



T.R.

ULUDAĞ UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**POST-ARAB SPRING IN MIDDLE EAST REGION: THE
EFFECT OF SYRIAN CRISIS ON LEBANON FOREIGN
POLICY**

(MASTER DEGREE THESIS)

Maria Helena MOTA ESTEVES

Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Tayyar ARI

BURSA 2018



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T.C

Uludağ University Social Sciences Directorate

Major of International Relations..... Department: International Relations Student's number: 701614021 Maria Helena MOTA ESTEVES who had prepared the topic of "POST-ARAB SPRING IN THE MIDDLE EAST REGION: THE EFFECT OF SYRIAN CRISIS ON LEBANON FOREIGN POLICY" had defended his master's degree thesis on the date of: 19./06/2018, Around Date/ Time 14:00..... According to the questions and answers that candidate was questioned had approved it yes / no and the chamber's of the consensus votes and Chairs had awarded him with the degree "Master of Art."

.....

Members (Dissertation and Research Chair Commissioner)

.....
Prof. Dr. Tayyar ARI (supervisor)

Uludağ University

.....
Prof. Dr. Muzaffer Ercan YILMAZ

Uludağ University

.....
Dr. Lecturer İsmail SARI

Bursa Technical University

.....
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Name Surname: Maria Helena MOTA ESTEVES
Student No: 701416021
Department: International Relations
Program: International Relations
Status: Masters Ph.D.

Prof. Dr. Tayyar Arı

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Adı Soyadı: Maria Helena MOTA ESTEVES

Öğrenci No: 701416021

Anabilim Dalı: Uluslararası İlişkiler

Programı: Uluslararası İlişkiler Yüksek Lisans

Statüsü: Y.Lisans Doktora

Prof. Dr. Tayyar Arı

Danışman
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.....


Name/ Surname: Maria Helena MOTA ESTEVES

Student’s Number: 701614021

Department: International Relations

Major: International Relations

Status (Master degree): Master degree

ABSTRACT

Name and Surname : Maria Helena Mota Esteves

University : Uludağ University

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POST-ARAB SPRING IN MIDDLE EAST REGION: THE EFFECT OF SYRIAN CRISIS ON LEBANON FOREIGN POLICY

This study focuses on the Lebanon position in the aftermath of Syrian conflict, including the main aspects of Lebanese Foreign Policy. It includes regional and foreign interference in Lebanese affairs that intentionally led to the instable situation in the country. Briefly includes Domestic/foreign factors longstanding by geopolitical aspects that determine Lebanon political vacuum and current sectarian division. Moreover, Refugee crisis and sectarian challenges aggravated the Lebanese crisis, since they are a consequence of Syrian conflict, our case of study.

The thesis is divided in three main chapters. Firstly, the analysis of both Realism and Liberalism under the Security concept in the main theories of I.R., From defining the security studies framework that impacted the definition of security in World politics, the conceptualization of security and securitization theory is analysed. In Realism theory, I decided to focus on Structural Realism: Defensive and Offensive realism, and in Liberalism I overtook collective security, democratic Peace theory and state institutions cooperation through complex independence theory announced

by Keohane and Nye. In the same part, I included an overview of Middle East region, geographical and regional aspects and strengthened the case of Lebanon (description, strategic location, and ethnical-political characterization, economical and demographic aspects).

Secondly, the analysis of the Historical perspective of Lebanon since independence till Syrian uprisings 2011 will be presented. It includes as well one page about Ottoman domination in Lebanon, and it is important to understand how Lebanon and Syria were connected in the Past. Two main divisions are visible in the organization of the second Chapter. First, the Lebanese events during Cold War period such the Presidencies since Independence until the Civil War and from Civil War to internationalization of Security broadly back the 1990s. Second, Lebanon after Cold War Era it marked regional changes that could change Lebanon situation, such 2000 Israel Withdrawal during Ehud Barak government, Hezbollah-Israeli War 2006, 2005 Syrian withdrawal and Cedar Revolution, elections 2005, 2009 and 2011, rise of Hezbollah into Lebanese politics and Iran as main interventionist in penetrated state, 2008 conflict between 14 and 8 March coalitions.

Thirdly, the effects of Arab uprisings and the Syrian war on Lebanon's local, regional, security and political aspects are analysed. After the Syrian crisis, I addressed the approach to Syrian and Lebanese foreign policies, but Lebanon and Lebanon's political situation has always been my priority. Both the Lebanese government's refugee issue and the factors that led to the instability of the Syrian war are address. In addition, the governments of Mikati and Salam, the continuity of the political paralysis, The "Hezbollah Factor" also discussed the possibility of further disagreements within the 2013 Lebanese Government, worsening interventions caused by sectarian tensions, and the creation of hope for change with the election of Michael Aoun in 2016.

The regional direction and security aspects of the Middle East Region and Lebanon are also important here. The most important issue here is that regional and foreign alliances, such as the US, EU or UN, exalt the active role of regional actors rather than global actors. At the same time, relations with Iran, Syria, Hezbollah, Saudi Arabia, and the international community, Lebanon, which have the capacities

to make decisions about Lebanon are mentioned. As a result, it is almost impossible to reject the Saudi Tehran Competition, which is a major contributor to the deep sectarian division, especially during the Lebanese Civil War. The Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon has worsened the crisis both in Syria and in Lebanon, causing security and political irregularities; the attitudes of Lebanese refugees have been analyzed in this context. Sectarian difficulties, vulnerable groups, UN role and Lebanese authorities should be called for legal status renewal.

The Arab uprising in Syria had significant implications in its neighbors. The case of Lebanon is exceptional concerning the effect of regional politics in the Middle East. The political cleavages between Sunni-Shiite communities aggravated the Lebanese situation. At the outset of the Syrian conflict in March 2011, the Lebanese government of Najib Mikati adopted an official position of dissociation, with the aim of maintaining a neutral policy towards Middle East conflictual crisis. Nonetheless, Syria conflict reflected intensively inside the two main alliances that fight each other to take advantage and affirm their proper interests in the region. The Sunni March 14 coalition has to support the rebels against Assad regime and opposed to the Iranian leaning Hezbollah movement, dominated by 8 March coalition. The political instability in Lebanon aggravated with the Syrian refugee crisis that inclusively affects Lebanon foreign policy making. Sectarian politics in Lebanon affects the State institutions. As well, the regional and foreign powers' actions lead to the insecurity ambiance in Lebanese Territory.

The connection with Syria and Iran is evidentially growing and Lebanese Foreign policy is far from being neutral in the whole region. Particularly, since the beginning of Syrian Civil War, the security apparatus and border control policy has been the main priorities to the Lebanese Government. The 2013 Hezbollah intervention in the War and the postponed elections resulted on the civilians discontentment and demanded the implementation of strong policy towards security borders and political instability. Lebanon case differs from the other States in Middle East for various reasons. It is important to consider the political and cultural background that transformed Lebanon, from a stable to a conflictual State in last century. Nowadays, Lebanon is facing many challenges on both domestic and foreign ambiances. The most relevant constraint facing in the country is the Syrian refugee

crisis, very caused by the large influx of Syrian crisis that had significant effects on the political, economic and security levels. Nonetheless, Lebanon still serves as a bargaining ship for most of strong States in the region. The Saudi-Iran Rivalry as well, despite of defining their focus on Syria, Iraq and Yemen, continued to support the Lebanese political groups in order to take control and assume a preponderant role in the region.

Lebanon is emerging as a model country in the Middle East, where different denominational communities live together. The difference of this country from the other countries of the region is that the communities should share the state administration in line with their sectarian identities. This heterogeneity in Lebanon's social structure and the conflicts of religious communities that have sustained heterogeneity in the past have also deeply affected community-state relations and as a result they have continued to exist as a state in the geography of the Middle East, one of the most problematic regions in the world, Political crisis, political, assassinations and armed conflicts have always been known and international politics has never fallen on the agenda.

It forms a small Swiss prototype in the Middle East. Looking at the history of Lebanon, not only the intervention of foreign powers, but the fact that the social structure of the country itself depends on sectarian differences, gives the region a different meaning. Throughout the history of modern Lebanon, a relationship of community-state relations has become a force of power and power between communities. In the history of the country, the struggles for power symbolized political ideas such as class and different nationalisms, and these movements made the compromise between the communities negatively. These political ideals affect the members of the sectarian communities and in this case they accelerated the conflict processes by fostering competition between sects. On the other hand, the Sects do not show homogeneous properties in themselves. Within any sectarian structure, some ideological and the conjuncture criteria have laid the groundwork for the emergence of different political foci and have triggered sectarian divisions within themselves. The marginalization of the sects is seen in groups which are once in the same sect and who, over time, have shifted their religious preferences to another direction. The dominant groups have faced the oppression of the sects who have broken away from

the new sects formed and also therefore sought a balance by cooperating with the communities that share the same sectarian thought among the other communities.

In Lebanon, both Lebanon's foreign policy and the various politics are analysed under the dimensions of social and political division. Lebanon is neither a liberal democracy nor an authoritarian government. The Lebanese system is already facing both political and religious groups. The Lebanon influence of the geopolitical situation in the Middle East is important, since it both a strategic region and a part a failure State. Lebanon situation is different from the other countries in the region. Lebanon is a country with a state. However there is no State organization. During the post-independence political period, 'zuama': they used State Institutions to compete with each other for patronage. They use and develop their own individual powers within their own sects. Regarding foreign pressures, both the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Pan-Arabism movement have led to the weakening of Lebanon's foreign policy. At the same time, this work analyzes the main lines of Lebanon foreign policy. Regional and International countries are involved in Lebanese affairs. After expanding its power base, the supporting state affects the shaping of the Lebanese political orientation to support its national interests. On the other hand, the Lebanese armed forces are also divided into sectarian lines, and the army is politically weak due to military failure.

Key Words: Syrian Civil war, Lebanese crisis, Sectarianism, Foreign Policy

ÖZET

Yazar Adı ve Soyadı : Maria Helena Mota Esteves

Üniversite : Uludağ Üniversitesi

Enstitü : Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Anabilim Dalı : Uluslararası İlişkiler

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ORTADOĞU'DA ARAP BAHARI SONRASI: SURİYE KRİZİNİN LÜBNAN ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ DIŞ POLİTİKA

Bu çalışma, Lübnan Dış Politikası'nın ana hususları da dâhil olmak üzere Suriye ihtilafının ardından Lübnan'ın pozisyonuna odaklanmaktadır. Ülkede istikrarsız duruma yol açan Lübnan ilişkilerinde bölgesel ve yabancı müdahaleleri içermektedir. Kısaca Lübnan siyasi boşluğunu ve mevcut sektör bölünmeyi belirleyen jeopolitik yönlerden uzun süredir iç ve dış faktörleri içermektedir. Ayrıca, Mülteci krizi ve mezhepsel zorluklar, Lübnan krizini şiddetlendirdi, çünkü bunlar Suriye ihtilafının bir sonucu, bizim çalışma durumumuzdur.

Tez üç Ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölüm, hem Realizm hem de Liberalizm olan Uluslararası ilişkilerinin temel teorilerindeki güvenlik kavramı çalışır. Dünya siyasetinde güvenlik tanımını etkileyen güvenlik çalışmaları çerçevesini tanımlamaktan, güvenlik ve menkul kıymetleştirme teorisinin kavramsallaştırılması analiz edilmektedir. Realizm teorisinde Yapısal Gerçekçiliğe: Savunma ve Saldırgan Gerçekçiliğe odaklanmaya karar verdim ve Liberalizm'de Keohane ve Nye

tarafından açıklanan karmaşık bağımsızlık teorisi aracılığıyla kolektif güvenlik, demokratik Barış teorisi ve devlet kurumları işbirliğini üstlendim. Aynı bölümde, Orta Doğu bölgesi, coğrafi ve bölgesel yönleriyle ilgili genel bir bakış açısıyla Lübnan örneğini güçlendirdim.

İkinci olarak, Lübnan'daki Suriye ayaklanmalarına kadar bağımsızlıktan bu yana tarihi perspektifi 2011. Lübnan'daki Osmanlı egemenliğine dair bir sayfa da içeriyor ve Lübnan ile Suriye'nin geçmişte nasıl bağlandığını anlamak önemlidir. İkinci bölümün organizasyonunda iki ana bölüm görülebilir. Birinci, Soğuk Savaş döneminde Lübnan olayları; İç savaşa ve İç Savaş'tan 1990'lı yılların sonuna kadar Güvenlik uluslararasılaşmasına kadar bağımsızlık gösteren başkanlıklar; İkinci, Soğuk Savaş Döneminden sonra Lübnan (Lübnan'ın durumunu değiştirebilecek bölgesel değişiklikler oldu. Bu türden 2000 İsrail'in Ehud Barak hükümeti sırasında geri çekilmesi, Hizbullah- İsrail Savaşı 2006, 2005 Suriye'nin çekilmesi ve Sedir Devrimi, 2005, 2009 ve 2011 seçimleri, Hizbullah'ın Lübnan siyasetine ve İran'a nüfuz eden devlet müdahalecisi olarak yükselmesi, 2008 çatışması 14 ve 8 Mart koalisyonları da çalışır.

Üçüncü olarak, Arap ayaklanmalarının ve Suriye savaşının Lübnan'daki yerel, bölgesel, güvenlik ve politik yönleri üzerindeki etkisi çalışılmıştır.

Suriye krizinin ardından Suriye ve Lübnan dış politikalarına yaklaşımı ele aldım, ancak Lübnan ve Lübnan siyasi durumunu her zaman önceliğim olmuştur. Hem Lübnan hükümetinden mülteci sorunu, hem de Suriye savaşına karşı kararsızlıklara yol açan faktörler ele alınmıştır. Ayrıca, Mikati ve Salam hükümetlerinin, Lübnan'ın politik paralizini/çıkılmaz/baskılarının sürekliliği; "Hizbullah Faktörü'nün" 2013'te Lübnan Hükümetinde içinde daha fazla anlaşmazlıklara yol açarak mezhepsel gerginliklere sebep olarak müdahaleleri daha da kötüleştirilmesi ve 2016'da Mişel Avn'un seçilmesiyle birlikte değişimin umudunun oluşması da ele alınmıştır.

Orta Doğu Bölgesi ve Lübnan'ın bölgesel yönü ve güvenlik yönleri de burada önemli olmaktadır. Buradaki en önemli husus, bölgesel ve yabancı ittifakların, örneğin ABD, AB veya BM gibi, küresel aktörler yerine bölgesel aktörlerin aktif rolünü yüceltmeleridir. Aynı zamanda Lübnan'la ilgili kararları alabilecek

kapasitede olan İran, Suriye, Hizbullah, Suudi Arabistan, ve uluslararası toplumun Lübnan ile ilişkilerine değinilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, bölgesel çatışma durumunun, özellikle de Lübnan İç Savaşı sırasında meydana gelen, derin sekter bölünmeye büyük ölçüde katkıda bulunan Suudi Tahran Rekabeti'ni reddetmek neredeyse imkânsızdır. Lübnan'daki Suriyeli mülteci krizi, hem Suriye'de, hem de Lübnan'da krizi daha da kötüleştirmiştir, güvenlikte ve siyasette düzensizliklere sebep olmuştur; bu bağlamda Lübnanlı mültecilerin tutumları analiz edilmiştir. Temel olarak mezhepçi zorluklar, savunmasız gruplar, BM rolü ve Lübnan makamlarının yasal statü yenilenmesi için çağrıda bulunması gerekmektedir.

Suriye'deki Arap ayaklanmasının komşuları için önemli etkileri vardı. Lübnan davası, Ortadoğu'daki bölgesel politika konusunda istisnai bir durumdur. Sünni-Şii toplulukları arasındaki siyasi bölünmeler Lübnan'daki durumu kötüleştirdi. Mart 2011'de, Suriye ihtilafının başlangıcında, Lübnanlı Najib Mikati hükümeti Ortadoğu ihtilafına karşı tarafsız bir politikanın sürdürülmesi amacıyla resmî bir ayrışma tutumunu benimsedi. Bununla birlikte Suriye çatışması, birbiriyle savaşıyan iki ana ittifakın içinde, bölgedeki uygun çıkarlarını onaylamak ve onlardan emin olmayı yoğun bir şekilde yansıtıyordu. Sünni 14 Mart koalisyonu, Esad rejimine karşı isyancılara destek vermeli ve 8 Mart koalisyonunun egemen olduğu İran'ın yaslandığı Hizbullah hareketine karşı çıkmalı. Lübnan'daki siyasi istikrarsızlık ve onu daha da kötüleştiren Suriye mülteci krizi, Lübnan dış politika sürecini kapsamlı bir şekilde etkilemiştir. Lübnan'daki mezhepçi politikalar devlet kurumlarını etkilemektedir. Aynı zamanda, bölgesel ve dış güçler, Lübnan Bölgesi'nde güvensiz ortamlara yol açmaktadır. Suriye ve İran'la olan bağlantı bariz bir şekilde büyümekte ve Lübnan dış politikası tüm bölgede tarafsız olmaktan çok uzakta olduğu görülmektedir.

Özellikle Suriye İç Savaşı'nın başlamasından bu yana, güvenlik aygıtı ve sınır kontrol politikası Lübnan Hükümeti'nin başlıca öncelikleri olmuştur. Savaşta 2013 Hizbullah müdahalesi ve erteleme seçimleri sivillerin hoşnutsuzluğunu sağladı ve güvenlik sınırları ve siyasi istikrarsızlığa karşı güçlü politikaların uygulanmasını talep ettirmişlerdi. Lübnan vakası, çeşitli nedenlerle Orta Doğu'daki diğer Devletlerden farklıdır. Geçtiğimiz yüzyılda Lübnan'ı istikrarlı bir devletten çatışan bir devlete dönüştüren politik ve kültürel arka planı dikkate almak önemlidir.

Bugünlerde Lübnan hem iç hem de dış ortamlarda birçok zorlukla karşı karşıya karlılar. Ülkede karşılaşılan en önemli kısıtlama, Suriye krizinin, siyasi, ekonomik ve güvenlik düzeylerinde önemli etkilere sahip olan büyük Suriye krizinin neden olduğu Suriye krizidir. Bununla birlikte, Lübnan hala bölgedeki güçlü devletlerin çoğu için bir pazarlık çipi olarak hizmet ediyor. Suudi-İran Rekabeti de, Suriye, Irak ve Yemen'e odaklanmasına rağmen, bölgeyi kontrol altına almak ve bölgeye hâkim bir rol üstlenmek için Lübnanlı siyasi grupları desteklemeye devam etti.

Lübnan, Ortadoğu'da farklı mezhebi toplulukların bir arada yaşamlarını sürdürdüğü model bir ülke olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu ülkenin diğer bölge ülkelerinden farkı toplulukların devlet yönetimini kendi mezhebi kimlikleri doğrultusunda paylaşmış olmalarıdır. Lübnan'ın toplumsal yapısındaki bu heterojenliği ve söz konusu heterojenliğin sürekliliğini sağlayan dinsel toplulukların çatışmaları da toplum-devlet ilişkilerini derinden etkilemiş ve bunun sonucunda bölgede modern anlamda ulus devlet olamadan dünyanın en sorunlu bölgelerinden biri olan Ortadoğu coğrafyasında devlet olarak varlığını sürdürebilmiştir. Sürekli olarak siyasi kriz, siyasi, suikastlar ve silahlı çatışmalarla adını duyurarak uluslararası politikada gündemden hiç düşmemiştir.

Ortadoğu'da küçük bir İsviçre prototipi oluşturmaktadır. Lübnan tarihine bakıldığında sadece dış güçlerin müdahalesi değil, ülkenin kendi içerisindeki sosyal yapısının mezhep farklılıklarına dayanması, bölgeye ayrı bir anlam kazandırmaktadır. Modern Lübnan tarihi boyunca toplum-devlet ilişkileri bir bakıma topluluklar arası güç ve iktidar mücadelesi haline gelmiştir. İktidar mücadeleleri ise ülke tarihinde sınıfsal ve farklı milliyetçilikler gibi politik düşüncelerce simgeleşmiş ve bu akımlar topluluklar arası uzlaşmayı olumsuz kılmıştır. Bu politik idealar mezhebi topluluklardaki üyeleri etkilemekte ve bu durumda mezhepler arası rekabeti körükleyerek çatışma süreçlerini hızlandırmıştır.

Diğer taraftan Mezheplerde kendi içinde homojen özellikler göstermemektedir. Herhangi bir mezhebi yapı içinde ideolojik ve konjonktürel bazı kıstaslar farklı politik odakların ortaya çıkmasına zemin hazırlamış ve mezheplerin kendi içindeki bölünmeleri tetiklemiştir. Mezheplerde ötekileştirme, bir zamanlar aynı mezhep içinde olup zamanla dinsel tercihlerini başka bir yöne kaydıran

gruplarda görülmektedir. Hâkim mezhebi topluluklar içinden kopmalarla oluşan yeni mezhepler koştukları mezheplerin baskılarıyla karşılaşmışlar ve bu yüzden diğer topluluklar içinde aynı mezhebi düşünceyi paylasan topluluklarla işbirliği yaparak bir denge arayışına girmişlerdir.

Lübnan'da toplumsal ve siyasal bölünmüşlüğün boyutlarını ve dış politika arasında hem Lübnan'ın dış politikası nedir, hem de çeşitli politikaları analiz etmektedir. Lübnan ne bir liberal demokrasi, ne de otoriter bir hükümettir. Lübnan sistemi zaten hem siyasi, hem de dini gruplarla karşılaşmaktadır. Ortadoğu'da jeopolitik durumunun Lübnan etkisi önemlidir, hem stratejik bölge hem boşluk ülkedir. Diğer bölge ülkelerden farklı olarak durumu görmektedir. Lübnan, devlete sahip olan bir ülkedir. Fakat devlet örgütü bulunmamaktadır. Bağımsızlıkta sonrası siyasi düzen döneminde, 'zuama': devlet kurumlarını patronaj için birbirleriyle rekabet etmek için kullanıyorlar. Kendi bireysel güçlerini, kendi mezhepleri içinde kullanılır ve geliştirirler. Dış baskılarla ilgili olarak hem Arap-İsrail çatışması, hem de Pan-Arapçılık hareketi, Lübnan dış politikasının zayıflanmasına yol açmıştır. Aynı Zamanda, bu çalışma Lübnan'ın Temel Dış Politikasının Ana Hatları analiz eder. Bölgesel ve Uluslararası ülkeler Lübnan işlerine karışıyor. Güç-üssü genişledikten sonra, destekçi devlet, Lübnan siyasi yöneliminin ulusal çıkarlarını desteklemek için şekillenmesini etkilemektedir. Öte yandan, Lübnan silahlı kuvvetleri da mezhep çizgilerine bölünmüştür ve ordu siyasette zayıftır, bu da askeri başarısızlıktan kaynaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriye İç Savaşı, Lübnan Krizi, Mezhepçilik, Dış Politika

PREFACE

The challenges and dynamics of Middle East influences the conduct of Great States, that most of time are involved strategically in dominate the whole region. The conduct of certain policies in the aftermath of the Arab uprisings culminated on the fragmentation between political and religious groups that affects the foreign policy of Small States. The Case of Lebanon is distinct from all the countries in the Middle East. It is a source of conflict, its strategic position serves the interests of regional states such Iran, Syria, Israel and in a further extends the West and Saudi Arabia.

The Thesis research “Post-Arab Spring In The Middle East Region: The Effect Of Syrian Crisis On Lebanon Foreign Policy” pretends to give proper results on the Lebanese Crisis and explain the Syrian Spill-over in Lebanon, demonstrating the importance of Lebanese and Syrian stability, not only in Levant, but also in the whole region. The particularities of Lebanese State are a focus of interest for both Arab World and the West. Concerning the thematic, most of primary and secondary resources were crucial to conclude the thesis. However, important information can be found in Arabic language, unfortunately not used in this thesis.

I would never have been able to finish my dissertation without the guidance of my teachers at Uludağ University, help from friends, and support from my family. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Prof. Dr. Tayyar Arı, for his excellent guidance, caring, patience, and for provide me with an excellent atmosphere for doing the research.

In the past three years, I’ve learned many things; I have being in contact with specialists in International Relations which led me to my choice of making my research about Middle East. I would not be able to finish this thesis without my best friends, currently living with me in Turkey and a source of inspiration. To Cristina, Brian, Daniel, Rodrigo, Jacqueline, Olena, Jorge, thank you for being always there. Moreover, my gratitude goes to Danela and Shabbi for their comments and long-stand conversations about Lebanon political situation. Finally, I would like to thank my beloved mother, Ana. She has been always there cheering me up and standing by me through the good and hard time.

Maria Helena MOTA ESTEVES

16.05.2018 - BURSA

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations	Acronyms
ADF	Arab Deterrence Force
AFL	Army of Free Lebanon
CIA	Central Intelligence Service
EU	European Union
FPM	Free Patriotic Movement
GSO	General Security Office
IAF	Israeli Air Force
IDF	Israeli Defense Forces
IR	International Relations
ISF	Internal Security Forces
LAF	Lebanese Armed Forces
LCRP	Lebanon Crisis Response Plan
LF	Lebanese Forces
LNM	Lebanese National Movement
MEHE	Ministry of Education and Higher Education
MOIM	Ministry of the Interior and Municipalities
MoSA	Ministry of Social Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PSP	Progressive Socialist Party
SLA	Southern Lebanon Army
SNC	Syrian National Council
UN	United Nations
UNCT	United Nations Country Team
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNIIC	United Nations International Independent Investigation commission
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USSR	Union Of Soviet Socialist Republics
VASYR	Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees
WB	World Bank
WMD	Weapons Mass Destruction

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INTRODUCTION

Lebanon is a small country in Middle East Region. It is one of the most affected countries by the Syrian Crisis. This study is important not just to understand the multifaceted Lebanese crisis as, at the same time, to approach the Damascus-Beirut relations and new perceptions in the Middle East Region. Syrian intervention in Lebanon is one of the up-down precedents of Syrian Foreign policy. Historically speaking, Lebanon and Syria are strictly connected since the beginning of 20th century, where Lebanon became part of French mandate. Ottoman “left” the dominance of Middle East region and Middle East States started to make their own statements around the neighbors. In 2008, the Syrian-Lebanon diplomatic were officially established for the first time. It is certain that Syria and Lebanon have joined forces in the past and both are no stranger to each other. The divergence of Syrian-Lebanese connection ties persists in Lebanon claims of becoming an independent state, with non-state actor’s intervention, inclusively from Syria. Nonetheless, it is impossible to separate for complete the two countries, due to the historical context that influences the conduct of Syria in Lebanon.

Major efforts have been accomplish by external actors, such as U.S and France to abolish Syrian presence in Lebanon, and despite the conflict in Syria, Damascus continues to be involved in Lebanon affairs. Currently, the participation of Lebanon in Syrian Conflict is considering a threat to western countries. Lebanon faced many obstacles and it is characterized by political instability and intensive bargaining vis-à-vis with regional and foreign States. The problem resides on the partial fragmentation that gradually affects politics, economy, and society. In result of the widespread of Syrian Conflict, the refugee movement consequently aggravated the demographic situation and the terrorist attacks on the borders with Syria and Israel. If we look up the main problems inside of International Relations, the first that comes to our mind is the “refugee” issue. Lebanon is facing one of the strongest crises due to the number of refugees that comes every year. Lebanon is one of the countries, which receive a larger number of refugees without conditions to do it so. On the other hand, Syria became a failure State, ruled by an authoritarian regime where democratic values and people's demands are not being listened. Syria is not more than a nation without a land. Syrian government pretends to be a part of Lebanon affairs.

The case of Lebanon is even more complicated due to the internal rivalries among the different ethnical groups. Actually, Lebanon and its approach to the Syrian crisis cannot be separate from regional forces. Hezbollah strongly sponsored by Iran, is undoubtedly pushing it to strengthen its material support for Assad. Meanwhile, the Gulf States led by Saudi Arabia supports March 14 and already used propaganda inside of Lebanon to mobilize people against 8 March coalition. Another interesting aspect is the interest of Qatar in Lebanon. As Saudi Arabia, Qatar is supporting the Sunni community against Assad and Syrian Assad pro-regime. Indeed, Lebanon territory is not more than a battlefield, where disputes raised to the dangerous ground and where regional players are fighting for their interests. For Iran, it is essential to keep up the strength of Hezbollah to make sure its deterrence capability against Israel, and protect Assad instead of incentivizing a non-prominent future in what left of Syrian territory. For the Saudis, this same struggle makes Lebanon a key focus of interest. Saudis search detonate Syrian influence on the Middle East and make Saudi Arabia the number one leader. In addition to these political forces, growing structural pressures associated with the dramatic Syrian refugee inflow - now accounting for about 20 percent of the population – is throwing up new challenges.

Unlike in Turkey and Jordan where the refugee burden is directly been carried by the central state and international aid agencies, refugees in Lebanon absorbed by local communities, without meaningful support, feeding growing strains. Lebanon would face with a new refugee problem to rival that of the Palestinians. To sum up, Syria and Lebanon will always be connect each other. If Syria falls, Lebanon will fall too. Syrian Crisis impact on Lebanon can be explain by multiple disputes among domestic and foreign political actors in the region, culminated in a massive cleavage on Sunni-Shiite communities. In addition, refugee issue and prominent matters are also causes of the Impact of Syrian Crisis on Lebanon. Lebanon involvement in Syrian Crisis is due to its geographical position. Lebanon stability depends on Syrian stability. It is urgent to find a solution to guaranty Lebanon's stability. Three main chapters that compose this research are the sum of the present thesis. It presents a logical and methodological structure, underlining the theoretical framework, historical background and the central thematic as a spotlight. This dissertation comprises many ideas related to different subjects, which are relating to the case of study. The first part of the research includes the concept security as theoretical

frame under Neoliberal and Neorealism perspectives. Producing an analytical project on Middle East studies involves a deep knowledge of different contexts, societal framework and the acceptance of the intrinsically relation of politics and religion. Notwithstanding, security and foreign policy perceptions are a focus of international relations conceptual framework. The second chapter resumes the historical background of Lebanon namely from cold War period until the recent events during the wakening of Arab Spring. It concerns the domestic and foreign policies settlements towards an international and regional perspective, claiming as well the main factors that destabilize Lebanon during the 1960s which led subsequently to the Lebanese Civil War of 1975-1990. Producing the historical context is essential to demonstrate the precedents that overtook in the cold war period, as the involvement of Syria in Lebanon, which is probably the most relevant aspect that we can connect with Lebanese foreign policy in recent days. In the segment, I attempt to summarize the main periods of Lebanese governments; including the different phases of Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990) allied to Syrian foreign policy implications in Lebanon and to culminate on the 2000 Israel withdrawal; the emergence of Hezbollah as a political identity and 2005 Syrian withdrawal in the light of ex-prime minister Rakif Hariri Assassination. The time that occur those events are mention, such 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli war, Doha Accords and lately the brick of Arab spring in Lebanon. Last but not the least; the final chapter focus on the Syrian Civil war spillover effect in Lebanon. The attitudes of both countries towards the region and the Syrian crisis issue are analyzed in the exponent of Refugee crisis implications for Syria and Lebanon. It is important to mention that Iran-Saudi struggle and sectarian division in Lebanon in the recent years will be a constitutive part of this dissertation.

The Middle East region understood as a battlefield among foreign and domestic countries, by multiple changes and dynamics that widespread into its neighbors and affected the other regions in different behaviors. Recently, Lebanon crisis has accentuated by socio-economical instability, due to the Syrian civil war and lately by the events that succeeded, particularly, the refugee movement and the emergence of armed groups that destabilized Lebanon that led to the Lebanese intervention in Syria. To sum up, Syria and Lebanon will always be connect. If Syria falls, Lebanon will fall too. Syrian Crisis impact on Lebanon characterized by multiple disputes among domestic and foreign political actors in the region, culminate in a massive cleavage on Sunni-Shiite communities. In addition,

refugee issue and prominent matters are also causes of the Impact of Syrian Crisis on Lebanon.



CHAPTER I

SECURITY PERCEPTION UNDER NEOLIBERAL AND NEOREALISM PERSPECTIVES

The first part concerns an overview of International Relations discipline in relation to Security, Strategy and their conception on the two main I.R theories: Neorealism and Neoliberalism. In addition, it concerns the Middle East region geopolitical and geostrategic importance under the case of Lebanon.

1. SECURITY STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY

The “security studies” is an important sub-theory of International Relations that deals with the explanatory and implementation of security framework in order to develop external and internal policies and understand the principal structures and procedures under international politics ambience.¹ Security studies incorporates other domains such climate change issues, geographical and human challenges. Some important works were conducted in reference to security, although, in a very general manner. Security matters for States sovereignty and for the components that compose the States itself. It is a core of primordial consideration to the IR studies. Security issues do not only interests actors and international system mechanisms, but as well, give attention to human safety, which has been, recently, the most important concerned under security theories.²

The security studies field is the “research field dealing with procedures through which actors utilize their military assets to achieve given political objectives”.³ Most of researchers apply a pragmatic theoretical work on different types of security and securitization, being more predominant the regional, global and human security forms. Critical security studies, feminist security studies, Post-colonial Security studies, poststructuralist Security Studies and Strategic Studies are some of the brands of school and thought developing the conceptualization and the practice of Security in multiple

¹Peter Suchý, “Role of Security and Strategic Studies within International Relations Studies”, **Journal Defense and Strategy**, vol.2, 2003, p.8

²Christopher Grey, “Security Studies and Organization Studies: Parallels and Possibilities”, **Warwick Business School**, vol.12:2, 2009, p.305

³Peter Suchý, op.cit. p.8

manners. Walt seeks Security studies as “the study of the threat, use, and control of military force”.⁴ The International Security Studies theory gained importance in the aftermath of I World War, where national security became a real concern in the International relations agenda. It has been developed in middle of 1970s, but not worked massively till the end of Cold war. During Cold War Era, Strategic and Peace Studies were important research fields in International Relations. Clearly, Tarak Barkawi defines strategy and war processes by indicating, “Strategy concerns how to prevail in war, and more broadly how to use military force among other instrumentalities to achieve political ends. It is not about the study of war per se.”⁵ Similarly, Baylis affirms that strategy studies focus on the role of military power but admits the precarious limitations comparing to Security Studies.⁶ Concretely, the second phase of Cold War was marked by progression of these areas due the events and developments in the system, reflecting into the initiation and focus in security studies. Security studies subject divide into three main waves:

- I. Between wars period/strategic and Peace studies:** Security studies were very narrow towards the definition of War and Peace, armament, strategy, states relation with politics, diplomacy among others. Most of writings were based more a reductive perception of World politics and Strategic goals to States behavior. Inclusively, most of the writings of IR scholars would not develop the conceptual frame of security and politics because of the precarious digital and technological access to data information and given the importance to the causes and consequences of War and other threats. The main subject of study is military issues, such Peace, War and Strategy, since it was limited to diplomacy history and military background.⁷
- II. Middle of cold war/traditional security studies approach:** understood as the “study of threat, employment and control of military power”.⁸ In **traditional security perspective**, much dominated by Realism theory, security is often define by the “measures taken by States to ensure the safety

⁴Stephen Walt, ‘The Renaissance of Security Studies’, **International Studies Quarterly**, 35(2), 1991, p. 212.

⁵Tarak Barkawi, “From War to Security: Security Studies, the Wider Agenda and the Fate of the Study of War”, **Journal of International Studies**, 39:3, p.704, 2011

⁶John Baylis, “The Continuing Relevance of Strategic Studies in the Post-Cold War Era”, **Defence Studies**, 1:2,2001, p.12

⁷ Stephen Walt, op.cit. p.213

⁸*Ibid*, p. 212

of their citizens, the protection of their way of life and the survival of their Nation State".⁹ The traditional scholars mainly focus on four main areas: *inter-state war, territorial disputes, security dilemmas and arms races and arms control*. Respectively, in the Deterrence theory, the critics and relevant writings came from academicians that had alongside links to State's agencies. Forehead, the study of War and conflict stagnated, caused by external events such Soviet Détente and U.S policies prioritizing International political economy. According to Walt, throughout the mid-1970s, the recovery of security studies in IR was facilitated by the end of Vietnam War, the decision to sponsor projects under the frame of security academic centres by Ford Foundation and the general financial support of International security.¹⁰

III. Late and post-Cold war / new and critical security studies approach.

It based in the introduction of new developments in security studies through historical analysis of security affairs and alliances, as the critical acknowledgment of new useful results of Deterrence theory and Nuclear Weapons. Hence, it includes the radical and orthodox conceptualization of security in different forms. They give importance to other fields such economy, politics, culture, social, environmental and human through security structure and processes analyses. The **modern security approach** in International Relations is essentially the importance given to state-individual necessities, concerning other kind of threats such Poverty, Disease, Water crisis and so on, also considering new theories as theoretical approaches to Security and Securitization. Security studies have been an issue of master importance for the recent theories of IR. Notably, the contributions to the study of Security was visible by the critical approaches developed mainly by European security schools and by the critical security studies theorists, concretely Frankfurt School through Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones and the post-structuralism scholars, such Mike

⁹ Steve Lamy, John Masker, **Introduction to Global Politics**, 2ed, UK: Oxford University Press. 2016. p.209

¹⁰ Stephen Walt, op. cit. p. 216; the creation of institutions of security and Strategic Studies explains the rise of security studies. Most of them were important in providing Data the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), the Brookings Institution, the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies (IDDS), and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

Williams, Rob Walker, David Campbell.¹¹ Undoubtedly, Feminist security theorists, post-modernists as other trends in International relations define security as a focus of understanding and demystify the causes and the main threats that often occur in a determinant place and time.

