

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND
INDIRECT THIRD-PARTY CONFLICT INTERVENTION:
A HYPOTHESIS FROM THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR

A Master's Thesis

by
HAIG PHILIP SHISHMANIAN

Department of
International Relations
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
March 2014

To my dear parents,
Shavarsh Mark and Sosy Maral,
who continually reflect Sacrificial Love

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND
INDIRECT THIRD-PARTY CONFLICT INTERVENTION:
A HYPOTHESIS FROM THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

HAIG PHILIP SHISHMANIAN

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

March 2014

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgür Özdamar
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Nil Seda Şatana
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assist. Prof. Dr. İlker Aytürk
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND INDIRECT THIRD-PARTY CONFLICT INTERVENTION: A HYPOTHESIS FROM THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR

Shishmanian, Haig Philip

M.A., Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgür Özdamar

February 2014

Ethnically and religiously-identified groups are frequently involved in conflict. Such conflicts attract forms of third-party intervention which often favor one ethno-religious group over another by means other than direct military intervention on the part of the affiliated third-party government. This study first highlights two themes in two areas of literature: Studies of the role of religion in politics discuss types of religious grouping, understood generally as ‘religious affiliation’, while conflict intervention literature suggests several forms of intervention apart from direct military intervention but lacks a detailed description of a variable encompassing all such forms. This variable is termed ‘indirect intervention’, the definition of which, synthesized from the literature, is this thesis’ first contribution. This thesis also considers that, though contemporary international politics features religiously-affiliated third-parties indirectly aiding ‘brethren’ in conflict, a causal relationship between the two has previously only been postulated and should be explored. By carrying out a hypothesis-generating case study of religious affiliation and indirect intervention in the case of the Western support of the Maronite Arab community’s parties and militias during the Lebanese Civil War, it is

hypothesized that religious affiliation causes indirect intervention. It is anticipated that the generated hypothesis will be confirmed by future large-N studies of all such cases during a span of time, with a specific emphasis on the dynamics of conflict intervention in the Middle East and North Africa.

Keywords: Conflict, Third-Party Intervention, Indirect Intervention, Religious Identity, Religious Affiliation, Lebanon, Lebanese Civil War, Middle East

ÖZET

DİNİ MENSUBİYET VE DOLAYLI ÜÇÜNCÜ TARAF ÇATIŞMA MÜDAHALESİ: LÜBNAN İÇ SAVAŞI'NA DAİR BİR HİPOTEZ

Shishmanian, Haig Philip

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Özgür Özdamar

Mart 2014

Etnik ve dini tanımlanmış gruplar çatışmalara sıkça katılırlar. Böyle çatışmalar, çoğunlukla bir etno-dini grubun diğeri üstünde desteklendiği üçüncü taraf müdahalesi türlerinin ilgisini çeker. Kullanılan müdahale araçları çoğunlukla doğrudan askeri müdahaleli araçlardan farklıdır. Bu çalışma ilk olarak literatürün iki alanında iki farklı temayı vurgular. (1) Siyasette dinin rolü üzerine çalışmalar, genellikle dini mensubiyet olarak anlaşılan dini gruplaşma türlerini kapsar. (2) Çatışma müdahalesi literatürü, doğrudan askeri müdahalenin dışında, müdahalenin birçok türünü içerir; fakat, böyle türleri kapsayan bir değişkenin detaylı açıklaması yeterli değildir.

Tanımlı literatürden kavramsallaştırılan dolaylı müdahale değişkeni bu tezin ilk katkısıdır. Bu tez aynı zamanda gözönünde bulundurmaktadır ki çatışmalarda dinen tanımlanmış üçüncü tarafların 'kardeşlere' dolaylı yardım edişi günümüz uluslararası siyasetinde ortaya çıkmasına rağmen, bu ikisi arasındaki nedensel bir ilişki daha önce ifade edilmiş ama daha araştırılmalıdır. Lübnan İç Savaşı sırasında Maruni Arap toplulukların partilerine ve silahlı güçlerine Batılı desteğin verilmesi olayında dini mensubiyet ve dolaylı müdahalenin ele alındığı

hipotez-üreten vaka analizi yaparak, bu tez dini mensubiyetin dolaylı müdahaleye neden olduğunu hipotezleştirir. Ortadoğu ve Kuzey Afrika'daki çatışma müdahalesi süreçlerine özel bir vurguyla, üretilen bu hipotez gelecekte belli bir zamanda böyle olayların büyük datasetlerini ve çoklu değişkenlerini içeren çalışmalarda desteklenebilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Çatışma, Üçüncü Taraf Müdahalesi, Dolaylı Müdahalesi, Dini Kimlik, Dini Mensubiyet, Lübnan, Lübnan İç Savaşı, Orta Doğu

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very thankful for many individuals' contribution to this study, though I can only list a few. I thank my advisor, Dr. Özgür Özdamar, for the support, feedback and guidance he provided throughout the writing process. His knowledge of foreign policy analysis and academic advice contributed invaluablely both to this study and to my education. I thank Dr. Nil Şatana and Dr. İlker Aytürk, who generously agreed to be part of my thesis committee. Dr. Nil Şatana's feedback in the area of conflict and intervention studies, both during our Research Methods course and thesis defense, contributed significantly to this study's relevance, while Dr. İlker Aytürk's knowledge of the politics of the Middle East contributed especially to the historical aspects of the study. I also thank Dr. Serdar Güner, whose course on Religion and International Relations Theories stimulated my literature review. I would like to thank the kind and tireless Fatma Toga Yılmaz, our department secretary, for her administrative support in arranging for my thesis defense. Lastly, I thank Dr. Pınar Bilgin, whose course in International Relations Theory provided a great platform for learning how to critically review literature as a student of international relations.

I was also blessed with several friends who contributed to the completion of this thesis. Toygar Halistoprak was a great help in brainstorming and giving advice during my proposal, as well as an example of a compassionately-concerned researcher. Erkam Sula enthusiastically offered advice in how to carry out graduate-level research to its completion. Uluç Karakaş generously devoted his time to helping me translate the abstract to Turkish. Mano and Raffi Chilingirian, Hovsep Seraydarian, Serop Ohanian, and Harout Djibian's perspectives were very helpful in focusing my reading about the sectarian politics of Lebanon during the Civil War. Uğur Yılmaz was a great encouragement to be writing, laughing, and drinking coffee alongside, especially in the final weeks. Benjamin Reimold was a constant, caring source of brainstorming and feedback, allowing me to vent, and always distracting me at the right times with youtube videos and intriguing articles. I am lastly thankful for the support of my dear friend, Sercan Canbolat, with whom it was an honor to spend countless hours working together on everything from vocabulary, graduate school applications, and our theses, to exchanging feedback, planning for the future, and always having enough time for laughs and good conversation.

I thank my sister - Nyree, brothers - Aram and Shaant, grandmother - Zdenka, uncles, aunts, cousins, and amazing friends at home for their constant encouragement and prayer for me during my time at Bilkent. Last but not least, I thank my parents, Shavarsh Mark and Sosy Maral, for their love, encouragement, prayer, and the parental blessing of being taken seriously.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	8
2.1 Introduction.....	8
2.2 Religion and International Politics.....	10
2.3 Religion as a social phenomenon.....	13
2.4 Transnational Religious Affiliation.....	18
2.4.1 Other terms associated with religious affiliation.....	20
2.5 Religious Affiliation and Conflict Intervention.....	23
2.6 Features of Third-Party Intervention in Ethno-Religious Conflicts.....	25
2.7 Religious Affiliation as a cause of Third Party Intervention in Ethno-Religious Conflicts.....	27

2.8 Religious Affinity’s effect on Indirect Support.....	30
2.9 The relationship between religious affiliation and indirect support..	34
2.10 Alternative arguments and clarifications.....	38
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY.....	44
3.1 Identifying the variables.....	47
3.2 Determining causality through and process tracing.....	48
3.3 Case Selection.....	50
3.4 Process Tracing: Sources.....	53
CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	55
4.1 Who are the Maronites?.....	55
4.2 Neighboring Peoples.....	56
4.3 Roman Catholic Alignment.....	58
4.4 Early Sectarian Particularities.....	62
4.5 International Involvement.....	63
4.6 19th Century Clashes.....	66
4.7 The Mandate.....	68
4.8 Competing Histories.....	72
4.9 Mandate-era Sectarian Politics and Strife.....	73
4.10 The Imbalance of Independent Lebanon.....	75
4.11 Pre-War Violence.....	80
CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY.....	84
5.1 War Overview.....	84
5.1.1 Sects, parties, and militias.....	87

5.1.2 The beginnings of Syria’s involvement.....	89
5.1.3 Middle War - Syria’s Allies vs. Enemies.....	92
5.1.4 The US and the Multinational Force: Direct Intervention?.....	93
5.1.5 Late War: Intercommunal Conflict.....	98
5.2 Year-by-year case study observations for Maronites.....	103
5.2.1 Identifying Indirect Intervention in the war’s initial stage (1975-1976).....	108
5.2.2 The rise of Bachir Gemayel and ambition for ‘Christian’ hegemony (1977-1982).....	121
5.2.3 The ambition of Amin Gemayel and foreign direct intervention.....	126
5.2.4 Signs of peace, near settlement, no peace until Taif agreement (1984-1990).....	129
5.3 Observations.....	132
5.4 Process Tracing: Making sense of the observations.....	135
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION.....	138
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	148
APPENDIX.....	155

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Discussions of politics in conflict-prone areas are ridden with references to ethnicity, religion, and sect. Both historically and in the contemporary era, journalists and scholars generally gravitate toward characterizing political crises and civil conflicts as having an ethnic or sectarian nature when such groupings exist. Johnson (2012) clarifies the distinction between national groups' nationalist claims and ethnic identities' ethnic solidarities as summed up in ambitions for statehood. While nationalist particularly designate borders and legitimacy of governance as belonging to a particular group, it is ethnic solidarities that often conflicts with other ethnic groups' "visions of identity, borders, and citizenship of the state". Thus, civil conflicts are often described as ethnic, with ethnic solidarities vying for political influence and control in their particular contexts.

Ethnic conflicts are rarely devoid of religious features. Perhaps all ethnically-oriented crises of the 20th and 21st centuries, most of which involve religion to different extents, can be viewed through the lens of religious solidarity. Populations united by affiliation with a particular religion or religious sect are often acting in complete opposition to religious belief, but nonetheless understood as religious because of the kind of grouping that unites them. Philpott (2007) writes that “political scientists are most at home when they describe states - how states make their decisions, how they interact, and who influences them. They are far less nimble with religions, which are far older...make claims far larger...entail a membership far wider...and indeed often accept the legitimacy of states only conditionally...they are transnational” (Philpott, 2007: 506).

In ethnic and civil conflicts, such religious grouping often exists to unite towards a common goal and ethnic or national conception. Between the Middle East and Europe, the conception of the Crusades as a conflict between Western Christendom and Islam lays the backdrop for the uniting power of religious identification. In the 20th century, within the Middle East, ethnic solidarity and nationalism associated with the Turkish national struggle or Arabism and the modern nation state have frequently both benefited from the uniting power and conflicted with Sunni (or, in some cases, Shia) Islamism, which crosses borders and boundaries and gives Muslims a sense of brotherhood outside of their formal citizenship-based identities. Studies of conflicts in the Middle East often

include a designation of the sects of those involved, whether they are identified as Muslims, Christians, or Jews, regardless of whether religious belief is contributing to the conflict.

Understanding identity is both crucial to studies of conflict involving identity as well as that of third-party intervention. Third-party intervention in civil and ethnic conflicts is often carried out by religiously-affiliated third-party governments on behalf of similarly-affiliated groups. Such instances can be traced since the Crimean War, when the religious sects of various European powers determined their vying for influence and protection of rights to sacred sites in Jerusalem, becoming an internationalized conflict fought for reasons outside the scope of the original grievances themselves. Both France and Russia were self-declared and, to an extent, officially the guardians of Ottoman Christendom, beginning in the 19th century and leading into the First World War. This became particularly perplexing when the Ottoman Empire, fighting what was presented to its Muslim population as a holy war, allied with Christian Germany and engaged in war against Christian Russia and France, who both had relations with groups in Anatolia, including but not limited to its Christian populations. The war went on while religiously-affiliated but ethnically diverse Sunnis were united under the vision of a Turkish nation, leaving little room for Ottoman Christians in the new ideal of Turkish nationalism, which later conflicted with non-Sunnis as well.

In contemporary politics, the end of the Cold War has resulted in an era initially seeming somewhat devoid of such bias in intervention. The US intervened in the Balkans on behalf of Muslims in the 1990s; Russia supports Muslims in Georgia's conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia; France supported anti-Syrian groups in the Middle East in the 1990s and 2000s, leading to an anti-Assad policy in the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2011. Still, ethnic and religious identity plays a role in the contemporary Middle East. Most often, Sunni-identified countries such as Saudi Arabia are frequently supporting groups throughout the Middle East in conflict with Iranian-backed Shia militias.

This study responds to the need to move past anecdotal evidence and explain the role of religious identity in civil conflict and third-party intervention. This is done first through a rigorous critical review of literature discussing the relationship between religion and international politics, concluding that, in addition to the way it has been studied in the past, religion also needs to be studied through the lens of social grouping as a social phenomenon which groups populations across national boundaries and is most accurately termed as religious affiliation. Since religious affiliation¹ is often observed as influencing third-parties' support of militias and parties involved in

¹ This term, crucial to this study, is nonetheless problematic. Works such as Singer (1963); Varshney (1998); Fox (1999b); Fox (2002); Varshney (2002); Gabriel, Appleby and Sivan (2003); Fearon and Laitin (2003); Lemke and Regan (2004); Wilkinson (2004); Fox (2004c); Birnir (2007); Chandra and Wilkinson (2008); Birnir et al (2011); Birnir and Satana (2013); Satana et al (2013) point to how religion itself does not encourage conflict but provides convenient administrative and social avenues for action. It is important to view religious affiliation in the definition used later in this literature review, which involves both structure and sentiment but lacks religion itself (which is too broad a concept to be isolated into one variable) and religious belief (which is not consistently proven to be a primary cause of conflict).

civil conflict, the study looks first to define religious affiliation and third-party indirect intervention², that is, anything short of direct military intervention on the part of a third-party in support of a similarly religiously-affiliated militia or party in civil conflict.

This study focuses on the Middle East and North Africa region for three reasons: (1) It is one of the commonly-cited regions prone to ethnic and religiously-related conflicts; (2) it is a crucial focus for potential intervention (both direct and indirect) on the part of western powers in contemporary politics (e.g. Calls for intervention in Libya between 2011-2013; Calls for support of militias and parties and direct intervention in Syria between 2011-2014; Calls for diplomatic intervention in Egypt between 2011-2014); and (3) its religiously-affiliated ethnic demarcations carry tremendous importance as to their implications for the notion of a worldwide ‘clash of civilizations’ and the general role of global Islamism, especially since the al-Qaeda terrorist attacks in the US in 2001.

In order to focus on issues pertaining to the Middle East and North Africa while learning from a contemporary case, this study focuses on the Lebanese Civil War in order to generate a hypothesis regarding the relationship

² ‘Indirect’ is a limited term which may imply a complete lack of confrontation, though it is meant in this study to isolate forms of intervention other than military invasion. It will be used for the purpose of consistency in this study, but any future study based on this work will use more specific terminology which does not rule out diplomacy. Diplomacy is intuitively direct in that it is neither secret nor done far from the conflict. For future studies to discuss what this study refers to as ‘indirect intervention’, a more accurate term which describes the non-invasive nature of such intervention will be synthesized.

between religious affiliation and third-party indirect intervention in civil wars. The case particularly focuses on the US and France's support of Maronite (Eastern Catholics in full communion with the Vatican) militias and political parties. Conclusions from this case offer a unique perspective into religious affiliation broadly without focusing directly on political Islam, which is often the case in studies of conflicts in the Middle East, with "the new terrorism literature" singling out "Islam as a religion that breeds violence" while "grievances such as the lack of access to legislative coalitions...make minorities more likely to rebel" (Satana et al, 2013: 44). The results of the study are meant to be tested and applied to religious affiliation in the context of any religion and sect.

The case study uses hypothesis-generation, in which a case which merely involves the existence of particular variables is studied in order to generate a causal relationship between those variables. In this case, the two variables are those extracted from the literature review: Religious affiliation and indirect intervention. With the definitions established in the literature review, process-tracing is employed to isolate instances of religious affiliation and indirect intervention in the case in order to view a process of events leading from one variable to another, thereby allowing for a hypothesis to be generated. The result of the hypothesis-generating case study, which focuses on the US' and France's relationship with Maronite parties and militias, will propose a causal relationship which can be tested in future large-N studies involving datasets of

civil wars including the two variables over a long period of time. Thus, the contribution of this study is threefold: Religious affiliation is highlighted in the literature, noted as in need of further operationalization, and defined; Indirect intervention is established as a new categorization of forms of third-party conflict intervention; and a hypothesis suggesting a causal relationship between the two variables (referring to one as a dependent variable and the other as independent) emerges, to be tested in future studies.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Religion is too-often treated as an ‘invisible factor’ in international relations and, specifically, the study of ethno-religious conflict and intervention. Scholars observe a rise in recognizing identity as a factor in international politics, especially in the post-Cold War era. While a common theme in the study of identity, religion often continues to be ignored. This paper reviews literature in the subject areas of civil war, third-party intervention, and religion in international relations. These areas, often cross-referenced when foreign policy analysts and scholars of conflict studies look to incorporate ethno-religious identity in their analysis, are difficult to place within a theoretical tradition of international relations. Nonetheless, they do roughly derive from specific strands of theoretical assumptions. Most importantly, literature on

ethnic conflict allows religious identity to be viewed as a particular type of ethno-religious identity (Akbaba, 2006; Fox, 2001; Fox, James, Li, 2009) in the form of religious affiliation.

This section shows in detail how a research question was reached through critical literature review of increasingly specific areas of literature, each requiring further exposition in a more specific area, finally reaching a gap in the literature to be addressed with formal research in the following sections. This section begins with a critical review of literature on religion and international politics, which leads into the question of what is actually being studied. It is next concluded that religion must be studied as a social phenomenon, and that the existence of religious affiliation transnationally affects how international relations is understood. Next, other terms associated with religious affiliation concept of religious affiliation are sorted for their meaning, leading to 'affiliation' being isolated as the most comprehensive term. This leads into a discussion of how such religiously-affiliated groups are often found assisting each other in conflict in historical observations, which opens the need for an examination of literature on third-party intervention. While features of third-party intervention in ethno-religious conflicts are examined, it is noticed that affiliated groups often assist one another in ways that are not necessarily involving direct military invasion. It is then confirmed that religious affiliation is often a cause of third party intervention in ethno-religious conflicts, and lastly that a new variable being defined as indirect support is proposed to be related to

the existence of religious affinity. A final discussion of the relationship between religious affiliation and indirect intervention leads to the research question: What is the causal relationship between religious affiliation and indirect intervention?

2.2 Religion and International Politics

A concise and universally acceptable understanding of the concept of religion and its varied usage in scholarship is the first problem that scholars encounter in this area. Kulbakova (2000) discusses a differentiation between “religion” and “religions”, the former being the broad societal phenomenon and the latter a more objective focus on institutions which greatly loses a holistic understanding of religion in general, since it is by no means confined to established institutions in any globally locatable context. A question that arises in a reading of Kulbakova’s (2000) description is the context of differing political theologies. Her description of embedded religiously-rooted approaches, language, and meaning within IR scholarship tinged with post-modernism is specific to a historical contingency based on a particular experience with Christianity in the West. It is thus questionable whether religion can be understood as a broad phenomenon with the existence of immense heterodoxy and conflicting understandings across the spectrum of religion” which constitute religion in general (Kulbakova, 2000).

There is also a definitional problem in observing religion because of instrumental usage of concepts, grievances, principles, and language associated with it. Instrumental usage varies greatly across political systems and the dynamics of historically contingent religious and 'post-religious' societies and sub-cultures. It is very difficult to differentiate between religious motivation and the instrumental usage of religious language. Additionally, within scholarship, Kulbakova's (2000) illustration of religion's being embedded beneath the surface of post-modern studies demonstrates the complexity of differentiation. The demarcation between religious and the non-religious is problematic in this vein, and thus the causality of phenomena traced to religion is difficult to establish because variables themselves are linguistically malleable. This study looks first to define a particular manifestation of religion in order to empirically explain its relationship with decision making dynamics (Kulbakova, 2000). Any study of the nebulous concept of religion needs to specifically define the aspect of religion or associated phenomenon it is examining.

Katzenstein (2007) discusses religion and secularism in international relations first by rejecting the notion that the world order following the Peace of Westphalia did not include interstate concerns over religion, thus leading to the removal of religion as a factor in international relations. Katzenstein (2007) attributes this removal to three idealisms of core theoretical approaches to international relations theory. Realism, he says, discounts religion as a valid

explanatory variable because of its focus on the power struggle, disregarding religion as a side-show to *realpolitik*. Liberalism and its favoring of cosmopolitanism, he describes, sees religion as a distraction from material-oriented cooperation existing within liberalism's understanding of an anarchical international system. Lastly, according to Katzenstein (2007), Marxism also dismisses religion as an unimportant factor in comparison to the explanatory power of the great class struggle .

Philpott (2007: 505) cites several examples involving the rise of religion in the realm of international relations. These include the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran and religious resurgence in Afghanistan, Kashmir, and the Middle East; the dominance of an Islamist party in Turkish politics beginning in 2002; The prominence of the Hindu-Nationalist party in India in the 1990s and provocations toward Hindu-Muslim violence; The Second Vatican Council's calls for democratization in the Philippines, Brazil, and Poland; Sri Lankan lack of separation between 'sangha' and state in the context of the Hindu Tamil-Buddhist Sri Lankan war; Buddhism in Taiwan and South Korea calling for human rights; and evangelical protestant voting blocs in the US, Brazil, Guatemala, and Kenya. In these cases, we can also observe a rise in the importance of religious identity to the study of international relations. Katzenstein (2007) discusses how the polarity and duality of Huntington's thesis are too broad, requiring a more complex understanding. "Significant modernization of rationalization can be achieved through non-liberal forms of

nationalism that mobilize religion to the task of government at home and governance abroad” (Katzenstein, 2007: 4). There is an aspect of religion and its relationship with society that has social power within and beyond state borders, not limited to the scope of religion in itself but related to religion as a social phenomenon involving grouping and mutual association. Thus, religion should be examined as a social phenomenon.

2.3 Religion as a social phenomenon

The importance of religions’ role in international relations and conflict may very well be on the rise. Studying the impact of the social phenomenon of religion on conflict can often be more effective than discussing belief (Fox, 2004a). Religious belief is highly subjective, disputed, and largely outside of the scope of international relations as a field of political science, yet social scientists can approach religious identity similarly to how they approach ethnicity, not to imply that they are equal or identical but to emphasize how they can be similarly observed. To assume to understand the nuances of religious belief would imply scholars’ ability to engage with experts in religion and religions in particular. Fox (2001b) explains the difficulty in operationalizing religious belief because of its diversity and complexity. Religious belief, contested through issues of doctrine and dogma, is too unclear to observe and differentiate (Akbaba, 2006). Also, “non-religious” actions (actions committed

by “religious” groups) that are contrary to the beliefs, doctrine, or ideology of that religion are problematic. Although actors can be defined as religious, this designation can do the disservice of deeming all of their actions as religiously motivated. It is often quite difficult to demonstrate causality for such religious motivation because of the alternative motivations of supposedly religious actors (Kulbakova, 2000). Thus, this study will focus on how religion influences collective identity, focusing on the observable societal effects of religion.

One form of collective identity that religion is related to is national identity. Different conceptions of national identity, one prevalent form of social grouping, have complex implications for how religion interacts with identity. Walker Connor describes how nations are understood in the social sciences and proceeds to detail and critique multiple alternatives to the usage of the term. What is found is a diverse array of understandings of nation, but a critical theme is identified: Every conception of nation either explicitly includes religion as a uniting factor or implies it in its definition of grouping. Connor writes that “the most fundamental error involved in scholarly approaches to nationalism has been a tendency to equate nationalism with a feeling of loyalty to the state” (Connor, 1978: 378). National identity is thus given a transnational nature (Connor, 1978: 383), but continues with varying conceptualizations. “Sense of homogeneity”, “sameness”, “oneness”, “belonging”, “consciousness” (Connor, 1978: 380) and other descriptions are used to define the nation. Connor particularly cites and critiques the following alternative

conceptualizations of nation, which, according to his discussion, can involve an incorporation of religion: Ethnicity, Primordialism, Pluralism, Tribalism, Regionalism, Communalism, and Parochialism.

Connor's discussion of Ethnicity particularly comments on American sociologists' role in attributing a very broad and diverse set of grouping-sources, including religion, language, minority-status, and race (Connor, 1978: 386). He also refers to anthropologists', ethnologists', and other scholars' general usage of ethnicity as referring to any group with a sense of common ancestry. Ethnicity, with its conceptual flaws, still can incorporate religion as a source of common identity.

