

THE INHABITANTS OF HAOUCH MOUSSA:
FROM STRATIFIED SOCIETY THROUGH
CLASSLESSNESS TO THE RE-APPEARANCE OF SOCIAL CLASSES

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A B S T R A C T

This is a case study, based on fieldwork research carried out in 1980-1981 and 1986-1987 among the inhabitants of Haouch Moussa ('Anjar) - a Lebanese Armenian community in the Beka'a valley of Lebanon. The study itself constitutes a reconstruction of the practices and experiences (and their genesis) of the people in question, as Lebanese and Armenians (and therefore, of my own history as a Lebanese and an Armenian (and a woman)). The settlement itself was established in 1939 by Armenian refugees deported from their original habitat in Mount Moussa, the Sanjak of Iskandaroun (Turkey). When relocated in the Central Beka'a, the inhabitants initiated a collectivisation experiment. However, it was brought to an end shortly after Lebanese Independence. During the following decades, while the socialist ideology has persisted the individual households have at first become petty commodity producers for a regional, national and international market, and later through the dynamics of

petty commodity production, capitalism, and the effects of the civil war in Lebanon further transformations have occurred. This thesis examines these transformations and attempts to translate the dynamics of the reality of the inhabitants of 'Anjar into anthropological discourse.

R E S U M E

Cette étude est basée sur une recherche sur le terrain effectuée en 1980-1981 et 1986-1987 auprès des habitants de Haouch Moussa ('Anjar) - une communauté libanaise arménienne de la plaine de Beka'a, au Liban. L'étude est une reconstruction des pratiques et des expériences (et leur origines) de la population en question, en tant que libanais et arméniens et, de là, de ma propre histoire en tant que libanaise et arménienne (et femme). La communauté elle-même a été établie en 1939, par des réfugiés arméniens déportés de leur habitat d'origine au Mont Moussa, dans le Sanjak d'Iskandaroun (Turquie). Lors de leur relocalisation au Beka'a central, les habitants ont adopté un système collectiviste qu'ils durent abandonner à l'indépendance du Liban. Durant les décennies suivantes, alors que persistait l'idéologie socialiste, les rapports sociaux sont devenus inégaux et les unités domestiques sont d'abord devenues des petits producteurs marchands pour un marché régional, national et

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international, puis à travers la dynamique même de la petite production marchande, du capitalisme et des effets de la guerre civile au Liban, des transformations subséquentes ont eu lieu. Ce thèse examine ces transformations et essaie de traduire la dynamicité de la réalité des habitants de 'Anjar en un discours anthropologique.

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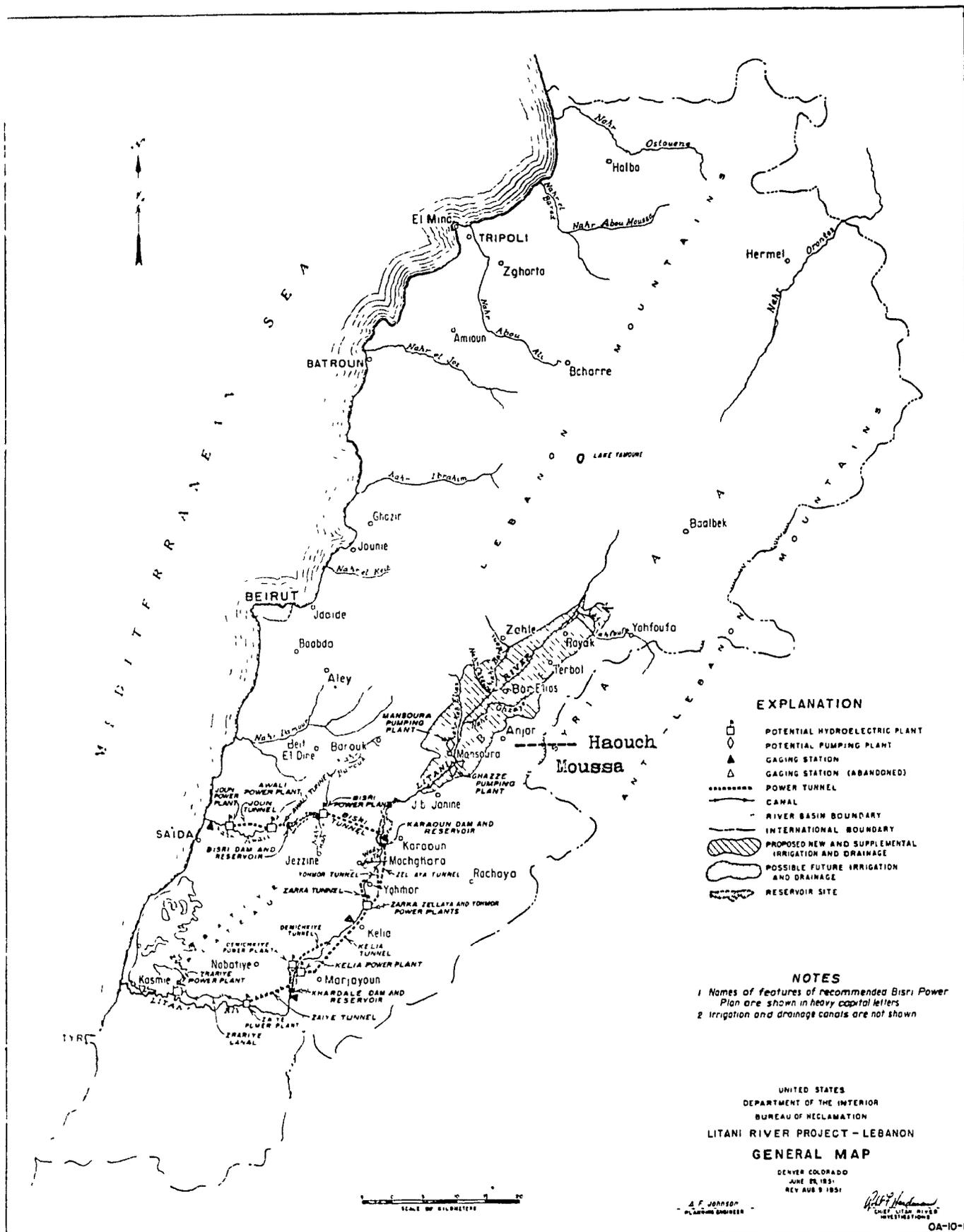
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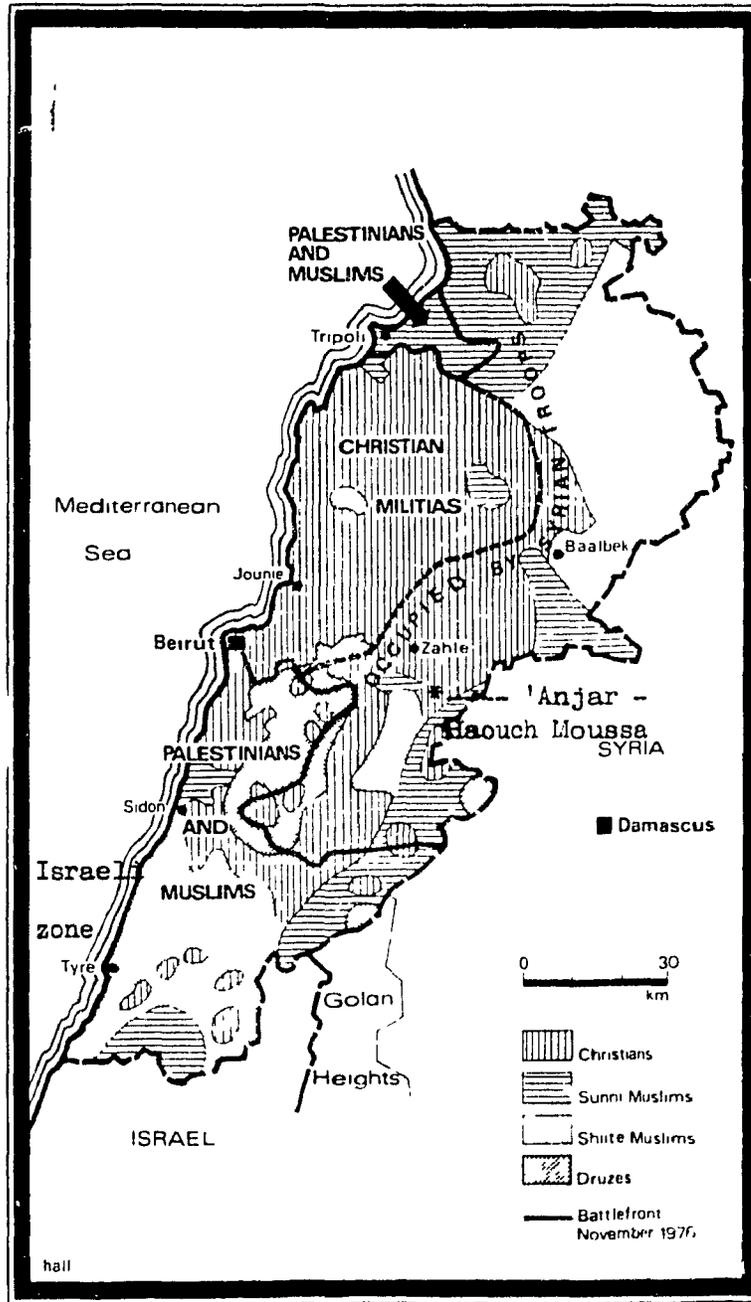
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Map 1. Lebanon

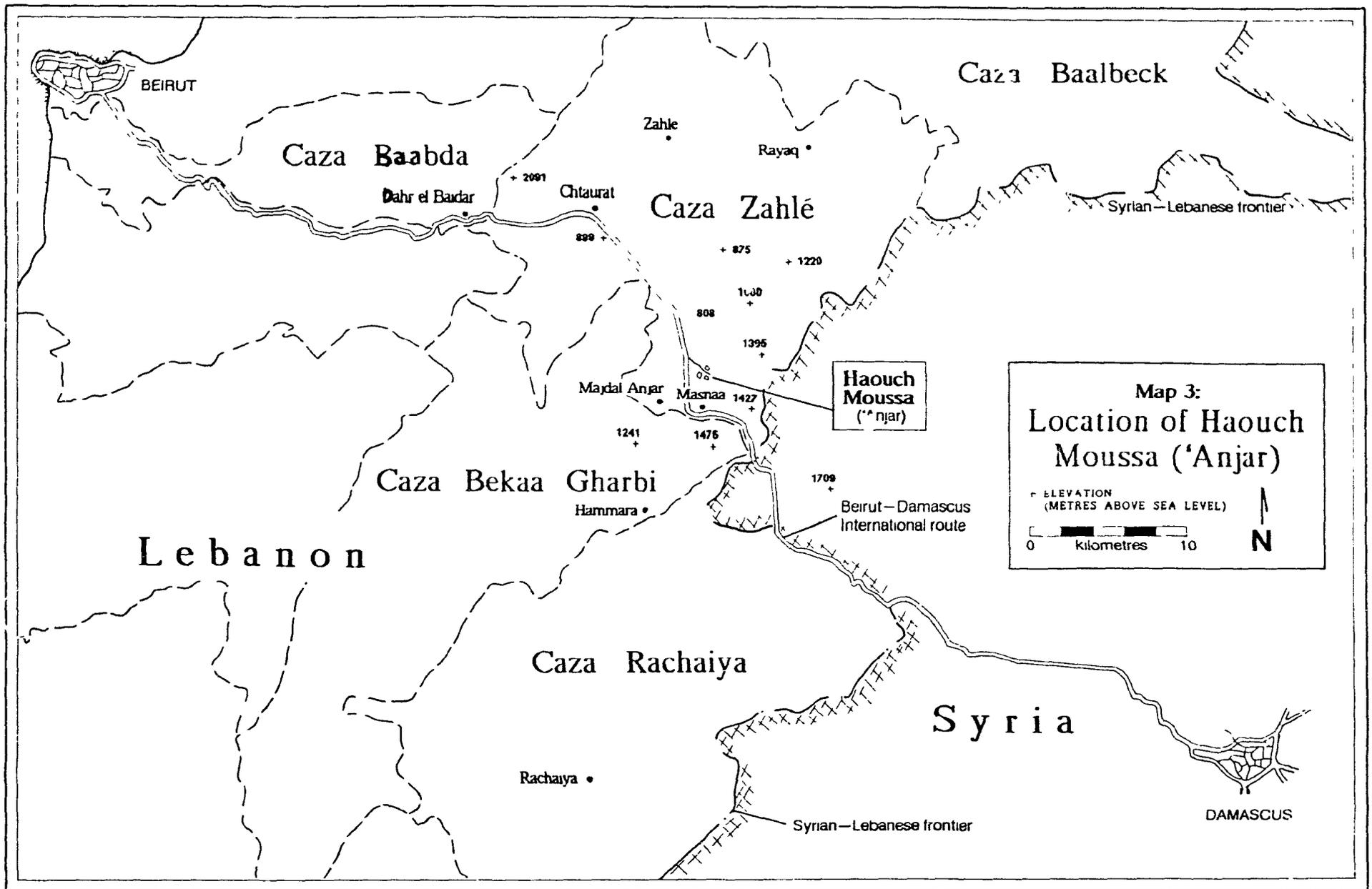


From US Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, Litani River Project Reconnaissance Report (Beirut, 1951)