1.1. Two Concepts: Security and Securitization

The principal idea in this part is define the concept of security and securitization in the realm of International relations theory. Both concepts have different definitions depending on the field that is being approach. The main feature of both concepts in International Relations is the security issues analysis derived of their interrelation, which produces new developments that can be incorporated within opposite theories such Realism, Constructivism, post-structuralism and others. International Security policy during Cold War perceived as “Stable management of the relations between two heavily militarized blocs that shared a common interest in avoiding direct confrontation, but nevertheless remained deeply divided along ideological lines”.¹²

Stephen Walt minded security as the study of “phenomenon of war”.¹³ Security is a fundamental goal, currently approached in International relations to explain the main threats affecting States and politics. Hence, security is not a theory but a methodological tool to undermine and evaluate conflict, danger and negative causes derived from political, socio-economical, and environmental among others origins, that aggressively threat the state and the elements that secure the sovereignty of the nations. For Buzan, Peace and War are two complementary concepts of Security by arguing, “The security view accepts the moral imperative against war, the need to concentrate on harmonious relationships, and the need to concentrate on both individuals and the system as a whole”.¹⁴ Since Security assumes different forms of acting in World politics, power perceived as a fundamental factor in anarchy but not the only to determine the decisions when States must act. Buzan further refers the role of individuals in shape security forms in International system:

¹¹ Ole Waever, “Securitization: Taking stock of a research programme in Security Studies”, paper presented to PIPES, **University of Chicago**, 2003. p.30

¹² Matts Berdal, “International Security after Cold War: Aspects of Continuity and Change”, **Towards the 21st Century: Trends in Post-Cold War International Security Policy**, edited by Kurt R. Spillmann and Andreas Wenger, Peter Lang, 1999, p.21

¹³ Stephen Walt, op.cit. p. 212

¹⁴ Barry Buzan, “Peace, Power, and Security: Contending Concepts in the Study of International Relations, *Journal of Peace Research*, 21:2, Special Issue on Alternative Defense, 1984. p.120

“Politically strong States cannot be built without consideration for the individuals within them”.¹⁵ To Ole Waever, Security “is the result of a move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue as above normal politics” and “Securitisation can thus be seen as a more extreme version of politicisation”.¹⁶

The idea of Securitization is the most important Innovation in the new security studies, occurred in the aftermath of Berlin Wall fall.¹⁷ The term succumbed as a theory, culminating in the fusion of the different ideas between the “orthodox” and “modern” meanings of security.¹⁸ Military power continued to be a relevant subject of study among security theorists, namely since arms, control and statecraft were importantly related with capability and military condition of states, however other subjects were including in the new security approach in IR domain. In the line of realist thought, Ole Waever considers Security as a matter of survival as realists consider the scrutiny survival of States. He points out that “The designation of the threat as existential justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle it. The invocation of security has been the key to legitimizing the use of force, and more generally opening the way for the state to mobilize or to take special power”. Concerning the possible “threats” in international politics, Rita Floyd developed a particularly view of Securitization theory, by considering the existential threats as a matter of security and giving importance to the theory of securitization as “one of the most influential non-traditional security theories in existence”¹⁹, admitting however that the securitization theoretical approach should only occur while an objective threat exists.

Securitization as a preeminent theory in the International Relations realm was for the first time formulated by the members of Copenhagen School, Ole Waever in 1995²⁰

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.121

¹⁶ Barry Buzan et al, **Security: The New Framework for Analysis**, Boulder: Lynne Rienner,1998, p.23

¹⁷ Holger Stritzel, “Towards a Theory of Securitization: Copenhagen and Beyond”, **European Journal of International Relations**, 2007, Vol. 13(3): 357

¹⁸Fred Vultee, “A New Approach to the Framing of the War on Terror”, **Journalism Practice**, vol.4:1, 2010, p.33.

¹⁹ Rita Floyd, “Can securitization theory be used in normative analysis? Towards a just securitization theory”, **Security Dialogue**, 42(4-5) p.437

²⁰ Ole Wæver, “Securitization and Desecuritization”, In **On Security**, edited by Ronnie Lipschutz New York: Columbia University Press, 1995, 46–86.

and pragmatically developed by Barry Buzan et al. in 1998.²¹ Broadly, the Securitization Theory has brought implications into the structure and methods of Security itself. Nearly, it was introduced theoretical perspectives, as main theories and concepts of security studies to analyze international Security, such the debates in International Security Studies about world choices, which served more than a periphery center for policymakers. The theory has developed mainly in Europe, and most of the empirical approach has based in European historical events.²² Similarly, the theory of securitization particularly perceived beyond the characteristics of the changes from political to security constraints, resulting consequently in the definition and shaping of security paradigm.²³ The “speaking security” is one of the tools that lead to the above statement. In other words, security turns into a central thematic of International politics. Nonetheless, it is important to consider the actors, individuals, threats, and international system changes, environmental, regional, national, global and human forms of security.

2. SECURITY ANALYSIS IN NEOREALISM AND NEOLIBERALISM THEORIES

In International Relations Theory, Neo-liberalism and Neo-Realism have important functions concerning the changes and dynamics of World politics. For instance, Neoliberals seek how States face threats and Neorealists expect to explain the elements that compose and influence the States conduct. The ongoing debate between the two most valid paradigms in international relations in the 1980s is the neo-neo debate. Neorealists focus on areas of security, power balance, military and state continuity. According to neoliberals, the only agenda of international relations is not essentially security issues, but it focus on the importance of other matters such political economy, prosperity, modernization, environment and human rights.²⁴ Neoliberals optimist view of International

²¹See Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde. Security: “A New Framework for Analysis”. **Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner**, 1998.

²² Pinar Bilgin, “The politics of studying securitization? The Copenhagen School in Turkey”, **Security Dialogue**, 42(4-5), p. 401

²³ Lise Philipsen, “Performative securitization: from conditions of success to conditions of possibility”, **Journal International Relations Development**, 2018, p.5

²⁴ Nicoleta LAŞAN, International Relations and Security, **The Public Administration and Social Policies Review IV Year**, No. 2(9) / December 2012 Arad, p.41

system, direct the role of States and Individuals into a cooperative economic integration, with more balances, but always searching for effective security.²⁵

Neoliberals and Neorealists share some important views of world Affairs. For instance, both agree on the importance of States-power on International System order. Simultaneously, both consider that the understanding of the structure of the International system has an essential component for the Conception of World Politics.²⁶ Indeed, they reinforce the idea of International System decentralization; this means that the changes and dynamics of Foreign affairs and international politics provoke a heterogenic character of International Relations. Neorealism has developed a theory based in Lakatos standards, by fostering Realism, which was weak in scientific explanations. Agreeing on Lakatos criteria, the theory soon approximated to the main assumptions, leading to a more scientific theorization of Realism.²⁷ Kenneth Waltz had explained the different political systems and states with different ideologies through the structure of the international system. According to Waltz, this structural system is one of the conditions limiting and circumstantial provoking effects on foreign policy.²⁸ The traditional realist thinkers regarded the interactions of states as a natural outcome only by taking care of the results. In addition, classical realists have tied the desire for power to human nature, and Morgenthau has set the point of view that the rational statesman must pursue constant force and that power is always a goal in itself. Waltz has argued that states are looking for power mainly due the anarchic nature of the international system, not in reason of human nature.²⁹ In fact, what States need to worry about is ensuring security, not power. Like classical realists, Waltz calls carefully the internationalism disorder, having states as the central of anarchy. Structural Realism was criticized by many theorists hence Neorealists can explain rationally the powerful distinction between Foreign Policy and International Relations.

The liberal theory concept of Security relies in four main components: International Law, International Organizations, Political Integration and Democratization.

²⁵ Shibashis Chatterjee, "Neorealism, Neoliberalism and Security", *International Studies*, vo.40:2, Sage publications: New Delhi, 2002. p.143

²⁶ Robert Jackson, H., and Georg Sørensen. **Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. p.45.

²⁷ Stephen Walt, "The Progressive power of Realism", **The American political Science Review**, vol.9:4, 1997, pp.931

²⁸ Kenneth Waltz, "International politics is not Foreign Policy", **Security Studies**, vol.6:1, London, 1996, p.54-57

²⁹ Kenneth Waltz, **Man, the State, and War** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 169-70

Neoliberalism is a very comprehensive paradigm and a number of assumptions have developed in this context. In particular, institutionalism also referred to as institutional liberalism or neo-idealism, claims that both international and non-governmental organizations will increase cooperation between states.³⁰ The integration in the EU process has touched on the functioning of peace in the theories. Another liberal theoretical approach in Liberalism approach is the Interdependence Theory. It affirms that the increased interdependence in international relations increases the negative impact of the war so that the probability of war happen between them is slowly decreasing. Republican liberalism based on the assumption that democratic countries are “peace susceptible makers”, with the increase of liberal democratic systems. Because democratic countries share the same common values, they do not easily fight, and democratic institutions and the public have the role of preventing states from entering the war.³¹ The other is social liberalism, along with the increase of international activities and civil society, people become interconnected with each other and thus the inter-government relations become more dependent and the possibility of war reduced. Political Liberalism brought some interesting innovations, especially on social sciences and Human Nature approaches .In the words of Scott Burchill, “Liberals believe that progress in human history can be measured by the elimination of global conflict and the adoption of principles of legitimacy that have evolved in domestic political orders”.³² Liberals do not deny the significant role of military struggle in International politics. The importance of Military Interdependence on World Politics is inequitable. Indeed, Neoliberals do not contradict its role on International Relations. Additionally, Neoliberal theorists embrace the “complex interdependence” as the efficacy method that edges mutual agreements among governments.³³

2.1. Realism

The challenges and constraints back to Cold War and after Cold War Era characterized the neorealist theory approach to International relations, and respectively to World Politics. During that time, the contributions of E.H. Carr in The Twenty year’s crisis

³⁰ Ersan Ozkan and Hakan Cem Cetin, “The Realist and Liberal Positions on the Role of International Organizations in Maintaining World Order”, **European Scientific Journal**, vol.12:17, 2016, pp. 89-90.

³¹ Andrew Moravcsik, “Liberal Theories Of International Relations: A Primer”, **Princeton University**, 2010, p.9-10.

³² Scott BURCHILL, “Liberalism”, **Theories of International Relations**, ed. Scott Burchill, [et al....], Palgrave. 2005. p.68

³³ In connection, see MORAVCSIK, A, “Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics”, *International Organization*, 1997

(1939) and Hans Morgenthau's in *Politics among Nations* (1948) demonstrated the importance of International Relations as a subject on the analyses of global politics.³⁴ There are six main trends of Realism thinking: Classical realism, neo-realism/structural realism, Defensive Realism, Offensive Realism, Neo-Classical realism and Rise and Fall Realism.³⁵ This part will focus essential on Structural Realism, since it is the most dominant branch in Realism Theory.

2.1.1. Security in Realist and Neorealist Approaches

For Structural Realists, Human Nature is not that important for the understanding the power-state relations. The realist point of view towards global politics mainly concerns the States behavior in the International System, enforcing that structure determines how states behave and anarchy is the key realm in International System that explains how states will manage their own security. For realists, anarchy is a determinant factor for States power and guidance in World politics scene that by themselves are the key actors of World politics. Kenneth Waltz stated the anarchic system and States actions and perceptions towards threats or dangers that threat the Nation itself go to the stage of "self-help". By so, in realist perspective, there is not a high authority in the system and the anarchy, which characterizes the system itself, reflects the "self-help" condition of the States sovereignty. In the Self-help systems "the pressures of competition weigh / more heavily than ideological preferences or internal political pressures".³⁶

Neorealists argue that the maintenance of the state and the maintenance of the national interest are rooted in the basic feature of the international system. Around a power-based states system have to survive and provide bans in a shaped competitive environment. The realist approach to security resumes to the military use of force and the distribution of capability among the units that shape the structure of International System.³⁷ Depending on how the force is used, worldwide conflicts, border disputes, sectarian and

³⁴ Initially, the *Twenty years crisis* of Edward Carr was considered an important work on international politics, more than international relations. The book was edited many times, as the "Politics among Nations: Struggle for Power and Peace" of Morgenthau. Both are the base of the development of theories of International relations.

³⁵ Colin Elman, **Realism, Security Studies: An introduction**, edited by Paul D. Williams, Routledge, New York, 2008, p.16

³⁶ Kenneth Waltz, "Reflections on Theory of International Politics: A Response to My critics," in Keohane, **Neorealism**, p.329

³⁷ Kenneth Waltz, "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory", **Journal of International Affairs**, EBSCO publishing, 2003, p.29

ethnic conflicts will tend to increase or decrease. The party or parties holding the power have the right to set an international agenda and perceive threat perceptions that may arise due to the anarchic nature of the system in their own interests. The key for the deep understanding of the system is how states relate with other states in order to defend its interests and pursue favorable leading policies in all levels. Theoretically, the most important concept in understanding and interpreting international relations is undoubtedly power.³⁸

Inside of Realism approach, some theorists perceive States has actors that should contain and defend themselves from external threats and others that argue that States should be hegemonic, conceiving the dominance of World to act freely in International politics. Krause, on the other hand, criticizes the simplified form that realists define security, claiming three main constraints: the first refers to the lack in defining Security. For Krause, security involves more than military or power strategies. Second, the refusal of security cannot incorporate in other fields. Security is a broaden concept and is not limited to realist reductive overviews. Last, defining States as the only main actors in World politics do not concern fully security, since erase completely the analysis of non-state actors that play an important role in the definition of security strategies.³⁹

The realist approach is wide and the different opinions varied from two main trends: Defensive and Offensive/structural realism. In United States inclusively, John J. Mearsheimer exposed two main problems for the rejection of U.S policymakers towards the realism approaches to foreign policy.⁴⁰ First, the pessimist view of International politics and the conflict as a unstop phenomenon. Second, the states behave on the same way and there is not an exact differentiation between better or terrible States.

In matters of Security, both Waltz and Mearsheimer agree that target goal is to attain security; however, they differ in the relation of security and power.⁴¹ For Waltz, States seek security by maintaining their relative power vis-à-vis others. While

³⁸ Andrew Hurrell, "Towards Global Study of International Relations", **Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional**, vol.59:2, e008, 2016, p.8

³⁹ Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods", **Mershon International Studies Review**, vol.40:2,1996, p.230

⁴⁰John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions", *International Security*, vol.19:3, 1994-1995, p.48

⁴¹ Krieger Zanyvl and Ilan Roth, "Nuclear Weapons in Neo-Realist Theory", **International Studies Review**, Wiley, Vol.9:3, 2007, p.371

Mearsheimer demonstrates to pursue security states must be very powerful and eliminate their rivals. This is the only way to accomplish security level.⁴² In addition, States must aspire to become global hegemony, or at least dominate the region that composes the State itself. The last statement shows the Mearsheimer perspective towards security and States, embedding that defining an expansionist policy allow States to be secure against others.⁴³ According to Mearsheimer, states use power as a tool to become hegemony, and the ultimate goal is to preserve the existence of the state in the future.

2.1.2. Defensive Realism

Defensive structural realism differs from NeoRealism in three main aspects. Defensive realists focus only in rational choice, instead of states behavior. As well, it includes an offence-defense balance as a key variable of international system understanding. Both aspects combined culminate in the third one that is the defense level, with the prediction that States should support status quo.⁴⁴ The most important representatives of the Defensive Realism are Kenneth Waltz and Charles Glaser. On the other hand, the most important theorist of defensive realism in nowadays is Stephan Waltz's "threat balance" theory.⁴⁵ The theory argues that threat is the factor that influences the basic policy of states and plays a key role in shaping the decisions taken. The state or actors, who tend to increase power continuously due to threat perception, have actually deepened the vulnerability of their own security. The state, which constantly armed to ensure national security, opens the way to greater threats to its very existence. Thus, it is argue that states that enter a vicious circle with a competition index are cooperating rather than competing in protecting their assets.

According to Defensive Realism, states should be actors who seek security rather than power.⁴⁶ For defensive realists, Security and power do not relate and being much powerful can create more insecurity. While for offensive realists "security is scarce, making international competition and war likely", Defensive realists affirm, "the

⁴² See more on John Mearsheimer, **The Tragedy of Great Power Politics**. New York: Norton, 2001.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.35

⁴⁴ Colin Elman, op.cit, p.21

⁴⁵ Stephen Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power", **International Security**, vol.9:4, 1985, p.4

⁴⁶ Jeffrey W. Talieferro, "Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited", **International Security**, vol.25:3, MIT Press.2001. pp.158-59

international system does not necessarily generate intense conflict and War".⁴⁷ Neoclassical realists differ from Neorealists by considering other elements essential for States Security. Jeffrey Taliaferro demonstrates that under anarchy States actions in pursue Security, leads somehow to a non-security apparatus of other States.⁴⁸ This is the formula of Security Dilemma where States are involved and the best solution is find moderate security strategies to balance among other States and most important, to be secure from possible threats and conflicts. Taliaferro goes far in his perceptions towards security and realism role in the ground, by enumerating four main assumptions of Foreign Policy which are Security Dilemma, Structure modifiers, material power and domestic politics.⁴⁹ To conclude, the defensive realists such Waltz embraces that the main purpose of the state is not to gain power, but to solve the existence of the State. They are in favor of the orderly preservation of the international global system, in other words, they do not change the system to gain power, and they stand for the protection of the status quo. At this point they are separated from the offensive realists that grasp power as pivotal factor and argue that the greatest aim of states is power maximization.

2.1.3. Offensive Realism

Assuming the anarchic character of States in the shape of architecture of International system structure, Mearsheimer goes further in his perceptions towards a pragmatic and systematic definition of the role of States in international politics by embedding the theory of States seeking hegemony through high projection of power. The key objective is to pursue as much power for not be challenging by other States, that can threat the hegemony of a powerful State and then to come back to World game politics would be a hard task. Despite of defending the hegemonic great powers ability, the offensive realists admit that it is barely impossible for a State to dominate globally, admitting and supporting however the hypothesis that a country should remain powerful by being preponderant in a specific region. In other words, regional hegemony is a priority of States power endeavor. Offensive realists perceive the dominance of entire system as the

⁴⁷ Sean M. Lynn E. Miller, eds. **Offense, Defense, and War**, Cambridge, MA: Mitt Press, 2004,

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.126

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.131

main goal and to achieve this stage is necessary to be “aggressively” powerful in International System.

Mearsheimer Realist affirms that a bipolar world system is more reliable than a unipolar system in terms of stabilization and maintenance, exemplifying by the fact of the economic, political and military alliance occurred in Europe during the Cold War Era. Offensive realists consider the States power increasing as the powerful strategy for great security.⁵⁰ Glaser, in definition of offensive realism, argues that security is a priority of States, but not the only central intention.⁵¹ Mearsheimer also claims that the great states have put their security in danger of other relatively weak states in order to secure their own security. In the light of these theories, the realist theory, which divided into two, draws attention to the increasing depth of insecurity.⁵² The aggressive Realist theory argues that the continuation of the state's own assets, depending on the escalation of the insecurity, will either deter the unilateral attack or deter their opponents. However, in such an environment, the increase of power by a state can perceive as a threat to its security by other states and actors. Therefore, there is an inverse correlation between the security needs of states and the need to obtain power.

John Mearsheimer argument, which considered the most important representative of Structural Realism, based on five basic assumptions about the International System. The first assumption is that the main actors in the international system are the greatest powers, and if the system is in anarchic structure, there is no chaos, it governed by the great powers. Second, all States possesses military capability, differing from State to another. Here, it is acceptable that every country can have weapons to attack. The nature of these forces and actors is constantly changing over time. Thirdly, the intentions of the states are uncertain and constantly variable throughout the time. Fourthly, the real purpose of the states is security and survival, particularly, concerning territorial integrity and domestic political autonomy. The last is that the countries are rational assets and they are constantly searching strategically outcomes to conquer security. In this search, the state might be

⁵⁰ Eric J. Hamilton and Brian C. Rathbun, Scarce differences: “Toward a Material and Systematic Foundation for Offensive and Defensive Realism”, **Security Studies**, vol.22, 2013.p.438

⁵¹ Charles Glaser, “Structural Realism in a more Complex World”, **Review of International Studies**, vol.29:3, 2003, p.412

⁵² John Mearsheimer, **Tragedy of Great Power Politics**. New York: Norton, 2001, p. 32-36

mistaken, but it does not mean that they are irrational just because of pursuing wrong choices.⁵³

2.2. Liberalism

Liberalism is a political philosophy and it is an approach of International Relations and domestic politics. Liberalism absorbed most of the ideas of Classical Liberalism - where State had a minimum role in society and due to the historical environment, individuals were consider the centre of World Politics.⁵⁴ The definition of Liberalism is wide and it should not be merely perceive in total as an ideological framework. It is worthy to notice that Liberalism emerged from the development of political philosophy occurred between XVII and XVIII centuries. Shortly, between 1688 and 1789, Locke, Hume and Adam Smith, Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau and Kant influenced the posterior studies in Liberalism theory.⁵⁵ The main thinkers on Liberalism thought, which ones had a huge impact on what we call Liberalism theory in International Relations discipline were John Locke, Hugo Grotius, Emmanuel Kant and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Other references such as Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Ricardo, and Keynes are also important for the understanding of the Liberal economy and capitalism approaches.

John Locke (1632-1704) is the pioneer of distinctive liberal ideas. Undoubtedly, he contributed to the introduction of political liberalism. According to him, Civil Government obeys the protection of the natural rights such as the right to life, property, and freedom. The conceptual framework of Locke's thoughts is well express in his Second Treatise on Government (1689). Locke defended the thesis that the human being is free by nature. In the absence of government, freedom reigns. What characterizes, therefore, the so-called "state of nature" is freedom, not as Hobbes intended the war of all against all.⁵⁶ The state theorized by Locke, which serves only the interests of the bourgeoisie, which was found during the Old Regime (in the case of England, Monarchical absolutism) a major obstacle. Locke's political thinking was the argument that the bourgeoisie needed to fight against

⁵³ John Mearsheimer, op.cit. 72-74

⁵⁴ VAN DE HAAR, Edwin, "Classical liberalism and International Relations", policy: **A Journal of Public Policy and Ideas**, vol.25 (Issue 1), 2009, p. 37

⁵⁵ Tayyar Arı, "Uluslararası İlişkiler", **Alfa Basım Yayım Dağıtım**, 2 baskı, İstanbul, 1997, p.293.

⁵⁶ The State of Nature is according to Locke perspective, based on people's natural instincts which define political power itself. The idea of State of Nature can be found on II Chapter of "Second Treatise "(1689). Contrarily, Hobbes considers it as a permanent state of war and the main threat for the individual. Despite, the State of Nature influenced classical liberalism, and contributed essentially for the emergence of contractual theories and international law.

absolutism and gain political power. Another distinctive classical liberal theorist and considered the father of International Law was Hugo Grotius (1583-1645).⁵⁷

During Enlightenment, Grotius works were essential to explain the bunch of laws which States are obligated to follow. International Law is essential for the equilibrium of the International system, so, States Power can control and going to war would not be a direct solution. Grotius conceptions were completely different from Hobbes, Locke or Kant. The difference lays on the importance that Grotius gave to States-system structure more than political and social freedom. Grotius was more concerned about International rules among Nations. In addition, most of his writings were about right to war (*Ius ad Bellum*), defending the principle of proportionality (*Ius in Bello*) and how should be the behaviour and guidance of Nations and Individuals.⁵⁸ Rousseau⁵⁹ proposes the conception that man is good by nature, being corrupted by society. In its state of nature, man does not obey conventional laws, because he does not possess them, but acts according to his instincts.⁶⁰ The contract, for him, has the function of ensuring that man is free, not having to suffer by laws that are impose by others above him. That is why he said, "man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains."⁶¹ In the writings of " *On the Social Contract*", Rousseau describes two stages in the process of transition from the state of nature to the civil state: first, the beginning of civil society with the institution of private property and, secondly, Inequalities.⁶² In short, the social contract, to be legitimate, must be finding on democracy.

For Rousseau, political power must be wholly in the hands of the people who is, in fact, the sovereign; 2) to whom, directly, is the approval of the laws; 3) a government, which, in the execution of the laws, is limited to being minister of the general will.⁶³

⁵⁷ M.J.V Ittersum, "Hugo Grotius: the Making of a Founding Father of International Law", in the **Oxford Handbook of the Theory of International Law**, 2016, p.82. It is relevant the Hamilton Vreeland's Hugo Grotius: The Father of the Modern Science of International Law (1917).

⁵⁸ H. Günter Brauch, "The Three Worldviews of Hobbes, Grotius and Kant: foundations of modern thinking on peace and security: Contextual Change and Reconceptualisation of Security", in C. Lipchin et al. (eds.), **Integrated Water Resources Management and Security in the Middle East**, Springer. 2007.p.567

⁵⁹ The legacy of Rousseau for International relations has being relevant for the concept of Sovereignty. See Faruk Yalvaç "Rousseau ve Uluslararası İlişkiler", "Uluslararası İlişkiler Gelenekleri ve Rousseau" and "Rousseau, Kant ve Liberalizm".

⁶⁰ROUSSEAU, J.J, " The Social Contract", IN: Jonathan Bennett presented at <http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/assets/pdfs/rousseau1762.pdf> 19/12/2017, p.9

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.1

⁶² *Ibid*, pp.9-10

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.29

Classical Liberalism had repercussions in political structure and social groups, wide spreading into the subjects studied during the “Lights century”. Locke, Hobbes, Adam Smith, Ricardo, and other liberal theorists influenced their contemporaries. In this context, the ideas around liberalism theory, developed by political philosophers and it distinguished the role of Emmanuel Kant to International community concept. Nonetheless, Kant considered himself as a republican, more than Kant considered a liberal such as Locke or Rousseau.⁶⁴ However, the paradox of the Kantian conception between liberalism and republicanism is exactly in its richness and its possibility of signification in the current political debate.

The clash between the two meanings, “Kantian liberalism” and “Kantian republicanism” would indicate the unfolding of the conception of freedom.⁶⁵ Kant, which starts from a rational instance and is direct to a practical instance, reflected in the surpassing of the moral scope to the practical formally operated in its philosophical construction. Kantian Liberalism defined freedom as a projection of ends, and the pursuit of interest, and Kantian Republicanism meant freedom as adherence to the moral law and interest in civic duty as a public function. Kant's cosmopolitan thought inspired yet another branch of the liberal worldview: the branch constituted by transnationalists, theories of interdependence, and liberal institutionalism.

Worthy of note are the celebrated works of David Mitrany "A Working Peace System" (1943) and Karl Deutsch et al. Entitled "Political Community and the North Atlantic Area (1957), where it was already possible find the ideas of functional, technical and economic cooperation as the foundation of a more integrated international system, which are characteristic of liberal institutionalism. However, the main theoretical reference is the work of Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye "power and interdependence (1977)"⁶⁶, which was the most important step for the reformulation of the world's statocentric vision and for the elaboration of an explanatory alternative to the realism called Complex interdependence. The pursuance for Global peace can only be, according to liberals, explain by cooperation and international organisms that must act to maintain universal

⁶⁴ P. Riley “Will and Political Legitimacy: A Critical Exposition of Social Contract Theory in Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, and Hegel”, **Harvard University Press**, April 2014, pp. 154; 160.

⁶⁵ H. Bielefeldt, “Autonomy and Republicanism: Immanuel Kant’s Philosophy of Freedom”, *Political theory*, vol.25, no.4, **Sage publications**, August 1997, pp.525-526

⁶⁶ K Rogerson, ”INFORMATION INTERDEPENDENCE: Keohane and Nye's complex interdependence in the information age”, **Information, Communication & Society**”, 3:3, 416-419.

security balance. Therefore, Liberals do not deny the magnitude of States in World Politics, approaching measures within States dominance to avoid conflicts. Liberals seek to grasp the changes and dynamics of International framework by analyzing different political systems over new mechanisms and investing on International organizations and interdependence dealings.

2.2.1. Security in Liberal and Neoliberal Theory

Liberals believe security can only achieving in open-minded, free and legal political governances and Democracy has proved to be the most common and defended regime system among liberals. Thomas Lemke suggests that Liberalism goes further in the liberal conditions given to individuals, by considering that the main prospect is organize the role of the individuals and how they can use their liberties such free market, human rights, private property and others.⁶⁷ The liberal government analyzed under security frame incorporated later in Neoliberalism theory. The readings of Michel Foucault and other intellectuals visualizing cooperation and interdependency within States, questioning at the same time, the relation of liberalism and individuals and liberal forms with politics, contributed to the development of new forms in the Liberalism school of thought.⁶⁸

2.2.2. Institutional Liberalism and Security

Reciprocity and cooperation play an important role in the States conduct and despite of not mention security in liberal perceptions, neoliberals conceive the reciprocity among States as a key factor for the States vis-à-vis interaction. Therefore, as realists, neoliberals are in accordance that international system is anarchic, but they include norms, rules and institutions as actors in the international realm. International Security as the bolstering of reciprocity and cooperation among State and non-State actors, where domestic and foreign policies matters for the shape of International system. States can chose which path they pretend to follow, but the most common leading way is through cooperation and respected agreements sometimes legitimized by International organizations such NATO, WTO, GATT and others. Burchill assumes that, “Neoliberal Institutionalism also insists on significance of International regimes and the importance of the continued exploration of

⁶⁷ Thomas Lemke, *The government of Life, Foucault, Biopolitics, and Neoliberalism*, edited by Vanessa Lemm and Miguel Vatter, **Fordham University Press**, New York, 2014. p.64

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.65

the conditions under which they emerge and persist”.⁶⁹ Institutions are a product of the Post-Cold War Security environment.⁷⁰ Similarly, neoliberals give importance to International organizations since it can contribute to limiting the international anarchic system and produce reductive levels of war. Liberal institutionalism is a theory and an important component of International relations. It had become well-known during the 1970s, when Liberals tried to find arguments to criticize the reductive politics character of Realism theory.⁷¹ Under the methodological framework in building an international community, the Liberal Institutionalism claims the existence of international organizations, their role in International order by vis-à-vis cooperation among countries. In a theoretical perspective, Liberal institutionalism can be compared to Idealism, but their mechanisms are more rational than ideological, not to mention the fact that, historical context is otherwise distinct, the innovations, balance of powers has changed and the approach to Liberalism theory expanded into fragmented sub-theories. Institutions are the necessary alternative for solving collective problems and respond to the interests of States.⁷² Institutions can be also created and able to reduce the government costs under decision-making processes.

2.2.3. Mutual Dependency Approach and Security

Most liberalists overlooked the conceptions introduced by the Liberal school during the 1970s. As Keohane refers, the Complex Interdependence Theory developed in the 1970s refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries and “...It describes emerging relationships among pluralist democracies”.⁷³ The introduction of the Complex Independence Theory to the International Liberalism was important to shape the Neo-liberalism theory. In fact, it focuses on the significance of economy, society and environmental fields that can promote a successful practice of Liberal politics. Currently defends the world changes and their consequences to World Affairs, viewing Globalization as the major phenomenon of the end of 20th century. Some of the changes contributed to the widespread of International Economy and

⁶⁹Scott BURCHILL, op.cit. p.14

⁷⁰ Mats Berdal, op.cit, p.20

⁷¹BAYLIS, J., SMITH, S., & OWENS, P, **The Globalization of World Politics: an Introduction to International Relations**, 5th ed, Oxford University Press, 2011, op.cit, p.121

⁷² Arthur Stein “Neoliberal Institutionalism” in **The Oxford Handbook of International Relations**; edited by Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal. New York, 2009, p. 209.

⁷³Robert Keohane & Joseph Nye, “Globalization: what’s new, what’s not? (And so, what?)”, **Foreign policy**, n°118, 2000, p.115

Democracy, where States could actively participate on World Politics as ever seen, to sum up, «Reduced costs have enabled more actors to participate in World politics at greater distances, leading larger areas of world Politics to approximate the ideal type of complex interdependence».⁷⁴ The understanding of Keohane and Nye's theoretical proposals, which contradict the idea, casually referred, of interdependence to the traditional realist idea of power politics, implies situating them in the context in which they were produced, that is the political-economic events that occurred in the second half of the 1960s and in the first half of the 1970s, and especially to take into account its impact in the US.⁷⁵ Among them, the following stand out:

- the perception of a certain relative decline of the American superpower, in the face of the progressive and traumatic involvement in the Vietnam conflict;
- The rapid rise of the German and Japanese economies during the 1960s to economic players of great magnitude;
- The vulnerability shown by the US economy and currency, which led President Nixon to refuse convertibility from the dollar to the euro (1971), putting an end to the system of fixed exchange rates established at the Bretton- Woods (1944), who had laid the foundations of the post-war economic and financial order;
- The negative impact of the Arab World oil embargo on the West and the consequent brutal increase in oil prices resulting from the Yom-Kippur Arab-Israeli conflict (1973);

The early works of Keohane and Nye focused on transnational relations between companies, international organizations and civil society groups, the most emblematic of which was "Transnational relations and World Politics" (1971), first published in the *International Organization*. Interestingly, Robert Keohane's theoretical evolution, Keohane's and Nye's most widely used academic name, was not exactly in the sense of the earlier work, centered on transnationalism and interdependence. There was a certain abandonment of his initial intentions, namely with regard to the construction of an alternative paradigm to realism and a progressive approach to the so-called neo-realism. That is, the intention to create a theoretical-conceptual alternative to realism, underlying

⁷⁴ Robert Keohane, "Global Governance and Legitimacy", **Review of International Political Economy**, 18:1. 2011. p.101

⁷⁵ José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes, **Teorias das Relacoes Internacionais: da abordagem classica ao debate pos-positivista**, 2.ed., Alameda, Lisboa. pp. 41-42.

power and interdependence, gave way to a more pragmatic attitude of compromise between neo-realism and liberal institutionalism.⁷⁶

2.2.4. Democratization and Collective Security

The democratic state model seems to be extremely important in terms of securing ethical principles and fundamental rights. Democracy guarantees citizens a non-democratic system and cannot provide a set of basic rights. Only a democratic government can provide the maximum freedom to self-determination, by living under its own laws. The explanation for democratic peace based on the combination of the following propositions: democratic institutions place constraints on political leadership to combat other democracies; the norms shared by democratic states make democracies seem peaceful and non-threatening; Democracies tend to encourage economic interdependence, which reduces the likelihood of war. The purpose of democratic peace encourages the hope of a new era in international relations. For Huntington⁷⁷, democracies constitute, for the first time in history, most states in the international system. Consequently, the norms that govern their relations have more opportunities than once been the dominant norm of international relations. Normative explanations for democratic peace theory express the fact that democracies outsource their domestic political norms of tolerance and commitment to other democracies. Conflicts between democracies are solving through compromise instead of through elimination of adversaries. This generalization has not escaped the attention of political leaders, especially the American, who have assumed that democracy can become the best antidote to war.

Democratization is a broad and systematic process of replacing, reforming or creating democratic governments.⁷⁸ The process of democratization is dividing into two distinct phases: democratic transition and democratic consolidation. The democratic transition is the phase of transformation of culture and government institutions according to the democratic model. Democratic consolidation includes lasting measures that help the

⁷⁶ Hüseyin İşiksal, "To What Extend Complex Interdependence Theorists Challenge to Structural Realist School of International Relations?", **Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations**, Vol.3, No.2&3, Summer&Fall 2004, p.130; In the connection, see Robert Keohane & Joseph Nye, J, "Power and Interdependence". Boston: Little, **Brown and Company (Inc.)**, 1977, p.4.

⁷⁷ Samuel Huntington, "The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century", **Norman: University of Oklahoma Press**.p.34

⁷⁸ Juan Linz & Alfred Stepan, "Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation", Baltimore, **Jonhs Hopkins University Press**, 1996, p.14

survival of democracy. The consolidation corresponds to the constant operability of the democratic government.⁷⁹

Many proponents of Peace and War studies of international relations discipline have named democratic Peace as “Liberal Peace”. The theories about the influence of liberal peace on peace building practices emerge from an academic critique whose aim is to highlight and go beyond the flaws and limits inherently associated with external promotion, often from top to bottom, of systems (usually Western) democratic governance and free market economies. In democratic states, the rules for political commitment and non-use of international violence, used to facilitate the interaction between democratic political leaders. The inter-subjective reciprocity logic explains the role of knowledge in the building a democratic culture. The role of Democratic Peace Theory in the re-implementations of the post-conflict has greatly influenced the redefinition of the architecture of the international system in recent years. For this reason, local complexities have first introduced standards in response to new threats that will affect the nature of peace operations, which have begun to develop medium and long-term policies in fragile inner environments. The main criticisms of the work of democratic peace theory had enclosed two types of issues. The first issue has to do with the very concept of "democracy" and "democratic state" which significantly changes the number of States that fall within it. The second issue has to do with the adversities of the democratic peace theory in explaining some international conflicts, where democracies have been involved on opposite sides, even confronted themselves by military means.

From a security standpoint, the Democratic Peace Theory proposal is wide. Security depends on the incentive of liberal institutions, and security policy should be the expansion of long-term goal liberalism. Collective Security is the “formation of a broad alliance of most major actors in an International System for the purpose of jointly opposing aggression by any actor”.⁸⁰ Peace roads should include liberal tendencies in non-liberal states in the short run, and promote the building of a democratic system, respect, human rights and the development of civil society. Moral freedom is the duty of treating others as beliefs, righteous treatments, and ethical issues. This is the first principle of rights and institutions created for this reason.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.17

⁸⁰ Joshua S. Goldstein & Jon C. Pevehouse, **International Relations**, 10th edition, Pearson, 2014, p.12

The process of democratization⁸¹ overseen by instability due to the emergence of political groups with conflicting interests, to threatened elites mobilizing masses under the banner of nationalism, and because state authority is weak and unstable, the state may take contours of a failed state. A failed state is unable to maintain itself as a member of the international community and presents serious internal problems that threaten its coherence or enormous challenges in its political order. The suffering of refugee populations, especially children, as happened in Somalia and Bosnia comes immediately to remembrance. Populations suffering from the chaos and anarchy of a collapsing government, or the brutal authoritarianism of an autocratic regime trying desperately to keep law and order, as were the cases in Rwanda and Haiti, are worthy of the attention of the International Democratic community. Since the end of the Cold War, failed states have probably become the most important problem of the international order.⁸²

Failed states violate human rights, cause humanitarian disasters, cause massive waves of emigration and refugees, and attack neighboring countries. Since 9/11, it has also become clear that they harbor international terrorists who can cause significant damage to the interests of the West. The September 11 attacks highlighted a different kind of problem. Afghanistan was so weak that a non-state agent, al-Qaeda, serving as the basis for its terrorist operations could control it.⁸³ If we exclude Iraq, the terrorist attacks that took place in 2002 and 2003 in Mombasa) In Bali (Indonesia) and in Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) highlighted the fact that al-Qaeda continues to seize the opportunities granted by states with poor governance.

3. A GLANCE OF MIDDLE EAST REGION AND LEBANON

3.1. Middle East Heritage

In the Middle East studies, the different political structure of the imbalances and conflicts, geopolitical and geostrategic approaches, the analysis of regional and global

⁸¹ Under the process of Democratization, the contributions of Dahl "On Democracy" (2000), Huntington *The Third Wave* (1993), Fukuyama *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992), Geddes "What Causes Democratization?" (2007), Diamond and Plattner *Democracy: A Reader and The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies throughout the World* (2009) were extremely important for its definition, its historical background, involving a range of approaches to the study of democratization correlated with Social Sciences field. Also, many terms were introduced into the empirical study of democratization, that transformed this issue and became a concerned for IR developers.