Primordialism and its "sentiments" and "attachments", in Connor's discussion, does not strictly incorporate religion, but does accept the possibility of its propensity to be a source of common ancestry (Connor, 1978: 388-389). Connor particularly criticizes literature on primordialism for its apparent hinting towards the lack of primordialism in modern societies, citing how many "modern" states experience the existence of such groups. Thus, religious grouping and the rise of religious identity in the contemporary era certainly fits into the primordial paradigm. Religion is seen in relation to ethnicity and primordial social groupings, and religion itself can also be categorized and understood as such.

Connor's discussion of Pluralism, Tribalism, Parochialism, and Subnationalism do not explicitly include religion, but neither do their respective conceptualizations imply that it cannot be incorporated (Connor, 1978: 391-392, 394-396). Regionalism, at the level of "transstate identity", citing the examples of European Regionalism and the Arab League, can certainly be viewed as incorporating transnational religious groupings, such as Roman Catholicism and Christendom in general or Sunni Islam or pan-Islamism (Connor, 1978: 393). In a similar vein, Communalism (Connor, 1978: 394), having risen out of the propensity for religious identity to divide South Asian peoples, especially in the Islamic-Hindu paradigm, can be easily understood as incorporating religious identity.

Walker Connor's every discussion and critique of nationalism and its alternative conceptualizations thus implies that religion as a social phenomenon in itself, in a universal sense, outside of individual religions' particularities and even the ideological and theological implications of religion as a universal phenomenon, is a powerful identity-providing source that unites individuals in intrastate and interstate contexts. In this study, it is important to limit the understanding of religious identity to the scope of broad social phenomena as opposed to entering into discussions regarding doctrine and belief. Apart from a discussion on doctrine or belief, it is apparent that any source facilitating communal cohesion and "brotherhood" can have a role in identity formation. Fox (2004b) demonstrates how belonging (to different religions or

denominations) in itself as a source of group identity. Gurr (1993) comments that religion is not different from any attribute of ethnic identity. Within the realm of national identity, eliminating discussions of religious belief helps isolate the grouping factor of religion.

Philpott (2007) writes that “political scientists are most at home when they describe states - how states make their decisions, how they interact, and who influences them. They are far less nimble with religions, which are far older...make claims far larger...entail a membership far wider...and indeed often accept the legitimacy of states only conditionally...they are transnational” (Philpott, 2007: 506). In the context of social sciences, it is imperative to consider how political scientists may overlook religion’s propensity to form groups in society. Considering religion as an influence on interstate dynamics does not take away from an understanding of the international system as primarily consisting of states. Rather, doing so provides an additional vantage point from which the nuances of power dynamics can be understood. Since religion causes social groups to form, these social groups affect foreign policy or cause security dilemma for it. The ability of social groups to work to shape relations through and despite the state also does emerge as a theme in the literature. Thus, studies on religion as a social phenomenon, within the context of its similarity to ethnic identity, must incorporate domestic, interstate, or global issues.

2.4 Transnational Religious Affiliation

Fox and Sandler (2005) specify 5 important manifestations of religion, including: Identity, belief Systems, doctrine, legitimacy, and institutions. Identity, legitimacy, and institutions are taken into close consideration in this study, having less of an association with belief. It is important to note the literature's description of identity's ability to act as a vessel across state boundaries. That is, religious identity can spread conflicts across borders because of shared religious affiliation. Religion as a social group also allows identity to work through institutionalization, civil society, and political society (Haynes, 2010:6), structures which allow association and affinity to influence decision-making. According to Fox (1999a: 119, 123), institutions have specifically been observed inhibiting peaceful resistance and tending to facilitate political opposition among ethno-religious minorities. Religious transnationalism has also been known to operate, according to Haynes, "in opposition to state-based nationalism", evident in the examples of the Islamic Ummah and the Roman Catholic Church and Vatican (Haynes, 2010: 6). Fox additionally observes that the particularly religious element of religious nationalism is having an increasingly consequential impact on ethnic violence since the 1980s (Fox, 1999a).

The term “affiliation” is often found in literature referring to individuals who by association become part of a collective religious body. Ruhtan Yalçiner discusses the inseparable character of “political and public recognition” from “ethno-cultural forms of affiliations” (Yalçiner, 2010). Greig and Regan (2008) write that “religious affiliation would be the most common form of historical links to international organizations”, implying the communal identity and participation in religious institutions often takes individuals and groups beyond national boundaries into participation into transnational religious affiliation (Creig and Regan,2008: 763). Dahlman’s (2010) discussion of the “Geographies of Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and War Crimes” expresses how aggressors often have a clear “sense of ethnic affiliation and territory” (Dahlman, 2010: 2). Benedict Anderson’s “Imagined Communities” includes a description of the state “bumping into” transnational communities, described as “discomforting realities”. He specifies that “the most important of these was religious affiliation, which served as the basis of very old, very stable imagined communities not in the least aligned with the secular state’s authoritarian grid map” (Anderson: 98), demonstrating religion’s ability to create transnational blocs of affiliation. Seul (1999) also writes that “...religion can serve as the primary marker dividing groups in conflict whether the groups’ religious identities are lightly or firmly held” especially since processes of secularization “tend to result in the development of multiple identity affiliations among society’s members”, with “latent religious affiliations and sentiments” arising in the context of secular state systems. In fact, Seul includes, religion has often

proven to “serve the identity impulse” more effectively than any other source of identity or affiliation, often influencing involvement in conflict. “The peculiar ability of religion to support the development of individual and group identity is the hidden logic of the link between religion and intergroup conflict” (Seul, 1999: 566-577). The effective and comprehensive nature of the literature’s definition of religious affiliation makes it the most appropriate focus for this study. The following discussion of other available terminology explains how they refer to phenomena which are aspects of religious affiliation.

2.4.1 Other terms associated with religious affiliation

The term “affinity” is used by Walker Connor (1978) to refer to the Hindu-Muslim divide in the Indian subcontinent, and can be understood relatively synonymously with affiliation. His discussion of communalism involves citing scholars’ references to nations “divided along religious lines in their affinity toward Pakistan” (Connor, 1978: 395). Many subsequent studies would look into the societal cleavages and multi-level elite-decisionmaking that would be carried out, especially in the dispute between Pakistan and India (notably over Kashmir) (Carment and James, 1996; Carment and James, 2000; Carment and Rowlands, 2007; James and Özdamar, 2007). Carment, James, and Taydaş (2009) demonstrate this concept with reference to elites’ decision making being “imbued with a powerful affective component that includes (1) a

common sense of historic injustice; (2) shared identity; (3) religious affinity; (4) common ideological principles; or (5) a degree of inchoate racial-cultural affinity” (Carment, James, and Taydaş, 2009: 69). Carment and James (1996) discuss how leaders whose constituencies are comprised of more than one ethnic group will be constrained in committing forceful acts against a similarly-aligned ethnic group in another state - “this is particularly true if force is used against an adversary with which some members of the constituency have an ethnic affinity” (Carment and James, 1996: 541).

Lastly, “ethnic brethren” is a term with a meaning and usage similar to those of affinity and affiliation. In Carment et al (2006), it is understood that “groups that believe they are threatened may seek out support from their ethnic brethren” and how similar groups expend resources “on behalf of ethnic brethren”. This term is used to describe how “transnational identities and associated movements of people, resources, and ideas” affect cooperation among groups transnationally. Along with affinity and affiliation, the literature on ethnic identity, including that of religious identity, points to such a transnational type of grouping associated with a particular self-definition (Carment, James, Taydaş, 2006,: 9, 11).

Huntington’s work also highlights how culture (often centered around religion) facilitates the “rapid expansion” of economic relations, citing the case of the Economic Cooperation Organization (including Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and

Afghanistan) as an example of affiliation binding groups together (Huntington, 1993: 28). Huntington also comments on identity, writing that “as people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they are likely to see an ‘us’ verses ‘them’ relation existing between themselves and people of different ethnicity or religion”. Again, the concept of religion’s identity-assigning power can be highlighted.

Philpott (2007) writes about the political ambivalence of religion - how some groups follow a supreme leader, others have no hierarchical structure, and still others have competing leadership - yet is able to come to certain generalizations about the role of religion in politics. He writes that “at some level of collectivity, leaders will speak in the name of their followers; a body’s members will largely tend this way or that” (Philpott: 506). This observation is regarding religion’s ability to manifest a transnational affiliation bloc. Philpott defines a religious actor as “any individual or collectivity, local or transnational, who acts coherently and consistently to influence politics in the name of religion” (Philpott: 506). Any such individual or group can thus be understood as an actor, as long as there exists a unified identity-grouping and any (often arbitrary) purpose of existence (Philpott: 506). It is also crucial to note that most of Huntington’s examples involve religiously-identified groups in conflict with one another, often regardless of belief and doctrine (Huntington, 1993: 33). Thus, we see a strong relationship between religious affiliation and action taken by foreign policy makers in a region.

2.5 Religious Affiliation and Conflict Intervention

As demonstrated in much of the literature which focuses partially on ethnic and religious identity, a theoretically and empirically examined phenomenon found in literature is the affect of ethno-religious affinity on conflicts and intervention. In the literature, this factor is rarely isolated and separated from religious ideology and communities which may exist in intersections of such affiliation, thus being used to view groups as strongly polarized and homogeneous in their unification against other ‘civilizations’. Studies on the relationship between ethno-religious factors and third-party conflict intervention show that the ethno-religious affinity of third-party leadership has a vital relationship with the decision to intervene in a neighboring civil conflict. This is understood in the literature as existing and working transnationally through institutions, identity, and legitimization when both opportunity and willingness exist on the part of decision-makers. Groups with similar affinity (or affiliation), often referred to as ethnic brethren, have been observed as more effectively attracting prospects of intervention than their non-ethnic counterparts. “Emotional ties created by shared identity can create feelings of affinity and responsibility for oppressed kindred living elsewhere, motivating a state to intervene on their behalf” (Fox, James, Li, 2009: 164). The proposition of ‘symmetry’ is observed to be linked to cooperation. That is,

members of similarly affiliated groups support other members of the same grouping. 'Ethnic brethren' support those they view as fellow brethren. As these variables have neither been operationalized nor understood within the context of causality, it is crucial to study the relationship between affiliation and support. Thus, the initial research question addresses whether religiously-affiliated third-party government and sub-group in a neighboring country are more likely to cooperate than in a case where such affinity does not exist.

Affinities should be investigated as potentially causing intervention. Such affinities have been present in several conflicts since before the end of the Cold War, including the many conflicts in the Middle East related to Israel, Palestine, and Lebanon from the 1940s to the contemporary era; conflicts in the Balkans involving cooperation between Slavic and often Orthodox Christian groups and Russia (early to mid 1990s) and Sunni Muslim-majority countries such as Turkey supporting ethnic and religious brethren in Cyprus, Azerbaijan, Egypt, and Syria; Conflicts in the South Caucasus (1990s-present), involving actors such as Russia paradoxically maintaining economic and diplomatic ties with Azerbaijan while aiding Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh or taking anti-Georgian policies in conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia; conflicts and cooperation between Sunnis and Shias in Iraq (1990s-present), attracting Iranian and Saudi rivalries; conflicts between Islamist groups and their more secular opponents in Central Asian states (such as Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in the 1990s and 2000s); and Sunni-Shia conflicts (with respective support from

Saudi Arabia and Iran) in Gulf States such as Yemen in the 20th century, still continuing into the 21st century.

2.6 Features of Third-Party Intervention in Ethno-Religious Conflicts

There is a great need when examining conflict and intervention literature to differentiate between different types of intervention (Carment and James, 1996: 542). In observing ethno-religious identity interacting with a third-party's decision to intervene in a neighboring civil conflict, the strategic opportunity of a state potentially losing control over a domestic conflict, leading to regional diffusion, is considered when evaluating a state's chosen method of intervention. Decision-makers have particularly practiced 'softer' diplomacy by employing political or diplomatic pressures especially when unwilling or incapable of providing resources (Carment and James, 1996: 522, 525). The possibility of alternate forms of intervention leads studies of intervention towards diversity as well as confusion. Carment and Rowlands (2001) write about the "problems of using broad and nebulous concepts" regarding intervention, writing that "it is useful to develop a meaningful definition of third party intervention that is consistent with current practice. Third party intervention does not refer simply to the physical presence of a managing agent" but as "outside involvement in the internal affairs of a state by military means

coupled with political and economic measures” (Carment and Rowlands, 2001: 5). Intervention can include diverse combinations of forms of intervention, including economic aid, diplomatic help and legitimacy, condemnation of opponents, financial and military aid, military training, intelligence, and other forms (Carment and Rowlands, 2001; Carment and James, 1996)

Third-party support for the state center has been notably found to be more likely to result in the conclusion of conflicts as opposed to support of opposition groups, though economic support of an opposition group ethnically-divided from the state-center has also been observed as highly successful in comparison to other forms of intervention. The most successful intervention strategies have been to either support the government through military interventions (a success rate of just under 50%) or to intervene economically on behalf of the opposition, though only when the parties to the conflict are organized along ethnic lines (43% successful). Intervention supporting the government were twice as likely to succeed as those supporting the opposition (41%vs. 19%) (Regan, 1996: 345). Thus, military intervention on behalf of the government and economic intervention on behalf of the opposition are the most successful forms of third-party intervention. It is worth considering all types of intervention which fall generally under these two areas, though this study will isolate a few in particular.

2.7 Religious Affiliation as a cause of Third Party

Intervention in Ethno-Religious Conflicts

This study continues its focus on religious affiliation through explaining its causal effect on the decision to intervene. Any study about third-party intervention in civil conflict and its relationship with ethnic ties or biases does not assign a negative connotation or ethical treatment of bias in intervention. Carment and Rowlands (2001), in their modeling of biased intervention and empirical testing on Kosovo before and after the NATO-led intervention, conclude that there is a place for bias in such interventions. Intervention on behalf of a rebel or anti-government group was found most often to support the ending of ethnic cleansing in this case. They also observe that, “If biased intervention does lead to escalation, it does not necessarily mean that bias is an inappropriate component of modern peacekeeping. It may simply be necessary to recognize that such an intervention is unlikely to be cheap, or that it is unlikely to lead to immediate de-escalation” (Carment and Rowlands, 2001: 45). Thus a study on the role of a certain type of bias implies nothing directly about whether such action is ethical or preferable, rather the question of ethics and appropriateness of action needs to be answered case by case in a different theoretical framework. A study of affinity, related closely with the potential for bias, could help strengthen the case for the effectiveness of bias and its propensity to attract intervention.

Despite ethnic alliances, a leader's motivations for intervention are attributable to some framework of rational choice, though this rationality works through many domestic and international avenues of constraints. It is given that core values of leaders and populations are at stake, including the possibility of complete or partial economic and political disruption of a state's internal affairs (Carment and James, 1996: 525). Overall, both domestic and international constraints intervene. This further emphasizes the need to examine domestic, international, and global dynamics of intervention.

A constraint which is both domestic and international is the availability of particular forms of intervention. In Carment and James' work, these fall under the broad categories of Mediation, Tacit Support, and Forceful Intervention. Methods are attributed to the domestic realm because of the preferences of citizens, leaders, and the availability of resources. They are also attributed to the international realm because of geographic constraints (Carment and James, 1996: 525) like the location of the Third-Party or that of the state experience Civil Conflict, as well as the nature of the conflict. Though mediation and especially forceful intervention are largely examined in the study Third-Party interventions, the full scope of Tacit Support is left largely understudied. Tacit or indirect intervention is traceable through identifying the existence of mediation, economic support, aid involving military supplies and training, different forms of diplomacy, and the use of state boundaries for cooperation (Carment and James, 1996).

A dilemma faced in intervention studies is the confusion of how military intervention is operationalized. On one hand, Carment and James' "Tacit Support" (1996) is differentiated from military intervention, while Carment, James, and Li specify that military intervention, on behalf of minorities in the MAR intervention data, includes "providing funds for military supplies, direct military equipment donations or sales, providing military training" (Fox, James, Li, 2009: 167). The difficulty arises for the researcher in tracing the provision of funds for military supplies and such donations or sales, especially when these activities are often very covert. It is also problematic to group these forms of military support from a foreign government in the same category as a direct military presence of said government. A crucial case to examine is the drastic change in the dynamics of the Lebanese Civil War before the presence of US troops in Lebanon (while the US merely aided diplomatically and with weapons and training), once they arrived, and after their neutrality was compromised and presence targeted very violently in the bombing of the Marine barracks. Scholarship is in need of a differentiation between indirect forms of military intervention, which often come along with political intervention, and direct military intervention.

2.8 Religious Affiliation's effect on Indirect Support

Within the scope of domestic constraints and their contribution to decisions to intervene, a key feature to examine is the autonomy of decision-makers and institutional constraints (Carment and James, 1996). Any study which looks to attribute such things as religious affiliation to intervention must examine how institutions constrain leaders and limit or enable such types of rationality to decision-making. A democratically-elected leader or party will undoubtedly require constituents to support religiously-affiliated decision-making (or the appearance of it) in order to continue to remain in power (Carment and James, 2000: 530-531).

In the international arena, regarding the situation on the ground in the state experiencing civil conflict, ethnic composition (Carment and James, 2000: 532) and the presence of secessionism or irredentism, which often leads to “inviting external involvement based on transnational affinities” (Carment and James, 2000: 523) is a determining factor in whether and how interventional will be pursued. Ethnic affinity, though usually not enough to lead a state into direct intervention, will often lead to the usage of indirect military support and diplomacy (Carment and James, 2000: 526). This occurs in many cases, including those cited earlier, but the differentiation between cases in which direct intervention occurs and those in which intervention is strictly indirect needs to be made. Carment, James, and Taydaş (2009) write about third-party

involvement in an affiliation-oriented conflict (on the part of a similarly affiliated group) being constrained if the rational choice (based on material and strategic interests) calculation does not favor intervention. They classify low-cost, indirect forms of intervention as any of the following “(1) an expression of humanitarian concerns; (2) a call for a negotiated settlement between the central government and rebels without jeopardizing the territorial integrity of the state; (3) a call for open-ended peace talks between the two parties; (4) a clear statement that the separatists have the right to self-determination; and (5) recognition of the separatist movement as a state” (Carment, James, and Taydaş, 2009: 70). We can therefore study religious affiliation, if the only reason for intervention, as possibly correlated with indirect intervention.

Fox, James, and Li (2009) come to a number of helpful conclusions in their study on religious affinity in particular and intervention in the MENA. They conclude that the MENA, an area particularly prone to intervention, especially on behalf of religiously-affiliated groups, is twice as likely as any other region to experience military interventions. Military intervention in a MENA ethnic conflict is over twice as likely as it is in other regions. Especially prevalent is states’ intervening on behalf of fellow Muslims in other states. Though they note the existence of ‘Christian states’ intervening on behalf of other ‘Christian states’, they also note situations in which a state like the US intervenes on behalf of non-Muslims - the US’ intervention on behalf of Iraqi Kurds being primarily used. Overall, the study demonstrates how religious

affiliation, particularly that attributed to Islamic identity in the MENA, is strongly correlated with the decision to intervene. The study concludes with a suggestion for in-depth study and collection of data necessary to confirm the inferences made in the study, based on cases between 1990-1995 (Fox, James, and Li, 2009).

A great concern with Fox, James, and Li's (2009) work is that it doesn't take into account the religious affiliation of the state-center that interventions are enacted against. For example, interventions on behalf of Kurds in Turkey executed by Syria or Iran are viewed as on behalf of Muslims. This is true, but the causality that Fox, James, and Li are looking to confirm through future studies is questionable when such affiliation is not demonstrated to lead to intervention in the face of a non-affiliated option. If Turkey's population were not majority Muslim, it would strengthen the potential causality of religious affiliation leading to intervention on behalf of the Kurds. Any conclusions based on this case are put into question. There is a need for cases which show affiliation's propensity to lead to intervention on behalf of fellow Muslims (or members of a particular sect, ie Shias or Sunnis) in the face of a non-affiliated option. Fox, James, and Li (2009) underline the weakness of the Minorities at Risk (MAR) data on interventions they use, clarifying that there is no data on cases of non-intervention.

Throughout Fox, James, and Li's (2009) work, there appears to be a need to identify a mechanism working between affinity and the decision to intervene.

It is not enough to simply infer that state and ethnic minority affinities sometimes lead to intervention (Fox, James, and Li, 2009: 161). Similarly, there is a problem with the notion, articulated by Fox, James, and Li, of “generally unsympathetic public opinion...rarely backed up by subsequent material action by governments” (Fox, James, and Li, 2009: 162) being a newer cause of anti-Americanism in contrast to Cold War hegemony and alignment with either power. This notion argues that the nature of conflict has changed. This is intuitively problematic because of the pattern of conflicts in the Middle East before and after the end of the Cold War. To name a few, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Frequent Civil Wars/Conflicts in Lebanon; Sunni-Shia conflict in Iraq; and the current civil war in Syria. If, in fact, there are more seemingly religious-oriented conflicts than there were before, is it religious conflict in itself that is on the rise or is religious affinity and a mechanism associated with it more convenient for age-old power struggles to employ?

Before asking whether ethno-religious minorities attract more intervention than merely ethnic minorities, as Fox, James, and Li (2009) do, a crucial question is whether a certain mechanism in the process of such affinities existing and being associated with intervention provides something conducive for intervention (that may also exist in non-religious cases) and what kind of intervention this usually is. For example, does the existence of religious organizations, naturally associated with religious groups, which transcend national boundaries and economies and fund various efforts locally and globally

facilitate intervention? Do Islamic minorities (understood to be most attractive for intervention by Islamic states) simply exist in a point in time when transnational conditions allow for easier assistance of groups?

Fox, James, and Li (2009) list 3 reasons illustrating the propensity for religion to cause intervention. This study looks to add to those reasons by refine variables, re-group definitions of intervention, and hypothesize a causal mechanism explaining the relationship between religious affinity and intervention on behalf of similar groups. Their discussion of the characteristics of interveners, conflicts, and the international system do not at all include a variable which can be existing in the intervener, the conflict, and the international system at the same time, encouraging indirect support of one group. Religion itself may have very little to do with the conflict while domestic, international, and global phenomena which exist alongside religion may be the cause (Fox, James, and Li, 2009: 164-165).

2.9 The relationship between religious affiliation and indirect support

Differences in religious identity make a difference in foreign policy decision-making and intervention when they differ amongst leaders but not necessarily amongst populations (Lai, 2006). “Militant ethnic and religious

reorientation” in the context of the “decline of the modern nation state”, “new visions of collective identity”, and “collective identity as a resource” (Schaefer, 2005) lead to local religious conflicts’ becoming international issues. Military intervention has had a large focus in the area of such internationalization, but observations of indirect support (aiding a group within a conflict but not directly entering with a state’s own military) display a further need for isolated study of such cases.

Fox includes a wide variety of activities in a description of military interventions, including funds for military supplies, direct military equipment donations or sales, military training, the provision of military advisors, rescue missions, cross-border raids, cross-border sanctuaries and in-country combat units. Many of these are often not discussed in intervention studies because of their being more “under the radar” and indirect, though religious affiliations have shown to exist through relationships involving such support between Third Parties and a group on whose behalf such indirect aid is committed (Fox, 2003).

Further operationalization of indirect support is needed. This sort of support is too often tied to direct support or simply ignored, especially in the case of shared religious affiliation. The way that the modern nation state is often found collapsing opens borders and boundaries to regional diffusion of opportunities for promoting interests, especially through the “manipulation of

mass sentiments with political symbols and ideologies, allowing intervening states to “account for” ethnic crises in other states (Carment and James, 2000). States which intervene in ethnic conflicts are most likely to intervene on behalf of minorities (or groups in general) religiously similar to them. This study essentially seeks to explain how conflicts are “extended”, “interacted” with, and “transformed” through international involvement (Carment, James, and Taydaş, 2009) in the context of “transnational ethnic alliances” (Davis and Moore, 1997). The willingness to support brethren is determined by the potentially intervening state’s elite’s view of the affinity as important and specific groups in the state that elites are dependent on and looking to please (Carment, James, and Taydaş, 2009). Iranian support of Hizbollah in Lebanese conflicts, Alawite-dominated Syrian regimes over the years, and Shias in Bahrain (especially during the ‘Arab Spring’ in 2011-2012) are all examples of indirect support on the part of a group in civil conflict with similar religious affinity, in addition to those listed earlier.

This review of an array of literature contributes to two key descriptions for this study.

Table 1 Religious Affiliation features all of the following:
1. Shared identification with a religious group or sub-group within a religious body
2. Members and corresponding institutions are associated (members of similar religious bodies and organizations) and affiliated (identified as members of the same sect).
3. Formal organizations and informal groupings based on 'brotherhood', both within state boundaries and transnationally

Table 2 Indirect Intervention is anything short of military invasion involving one or more of the following:
1. Political pressure or diplomatic support on behalf of one group
2. Political legitimacy in international organizations on behalf of a group
3. Economic aid for a group
4. Funds for military supplies
5. Military equipment donations or sales
*Indirect intervention is often directed with bias to a side with a common sectarian affiliation, yet it often involves constrained leadership which cannot become directly involved because of geographic, financial reasons or lack of public approval for providing tangible resources.

This paper will thus look to identify these variables in a case in order to propose a testable hypothesis regarding their causal relationship.

Operationalization of the variables will be possible because of how they are based on the literature, isolated, and defined in this section. The next sections will describe the type of research that will be carried out in order to propose a testable hypothesis regarding the causal relationship between religious

affiliation and indirect intervention. The causal direction between the above variables (that is, which one is dependent and which is independent) will be the end result of the research.