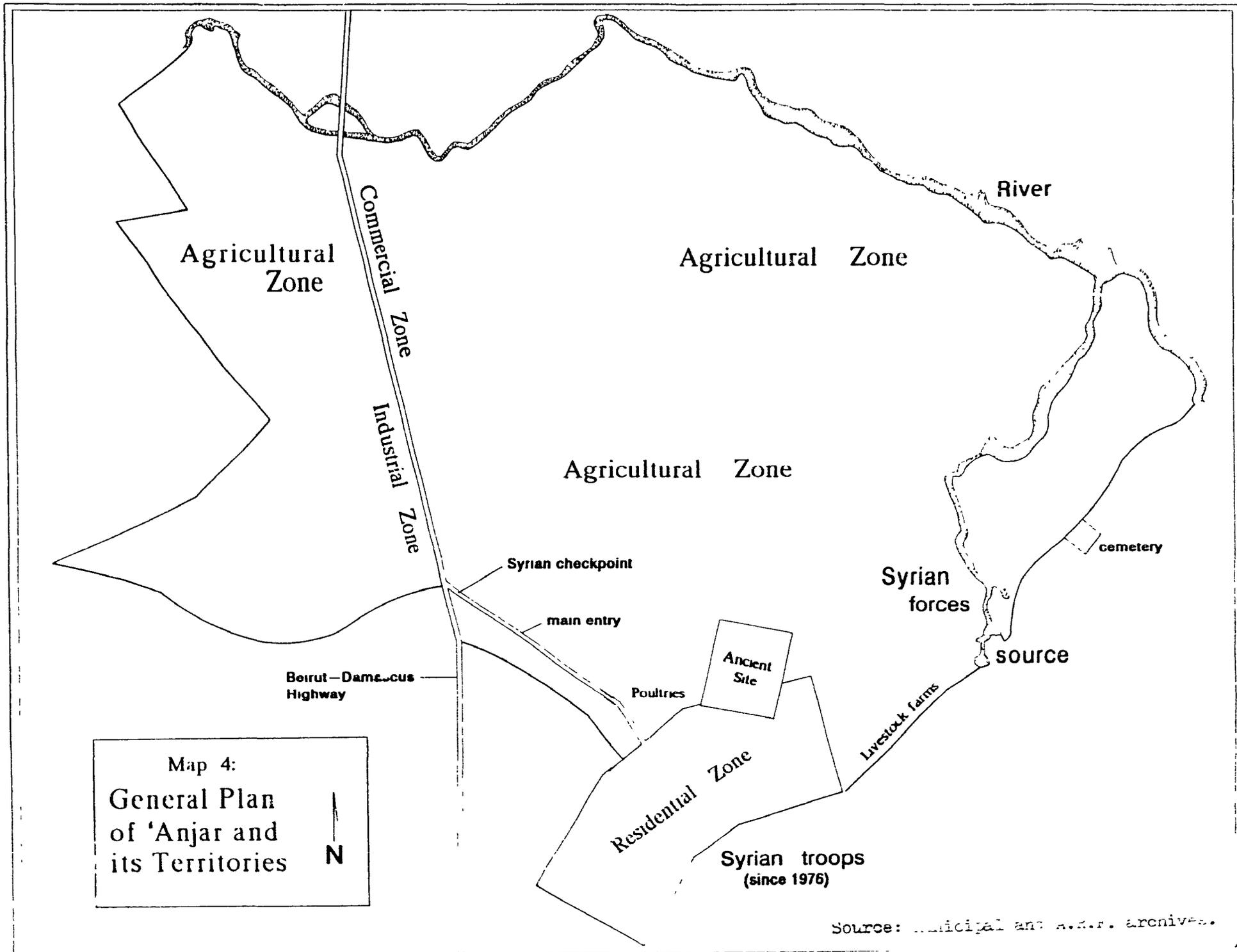
Map 2. Lebanon and its communities



Source: Vocke 1978: 40



Source: La Direction des Affaires Géographiques; Armée Libanaise (1965).

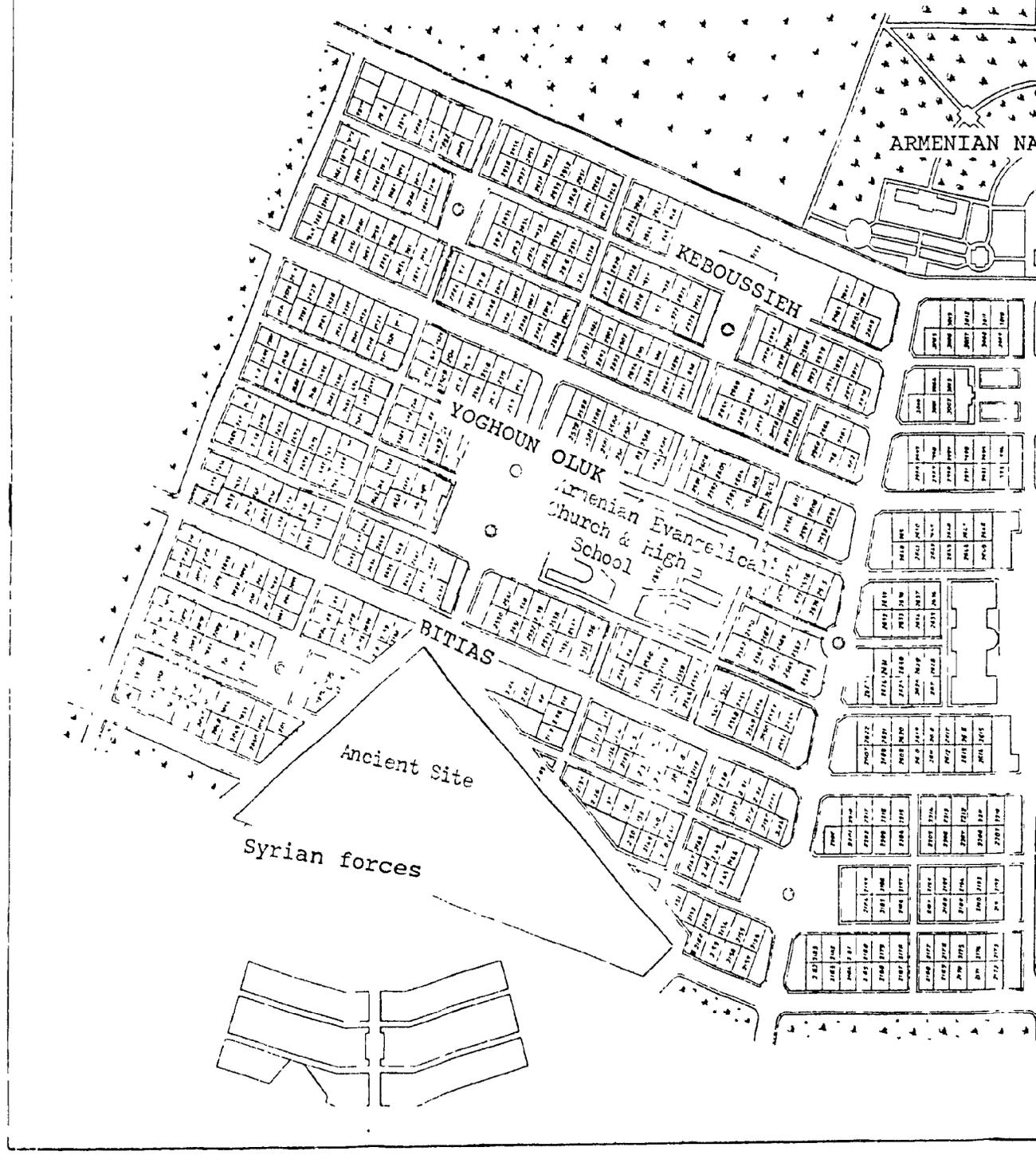


Map 4:
 General Plan
 of 'Anjar and
 its Territories



Source: Municipal and A.S.R. archives.

