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THE FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE
REPUBLIC OF LEBANON

A DISSERTATION
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BY
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THE FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE
REPUBLIC OF LEBANON

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TO

My Father and Mother
Who gave of themselves
To those whom they taught

PREFACE

For nearly fifteen years the writer has lived in the Arab world. He went there to teach but soon realized that in order to instruct the Arabs, he had to become a pupil and learn from, and about, them. The study herein presented grew out of the writer's experience as a self-appointed student of the Arab world in general and Lebanon in particular.

Further, the study reflects the writer's interest in the history and problems of the people whom he has sought to know and whom he has learned to appreciate profoundly. The investigation also reflects the writer's deep interest in the education of Lebanon's youth--an interest which has deepened over the years while serving as director of the Beirut Baptist School.

The educational problems of Lebanon are not familiar to the West, especially to the United States. It is hoped that this study will serve in a small way to bridge this information gap and stimulate further research in Arab education.

The writer has transliterated Arabic titles and educational terms used in this study, employing a scheme similar to that found in Matthews' and Akrawi's Education in Arab Countries of the Near East. For example the "'" is used to represent the Arabic letter Ayn, "dh" to represent Dhal, "q" to represent Qawf, "ou" to represent the Dummah-Waw (long

"u") combination, "ii" to represent the Kasrah-Yay (long "e") combination, and "aa" to represent the medial Alef (broad "a"). No attempt has been made to represent the Hamzah. The terminal "h" represents the Tay Marboutah. Portions of Arabic sources have been quoted; the writer assumes full responsibility for the accuracy of their translation.

The writer acknowledges with gratitude the assistance and encouragement of many persons who have contributed to this research. The staffs of the Bizzell Library of the University of Oklahoma and the Jaffet Memorial Library of the American University of Beirut were most helpful. The writer also expresses his gratitude to Lebanese officials who made needed information available to him.

The writer acknowledges with appreciation the guidance of Dr. Paul Unger of the College of William and Mary who assisted him during the early stages of this dissertation. The writer is especially grateful to the members of his advisory committee who offered every possible assistance and encouragement. The optimism, counsel, and graciousness of Dr. Chipman Gray Stuart, Chairman of the writer's advisory committee, is deeply appreciated.

Finally, the writer expresses his new appreciation of Leola for her unwavering faith in the ultimate success of this research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education in Lebanon is a responsibility shared by both the state and private agencies. This partnership in itself is not unique; it is characteristic of most educational systems of the world. However, Lebanon's educational partnership is unusual because the private sector has long borne the largest share of the nation's educational responsibility. After more than forty years of state effort, public schools still lag behind private institutions in enrollment. In the school year 1966-1967 there were 203,634 pupils enrolled in 1,257 public schools and 336,705 pupils enrolled in 1,298 private schools.¹

The legal basis of Lebanon's educational partnership is to be found in the Constitution of 1926. Article 10 states:

'Education is free in as far as it is not contrary to public order and good morals and does not affect the dignity of the several faiths. There shall be no violation of the rights of the communities to have

¹al-Junhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wizaarah al-Tarbiyah al-Wataniyyah, al-Ihsaa al-Tarbawii, al-Sanah al-Diraasiyyah 1966-1967 (Beirut: Mataabi Mudiiriyyah al-Ta'liim al-Mihanii wa al-Taganii, n.d.), pp. 17, 29, 39, 51.

their schools, subject to the general prescriptions concerning public education which are decreed by the State.¹

The Constitution of 1926, which is still the fundamental law of the nation, declares that education is not the monopoly of the state, whose participation in the education of the nation is only indirectly mentioned in Article 10, but is free to all who wish to open schools, especially the various religious communities. The constitution also grants much freedom in the operation of non-public schools. Those who open such institutions are at liberty to pursue any aim they may choose as long as the course followed conforms to general regulations outlined by the government and does not lead to anarchy, immorality, or disrespect for the various denominations.

The Problem

Lebanon is one of five Arab states which constitute the most homogenous groups in the Arab world.² The other members of this group of nations are Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Egypt.³ These states are all members of the Arab League, speak the

¹UNESCO, World Survey of Education, Vol. II: Primary Education, (Paris, 1958), p. 667.

²Other groups of Arab states are those found in the Arabian Peninsula (Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Kuwait, Bahrain, and others) and North Africa (Sudan, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Lybia).

³Morroe Berger, The Arab World Today, (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., 1964).

same language, have very similar histories, face a common enemy, and are grouped in the same geographical area. Yet, in the realm of education, Lebanon has assumed a position quite different from that of her four neighbors whose governments have assumed the major educational responsibility of their nations. Table I makes clear Lebanon's educational position in comparison with that of the other four neighboring states.

TABLE 1
ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOLS OF FIVE
ARAB STATES, 1961-1962^a

Country	Elementary Section ^b		Secondary Section ^b	
	Public Schools	Private Schools	Public Schools	Private Schools
Iraq	1,078,011	27,837	150,005	35,091
Jordan	210,783	93,544	56,901	24,011
Lebanon	113,483	165,300	16,450	33,320
Syria ^c	577,212	93,926	59,229	56,737
U.A.R. (Egypt)	1,150,113	603,708	972,062	212,490

^aConstructed from data in UNESCO, World Survey of Education, Vol. IV: Higher Education, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 635, 707, 733, 1076, 1162.

^bFigures do not include pupils in UNWRA schools for refugees.

^cThe situation in Syria was altered quite radically in May, 1968 when fifty-four private schools were seized and placed under government ownership. (The Daily Star [Beirut], May 6, 1968.

The table reveals that of the the five nations considered Lebanon is the only nation in which private schools bear more of the educational responsibility than public schools.

In view of Lebanon's unusual educational policy, this study seeks (1) to determine the factors which have affected the development of Lebanon's attitude toward education, (2) to trace the movement of major forces which shaped the educational system adopted by the Lebanese nation, and (3) to evaluate the effects of the free educational system on the democratization of the nation.

The Scope and Purpose of the Study

This study will concentrate on the academic stream of Lebanese education. Two educational systems, one public and one free or non-public, operate schools of this stream.¹ This paper will focus mainly on the free system; any discussion of the public system will be for the purpose of evaluating the free system. Moreover, the study is restricted to Lebanese schools on the elementary and secondary level; schools for foreign communities and refugees are not included in the investigation.

It is hoped that the study will bring to light the

¹The Lebanese government and private institutions also share the responsibility of providing technical and vocational education. Only private agencies provide special education.

complicated social and political matrix of Lebanon's schools. It is hoped too that the study will serve to encourage those who are concerned about the Lebanese nation and who are seeking its advancement by providing better schools for its youth.

The Thesis of the Study

Evidence seems to support the view that both Lebanon's educational system and her attitude toward it are the result of evolutionary processes. The study also seems to support the conclusion that the free educational system, though greatly restricted, has been able to operate in a way which tends to aggravate current social problems and encourage new ones.

Other Research and Related Problems

Although research in the area of Lebanon's educational history, policies, and problems has been sparse, there is some indication of renewed interest in this field. One of the latest studies was made by Rao Lindsay. In his Nineteenth Century American Schools in the Levant: a Study of Purposes, Lindsay brought into focus the aims of pioneer American missionaries in Lebanon. He also analyzed the conflict between them and their sponsors over the purpose of the mission's schools and the negative effect of that conflict on their development. An earlier work, La Nouvelle Orientation de l'Ecole Libanaise, was written by Nemer Sabbah, a French-educated Lebanese. Sabbah's work, which is one of the few

evaluative studies undertaken by a Lebanese, traces the influence of the Capitulations on the development of education in Lebanon, outlines Ottoman administration policy, and warns of the danger of denominational schools. Another Lebanese, Mousa Sulayman of the American University of Beirut, focused his attention on the secondary curriculum of Lebanon's schools. In his book, Mashkilah al-Tarbiyah wa al-Ta'llim fii Lubnaan, Sulayman called for an educational program separated from denominationalism and argued that the secondary program is unsuited for Lebanon and that its results are not consonant with its aims.

Other Lebanese who have investigated their nation's educational system have considered teacher training and educational planning. Hanna Ghalib of Ohio State University surveyed in his dissertation the development of teacher training in Lebanon, analyzed the educational needs of the nation, and presented twenty-one bases for a teacher training program which would meet those needs. George Murr of Michigan State University studied educational planning in Lebanon. He found that there was no evidence of integrated educational planning and that there was a serious lack of research on population, manpower, and economic growth.

Several sources in the Arabic language proved to be helpful. The first is the year book, Hawliyah al-Thaqaafiyyah al-'Arabiyyah, which is published by the Cultural Department of the Arab League. This annual presents important statistics

for each of the member countries, changes in school legislation, and occasional comments on certain issues. The other source is the series of studies which have been made by participants in the regular sessions of the Regional Center for the Training of Key Educational Personnel in the Arab States, Beirut. Trainees of this center have written valuable papers on various aspects of education in Lebanon and other Arab countries. These studies, which were begun in 1962, are valuable because of the wealth of current, reliable data obtained from official sources. All of the center's trainees are important officials of the Ministry of Education and have ready access to official reports and statistics.

The most outstanding treatment of education in Lebanon is found in the book, Education in Arab Countries of the Near East, which was written by a distinguished team of educators, Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi. When they wrote their book, Matthews was professor of education at the University of Pennsylvania and Akrawi was on leave of absence from his post as Director General of the Ministry of Education in Iraq and was serving in the Education Department of UNESCO in Paris. Matthews' and Akrawi's work is essentially a report of their survey of education in the major countries of the Arab world. This survey was carried out in 1946 under the sponsorship of the American Council on Education.

Among the outstanding characteristics of Matthews' and Akrawi's report are its scope and depth. For example, this

team visited public schools, mission schools (both lay and religious), denominational schools, and schools operated by nationals. Moreover, their book describes in detail the aims, curricula, educational facilities, and teaching methods of the schools they visited. Matthew and Akrawi do not attempt to evaluate the educational system which they were privileged to observe so closely. Since the Lebanese authorities did not request the study, the two educators thought it wise not to comment specifically on what they saw.

Lebanon's history and economy have been investigated much more thoroughly than its education. Though a number of able writers have written of Lebanon's past, Philip Hitti appears to be outstanding. His book, Lebanon in History, is definitive and has been used extensively in this study.

Some of the difficulties related to sources used in the study should be mentioned. For one thing educational reports secured were not always complete. In 1963 the Ministry of Planning made a survey of the private schools' educational facilities, but Beirut schools, explained one government official, were not included in the survey because many of their owners refused to provide the necessary information. In the other four districts only ten percent of the schools refused to give the information requested.¹ Statistics provided by

¹Al-Junhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wazaarah al-Tasmiim al-'Aam: Maslahah al-Nashaataat al-Iqliimiyyah al-Tajhiizaat al-Madrasiyyah fii al-Madaaris al-Khassah al-'Aam al-Diraasii 1963-1964, (Beirut, 1964), p. 4.

the Ministry of Education are also incomplete since many of the private schools in Beirut do not submit the reports requested by the Ministry of Education.¹ Population figures are also inaccurate; no official census has been taken for over twenty years. Population estimates for the cities are based on information gleaned from tax rolls and customer accounts of utility companies. Demographical studies made by foreign experts in past years also serve as bases for estimates.²

Interpreting financial statistics presents an additional problem. For example, until 1965 museums were a responsibility of the Ministry of Education, and construction of school buildings is often a responsibility of a ministry other than the Ministry of Education.³ For this reason, it is not always easy to determine the amount spent for academic education.

The Plan of the Study

In brief, the findings of this paper will be presented as follows. Chapters II and III deal with Lebanon's cultural, historical and educational history and seek to show the factors

¹Ibid., p. 21.

²Al-Jumhuriyya al-Lubnaaniyya, Wazaarat al-Tasmiim al-'Aam: Maslahah al-Nashaataat al-Iqliimiyyah, Al-Ta'liim fii Lubnaan, (Beirut, 1965), p. 6.

³A.A.H. El-Koussy, A Survey of Educational Progress in the Arab States: 1960-1965, (Beirut: Regional Centre for the Advanced Training of Educational Personnel in the Arab States, n.d.), p. 59.

which affected Lebanon's social concern and nationalism and the educational structure which was consonant with them. Chapter IV describes the legal framework in which the free system functions. In Chapter V the programs followed by the free system are described. The last chapter focuses on the operation of Lebanon's schools. In the final chapter, the contribution of the free educational system to the development of democracy in Lebanon is analyzed, and recommendations related to the findings of the study are presented.

CHAPTER II

FACTORS SHAPING LEBANON'S NATIONAL CHARACTER

The relationship between state responsibility for education and nationalism has been observed in many nations. The histories of Prussia, Turkey, France, China, Russia, Egypt, and others seem to verify the observation of a UNESCO specialist that government responsibility for education is directly and positively related to national resurgence.¹ Ulich expresses a similar idea in these terms: "The rise of the sovereign state has been accompanied by the rise of the nationalistic sentiment; and in their tendency toward unity and conformity, they both represent the more collective element in history as against the solitary and individualistic tendencies of the developed human person."²

The collective element of which Ulich speaks appears to be lacking in Lebanon where the individualistic tendency is still dominant in nearly every phase of the nation's life. Charles Issawi, an expert on Middle East economic affairs,

¹UNESCO, World Survey of Education, Vol. III: Secondary Education, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 108.

²Robert Ulich, The Education of Nations (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 292.

underscores this view with his observation that "throughout by far the greater part of the modern history of the country the government of Lebanon, conscious of both its own limitations and the ability of its subjects, has reduced its interference to the minimum--and indeed below the minimum."¹ Another observer of the Arab scene notes that Beirut, where nearly half of Lebanon's people reside or work, is liberal to the point of anarchy. "Its resident seems to get along without the kind of order others seem to need. His government is an obstacle to overcome by acting as if it were not there at all."² This extreme individualism and anemic sense of community are reflected in many areas of Lebanese society. They are seen in the state of the nation's prisons, health conditions in the cities, and tragic unconcern for public safety; and they seem to be one of the major factors influencing Lebanon's present educational system.

The question which arises out of this discussion of Lebanon's present near-anarchy and civic irresponsibility is this: What factors have combined to hinder the development of Lebanon's sense of nationhood and made her social concern so impotent? What elements in her culture have so shaped her thinking that she had declared education to be free, the province of all who desire to participate in the exceedingly

¹Charles Issawi, "Economic Development and Liberalism in Lebanon," The Middle East Journal, XVIII (Summer, 1964), 281.

²Berger, The Arab World Today, pp. 96-97.

important responsibility of educating the nation's youth? To find the answer to these questions it will be necessary to consider Lebanon's geography, study her diverse cultural deposits which have been left by foreign invaders, and analyze her history.

The Effect of Geography on Lebanon's Character

Modern Lebanon, whose present boundaries correspond roughly to its ancient ones, is located between the thirty-seventh and thirty-ninth parallels at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. It is a small country, being about 105 miles in length and having an average width of about 40 miles. Lebanon's topography is characterized by alternating strips of lowland and highland. Along the entire western edge of the country is the first of these strips, a narrow coastal plain which is interrupted by the Lebanon Mountain range whose length is about 105 miles and whose peaks range in height from approximately 6,800 to 11,000 feet above sea level. To the east of this mountain range is a second strip of lowland, the Biqaa' Valley which is part of a longer valley which extends from the Orontes River in Syria to the southern tip of Jordan. To the east of the Biqaa' Valley is a second mountain range, the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, which serves as Lebanon's eastern boundary.

Lebanon is part of that region which joins the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. Thus, Lebanon has been a bridge over which armies from all three continents have marched.

Babylonians, Assyrians, Arameans, Canaanites, Hebrews, Arabs, Sumerians, Kassites, Persians, Philistines, Greeks, Romans, Mongols, Kurds, and Turks all marched over Lebanon's lowlands on their campaigns to conquer the world.¹

Lebanon's geographical position has meant the constant influx of new ways and ideas which were brought by diverse peoples moving century after century over the country's lowlands. Thus, for the inhabitants of the plains, life was characterized by contact, exchange, transition, and change.² On the other hand, life for those living in the highlands was quite different. The highlanders were relatively unaffected by all that transpired on the plains below. Their life came to be characterized by "conservatism, self-containment, independence, isolation, and insulation."³ Thus, geography has played its part in creating a cultural dichotomy which was compounded by religion and other factors.

The Legacy of the Phoenicians

Another factor influencing Lebanon's character is the legacy of the Phoenicians whose influence has been more lasting

¹Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi, Education in the Arab Countries of the Near East (Washington: American Council on Education, 1949), pp. 522-23.

²Philip K. Hitti, Lebanon in History from the Earliest Times to the Present, (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1957), p. 358.

³Ibid., p. 5.

than that of many of the foreign invaders who have enriched or impoverished Lebanon's cultural fund.

Biblical history seems to confirm the view that the Phoenicians came to the Mediterranean area from the Red Sea.¹ In the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (2000-1200 B.C.) they were centered in, but not confined to, Crete. When the Mycenaen Greeks strengthened their grip on what is now Greece, the Phoenicians were forced to establish themselves in Phoenicia, the area now known as the coasts of Syria and Lebanon.²

In their new center of activity the vigorous Semites set up trading stations along the coast. These stations in time became city-states which

exploited each its own hinterland but rarely coalesced to form one centralized power. The society was urban with an economic and industrial organization providing unique opportunities for private initiative and individual enterprise. The resultant pattern was that of city-states with the concomitant military weakness and political instability.³

In essence, the Phoenicians were a commercial-minded people carrying out far-flung operations in the hope of realizing profit. This view of the Phoenicians makes it easier to understand the behavior of Jezebel, Phoenician wife of the Hebrew King Ahab.⁴ Her religion, which embodied

¹Cyrus H. Gordon, "The World of the Phoenicians," Natural History, LXXV (January, 1966), 17.

²Ibid., pp. 15-16.

³Hitti, pp. 70-71.

⁴I Kings 21:1-28.

the materialistic values of Phoenician society, prompted her to plot an innocent peasant's death so that her husband might possess the slain man's garden. In this manner she was imitating her beloved gods who used their power to wrest property from those who refused to sell or part with it gracefully.¹

Phoenician life in the Near East centered about four cities--Aradus, Byblos, Sidon and Tyre. From these cities the ambitious traders went forth to find markets for local products. In trade and colonization they worked independently. When their new homeland was invaded by Egyptians and Babylonian armies, the Phoenicians were defeated, city by city. They succumbed to the invader as they worked--in isolation. There was no sense of mutual defense and aid.² It seems that the years of jealousy, independence, and individual initiative had made such cooperation impossible.

In the decades which followed their defeat at the hands of the Egyptians and Babylonians, the four city-states began to think of cooperation, and there were attempts to form a league. The last of such attempts came during the Persian occupation when the four autonomous city-states formed a league. As headquarters for the new confederacy, they chose the newly created town of Tripolis.

¹Gordon, pp. 20,21.

²Hitti, pp. 143-149.

In this newly created town the four Phoenician city-states held an annual council in which some three hundred delegates participated. It was at one of these meetings in 351 that the decision was made to proclaim full independence.¹

The revolt against Persia, under whose rule the Phoenicians had lived and prospered for over 150 years, ended in tragedy. Persian forces were hurled pitilessly against Sidon and Tyre. With their destruction in 350 B.C. "the last breath of national life was snuffed."²

That the spirit of unity which had led the brash cities to challenge a mighty empire was broken is seen in Alexander's conquest of Tyre only eighteen years following its fall to the Persians. For seven months the Macedonians besieged the island city fortress. In this operation, they were aided by eighty ships from Sidon, Byblos and Aradus, Tyre's former allies. This treachery doubtlessly was an important factor in the conquest of a great city. "Some 8000 of its citizens were slain in the conflict, 2000 crucified on the beach, and 30,000 sold into slavery. . ."³

The aggressive mercantile spirit of the Phoenicians, which made cooperation so difficult, has continued through Lebanon's history. This spirit has, beyond doubt, been tempered by Hellenism, Christianity, and the influence of

¹Ibid., p. 153.

²Ibid., p. 155.

³Ibid., p. 162.

Roman law and administration. These influences, however, apparently did not change the essence of that spirit, for the spirit which moved Phoenicians to circumnavigate Africa and sail to England in search of tin has been evident in Lebanese life in every era.

During the Roman Empire, Phoenicia's choice glass, her minerals, famous purple dye, lumber, raisins, and cloth were in much demand on the world's markets. Phoenicia's seaports continued to provide outlets for South Arabian, Indian, and even Chinese trade. Phoenician merchants and agents were to be found almost everywhere in the provinces of the Empire. With them were other Phoenicians of every sort--businessmen, slaves, priests, innkeepers, musicians, and dancers. "Wherever the prospects of profit beckoned, there they went..."¹

The mercantile spirit of Lebanon was still strong during the Muslim era. In the eleventh century, for example, trade and commerce continued to be noteworthy. At Tripoli, an important port city and mercantile center, ships from Egypt Greece, Spain, and North Africa called. Even under Ottoman domination the mercantile spirit prevailed. During the dark days of Turkish occupation, a French observer remarked that in Lebanon there was security and prosperity.² By 1847,

¹Ibid., p. 197.

²Issawi, p. 281.

Lebanon was supplying Persia, via Baghdad, with European cotton piece goods. In 1846, a Beirut merchant was successful in breaking Britain's monopoly on the import of cotton yarn by obtaining supplies directly from Marseilles.¹

The spirit of the Phoenicians is seen in another phenomenon of life in nineteenth century Lebanon--mass emigration. The exodus, which began in the middle of the nineteenth century, was so great that by 1915 one-fourth of Lebanon's 400,000 people had emigrated.

This massive migration must be attributed to the energy and activity of the Lebanese, not to poverty, which was much greater in the surrounding countries. This was clearly recognized by the Egyptian poet, Hafiz Ibrahim, who said that, if they thought there was a livelihood to be made there, the Lebanese would surely migrate to Mars!²

In the era of independence, the Phoenician spirit has moved the Lebanese to new heights of endeavor and success. Even during the dark days of World War II, Lebanese merchants were profiting from Allied operations in the country. It is estimated that during this period businessmen accumulated well over \$100,000,000 in reserves.³

The tempo of commercial and business activity may be measured in part by Issawi's brief sketch of Lebanon's trade and financial operations. He writes that:

¹Ibid., p. 282.

²Ibid., p. 283.