2.10 Alternative arguments and clarification

It is crucial at this point to comment on possible conclusions regarding the general relationship between religion and conflict, while clarifying what this study is not focusing on. It is first to be clarified that the literature review has led to a need for a conclusive study of religious affiliation and not merely religious identity or religion in general. Religion and ethnicity in their broad societal manifestations do not necessarily cause conflict (Fox, 2002), but rather provide stable and flexible choices in elections (Birbir, 2007; Birbir and Satana, 2013). When it is, it is with particular conditions, such as only being found to cause conflict when existing alongside separatism (Fox, 2004c: 125). This study is not focusing on political theology, religious belief, or practice.

Fox (1999b) highlights the existence of religious legitimacy, defined as “the extent to which it is legitimate to invoke religion in political discourse” (1999b: 297) and its mixed effect on the emergence of religious grievance formation. Religious grievances, defined as “grievances publicly expressed by group leaders over what they perceive as religious discrimination against them” Fox (1999b: 297). Fox’s study concludes that the existence of

religious legitimacy in a country tends to facilitate grievance formation over non-religious issues only when religion is not an issue in a conflict. The study also concludes that the existence of religious legitimacy is a hindrance to grievance formation over non-religious issues when religion is an issue in the conflict. That is, the prominence of religious legitimacy during a conflict can lead to religious grievances being prioritized over the non-religious. Though this study focuses on third-party intervention, studies such as Fox's significantly inform the propensity of religion in society to facilitate action associated with religion. When it comes to religious affiliation, it should be clarified that religion's facilitating power, its ability to make action convenient, is being considered rather than religion itself.

Fearon and Laitin (2003) refuted the conventional wisdom that the end of the Cold War gave rise to several civil wars, caused mainly by ethnic nationalism, concluding that these were more the result of conflicts which increased in number beginning in the mid-20th century. Their observation of the continuity of conflict processes is another key to this topic. This continuity points to the reality that conflicts occur between previously-forged lines of cooperation and confrontation. This strengthens the understanding that religion is not in itself a cause but a source that contributes to demarcations between which cooperation and conflicts can occur. Birnir et al (2011) comment that the study of ethnic conflict has developed over the years to include "all ethnic and religious identity groups that provide a basis for political

mobilization and action”, implying a basis or structure which the mere existence of religious groups provide a conflict. This, too, confirms the need to clarify the difference between studying religion and religious grouping.

Fox (2005) details several studies investigating the relationship between religion and conflict, coming to several important conclusions about the often assumed relationships being considered. One crucial observation he makes is in the prevalence of intra-religious conflict over inter-religious conflict. That is, Christians are found more often fighting against fellow Christians, and Muslims are found more often fighting against fellow Muslims (Fox, 2005: 60, 68).

What this can imply about religion’s effect on conflict is that difference in belief itself is not likely to be a cause for conflict. Anything ‘religious’ which might lead to conflict should be assumed to have less to do with the nuances of belief and more to do with organization, since religious groups from the same family often have organizational or structural reasons to conflict.

Another key observation that Fox (2004c) contributes to the understand of religion’s influence on conflict is that, though religion has the potential to influence all aspects of ethnic conflict, it only has only been observed to encourage ethnic rebellion while existing alongside separatism (and this has only been an observed trend after the 1980s) (Fox, 2004c: 125). This adds to the important of understand religious affiliation specifically as a societal grouping which can lead to cohesion within a group which unites them towards

separatism. The practical division from the state and central relationship which religious affiliation provides a group can indeed be associated with separatism but should not be confused with religion or religious belief.

In Lemke and Regan (2004), J. David Singer's 'international influence' model (1963) is examined, leading to two now long-time implications for intervention studies. The first is that states with continuing interests in states experiencing civil war are likely to continue following their previous interest-based patterns (Lemke and Regan, 2004: 164). Any previous influence over domestic sub-groups in those states is likely to be continued. Secondly, and most applicable to this study, Lemke and Regan point out that the model applies to states continuing cooperative policies and interactions. Long-term religious affiliation established historically, rather than religious persuasion itself, can lead towards continued influence and cooperation. Cooperative relationships existing structurally and sentimentally along with religious affiliation make smoother a third-party's desire to cooperate, and make cooperation more convenient (Lemke and Regan, 2004: 165).

The circumstances wrought by the existence of religion, affiliation associated with it, and cooperation along religious lines rather than for religious reasons is confirmed in contemporary studies. Satana et al (2013) confirm that "religion per se is not a source of violence" though "extremist elements of ethnic minorities...may use religious divergence to mobilize group members to

perpetrate terrorism (Satana et al, 2013: 29). Though this study is not attempting to isolate extremism or study terrorism, these observations help to clarify how a societal phenomenon like religious affiliation can practically motivate toward action, providing an “organizational platform” for action (Satana et al, 2013: 44).

Several more works can be cited which demonstrate that religion does not in itself cause conflict. Almond, Appleby, and Sivan (2003) include an in-depth overview and analyses of various manifestations of religious fundamentalism in the context of several different religious families, emphasizing the role of fundamentalism itself in leading to action. Varshney (1998; 2002) and Wilkinson (2004) discuss how civic ties between religious groups have helped to contain and even prevent inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict and preserve democracy in India for many decades. This illustrates an ambiguity in religion’s role in contributing to conflict, suggesting that it is completely dependent on the societal structures in which religion is found.

The final clarification needed for an accurate understanding of the role of religion in this study comes from Chandra and Wilkinson’s (2008: 515) differentiation between what they term as “ethnic structure” and “ethnic practice”. Their critical review of how hypotheses about the effects of ‘ethnicity’ have been constructed in the past lead to the discovery of how identifying ethnicity as encompassing both structure and practice leads to confused and

distorted results as to ethnicity's effect on conflict and civil war. They detail that "we use data on ethnic identities across the world collected without a definition of what those identities are" leading to empirical models and data interpreted "without knowing how the data were generated and what they mean" (Chandra and Wilkinson, 2008: 516). Specifying that ethnicity, like politics, is a large, complicated concept, they conclude that "when studying how 'ethnicity' matters, we must also replace that large concept with narrower, more meaningful ones" (Chandra and Wilkinson, 2008: 517).

In the context of the divide between structure and practice, the definition of religious affiliation is found similar to ethnic structure while differentiated from religious practice. What religious affiliation has in addition in its definition is more room for shared emotional sentiments. While structure does not necessarily involve members having a sense of brotherhood, and practice may not assert this, the nature of what is being identified as religious affiliation gives room in the definition for such a phenomenon. Hence, the definition of religious affiliation, when clarified, is separate from all of religion in general, the influence of which on conflict has often been refuted.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH & METHODOLOGY

An attempt to define and understand a phenomenon at the intersection of international relations theory, conflict and intervention studies, and the study of religion and ethno-religious identity in politics first requires qualification as to the variables and dynamics between them. The variables that this study has identified through a review of literature are religious affiliation and indirect intervention. Though these have been described, a clearer operationalization is needed and can be established through a case study.

The particular case study methodology chosen is with respect to the need to more descriptively understand these variables. Rather than beginning with a theoretical framework, this study begins with observations from literature which demand empirical qualification and operationalization. A concrete hypothesis of theoretical nature - one that suggests the causal relationship

between variables - can be arrived at through a case in which variables are identified and allowed to demonstrate their own causal relationships.

The particular case study method is thus that of hypothesis-generation. A hypothesis-generating or heuristic case study is a single study study design which can have great implications for how the dynamics of theoretically-discussed phenomena occur in their actual corresponding events (Lijphart, 1971). This study has taken a look at literature discussing interventions, ethno-religious issues, sectarian and religious issues. These studies are based on empirical research but largely leave cases to the sidelines in order to engage in highly abstract discussions based on generalizations. Generalizations in the literature have left a gap, which this study looks to understand more specifically. That gap is the specific operationalization of religious affinity and indirect intervention. There is thus a need to engage in a case study which would demonstrate these variables to exist and to interact theoretically. A hypothesis-generating case study identifies certain variables in a case and looks to the case to solidify how these variables interact in a theoretical sense.

In political economy, notable hypothesis-generating case studies (often initiated without the intention of generating hypotheses) have highlighted profound theoretical implications for their respective subject matter. A 1935 study on the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, "Politics, Pressure, and the Tariff" (Schattschneider, 1935), had great implications for how studies in the

future would understand US political economy in particular and the political economy of international trade barriers in general. This study is notably frequently cited as an authority on the view that U.S. trade policy results from uncontrollable and overpowered special interests in Washington.

Kindleberger's (1973) study on the Great Depression, which indicated that the drastic nature of the economic crisis was a result of the U.S. not taking the world-leading role that Great Britain could no longer take, contributed strongly to the idea that the interwar period required a world-stabilizer which would only emerge after WWII - both economically and militarily - and the overall theory of Influential Hegemony (Odell, 2002).

In the field of International Relations, arguably the most significant hypothesis-generating case study is that of the fall of the USSR and the end of the Cold War. This event would first serve to challenge both realist and liberal IR theorists because of their failure to predict it. In this sense it can be partially understood as a single 'least likely' case study, in which a least-likely outcome's occurrence serves to challenge theory and illuminate its inadequacy. It was also in the critical moment that social constructivism in international relations was emerging, viewing the latter years of the USSR (even before the fall) and the nature of the accepted 'mutually-assured destruction' as socially constructed. This hypothesis would fully emerge in a view of the fall of the USSR and end of the Cold War as previously unpredictable with the conventional tools of IR

scholarship, creating new analytical tools such as constructivism and neo-classical Realism.

In the same way, this study looks to pinpoint a case which would engage with variables found in the literature which have yet to be understood well theoretically. Just as the notion of mutually-assured destruction and the view of the 'other' as 'enemy' were brought to the fore as potentially socially constructed during and after the end of the Cold War, this study will use a case to first identify a religious affiliation and indirect intervention, and to understand their causal relationship. This identification and causal relationship can be used in future large-n studies for large-scale, generalized understandings of a generated hypothesis across many cases and a large period of time.

3.1 Identifying the variables

In order for a case to generate a hypothesis, variables must be identifiable. This study observes religious affiliation, domestically and internationally, and indirect third-party intervention in a civil war along the lines of shared religious affiliation. The literature discussed provides a framework for identifying religious affiliation and indirect intervention. The variables described in the conclusion of the literature review will be identified in the sources through simple content analysis involving categorizing and coding.

Categorization is already outlined in the description of the variables, while coding will involve scanning historical descriptions and identifying when descriptions fit what has been categorized. Once content is further analyzed through process tracing, illustrating and series of cause and effect relationships, causality can be hypothesized.

3.2 Determining causality through process tracing

After the variables are identified in the case through the definitions above by examining the components listed, causality between the variables can be established through process tracing. This method has been described as identifying a set of dominoes that fell, one after another, to finally cause a concluding outcome. This study will need to chronologically examine a case, identify all instances of the existence and action of religiously affiliated groups and indirect intervention, and outline the order in which these occurred, explaining the causal relationship between each event (Bennett, 2002), revealing a process beginning and ending with the variables (Van Evera, 1997: 64). The causal 'direction' of each instance in the case will be determined by which variable 'initiates' the action after process tracing is completed.

Process tracing entails searching for "intervening phenomena that form the causal chains" (Van Evera, 1997: 64) between two events. Van Evera (1997)

discusses how Kenneth Waltz’s argument that global bipolarity leads to peace suggests the process of "less false optimism...about the relative power of opponents” and “easier cooperation and faster learning by each side about the other, leading to thicker rules of the game; faster and more efficient...moves by each side to balance growth in the other's power or to check the other's aggressive motives, causing deterrence” (Van Evera, 1997:64-65). An effort to determine whether bi-polarity truly leads to peace would thus involve looking for “evidence of these phenomena in cases of bipolarity...and, if they are found, for evidence that they stemmed from bipolarity” (Van Evera, 1997: 65). In the same way, this study will locate the observable of the two variables above and chronologically trace their relationship with the intention of tracing a causal process. Historical background establishing religious affiliation will be included. Also, each year of the case study will be presented, along with observed actions taken that fit into the 5 forms of indirect intervention (defined on p. 29) in that year. The following is a basic illustration of how the data will be displayed:

Table 3 Sample year-by-year observations		
1900	1901	...
3: Economic aid for a group Z		...
5: 9 September - Weapons sales to group Z		...

At the end of the case study, if a ‘chain’ of events can be found leading from one variable to another (if variable x is more prevalent in the beginning of the

case, and variable y more in the end), the resulting (effect) variable will be hypothesized as the independent variable, while the initial (cause) variable will be hypothesized as the direct variable.

3.3 Case Selection

A look at the political atmosphere of the Middle East in the late 2000s and early 2010s demonstrates several possible instances of the existence of the variables. Sunni-identified government elites, such as those of Saudi Arabia and Turkey, are helping Sunni-affiliated political parties and militarized groups in Gulf Crises, war in Libya, political crisis Egypt, and civil war in Syria. The Shii-affiliated government of Iran helps the Shii-affiliated Alawite-led government of Syria as well as the Shii-leaning parties, populations, and militarized groups of Gulf states in crisis.

These crises are still being studied in a period of highly politicized journalism and scholarship in which the ‘dust’ has not at all settled. Yet these lines of assistance are not historical anomalies from a theoretical point of view. Many past crises have involved religious affiliation and indirect assistance along sectarian and religious lines, within the scope of political Islam as well as politicized Christendom. The Crimean War was arguably sparked by completely affiliation-motivated grievances on the part of the ‘Christian powers’ and claims

to holy sites in Jerusalem in the context of Ottoman rule. WWI was fought with a pan-Islamic notion that European Christian powers were looking to destroy the last of Ottoman civilization, while Western notions of the Christian West bringing order and justice to lands ridden by the 'Eastern Question' prevailed. These were issues of identification and affiliation, with grouping having power in itself to affect decision-making. Middle Eastern politics in the 20th century was marked by struggles between the rise of a new Islamism against secular nationalist governance, which was viewed to be an affront from the 'other' in the West. Perhaps the most crucial case with the potential for hypothesis generation is that of the Lebanese civil war, during which sectarian affiliations, domestic, regional, and international goals were achieved through many interconnected relationships and animosities along the lines of ethnic affiliation, as well as contrary to them.

This hypothesis-generating case study, which will employ process-tracing, examines the case of the Lebanese Civil War, the study of which would allow a hypothesis about the relationship between religious affiliation and indirect intervention to be formed. This case is well-documented and historicized by scholars of many backgrounds, so the problem of ongoing dynamics and not having the 'dust settled' is not faced by this case. It is also a case which took place during the Cold War. This is an advantage because of the common understanding that the nature of civil wars changed after the Cold War. If commonalities can be discovered between Cold War-era civil conflict in the

Middle East and contemporary dynamics, this studies contribution to intervention studies can be understood more uniformly and comprehensively, making the conclusions less particular to a certain period. An examination of the Lebanese Civil War, with its possibly parallel theoretical implications for contemporary conflicts in the middle east (with very similarly-affiliated groups existing across the spectrum of middle east conflicts today), has the propensity to generate a hypothesis that would help better explain the world of the 'Arab Spring', Syrian Civil War, and beyond.

The case study examines only one strand of indirect intervention in the relationship between Western governments and majority-Maronite political and militant groups during the Lebanese Civil War. It primarily examines Christian-affiliation in the Middle East, but touches upon that of all sects due to their interrelatedness. The case study looks to generate a hypothesis as opposed to other forms of case studies which utilize the comparative or crucial case methods. The hypothesis-generating case study begins with newly-emerging variables. The contribution of this hypothesis-generating study is a hypothesis which is to be confirmed by crucial cases, comparative studies, and large-N statistical studies in the future. Choosing a case which features sectarian dynamics characteristic of most contemporary conflicts in the Middle East allows for such a generated hypothesis to make a significant contribution.

A historical background of the relationship between the Maronite community in Lebanon and its 'Christian brothers' in the West lays the backdrop for the case and establishes the existence of relations and channels of assistance. The case study itself examines the years between and including 1975-1990, giving a general overview of nearly all political parties, their respective militias, areas of influence, and international relationships. It then outlines in-depth any international actions that took place on behalf of the Maronite political parties, militias, and population in general during these years. The case study will examine the process of indirect intervention and how this was hindered or facilitated. The ultimate purpose of the case study is to identify a new multi-level variable which accounts for affiliation-oriented indirect intervention.

3.4 Process Tracing: Sources

This case study requires examining descriptive accounts of the Lebanese Civil War. The sources used will be far from an exhaustive compilation of descriptive accounts of the events that took place within the context of the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990). Still, the use of multiple books written both as historic (primarily written for the purpose of understanding the chain of events in a certain period) and scientific (primarily written to illustrate the interaction between social, political, and economic structures) accounts will serve to

minimize the overlooking of crucial details. The purpose of the study is not primarily to be exhaustive but to illustrate the potential existence of a theoretical relationship between observed variables, therefore only well-referenced and thorough sources will be used.

Reading of these descriptive accounts will involve taking note of activity that fits the description of the two variables qualitatively. First, a year-by-year list of such observations will be compiled from multiple sources. Second, the components observed in the initial observations will be taken note of. When Indirect Intervention is observed (in the A component), the type of intervention will be differentiated by a number 1, 2, ... 5 depending on the type it corresponds to in the definition above. Third, the system of components will be illustrated in a similar fashion as the one above, displaying the inner-workings of the interaction between two variables. Last, a generated hypothesis will be proposed for future studies. Before including the results of the case study, this paper includes an in-depth account of the historical background to Religious Affiliation between Lebanese Maronites and Western political, economic, and religious leadership.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

4.1 Who are the Maronites?

In the 7th century AD, communities of Aramaic-speaking Christians began to exercise significant political authority in the western portion of Syria. The Maronite church formed from rural-dwelling Syrian Christians resisting ecclesiastical control, finding refuge in Lebanon's rugged mountain ranges, easily gaining the enmity of invading Muslim Arabs in their support for the Byzantine empire and its control of much of the Syrian coast. The Maronites included a powerful class of *muqadams* under the authority of priests and bishops accountable to the central authority of the patriarch, a chief-like leader

with a religious and administrative form of governance that would be carried into the modern era (Salibi, 1988: 87-91). The Maronites may have gained adherents in this period through association with the Mardaites or Jarajimah, rebellious Christian tribes which challenged Abbasid rule in and around the Lebanon mountain range (Mount Lebanon) (Winslow, 1996: 11).

The Maronites derive ethnically from one or more of the following: Christian Arabs that migrated to Syria from the Arabian Peninsula before and during the Islamic invasion, ancient Phoenicians, and non-Arab Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia (most likely Syriac-speaking). The Ghassan Arabs of Syria were particularly notable as an Arab Christian group whose chiefs were given governing authority by Emperor Justinian. Though Maronites in their early history used Aramaic as a liturgical language, this is not particularly indicative of ethnic origin because this was true of most Arabic-speaking Christian and Jewish-Christian sects of Syria, Iraq, and Arabia. The local Druze and Amil Shias themselves maintain that Maronites were immigrant tribes from Yemen (Salibi, 1988: 87-90).

4.2 Neighboring Peoples

Maronites historically lived alongside the Druze, a sect which emerged in the 11th century and driven, due to their heretical beliefs (Khashan, 1992: 5) , into the Southern Lebanon range, most likely descendants of followers of

Fatimid Ismaili Shias that viewed their imams as “human manifestations of unity with God” yet rallied around Sunni Atabegs and Turkish Mamluks (Salibi, 1988: 13). A historically autonomy-driven people united in their offshoot of Shia Islam, it was through their emirs’ rule of the Shuf range between the 17th and 19th centuries, with the help of the local Maronite labor force, administration, and international relationships that modern Lebanon would be conceived as an entity separate from Syria. It was also the Druze population with which Maronites would come into most direct conflict with in the 19th century.

By the end of the first millennium, what would become the region of Lebanon also became home to a large, mostly rural-dwelling Twelver Shia population with allegiance to various caliphates in the context of being deemed heretics by orthodox Sunnism. These groups had also experienced oppression in the form of Sunni-led “punitive raids” in the 13th century against their heresy and sometimes cooperating with Crusaders (Khashan, 1992: 6). Today, their historical omission from local politics is being reaped in the form of domestic and international power grabbing of a rising Shia population with tremendous grievances in response to historical regional cleavage. During the early years of Maronite history in Lebanon, Shiis populated areas between Maronite and Druze territory, including Kisrawan, Baalbak, Bekaa, and Jabal Amil (Salibi, 1988: 13). Not least among the sectarian populations were the Sunni Arabs, the primary inhabitants of the growing city of Beirut in the early history of Lebanon

after the Arab invasions. This community would have a role in local politics economically as well as through the administration of primarily Sunni Muslim ruling dynasties, from the Abbasids to the Seljuks, Mamluks, and Ottomans.

Melchites, the other main division of Arabic-speaking Christian people in Syria (mostly affiliated with Greek Orthodoxy), notably lived in large numbers in Syria and Lebanon, but particularly were less unhappy with the Islamic conquest, welcoming Muslims as Arab brothers. Khashan writes that a “Sunni-Greek Orthodox coastal coexistence resulted in a long-standing entente between the two communities, which recognized the Sunnis as the superior power” (Khashan, 1992: 6-7). The (eventually) Roman Catholic Maronites and (mostly) Greek Orthodox Melchites experienced centuries of friction due to theological debates with underlying (and perhaps more crucial) contestation of loyalties with the Western and Eastern mother churches (Khashan, 1992: 6-7).

4.3 Roman Catholic Alignment

In 1099, the First Crusade entered into Eastern Christian and Muslim-populated lands in Anatolia and Syria, dividing both Christian and Muslim communities between loyalties. While Sunni Muslims expressed the most resolute opposition, Druze, Shii, as well as various Christian sects and their respective populations vacillated between support and opposition. Over time

Maronite bishops and patriarchs, especially those in larger population centers, as well as a few of those of other Christian communities, tended towards welcoming the Crusaders (Salibi, 1988: 92-96). The Maronites would find themselves as the only community in the Middle East to join the ranks of the Crusaders in full support of their mission, welcoming them with “sentiments of brotherly love” (Abraham, 2012: 64). The Maronite church entered into official unity with the Roman Catholic church, 100 years after the crusaders’ entrance, through the meeting of Latin Patriarch Amaury with several pro-union Maronite priests (Salibi, 1988: 13). In 1215, Pope Innocent III invited Patriarch Jeremiah of Amshit to the Lateran Council, where he officially dissolved the ‘sins of disobedience’ against the Mother Church of repentant Maronite ‘dissidents’ (Salibi, 1988: 94-97). The decline of Frankish rule in Syria, though, saw increased struggles between pro and anti-union Maronites, but alignment with Rome would be characterize the majority of Maronite leadership into the contemporary era.

Though the Mamluks’ invasion in 1291 meant the end of visits of upper-level Roman Catholic clergy to Lebanon, the Mamluks’ cordial relationship with the Venitian Republic and its role in the regional spice trade led to their conceding to the Franciscan Lesser Brothers establishing the Terra Santa missions in Jerusalem and Beirut. The presence of the Franciscan friars would cultivate an ideological and identity-oriented relationship with western Christendom in Lebanon through the years of Mamluk rule. It was during

Mamluk rule that the Maronites began “to feel more keenly the advantages of having a Western Christian sponsor” (Salibi, 1988: 98).

The Maronites began to stand out among Eastern Christian communities by their alignment with Rome by the 15th century, while elements of Byzantium attempted to receive military aid from Roman Catholic armies with the condition of reconciling the Eastern and Western churches. At the Council of Florence in 1439, initiated to unite Latin and Byzantine military power against Ottoman invasion, the Franciscan friars representing the Maronite cleric, John of Jaj, proclaimed that the Maronites would stay Frank despite the eastern trend towards alignment with Constantinople. The fact that a Maronite leader was represented as such in the West brought Muslim sentiments against John of Jaj and the Maronite community as a whole, especially in Tripoli (Salibi, 1988: 102). In 1450, the friars of Terra Sancta were given official papal instruction to look after the Maronite church. Eventually, the head of the Maronite church would become the Patriarch of Antioch through the regional advocacy of the Roman Catholic church (Salibi, 1988: 75-77) as the Ottomans permitted Maronite patriarchs to maintain contact with Rome on the basis that they paid an extra tax (Salibi, 1988: 103).

By the 16th century, the Maronites’ affiliation with the West was clearly demarcated by Rome itself. In 1510, at the beginning of Ottoman rule of Lebanon, Pope Leo X officially recognized the Maronites as an Eastern Christian

community of historical significance, “planted among a field of error” as a “rose among thorns” (Salibi, 1988: 72). In 1535, Francis I and Sultan Suleiman II signed an agreement giving the French the right to look after the religious and cultural rights of the Maronites in Lebanon (Khashan, 1992: 7). This relationship would last through the contemporary era, though the relationship with Roman Catholicism would become brokered primarily through France as opposed to Rome, as the leading Catholic power in Europe, by the 19th century (Salibi, 1988: 107).