⁸² Chester Crocker, "Engaging Failed States", *Foreign Affairs*, 82:5, September/October 2003. p.35.

⁸³ Francis Fukuyama, *State-building: Governance and world order in 21st century*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2004, p.102.

recesses is fore ground. In this context, the strategic situation involved in the East concept is that the region has its own in terms of potential structure. It organized by Western states according to their political and economic interests, such as the Middle East region, including the difficult redefinition of borders. The Middle East is one of the most privilege regions in the world, by its broad characteristics in political, economical, security and cultural aspects, which must be understand as a whole. It should be argue that Middle East based in uncertainty within human affairs and politics, but at the same time, its adversities are a focus within International politics.⁸⁴ Historically, Middle East is a multifaceted region that faced sudden changes since World War I. A turning point in Middle East politics originated from the 1908 Young Turk Revolution that radically transformed the conception of States and systems in the region.⁸⁵ The interaction of politics and religion is a reality in Middle East, and it is also a crucial element to prevail certain happening events. Middle East region served the interests of Cold War powers in the aftermath of II World War. In fact, the U.S and USSR struggle affected the territorial structure of the region, resulting in domestic fragmentation, institutional weakness and international manipulation, which remained in the posterior years.

At the present, the current definition of Middle East is based on four main zones: first, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt; second, in east side extending the Persian Gulf from Oman to Iraq, including Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates; Third, in North Turkey, Caucasus, Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan and fourth, in the South side comprising Saudi Arabia and Yemen, without forgetting the primordial sub-middle east region which is focus of this research: the Levant constituted by Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel and Palestine.⁸⁶ Since the II World War, Middle East politics have been a challenge and a focus on International Relations. Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan joined Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Iran as formally independent States, and all entered the U.N as Sovereign nations.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Robert Mabro, *The Political Instability of the Middle East and Its Impact on Oil Production and Trade*, **Energy Studies Review**, vol.4:1, Canada, 1992, p.46

⁸⁵ Fred Halliday, "The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology", **Cambridge Press**: New York, p.7

⁸⁶ Tayyar Arı, *Geçmişten Günümüze Orta Doğu: Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi*, 6. Baskı, Bursa: Dora Yay, 2014. p.19

⁸⁷ Betty S. Anderson, **A History of the Modern Middle East: Rulers, Rebels, and Rogues**, Stanford University Press, 2016, p.291

3.2. Geography, Strategy and Regional Aspects

In the Middle East, two main geopolitical conflicts marked Cold War Era and continuing to reflect in recent days: the Israeli-Palestinian and the dispute for the dominance of Persian Gulf. Since the Arab uprisings that the conflict in Syria became the third geopolitical focus and crisis in Levant should be understood as a consequence of the Palestine issue and even more of Syrian repercussions on regional and international spheres. The Persian Gulf and Levant have become essential focus for other regional constraints that may not be involve in Middle East region but their interest relies on global dynamics in World politics. The Cultural basis of current issues of Middle East was important to shape regional politics and the region itself. Other issues such religious and historical contexts, abundant oil resources and scarcity of water serve to explain the main conflicts in the region and the reason why International Relations studies focus on Middle East as a proxy area. Middle East region deters 68% worlds oil fragmented in four countries: Saudi Arabia (21,9%), Iraq (12,2%), Iran (12,9 %) and Kuwait (8,3%).⁸⁸ As for the scarcity of Water, the Middle East region is represented by 5% world's population and just possesses 1% Fresh water.⁸⁹ As a result of political instability and the derived conflictual situation that IR theorists approach the region.

Another important aspect is the influence of Islam in Middle East. The region is constituted by three main religious groups: Christianity, Islam and Judaism. The relation of religion and politics is important since most of political opposition or instability assumes religious forms (ex: fundamentalism, terrorism actions...). The region defined through two main definitions at least until the 19th century: Near East and Far East. The German geopolitical theorist Alfred Mahan introduced the terminology known of "Middle East", and according to his World perception comprised the region between Singapore and Suez.⁹⁰ The Geopolitical depth of Middle East region does not determine the actions of States in a determinant region. Instead, this is what makes Middle East region fascinate: the regional polarization where domestic, regional and foreign dynamics act in the same

⁸⁸ OPEC, "OPEC share of World Crude Oil Reserves, 2016", Annual Statistic Bulletin 2017. http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/data_graphs/330.htm (web: 13.01.2018)

⁸⁹ Lisdey Espinoza Pedraza and Markus Heinrich, "Water Scarcity: Cooperation or Conflict in the Middle East and North Africa?", **Africa, Middle East, News & Analysis, Politics, Science**, 2016. Available at https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2016/09/02/water-scarcity-cooperation-or-conflict-in-the-middle-east-and-north-africa/#_edn2 (web: 13.01.2018)

⁹⁰ Osman Nuri özalp, Where is the Middle East? The Definition and Classification Problem of the Middle East as a Regional Subsystem in International Relations, **Turkish Journal of Politics**, vol.2:2, 2011, p.8

region but in different ambiances. Understanding the Middle East as a whole means necessarily a concrete knowledge of most of situations in the region on political, geographical and culture sides. Defining Boundaries in the region is a hard task, since interests and criteria applied to Middle East countries inter-relation constantly changes.⁹¹

Geopolitics and Geostrategic cores on the region explain clearly the importance of Middle East region in solve the main global conflicts. Recently, geopolitical studies have been focusing in some aspects were caused by the end of Cold War and exacerbated in the aftermath of 2001 September attacks such new perceptions towards influential actors in the region, core the state fragility and its causes, aware of resurgence of non-state actors and the intensification of Saudi-Iran rivalry allied to energy security and trade aspects increasing the dispute among both regional and foreign states.⁹² Mackinder developed the Heartland Theory exposed in his famous paper called “The Geographical Pivot of History” (1904) where he defined the relation between Geography and Politics.⁹³ The richness of Mackinder work relies in the importance given to the struggle between Land-Based and sea-based powers.

Concisely, controlling a determinant region would lead to Global supremacy. Spykman argued that geography was the most important factor in World politics. His contribution was in the relation between geography and foreign policy, throughout the analysis of both global and regional spatial zones affecting States external policy, as they influence the decisions of a determinant country and the policy that should be adopt.

Another noteworthy personality in the definition of Middle East Geopolitics and particularly contributed to American foreign policy guidance in the region was George F. Kennan. He played an crucial role in the implementation of U.S Cold War “containment policy”, as his views defined the U.S policy during Cold War era towards the USSR, mainly when the National Security Council claimed the emergence of global conflict against Communism. It is certain that geopolitics played a preponderant role in political and military settlements. Events such emergence of alliances such NATO or Bagdad Pact or the weapons deployment in the 1970s and 1980s shows clearly the importance of

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p.9

⁹² Kristina Kausch, **Geopolitics and Democracy in the Middle East**, FRIDE, Madrid, p.12

⁹³ Halford J. Mackinder, “The Geopolitical Pivot of History”, **the Geographical Journal**, vol.23:4, 1904, pp.

policies concerning politics and military frames.⁹⁴ An aspect important in the relations of geopolitics and Middle East region is the Post-Cold war changes and dynamics in global and regional geopolitics. William R. Thompson defined Regional System as “a relatively regular and intense pattern of interactions, recognized internally and externally as a distinctive arena, and created and sustained by at least two....generally proximate actors”⁹⁵

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the 1948 State of Israel creation are issues that still influence Middle East regional politics.⁹⁶ In Middle East regional politics there are two main elements of interaction in the region. First, the Arab-Israeli conflict including Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Israel and Palestinians, arguing their role on the major conflicts traduced by Arab-Israeli war and the lost of territories such West Bank, Golan Heights, Sinai Peninsula to Israel, reviving the national identity. Second, the Arab cooperative element, combining the League of Arab States formed in 1943 with 7 members, in 1970 with 14 and by 1981 21 members, the creation of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) in 1968. For instance, PLO was formed under an Arab cooperative core, although emerged lately as an independent actor in the region and in international realm right after the Six Years war of 1967.⁹⁷ A complete geographic description of the Middle East and the underlying cause is the existence of external forces that have been struggling to gain an important power in the region throughout history.

3.3. Case of Lebanon

Lebanon, one of the smallest States in Middle East, occupies very important place in geopolitical and demographic concept. Lebanon’s ethnic and religious diversity, multicultural structure, distinct and complicated geography increase its significance in the region. Nevertheless, identity and boundary issues as they are subjects of geopolitical discourse, significantly constitutes major issues of this tiny state as well. The Lebanese State is the 112 most depended countries in the World, and its total land comprises 10,230

⁹⁴ Ola Tunander, “ Swedish-German Geopolitics for a New Century: Rudolf Kjellen”s ‘The State as a Living Organization’, *Review of International Studies*, vol.27:3, p.459

⁹⁵ William R. Thompson, “ Delineating Regional subsystems: visit networks and the Middle East Case”, **International Journal of Middle East Studies**, vol.13:2, 1981, p.123

⁹⁶ Tareq Y. Ismael, **International Relations of the Contemporary Middle East: A Study in World Politics**, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986. p.45

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p.49

km². It represents 0,08% total of population with 6,091,048 habitants.⁹⁸ The population density is about 536 km² (1,543 people for m²). As stated by the Economic Complexity Index (ECI), Lebanon is the 125th worldwide export economy and deters the 45th most complicated economy around the World.⁹⁹ Equally, Lebanese depend much on services sector and their land is poor, without oil, possessing just relative minerals such Iron, Store and Sand for Glass production.

The designation of “Lebanon” has origin in the word Laban, designation attributed in ancient times where the country known by “Phoenicia”. The Roman Empire expansion in the Middle East region and in Lebanon by the incorporation of Phoenicia in Syria. Lebanon and Syria remained solely land until the 20th century, where both countries separated into independent states as a part of United Nations.¹⁰⁰ In Earlier times, Christians had a strong dominance over the country and until the end of World War II. Christians counted with 30% most Maronite in the North Lebanon and Beirut. Among the Christian community, Greek Christians divided into Orthodox and Catholic and Armenians are some of the groups within Christian community. The country compose as well by Muslim groups divided among Sunni, on Tyre, Sidon and Beirut and Shia in Southern Lebanon and Bekaa Valley. Additionally, the Druze should be consider despite of its small number, since it is one of the ancient communities centred in central Lebanon. Recently, 18 distinct groups were separated: Muslim 54% (27% Sunni, 27% Shia), Christian 40.5% (includes 21% Maronite Catholic, 8% Greek Orthodox, 5% Greek Catholic, 6.5% other Christian), Druze 5.6%, very small numbers of Jews, Baha'is, Buddhists, Hindus, and Mormons.¹⁰¹

The Modern Lebanon is marked by three main documents that define Lebanese politics in the behalf of 20th century: The French mandate in Lebanon of 1926, the Constitution that symbolized the beginning of Independence Period after the mandate, the 1943 National Pact and lately the TAIF accords 1989, after Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990). Before Civil War, Lebanon was the center of the Middle East, and inclusively one

⁹⁸ Elaboration of data by United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, **Worldometers**, Lebanon population statistic, 2018 Available at <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/lebanon-population/> (web: 15.01.2018)

⁹⁹ Lebanon, Economic Complexity Rankings (ECI), , available at: <https://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/rankings/country/eci/> (web: 15.01.2018)

¹⁰⁰ James Stewart, “Lebanon: Countries in Crisis”, **Rourke Publishing**, 2008, p.10

¹⁰¹ Lebanon Demographics Profile 2018, **CIA World Factbook**, available at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/le.html> (web: 15.01.2018)

of the most flourishing countries in the region. The violent conflict caused by regional and domestic factors such the rise of Arab Nationalism in middle of 1950s, the Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon in result of the Creation of Israel State, the struggle overtime with Syrians to maintain Beirut independence, very denied by Damascus, the crisis of 1958 as the settle point of Lebanese stability and the Arab-Israeli wars neutral position from 1967-1973 that complicated the states' socio-political condition.

The Lebanon geographical position is at the center of the Gulf that runs between the Oriental Mediterranean, Turkey and Egypt. In the North and East have Syria, and in the South, Israel and Palestine. In terms of politics and social organization, Lebanon attempt to be a Parliamentary Republic, where politics are centralized and at the same time distinguished by multi-religious identity and multiparty government, or in other words, Lebanon is under confessional democracy patterns, where political power and the governmental bureaucracy is regulated by religious groups.¹⁰² It has been very contested the Arab authenticity of Lebanese Sovereignty. Still, Lebanon is an Arab State characterized by the mixture of old and new, present and past, and East and West. In result of its historical and civilization goddess, various regions, monarchies and other political rulers in the past showed a great interest for the region where Lebanon is located. Romans, Greeks, Ottomans, Egyptians, Persians are some of the civilizations that paid attention to the Levant region.

In Lebanon, the parties still divided not only by their national ties but also by regional and international connections and positions in the Middle East. Lebanon is at the centre of Middle East conflicts maintaining its borders with Israel and Syria. Michel Aoun is the actual president since October 2016. The parliament constituted by 128 seats, held by Muslims (Shiite and Sunnis) and Christians (Maronites). It constituted by seven main parties and divided in two blocs: 8 March and 14 March. The 8 March belongs to Pro-Syrian, Iran backed up parties, Hezbollah and Christian Free Patriotic Movement Party.¹⁰³ The 14 March represents the Sunni Muslim community such as the Future Movement Party, the Lebanese forces, Kateab party and other Christian parties.

¹⁰² Julia Choucair, "Lebanon: Finding a Path from Deadlock to Democracy", Democracy and Rule of Law Project, n.64, **Carnegie Endowment for International Peace**, 2006, p.5

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p.5

In recent years, the Shiite community became politically strong, due the precision of the ongoing regional power conflicts. From all political parties, Hezbollah is the most powerful around Shiite community and it's seen as a potential domestic political and military power, not just in Lebanon as well as, in Middle East region. Since 1992 elections, Hezbollah owns 12 seats in the parliament, belonging to 8 March bloc, which holds 57 of 127 total seats and its alliance with Syrian Regime and Iran backwards, could influence Lebanese politics in the future.¹⁰⁴ In domestic politics, since Lebanon's sovereignty did not sustain from the political forces and due its geographical position and territorial side, allied, at the same time, to other internal aspects, its governmental structure is weak. Lebanese political system is immensely complex, comparing to other Middle East States. In Lebanon, we verified that consensus Democracy had periods of stability but it was also fragile as political system model. In addition, we assisted to the failure and trapping of Consociationalism in Lebanon especially during Civil War and I Gulf War, reacting on Lebanon's instability in all domains.

Lebanon serves to explain that Consociationalism allowed levels of freedom and civil rights in the country, turning Lebanon in one of the most important countries in Middle East Region few years after its implementation in 1943. In other words, John Nagle defines Lebanon as "a pre-determined consociation in which ethnic representation is guaranteed throughout political and public institutions".¹⁰⁵ Despite the advantages proportionate by Consensus Democracy beyond Ethnic Politics, we still have to admit that the criticisms are higher and rationally acceptable.

Occasionally, Lebanon shows the reality of the mediocrity of Consociationalism Democracy whereas not prevail the transparency and in which State's Rules are not followed and the manipulation and bargaining between Elites domains the country. In a nutshell, the case of Lebanon shows the importance of decision-making in foreign policy apparatus, by positioning or prejudicing states intentions in global politics. Realism theory explains properly the States foreign policy, including decision-making and countries intentions as fundamental elements for secure one state to another. In realist perspective,

¹⁰⁴ Norton Augustus Richard, "The Role of Hezbollah in Lebanese Domestic Politics", **The International Spectator**, 42:4, 2007, p.481

¹⁰⁵ John NAGLE, "Beyond Ethnic Entrenchment and Amelioration: an analysis of non-sectarian Social Movements and Lebanon's Consociationalism", in **Ethnic and Racial Studies**.2017.p.5.

Lebanon is a narrow State that needs to survive in International System. The defensive realism seems the best to explain the survival of Lebanon as State, through alliances that can influence foreign policy decisions as been succeeding since Lebanese independence. Perhaps, offensive realism would stronghold Hezbollah influence in building the military capabilities in Lebanon, reducing the chances of regional and domestic interference in foreign policy decisions. In the liberal perspective, certainly organizations would play an important role to guarantee Lebanon sovereignty, but it makes more sense an pro-realist Lebanon concerning more security than liberal aspects such human rights or other liberal democratic values.



CHAPTER II

A CONCSIVE BACKGROUND OF LEBANON AND SYRIA INTERVENTION INTO LEBANESE AFFAIRS

1. LEBANON BEFORE COLD WAR: OTTOMAN SOVEREIGNTY AND FRENCH MANDATE

The ottoman domination in Lebanese territory was essential to understand how Lebanon and Syria connected in different levels. The Ottomans conquered the region from the Egyptians in 1516, and practically until the end of World War I, Lebanese were under Ottoman rule. The Ottoman political administration contributed partly by giving independent Status to the Sunni communities, allowing them to become an important religious sect in Lebanon. In the 19th century political-religious wars inside of Lebanon succeeded initially between Druze and the Maronite in 1842, 1845 and 1860, then Sunni and Shia, among others. During the Tanzimat Period, the Ottomans introduced administrative policies of inter-communal and ethnic-sectarian character in Mount Lebanon.¹⁰⁶

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire began to lose ground in the west. Evidentially, on the second half of the 19th century, the empire could not dominate over its own territory, while European powers were getting involved in the region. France increased its presence in Jerusalem, Egypt, Algeria and later in Tunisia. Following the Suez Canal Construction (1859-1869), despite their different interests, Britain and France joined forces in the Middle East to prevent the spread of Russia in the south during the same period. Lebanon has been the scene of French and British imperial competition since the 19th century; The French supported the Maronites in the north and the English the Druze in the south.¹⁰⁷ The Russians also undertook the pregnancy of the

¹⁰⁶ Cenk Reyhan, The Ottoman Origins of Political Culture in Lebanon, *TODAIÈs Review of Public Administration*, vol.5:3, 2011. p.290

¹⁰⁷ Khairallah Tannous, *Les Regions Arabes Liberees*, Paris, Editions Ernest Leroux Rue Bonaparte,1919, p.64-65

Greek Orthodox.¹⁰⁸ These minorities in the region in the attempts to disintegrate the Ottoman Empire of westerners were used extensively.

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, the French mandate established in the Bilad-i-Sham region of Syria and Lebanon in 1920. Lebanon, which has been under the same administrative unit as Syria since the Romans, has been separated from Ottoman and then Syria as a result of nationalist sentiments and as a necessity of France's "divide and rule" policy. The Great Lebanese State, which established under the auspices of France with the inclusion of the lands taken from Syria, including the mountainous Lebanon region, became a Republic in 1926.¹⁰⁹ From 1920-1943, Lebanon was under french mandate. In 1920, French proclaimed the creation of Greater Lebanon in Beirut, which included the well-known territories of Mount Lebanon, Bekaa, Wadi el-Taym, Jabal Amel, Sur, Saida, Beirut and Tripoli, mainly constituted by Christians (80%) and Muslims (20%).¹¹⁰

2. LEBANON DURING COLD WAR TIMES: INTERDEPENDENCE, CIVIL WAR AND TAIF AGREEMENT

This part relies on Lebanese political and security background during Cold War period. It involves foreign and regional intervention in Lebanon such U.S foreign policy in middles of 1950s, Rise of Arab Nationalism in the country, 1958 crisis, Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990), TAIF accords and subsequently Middle East Peace Process and International Securitization after the USSR collapse in 1991.

2.1. From Independence to Civil War (1943-1975)

In 1941, in result of domestic and foreign pressure, General Georges Catroux, ordered by Charles de Gaulle, declared Lebanon independent State.¹¹¹ In spite of settling Lebanon as autonym country, France just abandoned the Lebanese land two years later. The 21 November of 1943 surfaced Lebanon autonomy from French State. The independence of Lebanon was claimed by Lebanese itself and by international community,

¹⁰⁸ Ed. Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills, **Lebanon A History of Conflict and Consensus**, London, I.B. Tauris&Co.Ltd., 1993, p.103

¹⁰⁹ Zahide Tuba Kor, **Lübnan İç Savaşın Gölgesinde**, Ilke Yayincilik, 1 baski, 2006, s.26.

¹¹⁰ Hanna Jean Ghanem Liban, *Guerre du Génocide?: la situation au moyen-orient de 644 9A nos jours*, Volume 6, **Collection theses ou recherches**, Editions Naaman, 1979, p.35

¹¹¹ Caroline Camille Attié, **Struggle in the Levant: Lebanon in the 1950s**. London: I.B. Tauris in association with the Centre for Lebanese Studies, 2004. p.23

namely by Egypt and Great Britain. Egypt was the first country to recognize Lebanon's Independence. In the segment, Bishara Al-Khuri and Riyadh As-Sulh appointed, respectively, to the President and Prime minister Positions. The autonomy of Lebanon defined by two main sets: the Constitution established in 1943 after the independence and the National Pact at 7 October of 1943. The Constitution of 1943 maintained three main articles (number 9, 10 and 95) that concerned sectarianism in Lebanon and were prescript in the Constitution of 1926.¹¹² As National pact, it was a guaranty for politicians to correct and make own ratifications in the constitution due sectarianism and country's identity, its international relations and proximity to Arab world and the incorporation of Muslim communities in the power structure. The President would be a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim.¹¹³ It guaranteed the political seats in parliament on a ratio of six-to five in favor of Christians.¹¹⁴ The Greater Lebanon visualized majority of the powers in the hands of Maronite Christians more than in Muslim groups, no mattering if were Sunni or Shiite. However, Lebanon's independency transformed Lebanon society and lead subsequently to the political aspirations of other ethnical groups, evidentially under Muslim communities. The National pact continued the power-sharing model among the sects, prevailed in the article 95 of the constitution.¹¹⁵

Adding to this, the pact defined the country's identity and its place in domestic and international relations and its duties before the World. Equally, Lebanon would not serve any more as a gateway for colonialism aspirations, reaffirming its independence that is "Lebanon is an independent, indivisible, and sovereign state" (art.1.)¹¹⁶ The National pact translated into a closer partnership under the rule of the principal issues of Lebanon State

¹¹² Picard Elizabeth, Lebanon: Is the Consociational system reformable?, **Lebanon Ten Years After Taef**, Jun 2001, Beyrouth, Lebanon, p.9

¹¹³ The reference of Lebanese power-sharing is fundamental to perceive the political policies under sectarianism and fully understand the role of Maronite Christians in implementing a gender of "Feudal politics". Certainly, the creation of sectarianism is the biggest achievement of I Lebanese Republic in the beginning of Independence.

¹¹⁴ Kamal Salibi, "A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon reconsidered", I.B. Tauris, London, 1988, p.186.

¹¹⁵ Article 95: The Chamber of Deputies that is elected on the basis of equality between Muslims and Christians shall take the appropriate measures to bring about the abolition of political confessionalism according to a transitional plan. A National Committee shall be formed, headed by the President of the Republic, it include, in addition to the President of the Chamber of Deputies and the Prime Minister, leading political, intellectual, and social figures. The tasks of this Committee shall be to study and propose the means to ensure the abolition of confessionalism, propose them to the Chamber of Deputies and to the Ministers council of ministers, and to follow up the execution of the transitional plan.

Source: <http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf>

¹¹⁶The Lebanese Constitution, **Arab Law Quarterly**, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1997), p.224

between President Khuri and Prime-Minister Sulh and reinforced easily the political power access of Muslims, decision-making and respective functions. We can conclude from this first part, that National Pact served to affirm the political rights of Christians and ensuring a place for Muslims to participate in political, social and cultural features. Nonetheless, the balance of power between Christians and Muslims not achieve, since most political groups continued to preserve their patron-client relationship, which led to disagreements among the sects.¹¹⁷

2.1.1. Bishara Al-Khoury (1943-1952)

Certain constraints and challenges marked the first years of Lebanon independence. Under Khuri Presidency and Sulh administration Lebanon, gain its place in international sphere, enjoying the Arab League on 25 September 1944 and participated in the shape of Alexandria protocol (League's charter).¹¹⁸ The French continued to be involved in Lebanon issues; trying to imply policies and proposing bilateral agreements for not abandon Lebanon and defend their interests in the Lebanese territory. However, French intentions in Lebanon were vanished especially when Lebanon received support from U.S on 19 September 1945. In the United Nations, a U.S-brokered compromise reached on 13 December 1945 to evacuate French and British troops from Syria and Lebanon. By 31 December 1946, all foreign troops had departed.¹¹⁹ The crisis in Lebanon and Syria accelerated the independence process and the U.S and URSS interest in abolish colonialism in Arab countries. The current ambiance of Middle East was already prepared for the start of regional conflict in the ground.

The first Arab-Israeli war of 1948, exemplified the aspirations of regional and foreign states in define the regional politics, which would not include the existence of Israel State. The war was divided in various fronts: in the North, against Syrian and Lebanese army and the liberation Arab army; in the centre against the Arab League of Transjordan and by Iraq forces and Arab liberation army and In south against Egypt.¹²⁰ The main consequence of the First Arab-Israeli war, in addition to the territorial increase of

¹¹⁷ Tom Najem, Lebanon, p.36

¹¹⁸ Benjamin Miller, States, Nations and Great Powers, Cambridge University Press, New York, p. 157

¹¹⁹ "Maintenance of International Peace and Security" , Chapter VIII, United Nations Charter, 3 http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/46-51/Chapter%208/46-51_08-5-The%20Syrian%20and%20Lebanese%20question.pdf (web: 30/03/2018)

¹²⁰ Cynthia C. Northrup, Air Warfare: An International Encyclopedia. Volume Two, edited BOYNE, Walter J M Z, Volume 2, P.325

Israel, was the expulsion of almost one million Palestinians from the conquered lands, giving rise to the well-known Palestine Issue, a struggle for territorial recovery. To remake their Diaspora of antiquity, the Zionists generated the Palestinian Diaspora.

The first phase of the war (15 May – 11 June 1948) started with the attack of Galilee in the North by the Syrian and Lebanese troops. The aim was to set foot on Malikiya, a village in Galilee in order to reach and control Haifa. The Arab volunteers of Jaysh al- Inqadh, the Army of Salvation, led by Fawzi al-Qawuqji, participated actively in the campaign and the forces reached Malikiya.¹²¹ Nevertheless, a counter-offensive of the Zionist forces in October 1948 regained Malikiya and occupied a strip of 14 villages inside Lebanese Territory. The second phase of 1948 war, traduced through the conflicts between Arab troops and Israel over the control of Jerusalem. The United Nations intentions in restore peace and end the conflict culminated in the assassination of the lord Bernadotte by Jewish terrorists.¹²² From 15 October, Egypt and Israel fights accentuated in Neguev, where Israelites pushed Egyptians to Gaza. After the resolution of Security Council in 28 October, Israel attacks the north offensive against Syrians and Lebanese and overtakes Galilee.

The ultimate end arrived with the offensive attack of Israel aiming to destroy Egypt army between 22 December and 6 February of 1949 and achieving a preponderant situation in the Peace negotiations. By invading Sinai, Israeli had to backup due the Great Britain possible involvement due the accord signed with Egypt in 1936.¹²³ On 23 March 1949, the armistice at al-Naqurah signed, as Israel committed itself to withdraw from the territory it occupied in south Lebanon. The Palestinian Nakba and the creation of the State of Israel had grave, yet contradictory consequences for Lebanon. The end of War however did not mean a grave defeat in Lebanon, but certainly signified gross loses for the Arab Nations. Economically, Lebanon ports, used among the Arab States targetting boycott Israel economy. Thus, Beirut took over Hayfa's role as the main port of Arab hinterland and as international communication centre between Europe, Asia and some African

¹²¹ TRABOULSI, Fawwaz, op.cit, p.113

¹²² Karin Aggestam, "Reframing and Resolving Conflict. Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations 1988-1998", **Lund University Press**, 1999, P.79

¹²³ Ray McDermott, "Risk-taking in international politics", in *The 1945 Suez Crisis*, Ann Arbor: **University of Michigan Press**, 1998, pp P.141

countries.¹²⁴ An increasing number of Palestinians immigrated to Lebanon. For instance, 120.000 Palestinians left their mainland from the Galilee to settle themselves in Lebanon.¹²⁵

Politically, the creation of the State of Israel and its expansionism ideology in the region affected Lebanon territory security, which demanded an immediately defense from Israeli-Palestine disputes. A part of this, the Syrian state coup of Husni al-Zaim condemning the civilian leadership for the military defeat in Palestine, seized power in Damascus in a military coup in which the CIA was strongly involved.¹²⁶ The crisis in Syria and Lebanon culminated on the murders of Ain Saadeh, the founder of Syrian Social Nationalist Party and lately in Husni al-Zaim execution.¹²⁷

Despite of the ethnical rivalry and disputes among the political sects, Lebanon maintained a normal level of peace and quiet stability in other domains such economy and culture. Beirut soon transformed into a monopoly of international communications. Under the development of technology and science, Lebanon was able to reduce the distance and time towards Saudi Arabia and the Gulf.¹²⁸ For instance, Air Liban was associated with the Busson group and benefited from privileged relations with Saudi king Abdullah. It found in 1945, initially independent from the West and controlled by Muslim elites. The first main destinations were Cairo and Baghdad for tourism and trade purposes. Lebanon slowly became a regional and global exporter. Later it was associated to the Middle East Airlines led by Saib Salam, cooperating with Pan American airlines which monopolized the Beirut-Kuwait line for a short time, as a result of, Salam's excellent ties with the ruling sheikh for the oil emirate.¹²⁹ Khoury was re-elected in 1949 for second mandate; slowly he became strict in its policies, plus didn't contribute for many changes on economy. In June

¹²⁴ TRABOULSI, Fawwaz, op.cit. 114

¹²⁵ UN General Council, UNRWA Relief Claimants and Rations provided (31 August 1951).

¹²⁶ Ibraheem Saeed Al-Baidhani, **U.S. Policy Towards Syria: 1949 To 1958**, Library of Congress, U.S, 2014, p.14

¹²⁷ Samir Awwad, "Arab Unity", **Report on Al Jaazera's focus**, P.45

¹²⁸ The Busson group controlled most of the production and exportation, and most of war profits were sent to France. The SERIAC group, created by Busson financed projects and deals for the French contractors. The French neo-colonial interests were still visible and represented by their local salesman, safeguarding certain privileges and fiscal exemptions.

¹²⁹ Fawwaz Traboulsi, op.cit, p.118

1952, the Social National Front (SNF), led by Kamal Jumblatt and Camille Shamoun contested the Khoury corrupted governance and claimed for change of political leader.¹³⁰

2.1.2. Camille Shamoun Period (1952-1958)

Lebanese politics has always been corrupted and strictly understood by tensions and disputes among the sects. The Shamoun great task came with the implementation of judicial framework, such as the 1954 law on the creation of joint stock companies and the 1956 banking secrecy law.¹³¹ In spite of the intentions of renovate Lebanese politics and proceed to economic and judicial incentives, the sectarianism evocated disputes and tensions both on regional and international spheres. However, the success of Shamoun relied on concentration of power in his hands, by bringing to the political sect weak prime ministers who stood for aspirations and interests more than represent their communities and being dependent on favors of the President. Shamoun perceived Lebanese politics as the opposite of power-sharing rule, and gave importance to the role of the President in the majority of decisions as well as, slowly, implemented control on the legislature, judicial powers added to executive power, a priori part of the President functions.¹³²

The Arab World influenced by the President Gamal Abdul Nasser ideology, and Lebanon was not an exception. Nasser was a reference for Lebanese people; he represented Arab World and Arab interests internationally. Between the years of 1956-58 Lebanon was under pressure due some important changes in the international sphere.¹³³ In this segment, there are two main factors, which explain the instability and disorder among the sects. The primer factor is the Suez Crisis and the massive attacks on Egypt by France, Britain and Israel. The second is the religious and ideological struggle, turned into disputes and rivalries among the political groups, which clearly divided the opinions between the supporters of Lebanese nationalism and the defenders of Pan Arabism. Christians and some other Lebanese sects established connections with the West and it is relevant the role of United States, which since the rise of President Nasser, was showing deeply interest on

¹³⁰ Thomas Collelo, "Lebanon: current issues and Background", in **Lebanon: A country of Study**, edited by John C. Rolland, NOVA Science Publishers, New York, 2003 p.49

¹³¹ Gil Feiler, **The Middle East in the New Millennium: Economic Development & Business Law**, Kluwer Law International, 2000,p.200

¹³² Caroline Camille Attié, op.cit. P.61

¹³³ Thomas Collelo; the Library of Congress. Federal Research Division & Smith, H. H, "*Lebanon: A Country Study*", Washington, D.C.: Federal **Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs.**, U.S. G.P.O, Retrieved from the Library of Congress, p.51 <https://www.loc.gov/item/88600488/>. (web:31.03.2018)

Lebanese issues. United States was a great supporter in the maintenance of Lebanese autonomy, despite of its dual interest on Lebanese oil reserve and fight against the possibility of widespread of Pan Arabism. In addition, United States understood the advantage of installing military forces in Lebanon, since it served as a bridgehead for the possible events that required military intervention in the region.¹³⁴ In 1953, the Lebanese government received \$6 million in US arms and economic aid, and by 1954, Shamoun had permitted the US air force to use Lebanese air space for scrutiny missions.¹³⁵

Meanwhile, in 1955 Baghdad Pact among Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and Iran came to favor the western powers. Shamoun did not adhere officially but he had showed clearly his support in accord. The exacerbation and the spread of Arab Nationalism in Middle East influenced the neighbors such Jordan or Syria. The adherence of Syria, the revolts and struggle in Jordan, reflected the Lebanese instability. Shamoun adopted a neutral policy towards the Arab world. Hence, standing for Baghdad treaty, did put him in not a beneficial condition and deteriorated the relations with Nasser and consequently with Syria. Egyptian and Lebanese relations deteriorated due to the attitude of Lebanon following 1956 Suez Canal incident. Shamoun allied with the west refused to cut relations with Britain and France, gained revolt from Arab nations. At the end, Shamoun adopted Eisenhower doctrine on 16 March 1957. Shamoun understood the importance of maintain allies on his side and without the support of Syria, with the revolts in Jordan, with Egypt and Saudi Arabia allied in established an Arab union and the pressure in adhere Lebanon into Pan Arabism, he decided to established alliance with Turkey, which had already problems with Syrian border.¹³⁶ It was signed a joint declaration between both countries, valorizing the perseverance of national identity and which main policies should be adopted according the actual conflictual situation.

Shamoun period will finish consequently in the aftermath of the Union of Syria and Egypt as the United Arab Republic (UAR), by the reason of the internal crisis that dominated the entire country. Also, the Shamoun policies were contested by other political sects, being accused of corruption by using the economic remises in his behalf and by

¹³⁴ Fawwaz Traboulsi, op.cit 130

¹³⁵ Thomas Burkhalter, **Local Music Scenes and Globalization : Transnational Platforms in Beirut**, Routledge, New York, 2013, 159

¹³⁶ Nawaf A. Salam, , "Redressing Syrian-Lebanese Relations", Options for Lebanon , **Centre for Lebanese Studies in association with I.B. Tauris**, New York,2004 p.101

abusing of power and disrespect the constitution established in 1926.¹³⁷ On 27 March 1958, 85 personalities represented the opposition, where a committee of three representatives has been select: as President Henri Pharaon, as vice-president Abd Allah Al-Yafi and for the secretary position Kamal Junblat.¹³⁸ The end of Shamoun Era came at the point of the assassination on 7 May of Nasib Al-Matni, the Maronite editor-in-chief and possessor of a popular opposition review “The Telegraph”, well-known by its critics to Shamoun foreign policy and Shamoun government corruption. In this order, the crisis soon turned into battlefield when the 1958 civil war exploded between the Maronite Christians and the Muslim groups. It was estimated a number of 4000 deaths. The crisis of 1958 was more than a domestic conflict, since sectarian groups were receiving support from UAR and by United States that dispatched 15.000 marines in the country.¹³⁹ Shamoun demand the U.S supported into preservation of Lebanon State which was well responded when U.S sent 5000 marines and 14 000 U.S soldiers landed in Beirut.¹⁴⁰ The operation blue bat, on 15 July 1958 conducted under Eisenhower doctrine, was the first direct interference of U.S in the region. The aim was to prevent a possible penetration of Soviet Union in Middle East and give a term to the 1958 Lebanese crisis. U.S intervention was successful if we compare with the peacekeeping missions took between the years of 1982-83. Finally, Robert D. Murphy, diplomat sent by U.S president Eisenhower contributed to the peaceful resignation of Camille Shamoun and it had crucial role for the upcoming presidential elections, which end with the succession of Fuad Shihab.¹⁴¹

2.1.3. Shihab Period (1958-64)

Fuad Shihab succeeds Shamoun on the 31 July 1958, obtaining 48 votes and leaving Shamoun with just 10 votes by its followers.¹⁴² Shihab was the leader of the Lebanese Army Forces during 1958 crisis, and despite of its alliance with USA, he opted for a neutral policy, in order to maintain peaceful relations with the West and the Arab countries. Two main goals are define: increase state power and improve security forces, through internal intelligence services and policies. The first decision was meeting the

¹³⁷ Fahim Qubain, Crisis in Lebanon, pp.52-58

¹³⁸ Fawwaz Traboulsi, op.cit , Pp.133-134

¹³⁹ Tom Najem, p.44

¹⁴⁰ Wiliam D, Leahy, “Lebanon, Intervention in (July-October 1958)”, **Historical Dictionary of the United States Navy**, edited by James M. Morris and Patricia M. Kearns, 2 ed, Scarecrow Press, U.K, 2011, p.224

¹⁴¹ Robert D. Murphy, **Diplomat among Warriors**, Greenwood Press, Santa Barbara, Canada,1976, pp. 487–88

¹⁴² Chronology July 1-September 15, 1958, **Middle East Journal**, vol 12 :4, p.419

Egyptian President on the Lebanese-Syrian border. The policies of Shihab were important to strength the unity among Lebanese but it failed when international countries started to intervene. For instance, in the night of 31 December 1961- January 1962 Lebanon saw its first military state coup when the arms units led by Syrian National Social Party (SNSP) took over the Defenses ministry, killing many officers.¹⁴³ In the contest, Shihab end by establishing measures that could favor all the parties. It pretended to bring back the figures excluded in the 1957 elections, and encouraging the ascension of new representatives related with security agencies. Shihab grasped that most of the rivalries among the sects caused by the concentration of power under Maronite Christians, prejudicing the Muslim and Shiite communities that began numerically to rise in the country. Hence, Shihab constitutionalism approached equal rights under sectarianism, without abolishing it. Additionally, he deduced that to create a unity and stable Lebanon was necessary to continue Sectarianism. A possible eradication of sectarianism could easily provoke a deep civil war.