³Ibid., p. 284.

fabulous, yet perfectly authentic, stories are told of the transfer of gold from Mexico to India and China, of the shipment of copper from France's Spain to Stalin's Russia and of the sale of a huge consignment of toothbrushes from an Italian firm to a neighboring one--and all directed from and financed by some mangy looking business house in Beirut. In 1951. . . it was estimated that, in addition to meeting the country's own transactions of some LL 1,000 million, Beirut financed an equal volume of transactions on behalf of foreigners. . . .¹

Another indication of the prevalence--even the dominance--of the Phoenician spirit is the fact that although only about 17 percent of the nation's labor force is engaged in trade, communications, transport, and finance, this sector produces over 40 percent of the national income.² This sector, therefore, deserves a large share of the credit for making Lebanon more than twice as prosperous as any of the four nations of Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq.³

The persistence of Phoenician capitalism⁴ throughout the different periods of Lebanon's history has meant that its divisive elements, jealousy and individual initiative, have complemented the segregating effects of the country's geographical features. Both geography and culture have worked

¹Ibid., p. 284-5.

²Ihsaan D. Biitaar et al., Al-'Ard al-Saadis li wada' al-Ta'liim fii al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Iqliimii li Takhtiit al-Tarbiyah wa Idaaratiha li al-Bilaad al-'Arabiyyah, n.d.), pp. 6, 12.

³Berger, pp. 180-181.

⁴The Phoenicians gave to the Western world the terms "capital" and "down payment" (Gordon, p. 21).

against the development of a vigorous spirit of national feeling.

The Presence of Sects and Minorities

A third factor which tends to stifle Lebanese nationalism and its collective spirit is the heterogeneity of its population. The vast majority of the Lebanese speak Arabic and would not object to being called Arabs; yet, the population is far from being unified. History and geography have again combined to bring about this phenomenon.

Lebanon's mountains, central location, and large degree of autonomy have proved attractive especially in an area where religion is extremely important, and where orthodoxy has been encouraged by violent methods. Over the centuries scores of people sought refuge in the isolation of its rugged mountains and hills.

It is beyond the scope of this treatise to trace in detail the history of each of the groups which sought refuge in the safety of Lebanon's mountains. All that can be done is mention them, indicate why they came, and note their outstanding characteristics.

The Maronite community, the first and largest of the refugee groups, derives its name from a legendary St. Marun. It was opposition to the Byzantine Church which first united the Maronite heretics. However, in 1181, the community

renounced its heresy and submitted to the Roman Pope.¹

It was religious conflict which united the Maronites, and it was religious conflict which caused them to leave Syria, their homeland, and seek refuge in Lebanon. In the seventh century, after nearly two centuries of doctrinal conflict with the Jacobites, they came to Lebanon.

The Maronite, most of whom are farmers, are by far the largest single community in Lebanon. They are integrated around their church whose priests are better educated than those of other groups. Over the years the community, in keeping with its numerical strength, has acquired a number of outstanding privileges.

By a special unwritten agreement between various community leaders in 1943, Maronites were to hold the key positions of the Presidency, the Command of the Army, and the Directorate of the Surete Generale. During the period of the Mandate, newly arrived French High Commissioners paid their first official visits to the Maronite patriarch, thereby recognizing him as the first gentleman of Lebanon; and by so doing the High Commissioners set the precedent for similar ceremonial visits by the newly elected Lebanese Presidents and the newly appointed Prime Ministers and their Cabinets. Indeed, the Maronite patriarch, as an individual, enjoys the strongest personal position in Lebanon: he represents the largest religious community, enjoys a high traditional prestige, and owes no obligation or responsibility to any force inside the country, official or popular.²

¹R. Park Johnson, Middle East Pilgrimage, (New York: Friendship Press, 1952), p. 156.

²Kamal S. Salibi, "Lebanon Since the Crisis of 1958," The World Today, XVII (January, 1961), 34, 35.

The Shii'ites, fleeing from Sunni Muslims who considered them heretics, entered Lebanon at different times. Their conflict with the Sunnis centers in the former's belief that 'Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, and his sons are the true caliphs and that the caliph, who derives his office by divine ordinance, is both the secular and religious head of the faithful, Shii'ites, found mainly in southern Lebanon and in the Biqaa' where they are serfs on estates of semi-feudal lords, are economically the most backward of the various groups in Lebanon.

Because of its large membership, one of the community is usually selected to head the Chamber of Deputies -- "a position of great dignity but little real power."¹

The Druze community is an offshoot of the Shi'ite sect and takes its name from a missionary named al-Darazi, a confidant of the sixth Fatimid caliph in Cairo, al-Hakim.² Al-Darazi spread the doctrine that al-Hakim (996-1020) was the final incarnation of the Diety. In addition to al-Darazi's original idea, Druzes also believe "that Hakim is not dead but will return; they also believe in emanations of the diety in supernatural hierarchies and in the transmigration of souls."³

¹Ibid., p. 36.

²Hitti, p. 262.

³A. H. Hourani, Minorities in the Arab World, (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 9.

The Druze, considered heretic by orthodox Muslims, settled in South Lebanon in the eleventh century, there to become a well-knit agricultural community. Though small in number, their reputation as excellent warriors and "studied unpredictability of their political behavior" has gained for them a political prestige out of proportion to their size.¹

Armenians, whose homeland is in what is now Turkey and the Soviet Union, are among the latest groups of refugees to seek a fresh start in Lebanon. In contrast to the other refugee groups, who were driven by religious strife to seek asylum in Lebanon, political misfortune drove the Armenians from their homeland. These people, victims of repeated massacres, welcomed Russia's entry into World War I. The rank and file of the people, heedless of the caution of the wealthier Armenians, openly declared support for Russia, and Armenians in the Turkish army deserted and joined the ranks of the Russian army. The Turkish authorities did not look upon all this passively. In 1915 they began to deport the Armenian population from the eastern war zone. Like cattle, two million were transported to northern desert areas in Syria. There, sixty thousand died.² Thousands fled to Lebanon. Near Beirut 15,000 were camped, while an equal number were settled in other areas.³ International

¹Salibi, p. 36.

²George Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952) pp. 48,49.

³Hitti, p. 485.

politics increased further the number of Armenian refugees. Scores of them, remembering the horrors of 1915, fled from the northwest corner of Syria when a portion of that area was ceded to Turkey in 1939.

Armenians are today mainly craftsmen, small traders and office-workers. As a whole they have not been popular with the Arabs, even the Christian Arabs, who feel that they are too clannish. Moslems are unhappy with them, arguing that they have tipped the balance in the Christian population favor. Others are jealous of the Armenians' prosperity.¹

The latest group of refugees are those who fled from Palestine when terrorism reached its peak in 1947 and 1948. Unlike the other groups of refugees who have preceded them over a period of twelve centuries, the Palestinians have not been legally and economically integrated into the Lebanese nation. They are merely transients waiting for a miracle to happen that will resolve a tragically tangled conflict.

The Syrian Orthodox, also called Jacobites from one of its early missionaries, Jacob Bardaeus,² are a group whose liturgy antedates any Greek or Latin liturgy. They were centered originally about Edessa in eastern Turkey. They reject the doctrine of Christ formulated by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and hold to the monophysite creed which

¹Hourani, p. 67.

²Johnson, p. 155

stresses the unity of Christ at the expense of His humanity. Spreading southward gradually, they came into contact with the Maronites with whom they had sporadic doctrinal conflict for nearly 200 years.

A segment of the Jacobite community followed their Maronite rivals into Lebanon as Muslim pressure increased in the north. During World War I others of the Jacobites left Turkey and sought refuge in Lebanon. Today the Syrian Orthodox community in Lebanon is integrated about its church. A virile group, they have in recent years supported the Maronites' political causes.

In addition to the sects which sought refuge in Lebanon, there are other religious groups who may be thought of as indigenous. In the main, they did not adopt their views and then bring them to Lebanon for safekeeping, but their beliefs and ideas were brought to them by missionaries from other areas.

The first of this group is the Sunni Muslim community who are Islam's orthodox group. They differ from their Shii'ite brothers, believing that the head of the Muslim community should be elected by its members and that his function is secular. The Sunnis contend also that the spiritual guide of the community is not the caliph but the Quraan and the Traditions.

The Sunnis are found in the urban centers of Lebanon and form a great part of the country's proletariat. Due to their urban orientation they are more advanced than their Shii'ite

brothers. Because of their numerical strength, tradition decrees that a Sunni must be chosen for the nation's Premiership.¹

The Greek Orthodox are a small group who were deeply affected by the theology emanating from Antioch and Constantinople. Most of the Orthodox community is located in the al-Kurah and al-Matn of North Lebanon.²

The Greek Catholics are converts from the Greek Orthodox Church to the Papal fold. Zahla in the Biqaa' is their stronghold.

Among the two groups are many farmers. They also contain a large proportion of small landowners. Some of their sons have emigrated, become wealthy, and returned to invest their capital in Lebanese industry. Members of the two communities form a considerable part of the commercial class of the cities and include some of the wealthiest traders in the country. Politically the two groups, because of their wealth, are powerful. Working behind the scenes the upperclass decide the political fate of Lebanon's statesmen.³

The minorities which have been mentioned above constitute the main groups which form the Lebanese mosaic. In addition to them should be mentioned several other small groups.

¹Salibi, p. 35.

²Hitti, p. 254.

³Salibi, p. 35.

Syrian Catholics are converts from the Syrian Orthodox Church. Like their Greek counterparts, they are affiliated with the Papacy, and their priests may marry. Syriac remains the language of their liturgy.

The small Assyrian community, refugees from Turkey, is Nestorian in doctrine.

Protestants are of many denominations. Presbyterians, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, Anglicans, and United Brethren are among the more important. Their members are mainly converts from the traditional churches, though a few non-Christians are inducted into the congregations at very infrequent intervals.

The presence of this large number of minority groups has made the development of national unity and pride a very slow process. Language and religious differences are formidable obstacles to be overcome, but the most serious problem is the minority complex which developed over the years. As these different communities lived as autonomous groups, isolated by the rugged terrain which made communication difficult and prevented contacts,

a psychological climate was thus created which . . . bred division, suspicion, and lack of cooperation . . . Throughout the country there prevailed a type of mentality, peculiar to a self-conscious minority, which clings to its rights and freedom, and refuses to compromise in the interests of general welfare and more permanent stability.¹

¹Habib A. Kurani, "Lebanon: Educational Reform," The Year Book of Education, 1949, (London: Evans Brothers, Ltd. 1949); pp. 449-50.

The Policy of Foreign Rule

As Lebanon's mountains invited the persecuted, so its plains beckoned to the invader. The latter's occupation policy has, like the presence of so many different groups, been a factor affecting Lebanon's collective spirit and sense of oneness. It will be necessary, therefore, to review the policies of various countries which occupied Lebanon when Phoenician power began to decline in the eighth century B.C.

After Phoenicia's three centuries of independence, invader after invader subdued the city-states. During the reign of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, Phoenicia was allowed to retain a large degree of autonomy in return for payment of tribute. During the Roman occupation, Phoenicia was divided into two districts, not, as was done later, to stifle a spirit of independence but for personal and administrative reasons.¹

As a whole, the policy of these first conquerors, while not seeking to unite the Phoenician city-states, did not aim to set Phoenician against Phoenician. This cannot be said of the other rulers who followed the Romans. Their rules were divisive, and their policy had a negative effect on the development of unity and national pride. For this reason we shall study the policies of the Arabs, Turkey, and France in more detail.

The Arab armies, imbued with the new faith preached by

¹Hitti, p. 190.

Muhammad, shattered the strength of the Roman armies at the Battle of Yarmouk in 636 A.D. As a result of this victory, the Middle East was opened to the Muslim invaders. Some of Lebanon's cities had already surrendered before this decisive conflict, and others fell soon after.

Following their conquest of the cities of the coastal plain, Muslim leaders tried to extend their direct rule over the Aramaic Christians who had moved into the northern half of the Lebanon Mountain range seeking a home for their hounded community. In their attempt, the new invaders failed: neither by cultural assimilation or by military conquest did they succeed. The Arabian Muslim soldier-colonists found the mountains, with their rugged terrain and bitter cold, very unattractive. Furthermore, the presence in the mountains of the Mardaites, a warlike Christian community which had been a thorn in the Arab side for over twenty-five years, thwarted the Muslim penetration of the region. In fact, two of the Muslim rulers, Mu'aawiyah and 'Abd-al-Malik, actually paid a regular tribute to the Mardaites, whom Byzantine rulers had also pacified with regular payments.¹ As a result of the Muslim failure to occupy the Lebanon Mountains, the area was left to become a Christian island in the sea of Islam.

Arab policy in the areas under their rule was, in brief, this: Arabian Muslims were to constitute an Islamic military

¹Ibid., pp. 244-46.

aristocracy structured on feudalistic lines. Non-Muslims, especially Jews and Christians, in return for paying heavy taxes were to be granted a certain degree of autonomy,¹ exemption from military service, and the protection of the Muslim authorities.² From this last provision non-Muslims acquired the name, ahl-al-dhimma--"protected people." In short Muslim policy was one of inequality between victor and vanquished. However, in spite of this policy, discrimination was rare.

As the Arab Empire declined in the fifteenth century, a new power was emerging to the north. That power, whose origin is a subject of controversy, shook the entire Western world when the Ottoman ruler, Mehmed II, conquered Constantinople in 1453.

When Ottoman might was checked in its eastward penetration by the Shii'ite Persian State, its architects turned southward to the lands occupied by their fellow Muslims.³ Sultan Selim defeated the Mamlouks in Syria in 1516 and conquered Egypt, their homeland, the following year. With the defeat of the Mamlouks, Lebanon passed into the fold of

¹In this they were following the policy adopted by Byzantine rulers.

²Ibid., p. 141.

³Wayne S. Vucinich, The Ottoman Empire: Its Record and Legacy, (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1965), pp. 9-18.

the Ottoman state there to remain for four centuries.

Lebanon's new rulers generally followed the policy fashioned by the Arabs. The feudal lords were confirmed in their fiefs and were granted the same autonomous privileges enjoyed under the Mamlouks. Within the framework of this autonomy, the Lebanese princes "acted independently on the domestic level, transmitted their holdings to their descendants, offered no military service to the sultan, exacted taxes and duties as they pleased, and even exercised the right of life and death over their subjects, and at least one of them concluded a treaty with a foreign power."¹ The Ottoman rulers dealt with these vassal princes through provincial governors who resided in Damascus, Tripoli, and Sidon.

The Ottoman authorities retained the administrative units devised by their Mamlouk successors with some modification. Whereas under the Arabs Lebanon had been parcelled between Tripoli, Damascus, and Safad, under the Turks it was divided between Tripoli and Damascus. In 1660, Sidon was constituted a district by itself to check further the spirit of independence. After the disturbances of 1860, the mountainous area east of Beirut¹ was made an autonomous

¹Hitti, p. 358.

²This area is often referred to as "The Mountain."

district, while the remaining areas remained attached to the old governates.

In dealing with the religious groups, which included by this time Sunni Muslims, Jews, Shii'ite Muslims, Jacobite Christians, Maronites, and Greek Orthodox, the new invaders retained the policy of the Arabs. Members of the various millets (religious communities) were largely left to their own devices under the supervision of their religious leaders, who were responsible to the Ottoman authorities for the good behavior of their flocks, the settling of their disputes and the collection of taxes from them.

The millet system, a policy dictated by expediency, led to the downfall of the empire. It isolated the different communities from each other and the rural communities from the outside world, opened the door to corruption on the part of ecclesiastical leaders who bled the people financially, made it possible for local nationalism to take root, and offered opportunity to the great powers for intrigue among the minorities.¹

It was during the Ottoman era that a new element, a sinister element, was added to the Lebanese tradition. That element was inter-sectarian conflict. It began, not between the Muslim (who was considered a citizen of the empire) and

¹Vucinich, pp. 59-60.

the Christian (who was the victim of discrimination in matters of dress, occupation, and citizenship) but between the Maronite and the Druze, both of whom had lived peacefully together for centuries. The Druze became alarmed when the Maronites began moving southward into their territory. Their alarm was deliberately heightened by the British and Turks who had sided with them--the English hoping to negate the growing influence of the French who had championed the Maronite cause, and the Turks seeking to destroy the solidarity of the Mountain population to justify tightening their control over the area.

Ibrahim Pasha, who occupied Lebanon from 1831-1840, further increased tension by arming the Maronites whom he had previously disarmed with Druze help. Ibrahim thus split the country into two wary, suspicious camps who were ready to attack each other at the slightest provocation.¹ Incidents did occur,² and these two camps were twice locked in bloody, senseless conflicts, one in 1845 and a second in 1860.

As a result of these conflicts, the Great Powers of Europe--Russia, Austria, England, France and Hungary--intervened. Ottoman officials, in consultation with representatives of the Powers, arrived at a plan that would,

¹Clyde G. Hess, Jr. and Herbert L. Bodman, Jr., "Confessionalism and Feudality in Lebanese Politics," The Middle East Journal, VIII (Winter, 1954), 11.

²The two incidents which touched off the massacres were a fist-fight and the shooting of a bird!

they felt, prevent future outbreaks of violence. Basically, the plan called for The Mountain to be under a non-Lebanese Christian governor who would be assisted by a council composed of two members from each of the six major religious groups. These members were to be chosen by the chiefs of each of the six districts of the Mountain.¹ Dayr-al-Qamar was to be the seat of this autonomous state which did not include the cities of the coast and the Biqaa'. These remained under direct Turkish rule.

Thus, the Ottoman rulers continued the policies of the Arabs, adding to them the elements of intersectorian conflict and representative government based on denominational interests.

Following the defeat of Turkey by the Allies in World War I, France received the Mandate over Lebanon. Though the act of Mandate was hastily drawn up, it did embody a noble concept and aimed at a high ideal--achieving independence based on law and order.²

To prepare Lebanon for independence, France continued many of the policies of the Turks!³ Representation according to religious denomination was continued,⁴ the millet system

¹Hess and Bodman, pp. 13-14.

²Hitti, pp. 487-88.

³Hess and Bodman, pp. 13,14.

⁴Ibid., p. 16.

was preserved intact, and the policy of playing one sect against another was retained. Whereas the Turks divided Lebanon to thwart independence, France united various districts for a similar purpose. In 1920, the coastal plain with its large cities and the Biqaa' was united with The Mountain under one administration. This move greatly reduced the Christians' majority since the new areas had large Muslim populations. It also brought under one regime groups of varying political maturity. The move was especially difficult for the Sunnis who formerly had been citizens of the Ottoman Empire. Now they were a minority group in a Christian state.¹

Not only did French mandate policy cause internal instability; it also attempted to isolate Lebanon from the nationalistic spirit which at that time was strong in the Arab world. France encouraged the idea that Lebanon is different from, even hostile to, the rest of the Arab world.²

Lebanon was granted legal independence in 1926 and actual independence in 1946 when the last of foreign troops were evacuated following the cessation of hostilities in Europe. The events in her turbulent period of independence clearly reveal the divisive effects of her geography, cultural heritage, and history. For one thing there has been

¹Hourani, p. 68.

²Ibid., p. 37.

a conflict of nationalisms. Sunni Muslims (hoping no doubt to regain their lost prestige) contend that Lebanon should be absorbed into a Syrian or Arab State with no autonomy but with guarantees for minorities. Other Muslims and some Christians who desire a lay nationalism hold that Lebanon should be gradually united with a Syrian or Arab state. The older generation of the different minority groups, on the other hand, contend that Lebanon is a place of refuge and should be completely separate from the Arab world so the various minorities may live in peace. Maronites believe that Lebanon is the eastern edge of the Western Christian world and not the western edge of the Arab Muslim world. They believe, too, that Lebanon is in no sense a part of the Arab world and should be independent with her face turned toward Europe. Other Lebanese, mainly Christians who want to remain fully Christians and fully Arab nationalists at the same time, try to extract and combine the elements of truth in all the other views. The latter group argues that Lebanon is Arab, that its history confers upon it a special status which makes it the Christian center of the Arab World and the gateway to the West, and that it should be a place where all sects can meet on equal terms.¹

Though time and events have modified the five views presented above, they remain essentially unchanged; and they remain divisive and sources of conflict. In 1958, for example,

¹Ibid., pp. 71-72.

Lebanon's approval of the anti-communist Baghdad Pact and her acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine brought her into conflict with Nasser's scheme for a secular, socialistic, non-aligned Arab state stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. Supporters of Nasser's doctrine saw in Lebanon's acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine, which was also anti-communist, a distinct threat to Nasser who was being aided by Russia. Hence, they were ready to support dissident politicians in their violent, bloody campaign to oust President Chamoun whom they feared was planning to amend the constitution and continue his policy another six years.¹ It is worthy of note that the conflict has not ended. When Chamoun, after being out of public office for ten years, was elected to parliament in 1968, pictures of Nasser suddenly appeared all over Beirut. It was only after Chamoun was shot by a young Muslim from Tripoli that security forces ordered the removal of all pictures--even those of DeGaulle which mysteriously began to appear beside those of Nasser!

As French influence is seen in Lebanon's flirtations with the West, so are the mountains' divisive effect and the legacy of the Phoenicians reflected in the conflict between conservatism and liberalism. This conflict is observed most easily and often in the economic sphere where leading statesmen defend private enterprise,² ridicule the plight of

¹Leila M. J. Meo, Lebanon, Improbable Nation (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), pp. 102-125; 165-180.

²The Daily Star (Beirut), October 1, 1965.

neighboring socialist states,¹ and leftists denounce the piracy of foreign banks,² capitalists and imperialists.³

The fracturing effect of Lebanon's history is seen in the extreme emphasis on sectarianism in society and government. The Arab and Ottoman policy of granting religious sects a large degree of autonomy has resulted in the creation of minor governments within the Lebanese nation. The Constitution of 1926 does not specify that these different religious groups shall be represented in the parliament; it only specifies that the various communities shall be equitably represented in public employment and in the Cabinet.⁴ However, President Bishaara al-Khoury, the late Riyaad al-Sulh, and other leaders⁵ met in 1943 and worked out a compromise referred to as the "National Pact." This pact or charter specified that the President, head of the army, and the chief of security were to be chosen from the Maronite community,⁶ and that for every six Christian Deputies there were to be five non-Christian Deputies.⁷

¹Ibid., April 3, 1967.

²Ibid., October 22, 1966.

³Ibid., November 29, 1966.

⁴Hess and Bodman, p. 16.

⁵Ibid., p. 24.

⁶Salibe, p. 34.

⁷The Daily Star (Beirut), March 17, 1967.

The denominational basis of Lebanese society, especially as it has been defined by the "National Charter," provides a certain degree of stability which the nation needs very much. Nevertheless, the weakness of this arrangement is far greater than the stability which it affords. For example, it not only relegates merit to a secondary position when appointments and promotions in public service are made, but it also creates a spirit of jealousy and distrust. Leaders of the various communities are ever on the watch to see that their sects are correctly represented in every department of public service.¹ The strife that the system encourages is seen in the threat of Shii'ite firemen to resign because a member of their sect was not represented in the group of fifteen senior officers of the brigade.²

A study of Table 2 reveals how difficult it is for government officials responsible for appointments and promotions to satisfy the various sects. It is no wonder that the confessional system, while providing some degree of stability, paralyzes executive action and retards the growth of a real democracy.