A N



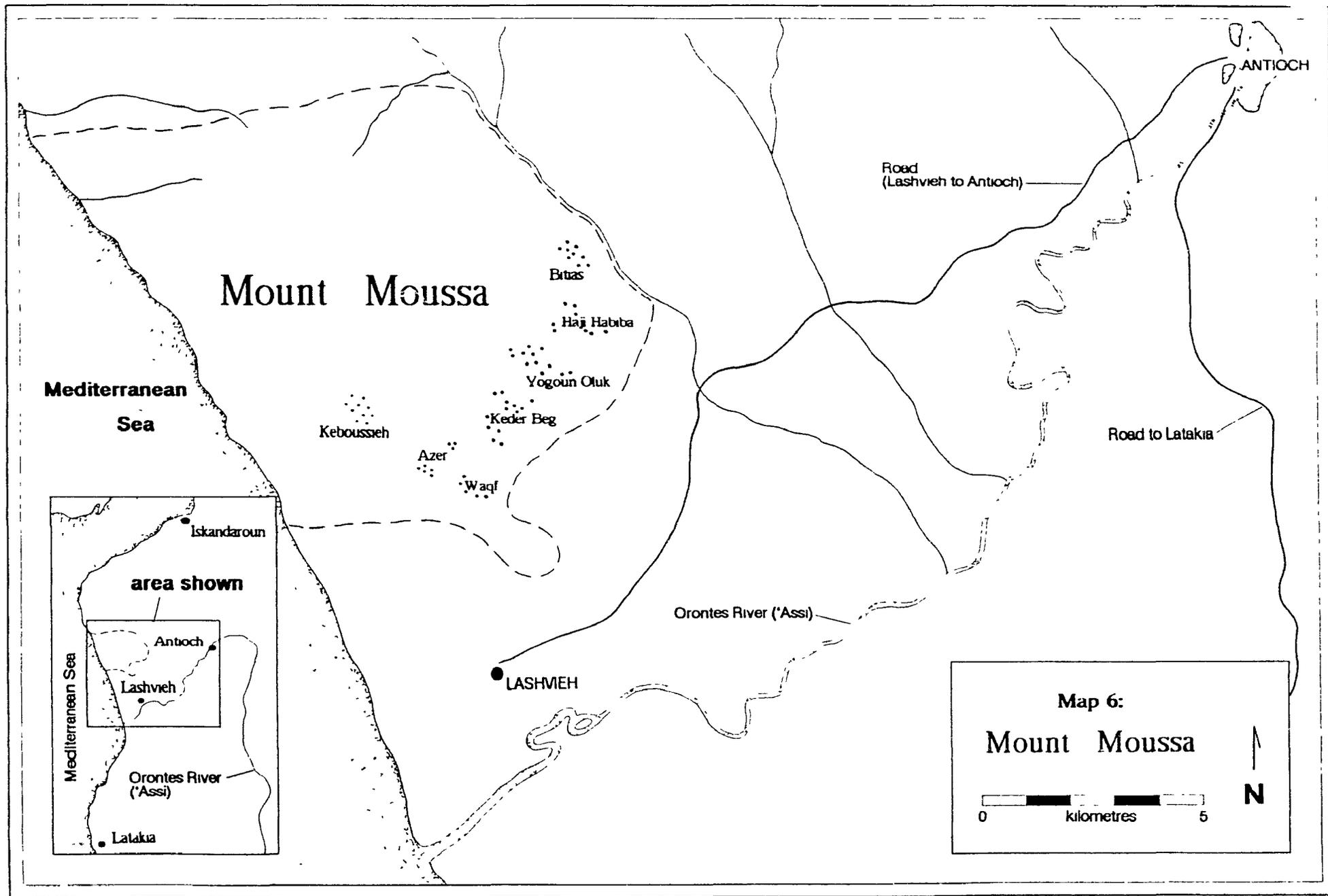
Source: A.P.F. Archives a

J A R

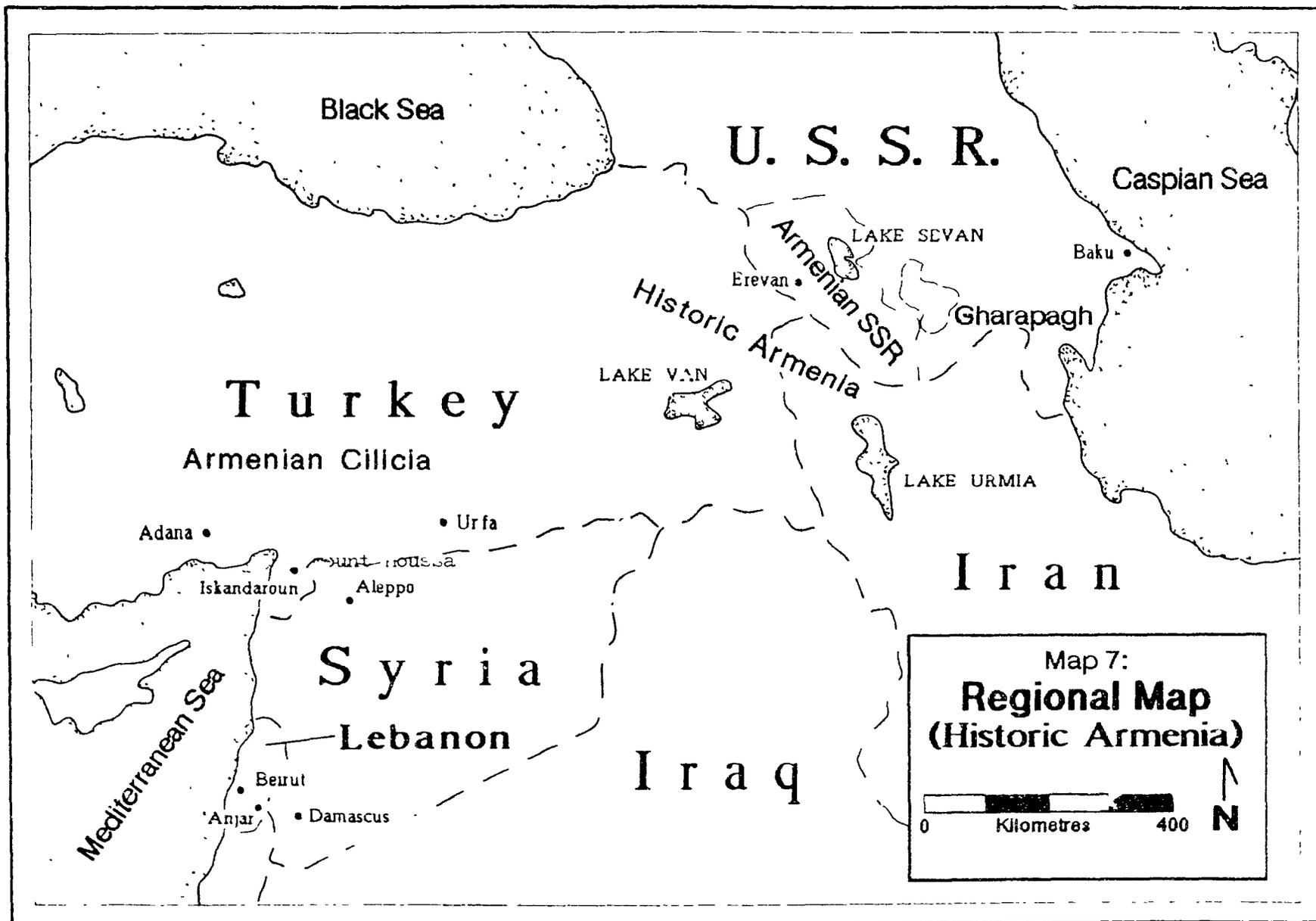


and the Archives of the Municipality.





Source: Hadourian and Koushakjian 1970.



Source: Map no. 9576 American Geography. (April 2, 1951).

Table 1

Rainfall in the Central Beka'a Valley

	J	F	M	A	M	J	JJ	A	S	O	N	D
PRECIPITATIONS. mm	134	102	82	35	12	05	05	05	05	11	54	103
Temperature (Celsius)												
Tn	19	20	40	70	104	131	153	156	130	100	65	31
Tx	116	121	153	208	257	294	322	327	296	255	193	134
Humidity %	77	74	65	56	49	45	45	46	50	54	65	76
Frequency of snowfall												
* days	29	25	14	01	0					0	01	1
x	20	25	05	0	0					0	0	05

code:

Tn: minimum average; the monthly average of minimum for each day

Tx: maximum average; monthly average of the daily maximum

*: Number of days of snowfall.

x: Number of days of snow cover.

Source: Atachian 1970.

A NOTE ON THE ORTHOGRAPHY

Armenian and Arabic words can be rendered into English in a variety of ways. Throughout the thesis and bibliography I have adopted the phonetic values of West-Armenian and of Classical or East Armenian depending on the context (and content). The following tables give the roman equivalents of the Armenian and Arabic alphabets.

The Romanisation of Arabic letters

Letters of the Alphabet

Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Value omit ¹	Initial	Medial	Final	Alone	Value
ا	ا	ا	ا		ا	ا	ا	ا	al
ب	ب	ب	ب	b	ب	ب	ب	ب	b
ت	ت	ت	ت	t	ت	ت	ت	ت	t
ث	ث	ث	ث	th	ث	ث	ث	ث	th
ج	ج	ج	ج	j	ج	ج	ج	ج	gh
ح	ح	ح	ح	h	ح	ح	ح	ح	f
خ	خ	خ	خ	kh	خ	خ	خ	خ	q
د	د	د	د	d	د	د	د	د	d
ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	dh	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	l
ر	ر	ر	ر	r	ر	ر	ر	ر	m
ز	ز	ز	ز	z	ز	ز	ز	ز	n
س	س	س	س	s	س	س	س	س	h
ش	ش	ش	ش	sh	ش	ش	ش	ش	w
ص	ص	ص	ص	s	ص	ص	ص	ص	y

Vowels and Diphthongs

اَ	a	اِ	i	اِي	ai
اُ	u	اِي	i	اِيو	iu
اَو	o	اُو	u	اُوِي	ou

Letters Representing Non-Arabic Consonants*

ك	k	ح	ch	ف	f
ق	q	ح	zh	ظ	z
پ	p	ز	z	ه	h

*For the use of *l* (*alif*) to support *chamz*(k) see rule 2. For the romanization of *o* by the conventional *o* (see rule 5(a)). For other orthographic uses of *l* see rules 3-5.

*The *Hezbollah* variations *ك* and *ق* are romanized *k* and *q* respectively.

**o* in a word in the construct state is romanized *o*. See rule 5(b).

*See rule 5.

*See rule 5(a).

*This list is not exhaustive. It should be noted that a letter in this group may have more than one phonetic value depending on the country or area where it is used and that the romanization will vary accordingly.

F O R E W O R D

This study is about the experiences of the inhabitants of 'Anjar - Haouch Moussa, a Lebanese Armenian community in the Beka'a valley of Lebanon. At the same time it is also about my experience of their conditions and way of life, and of the crisis in Lebanon. Consequently, the study is also a product of both my own "development", and of the practices (and experiences) of the people in question and their history as Armenians and Lebanese, which is also part of my own history as a Lebanese and Armenian.

In writing this thesis I came to realize the limitations of "writing", and in particular, of expressing myself in another language, and in translating experiences into academic discourse. This was problematic for me not only because English is my third language, but more specifically, since in the process of rendering practices and experiences into texts not only much of the dynamicity of the situation is lost, their meaning is likewise hard to translate into academic language. Perhaps innovative approaches will one day transcend such

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limitations and make the people subject (or object) to anthropological (academic) discourse as "alive" as the people depicted in creative writing and fiction. This problem was also brought to my attention as a result of the fact that the people whom I had undertaken to study (and describe) or rather make subject in an anthropological discourse have already been the focus of numerous creative works (fiction) (prose and poetry).

In trying to produce this work I incurred many debts - in the form of guidance and advice - from several friends, relatives and teachers. I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the support provided by the members of my thesis committee: Professors Jérôme Rousseau, Carmen Lambert, Lynne Phillips and Lee Drummond. I like to thank in particular, my thesis supervisor, Jérôme Rousseau, who though he was on leave both at the time of the preparation of my research proposal in spring 1984 and during the writing stage of my thesis in 1987-1988, devoted a considerable amount of time to my thesis. I will remain forever grateful to him for his support, theoretical guidance as well as organisational and editorial comments. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to Carmen Lambert for her friendship and support throughout my stay in the Ph.D. programme at the

Anthropology Department at McGill University. I would have never survived in the academic environment without her personal advice. During the writing stage of my thesis I also benefited from the friendship, as well as editorial and theoretical guidance of Lynne Phillips. In addition, I also benefited from Lee Drummond's concern with ethnographic writing. I am grateful to all. I would also like to thank Colin Scott and the graduate students in his seminar "Knowledge and Practice".

I would also like to express my warmest gratitude to Douglas Robbins for reproducing the maps. Furthermore, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Social Science Computing Centre and the Computer laboratory of the Faculty of Education, McGill University, through both of which I was able to have access to a word processor. I would also like to thank the secretaries of the Department of Anthropology, McGill University, Rose Marie Stano, Betty Dyrkow and Diane Mann for their services, that we as students take for granted. Likewise, I would like to thank professor Bruce Trigger, the Chair of the Graduate Committee of the Department of Anthropology, McGill University, for his support.

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My warmest and deepest gratitude, however, goes to the people of 'Anjar, without whom this thesis would never have been produced. I am grateful to the many people who shared with me not only their home, bread and salt in a time of great economic recession, but also their experiences, lives, and knowledge. I would like to thank in particular the mayor Mr. Haroutyoun Cherbetjian for his time and effort in "educating" me and opening up his home for me. I would also like to express my gratitude to Mr. Kevork Kazandjian for his invaluable insights and his daughter Miss Hasmik Kazandjian for volunteering (and finding time) to be my guide at times, driver at others, and hostess most of the time in addition to her work as a teacher in the Armenian National Haratch school. I am also grateful to the members of the Youth organisation of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, to the members of the Armenian Relief Cross, to the teachers, heads of schools and churches, as well as to all the people who allowed me to intrude into their lives.

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Last but not least, I gratefully acknowledge McGill University for providing me with a Summer Fellowship for the academic year 1985-1986 and the SSHRCC for granting a Doctoral Fellowship for the academic year 1986-1987 to enable me to pursue my fieldwork in 'Anjar.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is the result of a study of a specific community - 'Anjar - Haouch Moussa, a Lebanese Armenian community in the Beka'a valley of Lebanon. The study itself is a reconstruction of the socioeconomic history and current conditions of 'Anjar and its inhabitants.