In 1585, after the founding of Maronite College in Rome, a small but steady number of Maronite men began to be sent to institutions of higher education, especially to Maronite College, where they would receive advanced western theological, linguistic, and philosophical training and to be sent back to their homeland as clergy and missionaries, often in Western Roman Catholic monastic orders such as the Jesuits or Franciscans. Many of these leaders would adopt Latin names and contribute significantly to western orientalism, especially to understandings of the Maronites as historical defenders of Roman Catholic orthodoxy. In the 18th century, schools like the Ayn Terra College in Kisrawan and Ayn Waraqa (originally founded as religious institutions by such graduates educated in western, Roman Catholic institutions) were producing graduates who would be leading figures in the 19th century’s Arabic literary revival in Beirut (Salibi, 1988: 158). Thus, a ‘Levantine Class’, primarily composed of Christian Arabs but also of elite-Sunni and Shia Arab-background

wealthy and educated families, began to form in the Ottoman era. This class was characterized by contact with trade but also political and educational institutions in Alexandria as well as Western Europe (Salibi, 1988: 161).

4.4 Early Sectarian Particularities

In the 17th and 18th centuries, in the context of the Assaf Emirs' welcoming Maronites to balance the Shia population (Salibi, 1988: 15; 98-100), Maronites began large-scale movement from the Lebanon mountain range into the Shuf. Druze chieftans in that time gave land to the Maronites and their church in order to encourage a growing workforce for silk production. It was then that Maronite Khazin sheikhs began to be appointed for leadership in the region, given lands and political privilege (Winslow, 1996: 17). By the end of the 18th century, few Shias remained in the Kisrawan (Salibi, 1988: 103-106). It also became a regular practice to appoint Maronites to positions of authority in the Shuf. What began as a Sunni and Druze tendency to use the Maronite population to achieve a particular economic order and maintain a balance of power led to the Shihab family slowly 'converting' to Christianity and becoming Maronites (Salibi, 1988: 67). Only Maronite Shihabs would be appointed as *mudabbirs* (administrative secretaries of the Shihabs) (Winslow, 1996: 19), and after around 1770, only Maronite Shihabs could be *multazims* of the Shuf and Kisrawan (Salibi, 1988: 67). The dominance of a formerly Sunni Muslim tribe's

Maronite Christian descendants over its own Sunni relatives and Druze neighbors is a perplexity exemplifying the political order that was developing in Lebanon.

Though the name 'Lebanon' was used since and especially during the events of the Hebrew portion of the Bible, often referred to as a region with rich forests of cedar and white-capped mountains, it was not until the 19th century when the Lebanon range began to be referred to as 'Mount Lebanon'. It was also during this time that the Shihab's *iltizam* (region of tax farming authority) was expanded to include Jabal Lubnan, the original Maronite homeland. Referred throughout this period as Emirs of the Druzes or Emirs of the Shuf, and by the 19th century as Emirs of the Lebanon (especially by foreign governments), it was this regional authority in the context of the local perplexities of governance of the mountain ranges and valleys of this western portion of Syria that Lebanon began to be imagined as a separate entity altogether in the 19th century (Salibi, 1988: 67-68).

4.5 International Involvement

The formation of a modern Lebanon cannot be understood outside the scope of international involvement in the politics and social structure of the region. By the 1840s, the Lebanon range and surrounding areas were referred

to as the Emirate of the Shihabs especially by western leaders. Klemens von Metternich, Chancellor of Austria, was the first to begin considering Mount Lebanon as distinct from Syria. Salibi writes that “in the chanceries of Europe, however, as among the Maronites who outnumbered the Druzes in their own Kaymakamate, the former territory of Shihab Emirs continued to be regarded as one country” (Salibi, 1988: 68-69).

By the 19th century, Roman Catholic missionaries were very active in Syria (having successfully converted a small number of Greek Orthodox to Roman Catholicism, becoming Greek Catholics) (Khashan, 1992: 8), and Mount Lebanon was by no means excluded. While Muslim Arabs were legally and socially the equivalent of the Ottomans through their adherence to orthodox Sunni Islam, from the standpoint of affiliation, Christian Arabs had much reason and a developed propensity to gravitate towards an outside source of social legitimacy that would take them beyond the second-class citizenship and unfavorable tax system. Convenient for the Maronites, especially, was the ability to rely on Catholic powers.

At the same time, American and British protestant missionaries were growing in number in the region. Syrian Protestant College, which would later become the American University of Beirut, was founded by American protestant missionaries with both a spiritual and secular educational focus. SPC, and later AUB, would become a center of national thought as missionaries encouraged

Arabs to think of themselves as a separate nation from their Muslim Turkish neighbors - as Syrians or as Arabs. Many Syrian Arabs, particularly those from the Greek Orthodox background (Khashan, 1992: 8), converted to Protestantism in a newfound spiritual and educational enlightenment and revival that would also birth the Arab national awakening. It is important to note the lower number of Maronites converting to Protestantism, possibly due to their ability to align with the west through the avenue of Roman Catholicism - something both socially unacceptable for the Greek Orthodox, and impractical given the academic wealth available to all who were willing by American and British missionary-founded schools (this included many individuals who did not convert to any sect, but were nonetheless open to American and British-style education at new institutions).

While Armenian refugees of the late 19th and early 20th centuries' pogroms poured into Lebanon (250,000 were settled in Lebanon by the end of WWI) (Khashan, 1992: 8-9), the population of more independently-oriented Christians, often with some degree of Western education, increased in Lebanon (along with some Greek Orthodox, the Armenians would particularly choose political neutrality and assemble militias for the sole purpose of defense during the 20th century's conflicts in Lebanon). Even individuals who did not convert were encouraged to attend schools, a practice that became prevalent in the Druze but also Sunni and Shia populations. Significant strands of the Druze population were educated at missionary-founded schools and successful in

gaining diplomatic assistance and international advocacy from the US and UK during the course of the formation of modern Lebanon and Syria (Salibi, 1988: 45-46; 130). Thus, many non-Maronite groups found opportunities for cultural and political alignment without the help of Roman Catholic powers.

4.6 19th Century Clashes

The 19th century saw the beginnings of serious inter-ethnic clashes in Lebanon. The Shihabs reached the height of their regional power in 1830, during which it had authority over two *iltizams*, Sidon and Tripoli, through yearly *muamalaa*, which were re-negotiations of the *iltizam* with the Ottoman Valis of Sidon and Tripoli. In 1818, though, the Ottoman government decreed new restrictions on non-Muslims, Emir Bachir (the last Shihab Sheikh of Lebanon) becoming more dependent on the power of the Patriarch. Eventually, he was forced to crush a rebellion of Maronites that began in Antilyas, leading to a tense situation that pushed the bounds of his sectarian loyalty to the limit (Winslow, 1996: 22-23).

Clashes between Druze and Maronites began in 1841, with a particularly bloody Druze massacre of the Maronite population (Salibi, 1988: 68), after a Christian was caught shooting a partridge on the land of Druze Sheikh near Baaqlin (Winslow, 1996: 29). The *muamalaa* ended, as did the emirate of the

Shihabs . During the next two decades' build up of Maronite rebellious sentiment against the Druze and Druze frustration and wariness with regards to the Maronite population, a northern and southern 'Kaymakamate' was established, a provincial district with its own governor - the north governed by Maronites and the south by Druze. These provinces proved to be extremely problematic in their division of land, as the north had a mixed population of Druze and Maronite and the south's population of Maronites was more than double that of Druze (Salibi, 1988: 68-69).

The 1850s were characterized by a rise in Maronite "nationalist fervor" (Winslow, 1996: 35, 37), and a Maronite rebellion in 1858. By 1860, Maronites were encouraged by their clergy to rebel against the Druze population. Such clergy included Bishop of Beirut, Tubiyya Awn, who went against the wishes of the Patriarch and even threatened the Christians of Dayr al-Qamar that if they did not rise up, he would cause a need to do so. Some Greek Catholic populations also showed willingness to mobilize (especially in the Zahleh region) (Winslow, 1996: 37). Maronites in the Shuf began to rise up against the Druze in the region, leading to a pre-emptive, bloody response of massacre by the Druze (Salibi, 1988: 112, 114). The Christians, led by muleteers, bishops, and 'leftover' Shihabs were less organized and effective than Druze forces, who also typically were allowed to enter and slaughter Christian villages already disarmed by the Ottoman government, which had 'intervened' during the clashes (Winslow, 1996: 38, 40). Later in 1860, the Muslim population of

Damascus, aided by local soldiers, slaughtered 5,500 members of the local population, convincing Levantine Christians that the Ottoman government was sanctioning pogroms directly against the Christian population, though the Ottomans responded by sending Fuat Pasha, who would execute many of the local 'ruffians' accused of involvement (Winslow, 1996: 40). French forces landed to put an end to the violence at the same time a conference was held in Beirut to discuss the reorganization of Mount Lebanon, leading to the 'Réglement Organique' of 1861 (Salibi, 1988: 16), through which the *mutesarifate* of Lebanon was established as a privileged sanjak of the Ottoman Empire, guaranteed to be governed by an Ottoman-appointed, Western-approved Christian governor (Salibi, 1988: 16; Winslow, 1996: 41). Though this *mutesarifate* did not include many of the areas that would be incorporated into Greater Lebanon, it was a precursor to a Maronite-dominated modern Lebanon with a different 'social and historical character' than its surrounding areas, a 'historical homeland' for the Christian Maronites, something that the French would support, but not without their own reservations regarding the potential response of other segments of the local population (Salibi, 1988: 25-26).

4.7 The Mandate

In 1918, the French Mandate of Lebanon was established in the midst of the Arab cultural awakening, during which migrations from the Lebanese

countryside into Beirut became very common. Mandates were revised and borders increased by Britain and France, leaving most of the former Vilayets of Beirut and much of the areas near Damascus to be annexed by the French, while Syria and Iraq went to Britain. As the British made deals and alliances with Ibn Saud, the Hashemites, and the World Zionist Organization to deal with local rivalries in their mandated areas, the French settled in with their old relationship with Lebanese Maronite communities (Salibi, 1988: 17, 19).

In September of 1920, General Henri Gouraud proclaimed the birth of the state of Greater Lebanon, having Beirut as its capital. The Maronite community overwhelmingly supported the French presence and declaration, while other communities did not take any opportunity to interject at the time. As Arabism in many ways grew out of Beirut and spread to the entire Arab world in various manifestations, it was only natural that Lebanism, an alternative to Arabism in conceptualizing Lebanon, was also born there (Salibi, 1988: 26).

Though Lebanon was a new country, many of its own people clung to a particular vision of their own history. With the help of France, they were able to establish a separate state based on this understanding of history (Salibi, 1988: 26-28). Through "...willing not only a separate country but also a separate Lebanese nationality into existence, against the wish of their neighbors and without the consent of people who were forced to become their

compatriots” (Salibi, 1988: 32), many Lebanese Christians, primarily the Maronites, gained an immediate political victory with grave future consequences.

In October 1918, when the French landed to oust the Arab King Faysal in Damascus, Maronites and other Christians waved French flags and cheered, welcoming France as “tender, loving mother” (Salibi, 1988: 32). In the following two years, scores of Maronites were seen by Beirut’s Sunni population coming from the mountains and demanding an “independent Greater Lebanon”, and even aiding the French against the Arab King in Damascus. These actions would not be forgotten by the Sunnis native to Beirut. The inception of the mandate’s government would be met with a Sunni boycott of Lebanese politics altogether, with only a handful of Sunnis becoming involved (including a Sunni Speaker of Parliament) and the seats in government mostly being filled by Maronites (Salibi, 1988: 32-35).

The 1923 Lausanne Treaty, between the Allies (British Empire, French Republic, Kingdom of Italy, Empire of Japan, Kingdom of Greece, Kingdom of Romania, and Kingdom of Yugoslavia) and the Turkish Grand National Assembly officially mandated Syria (including Lebanon) to France, allowing the French to inherit decades of social infrastructure designed for their economic and financial benefit, mostly through the Maronite population (Winslow, 1996: 59). While Christians were probably a slight majority in the beginning of the

mandate, the French installed an extensive and deeply-rooted bureaucracy in Syria, with governors, councils, bureaus, and staff assigned to each state, including French personal and heavy favoritism for Maronite and other Christian involvement. An effort to civilize characterized France's early actions, to which Winslow comments that "the Crusaders had returned" (Winslow, 1996: 62).

When the 1925 Jebel Druze revolt broke out, Arab-identity was confirmed as a powerful communal attachment in the overall Sunni response being to support the Druze as Arab opponents to the new order instead of limiting the conflict to a local turf battle (Winslow, 1996: 63). While Lebanism was still a possible alternative to the Druze, with their history of emirates in the region, and to the Shia population, which wanted to avoid Sunni dominance, and to the Greek Orthodox and other non-Maronite Christian groups, all of these groups exhibited suspicion of Lebanism. Many Greek Orthodox, in fact, contributed to the founding of the Syrian Nationalist Party (founded by Antun Saadeh), which served as an alternative also for Shias and Druze - a leading force in the idea of Syrian Arab nationalism as opposed to a greater, Sunni-dominated pan-Arabism (Salibi, 1988: 53-54).

4.9 Competing Histories

Many Lebanese Christians, encouraged by both scholars from French and Belgian backgrounds, as well as from their own, believed that Syria was a naturally demarcated territory with Beirut its historical cultural and political center, a historical haven for an ancient hellenistic heritage and the study of Roman law. As the “vogue” of discussing Phoenicia and Lebanon’s Hellenistic, western, non-Arab heritage began in the 19th century, by the 1920s, a journal called ‘La Revue Phénicienne’ was being published in Lebanese Christian circles, a direct reference to the hellenistic, Phoenician, non-Arab vision of Lebanon that began as a trend in the 19th century and spread into the 20th century, the modern organization of Lebanon, and Lebanism in general (Salibi, 1988: 171-172). While Maronites generally viewed the founder of the precursor to modern Lebanon, Fakhr al-Din Maan, as a Lebanese national hero, Arabs viewed him as an Arab hero that opposed the tyranny of the Ottoman Empire. Though Sunnis could generally not subscribe to the idea of a Lebanon separate from other Arab countries, Shias and Druze could agree on the idea of Lebanon as a ‘mountain refuge’, a haven for non-Sunni dissidents, while the Sunnis argued that any historic oppression on the part of Sunni governments was from foreigners such as Seljuks, Mamluks, and Ottomans - never the fault of Sunni Arab (Salibi, 1988: 169-170).

4.9 Mandate-era Sectarian Politics and Strife

It was to these competing visions of Lebanon that the prelude to an internationalized civil war found its backdrop. Some Christian Arabs, notably Ignatius Mubarak, Maronite Archbishop of Beirut (Salibi, 1988: 184), and Patriarch Asida (Khashan, 1992: 11) even went to the point of demanding a Middle Eastern homeland for Christians to be established in the same way that Palestine was being formed as a homeland for Jews (Salibi, 1988: 184). Civil strife in the 1920s often featured mainly Sunni Arabs rioting in response to large-scale settlement of Armenian and Assyrian refugees from Anatolia in Lebanon, as well as riots of praise for the success of Turkish nationalist militias' forcing France out of Cilicia - both symbolic expressions of frustration with French rule and inter-sectarian strife. In 1936, when Quai d'Ossay refused to ratify the Syrian Constitution (as was repeated in 1938 and 1939), widespread civil strife began to occur again (Winslow, 1996: 64). By the late 1930s, Maronites and Druze began expressing distinct conceptions of themselves as separate national entities (Khashan, 1992: 2), and Sunnis and Christians had begun organizing gangs and facing one another in the streets of Beirut in the conflict between Arabism and Lebanism. The French Mandatory Authority in this time notably experienced much less opposition in areas populated by 'uniate' Christians - those part of Vatican-aligned sects, including Maronite, Greek, and Armenian Catholics (Salibi, 1988: 64). In 1941, the British and Free

French arrived in Lebanon to oust the Vichy French from newly independent countries (Salibi, 1988: 182-184).

The formation of political parties in Lebanon began after independence, but the formation of parties exemplifying a democratically-oriented, non-sectarian society proved to be increasingly elusive from the formation of the state. In this era, Emil Eddé was favored by France in the elections they allowed in 1941, with hopes that he would help maintain France's socio-economic order in Lebanon. Bishara al Khuri emerged at the same time with a campaign attempting to consolidate the public opinion of all sects and push for independence from France with British help, which he demanded once elected President in 1943 (Winslow, 1996: 81-82). In 1942, the National Bloc was formed, mostly of Maronites, insisting on a special treaty relationship with France after the fall of the Mandate. Already in 1936, the Constitution Bloc had been formed with chief political strategists Michael Chiha (of a successful Chaldean family) and his brother-in-law Henri Pharoan (of a similarly prominent Greek Catholic family), composed mostly of Christians but including some Druze and Shiis. This party essentially believed that Lebanese independence would greatly profit their represented populations politically and economically. Sunni voices of a non-partisan affinity were also voiced in this time, particularly by such individuals as the Kazim brothers and Takieddine Selh, who argued that Arabism, Lebanism, Phoenecianism, and all other conflicting visions of what Modern Lebanon ought to form into should be

argued after the formation and proper running of the country. It was in this season of meeting at the middle ground that the Constitution Bloc and cooperating Muslims agreed on the National Pact, an unwritten agreement in place of an actual constitution that would be referred to for decades as the source of political precedent and allocation of power to different sects. This was understood as Muslim approval for the independence of Lebanon given its future commitment and sense of belonging to the greater Arab community (Salibi, 1988: 184-186).

4.10 The Imbalance of Independent Lebanon

Through the National Pact, the Maronites were guaranteed the position of President, Directorate of Public Safety, Command of the army, as well as the designation of Sunday as the official sabbath day, while the Sunnis were assured the premiership of government - what would become the Prime Ministership. It was not until after 1947 that the speakership of the parliament was assigned to the Shias, because the original pact did not include them. The National Pact's allocation of power set a fixed 6:5 ratio of Christian to Muslim in Parliament. It was with this imbalance that Lebanon began to unravel from its foundation (Salibi, 1988: 186).

Favoritism for the Maronites easily found its way into economic and market relations between sects, based on the social order established by the French Mandate. Winslow writes that “Although the country had a laissez faire system, those who operated the economy were forced to maintain close links with the politicians...much of the political climate was dominated by concern with French intentions, with the question of Palestine, with corruption and possible reform, and with the ever changing personal intrigues of the politicians” (Winslow, 1996: 89). Though the influx of 82,000 Palestinian refugees in 1948 would feed a booming economy with cheap labor, the benefits would largely be unnoticed by the working-class masses of Lebanon (Winslow, 1996: 96). In 1946, the last French Troupes pulled out of Lebanon (Winslow, 1996: 89), but France’s influence on Lebanon’s social structure would have a lasting effect on regional politics and conflict into the contemporary era. “The state apparatus was developed and maintained to protect the one Christian country of the Middle East. Several militias had been organized to help keep the country Christian and separate...” (Winslow, 1996: 107).

Other political parties were formed before and after the founding of the state of Lebanon, including the failed Social Democrat Party (formed in 1949) of the Kataeb party (the Phalange), the Maronite-dominated paramilitary force under the command of Pierre Gemayel, formed in 1937. The Druze leader Kamal Jumblatt also attempted establishing the first non-Maronite-led leftist-nationalist party, the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), which remained

primarily composed of Druze. The Syrian Nationalist Party, formed by Antun Saadeh in the 1930s, did include members of several sects, but failed to receive large-scale support in Lebanon due to its pan-Syrian agenda. The Lebanese Communist Party, diverse and existing since the Mandate period, never succeeded in gaining any significant amount of popular approval. Camille Chamoun's opposition to Nasser's Arab national unity movement manifested itself in the National Liberation Party, formed in 1958, but still mostly composed of Christians (Salibi, 1988: 188).

As the new political system proved to be very pro-Christian, allocating especially the Maronite population with the highest concentration of power, Maronite leaders looked to secure their power by creating rival parties in areas they did not dominate. This involved the directing of government favors to, for example, 'moderate' Druze parties in Druze-dominated areas. This only proved to further divisions, as more conservative opponents were polarized and engaged with the politics of development and modernization. Such local powers attempted to maintain their tribal loyalties by preventing constitutional rule of law and modernization projects from reaching their constituent areas. Loyalty was strengthened by blaming problems on the central government (Salibi, 1988: 189-190). Winslow writes that "Lebanon's confessionalism and segmented society only sent independents and blocs to the parliament and these did not go to the public with identifiable national policies. Their concerns were zero-sum,

and no single community could take a chance on policies having an overall impact on the country” (Winslow, 1996: 85).

The issue of political secularism also proved to be a divisive instrument of sectarian tension. While Maronite leaders such as Gemayel expressed that the National Pact established total secularism because it declared no state religion for Lebanon, Muslims were still tremendously underrepresented and demanded some form of accommodation along the lines of their political desires. Lebanese Christian society always seemed to feel particularly threatened by Muslim-supported policy orientations, including talks with the United Arab Republic in 1958 and 1961, and pan-Arab causes such as the 1967 Palestinian Revolution (Salibi, 1988: 197). Violence in Tripoli and Beirut following the assassination of President on May 8, 1958 were characteristic of the tension that existed across sectarian lines (Winslow, 1996: 111-112). While one side viewed the other as threatening a totally secular political order, the other saw a political system dominated by those of a different religion, and leaned toward a more accommodating form of secularism. Christians, especially Maronites, viewed Muslims as unpatriotic pan-Arabists, while Muslims, especially Sunnis, viewed Christians as unpatriotic isolationists. Imbalance continued and deepened, exemplified by the Christian-run Lebanese census department, which kept all population and demographic statistics secret (Salibi, 1988: 198). Khashan describes T. Khalaf’s pinpointing of the source of Maronite cohesion as deriving from “cultivating solidarity of Maronite masses” and “Maintaining ideology

based on Western orientations and fear of Muslims” (Khashan, 1992: 12). Through a strong French desire to serve the interests of the Maronites in 1943, Muslims became politically inferior and subservient to Christians in the formation of the Republic of Lebanon (Khashan, 1992: 18).

The imbalance of modern Lebanon led to an initial climax in May 1958, when unknown assailants assassinated the editor of the newspaper, *Al Telegraph*. This led to riots and the burning of the United States Information Agency, a response to President Chamoun’s reaching out to the US to “stand by to aid them if necessary” (“Beirut 1958”). President Chamoun had already sought to associate Nasserism with ‘communist’, as Druze and Sunni revolts against Chamoun were associated with Nasserism and the United Arab Republic, which has ambitions of extending influence into Lebanon. By labeling his opponents as communist, Chamoun hoped to invoke the Eisenhower Doctrine (Fisk, 2001: 71). The US Marines and Army did, in fact, respond to such requests, beginning occupation of parts of Beirut in July, as well as patrolling the coast, until pulling out in October, 1958. This event would prove to foreshadow future US involvement in Lebanon during the Lebanese Civil War, though justifications would be different from the earlier Cold War-era anti-communists sentiments. The US would prove more pragmatic in the future, even accomplishing its interests in Lebanon through the Syrian military, partially funded and armed by the USSR.

The political arrangement leading up to the Lebanese Civil War did not exemplify everyone's beliefs about how government should administer sectarian relationships - Greek Orthodox Archbishop Aghnatius Hazim notably rejected sectarian 'cantonization', the division and administration of a state, believing it to be against the essence of the Christian faith (Khashan, 1992: 19). Existing sectarian favoritism remained the shaky status quo less due to religious conviction and more due to the grouping power religious affiliation allotted. Salibi writes that "although the parties to the game were religious communities, the game itself did not involve debates on points of religion, except among the marginal class of the clergy who played a game which was exclusively their own...at the religious level, a high degree of tolerance normally prevailed...at an overt level, the game was a contest between different concepts of nationality for the country. At the covert level, tribal rivalries and jealousies were mainly involved...from the very start, players from outside Lebanon could easily intrude wherever they wished to spoil its normal course; and more often than not they came by actual invitation" (Salibi, 1998: 56).

4.12 Pre-War Violence

By the end of 1973, isolated incidents of violence between militias and the Lebanese army were beginning to erupt into a state of war. Food price riots of 1973 in Tripoli and Beirut were especially instrumental in heightening tensions

(Winslow, 1996: 175). By January of 1975, Israel had begun periodic raids of Southern Lebanon, searching for Palestinian commandos. The issue of Palestinian militias in Lebanon would be a powerful catalyst toward the beginning of war. Pierre Gemayel blamed Yasir Arafat and his PFLP for rockets being fired into a military barracks in Tyre, compromising the stability and authority of the Lebanese Army. President Franjieh called for a national referendum involving an aggressive attitude and approval of militias' operating against Palestinian militias in Lebanon. Pierre Gemayel also called for a referendum on the presence of the *fidayun* in Lebanon, referring to the PLO and affiliated Palestinian revolutionary organizations as somewhat of a second government and second army within Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 182-183).

In February of 1975, massive protests against Camille Chamoun's large-scale, high-tech fishing operations (in cooperation with Kuwaiti investors) began amongst local fishermen in Sidon, who felt that their traditional methods would never be able to compete with Chamoun's increasingly-monopolizing conglomerate in the region. The protests spiraled into road block clashes between the army and protestors in southern Lebanon, involving thousands of locals. Winslow writes "Camille Chamoun's company had been given the exclusive right to fish along the shore in South Lebanon. Did Chamoun, with his millions, and the Kuwaitis, with their billions, need to monopolize the coastal waters and put local fishermen out of business? Why was the Lebanese army

firing on its own citizens when it was not even able to protect them from Israeli raids?” (Winslow, 1996: 182).