In the economic area, he notices that for development of Lebanese economy, Lebanese capitalism was over control, caused by a rapid change of private sector during Shamoun period and the disparities among the Industry and services sectors. A need in the economical quality and well fair economical distribution within the various sectors of economy would definitely reduce the disputes among the ethnical groups. The first measure taken by Shihab was relating to Banking sector.¹⁴⁴ When the Bank of Syria and of Lebanon's concession ended in 1964, the Bank of Lebanon created as main Bank. On the other hand, the principal reform implemented was beyond the creation of the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), an innovation that contained social conflicts and most of economic agencies were under control of government.¹⁴⁵ Some projects in agriculture and public education were also visible; however, most of the Shihab incentives spoiled by a group of Christians and Muslims that had lost their privileges. In the matter of foreign affairs, one of the first steps in Shihab policy happened when the President requested the withdrawal of U.S troops from Lebanon stem from September 27, 1958 with the

¹⁴³ Fawwaz Traboulsi, op.cit, p.139

¹⁴⁴Hannes Baumann, **Citizen Hariri: Lebanon's Neo-Liberal Reconstruction**, Oxford University Press, New York, 2016, pp.20-21

¹⁴⁵ Nader Ahmad, Nada Maghlouth, "Lebanese Political Parties and Administrative Reform: An Impossible Promise?", **Centre of Lebanese Studies**, Konrad Adenauer, 2016. p.8

withdrawal to be round out by the end of October.¹⁴⁶ For many specialists on the issue, Shihab regime fostered stability and economic development among Lebanese society and most important it has showed the need for adjust Lebanese confessional system into Lebanon political framework. Furthermore, Shihabism demonstrated that sometimes, regional crisis need foreign intervention to reinstall equilibrium.

2.1.4. Helou Period (1964-70)

Helou era was characterized by conducive events such as the 1967 Arab Israeli war, which Lebanon had not intervened, but still had bad repercussions in Lebanese society. Already, the Palestinian organizations such PLO organized out of refugee camps, transformed Southern Lebanon in a strategic area for fighting the Israelis.¹⁴⁷ In this order, the Palestinian guerrillas penetrated in Lebanon soil, struggling against Israel and consequently finished by putting Lebanese Christians against Lebanese Muslims. it succeed a *De facto* division of those who supported the Palestinian cause, and those who were not in favor of Palestinian presence in Lebanon fearing an abroad conflict and the definitely loss of independence gained in 1943. The greatest fear of Lebanese was the possibility of confront militarily Israel, since it could complicate the relations with the West and the fear of Lebanon becoming a battleground between the West and Arab countries. Once more, Lebanon suffered from Palestine-Israeli struggle, evidentially when Israel launched an attack on Beirut International Airport on 28 December 1968.¹⁴⁸ From this attempt to Lebanese attack until the third Arab-Israeli war on 1973, Lebanon passed for diverse crises that affected Lebanese society. Many demonstrations exalting the Palestinian martyrs and the resistance movement in Sidon and Beirut turned into a several number of deaths and wounded. Still, in regional policy, Syria decided to close its borders with Lebanon, which affected negatively Lebanese economy and aggravated the political situation.

Nonetheless, on 8 November 1969, an agreement was proposed known by Cairo Accords signed by Yasir Arafat, leader of PLO movement and the General Emile Bustani, commander-in-chief of the Lebanese army, under the presence of Egyptian President

¹⁴⁶ Nasser Kalawoun, **The Struggle for Lebanon: a Modern History of Lebanese-Egyptian Relations**, I.B. Taurus, New York, 2000, p.177

¹⁴⁷ Tom najem, p.45

¹⁴⁸ Dan Naor “‘Spring of Youth’ in Beirut: the effects of the Israeli military operation on Lebanon”, **Israel Affairs**, 20:3, 2014, p. 412

Nasser.¹⁴⁹ The accords aimed to maintain Lebanon autonomy, reinforce the Lebanese-Palestinian cooperation. Also, it recognized Palestinian forces in Lebanon and helped to establish again the Syrian-Lebanese relations. The forces of PLO served the interests of Muslim community, which gained political power. Helou period is known by his weak governance in political and military parameters. Nevertheless, in Foreign policy Helou could well design Lebanon's position and strengthened the relations with Arab World. His dialogue and diplomatic qualities settled Lebanon foreign position in the region. Moreover, Helou gained the ovation of Muslim community which allowed him to remain until 1970. Despite of his mediocre leadership in military and political aspects, he served part of Lebanese interests internationally by proposing a soft policy which should involve cooperation and agreement instead of defending an offensive policy towards Lebanon.

2.1.5. The Franjyah Era, 1970-76

Suleiman Franjyah was selected president on 17 August 1970, disputing the place with Elias Sarkis who lost by the difference of one vote.¹⁵⁰ Franjyah was more conservative than Helou in his actions and he had a deep knowledge about regional power and other military issues.¹⁵¹ Franjyah took the presidency on 23 September 1970 and one of his first acts was improving Lebanese politics. The expulsion of a major part of Palestinian guerrillas from Jordan in late 1970 and 1971, as reason of the struggle between Jordanian army and PLO had arduous sequels in the Lebanese territory.

The Assad regime established close ties with the government of President Suleiman Franjyah. It was of Syrian government interest controlling the Palestinian military activities that were going on in the Lebanese soil. Hafez Al-Assad, who transformed Syria into an active regional player on Middle East, sought being involved in Lebanese War as a mediator, searching at the same time, to defend its own interests, and particularly, aiming to implement most of policies related with Syrian National security. The Beirut-Damascus relation was proved under the formation of the Karami cabinet, due to, the emergence of Semi-anarchy in Lebanon. Despite of Syrian efforts, the conflictual atmosphere increased,

¹⁴⁹ Jaber Suleiman, "The Current Political, Organizational, and Security Situation in The Palestinian Refugee Camps of Lebanon", Report from Lebanon, **Journal of Palestine Studies XXIX**, no.1, 1999, p.67

¹⁵⁰ Tom Najem, p.46

¹⁵¹ Thomas Collelo; the Library of Congress. Federal Research Division & Smith, H. H, "*Lebanon: A Country Study*", Washington, D.C.: Federal **Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs.**, U.S. G.P.O, Retrieved from the Library of Congress, p.28
[https://www.loc.gov/item/88600488/\(web:31.03.2018\)](https://www.loc.gov/item/88600488/(web:31.03.2018))

culminating on the collapse of Lebanese internal situation and it caused Franjyah decision in ordering to the ex-commander of Lebanon Forces Al-Fafi to open a cabinet composed majority by military forces.¹⁵² A national dialogue committee suggested and traduced into two main different positions among the sects. The Sinai II agreement released on September 1975 comprised both Christians and Muslims. Despite of trying to establish a mutual accord, it failed by the divergence of interests exposed especially between the phalange party and the Lebanese national movement.¹⁵³ According to phalange party, Lebanon should remain independent and that would mean that the constitution should not be changed and consider sectarianism as an integral part of Lebanon as a modern State.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, the LNM considered fundamental to proceed to changes on political system within political reforms and by the abolishment of sectarianism. By September of 1976 Elias Sarkis, a pro-Syrian figure would replace Franjyah, as a strategic step of Syrian government in controlling the Lebanese politics. Notwithstanding, Sarkis had to struggle the disputes and rivalries and particular outcomes, mostly from the Druze led by Jumblatt family, opposed to Syrian intervention in Lebanon and its infiltration in Lebanese politics.¹⁵⁵

2.2. From Civil War to TAIF Agreement (1975-1991)

The second civil war occurred on April 1975 and ended in October 1990. Since the independence of Lebanon in 1943, sectarianism contested under the different political sects, largely by Muslims who sought a major group of Christians playing a decisive role in Lebanese politics. Despite of the stability of sectarianism in Lebanese territory, the crises of 1952 and 1958 contributed to disturb the political and security apparatus and consequently it generated disputes among the sects, which had precipitated the two years' war of 1975 and 1976 between Lebanese Christians represented by Phalange party and Lebanese front, on the other side, the Nationalist and progressive movements of the Lebanese National Movement (LNM). The confrontation between the two parties

¹⁵² Taku Osoegawa, **Syria and Lebanon: International Relations and Diplomacy in the Middle East**, I.B. Tauris, New York, 2013, p.56

¹⁵³ A party created by Kamal Junblat, in the period that Leftist parties became popular, involving the implementation of social political order and the opposition to sectarianism in Lebanon.

¹⁵⁴ Hassan Krayem, "Political Parties and Electoral Systems in Lebanon and Israel: Interactive Reinforcement", **American University of Beirut**, <http://almashriq.hiof.no/ddc/projects/pspa/krayem/krayem.html> (web: 31.03.2018)

¹⁵⁵ Josef ,Olmert, "Sectarianism and The Uprising in Syria: The Case of the Druze", **Huffington Post**, 31.03.2018, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/dr-josef-olmert/syria-druze_b_1378165.html

culminated on the intervention of Syria and Israel as regional players and mediators of Lebanese-Palestinian conflict.¹⁵⁶ Syrian involvement in Lebanon was an important part of Syrian foreign policy conducted by the President Hafez Al-Assad. The integrity of Lebanon and the end of the Civil war were fundamental objectives to Damascus to strengthen its power influence and putting Syria as the most dominant regional power on Middle East. The Syrian interference in Lebanon began with the rejection of Syrian warnings towards PLO and Jumblatt to ceasefire and to accept the constitutional reform, resulting on Franjeh and Syria decision in sending 30,000 troops to the country.¹⁵⁷ Since 1976, Syria has been a representative of Peace in Lebanon, and it had contributed significantly to the end of the third Civil War of 1982.¹⁵⁸ The TAIIF accord signed on 22 October 1989 in Saudi Arabia, will dictate the end of a couple of violent conflicts that occurred in Lebanon traduced by two main civil wars, evidencing the U.S-Syrian cooperation in peacekeeping policies in Lebanon.

2.1.2. The First Stage of War (1975-1977)

The genesis of the first stage of the Civil War began with the Christian-Palestinian war, surpassed by the intervention of neighbors Syria and Israel. On 13 April 1975, the attacks to a church in Ain Al Rammaneh in the morning and the assault to a bus transporting Palestinians are adding to the domestic and international reasons, led to the initiation of the Lebanese civil war.¹⁵⁹ The first sectarian conflict was between Palestinians led by the PLO and the Kamal Jumblatt LNM, against the Maronite Christians. Soon, other political sects were choosing their side and both regional and international powers sought to participate. Therefore, Syria was supporting military the Palestinians while Israel was helping Christian militias. Syrian involvement in the war was an important settlement for the peace accords achieved during the 1990s. The Palestinians backed-up by the Syrians certainly took advantage from Christians, although, Syria intervention in Lebanon sought

¹⁵⁶ Bassel Salloukh, "Syria and Lebanon: A Brotherhood Transformed," Middle East Research and Information Project **236** (2005) [Google Scholar](https://www.google.com/scholar), accessed 31 March 2018, <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer236/syria-lebanon-brotherhood-transformed>

¹⁵⁷ Tom najem, p.57

¹⁵⁸ For more information see Elie Chalala, "Syrian Policy in Lebanon, 1976-1984: Moderate Goals and Pragmatic Means," **Journal of Arab Affairs**, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Spring 1985), pp. 67-88

¹⁵⁹ Murat Tinaş, "Revisiting Lebanese Civil War", **Gazi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi**, Özel Sayısı, p.100

to defend the Palestinian cause, but at the same time establish a voice-à-views accord with the Israeli and the Maronite Christians.¹⁶⁰

Syria understood that the victory of Palestinians would not cease the Israeli intentions in continuing attacks Lebanon, with sense of weakening Palestinian influence in the region. The end of the war is magnificently managed by a Syrian military intervention and translated into a short peace period. Therefore, on 21 April 1976 the Syrian intervention in the conflict by demanding of the Lebanese Front accepted by Israel under its conditions. In this segment, Syrian-Israeli deterrence dialogue initiated due to the common defends of the regional interests, especially, targeting the termination of Lebanese crisis.¹⁶¹ A remarkable aspect to notice is since the Syrian involvement in Lebanon, Lebanese State and the Government are unable to manage without the “external patronage”. Franjeh supported by Syria, Gemayel by Israel, then Syria and Aoun before the failure of its government demanded foreign help, last vanished.¹⁶²

The joint forces between LNM and PLO based on common interests; both focused on decry Israel influence in the region and control other regions in Lebanon, competing at the same time, the Maronite Christians and supporting the Muslim cause. On the other side, Sarkis assisted by United States and Saudi Arabia, with the relevance of CIA that bankrolled Lebanon in order to obtain Sarkis victory, who won the elections by a significant number of 66 votes.¹⁶³ Meanwhile, the war propagated to the other Lebanese regions. In Beirut, two fronts were fighting, particularly, marked by the battle of hotels, which end the phalange party presence in West Beirut, arriving finally to the establishment of one front along the Beirut-Damascus route line. Through the East side, the Joint Forces of LNM and PLO advanced into the phalange defenses in the Shiyah-Sinn al-Fil Galerie Sim'an area hoping to alleviate the blockade of Tall Al-Zaatar.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ See Mordechai Nisan, “The Syrian Occupation of Lebanon”, policy paper no.96, in the book **Peace with Syria: No Margin for Error**, 2000, p.51

¹⁶¹ Forward analysis under Syria-Israel deterrence apparatus can be found in Evron, Yair, *War and Intervention in Lebanon: The Syrian-Israeli Deterrence Dialogue*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1987, pp.19-60

¹⁶² Tom Najem, *op.cit*, p.65

¹⁶³ Bassil Mardelli, **Middle East Perspectives: From Lebanon (1968-1988)**, iUniverse, U.S, 2012, p.340

¹⁶⁴ Fawwaz Trabulsi, *op.cit*, 204

Hafez Al-Assad kept a difficult peace with Christian groups, culminating on the help of the Muslim community by sending help on June 1976.¹⁶⁵ Exactly, on 2 June 1976, a secret meeting was held between Bashir Gemayel and Kamal Jumblatt in the residence of the vice-president of the Progressive Socialist Party in West Beirut. Conjointly, on 23 September 1976, Sarkis shifted Franjyah as president while the Syrian forces instigated their last direct attack against the Joint forces in the Mountain, Sidon and surrounded Beirut.¹⁶⁶ The Joint Forces assumed control to face the Syrian forces and at the end it destroyed the Syrian militias in the regions securitized by the joint forces. Kamal Jumblatt attempted to transform the government by taking into account a number of Muslim figures outside of LNM. Notwithstanding, Jumblatt efforts beyond a creation of civil administration capable of changing Lebanese political system was not a success, precisely owing to the fact that the Druze leader was assassinated on 16 March 1977 by reason of trying to change Lebanese government policies and mainly by opposing himself to Syrian intervention in Lebanon. Furthermore, on October 1976, Syria was engaged in an Arab-led peace conference in Saudi Arabia, with the intention to prepare the Arab Deterrence Force (ADF) to Lebanon, which deployed on January 1977.¹⁶⁷

2.2.2. The Second Stage of War (1977-1982)

The second phase of the war can be understood as the continuity of Palestinian attempts to Israel interference in Lebanon, and it can be referred also that this period of time was intentionally rolled by the PLO forces in South Lebanon in order to defeat Israel and, on the other hand, Israel enfold the absence of authority in the South, ending with the Israel invasion in Southern Lebanon, through the “Litany Operation” on March 1978 which aimed the creation of a front zone under the control of the Army of Free Lebanon (AFL) formed by Saad Haddad, sponsored by Israeli army.¹⁶⁸

As response, on 19 March 1978 the UNSC authorized the United Nations Interim Force on Lebanon (UNIFIL) to keep the stability in South Lebanon, which in majority plan

¹⁶⁵ David Sorenson, **Global Security Watch: Lebanon**, A Reference Handbook, Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International, 2010. P.22

¹⁶⁶ Farid Khazen, **The Breakdown of the State in Lebanon: 1967-1976**, Harvard University Press, U.K, 2000, pp.347-348

¹⁶⁷David Sorenson, op.cit,p.20

¹⁶⁸Tayyar Arı, **Geçmişten Günümüze Orta Doğu: Siyaset, Savaş ve Diplomasi**, 6 Baskı, Bursa: Dora Yay, 2014.

failed.¹⁶⁹ UNIFIL was unable to contend the violence attacks among the sects as well as its intervention in Lebanon caused discontentment and revolt among both domestic actors and the regional players. Indeed, Syria tried to mediate for two times in 1980 and 1981 the spreading of the conflict, by curbing the actions of the phalange party led by Bashir Gemayel.¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, the ongoing tumultuous situation and the fear of Syrian dominance in Lebanese issues, threatened Israel and its own interests in Southern Lebanon. Israel and Syria pretended to stabilize Lebanon and both searched the end of the War. The target that distinguished Syrian and Israeli intentions in Lebanon was how and who would benefit from the end of the war. Both regional players were financing military and economically the political-religious forces in Lebanon, which shared same interests, supporting themselves with alliances with international players in order to achieve a victorious end for Lebanese war. Meanwhile, inside of Lebanon the disputes between Muslims and Palestinians enrolled by the Amal movement and PLO and Fatah, and the rivalries among Christian community, particularly the clash between Phalange party and the Shamoun militia were a constant in Lebanese war history.¹⁷¹

Sarkis, himself was involved in a tripartite joint that enclosed Syria and Lebanese front. The president Sarkis pretended to consolidate his presidential prerogatives, as well as, continuing with the securitization of economy which he consider essential for the stabilization of Lebanon and equally Sarkis visualized the privatization of banking policies and also increase the foreign investment in Lebanon.¹⁷² As matter of international context, on 19-21 November 1977, the Egyptian president was ready to establish diplomatic and peaceful relations with Israel, through a visit to Jerusalem. Later, in September 1978, the Israeli-Egyptian agreements were signed and well-known as Camp David accords, under the testimony of U.S president Carter and in March 1979 Begin and Sadat signed the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty.¹⁷³ Sarkis was assured that the Camp David accords wouldn't be applied to Lebanon itself, the president decided to proceed to the maintenance of presidential prerogatives by attributing the political exclusivity to Bashir Gemayel who

¹⁶⁹ UN Security Council, Security Council resolution 425 (1978), [Israel-Lebanon], 19 March 1978, S/RES/425 (1978), available at [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/425\(1978\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/425(1978)) (accessed at 31.03.2018)

¹⁷⁰John C. Rolland, op.cit. p.57

¹⁷¹Samir Makdisi,; Richard Sadaka, "The Lebanese Civil War, 1975-90", Lecture and Working Paper Series (no.3), **American University of Beirut, Institute of Financial Economy**, 2003, pp.13-14

¹⁷² Hannes Baumann, op.cit.21-22

¹⁷³ Reversely, none agreement was settled. See Steven Brams & M. Jeffrey Togman, "Camp David: Was the Agreement Fair?", **Conflict Management and Peace Science**, vol.15:1, 1996

should represent the Christian community. Nonetheless, the tumults were escalating between the Palestinians and the Israelis in Southern Lebanon. A security zone in the Israeli-Lebanese frontier was created and defended by South Lebanon Army (SLA), Maronite Christians, and Druze and Shia soldiers.¹⁷⁴ The deployment of UN interim force was translated into the Israel withdrawal in 1979.¹⁷⁵ In the posterior years, it was visible a major presence of Syrian and Israeli forces in Lebanese territory, along with the division of Lebanon into multiple regions controlled by PLO, Lebanese forces, SLA and Syrian troops. Due to domestic and regional reasons, Israel, in June 1982, prosecuted by soil, sea and air attack in order to take out PLO militias from Lebanon. The attempt to murder the Israel ambassador to Great Britain, Shlomo Argov by Abu Nidal group, which was a Palestinian terrorist group non-related with PLO, precipitated the Israel invasion in 1982.¹⁷⁶

The rise of Gemayel influenced the continuity of war and unflavored the tripartite alliance established between Sarkis, Syria and the phalange party. Through the leadership of Bashir Gemayel, it is worthy the stabilization of the military front in Beirut, as the creation of Lebanese Forces. Economically, Bashir conciliated politics with tertiary sector of economy. Adversely, Israel had the intention of invade Lebanon on 1982, while Syrian incapacity in disarming and controlling PLO culminated on the breakdown of the situation mainly in the Muslim regions. Besides, the Amal Movement under Nabih Berri since 1980s stood against the creation of a small state for Palestine and ordered the cession of Palestinian operations, claiming the return of Lebanese authorities to the South.¹⁷⁷ The Israeli invasion started on 6 June 1982. Still, Bashir backed-up by U.S and supported by the Muslims, demanded the cease of Israeli forces for a period of six up to nine months to establish his authority.¹⁷⁸ The president invited all foreign forces to withdraw from Lebanon, giving the opportunity for Lebanese representatives to take control of their regions. Else, the State was a whole and legitimacy couldn't be put in cause. However,

¹⁷⁴ See Walid Phares, "Israel's Alternative Policy in Lebanon", policy paper n.78, **Ariel Center for Policy Research**. 1997,p.4

¹⁷⁵ UN Security Council, Security Council resolution 426 (1978) [Israel-Lebanon], 19 March 1978, S/RES/426 (1978), available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f20628.html> [accessed 1 April 2018]

¹⁷⁶ Noam Chomsky, **Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World**, South End Press, 2002 p.101

¹⁷⁷ Michael N. Schmitt, "Change Direction 2006: Israeli Operations in Lebanon and the International Law of Self-Defense", 29:2, **Mich. J. Int'l L.** 127, 2008, p.130

¹⁷⁸ Fawwad, op. cit. p.222

despite of its intentions of making a peaceful Lebanon, on 14 September 1982, Bashir was murdered.¹⁷⁹

2.2.3. The Third Stage of War (1982-1990)

The third phase of the war comprised the Israel invasion to the TAIF accords, upstanding the national reconciliation and the awake of Hezbollah, an Iranian-backed Shia organization under Israeli occupation while the sectarian rivalries among political parties increased by cause of the wars held in the Mountain in early 1980s as well as by the confrontations/wrangles in the South. This period acknowledged the election of Amin Gemayel as president after the death of his brother.¹⁸⁰

Amin period began with the murdered of Kamal Jumblatt and the Syrian military intervention in Beirut, ending up with the assassination of Bashir Gemayel and Israeli forces overtaking the capital. By August 1983, Amin demanded his troops to occupy west Beirut and its surroundings. By this time, Lebanon was a State divided in two different parts: one aimed negotiate peace with Israeli and other resisting to Israeli occupation. The 1982 Israel invasion, known as “Peace for Galilee” is a continuity of the anterior conflict. According to Israel, the main aim was to define a security zone to put settlement out of the range of Palestinian artillery.¹⁸¹ The attempt to murder the Israel’s ambassador to Great Britain, Shlomo Argov by Abu Nidal group, a Palestinian organization, and despite of PLO not be involved in the assassination of Israeli representative, provoked an offensive attack from Israel. During August 1982, UN forces persisted in Lebanon but they were not able to contend the violent attacks in most of the Lebanese territory. For instance, UNIFIL which arrived to Lebanon for a program of 6 months and ended remaining for long time, was not able to control southern Lebanon and especially Christian zones, major controlled by Israeli forces. On 17 September 1982, the phalange militias entered in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and committed the Sabra and Shatila massacre, killing more than 2,000 Palestinians including women and children. .¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹Ibim, p.224; Louis Kriesberg, **Realizing Peace: A Constructive Conflict Approach**, Oxford University Press, New York, 2015, p.86

¹⁸⁰ Tom Lansford, **Political Handbook of the World 2014**, Sage CQ Press, U.S, 2014, P.818

¹⁸¹ David Sorenson, op.cit. p.23

¹⁸² P.R Kumaraswamy, , **The A to Z Guide Series**, n.66, The Scarecrow Press, UK, 2006, p.192

A final meeting was held between both sides. Amin and Sharon decided to sum up with a peace agreement for Lebanon and Israel. The accord signed on 17 May 1983, defined the termination of the State of war between both countries.¹⁸³ Slowly, Israeli forces were withdrawing from Lebanon. Starting with Alay and Shuf on September 1983, Sidon and the area corresponded to Beirut-Damascus borderline on 17 February 1985, Israel ended the 1982 war. On 28 December, a tripartite agreement was signed in Syria by Jumblatt, Berry and Hubayqa. The accord prevailed Lebanon as an Arab country regarding its identity and autonomy. Also, a couple of bilateral and strategic common treaties were signed between Lebanon and Syria in to favor both countries and support regional sustainability.¹⁸⁴ Amin himself was against those agreements with Syria. He considered that Syrian-Lebanese partnership was favoring Syrian interests and not Lebanese identity and autonomy. Lebanon crisis intensified after the election of Amin Gemayel successor. He picked General Aoun as interim prime minister, but Sunni Muslims did not accept, especially, Salim Al-Hoss refused to recognize Aoun.¹⁸⁵ In the middle of the 1980s, Hariri, a business figure perceived Lebanese politics as a business, and it assumed a fundamental role in mediating the militias after Syrian troops stopping the fights in beginning of 1987. On 28 February 1987, Syrian troops returned to Beirut by the invitation of Muslim leaders and the Israel withdrawal from 1985, contended mostly by Amal movement who suspend most of its activities. The only party who stayed armed was Hezbollah, who continued sponsored by Syrian authorities. By December 1987, I intifada was created in Gaza trip, and counted with PLO as a part of the United National leadership of the uprising. The Palestine National Council (PNC) adopted the Algiers declaration on 15 November 1988, declared the recognition of Palestine State, accepting Arafat authority.¹⁸⁶

Lately, PLO supported Saddam Hussein, which had deteriorated its relation with Arab states.¹⁸⁷ To sum up the situation of Lebanon from the years of 1985 and 1990 explained by a junction of armed mafias who pretended to control every spot in Lebanon,

¹⁸³ Yossi Olmert, "The Lebanese Crisis: The Dangers to Security in The Mediterranean", in **Prospects for Security in the Mediterranean**, edited by Robert O'Neill, International Institute For Strategic Studies Conference papers, 1st edition, The Macmillan Press, U.K, 1998, p. 116

¹⁸⁴ Hassan Krayem, "The Lebanese Civil War and The TAIF Agreement", **American University of Beirut**, available at <http://ddc.aub.edu.lb/projects/pspa/conflict-resolution.html> (accessed: 1.04.2018)

¹⁸⁵ David Commins; David Lesch, **Historical Dictionary of Syria**, 3rd edition, Scarecrow Press, U.K, 2014, p.317

¹⁸⁶ Tom Lansford, op.cit, p.1628

¹⁸⁷ Kumaraswamy, op.cit, p.192

without attacking other forces and respecting the borders and the accords formulated on this period. On February 1988, Hezbollah kidnapped an American marine officer related to United Nations mission and later, two Scandinavian and a German engineer related to Palestinian groups.¹⁸⁸ In this last phase, the implementation of 1989 TAIF agreement is considered the most elaborate and official peace making accord respective to Lebanon, which broadly produced a genuine political reform or social change.¹⁸⁹ The TAIF accords, in few words, aimed to produce a formula to end Civil War, achieve a more stable political system and prepare the withdrawal of international forces outside and inside of Lebanon. Its implementation was delayed till the defeat of Aoun Government in the summer of 1990.

The accords intentions were underlined and traduced by main principles¹⁹⁰

1. Less power attributed to the President. The aim was to avoid the abuse of power and defend the equal distribution;
2. The power would be distributed by Lebanese parliament, giving the opportunity for other political sects to actively participate in the decision-making policies;
3. Parity in the number of parliament seats between Muslims and Christians;
4. Proceed to the disarm of Lebanese militias and settle central government in Beirut;
5. Syrian army active and prepared to intervene in ultimate case;
6. Israel withdrawal from southern Lebanon through the UNSC resolution 425;

Saudi Arabia interference in the accords is cause by two factors. First, becoming a hostage would preserve its place as an internal peacemaker within Arab league States. Second, Saudi Arabia and Syria relations were not improved, then Riyadh could serve as a counterweight to Syrian interference in Lebanon.¹⁹¹ In this order, 62 delegates – half Christians, half Muslims – organized by Saudi Arabia King Fahd ibn Abdul-Aziz al-Saud. The TAIF accords reflected the Syrian triumph in Lebanon and the consolidation of Lebanese State under Syrian headship. The TAIF Accords had two main objectives: establish a new political order in Lebanon and proceed to the ratification of the Lebanese

¹⁸⁸ David Sorenson, op. cit, pp.27-28

¹⁸⁹ Karam, Karam, “The Taif Agreement: New order, old framework”, *Accord: Reconciliation, Reform and Resilience*, **Issue 24**, 2012, pp.36-37

¹⁹⁰ TAIF Agreement (Document of National Accord), 1, 5, 7, 8 available at <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://www.presidency.gov.lb/Arabic/LebaneseSystem/Documents/TaifAgreementEn.pdf> (accessed: 25.03.2018)

¹⁹¹David Sorenson, op. cit, p.29

constitution, which came in September 1990. In fact, the TAIIF accords ended by favor Syrian interests in Lebanon, allowing to Damascus to using a strong position in Lebanese affairs, rather than giving the chance for Lebanese to control and establish their central government authority.

2.3. International Security Intervention in Lebanon (1991-2000)

Three main aspects can define Lebanese Foreign Policy in the Post-Civil War. First, the weakness of an authority and the easy penetration of regional and foreign states in the Lebanese decision-making are important constraints that influence Lebanon. The collapse of LAF during the first stage of Civil and the political groups never regained power as 1943-75 years. Second, the sectarian groups continue to grasp their differences and the disputes increased and are still evident in recent times. Third, and the most important, to perceive the political crisis and the lack of security framework in Lebanon, is the high-maneuvering of regional and foreign actors that to pursue their interests are affecting the conduct of Lebanese as a sovereignty state, and the Lebanese since lack on infrastructure, security and socio-political areas continue to base its affairs on patronage relations that favors their partners interests more than Lebanese State guarantees.¹⁹² Syrian interference in Lebanon is justified by Syria's long term goals respecting to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and assuming the control of Lebanese foreign policy could allow Syrians to dominate Levant region and being a dominant player on Lebanese-Israeli disputes.

Furthermore, the sectarianism suffered major alterations, traduced by the emergence of new political parties, most of them often seen through political militias such Geagea, Aoun or Nabih Berri that were very influence in Lebanese politics. The role of Lebanese Forces continued through politics, although sought a significant reduction of its importance between the post-war till Syrian withdraw in 2005. The Post-war era signified also economic devastation and exacerbated the fragmentation of politics among the sects. The geopolitical changes during the 1990s had influenced the region in multiple ways, inclusive Syrians Lebanese foreign policy in the country. The collapse of Soviet Union and the Syrian stance for U.S policy against Iraq in Kuwait resulted on the renovation of Syrian-U.S alliance, crucial for Syrians interests' vis-à-vis Israel.

¹⁹² Tom Najem, op.cit, p.64

Meantime, Syria hoped to negotiate Golan Heights with Israel, and at the same time, assume a preponderant role in Lebanese affairs. However, the excess of Security marked Israeli domestic policy and it continued to attack Lebanon, in order to prove that Israelis were capable of defending northern Israeli borders.¹⁹³ In this order the regional actors, Syria and Israel were at the centre of the conflict resolution, with the initiation of the Syrian-Israeli negotiations through Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991, as well as, the adoption of the Resolution 242 in August 1992 which concerned the Golan Heights situation, the Resolution 425 dictating the Israeli military dismemberment traduced the definite outset of Southern Lebanon and last but not least the realization of Oslo Accords held on September 1993.¹⁹⁴ In 1991, the Lebanese national assembly demanded the dissolution of all military forces with the exception of Hezbollah. A year later on, Rafiq Hariri is elected prime minister and Nabih Berri becomes the head of speech of National Assembly. Indeed, Israel missed up with the accords and launched the “operation grapes of wrath” in April 1996, against Hezbollah bases in Southern Lebanon, Southern Beirut and also launched the “operation accountability” on July 1993 in the Bekaa region.¹⁹⁵

2.3.1. Madrid Peace Conference (1991)

The Madrid Peace Conference was an attempt by the international community to start a peace process between Israel and the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. Devised by the Government of Spain and sponsored by the United States and the USSR, it started on October 30, 1991 (eight months after the first Gulf War) and lasted three days. The multilateral cooperation discussed issues about the control of armament and regional security, regional economic development, water, environment and refugees.¹⁹⁶ It marked the intention of ending the conflict in major scale. Also, bilateral Syrian-Israel peace talks continued throughout 1990s, but as obvious, most failed into reach a vis-à-vis agreement.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 75-76

¹⁹⁴ Taku Osoegawa, *op.cit*, pp.97-101

¹⁹⁵ Throughout the 1993 accountability operation, Israel goal was to pressure on Lebanese government to take control of the militias in the North of Security zone. 6 days later, the military campaign finished by diplomatic dialogues between Hezbollah and Syria sponsored by U.S, with the aim of not attack the northern part of the Security zone controlled by Israeli forces.

¹⁹⁶ Taku Osoegawa, *op.cit*. p.97

2.3.2. Resolution 242 And 338

The UNSC resolution 242 established on 22 November 1967, proclaimed to end July War 1967 war, being sponsored by Great Britain.¹⁹⁷ The negotiations among the involved countries were tense and understood by ambiguity and unanimous decision approval by the council. Gunner Jarring (1907-2002), Swedish ambassador in Moscow was the United Nations representative for implement the resolution.¹⁹⁸ Egypt and Jordan had accepted initially, due the clause of withdraw of Israel of their territories. However, PLO refused to accept the formation of Israel State, because Palestinians were not ready to lose part of their land. The resolution 242 failed from the disagreement of the different regional countries. Nonetheless, in the aftermath of 1973 October war the UNSC adopted the resolution 338, demanding the implementation and acceptance of resolution 242. Therefore, the UNSC resolution 338 called to put an end to the October 1973 war, in which Israel suffered an unpredictable attack from a secret coalition between Egypt and Syria. The resolutions 339 and 340 ended the conflict, by calling for cease-fire among the parts involved.¹⁹⁹

2.3.3. Resolution 425

The UNSC resolution 425, adopted on March 19, 1978, which main contribute was beyond the implementation of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFL), called for the Israel withdrawal forces from Lebanon and demanded the control of Lebanese government of its own territory.²⁰⁰ It was a response to the “Litani Operation”, a military operation against PLO occupation in Southern Lebanon. Israel withdraws part of its forces, but it kept occupying a great part of southern Lebanon territory. Despite of, in June 1978, Israel accomplish the final withdrawal From Lebanon, four years later invaded it again in 1982.²⁰¹ The obligation of Israel in prevail the prepositions of resolution will be stated in Israel withdrawal on May 2000, precisely, on 16 June 2000 when Security

¹⁹⁷ Joel Peters, David Newman, **The Routledge Handbook on the Israel-Palestinian Conflict**, Routledge, New York, 2013, p.369

¹⁹⁸ Kumaraswamy, op. cit. p. 318

¹⁹⁹ Ernest Tucker, , **The Middle East in Modern World History**, United States Naval Academy, Routledge, New York, 2013, 268

²⁰⁰ On the Lebanese-Israeli deterrence, the UN officially exposed the Israeli concordance with the terms stipulated in the Resolution 425. However, Lebanon refused it since Israel's was still occupying Sheba'a Farms, an area between Lebanon-Israeli borders.

²⁰¹ John H Kelly, “Lebanon: 1982-1984”, Azrael, Jeremy R. and Emil A. Payin, eds., **U.S. and Russian Policymaking With Respect to the Use of Force**, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, CF-129-CRES, 1996, p.88

Council confirmed the official Israeli obligations. It should be mentioned that UNIFIL, with headquarters in Naqura, was initially tasked monitor the territories bounded by the Israeli-Lebanon border in the south, the Litani river in the North, the Mediterranean Sea in the West, and the Lebanon-Syria border in the East.²⁰²

The intervention of UNIFIL in Lebanon presupposed to restore international peace and security, plus, it pretended to cease the conflict and allow the Lebanese government to regain control over Southern Lebanon.²⁰³ Regardless the efforts of UNIFIL, it could not stop the emergence of Shiite movement such as AMAL or Hezbollah, plus, PLO and SLA that operated in UNIFIL areas. Additionally, UNIFIL forces were unable to intervene in Christian zone, mostly because a security zone settled and controlled by SLA and Israel. Despite of this, UNIFIL is one of the largest peacekeeping operations promoted by United Nations. It participated in the Israeli invasion 1982, in the military offensives in the years of 1993 and 1996 (Accountability operation and Grapes of Wrath operation) and in the Kfar Kana Massacre that killed a severe number of Lebanese civilians. In the aftermath of Israeli withdrawal on May 2000, UNIFIL forces number was reduced from 7,000 to 4,500, and by 2002 it had stabilized at 2,000 troops.²⁰⁴

2.3.4. Oslo Accords (1993)

The Oslo agreements were a conjoint of negotiated pacts between the Israeli Government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which acted as the representative of the Palestinian people. They signed in 1993 as part of the peace process between Palestinians and Israelis.²⁰⁵ The Oslo accords is not a peace treaty, instead effectively represents an interim agreement in order to cease the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Israel accepted to withdraw from Most of Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho by middle of 1994, while Palestinians would concede the chance of form its proper government once Israeli forces withdraws.²⁰⁶ Oslo II, incorporated on September 28, 1995 was a continuity of the initiation settlements, which were majorly, not accomplish by both

²⁰²David H Goldberg, Bernard Reich, **Historical Dictionary of Israel**, Scarecrow Press, 2008, p.513

²⁰³ Kumaraswamy, op.cit, p.274

²⁰⁴ Kumaraswamy, P.275

²⁰⁵ Mainly, The Oslo declaration of Principles (DOP), signed on September 13, 1993, in the White House under the Bill Clinton administration.

²⁰⁶ Betty S Anderson, **History of the Middle East: Rulers, Rebels, and Rogues**, Stanford University Press, 2016, p.437

parts.²⁰⁷ To aggravate the situation, the murdered of Israeli Prime-Minister Rabin in November 1995 and the election of Benjamin Netanyahu, a representative of Likud Party would change the brief peace agreed in Oslo. A shift in Israeli foreign policy began with the intentions of Netanyahu in ratify the Israel position and undermine the beginning of Israeli-Palestinian war²⁰⁸. Peace would not be achieved until Israeli goals were completed achieved. Netanyahu policies were against a formation of Palestine Statehood as well as claimed the withdrawal from occupied territories.