When founded in 1939, the community represented an experiment in collectivisation of agriculture. The assumptions behind the planned socialisation of agriculture were manifold. It was argued that not only would such a move bring forth rapid and tangible results in agricultural productivity, but it would also generate attitudinal changes and the adoption of egalitarian principles and practices by the participants. However, collectivisation was brought to an end shortly after the declaration of Lebanese Independence. During the following decades, while the socialist ideology has persisted, individual households have become petty

commodity producers for a regional, national and international market. The outcome of the structural dynamics and contradictions of this incorporation has been the formation of classes, whose existence is denied by the prevalent ideology. It is the intention of this study to reconstruct the conditions as well as external and internal factors involved in this transformation.

The project, then, is a case study of the experiences of a specific group of people who have attempted to achieve classlessness. As such, this study has to deal with the problem of the transition from classless to class society or more precisely, with the re-appearance of stratification and classes in a society which had tried to abolish them. Consequently, the study involves an attempt to come to an understanding of the notion of class itself, the structural preconditions for the appearance of classes and their continuation, disappearance and re-appearance. This introduces the problem of structural conceptualisations of transformations and their application to concrete instances.

In the following pages, after the theoretical framework of the thesis is clarified, the research

methodology is presented. Subsequent chapters follow the historical sequence of the experiences of the "habitus" (following Bourdieu's understanding of the term) of the inhabitants. The experiment in collectivisation marks at least three periods in the history of the inhabitants of Haouch Moussa: the period preceding the collectivisation; the experiment itself; and the era after the collectivisation was brought to an end. After describing and analysing the pre-1939 socioeconomic and political conditions, and presenting the 1939-1943 situation during which collectivisation was carried out, the effects of the privatisation in 1943 are discussed and the current socioeconomic situation is reconstructed. Moreover, the community is put in its context, i.e. the relations with the "outside" are analysed and the effects of the events and socioeconomic conditions in the region are presented. The study begins with a descriptive account of the setting and the people and then proceeds to reconstruct the social and economic formation and the context in which history is made by the individual actors involved. This focus on history was, it is to be noted, suggested by the people under study themselves, as they re-live historical experience through everyday life and rituals. One should note here why, unlike most ethnographies, this study is not written in the present tense: The situation observed during fieldwork no longer obtains, as the

community - and Lebanon as a whole - have been undergoing rapid change. Since Spring 1975, the region in which 'Anjar is situated has been under political, military, socio-economic and ideological crisis. The crisis has taken diverse forms ranging from armed struggles, bombardment of residential quarters, invasion by neighbouring armies to the cutting of food and fuel supplies to keep the local population as hostages. At the time of my second field work, the crisis had taken a new phase, characterised by an economic recession and an escalating inflation rate. To give an example from my own experience, when I reached the fieldsite in mid-July 1986 the exchange rate for the Canadian dollar was 28 Lebanese Liras (Pounds); by November 1986 the exchange rate had reached one hundred Liras. These experiences themselves influenced not only the fieldwork process itself, but also the writing of my ethnography.¹

¹In this study I follow some of the critiques expressed by Clifford concerning ethnographic writing. Moreover, although I accept his comment that: "The making of ethnography is artisanal, tied to the worldly work of writing" (1986: 6), I also believe that the ethnography is the product of the writer's "development" as well as the reconstruction of the practices of the people described in it, in addition to being a reflection of the dialogical character of the ethnographic research.

The Approach

This study aims to examine the experiences of the inhabitants of 'Anjar and to reconstruct their history. This history can be described through a re-construction of modes of production and social relations of production which they experienced. A question is pertinent here: what should the "unit of analysis" be ? Should the analysis proceed with the people as individuals or a collectivity or "a network of social relationships" or rather should the "experiences" themselves be the point of departure, and how would each be conceptualised ?

The "type" of ethnography and anthropology produced depends on the "unit of study". As John L. Comaroff points out, the question of the "unit of analysis" is "a consequential theoretical matter" (1982: 144). It involves our assumptions about the "real" world, economy, society and culture. The assumptions and suppositions behind this study derive from diverse approaches that may at a first glance appear contradictory. It involves a combination of Marxist

notions of praxis (practice theory) with modes of production analysis and their articulation with the World economy. The current dominant mode of production in the world is capitalism, articulated with local modes of production. One way to resolve the problem of the unit of analysis would be to focus on the experiences of the specific collectivity in question "put into the context" of the totality (and the experiences of this totality). In addition, this approach, as a theory of society is also a theory of "history" as well since, as John L. Comaroff argues, "A theory of society which is not also a theory of history, or vice versa is hardly a theory at all" (1982: 144).

A problem arises here. As Hindess and Hirst have shown, "history is not a given, that is an object constituted within knowledge" (1975: 308). Only "the current situation" exists:

"It is not the 'present', what the past has vouchsafed to allow us, but the 'current situation' which it is the object of Marxist theory to elucidate and of Marxist political practice to act upon. All Marxist theory, however abstract it may be, however general its field of application, exists to make possible the analysis of the current situation" (Hindess and Hirst 1975: 312).

However, contrary to Hindess and Hirst's claim, Marxist practice or praxis has always a notion of time in it. The time element has to be re-introduced to any "theoretical representation of practice" in order to "restore to practice its practical truth" (Bourdieu 1977: 8).

Marx's notion of practice itself, as depicted in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte takes into account "history" and the past:

"[human beings] make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (Marx 1980: 96).

Moreover, these "given circumstances" transmitted from the past are themselves "the consolidation of what [human beings] produce by means of their practice" (Larrain 1979: 42). There is a dialectical relationship between practices and the product of past practices; our current practices produce social conditions that become independent of ourselves and this "determines the constitution of social reality as a contradictory reality"

(Larrain 1979: 45). This reality, however, is "masked" by ideology, which could only be overcome through "solving the real contradictions which give rise to it". Consequently, revolutionary practice remains the only solution to these contradictions (Larrain 1979: 47). These two notions of practice give Marxism a unique character in which theory becomes concerned with not only "knowing the world", but with relating the cognitive aspects to political practice and "the attempt to change the world" (Craib 1984: 123). This study can itself be considered the product of several practices: my own practice as a socialist interested in attempts at collectivisation experiments and as a Marxist who views history as the history of class struggles and the abolition of classes, "the obverse or end-product of class struggle, that is the ultimate objective of the revolutionary" praxis (Wood 1983: 239), as well as the practices of the people under study. Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" is introduced here as a way to resolve the problem created with Marx's notion of the historically transmitted "given circumstances", discussed above, in relation to practice or praxis. In Bourdieu's thesis, as Bidet points out, "structures produce habitus which determine practices, which reproduce structure" (1979: 203):

"Through the habitus, the structure which has produced it governs practice, not by the processes of a mechanical determinism, but through the mediation of orientations and limits it assigns to the habitus's operations of invention" (Bourdieu 1977: 95).

Concerns for reconstructing the practices (and experiences) of the inhabitants of 'Anjar - Haouch Moussa into an academic discourse in which the constructed reality of the people will give a sense of the dynamics involved, led me to adopt the aforementioned theoretical framework in which history and structure are not opposed to one another (see Sahlins 1981).²

The study, therefore, begins through the analysis and re-construction of the experiences and practices of the inhabitants of 'Anjar through the analytical constructs of modes of production, social and economic formation, social relations of production etc. at

²The use of historical material in anthropology has created a controversy throughout the development of the discipline. This is closely related to the acceptance or rejection of the evolutionary perspective. Thus, the ahistorical approach characteristic of British social anthropology or structural-functionalism was nothing more than a reaction against the early evolutionary

the same time attempt to contextualise these constructs.³

These notions, however, "have been subject to divergent

anthropology. Service, for instance, argues that "because 'conjectural history' and the uses of 'culture' were so characteristic of, and necessary to, nineteenth-century evolutionism, they were abolished or diminished, and correlatively the kinds of questions that interested the nineteenth-century anthropologists were felt to be inappropriate" (1964: 198). Though the broad schemes of evolutionary theory were rejected, nevertheless they are an illustration of the use of historical and documentary material along with the comparative theory, in the understanding of particular sequences of social and cultural change (Cohn 1968: 441-448). The last decades, however, have witnessed a growing trend in the use of historical material in anthropology. This interest in the use of historical research has been considered to be a "reaction to the exploding mass of available documentation about all societies" (Pitt 1972: 3), along with the growing dissatisfaction with functional analysis and a redefinition of the task of anthropologists. An early example of this movement is Evans-Pritchard's study of the Sanusi of Cyrenaica (1949). The volume of essays on history and social anthropology, edited by Lewis (1968) is another example of this movement. Another plea for the re-discovery of history within anthropology has come from Eric Wolf. However, Wolf's sense of the term history is rather different. For Wolf anthropology needs to discover analytic history, "a history that could account for the ways in which the social system of the modern world came into being, and that would strive to make analytic sense of all societies, including our own" (1982: ix). In any case, problems of social, economic or political transformation (and crisis) such as, the concerns of this study could have only been in terms of history, as Evans-Pritchard had suggested (1952: 60). However, the notion of history has been introduced in this study through Bourdieu's concept of the "habitus" (1977: 82).

³ The approach followed in this study represents a controversial position in anthropological discourse. This is so, because it involves the synthesis of otherwise diverse and perhaps incompatible approaches: Structural

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theoretical interpretation in contemporary Marxist analysis" (Legros, Hunderfund and Shapiro 1979: 243). In what follows an attempt will be made to clarify the sense in which these concepts will be employed; in the next section the methodology will be presented.

Marxism, dependency or World systems theory, praxis theory and history. It involves the combination of notions of the structure of ideas (Leach 1976: 5) with an examination of the socio-economic structure; it also involves the introduction of history into the concept of structure (see Scholte 1973: 648 for the anti-historicism of structuralism and Lévi-Strauss' defense in a joint discussion on history, with Augé and Godelier 1975). (For a discussion of French Marxist anthropology see Kahn and Llobera 1980; Aiden Foster-Carter 1978; Clammer 1975: 208-228; for a critique of the Althusserian approach and its attack against empiricism see Thompson 1978: 194; for the theoretical anti-humanism evident within Structural Marxism see Markus 1978: 1-2). This study follows the attempts of the Comaroffs, Sahlins (1981), and Bourdieu (1977) to incorporate history, structure and practice, as well as the modes of production analysis of Codelier (1977), Terray (1975; 1979), Rey and Kahn's attempt to introduce the arguments of World system theory into modes of production analysis.

The analysis will begin at the level of social and economic formation. The concept of social formation is only a theoretical construct. The notion of social formation is "a concept which functions in theoretical discourse in the formation of other concepts and in the specification of determinate objects of discourse" (Hindess and Hirst 1977: 48). In this study, the concept of social formation is employed to refer "to a complex whole" (Legros, Hunderfund and Shapiro 1979: 248). The structure of social formations is formed by the combination of modes of production (Terray 1975: 90-91) - that is to say, by totalities "composed of (1) an economic base and (2) the superstructural apparatuses required for the replication over time of the economic base" (Legros, Hunderfund and Shapiro 1979: 248). The notion of economic base refers to "the economic structure as something that is both a technical and a social structure" (Legros, Hunderfund and Shapiro 1979: 248). The concept of mode of production signifies a combination of means, forces and social relations of production. It also signifies a combination of elements necessary in the economic process: the labourer, the means of production and the non-labourer, combined in terms of relations of property and appropriation, and therefore under the dominance of social relations of production (Balibar 1967: 204-209).

The Methodology: Collection of Data

Research methodology refers to the structure of procedural rules, including concepts and definitions, by which evidence of observations, as well as information which has already been gathered by others, are transformed into generalisations about phenomena (Pelto 1970: 4). The problem of the researcher is how to convert data obtained through observation or historical material and documents into conceptual structures. In order to bring about a unification in the theory and methods of research, Galtung has introduced the concept of the data matrix. The units and variables to be explored, with the concept of the data matrix, are given by the particular research strategy. Data collection thus becomes an effort to fill the cells of the data matrix with values, one for each combination of unit and variable. The primary task of the researcher remains the identification of the units to be dealt with (Galtung 1969: 40). In this study the analytical concepts employed are social classes, modes of production, a social

formation, a dominant mode of production, and the social reproduction of the dominant mode of production.

