caliph Al-Hakim (996–1021) developed a series of religious teachings that found official disfavor shortly after Al-Hakim mysteriously vanished. Followers of this new religion later resurfaced in the Choub Mountains of Lebanon, southeast of modern Beirut. Thus, yet another religious group fleeing persecution found a new home in Lebanon’s mountains. Today, the followers of this closely knit religious faith are known by outsiders as the Druze.^{111, 112}

Mainstream Shi’ites (i.e., non-Druze) probably began settling in Lebanon as early as the late seventh century. They initially settled in the Mount Lebanon region, but resettled during the 14th and 18th centuries in southern Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley as a result of persecution by the then prevailing powers.¹¹³

Crusader States and the Mamluks

From the end of the 11th century through most of the 13th century, the eastern Mediterranean was the stage for a series of Christian Crusades. Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut were conquered and incorporated into the Kingdom of Jerusalem, while Tripoli became the capital of a Crusader county. During this time, the Maronites initiated links with the West, establishing ties with the Roman Catholic Church in 1182 and building strong



© -Rejik / flickr.com
Citadel once Malmuk occupied

¹⁰⁶ MountLebanon.org, “History of the Maronites,” n.d., <http://www.mountlebanon.org/historyofmaronites.html>

¹⁰⁷ Note that there is considerable historical debate about the early Maronite history and some non-Maronite historians disagree with this description of events. For a discussion of some of the historical positions, see “Present States of the Maronites: History of the Maronites,” *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1917, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09683c.htm>

¹⁰⁸ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting,” in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹⁰⁹ Sandra Mackey, “Chapter 1: A Collection of Tribes,” in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 30–31.

¹¹⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Maronite Church,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon/366006?Maronite-church>

¹¹¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Druze,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/172195/Druze>

¹¹² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Hamzah ibn ‘Ali,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/253844/Hamzah-ibn-Ali>

¹¹³ Elizabeth Picard, “Chapter 3: The Choice of Greater Lebanon,” in *Lebanon: A Shattered Country* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996), 35.

connections with the French (the home region of many of the Crusaders) that continue to the present.^{114, 115} Remnants of fortress castles from the Crusader era still dot the Lebanese countryside.

The Crusaders suffered serious defeats by the Ayyubid Dynasty of Egypt, established by the Kurdish military leader Saladin (1137–1193). Stories of Saladin’s gallantry and chivalrous behavior toward his foes spread throughout Europe, gaining him respect even as he continued to successfully take back the Crusader-held lands, including Jerusalem.¹¹⁶ But the Ayyubids did not retain power for long after the death of their great leader.¹¹⁷

A rebellion led by the commander of an Ayyubid military regiment composed of slaves led to the establishment of the Mamluk Dynasty in Egypt. After the Mamluks overthrew their Ayyubid masters, they continued pushing back Mongol forces invading Syria and then defeating what was left of the Crusader States. For the next 225 years or so (1291–1517), the Mamluks controlled the Ayyubid Syrian provinces (including Lebanon).¹¹⁸ Although trade with Europe out of Beirut’s port thrived during the Mamluk reign, the religious sects of Mount Lebanon—Maronites, Druze, and Shi’ites—suffered under the Mamluks.^{119, 120}

Ottoman Lebanon Until 1860

The Ottoman Turks invaded Syria and Lebanon in 1516 and quickly overran the Mamluks after a decisive military victory near the Syrian city of Aleppo. The Ottomans governed Lebanon with a light hand—initially. Tax collection was delegated to local *emirs*. For nearly 250 years, two maternally related families—the Ma’an and the Shihabs—were the predominant local powers within Ottoman Lebanon. Foremost among the Ma’an leaders was Fakhr al-Din II (who ruled 1593–1633), a Druze who deftly extended his power base from the Chouf Mountains region to all of modern Lebanon. He strove to modernize Lebanon’s agricultural practices and to develop the region’s silk production.¹²¹ Among the Shihabs, Bashir II (1788–1840) remained in power the longest and is best remembered today. Both men—the former a Druze, the latter a Christian who “maintained a public fiction that he was Muslim”—enlisted the Maronites as allies. Both were threatening to Ottoman officials and were removed from power, and Fakhr al-Din II was eventually executed.^{122, 123, 124}

¹¹⁴ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting,” in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹¹⁵ As’ad AbuKhalil, “Maronite Sect,” in *Historical Dictionary of Lebanon* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1998), 144.

¹¹⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Saladin,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/518809/Saladin>

¹¹⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Saladin,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/518809/Saladin>

¹¹⁸ Josef W. Meri, ed., “Mamluks,” in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York/London: Routledge, 2006), 470–471.

¹¹⁹ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting,” in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹²⁰ Kamal S. Salibi, “The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk Rule (1099–1516),” *Arabica* 4, no. 3 (1957): 288–303, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4055054?seq=6>

¹²¹ Kamil S. Salibi, “Chapter 6: The Imagined Principality,” in *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988), 127.

¹²² Afaf Sabeh McGowan, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting,” in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

A turning point for Lebanon came in 1831, when the forces of Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Egyptian viceroy Muhammad Ali, occupied the Syria-Lebanon region as part of a campaign of military expansion against Ottoman rule. During the next decade, tensions elevated between Lebanon's Maronite and Druze communities. A contributing factor was Ibrahim Pasha's policy of conscripting Maronite and other Christian villagers to help fight against rebellious Druze populations in Syria.¹²⁵ Ottoman forces (with British assistance) ultimately turned back Pasha's army in 1840. Although Druze and Maronite forces had united against Pasha's forces in 1840 (prior to the Ottoman/British intervention), policies implemented after his defeat led to further sectarian strains between the Druze and the Maronites.¹²⁷



© Courtesy of Wikimedia
Portrait of Ibrahim Pasha

Ottoman Era After 1860

During three months in mid-1860, Lebanon witnessed the worst sectarian violence it had yet seen. What began as a class rebellion in the Maronite region of Kasrawan evolved into a bloody religious war that enveloped much of Mount Lebanon. Thousands of people perished, many of whom were Maronites, and hundreds of villages were razed. The 1860 violence was the culmination of intermittent sectarian fighting that started in 1841.¹²⁸ There were several causes for these sectarian rifts.



© Patrick Donovan
Inside an Ottoman palace

One was the long-standing feudal order of Lebanon's mountain communities was dissolving under reforms initiated first by Ibrahim Pasha and then after 1840 by Ottoman authorities. Because Druze and Maronite nobles saw their traditional privileges and powers decline, the new political order increasingly was viewed through the dual lenses of class and sectarian gains and losses. The Druze, both nobles and peasants, tended to see themselves as the losers in the new political structure.¹²⁹ Further, Lebanon's inter-communal relations were greatly influenced by the European nations, who championed the interests of particular sects. Among the European powers now enmeshed in Lebanese affairs were the French, with close ties to the Maronites; the English,

¹²³ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Fakhr ad-Din II," 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/200611/Fakhr-ad-Din-II>

¹²⁴ Ussama S. Makdisi, "Chapter 3: Knowledge and Ignorance," in *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 36–37.

¹²⁵ Ussama S. Makdisi, "Chapter 4: The Faces of Reform," in *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 54–55.

¹²⁶ Leila M. T. Meo, "Chapter 1: The Introduction of Confessional Politics into Lebanese Society, 1830–1860," in *Lebanon: Improbable Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 14.

¹²⁷ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹²⁸ Leila M. T. Meo, "Chapter 1: The Introduction of Confessional Politics into Lebanese Society, 1830–1860," in *Lebanon: Improbable Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 20.

¹²⁹ Leila M. T. Meo, "Chapter 1: The Introduction of Confessional Politics into Lebanese Society, 1830–1860," in *Lebanon: Improbable Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 16–21, 30.

supportive of the Druze; and the Russians, who offered protection to Orthodox Christian communities.^{130, 131}

After the 1860 massacres, the European powers forced the Ottomans to reorganize the Mount Lebanon region into an autonomous region administered by a non-Lebanese Christian governor appointed by the Ottoman Sultan and approved by the Europeans. The Mount Lebanon *mutasarifyya*, as it was known, excluded virtually all of the Bekaa Valley, present-day southern Lebanon, and the major coastal cities (Sidon, Beirut, and Tripoli).¹³² This largely Christian Ottoman enclave persisted and even prospered for 53 years, until the beginning of World War I brought on one of Lebanon's darkest periods.¹³³

WWI and the French Mandate

Soon after war broke out in 1914, Mount Lebanon lost its autonomy when the Ottomans placed the *mutasarifyya* under direct rule. A blockade on the eastern Mediterranean cut off the Lebanese ports from food supplies, while 2 years of poor harvests and locust swarms struck the country. As many as 150,000 to 300,000 people died from the resulting famine.¹³⁴



© touarance / flickr.com
Bekaa Valley

After the war, the Allied Powers, under the auspices of the League of Nations, granted France a mandate over Greater Syria, encompassing the modern countries of Lebanon and Syria and a small region of Turkey. Although many in Syria and Lebanon viewed the mandate as a different colonialism, the Mandate stated that French control would only last “until [newly independent nations within the Mandate] are capable of self-government.”¹³⁵ The French established several states within the region, including Greater Lebanon. Included within the borders of Greater Lebanon were all of the Mount Lebanon *mutasarifyya* as well as modern Lebanon (e.g., the coastal cities, the Bekaa Valley, and southern Lebanon) that had not been part of the *mutasarifyya*.

¹³⁰ Leila M. T. Meo, “Chapter 1: The Introduction of Confessional Politics into Lebanese Society, 1830–1860,” in *Lebanon: Improbable Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 45.

¹³¹ Jonathan C. Randal, “Chapter 2: Does the Rooster Know?,” in *Going All the Way: Christian Warlords, Israeli Adventurers, and the War in Lebanon* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 41.

¹³² Leila M. T. Meo, “Chapter 2: The Establishment of the *Mutasarrifyya* of Mount Lebanon, 1861: A Firmer Foundation for Confessional Politics,” in *Lebanon: Improbable Nation: A Study in Political Development* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 33–34.

¹³³ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Lebanon: History: Ottoman Period,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon/>

¹³⁴ Elizabeth Thompson, “Chapter 1: World War I: Famine, Memory, and a Shattered Social Order,” in *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 21.

¹³⁵ Elizabeth Picard, “Chapter 3: The Choice of Greater Lebanon,” in *Lebanon: A Shattered Country* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996), 31.

The National Pact

In 1926, Greater Lebanon's Representative Council, an elective body, ratified a national constitution.¹³⁶ Although it has been amended numerous times since its ratification, this document continues to provide the framework for Lebanon's government. Article 95 of the constitution proved important in Lebanese history, because it guaranteed that "temporarily" Lebanon's religious communities "[would] be equitably represented in public employment and in the composition of ministries."¹³⁷



© Steven Damron
Parliament building, Beirut

This article became the basis of Lebanon's confessional system in which the nation's religious sects divided political power on a proportional basis. The 1943 unwritten National Pact outlined how the government's highest-level positions would be allotted: a Maronite would serve as president, a Sunni as prime minister, and a Shi'ite as speaker of the parliament.¹³⁸ Seats were allocated to the parliament on the basis of a 6:5 ratio, Christian deputies to Muslim/Druze deputies.¹³⁹ Another element of the National Pact was an agreement that Lebanese Muslims would not push for unity with other groups in Syria or elsewhere in the Arab world, and that Lebanese Christians would not form close political ties to France or other countries of the West.¹⁴⁰

The National Pact is based on census data from 1932, and no census has since taken place in Lebanon because of the ticklish political consequences of changing religious demographics.¹⁴¹ In 1989, the National Pact was modified in the so-called Taif Agreement to a 50:50 Christian-to-Muslim/Druze split in the distribution of parliamentary seats, and a strengthening of the powers of the Sunni prime minister and the Shi'ite speaker of the parliament.¹⁴²

Independence and Post-Independence

Lebanon achieved its independence in November 1943. In 1940–41, the region had briefly been controlled by the Vichy Regime, the collaborationist French government installed after Germany invaded France in 1940. French Resistance and British troops regained Lebanon and Syria in July 1941. Bowing to internal and international pressure, the French Resistance officials granted

¹³⁶ As'ad AbuKhalil, "Chapter 4: Government and Politics," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹³⁷ John J. Donohue, "Changing the Lebanese Constitution: A Postmodern History," *Cardozo Law Review* 30, no. 6 (30 June 2009): 2510, http://www.cardozolawreview.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=116%3Atable-on-contents-30-6&Itemid=14

¹³⁸ Elizabeth Picard, "Chapter 6: A 'National' Pact," in *Lebanon: A Shattered Country* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996), 70.

¹³⁹ Elizabeth Picard, "Chapter 6: A 'National' Pact," in *Lebanon: A Shattered Country* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996), 70.

¹⁴⁰ Hassan Krayem, "The Lebanese Civil War and the Taif Agreement," Department of Political Studies and Public Administration, American University of Beirut, n.d., <http://ddc.aub.edu.lb/projects/pspa/conflict-resolution.html>

¹⁴¹ As'ad AbuKhalil, "Chapter 4: Government and Politics," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹⁴² Hassan Krayem, "The Lebanese Civil War and the Taif Agreement," Department of Political Studies and Public Administration, American University of Beirut, n.d., <http://ddc.aub.edu.lb/projects/pspa/conflict-resolution.html>

Lebanese independence in November 1941. French authority over the Mandate territory did not cease until 2 years later. Ultimately, the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies forced the issue by revoking all articles referring to the Mandate and its powers in the 1926 constitution. The move stirred French officials to arrest leading Lebanese politicians, triggering a crisis that eventually forced the French to back down. The Lebanese politicians detained were released on 22 November 1943, which is celebrated as the official Independence Day in Lebanon.¹⁴³

Bishara al-Khuri, a Maronite, served as Lebanon's first president. One of the more far-reaching events during his years of power was the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. Lebanon joined four of its Arab League neighbors in this conflict. After briefly crossing the Israeli border, the Lebanese battalions were forced back. An armistice was signed in March 1949, which closed the Lebanon-Israel border. Lebanon was left with roughly 140,000 Palestinian refugees after the 1948 war, a group that remains there today.¹⁴⁴



© Courtesy of Wikimedia
President Bishara al-Khuri

Al-Khuri resigned in 1952 because of corruption charges and a crippling general strike called by the opposition Social National Front. His successor as president, Camille Shamun, served until 1958, a period of rapid escalation of the pan-Arabism movement championed by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Lebanon, with a mixed Christian-Muslim population, was deeply split along religious lines by this call for Arab unification.¹⁴⁵ Heightened tensions, fueled in part by the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq, ultimately led to conflict in 1958. U.S. troops were sent to Lebanon but did not take an active military role.¹⁴⁶ The crisis subsided after General Fuad Shihab, commander of the Lebanese Army, was chosen by the Lebanese parliament to succeed Shamun.

Calm and Upset: Shihabism, Palestinians

Under Shihab, the Lebanese government undertook a program of improving the nation's infrastructure and instituting social reforms such as social security.¹⁴⁷ Shihab was more sensitive than his predecessors about addressing Muslim concerns over economic and political imbalances and thus achieving more stable relations.¹⁴⁸ Overall, Shihab's 6-year term was one of the calmest in Lebanon's history since independence.

¹⁴³ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth Picard, "Chapter 7: The Palestinian Factor," in *Lebanon: A Shattered Country* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996), 78–79.