3. HARIRI ASSASSINATION: SYRIA-LEBANON RELATIONS AND THE RISE OF HEZBOLLAH AS POLITICAL PARTY (2000-2011)

Syria as Lebanon, passed for important political and regional transformations until it formulates a consolidate foreign policy. Before the President Hafiz Al-Assad, it is not correct to admit that Syria had a strong foreign policy. Solely, during the 1970s, Syrian foreign policy gained importance on regional plan. For instance, the alliance with Sadat into strategically plan the October 1973 war against Israel, in order to regain the territories lost in the 1967 vicissitude, the proximity to U.S and the future regional alliances with both Arab countries and European powers as well as the focus on central Arab policies such Lebanese war of 1976 intervened and the supporting of Iran in Iran-Iraq war of 1980-1989, all these factors showed the role and the power of Syrian politics in the Middle East.

The Islamic uprising of 1978-1982, turned Syria into a political dispute and forced Hafiz al-Assad to destroy its armed partisans in Hama in February 1982.²⁰⁹ Syrian security strategy in Lebanon is conduct by Syrian influence in the pro-Syrian Lebanese politicians to pressure Israel government to withdraw from Southern Lebanon. In the late of 1986, Syria faced various domestic and foreign challenges, largely on the economy, not to mention, the important role of the Syrian regime on Arab-Israeli dispute corresponding to Syrian diplomatic efforts on the elaboration of Egyptian-Israeli Peace and being concerned in the Iran-Iraq war resolution. Henry Kissinger demonstrated well the Middle East situation among 1970-2000 with his famous quote: “you can’t make war in the Middle East without Egypt and you can’t make peace without Syria” which shows clearly the Arab-

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p.438

²⁰⁸ Netanyahu policy is centralized in contend any kind of threat to the existence of Israel. During 2000s, he adopted a strong offensive policy towards the Palestinians, and inclusively opposed to Iran’s nuclear development program, a potential regional power in the region.

²⁰⁹ Seth Wikas, *Battling the Lion of Damascus: Syria’s Domestic opposition and the Assad Regime*, **the Washington Institute For Near East Policy**, policy focus #69, 2007, P.1

Israeli conflict and the critical Israeli geographical position in the region.²¹⁰ During the 1990s, Syria and Lebanon sought their economies intertwined beyond Syrian political elites strengthen partnership with Lebanese businessman.

The Lebanese-Syrian relation was well expressed on July 20, 1976, when Hafiz Al-Assad declared “Historically, Syrian and Lebanon are one country and one people”.²¹¹ That marked the refusal of established Syrian-Lebanese diplomatic relations, since Syria did not recognize their common border as an international division between two independent States.²¹² The “father Assad” international policy shifted due the events that marked the 1990s, particularly, we see the Syrian-U. S closed ties with Washington and support the U.S effort to expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The “operation Desert Storm” aftermath saw U.S-Assad Alliance by the Syrian attendance into the conferences throw Arab-Israeli conflict resolution. Syrian foreign policy main achievements were the right of Pax Syriana in Lebanon and to obtain financial aid from the Gulf States but Golan Heights remained Israeli Territory. The TAIF accords allowed Syria the control over Lebanese politics and put politicians under its dominance, either were a favor or not of Syrian dominance in the country.

Syrians forced Lebanese to sign two different deals in order to make officially Lebanese state under Syrian patronage: The Brotherhood, Cooperation, and Coordination Treaty between both republics on May 1991 and the Lebanon-Syria Defense and Security Agreement on July 1991, on Defense, Security and foreign policy strategies allied to socio-economic areas.²¹³ Throughout the year of 2000, Syrian foreign policy and most precisely Syrian domestic politics saw a change in its system structure in the aftermath of Hafiz Al-Assad death. The Bashar Al-Assad period began in the posterior well-called Damascus Spring of 2000-2001, known for the critics and opposition, by demands of legal, political and economic reforms, part of them introduced already before the withdrawal .Bashar al-Assad was prepared to assume the charge of president since it was the legal political leader of the Baath Party. Despite of the easy ascension to power, the new president was involved

²¹⁰ M. Daoudy (2008) ‘A Missed Chance for Peace: Israel and Syria’s Negotiations over the Golan Heights’, **Journal of International Affairs**, vol. 61, (2) pp. 215-234.

²¹¹ Hafiz Assad, Speech delivered to the Syrian provincial councils on 20 July 1976, In: Rabinovich, Itamar (ed.) *The War for Lebanon 1970-1985*. Ithaca, Ny: Cornell University Press, pp.201-236

²¹² Reuven Erlich, “ The Syrian order in Lebanon (1975-2005): Lebanon as a Syrian satellite during the Hafez Assad regime and the weakening of Syria’s hegemony under Bashar Assad”, *Special Information Bulletin, Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, CSS*, 2005, p.2

²¹³ Nawaf Salam, op.cit, p.108

in regional conflicts and the continuity of Syrian foreign policy during his father was not possible to pursue. Since 2000, Syria has been struggling against the sanctions of U.S towards Iraq invasion and Syrian-Lebanese status adopted by UNSC resolutions, which accused Syria, as well as, the deep pressure of U.S to Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, mainly, in the aftermath of Hariri Assassination on 14 February 2005. Besides, the international eventual situation had consequences on the domestic level, substantially, in the aftermath of Iraq war, in which 1 million refugees fled to Syria.

In fact, in foreign and security policy, Assad followed its father's former advisors. Nonetheless, Bashar perceived Syrian foreign policy into a complexity, relation of regional and international politics with security domestic interests. The shift of Syrian policies did not change the Syrian regional priorities towards Arab-Israel conflict and Lebanon. The Israel's unilateral withdrawal changed the geopolitics of Syrian-Israeli conflict and raised political costs of Syria's presence in Lebanon. Despite of maintaining Syrian intelligence forces in Lebanon, the reason for overstaying in Lebanon had finished. Without Israel controlling Southern Lebanon and fighting Palestinians, Syrian interference in Lebanon as security prone were no more necessary. Notwithstanding, Syria kept its involvement in Lebanese politics, although, reduced its interference in Lebanese political affairs.²¹⁴ The rise of Hezbollah as a political party became an issue of Syrian Foreign policy that supported the pro-Iranian militia in order to promote domestic political stability. The Syrian presidents preceded to a creation of the political elite with a loyal base within the main constituents of the system, which are Baath Party, administration and security apparatus. The American foreign policy conducted under Bush administration targeted Syria as one of the main responsible for Lebanese crisis, exerting pressure towards a possible Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon.²¹⁵

For instance, the House of Representatives passed H.R.1828 - Syrian Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003, signed in November 2003 during Bush Administration, with exceptional amendments, turned into law on 12 November 2003 and declared towards Syrian regime the "...Syrian support for terrorism, an end to its occupation in Lebanon, and stop its development of weapons of mass

²¹⁴ William Harris, Syria in Lebanon, Middle East Research and Information Project, MER134, 2017, available at <https://www.merip.org/mer/mer134/syria-lebanon> (web: 20.02.2018)

²¹⁵ Erlich, op.cit, p.28

destruction”.²¹⁶ On 11 May 2004, White House implemented the H.R.1828 bill, which included, a part of what was mentioned, the cease of Syrian military or other kind of supplies to Iraq, as it did on the Eve of Operation Iraqi freedom, condemned the Syrian activities during and in aftermath of Iraq war 2003, accusing Syrian Government of not “...transfer the approximately \$200 million in frozen Iraqi assets that remain in Syrian banks to Development Fund of Iraq (DFI), as required under United National Security Council Resolution 1483 (2003)”.²¹⁷

The U.S and France in cooperation with United Nations, put effort when in September 2, 2004 the UNSC 1559 was formulated in order to expel, conclusively, the Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias. The UNSC 1559 was the reflex of the continuity of the sentences defined in the UNSC 425, although, it exacerbated with more precision the rejection of any interference in Lebanon, and particularly, in south Lebanon. On the other hand, Lebanese government enable of controlling and carrying out its own responsibilities took Fitzgerald report to declare “The Lebanese security services have demonstrated serious and systematic negligence in carrying out the duties usually performed by a professional national security apparatus”.²¹⁸ To conclude, the main target was affecting Hezbollah military capability and demand free and fair presidential elections in the country, serving as a response to Syria failure.²¹⁹ The country was separated into two main camps: firstly, the Bristol camp which comprised the Christian groups such Lebanese forces and phalanges and the Druze Progressive Socialist Party, supporting Hariri and the Sunni elites, against any Syrian interference in Lebanon issues; secondly, the Ain El Tireh camp, involving Syrian loyalists, the Shiite groups as Hezbollah and Amal Movement and other Druze and Maronite personalities, contesting the UNSC and Western imperialism. Further, the international community, notably the U.S had developed strong diplomatic efforts; by endorse close ties with anti-Syrian and anti-Israeli Lebanese politicians towards a new Lebanon State.

²¹⁶ “Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act”, *Pub. L. 108-175, 2003*. Available at <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-108publ175/content-detail.html> (web:15.02.2018)

²¹⁷ UN Security Council, *Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) [on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait]*, 22 May 2003, S/RES/1483 (2003), available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3f45dbe70.html> (accessed 13 May 2018)

²¹⁸ Fitzgerald’s investigation, III. Concluding remarks and recommendations, para.60 at <http://domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/79cd8aaa858fdd2d85256fd500536047?OpenDocument> (web: 25.03.2018)

²¹⁹ Tom Najem, *op.cit*, p.90

Syrian role in Lebanon continued even after the release of the UNSC resolutions and pressure of international community, and despite of the beginning of Middle East conflict, Syria pursued its foreign policy, shifted into a partnership with Iraq, instead of backup United States.²²⁰ The U.S-Syrian relations had been affecting due the resignation from Syrian government in support U.S policies towards Iraq. The two Kuwait wars, where Syria stood by U.S, caused many damages and terrible consequences in overall levels. In Lebanon, the anti-Syrian discontentment showed by Lebanese society, main played by Christian, Druze and Sunni community. Either Bashar Al Assad had withdrawn all its forces, Syrian army or security intelligence forces from the regions of Beirut and Tripoli.²²¹ Exactly after the Israel withdrawal, civilians started to reject Syrian presence in the country when Syria tried to interfere in the Lebanese elections, mainly in the case of Syrian loyalist president Emile Lahoud.²²²

3.1. 2000 Unilateral Israel's Withdrawal

During the first years of 2000, Lebanese politics changed because of the withdrawal and disarm of Lebanese, foreign and regional military forces, as well as, by the Israeli foreign policy decision in retire its troops from Lebanon. The Unilateral withdraw was the name given for the new foreign policy adopted by the prime minister Ehud Barak (1999-2001), that by doing so, thought change Middle East conflict and bring Peace to the region.²²³ One of the most important deals of Barak was to established peaceful relations with regional forces such as Palestinian organizations and Syrian government and solves the conflict in Lebanon, and respectively, to find a common interest end for the Lebanese crisis.²²⁴ Despite its efforts in finding a common reconciliation that could end the regional crisis, a possible agreement with Syria failed, especially, when Israel initiated negotiations with Syria in Geneva on March 2000. The same appeared during the Camp David Summit with Palestinians two months later. A major part of Palestinians groups (including the

²²⁰ Raymond Hinnebusch, "Syria-Iraq Relations: State Construction and Deconstruction and The MENA States System", **LSE Middle East Centre**, paper series 04, 2014, P.19-20

²²¹ Reuven Erlich, op.cit, p.30

²²² Imad Salamey, **The Government and Politics of Lebanon**, London: Routledge, 2003, p.63

²²³ Tom Najem, "Palestinian-Israeli Conflict in South Lebanon", op.cit, 4006-4009

²²⁴ Charles Freilied, "Israel in Lebanon – Getting it Wrong: The 1982 Invasion, 2000 Withdrawal, and 2006 War", **Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs**, vol.VI:3, 2012, p.45

leader Arafat) refused to sign or making any kind of peace-talk with Israel.²²⁵

The unilateral withdrawal decision was a “result of grassroots political pressure, not a strategic design”.²²⁶ At the end, Hezbollah remained armed and maintained its stance against Israel.²²⁷ In the end of the 1982 Israel invasion, Hezbollah had fired 4.000 rockets into Israel and possessed an arsenal of about 7,000 more.²²⁸ Israeli forces lost ground to Hezbollah militia and keeping a status quo in Golan Heights would be better than reinitiate another conflict with Hezbollah. As Iran, the main sponsor of the “Party of God”, Lebanon was a sole opportunity to grab Israel forces exactly in its borders. In this segment, Israel forces withdrawal in 24 May 2000, in accordance of National Security Council Resolution 425, which defined the anti-Syrian awakening, and called for non-Israeli interference in a de facto military and financial aid.²²⁹ In Lebanon, the Druze, Sunni Muslims and Christians led the opposition. On the contrary, Hezbollah allied with Syria lost its internal Lebanese legitimacy. Nonetheless, the Middle East context during the new millennium perceived through 11 September 2001 attacks, the Iraq war of 2003, and the Afghanistan war. Later during the summer of 2000, Israeli-Palestinian relations brokered afterwards, due the formation of Intifada II, as General Ariel Sharon managed to regain the power government for Likud party and restart the bloody conflict, ending with 1,500 Palestinian and other 500 Israeli lives.²³⁰

3.2. The Political Rise of Hezbollah

To understand the passage of Hezbollah and its importance in the aftermath of Cold war, it is important to consider its origins. Hezbollah initiated its military operations immediately after the 1982 Israel’s invasion. From 1985-2000 the “Party of God” faced two different phases before and after the establishment of TAIF Lebanese Republic. In one side, during the 1980s, Hezbollah was attached to the Shiite belief system introduced by Ayatollah Khomeini, emerging as a violent paramilitary resistance force and most of its actions were not well-seen by the Lebanese politicians. Although, slowly we assisted to the

²²⁵ *Ibid*, p.45

²²⁶ *Ibid*, p.61

²²⁷ Tom Najem, “Lebanon: The politics of a penetrated State..” p.77

²²⁸ Charles Freilied, op.cit, p.44

²²⁹ Reuven Erlich, op. Cit,p.28

²³⁰ Jeff Halper, “The Second Battle of Gaza: Israel’s Undermining of International Law”, MRonline, 2010. Web: <https://mronline.org/2010/02/26/the-second-battle-of-gaza-israels-undermining-of-international-law/> (10.03.2017)

integration of the militia group through Lebanese political sphere, and the main evidence was visible during the Lebanese Parliament elections in 1992.²³¹ The TAIF agreement did not affect Hezbollah military activity, due to Syrian-Iranian summit in 1991. The support of Shiite regional countries and main players on Lebanese ground contributed directly to the rise of Hezbollah's active political and security and its image throughout a resistance force in Lebanon. For Hezbollah was important to keep itself armed, in order to, occupy and control part of Lebanese territory and most important, to defend it against Israel that was gaining control of South Lebanon.

By the end of 1990s, Hezbollah, considered an organized paramilitary group of resistance, ameliorating its war capabilities through discipline and using guerrilla and tactic within a coherent structural leadership.²³² Sidon was the region per excellence that Hezbollah choose, due its manipulation and proximity to Southern Lebanon. As obvious, the success of the military campaigns of Hezbollah in Lebanese land was mainly in the regions that supported its main purposes towards the country, that is, an Israel withdrawal. Hezbollah was successful in maintain Lebanese territory independent from International and regional interference. On the other hand, Israel had two options that it had to face: increasing the contingent of its army and continue its military operations or to proceed to the withdrawal of its own forces peacefully from Southern Lebanon. The Israeli withdrawal in May 2000 led without intention, after 6 years, to the Hezbollah-Israeli war 2006. In other words, the end of Lebanese war did not stop Hezbollah operations, especially in Southern Lebanon and South Beirut. Indeed, the Party of God focused into regain other territories to Lebanon such Sheba farms located in Mount Hermon and Kfarshouba Hills.²³³

The unilateral withdrawal of IDF, without an accord, authorized Hezbollah to claim that, disarm of Israel was irrelevant because the role of the resistance forces would about to be conclude, as long as, Israel held Lebanese lands. Few days after the withdrawal, Hezbollah attacked Sheba farms and declared its intention of continue the resistance

²³¹Masarat ,“Understanding the Rise of Lebanese Hezbollah”, , Jumada I-II, 1437, *KFCRIS*, 2016, p.6, available at <https://www.kfcris.com/pdf/419768fb702cb9b7c2e8a6230de78e8957cdeea154ca3.pdf> (web: 30.03.2018)

²³² For more information see Iver Gabrielsen “The evolution of Hezbollah's strategy and military performance”, 1982–2006, *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 25:2, 2014, pp.260-261.

²³³ Asher Kaufman, “The Israel-Hezbollah Conflict and the Shebaa Farms”, *The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies*, policy brief no.13, 2006, p.2

movement in this situation.²³⁴ The Sheba farms served as a tentative of extending the Lebanese-Israeli conflict. Sheba farms in triborder of Syria, Lebanon and Israel, the status of this 25-square-kilometer (10-square-mile) remain controversial.²³⁵ Based on UNIFIL, U.N endorsed that Israeli the Israeli claiming of owing it, while Syria allied with Hezbollah claim and refuted by attributing Sheba farms into Syrian territory at the time of June 1967 war.²³⁶ The recuperation of Sheba farms was an important aim of Hezbollah regional policy and its leader, Nasrallah, has referred it many times. A compromise between both parts was out of question. The Sheba farms dealing were also present in the Lebanese National Dialogue Forum 2006.²³⁷

Lately, after Syrian Withdrawal of Lebanon, and Israel outside of Lebanon, Hezbollah got involved into Lebanese politics and became a political party. Politically, most of Hezbollah decisions have influence of Iran and Syria, its main financial and military supporters. Hezbollah that owns also a propaganda channel named Al Manas, which also influences Lebanese civilians to follow its movement and suggest possible donations used for terrorism operations.²³⁸ Hezbollah is suspect of giving military assistance to Palestinian terrorist groups, mostly due Iranian and Syrian support. The Hezbollah financial of military terrorist operations is proven by an investigation led by Israel Security Agency that uncovered a Hezbollah-financed and guided terrorist infrastructure inside of Israel State. For instance, from October 10, 2000 until July 20, 2004, Hezbollah attacked Israel multiple times. Hezbollah leadership proclaimed three main objectives underlined by Nasrallah: first, Hezbollah represented an Islamic movement as Lebanese National Party; second, Hezbollah would support national identity, resistance movement and release Lebanese prisoners from Israeli “security zone” and thirdly Hezbollah affirmed that Lebanon would not give any security guarantees to Israel. However, Hariri’s daily political agenda that called for the incumbency of peace between Arab World and Israel was an opposition against Hezbollah goals towards Lebanese Integrity. The November 2006 opposition against the Fouad Siniora government

²³⁴ Nathalie Tocci, “ what Went Wrong?: The Impact of Western Policies Towards Hamas and Hizbollah”, **Centre For European Policy Studies**, policy brief n.135, 2007, p.2

²³⁵ Alfred B. Prados, “The Shib’a Farms Dispute and Its Implications”, CRS Report for Congress, **Library of Congress**, 2001, p.1

²³⁶ kumaraswamy, p.243

²³⁷ Eitan Azani, “Hezbollah: The Story of the Party of God: From Revolution to Institutionalization”, **Palgrave Macmillan**, New York, 2009, p.226

²³⁸ The channel, however, created a home for many employees and integrated the labor unions; farmer groups, Lebanese workers federation, as well as, absorbed the interest of academicians and students.

established on 2005 led the Shiite groups rise to power in the Lebanese area, especially Hezbollah. The March 14 alliance leaders” accused Hezbollah of Dragging Lebanon into an unnecessary war and of serving the Syrian and Iranian interests”.²³⁹ Even after the death of Mr. Hariri, Hezbollah gained two ministries positions during Siniora government, which was a closer friend with the ex-prime-minister, and reciprocally received the support of Lebanese government in its role as a resistance movement force in Lebanon.²⁴⁰ To conclude this part, “The absence of Syrian forces in Lebanon allowed Hezbollah and the Iranians a wider maneuvering space in order to consolidate Hezbollah’s military strength and ability and turn it into the strongest military force in Lebanon”.²⁴¹

3.3. 2005 Hariri’s Assassination Vacuum and Syrian Withdrawal Process

Rafiq Hariri was the Lebanese prime minister from 1992-1998 and 2000-2004. In overall, Hariri is referring as the leader of Lebanese reconstruction during Post-Civil Era. Due the strong international and domestic support, Hariri became a reference in Lebanese economic sphere, equal to Damascus influence in Lebanon, through a closer relation with western and Lebanese authorities that sought on Mr. Hariri an opportunity to mold Lebanese political economy. U.S established closer ties with Hariri and, meanwhile, the U.S-Syrian relations affected due Syrian position within U.S invasion in Iraq.²⁴² Hariri used to defend the presence in Syria in matters of securitization and it was against a possible Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. However, the Israel withdrawal in 2000 changed the shift in geopolitics of Middle East, which included Syria, as well; Hariri position towards Syrian interference in Lebanon had changed dramatically. International players strongly intervened, and targeted Syria as a terrorist country, decided to manipulate Lebanese, and interfere in decision-making policies. The influence of western powers exacerbated the Lebanese crisis and eradicated the political instability in Lebanon. Hariri played a strategic role in security and military apparatus. He was not a strategist or a General as Emile Lahoud or Michel Aoun for instance, but he understood the importance of keep Lebanon save and avoid a third civil war. It is important also to refer that most of armed groups in Lebanon had a pro-Syrian basis and a small provocation to Syria or Shiite community would immediately put Lebanon into a bloody war. In other words, Syrian

²³⁹ Azani, op.Cit, P.229

²⁴⁰ Norton, op.Cit, P.484

²⁴¹ Azani, op.cit, p.235

²⁴² Youssef Basil, “The Iraq War: Operations, Causes and Consequences”, **IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (JHSS)**, Vol.4: 5, 2012, p.41

withdraw from Lebanon would not be possible by domestic agreements, as well as, it was not peaceful through pressure of international community, including the UNSC resolutions and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) under U.S Bush administration.²⁴³ U.S policy directed to combat Terrorism and their rivals in the Middle East, including Syria.²⁴⁴

A powerful explosion affected mortally a group of Muslim Sunnis, including the prime minister Rafiq Hariri. Various factors led to the Assassination of Mr. Hariri and the consequences relentlessly had bad repercussions in Syrian domestic and foreign policies. On 14 February 2005 the murdered of Mr. Hariri led to the critics to Syrian regime, considered the principal suspect according to 1595 and 1636 UNSC resolutions.²⁴⁵ The Lebanese crisis had started even before the death of Hariri. In first instance, the pro-Syrian Lebanese Government of Omar Karami step down and it followed, on 19 April 2005 by an interim represented by the national unity government that established future national elections within a month.²⁴⁶ Syrian troops withdrawal on April 26, 2005. Simultaneously, following the UNSC resolution 1595 and 1636, an UN-finding mission arrived in Lebanon for background inquiries, transposing the Security Council the United Nations International Independent Investigation commission (UNIIC) to probe the Assassination of the former prime minister. The resolution resulted on the formation of International Independent Investigation of the Crime.²⁴⁷

The investigation results were against Bashar al Assad and Syrian intervention in Lebanon. Accordingly, five steps are important to notice:

- Syrian authority in Lebanon was not contested before the withdrawal;
- Mr. Lahoud office would end on 2004. Mr. Hariri hoped to regain control of his government;
- Syrian government pretended to support the extension of Lahoud government;

²⁴³ Karim Makdisi, Constructing Security Council Resolution 1701 for Lebanon in the Shadow of the ‘War on Terror’, **International Peacekeeping**, vol.18:1, 2011, pp.8-9.

²⁴⁴ Tom Najem, op.cit, 89

²⁴⁵ Alfred B. Prados, “Lebanon”, CRS Issue Brief for Congress, Congressional Research Service, **The Library of Congress**, 2006,Pp. .4-6

²⁴⁶ Hilal Khaskan, “Saad Hariri’s Moment of Truth”, **Middle East Quarterly**, vol.18:1, 2011, p.66

²⁴⁷ See S.C. Res. 1595, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1595 (APRIL 7,2005) available at http://www.un.org/Docs/se/unsc_resolutions05.htm (22.03.2018)

- The 1559 resolution (2004) had the intensive incentive of Mr. Hariri;
- Mr. Lahoud term was extended for more 3 years. Mr. Hariri resigned

On May 2005, the 14 March alliance formed and the government led under Premiership of Fouad Siniora. At the same time, Michel Aoun had returned from exile, initially joined 14 March alliance, but soon rejected after proposal of sharing Christian leadership with the coalition. Therefore, his Free Patriotic movement (FPM) remained independent for short period, until Aoun enjoying the Pro-Syrian March 8 Alliance.²⁴⁸ The investigation about Hariri's Assassination was a procedure that undertook international and regional interference in Lebanon, and particularly, affected Syrian regional policies in Lebanon. For instance, Mehlis rapport in December 2005 exposed 19 suspects and denounced Syrian officials for their lack of cooperation.²⁴⁹ Contrarily, Hezbollah and Syria denied any involvement on the murder of ex-prime-minister and criticized the influence and pressure of U.S and France to fight against Damascus.

The resolution 1559, mentioned before, had an important contribution of Mr. Hariri. The pressure of Syrian withdrawal was not just a foreign interest, but also it advocates regional and domestic interests. Since the Israeli withdrawal, Lebanese politicians and civilians as well, decided to establish a stable Lebanon, without exogenous interference. The Syrian withdrawal process and consequently the assassination of Hariri marked the first years of tensions between Syria and Lebanon. The international context and the shift of policies, main caused by the transformation of geopolitics in Middle East region, would impact the role of Syria in Lebanon. However, the Hariri murder changed also Lebanese domestic politics. It had brought the division into two different blocks, one supporting the Hariri policies and the other defending a pro-Syrian leadership in Lebanon.

The consequences of Hariri brutal assassination, led spontaneously to the so-call Cedar Revolution or "independence Intifada", occurred mainly in Beirut between the dates of 14 February-10 April 2005.²⁵⁰ The dates of 8 March and 14 March were crucial to the formation of two main collations: 8 March (pro-Syrian) and 14 March (pro-Hariri), which

²⁴⁸ Imad Salamey, op.cit, p. 65

²⁴⁹ See the S.C.RES 1595 (2005), "The Lebanese Constitution", Report of the International Independent Investigation Commission Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1595 (2005) pp.13-14 available at <http://www.un.org/news/dh/docs/mehlisreport/pdf/investigation.pdf> (23.03.2018)

²⁵⁰ Tom Najem, op.cit, p.91

marked an important step to the definition of Lebanese Sovereignty and an organized evolution inside of Lebanese domestic politics. During the same year, the return of Aoun from exile on 7 May 2005, and the release of Geagea two months later, appeared at a first perspective a hope to restore Lebanese political system under Christian leadership.

Syrian guidance in Lebanon as a regional authority slowly turned into a complicated relationship between Damascus and Beirut. The Syrian violation settlements of TAIFF agreement, in transforming Lebanon into a semi-authoritarian rule under Syria disrespected the Consociational political system, which was adopted in Lebanon after the Independence period. The Pax Syriana, which was officially, recognized by the May 1991 Treaty of Brotherhood and Cooperation and by the September 1991 Defense and Security Agreement, allowed Syria to control Lebanese issues in matters of foreign and domestic choices. The Hariri-Assad relations deteriorated when Hariri refused the Syrian demands of extending the mandate of Emile Lahoud for more three years.²⁵¹ Ever since, Hariri put his faith in International community while Syria relied on his allies to contend Hariri Pro-Western policies in Lebanon. Syrian president Assad knew that a possible victory of Hariri, would threat Syrian interests and allow United States to interfere in Syria in the way U.S intervened in Iraq. Defending Syrian interests was urgent, not only to maintain his status in Lebanon, but also to contain U.S of being more involved on Middle East issues. Washington and Damascus disagreement on Iraq, as well as, in the support and raise of paramilitary groups of resistance such as Hezbollah, Hamas, Fatah, sponsored partly by Shiite regional powers and Russia underline as terrorists under WMD program, contributed to Lebanon instability.

Due the intensive international pressure, Syria withdraws his forces conclusively on 26 April, 2005. Lebanon faced the challenge of define Lebanese policies under Lebanese. With no Syria around, Lebanon had the liberty to define its political system without exterior interference. The situation aggravated to Syrian government when it was accused of murder Mr. Hariri, by the UNSC 1636, adopted on 31 October, which ..."was established to register individuals designated by the International Independent

²⁵¹ Robert G. Rabil, "Has Hezbollah's Rise Come at Syria's Expense ?", **Middle East Quarterly**, vol.14:4, 2007. Available at <https://www.meforum.org/articles/2007/has-hezbollah-s-rise-come-at-syria-s-expense> (01.04.2017)

Investigation Commission (the “Commission”) or the Government of Lebanon as suspected of involvement in the 14 February 2005 terrorist bombing in Beirut, Lebanon that killed former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri and 22 others”.²⁵²

A national dialogue conference proposed where Lebanon integrity and sovereignty served as the central point of discussing among political groups, as well as, the continuity of Hariri Assassination investigation and the challenges to face towards the reconstruction of pro-Syrian withdraw period. Although, main security measures were not established, culminating in the disagreements among the political parties, aggravating again political instability in the country. Lately, the elections of May 2005 gave the victory to 14 March Alliance, forming a government led by Fouad Siniora.²⁵³ Nonetheless, the Hezbollah-Amal cooperation took to the creation of March Alliance, which ended by destabilize once more Lebanese politics. Additionally, the return of Christian leaders Aoun and Geagea, old enemies during the 1990s, showed the game politics under Christian community, which failed when a share of power was proposed to Michel Aoun, that rejected immediately.

3.4. Hezbollah-Israeli War 2006

Hezbollah rising in Lebanon as a political and military militia exacerbated the Lebanese aspirations, culminating partly in the confrontation between Hezbollah and Israel in 2006. Further, the fragile Siniora’s government faced the indirect disputes between the pro and anti-Syrian politicians over the UN-Sponsored investigation on the Mr. Hariri Assassination. The origin of the Israeli war of 2006, it was a reaction of Israel to the attacks of Israeli army, launched by Hezbollah soldiers, on 12 July 2006, which killed three Israeli soldiers and arrested two more individuals.²⁵⁴ The war impacted Lebanese infrastructure, included the Beirut Rafiq Hariri International Airport, which suffered damages as well as it had destroyed a massive part of what had been reconstruct during Hariri period. Once again, the conflict, which lasted for solely five weeks, known as the “July war”, ended with the adoption of another resolution, the UNSC resolution 1701

²⁵² S.C. Res. 1636, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1636 (2005) available at <https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1636> (24.03.2018)

²⁵³ Oren Barak, **The Lebanese Army : A National Institution in a Divided Society**, Suny Press, New York, p.189

²⁵⁴ Özlem Tür, “The Lebanese War of 2006: Reasons and Consequences”, **Perceptions**, 2007, p.109

defined on 11 August 2006.²⁵⁵ Hezbollah guaranteed the political victory from the war by declaring military superiority vi-a-vis with Israel and criticizing the Siniora Government.²⁵⁶

In fact, the resolution 1701 was an intentional measure for applying the 1559 resolution, which called for a “permanent ceasefire and a long-term solution” based on “full respect for Blue Line” and “security arrangements to prevent the resumption of hostilities, including the establishment between the Blue Line and the Litani River of an area free of any armed personnel, assets and weapons other than those of the government of Lebanon and of UNIFIL”.²⁵⁷ It also called for the disarmament of non-state armed groups, withdrawal of Israel from Southern Lebanon, and most important, it promoted the reinsertion of UNIFIL alongside with Lebanese army in a range of 15 Kilometers from Southern Lebanon’s border.²⁵⁸ The resolution 1701 was the reflection of the U.S-France diplomatic relations victory and its implementation was crucial cause it showed the international community intention in establish peace in Lebanon and disarm regional and international forces in Southern Lebanon. Although, weak governance prevailed, and the political representatives were not able to consolidate power and constitute a sovereign state in Lebanon, culminating in the aggravation of domestic instability. The resolution involved regional powers as well, since, U.S interests were necessary to implement and few conditions should involve those countries.

At regional level, Israel should withdraw his forces and not violate Lebanese territorial autonomy.²⁵⁹ As for Syria, its connections with Hezbollah and the ambiguous relation with U.S, including the accusations surround the assassination of Mr. Hariri and posterior the U.N sanctions process involvement, brought it to the Middle East Peace process. By including Iran in the Middle East peace process, U.S allied with UN Security Council pretended to assume an important role on Iran’s nuclear development program,

²⁵⁵ Recalling all its previous resolutions on Lebanon, in particular resolutions 425 (1978), 426 (1978), 520 (1982), 1559 (2004), 1655 (2006) 1680 (2006) and 1697 (2006), as well as the statements of its President on the situation in Lebanon, in particular the statements of 18 June 2000 (S/PRST/2000/21), of 19 October 2004 (S/PRST/2004/36), of 4 May 2005 (S/PRST/2005/17), of 23 January 2006 (S/PRST/2006/3) and of 30 July 2006 (S/PRST/2006/35)

²⁵⁶ Tom Najem, op.cit., p.99

²⁵⁷ Karim Makdisi & Timur Göksel, Hans Bastian Hauck, Stuart Reigeluth, “UNIFIL II: Emerging and Evolving European Engagement in Lebanon and the Middle East, **EuroMesco**, no.76, 2009, p.22

²⁵⁸ Imad Salamey,op. cit, p.69

²⁵⁹ Özlem Tür, op.cit, p.118

which reached solely in July 2015, and particularly, prevent his support of Hezbollah paramilitary activities in Lebanon. Hezbollah-Israel rivalry continued to affect Lebanon in the posterior years. Inclusively, regional interests overrated in the aftermath of the Doha Agreement, whereas Syria, Iran and Gulf States, particularly intervene as mediator actors in order to once again establish Peace and restore Lebanon political integrity. The Hezbollah position remained the same: avoiding any advance of Israel and preserve Lebanese territory with a Shiite majority. Indeed, Hezbollah, as a political party, was not an easy settlement for the paramilitary group. Israel, on the other hand, continued fighting against any kind of armed forces in Lebanon, in order, not to lose it acquired territories gained during the Arab-Israeli wars. As Syria, its status quo and the powerful influence in Lebanon changed, but its foreign policy goals included Lebanon and a possible Damascus-Beirut relations bolstering remained an essential part of Assad Agenda.²⁶⁰

3.5. 2008 Conflict

By November 2007, the new presidential elections seemed a difficult task to pursue. In the aftermath of Emile Lahoud mandate, on 23 November, until 25 May 2008 on the election of General Michel Suleiman, Lebanese crisis dispersed and the indecisive step towards the selection of new president will not happen, maintaining Siniora government until the establishment of 2009 government established beyond Doha protocol.²⁶¹

The 14 March and 8 March coalitions continued struggling for defending its interests, maintaining strong alliances with regional and international partners. Certainly, the Hezbollah-Israeli war and the posterior resolution 1701 spillover in Lebanon and consequently provoked intense disagreements among the political parties influenced the conduct of Siniora Government towards Hezbollah. In fact, on 5 May, Siniora government passed two decrees concerning Hezbollah armed actions. Firstly, he ordered an inquiry to disclose a possible involvement of the Nasrallah resistance group in the attacks to the Beirut Rafiq Hariri International Airport. Secondly, he argued the replacement of the security's head of Beirut Airport, known as Wafik Shkair, which related to Hezbollah.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ William Harris, Bashar Al-Assad's Lebanon Gamble, Middle East Quarterly Summer 2005, vol.12:3, 2005. Available at <https://www.meforum.org/articles/2005/bashar-al-assad-s-lebanon-gamble> (web: 23.03.2018)

²⁶¹ Bassel F. Salloukh, "Lebanon: Where next for Hezbollah: resistance or reform, in Legitimacy and peace processes: From Coercion to consent", Accord, issue25, **Conciliation Resources**, 2014, p.103

²⁶² Eitan Azani, "Hezbollah and the Lebanese System: Between the Siniora Government (2005) and the Hezbollah Government (2011)", Working Paper 17, International Institute to Counter-Terrorism, 2013, p.4

The conflict of 2008 was mainly caused by the Lebanese government's pro-western confrontation with Hezbollah militias.²⁶³ Hezbollah, on the other hand, understood the decisions undertaken in the 5 May government as a threat to maintenance of Lebanese integrity and security. Soon, various confrontations began in South Beirut but before it could widespread into a massive war battlefield, regional powers interfered sponsored by Qatar government, inaugurating a dialogue with Lebanese parties, ratified in Doha.

3.6. Doha Agreement: a step into Damascus-Beirut diplomatic relations

On 14 May 2008, the delegation led by the Qatari Prime-minister, Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassem al-Thani, and the League's Secretary General, Amr Moussa arrived in Beirut in order to establish the Lebanese political Agenda through armistice talks with the rival 8 and 14 March camps.²⁶⁴ The regional ambiance reached beyond the Doha talks concerning the presidency, Hezbollah and Lebanese government relations bolstering as well as, it had as central point the elaboration of new electoral law that would reflect in the formation of 2009 national government. On 14 May, it was discussed the main preparatory measures to be implemented and which constituted the Doha I meetings, as well as, it counted with the support of Syria and Saudi Arabia.

The main elements are write bellow:

1. Accepting 5 May assumptions;
2. Agreement through a National Dialogue between the Lebanese leaders;
3. A National Unity Government;
4. New electoral law for 2009 elections;
5. End of sit-down Beirut in Downtown.