Though supporters of the emerging Lebanese National Movement (LNM) called for justice for those who had been killed by Lebanese soldiers in the protests (which was initially blocked by President Franjieh) the government response of transferring 2 army officers, putting the Sidon governor on administrative leave, and canceling the Protein project in March and April were too little, too late. On April 13, 1975, militants guarding the consecration of a Maronite church, attended by Pierre Gemayel, got into a conflict with a car approaching the church, sending it away, only to be followed by the approach of another car shooting in the church’s direction, killing 4, including 3 Phalangists. Later that day, Phalangists took revenge on a bus filled with Palestinian refugees, killing everyone inside. The next day, fighting began between Kataeb and Palestinians in Beirut.

“Lebanon’s Christian establishment had always enjoyed an international status beyond its real power” (Winslow, 1996: 183). Although some conservative Arab leaders in the Middle East had had their own struggles with Palestinians (such as King Hussein in Jordan) and could support any government against the ‘troubles’ that came along with their refugee predicament, the Lebanese army (no longer neutral) along with Maronite militias, took this opportunity to enter into a struggle to reestablish sectarian

dominance in Lebanon. “As in 1860, the Christians, amply provoked, set out to defeat their enemies. Also as in 1860, they were sure that outsiders would help them win the war even if they lost the battles” (Winslow, 1996: 177).

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY: WESTERN SUPPORT FOR MARONITE MILITIAS AND PARTIES

5.1 War Overview

In 1975, the militia of the rightist Lebanese Kataeb Party, the leading party representing the Maronite political elite, had already been clashing with multiple militias of the Palestinian Resistance for over 5 years (Odeh, 1985: xi-xv). President Hafiz al-Assad of Syria looked to extend his Syrian nationalist and Baathist political ambitions and sphere of influence into Lebanon. On 7 January, President Hafiz al-Assad and Pres. Franjieh met at Shtaura, where Assad assured Syria's readiness to defend Lebanon against "external enemies" (Odeh, 1985: 139), demonstrating an avenue of support available to the Maronites. Shia Militias, primarily associated with the Amal party, became

involved in conflict, especially in violence targeted against parties and populations they viewed as furthering their political marginalization (both Maronite and Sunni). The Maronite President Franjeh appointed a ‘non-political’ Sunni to head the cabinet in the person of Nur al-Din al-Rifai. This cabinet was comprised by nearly all military-leaders, which set the tone for a long, bloody period of war in Lebanon directed by groups of sectarian warlords. The cabinet included neither the Druze and Socialist leader, Kamal Jumblatt (PSP), who wanted to radically transform Lebanon’s power structure), nor Pierre Gemayel (Kataeb), who agreed to stay out as long as Jumblatt did as well (Winslow, 1996: 184-185). In 1975, arms poured into the country for various militias to use though it seemed that cooperation was beginning to be forged.

In the summer of 1975, while Maronite monks proposed a system of “independently confessional pure mini-states” to the French Envoy Couve de Murville, (el-Solh, 1994: 236) Sunni Sheikh Hassan Khalid called for the abrogation of the National Covenant (a constitutional ‘understanding’ without an official constitution that maintained the ratio of Christians to Muslims in Parliament and fixed the sects of different government appointees) and fighting broke out in Beirut. Muslims complained that the army sided with the Christians and intervened in a Muslim-Christian conflict in Tripoli - the killing of Faruk Muqaddam’s Sunni militia members. Kamal Jumblatt called for a general Muslim strike on Sept 15. For 4 days, Phalangists bombarded the main commercial area in Beirut. As a response, Maronite Militias, including those of

Kataeb, the Maronite League (a small non-profit organization, sometimes acting as a militia), and the far-right Guardians of the Cedars (another small militia) combined to violently take on Beirut. Prime Minister and Karami and 'establishment Muslims' tried to stop the war to no avail. The Murabitun (Sunni Nasserist Militia) of Qulaylat took to Ras Beirut (the cosmopolitan wealthy residential area of western Beirut protruding into the Mediterranean) and the fighting between Maronites and non-Maronite militias moved to hotel district, involving leftists and radicals (of various sectarian affiliations) destroying the city (Winslow, 1996: 188) after 'Black Saturday'.

The hotel fighting began on Saturday, 6 December, 1975, when Phalangists (members of *Kataeb*, the largest and most influential Maronite party throughout the war) massacred 200 civilian Muslims in response to the discovery of 4 dead Phalangist soldiers, leading to the LNM initiating an offense in the downtown Beirut hotel sector. This would be known as the 'Battle of the Hotels' (Traboulsi, 2007: 192). When the Army attempted to recover control of St. Georges and Phoenicia hotels, the PLO and other Palestinian organizations became more heavily involved in the fighting and sects became further divided. It was in response to the Palestinian involvement that Franjeh and his militia finally officially joined the Phalangist campaign, denouncing the 'Zionist-Leftist Conspiracy' to destroy Lebanon (that is, he blamed Leftists in Lebanon and Zionists in Israel for the Palestinian presence in Lebanon) (Traboulsi, 2007: 192). By November 12th, even Greek Orthodox representatives became involved

in the vision for Lebanon, expressing to the Papal Envoy the need for political reform, dialogue, and support of the PLO (Odeh, 1985: 148).

5.1.1 Sects, parties, and militias

Shias began to organize under Imam Musa al-Sadr, first under Harakat al-Mahrumin (Movement of the Deprived) and later into militias and paramilitaries of Amal and Hizbollah (formed in the 1980s) which generally allied with opponents of Maronites because of an opposition to Maronite hegemony (Winslow, 1996: 197). Shia militias were neither Nasserist nor leftist and often struggled against the PLO over control of Palestinian refugee camps, which, along with poorer areas of Lebanon and Beirut, were prime targets for later Iranian-supported radical Shia missionary activity and recruitment into militias.

Sunni groups were generally not nationalist but rivals to the traditional Sunni establishment of Lebanon, which favored different levels of political solution with the old Maronite elites, but generally not with hard-line rightists like members of Kataeb. Mustafa Saad, head of the Popular Nasserist Organization and the son of Maruf Saad, who was shot during fishermen's strike, represented Sidon's Sunni Arab Nationalist sentiments. The grievance between the Muslims of Sidon and Chamoun's business interests and related

desire for Maronite hegemony were 'settled' at Damour in 1976, where Chamoun's forces were defeated and the former President's villa destroyed by the Popular Nasserist Organization's militia. The Independent Nasserist Movement, headed by Ibrahim Qulaylat, located in West and South Beirut, joined the Palestinians in wiping Christians out of Beirut in March 1976. The Muqaddam (October 24th Movement of Tripoli), often surrounded by Greek Orthodox, Maronites, Alawites, and Palestinians, spent most of its time working closely with Palestinians, struggling against Zgharta Maronites (Franjeh's 'Marada brigade') and creating security problems for the Lebanese Army in north of Lebanon (Winslow, 1996: 198).

Lastly, the Lebanese Front - Conservative and mostly Maronite - was led by Kataeb, the National Liberals (Chamoun), and Franjeh's Zgharta/Marada Brigade. The Lebanese Front's emerging leading militia was the Lebanese Forces (LF), which were mostly commanded by the Gemayel family until its being further fragmented in the 1980s and separated from the rest of the Lebanese Front at different periods. Other Maronite and non-Maronite Christian-affiliated militias also existed in cooperation and in opposition to the Lebanese Front (Winslow, 1996: 199).

5.1.2 The beginnings of Syria's involvement

In early 1976, Chamoun's Tigers (militia) and the Phalange began their first 'cleansing' of generally Christian territory in response to the al-Dhubbayah Palestinian Christian Refugee Camp being expelled from that area. This involved aggressive encroachments against Karantina (site of massacres on 22 January) and Maslakh Palestinian camps, to which the LNM and PLO responded by laying siege on Darmur on the Shuf coast. In February 1976, the Lebanese Arab Army was already being formed by former Lieutenant Ahmed al-Khatib who encouraged Muslim members of the Lebanese Army to join and fight for control of military barracks throughout Lebanon. By this time, a Syrian-negotiated ceasefire had already been enforced by the PLA (Syrian-backed Palestinian militia), which policed the 'Green Line' (division between Muslim and Christian sectors) in Beirut. The LNM had already rejected President Franjeh, Prime minister Karami, and Damascus' charter to reform the electoral system and political sectarianism (Traboulsi, 2007: 193-194). With the emerging Lebanese Front appearing to be more aligned with Syria, and the US moving towards acceptance of a Syrian solution, it became convenient for Syria to extend itself militarily into Lebanon.

On January 22, the Right wing (Maronite parties/militias) agreed to the 'Syrian Solution' (Odeh, 1985: xi-xv), with President Franjeh meeting with Assad in February and agreeing to trade some reforms for Syrian promises of

curtailing Palestinian activities in Lebanon (Odeh, 1985: 159-160; Farris, 1994: 22), but it wasn't until May 31 that the invasion began. The US' approval of Syria's intervention was especially seen in its persuading Israel to refrain from becoming deeply involved in Lebanon (Harris, 1997: 165). Syrian Nationalist, Communist, Leftist militias rejected any notion of status quo, though Syrian invasion produced a separating of militias based on alignment or opposition to Syrian interests. Syrian Nationalists, some Nasserist organizations, some Palestinian militias, Shia militias (Amal), and President Franjeh's personal 'Zgharta Brigade' cooperated with Syria while the LNM, led by the PSP's Kamal Jumblatt, who acted as the leader of the interests of disenfranchised Muslims and Christians alike, generally conflicted with Syria. The PSP would generally cooperate with the PLO and thus was mostly joined by Palestinian militias not aligned with Syria or those opposing a two-state solution in Israel (Rejectionists) (Winslow, 1996: 196).

Both the LNM and the Lebanese Front inherited aspects of the military after it largely disintegrated in 1976. Both France and the US gave Syria mediation rights during Phalangist and Chamounist eradications of rebel holdings, though Israel competed for regional influence and Jerusalem was opened to a few Maronite refugees (Winslow, 1996: 196). Hafiz al-Assad started sending PLA troops, under his control, to Lebanon while Syria mediated between Lebanese factions, tipping the balance to the Muslim side as Franjeh and Phalange only partially cooperated with Syria (Winslow, 1996: 202).

During Syrian occupation in 1976, Chamoun tried using friendly army units to support his Rightist cause, while Prime Minister Karami tried using loyal army units to maintain peace (Winslow, 1996: 203). “Marounistan had persuaded the United States to get permission from Israel to allow the Syrians to intervene against the LNM revisionists in Lebanon” (Winslow, 1996: 204). Syria’s intervention tipped the balance back to the Maronite side.

Damascus also convinced the Arab League to assist in ‘peacekeeping’ and an Arab contingent was sponsored to do so. Chamoun’s Tigers attacked the Tel al-Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp, aided by Syria’s lifting the LNM’s siege around Zahleh. The Nabaa and al-Basha camps also fell in 1976. The mountains outside Beirut were also the sight of a Palestinian and LNM defense that was defeated by Israeli and Syrian firepower (Winslow, 1996: 209-210). Talks between the PLO and the Syrians ensued at Shtaura. These were led by an Arab League envoy attempting to convince President Assad, Yasir Arafat, and President Sarkis to talk. At this time, Kamal Jumblatt began calling on France to intervene. Though France entertained this thought, US and Kataeb opposition convinced her otherwise.

On October 1, 1976, some army units joined the Phalangists in a Christian mountain offensive, failing to capture the town of Aley. Still, the Syrians began an offensive in Sidon and opened a second front against leftist positions at Aley. On 17 October, leaders of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Kuwait,

Lebanon, and the PLO met in Riyadh, agreeing to a 30,000-man Arab force, technically under President Sarkis' control but armed by Syria, to supervise a truce. This "Arab acquiescence to Syrian power in Lebanon" gave the Maronites the upper hand (Winslow, 1996: 210-212). By the end of 1976, Syria replaced many of her forces with Palestinians in the south of Lebanon.

5.1.3 Middle War - Syria's Allies vs. Enemies

The following years were characterized by struggles against Syrian occupation, between sects, and within sects on the part of nearly all major militias (though many cooperated at different times). After 1978, turf battles became more prevalent. Franjieh, Gemayel, and Chamoun's militias fought each other while Amal and Hizbollah did the same (Winslow, 1996: 213). Concerning the sectarian nature of the war, Winslow writes that "When Kamal Jumblatt was murdered, the Druze reflex was to gain revenge by massacring nearby Christian villages rather than punishing the Syrians who had likely perpetrated the deed. No mention is made of the Palestinians 'raiding' Khiam, a Muslim town, when they recaptured it from Major Haddad's militia. But when they took a Christian town, Ayn Ibl, it was raided and looted. The primordial attachments continued to define the struggle" (Winslow, 1996: 207).

From 1978-1982, Bachir Gemayel (Pierre Gemayel's son) pursued the Presidency and unity of Maronite militias. On 13 June, 1978, Bachir's faction of the LF killed 34 of Franjeh's militia, including Tony, son of Sulaiman (Winslow, 1996: 224-225). In May 1978, Kataeb and National Liberal Party announced plans to merge but started fighting 2 days later in Beirut, clashing on and off that summer while cooperating against Armenians and the Syrian National Party (Winslow, 1996: 226).

By 1980, Bachir Gemayel and Camille Chamoun both had multiple assassination attempts against them. On July 7, 1980, Bachir's LF overran Chamoun's Tigers in Beirut in attacks against Chamoun's headquarters, killing around 75 civilians. The former president Camille Chamoun thus agreed to capitulate to Kataeb's desire for a cut of his protection money. Bachir continued his fight against Armenians in September 1980 in Beirut and moved on to taking on Zahle, building a military road towards the town but losing a subsequent 3 month siege to capture it (Winslow, 1996: 227-228).

5.1.4 The US and the Multinational Force: Direct Intervention?

On July 25, 1981, a ceasefire agreement was brokered by Philip Habib (the US envoy), ending Palestinian-Israeli hostilities across the Lebanese border

but failing to resolve Israelis' dilemma. Though Palestinians kept to the agreement in 1981 to keep from cross-border attacks against Israel, and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia announced Israel's right to exist, Israel formally annexed the Golan Heights on December 12, 1981, destroying the 'spirit of Camp David' and leading to a very violent 1982. On April 10, 1982, President Sarkis asked the US to prevent Israeli attack. Ambassador Samuel Lewis (US Ambassador to Israel) received assurances from Israeli leadership that there would be no attacks on Lebanese soil. But on May 9, Israel directed air attacks on Lebanese targets and on May 14, Yitzak Rabin mentioned the inevitable success of Israel's "military operations" in Lebanon (Winslow, 1996: 229). The balance was again tipped in Lebanon, encouraging every militia to continue violence.

By May 1982, Lebanon was completely fragmented, with Sunni and Alawite Baathists fighting in Tripoli, Phalangists fighting Syrians south of Tripoli, and Amal fighting the PLO and LNM in south and west Beirut. Lebanese Army units fought opposing units in Sidon; the PLO clashed with Saad's Popular Nasserist Movement; south of Sidon, Amal units fought PLO-backed Shia Communists, while Fatah fought with the Syria-supported Saiqa militia; a Sunni mosque was bombed in Beirut; and Syria allegedly orchestrated bombing of French embassy (Winslow, 1996: 230-231). Additionally, in June, Syria officially began cooperation with Iranian intelligence, began encouraging Iran's radicalization of Shia groups, and allowed a Revolutionary Guard contingent to be established in Central Bekaa (Harris, 1997: 181).

In June 1982, the IDF fully invaded, sieging West Beirut and cooperating with the Phalangists, trapping the PLO. The PLO's response was to destroy Beirut while fighting house to house with the IDF and Phalangists, threatening to destroy the entire city. Bachir Gemayel won the Presidency while 800 US Marines were sent to assist the departure of the PLO. The Reagan Plan, which was announced in the late summer of 1982, rejected Sharon's call for Jordan to become a state for Palestinians and demanded a freeze on settlements in the West Bank and an autonomous entity assured for Palestine. Meanwhile, President Assad threatened military action if Bachir Gemayel agreed to any peace treaty with Israel. The fragile situation exploded, literally, with the bombing of Kataeb's headquarters in East Beirut on September 14, killing Bachir Gemayel. In response, 1 day after the IDF took positions around Beirut's Palestinian camps, some parts of the LF (Bachir's faction) as well as Haddad's South Lebanon Army (SLA) entered the Shatila and Sabra camps and massacred militants and innocent civilians alike. By September 18th, 2000 had been killed with the IDF in the surrounding area turning a blind eye.

On September 21, Amin Gemayel was elected President, promising to end the 'cycle of violence'. French and Italian troops re-entered Beirut on the 27th, followed by US Marines and the rest of the Multinational Force on the 28th. On 13 October, Druze and Christian militias engaged in new clashed southeast of Beirut. With Israel blamed for the massacre and foreign troops abounding (though officially neutral) this was an opportunity for the Maronites to come

back. The new president and Security Advisor Wadie Haddad pursued a policy assuming a 'blank check' from the US (as France had assisted them in 1845 and 1860, they hoped for the same from the Multinational Force). No unity was forged between parties during this time (Winslow, 1996: 233-236).

In December 1982, President Amin Gemayel began peace negotiations with Israel involving the IDF's withdrawal from Lebanon in hopes of a final victory for the Maronites. Israel was giving arms to the Druze at the time while keeping from obstructing the LF' movement into the Shuf (Druze stronghold) and Israeli hopes for an agreement with Amin Gemayel. Amin Gemayel, with no militia of his own, reached out to the US in 1982 and 1983 but was only able to be provided a few tanks, training missions, and nothing more even though Secretary of State George Shultz, US Special Envoy Philip Habib, and US State Department Advisor Robert McFarlane visited Beirut often while Gemayel and Salem made several trips to Washington, DC (Winslow, 1996: 237-238).

On September 1, 1983, after months of tensions with Maronite militias and their cooperation with Israel, Walid Jumblatt declared a state of war with Gemayel's government, leading to heavy fighting in southeast Beirut's mountains involving Druze forces' recapturing of Bhamdoun and the surrounded Dayr al-Qamar, leaving the Maronites trapped (similar to what occurred in 1845 and 1860). Robert McFarlane ordered ships to open fire on Druze at Suq al-Gharb (commander of peacekeeping marines, Col. Geraghty,

disagreed with this), compromising US neutrality. On October 23, days after President Reagan announced that the Marines would stay in Lebanon to maintain peace, 241 Marines were killed in a truck bombing, followed by 58 French paratroopers killed in a 2nd bombing (all members of Multinational Peacekeeping Force) (Winslow, 1996: 242).

US forces had all left Lebanon by February 26, 1984 in line with Reagan officials' confirmations that the US would no longer be seeking reconciliation. Major Haddad (of the SLA) died of cancer on January 14 and was replaced by Antoine Lahad. Pierre Gemayel also died (of a heart attack) on August 29. This was the beginning of a period of the war characterized by mostly Hizbollah-related groups' assassinations and kidnapping of western and non-western intelligence officers, diplomats, educators, journalists, and other figures. On January 18, a Shia gunman assassinated Malcolm Kerr, the President of AUB. On March 16, CIA Station Chief William Buckley was captured and murdered. On May 8, Ben Weir, a longtime church leader in Lebanon, was kidnapped and released after 18 months in captivity. On June 23, the Australian consul was shot and killed while a Libyan diplomat was captured. Though President Amin Gemayel opened a second reconciliation conference in Lausanne, with leaders from the 'older generation' of Lebanese elites agreeing to a ceasefire, it was clear that the younger leadership of their respective militias on the ground would not follow suit and hostilities intensified (Winslow, 1996: 245).

5.1.5 Late War: Intercommunal Conflict

Intracommunal conflict was very common in the last years of the civil war. Maronites were split especially along geographic lines: South-Central Lebanon's Maronite holdings were dominated by Dany Chamoun's Tigers (taken over from his father, a decision that caused many members of Camille Chamoun's National Liberal Party to oppose the party); Central Lebanon was dominated by the Gemayel family, but loyalty to Pierre Gemayel's legacy verses that of Bachir verses those loyal to President Amin (who eventually aligned with Michel Aoun's Lebanese Army) caused infighting between different factions of the Kataeb. The Maronite-led SLA, in the mid-1980s especially, was partly soldiered by Shias and funded by Israel. Sunni Nationalists battled Sunni fundamentalists in Tripoli while Sunni Nasserists fought Sunni Palestinians in Sidon. Shia militias' loyalty lay either in Syrian or Iranian support (or both) (Winslow, 1996: 248). Winslow writes that "discovering which outside power supported which military group also seemed to defy pattern and purpose" (Winslow, 1996: 249).

One common trend in the 1980s, though, was growing Phalangist opposition to Syria and being assisted by Israel, especially during President Amin Gemayel's presidency. This took place while Elie Hobeika (LF) and former president Franjeh's respective contingents maintained good relations with the Assads based on their common business interests (Winslow, 1996:

249). Most of 1985 consisted of Hobeika's pro-Syrian Phalangist wing fighting Samir Ja'ja's anti-Syrian faction, Sunni militias battling each other in Sidon, Beirut, and Tripoli, and Hizbollah and Amal (supported by Iran and Syria, respectively) competing for control of South and West Beirut and Baalbek (Winslow, 1996: 251). On August 29, after meeting with former Presidents Hilu and Chamoun, Franjeh rejected an LNM proposal to end confessionalism (Winslow, 1996: 254). No solution was forged in 1985.

By 1986, the PLO was moving back into Lebanon while President Amin Gemayel's indecision about an effective political solution or cooperation with Syria or Israel led to Syria's taking its place in a power vacuum. The peace accord of 1985 had already united Franjeh's brigade, Hobeika's faction, Amal, and the PSP in cooperation with Syria (Winslow, 1996: 255), leading to a massive confrontation of pro-Syrians (those above) against the Ja'ja-Gemayel alliance, which was able to fight off the pro-Syrians for some time. General Michel Aoun's Army brigade fought Syrian-backed PSP and other leftist groups in Suq al-Gharb, while Syrian troops fought al-Tawhid fundamentalists, pro-Syrian SSNP fought Iranian-funded Hizbollah in Biqa while pro-Syrian Amal cooperated with Hizbollah against Palestinians. The cooperating ended soon, though, especially with Amal fighting the PLO for control of the refugee camps, the SLA fighting leftists, Syrian nationalists, and Hizbollah (in the south), Christians and Muslims fighting in the Shuf, Kharrub, and Sidon, and Amal fighting Hizbollah in Beirut and Jabal Amil. By 1987, Sabra and Shatila refugee

camps had been completely destroyed, left in a worse state than they had been in after the SLA and Gemayelist massacre facilitated by the IDF. Abductions continued, as did many successful and unsuccessful assassination attempts. On June 1, 1987, a bomb put aboard an army helicopter killed former Prime Minister Rashid Karami, the Sunni leader from Tripoli (Winslow, 1996: 256-261).

With the Cold War coming to a thaw, the US, USSR, and much of Europe came to several agreements having, among many things, the effect of limiting proxy wars. The US especially became less wary of accepting Syrian tutelage of the Lebanese conflict (though they had employed it with caution on and off for over 10 years). 7,000 Syrian troops had already been sent to Beirut in February 1987 to stamp out 'camp warfare'. It took until 1990 for Syrian troops to succeed in quelling the violence (Winslow, 1996: 264). Until 1990, Syria continued its employment of Maronite and other militias that would cooperate with its goal of hegemony in turn for a piece of the political gains in the end. Michel Aoun's Lebanese Army and Samir Ja'ja's faction of the LF continued to oppose Syria (though they also conflicted with each other), now with the aid of Saddam Hussein and Iraq after the end of the Iran-Iraq War in 1988 while segments of the Maronite militias (especially Franjeh's brigade) and other groups continued to cooperate with Syria (Winslow, 1996: 268-270). The 1989 Ta'if Agreement most notably involved the US' full endorsement of Syria's role in Lebanon (Winslow, 1996: 271). Though, according to leaders like Michel

Aoun, the US and France's inaction and reliance on Syria in the end of the war compromised the 'historic separation' between 'Christian Lebanon' and 'Muslim Syria' (Winslow, 1996: 273), the segments of Maronite militia leaders' reliance on Iraq demonstrated how cultural ties were often called upon for opportunistic reasons as opposed to a substantial historical precedent. At the same time, Western powers' reliance on Syria (an enemy) demonstrated the power of those historic ties themselves to cause one power to attempt to serve the interests of another indirectly. The Syrian presence in Lebanon finally led to a conclusion to the majority of the violence at the cost of a domestic political solution. The confessional system was reformed in many ways, notably the increase in power of the Prime Minister and a 50-50 ratio of Muslims to Christians in Parliament, but socio-economic disenfranchisement of large populations of all sects, but especially Shias, would lead to a completely unpredictable future in contemporary Lebanon.