¹⁴⁵ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹⁴⁶ Afaf Sabeh McGowan, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

¹⁴⁷ Elizabeth Picard, "Chapter 8: A Society in Crisis," in *Lebanon: A Shattered Country* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996), 90–91.

¹⁴⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: Lebanon After Independence: Chehabism: From Chehab to Hérou, 1958–76," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

Shihab's elected successor Charles Hérou carried on many of Shihab's reforms, although not as effectively as his predecessor.¹⁴⁹ Hérou faced several crises in his term from 1964 to 1970. Among these were the 1966 collapse of the Middle East's largest bank, owned by Yusif Bedas, a Palestinian Christian who had fled to Beirut in 1948; the 1967 Six-Day War, which Lebanon did not participate in but still found itself bordering the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights of Syria; and a 1968 attack on Middle East Airlines planes at Beirut International Airport by Israeli commandoes in retaliation for a terrorist attack on an El Al plane.^{150, 151}



© Courtesy of Wikimedia
General Fuad Shihab

In November 1969, Lebanon's army chief, General Emile Bustani, signed the secret Cairo Accord, an agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) outlining the conditions under which the PLO could use Lebanon territory as their base of operations.¹⁵² Although the agreement was meant to limit Palestinian military and political activity in Lebanon, it unwittingly increased both. By 1971, after most Palestinian guerrillas had been driven from Jordan, Lebanon had increasingly become the base of operations for these groups. Thus, the PLO became an independent non-governmental military and political entity in Lebanon.¹⁵³

The Palestinian presence in Lebanon, supported by Lebanese Sunni Muslims and leftist groups, created one more wedge in Lebanon's already shattered political landscape. The nation's new president, Suleiman Fangieh, ordered the Lebanese army to crack down on Palestinian guerrillas. But Muslim army units refused to comply with the edict.¹⁵⁴ Fangieh, an old-school Maronite clan leader, demonstrated neither ability nor interest in bridging the growing sectarian divide.¹⁵⁵ With the army splitting into partisan factions and thus paralyzed, different militias aligned with political and religious groups began to ramp up their activities. Among the largest of these militias was the Phalange, an officially secular but largely Maronite group eventually headed by Bachir Gemayel.

¹⁴⁹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: Lebanon After Independence: Chehabism: From Chehab to Hérou, 1958–76," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

¹⁵⁰ George de Carvalho, "Fall of the 'Genius from Jerusalem,'" *Life*, 27 January 1967.

¹⁵¹ Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, "Part III. Cases. Middle East: Protracted Conflicts," in *A Study of Crises* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 283–284.

¹⁵² Elizabeth Picard, "Chapter 7: The Palestinian Factor," in *Lebanon: A Shattered Country* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996), 86–87.

¹⁵³ Spencer C. Tucker, ed., "Cairo Agreement," in *The Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Political, Social, and Military History*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 249–251.

¹⁵⁴ Sandra Mackey, "Chapter 4: Woe Be to the State," in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 103–106.

¹⁵⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: Lebanon After Independence: Civil War," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

Beginning of the Civil War

Today, the period between 1975 and 1990 is usually referred to as the “Lebanese Civil War,” although the extensive role played by non-Lebanese parties (e.g., Palestinians, Syrians, Israelis) made this conflict much more than simply a war between rival Lebanese factions. The beginning of Lebanon’s decade and a half of virtually unrelenting violence traces back to April 1975, after an assassination attempt on Pierre Gemayel, Bachir’s father. The Phalangists retaliated by massacring a busload of Palestinians.¹⁵⁶ Shortly thereafter, the streets of Beirut became a deadly war zone, with Muslim, Druze, Palestinian, and leftist forces on one side fighting against Christian Maronite militias on the other. The former groups were loosely associated and dubbed the Lebanese National Movement, while the latter (dominated by the Phalangists) called themselves the Lebanese Forces. The *zu’ama*, Lebanon’s long-time family bosses of the religious sects (who had always found common ground in order to preserve the traditional power structure) could not halt the fighting, nor could the government and army act.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, Lebanese citizens on both sides were forced to align with communal militias for protection.¹⁵⁸ Beirut in particular became deeply divided, with its neighborhoods run by local militia leaders.¹⁵⁹



© Courtesy of Wikimedia
Pierre Gemayel

The chaotic events playing out in Lebanon in 1975 created a political void that soon drew in the country’s two neighbors. In early 1976, Syrian forces entered Lebanon and struck against the National Movement, which was threatening to overrun the Lebanese Forces. Israel, in turn, supplied arms and financial assistance to Lebanese Christian groups and briefly occupied southern Lebanon in March 1978, in reprisal for an earlier cross-border Palestinian attack.¹⁶⁰

Israel, the PLO, and Hizballah

In 1982, nearly the mid-point of the Lebanese Civil War, Lebanon became the battleground of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In March, a large Israeli assault force invaded southern Lebanon, targeting PLO forces. The PLO quickly retreated to Beirut, where the Israeli military staged a 10-week siege of the western part of the city, pounding the city with bombs and mortar attacks.¹⁶¹ The PLO eventually agreed to leave Lebanon via boat, and later relocated their

¹⁵⁶ Sandra Mackey, “Chapter 4: Woe Be to the State,” in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 104.

¹⁵⁷ Sandra Mackey, “Chapter 4: Woe Be to the State,” in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 102.

¹⁵⁸ Sandra Mackey, “Chapter 4: Woe Be to the State,” in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 105–106.

¹⁵⁹ Sandra Mackey, “Chapter 4: Woe Be to the State,” in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 111.

¹⁶⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Lebanon: Lebanon After Independence: Civil War,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

¹⁶¹ Sandra Mackey, “Chapter 4: Woe Be to the State,” in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 116.

headquarters to Tunis, the capital of Tunisia.¹⁶² Only days after the PLO began to leave Beirut, the Phalangist leader Bachir Gemayel was elected Lebanese President. But 3 weeks later he was assassinated in a bomb explosion. Just days after his death, anywhere from 700 to 3,500 Palestinians in 2 Beirut refugee camps were massacred by a unit of the Phalangist militia, in a misdirected retaliation for Gemayel's death.^{163, 164}

U.S. military forces (mostly Marines) and troops from several other Western nations entered Lebanon in August 1982 as part of a Multinational Force (MNF) overseeing the PLO's departure from Lebanon. Violent events that September in Beirut caused the MNF to be redeployed, with the land-based forces headquartered at Beirut International Airport. In April 1983, the U.S. Embassy in West Beirut was car-bombed by terrorists, leaving 63 dead. Just over 5 months later, the U.S. Marine barracks at Beirut International Airport was targeted in a car bombing, killing 241 Marines and wounding more than 100.¹⁶⁵



© Luciana.Luciana / flickr.com
Poster of Bachir Gemayel

The Islamic Jihad Organization claimed responsibility for both 1983 terrorist attacks on U.S. facilities. But U.S. intelligence officials suspected that Hizballah ("Party of God"), a Lebanese Shi'ite militia supported by Iran, was involved in these attacks and that "Islamic Jihad" was simply a cover.¹⁶⁶ Hizballah, viewed as a resistance organization by much of the Arab world but as a terrorist group by the U.S. and other Western countries, had emerged in 1982 in the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Over the ensuing three decades, it has become the most powerful Shi'ite political party and non-governmental militia in Lebanon.

The Taif Agreement and the Second Republic

As the Beirut Civil War dragged on, the two major alliances began to fragment. Christian militias of the Lebanese Front and Muslim militias of the Lebanese National Movement were as likely to be at odds with their co-religionists as with each other.¹⁶⁷ For example, in Beirut and the

¹⁶² BBC News, "1982: PLO Leader Forced From Beirut," 30 August 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/30/newsid_2536000/2536441.stm

¹⁶³ Ann Malaspina, "Chapter 7: Invasion," in *Creation of the Modern Middle East: Lebanon* (New York: Chelsea House, 2009), 85.

¹⁶⁴ Gemayel's assassin, Habib Shartouni, was a member of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party. No evidence has emerged that Palestinian militants were involved in Gemayel's assassination. Israel's Kahan Commission later found Israel Defense Minister Ariel Sharon "responsible for ignoring the possibility of a massacre, both by approving the Phalangists' entrance into the camps and by not lining up resources to prevent the possibility of a massacre." See Ynetnews, "Sabra and Shatila Massacre," 8 January 2006, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3284679,00.html>; and Patrick Seale, "Battle With Menachem Begin," in *Assad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 391–392.

¹⁶⁵ Frontline, Public Broadcasting System, "Terrorist Attacks on Americans, 1979–1988," n.d., <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/etc/cron.html>

¹⁶⁶ Frontline/World, Public Broadcasting System, "1983–1991: Target America," n.d., <http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/lebanon/tl03.html>

¹⁶⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: Lebanon After Independence: Civil War," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

south, the Shi'ite Amal militia fought against Palestinians, the Druze Progressive Socialist Party militia, and ultimately Hizballah at various stages in the latter half of the 1980s and early 1990s.^{168, 169}

In October 1989, surviving members of Lebanon's 1972 parliament, the last such legislative body to be elected before the fighting began, met in the Saudi Arabian city of Taif. Over 22 days of discussion, the Lebanese deputies adopted an agreement broadly outlining a new formula for power sharing in Lebanon. The Taif Agreement set the abolishment of Lebanese political sectarianism as a future national goal, but no timetable or outline for achieving this goal was given.¹⁷⁰ But the Taif Agreement provided an important framework to revive the national government and its institutions, and created stability.

Unfortunately, the Agreement did not result in a less violent Lebanon. At the time of the Taif Agreement, the Lebanese Government was headed by General Michel Aoun, who strongly opposed Syria's role in Lebanon and was named interim prime minister in 1988 in a contested move.

(Traditionally, the prime minister position is reserved for a Sunni Muslim, not a Maronite like Aoun.) In early 1989, Aoun led the Lebanese armed forces in a military offensive against the Lebanese Forces, and subsequently the Syrian forces located in Lebanon. This led to some of the most intense fighting during the entire civil war. After the Taif Agreement was signed, Aoun refused to accept it because it allowed Syria to stay in Lebanon. Instead, he resisted his dismissal and once again battled the Lebanese Forces until a cease-fire was called in July 1990.¹⁷¹ Three months later, Lebanese Government forces, with Syrian assistance, forced Aoun to surrender.¹⁷² He went into exile in France a few months later.¹⁷³ With his departure, Lebanon's long civil war, a period of massive destruction and extensive loss of life, finally came to a close.^{174, 175}



© A.K.Khalifeh / Wikimedia.org
Rafik Hariri memorial park

¹⁶⁸ Sandra Mackey, "Chapter 4: Woe Be to the State," in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 118–119.

¹⁶⁹ Associated Press, "Druze Militia Gains Control of Most of W. Beirut," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 February 1987, http://articles.latimes.com/1987-02-20/news/mn-3082_1_west-beirut

¹⁷⁰ Hassan Krayem, Department of Political Studies and Public Administration, American University of Beirut, "The Lebanese Civil War and the Taif Agreement," n.d., <http://ddc.aub.edu.lb/projects/pspa/conflict-resolution.html>

¹⁷¹ Associated Press, "Rival Christian Forces Agree to End Skirmishing in Beirut," *New York Times*, 10 July 1990, <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/07/11/world/rival-christian-forces-agree-to-end-skirmishing-in-beirut.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁷² *New York Times*, "Mideast Tensions: Renegade Lebanese General Ends Revolt and Surrenders," 14 October 1990, <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/10/14/world/mideast-tensions-renegade-lebanese-general-ends-revolt-and-surrenders.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁷³ jrank.org, "Aoun, Michel (1935–)," 2012, <http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/articles/pages/5530/Aoun-Michel-1935.html>

¹⁷⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: Lebanon After Independence: Civil War," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

¹⁷⁵ Sandra Mackey, "Chapter 5: Identity in Pursuit of a Nation," in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 133–142.

With the renewal of governmental institutions under the Taif Agreement in 1990, Lebanon entered a post-civil-war period sometimes referred to as the Second Republic.¹⁷⁶

Rebuilding the country's economy and infrastructure was a priority and remains so to the present day. Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, a Sunni businessman who had amassed a fortune in Saudi Arabian construction, oversaw much of the initial reconstruction during his two terms as Prime Minister (1992–1998, 2000–2004). During this period, Elias Hrawi (1989–1998) and Émile Lahoud (1998–2007) served as the Lebanese President.

The Cedar Revolution

Both Syria and Israel continued to have a military presence in Lebanon throughout the 1990s. Israel occupied a narrow security zone in Lebanon until withdrawing in May 2000.¹⁷⁷ Syria's close relationship with the Lebanese government under Hrawi and later Lahoud was a particularly divisive issue, because many Lebanese were concerned about increasing Syrian political and military domination of their nation (which was once part of Greater Syria).¹⁷⁸ In September 2004, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution requesting Syria to pull its troops out of Lebanon, but Damascus ignored the measure.¹⁷⁹

The Syrian situation reached the point of crisis in February 2005 after former Prime Minister Hariri was killed in a car-bomb blast. Many Lebanese immediately suspected Syria of directing the assassination. Hariri opposed Syria's efforts to have Lebanese President Lahoud's term extended beyond its constitutional limit. According to a later UN Security Council report, Hariri had told some legislators 6 months before his assassination that Syrian authorities had threatened his life.¹⁸⁰



© Patrick Makhoul
Cedar Revolution demonstration

This claim was denied by the Syrian government. Shortly after Hariri's death, large anti-Syrian street protests became common in Beirut.¹⁸¹ Branded the "Cedar Revolution," these demonstrations led to the resignation of the government of pro-Syrian Prime Minister Omar Karami on February 28. A massive, Hizballah-dominated pro-Syria rally on March 8 seemed to briefly slow the anti-Syrian momentum, but an even larger anti-Syrian rally in Beirut on March 14 countered it.^{182, 183} Because foreign governments and international bodies continued to

¹⁷⁶ Fanack.com, "Lebanon: Second Republic (Since 1990)," 2012,

<http://www.fanack.com/countries/lebanon/history/second-republic-since-1990.html>

¹⁷⁷ Suzanne Goldenberg, "Israel Leaves Its Security Zone to the Guerrillas," *Independent*, 22 May 2000,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2000/may/23/israelandthepalestinians.lebanon2>

¹⁷⁸ Ihsan A. Hijazi, "Syria-Lebanon Cooperation Pact Signed," *New York Times*, 23 May 1991,

<http://www.nytimes.com/1991/05/23/world/syria-lebanon-cooperation-pact-signed.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁷⁹ Warren Hoge, "Syria is Defying U.N., Annan Says," *New York Times*, 2 October 2004,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/02/international/middleeast/02syria.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁸⁰ Warren Hoge, "U.N. Reports on Syrian Role in Lebanon," *New York Times*, 20 April 2006,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/20/world/20nations.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁸¹ Jad Mouawad, "Protests in Beirut Grow as Assad Gives No Date for Pullout," *New York Times*, 8 March 2005,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/03/08/international/middleeast/08lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁸² Hassan M. Fattah, "Pro-Syria Party in Beirut Holds a Huge Protest," *New York Times*, 9 March 2005,

http://www.nytimes.com/2005/03/09/international/09lebanon.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1&ref=lebanon

¹⁸³ Neil MacFarquhar, "Huge Demonstration in Lebanon Demands End to Syrian Control," *New York Times*, 15 March 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/03/15/international/middleeast/15lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

support the March 14 protesters, Syria was forced to pull all its troops out of Lebanon. They left in April 2005, nearly three decades after Syrian forces first entered the country at the beginning of the civil war.¹⁸⁴