In a recent article, Tullio Maranhao divides "the anthropological enterprise" into three domains, a. sociological theorising, b. interpretation in the encounter between ethnographer and informant, c. and social philosophising about different sociocultural traditions. The second realm, i.e. the situation resulting from fieldwork or "participant observation", is found to be the most difficult and interpretive, rendering anthropology a hermeneutic discipline (Maranhao 1986: 293). Critical anthropologists have resolved this problem by accepting the existential dimension of fieldwork. The anthropologist in the field struggles against reducing both himself/herself and the native into "ciphers in a scientific experiment" (Scholte 1981: 160).

It is worth mentioning here that fieldwork or participant observation is not only one of the most outstanding features of anthropology, but it is a requisite of the discipline. Maranhao summarises the anthropological experience as follows:

"The outstanding characteristic of the anthropologist's metier is data collection in the field. The anthropologist theorises about society, culture, and man's nature, just like a sociologist, or a philosopher, but he gathers his data in the unique experience of fieldwork, through a method that is loosely dubbed "participant observation". While the sociologists, with few exceptions, process data from records, archives, written sources, numerical accounts, statistical regularities and tendencies, observations, intuitions and inclinations, the anthropologists, in addition to using these sources, interview informants and interpret the meanings rather than document regularities" (1986:291).

The methodology of this study

This study is based on fieldwork conducted in 'Anjar - Haouch Moussa, a Lebanese-Armenian community in the Beka'a valley of Lebanon. Though I have been in contact with 'Anjar since my childhood, my research interests in the community started with a field-project from July 6, 1980 until September 20, 1980, followed by weekend visits during October and November 1980 and two visits from December 10, 1980 until January 18, 1981, and from April 3, 1981 until September 23, 1981; finally I returned to the region from July 13, 1986 to February 26, 1987.

My original research interest in 'Anjar is closely related to my own praxis. As a member of the Student Association of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (A.R.F) I was interested in concrete experiments in socialism and collectivisation of agriculture. 'Anjar represented such an experience. Consequently, I was

confronted with the problem of the "detached" researcher, and the fact that in this case the researcher was very much a part of the object of study, in more ways than the usual anthropological research. Anthropology has predominantly been the study of "other cultures"; This is not the case here. For me, the problem - to which I will return, could only be resolved through Marx's notion of praxis - a notion that brings about a break in the dichotomisation of objectivity and subjectivity.

Within anthropology, as James Boon notes in his introductory section in Other tribes, other scribes, this idea of other cultures has been correlated with the anthropological method of fieldwork. Further, the data obtained in fieldwork is often used to support our "cultural generalisations that accentuate the exotic" (Boon 1982: 5). The mark of anthropology has thus become the interest in the exotic and the fetishisation of fieldwork. I remember when I first entered into the domain of anthropology in 1980-1981 at the American University of Beirut, I was given a course on fieldwork under the co-ordination of Chris Eccel.⁴ Unlike most

⁴It is perhaps worth noting here that the course on fieldwork did not attempt to provide us with

anthropologists, however, the students in that course were not interested in the exotic. We were all interested in our own cultures, and not in the "other". Thus, for instance, while as a Lebanese and an Armenian I set up to study 'Anjar, my classmate Marilyn Farhat conducted her fieldwork in Insar, the village of her ancestors. In addition, none of us ended up using the fieldwork data for our Master's thesis. We were too concerned at the time about "exposing" to "outsiders", i.e. the academic world, the lives of people dear to us. Such concerns had led me to write my M.A. thesis on The kingdom of Biaina in early Armenia (first millennium B.C.): The appearance and the disappearance of the state. When I enrolled in the Ph.D. programme at the Anthropology Department of McGill University in 1983-1984, I was still questioning the ethics of conducting fieldwork (and perhaps I still do).

guidelines on how "to go about doing it", nor did it demystify the experience. What Diane Bell had discovered in her experience in Australia can apply to my own experience in fieldwork. Indeed in such courses one is never shown beyond "how to operate a camera, rethread a reel-to-reel recorder" or "to keep duplicate notes" (Bell 1983: 9). We were left on our own.

My "introduction" to 'Anjar was a relatively easy process. I had already many friends among the inhabitants. During my childhood I had spent several summers within the community and had many playmates among the inhabitants through both visits with my family and through the Armenian Scouts organisation. Much later, I met some of my old playmates at the Armenian Souren Khan-Amirian College (1977), the American University of Beirut (Spring 1978 - Spring 1983), and through my membership in the A.R.F. Zavarian Student Association (1978-1981). I also continued to encounter other members of the community through my membership in the Social Affairs Committee of the Regional Administration of the Armenian Relief Cross (1981-1983) as well through my membership in the Armenian Cultural Association "Hamazkain".

Throughout my childhood I had shown an interest in the people of 'Anjar, in particular in their historical experiences depicted in the various literary works that were available in my parents' house. I also learned the dialect of 'Anjar as a child. I had neither language difficulties nor problems of establishing a bond with the people. We could converse naturally and without any inhibitions. Both in 1980-1981 as well as in 1986-1987

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the people were greatly interested in "providing me with data", as they expressed it. They were also curious to know what would I write about 'Anjar and themselves. They also asked me to send them a copy of my thesis once it is written, and hoped and wished my work (which they also considered to be their product) would be published and perhaps translated into Armenian. In addition, both in 1980-1981 and 1986-1987 we shared and experienced the effects of the war in Lebanon together. However, I must admit in spite of this closeness, I was always reminded that I was an "outsider". Furthermore, in spite of the fact that in my Lebanese Identity Card, my birthplace had been changed from Damascus to Haouch Moussa at the outbreak of the war in Lebanon,⁵ I was not considered to be a resident of the community in question (Andjartz), nor did the inhabitants ever want me to become a member of "their community". They wanted me, in fact, to have "a broader horizon", as they expressed it.

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⁵During the early stage of the civil war, some militias used to question the authenticity of "Lebaneseness" of people passing by their checkpoints. An Identity Card which had "Damascus" as birthplace would have been highly suspicious, hence, the above mentioned change was made by the Lebanese government.

I would also like to note here that my relationship with the inhabitants of 'Anjar led me to reflect on relatively recent remarks made by some anthropologists such as Diane Bell, concerning the relationship of the ethnographer's identity to the outcome of the research (and nature of the data collected). Access to information may sometimes be closely related to the ethnographer's gender, race, ethnic identity, class background, relationship to the people under study and other factors.

In my case, for instance, during my 1980-1981 fieldwork, my membership in the A.R.F. - the dominant and only political organisation in 'Anjar - provided me with access to historical and socio-economic information on the community in question that would not have been possible to obtain otherwise. During my 1986-1987 fieldwork, however, I was treated more as an outsider than ever before. This was so, not only for the reason that I was no longer a member of the A.R.F., but the fact that I no longer resided in Lebanon (I had become an emigré) had an even greater effect. However, my relationship to the Montreal Armenian community - the fact that the

inhabitants of 'Anjar had heard of my involvement in the Armenian Community Centre in Montréal and participation in "April 24" demonstrations, my membership in the Montréal chapter of the Armenian Cultural Association "Hamazkain", as well as my young brother's leadership position in the youth wing of the A.R.F. in Canada, and his membership in the editorial board of "Horizon" - the Armenian weekly published in Canada - was of considerable assistance in gaining the confidence of the inhabitants of 'Anjar.

The people of 'Anjar had a lot to say about the methodology or the data collection process as well as about the types of questions and concerns that this thesis came to express. As such then, this thesis represents an attempt to make ethnographic writing more than "our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to" (Geertz 1973: 9). Throughout the research, I followed the suggestions of the inhabitants of 'Anjar and attempted to reconstruct their reality the way in which they wanted their reality to be depicted (or reconstructed). Each and everyone of the people I met wanted me to base the study on "documentary evidence", published material and interviews. Above all their concern was to "inform" me of their

"historical experiences". As a result, aside from participant observation, the following techniques were also used in data collection: the historical approach, in-depth interviews and a survey.

The historical method was employed to form a general notion of the case studied. Historical information for the early period of the settlement was collected from the archives of the municipality, the various associations and political organisations, the schools, the churches, and through interviews with older members of the community. The local newspapers were also consulted.

The preliminary stage of the study consisted of identifying the physical and demographic features of the settlement. The next stage consisted in a survey of the sources of key resources and political power. In addition, the specific policies and projects affecting the community were identified and examined in the light of an overview of Lebanese agriculture. A demographic survey was also carried out. Special attention was given to rural-urban migration.

The social structure was reconstructed through participant observation, a sociological survey and interviews. The plan of the settlement was used to draw a random sample.⁶

Through interviews conducted both during 1980-1981 and 1986-1987, information on the following socioeconomic elements was collected: income, occupation, level of education, access to the irrigation canal, ownership of wells, access to agricultural machinery, the conditions of the dwelling or housing unit, access to means of transportation - ownership of cars - relationship to the local political party or organisation, membership in the municipal council, participation in voluntary organisations, membership in the sub-committee of water management.

Two sociological surveys were also carried out (one in 1980-1981 and another in 1986-1987). During

⁶The fact that the dwellings are numbered facilitated this endeavor. See map 5.

both surveys I attempted to cover approximately thirty percent of the residential units⁷ and the following items:

1. Background information (religious affiliation; family status, list of family members, relationship to head of household).
2. Number of working members, their occupation and attitudes towards their occupations.
3. Total income of family.
4. Self-perception of class position.
5. Housing facilities.
6. Ownership of land-plots; number of land-plots owned.
7. Ownership of domesticated animals.
8. Ownership of wells and access to irrigation system.
9. Membership in political organisations.
10. Membership in sub-committees, committees, councils, neighbourhood associations, voluntary associations, cultural associations etc.
11. The position of the family in the pre-1939 situation.
12. Political attitudes. Attitude towards political organisation(s). Opinion on the situation in 'Anjar and in Lebanon as a whole.

The questions were asked in a group-setting in an informal manner. Though the most common household type consisted of the conjugal family composed of a married

⁷225 households were interviewed during the former study and 300 households during the second period.

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couple and their offspring, there were also household units consisting of three-generation extended families, families composed of unmarried aunts and uncles living with the offspring of a married brother or sister and other types of living arrangements. Questions were directed to all present. In general, the participants were friendly towards me as a researcher, and they were familiar with interview settings. Other researchers and journalists had passed by to study their lives, their present and history. However, they had only encountered one other participant observer other than myself, a Master's student in agriculture at the American University of Beirut (Garo Movhannessian). The question dealing with income produced difficulties. Income is a highly sensitive issue among all Lebanese, as indeed in much of the world. The inhabitants, just like the researcher, try to make estimates of each other's income. In any case, for salaried and wage workers it is fairly easy to make such estimates, since there are government-legislated salaries and wages for all occupations.

In the anthropological tradition, the tendency is to focus on relatively small units of analysis, because

of research techniques. As Kahn points out, even though most anthropological monographs start with a holistic approach, after an introductory note about the "total social whole in which the village is embedded", and "the importance of extra-local ties", "the total social structure is ignored in favour of detailed analyses of purely local phenomena" (1980: 2). This study will attempt to overcome this bias by focussing on the relationship of the community with other communities in the Beka'a valley, and the effects of the on-going civil war in Lebanon on the region as a whole. The community will always appear as a part in a whole, and the researcher is always a part of what he/she is studying. This last point raises the issue of the interpretive nature of anthropological research once again.

The source of the problem lies in "participant observation". Can an anthropologist engaged in participant observation achieve detachment and therefore objectivity, being aware that the scientist, whether he/she is aware of it or not, is related to the subject of his/her study ?