Two days later, when the goals had been reached, the committed members of Doha reunion initiated the dialogue within the frame of define Lebanese political deadlock which was caused mainly by 2005 Hariri murdered and lately by the post-Hezbollah-Israeli war 2006 revolts. The Lebanese National Dialogue Conference held in Doha between 16 May

²⁶³ Joseph Bahout, Lebanon at the Brink: The Impact of the Syrian Civil War, Middle East Brief, **Crown Center for Middle East Studies**,no.76, 2014, p.3

²⁶⁴ Farah Dakhilallah, The Arab League in Lebanon: 2005-2008, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, vol.25:1, p.71

and 21 May 2008, in order to establish mutual agreements among Lebanese parties and find a solution for the 18-month political crisis.²⁶⁵ Further, the main goal was to avoid a civil war in Lebanon or a future threat to Lebanese territory, namely, the resurgence of Arab-Israeli vicissitude spill over in Lebanon.²⁶⁶ It established a National Unity Government composed by thirty ministers, namely, 16 ministers representing the majority, 11 ministers the opposition, and 3 others to be selected by the new President, respectively. A part of this, it was defined that Qada would be the electoral Constituency, through 1960 electoral law. The Qada of Marjayoun and Hasbaya would continue to be one constituency, as well as the qadas of Western Bekaa and Rashaya and the qada of Hermel and Baalbek.²⁶⁷

The three main divisions in prom of the electoral constituency were settling. Firstly, the primer constituency had established in Achrafieh, Rmeil, and Saifi. The second, in Bishara, Medawar, Marfa, well the regions of Mina Al-Hosni, Ain al-Meissen, Mara, Mossutbeh, Ras Beirut, Zokak al-Balat remained as third constituency-privileged place.²⁶⁸ The dialogue as the requirements of Doha would continue in Beirut. Imam Salami considers Doha agreement as a social contract among Lebanese politicians, as similar with TAIIF accords, did not concerned the Lebanese events of 2005 and 2006. The failure of Doha is understood by the refusion of international actors in defining Lebanon political apparatus, focusing solely in the actual situation of Lebanon, not taking into account the causes that led to Lebanese crisis and subsequently to the 18-month political deadlock. Doha Agreement is in the base of the intensive diplomacy sponsored by international and regional actors into the Damascus-Beirut bolstering relations. French president, Sarkozy, was a key player into reestablish Syrian-Lebanese bilateral relations, which he considered a positive step into Middle East Peace process.²⁶⁹ The efforts of France and Lebanese

²⁶⁵ Hussein Abdallah, Lebanese Rivals set to elect president after historic accord, Daily Star, 22 May 2008. Available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2008/May-22/51877-lebanese-rivals-set-to-elect-president-after-historic-accord.ashx> (web:25.03.3018)

²⁶⁶ Daniel C. Kurtzer et al, **The Peace Puzzle: Americas Quest For Arab-Israeli Peace, 1989-2011**, Cornell University Press, Ithaca: London. 2013. p.212.

²⁶⁷ Ohannes Geukjian, **Lebanon after the Syrian withdrawal: External Intervention, Power-sharing and Political Instability**, 1 ed, routledge.2016. p.124

²⁶⁸ UNSC, Letter dated 22 May 2008 From the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, 10 June, 2008 S/2008/392. Available at <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Lebanon%20S2008392.pdf> (web:24.03.2018)

²⁶⁹ Selin Güler, French Foreign Policy in the Middle East: The Case of Syria, **BILGESAM**, Middle East, no.1131, 15 May, 2014. p.4

President, Michel Suleiman proven by the Union for the Mediterranean Summit, in Paris, on 13 August 2008.

3.7. Arab uprisings: Lebanon at the brick of Syrian uprising (2010-2011)

The Arab uprisings began in 2010 with the Tunisian protests and quickly spread into the neighbors, Libya, Egypt and Syria: from Syria to Yemen and from Yemen to Bahrain. Surely, the cases of Bahrain and Syria are exceptional from the other dethroned countries. Mohammed Ayoob, in “Will the Middle East implode” presents two main reasons to explain why these two countries should be taking into consideration. To the author, both countries had served as battlefields for old regional disputes between Saudi Arabia and Iran struggle into the pre-eminence in the Gulf as well as both are geographically located in the center of the interest for regional dominance is taking place. The second factor concerns maritime security and military issues, whereas both countries have important overseas bases used by Global powers.²⁷⁰ The Arab Spring had a tremendous impact in Syria, resulted into a escalate conflict and tumultuous environment in the MENA region.

The most affected countries were Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, Egypt and Syria, being the last one the most critical one. The Arab Spring understood by the change of regimes from North Africa to Middle East region. It attempted to implement more democratic regimes and response to the people’s demands, by introducing political reforms based in human rights, freedom and prosperity, which failed since they were not compatible with Arab and Islamic cultures.²⁷¹ We found both regional and global countries involved into the phenomenon, being important to mention the spillover of Syrian crisis into its neighbors. There are various reasons that led International community interference in those countries in order to change their regimes and establish more democratic goals and freedom among people. The conflict in Syria scaled when Assad regime adopted a brutal attitude towards its population, in the reaction of the external demands for the change of domestic political apparatus. Soon, many groups started to emerge, which demanded a political position in the conflict. This political stance, as obvious, should perform not only by domestic groups but as well as other organizations sponsored by regional and foreign

²⁷⁰ Mohammed Ayoob, **Will the Middle East Implode**, Polity Press, 2014. p.88.

²⁷¹ Marwa Daoudy, “Syria: Revolution and Repression”, in *The Arab Spring: Implications for British Policy*, London: Conservative Middle East Council, 2011, p. 20.

players. Unlike the cases of Tunisia and Egypt, in Syria is visible a struggle for domestic power among regional player actors more than an intentional or consistent implementation of basic rights and freedoms.²⁷²

Since the Syrian crisis that both regional and global powers have been involved in order to prevail democratic goals and peoples freedom. Although, the widespread of Syrian conflict resulted on regional dominance in the region, translated into the Saudi-Iran Rivalry, including the acceleration of Israeli nuclear power development, and its reactions towards Palestine issue, that affects negatively Lebanon. The Arab Spring has showed that ending with old orders is apparently easier than institute new ones to replace them.²⁷³ In Syria, it is crucial to argue that the Syrian civil protests and the posterior situation intensified the inter-sectarian relation, aggravated the neighbors, Lebanon and Iraq, critical situation that will be involved in the conflict with an uncertain end. Lebanon took a disassociate position towards Syrian Conflict. Despite of Hezbollah involvement in 2013, most of Lebanese political parties understood that a possible interference or wrong support spillover into Lebanon could cause a Civil war.

The Lebanese Government was supposed to prepare the policy to be adopting towards the Crisis effects in Lebanon, and particularly, how the sectarian tensions in Lebanon could reach a peaceful end.²⁷⁴ The last goal has been in Lebanese Agenda since the aftermath of Cedar Revolution through 2008. Once a time, Syria political power influence was crucial to bring peace among its neighbors including Lebanon. Nonetheless, Syrian crisis effects in the neighbors accelerated the Saudi-Iran rivalry, and so, the Sunni-Shiite tensions, aggravated the political, economical, demographic, security and political situation of a major part of the countries surrounded.

²⁷² Atilla Sandıklı and Cenap Çakmak, **Reconstruction in Syria**, Bilgesem, 2014, p.22

²⁷³ Mohammed Ayhood, op.cit, 10.

²⁷⁴ Marc Sabbagh, Lebanon's Cabinet Crisis and the Syria Spillover, The SAIS Europe Journal , April 24, 2014. Available at <http://www.saisjournal.org/posts/lebanon%E2%80%99s-cabinet-crisis-and-the-syria-spillover> (30.03.2018)

CHAPTER III

ARAB UPRISING AND SYRIAN WAR CLEAVAGES IN LEBANESE LAND

1. UNDERSTANDING SYRIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Syrian foreign policy under Assad administration has shifted since 2000, due external factors that obligated Bashar to take political and economic measures to assure Syrian interests in the region. Syrian foreign policy directed to the neighbors: Iraq, Lebanon, Israel, Turkey and Jordan. Additionally, the close ties with Iran and Hezbollah is an essential constituent of Syrian power influence in the region, and especially, in Levant.

From 2000-2011 Syrian foreign policies passed for vicissitudes on regional and international levels. For instance, the first period of 2000s, Syria had to come along with issues such as the conflict with Israel, the U.S invasion in Iraq, the anti-Syrian movement in Lebanon and struggle for its policy independence in Middle East.²⁷⁵ On economic level, Assad dynamically developed and gave importance to Syrian political economy growth, although was not able to implement most of his policies²⁷⁶ The rise of few regional powers on the region, such Turkey and Iraq contributed to bolstering economic program reform in Syria. Although, Syrian plans towards economic factor implementation were threaten by the external events among the neighbors. The peace process of Arab-Israeli conflict breakdown, as well as, Iraqi war conducted during Bush Administration and the deterioration of U.S-Syrian ties due Bagdad and posterior, in reason of, the assassination of former PM Hariri forced the external policy of Syrian regime in walking through a new trajectory. The economic reform had already started with his father, but metamorphosed by Assad in the posterior years beyond liberal reforms. On security front, Syrians foreign policy was strongly inclined over Hezbollah. In the words of R. Hinnebusch the Lebanese paramilitary group was the “Syria’s new deterrent”.²⁷⁷ It is worthy to refer that Hezbollah is also the leader-factor of the Damascus and Tehran powerful ties relation. At the same time, Hezbollah is the chest-game player and the only force that could contain Israel

²⁷⁵ Raymond Hinnebusch, “Syrian Foreign Policy under Bashar al-Asad”, **Ortadoğu Etütleri**, July 2009, Vol.1:1, p.9

²⁷⁶ Nimrod RAPHAELI, “Syria’s Fragile Economy”, **Middle East Review of International Affairs**, Vol. 11:2, 2007. p.37

²⁷⁷ Raymond Hinnebusch, *op.cit.* p.15

military advance in Lebanon. Syrian-Hezbollah relations are a long factor of Syrian Foreign policy, for the maintenance of Syrian position in the region. Iran and Syria share the same interests towards Lebanon, Iraq and Syria. Nonetheless, before the Arab spring spillover in Syria and consequently the emergence of Syrian war conflict, different events described the Baath regime's foreign policy victory:

1. New political changes towards Lebanon since cedar revolution;
2. Dialogues with Lebanese opposition parts;
3. Turkey-Syria consolidate relations;
4. Syria-Israel indirect meetings about Golan mediating by Turkey;
5. bolstering of Syrian-Iraq diplomatic ties;
6. Reconciliation with Saudi Arabia;
7. Multilateral Intelligence cooperation with U.S and U.K.

Syria main goals are still the recovery of Golan Heights and fight the external threat, which in Syrian perspective means, the West and its regional allied Israel. Moreover, Syria's Lebanon policy considered Lebanon as a part of Greater Syria and a non-dependent Nation at least until 2008, where both countries formalized diplomatic relations.²⁷⁸ However, many authors continue to affirm that Syria's foreign policy towards Lebanon must be understood in the light of domestic politics. That is, the belief that Lebanese interests are the same as Syrian interests, and Lebanon foreign policy and Syrian foreign policy are not contradictory. The presence of Syria in Lebanon is more strategically than economic or political. Damascus seeks balance its power with Israel and demonstrating as well that it can be an important ally for Iran interests in the region. The main concern of Syrian foreign policy in the aftermath of Syrian uprising is whether Assad regime will prevail or which policy would be adopted in a weak state such as Syria. Unmentionably, during cold war times, Syria's foreign policy was admirable through the pragmatism and cohesion of Hafez al-Assad. Before the Syrian war, Assad elite was tangled in the biggest wars occurred in Middle East. When Hafez Assad deceased, the responsibility and the maintenance of Syrian policies and interests was the main goal of Bashar. Backwards, Syria was positioning against Israel, politically supported the

²⁷⁸ Bassil Youssef, "Syrian Hegemony Over Lebanon After the Lebanese Civil War", **Journal of Science (JOS)** 136 Vol. 2: 3, 2012. Pp. 136-137

Palestinians, later suspended due the massacre of Maronite Christians by the Palestinian militias such as PLO.²⁷⁹

Certainly, Bashar did not conquer power, but earned it from the legacy of his father. He maintained most of the advisors of his father such Khaddam, Mohammed Nassif, Farouk al-Sharaa, and many others.²⁸⁰ Essentially, the main pillars of Syrian foreign policy remained through Bashar regime: the regime survival, the national security apparatus, to avoid threats through a hard power strategy, recover Golan Heights and to play a role in Lebanon politics. Before the Arab revolutions, Syria played a key role in the balance of regional dynamics in Middle East. It is certain that, Syria vulnerability to the changes that often occurred in the region affected the infrastructure and Syrian domestic politics, and Bashar faced many challenges at local and global levels.²⁸¹ However, the Assad regime was able to adapt to the regional changes giving emphasis to security sector, an important policy tool to keep Syria position and counter-balance with Israel towards Lebanon. Months after the Syrian uprising, Syria's foreign policy could not overcome the regional changes and mostly the domestic changes at all levels. The international community pressure in two different sides, one opposing to the change of regime, calling for implementation of democratic reforms and in other side demanding the resignation of Assad regime led to the turmoil and intensification of the conflict, culminating on the irreversible fragmentation of Syria. The Assad regime violent response to the initially protests, on February 2011 in Damascus and between March-April in Deraa, as later in Hama and Homos, culminated on the direct intervention of regional and global actors. Despite of this, from 2012-2013 the Syrian regime survived, with important victories since it was military capable with base support and adapted of new security methods, as it used strategic forms of ideological, political and sectarian order to mobilize people.²⁸²

In Syrians perspective, Lebanon foreign policy is the same as Syrian foreign policy. Lebanon and Syria are a solely land. The conflict spillover in Lebanon had reflections on Lebanese and Syrian foreign policies, being essential for both countries to cooperate

²⁷⁹ Suleiman Mulhem, "Syria's Foreign Policy: a Fire Balance of Consistency and Pragmatism", *sputnik news*, 12 July 2017, available at <https://sputniknews.com/analysis/201707121055462930-syria-foreign-policy-balance/> (10.01.2018)

²⁸⁰ Raymond Hinnebusch, op.cit, p.24

²⁸¹ Ghias Aljundi, "Local Governance Inside Syria - Challenges, Opportunities and Recommendations", **institute for War and Peace reporting**, 2014, p.13-14

²⁸² Kheder Khaddour, "The Assad Regimes Hold on Syrian State", in **Carnegie Middle East Center**, 2015. Pp.5-7

towards a solution that can favor Syrian-Lebanese interests. Dethrone Bashar from Syria has been a challenge of both international and regional players. At the beginning, most of domestic countries in the region, did not perceive the Syrian crisis as a major threat. Hence, with the advance of Syrian conflict, the involved countries started to question themselves; whether Assad regime should continue in Syria or which political, system structure should be implemented not comprising Assad leadership. The Assad regime has receiving financial and economic aid by its major allies, Russia and Iran.²⁸³ On the opposite side, a pro-western coalition led to combat in order to end Assad rule in Syria. Influential actors such Turkey, Jordan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, U.S and European Union targets the establishment of democratic values and a moderate political government in Syria. Since the start of the conflict, that Assad Regime has been winning ground in its own land. In February 2012, conjointly 137 countries launched a UN General Assembly resolution blaming the Asad regime's breakdown and supporting the Arab League's initiatives towards a radical change in Syria.²⁸⁴

Seven years have already passed since international and regional players get involved in the Syrian crisis. The tendency is Assad regime stay longer in Syria, and consequently, the policies and interference of international community will increase the high humanitarian costs and devastating Syrian territory. Above all, Syrian infrastructure and political organization will be control by Assad regime, once rebels and other military opposite groups are expel out of Syria. ISIS, for instance, rose during Arab Spring and was even able to conquer Syrian regions on the Syrian-Iraqi border, which initially did not bother Assad regime, since it served as well to neutralize other military groups opposed to Baath rule in the country.²⁸⁵ The Iranian support was also important for Damascus to contain ISIS dominance in both Syria and Iraq. Talking about a pro-Asad government is a fallacy. Firstly, to form a new government in Syria out of the wing of Bashar al-Assad would only be possible in two cases. Primarily, Assad and its allies should peacefully accept the political change in Syria; secondly, all terrorist or "resistance" groups should withdraw out of Syrian territory; thirdly, regional power balance should dynamically

²⁸³ David Ignatius, "There may be a way to big down the Assad Regime", *Daily Star*, 25 February 2012, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Opinion/Columnist/2012/Feb-25/164561-there-may-be-a-way-to-bring-down-the-assad-regime.ashx> (10.02.2018)

²⁸⁴ Daniel Byman et al, "Saving Syria: Assessing Options for Regime Change", *Middle East memo*, Brokings no.21, 2012, p.2.

²⁸⁵ Aryn Baker, "Why Bashar Assad Wont Fight ISIS", *TIME*, 26 January 2015, available at <http://time.com/3719129/assad-isis-asset/> (10.02.2018)

change as well and improbably alliances should be settle (Saudi-Iran, Hezbollah-Israel....) which will never succeed due historical, security and religious tendencies. The Syrian conflict and the Assad regime tend to prevail in the country for more years. The regional ambiance would not change in a short time. Regional policies should coincide with international community measures towards Damascus. A post-Assad government will not be achieve in few years as the war continues growing and have repercussions in the neighbors.

2. LEBANON FOREIGN POLICY

2.1. Mikati and Salam: From “Dissociation Policy” To a Moderate Leadership

In the beginning of the Arab Spring, Saudi Arabia, in cooperation with Syria was searching for main solutions to solve the Lebanese Crisis. The solution found, however immediately rejected by United States, which lately led to the resignation of eleven ministers of 8 March Camp.²⁸⁶ Their resignation, traduced by the violation against the 2008 Doha accords, and subsequently, obligated the actual president Suleiman to prepare Blinding Parliamentary Consultations in order to establish a new government. Meanwhile, a Syrian-Qatari-Turkish summit was brokered in Damascus on 17 January 2011 aiming to preserve stability and more important, control the tensions after the fall of the Cabinet.²⁸⁷ The dialogue saw the Qatari and Turkish ministers proposing to Nasrallah to readapt some sections, including the ones in the initial Syrian-Saudi Agreement as well as the formulation of a new timetable to implement them, which also failed.²⁸⁸ Concretely, Suleiman selected Najib Mikati as Prime Minister, elected by Hezbollah to initiate a sectarian cabinet. Under Mikati leadership, a policy of dissociation was implemented in the aftermath of his election in 25 December 2011, extended until middle of March 2013, culminating in his resignation, mainly due the Hezbollah intervention in Syria and by the intensification of tensions in the two blocks as a result of Syrian conflict spill-over in Lebanon.

²⁸⁶ Martin Chulov, “Lebanon’s Unity Government Collapses”, *The Guardian*, 12 January 2011, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/12/hezbollah-quits-lebanon-unity-government> (30.03.2018)

²⁸⁷ Pinar Akpınar, “Mediation as a Foreign policy Tool in the Arab Spring: Turkey, Qatar and Iran”, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, vol.17:3, p.255

²⁸⁸ Mariam Karouny, “Saudi ends Lebanon mediation, says country at risk”, *Reuters*, 19 January 2011, available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon/saudi-ends-lebanon-mediation-says-country-at-risk-idUSTRE70I37Y20110119> (01.04.2018)

Few months before Mikati assuming the conduct of Lebanon and Lebanese political structure, it is worthy all to refer the importance of Patriarch Rai in bring stability of Lebanon, by calling for an compulsory dialogue which was later on in the head of speaker Berri and the President Suleiman. The meeting aimed essentially to maintain a strong partnership among Lebanese partisans in order to avoid the spillover of the conflict and find stability within the sectarian division. In other words, it was visible the interest, not just of, the two blocs as well of the Lebanese in defending an independent status towards the Syrian conflict. Nevertheless, the posterior years showed the disagreement among the sects, the Hezbollah contradiction in making any kind of agreement with the opposed bloc. In Hezbollah perspective, Assad victory would mean the survival of the paramilitary group, as it would strong the Syria-Iran-Hezbollah axis and guarantee that Nasrallah organization could be predominant in Lebanon by defending its own interests.²⁸⁹ Specially, Hezbollah interests are not just relating with proximity of Syrian regime with Iran, as well, to contain Israelis influence in Southern Lebanon and avoid a western backed up intervention in Lebanon.

The foreign minister Adnan Mansour, critic of the policy of dissociation, reaffirmed his opposition to the actual Lebanese situation in the meeting of the Arab Leagues foreign ministers in Cairo. The fragility of Lebanese political system arose, while Syrian chaotic situation was leaving its damages through Syria-Lebanon borders. Being aware of the intensification of Syrian crisis spillover into Lebanon is plausible to affirm that Consociationalism system was not anymore a valuable manner of input into Lebanese political leadership. Hence, 2008 Doha Agreement, which served as an alternative of establishing a new government based on a consensual dialogue between the two rival blocs, is no longer crucial to change Lebanese crisis and end up with the political paralysis.²⁹⁰ The regional and domestic critical period in the Middle East had led Lebanese politicians to concern and demand help from abroad, which caused deeply the sectarian division and contributed for the disaggregation of Lebanese politics. Here, it should be mention that, instead of focus in a practical solution to the fragility of institutions, public administration and other infrastructures, the main political sects were worried in get

²⁸⁹ IGC, A Precarious Balancing Act”, p.1.

²⁹⁰ Hussein Dakroub, “ Future Bloc calls for troops on Syrian Border, *Daily Star*, 25 January 2012, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2012/Jan-25/161010-future-bloc-calls-for-troops-on-syrian-border.ashx> (12.03.2018) p.1

proximity and obtain financial and military help from regional players such Saudi Arabia or Iran. However, those regional powers were more concern about defending its interests and since the beginning of the Arab uprising were not much engaged in Lebanon, that's why when critics approach Arab uprisings, refer it as the most problematic issue in Middle East. In addition, the political stability of Lebanon will not be reach in recent years. Since a definite resolution for Syrian conflict is not yet claim, Lebanon and Lebanese people will have to face daily the crisis that is affecting not just both countries, but most of Middle East region. Adding to the domestic and regional instability, it is meaningful the increasing of Islamist groups in Lebanon helped by the Syria uprising and supported by Syria Government itself.²⁹¹

In the light of the events, on February 2012, Mikati suspended the Cabinet sessions.²⁹² The failure of the policy of dissociation resulted in the disputes between Mikati and Michel Aoun, leader of Free Patriotic Movement (FPM). Consequently, Mikati decision led to the failure of National Dialogue, caused mainly by the violent situation and the events in on-going Syria that influenced Lebanon. For instance, the external pressure on the political parties as a result of Syrian crisis non-stop, the insufficiency of rival parties in establish a common agreement and importantly, the hesitant posture undertook by the parties to implement the decisions of the anterior dialogue holdings, mainly in Lebanese-Syrian borders, all culminate in the deadlock of Mikati policies in Lebanon. Meanwhile, the escalation of violence in Syria spillover in Northern Lebanon, mainly in Tripoli whereas deadly clashes influenced Lebanese community, climax in the initiation of National Dialogue in Baabda Palace on 11 June 2012.²⁹³ Known as Baabda declaration and accepted by the two sides with two main objectives: first, neutralize Lebanon from regional and international conflicts; second, refuse the implementation of buffer zones and widespread of weapons. This step was important in the matter that was base in the agreement of the two blocks, however posterior it revealed inefficient, especially, when Hezbollah decides to intervene military in the Syrian regions near the Lebanese Shi border.

²⁹¹ IGC, "A precarious Balancing Act", p.1

²⁹² Hussein Dakroub and Hasan Lakhis "Mikati: no cabinet sessions until they can become productive", *Daily Star*, 6 February 2010, available at <https://www.dailystar.com.lb/ArticlePrint.aspx?id=162281&mode=print> (04.04.2018)

²⁹³ Hussein Dakroub and Hasan Lakhis, "Rivals leaders agree to Prevent Strife", *Daily Star*, 12 June 2012, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2012/Jun-12/176529-rival-leaders-agree-to-prevent-strife.ashx> (04.04.2018)

The year of 2012 marked by arrests and bombing car attacks as well as other kind of terrorist manifestations, mainly in Beirut and Tripoli. In this segment, the arrest of Michel Samaha, Lebanon's former information minister, which was close to Assad, it was accused of conspired, helped by the Major General Ali Mamlouk, head of Syrians National Security Bureau, into the murder of multiple political and religious personalities.²⁹⁴ On the other hand, Wissam Al-Hassan, ISFs Information Branch, died in a car bombing, also referred as "political earthquake, the crossing of a red line that risked upending the whole political situation".²⁹⁵ The intense disagreement between the political sects and their indecisive attitude towards Lebanese crisis, plus the vis-à-vis discord about the conduct of the Lebanese Government and the foreign policy apparatus, led to Mikati resignation on 23 March 2013, succeeded by Salam Tammam's power-sharing government.²⁹⁶ In the beginning of 2013, the security situation in Lebanon was considered ephemera and certainly inefficient to contain the attacks by the different Islamic groups, namely in Northeast Lebanon. Aarsal, constituted mostly by Sunni community population suffered many attacks occurred between LAF and the Nusra Front, a Salafist Jihadist group that was formed within the affiliation with Al-Qaida in Syria.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, two more reasons can described the decision of Mikati abandonment. In first instance, the border insecurity is one of the main problems caused by Syrian war context. In this order questions that involve Food security, people movements and marginalization of drugs and other illegal activities affected Lebanon security in every aspect. The second issue, which is even more relevant than and it concerns the influx of refugees, which will be discuss in the last topic of this research. In a glance, the influx of refugees in Lebanon is contributing to the acceleration of the demographic imbalance and essentially is putting Lebanon in a terrific situation. In this order, Lebanon is the country whereas Syrians prefer to go, leaving other respective supporters such as Turkey or Jordan as second option. Due the illegal status and visa facilities, Syrians tend to choose Lebanon as first destine. However, the increasing of

²⁹⁴ Mirela Hodeid, "Hizbullah will not react after Samaha arrest", Daily Star, 11-12 August 2012, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2012/Aug-11/184238-hezbollah-will-not-react-after-samaha-arrest.ashx> (04.04.2018)

²⁹⁵ IGC, "A precarious Balancing Act", p.22

²⁹⁶ "Lebanon forms new Government after months of Political deadlock", *The Guardian*, 15 February 2014, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/15/lebanon-forms-new-government-salam> (04.04.2018)

²⁹⁷ Hamza Mustapha, "The Al-Nusra Front: From Formation to Dissension", Policy Analysis, **Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies**, Qatar, 2014, p.6

the number of refugees has being a source of damage to the Lebanese infrastructure and to economy itself.

Controlling the borders and implement rules towards Syrian refugees is necessary that should be conduct in recent years. It is evident that Syrian conflict will not be vanished in posterior years. By so, it is essential to start to adopt policies that can bring certain prosperity to Lebanon and, at the same time, to focus in the influx of refugees in cooperation with international organizations for the sovereignty of the country, particularly, the Lebanese community and the Syrians refugees for not falling into a segregation environment caused by disorder and crisis. A strategy by Lebanese parties not introduced and the regional conflicts were evidently solid ground on Lebanese territory.²⁹⁸ The power-sharing settlement through sustainable maintenance would prevent Lebanon from the chaotic situation that has being facing. Nonetheless, the dominant political elites could not find an agreement to the sectarian politics and the environment of chaos and turmoil had turned Lebanon into a battleground for the regional and international powers to act easily. Without a strong rule implementation, with Mikati and Salam failure and the intensification of the attacks vis-à-vis between Syrian and Lebanese groups, the intentions of peace building in Lebanon were vanished.

Tammam Salam was a moderate member of the 14 March camp, appointed by Suleiman to form a new power-sharing Government. It is curious that Salam was a sympathizer of Assad regime, which was one of the many reasons that led the two coalitions to accept its election.²⁹⁹ Nevertheless, he failed to form the cabinet, in a result of, the intense divergence between 8 March and 14 March anti-Syrian blocks. Even tough, a regional accordance not be achieved, since Hezbollah intervention in Syria not finished. Once again, the political paralysis in Lebanon surfaced the deficiencies of Lebanese confessionalism. An eloquent and constructive external interference was needed to maintain Lebanon neutrality and to formulate rules capable of maintain Lebanese sovereignty, avoiding a Syrian-Lebanon conflict.³⁰⁰ In this order, the role of International community could be or not effective to relief the tumultuous situation in Lebanon.

²⁹⁸ Laila Bassam and Erika Solomon, Lebanon forms government after 10-month deadlock, Reuters, 15 January 2014, available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon-governmen/lebanon-forms-government-after-10-month-deadlock-idUSBREA1E07S20140215> (05.04.2018)

²⁹⁹ Assad AbuKhalil, "Lebanon has a New Prime Minister: Tammam Salam, *alakhbar english*, 8 April 2013, available at <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/15471> (05.04.2018)

³⁰⁰ Ohannes Geukjian, *op.cit*, p.249

However, it should be argued that Lebanon could not count on regional powers neither its own domestic leaders, in result of the Syrian crisis environment that demanded an intensive effort in solving their own issues and defend their proper interests which were not focused on Lebanon. The creation of a new government was a hard measure to be conduct by Salam. The parliamentary members and other political figures continued the non-sense disaccord in define a new electoral law that would symbolize an alternative to the consensus democracy useless since 2000s.³⁰¹

2.2. 2013 Hezbollah Intervention in Syrian War

The intervention of Hezbollah in Syria is another factor that led to the disagreement between the two rival blocs in establishing a power-sharing government. Hezbollah, supporting the Assad regime, intervene in some regions on the border with Syria, particularly, defending the Lebanese Shi regions such Qusair and Sayida Zeinab in South Damascus. Nasrallah affirmed, “Syria has real friends in the region and the World that will not let it fall into the hands of America, Israel and Takfiri”.³⁰² According to French Intelligence Services, among 3,000 – 4, 000 Hezbollah soldiers had already deployed in Syria.³⁰³ It is worthy all to assume that Hezbollah interests do not only relate Syria war, including crudely Israel and Golan Heights situation. On 9 May 2013, after Israeli Airstrikes in Damascus, Hezbollah reaffirmed the support for the resistance groups either in Lebanon or in Syria in order to recuperate Golan Heights under Israeli Occupation.³⁰⁴

The Sunni-Shiite tensions widespread into the Southern city of Sidon alike a rocket attack launched in Beirut’s Southern Suburbs on 26 May threatened the security concerns.³⁰⁵ The disappointment decision of extending Salam term to 24 November 2014 by the Parliamentary commission member has caused negative reactions among Lebanese and International Community. Despite of Suleiman, Mikati and Aoun appealed to the

³⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.251

³⁰² Nasrallah Speech, see RT news, 30 April 2013, available at <https://www.rt.com/news/nasrallah-syria-israel-hezbollah-651/> (06.04.2018)

³⁰³ “ U.S calls on Hizbullah to pull fighters out of Syria, *Daily Star*, 30 May 2013, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2013/May-30/218854-us-calls-on-hezbollah-to-pull-fighters-out-of-syria.ashx> (06.04.2018)

³⁰⁴ Hussein Dakroub, “Nasrallah Shatters Israels redlines on arms”, *Daily Star*, 10 May 2013, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2013/May-10/216552-nasrallah-shatters-israels-red-lines-on-arms.ashx> (06.04.2018)

³⁰⁵ Hussein Dakroub and Niamh Fleming-fauel, “Hizbullah opens historic wounds in Qusair”, *Daily Star*, 24 May 2013, p.3, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Politics/2013/May-24/218162-hezbollah-opens-historic-wounds-in-qusair.ashx> (06.04.2018)

revisionism of the decision taken by the decision-policy makers, the Lebanese political apparatus became even more unstable and chaotic.³⁰⁶ “The Problematic relationships between Lebanese actors and outside power were not conducive to the maintenance of power-sharing institutions in Lebanon’s deeply divided society”.³⁰⁷ For the first time, the Spillover of Syrian crisis sparkled near Baalbek, a prestigious region known by owning important military bases. In the aftermath of Asad military victory in Qusair, on June 2013, which Hezbollah contributed significantly, the militant group was ready to fight more in entire Syria.³⁰⁸ The Hezbollah-Syria-Lebanon dynamic relation is under the regional conflict arena, by its dual cause-effect spillover, as the aggravation of Sunni-Shia relations in the Middle East. From June until the beginning of 2014, Hezbollah was actively engaged in Syrian War. For instance, the clashes occurred in Jabal Mohsin (Alawite), Bab al-Tabbara (Sunni) and the tentative of Assassinate two-Hezbollah Sheikhs in Sidon and Bekaa Valley.³⁰⁹

In the context of Hezbollah military intervention, the dominant political parties could not manage or deter the party, although, Suleiman and LAF could dilute the instability, aggravated by the conflict in Syria. In fact, Suleiman in the memorandum to UN special coordinator for Lebanon, Derek Plumbly with collaboration of Ban Ki-moon, Secretary-General of United Nations until 1 January 2017, against Syrian violations of Lebanese statehood had stated “the violations and attacks carried out by all the warring parties in Syria”.³¹⁰ The attacks on Hezbollah elected regions prosecuted, accentuated more the disguise of Hezbollah members and, at the same time, incentive the war, which was the party, involved. In addition, a car bomb exploded in Bir Al-Abed, Beirut, and a Hezbollah region. The struggle between Hezbollah fighters and anti-Syrian armed groups was became a non-sum game in Lebanon, whereas the leaders of the two blocs were prioritizing regional issues and the war in Syria. The security threat arose and it can be understand by a consequence of the repercussions of the Syrian war, which spillover in Lebanon pushed it into the precipice.

³⁰⁶ Rothschild and Roeder, “Dilemma of State Buildings in divided Societies”, in Roeder, P and Rothschild (eds.), *Sustainable Peace. Power and Democracy after Civil War*, Ithaca, NY, and London: **Cornell University Press**, p.13

³⁰⁷ Ohannes Geukjian, op.cit, p.253

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.252

³⁰⁹ “Tensions rose in Beirut after Sunni Clerics were attacked”, Yalibnan, 18 March 2013, available at <http://yalibnan.com/2013/03/18/tensions-rose-in-beirut-after-sunni-clerics-were-attacked/> (07.04.2018)

³¹⁰ “Suleiman Hands Plumbly Memo on Syrian Violations”, *Naharnet*, 18 June 2013, available at <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/87311> (07.04.2018)

2.3. Lebanon politics paralysis

The Lebanese deadlock, caused by regional and international struggle entails the uncertainty in Syria and the impactful influence of other strong regional actors is causing more damage in Middle East region. Suleiman foreign policy has been relevant towards the international community, mainly since the number of Syrians arose in Lebanon. The insecurity and the environment forced him to intervene. Suleiman relied on international organizations, which have been supporting financially Lebanon, supporting the measures appointed by UN. For instance, Suleiman attended a meeting through UN General Assembly in New York, on 24 September 2013.³¹¹ His active participation abroad was an obligation due the increasing of the zones of conflict and the political deadlock in Lebanon. It should be mention that Syria, despite of internal conflict situation had still influence in Lebanon and intensified the attacks in the country, as the argument of President Assad in not disassociate Lebanon from Syria.

As in the Past, Syria is violating the Sovereignty of Lebanese State and certainly, the conflict will provoke a negative reaction from Lebanese politicians and civilians, which will lead to an active military intervention of Lebanese forces, who surely will take support from international and regional actors. Despite of the efforts of Suleiman in reunite the dominant leaders of the two rival blocks, the agreement to solve the precarious political crisis was not achieve. In one side, Hezbollah continued to refuse any extension of Suleiman mandate, proposing a new form of government of a nine-nine-six power-sharing cabinet, and in which the decision-making would be shared between 8 March and 14 March with right of veto.³¹² In the end of 2013 and beginning 2014, bombings and other attacks had succeeded in major scale. In November of 2013, a suicide bombing attack in Iranian Embassy in Beirut sought 25 killed and 150 wounded.³¹³ One-month later, Mohammed Shatah, the Finance Minister and Saad Hariri and Fouad Seniora political wing, assassinated in a car bombing in down Beirut. The growing terrorism and the intense violence, adding to the spillover of Syrian war into Lebanon, had lead the Lebanese

³¹¹ Hussein Dakroub, "Lebanons facing a crisis of existence: Suleiman, *Daily Star*, 25 September 2013, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2013/Sep-25/232496-lebanon-is-facing-a-crisis-of-existencesleiman.ashx> (08.04.2018)

³¹² "Berri: 6-9-9 Cabinet Formula Still Reasonable and Acceptable, Naharnet, 11 December 2013, available at <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/109454> (08.04.2018)

³¹³ Laila Bassam and Erika Solomon, "Suicide bombings kill 23 near Iran Embassy in Beirut", *Reuters*, 19 November 2013, available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon-blast/suicide-bombings-kill-23-near-iran-embassy-in-beirut-idUSBRE9AI08G20131119> (08.04.2018)

politicians to warn the Lebanese civilians and international community to a high dangerous which should be solved in a short period. Most of political figures perceived the Syrian crisis as the Lebanese crisis, forgetting the dynamics, which involves Syrian conflict.

Soon, they understood that unable to resolve the internal crisis, leaving the situation in the hands of international community would be the practical and logical decision. It argues that this decision was mostly base on the issue of Syrian refugees and borders control insecurity, more than an internal political issue in Lebanon. It is also crucial to affirm that Lebanon had already passed by various crises and the fear of the situation results of the factors mentioned above. Lebanon could retain certain of stability since the start of Arab uprisings, and in spite of suffering of what happens in Syria, could maintain the unity of the country. The Syrian war and its negative effects on Lebanon were increasing and wide spreading into other Lebanese regions. On the other hand, in the start of 2014 bombings and the number of assassinations, which had risen rapidly, and it resulted on the attention of the 8 and 14 March camps in managing the situation along with a new orientation of Lebanon and its implications in the Syrian crisis.³¹⁴ The common attitude showed by the two rival blocs, led to the direct negotiation process between Saad Hariri and Hezbollah. Both political figures had rivalries in the Past, namely since 2005 in the aftermath of Rakif Hariri assassination, where part of Hezbollah members were accused of attempt to Mr. Hariri life's. Tough, Hariri who returned from the exile declared that the stability of Lebanon would only happened if the two blocks cooperate equally.³¹⁵ By accepting to the share the power with Hezbollah in a coalition government, Hariri sacrificed part of his own interests in order to bring stability to Lebanon. It is relevant to notice that the suddenly return of Hariri was also to control Hezbollah influence in Lebanon, and mostly to contain any advance of Syrian forces in the region.