Hizballah and Israel, Ongoing Crises

Southern Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley continued to be a haven for militant Palestinian militias and armed Hizballah guerrillas, despite a U.N. resolution calling for the disarming of all militias.¹⁸⁵ Periodic cross-border battles between Israeli forces and the Palestinian and Hizballah guerrillas escalated into full-scale warfare in July 2006 after a Hizballah raid into Israel captured two Israeli soldiers.¹⁸⁶ For more than a month, a barrage of rockets and bombs fell in Lebanese and northern Israeli communities before a cease-fire ended the hostilities.^{187, 188}

After Syria's departure from Lebanon, the Lebanese political landscape divided into two groupings of political parties, one anti-Syrian and the other pro-Syrian. Over time, the former came to be known as the March 14 Alliance and the latter as the March 8 Alliance (both named after the dates of key rallies during the Cedar Revolution). Parliamentary elections in 2005 swept the March 14 partisans into power. Hizballah, a key member of the March 8 group, leveraged their enhanced political position after the war with Israel and threatened to topple the government of Fouad Siniora (elected Prime Minister by the March 14 Alliance) unless given a greater role in the government.^{189, 190}



© Courtesy of Wikimedia
Prime Minister Fouad Siniora

Lebanon's stand-off continued for 18 months, a period marked by numerous assassinations of March 14 political figures and an increasing number of violent street battles.^{191, 192} A small break in the crisis came in May 2008, after a mediated agreement emerged from talks in Qatar. As part of the agreement, compromise candidate General Michael Suleiman became Lebanon's

¹⁸⁴ Hassan M. Fattah, "Last Syria Force Leaves Lebanon, But Political Puzzles Remain," *New York Times*, 26 April 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/04/27/international/middleeast/27lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁸⁵ Greg Myre and Hassan M. Fattah, "Israel and Militants Trade Fire Across Lebanese Border," *New York Times*, 29 May 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/29/world/middleeast/29mideast.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁸⁶ Greg Myre and Steven Erlanger, "Israelis Enter Lebanon after Attacks," *New York Times*, 13 July 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/13/world/middleeast/13mideast.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁸⁷ Steven Erlanger, "Cease-Fire Begins After a Day of Fierce Attacks," *New York Times*, 14 August 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/14/world/middleeast/14mideast.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁸⁸ John Kifner and Sabrina Tavernise, "Israel Pounds Targets across Lebanon as Hizballah Fires Barrage of Rockets," *New York Times*, 6 August 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/06/world/middleeast/06mideast.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁸⁹ Michael Slackman, "Hezbollah Uses Influence to Jockey for Power in Beirut," *New York Times*, 6 November 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/06/world/middleeast/06lebanon.html?pagewanted=1&ref=lebanon>

¹⁹⁰ Michael Slackman, "Hezbollah Calls for Rally to Grip Beirut," *New York Times*, 1 December 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/01/world/middleeast/01lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁹¹ Nada Bakri, "Beirut Violence Kills 7 and Wounds Dozens," *New York Times*, 28 January 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/28/world/middleeast/28lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁹² Ann Malaspina, "Chapter 8: Cedar Revolution," in *Creation of the Modern Middle East: Lebanon* (New York: Chelsea House, 2009), 85.

new president.¹⁹³ The following year, the March 14 Alliance maintained their parliamentary majority and eventually formed a government under Prime Minister Saad Hariri, Rafik Hariri's son, after another few months of political gridlock.¹⁹⁴ But Hariri's government was brought down by Hizballah and its political allies in January 2011 in another political crisis—in this case, potential indictments against Hizballah members from a UN investigation of Rafik Hariri's assassination.¹⁹⁵ A new March 8-led government under Prime Minister Najib Mikati finally emerged in June 2011 after months of sectarian bickering over its makeup.¹⁹⁶ Beginning in 2011 and continuing in 2012, the violent unrest in Syria against the government of President Bashar al-Assad has produced numerous ripples in Lebanon for the Mikati government, including refugee issues and a decision on whether to respect Arab League economic sanctions against the Syrian government.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Robert F. Worth, "Lebanon Elects President to Ease Divide," *New York Times*, 26 May 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/26/world/middleeast/26lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁹⁴ Robert F. Worth, "Impasse Over, Lebanon Forms Cabinet," *New York Times*, 9 November 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/10/world/middleeast/10lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁹⁵ Nada Bakri, "Resignations Deepen Crisis for Lebanon," *New York Times*, 12 January 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/13/world/middleeast/13lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁹⁶ Nada Bakri, "In Lebanon, New Cabinet Is Influenced by Hezbollah," *New York Times*, 13 June 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/14/world/middleeast/14lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

¹⁹⁷ Rebecca A. Hopkins, "Lebanon and the Uprising in Syria: Issue for Congress," Congressional Research Service, 2 February 2012, 5–7, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R42339.pdf>

Chapter 2 Assessment

1. The coasts of ancient Lebanon were inhabited by seafaring traders known as the Pythagoreans.
FALSE
Ancient Lebanon consisted of a number of coastal city-states known collectively as Phoenicia.
2. The Maronites are a Christian sect that established the seat of their religion in the northern Mount Lebanon region during the late seventh century.
TRUE
Towards the end of the seventh century, Byzantine emperor Justinian II, displeased with the appointment of John Maron as Patriarch of Antioch, set his armies upon the Antioch region. John Maron and his supporters fled to Mount Lebanon, where they defeated the Byzantine army in a battle at Amioun and established the new seat for Antioch Patriarchate.
3. Lebanon's National Pact established the borders of the modern nation.
FALSE
The 1943 unwritten National Pact outlined how the government's highest-level positions would be allotted: a Maronite would serve as president, a Sunni as prime minister, and a Shi'ite as speaker of the parliament.
4. The Lebanese Civil War, played out between dueling militias, lasted from 1975 until 1990.
TRUE
Lebanon's decade and a half of civil war began in April 1975. In 1989, surviving members of Lebanon's 1972 parliament adopted an agreement broadly outlining a new formula for power-sharing in Lebanon. Lebanon's long civil war finally ended in 1990.
5. As of June 2011, Lebanon's government has been led by members of the pro-Syria March 8 Alliance.
TRUE
After months of sectarian bickering over its composition, a new March 8-led government under Prime Minister Najib Mikati finally emerged in June 2011.

CHAPTER 3: ECONOMY

Introduction

The 1975–1990 Lebanese Civil War significantly damaged Lebanon’s economy and nearly obliterated its infrastructure. Since then, the nation has slowly but steadily rebuilt its economy, though its progress has been reversed at times by periodic political crises, assassinations, and conflicts with Israel. Since 2007, Lebanon’s economy had shown steady growth, even during 2008 and 2009 when much of the world was affected by the global financial crisis.¹⁹⁸ But during 2011, Lebanon’s growth plummeted because of regional unrest and a domestic political crisis that led to a change in government.¹⁹⁹



© Andrew McDaniel
A shopkeeper in Lebanon

Agriculture

Lebanon’s agricultural sector contributes only 4.5% to Lebanon’s gross domestic product (GDP) but employs between 20% and 30% of the nation’s workforce.^{200, 201} It is also a sector in decline, with annual production having decreased 12% between 1970 and 2008.²⁰² Nearly three-quarters of Lebanon’s crop acreage is split among three food categories: non-olive fruit trees (27.8%), grains (23.9%), and olives (21.6%).²⁰³ The Bekaa Valley is the nation’s primary agricultural area and has from 50% to 60% of the acreage devoted to grains (wheat and to a lesser extent, barley), legumes, and vegetables.²⁰⁴ Roughly two-thirds of the Bekaa Valley acreage is irrigated, the highest such percentage in Lebanon.²⁰⁵ North Lebanon is the second-most cultivated region in Lebanon and has the largest amount of land devoted to olive tree orchards.²⁰⁶

A large portion of the agricultural workforce is made up of Syrians. Syrians have worked in Lebanon for decades and by the mid 1990s there were as many as 1.5 million Syrian workers in

¹⁹⁸ IndexMundi, “Lebanon: GDP—Real Growth Rate (%)” 1 January 2011,

<http://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?c=le&v=66>

¹⁹⁹ *Daily Star* (Lebanon), “Lebanon’s Economic Growth Slows to 1.5% in 2011,” 20 January 2012,

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Lebanon/2012/Jan-20/160548-lebanon-2011-econ-growth-slows-to-15-pct--cbanker.ashx#axzz1sz11bSzu>

²⁰⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, “Lebanon: Economy,” in *The World Factbook*, 11 April 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/le.html>

²⁰¹ The Business Year, “Review: Perchance to Grow,” 2012,

<http://www.thebusinessyear.com/publication/article/2/73/lebanon-2012/perchance-to-grow>

²⁰² Fady R. Asmar, Food and Agriculture Organization, “Country Pasture/Forage Resource Profiles: Lebanon,”

July/August 2011, <http://www.fao.org/ag/AGP/AGPC/doc/Counprof/lebanon/lebanon.html>

²⁰³ Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Lebanon, “Agricultural Statistics: Lebanon 2005,” 2007, 10,

http://www.agriculture.gov.lb/english_file/Production_Final_05_En.pdf

²⁰⁴ Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Lebanon, “Agricultural Statistics: Lebanon 2005,” 2007, 10,

http://www.agriculture.gov.lb/english_file/Production_Final_05_En.pdf

²⁰⁵ Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Lebanon, “Agricultural Statistics: Lebanon 2005,” 2007, 11,

http://www.agriculture.gov.lb/english_file/Production_Final_05_En.pdf

²⁰⁶ Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Lebanon, “Agricultural Statistics: Lebanon 2005,” 2007, 10,

http://www.agriculture.gov.lb/english_file/Production_Final_05_En.pdf

the country. Today the number of Syrian workers is as high as half a million. Many accept wages as a lower rate than native Lebanese.²⁰⁷

Lebanon imports much more of its unprocessed food supply than it exports. Fruits (apples, oranges, grapes, bananas, limes, and cherries in decreasing order of export value) and vegetables (potatoes, lettuce) are the primary food export crops.²⁰⁸ But overall, tobacco leaves provide more export revenue for Lebanon than any other unprocessed agricultural product.²⁰⁹ A little over 3% of Lebanon's agricultural land is dedicated to tobacco production, making it one of only five countries in the world in which more than 1% of agricultural land is devoted to this crop.²¹⁰ The majority of tobacco farming in Lebanon takes place in the southern part of the country.²¹¹

The Bekaa Valley, followed by North Lebanon, are Lebanon's primary livestock regions.²¹² More than one-third of Lebanon's dairy consumption is met by domestic production, with the remainder supplied by imports.²¹³ Cows, sheep, and goats are all used for dairy production, but the bulk of the milk comes from cows.²¹⁴ The Lebanese consume a large amount of red meat, of which roughly 85% is beef and is mostly imported.²¹⁵



© Charles Roffey
Potato farming

Lebanon's marine fishing industry comprises 3,000 mostly small boats whose annual catch provides less than 40% of the nation's fish consumption.²¹⁶ Freshwater aquaculture (primarily rainbow trout) is an important part of the local economy in a few areas of the Bekaa Valley (e.g., Anjar, Hermel).²¹⁷

²⁰⁷ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Lebanon and Syria: Situation of Syrians in Lebanon; violence against Syrians; political affiliation of Syrians; naturalization of Syrians in 1994 (1994-2009)," Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 17 November 2009,

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,IRBC,,SYR,,4b7cee9023,0.html>

²⁰⁸ Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Lebanon, "Agricultural Statistics: Lebanon 2005," 2007, 57–63,

http://www.agriculture.gov.lb/english_file/Production_Final_05_En.pdf

²⁰⁹ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, FAOSTAT, "Top Exports—Lebanon—2009," 2012,

<http://faostat.fao.org/desktopdefault.aspx?pageid=342&lang=en&country=121>

²¹⁰ Jad Chaaban, Nadia Naamani, and Nisreen Salti, "The Economics of Tobacco in Lebanon: An Estimation of the Social Costs of Tobacco Consumption," April 2010, 8,

http://www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/public_policy/rapp/rapp_research/Documents/economics_of_tobacco_lebanon/Final_Report/The_Economics_of_Tobacco_in_Lebanon.pdf

²¹¹ Jad Chaaban, Nadia Naamani, and Nisreen Salti, "The Economics of Tobacco in Lebanon: An Estimation of the Social Costs of Tobacco Consumption," April 2010, 8,

http://www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/public_policy/rapp/rapp_research/Documents/economics_of_tobacco_lebanon/Final_Report/The_Economics_of_Tobacco_in_Lebanon.pdf

²¹² Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Lebanon, "Agricultural Statistics: Lebanon 2005," 2007, 26–27,

http://www.agriculture.gov.lb/english_file/Production_Final_05_En.pdf

²¹³ Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Lebanon, "Agricultural Statistics: Lebanon 2005," 2007, 27,

http://www.agriculture.gov.lb/english_file/Production_Final_05_En.pdf

²¹⁴ The Business Year, "Review: Perchance to Grow," 2012,

<http://www.thebusinessyear.com/publication/article/2/73/lebanon-2012/perchance-to-grow>

²¹⁵ Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Lebanon, "Agricultural Statistics: Lebanon 2005," 2007, 36–37,

http://www.agriculture.gov.lb/english_file/Production_Final_05_En.pdf

²¹⁶ Mouhamad Wehbe, "Aiding Fishermen in Lebanon: Finding the Right Hook," *Alakhbar*, 15 February 2012,

<http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/4236/>

Industry and Manufacturing

Much of Lebanon's industrial sector suffered during the Lebanese Civil War and the July 2006 Israel-Hizballah war, particularly the manufacturing facilities in and around Beirut.^{218, 219} In addition, a lack of competitiveness in the international marketplace has hurt Lebanese industries. For example, Lebanon's textile/clothing industry has declined precipitously from its pre-Civil War height, when roughly 50,000 people worked in its factories, to where it is barely hanging on today.^{220, 221}

Currently, the manufacturing and industry sector is estimated to represent between 11–16% of Lebanon's GDP.^{222, 223} The biggest component is food and beverage processing, which accounts for about one-quarter of both the industrial sector's workforce and its total output.²²⁴ Bakeries make up the largest share of the workforce in the food and beverage processing component.²²⁵ Non-metallic mineral products—primarily construction materials such as cement, concrete items, and cut stone—are the next largest industrial component in terms of output, followed by fabricated metal products (the majority of which were structural metal items for the construction industry). These latter two categories, along with wood products, are usually combined as the building materials industry, and together they account for nearly 24% of Lebanon's industrial output.²²⁶ Furniture construction is one of Lebanon's largest industrial/manufacturing components in terms of employment, but its overall contribution to total industrial output (6.7%) is relatively limited.²²⁷



© Julien Harnais
Bakery in Lebanon

Roughly half of Lebanon's industrial and manufacturing facilities, representing more nearly two-thirds of the nation's industrial output and over 60% of the industrial workforce, are located in

²¹⁷ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, "National Aquaculture Sector Overview," 2012, http://www.fao.org/fishery/countrysector/naso_lebanon/en

²¹⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Lebanon: Economy: Manufacturing," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon>

²¹⁹ Paul Cochrane, "Industry Slips a Gear," *Executive Magazine*, no. 125, December 2009, <http://www.executive-magazine.com/getarticle.php?article=12583>