Historically, two tendencies have existed within the social sciences in general, and in anthropology

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in particular. One of these tendencies reduces the social sciences to the natural sciences, the other considers them to be part of the humanities, arguing that the subjective character of the human experience is irreducible. The former, known as the naturalistic approach, has found expression in the works of the positivists and British structural-functionalists. Thus, we see in Comte's works a stress on reasoning and observation analogous to the natural sciences. However, here the notion of a completely detached social scientist is absent (see Comte 1893: 20-21). In Durkheim too this stress on scientific objectivity is coupled with a belief in the intervention of the scientist, as part of his moral obligation, in the public scene (see Coser 1971: 148-149). The epistemology of both the positivists and structural-functionalists (notably Radcliffe-Brown) stressed the separation of the anthropologists - the subjects, from the objects of study - the ethnography. Rejection of these naturalistic and realistic theories as well as of the humanistic schools has come from two German sociologists: Georg Simmel and Max Weber. In reaction to both the idealistic schools which viewed natural science and the human sciences as qualitatively different, and Comtean positivism, Simmel came to define society as the name for a number of individuals connected by interaction (see Wolff 1950: 10-11).

Similarly, Weber's standpoint was formulated out of a rejection of materialistic and idealistic interpretations of history.

Against the positivists Weber argued that human beings in contrast to things, could be understood not only in external terms, but also in terms of motivations. Against the idealists, he argued that the method of science always proceeds by abstraction and generalisation. He was thus attacking their ideographic approach to history. Furthermore, against both approaches, he stressed the value-bound problem choices of the investigator and the value-neutral methods of social research. The social sciences, like other sciences, are selective in approach. What is considered "worthy to be known" depends upon the perspective of the inquiring scholar. Thus, for Weber, there is an inevitable element of value entering into the selection of the problem an investigator chooses to study. Selection depends on the subjectivity of the investigator. However, this value relevance touches upon the selection of the problem and not upon the interpretation of the phenomena (see Schills and Finch 1949: 72; and Huff 1984).

The structuralists claim to have brought about the break with this dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity. This seems to be so, since Lévi-Strauss makes it possible to set the study of human institutions on a genuinely scientific foundation by redefining the object of human sciences, and isolating an autonomous order of reality which exists in the unconscious. It is this unconscious which creates the dual illusions of reality and subjectivity (1972: 202-203).

However, it is only with Marxism that a real break with this dichotomy has been achieved, and this with the concept of praxis and the theory of dialectics. The dichotomy between subjectivity and objectivity, as Sartre puts it, is a result of falling into idealism: He says,

"There are two ways to fall into idealism: The one consists in dissolving the real into subjectivity; the other in denying all real subjectivity in the interests of objectivity. The truth is that subjectivity is neither everything nor nothing; it represents a moment in the objective process (that in which externality is internalised), and this moment is perpetually eliminated only to be perpetually reborn" (1963: 32-33).

Like Sartre we cannot but agree that the researcher is part of the object of study. In anthropology, "the questioner, the question and the questioned are one" (see Scholte 1981: 148-184). In conducting field work in 'Anjar other issues related to knowledge and practice were also encountered. One such problem was created by my personal relation to the community in question. During my first field work in 1980-1981, as already mentioned, I had introduced myself as a member of the Student Association of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (A.R.F.) which was and continues to be the dominant political organisation in 'Anjar. My special status had placed me in a privileged position to the eyes of the local population. I was immediately given access to statistical and qualitative information on 'Anjar. During my second field work in 1986-1987, however, when it had become known to the local population that I no longer was a member of the A.R.F., I was denied access to statistical information and to the results of the annual sociological surveys conducted by the A.R.F. On the other hand, during this second stay I was able to have access to alternative viewpoints and discourses to the dominant A.R.F. discourse.

Throughout the fieldwork, both in 1980-1981 and 1986-1987, my interaction with the people was dialectical: I allowed myself to be "tamed" or "apprivoisée" (Saint-Exupéry 1971: 80) by the local population and attempt to "pass" to them my own ideas and notions about matters that concerned us all. As a result, for me the people in question have become more than the subject or an object of an ethnography. For me they are like the rose of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's Little Prince.

'ANJAR - HAOUCH MOUSSA AND ITS INHABITANTS

Ecology and Geography

Located in the Central Beka'a valley, about sixty kilometers east of Beirut, 'Anjar - as the inhabitants of the region call it, or Haouch Moussa - as it is officially designated, is a relatively recent settlement of Armenian refugees.

'Anjar is near the Beirut-Damascus international highway and the frontier-post of Masna'a (see maps 1 and 3), on the foothills of the eastern Lebanese mountains, near Ain Ghazayel - one of the sources of the Litani river. The total area of its territory is about twenty square kilometers (see map 4). Its altitude varies between 875 and 951 meters above sea level. The area of the settlement itself is divided into the

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the following zones: the residential district near the foothills of the mountain-chain at the highest altitude of the area; the agricultural zone; and the industrial zone (see plan 4).

The site has been inhabited since the Paleolithic, and gained importance during the Roman period. During the subsequent eras 'Anjar became an important caravan city. The reconstituted remains of a fortified rectangular city, near the present-day settlement, dates from the reign of the Ommayad Caliph, Walid son of abd al-Malik (700 A.D.).

Unlike coastal Lebanon which has a moderate Mediterranean climate, the Beka'a valley has a relatively cold winter and dry hot summer. Falling between two mountain ranges, Mount Lebanon and the eastern Lebanese mountains, the Beka'a valley is a semi-isolated basin. As result of this isolation the valley receives relatively little precipitation. According to the climatic reports of the Ksara station and Majdal Anjar report, the average annual rainfall is 535 mm. Table 1 gives the details of

the frequency of snowfall and amount of rainfall for each month. The weather varies from year to year. In addition, there are frequent changes in weather during a season. The sharp changes in weather have a negative effect on agriculture. The severest blow to agriculture is brought about by the Spring warm current of desert air, known to the Lebanese as Khamsin winds.

Agriculture, after the Spring season, cannot exist without artificial irrigation. All natural vegetation disappears after June or July at the latest. The present-day inhabitants, like their predecessors, depend on the source (see Map 4) to irrigate their land.

Geographically, the community is located at an important juncture between east and west. The international Beirut-Damascus highway plays an important role not only for this particular community but for the region as a whole. In addition, the local road passing through the source serves to connect the communities to the north east of 'Anjar with the Beirut-Damascus highway and with communities lying south of it. In general, the means of transportation for villagers who go through the local road are mules and donkeys. Agricultural machines

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and tractors can also be seen traversing the Beirut-Damascus highway creating a traffic problem for the urban and local commuters with modern vehicles. The inhabitants of 'Anjar themselves rarely use the traditional domesticated animals as a means of transportation. In any case, when they do make use of such animals it is specifically restricted to agricultural transportation - going back and forth to the fields and vineyards and for gathering food for the cattle. The usual means of transportation even in the agricultural realm are imported vehicles.

The region has been under Syrian control since late 1976. At the time of the fieldwork in 1986-1987, there was a Syrian checkpoint at the main entrance to the community. In addition, the other entry-routes were closed to motor vehicles.

'Anjar consists of 1059 separate dwellings each comprising an area of 400 sq. meters. The settlement is divided into two major districts, each of which in turn consists of three sub-divisions (see map 5). These are,

from the north-east: Bitias, Yoghoun Oluk, Keboussieh, Haji-Habibli, Khudr Beg, and Waqf. The distribution of the houses in each neighbourhood is as follows:

<u>Neighbourhood</u>	<u>Number of houses</u>
Bitias	173
Yoghoun Oluk	225
Keboussieh	165
Haji-Habibli	207
Khudr Beg	194
Wakf	95
TOTAL	1 059

Table 1: Distribution of houses per neighbourhood

At the time of my research in 1980-1981 only 800 of these residential units were inhabited year round.⁸ The rest of the dwellings were either summer resorts for urbanites or occupied by the Syrian peace-keeping forces (quouat ar-rada'). Besides these 1059 dwellings, additional houses

⁸In 1986-1987 this number had decreased to approximately 740 dwellings.

were built during the 1970s outside the main residential zone in the nearby vineyards. These houses were used either by local inhabitants who had recently married, or by outsiders who had chosen 'Anjar as their summer resort or permanent home. There are also public buildings. These are the three churches with their respective schools and various cultural-sportive complexes. Specifically these buildings are: the Sourp Boghos (Saint Paul) Hay Arakelakan Yekeghetsi (the Armenian Gregorian or Orthodox church), with its Armenian National "Haratch" School and Kindergarten and Gulbenkian College; the Armenian Evangelical Church and High School; the Catholic Church, the intermediate level school of the Immaculate Conception Sisters, and the Aghadjanian orphanage; the A.R.F. Babgen Siuni Club; the Homenetmen - Armenian Physical-Educational General Union; the Hamazkain - the Armenian cultural association; the Armenian Relief Cross; the Karageusian Institute; the co-operatives; the Municipality building and its resorts; the governmental fishery, and others (see map 5).

The inhabitants

The population of 'Anjar is the only non-Arabic speaking rural group in the region. Although there are Armenians living in the Central Beka'a valley, unlike the inhabitants of 'Anjar they are urbanites and live side-by-side with the Arabic-speaking populations.

Made famous by Franz Werfel in his semi-historical novel Die Vierzig Tage des Musa Dagh (1934) (see annex 2), the inhabitants of 'Anjar were originally inhabitants of six villages located on the foothills of Mount Moussa (1000m above sea level) (between Mount Moussa to the West of Antioch, and the Orontes river - 'Assi, near the ruins of the Selucian port-city on the eastern Mediterranean), in the Sanjak of Alexandretta - Iskandaroun (see map 6). (Prior to 1939, the Sanjak of Iskandaroun was a province of Syria, and until 1918 Syria was under Ottoman domination).

In the summer of 1915 the total population of the six villages of Mount Moussa amounted to 6811 inhabitants.⁹ During the Turkish deportations of the Armenian population, 2580 people obeying the orders left, and 4231 stayed to fight the Turkish troops. Those who stayed and fought were rescued by the French navy and taken to Port-Sa'yid in Egypt (see annex 1). After the first World War, they were returned to their homeland, only to be deported after twenty years, with the outbreak of the second World War, as a result of the annexation of the Sanjak of Alexandretta to Turkey, by France - who then had mandatory power over greater Syria and Lebanon, to safeguard the neutrality of Turkey.

In 1939 the French brought to the Beka'a valley 1068 families of the villages of Mount Moussa and settled them on land purchased from the feudal lord Rushdi beg. The forthcoming chapters will examine the existence and nature of classes in this new settlement, focusing on the

⁹ 1915 is the most studied year in the history of the villages of Mount Moussa.

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determinants for the formation of classes. As such then, the study necessitates an approach whereby history is incorporated into the analysis. Hence, an outline of the periodisation of the settlers' history has to be made and each historical epoch dealt with separately.

The uprooting of the inhabitants of 'Anjar from their villages in Mount Moussa is taken as a marker of periodisation. It will serve as the means of reference in reconstructing the economic, political, social and ideological structures in order to examine the appearance of new functions for the present structures. The past is not only reflected in the present, but it siezes the present. The daily existence of the inhabitants is a drama and a ritual to recapture the past. Consequently, it is more than "the key to the understanding of the present" (Carr 1961: 29). The past is part of the everyday discourse as well as practice.

It is through my own field work experience that I felt the need to learn about the history of the inhabitants. Several events triggered my curiosity to inquire about the history of the socio-economic conditions of the people in question. For instance, a man kept insisting that he was different from the rest of the

population because he was of an agha family. He constantly engaged in quarrels with all pedestrians and vehicles which used the street that passed near his house and he even complained to the local political organisation and to the heads of the local schools. His argument was that his peace was being disturbed. He considered that the street was his street even though it is a public street. In fact, there are no private streets in 'Anjar. Comments about engagement and marriage announcements provided me with further interest in the previous socio-economic and ideological structures of the inhabitants. Whenever a couple announced their plans to be engaged, people began to talk about the descent and family histories of the two parties. People usually say: "Well, had we been in our homeland this marriage would not have occurred. The boy comes from an agha family and the girl is of a kradja family". Or in some cases the girl would be discussed to be of a family of barins and the boy of a family who were marabu to an agha.¹⁰

¹⁰In the pre-1939 situation, as we shall see in the following sections, the inhabitants of Mount Moussa had structured their social reality into the following "strata" (the Arabic word tabaqat is used by the people): aghas were the highest in status followed by barins.