Lebanon in the 1980s faced an economic stranglehold, which was a major contributor to the end of violence. The removal of the PLO ended PLO deposits in banks and their huge local expenditures. Bank deposits between 1982 and 1990 dropped from \$12 billion to \$3 billion. Israel's invasions were purposefully destructive, aimed at destroying the Lebanese economy and anything that the PLO could profit from. Amin Gemayil, originally nicknamed 'Mr. Two Percent' for the profits he made off of protection money and levies put on the majority of transactions in East Beirut, would be given the nickname 'Mr

Twenty Percent' by the end of the war. His warlord-like profiteering was characteristic of nearly every leader of an armed political movement. During the war years, there was practically nothing produced in Lebanon; everything was imported, and profit was made off of speculators trading US dollars (there were over 200,000 accounts in US dollars in 1988), leading to a huge devaluation of the Lebanese currency. The state had very little revenue due to the militias extracting levies on many transactions and through protection money, and since what could be collected could only be collected by militias, militias made additional profit leaving less to be finally received by the defunct state (Traboulsi, 2007: 227). Bachir Gemayel alone was responsible for agreeing to \$1.1 billion cash in weapons purchases from the US (Traboulsi, 2007: 228).

Throughout the war, several illegal ports opened up to initially smuggle arms but later to also control trade and become economic enterprises in themselves. These included al-Abdeh (north), Tripoli, al-Mahdi, Shikka, Jouniyeh, Beirut, Uzai, Khaldeh, Jiyeh, Sidon, and Naqura. With regards to Maronite militias and the pro-Maronite army, the port of Tripoli, 'protected' and controlled by Syria, was officially run by the Lebanese government; Shikka focused on shipping for the local cement factories connected to Franjeh's m, which also protected the port, along with the SSNP and other pro-Syrian militias; Jouniyeh port mostly received foodstuffs for 'Marounistan' and a regular ferry to Cyprus, but it was also where Maronite militias and regular

forces often received weapons from the US; and the port of Beirut also received for the Phalange in general and LF in particular (Traboulsi, 2007: 232).

5.2 Year-by-year case study observations for Maronites

The historical background provides a significant backdrop to the case and has already included several examples of religious affiliation and indirect intervention. Had this case study not been limited to the civil war years, there would be an endless number of observations to note regarding the two variables in Lebanese history. Still, one observation is crucial to take into consideration: Religious affiliation is difficult to observe and identify in the span of a few years. Though, for example, the 19th century notion of Lebanon as a separate entity and haven for Syrian Christians, to be defended by western Catholic powers, is an instance of indirect intervention (along the lines of advocacy and diplomacy), its being characteristic of religious affiliation requires an understanding of history, specifically the 16th century unification of the Roman Catholic Church with the Maronite Church and the prior hundreds of years since the emergence of the Maronite sect. In the same vein, indirect intervention is more observable as a specific event. Western scholars' and parliaments' emphasis on the need for Lebanon to be a separate entity can be specifically observed in the 19th century. Though both variables will be observed in the case study, the background research already indicates that the nature of the variables is

different, and that religious affiliation is observed as preceding and therefore possibly causing indirect intervention.

As previously stated, religious affiliation and indirect intervention will be identified with the following characteristics:

Table 1 Religious Affiliation features all of the following:
1. Shared identification with a religious group or sub-group within a religious body
2. Members and corresponding institutions are associated (members of similar religious bodies and organizations) and affiliated (identified as members of the same sect).
3. Formal organizations and informal groupings based on 'brotherhood', both within state boundaries and transnationally

Table 2 Indirect Intervention is anything short of military invasion involving one or more of the following:
1. Political pressure or diplomatic support on behalf of one group
2. Political legitimacy in international organizations on behalf of a group
3. Economic aid for a group
4. Funds for military supplies
5. Military equipment donations or sales

Most importantly, since Syrian and (to a somewhat lesser extent) Israeli tutelage in the war were so often employed by the US and France to accomplish their own pro-Maronite interests, a 6th category of indirect intervention is added:

Table 2.1
6. Advocating for or approval of any of the other forms of indirect intervention, as well as military invasion not executed by the third-party government being observed but by another government on behalf of a militia or party in civil war which the third-party government wishes to intervene on behalf of

As described in previous section, descriptive accounts of the events during the war were observed and events fitting the descriptions of the variables have been taken note of, classified based on which of the components the observations involve in particular.

Table 4 1975 and 1976 year-by-year	
1975	1976
5: US sent arms to Phalangists leading into 1975 (Odeh, 1985: 131)	1: 31 March - For the purpose of Syria's 'containing extremism', US Envoy Brown (investigating whether and to what degree there was support for Syrian intervention) met with Franjeh, Chamoun, and Gemayel; next with the Maronite Patriarch; last with al-Assad and Karami (Prime Minister) (Odeh 165)
1: US diplomats secured P. Gemayel's support of US-sponsored settlement in region (Odeh, 1985: 131)	1, 6: 1 April - Brown communicates that the Christians "want the Syrians to save them" and brokers 'limited' Syrian involvement (Traboulsi, 2007: 196) US begins persuading Israel to stay out and let Syrians have a foothold in Northern Lebanon (Harris, 1997: 165); (Divisions emerge in LNM between Syrian-supported factions and those loyal to LNM's causes);

Table 4 1975 and 1976 year-by-year	
1975	1976
1: French Envoy Couve de Murville met with Lebanese Maronite Order (monks), who proposed system of “independently confessional pure mini-states” to (el-Solh, 1994: 236)	1, 6: 9 April - French Envoy met with Chamoun, Gemayel, and Maronite Patriarch to discuss presidential candidates; met with al-Assad, Karami, and Arafat afterwards; (Odeh, 1985: 166-167); France and US disagreed on the nature of Syrian involvement but supported it nonetheless (Odeh, 1985: 166-167)
3,4,5: Israeli arms, ammution, and training given to Phalangists (Traboulsi, 2007: 195-196)	6: Syrian-controlled PLA assisted Phalangists in pushing LNM forces out of Kisrawan (Winslow, 1996: 206); US agreed to allow the Syrians to intervene on behalf of Maronite militias and prevent Israel from becoming involved (Winslow, 1996: 208)
	1: Summer into Fall - US backs Sarkis for the Presidency with CIA using large amounts of money to bribe voters and those in charge of the process (Traboulsi 2007, 198-199)
	6: The AFL, soon to be SLA, grows with Israeli training, staffing, and officering (Traboulsi, 2007: 206-207)

Table 5 1977-1979 year-by-year		
1977	1978	1979
3, 4: 8 Feb - UN SG Kurt Waldheim confirmed \$50 million aid plan (mostly funded by US) (AP, April 29, 1976, "\$20 Million in U.S. Aid Is Proposed for Lebanon")	2, 6: Syria's role as a party to be supported for greater regional interests [Oct. UNSC ceasefire resolution implicated Syria as party to civil war] (McGowen, 1989).	6: President Sarkis and President Assad met in Damascus in 1979 to reassert cooperation; Syria would allow the ADF to stay in Lebanon as long as 'Arab interests' were at stake (McGowen, 1989)
2, 6: Syria used its influence in the ADF and its own army to maintain the balance between Maronite militias and PLO (McGowen, 1989)		1: The US did not communicate disapproval or attempt to inhibit B. Gemayel's campaign (Traboulsi, 2007: 210)

Table 6: 1980-1982 year-by-year		
1980	1981	1982
1: The US stood between Israel and Syria during the missile crisis which B. Gemayel successfully incited, preventing both Syria and Israel from becoming further engaged against their regional rival (Traboulsi, 2007: 210-211)	1: July 25 - US envoy Philip Habib brokered ceasefire agreement ending Palestinian-Israeli hostilities (Winslow, 1996: 228)	1: April 10 - President Sarkis asked the US to prevent an Israeli attack; Ambassador Sam Lewis received assurances from Israel (not kept more than 1 month) (Winslow, 1996: 229)
1: The US did not communicate disapproval or attempt to inhibit B. Gemayel's campaign (Traboulsi, 2007: 210)		*Aug 21 - 800 US Marines (in Lebanon for the first time since 1958) assist the evacuation of Palestinian rebels (Winslow, 1996: 234)
1,2: The US invited Lebanon to the Camp David accords as Sharon called for a 'Christian Lebanon' - US supported a 'Christian' Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 215)		1: The Reagan Plan is announced (Winslow, 1996: 234)
		6: The IDF invaded with tacit approval of the US (Traboulsi, 2007: 215)
		1, 6: The US and Israel arranged the election of B. Gemayel to Pres. (Traboulsi, 2007: 216)
		*US Marines evacuated PLO militants from Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 216)

Table 7: 1983-1989 year-by-year				
1983	1985	1987	1988	1989
5: US only sends a few tanks and training missions in response to Pres. Amin Gemayel's request for aid and arms (Winslow, 1996: 237)	1: Tacit agreement between US, Syria, and Israel: S. Leb. security left to Amal; Syrian army mostly out, except for its security officers left in Lebanese army (Traboulsi, 2007: 225)	1, 6: Syrian military back in Lebanon with US' approval (Traboulsi, 2007: 233-234)	6: The US fully encouraged Syrian tutelage in Lebanon, especially after its agreements with the USSR regarding proxy wars (Winslow, 1996: 271)	1,6: US/Arab League-backed Taif Agreement brings an end to the conflict (Traboulsi, 2007: 240)

5.2.1 Identifying Indirect Intervention in the war's initial stage (1975-1976)

In carrying out a case study of events occurring throughout the Lebanese Civil War, it was crucial to identify the trends of indirect intervention on behalf of affiliated groups already emerging at the outset of the war. In addition, the context to these phenomena needed to be clarified. Before the outset of the war, the historic relationship between the West and Maronite parties and militias culminated in US support of Maronite militias, arming in preparation for violent confrontation in defense of their community's historic hegemony. In the years prior to the outbreak of war in 1975, the US (usually through the CIA) sent periodical shipments of weapons to the Phalange (Odeh, : 131). In addition, at a summit on 7 January, 1974, President Suleiman Franjeh met with President Hafiz al-Assad of Syria during the first visit of a Syrian President to Lebanon in

18 years. Among other domestic and international issues, the two discussed and signed a Joint Defence Treaty, granting Syria 'early warning facilities' in Lebanon against Israeli airstrikes in return for Syria's promise to protect Lebanon from Israeli aggression (Traboulsi, 2007: 182). This would be a crucial development in the US' future involvement and indirect intervention in the Lebanese conflict.

By september of 1974, confrontations between Phalangists and the PSP had already started to occur along with PSP and LNM leader, Kamal Jumblatt, already suspending participation of some of his ministers in the government. One of the ministers, Taqi al-Din al-Sulh, had accused President Franjeh of covering up another shipment of arms at the port of Jounieh, unloaded by the Lebanese army but distributed to Maronite militias. It was relationships like this, reflective of the Maronites' past relationship with France and Roman Catholicism, but by the 1970s much more often involving the US, which would lay the backdrop for US support of Maronite militias. In fact, in 1975, the Lebanese Maronite Order proposed a system of "independently confessional pure mini-states" to French Envoy Couve de Murville (el-Solh, 1994: 236) to no avail. Also, perhaps due to major changes in its international involvement after the second Vatican Council, such as being much more focused in international dialogue instead of maintaining its own political order ("Why is Vatican II so important?"), the Vatican and international Roman Catholicism were rarely

observed as siding strongly with the Maronites from a military point of view, while the US seemed to be taking over this sort of role.

While in 1975 Amal, the Shia Militia, was created as the armed wing of the Movement of the Deprived, the initial conflict was primarily between the Leftist and generally Muslim alliance of Druze, Sunni and Shia Muslims, mostly Greek Orthodox communists, Syrian nationalists, and Armenians not involved in their own communities militias (which were overwhelmingly neutral through most of the course of the war). Non-Maronite Christian peoples often found themselves on both sides of the inaccurately-labeled struggle between Christians and Muslims. In fact, the political ambivalence of Greek Orthodox Arab, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Apostolic Orthodox, Armenian Catholic, Protestant, and other communities illustrated how it was not religious belief influencing policy but the convenience of religious affiliation and the channels of cooperation it made available. Phalangist recruiting often targeted neighborhoods in predominantly Christian East Beirut, where the Armenian neighborhoods were also located, Armenian families living on the outskirts of a neighborhood might find themselves pressured to allow their sons to join the Phalangists in order to avoid pressure against the family and to gain local standing. Joining a very locally-recruiting militia was often not much of a choice but something unavoidable. Other Armenians and Greek Orthodox Arabs ideologically found themselves sometimes more aligned with Syrian nationalism, especially if they had familial connections to cities in Syria; or with

the Palestinian struggle, had they relatives in Palestine or had they descended from Palestine themselves.

Still, it was largely through the lens of a conflict between Christian and Muslim that the United States saw the ensuing conflict in Lebanon. The Lebanese Army shooting of protesters during the February 1975 strike against the Protein fishing company, which Camille Chamoun held a large stake in and was heavily connected with the government (Traboulsi, 2007: 182-183; Winslow, 1996: 198), was responded to by a Maronite-led counterstrike and demonstrations in Beirut and Sidon (Traboulsi, 2007: 183). The 13 April, 1975 shooting on the Maronite congregation in al Rumaneh, responded to by the Phalange bus shooting and killing of 21 Palestinians on a bus headed towards the Tel al-Zatar camp, helped to furnish sectarian lines and distinguish the available recipients of Western aid to the conflict (Traboulsi, 2007: 183).

As the lines were drawn between the LNM and PLO and the Army, Phalangists, Tigers, and Zgharta Militia, the Christian side stressed its critique of the LNM as a welcomer of outside forces (specifically the PLO) which undermined Lebanese sovereignty (Traboulsi, 2007: 187-188), while the loosely Leftist side labeled their enemies as isolationists. Neither accusation was completely accurate; the PLO had found its new base in Lebanon and had become very much local and unwanted in much of the Arab world, while the Phalange and its allies were heavily supported by outside powers to oppose the LNM's proposed reforms (e.g. the 'transitional programme for democratic

reform of the Lebanese system’) and Palestinian influence in Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 188-189). It was during 1975 that US diplomats entertained the idea of a their own peace plan for the region, which was accepted by Pierre Gemayel (Odeh, 1985: 131), and in 1976 that the US investigated and decided to employ a Syrian military presence to impose a peace.

In November, 1975, Prime Minister Karami shut down the government in protest of another shipment of arms that was received by the Army at Jounieh to be delivered to Phalangists (Traboulsi, 2007: 192). The supply of weapons, from outside supporters, to the one-sided army, delivered to the Maronite militias was not an uncommon way of receiving support for any of the militias in Lebanon, but it was nonetheless a clear demonstration of indirect intervention and how the lines were drawn between sides in Lebanon at this time. By the time of ‘Black Saturday’, though the ‘Muslim’ and ‘Christian’ sides were becoming increasingly polarized, Shia militias had yet to fully form and the most prominent leader of the Shia community, Musa al-Sadr, maintained support of the President until late 1975 or 1976, along with Al-Nahar and other pro-Syrian forces (Traboulsi, 2007: 192).

By the spring, though President al-Assad had met with Jumblatt (who pled for help in achieving his desired reforms), Syria had pledged its commitment to President Franjeh, the Phalange, and the Lebanese status quo (Odeh, 1985: 139). US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, in 1973, had already

taken note of how Syria was crucial to peace in the Middle East, famously stating that ‘there can be no war in the Middle East without Egypt and no peace without Syria’ (Traboulsi, 2007: 195). The US administration had already been praising Syria’s ‘positive’ role in Lebanon in January 1976. Though, in March, Kissinger was still questioning the nature of Syria’s role in Lebanon and sent his Special Emissary Dean Brown to seek peace but to keep Syria out (Traboulsi, 2007: 195-196). This was especially due to Israeli Prime Minister Rabin’s informing the US that Israeli forces would have to slip into southern Lebanon to protect their ‘red line’ that Syrian forces were not to cross in the event of a Syrian military presence in Lebanon. The US wanted to avoid confrontation between Israel and Syria and thus wanted to keep Syria out of Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 195). On 31 March, US envoy Brown met with President Franjeh, Camille Chamoun, and Pierre Gemayel first and later in the day with the Maronite patriarch, and, lastly, President al-Assad and Karami (Odeh, 1985: 165).

The US’ interests in the Maronite population seemed to be clearly displayed in a 1 April report by Brown to his superiors, in which he specified that the Christians ‘want the Syrians to save them’, implying that the best way to defend the Lebanese Christian population (or, Lebanese Maronite hegemony) was to do so through Syria. Though certain allies of the Phalange, such as Camille Chamoun, hoped for direct intervention on the part of the US, domestic constraints, Franjeh and most of the Phalange’s leadership’s approval of the

'Syrian solution', and the convenience of Syria's possible tutelage in Lebanon led to US approval of Syrian involvement. Brown brokered a 'limited' Syrian involvement in Lebanon, which opened the door to nearly 30 years of Syrian occupation (Traboulsi, 2007: 196). In April, President al-Assad would even call the LNM "criminals who buy and sell revolution" while initiating the first stages of Syria's military occupation with tanks crossing the border into Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 195-196). It was at this time that, while Secretary of State Kissinger continued with the rhetoric that implied the US' mere tolerance of Syrian involvement for the purpose of "curbing extremism", the Phalange welcomed the role of Syria, as well as the Arab Deterrent Force (ADF) which would be sent into Lebanon (Odeh, 1985: 164-165).

The military presence of a government bordering Lebanon available to the Maronites as well as to the US (which sought a way to influence the crisis in Lebanon) was not limited only to Syria. In September 1975, George Adwan (leader of Al-Tanzim, the secret network of rightist, mostly Maronite militia leaders) and Daniel Kimche (coordinator of Mosad's activities in Lebanon) met at the Israeli Embassy of France. This was followed by a meeting in Jounieh including Kimche, Colonel bin-Elezier, Pierre and Bachir Gemayel; another meeting with the two Israelis and Camille and Dany Chamoun; and a final meeting including Prime Minister Rabin himself along with Chamoun and Gemayel on an Israeli Navy boat off the Lebanese coast. These meetings led to the Israelis agreeing to provide arms, ammunitions, and training to the

Phalange, while they were not led to intervene directly in Lebanon. Bachir Gemayel would send a Phalange delegate. American diplomats were cognizant of this relationship and also approached management of the Lebanese conflict through Israel. Though Colonel Elezzer and other Israeli military officials would even attend the siege of Tel al-Zatar camp (the blame of which would often be put on the Israelis), the US focused on Syria as a means of invading without having to invade themselves (in fact, the Syria military was largely funded by the USSR, so the US would also be able to avoid much of the costs of direct intervention).

At this point, the US is observed as the primary Western broker of power in Lebanon, seemingly open and closing floodgates of governments and militaries for its own interests. A country like France, with its historic relationship with Maronite Lebanon, by the 1970s was much less influential in world politics after the demise of its global imperial strongholds in the mid 20th century. Henry Kissinger's memoirs corresponding to this period of time include his mentioning how the US "encouraged Israel to serve as arms supplier of the Christians even while Syria was acting-temporarily at least-as their protector" (Traboulsi, 2007: 197). Here we find the beginning of the US mediating the dialogue of deterrence between Syria, which opposed Israeli occupation of Lebanon, and Israel, which also desired to minimize Syria's influence especially with regards to their policy towards Palestinians and usage of the Palestinian militia they funded (Traboulsi, 2007: 197-198). France, too,

welcomed a diplomatic meeting with President al-Assad in Paris, finally agreeing to their involvement in Lebanon (Odeh, 1985:166-167).

The US would go on to backing Ilyas Sarkis for President in the upcoming 1976 election with the Sa'iqa Syrian-backed Palestinian military faction guarding the election and proceedings. Both Saudi Arabia and the CIA would actually spend a considerable amount of money buying votes for that election. Around 20 MPs, mostly Jumblatt's allies, then boycotted the election. By this time, the Lebanese Army was rivaled by the Lebanese Arab Army, while the Tel al-Zatar camp, the hotels in downtown Beirut, the Beirut-Damascus road, and key Phalange strongholds in the interior of Lebanon were aggressively attacked by the LNM until the large-scale Syrian occupation officially began on 1 June, beginning with 6,000 soldiers but reaching 15,000. This would be fiercely opposed by the LNM and PLO but impossible to stop (Traboulsi, 2007: 198-199).

The growing divide, at this point, could be understood as being between the 'left' and 'right', Muslim and Christian blocs, Arabist and Lebanese, anti-Syrian and pro-Syrian, US-opposed and US-backed, and many other divisions. The importance of the US-Maronite relationship, however, is crucially observed in this study as an avenue of indirect support. Still, we find actors working against this relationship. Beginning in the summer of 1976, Bachir Gemayel, the ambitious son of warlord and Kataeb leader, Pierre Gemayel, began meeting secretly with Kamal Jumblatt, plotting to gain an advantage in the balance of

power against the will of the political bloc he belonged to. He would go on to being the only Maronite leader to join in Kamal Jumblatt's compromise, attacking traditional political leaders of Lebanon and the bourgeoisie that left East Beirut during the beginning of the war, leaving the poor to defend Christian territory and fight the 'battle of the hotels' (Traboulsi, 2007: 200-201). During the 1980s, he would speak out against the US' lack of support for his 'cause', claiming that he had been fighting against Syria and the Palestinians all along with the only legitimate cause in Lebanon ("Bachir Gemayel Interview"), while interviews with Dany Chamoun and Camille Chamoun portrayed them as leaders of the bloc but also struggling against the same enemy.

This portrayal as well as Syria's relationship with the USSR (the announcement of 6,000 Syrian soldiers being sent to Lebanon in early June was made in the presence of the Soviet Prime Minister during his visit to Damascus) possibly blurs the lines dividing the sides in the war, but the fact that the US was willing to accept and use Syria's presence in Lebanon to support the Maronite cause further illustrates the power of their affiliation with that group in Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 199). It counters the argument that the US was merely interested in supporting the Maronites because of their anti-communist stance (though this was a stance popularly employed by Maronite leaders themselves) or that the US was merely paving the way for Israeli interests in Lebanon (since Israel was the greatest proponent of a non-Israeli solution for the Palestinian population 'problem'). The US wavered on who it worked with to defend what

were understood as Maronite and Christian interests, especially since this required balancing Syrian and Israeli desires to achieve their respective regional goals, but the common denominator was a consistent vouching for 'Christian' Lebanon, even when its leaders would go back and forth on who they were willing to cooperate with.

The summer of 1976, though still early in the war, is when differences in the Maronite bloc begin to demonstrate the pragmatism with which the western supporters of Maronite leadership, primarily the US, sought to send along support. Bachir Gemayel's secret meetings with Kamal Jumblatt had led to a large compromise, including acceptance of the PLO presence and certain reforms requested by Jumblatt - reforms that showed a drastic change in Bachir's mindset, pointing to power-grabbing ambitions. In the movement toward Jumblatt, Bachir Gemayel was accepting a truce and becoming more aligned against Syria. Since the US had chosen to allow Syria to intervene in the conflict, there could not be direct support for Bachir Gemayel's ambitious efforts. In the meantime, Kamal Jumblatt, including France as one of his many foreign diplomatic visits, attempted to gain French favor for his cause. Though members of the French Left opposition to Mitterrand, he was informed that, as long as the US and Syria (with their own self-supported Palestinian groups, including DFLP and PFLP) opposed Jumblatt, his PSP and militias, and his allies in Lebanon (including the PLO and other anti-Syrian Palestinian militias), there could be no French support (Traboulsi, 2007: 201).

US support through Syria continued on behalf of those loyal to President Franjeh and, in the fall of 1976, the new President Sarkis. In the summer of 1976, the Israeli military also began, with US permission, to extend itself into southern Lebanon, opening the 'good frontier' in south Lebanon and helping dissident Major Saad Haddad and his Lebanese army dissidents to form the Army of Free Lebanon, which, after coming to include members of Shia and Druze militias in the south, became known as the South Lebanon Army (SLA). The SLA would, in future months and years, be funded, armed, and even officered by Israel. While the Phalange hoped that their and Israel's support of a new militia in the south would push Palestinian militias towards disarmament (in the spirit of the Camp David accords), and the PLO called for a break of relations between the Lebanese Front and Israel, the Lebanese Front and Syria had a falling out. The Maronite leadership had hoped that, by the summer's Syrian occupation, Palestinian militias would have begun to be disarmed. This was not the case, and Israel thus became more of an available source of support for leaders seeking Maronite hegemony (Traboulsi, 2007: 206-207).