²²⁰ Natasha Tohme, "Textile Industry Focuses on Niche Markets to Get By," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 10 April 2004, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Lebanon/Apr/10/Textile-industry-focuses-on-niche-markets-to-get-by.ashx#axzz1sRJV2yd1>

²²¹ Paul Cochrane, "Industry Slips a Gear," *Executive Magazine*, no. 125, December 2009, <http://www.executive-magazine.com/getarticle.php?article=12583>

²²² The Business Year, "Review: Small Can Be Beautiful," 2012, <http://www.thebusinessyear.com/publication/article/2/43/lebanon-2012/small-can-be-beautiful>

²²³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Lebanon: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 11 April 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/le.html>

²²⁴ Ministry of Industry, Republic of Lebanon, "The Lebanese Industrial Sector: Facts and Findings—2007," 2010, 17, <http://www.industry.gov.lb/Documents/Publications%20and%20studies/Study%202007.pdf>

²²⁵ Ministry of Industry, Republic of Lebanon, "The Lebanese Industrial Sector: Facts and Findings—2007," 2010, 83, <http://www.industry.gov.lb/Documents/Publications%20and%20studies/Study%202007.pdf>

²²⁶ Ministry of Industry, Republic of Lebanon, "The Lebanese Industrial Sector: Facts and Findings—2007," 2010, 58, <http://www.industry.gov.lb/Documents/Publications%20and%20studies/Study%202007.pdf>

²²⁷ Ministry of Industry, Republic of Lebanon, "The Lebanese Industrial Sector: Facts and Findings—2007," 2010, 87, <http://www.industry.gov.lb/Documents/Publications%20and%20studies/Study%202007.pdf>

Mount Lebanon Governorate.²²⁸ Much of this industrial activity takes place in the districts of Mount Lebanon adjacent to Beirut, which provides unmatched access to banking, transportation, and technical services.²²⁹ Men make up more than 83% of Lebanon’s industrial workforce; only the clothing sector employs more women than men.²³⁰

Energy & Natural Resources

Lebanon lies in a region full of oil- and natural gas-rich neighbors, but it has no fossil fuel of its own. The nation does generate a small percentage of its energy needs through hydroelectric plants and the burning of biomass, but 97% of its energy and electrical consumption comes from imported oil products and a small amount of coal used to operate two cement factories. All of Lebanon’s oil is refined elsewhere, because the nation’s two refineries have been out of operation since the 2006 Israel-Hizballah war.²³¹ Lebanon has struggled in recent times to meet its electrical needs, forcing the government to make deals to buy excess electricity from other countries such as Egypt and Iran.^{232, 233}



© Patrick Makhoul
Power plant in Beirut

Lebanon’s small mineral industry consists primarily of nonmetallic industrial rocks (limestone, granite and marble, gypsum) mined for use in producing construction materials, such as cement. Lebanon’s center of cement production is Chekka, a coastal city in North Lebanon. (A smaller plant produces cement in Siblīn, between Beirut and Sidon.) Just north of Chekka lies the small town of Enfeh, where salt pans are harvested to produce sea salt. South of Chekka is Selaata, another mineral industry enclave where a large chemical plant produces phosphate fertilizers and phosphoric acid from phosphate rock shipped from Syria, as well as aluminum sulfate and sulfuric acid.²³⁴

Trade

Because of its lack of natural resources and limited industrial capacity, Lebanon has long suffered a negative trade balance for goods. In 2011, this trade deficit, estimated to be about

²²⁸ Ministry of Industry, Republic of Lebanon, “The Lebanese Industrial Sector: Facts and Findings—2007,” 2010, 94, <http://www.industry.gov.lb/Documents/Publications%20and%20studies/Study%202007.pdf>

²²⁹ Ministry of Industry, Republic of Lebanon, “The Lebanese Industrial Sector: Facts and Findings—2007,” 2010, 31, <http://www.industry.gov.lb/Documents/Publications%20and%20studies/Study%202007.pdf>

²³⁰ Ministry of Industry, Republic of Lebanon, “The Lebanese Industrial Sector: Facts and Findings—2007,” 2010, 95, <http://www.industry.gov.lb/Documents/Publications%20and%20studies/Study%202007.pdf>

²³¹ Fadi Comair, “Renewable Energy Profile for Lebanon,” in *Renewable Energy in the Middle East: Enhancing Security Through Regional Cooperation*, eds. Michael Mason and Amit Mord (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer-Verlag, 2009), 55–57.

²³² Garrett Khoury, “Lebanon’s Energy Crisis Taking a Toll,” *Ya Libnan* (Lebanon), 26 February 2009, http://yalibnan.com/site/archives/2009/02/lebanons_energy.php

²³³ Byblos Bank, “Lebanon to Receive Electricity from Iran,” *Lebanon This Week*, no. 252, 20–25 February 2012, http://www.byblosbank.com.lb/Library/Files/Lebanon/Publications/Economic%20Research/Lebanon%20This%20Week/LTW_252.pdf

²³⁴ Mowafa Taib, U.S. Geological Survey, *2010 Minerals Yearbook*, “The Mineral Industry of Lebanon,” November 2011, <http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/country/2010/myb3-2010-le.pdf>

USD 17 billion, increased more than 23% from the previous year.²³⁵ It should be noted that Lebanon counters a significant percentage of this deficit in the services area, particularly tourism.²³⁶ Remittances from abroad help lessen the deficit.²³⁷

Lebanon's largest export category is precious stones, consisting primarily of gold and diamond items produced by the nation's jewelers.²³⁸ In 2010, over one-quarter of Lebanon's export revenues came from this category, although the true value is hard to ascertain because of the opaque nature of the trade.²³⁹

²⁴⁰ Other significant Lebanese export categories include scrap metals, appliances, chemical products, and foodstuffs.²⁴¹

Switzerland (the major jewelry and precious stones destination), the United Arab Emirates, France, and South Africa are the leading recipients of exported Lebanese goods in 2010.²⁴² Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Syria are also important trade partners.²⁴³



© Ghassan Tabet
Trade ships at port in Beirut

Hydrocarbon fuels account for over 20% of the value of Lebanon's imports.²⁴⁴ Other important exports include automobiles, pharmaceuticals, machinery, electric equipment, iron and steel, and food items such as meat, cheese, and grain. In addition, Lebanon imports all the diamonds and gold for its jewelry industry.²⁴⁵ The largest suppliers of these imports are the United States, China, Italy, Germany, and France.²⁴⁶

²³⁵ SyndiGate, "Lebanon Trade Deficit Increases by 23 Pct in 2011," *Albawaba*, 2 April 2012, <http://www.albawaba.com/business/lebanon-trade-deficit-increases-419497>

²³⁶ Byblos Bank, "Lebanon's Travel and Tourism Economy to Generate \$15.5bn this Year, Ranks 127th Globally in Sector Growth Over Coming 10 Years, to Receive Electricity From Iran," *Lebanon This Week*, no. 254, 20–25 March 2012, http://www.byblosbank.com.lb/Library/Files/Lebanon/Publications/Economic%20Research/Lebanon%20This%20Week/LTW_254.pdf

²³⁷ Robert F. Worth, "Home on Holiday, the Lebanese Say, What Turmoil?" *New York Times*, 24 December 2007, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/24/world/middleeast/24lebanon.html?_r=1

²³⁸ *Executive Magazine*, "Lebanon—The Orient's Goldsmith," no. 114, January 2009, <http://www.executive-magazine.com/getarticle.php?article=11428>

²³⁹ International Trade Centre, "Trade Performance HS: Exports of Lebanon (2010, in USD Thousands)," 2012, http://legacy.intracen.org/appli1/TradeCom/TP_EP_CI.aspx?RP=422&YR=2010

²⁴⁰ Paul Cochrane, "Secrets of the Stones," *Executive Magazine*, no. 127, February 2010, <http://www.executive-magazine.com/getarticle.php?article=12742>

²⁴¹ SyndiGate, "Lebanon Trade Deficit Increases by 23 Pct in 2011," *Albawaba*, 2 April 2012, <http://www.albawaba.com/business/lebanon-trade-deficit-increases-419497>

²⁴² International Trade Centre, "Trade Performance HS: Exports and Imports of Lebanon—00 All Industries (2010, in USD Thousands)," 2012, http://legacy.intracen.org/appli1/TradeCom/TP_TP_CI_P.aspx?IN=00&RP=422&YR=2010&IL=00%20%20All%20Industries&TY=T

²⁴³ Bank Audi, "Lebanon Economic Report," 2012, 6, http://research.banqueaudi.com/documents/EconomicReports/lebanon_economic_report.pdf

²⁴⁴ SyndiGate, "Lebanon Trade Deficit Increases by 23 Pct in 2011," *Albawaba*, 2 April 2012, <http://www.albawaba.com/business/lebanon-trade-deficit-increases-419497>

²⁴⁵ International Trade Centre, "Trade Performance HS: Imports of Lebanon (2010, in USD Thousands)," 2012, http://legacy.intracen.org/appli1/TradeCom/TP_IP_CI.aspx?RP=422&YR=2010

²⁴⁶ International Trade Centre, "Trade Performance HS: Imports of Lebanon—00 All Industries (2010, in USD Thousands)," 2012,

Tourism

Tourism is a major component of Lebanon's economy. The World Travel and Tourism Council estimates that Lebanon's tourism industry will supply USD 4.3 billion to the nation's economy in 2012, around 10% of GDP, and will directly employ 9.5% of the nation's workforce.²⁴⁷ Tourist levels had been increasing until 2011, reaching nearly 2.2 million visitors in 2010 (roughly half Lebanon's total population). This number dropped by nearly 25% in 2011, in part because of the unstable political situation in Syria, which provides the only land border crossings into Lebanon.²⁴⁸ Typically, nearly one-quarter of tourists visiting Lebanon arrive via Syrian border crossings.²⁴⁹ The drop in the number of tourists led to an 11% drop in the hotel occupancy rate and a nearly 14% decline in average room rate, thus compounding the loss of tourism revenues.²⁵⁰



© whl.travel / flickr.com
Snowboarding in Lebanon

More than one-third of Lebanon's tourists come from Arab countries, another 30% or so are from Europe, and roughly 15% are from non-Arab Asian countries (mostly Iran).^{251, 252} Arab visitors spend more on average when in Lebanon than tourists from other locations, providing 55% of Lebanon's total tourist spending in 2011.²⁵³

Banking and Currency

Many years of conflict and political turmoil have not weakened Beirut's position as a banking center of the Middle East region. Lebanese banks emerged relatively unscathed from the financial crisis that struck the U.S. banking system in 2008 and quickly spread globally.²⁵⁴ Lebanon's banks have long been attractive to foreign and domestic investors, partly because of

http://legacy.intracen.org/appli/TradeCom/TP_IP_CI_P.aspx?IN=00&RP=422&YR=2010&IL=00%20%20All%20industries&TY=T

²⁴⁷ Byblos Bank, "Lebanon's Travel and Tourism Economy to Generate \$15.5bn this Year, Ranks 127th Globally in Sector Growth over Coming 10 Years, to Receive Electricity from Iran," *Lebanon This Week*, no. 254, 20–25 March 2012,

http://www.byblosbank.com.lb/Library/Files/Lebanon/Publications/Economic%20Research/Lebanon%20This%20Week/LTW_254.pdf

²⁴⁸ Bank Audi, "Lebanon Economic Report," 2012, 5,

http://research.banqueaudi.com/documents/EconomicReports/lebanon_economic_report.pdf

²⁴⁹ Oliver Holmes, "Interview—Syrian Unrest Choking Tourism to Lebanon—Minister," Reuters, 6 October 2011,

<http://www.trust.org/alertnet/news/interview-syrian-unrest-choking-tourism-to-lebanon-minister>

²⁵⁰ Bank Audi, "Lebanon Economic Report," 2012, 5,

http://research.banqueaudi.com/documents/EconomicReports/lebanon_economic_report.pdf

²⁵¹ Bank Audi, "Lebanon Economic Report," 2012, 5,

http://research.banqueaudi.com/documents/EconomicReports/lebanon_economic_report.pdf

²⁵² *Daily Star* (Lebanon), "Lebanon Sees Decline in Tourist Numbers," 14 April 2011,

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Apr/14/Lebanon-sees-decline-in-number-of-tourists-in-first-quarter-of-2011.ashx#axzz1sRJV2yd1>

²⁵³ Bank Audi, "Lebanon Economic Report," 2012, 5,

http://research.banqueaudi.com/documents/EconomicReports/lebanon_economic_report.pdf

²⁵⁴ Bank Audi, "Lebanon Banking Sector Report," August 2009,

http://www.menafn.com/updates/research_center/Lebanon/Equity_val/audi190809ev.pdf

the nation's banking secrecy law, passed in 1956. Over the last decade or so, this law has been modified to allow for better policing of money laundering and terrorist funding.^{255, 256}

Lebanon's banks attract deposits in numerous foreign currencies, particularly U.S. dollars (USD). The Lebanese pound (LBP) is the national currency, although the ubiquitous USD is commonly used in retail transactions and has become a second currency within the country since its Civil War. Automated teller machines (ATMs) at banks and other locales dispense both currencies.²⁵⁷



© Karan Jain
Bank of Lebanon

The *Banque du Liban* (BDL) is the nation's Central Bank and oversees the entire banking sector. In addition, the BDL manages the nation's monetary supply.²⁵⁸ When necessary, the BDL buys and sells foreign currencies in the foreign exchange market to ensure the stability of the LBP, which has been pegged to the USD since 1999.²⁵⁹ Overall, 69 banks currently operate in Lebanon, of which 54 are commercial banks (i.e., accept deposits) and 15 are investment banks.^{260, 261} Of the commercial banks, 30 are foreign-owned or -controlled. Three Arab-owned or -controlled banks and one Lebanese bank offer Islamic (i.e., Sharia-compliant) banking, but their overall share of Lebanon's total banking sector is small.^{262, 263}

Investment

Although Lebanon places virtually no restrictions on foreign investment, the nation's attractiveness for investment is lessened by red tape, corruption, and other business impediments. The nation is ranked 11th out of 18 Middle East and North African countries on the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business scale.^{264, 265} Nevertheless, Lebanon receives significant investment from outside the country, particularly from Arab investors. Businesses in Saudi

²⁵⁵ Banque du Liban, "Lebanese Banking and Financial Sectors," 2012, <http://www.bdl.gov.lb/bfs/mainchr.htm>

²⁵⁶ *Daily Star* (Lebanon), "Authorities Lift Banking Secrecy on 18 Accounts," 3 April 2012, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Lebanon/2012/Apr-03/168960-authorities-lift-banking-secrecy-on-18-accounts.ashx#axzz1ssfkbU00>

²⁵⁷ Banque du Liban, "Payment Media," 2012, <http://www.bdl.gov.lb/paysys/Paymedia.htm>

²⁵⁸ Banque du Liban, "Role and Function," 2012, <http://www.bdl.gov.lb/bdl/role.htm>

²⁵⁹ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Background Note: Lebanon," 1 December 2011, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35833.htm>

²⁶⁰ Association of Banks in Lebanon, "Commercial Banks," 26 March 2012, <http://www.abl.org.lb/Banksclassification.aspx?pageID=129&type=Commercial>

²⁶¹ Association of Banks in Lebanon, "Investment Banks," 26 March 2012, <http://www.abl.org.lb/Banksclassification.aspx?pageID=129&type=Investment>