Another factor slowing the development of unity and national pride is a carryover from feudalism which is expressed in extreme loyalty to members of leading families. Political

¹Hourani, p. 70.

²The Daily Star (Beirut), January 4, 1968.

life centers about these personalities who spend vast sums to purchase votes in parliamentary elections.¹ The voter not only receives from the Deputy money for his vote but a promise of help in solving his vocational, economic and social problems.

TABLE 2

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF LEBANON, 1953^a

<u>Sect</u>	<u>Population</u>
Sunnis	286,237
Shii'ites	250,655
Druze	88,131
Maronites	423,708
Greek Catholics	90,788
Greek Orthodox	149,528
Protestants	13,585
Latin Catholics	4,446
Armenian Catholics . . .	14,582
Armenian Orthodox . . .	68,679
Chaldean	1,466
Syrian Catholic	6,063
Syrian Orthodox	4,847
Jews	6,192
Others	7,193

^aal-Bina (Beirut), April 10, 1960. This is only an estimation. The last official census was taken in 1944 (Hourani, p. 63). Community leaders apparently fear an official census might upset the the confessional balance.

The strength of this feudality is seen in the number of terms in parliament certain prominent families have served. Of the fifteen terms of parliament between 1920 and 1964, the Haidar and Arslan families have been represented thirteen

¹The Daily Star (Beirut), March 29, 1968. It is estimated that in the 1968 elections 10,000,000 LL were spent to lure voters to the polls.

thirteen times; the Khazin family twelve times; each of the Junblaat, As'ad, Hamaadeh, Husne, and Khouri families eleven times, and each of the Eddeh, Shihaab, Fadl, 'Ousayraan and Zawayn families ten times.¹

Against a background of a liberal-conservative conflict, clash of competing nationalisms, feudality, and denomination-alism, Lebanon has struggled to survive as a nation. The struggle had been of such intensity that she has had little incentive to undertake as a nation any project which may be attempted by individuals.

¹Naadii 22 Tishriin al-Thaanii, Al-Muwaatin wa al-Intikhaab fii Lubnaan, (Beirut: Anaaid Press, 1968), p. 37.

CHAPTER III

FACTORS SHAPING THE POLICY OF FREE EDUCATION

The Lebanese Constitution declares that education is free and not a monopoly of the state. This is the educational policy Lebanon accepted before the constitution specified it and the kind it has continued to accept since the adoption of the constitution. The factors which shaped Lebanon's nationalism and made the nation content with a free society and corresponding educational system have been discussed. In this chapter the factors which determined that system will be described.

Primitive Schools

The first factor which contributed to the creation of Lebanon's unique educational structure is the tradition of the first schools. These primitive schools apparently sprang from the cultural deposits left by the Sumerian and Babylonian civilizations which penetrated the Middle East in the third millenium B.C.

Two characteristics of the primitive schools of the Near East indicate their Sumerian origin: their name and their orientation. The Arabs named these early schools kataatiib. The singular form of the word is kuttaab which literally means "writers." Sumerian schools were mainly

writing schools whose pupils were trained to be scribes.¹ Another indication of Sumerian influence on the early schools is their religious orientation. The kataatiib were almost always associated with a mosque or church and their teachers were shaykhs or priests.² In Babylon "schools...were attached to the temples and were conducted by the priests."³ It is worthy of note that the schools of the Hebrews show the same Sumerian influence. The Hebrew school was named the synagogue school.

These early schools were indeed primitive. The curriculum was very meager. Religious instruction formed the major part of the program; the text was the holy book.⁴ In addition to learning the scriptures, the child learned the rudiments of arithmetic and writing.⁵

Teaching methods were as primitive as the curriculum of the kuttaab. The pupils, who were not graded according to age or ability, learned by repeating in unison what the

¹Hutton Webster, History of Civilization, (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1940), p. 146.

²Sabbah, La Nouvelle Orientation de l'Ecole Libanaise, (Lyon: Janody Press, 1950), p. 38.

³Webster, p. 146.

⁴Sabbah, p. 38.

⁵Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, 5th ed.; (London: Macmillan & Co., 1953), p. 408.

teacher read aloud.- After the teacher and class repeated sections of the lesson several times, the class attempted to repeat from memory the entire lesson while the teacher moved through the mass of chanting pupils who were seated on the floor, beating with a stick any student who failed to keep up with the recitation. Sabbah graphically and sarcastically describes the scene.

Flop! Frap! Frap! Et le bâton joue et le bâton joue. Voilà quel q'un de perdu dans le sentier des lignes! Quelle inattention et quelle mauvaise disposition pour la lecture spécialement, et pour les choses intellectuelles en général.¹

Many were the faults of these first schools; yet, apart from private tutors whom the wealthy employed for the instruction of their children² and family schools of the eighteenth century,³ they remained the main source⁴ of enlightenment until the arrival of missionaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As late as 1822 the only schools in Beirut, then a city with a population of 8,000, were the kataatiib!⁵

¹Sabbah, pp. 40-46.

²Webster, p. 435.

³Mawaahib Ustah et al., 'Ard 'Aam li Wada' al-Ta'liim fil Lubnaan (Beirut: Al-Markaz al-Iqliimii li Tadriib Kibaar Muwadhdhafii al-Ta'liim fi al-Duwal al-'Arabiyyah, n.d.), p. 14.

⁴In addition to these three types of schools, there were the madaaris which were essentially theological schools. These schools were open to boys who had finished the "program" of the kuttaab. The madaaris were usually endowed by the state.

⁵"Tarjamat al-Kitaab al-Muqaddas ila al-'Arabii," Al-Nashra, XCVIII (November, 1965), p. 391.

These rude schools, which were rooted in the past, kept burning the flickering lamp of learning. But they did more. They also left behind a tradition of indigenous schools, which were administered by the local religious community, and which were free from interference by the civil authorities.

Western Involvement in Lebanon

In addition to the tradition of the kataatib, there were outside influences which worked to create a free educational system in Lebanon. The first of these was Western involvement in the country. Lebanon's access to the sea, temperate climate, autonomy, and large Christian population which looked for protection from abroad¹ made her very attractive to the West.

Lebanon first felt the direct power of the West during the period of the Crusades. Between 1097 and 1270 eight successive expeditions of crusaders passed through the country. Parts of it were ruled by these Christian warriors when they formed four short-lived Latin States along the Mediterranean coast. On the whole, this period of Western influence was negative. The violence of the invaders and their inability to communicate with those they conquered bred only hatred and contempt.²

¹Kurani, "Lebanon: Educational Reform," pp. 451-52.

²Hitti, Lebanon in History, p. 310.

The West exerted a more lasting and positive influence on Lebanon through its contacts with the Maronite community which was the most powerful in The Mountain. The first of these contacts was made in the twelfth century when the Maronite Church renounced its monothelistic views and submitted to the Pope. The ties between the Maronites and the Papacy were strengthened in the sixteenth century when the ecclesiastical affiliation of 1181 was reaffirmed and a seminary for the training of Maronite priests was opened in Rome.¹

France also established strong ties with the Maronites. During the Crusades, Maronites served as guides for the crusaders, and when Louis IX landed at 'Akka, 25,000 Maronites welcomed him, bringing gifts and provisions. Such a reception prompted from him a letter dated May 21, 1250, in which he is alleged to have said that the Maronite nation is part of the French nation. The letter seems to be true for Maronites in the Latin States which were ruled by the French enjoyed the juridicial rights and privileges of the Latin bourgeoisie.² Nearly four hundred years after Louis IX visited Lebanon, France formally adopted the Maronites. In 1649, Louis XIV made the following declaration:

¹Ustah, et. al., p. 13.

²Hitti, Lebanon in History, pp. 320-21.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all whom these present come, greeting: Let it be known that we. . . do take and place in our protection and special safeguard the most Reverend Patriarch and all the prelates, ecclesiastics and Maronite Christian laics, who dwell in Mount Lebanon. . . and, to this end, we commend our. . . Ambassador in the Levant, and all those who succeed him in this post, to show favor to these former. . . by their care, good offices, entreaty and protection before the porte of our very dear and perfect friend the Grand Seigneur, or elsewhere as needs be, so that there will not be accorded to them any ill treatment, but on the contrary, that they may continue freely their spiritual exercises and functions.¹

The same declaration also enjoined French consuls to assist, financially and otherwise, Christian Lebanese who desired to travel to Christian lands for business or study.²

France's adoption of the Maronites was the result of a development which began in 1535. In that year, Francis I of France concluded a treaty, the so-called Capitulations, with the Ottoman ruler, Suleiman. By the treaty France obtained special trading, religious, and consular privileges in the Ottoman Empire.³ One of the privileges gained by the treaty was religious freedom for her citizens who were residing in the Ottoman Empire.⁴

¹J. C. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, p. 24, translating from the French text in Baron de Testa, Recueil des traites de la Porte Ottomane avec les puissances etrangeres, (Paris, 1866), II, 140-41.

²Ibid.

³Vucinich, The Ottoman Empire: Its Record and Legacy, pp. 19-20.

⁴Hurewitz, pp. 2-3.

By 1740 France had strengthened her position in the Levant,¹ having become by then the protector not only of the Maronites but of all adherents of the Latin rite. The Capitulations of 1740 made this protection official.² The Capitulations enabled the French to send into Lebanon missionaries who apparently felt that one of the best ways to protect Catholics was by converting adherents of other rites. In carrying out their task, "Jesuit, Capuchin, and Lazarist missionaries. . . founded schools and churches."³

France was not the only European nation to secure concessions from the Sultan. Citing the precedent of the Franco-Turkish treaties, other European powers were able to sign similar agreements with the Ottoman government.⁴ As a result of this diplomacy, England came to be recognized as the protector of Protestants in the Ottoman Empire, and Russia became the protector of the Orthodox. The United States did not establish formal relations with Turkey until 1830 and did not learn the art of diplomacy until the end of the nineteenth century.⁵ However, the first American missionaries to the

¹The term "Levant" refers to the eastern Mediterranean area.

²Sabbah, p. 25.

³Vucinich, p. 83.

⁴Berger, The Arab World Today, p. 430.

⁵Vucinich, pp. 172, 177.

Levant were able to operate quite freely because they travelled on British passports. The British protection which they enjoyed was significant.¹

As a result of the Capitulations, American and European missionaries were able to enlist the aid of their respective governments in promoting their work. Catholic missionaries were frequently reminded of France's position as protector of Latin Christians in the Levant and were encouraged to seek the help of French officials when such assistance was needed.² In 1867, British missionaries enlisted the aid of the Prince of Wales³ in securing from the Sultan official permission to open schools in Lebanon.⁴ As late as 1865, the American Board was encouraged to seek the assistance of the British government in stopping the persecution of American missionaries by Turkish officials.⁵

Western involvement in the Levant facilitated the emergence of another tradition of free schools--schools opened and operated without the guidance and assistance of civil authorities.

¹Rao H. Lindsay, Nineteenth Century American Schools in the Levant: A Study of Purposes ("University of Michigan Comparative Education Dissertation Series, No. 5"; Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan School of Education, 1965).

²Sabbah, p. 25.

³The Prince later became King Edward VII.

⁴Scott, pp. 21-22.

⁵Lindsay, p. 204.

First of all, Western involvement stimulated local church officials to provide a better education than that found in the kataatiib. The leaders of this effort were young men who had been educated in the seminary which had been opened by Pope Gregory XIII in Rome for the Maronites. These men returned to Lebanon with new appreciation for education, and some of them were instrumental in founding schools. Two were opened in 1624, another was begun at 'Amtoura in 1728, and a fourth school was begun at Zgarta in 1735. Though these were the first European-type schools in Lebanon, they had little influence. However, the school which was opened in 1787 at 'Ain Waraqah by the Maronite Patriarch met with greater success. Its students, many of whom were to become leaders of the cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century, studied Arabic, Syriac, natural science, and philosophy.¹ This school, the mother of private schools in Lebanon, has been fitly named by Orientalists the "Sorbonne of the East."

However, the influence of Western involvement in creating a tradition of free education in Lebanon is seen most clearly in the educational contributions of missionary groups who were able to enter the country on the strength of the treaties

¹As'ad Al-Shadyaaq (Beirut, 1878), pp. 4-6. Al-Shadyaaq, who is reputed to be the first Protestant martyr in Lebanon, attended the 'Ain Waraqah school in 1814.

between their countries and the Ottoman Empire. These treaties made it possible for missionaries to surmount the opposition of Ottoman officials who, on religious and political grounds, feared their entry into the empire.

The Jesuits were the most active of the Catholic missionaries who came to Lebanon. Arriving in Lebanon in the first part of the seventeenth century, they inaugurated their educational activities by reviving schools which had been opened by local Maronite priests. When the French government abolished their order in 1775, the Jesuits were forced to leave Lebanon. By 1834, they had returned to Lebanon and had resumed their work. In the following decades, they established schools in nearly all the important cities and towns of Lebanon. By 1928, the missionaries had opened in Lebanon and Syria 145 schools whose enrollment was 10,800. The majority of these schools were in Lebanon. The crowning work of the Jesuits was the founding of the University of Saint Joseph in 1875.¹

It appears that the source of the zeal which moved the Jesuits to their educational accomplishments in Lebanon was, apart from their faith in the converting power of their type of education, their loyalty to their order whose founder, Ignatius Loyala, was possessed by the desire to convert the

¹Matthews and Akrawi, Education in Arab Countries of the Near East, p. 471.

Muslims in the Holy Land and reconquer territory lost to the Protestants.¹ In the light of these two aims, Lebanon was an inviting mission field to the Jesuits--especially after the arrival of American missionaries in the first part of the nineteenth century.

Other European missionary groups made important contributions to the educational efforts of the Catholics. The Lazarists carried much of the burden of the work during the "exile" of the Jesuits. The Christian Brothers, popularly named les Frères, came late in the nineteenth century and opened schools in Tripoli and Beirut. In 1945 they had six large schools in these two cities.² Nuns also contributed to the success of the Catholic educational mission. The Sisters of Charity opened schools in Beirut, Baalbek, and Damascus.³ To the efforts of French Catholic missionaries, there were added those of missionaries from Italy, Russia, Germany, and Ireland.⁴

The influence of these European Catholic schools has

¹Albert H. Newman, A Manual of Church History, (2nd ed.; Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1931), II, 366, 372-73.

²Matthews and Akrawi, p. 469.

³George Antonius, The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement (Beirut: Khayat's College Book Cooperative, 1938), pp. 44-45.

⁴UNESCO, Compulsory Education in the Arab States ("Studies on Compulsory Education, No. 16"; Paris, 1956), p. 19.

continued through the years. In the period between the two world wars, over 80 percent of the foreign schools were French.¹ Considering the fact that only a few of the French schools were sponsored by lay societies, it becomes clear that the vast majority of European schools operating in Lebanon at that time were Catholic. Since World War II, the number of European schools operating in Lebanon has declined; nevertheless, in 1963 over 60 percent of the secondary schools sponsored by foreign religious groups were being operated by European missions.²

Protestants from Europe also played an important part in the development of the tradition of a free educational system in Lebanon. The group which made the greatest contribution was the British-Syrian Mission. The founder of the Mission and its early leader was an indefatigable Englishwoman, Elizabeth Bowen Thompson, who arrived in Beirut in 1860, the year of the terrible massacres. One of Mrs. Thompson's first projects was a class for widows left by the Druze assaults on Maronite villages. Classes for children of the widows also were begun. In 1862, the Teacher Training Department was

¹Najla Izzedin, The Arab World: Past, Present, and Future, (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953), p. 178.

²Nazar Selhab, "Dawr al-Ta'liim fii Binaa: al-Watan wa Izhaarihi," Lecture given before a select group in Beirut, Lebanon, 1965, and transcribed by Zuhair Fathalla. Both Selhab and Fathalla are officials of the Ministry of Education.

begun and a school for girls of the upper classes was opened in Beirut.¹ Facing great persecution, the women of the British-Syrian Mission² opened other schools for girls in towns and villages. By 1897 the mission had 52 schools³ with an enrollment of 3,789 pupils.⁴ Some of the schools were closed during the dark days of World War I and were never reopened. By 1940 only 923 pupils were enrolled in the Mission's schools,⁵ and twenty years later the Mission was operating only two schools, one for girls and the other for boys, with an enrollment of 1,080.

Two other schools which were opened by European Protestants also deserve mention. The first, Brummana High School, was begun in 1876 by the Committee of the Service Council of the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. The enrollment of the school was over 700 in 1968. The other school is the Collège Protestant Français de Jeunes Filles which was founded in 1927. Its enrollment was 1,496 in 1968.

In addition to the missions established by the churches of Europe, there were also lay missions. One of these,

¹Frances E. Scott, Dare and Persevere (London: Lebanon Evangelical Mission, 1960), pp. 14-19.

²The mission has now changed its name to Leban Evangelical Mission.

³Some of these were formerly under American supervision.

⁴Scott, p. 36.

⁵Ibid., p. 114.

the Mission Laïque Française, opened schools which it felt would give to Lebanon a view of modern France other than that presented by the French Catholic schools. In 1946, there were two Laïque schools with an enrollment of 1,580.¹ The two schools have continued to operate until the present time.

American missionaries also contributed to the development of a free educational system in Lebanon. Like their Catholic counterparts, American missionaries were motivated by the desire to dispel the spiritual darkness covering the Holy Land. The first missionaries sent from America went under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which was the foreign mission agency of Congregational, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed churches of New England. These pioneers went to the Near East understanding fully that the Board's plans for the evangelization of the area called for the opening of schools.²

The first American school in Lebanon was opened in 1824 when two missionaries assembled six pupils in their home for instruction. By 1827 there were thirteen common schools with about six hundred pupils.³ This initial success was a source of great encouragement to the missionaries and increased their

¹Matthews and Akraw, pp. 459, 471.

²Lindsay, p. 88. This fact seems to prove wrong the view that the early missionaries turned to education when other methods such as preaching proved ineffective.

³Ibid., p. 90.

determination to give to education a major role in their future work.

Education did play a major role in the work of the American Board in Lebanon. Though hampered by the changing policy of the Board with regard to the aim of the schools, the missionaries continued to open schools. By 1858 enrollment in the simple elementary schools reached 1,065. Thirty-three years later the enrollment was 6,087.¹ However, about 1875 the mission began to regard the elementary schools as a burden and began to divest itself of them whenever they could.²

The retrenchment which began about 1875 has continued. The large number of the mission's buildings which are to be found locked or in ruin in scores of villages is mute testimony of this policy. By 1936 American Board schools had an enrollment of about 3,000.³ The number of the Board's schools has declined steadily; only a few are to be found in the larger cities, and these are under the control of the local synod.

Lindsay believes that the failure of the American Board to maintain control over its schools was a major factor in the establishment of such a diversity of private schools which were opened to fill the educational vacuum existing in the nation. Lindsay, who probably did not fully appreciate the

¹Ibid., p. 101.

²Ibid.

³The Missionary Way, Ninety-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (New York: The Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1936), p. 81.

magnitude of Maronite-French influence, also theorizes that the Americans might have developed a national school system had they continued their educational work.¹

Other American missionary groups have also opened schools in Lebanon. Baptists began their educational activities in the first part of the twentieth century. Seventh Day Adventists began to open schools after World War II.

The Opening of National Schools

The cultural and educational ferment of the nineteenth century did not leave local religious and lay groups unmoved. The cultural renaissance affected nearly every sector--religious, lay, and commercial, and all of these sectors responded to the intellectual and spiritual stimulus from the West. The result of their response was the opening of scores of schools and the strengthening of the tradition of a free educational system.

Many of the new schools opened by local groups were begun by religious organizations. Maronites, responding to the challenge of American missionaries, converted some of their monasteries into schools. In 1876 Al-Hickmah College was founded. From this Maronite secondary school have come many of Lebanon's leading men.² Maronite nuns also opened

¹Lindsay, p. 180.

²Matthews and Akrawi, p. 507.

schools in Maronite towns along the coast, in the Lebanon Mountains, and in the Biqaa' Valley.¹

Other Christian groups were moved to action. Catholics opened, in 1865, the Patriarchal College in Beirut, and the Oriental College in Zahleh was opened thirty-three years later. In 1833 the Greek Orthodox began their educational work and over a period of forty years opened four schools.²

Muslims were slow in responding to the educational excitement of that period, but respond they did. In 1878 during the time of Midhat Pasha, Muslims organized the Islamic Benevolent Purposes Society. The Society, composed of laymen and supported by large trust funds, opened schools in Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon. These schools for a time were part of the state system.³ The Society has become one of the most active of all the benevolent educational societies in Lebanon. Other Muslim groups were joined by the Druze community in opening schools.

Individuals also were attracted to the educational scene. Some were wealthy Lebanese who, desiring to invest their earnings made abroad, put their money in private schools. Others, in imitation of American missionary schools, opened

¹Antonius, p. 45.

²Matthews and Akraw, p. 509.

³Saati' Al-Husrii (ed.), Hawliyah al-Thaqafiyah al-'Arabiyyah, al-Sanah al-Oula, 1946-1947, (Cairo: Jaami'ah al-Duwal al-'Arabiyyah, 1949), p. 315.

boarding schools which they claimed would prepare for entrance into the American University. One missionary wrote in 1911 that "the country has gone wild over education, especially native effort at establishing local boarding schools."¹

The rapid growth of the local private school movement is reflected in Table 3. According to other statistics for

TABLE 3

GROWTH OF NATIONAL PRIVATE
SCHOOLS IN LEBANON^a

<u>School Year</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>
1925-1926.	578
1930-1931.	768
1935-1936.	789
1941-1942.	989

^aConstructed from data in Hasan Al-Hajja, Naadiya Awn and Kariim Nahra, al-'Ard al-Thaanii li Wada' al-Ta'liim fii al-Johouriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Iqliimii li Tadriib Kibaar Muwadhhdhaffii al-Ta'liim fii al-Duwal al-'Arbiyyah, 1963), p. 42.

the school year 1941-1942,² 975 of the 989 local schools were sponsored by denominations or religious societies. Although the small number of local lay schools (14) casts doubts as to

¹Lindsay, p. 197 quoting BFMPUSA, Annual Report 1911, p. 413.

²Kurani, p. 504, citing General des Intérêts Communs, Recueil de Statistiques de la Syrie et du Liban, 1942-1943 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1945), p. 31.

the accuracy of the statistics, it is clear that by 1942 most of the schools were being operated by religious groups. In little over a decade, that situation was altered. Nearly 50 percent of the two hundred secondary schools operating in 1963 were local lay schools.¹

Ottoman Educational Policy

Another factor which influenced the development of a free system of education in Lebanon was the attitude of the Ottoman government toward education. The Turks, who ruled Lebanon for over four hundred years, cared little for education either at home or in the provinces. During the years of the Empire's history, the Turks were too busy on the battlefields to be concerned with schools. In time, however, the elite of the Empire became relatively well educated; but to maintain their superiority and protect Islam, they maintained a strict monopoly over education.² The common people had to be content with the simple religion-dominated education of the kuttaab.