Table 4 1975 and 1976 year-by-year	
1975	1976
5: US sent arms to Phalangists leading into 1975 (Odeh, 1985: 131; Traboulsi)	1: 31 March - For the purpose of Syria's 'containing extremism', US Envoy Brown (investigating whether and to what degree there was support for Syrian intervention) met with Franjeh, Chamoun, and Gemayel; next with the Maronite Patriarch; last with al-Assad and Karami (Prime Minister) (Odeh 165)
1: US diplomats secured P. Gemayel's support of US-sponsored settlement in region (Odeh, 1985: 131)	1, 6: 1 April - Brown communicates that the Christians "want the Syrians to save them" and brokers 'limited' Syrian involvement (Traboulsi, 2007: 196) US begins persuading Israel to stay out and let Syrians have a foothold in Northern Lebanon (Harris, 1997: 165); (Divisions emerge in LNM between Syrian-supported factions and those loyal to LNM's causes);
1: French Envoy Couve de Murville met with Lebanese Maronite Order (monks), who proposed system of "independently confessional pure mini-states" to (el-Solh, 1994: 236)	1, 6: 9 April - French Envoy met with Chamoun, Gemayel, and Maronite Patriarch to discuss presidential candidates; met with al-Assad, Karami, and Arafat afterwards; (Odeh, 1985: 166-167); France and US disagreed on the nature of Syrian involvement but supported it nonetheless (Odeh, 1985: 166-167)
3,4,5: Israeli arms, ammunition, and training given to Phalangists (Traboulsi, 2007: 195-196)	6: Syrian-controlled PLA assisted Phalangists in pushing LNM forces out of Kisrawan (Winslow, 1996: 206); US agreed to allow the Syrians to intervene on behalf of Maronite militias and prevent Israel from becoming involved (Winslow, 1996: 208)
	1: Summer into Fall - US backs Sarkis for the Presidency with CIA using large amounts of money to bribe voters and those in charge of the process (Traboulsi 2007, 198-199)
	6: The AFL, soon to be SLA, grows with Israeli training, staffing, and officering (Traboulsi, 2007: 206-207)

1. Political pressure or diplomatic support on behalf of one group; 2. Political legitimacy in international organizations on behalf of a group; 3. Economic aid for a group; 4. Funds for military supplies; 5. Military equipment donations or sales; 6. Advocating for or approval of any of the other forms of indirect intervention, as well as military invasion, not executed by the third-party government being observed but by another government on behalf of a militia or party in civil war which the third-party government wishes to intervene on behalf of

5.2.2 The rise of Bachir Gemayel and ambition for ‘Christian’ hegemony (1977-1982)

At this point, it is difficult to identify who and which political organizations would serve the interests of the Maronite population most. In 1977, with the ADF helping to keep the more anti-establishment, anti-Phalange parties at bay (McGowen, 1989), President Sarkis began a push towards giving Bachir Gemayel a dominant role in a future government, while Bachir began his own 1,000-strong militia, soon known as the Lebanese Forces (LF) (Traboulsi, 2007: 207-208). Meanwhile, around \$20 million in aid was promised to Lebanon, to be received mostly by the army and the Phalange (" \$20 Million in U.S. Aid is Proposed for Lebanon"), while Syrian tutelage became more internationally legitimized in 1978 through the international community, particularly the UN Security Council, considering Syria a party to the Lebanese civil war. In addition, in 1979, President Sarkis and President al-Assad met to reassert the cooperation between the Syrian military and the ADF in Lebanon, as long as ‘Arab interests’ were at stake (McGowen, 1989).

In northern Lebanon, the former President Franjeh and his Marada brigade clashed with Phalangists over local pushes to incorporate Franjeh’s spheres of influence (his hometown was in Zgharta), while Franjeh and his militia resisted and chose to continue alignment with Syria and its presence in Lebanon. After the killing of Suleiman Franjeh’s son, Tony, and his wife and

daughter in an attack on Suleiman's villa in northern Lebanon, the rift in the Maronite leadership was accentuated. The Marada would cooperate in the north with the SSNP's (Syrian Social Nationalist Party) militia, the religiously-mixed pro-Syrian party. Bachir and his men began to confront the Syrian presence, along with the Chamouns' Tigers militia, taking over all of East Beirut (including Armenian Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant communities' neighborhoods, whose independent leadership and militias were blamed for their neutral stance and refusal to pay protection money). by 1980 and going on to incorporate the majority Greek Catholic city of Zahleh into its sphere of influence (Traboulsi, 2007: 210).

By pushing on into Zahleh, Bachir Gemayel was also successful in creating a sort of 'missile crisis' between Syria and Israel, in which 2 Syria helicopters transporting troops to Zahleh were shot down by Israeli fighters. In response, Syria placed 3 surface-to-air missiles in the Biqa valley, as well as a few other long-range missiles in Lebanon near the Syrian border, aimed at Israel. This crisis was then mediated by Philip Habib, the Lebanese-background US diplomat and personal envoy of President Reagan. The crisis was ended with the US standing in the middle of both Israel and Syria, with the common denominator of a desired favorable position for the Phalange at stake. This was accomplished by the LF being forced to leave Zahleh but the Syrian army being forbidden from taking the LF's place there (Traboulsi, 2007: 210-211).

By the end of 1980, Bachir Gemayel was setting up to take power as somewhat of a military dictator, backed by then-president Sarkis and the 'study for seizure of power by Bachir, which was a plan drafted in September 1980 by Lieutenant Colonel Michel Aoun and Antoine Najm, a philosophy teacher and Phalangist ideologue. This plan ensured that a five-region federalist system, assuring LF control over the richest areas and considerable influence over the rest, and was followed up in 1980 by a plan, drafted by Karim Pakradoni and Joseph Abu Khalil, calling for a federation to officially replace the 1926 constitution. This settlement attracted the support of an increasingly ambitious Iraq, promising aid money to the LF. Traboulsi writes that "Christian Lebanon was sold to the US ambassador as a second Israel with all the benefits for the USA of the first, minus its inconveniences (meaning that it would be accepted by the Arab world)" (Traboulsi, 2007: 212). Here we can see a result of the advantageous position involvement in Lebanon gave the US.

In July 1981, Prime Minister Menachem Begin allowed for a ceasefire with the PLO on the Lebanese border after Israel experienced heavy damage in Upper Galilee inflicted by the PLO. This was negotiated by Philip Habib and Yasir Arafat, another case of US involvement in the regional conflict. In March 1980, the Americans had already invited Lebanon to join in the Camp David accords, going along with Ariel Sharon's vision for a 'Christian' Lebanon under Bachir, an Israeli West bank, and a Palestinian Jordan. Though this seemed favorable to Maronites desiring a hegemonic order in Lebanon, and to Israelis

desiring a final place for Palestinians, apart from Palestine, the impracticality of such a plan in the face of such strong opposition in Lebanon could only come from strong incentive on the part of the US.

Though US Ambassador (to Israel) Sam Lewis received assurances from Israel that there would be no invasion (Winslow, 1996:229), on 6 June, 1982, the IDF began its full invasion, reaching and encircling the Baabda presidential palace outside Beirut, would follow through on Begin's promise to Bachir (affirmed by Habib): "I'll make you president" (Traboulsi, 2007: 215). In the meantime, the Reagan Plan was announced, soon followed by the arrival of 800 US Marines, on Lebanese soil for the first time since 1958, sent to assist in the evacuation of the PLO (Winslow, 1996: 234). In this context, the IDF's tanks protected the military barracks in which Bachir was sworn in. In his meetings with Israeli officials as newly-elected president, Bachir Gemayel, advised by the US, would ask for 6-9 months to establish his authority. He did not agree to a peace treaty, which evidently was also not something the US pressured him to agree to, and Israel continued its new occupation of Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 216). Bachir was soon assassinated (on 14 September, 1982), days after the inauguration, after which the massacres at Sabra and Shatila occurred (Traboulsi, 2007: 218).

It is crucial to specify the involvement in the massacre. According to the testimony of US Secretary of State George Shultz, Ariel Sharon had clarified that

he had initially asked the Lebanese army to “clean them out...they can kill the terrorists. But if they don’t we will” (Traboulsi, 2007: 218). An Israeli reconnaissance force was the first to enter the camps on the 15th, having already assassinated 3 PLO leaders in Beirut early that week. They were followed, on the 16th, by Saad Haddad’s segment of the South Lebanon Army, which was attached to Israeli forces in Beirut, and Elie Hobeika’s ‘Apaches’, a security segment of the LF, which was led by Marun Mashalani, Michel Zuwayn, and Georges Melko. Incidentally, the US peacekeeping force had been pulled out of Lebanon (having aided in the removal of all PLO fighters) hastily, before its 30 day mandate, leaving many innocent Palestinians in the camps. This is an instance in which US cooperation with the Maronites through the Israelis led to tremendous bloodshed and questions of intent. Leaders like Haddad and Hobeika would need to work in future years to remove their being associated with massacres at Sabra and Shatila from their reputations, blaming it on the Israelis. The US marines were sent back in response to this crisis, and would arrive by 28 September along with the rest of the Multinational Force (MNF), which also included French and Italian troops (Traboulsi, 2007: 219) (Winslow, 1996: 235).

5.2.3 The ambition of Amin Gemayel, foreign direct intervention (1982-1983)

The newly elected Amin Gemayel, brother of Bachir, would in the next several months use the US marines presence not as security or a deterrent but a way to go on the offensive against his Muslim enemies, though he was unable to secure much arms or funding from the US (which seemed to be focused on accomplishing security goals themselves), only receiving a few tanks and training missions (Winslow, 1996: 237). The new LF commander, Fadi Frem, led his troops into the Shuf to assert the area's 'Christian' identity (Traboulsi, 2007: 220), and Amin sent police to poor Muslim (Palestinian, Lebanese Shiia, etc.) settlements in South Beirut to clear out 'illegal squatters'.

This sort of activity went on for several months, into 1983, when Amin Gemayel ordered the Lebanese army to occupy West Beirut (primarily Sunni) and its southern suburbs (Palestinian and Shia). Coincidentally, as this form of 'Christian nationalism' was sweeping across Lebanon, the anti-Israeli and anti-Phalangist Lebanese National Resistance Front (LNRF) was formed in 1982, serving as an umbrella for ex-LNM organizations and parties. These especially included the Lebanese Communist Party (mostly consisting of Lebanese from disenfranchised Christian groups, such as Arab Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox and Catholics) and the Organization for Communist Action (primarily Shia but mixed with various Christian groups), and the Socialist Arab Action

Party (another mixed party). While Amin, following in his brother's footsteps, attempted to 'Christianize' Lebanon, Christians and members of other sects rose against this, demonstrating the paradox of the vision for any Lebanese sect's 'hegemony' and the lack of any real service provided to Lebanese Christians by US involvement (Traboulsi, 2007: 221).

Table 5 1977-1979 year-by-year		
1977	1978	1979
3, 4: 8 Feb - UN SG Kurt Waldheim confirmed \$50 million aid plan (mostly funded by US) ("\$20 Million in U.S. Aid is Proposed for Lebanon")	2, 6: Syria's role as a party to be supported for greater regional interests [Oct. UNSC ceasefire resolution implicated Syria as party to civil war] (McGowen, 1989).	6: President Sarkis and President Assad met in Damascus in 1979 to reassert cooperation; Syria would allow the ADF to stay in Lebanon as long as 'Arab interests' were at stake (McGowen, 1989)
2, 6: Syria used its influence in the ADF and its own army to maintain the balance between Maronite militias and PLO (McGowen, 1989)		1: The US did not communicate disapproval or attempt to inhibit B. Gemayel's campaign (Traboulsi, 2007: 210)

1. Political pressure or diplomatic support on behalf of one group; 2. Political legitimacy in international organizations on behalf of a group; 3. Economic aid for a group; 4. Funds for military supplies; 5. Military equipment donations or sales; 6. Advocating for or approval of any of the other forms of indirect intervention, as well as military invasion, not executed by the third-party government being observed but by another government on behalf of a militia or party in civil war which the third-party government wishes to intervene on behalf of

Table 6: 1980-1982 year-by-year		
1980	1981	1982
1: The US stood between Israel and Syria during the missile crisis which B. Gemayel successfully incited, preventing both Syria and Israel from becoming further engaged against their regional rival (Traboulsi, 2007: 210-211)	1: July 25 - US envoy Philip Habib brokered ceasefire agreement ending Palestinian-Israeli hostilities (Winslow, 1996: 228)	1: April 10 - President Sarkis asked the US to prevent an Israeli attack; Ambassador Sam Lewis received assurances from Israel (not kept more than 1 month) (Winslow, 1996: 229)
1: The US did not communicate disapproval or attempt to inhibit B. Gemayel's campaign (Traboulsi, 2007: 210)		*Aug 21 - 800 US Marines (in Lebanon for the first time since 1958) assist the evacuation of Palestinian rebels (Winslow, 1996: 234)
1,2: The US invited Lebanon to the Camp David accords as Sharon called for a 'Christian Lebanon' - US supported a 'Christian' Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 215)		1: The Reagan Plan is announced (Winslow, 1996: 234)
		6: The IDF invaded with tacit approval of the US (Traboulsi, 2007: 215)
		1, 6: The US and Israel arranged the election of B. Gemayel to Pres. (Traboulsi, 2007: 216)
		*US Marines evacuated PLO militants from Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2007: 216)

1. Political pressure or diplomatic support on behalf of one group; 2. Political legitimacy in international organizations on behalf of a group; 3. Economic aid for a group; 4. Funds for military supplies; 5. Military equipment donations or sales; 6. Advocating for or approval of any of the other forms of indirect intervention, as well as military invasion, not executed by the third-party government being observed but by another government on behalf of a militia or party in civil war which the third-party government wishes to intervene on behalf of

The L NRF continued part of the resistance that the LNM initiated, which was also continued by the National Salvation Front (NSF), encompassing other former LNM members, the PLO, Amal, Rashid Karami, and Suleiman Franjeh.

The NSF traveled to Damascus in early 1983 to become part of Syria's counter-offensive. At the same time, rising radicalism and prevalence of suicide bombings of Hizbollah, the rival of the more pro-establishment Amal movement, began to frighten the occupation forces (Traboulsi, 2007: 222). The presence of the Multinational Force (MNF) and peace talks between Amin and Sharon were all reasons for radicals to further radicalize and make desperate attempts to assert force (Traboulsi, 2007: 224). The 1983 Geneva conference, held shortly after the 17 May peace accord between Sharon and Amin (which Syria complained to US Secretary of State George Shultz of being a 'pact of domination', was held to foster talks between Jumblatt, Birri, Chamoun, and Gemayil, ending with the designation of Karami as Prime Minister. This loose cooperation did not last very long after the fall 1983 bombings and early 1984 pullout of the MNF (Traboulsi, 2007: 225).

5.2.4 Signs of peace, near settlement, no peace until Taif agreement (1984-1990)

1984 was the year, though, of a short 'national unity' and coexistence between the Phalange and the NSF. On 17 February, 1985, the last Israeli forces withdrew from Sidon, Beirut, and the Beirut-Damascus Road, staying only to patrol the southern border areas. A tacit agreement existed between the US, Israel, and Syria, allowing for Israel to entrust security in southern

Lebanon to Amal, which agreed to take on an anti-Palestinian stance, especially in the camp warfare of 1984-1985. The agreement also included Syria's agreeing to pull troops out of the western portion of the Biqa Valley, though loyal Lebanese army units were allowed to remain staffed by Syrian intelligence officers (Traboulsi, 2007: 225).

At this time, another break within the Phalange would lead to another aim of support for the US, though the years immediately following the barracks bombing were characterized by reservation and wariness of involvement on the part of the US. On 28 December, 1985, a tripartite agreement between Jumblatt, Birri, and Elie Hobeika arranged a peace accord promising an end to the war, dissolution of all militias within one year, Christian-Muslim parity in parliamentary representation, abolition of political sectarianism, and limited presidential (Maronite) powers in favor of the prime minister (Sunni muslim) (Traboulsi, 2007: 226). This was opposed by Amin Gemayel, who complained to Damascus in January 1986 meetings that the arrangement was unfair (Traboulsi, 2007: 227). On 12 March, 1986, Amin Gemayel and Samir Jaja engineered a coup and ouster of Hobeika's faction of the LF from 'Marounistan', ending the agreement and allowing the war to drag on until 1990 (Traboulsi, 2007: 227). It would feature a return of a large-scale Syrian presence in early 1987, Shiia sectarian infighting (between Amal and Hizbollah), fighting between Amal and the PLO, Amal and the former LNM (PSP, LNRF, NSF), LF and

Phalange, Jaja and Hobeika's respective LF factions, and between the LF and the Lebanese military units loyal to General Aoun (Traboulsi, 2007: 233-234).

The Taif Agreement, the fruit of a US-backed Arab League initiative which giving the Sunni Prime Minister increased power and did not advocate for the removal of the Syrian military presence, signed by Lebanese parliamentarians on 22 October 1989 in the context of increasing Syrian-American rapprochement, allowed Syria to launch a final assault to dislodge the dissident, self-proclaimed leader of Christian Lebanon, General Michel Aoun from the Baabda presidential palace. Aoun had received large amounts of aid from Saddam Hussein and Iraq during his 2 year campaign to redeem Bachir Gemayel's hegemonic ambitions. Aoun would take refuge in the French Embassy until being exiled to France in 1991 (Traboulsi, 2007: 240).

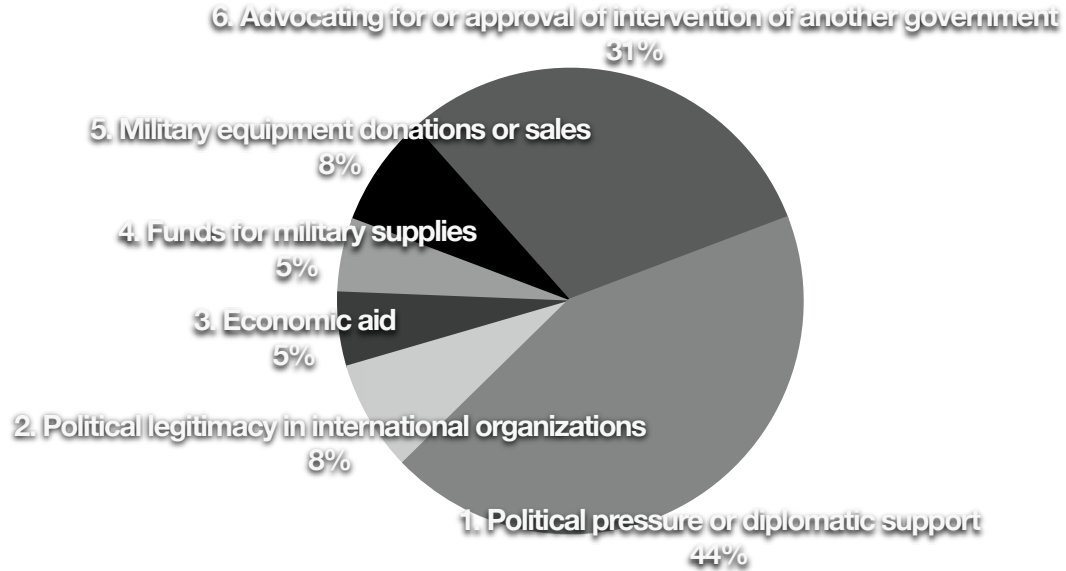
Table 6: 1983-1989 year-by-year				
1983	1985	1987	1988	1989
5: US only sends a few tanks and training missions in response to Pres. Amin Gemayel's request for aid and arms (Winslow, 1996: 237)	1: Tacit agreement between US, Syria, and Israel: S. Leb. security left to Amal; Syrian army mostly out, except for its security officers left in Lebanese army (Traboulsi, 2007: 225)	1, 6: Syrian military back in Lebanon with US' approval (Traboulsi, 2007: 233-234)	6: The US fully encouraged Syrian tutelage in Lebanon, especially after its agreements with the USSR regarding proxy wars (Winslow, 1996: 271)	1,6: US/Arab League-backed Taif Agreement brings an end to the conflict (Traboulsi, 2007: 240)

1. Political pressure or diplomatic support on behalf of one group; 2. Political legitimacy in international organizations on behalf of a group; 3. Economic aid for a group; 4. Funds for military supplies; 5. Military equipment donations or sales; 6. Advocating for or approval of any of the other forms of indirect intervention, as well as military invasion, not executed by the third-party government being observed but by another government on behalf of a militia or party in civil war which the third-party government wishes to intervene on behalf of

5.3 Observations

39 observations of indirect intervention of the US or France on behalf of Maronite parties and militias were made in the 16-year case study. 30/39 occurred before the US, France, and other western powers intervened, placing forces on the ground in Lebanon in the summer of 1982. Out of all the observations from the 16-year case study, 17 out of 39 (44%) involved (type 1) political pressure or diplomatic support; 12 out of 39 (31%) involved (type 6) advocating for or approval of any of the other forms of indirect intervention, as well as military invasion, executed by another government; 3 out of 39 (8%) involved (type 2) political legitimacy in international organizations on behalf of a group; 3 out of 39 (8%) involved (type 5) military equipment donations or sales; 2 out of 39 (5%) involved (type 3) economic aid for a group; and 2 out of 39 (5%) involved (type 4) funds for military supplies.

Figure 1



It is crucial to note the decrease in and forms of indirect intervention after the failed intervention in 1982, which ended after US ‘neutrality’ was ‘compromised’ with US forces firing at Druze forces too close for comfort to the US ambassador’s residence. This ignited the rising Shia radical groups’ (led by Hizbollah) devastating bombing of the US Marine barracks and French paratroopers. Though indirect intervention by way of religiously affiliated relationships pinned the US and France as pro-Maronite, direct intervention sent a clear signal to other parties and militias who the west was backing. This observation is to be taken into consideration in future studies regarding the effects of direct intervention, and how bias in conflict intervention can exist if it is in the context of semi-covert support.

The most frequently employed form of indirect intervention, diplomatic or political pressure, was mostly used when the second most frequently used form, approval of another government's intervention, was also used. The US and France's accepting Syria's role in managing the conflict generally resulted from a desire to maintain order without having to intervene themselves. Israeli security interests were also managed this way. The US would frequently work to diplomatically balance leaders of Syria and Israel while seeking the interests of Maronite leaders through both countries' involvement in Lebanon. Indirect intervention by a third-party that wishes to aid a religiously-affiliated group within a civil war (in this case, the US looking to aid the Phalange and Lebanese government) does not necessarily involve aiding the groups of interest. It seemed that both the US and France, though they looked to serve Maronite interests, felt that they had a better idea of how to serve those interests than to constantly aid militias. Funds and weapons were therefore not allocated as often as was Syrian and Israeli involvement or staving off Syria and Israel from becoming too involved.

The US would also vacillate between the recipients of their aid. At times, it seemed that the ambitious Bachir Gemayel was losing his grip on US support with his rejection of the Syrian presence, mixed relationship with Israel, and bloody campaign to dominate Lebanon. Still, though they would turn to figures such as President Sarkis and back to Bachir Gemayel again, there existed a constant move towards supporting the interests of the Maronite establishment.

US diplomats and even Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were willing to see both Israel and Syria kept at a distance from Maronite areas but also, when the time called for it, to see them exert brutal force on the countryside and its cities. The common denominator of the US', and to a lesser extent France's loyalty seemed to be directed toward the Maronites, who represented to western powers 'Christian' Lebanon (though there were many other Christian sects and ethnicities in Lebanon with various local and international loyalties, and mostly lack thereof).

5.4 Process Tracing: Making sense of the observations

The result of the process of the case was the final Syrian solution and Taif accords adopted in 1989, which in itself is a form of indirect intervention on the part of the US and France, resulting because of their advocacy of Syrian military occupation of Lebanon. Though this arose out of the context of the last years of the Cold War, during which the USSR and US decreased their involvement in proxy wars tremendously, it is a policy continued from years past. The US reverted to relying on Syrian tutelage after its failed intervention, along with French and other western countries' armed forces, in 1982, before which aid in the form of diplomatic and political pressure and advocacy (the most prominently-used form of indirect intervention), and the donation of military

supplies (the first-used form of indirect intervention in the war) preceded and laid the backdrop to the affiliation-based relationship of indirect intervention.

Based on the process traced above in which religious affiliation precedes and leads to a chain reaction of forms of indirect intervention, the following emerges as a broad hypothesis:

Religious affiliation, which develops through shared religious organizations, cultural and educational exchange, political legitimacy, and military cooperation leads to military sale and donations to similarly-affiliated groups (whether governmental or private or militia) which, in the event of civil war, leads to a chain of forms of indirect intervention, primarily involving diplomacy and political pressure and advocacy, but also likely leading to and including other governments' intervention (of any form) on behalf of the favored group. This country, at the resolution of the conflict, will likely have a favorable and hegemonic position in the intervened country as well as the region.

The following pre-hypotheses emerge:

1. Shared religious organizations, cultural and educational exchange, political legitimacy, and military cooperation lead to religious affiliation
2. Religiously affiliated parties engage in military sale and donations to groups (whether governmental or private or militia)
3. In the event of civil war, this military relationship becomes indirect intervention, primarily involving diplomacy and political pressure and

advocacy, but also likely leading to and including other governments' intervention (of any form) on behalf of the favored group.

Since a causal relationship can be identified through process tracing, the final hypothesis **x: Religious affiliation -> y: Indirect Intervention** can be tested in future large-n studies by creating data sets of all religiously-affiliated parties and militias involved in civil war and whether they receive indirect intervention. For a contribution to the study of conflict intervention in the Middle East specifically, this can be a data set compiling events since the fall of the Ottoman Empire and emergence of modern nation states and mandates in the Middle East.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis generates the testable hypothesis which argues that religious affiliation leads third-party governments to intervene indirectly on behalf of similarly affiliated parties and militias engaged in civil war. It examines literature on the role of religion in international politics, emphasizing the social phenomenon of transnational religious affiliation. In a further examination of literature discussing ethnic and religious groups in conflict, the phenomenon of indirect intervention is synthesized from a number of descriptions of forms of intervention. It is found in the literature that this type of intervention has been found to be used by religiously-affiliated third-parties. The two variables, religious affiliation and indirect intervention, are examined in a hypothesis-generating case study, one which does not begin with a hypothesis to be tested but with variables whose causal relationship is to be hypothesized. The case chosen is the Lebanese Civil War, specifically the indirect intervention of Western powers, mostly the United States but also France, on behalf of

Maronite Arab militias, parties, and overall hegemony. This case is chosen because of the richness of perspectives Lebanon offers to all religious, ethnic, and sectarian cleavages in the Middle East, as well as in the world. It is also specifically the role of 'Christian affiliation' that is examined in order to study religious affiliation as a broad phenomenon, identifying trends and behavior characteristic of religion as a social phenomenon in general and not focusing only on political Islam. It is crucial to understand religious affiliation as a broad phenomenon in order to differentiate in future studies between what is purely characteristic of religious affiliation, a universal phenomenon, and that which is a product of particular religious beliefs, which change from case to case.