²⁶² *Executive Magazine*, "Beirut Prepares for More Islamic Banking," no. 91, February 2007, <http://www.executive-magazine.com/getarticle.php?article=9101>

²⁶³ Dana Halawi, "Islamic Banks Still Struggling to Make Inroads in Lebanese Market," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 5 November 2010, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Lebanon/Nov/05/Islamic-banks-still-struggling-to-make-inroads-in-Lebanese-market.ashx#axzz1ssfkbU00>

²⁶⁴ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Background Note Lebanon," 1 December 2011, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35833.htm>

²⁶⁵ International Finance Corporation/World Bank, "Economy Rankings," 2012, <http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings>

Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates provide over 80% of the Arab foreign direct investment in Lebanon.²⁶⁶

Much of the foreign investment that takes place in Lebanon is focused on three business areas: real-estate development, tourism (e.g., hotels), and banking.^{267, 268} Some of this inflow occurs through “portfolio investment” in which foreigners purchase stocks in Lebanese companies listed on the Beirut Stock Exchange. This form of investment is particularly important for Lebanon’s financial sector. Of the 10 companies listed on the Beirut Stock Exchange, 6 are Lebanese banks.²⁶⁹



© Charles Roffey
Development in Beirut

Another company listed on the Beirut Stock Exchange is Solidere, the large property development business responsible for the planning and reconstruction of Beirut’s Central District. New housing, built by Solidere and other developers and often financed through foreign capital, has spurred a real-estate boom in Beirut. For many middle-class Lebanese, housing prices in the capital are now out of reach, a situation that has spurred suburban development south of the city in recent years.^{270, 271}

Remittances from Lebanese living outside the country are an important indirect source of investment income for Lebanon’s economy. The money flows into Lebanese banks, which in turn fund business loans.²⁷² Remittances increase domestic consumption, thus spurring demand for services and goods. Remittance data for 2009 reveal that these inflows are equivalent to nearly 22% of Lebanon’s GDP, a percentage topped by only six other nations.²⁷³

Transportation

Land transportation within Lebanon is strictly by road. The nation had a limited rail system that connected the coastal cities and the Bekaa Valley with Syria, but most of the trains stopped

²⁶⁶ Wafica Ghoul, “Lebanon’s Capital Inflows: Are They a Blessing or a Curse?” (paper, Third International Conference, College of Business Administration, Kuwait University, 16–17 December 2008), <http://www.cba.edu.kw/wtou/download/conf3/wafica.PDF>

²⁶⁷ *Executive Magazine*, “Lebanon’s Real Estate Sector Attracts FDI,” no. 124, November 2009, <http://www.executive-magazine.com/getarticle.php?article=12403>

²⁶⁸ Byblos Bank, “FDI at €789m in 2010, €7.7bn between 2003 and 2010,” *Lebanon This Week*, no. 208, 21–26 March 2011, <http://lb.mofcom.gov.lb/accessory/201103/1301332529271.pdf>

²⁶⁹ Beirut Stock Exchange, “Listed Securities,” 23 April 2012, <http://www.bse.com.lb/ListedSecurities/ListedSecurities/tabid/86/Default.aspx>

²⁷⁰ Zawya.com, “In Focus: Khaldeh, Lebanon,” *Eckaruna*, February/March 2011, <http://www.zawya.com/story/ZAWYA20110602100202/In%20Focus:%20Khaldeh,%20Lebanon/>

²⁷¹ Matt Nash, “Beirut Real Estate Boom is No Bubble,” NOW (New Opinion Workshop) Lebanon, 23 March 2010, <http://www.nowlebanon.com/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=155731>

²⁷² Wafica Ghoul, “Lebanon’s Capital Inflows: Are They a Blessing or a Curse?” (paper, Third International Conference, College of Business Administration, Kuwait University, 16–17 December 2008), <http://www.cba.edu.kw/wtou/download/conf3/wafica.PDF>

²⁷³ Migration Policy Institute, “Remittances Profile: World,” 2011, http://www.migrationinformation.org/dataHub/remittances/All_profiles.pdf

operating during the Civil War.²⁷⁴ The last section of the system to still be used—a line connecting the cement factories of Chekka with Beirut—ceased operations in 1997.²⁷⁵

Two main road corridors exist within Lebanon. The first is the coastal highway, which runs from the Syrian border to the Israeli border, connecting all the major coastal cities in between. All but the northern and southern sections of this corridor are now traversed by a freeway. The second is the Beirut-Damascus Highway, which runs across Mount Lebanon and connects the capital cities of Lebanon and Syria.²⁷⁶

Lebanon's most significant transportation issue exists in Beirut. Lebanon has an extremely high number of cars per capita, and traffic in Beirut is notorious.^{277, 278, 279} The city's public transportation system, comprising buses and taxis, is inadequate to alleviate the problem; it is estimated that fewer than 10% of Beirut commuters use public transportation.²⁸⁰ Numerous proposals have been put forward (and in some cases implemented) to improve the traffic situation, including better traffic management and increasing the number of underpasses and overpasses.²⁸¹



© Petteri Sulonen
Coastal highway

Beirut-Rafik Hariri International Airport is Lebanon's only commercial airport and serves as the hub for Middle East Airlines, Lebanon's national carrier. The airport is one of Lebanon's two major commercial ports of entry; the other is the Port of Beirut.²⁸²

Standard of Living

Prior to the beginning of the Lebanese Civil War in 1975, Lebanon had a "comfortable" standard of living.²⁸³ Since the end of fighting in 1990, the nation has striven to rebuild its infrastructure and recapture its pre-1975 relative prosperity. Strides have been made, although the 2006

²⁷⁴ Ana Maria Luca, "The Sad Story of Lebanese Trains," NOW (New Opinion Workshop) Lebanon, 15 March 2010, <http://www.nowlebanon.com/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=153703>

²⁷⁵ Sinfin.net, "Railways in Lebanon," 2011, <http://www.sinfin.net/railways/world/lebanon.html>

²⁷⁶ COMSEC.org, "The Lebanese Transportation Sector: Moderate Growth amid Poor Infrastructure and Legal Framework," n.d., <http://www.comcec.org/UserFiles/File/ulastirma/%C3%9CLKE%20RAPORLARI/Lebanon.pdf>

²⁷⁷ World Bank, "Lebanon: Environment at a Glance 2008," 2008, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEEI/Data/21836286/LBN08.pdf>

²⁷⁸ Carol Rizk, "Baroud Takes Beirut Traffic Nightmare into His Own Hands," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 7 December 2009, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/Dec/07/Baroud-takes-Beirut-traffic-nightmare-into-his-own-hands.ashx#axzz1sz11bSzu>

²⁷⁹ Craig Nelson, *National* (UAE), "Beirut's Traffic Gridlock a Nightmare," Lebanon Wire, 27 October 2010, <http://www.lebanonwire.com/1010MLN/10102701TN.asp>

²⁸⁰ Paige Kollock, "Still Sitting in Beirut Traffic," NOW (New Opinion Workshop) Lebanon, 5 May 2010, <http://www.nowlebanon.com/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=166121>

²⁸¹ Paige Kollock, "Still Sitting in Beirut Traffic," NOW (New Opinion Workshop) Lebanon, 5 May 2010, <http://www.nowlebanon.com/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=166121>

²⁸² Global Cargo Line, "Lebanese Shipping: Port of Beirut," 14 April 2009, <http://www.gcline.net/articles.php?id=39>

²⁸³ As'ad AbuKhalil, "Ch. 2. The Society and Its Environment," in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

Hizballah-Israel war caused great damage and erased some of the progress. Today, Lebanon's gross national income (GNI) per capita, a broad indicator of a nation's overall economic health, is comparable to other middle-income economies such as Malaysia, Turkey, and Romania.²⁸⁴

But within this GNI figure lie regional disparities. For example, the North Lebanon and South Lebanon governorates have higher poverty rates than the rest of the country.²⁸⁵ Though high poverty rates are often most common in rural areas (Lebanese rural areas, such as Akkar in the north, follow this trend), the city of Tripoli actually has one of the highest poverty rates in Lebanon.^{286, 287} Tripoli's economic decline and widespread poverty has fueled social problems in its poorer neighborhoods and further heightened a violence-prone sectarian rift between the city's Alawites and Sunni Muslims.^{288, 289}



© lux & pixel / flickr.com
Apartments in Tripoli

²⁸⁴ World Bank, World Development Indicators Database, "Gross National Income Per Capita 2010, Atlas Method and PPP," 1 July 2011, 9–10, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/GNIPC.pdf>

²⁸⁵ Heba Laithy, Khalid Abu-Ismaïl, and Kamal Hamdan, International Poverty Centre, United Nations Development Programme, "Country Study: Poverty, Growth and Income Distribution in Lebanon," 2008, 9–10, <http://www.ipc-undp.org/pub/IPCCountryStudy13.pdf>

²⁸⁶ Heba Laithy, Khalid Abu-Ismaïl, and Kamal Hamdan, International Poverty Centre, United Nations Development Programme, "Country Study: Poverty, Growth and Income Distribution in Lebanon," 2008, 9–10, <http://www.ipc-undp.org/pub/IPCCountryStudy13.pdf>

²⁸⁷ Tamara Qiblawi, "Coping with Poverty and Hardship in Tripoli," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 19 July 2011, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Lebanon/2011/Jul-19/Coping-with-poverty-and-hardship-in-Tripoli.ashx#axzz1sz11bSzu>

²⁸⁸ Tamara Qiblawi, "Coping with Poverty and Hardship in Tripoli," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 19 July 2011, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Business/Lebanon/2011/Jul-19/Coping-with-poverty-and-hardship-in-Tripoli.ashx#axzz1sz11bSzu>

²⁸⁹ *Daily Star* (Lebanon), "A Street Called Syria Divides Tense Lebanese City," 22 March 2012, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2012/Mar-22/167582-a-street-called-syria-divides-tense-lebanese-city.ashx#axzz1sz11bSzu>

Chapter 3 Assessment

1. Food and beverage processing is the largest part of Lebanon's industrial sector.

TRUE

The biggest component of this sector is food and beverage processing, which accounts for about one-quarter of both the industrial sector's workforce and its total output.

2. Lebanon's hydroelectric plants supply most of the nation's electricity needs.

FALSE

The nation does generate a small percentage of its energy needs through hydroelectric plants and the burning of biomass. But 97% of Lebanon's energy and electrical consumption comes from imported oil and a small amount of coal used to operate two cement factories.

3. The service sector, including banking and tourism, is a key part of Lebanon's economy.

TRUE

Beirut is a banking center of the Middle East region. Lebanon's banks have long been attractive to foreign and domestic investors. Tourism is a major component of Lebanon's economy, estimated to produce about 10% of GDP.

4. Remittances from Lebanese working outside the country provide a large boost to the nation's economy.

TRUE

Remittances from Lebanese expatriates are an important indirect source of investment income for Lebanon's economy.

5. The terraced fields of Mount Lebanon represent the nation's primary agricultural region.

FALSE

The Bekaa Valley is the nation's primary agricultural area and has from 50% to 60% of the acreage devoted to grains (wheat and, to a lesser extent, barley), legumes, and vegetables.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIETY

Introduction

Lebanon's impressive ruins from ancient civilizations reflect the many peoples that have shaped contemporary Lebanese society. Unfortunately, diversity can contribute to divisiveness, and Lebanon's political crises, which usually erupt along sectarian fault lines, have frequently been displayed in recent decades.



© Heather Cowper
Ancient ruins at Baalbek

Despite such problems, Lebanon is a culturally rich nation with strong connections to the Arab and Western worlds. The vast Lebanese diaspora, who have largely retained their family bonds to their homeland, provides another tile in the Lebanese cultural mosaic.

Ethnic and Linguistic Groups

For most of Lebanon's population, language is not a divisive issue. The country's Christians and Muslims are Arabic speakers in overwhelming numbers. On the other hand, ethnic identity is controversial and contentious. Most Lebanese Muslims and some Lebanese Christians consider themselves as ethnically Arab. But others (mostly Lebanese Maronite Christians) trace their cultural identity to the ancient Phoenicians, and argue that the transition centuries ago to



© LouisL / flickr.com
Youth of Lebanon

Arabic as the vernacular language did not erase their ethnic identity, which was embedded in a pre-Arabic culture. These Phoenicianists additionally argue that a blanket Arab ethnic identity ignores the many differences that existed among the indigenous populations of the Arab world prior to the spread of Islam. Under this argument, for example, the Arabs of Egypt would be considered a different group from the Arabs of Iraq.²⁹⁰

Genetic studies in recent years have revealed that many Lebanese, Syrians, and Palestinians—Muslims and Christians alike—share an ancient DNA marker carried by people as far away as Spain, in areas of the Mediterranean coast known to have been colonized by the Phoenicians.²⁹¹ But the scientific studies have not quelled the debate. Ultimately, Lebanese ethnic identity largely seems to be a matter of what historical aspect an individual wishes to identify with. Most Lebanese see themselves as Lebanese and thus carry a vestige of shared identity.²⁹²

²⁹⁰ David Levinson, "Lebanon," in *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook* (Phoenix: Oryx Press, 1998), 249–250.