In the provinces, Ottoman rule was devastating to local culture, and in non-Muslim communities, it discouraged almost every form of learning.³ In the Arab world "the Ottoman Turks ossified Arabic culture, banning Arabic except in courts and mosques, halting poetry, science and education - just as the

¹Selhab, "Dawr al-Ta'liim"

²Vulcinich, p. 70.

³Ibid., pp. 68-69.

European Renaissance was in full bloom."¹ This does not mean that Ottoman officials forbade the non-Muslim communities from having schools. In the eyes of these officials, the rude schools of the non-Muslims were a part of their religious life, and this was of no concern to the Empire.

The Ottoman attitude toward education was altered during the middle of the nineteenth century. The disintegration of the Empire and the influence of Western ideas prompted a series of reforms which began at the end of the eighteenth century. The historic reform decree of 1839, Hatt-i Sherif of Gulhane, promised equality and justice for all Ottoman subjects but did not mention education. Nevertheless, the reform decree did inspire the beginning of a new-type secular secondary school, the rushdiye, which soon eclipsed the older madaaris.²

The Ottoman reform which had the greatest effect on Lebanon was similar to the reform decree of 1839. Proclaimed on February 18, 1856, the Hatt-i Humayun--drawn up at the insistence of the European Powers, liberal Turks, and spokesmen of oppressed peoples--reaffirmed the promises of the 1839 decree and proclaimed new ones. For example, it promised "codification of penal and commercial law, prison reform, establishment of mixed courts,...and abandonment of the death

¹Time, July 14, 1967, p. 29.

²Vucinich, p. 42.

sentence for apostacy to Islam."¹ In addition, the decree provided that "in the towns, small boroughs, and villages where the whole population is of the same religion, no obstacle shall be offered to the repair, according to their original plan, of buildings set apart for Religious Worship, for Schools, for Hospitals, and for Cemeteries..."² In addition to this indirect recognition of denominational schools, the decree also provided for the opening of public schools: "Moreover, every community is authorized to establish public schools of science, art, and industry...which shall be under the control of a mixed council of public instruction..."³ Thus, by this decree, the Ottoman reformers gave official approval to the educational reforms which had been inaugurated earlier.

As a result of the new interest in education within the Empire, Ottoman officials organized a public educational system which consisted of a primary school of three years, a post-primary school of three years, and a secondary school of five years. During the first part of the twentieth century the first two stages were combined.⁴ By the end

¹Ibid., p. 95.

²Hurewitz, pp. 151-52 quoting U. S. Congress, Special Session (March, 1881), Senate, Executive Documents, Vol. 3, No. 3., The Capitulations by E. A. Van Dyck, part 1, pp. 108-11.

³Ibid.

⁴UNESCO, Compulsory Education in the Arab States, pp. 18-19.

of 1919, there were in Lebanon 164 public schools with an enrollment of 21,000.¹ With the development of public education there came increased control over all schools within the Empire.²

French Mandate Policy

If the embryonic public educational program in Lebanon had been encouraged, the present educational policy of Lebanon would probably have been different. However, World War I freed Lebanon from Ottoman rule and interrupted the country's educational development.

Following the defeat of Turkey in World War I, the League of Nations placed many of the Arab states which had been part of the Ottoman Empire under the tutelage of France and England who were to prepare them for independence. France received the Mandate over Lebanon.

According to the terms of the Mandate, France was to bear the responsibility of developing public education. The Mandate also stated that denominations and foreign missionary societies were to have complete freedom to open schools and carry out educational projects.³ Such schools were, however, to conform to general regulations to be laid down by mandate and local authorities.

¹Al-Hajja, 'Awn, and Nahra, p. 42. Only one of these was a secondary school.

²Geoffrey Lewis, Turkey ("Nations of the Modern World;" 3rd ed.; London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1965), p. 40.

³Kurani, p. 453.

To fulfill their educational responsibility as the mandatary over Lebanon, French officials established the Division of Public Instruction. This Division, which was the highest educational authority in the land, was responsible for broad planning and the protection of foreign schools. French officials also established the Ministry of Public Instruction which was actually a department within the Division of Public Instruction. A French advisor was assigned to the Ministry, ostensibly to assist Lebanese officials, but he was in reality its head.¹

According to the spirit and text of the Mandate, France was to prepare the country for independence and self-rule; the development of public education was one of the means by which this was to be accomplished. France, however, set about to achieve the cultural assimilation of Lebanon.² Mandate officials made the teaching of French compulsory in all schools, both public and private, and in actual practice placed more stress on it than on Arabic. "In some districts, where the official in charge was more than usually zealous, school children were taught to sing la Marseillaise, who were scarcely able to read their own mother tongue."³ In addition, French-speaking schools were openly favored. Some of them had French instructors who were provided by the

¹Ibid., p. 453-54.

²Ibid., p. 456.

³Antonius, p. 374.

Mandate officials.¹ Local lay schools were kept under strict control.

To establish her presence in Lebanon, France neglected public education to the same degree that she favored French schools. Table 4 shows the decline in public school enrollment during the first two phases of the Mandate.²

TABLE 4

ENROLLMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS
IN LEBANON, 1918-1936^a

<u>School Year</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
1918-1919.	21,000
1920-1921.	17,000
1922-1923.	16,000
1924-1925.	8,256
1926-1927.	6,733
1928-1929.	11,728
1930-1931.	13,385
1936-1937.	16,153

^aConstructed from data in al-Hajja, 'Awn, and Nahra, p. 42.

The enrollment figures seem to support the view that during the period 1920-1926 many of the French Mandate officials were unsuited for the responsibility of guiding Lebanon toward independence. In 1926, many of these officials were replaced by personnel who were better qualified for the task.³ This change is reflected in the increase in

¹Kurani, p. 456.

²The Three periods of the Mandate are as follows: 1920-1926, 1926-1936, 1936-post World War II. In 1936 France came to terms with Arab nationalists (Antonius, pp. 375-384).

³Antonius, pp. 375-384.

after 1926. Nevertheless, after sixteen years of French administration, public school enrollment was far below the enrollment of the year 1918-1919--the last year of Ottoman rule.

In short, France, instead of developing public education, threw her support behind private education. In so doing, she strengthened further the tradition of free education--a tradition rooted in ancient cultures, nourished by Western cultural and diplomatic involvement in the Near East, and cherished by local groups who saw in private schools protection for their denominations or hope of financial gain.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF
THE FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The Constitution of 1926 declares that education is free but must conform to "general prescriptions concerning public education which are decreed by the State."¹ This chapter will outline the most important of the state regulations which concern free education. The majority of these regulations are to be found in Marsoum 1436, which was issued March 23, 1950, and the law² entitled Tandhiim al-Hayah al-Ta'liimiyyah fii al-Ma'aahid al-Khaasah which was issued June 15, 1956.

Regulations Governing the Opening and
Administration of Free Schools

The opening of non-public schools and their administration are regulated by the provisions of Marsoum 1436. Article 1 states that "no person is entitled to open a private school without obtaining official permission given by a decree based

¹UNESCO, World Survey of Education, II, 667.

²A marsoum (decree) is issued by the Council of Ministers; a law (qaanoun) is passed by Parliament and ratified by the President of the Republic who also presides over the Council of Ministers.

on the recommendation of the Minister of National Education and Fine Arts."¹ Article 6 states that in applying for a permit to open a school the following documents must be submitted: (1) the official identity card of the school's director, (2) copies of his academic degrees, (3) a copy of his police record, (4) a statement regarding places of the director's residence and vocations followed during the five years previous to the time of applying for the permit, (5) a blueprint of the building to be used for the school, and (6) a statement from public health officials certifying that the building conforms to the building code. Article 6 also stipulates that if a society requests permission to open a school it must submit with the documents specified above a copy of the society's constitution, a copy of its official permit, and an official certificate of good conduct for the head of the society. The article states also that co-education for students above the age of twelve is permitted only by special permission granted by the Ministry of National Education. Article 11 warns that every unlicensed school will be closed.

Most of the articles of Marsoum 1436 are concerned with the administration of the school. Article 3 states that "no

¹Al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wazaarah al-Tarbiyat al-wataniyyah wa al-Funoun al-Jamillah, Marsoum 1436, March 23, 1950. Hereafter this decree shall be cited as Marsoum 1436.

person who is less than eighteen years of age or who does not have an official academic degree or equivalent school diploma is authorized to teach."¹ Article 4 lists the qualifications of the principal. It reads:

No person is qualified to direct (1) an elementary school if he is below the age of twenty-one or does not have at least the Elementary-Complimentary Studies Certificate² or its equivalent..., (2) an institution for secondary education if he is less than twenty-one years of age or does not have at least the Baccalaureate Certificate for Secondary Education³ or its equivalent, or (3) an institution for elementary or secondary education which accepts boarders if he is less than twenty-five years of age."⁴

Article 5 forbids the employment of a principal or teacher who has been convicted of a crime, misdemeanor, or immorality.

In addition to outlining some of the qualifications of principals and teachers, the decree also deals with the curriculum, text books, language, and records. Article 12 makes the teaching of Arabic to Lebanese students obligatory. Article 13 declares that the academic program of non-public schools is the official program of state schools. The article, however, permits private school principals to add other subjects not specified in the official program, on the condition that adding these subjects does not affect the academic

¹Ibid.

²This certificate is granted to those who succeed in the government examinations given at the end of the fourth year of post-elementary studies.

³Students who pass the government examinations given at the completion of the sixth and seventh years of post-elementary education, receive this certificate.

⁴Marsoum 1436.

standard of the various stages. Article 13 also permits private schools to issue diplomas. Article 14 specifies that in the study of Lebanon's history, geography, and moral and civic affairs only those texts approved by the Ministry of Education may be used. The penalty for using forbidden text books is described in Article 15. This article provides that schools whose principals use a proscribed text after being warned by the Ministry will be closed for a year, and if the principals repeat the infraction thereafter their schools will be completely closed. Article 16 instructs principals to keep two registers for recording information on all teachers and students. Article 17 specifies that principals of private schools are to submit at the beginning of every year a report which includes the names of teachers and their diplomas, a statement on the condition of the school, and the number of pupils enrolled and the denominations to which they belong.

The decree also regulates changes which are made in the building and in the administration. Article 8 declares that

every change which occurs in the nature of the school or which violates the provisions of this decree must receive prior approval from the Ministry of National Education. If a principal is replaced by another, then the school owner must submit to the Ministry of National Education all the documents pertaining to the new principal which are specified in Parts 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Article 6.¹

Article 9 stipulates that a change of buildings requires permission from the Ministry of Education.

¹Ibid.

Article 18, which delegates responsibility for the enforcement of these regulations, states: "All of the private educational institutions whether national or foreign will submit to the supervision of the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts in all matters related to the execution of this decree."¹

The Organization of the Teaching Body

Six years after the issuance of Marsoum 1436, the Lebanese Parliament, at the insistence of the Teachers Syndicate which called for a strike that closed most of Beirut's private schools for several days, passed the law which reorganized the teaching body in private schools. Actually the law is a modification of al-Marsoum al-Ishtiraa'ii 212 of August 31, 1942 and Qaanoun of March 27, 1951.

The new law is composed of eight sections which are divided into sixty-six articles. The articles of Section One are of a general nature. Article 1 stipulates that all private educational institutions of Lebanon and their teaching bodies are subject to the law. Article 3 defines Gratuitous Schools as those institutions which do not charge tuition fees. Article 4, describing the teaching body, says that it includes

anyone who teaches, supervises or does administrative work connected with teaching.... Members of the teaching body are of two categories: those included in the permanent staff² and those who are not part

¹Ibid.

²Teachers of this group are similar to teachers on tenure in American schools.

of the permanent staff and who receive their wages on the basis of special contracts.¹

Article 5 states that the school year consists of twelve months and that the academic year consists of nine months. Both the school year and the academic year begin on the first of October.

Section II of the new law contains regulations related to the teaching body. The following are the most important:

Article 7 - The appointment of all members of the teaching body included in the permanent staff is subject to the same laws and regulations governing the appointment of members of the teaching body in government schools with the exception of those conditions referring to age and examination.

Article 10 - Holders of University degrees shall be classified Instructors, Grade 6.²

Article 11 - Members of the teaching body are appointed for a probationary period of two years at most.

Article 12 - At the close of his probationary period a teacher, or instructor or a professor of secondary education is either confirmed in his appointment or else he is dismissed.

Article 13 - Members of the teaching body in private institutions included in the permanent staff shall be subject to the same conditions of promotion as are prescribed for government employees.

Article 14 - To the salary specified in the permanent staff shall be added a family allowance equal to that paid to Government employees according to laws actually in force.

¹Al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Majlis al-Nuwwaab, Qaanoun: Tandhiim al-Hayah al-Tal'liimiyyah fii al-Ma'aahid al-Khaasah, June 15, 1956, p. 1. Hereafter this law shall be cited as Qaanoun June 15, 1956.

²For purposes of determining salaries, teachers are assigned a rank and grade. There are four ranks each of which has six grades.

Article 15 - Members of the teaching body included in the permanent staff shall teach a minimum of 24 periods or a maximum of 30 periods per week in elementary schools; a minimum of 20 or a maximum of 24 periods per week in the upper elementary or the four lower secondary years. In the final three years of secondary school 15 periods a week shall be the minimum and 18 the maximum. A period is from 45 to 60 minutes duration.

Article 16 - Members of the teaching body included in the permanent staff shall not be permitted to work in more than one Institute at any one time. Nevertheless, those who teach in the upper three secondary classes or their equivalents in vocational or art institutions and are included in the permanent staff of any Institute may enter into contract with other Institutes provided the total number of their working periods does not exceed (27) periods or hours per week.¹

Sections III and IV² deal with salaries, leave, and dismissal from service. Most of the provisions of these sections are identical with those which apply to government employees. For example, Article 20 states that "the same scale of salaries specified for the permanent staff of government schools will be applied to members of the teaching body who are a part of the permanent staff of private institutions."³ Article 21 specifies the amount to be deducted from the teacher's salaries and paid into the Sandouq al-Ta'widaat.⁴ The article also specifies the amount the school is to pay into the fund. Married women teachers are entitled to maternity leave under the provisions of Article 23. The method of dealing with

¹Qaanoun April 15, 1956, pp. 2,3.

²Many of the articles in these and following sections have been amended by Marsoum 17384, September 2, 1964.

³Qaanoun April 15, 1965, p. 5.

⁴This is a fund administered by the state which provided termination pay for members of the permanent staff.

delinquent teachers is outlined in Article 26. According to the provisions of this article, the teacher who fails to carry out his duties is liable to: (1) a letter of rebuke, (2) a delay of up to ten days in receiving his salary, (3) a delay of up to a month in receiving his salary, (4) a delay of up to two years in receiving his promotion, and (5) dismissal without termination pay. If the administration imposes either of the last three penalties on a teacher deemed delinquent, that teacher has the right of appeal to a Disciplinary Board whose composition is determined by Article 28. Article 29 in its amended form describes the way a teacher who has been dismissed for reasons other than disciplinary is to appeal his case to a committee composed of an equal number of teachers and owners of schools.¹

The provisions of the next three sections are related to the organization of the Sandouq al-Ta'wii'daat, responsibility of the schools for reporting and paying to the Sandouq, and penalties which may be imposed on schools which violate the provisions of the law. Articles 47 and 52 require the administration of private schools to pay the amounts specified in Article 21 and to submit before the end of each calendar year the names of all teachers; information about their diplomas, the number of hours they teach weekly, subjects they teach

¹Akram Sagiir Haffaar et al., Al-'Ard al-Raabi' li Wada' al-Ta'liim fi al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Iqliimii li Tadriib Kibaar Mudwadhafii al-Ta'liim fii al-Duwal al-'Arabiyyah, 1965), p. 20.

to the various classes; and copies of the contracts between the administration and teachers who are not part of the permanent staff. Article 57 specifies the penalties which may be imposed for a violation of the law.

Any contravention to the provisions of this Law, after a previous warning in writing from the Ministry of National Education, shall be punishable by a fine ranging from 100 (one hundred) to 500 (five hundred) Pounds Lebanese. In case of repetition, the fine shall be from 500 (five hundred) to 5000 (five thousand) Pounds. Should the contravention be again repeated, the Ministry of National Education shall have the right to close the Institution either for a definite period or finally. In this case the Institute shall bear all the indemnities for discharge from service due to the members of the teaching body.¹

It is evident from the summary of the two main statutes which relate to free education in Lebanon that many of the regulations which they contain are quite detailed, especially the second of the two laws. For example, that law specifies the number of periods a teacher may teach in one week and sets the salary for holders of a university degree. These details may come as a surprise in the light of the constitution which speaks of "general regulations" according to which free schools are to operate.

The Purpose and the Limitations of the Regulations

It seems evident that one of the purposes for the regulations is the maintenance of peace within the nation

¹Qaanoun April 15, 1956, p.13.

and peace within the Arab world. For this reason Article 6 of Marsoum 1436 requires detailed information about the person or the organization desiring to open a school. Furthermore, the officials who investigate the person or organization look very carefully into the political background of the applicant.

The desire for peace also seems to be the purpose of Article 14 of the Marsoum. This article requires that only texts approved by the Ministry of Education be used in the teaching of history, geography, and civics. Lebanon's history is a study in conflict, and a misinterpretation of that history could create more conflict.

Article 14 seems also to insure peace in the Arab world of which Lebanon is a part. The histories of other Arab states and their conflict with Israel must also be interpreted correctly.

Several things underscore this interpretation of the reason for Article 14. The first thing is the policy of censoring publications containing articles considered derogatory to Arab states or their heads.¹ Maps which show the country east of Jordan to be Israel are also censored. Furthermore non-Lebanese teachers are not allowed to teach history or geography in private schools.²

¹In 1966, Lebanon expelled an ambassador for making a statement considered derogatory to an Arab country (The Daily Star [Beirut], March 8, 1967).

²The Daily Star (Beirut), December 29, 1967.

It is also evident that the regulations seek to eliminate many of the differences between public schools and private schools. The regulations, it has been noticed, state that private schools must follow the official syllabus, apply to teachers on the permanent staff the same regulations which are applied to state school teachers, and must submit to the same state supervision as that to which public schools submit. This observation is in agreement with the view of a Lebanese official who reported that the role of private bodies in regard to their schools is purely administrative.¹

The regulations which have been outlined above, while restricting the freedom of private schools, do not tend to restrict the freedom of administration. Principals of private schools have not yet been requested to follow the regulations which govern the work of a public school principal. Those regulations specify that the principal must arrive at the school at least half an hour before classes, remain at his post thirty hours per week, assign teachers their teaching loads, keep check on the prompt arrival of his teachers, visit the classes continually to observe the teachers' work, report all incidents to the proper authorities, serve as chairman of the various administrative committees in the school, make certain that part-time teachers fulfill the terms of their contracts, report

¹UNESCO, World Survey of Education, III, 783.

teachers who are absent and arrange for teachers to take their classes, care for the building and its equipment, sign the monthly payroll, and send to the Ministry of Education a yearly report which covers every aspect of the school's operation.¹

A further indication of the freedom in administering private schools is the absence in the two statutes of any attempt to regulate text books (except in the case of books used for the social studies) or fees. However, within the last several years the Ministry of Education has shown greater concern over the problem of text books used in private schools and over tuition fees charged by those schools. In October, 1965, Education Minister Suleiman Zein urged the approval of a bill² which would "subject school tuition fees to state supervision and approval before the beginning of the academic year."³ A year later, another Minister of Education, Fuad Butros, appointed a special committee to study the private schools' policies of changing text books.⁴ The problem of text books again became a live issue in March, 1967. In that month Muslim students, who were striking in sympathy with students at the Beirut Teachers College, demanded that texts be made uniform. The Minister of Education, Suleiman Zayn,

¹Al-Hujja, Awn, and Nahra, al-Ard al-Thaani, pp. 13-14.

²The bill has not yet been approved.

³The Daily Star (Beirut), October 9, 1965.

⁴Ibid., (Beirut), October 22, 1966.

in reply to the demands promised that unification of school books would follow curriculum reform.¹ On March 19, 1968, the question of texts, and fees again came before the ministry. On that day a delegation of secondary students who were on strike met with Minister of Education Jean Aziz and presented eight demands, among them the demand for unification of text books and stricter supervision of private schools. The Minister, commenting on the demands, said that unification of some books was a possibility, especially text books for the social sciences and mathematics. On the demand for stricter supervision of private schools the Minister stated that the nation owed a great debt to private schools and should protect them.²

Thus, the Lebanese government, though facing mounting pressure from the public, has not taken effective steps to curb the freedom of administration which school legislation has not restricted.

Enforcement of the Regulations

It is evident from the text of the laws discussed earlier that the Ministry of National Education is legally responsible for the application of the laws and regulations to all schools in Lebanon, both free and public. For example,

¹L,Orient (Beirut), March 9, 1967.

²Al-Nahaar (Beirut), March 20, 1968.

the Ministry approves the opening of a school and can order its closure for failing to comply with state regulations.

The Ministry of Education is headed by a minister who is appointed by the President of the Republic. Often the Minister of Education holds the portfolio of another ministry. Although the Minister is legally the highest educational official of the Ministry, the major responsibility for its operation is borne by the Director General who is a civil servant and whose position is not usually affected by the political crises which often bring about a Minister's resignation. At present the Director General is responsible for the four Regional Departments,¹ the Department of Testing, the Directorates of Public Elementary and Secondary Education, and the Divisions of Teacher Training, Educational Research, Cultural and Fine Arts Affairs, National Book House, and Private Education. Higher education, vocational training, the National Conservatory, and administrative offices of the ministry are not responsibilities of the Director General but are under the direct supervision of the Minister.²

The Ministry of Education is characterized by a high degree of centralization. Only in the last few years have the Regional Departments given any real authority. Until

¹The four departments are located in the administrative districts of Jabal Lubnaan, the coastal area surrounding Beirut and the mountainous area east of the city; Al-Shemaal, the northern region; Al-Biqaa', the plateau east of Jabal Lubnaan; and Al-Junoub, the southern region. The city of Beirut is the fifth district.

²Biltaan et al., Al-'Ard al-Saadis, pp.15-17.