In addition, the issue of the pre-1939 status system was brought up several times throughout interviews. For instance, in discussions about social classes, the pre-1939 social categories were brought into the analyses. Marriages between people of different pre-1939 backgrounds are still rare and represent a challenge to the established practices, as a woman involved in such a marriage put it:

"In accepting my husband's proposal to marry him, I was defying the established order of things. We were of different backgrounds. Our family was of a higher position than that of my husband's. I would not call this difference a class difference. We were as poor as his family was at the time. It has more to do with the position of the family in the original homeland. My relatives were also opposed to the marriage for a very good reason: my husband was the only supporter for his mother and his sister. I was going to live in a traditional manner. I accepted that challenge - for it is a great challenge".¹¹

Both aghas and barins were considered to be aristocrats. Marabus were the hereditary overseers of the estates of aghas and barins. Kradjas were hereditary transporters of the commodities of agahas and barins to cities.

¹¹This is an extract from my interview of the family of S.T., consisting of S.T., the head of the household, his wife, their three children, and his unmarried sister and widowed mother. He has control over all land and property-holdings of the family. His occupation is to take care of the family orchard - apple grove, he also has rented semi-arid land plots (from local members of the

Such attitudes and instances led me to develop an interest in the past. I also felt a need to come to an understanding of what these people meant. This study thus begins with the reconstruction of the history of its people prior to their uprootedness.

community who are no longer interested in agriculture) and cultivates seasonal vegetables on them. He also owns his agricultural machinery and works for wages in the service of other members of the community who do not have such machinery. His wife does not engage in any farm-work nor in any wage-work, but is strictly a housewife. The interview was conducted with all the members of the household present, and everyone participated in the discussions, with the exception of the children.

CHAPTER ONE

THE "HABITUS" OF THE INHABITANTS OF 'ANJAR - HAOUCH MOUSSA: THE PRE-1939 SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The pre-1939 situation: Background Information

Many Armenians and some historians trace the history of the inhabitants of 'Anjar to the first millennium B.C. - the period in which Armenians spread from the Armenian highland into ancient northern Syria, where Mount Moussa - the homeland of the people in question - was located. However, there seems to be no consensus regarding the origin of this population. There are at least three different possible explanations: Some argue that the inhabitants of Mount Moussa and the vicinity settled in that area after the downfall of Cilician Armenia in 1375 A.D. (i.e. the inhabitants of Mount Moussa have been considered to be refugees from

Cilician Armenia); others argue that these Armenian populations pre-date the establishment of the first Armenian State during the first millennium B.C.; and finally, still others argue that the inhabitants in question have immigrated from historical Armenia (see map 7) (see Andriassian 1967: 291-293). Basing his study on linguistic analyses, Andriassian shows that the inhabitants of Mount Moussa had migrated from the Zankezour-Gharabagh region of Armenia during either the reign of Tigran the Great (1st century B.C.) or around 539 A.D., when falling under Persian rule, some Armenian populations were deported from their original homeland communities and resettled in the region of Antioch (1967: 351).

The region of Mount Moussa is rich with archaeological remnants (or historical sites). In her study of the legends of the inhabitants, Sonia Zeitlian gives the description of several archaeological sites (1973: 17-18). These remnants show that the inhabitants had been living in the region of Mount Moussa at least since the tenth century A.D.

In his unpublished memoirs, the late Serop Cherbetjian traces the origin of some of the families to seventeenth century Gharabagh - now a province of Azerbaidjan SSR, and that of others to various regions of the Armenian Cilicia. Most families living in 'Anjar at present, however, trace their origin to the city of Ourfa - Ethessia, while others trace their descent to Armenian families from the various regions of Cilicia. (The Abadjians and Kazandjians, for instance, trace their descent to Ourfa. The Iskandarians of Haji Habibli, on the other hand trace their background to Kiliss. Still other families, such as the Stamboulians and the Filians of Bitias trace their origin to a fission from the village of Haji Habibli). The language spoken by the inhabitants of Mount Moussa is an Armenian dialect which has a strong resemblance to fifth century A.D. ancient grabar (classical Armenian) in both its grammatical and phonetic structure and form, along with some Arabic, Persian-Iranian, Greek, French, English, Latin and Turkish words (see Andriassian 1967: 307, 320-321).

The earliest reference to the inhabitants of Mount Moussa is found in a report from a certain father Boghos Mihirian to the French consul in Bilan in 1773. The inhabitants are said to have led an independent and autonomous existence in their secluded mountain region until the second half of the nineteenth century, when they came into contact with other Armenians and the various institutions of the Ottoman state (Koushakjian 1970: 46).

The villages of Mount Moussa

The history of the region can be divided into the following periods: Antiquity - Phoenician, Greek and Roman epochs (Enfrey 1930), and a brief period in which the region fell under the rule of the Armenian king, Tigran the Great; the Middle Ages, which include the period of the Arab conquest, the epoch of the Crusaders and that of the Mamlouks (1252-1516); and finally, the period starting after the Ottoman conquest.

After the Ottoman conquest in 1516 A.D. a re-division of the region took place. The territory was divided into Pachaliks or Wilayets (states) each comprising a group of Sanjaks (provinces). The villages of Mount Moussa belonged to the sub-division of Souedieh, in the Sanjak of Alexandretta (Iskandaroun) of the Wilayet of Alep in Northern Syria.

There were, originally, three villages in the Mount Moussa region: These were a. Haji-Habibli, b. Souretmeh¹ or Yoghoun Oluk, the Keigh (lit. the Village), and c. Keboussieh (Cherbetjian, S. Memoirs).

The territory of the Village is near the tenth century Saint Thomas monastery, where in mid-September pilgrims would crowd for a sacrificial meal (harissa) to celebrate the recovery of the Cross by Queen Helen. Overlooking the eastern Mediterranean seashore and 276 meters above it, the Village had, prior to the first World War, a population of 1233 inhabitants forming 255 families (Boursalian 1953: 5-6). Scarcity of water had led to the decrease of its population. In search of water many of its families had moved to the nearby relatively more fertile regions and the result was the establishment of two additional villages: Waqf and Iddeir or Khudr Beg.

The offshoot villages of Khudr Beg and Waqf had a population of 145 families or 1149 inhabitants and 82 families or 470 inhabitants respectively (Boursalian 1953:

¹ This is the term by which the Armenian name Sourp (lit., Saint) Thomas is recorded in the Ottoman archives, according to Serop Cherbetjian's memoirs as well as Koushakjian and Madourian 1970.

12, 18). Khudr Beg (Kheder Beg or Bek), as its second name, Iddeir - (Arabic deir means a monastery or a shrine), suggests, was a holy place. It had a very ancient and large tree, where the inhabitants used to burn candles at night.

Haji-Habibli, located on the main route to Antioch and Alep (Aleppo) had around 300 families or about 1300 inhabitants. Its inhabitants were mostly masons famous for their construction of houses (stone buildings) and water-canals. Out of a fission of Haji-Habibli another village, Bitias, was established about 200 years ago. It had a population of 1050 inhabitants or 195 families in 1915. Bitias was the center for the worship of the rain-prophet, Elias or Yeghia. On the Western end of the mountain and on the ruins of the Seleucid port-city was located Keboussieh and the shrine of Saint Sarkiss. This last village had also scarcity of water. Its inhabitants numbered 1125 people forming 251 families (Tcharkhoudian 1978 (Aztag daily, April 3): 5).

In all villages, houses were constructed of stones brought from the mountain, with wooden ceilings and brick roofs. Houses were connected by narrow unpaved

roads. Only the major roads joining the villages to major cities were paved. On the latter, motor vehicles have been used since the early twentieth century. Various forms of sea-vessels were also used as means of transportation.

Recollections of life in the villages of Mount Moussa for the period covering the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries tend to present them as semi-autonomous, almost self-sufficient communities. Indeed, each village had its own irrigated land - though there was a scarcity of water in some villages, and each had land for dry cultivation (for vines, melons, figs, wheat, etc.). In addition, within each village there were various industries, such as the silk-industry, blacksmithing, charcoal production, weaving, making of wooden spoons, other utensils, combs, pottery, etc. There were also mills.

Prior to the first World War the six villages of Mount Moussa had a resident population of around 7000 inhabitants. Each village was semi-autonomous. Each had its church, school, shops, coffee shops, fields, orchards, craft-industries, etc. as well as political, administrative officials and elected representatives.

An outline of the economy: the pre-1939 situation

During the second half of the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth century, the inhabitants of Mount Moussa engaged both in production for use-value, i.e. production for immediate consumption, and production for exchange-value, i.e. the production of commodities for exchange, (the exchange was mediated through the feudal lords who had become industrial capitalists and merchants in the international economy) Though the processes of production for use- and exchange-value did not have two distinct labour organisations, they are clearly identifiable in analysis. The process of production for exchange-value was stimulated as much by internal factors as by trade and the gradual formation of an economic World System. As we shall see, though money had been transformed into capital, capitalist relations of production had not yet developed in the villages of Mount Moussa. The dominant ideology did not encourage capitalist relations.

As revealed from the description of Baghdoyian, who visited the region of Mount Moussa in 1902, 1903 and 1905 as a representative of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, by the turn of the 20th century the villages had ceased to be self-sufficient. Most of the inhabitants had become wage workers and migrant labourers in the various cities of the eastern Mediterranean from Alexandretta (Iskenderoun) to Port Sa'yid and Alexandria (Iskandaria) in Egypt. Some were also working in various African countries. The region had a shortage of fertile soils and a scarcity of land suitable for agriculture. Industry and crafts provided for forty percent of the total revenue of the region (1935a: 72-73). This implies that even though there were no capitalist-proletarian relationships within the villages, many villagers had become wage workers as a result of their incorporation into a larger system.

The inhabitants of Mount Moussa used to be engaged in a wide range of economic activities: irrigation agriculture and dry cultivation (various cereals; orchards; vines); stockrearing (especially the tending of goats, sheep and cows); cultivation of

mulberry-trees and silk-worms; manufacture of dairy products; extraction of olive oil and laurel-fruit oil (used in soap-making); weaving, spinning, dyeing; preparation of charcoal; pottery; engraving of combs (bone and wood); fabrication of kitchen utensils; shoe-making; coppersmithing, blacksmithing, gold and silversmithing; the manufacture and repair of arms, weapons and ammunition; masonry, brick-making, carpentry. The tools for these crafts and industries were locally produced, and necessitated the use of intensive human labour and effective control of animals, as labour power, and technical knowledge.

The extraction of olive-oil, blacksmithing, coppersmithing, milling of wheat and baking, and making of dairy products were for immediate consumption by the inhabitants. On the other hand, silk-cloth, charcoal, laurel-oil, citrus fruits, wooden spoons and forks, combs and potatoes were exported by local merchants to Antioch, Aleppo and Beirut. Though corn, wheat and other cereals were cultivated in the villages, their supply could not meet the demand of the inhabitants. Hence, a proportion of these cereals was imported by the local aghas and

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barins from the World market or exchanged for local produce either internationally or in the regional markets of Antioch, Alexandretta, Adana, Aleppo, along with sugar, tea and coffee.

Two cases of commodity production: The silk-industry and
the preparation of charcoal

Until the introduction of rayon in the 1920s, the production of silk was the main economic activity of not only the inhabitants of Mount Moussa, but also for the great bulk of the rural population of Syria and Lebanon. In Mount Lebanon, the monopoly of the silk-worm larvae was in the hands of the Maronite clergy. Ever since the eighteenth century, however, the inhabitants of Mount Moussa had acquired the secret of the "seeds", as they say, of the silk-worm larvae.