²⁹¹ Tom Perry, "In Lebanon DNA May Yet Heal Rifts," Reuters, 10 September 2007, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/09/10/us-phoenicians-dna-idUSL0559096520070910>

²⁹² Rana Moussaoui, Agence France Presse, "Debate Over Phoenician Identity Rages On," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 8 June 2010, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/Jun/08/Debate-over-Phoenician-identity-rages-on.ashx#axzz1sz11bSzu>

A small percentage of Lebanese have arrived mostly within the last century and clearly are of a different ethno-linguistic background. Armenian Lebanese, who began arriving in large numbers in 1915 as they fled Ottoman Empire persecution, are the largest of these groups. Their traditional center in Lebanon is Bourj Hammoud, a densely populated suburb just east of Beirut.²⁹³ Another, smaller ethno-linguistic group is the Kurds, most of whom trace their entry into Lebanon to the period between the 1920s and 1960s. The majority of Lebanese Kurds live in Beirut and divide into two groups: one that speaks the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish and the other that speaks an Arabic dialect heavily laced with Kurdish, Turkish, and Syriac elements.²⁹⁴

Religion

Lebanon's numerous religious sects (sometimes referred to as confessional groups) define the underlying basis of political power in Lebanon. Eighteen groups are officially recognized.²⁹⁵ Four are branches of Islam, with the two largest being the Shi'ites and the Sunnis. The Shi'ites are the predominant sect in most of southern Lebanon, the Bekaa Valley, and areas in and south of Beirut. Sunnis are the majority in parts of North Lebanon, the southern Bekaa region, west Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon.²⁹⁶



© FreedomHouse / flickr.com
Sunnii men protesting

Two sub-branches of Shi'a Islam—the Alawites and the Ismailis (“Seveners”)—are the other two Muslim groups. The Alawites, like the Druze, are secretive about their beliefs and are considered heretical by conservative Sunni Muslims.²⁹⁷ They live mostly in parts of North Lebanon. Few Ismailis remain in Lebanon today.²⁹⁸ Their numbers are so small that they are one of only two recognized religious sects that are not allowed to secure a seat in the Lebanese parliament. (The small Jewish community is the other).^{299, 300}

The Maronites are the largest Christian Group in Lebanon, followed by the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholics. Maronites are found in greatest numbers in the eastern part of Greater Beirut, most of the Mount Lebanon region from Beirut north to near Tripoli, and scattered areas in the Chouf Mountains, the Bekaa region, and Akkar in the north. The Greek Orthodox are most

²⁹³ Robert F. Worth, “In Lebanon’s Patchwork, a Focus on Armenians’ Political Might,” *New York Times*, 25 May 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/26/world/middleeast/26armenians.html>

²⁹⁴ Lokman I. Meho and Farah W. Kawtharani, American University of Beirut, “The Kurdish Community in Lebanon,” 2–4, <http://staff.aub.edu.lb/~lmeho/meho-kawtharani-kurdish-community-in-lebanon.pdf>

²⁹⁵ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “2010 International Religious Freedom Report: Lebanon,” 13 September 2011, http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2010_5/168269.htm

²⁹⁶ LebanonPostCard.com, “Le Liban-Mosaïque (map),” 2004, http://lebanonpostcard.com/en/mosaic_lebanon/

²⁹⁷ As’ad AbuKhalil, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment,” in *Lebanon: A Country Study*, ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lbtoc.html>

²⁹⁸ Sharmir Alibhai, “Struck Gold—The Last Lebanese Ismaili,” 10 October 2008, <http://agakanfilm.blogspot.com/2008/10/struck-gold-last-lebanese-ismaili.html>

²⁹⁹ International Foundation for Electoral Systems, “The Lebanese Electoral System” (IFES Lebanon Briefing Paper, March 2009),

http://www.ifes.org/publication/56c0cdaa64aa2cad85b3f5996e37cb4c/IFES_Lebanon_ESB_Paper030209.pdf

³⁰⁰ Roland Tomb, “Lament Lebanon’s Lost Tribe,” *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 20 October 2004,

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Opinion/Commentary/Oct/20/Lament-Lebanons-lost-tribe.ashx#axzz1sz11bSzu>

prevalent in the Koura district of North Lebanon (south of Tripoli), in areas east of Beirut, and in Zahlé and surrounding regions in the Bekaa Valley. Greek Catholics are found in the Zahlé area as well, and in pockets of Greater Beirut and areas just east of Sidon. The remaining nine officially recognized Christian sects are much smaller, with only the Armenian Orthodox Church large enough to secure more than one seat in the Lebanese parliament.³⁰¹

The Druze, long residing in the Chouf Mountains southeast of Beirut, are associated with the Muslim groups in Lebanon's confessional apportionment of parliament seats. But many Muslim sects consider them heretical because of their belief in reincarnation and their non-observance of the Five Pillars of Islam.³⁰²

Confessional Group	Number of allocated parliament seats based on 2008 Election Law ^b
Sunni	27
Shi'ite	27
Druze	8
Alawite	2
Maronite	34
Greek Orthodox	14
Greek Catholic	8
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	5
Armenian Catholic	1
Evangelical Christian (including Protestants)	1
Other Christian ^a	1

^a This category includes Assyrian Church of the East (Nestorians), Chaldean Catholic, Copts, Roman Catholic (Latins), Syriac Catholic, and Syriac Orthodox (Jacobites). Members of Lebanon's other two recognized religious groups (Jewish, Ismaili) are not eligible for election to the parliament.

^b International Foundation for Electoral Systems, "The Lebanese Electoral System," 2009, http://www.ifes.org/publication/56c0cdaa64aa2cad85b3f5996e37cb4c/IFES_Lebanon_ESB_Paper030209.pdf

Gender and Family Issues

In Lebanon, family law is governed by individual religious sect, resulting in as many as 15 personal status codes. As a result, basic issues such as marriage, divorce, inheritance, and child custody can be exceedingly complex in Lebanon and vary between groups. For example, polygamy is allowed among Muslim sects, with men able to take as many as four wives if they can provide for all of them and treat them equally. But Christian sects do not allow multiple

³⁰¹ International Foundation for Electoral Systems, "The Lebanese Electoral System" (IFES Lebanon Briefing Paper, March 2009),

http://www.ifes.org/publication/56c0cdaa64aa2cad85b3f5996e37cb4c/IFES_Lebanon_ESB_Paper030209.pdf

³⁰² Bruce Masters, "Druzes," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2009), 189.

spouses. The minimum legal age for women to marry ranges from 12½ to 18, again depending on the sect.³⁰³

Being associated with an organized religious sect is crucial in Lebanese society. Children born to parents of different religious sects are assigned to the sect of the father. In addition, a child born to a Lebanese woman and a non-Lebanese father is not considered a Lebanese citizen. Yet the child of a Lebanese father and a non-Lebanese mother does gain citizenship, as does the mother after 1 year of marriage. This law has been challenged by women’s rights activists, but its repeal faces an uphill battle because some sectarian groups fear that Lebanon’s religious demographic balance will be affected if the law is overturned.³⁰⁴



© LouisL / flickr.com
Family dinner

Traditional Clothing

The majority of Lebanese men and women dress in Western clothing, but in rural mountain areas the baggy trousers known as *sherwal* are worn by some men.³⁰⁵ Older men may occasionally be spotted wearing the traditional red felt hat known as a *tarboush* (*fez* in other countries), but it is a dying tradition that is negatively associated with the Ottoman Empire era among many Lebanese.³⁰⁶

The *hijab*—the traditional head covering worn by many Muslim women—is common in Lebanese Muslim villages, but less so in urban areas such as Beirut. Nonetheless, mutual tolerance toward conservative religious dress or more revealing Western styles is characteristic of Lebanese society (for the most part). As frequently noted by foreign commentators, the bikini and the *hijab* are part of the landscape in many seaside areas of Lebanon.³⁰⁷



© whl travel / flickr.com
Men in traditional clothing

One controversial traditional clothing item is the *keffiyeh*, a checkered scarf traditionally worn in Arab regions as a headdress to protect against the sun. For many decades the *keffiyeh* was

³⁰³ Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, “Gender Equality and Social Institutions in Lebanon,” n.d., <http://genderindex.org/country/lebanon>

³⁰⁴ Marie Dhumieres, “Activists Lobby to Change Nationality Law,” *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 28 July 2011, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/2011/Jul-28/Activists-lobby-to-change-nationality-law.ashx#axzz1TYR8PUtC>

³⁰⁵ Melvin Ember and Carol R. Ember, eds., “Lebanon,” in *Countries and Their Cultures*, vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, 2001), 1269.

³⁰⁶ Mohammed Zaatari, “Tarboush Still on Sale in Sidon Despite Lack of Popularity,” *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 25 June 2008, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Local-News/June/25/Tarboush-still-on-sale-in-Sidon-despite-lack-of-popularity.ashx#axzz1tSVjw4cb>

³⁰⁷ Mona Alami, Inter Press Service, “Lebanon: Where the Hijab, Bikini Live Side by Side,” *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 4 June 2010, <http://www.bing.com/search?q=%22Where+the+Hijab+and+the+Bikinia+Live+Side+by+Side%22&src=IE-SearchBox&FORM=IE8SRC>

strongly associated with the Palestinian liberation movement—former Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was seldom seen in public not wearing his black-and-white *keffiyeh*. But in recent years, the *keffiyeh* has become a stylish fashion item around the world, sported by movie stars, rap artists, and other pop culture trendsetters. The increase in non-traditional, brightly colored *keffiyeh* worn in Beirut cafes and pubs provoked a backlash among some Lebanese college students against its use as a fashion item (rather than as a symbol of Palestinian solidarity).³⁰⁸

Particular styles and colors of clothing are worn by members of some of Lebanon's religious sects. For example, Shi'ites wear black during the Islamic month of Muharram. Druze women, and Shi'ite clerics who trace ancestry to the Prophet Muhammad, wear black turbans. Pious Druze women drape themselves in white veils, and Druze men who are initiates of their religion wear dark clothing and white turbans. Uninitiated Druze men may be seen wearing a *keffiyeh* instead.³⁰⁹

Arts

Literature

Probably the best known writer of Lebanese origin is Khalil Gibran (1883–1931), who was born in the Maronite mountain town of Bsharri and immigrated to the United States as a boy.³¹⁰ His most famous work is *The Prophet*, a collection of prose poetry essays written in English and first published in 1923. It is estimated to have sold over 100 million copies since first publication, making it one of the most popular works of poetry in history.³¹¹ Gibran was a talented artist, and many of his drawings illustrate his writing collections.³¹²



© Heather Cowper
Khalil Gibran museum

Among contemporary Lebanese writers, many live outside the country. Hanan al-Shaykh (1945–), who writes in Arabic, is a London-based novelist of Shi'ite background. Several of her works have been translated into English. Many of her novels and stories feature fiercely independent women battling against a religiously conservative and strongly patriarchal society.³¹³ Perhaps her best known novel is *The Story of Zahra* (1980), a two-part story in which the second part chronicles the societal collapse during the Lebanese Civil War.³¹⁴

³⁰⁸ Agence France Presse, “Iconic Palestinian Headdress Brings Colourful Clash to Beirut,” 7 December 2008, http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5i6lnLT-Q_hjUApWo_h9v_fWuVTYg

³⁰⁹ Countries and Their Cultures, “Druze,” n.d., <http://www.everyculture.com/wc/Rwanda-to-Syria/Druze.html>

³¹⁰ Juan Cole, “Gibran—Chronology of His Life,” n.d., <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~jrcole/gibran/chrono.htm>

³¹¹ Primus V, “Cold Meets Flame,” *Harvard Magazine*, March–April 2012, <http://harvardmagazine.com/2012/03/cold-meets-flame>

³¹² Marada News (Lebanon), “Kahlil Gibran: The Prophet, The Artist, The Man,” 2010, <http://www.marada-news.org/?q=node/3599>

³¹³ Books and Writers, “Hanan al-Shaykh (b. 1945),” 2008, <http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/shaykh.htm>

³¹⁴ Isam M. Shihada, “Engendering War in Hanan Al Shaykh’s *The Story of Zahra, Nebula*,” December 2008, <http://www.nobleworld.biz/images/Shihada2.pdf>

During the mid-1970s, Hanan al-Shaykh worked as a writer in Beirut for the Arabic-language daily newspaper *Al-Nahar*. Among her colleagues was Amin Maalouf (1949–), a Lebanese Christian who, like al-Shaykh, left the country as the violence of the early civil war years escalated.³¹⁵ He ended up in Paris, where he has written several well-received novels in French and is a member of the illustrious *L'Académie française*. Among his many novels set in historical times is *The Rock of Tanios* (1993), which takes place in 19th-century Ottoman Lebanon.³¹⁶

Another Lebanese writer of note is Etel Adnan (1925–), a native of Beirut who has mostly written poetry. She has occasionally produced works of fiction, including the groundbreaking novel *Sitt Marie Rose* (1977). Like *The Story of Zahra* and many Lebanese novels of the last few decades, *Sitt Marie Rose* is set during the Lebanese Civil War. This highly acclaimed work, originally written in French, has been translated into more than 10 languages, including English.^{317, 318}

Music

Lebanon's most famous musical performer is the singer Fairuz (born Nuhad Haddad in 1933), who burst onto the Lebanese musical scene in the 1950s and became a household name after her first public performance at the Baalbek International Festival in 1957. By the early 1960s, she was a star performer not only in Lebanon but throughout the Arab world and beyond. For much her early career, she worked with Assi and Mansour Rahbani, brothers who composed the songs for the musical plays that she performed in.³¹⁹ During the war years (1975–1990), her song *Behebak Ya Libnan* (“I Love You, Lebanon”) became an anthem of hope.³²⁰ Fairuz has continued to perform into the 2000s, often collaborating with her son Ziad Rahbani on songs that incorporate jazz stylings.³²¹



© Novalib2 / Wikimedia.org
Fairuz playing guitar

Other Lebanese singers reached stardom following World War II. Among them were Wadih El Safi (1921–), a classically trained singer/songwriter who is sometimes called the “Voice of Lebanon”; Sabah (born Jeannette Feghali in 1927), who has released over 50 albums in her long

³¹⁵ Maya Jaggi, “A Son of the Road,” *Guardian*, 15 November 2002, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2002/nov/16/classicalmusicandopera.fiction>

³¹⁶ Maya Jaggi, “A Son of the Road,” *Guardian*, 15 November 2002, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2002/nov/16/classicalmusicandopera.fiction>

³¹⁷ Ida Eve Heckenbach, “Adnan, Etel,” in *Who's Who in Contemporary Women's Writing*, ed. Jane Eldridge Miller (London: Routledge, 2001), 4.

³¹⁸ Etel Adnan, “About Etel Adnan,” n.d., <http://eteladnan.com/cv.html>

³¹⁹ *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, “Fairuz” (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2005–2006), <http://www.bookrags.com/biography/fairuz/>

³²⁰ Jamie Tarabay, NPR Music, “Fairuz: Lebanon's Voice of Hope,” NPR, 12 July 2010, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=128431817>

³²¹ Basil Samara, “A Song for Every Heart—‘Fairuz Live at Beittedine’ and ‘Moods Unveiled’ (Majaz Alani),” *Al Jadid* 7, no. 35 (Spring 2001), <http://www.aljadid.com/content/song-every-heart-fairuz-live-beittedine-and-moods-unveiledmajaz-alani>

career; and more recently, Najwa Karam (1966–), whose career took off in the 1990s with a string of successful albums that made her one of the best-known artists in the Arab world.^{322, 323}

Among the Lebanese generation growing up largely after the Lebanon Civil War are Yasmine Hamdan (1976–) and Zeid Hamdan (1976–), who formed an influential band named Soap Kills that melded electro beats with classical Arabic songs and musical elements.³²⁴ Over the course of three full-length and two extended-play albums, the duo developed a cult status within Beirut’s underground music scene and in France. In recent years, the two Hamdans have moved on to individual projects. During this time Yasmine Hamdan has drawn increasing attention around the world for her distinctive, sultry vocals. She originally sang primarily in English but now almost exclusively sings in different Arabic dialects.^{325, 326} Meanwhile, Zeid Hamdan formed a new band, Zeid and the Wings. He was briefly arrested in July 2011 on grounds that the band’s song “General Suleiman” defamed the Lebanese president.³²⁷

Sports and Recreation

Lebanon loves football (soccer), the national sport. The Lebanese Premier League, the nation’s highest level of competition, fields 12 teams.³²⁸ Each team has a sectarian identity aligned with the religious affiliation of the team’s ownership. Because of increasing crowd violence during weekend matches, the Lebanese Football Association banned spectators from 2007 to 2012. Instead, games were played in front of television cameras in eerily quiet stadiums. Though the ban has been partly lifted, crowds are carefully screened before entering the stadium, and it is not unusual to see only a few hundred people in the stands.^{329, 330}



© Doha Stadium Plus / flickr.com
Lebanese basketball player

³²² BeirutNightLife, “Wadih El Safi—Byblos International Festival 2010,” 1 July 2010,

<http://www.beirutnightlife.com/events/calendar/wadih-el-safi-byblos-international-festival/>

³²³ LebanonAtlas.com, “Najwa Karam,” 2008, <http://www.lebanonatlas.com/content/magazine/Najwa-Karam.asp>

³²⁴ Susannah Tarbush, “Zeid Hamdan Lebanon’s Underground Maestro,” *Saudi Gazette*, 22 July 2010,

<http://www.saudigazette.com.sa/index.cfm?method=home.regcon&contentID=2010072278770>

³²⁵ Ahmad Zaatari, “Yasmine Hamdan: Musical Tradition with an Attitude,” *alakhbar English*, 27 April 2012,