1959 they merely received instructions from Beirut and submitted information to the central offices located there when requested. Even now the District Departments have very limited authority. They may issue letters of censure, withhold a teacher's salary for a period of three days, recommend the transfer of teachers, and grant sick-leaves of up to fifteen days duration.¹

Free schools, it has been noted, are under the supervision of the Division of Private Education. This division is composed of two departments--one to supervise elementary schools and the other to supervise secondary schools.

The Ministry of Education maintains direct supervision over the work of the nation's schools through its inspectors. Until 1959, the ministry's inspectors were attached to the General Directorate which is headed by the Director General. In that year, aiming to free the inspectors from the personal aims of the Director General in particular and government offices from favoritism and politics in general, the Educational Inspectorate was transferred to the Central Inspectorate which is attached to the Council of Ministers.²

Education Inspectors, who are required to have a degree in law or the equivalent of a Master's degree in education and at least three years of educational experience, are

¹Ibid., p. 13.

²Ibid., p. 34.

authorized to inspect and direct the work of any school. They are to judge the ability of teachers and are to assess to what degree the official program and policy are being followed.

The Inspectorate's plan of organization in 1963 called for one general inspector, three inspectors of secondary schools, one inspector for vocational schools, twenty inspectors for elementary schools, and three inspectors for physical education.¹ This small number of inspectors is legally responsible for inspecting 1846 public and private elementary schools, 487 public and private higher elementary schools, and 222 public and private secondary schools.² In view of the large number of schools the staff of the Educational Inspectorate seems to be unequal to the task of inspecting and guiding them. At any rate, state school inspectors restrict their operations to government schools.³ The tradition of governmental non-interference in denominational schools may also encourage the adoption of such a policy.⁴

In the absence of any direct supervision of private

¹Al-Hajja 'Awn, and Nahra, pp. 34-35.

²al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wizaaral al-Tarbiyah al-Wataniyyah, al-Ihsaa al-Tarbawil li al-'Aam al-Diraasii, 1966-1967, pp. 17, 19.

³Al-Hajja, 'Awn, and Nahra, p. 34.

⁴Kurani explains that the Mandate guarantee of freedom of religion meant that denominational schools were not to be subjected to government control (Kurani, "Lebanon: Educational Reform," p. 453).

schools there has been some lack of adherence to the regulations. Many schools do not follow the instructions of Article 17 of Marsoum 1436 which require the principal of a private school to send a yearly statistical report to the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, a large number of private schools are employing teachers who have less education than is required. Other schools employ foreigners who do not have work permits.

It should not be thought, however, that the Ministry of Education has no control over private schools; The Ministry of Education may not attempt to force private schools to follow its regulations, but it does. The Ministry of Education, which apparently has not chosen to guide private education directly, has indirect means which have proven quite effective in regulating the free system.

The first indirect means used by the Ministry of Education to control private schools is the examination system. Only schools which are licensed may register their students for these examinations. This policy forces the unlicensed school either to seek a permit from the government or find a licensed school which will illegally register the former's students with its own. The examination system also encourages private schools to adopt the official age policy.¹ No student is allowed to take the official Elementary Studies Certificate examination if he is less than ten years of age,² the Higher

¹Public schools in Lebanon accept in the first elementary only those six years of age.

²Matthews and Akrawi, p. 441.

Elementary Education Certificate examination if he is less than fourteen years of age, or the Lebanese Baccalaureate, Part One examination if he is less than sixteen years of age.¹ These regulations mean that a student who succeeds in the Elementary Certificate examination must wait at least four years before taking the Higher Elementary Certificate examination and at least six years before taking the Baccalaureate, Part One examination. Hence, these regulations serve to discourage the policy of bypassing my part of the curriculum by double promotions.

The Ministry of Education recently tried unsuccessfully to use the examination system to raise the academic standards of the schools.² For example, before the issue of Marsoum 6645, which modified the examination system, if a student in the Secondary Stage examination received less than 5/20 in Arabic or a zero in any other subject, he was not allowed to take the examination a second time. According to the regulations of Marsoum 6645, the student who makes less than 6/20 in Arabic or 5/20 in any other subject is not allowed to sit for the examination a second time.³ When details of the new grading system were made known many students went on strike. On March 18, 1968, a group of the striking students which was

¹Biitaar et al., pp. 47-48, citing Marsoum 6645, February 10, 1967.

²See infra Table 7, p. 95,96.

³Biitaar et. al., p. 49.

marching on the Ministry of Education's offices clashed with police who used tear gas, water hoses, and warning shots to turn them back. When the students were finally admitted into the ministry's building they were met by the Director General, Joseph Za'rour, who promised them that the new grading system would not be enforced.¹ When the strikers returned to the ministry's offices the next day, a group of them met with the Minister who said during the interview with them, "The improvement of Teaching is absolutely essential and must take place before the student is requested to raise his standard."² The same idea was expressed by the Director General when he met on March 20, 1968, with the Council of Ministers to amend Marsoum 6645 and make it less offensive. He said that the raising of standards depended on a proper training of teachers.³

The Ministry of Education also controls private schools indirectly through locally-published text books. Although the publishing of school books is theoretically free, authors of text books follow the official curriculum very closely, for the Ministry of Education will not place its stamp of approval on any text book which omits material prescribed by the curriculum.⁴ Since most of the private schools use

¹Al-Nahaar (Beirut), March 19, 1968.

²Al-Nahaar (Beirut), March 20, 1968.

³Ibid., (Beirut), March 21, 1968.

⁴Ustah et.al., 'Ard 'Aam, p. 41.

locally printed books, they follow the official program automatically; the many untrained teachers follow the text slavishly.

The granting of work permits to foreign teachers is also another indirect method by which the ministry controls private schools. Although the primary purpose of requiring the work permit of foreign teachers, is to insure employment for Lebanese teachers,¹ the requirement also works to improve the quality of teachers. For example, on December 28, 1967, the Minister of Education, Suleiman Zein, announced that non-Lebanese could teach on the Kindergarten level if she had a degree in this field and could teach a foreign language. He also stated that the official policy permitted non-Lebanese to teach in the elementary sections if they had teaching certificates for subjects they were to teach and in secondary classes if they held a university degree in the subjects they were to teach.² Because of Lebanon's prosperity and freedom, many Arabs from neighboring countries go there to live. Were it not for the law requiring work permits, many of the schools in Lebanon would be tempted to employ unqualified teachers from outside Lebanon who are eager to work for a minimum wage.

The effectiveness of these indirect controls is seen in the crisis which arose in 1961. Because of a complaint from

¹This is evident from conversations with officials at the Ministry of Social Affairs which processes application for permits.

²The Daily Star (Beirut), December 29, 1967.

a student attending a mission school, the Minister of Education issued a directive aimed at modifying the religious education program of Christian schools which enrolled all denominations. A number of the schools affected by the directive chose not to heed it and advised the Ministry of Education of their decision. Some of those schools employed foreign teachers. When the foreign teachers in one of the schools sought to renew their work permits, they found that their renewal was impossible. As a result, one teacher was forced to leave the country. When the school realized that a large part of its teaching staff would soon be forced to leave, it notified the Ministry of its readiness to comply with the directive.

In brief, Lebanon has accepted the free educational system as a partner with the state in providing education for the nation's youth. The state has not allowed its free partner to work unrestricted but imposed regulations on private schools which the Ministry of Education does not attempt to enforce directly. The state, however, has devised indirect means to control the private schools and has found that the examination system is one of the most effective.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The Official Program

Government regulations specify that non-public schools must follow the official program which has been prepared by the state.¹ That program consists of five states--the Kindergarten Stage of two years,² the Elementary Education Stage of five years, the Higher Elementary Education Stage of four years, the First Secondary Education Stage of four years, and the Second Secondary Education Stage of three years.³

In the first stage, the child is introduced to reading, writing, and arithmetic, learns to sing and play games, and is taught moral and patriotic precepts.⁴

¹Marsoum 1436, Section 2, Article 13.

²Public schools do not include the first stage in their program.

³Afaagat Al-Za'nii et.al., Al-'Ard al-Khaamis li Wada' al-Ta'liim fii al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Iqliimii li Tadriib Kibaar Muwadhhdhafii al-Ta'liim fii al-Duwal al-'Arabiyyah, 1966), p. 62.

⁴Matthews and Akrawi, Education in Arab Countries, p. 427.

For the Elementary Stage the official syllabus assigns specific subjects for each of the five years and specifies the number of periods each subject is to be taught each week. Table 5 shows the subjects to be studied in the second stage and the number of periods assigned to each subject. It should

TABLE 5
WEEKLY DISTRIBUTION OF PERIODS FOR
SUBJECTS OF THE SECOND STAGE^a

Subject	Number of Weekly Periods According to Years of Stage		
	First Year	Second and Third Years	Fourth and Fifth Years
Religion	1	1	1
Arabic language	6	6½	6
Moral and Patriotic Lessons	1½	1	1
History and geography		2	2
Arithmetic	5	5	5
Science	2	1½	2
Art	2	2	2
Music	2	1	1
Physical Training	2½	2	2
Foreign Language	5	5	5

^aAl-Hujja, 'Awn, and Nahra, Al-'Ard al-Thaani, p. 8.

be noted that all of the subjects are taught in Arabic except the foreign language which may be either French or English. In public schools, French is the foreign language which is studied in the elementary stage. For the Elementary Education stage, and all other stages, "the curriculum is worked out subject by subject with specific objectives laid down for each. . . . No attempt is made to relate one subject to another. . . ."1

At the end of the fifth year of the elementary section, students sit for the official elementary studies examination. Five and one half hours are allotted for the six subjects covered by the examination. Scores for Arabic, arithmetic, and the foreign language are given the most weight. Students who receive a score of 60/120 on the examination receive the Certificate of Primary Studies popularly called the "Certificate."2 Students who complete the second stage may continue their academic studies or begin an elementary vocational course of three to four years.

Following the Elementary Stage are two stages, the Higher Education Stage and the First Secondary Education Stage, which are very similar.³ The first two years of the Higher Elementary Education Stage and the First Secondary Education Stage

¹UNESCO, Compulsory Education in the Arab States, p. 54.

²Matthews and Akrawi, pp. 441-42.

³These two stages, which are concurrent, could more properly be called streams.

are identical. The last two years of the Higher Elementary Stage theoretically have an orientation which is slightly more practical than the orientation of the other Stage. However, in practice the last two years of both stages are almost the same.¹ At any rate, only one official examination is given at the end of the fourth year for both of these two stages. Students of either stage who make a score of 120/240 on the examination receive the Certificate of Higher Elementary Education, better known as the "Brevet." Students who complete either of the two four-year stages may continue their academic studies, enter an elementary teachers' training school, or begin an advanced vocational course.²

In the Second Secondary Stage students begin to specialize at the end of the first year. Students may select either the Literary Section, which stresses equally the classical literature of Arabic and the foreign language, or the Scientific Section with its strong emphasis on mathematics (advanced algebra, trigonometry, and solid geometry) and science (usually physics). Students who choose the Scientific Section usually continue in the Mathematics Section of the third year, and students who choose the Literary Section usually continue in the Philosophy Section with its emphasis on mastery of the

¹Matthews and Akrawi, p. 444.

²Biitaar et.al., Al-'Ard al-Saadis, p. 78.

ideas of Arabic and Western thinkers.

The subjects studied in the Second Secondary Education Stage and the relative importance of each, as determined by the number of weekly periods allotted, are seen in Table 6. It should be noted that the subjects studied in the first two years of the final stage are almost identical to those of the third and fourth stages.

At the conclusion of the second year of the final stage, students sit for an official examination which is given over a three-day period. Separate examinations are given for the Literary and Scientific Sections. Students who receive a score of 200/400 in both the oral and written parts of the examination¹ receive the Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate, Part One, which qualifies them for the last year of the Second Secondary Education Stage. An official examination, very similar to the one given at the conclusion of the second year of this stage, is given at the close of this final year. Table 7 shows the subjects and grading system of this examination. Students who make a combined score of 190/380 on both the oral and written parts are awarded the Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate, Part Two. This certificate entitles the student to begin professional studies in a university or enter an institute of higher education to begin studies leading to the al-Ijaazah² which is equivalent to a Master's degree.

¹Biitaar et al., p. 48.

²Ibid., p. 78.

TABLE 6

WEEKLY DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS OF
SECOND SECONDARY EDUCATION STAGE^a

Subjects	Fifth and Sixth Years		Seventh Year	
	Literary Section	Scientific Section	Philoso- phy Sec- tion	Mathematics Section
	Hrs. per Week	Hrs. per Week	Hrs. per Week	Hrs. per Week
<u>Taught in Arabic:</u>				
Religion and Ethics	2	2	2	2
Arabic language and literature	8	5		
Philosophy			7	3
History and Geography	4	3	4	3
Art	1	1		
Music	1	1		
Physical Education	2	2	2	2
<u>Foreign Language:</u>				
French or English language and literature	6	5		
Philosophy			8	3
<u>Taught in Arabic or the foreign language:</u>				
Physics and Chem- istry	3	6		
Physics, Chemistry, and Biology			5	9
Mathematics	3	5	2	8

^aMatthews and Akrawi, p. 445.

TABLE 7

THE GRADING SYSTEM FOR THE
LEBANESE BACCALAUREATE,
PART TWO, EXAMINATION^a

Subjects	Philosophy Section		Mathematics Section	
	Hours Allotted	Maxi- mum Score	Hours Allotted	Maxi- mum Score
<u>Written Examinations:</u>				
Arabic composition in Philosophy	4	60	3	40
French or English com- position in Philosophy	4	60		
Physics, Chemistry, and biology	3	40		
Physics and Chemistry			4	60
Mathematics			4	60
<u>Oral Examinations:</u> ^b				
Biology and hygiene		40		20
Explanation of Arabic text in Philosophy		40		20
Explanation of English or French text in Philosophy		40		20
Geography and History ^c		40		40
Mathematics		20		60

TABLE 7 (Continued)

Subjects	Philosophy Section		Mathematics Section	
	Hours Allotted	Maxi- mum Score	Hours Allotted	Maxi- mum Score
Philosophy in French or English		20		
Physics and Chemistry		20		60

^aMartena Tenney Sasnett, Educational Systems of the World (University of Southern California Press, 1952), pp. 456-47.

^bAt present, the oral examinations are of little significance. They are only given to students who succeed in the written examination, and few have been known to fail them.

^cBeginning in 1968 students were examined in these subjects in writing.

Criticism of the Official Program

Many educators in Lebanon, both foreign and national, feel that the official program is unsuitable for the nation. One of the earlier critics of the program, Habib Kurani, who is presently the Chairman of the Department of Education, American University of Beirut, noted the following weakness in the program: (1) The program is too rigid; experimentation is practically forbidden (2) The program discourages local adaptation, especially in the villages and rural areas (3) The curriculum includes too much material; it is merely an Arabic translation of a French original. Arabic and the foreign language are weighted the same--a policy which seems to defeat

the nationalistic purpose of the program. (4) The program is not realistic; it does not take into consideration the many non-Lebanese Arabs and other foreigners who wish to study in Lebanon. (5) The examination system deadens the ability of the best teachers.¹

Mousa Sulayman's criticism of the official program, especially its last stages, is similar to that of Kurani's. Sulayman says that the program is too full, lacks practical value, and is designed for the chosen few. Believing also that the program is out of date, Sulayman asks:

What is this Lebanese Baccalaureate which we copied twenty years ago, and even exceeds its French "sister"? Until this hour not one letter of what we copied has been changed, and during this long time not one minister. . . has made any change in the curricula or made a scientific study of it?²

A recent critic of the program is Emile Samaha, president of the Lebanese Association for the Advancement of Science. Commenting on Lebanon's educational program during a recent panel discussion, he said that, "Lebanon had a school curriculum 40 years out of date, and this was based on a curriculum then 40 years behind the times."³

Another Lebanese, Faiza Antippa of the American University of Beirut, finds fault with the program because of the emotional and physical strain it places on the student.

¹Kurani, "Lebanon: Educational Reform," pp. 458-60.

²Mousa Sulayman, Mashkiah al-Tarbiyat wa al al-Ta'liim fii Lubnaan. (Beirut, 1954), p. 5.

³The Daily Star (Beirut), May 24, 1968.

She has observed that freshmen enter the American University "'exhausted--intellectually, physically, and emotionally.'"¹ She adds that fear of failure, heavy emphasis on memorizing, a heavy study schedule of up to six hours nightly, and lack of exercise (the official program allows two hours per week for physical education) all combine to produce this exhaustion.²

The strain imposed by the examinations to which the program is geared can be very great. Some children who failed the Elementary Studies examination were so grieved that they became ill. So great is the strain that children who have been honest in their own schools either cheat or help others cheat at the time of the examination. One student was under such pressure that he arranged for two teachers to transmit by short wave radio the answers to the Baccalaureate examination questions which had been smuggled out of the examination room. The student had placed the receiver under a bandage which he had wrapped about his head. Police who heard the transmission were able to trace its source and arrest the teachers. With them they arrested the student and two others who were also involved in the scheme.³

Students have not been content merely to criticize the program. They have demonstrated in the streets to

¹Ibid., February 26, 1967.

³Ibid.

²Ibid., June 23, 1966.

express their disapproval of it. On March 13, 1967, students in South Lebanon went to strike to protest the announced increase in examination fees and to demand curriculum reform. In Tyre, police, who were rushed to the scene of the demonstrations, shot and killed a student when they attempted to disperse the demonstrators.¹

The disturbances spread to Beirut and other cities. On March 14, most of Beirut's students boycotted classes in protest of the incident which occurred in Tyre, and several demonstrations took place in spite of police action to prevent them. At one of the demonstrations a statement was read which denounced the slaying of the student in Tyre and called for curriculum reform.²

On March 16, in the wake of the unrest which began on March 13, a delegation representing the 12,500 students of the Union of Maqaasid Secondary School Students met with the Prime Minister, Rashiid Karamii. During the meeting, the students demanded that the government take steps to issue the new curriculum before the end of the month, unify the history and geography textbooks, and punish those responsible for the death of the student in Tyre.³

Further, the limitations of the program seem to be

¹Ibid., March 14, 1967.

²Ibid., March 15, 1967.

³Al-Nahaar (Beirut), March 17, 1967.

reflected in the retardation of many Lebanese students. When Matthews and Akrawi visited Lebanon twenty years ago, they found in some schools that the average age of students in the sixth grade was over fourteen.¹ A survey made in 1953 shows the extent of retardation in Beirut at that time. Of 339 pupils twelve and thirteen years of age, 38 were in Higher Elementary Stage classes, and 301 were in Elementary Stage classes. Of 246 pupils fourteen and fifteen years of age, 107 were in Higher Elementary classes, and 139 were in Elementary Stage classes.² Statistics for 1954-1955 reveal that 25 percent of the pupils enrolled in the first year of the Elementary Education Stage were at least two years above the normal age for that class. The same statistics show that this retardation increases about 8 percent per year so that 59 percent of fifth-graders are retarded two or more years.³

In the absence of research into the causes of this retardation, it may be stated that the academic program is only one of several factors which are suspected of contributing to the problem. It should be noted, however, that since 1946, (the year of Matthew's and Akrawi's survey) books, teachers, educational facilities, and living

¹Matthews and Akrawi, p. 440. The normal age limits for the various stages are as follows: Elementary, 6-10 years; Higher Elementary, 11-14 years; and Secondary, 15-17.

²Charles W. Churchill, The City of Beirut: A Socio Economic Survey (Beirut: Dar El-Kitaab, 1954), p. 73.

³UNESCO, World Survey of Education, II, 673.

standards have improved greatly while the academic program has remained the same.¹

One other trend needs to be observed. That trend is the decrease in enrollment in the higher grades of each of the stages. In 1954-1955, there were 51,862 enrolled in the second year of the Elementary Stage, 27,960 in the fourth year, and 21,038 in the fifth year.² This trend is also reflected in the statistics for 1967-1968. In that year, there were 365,403 pupils enrolled in the Elementary Stage, 76,659 in the Higher Elementary - First Secondary Section, and 23,822 in the Second Secondary Section.³ Furthermore, the Baccalaureate, Part One, examination reduces the number in the second year of the last stage by about 50 percent.⁴

Research to determine the cause of this attrition is lacking. Hence, it cannot be stated with certainty that the major cause is the curriculum. It may be said, however, that the curriculum is part of the problem, and research may later confirm the suspicion that it is the heart of the problem.

¹That program is structured very much like the French Lycée program. In 1956-1957, approximately 25 percent of the 72,235 students who comprised the last year of the lycée were retarded one year, and 7 percent of this above-average group were retarded two years (Arthur W. Foshee; ed., The Rand McNally Handbook of Education. [Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1963], p. 269.)

²Ibid.

³Al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wazaarah al-Tarbiyah al-Wataniyyah, al-Ihsaa al-Tarbawii, pp. 29, 51.

⁴Afaagah et.al., pp. 44-45.

Other Programs

Official regulations permit private schools to add subjects not specified in the curriculum on condition that these courses do not affect the completion of the official program. Some schools, however, having experienced the limitations of the official program and desiring to meet students' needs, have either devised programs which are quite different from the official one or retained those they were following before they adopted the official program.¹

Consider the program of the Armenian Evangelical College. This institution is faced with the difficult task of preparing Armenian-speaking children for the government examinations and, at the same time, preserving the Armenian culture. To do this they have added seven hours of Armenian language and history per week. Another innovation is a preparatory year which follows the last year of the Elementary Education Stage. During this preparatory year students concentrate on English, Arabic, and mathematics.

The college's concern for the needs of its students is seen in the program for the last four years of the school's six-year secondary stage. Table 8 outlines that program. It should be noted that the non-Baccalaureate program is also

¹There were no Baccalaureate examinations given in English until about 1956.

TABLE 8

SECONDARY DEPARTMENT COURSES OF
THE ARMENIAN EVANGELICAL COLLEGE
1966-1967^a

Courses	Periods per Week				
	Non-Bacca- laureate and Bacca- laureate	Non- Baccalaureate		Baccalaureate	
	Fourth Yr.	Fifth Year	Sixth Year	Fifth. Year	Sixth Year
Bible	1	1	1	1	1
Armenian	4	4	4	4	4
Arabic	6	5	5	7	7
History and Geography ^b	3			3	4
Civics	2	2	2	2	2
English	6	6	6	6	6
French		2	2		
Math	6	6	6	6	7
Biology		3			
Chemistry				4	3
Physics	3			5	6
History		2	3		
Home Economics			5		
Typing		2	2		
Shorthand		1	1		
Bookkeeping		1	1		

^aConstructed from Schedule of Courses, Armenian Evangelical College, Beirut, 1966-1967). (Mimeographed.)

^bThese courses are studied in Arabic.

lacking. The amount of time allotted to the commercial courses is not sufficient. The inclusion of four languages, three of which are foreign, seems to be unrealistic since the program is for the average student. Nevertheless, the program does free the student in this program from the pressure of preparing for the official examination with its extreme emphasis on solid geometry, theoretical physics, and classical Arabic literature.