The literature review begins with a broad discussion of literature on the role of religion in international politics, including citations of Kulbakova (2000), with crucial contributions to the understanding of religion in society, and Katzenstein (2007), whose perspective on both religion and secularism in society adds crucial dimensions to a study relating to the topic. Viewing religion as a social phenomenon, as Philpott (2007) suggests doing, especially considering how most of Walker Connor's (1978) discussed forms of identity are in some way related to religion, leads to the observation that such phenomena cross state and ethno-national boundaries. Transnational religious affiliation can thus be understood as one form of what Seul (1999) describes as the "hidden logic" between identity and conflict. Other terms referring to seemingly the same phenomenon, such as 'affinity', often used by Connor (1978), and 'ethnic

brethren', used in many sources including Carment et al (2006) in a discussion of "groups that believe they are threatened may seek out support from their ethnic brethren" and how similar groups expend resources "on behalf of ethnic brethren". Both of these terminologies are found in essence in 'religious affiliation', which is used because of its power to describe both attraction to other members of the same group and the sense of brotherhood or solidarity felt between groups across borders. Thus, the first contribution of the literature review is its emphasis and reiteration of religious affiliation as a useful way to discuss the relationships between 'religious brethren' with 'affinity' for each other across state boundaries.

This literature review then finds itself engaging with conflict intervention literature, especially given studies similar to Carment et al (2006), which stress the propensity of similarly-affiliated groups to assist each other, especially in the event of conflict. In recent decades, religious affiliation has been a prevalent feature of civil conflicts in which third-parties have potentially sought to intervene in, and potential interveners have often been affiliated with groups within the civil war. This has included the US and its involvement with Christian leaders in Lebanon in the 1970s and 1980s, Russia's support of Orthodox Christian Serbs in the former Yugoslavia through the 1990s, and Saudi Arabia and Iran's support of Sunni and Shia groups, respectively, in conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa in the 1990s and 2000s. The existence of such "emotional ties" creating "feelings of affinity and responsibility

for oppressed kindred living elsewhere, motivating a state to intervene on their behalf” (Fox, James, Li, 2009: 164) led this study to examine, specifically, the forms of intervention associated with religious affiliation.

Reagan (1996) establishes that, according to the examination of a rich data set of third-party interventions, interventions on the behalf of state-centers in civil wars succeeded far more often than those on behalf of opposition groups. Why would it be, though, that a third-party government would intervene on behalf of an opposition group or a minority in a civil war? This thesis first suggests that religious affiliation is one strong motivation for intervening for a similarly-affiliated group, whether it is related to a state-center or is an opposition group. It also goes further to ask what kind intervention religiously affiliated groups are led to execute on the behalf of others.

The literature review arrives at a need for further understanding of what Carment, James, and Li (2009) describe as “providing funds for military supplies, direct military equipment donations or sales, providing military training”, and other forms of intervention which do not involve directly invading and occupying a foreign territory, which seem commonly pursued for the sake of religiously-affiliated groups. Though the literature on third-party conflict intervention touches upon a differentiation between military occupation and other forms of intervention, it usually classifies intervention from a qualitative point of view (that is, whether the intervention involves the military

or military supplies, it is still considered military intervention) rather than by differentiating what this thesis differentiates as direct and indirect intervention. Given the observation that existing religious, organizational and ecumenical relationships likely have the ability to foster international cooperation in the event of conflict, the variable indirect intervention is described as a synthesis of various forms of intervention that come short of direct military invasion. The second contribution of the literature review, then, is the defining of indirect intervention.

With a focus on these two variables, the thesis realizes a need to match intuitive understandings in the literature with additional empirical evidence. The fact that empirical evidence to be sought would be dealing with newly synthesized variables necessitates examining a real-world case involving religious affiliation and indirect intervention. It was decided to pursue a hypothesis-generating case study, involving process tracing of the existence of variables in their historical context in order to propose a hypothesis that could be tested in future studies involving large-N data sets and correlations meant to strengthen the proposed causal relationship. This thesis was meant primarily to begin a study of the relationship between religious affiliation, previously understood but underemphasized, and indirect intervention, a newly-synthesized variable.

Regarding the case choice, a case in the Middle East was chosen for three reasons: 1) It is a local where the historic dimensions of religious belief and grouping are in constant internationalized conflict, 2) the rise of the power of Islamism in the world demands a case to be considered involving the cultural context of Islam, and 3) it is of particular interest to a student of the relations between the US and countries in the Middle East.

A case involving the US was sought for the sake of having the study's results applicable directly to US foreign policy making, which makes crucial decisions that effect local and regional dynamics in the Middle East. Choosing the US, though, made it difficult to find a case in which the US was drawn to intervention for reasons related to religious affiliation. For that purpose, the US' role in supporting parties, militia, and armies in the Lebanese Civil War was chosen because of the apparent relationship between the majority Christian US and some of the Christian segments of the Lebanese population. Lastly, it is of great value to the the field of international relations in general and studies of ethnicity and religion in conflict in particular to find the commonalities between religious affiliation of various forms, avoiding studies that capture issues particular to one sect or religion. Studies in Islamic jurisprudence or Christian political theology are largely limited to understanding a particular belief's relationship with international politics, whereas a study which looks to observe an aspect of religion as a broad social phenomenon provides valuable insight into religious affiliation and avoids a discussion of religious belief. Religions

may be quite different, but religious affiliation manifests itself in common and parallel ways in diverse contexts.

Religious Affiliation is defined in a way which avoids being considered a pure manifestation of religious practice. Works such as Singer (1963); Varshney (1998); Fox (1999b); Fox (2002); Varshney (2002); Gabriel, Appleby and Sivan (2003); Fearon and Laitin (2003); Lemke and Regan (2004); Wilkinson (2004); Fox (2004c); Birnir (2007); Chandra and Wilkinson (2008); Birnir et al (2011); Birnir and Satana (2013); Satana et al (2013) all point to how religion itself does not encourage conflict, though it effectively serves to provide convenient administrative and social avenues by which a leading group of individuals with shared identity. It is important to view religious affiliation in this sense, which involves both structure and sentiment but lacks religion itself (which is too broad a concept to be isolated into one variable) and religious belief (which is not consistently proven to be a primary cause of conflict).

‘Indirect’ is a limited term which may imply a lack of confrontation at all, though it is meant in this study to isolate forms of intervention other than military invasion. It is used for the purpose of consistency in this study, but any future study based on this work will use more specific terminology which does not rule out diplomacy. Diplomacy is intuitively direct in that it is neither secret nor done far from the conflict. For future studies to discuss what this study

refers to as ‘indirect intervention’, a more accurate term which describes the non-invasive nature of such intervention will be synthesized.

In the case of the Lebanese Civil War, limited to a study of the years from 1975-1990, a year-by-year observation of historical accounts and identification of instances of indirect intervention (established as any of the following 1. Political pressure or diplomatic support on behalf of one group; 2. Political legitimacy in international organizations on behalf of a group; 3. Economic aid for a group; 4. Funds for military supplies; 5. Military equipment donations or sales; 6. Advocating for or approval of any of the other forms of indirect intervention, as well as military invasion, not executed by the third-party government being observed but by another government on behalf of a militia or party in civil war which the third-party government wishes to intervene on behalf of) served to illustrate how the US (and to a lesser extent, France), as majority-Christian third-parties to the civil war, involved themselves in funding, training, providing political and diplomatic pressure, and even approving other states’ direct military occupation (i.e. Syria and Israel) on behalf of Maronite Arab militias, regular units, political parties, and factions in the Lebanese government, for the sake of preserving a Christian-dominated Lebanese political system at the cost of the political representation of Shiite, Sunni, Druze, and minority Christian Lebanese citizens and Palestinians in Lebanon.

The case in particular adds a significant contribution to the possible forms of indirect intervention. This is in the last form of indirect intervention listed: Advocating for or approval of any of the other forms of indirect intervention, as well as military invasion, not executed by the third-party government being observed but by another government on behalf of a militia or party in civil war which the third-party government wishes to intervene on behalf of. Most frequently, the US used its diplomatic relationship with Syria and Israel to balance those states' regional security goals and preferences, advocating for the advantaged position of Maronite leaders and political parties.

In addition to the overall hypothesis that suggests religious affiliation as a cause of indirect intervention, this last contribution of a third-party indirectly arranging for intervention in a civil war, to be executed by another third-party, is a form of intervention in need of thorough consideration in contemporary international politics. In the late summer and early fall of 2013, President Barack Obama and US military leaders, facing congressional and international pressure for and against intervention, decided not to become directly involved in the civil war in Syria. Still, the US' relationship with Syria cannot be understood as non-intervention. The US' relationship with groups in Syria needs to be examined, with the possibility that militant groups and political parties are being aided by the US. Given the last form of indirect intervention which the hypothesis-generating study on the Lebanese Civil War yielded, the US' relationship with other countries that are willing to directly and indirectly

intervene need also be considered, especially given that several bordering governments are of similar religious affiliation to groups in Syria. The government of Iran, identified with Shia Islam, openly supports the Shia-affiliated al-Assad family and the al-Assad-run government, while it is often reported that Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States provide aid to Sunni-affiliated groups, which often enter Syria through Sunni-affiliated Turkey.

Finally, this thesis presents a research agenda that needs to be undertaken in order to understand whether religious affiliation causes indirect intervention. With a focus on the Middle East and North Africa from the fall of the Ottoman Empire through the beginning of the 21st century, a series of qualitative studies of every regional conflict in this span of time needs first to be compiled. Second, the features of each conflict and whether the internal fractures are along the lines of religious affiliation needs to be confirmed. Third, each conflict needs to be examined to identify the existence of third-party intervention. Fourth, it needs to be established whether each third-party intervener is religiously affiliated to groups in the target country's civil war. Fifth, the form of intervention needs to be identified. Large-N studies identifying correlation between conflicts with internal divisions along religiously-affiliated lines and those involving indirect intervention would either display trends proving or disproving the hypothesis. Confirming this hypothetical relationship would help to understand the past and anticipate the future in cases involving religious affiliation and indirect intervention.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

"\$20 Million in U.S. Aid Is Proposed for Lebanon", April 29, 1976, Associated Press. Accessed 26 February, 2014. news.google.com

Abraham, Paul. 2012. *The Maronites of Lebanon, the Staunch Catholics of the Near East: With an Historical Sketch of the Early Syrian Churches*. Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press.

Akbaba, James and Taydaş. 2006. "One-Sided Crises in World Politics: A Study of Oxymoron, Violence and Outcomes," *International Interactions: Empirical and Theoretical Research in International Relations* 32(3)

Almond Gabriel, Scott Appleby and E. Sivan. 2003. *Strong Religion. The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World*. The University of Chicago Press.

Ayoub, Mahmoud. 1994. "Lebanon between religious faith and political ideology" In Diedre Collings, ed., *Peace for Lebanon? From War to Reconstruction*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 241-248.

Bennett, Andrew. 2002. "Case Study Methods: Design, Use, and Comparative Advantages" In Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky, eds., *Case, Numbers, Models: International Relations Research Methods*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 27-64.

"Beirut 1958" Online article. coldwar.org. Accessed 19 January, 2014.
<http://www.coldwar.org/articles/50s/root58.asp>

Birnir, Jóhanna, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, James Fearon, David Laitin, Ted Robert Gurr, Dawn Brancati, Stephen Saideman, Amy Pate. 2011. "The Reason We Don't Yet Know 'Why Groups Rebel': Introducing A-MAR (All-Minorities at Risk)" (Working paper)

- Birbir, Jóhanna K. 2007. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Birbir, Johanna K. and Nil S. Satana. 2013. "Religion and Coalition Politics," *Comparative Political Studies* 25(1)
- Bunge, Mario. 1996. *Finding Philosophy in Social Science*. Chelsea, MI: Yale University Press.
- Carment, James, and Taydaş. 2006. *Who Intervenes? Ethnic Conflict and Interstate Crisis*. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press.
- Carment, James, and Taydaş. 2009. "The Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict: State, Society, and Synthesis," *International Studies Review* 11
- Carment, David and Dane Rowlands. 2001. "The Role of Bias in Third Party Intervention: Theory and Evidence." BCSIA Discussion Paper 2001-08, International Security Program, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, October.
- Carment, David and Patrick James. 2000. "Explaining third-party intervention in ethnic conflict: theory and evidence," *Nations and Nationalism* 6(2)
- Carment, David and Patrick James. 1996. "Two-Level Games and Third-Party Intervention: Evidence from Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans and South Asia," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 29(3)
- Chandra, Kanchan and Steven Wilkinson. 2008. Measuring the Effect of "Ethnicity". *Comparative Political Studies* 41(515)
- Connor, Walker. 1978. "A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group is a ... ," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1(4)

- Dahlman, Carl T.. 2010. "Geographies of Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and War Crimes" In Robert A. Denemark, ed., *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. Hoboken, NJ: Robert A. Blackwell Publishing.
- Davis, David R. and Will H. Moore. 1997. "Ethnicity Matters: Transnational Ethnic Alliances and Foreign Policy Behavior," *International Studies Quarterly* (41)1
- el-Solh, Raghid. "Religious Identity and Citizenship: An Overview of Perspectives" In Diedre Collings, ed., *Peace for Lebanon? From War to Reconstruction*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 231-240.
- Farris, Hani A. "The Failure of Peacemaking in Lebanon, 1975-1989" In Diedre Collings, ed., *Peace for Lebanon? From War to Reconstruction*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 17-41, 47, 73.
- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97(1)
- Fisk, Robert. 2001. *Pity the Nation: The abduction of Lebanon*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press.
- Fox, James, and Li. 2009. "Religious Affinities and International Intervention in Ethnic Conflicts in the Middle East and Beyond," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42(1)
- Fox, Jonathan and Shmuel Sandler. 2005. "The Question of Religion and World Politics," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17(3)
- Fox, Jonathan. 2004a. "The Rise of Religious Nationalism and Conflict: Ethnic Conflict and Revolutionary Wars, 1945-2001," *Journal of Peace Research* 41(715)
- Fox, Jonathan. 2004b. "Is Ethnoreligious Conflict a Contagious Disease?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27(2)

- Fox, Jonathan. 2004c. *Religion, Civilization, and Civil War: 1945 through the New Millennium*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Fox, Jonathan. 2003. "Counting the Causes and Dynamics of Ethnoreligious Violence," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 4(3)
- Fox, Jonathan. 2002. *Ethnoreligious Conflict in the Late 20th Century: A General Theory*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Fox, Jonathan. 2001a. "Clash of Civilizations or Clash of Religions: Which is a More Important Determinant of Ethnic Conflict?" *Ethnicities* 1(295)
- Fox, Jonathan. 2001b. "Religion as an Overlooked Element of International Relations," *International Studies Review* 3(3)
- Fox, Jonathan. 1999a. "Do Religious Institutions Support Violence or the Status Quo?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 22(2)
- Fox, Jonathan. 1999b. "The Influence of Religious Legitimacy on Grievance Formation by Ethno-Religious Minorities" *Journal of Peace Research* 36(3)
- Rivera, Geraldo. 1982. "Bachir Gemayel Interview" Video. *Youtube*. American Broadcasting Company. Accessed 20 February, 2014. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jpo_NJaLhb4.
- Greig and Regan. 2008. "When Do They Say Yes? An Analysis of the Willingness to Offer and Accept Mediation in Civil Wars," *International Studies Quarterly* 52
- Halliday, Fred. 1991. "State and Society in IR" In Banks and Shaw, ed.s, *State and Society in IR*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Harris, William. 1997. *Faces of Lebanon: Sects, Wars, and Global Extensions*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.

- Haynes, Jeffrey. 2010. "Religion, Nationalism, and Transnational Actors," In Robert A. Denemark, ed., *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. Hoboken, NJ: Robert A. Blackwell Publishing.
- Hobson, John. 1997. *The Wealth of States*. Cambridge University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The clash of civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72(3)
- James, Carolyn and Özgür Özdamar. 2009. "Modeling Foreign Policy and Ethnic Conflict: Turkey's Policies Towards Syria," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5(1)
- Khalaf, Samir. 2002. *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon: A History of Internationalization of Communal Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Khashan, Hilal. 1992. *Inside the Lebanese Confessional Mind*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. 1973. *The World in Depression: 1929-1939*. London: University of California Press.
- Kubalkova, Vendulka. 2009. "Towards an International Political Theology," *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 29(675)
- Lai, Brian. 2006. "An Empirical Examination of Religion and Conflict in the Middle East, 1950-1992," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2
- Lemke, Douglas and Patrick Regan. 2004. "Interventions as influence" from *The Scourge of War: New Extensions on an Old Problem* Edited Paul Francis Diehl University of Michigan Press
- Lijphart, Arend. 1971. "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method," *The American Political Science Review* 65(3)

- McGowen, Afaf Sabeh. 1989. "Chapter 1 - Historical Setting", In Thomas Collelo, ed., *Lebanon: A Country Study*. Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.
- Odeh, BJ. 1985. *Lebanon's Dynamics of Conflict*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Odell, John S. 2002. "Case Study Methods in International Political Economy," In Detlef F. Sprinz and Yael Wolinsky, eds., *Case, Numbers, Models: International Relations Research Methods*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 65-90.
- Philpott, Daniel. 2007. "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion" *American Political Science Review* 101(3)
- Regan, Patrick M. and Ayşegül Aydın. 2006. "Diplomacy and Other Forms of Intervention in Civil Wars," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(736)
- Regan, Patrick M. 1996. "Conditions of Successful Third Party Intervention in Intra-state Conflicts," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(1)
- Rosenau, James. 1969. "Towards the Study of National-International Linkages." In Rosenau, ed., *Linkage Politics: Essays on the Convergence of National and International Systems*. New York: The Free Press.
- Rosenberg, Justin. 1994. *Empire of Civil Society*. London: Verso.
- Salibi, Kamal. 1988. *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co LTD.
- Satana, Nil S., Molly Inman, and Jóhanna Kristín Birnir. 2013. Religion, Government Coalitions, and Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25(1)
- Schaefer, H. 2005. "New wars and identity-politics". In *Julio de Santa Ana, ed., Religions today. Their challenge to the Ecumenical Movement*. Geneva: WCC.

- Schattschneider, D.D. 1935. *Politics, pressures and the tariff*. New York: Prentice-Hall.
- Singer, J. David. 1963. "Inter-Nation Influence: A Formal Model" *The American Political Science Review* 57(2)
- Traboulsi, Fawwaz. 2007. *A history of modern Lebanon*. London: Pluto Press.
- Van Evera, Stephen. 1997. *Guide to methods for students of political science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2002. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 1998. "Why Democracy Survives", *Journal of Democracy* 9(3)
- "Why is Vatican II so important?" Online article. *NPR*. Accessed 25 February, 2014. npr.org/2012/10/10/162573716/why-is-vatican-ii-so-important
- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Winslow, Charles. 1996. *Lebanon: War and Politics in a fragmented society*. London: Routledge.
- Yalçiner, Ruhtan. 2010. "Political Philosophy and Nationalism," In Robert A. Denemark, ed., *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. Hoboken, NJ: Robert A. Blackwell Publishing.

APPENDIX

Outline of major non-neutral groups

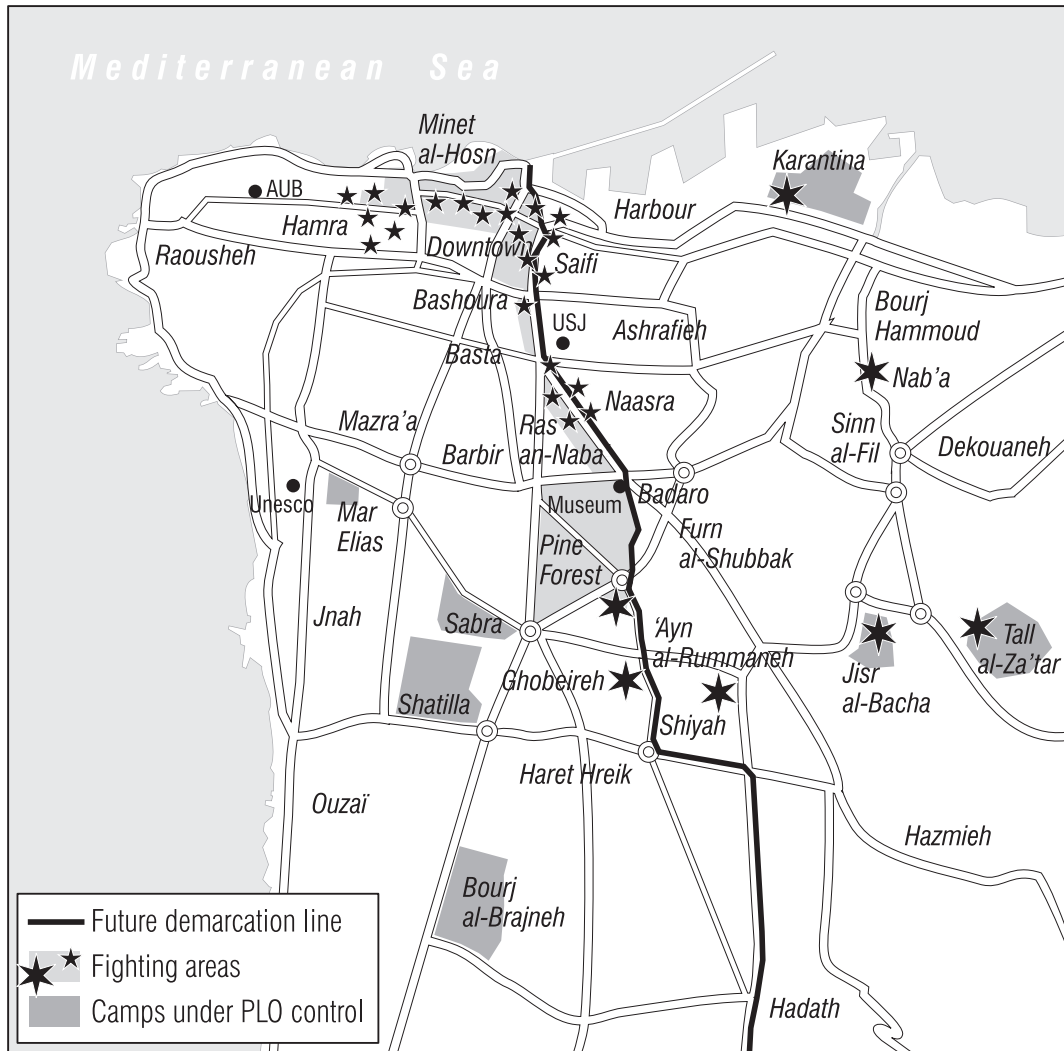
Bold = Syria-backed *Italic = Israel-backed* Green

Party/Militia	Size (thousands)	Majority	Goals
<u>Lebanese National Movement (LNM)</u>	30		Reform
Progressive Socialist Party (PSP)	2.5	Druze	Reform; Arabism
Lebanese Communist Party (LCP)	2-5	Greek Orthodox	Radical Reform
Communist Action Organization	2	Shia	Radical Reform; Shia
Independent Nasserists/Sentinels	3	Muslim	Reform; Arabism
Syrian Baathists	3	Muslim	Syria
Iraqi Baathists	3	Muslim	Iraq
Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party (SSNP)	3	Greek Orthodox	Reform; Syria
LNM Government (Lebanese Arab Army)	4	Sunni	Reform; Arabism
al-Tawhid (Islamic Unification Movement)	1	Sunni	Sunni
Divisions of Victory (Union of Toiling Peoples' Forces)	1		Nasserism
<u>Amal</u>	1.5	Shia	Reform; Shia
Hizbollah (officially founded 1985)	1+	Shia	Radical Reform; Shia

<i>Lebanese Front</i>	30		
<i>Phalangists/Lebanese Forces (LKP/Kataeb Party) (Lebanese Forces)</i>	3	<i>Maronite</i>	<i>Federalism</i>
<i>Zgharta Brigade (Franjeh's Militia)</i>	3	<i>Maronite</i>	<i>Maronite (regional); Reform</i>
NLP (National Liberal Party/Tigers Militia)	0.5	Maronite	Federalism
<i>SLA</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>Maronite</i>	<i>Anti-Palestinian</i>
Guardians of the Cedars	0.5	Maronite	Federalism
Al Tanzim	0.2	Maronite	Federalism
Lebanese Army (after desertions)	10	Maronite	Maronite

<u>Palestinians (including those in other militias)</u>	25	Mixed Muslim	Palestine
Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)		Mixed Muslim	Palestine
Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA)		Mixed Muslim	Rejectionist
Fatah		Mixed Muslim	Palestine
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC)		Mixed	Rejectionist
DFLP		Mixed	Rejectionist
Saiqa		Mixed Muslim	Rejectionist

Map 1 - Adapted from Traboulsi (2007: 188)



Map 2 - Adapted from Traboulsi (2007: 241)