<http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/6720/>

³²⁶ Tara Mulholland, “Arabic Music’s Modern Voice,” *New York Times*, 12 April 2012,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/13/arts/13iht-hamdan13.html?pagewanted=all>

³²⁷ Emma Gatten, “Musician Zeid Hamdan Arrested for Defamation,” *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 27 July 2011,

<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Culture/Music/2011/Jul-27/Musician-Zeid-Hamdan-arrested-for-defamation.ashx#axzz1tmXuMbgJ>

³²⁸ Bari ’91, “Lebanon, Lebanese Premier League,” 2012,

http://www.bari91.com/football_stats/Lebanon_Lebanese_Premier_League/2011-2012

³²⁹ Jeff Neumann, “Sectarian Violence Makes Getting in to Lebanese Soccer Games a Real Bitch,” *Vice*, 2012,

<http://www.vice.com/read/no-fans-allowed-at-lebanese-soccer-games>

³³⁰ James Montague, “In Lebanon, even Soccer is Tainted by Sectarian Strife,” *New York Times*, 24 October 2007,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/24/sports/24iht-CUP.1.8030583.html>

The Lebanese national football team (the Cedars) hit bottom in May 2011 when it was ranked 178th in the world.³³¹ Shortly thereafter, the Cedars upset several Asian teams in an early stage of World Cup 2014 qualifying. For the first time, the Cedars made the final round of Asian qualifying for the World Cup. In a nation that has had little to cheer about in international sports competition, the success of the national team has been a rallying point in Lebanon.³³²

Ironically, the ban on attendance at football games helped boost the popularity of basketball in Lebanon. The nation has a professional league that has become a leading destination for lesser U.S. players looking to play overseas.³³³ Other spectator sports popular with some Lebanese are motor sports and horse racing.³³⁴

Even during the Lebanese Civil War, Lebanon regularly sent a small team of athletes to the Summer Olympics. Overall, the nation's teams have won four medals (two silver, two bronze): three in wrestling and the other in weightlifting. Lebanon has six ski resorts, and it has regularly participated in the Winter Olympics (mostly in the skiing events).^{335, 336}

³³¹ FIFA.com, "FIFA/Coca-Cola World Ranking," 18 May 2011, <http://www.fifa.com/worldranking/rankingtable/index.html>

³³² James Montague, "National Team Helps Bring Lebanon Together," *New York Times*, 28 February 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/29/sports/soccer/in-lebanon-national-soccer-team-helps-bring-country-together.html>

³³³ Josh Wood, "Beirut, Lebanon, Where Former NBA Basketball Players Fulfill Hoop Dreams," *Christian Science Monitor*, 6 April 2010, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2010/0406/Beirut-Lebanon-where-former-NBA-basketball-players-fulfill-hoop-dreams>

³³⁴ Margaret J. Goldstein, "Cultural Life," in *Lebanon in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 2005), 57.

³³⁵ SR/Olympic Sports, "Lebanon," 2012, <http://www.sports-reference.com/olympics/countries/LIB/>

³³⁶ Olivia Sterns, "Olympic Skier: Lebanon's Not Just Sand and Desert," *CNN World*, 24 February 2010, http://articles.cnn.com/2010-02-24/world/lebanon.olympics.skiing_1_ski-resorts-whistler-blackcomb-resort-slopes?s=PM:WORLD

Chapter 4 Assessment

1. Lebanon has three officially recognized religious sects.
FALSE
Eighteen religious groups are officially recognized in Lebanon.
2. The Maronites, Greek Orthodox, and Greek Catholics are the three largest Christian sects in Lebanon.
TRUE
The Maronites are the largest Christian Group in Lebanon, followed by the Greek Orthodox and the Greek Catholics.
3. Children born to Lebanese mothers and non-Lebanese fathers are Lebanese citizens associated with the mother's confessional group.
FALSE
A child born to a Lebanese woman and a non-Lebanese father is not a Lebanese citizen.
4. One of the most famous works by a Lebanese writer is the *Desiderata*, a poetry collection by Karim Abbar Jaddul.
FALSE
Probably the best known writer of Lebanese origin is Khalil Gibran. His most famous work, *The Prophet*, is a collection of prose poetry essays estimated to have sold over 100 million copies since first publication, making it one of the most popular works of poetry in history.
5. Lebanon's most famous musical performer is the singer Fairuz.
TRUE
Fairuz, Lebanon's most famous musical performer, burst onto the Lebanese musical scene in the 1950s and became a household name after her first public performance at the Baalbek International Festival in 1957.

CHAPTER 5: SECURITY

Introduction

Lebanon has been forced to deal with numerous internal and external conflicts and threats since independence. Foremost among the external security issues is the long-running Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Much of the violence of this political standoff has played out on Lebanese soil, which for more than 60 years has served as a base for a well-armed Palestinian resistance movement against Israel. Syria and Iran have been actively involved in Lebanese affairs as well, either through direct military intervention or by means of proxy Lebanese groups.



© Patrick Abi Salloum
Destruction in Lebanon

Internally, the nation's complex sectarian system has made the political environment a zero-sum game, with one faction's loss seen as another's gain.³³⁷ Thus, at several times in Lebanon's history, its central government and military have been too weak and fractured to counter the destabilizing forces unleashed by the various factions, their shifting alliances, and opposing agendas.³³⁸

U.S.-Lebanese Relations

The United States and Lebanon have long had a strong relationship. One component is long-standing cultural ties, perhaps best symbolized by the American University in Beirut, Lebanon's premier institution of higher learning. But ties between Lebanon and the large Lebanese expatriate community in the United States play a role. Lebanon's government has followed a pro-Western stance in its foreign policy, particularly during the Cold War.³³⁹



© Georgia National Guard / flickr.com
US and Lebanese soldiers

U.S.-Lebanon relations in recent years have been greatly affected by events within Lebanon—most notably, the growing political role of Hizballah. Since 1997, Hizballah has been listed as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the U.S. Department of State.³⁴⁰ The organization has close ties to the Iranian and Syrian governments; this is partly why those two nations make up half the

³³⁷ Michael Karam, "Lebanese Are Tough but They Also Need a Plan B, C and D," *The National* (United Arab Emirates), 8 December 2011, <http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/industry-insights/economics/lebanese-are-tough-but-they-also-need-a-plan-b-c-and-d>

³³⁸ Sandra Mackey, "Chapter 4: Woe Be to the State," in *Mirror of the Arab World: Lebanon in Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 104.

³³⁹ Casey L. Addis, "Lebanon: Background and U.S. Relations," Congressional Research Service, 1 February 2011, 2, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R40054.pdf>

³⁴⁰ Casey L. Addis and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Hezbollah: Background and Issues for Congress," Congressional Research Service, 8 October 2010, 23, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/150207.pdf>

countries considered State Supporters of Terrorism by the U.S. government as of 2012.³⁴¹ Hezbollah has officially been part of the Lebanese government since 2008, and in 2011 it played the lead role in bringing down the U.S.-supported government of Prime Minister Saad Hariri. The Hariri regime was replaced by a new government in which Hezbollah and its pro-Syrian, March 8 Alliance allies were in the majority.

The United States has provided increased military and economic assistance to Lebanon since Syrian forces left the country in 2005. Between 2007 and 2010, the U.S. provided Lebanon with more than USD 700 million in security assistance. The majority of this money was appropriated to Foreign Military Financing, which included earmarked aid for supporting the Lebanese Armed Forces in implementing U.N. Security Council Resolution 1701. Among the goals of this resolution were the establishment of a weapons-free zone in southern Lebanon and the end of arms smuggling across the Lebanon-Syria border.³⁴² Since 2011, political pressure has developed within the U.S. Congress to ensure that Lebanese aid—in particular, military assistance—is rigorously monitored during periods when Hezbollah is part of the governing coalition.^{343, 344}

Relations With Neighboring Countries

Syria

Lebanon has long had a complex, politically charged relationship with Syria. Syrian military forces were positioned in Lebanon from March 1976 to 2005, finally leaving during the Cedar Revolution uprising. For many Syrians, particularly Christians, the long Syrian military presence in Lebanon has been seen as a means for Damascus to politically and economically dominate Lebanese affairs.³⁴⁵

Certainly, Lebanese politicians and citizens for many years after independence did not believe that Syria had an interest in seeing a politically independent Lebanon. The Syrian government did not establish diplomatic relations with Beirut until 2008, the first formal move signaling that Syria recognized Lebanese sovereignty.³⁴⁶



© FreedomHouse2 / flickr.com
Syrian protesters in Lebanon

³⁴¹ Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, “Chapter 3: State Sponsors of Terrorism,” in *Country Reports on Terrorism 2010*, 18 August 2011, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2010/170260.htm>

³⁴² Casey L. Addis, “U.S. Security Assistance to Lebanon,” Congressional Research Service, 19 January 2011, 1, 9, http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/R40485_20110119.pdf

³⁴³ Muna Shikaki, “US Aid for Hezbollah? La (No!) That Means Restricting Aid to Lebanese Government,” *Al Arabiya News*, 18 June 2011, <http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/06/18/153799.html>

³⁴⁴ Casey L. Addis, “Lebanon: Background and U.S. Relations,” Congressional Research Service, 1 February 2011, 3, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R40054.pdf>

³⁴⁵ Aram Nerguizian, “The Lebanese Armed Forces: Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, 10 February 2009, 9, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf

³⁴⁶ *CBC News*, “Syria Issues Decree to Establish Diplomatic Relations with Lebanon,” 14 October 2008, <http://current.com/15a7i4c>

The 2005 assassination of Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, shortly after a Syrian-supported extension of pro-Syrian Lebanese President Émile Lahoud's term of office, awakened the Lebanese political sphere.³⁴⁷ Lebanon's Sunnis, who had supported the Syrian presence in Lebanon, soon reversed their position.³⁴⁸ Two major political alliances formed after Hariri's assassination. One (March 8 Alliance) took a pro-Syrian stance and the other (March 14 Alliance) pushed for the Syrian military's departure from Lebanon. After the Syrians left, the March 14 Alliance won the subsequent parliamentary elections and remained in power until 2011.

Since 2011, the two alliances have taken different positions toward the protests against the regime of President Bashar al-Assad in Syria. These demonstrations provoked a violent crackdown from the Syrian government that triggered condemnations from other nations.³⁴⁹ While the Lebanese government has taken an official stance of neutrality toward the Syrian uprising, support for the Assad regime has been expressed by some parties in the governing March 8 Alliance—most notably, Hizballah. Other members of the March 8 coalition, such as the Druze-dominated Progressive Socialist Party, have notably distanced themselves from Hizballah's position. Similarly, the March 14 Alliance has been split on whether Assad should resign. Christian members of the March 14 group, noting that the Syrian protests have been led largely by Sunnis, have been far less inclined than their Sunni political allies to push for regime change in Syria.³⁵⁰

Israel

Lebanon and Israel have never had formal foreign relations. The two nations have technically been at war for more than 60 years, because no peace treaty ever followed the 1948 Lebanon-Israel armistice.³⁵¹ Israel Defense Forces (IDF) have entered southern Lebanon on several occasions since 1948 to counter attacks launched by Palestinian guerrillas (and, in 2006, Hizballah forces) operating there. The area of southern Lebanon between the Israel-Lebanon border and the Litani River is now patrolled by the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFL). Many of the UNIFL forces in the area operate near the so-called Blue Line that represents the line of withdrawal of Israeli troops from southern Lebanon in May 2000.



© Magnolia Five / flickr.com
Lebanon - Israel border

Along the Blue Line section between the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights and Lebanon is a small section of land known as the Shebaa Farms, which has played an outsized role in Israel-Lebanon

³⁴⁷ Voice of America, "Lebanon-Syria Relations 'Contentious' Four Years after Hariri Assassination," 2 November 2009, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/a-13-2009-02-13-voa54-68672187.html>

³⁴⁸ Aram Nerguizian, "The Lebanese Armed Forces: Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 10 February 2009, 9, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf

³⁴⁹ Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, "Journalists Killed in Syria, Sparking International Condemnation," 22 February 2012, http://www.rferl.org/content/syria_crackdown_/24491921.html

³⁵⁰ Raymond E. Karam, "Decision Time for Lebanon," *Foreign Policy Journal*, 24 February 2012, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2012/02/24/decision-time-for-lebanon/>

³⁵¹ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Background Note: Lebanon," 1 December 2011, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35833.htm>

relations over the last decade. This region was never properly surveyed during the French Mandate period. During the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel seized it from Syria when the IDF occupied the Golan Heights, but now Syria and Lebanon claim that the Shebaa Farms tract is actually part of Lebanon. Hizballah has argued that Israel's continuing occupation of Shebaa Farms means that their troops are still occupying Lebanese territory; Hizballah uses this reasoning as a justification for their attacks on Israel.³⁵²

The discovery in 2010 of natural gas fields in areas offshore from northern Israel's coast has opened up another boundary dispute between Lebanon and Israel.³⁵³ Because the two nations have never agreed on their land or sea borders and have no bilateral relations, settling the maritime boundaries has become a thorny issue involving negotiations through outside parties such as the U.S. and the United Nations.³⁵⁴ Cyprus, which shares maritime borders with Lebanon and Israel, also participates in these discussions.³⁵⁵ Both Israel and Lebanon have issued strong statements promising a forceful defense of economic development rights in their territorial waters, as has Hizballah leader Hassan Nasrallah.³⁵⁶

Military

The Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) formed in 1947. During the Lebanese Civil War (1975–1990), the LAF began to break apart while sectarian militias and Palestinian guerrilla groups asserted themselves.³⁵⁷ It was during this time that the Syrian Army largely took over the nation's security operations from the LAF. After the end of the Civil War, the Syrian Army remained in Lebanon until 2005. Meanwhile, the LAF slowly rebuilt its forces, going from a force of 15,000 in 1988 to more than 72,000 in 2005.³⁵⁸ The pre-Civil War prevalence of Christian officers in the LAF began to shift as well, with Muslim officers a majority by 2004.³⁵⁹



© Giorgio Montersino
LAF soldiers

³⁵² Pierre Tristam, "What is Shebaa Farms?" About.com, 2012, <http://middleeast.about.com/od/lebanon/f/shebaa-farms-faq-lebanon.htm>

³⁵³ Ethan Bronner, "Gas Field Confirmed Off Coast of Israel," *New York Times*, 30 December 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/31/world/middleeast/31leviathan.html>

³⁵⁴ Batsheva Sobelman, "Israel: Natural Gas Deposits Stir Waters with Lebanon," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 July 2011, <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/babylonbeyond/2011/07/israel-five-years-after-war-border-with-lebanon-quiet-but-maritime-border-troubled.html>

³⁵⁵ Hassan Lakkis, "Negotiation Blunders Jeopardize Oil and Gas Campaign," *Daily Star* (Lebanon), 14 July 2011, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2011/Jul-14/Negotiation-blunders-jeopardize-oil-and-gas-campaign.ashx#axzz1c3mLPonW>

³⁵⁶ Martin Wählisch, "Israel-Lebanon Offshore Oil & Gas Dispute—Rules of International Maritime Law," *Insights* 15, no. 31 (5 December 2011), <http://www.asil.org/pdfs/insights/insight111205.pdf>

³⁵⁷ Aram Nerguizian, "The Lebanese Armed Forces: Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 10 February 2009, 8–9, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf

³⁵⁸ Aram Nerguizian, "The Lebanese Armed Forces: Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 10 February 2009, 67, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf

³⁵⁹ Aram Nerguizian, "The Lebanese Armed Forces: Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 10 February 2009, 9, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf

The LAF today has a force size of a little over 59,000, most of whom are assigned to the army. Roughly 2,000 or so personnel are divided between the small naval and air force components of the LAF.³⁶⁰ The relatively small size of the LAF force and their limited combat systems do not allow the LAF to be an effective deterrent when facing larger and better equipped military forces. Instead, the LAF has focused on matters of internal security and border policing since the Syrian forces left Lebanon.³⁶¹ During the 2006 Israel-Hizballah War, the LAF took virtually no role in fighting against the Israel Defense Forces; instead, it directed relief efforts and helped maintain law and order in attacked cities.³⁶²

The 2006 war and a sectarian conflict in 2008 illustrate the difficult situation the LAF faces in its relationship with Hizballah. In 2008, Hizballah fighters engaged Sunni combatants on the streets of West Beirut following attempts by Lebanese President Fuad Siniora to shut down Hizballah's extensive communications network and reassign a Lebanese general in charge of Beirut airport security who was deemed too friendly with Hizballah.³⁶³ The LAF leadership decided not to intervene to try and stop the Hizballah-Sunni fighting. For the LAF, confronting Hizballah risked not only potential losses to an armed militia that in many ways was better trained and armed, but also an increase in dissent among Shi'ite LAF members.³⁶⁴

Terrorist Groups and Activities

Besides Hizballah, several organizations designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations by the U.S. government are known to operate within Lebanon. Among them are Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command (PFLP-GC), and Asbat al-Ansar.³⁶⁵ Most of these groups, as well as several others, operate out of the 12 Palestinian refugee camps within Lebanon.