The Middle East Secondary School, which is operated by the Seventh Day Adventist Church, has a program similar to that of the Armenian College. All students in the post-elementary section take the same program during the first four years. After the fourth year, students may elect to continue the official program which prepares for the government examinations or they may choose a more practical course which "is designed to prepare the student to take up the duties of life in an area selected from those offered by the curriculum."¹

The required courses of the Middle East Secondary School's non-baccalaureate program are: Character and Personality Development, Arabic, Social Sciences, Music, Physical Education, and English. In addition to these courses are the following electives: Baking, Bookkeeping, General Woodworking,

¹Middle East Secondary School Bulletin, 1966-1967. (Beirut, 1966), p. 9.

Household Mechanics, Home Economics, Office Techniques, Typing, Welding, and Shorthand.¹

The Beirut Baptist School, attempting to meet the needs of those who find the official program too difficult or "who do not wish to specialize after graduation,"² has provided the Arts Program which "will enable the students to think logically, express himself clearly and acceptably, and live successfully in a complicated world."³ The program is similar to the Middle East Secondary School General Education Program described above. However, in the Arts Program the vocational emphasis is much less. The following subjects are required for each of the program's three years: Arabic, English, Bible, social studies, physical education, and home economics or military training.⁴ In addition to these required subjects, the Arts Program student must complete two math electives, two science electives, and four general electives. Math electives are: Algebra I, Geometry I, and Arithmetic I; science electives are: Physics I, Chemistry I,

¹Ibid., p. 10.

²Bayyaan al-Madrasah al-Ma'madaaniyyah fii Bayrout (Beirut, 1967), p. 3.

³Description of the Secondary Arts Program, Beirut Baptist School, 1967-1968. (Mimeographed).

⁴Military training is compulsory for all Lebanese male students enrolled in the Second Secondary Education Stage.

and Biology I; and general electives are: French 1, French 2, Typing 1, Typing 2, Psychology, Art, and Public Speaking.¹

Schools of the National Evangelical Synod (Presbyterian) also have programs for students who do not wish to follow the Lebanese official program. For example, the Synod school in Sidon, the National Evangelical Institute, has in addition to the Baccalaureate program a high school curriculum similar to that followed in the United States.²

The Lebanon Evangelical Mission School for Girls,³ (better known as the Training College) and the Brummana High School⁴ have similar programs. In addition to following the official program, these two schools, both of which are administered by English educators, prepare students for the General Certificate Examinations (G.C.E.) which are administered by examining boards usually associated with England's Universities.⁵

The program of the Ahliah Girls School is very similar to that of the two schools which were described above.⁶ One of the justifications for the non-Baccalaureate program

¹Description of Arts Program.

²Bayyaan Madrasah al-Funoun al-Injiiliyyah al-Wataniyyah (Sidon, 1967), p. 5.

³Interview with the principal March 11, 1968.

⁴Interview with the principal January 20, 1968.

⁵Foshay, The Rand McNally Handbook of Education, p. 258.

⁶Ahliah Girls School Bulletin, (Beirut, 1967), pp. 16, 17.

in this school is its policy of accepting boarders from non-Arab lands. However, many of the Lebanese students in the school are enrolled in G.C.E. classes.¹

The Collège Protestant Français de Jeune Filles provides, in addition to the French Baccalauréat and Lebanese Baccalaureate programs, one of the newer French technical programs, the Baccalauréat Technique, "Tourisme."²

This sampling of various programs being followed in some of the private schools indicates that some experimentation is taking place. However, there is unofficial resistance to it: the desire for higher education resists experimenting with non-Baccalaureate curricula. El-Koussy speaks for many with his observation that

In most Arab countries Higher Education does not develop according to needs but according to social pressure. People through the new concepts of social justice exercise their pressure so that they get the Higher Education doors wide open. . . . Almost every primary school leaver is thought to be a potential secondary school pupil and almost every holder of a secondary certificate is thought to be a potential University student. At the graduate end of the University almost every graduate is thought to be a potential student for the Master's degree.

This social attractiveness of higher education makes people interested in the type of education leading to it.³

¹Interview with the principal May 9, 1968.

²Interview with the principal of the college May 3, 1968.

³El-Koussy, A Survey of Educational Progress in the Arab States 1960-1965, p. 51.

The demand for higher education has greatly enhanced the prestige of the Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate, Part Two. That certificate or its equivalent,¹ is the only one which will qualify a Lebanese for entrance to Lebanon's universities. Although the law making the Lebanese Baccalaureate a requirement for professional studies was passed in 1933, some universities have until recently accepted Lebanese students without the Baccalaureate. This policy was possible since the Ministry of Education decreed that the sophomore year of American-type colleges was equivalent to the Lebanese Baccalaureate Certificate, Part Two. But now the official regulation is being applied, and the Baccalaureate has become very important.

This new importance of the Lebanese Baccalaureate helps explain why so many parents and students are slow to approve a non-Baccalaureate, practical program. It lacks prestige, and prestige seems to be of supreme value to many in the Lebanese nation. Because of the prestige factor many students insist on taking the official program, fully realizing that they cannot succeed.

Another factor which tends to discourage programs which are not designed to prepare for official examinations, is the renewed emphasis on official certificates other than the

¹ Official Secondary Certificates of other Arab states are officially equivalent to the Lebanese Baccalaureate, Part Two. Many Lebanese students are to be found in other Arab states studying for those countries' certificates.

Baccalaureate. A student who does not have the Elementary Studies Certificate must study two years beyond the Elementary Stage before he can begin elementary vocational training.¹ The Training College of the Lebanon Evangelical Mission, which has been training women teachers for over a century, has recently begun requiring the Higher Elementary Education Certificate for entrance. Official certificates are also required for government jobs at almost all levels.

In brief, private schools are required by law to follow the official program. Because of the many limitations of the program, some schools have provided an additional program which they feel is better suited to their students' needs. However, the prestige of the Baccalaureate program and renewed emphasis on official certificates is opposing experimentation.

¹Al-Za'nii et al. Al-'Ard al-Khaamis, p. 62.

CHAPTER VI

THE OPERATION OF THE FREE SYSTEM'S SCHOOLS

This chapter will seek to complete the description of the free educational system by surveying the operation of the system's schools. The survey will include the aims and emphases of these schools, the areas where they function, their enrollment, and their financial support.

Aims of the Free Educational System

Theoretically, the aims of private schools are those of the official program. In the elementary stages that program seeks to prepare "the whole man, the thoughtful citizen, and the active member of society by providing him with spiritual, intellectual, and physical education."¹ In the secondary stage the program seeks "to prepare a gifted group of the nation's sons, prepare them culturally and deeply, so that they may be able to assume the responsibility of a sound orientation in matters of the mind, to bear large responsibilities in public life, and to choose enlightened specialization in the branches of higher education."²

¹Matthews and Akrawi, Education in Arab Countries of the Near East, p. 427.

²Al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyah, Wazaarah al-Tarbiyah al-Wataniyyah wa al-Funoun al-Jamiilah, al-Manhaj (Beirut, 1946), p. 88.

Generally speaking the official aims (especially those of the elementary stage) are commendable: they include the whole person and relate education to citizenship and social service. However, there is a tendency for the schools either to ignore these aims or to emphasize one of their aspects at the expense of the others. Often this emphasis is seen in the general atmosphere of the school rather than in the program followed.

Denominational schools as a rule emphasize the spiritual aspect which is mentioned in the official aims. The atmosphere of these schools is definitely religious. These schools are usually located near churches and mosques. Shaykhs, priests, and nuns are given teaching assignments in these schools, and religious teaching is given a place of great importance. Its importance is underscored by Kamal Al-Samourii, president of the Ibn Siina Cultural Foundation. Al-Samourii, whose Islamic foundation sponsors schools enrolling over 3,000 students, believes that education

by itself is not sufficient if it is not coupled with a strong faith. In other words if a religion-based morality derived from the Divine Law and from the noble prophetic mission does not accompany it [education], our coming generation will choose a life of materialism. Greed will entice it and selfishness enslave it.¹

As would be expected, the Ibn Sina schools are strongly influenced by Islam.

¹Bayyaan Muassasat Ibn Siina al-Thaqaaifyya, 1963-1965
(Beirut, n.d.).

Not all denominational schools stress the religious aspect as strongly as the Muslim schools. Gerard Institute, which was formerly operated by the American Mission but now is under the local Presbyterian Synod, has moved away from the parish school emphasis. The school's bulletin states that the school is

nothing but an educational institution. Its only aim is the education of the students in a quiet atmosphere free of confusion and turmoil and far from all political party activity.¹

Religious teaching is also given a prominent place in some of the schools sponsored by foreign missions. Whereas denominational schools stress religion to strengthen the denomination, the mission schools which stress religion do so to lead students to accept the faith of the churches which support them. This is the aim of the Beirut Baptist School, The Lebanon Evangelical Mission Girls School, and the Near East Secondary School, and others. The aim of the Middle East Secondary School is representative of the aims of this group of schools. That aim is based on the principle that.

true education means more than the preparation for the life that now is. It has to do with the whole being and with the whole period of existence possible to man. . . . It prepares the student for the joy of service in this world, and for the higher joy of service in the world to come.²

¹Bayyaan Madrasah al-Funoun al-Injiiliyah al-Wataniyyah, p.1.

²Middle East Secondary School Bulletin, 1966-1967 (Beirut, 1966), pp. 2-3.

The atmosphere of these schools may be more religious than that of denominational schools. These schools devote up to four hours each week for Bible study which is required of all its students.¹ In addition to Bible study, there are regular assembly programs which are religious in nature. Special meetings are held after school hours for those who have shown interest in the faith the school proclaims.

Some mission schools emphasize the development of a Christian-type character without seeking the conversion of the student. Brummana High School is one of the schools which has such an aim. The school seeks to give "a liberal education in an atmosphere of religious toleration" and to place emphasis on "training for service."² The latter aim is in the tradition of the British public school.³

International College, a college preparatory institution which was originally begun in Turkey and transferred to Beirut in 1936, has an aim similar to that of Brummana High School. However, International College makes it clear that "its purpose in the Middle East is not to proselytize but to educate, to respect the rich cultural heritage of the Eastern Mediterranean while employing the newer educational methods of the Western world."⁴ The college also believes that its students

¹A few non-Christian students are permitted to study ethics instead of the Bible if parents request the change.

²The Times (London), November 18, 1964.

³Ibid.

⁴International College (January, 1966).

must be taught to reason clearly, love freedom, accept responsibility, assume moral obligations toward others, and strive to advance the general welfare. Because the college has these aims, it feels that it "has become a symbol of the best in American friendship and democratic principles. . ."¹

International College and Brummana High School represent schools which declare openly that they look to their best in the Anglo-American tradition for their aims. The majority of private schools, however, look to the French. The Lycée Pilote Mont-Liban is one of such schools. This school, which has one of the most modern buildings in Lebanon, is assisted in its teaching by the Cultural Mission of the French Embassy in Beirut. The Mission has assigned a Pedagogical Advisor to oversee the teaching of French and has secured qualified French teachers who teach the French language and other subjects in French. The mission periodically sends pedagogical experts to the school to give lectures and demonstrations for the benefit of the school's Lebanese teachers. The Lycée Pilote Mont-Liban has close ties with the schools of the Mission Laïque Française.²

In contrast to those schools which are oriented toward a certain creed or culture, the Ahliah Girls School is oriented toward none. Its founder expresses the spirit of

¹Ibid.

²Lycée Pilote Mont-Liban, 1967-1968 (Beirut, 1967), pp. 1-7.

the school thusly:

The school does not have the faintest color of denominationalism but its loftiest aim is to develop the spirit of patriotism in the youth of Lebanon. . . . And the school, while drawing for inspiration on all civilizations and cultures regardless of their origin, is not bound by any but takes from each what befits the spirit of the country. . . . By this she will do away with sectarian differences. . . . The Ahliya School, because it is a national institution, gives special attention to the teaching of Arabic and its mastery.¹

The Maqaasid² Society's schools have also come under a strong nationalistic influence. That influence, which has come through the leaders of the society, has not resulted in a loyalty to Lebanon, for they have held that Lebanon should be Arab.³ Nasser's rise to power strengthened the Maqaasid view that Lebanon should be Arab and should look neither to the West, or to the history of the Phoenecians for inspiration. The president of the Maqaasid Society, Saaib Salaam, has long been a staunch supporter of the Egyptian leader,⁴ and Salaam's loyalty to Nasser is apparently contagious. Often the Maqaasid schools are festooned with pictures of this famous exponent of pan-Arabism.

In addition to the representative schools which have been described above, there are schools operated by individuals

¹Ahliah Girls School Bulletin (Beirut, 1967), p. 19.

²"Maqaasid" is another name for The Islamic Benevolent Purposes Society.

³Matthews and Akrawi, p. 512.

⁴Sabili, "Lebanon since the Crisis of 1958," p. 41.

which have no particular orientation. They are secular, operated on a commercial basis, and have as their major aim the preparation of students for the official examinations. Some of this group of schools seek to provide quality education for their students. Others are operated mainly for profit. It was this latter group which drew criticism from Suleiman Zein who was then the Minister of Education. Zein stated that private schools are of two kinds.

The first carries out its responsibility in the finest way and its standard calls forth praise and commendation. The second knows only the commercial side.¹

Students have also criticized the schools which are operated on a commercial basis. In July, 1966, students demonstrated to protest the Baccalaureate examinations which only about 12 percent had passed. In addition to blaming the Ministry of Education, the students condemned private schools, saying that "'education has become a prosperous trade whose victims are always in the thousands.'"²

Editors of The Daily Star used stronger language in criticizing these schools. They wrote:

The number of schools has increased, many are privately owned. One would understand charities starting schools or related institutions but when individuals think it's a good business then a probe is necessary. What is more criminal is the quality of teachers employed by these schools that crop up

¹"Masaat al-'Ilm," Al-Baraq: al-Mulhaq al-Usbou'ii (Beirut), October 15, 1967, p. 8.

²The Daily Star (Beirut), July 16, 1966.

in every other neighborhood.¹

Distribution of Private Schools

Having examined the purposes for which private schools operate, it will be helpful to note in which areas of the nation they function. Table 9 shows the distribution of private schools in the five administrative districts of Lebanon.

Table 9 shows a high concentration of private schools in the Mount Lebanon District where Maronites comprise over one-half of the population² Furthermore, 36 percent of all the nation's Second Secondary Stage schools are located in the Mount Lebanon District. Table 9 shows also that the number of free schools in the Beirut District, whose population is the largest of all the districts, is relatively small. Nevertheless, these private schools comprise over 75 percent of the capital's schools.

The large number of private schools in Al-Biqaa', whose population is the smallest of the five districts, may be explained by the district's rather large groups of Maronites and Greek Catholics. These two groups have a combined population which is slightly larger than that of the largest group in the area, the Shii'ite Muslims. This group has not been as eager for education as their Christian neighbors.

¹Editorial, September 21, 1966.

²Al-Binaa (Beirut), April 10, 1960.

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS
IN THE FIVE DISTRICTS OF LEBANON, 1967-1968^a

District	Elementary Schools		Higher Elemen- tary Schools		Secondary Schools	
	Private Schools	Public Schools	Private Schools	Public Schools	Private Schools	Public Schools
Beirut	144	29	35	18	60	6
Mount Lebanon	386	280	121	75	82	7
North Lebanon	191	235	15	91	25	8
South Lebanon	79	240	15	54	13	5
Al Biqaa'	100	162	21	42	11	5

^aConstructed from data in Al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wizaarah al-Tarbiyah al-Wataniyyah, al-Ihsaa al-Tarbawii, pp. 17, 39.

Finally, Table 9 shows that public schools are more numerous in North Lebanon and South Lebanon where the Muslim population is greatest. Missionaries did not concentrate their efforts there.

Enrollment in Schools of the Free

Educational System

Having observed the areas where private schools operate, it is in order to consider the composition of the enrollments of these schools. In particular, enrollment patterns with regard to the students' sex and denomination will be studied. Table 10 shows the enrollment by sex in private schools. It

TABLE 10
ENROLLMENT ACCORDING TO SEX IN
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS
IN LEBANON, 1966-1967^a

District	Elementary Stage				Secondary Stage ^b			
	Public		Private		Public		Private	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Beirut	5,100	8,134	26,124	23,157	3,680	1,564	13,462	10,705
Mount Lebanon	21,157	16,230	47,728	40,348	5,392	2,450	14,963	8,758
North Lebanon	30,793	19,577	12,646	13,500	6,502	4,030	4,737	2,618
South Lebanon	25,596	17,179	7,323	6,253	4,617	1,483	2,969	1,593
Al-Biqaa'	15,676	9,548	2,496	2,229	2,558	770	1,658	1,465

^aConstructed from data in Al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wizaarah al-Tarbiyah al-Wataniyyah, al-Ihsaa al-Tarbawii, pp.10, 29, 51.

^bEnrollment for the Higher Elementary Stage is included with this stage.

should be pointed out first of all that the table reveals that in the Elementary Stage the number of male students enrolled in private schools is about the same as the number of female students. Only in Beirut and Mount Lebanon is there any appreciable difference in enrollment between the two sexes. On the other hand, public school enrollment in all the districts except Beirut reveals that there were over 25 percent more male students enrolled than female students.

A second outstanding fact revealed by Table 10 is that in the post-elementary stages there is a large difference between male student enrollment and female student enrollment in both public and private schools. Only in the private schools of Beirut and the Biqaa' Valley is the difference of a lesser degree. However, the difference between male student enrollment and female student enrollment is not as great in private schools as in public schools. In the public post-elementary schools of South Lebanon and Al-Biqaa', male students outnumber female students four to one.

It needs to be stated in passing that the differences in enrollment between males and females in either stage cannot be explained by a difference in the over-all age-group populations of the two sexes. Females comprise 47.7 percent of the five-to-ten age-group, 45.7 percent of the ten-to-fifteen age-group, and 48.8 percent of the fifteen-to-twenty age-group.¹

¹Biitaar et al., Al-'Ard al-Saadis, p. 4.

Social and economical factors must account for most of the difference.

It has been noted above that in the past, Lebanon's population consisted of many autonomous religious communities, each living in its own region. Over the years, there have been large-scale population shifts so that members of these autonomous communities are to be found throughout the country. Nevertheless, it appears that there has not been a great deal of social integration. Table 11 indicates that most Lebanese children still attend the school of the denomination to which they belong: Christian denominational schools enroll mainly Christians, and Muslim denominational schools mainly Muslims.

Although other official statistics which show enrollment of private schools by denomination were not available, investigation seems to indicate that the enrollment patterns in denominational schools today have not changed to any large degree. For example, Table 11 reveals that students in Syrian Orthodox and Armenian schools were almost all Christians. This pattern seems to be unchanged. Students from the Syrian Orthodox school in the Mouseitbe district of Beirut come from this district which is overwhelmingly Christian.¹ Armenian schools still tend to enroll only Christians. The principal of the National Evangelical College stated that 99 percent of

¹The writer has lived beside the school for over ten years.

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN PRIVATE
SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO DENOMINATION,
1941-1942^a

Denomination of School	Enrollment				
	Christian	Muslim	Druze	Jews	Miscellaneous
Muslim	92	15,408	162		97
Druze	41	45	1,452	5	2
Jewish	11			236	
Maronite	20,600	523	175	2	15
Greek Catholic	7,856	500	231		6
Syrian Catholic	945	40	29		
Armenian Catholic	1,586				
Chaldean	1	141			
Greek Orthodox	10,479	252	1131	2	10
Syrian Orthodox	328	3			
Armenian Orthodox	7,062				
Protestant	187	14	3		
Miscellaneous	2,806	211	615	17	156

^aConseil Général des Intérêts Communs, Recueil de Statistiques de la Syrie et du Liban, p. 31 cited by Matthews and Akrawi, p. 504.

his students were Armenian Christians and that the other 1 percent were non-Armenian Christians.¹ Table 11 also shows that Muslim schools were not as segregated as their Syrian and Armenian counterparts. That trend also seems to have continued. In the Ibn Siina Foundation schools, ten of the twenty succeeding in the Baccalaureate, Part Two, examination were Christian: five of the twenty-one succeeding in the Baccalaureate, Part One, examination were Christians, and eleven of the seventy succeeding in the Brevet examination were Christian.²

A factor which has tended to sustain the enrollment pattern of denominational schools is the population distribution of the country. Members of a denomination tend to live in the same villages or the same district of a city. The populations, therefore, of most villages are religiously homogenous as are the districts of large towns and cities but to a somewhat lesser degree. Denominational schools located in these districts naturally draw the larger part of their enrollment from those districts. The school population tends to be from the denomination which occupies that district.

Enrollment in foreign mission schools does not seem to follow the pattern of local denominational schools. The Beirut

¹Interview with the school's principal, April 5, 1968.

²Bayyaan Muasasah Ibn Siina al-Thaqafiyya, 1963-1965.

Baptist School, a school representative of other such institutions, has enrolled students from nearly all the major denominations. Table 12 shows the representation of these denominations in this private school.

TABLE 12
ENROLLMENT OF THE BEIRUT BAPTIST
SCHOOL ACCORDING TO DENOMINATION, 1960-1966^a

Year	Denomination					
	Protes- tant	Ortho- dox	Cath- olic	Maro- nite	Muslim	Druze
1960-1961	105	87	42	26	83	29
1962-1963	92	88	43	21	79	26
1964-1965	84	103	31	15	84	28
1966-1967	101	98	45	30	133	51

^aPrepared from the official registry of the Beirut Baptist School.

International College, which emphasized that it is not a mission school, also attracts students from both Christian and Muslim communities. In 1958-1959, 53.31 percent of the English Section¹ were Muslims. The percentage of Muslim students reached 60.87 percent in 1964-1965 and dropped to 57.66 in 1967-1968.²

¹The college has a French section also.

²Interview with the principal of the English Section May 2, 1968.

The Collège Protestant Français de Jeune Filles, which has half an hour of religious instruction for pupils whose parents desire such, has a Muslim enrollment which is considerably larger than the Christian enrollment.¹

French Catholic schools have also enrolled Muslim students. However, the percentage of Muslim students in Catholic mission schools tends to be less than it is in Protestant mission schools. In 1942-1943, approximately 8 percent of the students enrolled in French schools were Muslim.² Other statistics reveal a similar trend. Of the 3142 students enrolled at the Saint Joseph University in 1947-1948, approximately 15 percent were Muslim. That same year 43 percent of the students enrolled in the American University of Beirut were Muslim.³ Although these percentages relate to enrollment in higher education, they are an indication of the number of Muslims in private schools whose graduates comprise the majority of these colleges' enrollment.