2.4. 2016 Michel Aoun Election

Since 2014 until December 2016, Lebanon faced political deadlock and the disputes over the election of the next president and new government were in vain. The 2016 December elections ended with the acceptance of Saad Hariri in cooperating with

³¹⁴ Julien Barnes-Dacey, "The War next door: Syria and the Erosion of Stability in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey, policy brief 182, **European Council of Foreign Relations**, p.3

³¹⁵ Thomas Escritt, "Lebanons Hariri says could share power with Hezbollah", *Reuters*, 17 January 2017, available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon-government-hariri/lebanons-hariri-says-could-share-power-with-hezbollah-idUSBREA0G15Q20140117> (15.03.2018)

Hezbollah, in which, Michel Aoun became President, Hariri took the charge of Prime minister and even a position offered to the Phalange party, which refused immediately.³¹⁶

In the light of events, the strong and influential Maronite Church issued a National Charter document³¹⁷, pointed out the critical situation of Lebanon, the jeopardy assaults that the country was facing and demanding to the Lebanese political leaders to contain and formulate rules in order not to extend the spill/over effect of Syrian war in the territory. The political discussions initiated by Patriarch Rai and Hariri, who was residing in Saudi Arabia and between Berri and Rai continued asserting the necessity of the election of a new president that could be accepted by all parties.³¹⁸ Indeed, Rai tried to extend Suleiman presidency, rejected by Berri, Aoun and Hezbollah. Suleiman's term, which ended in 25 May 2014, put Lebanon in a critical situation. The deadlock and vary failed proposals of Lebanese leaders in selecting a new president accelerated the Hezbollah and Iran dominance of the country. Inclusively, back this time Iran and Hezbollah were already cooperating with Iraqi government, led by Maliki to contain the advances of ISIS.³¹⁹ Their interest emerged due the fact that ISIS itself claimed its involvement in some attacks occurred in Lebanon. 14 March camp which has lost ground since the beginning of Syrian uprisings, continued to evocate to Syrian opposition to stop provoking the attacks between the LAF and the Syrian rebels. It also inquired on UNSC to intervene, by helping LAF to control the borders with Syria through the deployment of peacemaking force under the 1701 resolution.³²⁰

3. THE ROLE OF LEBANON IN MIDDLE EAST: REGIONAL AND SECURITY ASPECTS

The Syrian crisis is also the common point of regional dynamics among the neighbors, as also transformed the region into a struggle within the regional powers.

³¹⁶ "New government announced under PM Saad al-Hariri", Aljazeera, 19 December 2016, available at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/12/lebanon-announces-government-saad-al-hariri-161218201145680.html> (08.04.2018)

³¹⁷ Dana Khraiche, "Patriarch calls for coexistence, president", *Daily Star*, 06 February 2014, available at http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2014/Feb-06/246527-patriarch-calls-for-coexistence-president.ashx?utm_source=Magnet&utm_medium=Entity%20page&utm_campaign=Magnet%20tools (08.04.2018)

³¹⁸ Ohannes Geukjian, op,cit 271

³¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.274

³²⁰ "March 14 Appeals to Syrian opposition", *Daily Star*, 6 August 2014, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2014/Aug-06/266208-march-14-appeals-to-syrian-opposition.ashx> (25.04.2018)

Since the end World War II, Lebanon, have been acknowledge by many challenges at regional level. Constantly, Lebanon faces political and economic instability, as well, as we can consider Lebanese stability undermine by regional politics. Withal, regional conflicts began during 1973 October War, counting as well with Six-Day War 1967, and since then Lebanese politics become vulnerable and the country faced many cleavages that still affect Lebanon territory. Further, old cleavages, respectively, throughout the murder of Mr. Hariri and the rise of Hezbollah as a political identity, accentuated the political divergences and increased the rivalry between Sunni and Shiite communities in Lebanon.

In the recent years, Lebanon has facing many crisis that overspread due the advance of Syrian civil war and consequently Syrian crisis effects on Lebanon. In this way, the effect of regionalism politics destabilize Lebanon and, subsequently, turned into intensive political instability and once again put in cause the Lebanese constitutionalism in the aftermath of Syrian war, between the years of 2013-2016. In Lebanon, we verified that Consociationalism or consensus Democracy had periods of stability but it was also fragile as political system model. In addition, we assisted to the failure and trapping of Consociationalism in Lebanon especially during Civil War and I Gulf War, reacting on Lebanon's instability in all domains. Lebanon serves to explain that Consociationalism allowed levels of freedom and civil rights in the country, turning Lebanon in one of the most important countries in Middle East Region few years after its implementation in 1943.

Nevertheless, the failure of consensus democracy in Lebanon is not by itself a mistake of the sectarian division or an unequivocal factor of the basis of Confessionalism politics, but just the struggle of defending Lebanon from regional conflicts. In other words, the environment and the outbreak of regional conflicts led to the Lebanese political apparatus, more than co-existent political instability. Lebanon has been a 'puppet' very influenced by regional constraints. Due its geographical position and its main lands, its neighbors since the creation of Israeli state have been using Lebanon to attack through a zero-sum game trajectory. The same goes for Lebanese, who sought regain influence in its own territory, of the result of, the regional alliances established in the Past. Recently, the main problem of Lebanese politics is regarding the regional player's engagement in Lebanon, through very limited military and economic aid supports, which hardly change the political paralysis of Lebanese state.

Syrian crisis effects on regionalism politics is broadly escalating into the Middle East countries that were not directly involved in Arab uprisings. Regional struggle, mainly advent from Syrian crisis repercussions should be step out before it widespread to other parts such Gulf countries or territories in which regional players depend to keep its power influence. For instance, Syrian crisis effects on Gulf countries were so strong that, most of their countries closed its borders and did not receive Syrian refugees in their territories. Most of them increased and introduced strict policies against entrance of Syrians in the Gulf. This attitude showed by those countries is due its historical background, the maintenance of economic high levels and the refrain from demographic unbalance. Namely, Gulf States which are not receiving a large number of Syrians such as Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan doing, have favor Syria with financial aid. According to Gulfnews.com, Kuwait had granted Syrians with “special residences” and “long-time visas”³²¹ As well, Qatar received a small number of Syrian refugees and it has been engaged in Syrian war since 2012.³²² In this segment, as regional players, Turkey Qatar and Saudi Arabia, side by side, began supporting the rebels in Syria but the other Gulf States were not enrolled as much as Qatar or Saudis for instance.

3.1. Tehran-Riyadh rivalry

The “new Middle East cold war”, often designated to describe Iran-Saudi struggle is an ancient rivalry that persists in recent years. Tehran and Riyadh antagonism views of religion, politics and regional power influence clash escalated into a tremendous zero sum game, namely in the aftermath of Arab weakening. In Lebanon, Iranians and Saudis supported opposite political sides, in reason of, historical and geopolitical backgrounds. On January 2016, the Saudi-Iranian relations were broken thanks the intensification of the conflict and the more evident averse position in the Syrian war. The Tehran-Riyadh rivalry started backed British withdrawal from Persian Gulf in December 1971.³²³

Lebanon, a weak state that depends on regional and international decision-making, has been a source of the Iran-Saudi rivalry, of Israeli-Hezbollah threat and U.S policy

³²¹ Jenifer Fenton, Gulf countries face pressure to take in more Syrian Refugees, *Aljazeera America*, 4 September 2015, available at <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/9/4/gulf-countries-pressure-syrian-refugees.html>(20.03.2018)

³²² The Guardian, Michel Stephens “ What Qatar is Doing in Syria?”, 8 August 2012. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/aug/08/qatar-syria-opposition> (25.03.2018)

³²³ Shahram Chubin and Charles Tripp, **Iran-Saudi Arabia Relations and Regional Order**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, p.9

intervention in Lebanese politics. Regard the foreign policy of both countries, and the regional complex context that involve them, it is worthy to refer the significance of multiple dimensions (ideological, positional, economic and geopolitical) in bolstering the regional power competition in the region. Those features also have implications for the regional security. To be specific, the 2003 Iraq's invasion and the two Lebanese crisis of 2005 and 2006 generated sectarian unbalance division between Sunni and Shia sects. Moreover, those events led to the fear of a change of Persian Gulf from Saudi-dominant dual power system into a three-power system ruled by an Iranian-Iraqi alliance. Tali Rachel Grumet assumes that "In shaping their domestic and foreign policies, Saudi Arabia and Iran have used sectarianism as a form of ethno-religious political mobilization".³²⁴

In recent years, Iran has been dominating the rivalry in Lebanon ground through financial and military support to Hezbollah, which is probably the most powerful political group inside of Lebanese politics.³²⁵ Further, Hezbollah is the only Lebanese organization who retains a militia since Civil War Era. Concerning the Saudis, their financial aid to Lebanon was continuity given and the relation of Riyadh with 14 March camp strengthened. The Iran-Saudi competition in Lebanon became serious since the end of 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli war, where Iran power influence increased and Hezbollah could affirmed itself as a distinctive political party. Conjointly, the assassination of Mr. Hariri affected Saudi-Lebanese relations and gave opportunity for Iran to play a determinant role in the country. Since then, the struggle between the major regional powers of Middle East continued. In October 2010, the Iranian president Ahmadinejad pay his first visit to Lebanon, in order to, reinforce Hezbollah-Iranian ties during the time where Hezbollah and other Lebanese political parties were having vicissitudes among them.³²⁶

The involvement of Saudi Arabia in the Syrian conflict is also relevant to Lebanon. Saudi-Lebanese relations were important in the past, particularly, in the aftermath of TAIF accords, where Saudi Arabia served as a mediator actor of the end of Lebanese Civil war. Saudis role in Lebanon perceives through Hariri family implications in Lebanese political economy. Hence, after the Cedar revolution, Saudi Arabia stood by 14 March coalition and

³²⁴ Tali Grumet "New Middle East Cold War: Saudi Arabia and Iran's Rivalry", University of Denver, **Electronic Theses and Dissertations**, 2015

³²⁵, James Davine, "Lessons from the Past: The Saudi-Iranian Crisis in Historical Perspective", **Canadian Political Science Association Annual**, Conference, Toronto, Ontario, May 31, 2017, p.8

³²⁶ Andrew Terrill, "The Saudi-Iranian Rivalry and the Future of Middle East Security", **Strategic Studies Institute**. 2011. p.41

the Sunni political community of the wing of Hariri and his son against Hezbollah, allied of Iran and leader of 8 March coalition. Nonetheless, Saudis were not able to manage the election of Saad Hariri to Prime-minister charge, due the strong foreign policy conducted by Hezbollah, losing ground for Iran influence power in Lebanon. Significantly, the victories of 14-march camp in 2005 and 2009 did not stop Hezbollah policies, notably in the 2006 war with Israel and through the occupation downtown Beirut in 2008.³²⁷

Since the Syrian uprisings, the 14-march coalition has been involved into a critical situation and suddenly most of its members enjoyed 8 March camp. The same as it happened in Iraq, Iran has taking control over the Lebanese political situation and contain any intentions of Saudis in the country. As for Iran, it argues to be the most important ally of Syrian government and sponsor of Hezbollah. Despite the improvement of Saudi-Iranian relations between the years of 2008-2011, the Riyadh and Damascus relations deteriorated since March 2011, where Assad government supported by Russia and Iran. As well, Saudis were not sympathizers of Alawite baths regime. Beyond the decline of Assad elite power in Syria, Saudi Arabia's Syria policy targets mainly weakening Iran influence in the region is underline by the alliance with Syria and Hezbollah. Iranian policies implied Iraq and Syria both at regional and global levels, through the power balance strategies enacted on territorial and foreign parts. Recently, since the election of president Rouhani, nuclear development program has been the priority goal of Iran external policy towards the West.³²⁸

3.2. Lebanon-Iran Relations

Iran is a dominant player on Middle East region, through a pragmatic and ideology policy, based on the closer partnership with Syria and Hezbollah. Besides, forced by international and domestic pressure, Tehran government seems to give greater priority to its national and international economic interests more than its Islamic and ideological ambitions.³²⁹

³²⁷ F. Gregory Gause III, "Saudi Arabia in the New Middle East", Washington D.C.: **Council on Foreign Relations**, Special Report, 63, 2011, p.17

³²⁸ Sara Bazoubandi, "Iran Regional Policy Interests, Challenges and Ambitions", Analysis N° 275, **ISPI**, 2014, p.4

³²⁹ Bernard Hourcade, « Iran - Liban : une relation stratégique ? », **Confluences Méditerranée** 2011/1 (N° 76), p.97

The Lebanese-Iran relations are relative stable on political and economic areas. However, Iran has two main targets in the country which are resume to: contain Israeli influence in the region mainly disputing the dominance of nuclear weapons, expand Tehran's interests by sponsoring Hezbollah, and give support to Shia community in Lebanon.³³⁰ In Tehran perception, "...Lebanon is the symbol of resistance against Israel and a model for other islamic and Arab States against Israel's policies".³³¹ Iran's objective is using Hezbollah as a frontline force against Israel. Tehran has no other alternative to deter Tel Aviv in Lebanon. Without Hezbollah Iran would have to struggle harder to continue its policy vis-à-vis with Israel and the West.

The Syrian crisis allowed the perseverance of Iran's interests in Lebanon. While crisis in Syria left a vacuum that affected neighbor's active policy in the region, Tehran enjoyed the fragility and instability of Lebanon to infiltrate on Syrian and Lebanese affairs, and by so serving as a bargaining chip towards Israel. Furthermore, Syrian crisis spill-over in Lebanon, allowed Tehran to test its nuclear program and continue to develop its policy on weapons Mass destruction and affirm its anti-American position, by supporting financial and military Hezbollah, Hamas and Bashar Assad regime.³³² Nonetheless, Iranian-Lebanese relations include the long-partnership with Damascus since 1980s. It is sum important, to consider the Damascus role in Lebanon, since the TAIF accords and, the period that marked the change of the Lebanese political structure after the Mr. Hariri's assassination. The continuity of Iranian-Lebanese relations is perceived mainly through Hezbollah; however Syrian-Iranian long term relations enforce more Iranian interests in Lebanon and Beirut necessarily depends on Iranian financial and economical sponsorship.³³³ Certainly, pro-western Lebanese politics have assumed a contradictory perspective towards Iranian policy relative to Lebanon, accusing Tehran of contributing for destabilize even more the country.

The Iranian-Lebanese relations also entail a direct connection with Hezbollah and its role in Lebanon. Withal, Iran seeks an active policy in Lebanon to counterbalance with Saudi Arabia and the West. It involves more than ideological or strategic terms. In this

³³⁰ Eysal Zisser, "Iranian Involvement in Lebanon", **military and strategic affairs**, vol.3:1, 2011. p.7

³³¹ Evangelos Venetis, "The Rising power of Iran in the Middle East: Forming an axis in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon", **ELIAMEP**, GREECE, 2011. pp.18-20

³³² Kenneth Katzman, "Iran's Foreign and Defense Policies", **Congressional Research Service**, 2018, p.36

³³³ Ahmad Majidyar, "Iran Steps up Efforts to Expand Its influence in Lebanon", Middle East Institute, 9 January 2017, available at <http://www.mei.edu/content/article/io/iran-steps-efforts-expand-its-influence-lebanon> (20.03.2018)

order, Iran has been supporting Shia community in Lebanon, and its partnership with Syria allowed Tehran to gain more adepts to the conception of Iranian Islamism, very dominated since the Islamic Revolution of 1979.³³⁴ Although in Lebanon, not all Shia support Hezbollah neither Iranian ideological resolutions.³³⁵ Actually, it is visible that same religious sect fight against each other for dominance of certain region within a country, relying in opposite alliances to pursue their interests. For instance, the two main Shia groups back Second Civil War were the Amal Movement lead by Nabih Berri, supported by Syria, and Hezbollah by Nasrallah, backed-up by Iran. Iran seek Lebanon as an important partner in contend Israeli Nuclear Weapons, while Lebanon aim military and economical support from Tehran in order to reach stability in the country.

Iranian-Lebanese relations bolstering the strength and position of Hezbollah and rise of Shia community, although Tehran has also meeting with the opposition groups in Lebanon, such Saad Hariri, leader of Future movement and Michel Suleiman for instance. In 2008, Michel Suleiman had already incentivized the bilateral relations of both countries, when he formally demanded military support to LAF from Iran.³³⁶ In October 2017, President Michel Aoun and Tehran representative members in Beirut held a meeting, discussed and applauded Iranian support towards the resolution of Syrian conflict and Syrian influx in the country, which are priorities of Lebanese Government.³³⁷

3.3. Syria-Iran-Hezbollah Axis and Russian Alliance

Iran is the Hezbollah's main supporter in economic, political and military aid. Right after 1982 Israel invasion Iran had already provided 2,500 members of Revolutionary Guards to fight against Southern Lebanon occupation.³³⁸ Evidentially, Iranian support on different levels allowed Hezbollah to implement a strong network composed by four main radios and the well-known Al-Manar television station. Hezbollah survival in Lebanon is the most important target that explains the Iranian-Lebanese relations and supporting Assad Regime in Syria are internal connected. It is also important to understand the Iranian

³³⁴ Sanam Vakil, *Iran on the Brink: Challenges & Opportunities for Washington*, Hoover institution, Stanford Junior University, 2018, p.10

³³⁵ Najia Houssari, "Lebanese Shiites form front against Hezbollah", *Arab News*, 8 October 2017, available at <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1174151/middle-east> (23.03.2018)

³³⁶ International Crisis Group, "Syria After Lebanon, Lebanon After Syria", Report n°39, Middle East & North Africa, *ICG*, 12 April 2005, p. 6

³³⁷ "Aoun pour un renforcement des relations avec l'Iran", *Le Orient le Jour*, 2017 <https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/1079038/aoun-pour-un-renforcement-des-relations-avec-liran.html> (24.03.2018)

³³⁸ Esyal Zisser, *op.cit*, p.8

influence in Lebanon and its connection with Syria and Hezbollah is a part of regional and domestic Iranian policy framework. Undoubtedly, with the support of Syria and Iran, Hezbollah became one of the most important players in Lebanese politics and to the preservation of Lebanon territory integrity. However, the political deadlock, divergence among the sects and the civilian revolts are of the interest of Hezbollah “survival policy”. Since Arab uprisings, Iran regional power in the Middle East and Lebanon grew significantly, and so, Hezbollah role in Lebanese politics and within Shia groups.³³⁹

Sovereignty, power influence and balance of power aspects are counter balance factors that enhance Iran-Syrian relations and its indirect entanglement in Lebanon grasping Iranian regional policy. Notably, the Syrian-Iranian alliance, which had emerged and continued since 1979, has its genesis on the vis-à-vis partnership of strategic and political cooperation between both countries. Iran is a key player on Syrian and Lebanese affairs and the main supporter of Hezbollah that depends on the Assad regime and Tehran to keep his existence. The interests of both countries are relative connected, namely, towards an offensive end of Saudi Arabia, Israel and western influence in Middle East affairs.³⁴⁰ For instance, two factors beyond the Tehran-Damascus are as follows: first, the relation of both had already influenced the Middle East region for its durability; second, the alliance not well understood by many as political and regional perspectives. Broadly speaking, many authors were considering Iran and Syria partnership as short-term alliance of strategic and economic interests.

This is a wrong view, since Syria has proven that despite of not having a strong economy as Iran, Syrian foreign policy towards Iran resumed essentially to political and military aid. On the other side, Iran foreign policy towards Syria is a matter of survival. Iranians perceive the Syrian war conflict as a threat to Iranian regime and its power influence in the region.

Undoubtedly, Syria is the main Iranian ally. In fact, Syrians backed-up Iranians in Iraq-Iran war and during Iran invasion to Iraq on September 1980 to contain Saddam Hussein power in Middle East. In addition, both joined forces to neutralize Iraqi and Israeli

³³⁹ International Crisis Group, “Hezbollahs Syria Conundrum“, Report n° 75, Middle East & North Africa, ICG, 14 March 2017, pp.18-19.

³⁴⁰ Peter Seeberg, “Analysing security subcomplexes in a changing Middle East – The role of non-Arab state actors and non-state actors, **Palgrave Communications**, 2016, p.3

military capabilities in the region, and mostly, to avoid U.S to regain power influence in Middle East political affairs. In Lebanon, Iran has supported Syria against Israel, by exerting influence on Lebanon's Shia population to disband out of Israel and western forces during 1983-1985.³⁴¹ It is relevant to mention that, Iran is more concentrated in being predominant player on Gulf States affairs, while Syrian interests focus more in the Levant. It is also imperative to point out the huge Iranian support of Syrian regime when 2007 Al-kibar or often named as "operation Orchard", Israeli airstrikes attacked one of the most Syrian nuclear facilities location, executed by Israeli Air Force (IAF).³⁴²

Syria played a dominant role in grant Iranian missiles to circle between its land and Hezbollah. Since the Israeli occupation in 1982, and after the TAIF republic settlement, Syria and Iran have been using Lebanon as a bridge of economic and military deals towards the Arab World and the West.³⁴³ In addition, it is worthy to mention that Syrian involvement in Lebanon represents Iranian interests in the entire Levant region. Tehran concerns Lebanon, Palestine and the control of Eastern Mediterranean Sea.³⁴⁴ Surely, both shares ideological, regime survival and national security dimensions which cannot be forget while considering the Tehran-Damascus proximity. For Syria, national security is constructing fewer than three main pillars: 1) recuperate Golan Heights, lost in the 1967 war, 2) maintain the veto power over Lebanon affairs to protect Syrian interests in the country and 3) defend Arab interests in Middle East region. As for Iran, national security preservation resumed to promote Islamic interests, positioning Tehran as a first regional player in Gulf region and prevent the emergence of a hostile government in Iraq that can compromise Iranian plans in the region. Since the 2015 Russian intervention in Syria, Moscow adopted a more engage position in the Levant region. The Lebanese-Russian relations are understood as a strategic partnership, including Syria as an influence actor for the strengthened of Moscow and Beirut ties. In the past, Lebanon allied with U.S, while Syria stood by USSR. However, inside of Lebanon, sectarian forces dividing between the pursuits of a pro-western policy and on the other hand, in establish a closer alliance with Arab States sponsored, the majority, by the Soviets. Nevertheless, after the Lebanese Civil

³⁴¹ Jubin Goodarzi, "Syria and Iran: Alliance Cooperation in a Changing Regional Environment", 4:2, **Ortadoğu Etütleri**, , January 2013, p.35

³⁴² Caren Kaplan, Air powers visual legacy: Operation Orchard and aerial reconnaissance imagery as ruses de guerre, **Critical Military Studies**, 1:1, p.72

³⁴³ Esyal Zisser, op. p.8

³⁴⁴ Anoushiravan Ehteshami, "Iranian Political Influence on the Euro-Mediterranean Region", **Med**, 2010, p.28

war, Syria became the most dominant player in Lebanese affairs, very inclined to a pro-western alliance, by multiple reasons and the most important due the collapse of URRS.

Geopolitical, economic and cultural features determine the Lebanese-Russian relations. Russian foreign policy in Lebanon is mainly concern about the Mediterranean Sea, security and nuclear weapons sponsorship.³⁴⁵ Lebanon, due its geographical position can serve regional actors interests in the region, since it makes its borders with conflictual but powerful states such Israel, Syria and essentially because it was the first state that allowed the west and U.S to infiltrate on the Middle East Region. A second factor explains the interest of Moscow in long-term relations with Lebanon. Russia has a large number of Muslims in their lands and establishes closer partnership with Lebanon would be beneficial on both domestic and foreign policies. Syrian-Russia relations projected under economic and military intensify ties throughout the time. This alliance has guaranty to Russia the naval dominance of Mediterranean Sea, particularly through the Russian presence and renovation in Tartous, the Syrians second largest port.³⁴⁶ In the 2006 war, Russia produced anti-tank missiles for Syria that provided to Hezbollah to fight Israel.³⁴⁷ The Arab-Israeli conflict resolution is not a primordial goal on Moscow agenda, but Russians are aware that their implications in a peace settlement between Israel and Palestine can definitely strength his influence in the region. Russia and Lebanon cooperation can be advantageous for Lebanese towards Israeli southern Lebanon disputes, since Russia is one of the P-5 of Security Council, which can counterbalance on the peace settlement and control future Israeli interference in Lebanon. Russia is an important player in the region, and it can provide Lebanon the military support to secure itself against any threat from regional or external powers.

3.4. Saudi-Lebanon Relations

Lebanon's foreign and domestic policy interests do not only concern the Levant region. The Riyadh-Beirut relations are a decisive factor to reinforce Lebanese economy prosperity and to guaranty the interests of 14 March pro-Hariri led coalition, supported by

³⁴⁵ Dimitri Trenin, "Russia's Policy in the Middle East: Prospects for Consensus and Conflict with the United States", **The Century Foundation**, New York, 2010, pp.5-6

³⁴⁶ Dimitri Trenin, "The Mythical Alliance: Russia's Syria Policy, Moscow: **Carnegie Endowment for International Peace**, 2013, p. 17

³⁴⁷ Steven Erlanger and Richard A. Opiel, "A disciplined Hezbollah Surprises Israel with its training, tactics and Weapons, New York Times, 7 August 2006, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/07/world/middleeast/07hezbollah.html> (25.03.2018)

Saudi Arabia and the West. Politically, the relationship of the two States is date from the sign of 1989 National Accords, also known as TAIF agreement, sponsored by the Crown in cooperation with Syrian Government. Considering the Saudi interests in Lebanon, an overview of Saudi relations with Hariri family is fundamental to understand the conduct of Riyadh in the country.

Saudi-Hariri ties date back to 1978 within the Saudi Oger construction company, inaugurated by Rakif Hariri.³⁴⁸ Financial and strategic interests mainly drive Saudi foreign policy over the region. In recent years, the Saudi-Iran rivalry in the Middle East is one of the dominated issues in international agenda. In Lebanon, Iran proxy is powerful comparing to U.S-Saudi influence ground. Riyadh and Tehran have been giving support to contradictory sides in the conflicts mainly in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen and Lebanon.³⁴⁹

The Arab uprising symbolized the chance for regional and foreign states to interfere in the most affected countries by the conflict. For Saudis, Yemen and Syria have been a priority to pursue the long-term goals of Saudi Arabia.³⁵⁰ In both places, Saudi lost ground to Iran, that since the beginning of the 2011 Syrian war has influencing the conduct of the lengths of the conflict under a Shia retrospective. In Lebanon, as in Syria and Iraq, the Crown due its geopolitical location has a hard task in controlling the events in the ground, allowing Iran to easily dominate in its manner the currently crisis. Hence, Saudi Arabia interests in Lebanon tend to continue since in Syria and Iraq, Iran directly infiltrated in Lebanese affairs. The 2011 Hariri Government failure, intensively caused by the proposal of a new government presided by Najib Mikati, excluding Hariri and accepted by Walid Jumblatt, gave the green card for the victory of pro-Iranian Hezbollah group against a pro-Sunni leadership.³⁵¹ The disappointment of Riyadh led to the review of its policies in Lebanon and in the alliance with the Saad Hariri and Sunni communities. Hence, in the aftermath of Mikati governmental consummation, Saudi Arabia did not boycott its government, but it was against it.

³⁴⁸ "Saad Hariri and his deep-rooted Saudi links", *Middle East Eye*, 6 November 2017, Available at <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/hariri-saudi-links-803078741> (26.03.2018)

³⁴⁹ "Why Saudi Arabia is fixated in Lebanon", *The Week*, 8 November 2017, available at <http://www.theweek.co.uk/in-depth/89551/why-saudi-arabia-is-fixated-on-lebanon> (26.03.2018)

³⁵⁰ Ziad Majed, " Saudi Arabian uncertainties in Lebanon (January 2011- January 2017), Fondation pour la recherche stratégique, 2017,p.7

³⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.3

Further, the resignation of Mikati in 2013, led to the proposal of a new leader, Tammam Salam, a pro-Hariri figure, strongly supported by Saudi Arabia, however allowing Lebanon to maintain its relations with Iran, since it could compromise the stability of the country and evocate a negative action from Tehran throughout Hezbollah. In the beginning of 2014, without Hariri presence in Lebanon, the Sunni Communities fragmented more, allowing Salafist groups to become important namely in Northern Lebanon, Tripoli and Sidon. Saudi Disengagement in Lebanon started to be notice since 2016, during municipal elections, which caused large loses for Saad Hariri. Right after the election of Michel Aoun as president of Lebanon, Saudi Arabia has been chose for its first foreign visit, despite it did not change the Riyadh decision is taking a distance position from Beirut. From the turbulence under Saudi-Lebanese relations and its rivalry with Iran, a Saudi-Israeli backed-up by United States certainly will emerge to contend Iran-Hezbollah proxy allied by Russia. Currently, regional and foreign states will take advantage of the political crisis in Lebanon and use sectarianism within bargaining policies. On 4 November 2017, Om Hariri resigned in Saudi Arabia, in order to boycott Hezbollah government. The failure of Saudi strategies in Lebanese affairs and the influence of Iran in the region, forces Saudis to cooperate with Israel not just in Lebanon but also towards Iraqi-Syrian arena.³⁵²

3.5. International Community Intervention

Before the Syrian uprising, the international potencies had already positioning themselves in the region, not just in Syria but in Lebanon as well. As expected, Syrian political apparatus ruled under Bashar al-Assad represents a major threat for international community interests in the region. Consequently, Barack Obama, on August 2011, called for Assad destitution from power, cutting any type of relations or business with the regime, and had forbidden import activities related with energy sources.³⁵³ There were three organized opposition groups in Syria: Turkey-based, Syrian National Council (SNC), the Damascus-based, National Council of Coordination, and the Syrian Free Army (FSA). On international glance, at the start of the Syrian Revolution, most of the foreign countries were of accordance that Assad should step down. The only country that showed a different

³⁵² Omer Dostri, "Hariri's Resignation: An opportunity to Strengthen Israeli-Saudi Cooperation Against Iran", BESA Center Perspectives, Paper no. 654, 2017. Available at <https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/654-Hariri-Resignation-an-Opportunity-for-Israel-and-Saudi-Arabia-Dostri-English-final.pdf>

³⁵³ Zachary Laub and Jonathan Masters, "Syria's Crisis and the Global Response." **Council on Foreign Relations**, available at <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/syrias-crisis-and-global-response> (28.03.2018)

position was Russia, which is one of the UNSC decision members, which difficult as well the position of UNSC in solve the Syrian conflict. International Community was not capable of solving the Syrian conflict, neither Lebanese crisis that evidently is being affected due sectarian division, and grows of the number of Syrian refugees, accompanied with the lack of infrastructure and political deadlock. Most of decisions part taken by foreign countries represented their interests, more than searching a practical resolution. Tough, the principal point of divergence of foreign intervention is the complexity of international-domestic-regional different positions and interests that somehow victimize Syria. The external players were not able of solving the Syrian conflict, neither Lebanese crisis that evidently affected due sectarian division, the growth of the number of refugees, lack of infrastructure and political deadlock.

Recently, the international community main role is help the displace people to reintegrate in the host countries. Behind the “resilience building” policy, the foreign intervention goes forward humanitarian aid implications through settle the basic conditions that give the change of Syrians to build their future.³⁵⁴ U.S foreign policy in Syria shifted since Barack Obama election as U.S president. Obama policies in Middle East were differing completely from George W. Bush. In Syria, since the beginning, Obama pretended guaranty the U.S interests by defending a non-intervention policy in the conflict. He adopted a neoconservative policy towards the region, claiming the end of military operations in Muslim World, and mainly, extended most of U.S policies to Asia-pacific region. Obama could achieve some positive changes, but his “strategic policy” was not successful in the region since the principal constraints were permanently aggravating (Syrian spillover in Iraq, domestic instability in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon crisis). The president targeted to diminish the reputation of U.S policy in Middle East, caused mainly due Bush Administration (2001-2009). The failure of Obama in Syria, in result of the ignorance of direct symptoms, intensified the regional and international challenges and limitations in the country.

³⁵⁴Benjamin E. Goldsmith, “A Liberal Defense of Barack Obamas Foreign Policy”, E-International Relations, 6 October 2014, at <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/10/06/a-liberal-defense-of-barack-obamas-foreign-policy/> (26.03.2018)

European Union has been an important player on humanitarian and economic development in the regions affected by Syrian Crisis. EU foreign policy in Syria differs in some aspects from U.S. Recently EU position involves six essential areas:³⁵⁵

1. Give a term to the Syrian war, defining an relevant political change, under the UNSCR 2254, through diplomatic/pacific negotiation supervised by UN Special Envoy for Syria and supported by foreign and domestic actors;
2. Achieve a strategic and logical result to political crisis, again in the line of UNSC 2254, the Geneva accords and supporting the political opposition;
3. Syrian refugee and other vulnerable group's sustainability, through a deep focus of humanitarian needs, to be implemented ordinarily and well-distributed overall;
4. International law principles to be concretized in Syria, beyond the promotion of Human Rights and Freedom of speech, in order to modernize Syrian social organisms;
5. Concerning criminality caused majorly by Syrian war, developing counter-manners through reconciliation processes and implement juridical framework;
6. Support the Syrians resilience and giving support to the civilians.

In Lebanon, foreign countries intervention is not a new procedure. As in Syria, the “humanitarian intervention” is a necessary step to be applying, since domestic politics of both countries undermined behind regional powers influence. In Lebanon, it is enough to remind that international interference had brought relevant changes and beneficiate in part Syrian-Lebanese interests with neighbors.³⁵⁶ In the political sense, foreign countries supported the 14 March coalition, under the Saad Hariri leadership. Nonetheless, most of foreign policies in Lebanon failed, since Hezbollah, Iran and Russia are continuing their strategic game in the country and serving as counter-balancing and regaining influence in Middle East regional dynamics. Actually, foreign countries are more concentrated in put an end to the Syrian war, through soft power policy adoption in region, than attacking military, since it became perfectly understood that Syrian conflict and its implications

³⁵⁵ “The EU and the crisis in Syria”, *European Union External Action*, Bruxelles, 14 April 2018, available at https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/22664/eu-and-crisis-syria_en (15.04.3018)

³⁵⁶ Julien Barnes-Dacey and Daniel Levy, “The Regional Struggle For Syria”, *European Council on Foreign Relations*, 2013, p. 63

tends to increase if military intentions continues.³⁵⁷ Reducing sectarian disputes in Lebanon and Syria, supporting the both countries through the projection of peace manners and find a political equilibrium to both countries are set goals of foreign countries. The international community intervention is extremely important to contain the spread of Sunni-Shia rivalry and avoid the intensification of the Refugee crisis.

4. SYRIAN-LEBANESE CRISIS: AN OVERVIEW OF REFUGGEE ISSUE AND SECTARIAN DIVISION IN LEVANT

4.1. Brief Context of Syrian Refugee Crisis in Lebanon

Since March 2011, the influx of refugees in Lebanon was about 1.5 million respectively.³⁵⁸ Accordingly, 200,000 people became poorer due the intensification of Syrian refugees entering in the country daily. The rate of employment will definitely increase, since the economic factor is negatively affected by the refugee displacement and geopolitical struggle caused by its neighbors. The ongoing war in Syria effects in Lebanon is the reflection of the actual apparatus of the Syrian refugee crisis in the country. Lebanon has the worldwide highest concentration of refugees per capita.³⁵⁹ While the war spreading, the number of Syrians in Lebanon rose dramatically, comparing to the initial years of the Syrian uprising. Indeed, the sectarian challenges are the largest issue that Lebanese politicians must be concerned. In addition, it is peculiar the political impasse towards both problematics: refugee case and sectarian deepened split. It is evident that Syrian crisis spillover in Lebanon was inevitable, whether or not Lebanese figures adopt measures to contain its advance. Surely, the indecisive and complicated political situation non-intentionally contributed to install the Chaos and turmoil in Lebanon. As Syrian refugee crisis, it can be assume that education, health care, shelter and food security are still the most important cases to be adopt and over-seen towards the refugees.³⁶⁰ International community, in cooperation with Lebanese Government started to develop programs to

³⁵⁷ Krishnadev Calamur, "The Syrian War is Actually Many Wars: President Donald Trump is ordering U.S strikes against government targets in Syria after a suspected chemical attack", *The Atlantic*, 13 April 2018, available at <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/04/the-syrian-war-is-many-wars/557990/> (20.04.2018)

³⁵⁸ UNHCR and Government of Lebanon, 'Lebanon Crisis Response Plan 2017–2020' (2017), www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Lebanon-Crisis-Response-Plan-2017-2020.pdf

³⁵⁹ However, according to UNHRC Turkey is the country that is receiving the largest number of Syrian refugees. It has been estimated 3.3 million refugees registered in the country.

³⁶⁰ Benedetta Berti, the Syrian Refugee Crisis: Regional and Human Security Implications, **Strategic Assessment**, Vol.17:4, 2015, p. 44.

implement in Lebanon in a short time. At the beginning of Syrian revolts, Lebanese government did not put effort or

At the context, it argues that Syrians and Lebanese have been always going and coming back from one-another country, so it is perfectly normal that the initial reflux of Syrians in Lebanon has seen as a temporary prospect.

4.1. Syrian Refugees in Lebanon: Legal Status

The legal status of Syrian refugees in Lebanon is a problematic on Lebanon agenda. Lebanon did not sign the 1951 convention for Status of refugees; neither has a national legislation concerning their situation.³⁶¹ Notwithstanding, Lebanon has a powerful law regulation on emigration apparatus. For instance, the 1962 law regulating the entry and stay of foreigners in Lebanon, and consequently, the elaboration and incorporation of 6 articles with respect to Asylum seekers in Lebanon.³⁶² Back to the Past, Lebanon faced the Palestinian refugee issue, while the Lebanese civil war chaos widespread in the whole territory. Lebanese politicians feared of a huge uprising of refugees in Lebanon increased, and by so, since 2014 Lebanese Government started to be concerned about Syrian refugee's issue.³⁶³ Sometimes comparing Palestinian and Syrian refugee cases are relevant for explain Lebanese crisis and repercussions that shake politics and sectarian division. However, many authors considered the Syrian civil as the most problematic issue to solve backwards, since the humanitarian consequences are higher than it has been before. The number of Syrian refugees in this last 6 years exceeded the influx of Palestinian refugees. As well, Syrian stability means Lebanon political and economic balance. Both countries are connected by historic past that cannot divide the both countries, neither the common interests that set them together.

The refugee identity in Middle East is complex. The case of Palestine and Syria reflects exactly this approach. The complexity of refugee identity resides on the non-definition of its legal status and for considering them as displaced or asylum seekers.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Maja Janmyr, No Country of Asylum: "Legitimizing" Lebanon's Rejection of the 1951 Refugee Convention, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 2017, vol.29:3, p.439

³⁶² *Ibid*, p.440

³⁶³ Ninette Kelley, 2017. "Responding to a Refugee Influx: Lessons from Lebanon", *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, Vol 5:1, p.83

³⁶⁴ Mohamed Kamel Doraï, Olivier Clochard, Non-Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon. From Asylum Seekers to illegal migrants.. *Françoise de Bel Air. Migration et politique au Moyen-Orient.*, IFPO, 2006, p.131

These actions are not a practical solution to be adopted, neither favorite the governmental interests. At the same time, Lebanese politicians should not put Syrian refugees in the same situation as Palestinian displacement status. It is obvious that the wide spreading of the conflict in Syria, and the spill over process into Lebanon left the country with the certainty that the number of Syrians tends to increase in recent years, as it has considered World Bank and other global institutions.