The LAF does not maintain a presence in the refugee camps, but it has from time to time carried out operations to counter terrorist threats operating within the camps.³⁶⁶ The most prominent anti-terrorist operation occurred in 2007, when members of the Fatah al-Islam terrorist group

³⁶⁰ International Institute for Strategic Studies, "Chapter 7: Middle East and North Africa," in *The Military Balance* (London: Routledge, 2011), 318–319.

³⁶¹ Aram Nerguizian, "The Lebanese Armed Forces: Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 10 February 2009, 15, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf

³⁶² Aram Nerguizian, "The Lebanese Armed Forces: Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 10 February 2009, 12, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf

³⁶³ Robert F. Worth, "Lebanon Reverses Decisions that Prompted Violence," *New York Times*, 15 May 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/15/world/middleeast/15lebanon.html?ref=lebanon>

³⁶⁴ Aram Nerguizian, "The Lebanese Armed Forces: Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 10 February 2009, 18–20, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf

³⁶⁵ Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, "Chapter 2: Country Reports: Middle East and North Africa Overview," in *Country Reports on Terrorism 2010*, 18 August 2011, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2010/170257.htm>

³⁶⁶ Scott Neuman, "Lebanon Attacks Militants in Refugee Camp," National Public Radio, 21 May 2007, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=10292649&ps=rs>

battled the LAF at the Nahr al-Bared refugee camp near Tripoli. More than 2,000 LAF forces participated in the prolonged Nahr al-Bared siege against Fatah al-Islam, which ultimately resulted in 169 LAF fatalities.³⁶⁷

Hizballah's beginnings trace to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the subsequent occupation of southern Lebanon by the Israel Defense Forces. Amal, the leading Lebanese Shi'ite militia of the time, splintered over the decision by its leader Nabih Berri to take a path of political moderation toward the Israeli occupation.³⁶⁸ With the financial and tactical support of Iranian Revolutionary Guards forces operating out of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, more militant, pro-Islamist Amal members founded Islamic Amal, a militia that eventually became an important faction of Hizballah.³⁶⁹ Hizballah first emerged as a something of an umbrella group that included not only Islamic Amal, but also the shadowy Islamic Jihad, which carried out many of the group's bombings, including those targeting the U.S. Embassy in Beirut and the Marine Barracks at Beirut International Airport.³⁷⁰



© Paul Keller
Hezbollah flag

Since 1993, Hizballah has been led by Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah, who was selected the group's leader after its founder, Abbas al-Musawi, was killed by an Israeli helicopter attack.³⁷¹ Over time, Hizballah has emerged as a "state within a state" within Lebanon. It enjoys a strong base of popularity among many Lebanese Shi'ites, not only because of its anti-Israeli resistance, but also because of its social services program and its emphasis on religious piety.³⁷³

Other Issues Affecting Stability

Special Tribunal for Lebanon

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1757, adopted in May 2007, authorized the creation of a Special Tribunal to investigate the assassination of ex-Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and subsequently to prosecute any individuals considered responsible for the attack.³⁷⁴ A little

³⁶⁷ Aram Nerguizian, "The Lebanese Armed Forces: Challenges and Opportunities in Post-Syria Lebanon," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 10 February 2009, 13–17,

http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/090210_lafsecurity3.pdf

³⁶⁸ Magnus Ranstorp, "Chapter 2: Background to the Formation of the Hizb'allah in Lebanon," in *Hizb'Allah in Lebanon: The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 30.

³⁶⁹ Casey L. Addis and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Hezbollah: Background and Issues for Congress," Congressional Research Service, 3 January 2011, 7, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R41446.pdf>

³⁷⁰ Martin Kramer, "Hizballah: The Calculus of Jihad," in *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Politics, Economies, and Militance*, eds. M. Marty and R. S. Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 539–56, <http://www.martinkramer.org/sandbox/reader/archives/hizbullah-the-calculus-of-jihad/>

³⁷¹ Casey L. Addis and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Hezbollah: Background and Issues for Congress," Congressional Research Service, 3 January 2011, 10, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R41446.pdf>

³⁷² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Abbas al-Musawi," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/399459/Abbas-al-Musawi>

³⁷³ Casey L. Addis and Christopher M. Blanchard, "Hezbollah: Background and Issues for Congress," Congressional Research Service, 3 January 2011, 8–9, 14, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R41446.pdf>

³⁷⁴ Special Tribunal for Lebanon, "Resolution 1757 (2007)," 30 May 2007, <http://www.stl-tsl.org/en/documents/un-documents/un-security-council-resolutions/security-council-resolution-1757>

more than four years later, indictments were handed down by the Special Tribunal, naming four members of Hizballah as part of the assassination plot. Hizballah leader Hassan Nasrallah immediately denounced the indictments, discredited the Special Tribunal's motives, and vowed that none of the four men would ever be arrested to stand trial.³⁷⁵



© delayed gratification / flickr.com
Poster of Hassan Nasrallah

With Hizballah now part of the Lebanese government, the Special Tribunal of Lebanon (STL) indictments have created a ticklish situation for Prime Minister Najib Mikati, who came to power in 2011 after months of political stalemate. Lebanon has continued to meet its financial obligations to help shoulder the STL costs, despite Hizballah's objections, but the STL debate continues to widen the growing Sunni-Shi'ite divide within Lebanon.³⁷⁶

Syrian Unrest

As previously noted, events in Syria play a large role within Lebanon. Even though Syrian troops have not been in Lebanon since 2005, Lebanon's neighbor to the east continues to have an impact on Lebanese political and economic affairs. The Assads (first Hafez, followed by his son Bashar) have been in power in Syria for over four decades, but in 2011 a series of protests triggered an uprising that threatened to overturn the Assad dynasty. Within Lebanon, the conflict in Syria has been viewed with great concern. Among the issues are the impact of refugees into the Lebanese border areas; the response of Hizballah if the Assad regime appears in danger of falling; and an economically damaging decline in trade and tourism activity between the two nations, especially if Lebanon adheres to Arab League sanctions against Syria.³⁷⁷

Palestinian Refugee Camps

The Palestinian refugee population within Lebanon is largely marginalized, with roughly half the refugees living in crowded "camps" mostly within or on the margins of the largest cities. Though the Palestinian refugees have made some legal advances in recent years in terms of private-sector employment opportunities, most Palestinians in Lebanon continue to lack access to state medical and educational facilities or to other state-provided social services.³⁷⁸ Instead, these services are provided by the



© l'ifpo / flickr.com
Palestinian refugee camp

³⁷⁵ Peter Kenyon, "Hezbollah Indictments, Syrian Unrest Shake Lebanon," National Public Radio, 16 July 2011, <http://www.npr.org/2011/07/16/137825397/hezbollah-indictments-syrian-unrest-shake-lebanon>

³⁷⁶ Rebecca A. Hopkins, "Lebanon and the Uprising in Syria: Issue for Congress," Congressional Research Service, 4–5, 2 February 2012, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R42339.pdf>

³⁷⁷ Rebecca A. Hopkins, "Lebanon and the Uprising in Syria: Issue for Congress," Congressional Research Service, 7–12, 2 February 2012, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R42339.pdf>

³⁷⁸ Jim Muir, "Lebanon Grants Palestinian Refugees Right to Work," *BBC News*, 17 August 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11004945>

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), a chronically underfunded agency of 30,000 workers serving a total refugee population of nearly 5 million.³⁷⁹

The Palestinian refugees are viewed warily by some Lebanese sectarian groups—particularly Christians—partly because of fears that if this long-resident population in Lebanon is assimilated into Lebanese society, the result will be that someday the Palestinians will become naturalized Lebanese citizens, thus changing the nation’s sectarian balance.³⁸⁰ (The majority of Lebanese Palestinians are Sunni Muslims.)³⁸¹

In addition, the Palestinian refugee camps have become havens for radical Palestinian Islamist groups aligned with al-Qaeda ideology. The largest refugee camp, Ain al-Hilweh (near Sidon), has become notorious as a breeding ground for the Islamist groups. Bombings and shootouts between members of Fatah, the Palestinian organization nominally responsible for security within Ain al-Hilweh, and the Islamist factions have become relatively commonplace.³⁸² Lebanese officials worry that the violent groups operating within the camps might expand their operations beyond camp borders. As if to underscore this concern, the Lebanese government announced in March 2012 that it had uncovered a cell operating within the LAF that was collaborating with the Abdullah Azzam Brigades, a secretive al-Qaeda affiliate whose leadership resides in Ain al-Hilweh.³⁸³

³⁷⁹ Multilateral Organisation Performance Assessment Network (MOPAN), “Organisational Effectiveness Assessment: United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA),” December 2011, vii, <http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/201204291514.pdf>

³⁸⁰ International Crisis Group, “Nurturing Instability: Lebanon’s Palestinian Refugee Camps,” 19 February 2009, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/middle-east-north-africa/israel-palestine/084-nurturing-instability-lebanons-palestinian-refugee-camps.aspx>

³⁸¹ Omar al-Issawi, “Lebanon’s Palestinian Refugees,” *Al Jazeera*, 4 June 2009, <http://www.aljazeera.com/focus/2009/05/2009527115531294628.html>

³⁸² Mona Alami, “Who’s Causing the Trouble in Ain al-Hilweh?” NOW (New Opinion Workshop) Lebanon, 21 December 2011, <http://www.nowlebanon.com/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=344903>

³⁸³ Radwan Mortada, “Salafi Cell in the Lebanese Army: Separating Fact From Fiction,” *Al Akhbar* (Lebanon), 23 March 2012, <http://english.al-akhbar.com/content/salafi-cell-lebanese-army-separating-fact-fiction>

Chapter 5 Assessment

1. Hizballah, listed as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the United States, is part of the governing alliance in Lebanon.

TRUE

Since 1997, Hizballah has been listed as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the U.S. Department of State. In 2011, Hizballah and its allies formed a new government after bringing down that of Prime Minister Saad Hariri.

2. Syria has never established formal diplomatic relations with Lebanon.

FALSE

The Syrian government did not establish diplomatic relations with Beirut until 2008, the first formal move signaling that Syria recognized Lebanese sovereignty.

3. Lebanon and Israel have no formal relations and technically are at war.

TRUE

Lebanon and Israel have never had formal diplomatic relations. The two nations have technically been at war for more than 60 years, because no peace treaty ever followed the 1948 Lebanon-Israel armistice.

4. Lebanon's military is relatively small and underarmed and did not take a significant fighting role in the 2006 Israel-Hizballah war.

TRUE

The relatively small size of the LAF force and their limited combat systems do not allow the LAF to be an effective deterrent when facing larger and better equipped military forces. During the 2006 Israel-Hizballah War, the LAF took virtually no role in fighting against the Israel Defense Forces.

5. The Special Tribunal of Lebanon was created to investigate and prosecute war crimes committed during the Lebanon Civil War.

FALSE

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1757, adopted in May 2007, authorized the creation of a Special Tribunal to investigate the assassination of ex-Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and to prosecute any individuals considered responsible for the attack.

FINAL ASSESSMENT

1. Lebanon has four main geographic regions that all parallel its coastline.
TRUE / FALSE
2. Lebanon's climate is semitropical and is marked by hot, wet summers and mild, dry winters.
TRUE / FALSE
3. Tripoli, whose population is majority Sunni Muslim, is a religiously conservative city.
TRUE / FALSE
4. Lebanon is subject only to small earthquakes because of its distance from any major faults.
TRUE / FALSE
5. The Litani River, whose watershed makes up one-fifth of Lebanon's area, flows from the Bekaa Valley to the Lebanese coast.
TRUE / FALSE
6. The Romans briefly ruled what is modern Lebanon and left no lasting impression.
TRUE / FALSE
7. Fakhr al-Din II is a Druze leader of the Ottoman era who established an extensive domain that included all of modern Lebanon.
TRUE / FALSE
8. After World War I, Lebanon became part of a French Mandate sponsored by the League of Nations.
TRUE / FALSE
9. Palestinian refugees first entered Lebanon after the 1967 Six-Day War.
TRUE / FALSE
10. Lebanon's Cedar Revolution marked the end of the nation's division of power on the basis of religious sect.
TRUE / FALSE
11. Agriculture is a relatively small part of Lebanon's economy, but it provides employment for over 20% of the nation's workers.
TRUE / FALSE

12. Lebanon's most important mineral resource is gold, mined from deposits in Mount Lebanon.
TRUE / FALSE
13. Much of the foreign investment in Lebanon supports the nation's textile and clothing industry.
TRUE / FALSE
14. Lebanon's railroads transport most of the goods going to or coming from Syria and Jordan.
TRUE / FALSE
15. Lebanon is considered a middle-income economy, but some cities and regions of the country suffer from relatively high poverty rates.
TRUE / FALSE
16. Lebanon's Muslims primarily speak Arabic, while its Christian population consists largely of native French speakers.
TRUE / FALSE
17. Parliament seats in Lebanon are allocated in number to the nation's religious sects (also known as "confessional groups").
TRUE / FALSE
18. Lebanese women in rural Muslim villages commonly wear a head covering.
TRUE / FALSE
19. Lebanon's national soccer team has won numerous medals in Olympic competition.
TRUE / FALSE
20. Lebanon's family law is governed individually by each religious sect.
TRUE / FALSE
21. The governments of Lebanon and the United States have long had good relations.
TRUE / FALSE
22. The Lebanese government has actively supported the uprising against the Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria.
TRUE / FALSE
23. Shebaa Farms is a contested border region claimed by Lebanon and Syria.
TRUE / FALSE

24. Hizballah formed as a splinter group of the Palestinian Sunni Islamic group, Hamas.
TRUE / FALSE

25. Many of Lebanon's terrorist organizations operate out of its 12 Palestinian refugee camps.
TRUE / FALSE

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