Smaller lay schools, like the 'Uroba School in Beirut, which are operated by individuals, usually draw their pupils from the area where each school is located. Hence, the denomination of the majority of the students enrolled in such a school will be that of the area where the school is located. Larger lay schools, like the Rawda High School in Ras Beirut, which are operated by individuals usually enroll

¹Interview with the principal of the college on May 3, 1968.

²Matthews and Akrawi, p. 461.

³Sati' Al-Husrii, Hawliyah al-Thagaafah al-Arabiyyah: al-Sanah al-Oula, 1948-1949 (Cairo: Jaami'ah al-Duwal al-'Arabiyyah, 1949), p. 351.

students from a number of areas within a city. Many denominations, therefore, are usually represented in their schools.

Academic Standards of the Free Educational System

The academic standards of the free system's schools are evaluated by performance in the government examinations, educational facilities, and training of teachers. Table 13 presents the percentage of success in the four government examinations for the year 1964-1965. First, it should be noted that many of the larger private schools do not prepare their students for the elementary examinations since they are not required for entrance to the secondary stage. A second observation is that, generally speaking, students from foreign private schools have a much higher percentage of success than students from other schools.

A further indication of the academic standards of foreign private schools is seen in the degree of success in the Baccalaureate examinations which several of these schools have had. In 1964-1965, International College had the following percentage of students who succeeded: Baccalaureate (Scientific), Part One, 69 percent; Baccalaureate (Literary), Part One, 88 percent; Baccalaureate (Philosophy), Part Two, 75 percent; and Baccalaureate (Mathematics), Part Two, 93 percent.¹ The

¹Report of Baccalaureate results, 1958-1967, International College, English Section. The report also revealed that over the six-year period the examination results did not differ appreciably from those of 1964-1965.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE OF THOSE SUCCEEDING
IN FOUR OFFICIAL LEBANESE EXAMINATIONS
1964-1965^a

Examination	Percentage of Success			
	National Private School	Foreign Private Schools	All Private Schools	Public Schools
Elementary Studies			49	49
Higher Elementary			25	34
Baccalaureate (Scientific), I	32	64		31
Baccalaureate (Literary), I	18	43		16
Baccalaureate (Philosophy), II	35	34		48
Baccalaureate (Mathematics), II	37	40		36

^aConstructed from data in Al-Za'nii et al., pp. 44-46.

administration of the Collège Protestant reported that for the years 1965-1966 and 1966-1967, 88 percent of its students passed the Baccalaureate (Literary and Scientific), Part One examination; and 75 percent passed the Baccalaureate (Philosophy and Mathematics), Part Two examination.¹ During the period 1966-1968, nearly 75 percent of the students from L.E.M.G. (British) School who took the Baccalaureate examination

¹Interview with the principal of the college, May 3, 1968.

succeeded. In the same period, the percentage of success in the Baccalaureate examination for the Beirut Baptist School was about 70 percent.

The quality of education provided in private schools can also be determined in some measure by the kind of training their teachers have had. Some of the private schools employ teachers who have been well trained. Of the 94 teachers of the Collège Protestant who taught in 1967-1968, 29 had college degrees and 24 others had had pedagogical training on a post-secondary level.¹ At the Beirut Baptist School, of the 30 teachers which comprised the teaching staff in 1967-1968, 4 had Master's degrees, 4 had Bachelor's degrees, and 14 had had formal pedagogical training at a post-secondary level. At the Ahliah Girls School, 90 percent of the school's 47 teachers had university degrees.²

By no means are the majority of teachers in private schools trained as well as those in the schools mentioned above. A survey of private schools in 1963-1964 revealed how poorly most private school teachers are trained. This is clearly shown in Table 14.

The survey, which did not include the private schools of Beirut, revealed several important facts. Nearly 55

¹Ibid.

²Interview with the school's principal, May 7, 1968.

TABLE 14

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS OF
PRIVATE SCHOOL TEACHERS
IN FOUR DISTRICTS OF LEBANON, 1963-1964^a

Kind of Diploma Held	Number of Teachers Holding the Diploma
Certificate of Elementary Studies or less	1618
Certificate of Higher Elementary Education or less	2759
Baccalaureate, Part One	1599
Baccalaureate, Part Two	997
Teaching Certificate	115
Master's Degree	866

^aAl-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wazaarah al-Tasmiim al-'Aam: Maslahah al-Nashaataah al-Iqliimiyah, al-Tajhiyyaat al-Madrasiyya, p. 36.

percent of the teachers of the schools surveyed had only an elementary education or less, and only 115 of the 794⁵ teachers were definitely known to have had pedagogical training. Another point is that 44 percent of the teachers had less than three years of teaching experience and that 39 percent had between three and ten years of teaching experience.¹

It should be noted that private schools are not able to employ graduates of the six teacher training institutes which are operated by the government because the Ministry of Education, also facing the problem of untrained teachers,² requires all the graduates of its teacher training institutes to teach in public schools for a period of ten years.³ In order to encourage teachers to remain in public schools, the Ministry of Education, in 1964, increased monthly salaries two increments.⁴ This was an average increase of about LL 75 for each teacher. Furthermore, private schools were not invited to participate in the in-service training

¹Ibid., p. 38.

²Each year the Ministry of Education appoints teachers for elementary classes who have only the Brevet or the Lebanese Baccalaureate (UNESCO and International Bureau of Education, International Year Book of Education, [Geneva and Paris, 1965], XXVII, 218).

³Ibid. (1964), XXVI, 200. ⁴Ibid.

programs which UNESCO and UNICEF provided for public school teachers. In 1960, at the request of the Ministry of Education, these two organizations set up training centers in the five districts of Lebanon, which, over an eight-year period, trained more than 3,000 public school teachers.¹ Another source of help to private school teachers is the Ministry of Education's monthly journal, *Al-Tarbiyah al-Wataniyyah*, which is sent without cost to all public school teachers.² Few private school teachers know of the journal, and fewer still read it.

Another factor which is related to the quality of education is the quality of the facilities used in the educational process. Some of the private schools in Lebanon have modern facilities complete with laboratories, libraries, lounges, and playing fields. The survey made in 1963-1964 by the Ministry of Planning shows that these modern schools are very exceptional. The survey revealed that of the 1065 buildings investigated, only 441 were actually built to be used as schools. The others were houses or other buildings. Most of the buildings (62 percent) were too small. In some of the elementary schools operated by individuals, as many as 40 children were assigned to a room. Of the buildings surveyed,

¹The Daily Star (Beirut), February 5, 1968.

²Ustah et al., 'Ard 'Aam, p. 38.

158 were unsafe and evacuation was recommended. In North Lebanon, 65 percent of classroom furniture was in wretched condition.¹

Only 25 percent of the schools surveyed had adequate playgrounds; 40 percent had no playground at all. The schools of the Mount Lebanon District are considered among the best; yet, two-thirds of those schools either had no playgrounds or the playgrounds could not be used. Of the schools surveyed, 59 percent had no equipment for physical education.² Further, the survey showed that 3,500 additional sinks, drinking fountains, and toilets were needed and that some schools lacked stoves. In 'Alay, a city located in a region often blanketed with snow, over half of the city's 60 schools had no heat.³ The survey also included the schools' teaching aids, and it was noted that 40 percent had no maps, 66 percent had no science charts, 88 percent had no conversation charts, 59 percent had no library, and 87 percent had no laboratories.⁴

Although Beirut's private schools were not included in this survey, observation tends to confirm the view that their

¹Ibid., pp. 64-87.

²Ibid., p. 88.

³Ibid., p. 106, 123.

⁴Ibid., p. 130.

facilities are about the same quality as facilities of private schools located in the cities of the districts covered by the survey.

Finance

Funds for the operation of private schools generally come from three major sources: the Lebanese government, foreign organizations, and tuition and other fees.

The Lebanese government makes grants to elementary schools who charge no more than LL 35 per year for tuition.¹ In 1968, the Ministry of Education budgeted LL 5,000,000 for aid to 850 of these Gratuitous Schools.² By following this policy, the Ministry of Education has assumed the financial responsibility of educating 85 percent of all the pupils in public and private elementary schools.³

The Lebanese government also aids private schools indirectly by granting some of its employees a certain percentage of their children's tuition fees. In some cases the government pays 50 percent of these fees.⁴ In other departments, the government contributes to a fund from which department employees, who also pay into the fund, may receive educational grants for their children. The government

¹The symbol "LL" represents one Lebanese Pound which is worth about thirty cents.

²Interview with Zuhayr Fathallah of the Ministry of Education, February 7, 1968.

³Al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wazaarah al-Tasmiim al-'Aam: Maslahah al-Nashaataat al-Iqliimiyah, al-Tajhiyyaat al-Madrasiiyyah, p. 24.

⁴Some members of the Internal Security Force receive this amount; others only 25 percent.

also offers yearly scholarships to students in the last year of the Secondary Stage whose academic achievement is outstanding.

Foreign organizations--lay, clerical, and government--also aid private schools financially. The Near East Baptist Mission underwrites about 30 percent of the Beirut Baptist School's budget. The World Council of Churches makes grants to cooperating churches for the purchase of school equipment. The Ford Foundation has also aided private education by purchasing laboratory equipment for some of the national secondary schools. The United Nations contributes to private education through grants to Palestinian refugee children who attend private schools. The French Embassy gives scholarships to Lebanese children of Lebanese-French parentage. The Embassy also subsidizes some Lebanese schools¹ and pays the travel expenses of French teachers which its Cultural Mission recruits in France for work in Lebanon.²

The main source of funds for private schools, especially schools with post-elementary stages, is tuition and other fees. The two main fees of three representative schools are shown in Table 15. Schools which employ a large number of international

¹UNESCO, World Survey of Education, II, 785.

²Photograph of letter from the French Embassy, Beirut to the director of the Lycée Pilote Mont-Liban April 13, 1967, in Lycée Pilote Mont-Liban, 1967-1968 (Beirut, 1967).

personnel charge higher tuition fees. In 1965, Brummana High School charged LL 1,000 for the third year of the Second Secondary Stage, and International College charged LL 1,400 for the same class.¹ It is estimated that in some schools fees have increased as much as 30 percent during the past few years. This increase was necessitated by mandatory salary increases decreed by the government and the regular increase of teachers' salaries required by law.² This regular increase

TABLE 15
TUITION AND TRANSPORTATION FEES
OF THREE PRIVATE SCHOOLS
IN LEBANON, 1967-1968

School	Fee				Trans- porta- tion
	Tuition				
	Year and Stage				
	First Ele- mentary	First Higher Elementary	Third, Second Secondary		
Beirut Baptist School ^a	LL 275	LL 450	LL 650	LL 130	
Ahliha Girls School ^b	.. 375	.. 550	.. 850	.. 140	
Lycee Pilote Mont-Liban ^c	.. 375	.. 550	.. 700	.. 125	

^aMimeographed schedule of school fees, 1967-1968.

^bAhliha Girls School Bulletin, 1967-1968, p. 28.

^cLycée Pilote Mount Liban, 1967-1968.

¹The Daily Star (Beirut), October 2, 1965.

²Ibid.

is paid every two years to teachers on the permanent teaching staff. The increase ranges from LL 27.50 to LL 70.00 monthly, depending on the classification of the teacher.¹

In summary, private schools have taken advantage of the freedom allowed by law and government laxity to follow a variety of aims. These schools have not been restricted to any one geographical area but are to be found in varying degrees of concentration in every district. Furthermore, private schools have enrolled in these districts almost as many girls as boys in the Elementary Stage but have enrolled more males than females in the Secondary Stages. With regard to the denomination of the student, denominational schools tend to enroll mainly children of the denomination, while the other private schools enroll children of all denominations. Generally speaking, private schools are able to provide education for their pupils with monies received from foreign organizations, tuition, and other fees. With available resources (both human and material), private school owners operate schools most of which seem to be very sub-standard.

¹Biitaar et al., p. 53.

CHAPTER VII

AN EVALUATION OF THE FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

In the preceding chapters, the emergence of the free educational system has been described. It was noted that the country's geography, Phoenician heritage, and millet system worked hand-in-glove with the policies of foreign rulers to create division and to thwart the development of social concern and national pride. It was noted also that while geography, culture, and history were shaping the nation's character, similar forces were operating to forge an educational system whose origin and development were unrelated to the various civil governments. Thus, it was natural for a weak, divided nation to accept an educational system which did not want or need the supervision and assistance of the state.

It was observed that although the nation accepted the principle of a free system, it did not allow that system to operate unrestricted but made regulations according to which private schools were to function. However, the nation apparently has not yet reached the level of maturity which will enable it to enforce the regulations directly. Therefore,

indirect methods have had to be adopted, and one of them, the examination system, has proved to be a powerful regulator not only in the hands of the Ministry of Education but also in the hands of the public who have tended to oppose any experimentation.

Owners of private schools have found that there is still a large degree of freedom in which to function. In this freedom they have adopted varying aims, enrolled whom they desired, and provided an education of varying quality.

This concluding chapter will seek to evaluate this free educational system in terms of its contribution to the development of democracy in Lebanon.

The Meaning of Democracy

Classical democracy means a government in which the ultimate authority is retained by the people. Western democracy--which, to a large extent, was inspired by the liberalism of the eighteenth century--is a much broader concept. Western democracy, opinioned Counts, cannot be identified with any particular set of social institutions or arrangements.¹ Democracy is rather a spirit, a principle, a belief; it is, wrote Dewey, a way of community living.²

¹George S. Counts, The Schools Can Teach Democracy (New York: The John Day Company, 1939), p. 13.

²John Dewey, Education and Democracy: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), p. 101.

Democracy is more easily defined in conduct and attitude than in words. Western democracy is identified with the belief that all men are equal, endowed with worth apart from sex, race, or creed, and have a moral claim and capacity for participation in the control of their destiny.¹ Counts believed that democracy is seen in devotion to "that sublime ethical conception which has marked man's rise from savagery and barbarism--the conception of the essential equality, brotherhood, dignity, and moral worth of man."² Bode held that the democratic faith is identified with the principle that conduct is measured by its effect on promoting common interests.³ Elliot also defined democracy in terms of conduct. He wrote that democracy is "that arrangement of life by which the members of a group, small or large, have the opportunity to participate responsibly and co-operatively, in proportion to their maturity and ability, in deciding, planning, executing, and evaluating all matters in which the group is involved. . . ."⁴

¹John W. Studebaker, Education and the Fate of Democracy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), pp. 6-7.

²Counts, p. 13.

³Boyd H. Bode, Democracy Is a Way of Life (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), pp. 38-39.

⁴Harrison S. Elliot, "Democracy in Educational Practice," in Foundations of Democracy. Ed. by F. Ernest Johnson (New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1947), p. 193.

Democracy in Lebanon

Lebanon has had limited experience in democratic living, and this experience has been confined primarily to the political area of national life. The Lebanese Constitution grants the right to vote to all citizens regardless of sex, and Lebanese exercise this privilege in the selection of members of parliament who are responsible for the election of the President of the Republic and for the confirmation of the cabinet members whom he appoints. Citizens also enjoy freedom of speech and assembly.

Lebanon's modern democratic structure probably had its beginning during the troubles of the nineteenth century, part of which stemmed from widespread social unrest. The Druze especially were restless during that period. When they complained that Amir Qasim, a convert to Christianity who had been appointed ruler over Mount Lebanon, was discriminating against them in the collection of taxes, the Turkish governor of Beirut appointed a council composed of representatives of the various denominations to consider the tax question.¹ The Druze attack on the Amir's castle a few days after the council was appointed led to the council's dissolution. At this point, the Great Powers of Europe intervened. They presented a plan for a representative council similar to that which had been drawn up by the Turkish governor, but because of widespread unrest, it too proved to be unworkable. When the continuing

¹Hess and Bodman, "Confessionalism and Feudality in Lebanese Politics," p. 11.

turmoil led to the massacres of 1860, the Great Powers intervened militarily to end the conflict and in the following year drew up the plan which created an autonomous state governed by a Christian non-Lebanese governor who was assisted by a twelve-man administrative council chosen by the chiefs of the state's six districts. This plan is the basis of Lebanon's present parliamentary structure.¹ That plan, it should be noted, was imposed upon the people by foreign powers and was not the result of indigenous forces. This basis of representative government seems to be quite different from the bases of democratic structures in more mature nations.

Political democracy has survived in Lebanon in spite of the prevalence of the same factors which led to the collapse of nearly all of the parliamentary structures in the Arab world: indifference, ignorance, domination by large landowners, a small middle class, and corruption.² To these should be added hyper-individualism which, said Saaib Salaam, causes every Lebanese to think of himself as the nation.³ Social democracy in Lebanon is hardly known. The denominational structure of society, family loyalty, and the economic philosophy of the nation have tended to prevent its development.

Although democracy in Lebanon is underdeveloped, the conditions for its growth are more ideal than in any other Arab country. Issawi believes that democracies flourish best in a small country which has a small population, a high per

¹Ibid., p. 12.

²Berger, The Arab World Today, p. 286.

³Ustah et al., 'Ard 'Aam, p. 14.

capita income, an equal distribution of wealth, a large proportion of the population engaged in industry and the services, a high degree of national emigration and religious homogeneity, a high degree of literacy, and a capacity for voluntary cooperation. Most of these conditions, which are found in thriving Western democracies, are to be found also in Lebanon.¹ In light of Issawi's thesis, democracy can flourish in Lebanon. Others believe that it must thrive if Lebanon is to know stability and maintain the freedom some Arab nations might seek to destroy.

The growth of democracy in Lebanon or in any nation depends to a large degree on the education of its people. Not only must they be enlightened in order to participate fully in the total life of the nation, but they must also learn to respect the bases on which successful democratic living rests. Therefore, education in Lebanon must be for all, must be of the highest quality possible, and must respect the principles of democracy which were mentioned above. Education in Lebanon must be for all classes and for both sexes. Taha Hussein, the Arab world's Horace Mann, underscored this view when he wrote:

True democrats naturally favor the extension of education because they believe it will enable the people to act more intelligently and resolutely. . . . Democracy and limitation of education are mutually contradictory terms.²

¹Charles Issawi, "Economic Development and Liberalism in Lebanon," p. 279.

²Taha Hussein, The Future of Culture in Egypt, trans. from the Arabic by Sidney Glazer (Ann Arbor: American Council of Learned Societies, 1954), p. 39.

Lebanon must also educate all its citizens, and educate them well, for "Inferior schools in any locality is a negation of democracy. . . ."1

The Contribution of the Free Educational
System to the Development of Democracy

If the growth of democracy in a nation depends on providing education for all its citizens, then to the schools of the free educational system goes a large share of the credit for making Lebanon one of the most literate countries in the Arab world. In addition to this contribution, many private schools have provided a high quality of education which has not only resulted in the training of many of the nation's leaders but has served to inspire the improvement of teaching in public schools.²

With the freedom which private schools enjoy, many of them have created programs which emphasize character development and social service. This would appear to be a significant contribution to the growth of democracy, especially in the light of social conditions in the area. One of the Arab world's own thinkers criticized that world, saying that the social situation of every Arab country is corrupted, retarded, weak, and dominated by selfishness. Social schemes, he lamented, are enthusiastically begun and quickly die. As far as character

¹Samuel Smith, George R. Cressman and Robert K. Speer, Education and Society: An Introduction to Education for a Democracy (New York: The Dryden Press, 1942), p. 50.

²The Daily Star (Beirut), May 15, 1968.

is concerned this area is the weakest. Corruption is widespread.¹ Lebanese society seems to reflect these same weaknesses, some of which are found in varying degrees in nearly every nation where capitalism is the dominant force. The policy of "tipping" government employees, which began about 1875 when government funds were insufficient, still flourishes.² Moreover, it is estimated that in the 1968 Parliamentary elections, candidates spent at least LL 10,000,000 to "encourage" voters to exercise their democratic responsibility,³ and many of those who had to be encouraged thusly were quite willing to reveal the price of their vote. Apparently the hundreds of posters which were put up all over the country before the elections and which read "He who sells his vote sells his honor" did not have much effect on most of the voters.

Other schools have emphasized religious instruction and in so doing have acquainted their students with tenets which some thinkers feel are necessary for the survival of democracy. One such thinker holds, for example, that belief in human equality "is a religious faith, and nothing but faith will maintain it."⁴ Some schools have taken advantage of the available freedom to develop programs which seek to meet

¹Hasan Himaam, Mustaqbal al-Tarbiyah fii Bilaad al-'Arabiya (Cairo, 1950), p. 56.

²Hitti, Lebanon in History, p. 446.

³The Daily Star (Beirut), March 29, 1968.

⁴A. D. Lindsay, I Believe in Democracy (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 13.

students' needs and prepare them for life in a confusing world. Such programs may be seen to encourage democracy, for they may be interpreted as showing respect for individual differences and a concern for the pupils' interests and abilities.¹

Private schools have helped to lessen religious prejudice and discrimination. In many of the private schools, both foreign and national, students from all faiths live and learn together. Prothro and Melikian, two psychologists at the American University of Beirut, found that during the period 1935-1951, the attitude of Muslims toward Christians improved appreciably.² It should be noted that most of the A.U.B. students are from American or Anglo-American oriented schools which enroll students from all denominations. Private schools, especially on the elementary level, have overcome the ancient Arab tradition of giving boys preferred treatment and have enrolled an equal number of boys and girls. It seems that equal educational opportunity for girls is vital to Lebanon since some Lebanese feel that women voters are too emotional and under too much pressure from their families. Furthermore, say these observers, women voters have caused a distinct trend toward conservatism and the strengthening of traditional elements in many of the nation's districts.³

¹Smith, Cressman, and Speer, p. 50.

²Terry E. Prothro and Levon H. Melikian, "Social Distance and Social Change in the Middle East," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVII (January, 1952), 10-11.

³Naadil 22 Tishriin al-Thaanii, al-Muwaatin wa al-Intikhaab fii Lubnaan, p. 13.

The Contribution of the Free Educational
System to the Retardation of Democracy

If democracy is primarily "a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience,"¹ a large segment of the free educational system has tended to exert a negative influence on its development, for private schools have tended to divide rather than unite. Schools of the free system have not, as a whole, encouraged a sense of community and association in the nation.

One factor contributing to the disintegrating effect of the free system is the variety of emphases within the system. While acknowledging that this variety makes for enrichment and multiplicity of viewpoints, it must be admitted that the many different emphases have led to disunity. Sabbah has described this diversity of emphases and its results in this manner:

Each institution and each school has had its own way of proceeding and its particular conviction with regard to the art of education. One has begun at the end, the other has finished at the beginning, and a common accord by the two on the same point of view has been rare and difficult. What one has seen as black the other has seen as white. . . .²

Another Lebanese educator, whose anonymity is deliberate and necessary, feels that the disunity resulting from diverse educational aims and emphases leads to actual violence. This

¹Dewey, p. 101.