Prior 2015, the visa policy in Lebanon towards the Syrians was also benevolent, since there was not visa regime for Syrians in Lebanon.³⁶⁵ Syrians could enter freely in Lebanon and stay there for a period of 90 days. Before, Syrians could even enter without Passport, by showing simply a Valid ID and having “the right to enter and live up to six months in Lebanon”.³⁶⁶ Regarding the neighbors visa policy, the one of favors more the Syrians is Lebanon. Despite of visa-free travel among the neighbors Turkey and Jordan, the visa regime of both countries is more complicated comparing with Lebanon³⁶⁷, and the ties that units Lebanese and Syria are higher than the other neighbors are. In Iraq, the visa policies towards the neighbors has changed, especially, in the aftermath of 2003 Iraq’s invasion with the increase of Iraqis who moved to Syria.³⁶⁸ Moreover, there were not many government actions towards the Syrian refugees in Lebanon. Rightly, a non-governmental institution named ALEF-Act for Human Rights, based in Lebanon, reported that existed already in the country a dispute about the designation to attribute to the recent arrival refugees.³⁶⁹ Furthermore, in the beginning of Syrian revolution in March 2011, Lebanon received fewer refugees comparing to the recent years, where the influx of Syrians increased in the borders. Since there was not a legal status framework for the Syrians, most of them suffered by indifference, hostile attitudes towards them and in some regions, some violent actions victimized a considerable number of refugees, especially in North Bekaa and Tripoli regions, where the sectarian conflict was more evident.³⁷⁰ The Syrian refugees

³⁶⁵ “Syrians to face visa restrictions for Lebanon”, Aljazeera, 3 January 2015
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2015/01/lebanon-visa-restrictions-syrians-2015131029059563.html> (23.04.2018)

³⁶⁶ Ferhat Pirinççi, The Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Lebanon: An Evaluation on the Case of Syrians in Lebanon", **Akademik Orta Doğu Dergisi**, Cilt 8, Sayı 2, 2014, p. 19

³⁶⁷ *Ibim*, p.19

³⁶⁸ *Ibim*, p. 20

³⁶⁹ Alef, “Two Years On: And Syrian Refugees in Lebanon”, ALEF- Act for Human Rights in cooperation with IKV Pax Christi, 2013. p.20

³⁷⁰ Sam van Vliet, Guita Hourani, "Regional differences in the conditions of Syrian refugees in Lebanon ", Civil Society Knowledge Center, Lebanon Support, April, 2014. Available at <http://cskc.daleel-madani.org/paper/regional-differences-conditions-syrian-refugees-lebanon> (23.04.2018)

categorized into two different categories, whether are or not registered in UNHCR, paying the amount of 200 USD and forcing to come up with strict bureaucratic documentation (house guaranty, attestation of the village leader, a valid ID or passport and an entry and return card). Beyond, Syrians solely could work majorly in agriculture, civil construction and environment jobs, which are the worst paid and largely neglected by Lebanese citizens.

In 2014, about 880,000 Syrian refugees and 50,000 Palestinians were founded the country.³⁷¹ In October 2014, Lebanon's council of Ministers inaugurated a policy for Syrians displacement.³⁷² Two months later, the General Security Office established "entry requirements for Syrians and new rules for Syrians nationals in Lebanon applying and renewing their residency permits".³⁷³ The legal status of refugees is sum important for obtain civil documents in Lebanon. Birth certificates, residence permits, access to basic conditions such health insurance, job opportunities, rights for live in a proper place and in some cases, to have opportunity to Study and essentially living in Lebanon as legal foreign citizens. The 2014 survey resulted in 72% of Syrian refugee newborn in Lebanon were not registered neither have an official document that proves its identity, as birth certificate, mainly due the intense requirements that their parents could not cover up.³⁷⁴ Since January 2015, the Lebanese government adopted strict policies towards Syrian presence in the country, by denying the registration of a considerable number of Syrians. For instance, it found that about one million, between 300,000 and 500,000 refugees are unregistered in Lebanon.³⁷⁵ The Amnesty international report, about the high requirements for legal situation of Syrians and the strict policy adopted by Lebanese government in beginning of 2015:

".... In February, the authorities introduced a waiver of the 300,000 Lebanese pound (USD200) residency fee for Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR, excluding those who had entered in Lebanon after January 2015 or who

³⁷¹ "2014 Syria Regional Response Plan", *strategic overview*, 2014

³⁷² Maya Janmyr, Precary in Exile: The Legal Status of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon, **Refugee Survey Quarterly**, vol.35, 2016, p. 58

³⁷³ *Ibim*, p.58

³⁷⁴ Amnesty International, *Pushed To The Edge: Syrians Refugees Face increased Restrictions in Lebanon*, London, Amnesty International, 2015, available at <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/MDE2417852015ENGLISH.PDF> (24.04.2018)

³⁷⁵ Unhrc, Syria Regional Refugee Response: Lebanon, Inter Agency Information, undated, available at <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122> (24.04.2018)

had renewed their residency through work or a private sponsor, as well as Palestinian refugees from Syria. The waiver was not applied consistently by governmental officials, and many refugees were not able to renew their residency permits.”³⁷⁶

Recently, the number of Syrians registered decreased slimly from 1,017 million in 2016 to 1,001 million in 2017, which aggravates more the conditions of refugees and affects negatively Lebanon.³⁷⁷ Stevens noticed: “recognizing the right of the refugees to be refugee”.³⁷⁸ Some cases are even more complicated, forcing us to reflect on the necessity in establishes a legal status framework. As previously referred, from all the neighbors, Lebanon was and it is still the most affected country with the influx of Syrian refugees. Therefore, and exemplifying, most of Syrians enter in Lebanon with a tourism visa until it expires, and then do the come-and-go process or in some precarious cases, are leaving Syria due the advances of the deprived situation and install them in the cities near the border. Indeed, the Lebanese Government needs to perceive the refugee identity apparatus, under the settlement of policies for Syrians workers or refugees in the country. To conclude, Maya Janmyr says that “Syrians are thus left with two options: they either leave the country, if they all can, or stay and accept exploitation and marginalization.”³⁷⁹

4.2. Border Control

The strong ties between both countries explain the non-restriction border policy. The free movement of Syrians and Lebanese in the two countries, is current approached as, a normal behavior, and border security have never been a concern for both governments. The 1958 civil unrest, the 1975-1989 Lebanese civil war, the Syria’s military presence in Lebanon (1976-2005) and the Pax Syrianna proclaimed after the TAIF accords of 1989 are some of the situations that allowed Syrians and Lebanese to move around, and not see the border as a threat.³⁸⁰ The bilateral treaty on Brotherhood and cooperation with Syria was a primer factor of political, social and economic relations, following with multiple entries

³⁷⁶ Amnesty International Report 2017/2018, « Lebanon » 2018. p.235

³⁷⁷ Vasyr, **Vulnerability Assessment Of Syrian Refugees In Lebanon**, World Food Programme, Un Childrens Fund, Un High Commissioner For Refugees, 2017, p.1

³⁷⁸ Stevens, «Shifting Conception of Refugee Identity and Protection, University of Warwick School of Law, **Legal Studies Research Paper** No. 2014-10. p.26

³⁷⁹ Maya Janmyr, The Legal Status, p.78

³⁸⁰ “Taif Agreement”, the Lebanese Parliament. Available at https://www.un.int/lebanon/sites/www.un.int/files/Lebanon/the_tauf_agreement_english_version_.pdf (24.04.2018)

and outs from border line.³⁸¹ In the past, the border zones was using for contraband, since it considered more as trade obligatory trajectory.³⁸² In recent days, it has been harder to keep security on the borders, due the wide spreading of Syrian conflict, including the large number of refugees that cross the borders. The concerns about North Lebanon were taking into consideration since 29 April 2011 when the number of refugees, particularly children and women arrived massively through the north border with Lebanon, in result of Tell Kalakh crackdown and the arrest of Sheikh Osama al-Akkary, a known local cleric that used to preach at a mosque while was trying to renovate his passport.³⁸³ The revolt against the Assad regime increased, leading consequently to the intervention of Syrian security forces, forcing the population to find refuge in neighbors. From January 2013 until September 2014, international community conjoint with Lebanese government established strict measures and restrictions in the borders. During this time, UNHCR had registered 48,000 refugees per month.³⁸⁴

In Aarsal, it verified a slow drop of the number of refugees from 40,000 in beginning of 2013 to 35,000 in August 2014, due the intensification of sectarian conflict provoked by the spill-over of the Syrian conflict reinforced by the military intervention of Hezbollah and the emergence of other militias in the region. The cabinet formed by Prime Minister Salam in February 2014, included the adoption of strict policies in the borders. Already, in July 2013, the GSO started to create stricter documents checked at the border.³⁸⁵ In this order, Lebanon closed the north border in middle of 2014, as reason of the boom of refugees coming from Syrian war zones. Important restrictions imposed in the border zone in August, and one month later, inclusively in Masnaa, border entry point, 60 km from Damascus and 110 km from Beirut.³⁸⁶ In October 2014, the Lebanese council of ministers discussed about a new policy, majorly presented by the Christian party members and accepted by the other influential political groups. It became official in January, the 2015

³⁸¹ Bassel Salloukh, Syria and Lebanon: A Brotherhood Transformed, MER236, 2017, available at <https://www.merip.org/mer/mer236/syria-lebanon-brotherhood-transformed> (24.04.2018)

³⁸² Lebanon: The Refugee Issue and the Threat of a Sectarian Confrontation. **Oriente Moderno, Istituto per l'Oriente C.A. Nallino**, vol.94:2, 2014, p.386

³⁸³ Crackdown in Syria: Terror in Tell Kalakh”, Amnesty International Publications, July 2011, p.5

³⁸⁴ Kelley, op. cit, p.85

³⁸⁵ Naharnet, Newdesk, “ Lebanese Authorities Discuss With U.N Official New Border Controls With Syria”, *An-Nahar*, 2013, available at <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/92038-lebanese-authorities-discuss-with-u-n-official-new-border-controls-with-syria> (24.04.2018)

³⁸⁶ **Lebanon And Jordan Close Their Borders To Syrian Refugees**, *Fanack*, 2014, available at <https://fanack.com/refugees/lebanon-and-jordan-close-their-borders-to-syrian-refugees/> (24.04.2018)

border policy that aimed among other sets, establish new rules and restrictions in the border zones with Syria.³⁸⁷ The 2015 border policy was defined as “...a filter that modulates entrance to Lebanon following a logic that can be interpreted through the lenses of the multi-layered boundaries constitutive of the border”³⁸⁸, by not bring relevant results to the maintenance of Security borders, neither to pursue essential changes on the Syrian refugees security. For Lebanese State, closing its borders would mean disrupt economic ties and it could affect trade relations with Syria. Apparently, the process of implement restrictions in the border zones signifies as well, a separation of historical, cultural, political and societal interconnection. Exactly last year, Hezbollah conjointly with Lebanese entities and Syrian government sent part of the refugees back to Arsal, across the border, in northeast of Damascus, which was opposed by some anti-Syrian Lebanese figures and U.N committee members.

4.3. Vulnerable Groups

In result of the Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon, the vulnerable condition of Syrian refugees in Lebanon is another critical constraint to be solved in posterior years. *The Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian refugees (VASyR)* targets to understand and solve the main cause-effect cases towards different topics: Livelihoods, poorness, Shelter, employment and income, and protection through the high financial aid derived from international community and humanitarian organizations.³⁸⁹ Since 2013, the group has been actively working by interviews and reports within a practical job positioning the Syrian conflict and the refugee crisis has the main obstacle to bring stability in the region.³⁹⁰ Syrian refugees continue to be under bad conditions, undermined by different vulnerable groups, which need to struggle for survive and readapt their own lives above miserable circumstances. Syrian refugees living below the poverty line account for 70% in Lebanon, 93% in Jordan, 65% in Egypt and 37% in Iraq.³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ Issam Abdallah, “Lebanon implements new controls at Syrian Border”, *Reuters*, 5 January 2015.

³⁸⁸ Diagoni, Filippo, *Rethinking Borders: The Case Of The Syrian Refugee Crisis In Lebanon*, POMEPS Studies, 25, **Refugees and Migration Movements in the Middle East**, 2017. p.26.

³⁸⁹ VASYR, *Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon*, 2017, pp.3-4, available at <https://data2.unhcr.org/fr/documents/download/61312> (24.04.2018)

³⁹⁰ VASYR, *Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon*, 2016, p. 5, available at <https://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ena/wfp289533.pdf> (24.04.2018)

³⁹¹ Beatrix Immenkamp, *Syrian Crisis: Impact On Lebanon*, **EPRS**, Members Research Service, 2017, p.2

In Lebanon, various vulnerable groups are categorized as follows: Children and Youth, Women, non-employed, non-resident and resident, displaced, torture victims. Starting with the most affected ones, the Children and Youth are the principal worry case for the Vulnerability researchers. Recently, together with Children, pregnant women have also been considered as a threat to human safety in the region. Most of women suffered by violation and rapping, and the consequences are terrific, increasing the number of Syrians in Lebanon. By the end of 2014, about 25% of Lebanese population represented Syrian refugees, being the world highest per habitant.³⁹² By so, Lebanese government and international community that have joined efforts to contain criminality, marginalization and guaranty the basic conditions to these vulnerable groups adopted a new policy. In the economic angle, the non-employment refugees sometimes displaced search better economical conditions, since its own country has been poorer due the intense struggle caused by war and insecurity. As same, Children illegal labor is been criticized by the institutions involved, including the worst forms of Work, which should be finalized soon through the cooperation of humanitarian organizations and Lebanese State.³⁹³ The response comes in the creation of job opportunities for Syrians that could also contribute to the Lebanese economic stability and ability to sustain the needs of both Lebanese and refugees in Lebanon.

As for resident and non-resident is a conceptual framework that has not be already implemented in Lebanon, that concerns essentially the legal status of refugees in the country. The restrictions to attribute visas to a bunch number of Syrian refugees, has conducted to the illegal entrance of refugees, who desperately try to escape from their original devastating land.³⁹⁴ Both are considerable vulnerable since being resident or non-resident do not assure them a long-period stay in Lebanon, and accelerate the level of insecurity, predominantly, near the border zones. Identically, the “displaced” status often attributed to Syrians is a leading-way of Lebanese government of not giving legal rights of

³⁹² Un News, Conditions Of Syrian Refugees In Lebanon Worsen Considerably, *Un Reports*, 2015, Available at <https://News.Un.Org/En/Story/2015/12/518882-Conditions-Syrian-Refugees-Lebanon-Worsen-Considerably-Un-Reports> (24.04.2018)

³⁹³ Ilo, “Response To Syrian Crisis Refugee In Lebanon”, *International Labour Organization*, 2016, Available at <http://www.ilo.org/Beirut/Areasofwork/Syrian-Refugee-Crisis/Lebanon/Lang--En/Index.Htm> (24.04.2018)

³⁹⁴ UNHRC, Survey finds Syrian refugees in Lebanon became poorer, more vulnerable in 2017, 9 January 2018, available at <http://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing/2018/1/5a548d174/survey-finds-syrian-refugees-lebanon-poorer-vulnerable-2017.html> (24.04.2018)

Stay, and force them to leave the country elsewhere.³⁹⁵ Without a legal status framework, displaced as asylum seekers are evidentially a weak group among the other vulnerable mentioned above. The last group, and probably the most shocking and disable is the torture victims exposed to deprived living conditions, and subsequently ending up, in some cases, in prostitution and marginalization environments. The precarious living conditions and the four main problems around them (Education, Shelter, health care and political paralysis) are the main causes that explains the extension of Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon. Other social problems are affecting the refugees search for quality of life and acceptance among the neighbors. Inclusive, Lebanese community has been reluctant in receive a large number of refugees, even if it demonstrate interest in helping them.

4.4. Sectarian challenges

Sectarianism has always been a reality in Lebanese statehood. Details about the refugee and the main explanations around the religious sects' demographic changes are essential to approach the sectarian challenge development. Sunni community became probably the largest in Lebanon since the start of Syrian refugee crisis and growth in result of Syrian conflict that lasts since 2011.³⁹⁶ This fact, served as a factor of dispute and misunderstanding among Maronites and Shias entities, including Hezbollah that has been playing a predominant role on the containment of spill-over of Syrian conflict into the borders, and consequently, has intervened in the defense of Syrians in Lebanon, but at the same time, is showing, that the Syrian refugee influx has to achieve to a definitive end. For Murat Tinas, "Shia led community will never accept a permanent settlement of Syrians in Lebanon, as so Christians".³⁹⁷ This demonstrates that despite of December 2016 election, Lebanon still maintain the same political deadlock, and most importantly, Syria continues to influence politics in Lebanon and intervene in its internal affairs decisions.

The political parties target defending their interests, indirectly exacerbate political reactions and extend the conflict among the sects, challenging the territory into a dispute that has as main cause the Syrian crisis and the events that are currently enroll in Syria.

³⁹⁵ Dalia Aranki and Olivia Kalis, Limited Status for refugees from Syria in Lebanon, *FMR* 47, 2014, p.17

³⁹⁶ Lina Khatib, Repercussions of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Lebanon, *Carnegie Middle East Center*, 2014, available at <http://carnegie-mec.org/2014/12/10/repercussions-of-syrian-refugee-crisis-for-lebanon-pub-57442> (25.04.2018)

³⁹⁷ Murat Tinas, Syrian Refugees in Lebanon: Economic, Political and Sectarian Challenges in The Absence Of A Government Strategy, *ORSAM Review Of Regional Affairs*, No.62, May 2017.

From 2011-2015, Lebanon passed by three different governments. The lack of legal status framework and weak management of the crisis are also two main factors that contributed to the sectarian challenges in Lebanon. Particularly, the political dynamics of Syrian refugee crisis surely it can be divided into two main phases: first, previous in the beginning of Arab spring in 2011, Lebanese political figures perceived the Syrian situation has a short-run negative period. Second, since 2012-2013, with the successive violent attacks and advance of various military groups installed in Syria and the repercussions of the Syrian war near the borders, has been reconsidered the hypotheses that Lebanon would be affected.

Indeed, it was already late when the Lebanese government took the decision in intervening. The Syrian refugee crisis was already prejudicing both Lebanese structure and refugees, while accelerating the rivalries among the political sects. Considerably, “Despite of Hezbollah maintaining an overall humanitarian approach to the crisis and being the dominant political and military power in many areas hosting Syrian refugees, they have also grown more alert to security implications”.³⁹⁸ As mention, the two blocks continue to confront themselves, appointing different solutions for Syrian refugee crisis according their interests in cooperation with their regional and international partners. Respectively, the National Unity Government represented by 14 March and 8 March coalitions, led by Hezbollah and Saad Hariri has mostly ruled Lebanon political system. Despite of Michel Aoun election, the political deadlock continued, mainly caused by other factors culminating also in the degradation of conditions of Syrians in Lebanon.³⁹⁹ The biggest challenge that can affect sectarian relations among the various parties is whether with the spillover effect in Lebanon, terrorism could rise in massive proportions. Certainly, this statement represents a major sectarian challenge not just for Lebanon, but also for the whole Middle East, since it concerns not only regional actors, but as well international community interests in the region.

4.5. U.N Participation on Syrian-Lebanon Crisis

The humanitarian support showed by UN towards Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon, began already since 2011. At the time of uprisings, UN had a narrow bureau in Beirut,

³⁹⁸ Filippo Diagoni, The Syrian Refugee Crisis in Lebanon: State Fragility and Social Resilience, *Middle East Centre*, papers series 15, 2014, p.21

³⁹⁹ Carmen Geha, The Syrian Refugee Crisis and Lebanon’s Endemic Deadlocks: Trading Reform for Resilience, *Middle East Institute*, 17 March 2016, available at <http://www.mei.edu/content/map/syrian-refugee-crisis-and-lebanon%E2%80%99s-endemic-deadlocks-trading-reform-resilience> (25.04.2018)

“assisting 10,000 mostly Iraqi refugees with an operating budget of just four million dollars”.⁴⁰⁰ Four years later, UNHRC had significantly settled more six offices distributed throughout the country. Since the Syrian refugee influx increased in the successive years, the need for establish Syrian refugees in Lebanon forced UN to relocate its offices and respective missions in different parts of the country. Evidentially, UN is developing programs capable to response to the Syrian refugee crisis by giving focus to protection, shelter, education, finance and human resources. Mostly, the UN agencies operations are just coordinated whether as a part of UN Country Team (UNCT).⁴⁰¹ The headmaster of UNCT must be resident of the country where the operation to be executed. In Lebanon, even before the outset of refugee influx crisis, UN agencies took part of other sections such as governance, human rights, gender, socioeconomic development and climate. Meantime, the plans and related activities executed by different UN partners regarding the refugee dilemma are under the supervision of United Nations High Refugee Council (UNHRC). Sporadically, UN agencies have been facing the Syrian conflict through foremost challenges, on various levels that put in cause the conduct of humanitarian policies, its ability of action among others. Seemly, the limitation of policy decisions, majorly derived from Lebanese Government interrupts the trajectory of peaceful and humanitarian plans implementation in the whole country. The constant dynamic changes in Lebanon are also a main-cause for the difficulties of UN partners to accomplish beyond the inability to deal with the opportunities and constraints, whichever differ locally and interferes in the humanitarian process resolution.

UN facing the deprivation situation inaugurated a Humanitarian coordinator (HC) for Lebanon. Other projects implemented and sponsored by other international organizations and partners were already engaged in the country before the Syrian uprising. For instance, European Union (EU) is an essential partner to solve the “refugee mess” in Lebanon. It has financed different projects under the frame of economics and education, particularly, cooperate with other worldwide entities such MEHE, UNICEF, WB and UNHRC in order to improve quality of life in the country.⁴⁰² Accordingly, the humanitarian aid in Lebanon led the UNHRC to be active, at first stance, in the northern border stretch, hold by the

⁴⁰⁰ N Kelly, op.cit, p.89

⁴⁰¹ UNDG, “UN country teams”, undated, available at <https://undg.org/leadership/un-country-teams/> (25.04.2018)

⁴⁰² N, Kelly, op.cit, p.95

government that assigned the High Relief Committee and the Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA) to pursue the imperative decisions to be taking respectively to the humanitarian safety of the refugees. The intense collaboration allowed UNHCR to reach host communities, acknowledge the necessities and to facility act in the country.⁴⁰³ Other entities such General Security Officers, the government figures and importantly the municipalities' leaders are also key actors for the reduction of low life standard of refugees.

Concerning Lebanese Government, despite of not producing concrete results towards Syrian refugee crisis, the Mikati's dissociation policy, lanced with the 2012 Baabda declaration had reflected the leading way of Lebanese policies towards the refugees.⁴⁰⁴ It can be argued that the Lebanese refugee policy extended over humanitarian term, more than security sustainability. However, the Syrian conflict and the sectarian rivalry, beyond other lead-factors, culminated in the enlargement of Syrian refugees in Lebanon. In 2014, through the implementation of "October policy"⁴⁰⁵ and subsequently the promulgation of certain requirements towards Syrians living in the country ("policy paper on Syrian refugees") adding to the entry-out restrictions related to the previous policy of free people's transit has being consciously adopted in order cease the high influx of Syrian refugees in Lebanon. Although, the political environment has changed, namely, after the Michel Suleiman presidential term ending, by so it provoked sectarian reactions above Lebanese leaders and civilians. The Lebanese Government had to deal with the political weakness and the endlessness regional challenges cause by sectarian politico-religious division. A key backbone arrived in December 2014, through the Lebanon Crisis Response (LCRP), incorporated in the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP).⁴⁰⁶

The political breakdown of Lebanese State is also a fact that complicates the implementation of long-term policies towards the refugee issue. It has been affecting both Lebanese and Syrians in multiple ways. Since the government do not centralize in common

⁴⁰³ UNHCR, Lebanon, 2016 Year-End Report, available at <http://reporting.unhcr.org/node/2520?y=2016#year> (25.04.2018)

⁴⁰⁴ Bassel F. Salloukh, The Syrian War: Spill over Effects on Lebanon, Vol. XXVI:1, **Middle East Policy Council**, 2017, available at <https://mepc.org/journal/syrian-war-spillover-effects-lebanon> (25.04.2018)

⁴⁰⁵ 23 October 2014 Session of the Lebanese Council of Ministers: <http://www.pcm.gov.lb/arabic/subpg.aspx?pageid=6118> (26.04.2018)

⁴⁰⁶ Hashem Osseiran, Lebanon launches refugee crisis response plan, *The Daily Star*, 15 December 2014, available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2014/Dec-15/281079-lebanon-to-launch-refugee-crisis-response-plan.ashx> (26.04.2018)

policies, in major of cases has adopted “no-camp policy” or “non-policy” of refugees in Lebanon.⁴⁰⁷ The nature of Lebanese politics explains in an easy manner the decisions undertaken by its political figure. Apart of political apparatus, investments on socio-economy policies have been improved and supervised by international organizations and having the collaboration of most of Lebanese municipalities, which recently have assumed a key role on local communities. To both 14 March and 8 March camps, the Syrian breakdown meant the solid change to “consolidate their power and dominate the Lebanese political scene”. The restrictive policies mainly in near border zones, distinctively, in the Shia regions, were under control of Hezbollah forces. By many, Hezbollah military activity is a threat for Lebanon balance stability. Repetitively, the insecurity and Lebanese crisis are two blaming consequences of 2013 Hezbollah Intervention in Syrian conflict. Hence, it is worthy to remind us of the political paralysis and the ambiance lived by Lebanese during the Cold War times. Since the 1958 crisis, that political uncertain increased, mainly since the demographic apparatus changed and Christian population reduced significantly. At outset of the conflict, Hezbollah assisted the Syrian refugees as a gesture of gratitude, since back 2006 Israel bombardments, Syrians received Lebanese and always supported Lebanese cause.⁴⁰⁸ Meantime, Hezbollah adopted a securitization policy and it has more restrict towards the reception and return of Syrian refuges. Expectedly, Syrian refuges could be integrating more around Sunni communities, in result of religious similarities and easy acceptance. Lebanese Sunni region is also an historical hostage place for Syrians, namely Tripoli, Sidon and Beirut. In Christian circumference, the reactions were both direct to the application of few restrictions and subsequently on avoid receiving more refugees. The religious factor is conclusive for the integration of Syrians in the country.

In relation to “refugee camps settlement in Lebanon”, Lebanese government presents various contradictions and considers that its creation could intensify the Syrian conflict. As well, it would adversely challenge the Lebanese sovereignty and exacerbate political crisis inside of the country. Lebanese authorities reject in fact, particularly based on their experience when they host Palestinian refugee, while giving them a long-stay

⁴⁰⁷ Janie Ziyeh Shen, Why are There No Syrian Refugee Camps in Lebanon?, June 22, 2017, available at <https://forcedmigrationforum.com/2017/06/22/why-are-there-no-syrian-refugee-camps-in-lebanon/> (26.04.2018)

⁴⁰⁸ “Hezbollah Sends First Aid Delegation to Refugees”, *the Daily Star*. Available at <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2012/Sep-11/187468-hezbollah-sends-first-aid-delegation-to-refugees.ashx> (26.04.2018)

opportunity to settle there. Already, Lebanon counts with twelve refugee camps that remained since 1948, partially misappropriate them from socio-economic and political areas. These camps were not under the control of Lebanese entities, and it is a major reason for the rejection of its creation in Lebanon. Curiously, in a general manner, most of host countries considered the creation of refugee camps as an essential step to defend their interests and assure their security apparatus. Before the Palestinian radicalization, the Lebanese thought in the same level, even it was one of countries who more support Palestinian cause. Nevertheless, Lebanese acknowledge by their historical dramatic experience, that refugee camps is not a valuable form of maintain both Lebanese and refugees stability.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁹ Lewis Turner, 'Explaining the (non-)encampment of Syrian refugees: security, class and the labour market in Lebanon and Jordan' **Mediterranean Politics**, Vol. 20 (3), 2015, p.394

CONCLUSION

The assessment that the conflict in Syria has brought negative consequences in Lebanon, due the geopolitical struggle is a reality that should not being ignore. Ultimately, this primer issue considers the lead factors that transformed Lebanon period during and after the Syrian uprising. Lebanon is usually mention as a weak, crackdown and vulnerable State. Early on, Syria assumed a reluctant role towards the politics of the Levant region. However, with the spreading of the Syrian war, the Levant is slowly fracturing into a complex regional struggle, exacerbated by sectarian division dispute, insecurity in the borders, humanitarian costs, refugee influx and political disorder. The Lebanese crisis is the reflex of the Syrian crisis. Lebanese domestic and regional politics concerns Syria and Damascus-Beirut interests are intrinsically related. Since 2012, the Syrian uprising led to the extension and rapid emergence of sectarian division groups, by the reason of, the advances of Syrian civil war. Most of the Middle East countries, since the beginning of Syrian war, support their own interests in the region, and indirectly aggravated Syria, and particularly, the Levant landscape. In Lebanon, the Mikati's policy of dissociation failed since the country could not maintain a neutral position, due the proximity to Syria and evidently influenced by the ongoing events on the ground. The emergence of various military groups in Syria intensified the insecurity in the Levant. Here, it should be mention that Lebanese regions near the border with Syria had been attack many times, including Tripoli, Beirut, Hermel, and others.

Hezbollah intervened in Syria in the side of Assad regime to fight ISIS and other anti-Syrian groups. Likewise, the Tammam Salam moderate government while Hezbollah combating in Syria, pressure the PM to make important decisions and calling for the withdrawal of the Syrian militias and other groups of Lebanon. Posterior, the election of Michel Aoun in the winter of 2016, and the acceptance of Saad Hariri in co-operating with 8 March camp ended the Lebanese political deadlock, although international community intervention is still a certain aspect that Lebanese politics should be concerned. The support of Lebanese politicians towards Iran and Hezbollah weapons maneuvering in the country will definitely compromise the relations with Arab World. If Lebanon isolates itself from the Arab World, it will certainly assist to a rapprochement to Iran-Syria-

Hezbollah Axis allied to Russia. Lebanon's diplomatic crisis with Saudi and the West and the incapacity of Lebanese policy makers in taking an attitude towards the manipulation of Hezbollah and Iran in the country would not bring a critical change in the Lebanese foreign policy and its role in the regional concerns of Middle East region. Hezbollah role in Yemen conflict is the main cause beyond the Lebanese crisis. Iran and Hezbollah are both responsible for supporting the Houthis against the led-Saudi coalition. Borders have no significance for Tehran interests in the region; since the Islamic republic's goal is particularly assuming a relevant role in Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, where their governments are not able to produce to borders control neither the territorial integrity.

Foreign policy is a key instrument in bolstering States actions in World politics. For realists, foreign policy is crucial in the anarchic international system, while neoliberals assume that the relation between domestic and foreign policies serves to explain States Behavior, contributing as well for balance against the constraints mentioned by the realism power politics. It is certain that powerful or great States have better foreign than domestic responsibilities towards other States, and for this logic, we can admit that foreign policy becomes more important than internal concerns. Nonetheless, countries such as Lebanon exposed to intense conflict, damage, threats and another type of dangers that affect internal and external policies.

Before the war, "The conduct of foreign policy in pre-war Lebanon was a presidential privilege, a consequence of the constitutional powers enshrined in the presidency". It was visible during the governance of Khoury, Shihab or Franjieh. Comparing to post-war Lebanon, the role of president was not more as it used to be, and prime minister strongly gained power in decision-making occupying the minister of foreign affairs. It is important to mention as well, the increment of Shia influence in the Lebanese parliament, mainly due to its efforts and victories on southern Lebanon side against Israeli attacks. Most of these constraints settled under the TAIIF accords, allowed Syria to dominate Lebanese politics, approximated both countries under a pro-Syrian foreign policy structure. The murder of Mr. Hariri represents a factual challenge to Lebanese Foreign policy since it ended with pro-Syrian policy domination and called for the Lebanese integrity under Lebanese interests. The main problem in Lebanon Foreign Policy is the internal political unstable condition that affects inclusively foreign and domestic policies. Political uncertainty, much influenced by regional powerful states has

dominated Lebanese politics. TAIF accords, Doha Agreement, 2008 conflict, Hezbollah-Israeli confrontation are some of the endings that destabilized the direction towards a concrete foreign policy under the Lebanese wing. Concerning the Middle East countries relation, Lebanon foreign policy is understood as regional policy rather than an external diplomatic interaction vis-à-vis with the other States.

Concretely, most of the decisions are selected as a matter of Lebanese territorial survival, which favors more external partners than the country itself. For instance, confronting Israel after 2000s served to increase Iran's influence in the region and Syria's interests in a possible negotiation for Golan Heights. Also, the Lebanese pro-western politicians that allied with the international community for maintenance of peace and economic agreements, prejudicing constantly the relations with Arab countries, which are majorly their financial and military suppliers, not to mention the internal cleavages between the two factions in the definition of different policies to the Lebanese national integrity. Until 2005, Syria was managing internal and external decisions and strongly engaging in Lebanon. Lebanese external policy was misleading with domestic and regional policies. Separate different policy levels in a country such as Lebanon, where political and economic instability reigns, it becomes a hard task, especially due to the recent events, to pursue an effective and rapidly decision-making attitude. Lebanese Foreign policy has shifted since the Independence that introduced the National Pact of 1943, until the result of the Civil War, with the establishment of TAIF accords on 1989, which implemented important changes according to the structural, actors and their roles in Lebanese politics. Lebanon is a weak country, economically dependent on commerce and services and militarily narrow in its conception. Geographically, is limited to its neighbors (Syria and Israel) confrontations and within Lebanese land constituted by different political and cultural segments, divided into two main visions representing different concepts of national identity: the Lebanism and Arabism.

Right after the Syrian uprising on March 2011, Najib Mikati assumed a policy of dissociation, with the intention of setting a neutral position, by calling the political parties, LAF, and other groups not to get involved in the Syrian conflict. His ultimate goal was to bring the balance of power in Lebanon, by alienating himself from regional and global actors. The complexity of Lebanese politics makes harder the process of providing solid orientation for Lebanese foreign policy. The endlessness weak of Lebanese domestic

politics and consequently the follow-through events in the region complicates even more Lebanese foreign policy and decision-making attitudes.

The regional struggle in Syria deepened the sectarian division groups in Lebanon, and the rivalry and the disagreement among the political sects led the Lebanese impossibility in executing a coherent foreign policy. Concretely, the three following statements demonstrate the fragility of Lebanese politics:

- i. Regional powers influence Lebanese politics conduct.** At first, glance, since regional powers and great partners of Lebanon such as Saudi Arabia and Iran were not concerned about Syrian revolution at the beginning, Lebanese parties ignored the emergence of conflict in its neighbors. Regional actors focused their policies and interests on the Gulf and in the Arab countries affected by the uprisings. Coincidentally, since the Syrian withdrawal, Lebanon adopted an offensive attitude towards Damascus, and keep a distance degree, despite Hezbollah and pro-Syrian figures maintain ties with Bashar Assad and Alawite rule. The lack of a strong external policy for Lebanese politicians and the vacuum caused due by internal conflicts within the country allowed spherical non-state actors to penetrate in its national affairs and influence the foreign policy strategy under their proper interests.
- ii. Domestic politics and sectarian division are essential to understanding Lebanese political choices.** The crisis of domestic politics, which Lebanese politics were more concerned in getting over. The frustrate vicissitudes of 8 March and 14 march in co-operating together for a pragmatic resolution of Lebanese government leadership, led to political-societal manifestations, occupying mindful the Lebanese leaders in favor of its own country. The two coalitions are a merely production of Iran-Syria-Hezbollah Axis and Saudi-Hariri-led West alliance that constantly pushes harder on Lebanese parties to respond unanimously to their interests in the region. Beyond bargaining and balanced alliances, regional and foreign powers pretend to accomplish their goals in the region, which has been harder to achieve, particularly since the emergence of 2011 Syrian uprising and its spill over in Lebanon. Lebanese Government political choices goes further more on Lebanese integrity, then sectarianism or regional/foreign interests, although it must be argued that due Lebanese politico-economical fragility, a neutral policy avoiding

international community and Arab World interference in Lebanon would not be achieved in recent years. The Lebanese domestic apparatus, reinforced by sectarian fragmentation and their choices must to concern the interests of both coalitions since the aim practically the same: achieving Lebanese integrity.

iii. The Deadlock/Lebanese politics crackdown is another factor. Lebanon presidential deadlock (2014-2016) is the largest political paralysis occurred ever in the country. It lasted 409 days, over passing the 408-day meantime, exactly next the Amine Gemayel's period in September 1988. The advance of the Syrian conflict and consequently Hezbollah intervention in Syria exasperate the hopeful regain of Lebanese politics. The crackdown of politics in Lebanon complements through the issue that involves Blinding Parliamentary elections. Recently, the 2018 elections represented the victory of the traditional parties, mainly Christian parties and Hezbollah coalition as uncontested political leader. The use of media and other manners of influence under their patronage relations led the winning of the traditional parties. In the aftermath of 2018 election, as it succeeded in 2009, Iran emerges as the most influence state in Lebanon, Iraq and Syria. Thus, the significance of Saudi and West policies are minimum comparing to the Iran-Hezbollah proxy warfare capability in the region.

To conclude, Lebanon is under the interference of regional and foreign states, sectarian division and refugee crisis throughout the territory. In result of the widespread of the events in the region, and which, still affect Lebanese territorial stability, the first parliamentary elections in nine consecutive years were held in Lebanon. Lebanese political situation aggravated since the result of the last Presidential election, in which the pro-Iranian Hezbollah coalition had a significant victory over the pro-West coalition held by the Future Movement of Saad Hariri. The election result which should bring important changes on Lebanese political, economical and demographic features, simply complicate the Lebanon's position in the region, favouring the Iran's strategic interests in the Middle East and trapping the Saudi domination in the country and in its neighbours. Nevertheless, despite of allowing Hezbollah to affirm its political ground in the country, the Saudi-Israeli cooperation will certainly influence Lebanon's Foreign policy in the future. The Saudi-Hariri relations were broken since November 2017, and the lost of Hariri leading-party culminated on the distance position from Riyadh. By result of the last conflictual events,

and consequently by the results achieved on the 2018 elections, the balance of power will tend to stronghold Iran influence in the country. The Saudi diplomatic failure and international community focus on other parts of the region such Syria and Yemen, fighting ISIS, led to the easygoing maneuvering of Tehran in Lebanon. Moreover, the Lebanese parties certainly will demonstrate their interest in bolstering their patronage relations behind bargain ties, in order to continue to act within Lebanese policy decisions. Last but not the least, to conclude a resolution for Lebanese Instability and political vacuum, a major change must to arrive in the region. Great powers are able to change the regional constraints and geopolitical changes surely will affect Lebanese conduct in the future.



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