²Sabbah, La Nouvelle Orientation, p. 12.

person has said that some Lebanese are so devoted to their kind of education and its attendant political orientation that they are ready to fight and kill all those who oppose their views.

It appears that the internal conflict of 1958, which left Lebanon paralyzed and bleeding, was in a sense a conflict of cultures. It was, to be true, more than that, but a cultural dichotomy seems to have been one of the underlying factors which inspired it. President Chamoun, a Maronite, was bound by the National Pact of 1943 not to turn to France for political support. However, when Sunni Muslims showed more loyalty to Egypt than to Lebanon, Chamoun turned to the West for aid. When he did so, the conflict was joined between Maronite and Sunni. In the struggle both groups attracted adherents from all the other sects both Muslim and Christian.¹ Thus it seems evident that the Maronite view that Lebanon has its own Mediterranean culture, a culture which gives it a Western orientation, collided with the Maqaasid view that Lebanon is part of the Arab world which Nasser seeks to unite.

The variety of emphases which have been adopted by private schools has resulted in some degree of disunity between those educated in schools which are oriented toward French culture and those who are educated in schools which

¹Meo, Lebanon, Improbable Nation, pp. 123-25.

are oriented toward Anglo-American culture.¹ There is a tendency for the latter to resent the former and the favored position they have in Lebanon, and at times this resentment becomes a war "fought out in many areas of Lebanese life from broadcasting to jobs in the Ministries."²

The freedom of emphasis in private schools has also served to weaken a sense of unity by isolating a person from his community. French schools have been blamed most often for causing this kind of isolation. By employing French teachers, using strict discipline, and immersing the student in French culture and psychology, French schools have often alienated students from their native culture. Some Lebanese who have been educated in French Catholic schools speak French as well as they do Arabic, and for some, French has replaced Arabic as the native language. Moreover, many have travelled to France, have copied French social customs, and have come to have a profound admiration for France.³ This admiration was eloquently expressed by Bishara Al Khouri who was president of Lebanon from 1946-1952. Speaking at a reception in honor of Georges Duhamel of the French Academy, Khouri praised France, calling

¹Hourani, Syria and Lebanon (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 84.

²R. Sayig, "Bilingual Controversy in Lebanon," World Today, XXI (March, 1965), 126.

³Hourani, Lebanon and Syria, p. 152.

her the messenger of ancient civilizations and a precious friend of Lebanon. He concluded by saying that "it is to French culture and French civilization, it is to the union of two civilizations which have their place of meeting on the soil of Lebanon, that I pay here my tribute."¹

Subbah added his word of praise to that of his president saying, "We are able to say with certainty that French culture is continuing. . . its mission in Lebanon with more objectivity and more grandeur."²

Foreign schools, especially the French, do not deserve all the blame for the isolation of the student from his culture. The official program tends to encourage the isolation. In most schools the student gives more time to the study of the foreign language than to Arabic. In the Scientific Section of the Baccalaureate, I class, the student spends ten periods a week in the study of Arabic (literature, social studies, and religion) and sixteen hours in the study of the foreign language (literature, math, and science). Besides this, many students find the math and science much more stimulating than classical Arabic literature.

Another factor which tends to make the criticism of foreign schools less severe is that for a long period of time

¹Sabbah, p. 183.

²Ibid., p. 186.

the Christians in Lebanon did not feel that they were a part of the empire; at best they were second-class citizens. "In the absence of a State of their own, Lebanese students trained in a foreign school gave their affections and loyalty to the country which sponsored their school."¹

Some private schools also have apparently been an avenue of foreign political influence--an influence which has a tendency to create the impression that a school is an institution of a foreign government. Some might view the Lebanon Evangelical Mission Girls School in this light. The school, which used to celebrate the Queen's birthday,² always invites the British Ambassador to participate in the graduation program by presenting the graduates their diplomas.

French influence is seen in the school inspectors who are sent by the French Embassy to examine French schools and those they subsidize.³ If these inspectors have been suspected of political maneuvering it has not been publicized. It would appear, however, that their presence in these schools gives some impression of French political influence in the country.

Private schools sponsored by American organizations have traditionally remained aloof of any policy or activity which might lead to the view that these schools were agents of the

¹Kurani, "Lebanon: Educational Reform," p. 451.

²Scott, Dare and Persevere, p. 40.

³UNESCO, World Survey of Education, III, 785.

United States. This tradition was established by the first American missionaries who were extremely careful not to be drawn into the diplomatic chicanery of the nineteenth century.¹ Because of this tradition it might be surprising to note that when a professor from the American University was expelled from the country by the Minister of Interior on charges of causing sectarian unrest, the administration called on the United States Ambassador. The professor who was expelled was a citizen of Spain.²

Other schools have been suspected of being avenues of foreign (non-Lebanese) influence. Some of these schools, which are known to employ teachers from other Arab states characterized by a progressive philosophy, have been suspected of fomenting trouble in the nation.

March, 1967 was a troubled time in Lebanon. Matters almost reached the breaking point when demonstrators desecrated the Lebanese flag and made insulting remarks about the president. At this point, Cardinal Meouchi, former Maronite Patriarch, lashed out at those he felt were causing the unrest. He especially singled out an educational institution which he described as a school which prepared "'commandos for subversion.'"³

¹Lindsay, Nineteenth Century American Schools, p. 206.

²The Daily Star (Beirut), March 20, 1966.

³The Daily Star (Beirut), March 21, 1967.

It has been observed that the school in Beirut about which the Cardinal might have been speaking has often been the rallying-point for demonstrators from nearby private schools. These schools are known to employ teachers who are from the country which sponsors the school denounced by the Cardinal.

Moreover, the free educational system has slowed the development of democracy by strengthening the barriers which tend to compartmentalize Lebanese society. Denominational schools have tended to prevent interaction and contact between the various sects and denominations since each school enrolls mainly its own members. Thus, the students of these schools lose sight of a wider community. Not only does the denominational school hinder contact and interaction by the mechanical process of providing separate facilities for its members but it also discourages integration with other groups by emphasizing its peculiar doctrines. By acquainting their pupils with the doctrines of the church or religion and insisting on loyalty to them, the denominational school fosters the idea that its "own religion is superior to others."¹

The psychology of the isolationism of denominational schools and its danger are aptly described by Dewey, who wrote:

¹J. A. Lauwerys and N. Hans, "Education and Morals," The Year Book of Education, 1951 (London: Evans Brothers, Ltd., 1951), p. 10.

The isolation and exclusiveness of a gang or clique brings its antisocial spirit into relief. But this same spirit is found wherever one group has interests 'of its own' which shut it out from full interaction with other groups, so that its prevailing purpose is the protection of what it has got. . . . Instead of reorganization and progress through wider relationships. . . . The essential point is that isolation makes for rigidity and formal institutionalizing of life, for static and selfish ideals within the group. That savage tribes regard aliens and enemies as synonymous is not accidental. It springs from the fact that they have identified their experience with rigid adherence to their past customs. On such a basis it is wholly logical to fear intercourse with others, for such contact might dissolve custom.¹

The soundness of Dewey's analysis of isolationism is illustrated by one of the many crises which makes life in the Middle East so exciting. On March 17, 1966, Dr. Spagnolo, a professor of history at the American University of Beirut, distributed to his Cultural Studies class mimeographed portions of a work by Aquinas which were copied from a book available in local bookstores. This background material, which was prepared for the convenience of the students, contained some of Aquinas' critical views regarding Islam. On March 18, one of the Arabic newspapers, Al-Sha'b, which had been given a copy of the material, published a photostatic copy of that part of the material which contained Aquinas' uncomplimentary views regarding Muhammed. The newspaper report did not indicate that the views were those of Aquinas nor did

¹Dewey, pp. 99-100.

it mention the book from which they were taken.

When word of the article reached government officials, they took swift action. On the evening of March 18, they charged the professor with delivering a lecture considered as derogatory to religious beliefs and, for his own safety, ordered him to leave the country within twenty-four hours. The professor left for Spain on March 19.¹ It is apparent that the action of the officials was taken to prevent outbreaks of violence like that which occurred in 1954.² Riot squads were stationed at the Arab University (a branch of the University of Alexandria) which had planned a demonstration to protest the offensive "lecture." Other schools near the university were kept under surveillance by the police.³

It probably is not fair to say that the incident described above is solely the result of the segregating tendency of denominational schools. The reaction (or overreaction) was probably an expression of Arab sensitivity to any criticism of Islam or the Arab nation. Smith analyzes this Arab reaction to criticism, saying:

¹The Daily Star (Beirut), March 20, 1966. International College was involved to some extent. A rumor was circulated that the material was distributed in the college.

²That violence, which was triggered by a statement critical of Islam, was ended by the army.

³The Daily Star (Beirut), March 20, 1966.

The Arabs are a proud and sensitive people. No adequate understanding of their situation today is possible unless due weight is given to both these factors. Further, some appreciation is needed of how much they have in their past of which to be proud.¹

Arab writers, seeing their nation's decline, glorify the past whose foundation was religion. They interpret their past without a critical frankness. Any criticism of the Arab's history seems to be a further attack on the nation. Thus, the Arab glorification of the past invites its critical investigation by the West, and this brings greater insecurity to the Arab.² Hence, the disturbance created by the outside reading material was most likely caused by Arab-Muslim insecurity. It seems correct to observe, however, that this insecurity was heightened by a lack of contact with those who hold views which might seem contrary to, even critical of, Islam.

Mission schools whose aim is the conversion of its students are also criticized for the divisiveness. The work of the early missionaries so alarmed the local Christians that their leaders took stern measures to protect their flocks. Not only did they seek the imprisonment of some of the local preachers but they also used the fear of excommunication. That such a device seems to have been effective is seen in the curse of the Maronite Patriarch against a family in Ehden, a Maronite village in North Lebanon, who rented their house to an American missionary:

¹William Cantwell Smith, Islam in Modern History (New York: Mentor Books, 1959), p. 98.

²Ibid., pp. 122-23.

Because they have received the deceiver let them be hereby excluded from all Christian society, let the curse cover them as a garment. . . , no one shall visit them or greet them. Avoid them as mortifying devils and infernal dragons.¹

Because Protestant missions have had the tendency to create unrest and division within local Christian groups, many mission organizations have in recent years adopted the policy of strengthening the traditional churches and encouraging them to share in the missions' main task, the conversion of the Muslim.²

However, the conversion of Muslims may also create division. Smith feels that it is very unsettling for a Muslim to reject his faith because of a foreign criterion (ideology) rather than an indigenous one, for he is then looked upon as a traitor to his own community.³

Some schools of the free system have tended to stifle the spirit of democracy by crystallizing the present social structure and discouraging social mobility.

Until the end of World War I, Lebanon had a two-class system. There was a small group of wealthy merchants and land owners and the poor--al-sha'b. With the advent of industry this structure has been changed. There is now a small middle class composed of professional people and a developing

¹Julius Richter, A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East (New York: Fleming H. Revel Company, 1910), p. 188.

²Johnson, Middle East Pilgrimage, p. 95.

³Smith, pp. 112-13.

laboring class. The size of the middle class may be determined somewhat by the fact that in 1966-1967 there were in Lebanon about 1650 physicians,¹ 1900 architects and engineers,² and 950 lawyers.³ The strength of the laboring class may be measured by a recent report from the Ministry of Social Affairs revealed that there were over 40,000 workers affiliated with labor unions. The report also indicated that the Ministry is encouraging the growth of the unions which have not yet reached a majority of the labor force.⁴

The relative financial position of the various classes in Lebanon may be ascertained from Table 16. Churchill's survey of Beirut in 1953 showed a similar distribution of income. He found that the middle class, with an income which ranged from LL 5,000 - 25,000 comprised 31 percent of Beirut's population, that the lower classes with an income less than LL 5,000 comprised 65 percent of the population, and that the upper class with an income of LL 25,000 or more comprised 4 percent of the population.⁵

¹The Daily Star (Beirut), October 2, 1966.

²Annuaire des Ingenieurs et Architectes au Liban, 1966: Orders de Beyrouth et de Tripoli (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Saikali, n.d.), p. 1 ff.

³An estimate based on Jadwal al-Muhaamiin al-Musajjalin Lada Nagaabah Beirut, 1967 (Beirut: Matba'ah Anis, 1967), p. 1 ff.

⁴The Daily Star (Beirut), September 24, 1967.

⁵Churchill, The City of Beirut, p. 23.

TABLE 16
INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN
THE REPUBLIC OF LEBANON^a

Classification	Percent of Families	Average Annual Income
Wretched	8.8	LL 1,000
Poor	41.2	2,000
Medium	32.0	3,500
Well off	14.0	10,000
Rich	4.0	40,000

^aConstructed from data in Issawi, "Economic Development and Liberalism in Lebanon," p. 288.

The lower middle class is showing increasing evidence of discontent and frustration, and the relationship between this class and the upper classes is beginning to show signs of strain and friction. This change in the relationship between the working class and the upper class is something new in Lebanon. Before the development of industry, the relationship between the two was a father-son relationship; there was informal, direct contact between the two classes. Now, the relationship has become impersonal and strained.¹

¹The Republic of Lebanon, ("Subcontractor's Monograph"; New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1956), I, 225-28.

There are indications that the relationship between the lower and upper classes may see greater strain, for the working class is demanding more of the upper classes' wealth and prestige, and their demands are not being met. Because of this, the workers are unhappy, and the degree of their unhappiness may be measured in the increase of labor disputes and strikes.¹ No doubt the presence of a vocal socialist bloc in the nation and the propaganda emanating from Arab states which have socialist regimes tend to increase the dissatisfaction of the working class.

The educational situation in Lebanon has done little to lessen the dissatisfaction of the working class. The worker

is being exposed to styles and standards of life that are beyond his reach. Strong pressures and motivations for upward mobility are constantly being emphasized, but there are a relatively limited number of channels through which such aspirations can be fulfilled.²

The worker sees that education is one of the few channels through which his children may move upward. However, rising educational costs tend to exert a downward thrust. Faced with an upward thrust generated by exposure to a better way of life and a downward thrust caused by economic forces, the worker expresses his discomfort as the pressures increase.

¹Samir G. Kalaf, "Industrial Conflict in Lebanon," Human Organization, XXIV (Spring, 1965), 26-28.

²Ibid., p. 33.

These factors may help explain the recent alarm of the lower middle class over the increase of tuition in private schools. On September 17, 1965, the Committee of Women's Rights urged Parliament to pass legislation which would prevent private schools from raising tuition fees and which would regulate the price of books so their cost would be "'within the means of the middle class and poor Lebanese families.'"¹ Two years later, representatives of labor unions submitted a memorandum to the Minister of Labor, Suleiman Zein, calling for educational reforms. The memorandum apparently contained the demands which had been discussed earlier when the delegation met with Zein and the Prime Minister. The labor demands were divided into two parts, long-term and urgent demands. The long-term demands included the following: free and compulsory education, the unification of text books, and putting a limit on private school fees. Among the urgent demands were the following: the reduction of school fees by at least 20 percent, the reconsideration of prices set for text books, increasing the number of public schools, and the granting of priority in the public schools to children of workers and people of limited income.² It is important to note that the laboring class did not only ask that more public schools be

¹The Daily Star (Beirut), September 18, 1965.

²Ibid. (Beirut), September 16, 1967.

provided but also sought the regulation of private school fees, presumably to enable some of their group to enroll their children in those schools.

The most dramatic expression of alarm over the increase of school fees was the near-suicide of Jamal Muhammed. When Jamal learned that her father (who had four other children to educate) could not enroll her in the private school she had attended for years but would have to enroll her in a government school, she took poison.¹

It appears that the lower middle class is alarmed because the high tuition fees in the better schools, while attracting the affluent, are forcing them into schools whose pupils are mainly from the poorer families. In other words, the middle class is apparently alarmed over the tendency of many private schools to become once again the schools of the rich minority. In Sabbah's view, the fears of the lower middle class are well founded, for he contends that private schools have worked to the benefit of the richest and most powerful. The poor and deprived in some of the regions were exploited by wealthy, well educated semi-feudal lords who promised the serfs education and progress-- a progress ending in death.²

Private schools have also had an adverse effect on the development of democracy by causing an educational imbalance

¹Ibid., October 9, 1966.

²Sabbah, pp. 161, 162.

within the nation. The main cause of the imbalance seems to be the attitudes toward education which are held by Christians and Muslims. The varying levels of education in the five districts tend to reflect the attitude toward education held by the various communities which comprise the district. As a rule, the Christian communities have shown more readiness to educate their children than Muslim communities. In 1941-1942, Christians had enrolled nearly 16 percent of their total population; Muslims 8 percent.¹ A similar trend is to be observed in Egypt. UNESCO reported in 1957 that approximately 25 percent of the Muslim population five years old and over was literate and that 45 percent of the corresponding Christian population was literate.²

Private schools in Lebanon have played a major role in slaking the educational thirst of the Christians. In 1941-1942, nearly 85 percent of all denominational schools were Christian and 15 percent were Muslim. Evidence seems to indicate that Christians have maintained their interest in education. Nearly 80 percent of the denominational secondary schools participating in military training were Christian, and 20 percent were Muslim. Hence, private schools have helped create a Christian community which is much more advanced than the Muslim community and in doing so have

¹Matthews and Akraw, Education in Arab Countries of the Near East, p. 425.

²UNESCO, World Illiteracy at Mid-Century, ("Monographs on Fundamental Education," Number 11; Paris, 1957), p. 53.

sharpened the differences which already separated the two communities.

This difference in the educational level of Muslims and Christians is reflected in the educational levels of the various districts. Districts with large Christian populations tend to be better educated than others. In Mount Lebanon, whose population is about 70 percent Christian, over 97 percent of elementary-age children are in school.¹ In South Lebanon, whose population is 70 percent² Muslim, only 65 percent of its elementary-age children are in school. Furthermore, the concentration of secondary schools in Mount Lebanon has meant that this district is more thoroughly educated than the other districts.

It would appear that developing a sense of community is very difficult where such a wide difference exists between regions. This educational gap may be one of the reasons why South Lebanon has been the scene of a number of demonstrations against the government, many of whose leaders come from Mount Lebanon.

Private schools contribute to the creation of an education gap because of the varying standards of their schools. In one section of Beirut is a private school which has a physician and psychologist on its staff to care for the needs of the

¹Al-Jumhuriyyah al-Lubnaaniyyah, Wazaarah al-Tasmiim al-'Aam: Masiaha al-Nashaataat al-Iqliimiyyah, al-Ta'liim fii Lubnaan, p. 7.

²Royal Institute of International Affairs, The Middle East, A Political and Economic Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 446.

students. The school has a good teaching staff, and there are adequate facilities for a well rounded education. At a distance of 150 yards from this school is another private school which is housed in an old apartment. There is no playground, its rooms are overcrowded, and its staff is untrained. The students of both schools are destined to become citizens of the nation.

By way of summary, it may be observed that private schools as a whole have encouraged the growth of democracy by participating in the spread of literacy in the nation and by providing equal primary educational experiences for boys and girls. Many of the private schools have also helped to lessen the influence of sectarian segregation by enrolling students from all denominations. Further, many of the private schools have contributed to the development of democracy by emphasizing character development and the acceptance of religious tenets compatible with democratic ideals. The creation of special programs in some of these schools also demonstrates in a practical way a democratic ideal.

It would appear that the positive contribution of the free system's schools are minimized by its negative contributions. The diverse aims which numbers of the schools have followed have served to divide, isolate, and discriminate.

By adopting differing emphases, some schools have encouraged conflicting nationalistic aspirations. Other schools have been divisive by alienating a person from his

culture or community, and a number of schools have helped to create conflicting loyalties by serving as avenues of foreign political influence.

Many private schools have apparently fostered a spirit of isolationism which has bred fear and suspicion.

Some of the larger schools have appeared to resist social mobility. Because of a free educational market, their high fees are forcing the lower classes with limited incomes to choose schools with low standards.

Finally, private schools have, it seems, mitigated against democratic principles by offering an education of varying quantity and quality. The free system has favored some districts and neglected others. It has offered to some a quality of education of which any nation could be proud and to many an education scarcely better than that of the kuttaab.

Thus, the free educational system, while feebly striving to break through the confines of ancient cultures and decaying tradition, seems actually to have strengthened them. It may even be a factor in the development of a sinister new tradition--class conflict.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study, which has sought to bring to light the complicated social and political matrix within which the private schools of Lebanon function, has revealed that conflicting nationalisms and cultural bases, indirect restraints of state

and society, stop-gap measures to fill the educational vacuum, social traditions, and the economic struggle of the lower classes all form parts of the background against which private schools operate. The study also has brought to light the urgent need for upgrading the quality of education in most of Lebanon's private schools.

This study has been descriptive and interpretive; its purpose has been to present a general view of one segment of Lebanon's educational mosaic. This portion of the mosaic deserves careful study--piece by piece. The histories of the various school systems need to be written or brought up to date, and further studies of the effects of denominational segregation need to be undertaken. The relationship between education and social class needs to be explored further. A comparative study of French and Lebanese education might also prove invaluable.

The study has also pointed out those areas in which a beginning could be made in the improvement of the free educational system. The areas in which improvement seems possible, without numerous changes in official policy or without an outlay of large sums of money are as follows: (1) in-service training for teachers (2) financial help for the lower classes, and (3) the integration of the different aims followed by various groups of private schools. For the initiation of improvement in these areas, the writer recommends (1) that the Ministry of Education require in-service training of

teachers of the Gratuitous Schools which it subsidizes and that this training be of the same quality as the training which public school teachers receive;

(2) that private school teachers be allowed to participate in the in-service training programs which the Minister of Education provides for its teachers;

(3) that the Ministry of Education send at least one copy of its journal, Al-Tarbiyah al-Wataniyyah, to every private school;

(4) that the Ministry of Education provide educational grants to outstanding students from lower class families to enable these students to complete their education in schools whose standards are high and whose programs are acceptable to the Ministry;

(5) that the Ministry of Education classify the academic standards of private schools on the basis of the reports which those schools submit annually and that government departments make educational grants to its employees whose children are enrolled in schools whose classification indicates that their academic standards are acceptable;

(6) that the teaching of the foreign language begin in the post-elementary stages and that the teaching of Arabic in every stage be modernized and improved;

(7) that educational activities be sponsored in which schools of both the private and the public system may participate jointly;

(8) and that a council composed of the representatives of the various groups of private schools be organized for the purpose of sharing information and considering ways of improving the educational standards of the free system's schools.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this study will add to the fund of international understanding which the world needs so desperately. It is hoped too that this paper will stimulate further investigation of education in the Arab world. Finally, it is the writer's great hope that these findings will result in the improvement of education in Lebanon, for the progress of the nation depends ultimately on the improvement of its schools.

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