According to the current inhabitants of 'Anjar, in Mount Moussa the trade in larvae and silk-cloth was in the hands of the local merchant-landlords. These were: the aghas - a position in the Ottoman administrative hierarchy - and the barins - a term which corresponds to the title of "baron". At first the production of silk was a family activity in which everyone participated. The merchant-landlords later turned a number of families - who

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used to engage in the production of silk as a subsidiary occupation to their agricultural production - into producers of silk on a full-time basis. Thus, silk-production had become a principal occupation. The next step was the foundation of a factory (fabrica) in which male and female labourers engaged in silk-production were brought together in a single house of labour. However, it is to be stressed that according to recollections of the descendants of Mount Moussa, the relations of production were feudal and not capitalist. The workers in these silk-factories were not wage workers, but shared in the agricultural harvest of the agha or barin in question. Nevertheless, alongside this unfree labour paid in kind there was an instance of free labour. The latter involved needlecraft (on silk) which was collected by the agha or barin in exchange for money paid to the worker(s) on a piece work basis (in this case the labourers were unmarried women or widows who may or may not have been engaged in the production of silk) .

The instruments used in the production of silk were locally made by either independent craftsmen or by artisans in bondage to the local aghas and barins. These involved wheels (doulab), spinning needles and two other

tools called mekleb and khenek through which the silk is taken from the cocoons. The silk threads were dyed in locally prepared colours of red, white, yellow and black. The cloth was then collected by the merchant-landlords and exported abroad and to the various cities of the Ottoman Empire, such as Adana and Erzin (see Koushakjian and Madourian 1970).

This process (involving the production of exchange values) is considered to be one of the ways in which money is transformed into capital (Marx 1977: 115). However, the prerequisites for the existence of the Capitalist mode of production are in the first instance, "free labour and the exchange of free labour against money, in order to reproduce money ... for use value for money", and secondly, "the separation of free labour from the objective conditions of its realisation", i.e. the land (Marx 1973: 471; 1977: 67) Once the villagers are assembled in a "single house of labour", they become confined to "one sort of labour" (in this case, silk-production) in which they become dependent on the

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merchant-landlords. The result is the eventual separation of the means of production from the labourer - a process which in case of Mount Moussa had not yet reached its conclusion, as the descendants of Mount Moussa were eager to inform me. The majority of the labourers were still "unfree", and in some cases, while working in the "factory" of the agha or barin in question, the labourers owned the means of production.

Charcoal-making was another example of commodity production. Unlike silk-production, according to recollections of the descendants of the villagers of Mount Moussa, the preparation of charcoal did not lead to the establishment of a factory system. Nonetheless, those engaged in it were confined to the production of that single item, and became completely dependent on the merchant-landlord (as well as remaining in bondage to him). The labourer, in this case, was not yet separated from the means of production but only from distribution.

Only in one village, Bitias, did the preparation of charcoal develop on a large scale. As the present-day descendants of Mount Moussa recall, virtually

all the males of Bitias were engaged in charcoal-production for merchant-landlords in Yoghoun Oluk. One of the aghas had established a sort of téléphérique between the Mountain, where coal was prepared, and the sea, through which the charcoal was exported via tall ships to the various port-cities of the Mediterranean basin.

The existence of maritime trade along with the inland trade provided a catalyst for the increasing involvement of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa in the mass production of commodities for exchange value and not in the production of things for their own immediate consumption. This leads to their subjection to the dominion of the buyers of these commodities. In addition, the social relations tend to appear as relations between exchangeable things. However, as we shall see, personalised relations between the merchant-landlords and the villagers engaged in commodity production deferred the reification of the relations between the labourers, the produce and the medium of exchange.

Modes of social organisation and economic relations

Kinship and tradition (custom or as the villagers of Mount Moussa say, adat) used to play, and to some extent still plays, an important role in defining economic and especially property relations.

In the adat or customary law of the villagers of Mount Moussa, emphasis was put on genealogy. Good conduct and bad conduct were thought to be inheritable from generation to generation. Great attention was given to "origins" - assl ou fassl in the local dialect, corresponding to the Arabic al assl wal fassl. The descent of families and their moral conduct occupies to this day the minds of the descendants of the villagers of Mount Moussa, although they live miles away from their original habitat.

Status and position were based on occupation, descent, land and property relations (i.e. depending on

whether one is from a family of aghas, barins, kradjias, or marabus). Priests and teachers were highly respected. The notions of agha, barin, marabu and kradja formed the status system and were considered to be different tabaqat (an Arabic word) or strata. Each of these terms referred to a position of a male and by extension the term applied to his whole lineage (family name).

According to the descendants of Mount Moussa, in each village there were one or more aghas and barins comprising less than three percent of the total population of the villages. These were owners of lands and sometimes had control of the mill and the irrigation waterworks. Often they were merchants as well. Each of these aghas and barins had a number of families as their marabu, engaged in the management of the estate, the agricultural lands as well as the craft-industries. In the service of the aghas and barins there were also kradgas (lit. tenants) who used to transport the produce of the former - with their own means of transportation (usually were mules) to Antioch or other destinations. The labourers on the agricultural lands and in the craft-industries of these aghas and barins were the landless and property-less families in bondage (kapvouts) to the latter.

Relations of bondage were also based on gender. Married and unmarried women of the families in bondage to a family of an agha (or of a family of a barin) were under the authority of the eldest female of the household of the agha or barin in question. They served in housekeeping chores as well as in the agricultural activities. The men, on the other hand, were under the authority of the agha or barin in question. However, about twenty percent of the population held private plots of land and engaged in various crafts to supplement the agricultural produce. The villagers were tied to the aghas and barins through bonds of godparenthood, resulting in patron-client relationships.

Social relations of descent are still evident (or significant) though more so among the elders and descendants of aghas and barins. For instance, 78-years old Mrs. Siran proudly relates that her father who was marabu or overseer of the Iddeir lands of the Kazandjian family of Yoghoun Oluk had secured the godfatherhood of that family. He was then allowed to cultivate cash-crops on parts of the agha's lands for his own benefit.

Afterwards, with the money thus acquired he was able to buy plots of land - though he had remained marabu, which was an inheritable position.

The question of descent is also evoked during family conflicts. During my field work in 1980-1981 and 1986-1987 I witnessed several family "misunderstandings" and quarrels - instances of verbal abuse and sometimes physical violence, between mother-in-laws and daughter-in-laws. In all cases in which the marriage is between two families of different background, the insults thrown at each other include remarks about descent. Descendants of families of aghas and barins would consider descendants of landless villagers to be ideally unworthy of an affinal relationship with themselves.

Kinship, marriage, adat, and the manipulation of fictitious kinship ties used to define economic relations in the villages of Mount Moussa. Descent was (and continues) to be patrilineal. Patrilineal descent and bilateral relationships are the usual kinship frameworks among all Armenians. The residence pattern was patrilocal. Only male descendants inherited land and

property. Females did not inherit unless the family had no immediate male heirs. The order of birth, however, was not of special significance. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, ownership of property and land was determined by descent. Gradually, land had become a commodity which could be bought and sold. This led to the existence side-by-side of a system of free labour along with unfree-labour bound by descent.

The three-generation extended family, composed of grandparents, parents, married offspring and the latter's offspring along with unmarried aunts and uncles formed the village household and the basic economic unit. The head of the household was the eldest male, and the eldest female (who was not necessarily the wife of the eldest male) was the planner of the home and economic activities. Interaction with kin was not restricted to patrilineal ties. However, relations with maternal relatives and in-laws did not extend beyond formal visits. The importance of bilateral ties, nonetheless, was revealed in times of ceremonies and rituals, such as weddings, funerals, baptisms, name-day-feasts, Easter, New Year, etc., and in times of crisis.

In discussing kinship among the inhabitants of Mount Moussa, it is worth mentioning that the kinship terminology shows a significant variation from usual Armenian kin-terms. For instance, the usual Armenian kin-terms, do not distinguish between the maternal and paternal grandparents; the inhabitants of Mount Moussa have separate terms for each set. Thus, whereas the paternal grandmother is called dadimar, the maternal grandmother is referred to as kiremar (lit. mother of maternal uncle). Likewise there are different terms for paternal and maternal grandfathers. Moreover, although as among other Armenians separate kin-terms are used to differentiate siblings, cross and parallel cousins from each other, they address each other as brothers and sisters.

The inhabitants of Mount Moussa have also developed an elaborate terminology to express fictitious kinship relationships. The most important of these fictitious kin relationships is godparenthood. Unlike the usual Armenian conception of godparenthood as a fictitious kin relationship between a single member of a family with another family, among the inhabitants of Mount Moussa godparenthood involves a kin-relationship with the

whole of the two extended families involved. Thus whereas among the other Armenian groups only the spouse of the godparent is identified, the inhabitants of Haouch Moussa have a highly elaborate set of terms: the extended family of the godfather is referred to as babenk; all the males of the family are designated as godfathers - (boub) (this term is also used to address a priest); the mother of the actual godfather is the baboumar; the wife of the godfather is referred to as moum and this term could be extended to all wives of family males; the sisters of the godfather are referred to as babouker. The godparenthood relationship, it must be noted, may be initiated by any member of the family or lineage. However, the person who will be the holder of the child during the baptism or the holder of the cross in a wedding, in general is a male.

Marriage

Marriages, as the descendants of Mount Moussa described, with very few exceptions, were arranged. One such exception was in 1923. The marriage involved a descendant of the Kazandjian family of Yoghoun Oluk and the granddaughter of an Abadjian agha. This incident was narrated by Kevork Kazandjian himself during my stay in 'Anjar, and by many others, among whom Monushak Kalustian, Ovsanna Najarian, Ovsanna Guevshenian, Victoria Panossian, members of the Abadjian family, and members of the Hajian family. The young woman involved was highly educated, but her grandfather had arranged that she would marry the son of a relative of his educated in Egypt, of the Hajian family. The young man resided in Egypt and the engagement was going to take place in his absence. In any case, one night before the official engagement ceremony, she was kidnapped by the followers of a man (Kevork Kazandjian) who was in love with her. The couple married the same night. After a few months the marriage was accepted by the Abadjian family.

In the adat of the villagers marriage between close relatives was prohibited. The unwritten law dictated that people should marry at least seven relationships outside the nuclear family.² Kinship distance was reckoned as follows: the relationship between ego and his/her father or mother formed one distance-unit, and that of a paternal or maternal brother or sister consisted of two distance-units. The relation between

² During my fieldwork in 1980-1981 and 1986-1987 I encountered marriages which ignored the rules of kin-distance. Two such marriages involved women who married their mother's, mother's brother's sons (mother's uncle's son and father's sister's grand-daughter marriage). I was also told of two past marriages that had ignored such rules. One of these had taken place in 1974 involving the marriage of the mother's father's brother's daughter and father's brother's daughter's son. The other case had taken place half a century ago and it involved the marriage of father's brother's son's daughter and father's father's brother's son (father's uncles's son and uncle's grand-daughter). However, I was told that such marriages are extremely rare. Also note that I was not given any explanation for the marriage preferences (except that it is the adat), nor for that matter for the exceptions. A look into the exceptions to the adat in the marriage practices suggests that the cases involved were a result of "love". Even "love", however, according to the descendants of Mount Moussa, followed the accepted marriage rules. People - with rare exceptions - fell in love with those with whom they were allowed to be married.

first cousins comprised three relationships only, that between second cousins, five relationships. Hence marriage was prohibited between first and second cousins and second cousins once removed. Preference was given to lineage exogamy and village endogamy - though marriage alliances between the inhabitants of the K_eigh, Wakf and Khudr Beg were frequent. Preference was also given (and is still given) to marriage exchanges between lineages that have had a history of affinal relationships or a history of past intermarriages.³

The stress in the choice of wives and husbands was on descent (al assl wal fassl). Engagement and marriage were not personal affairs. They involved all relatives.

³ Preference was (and still is) given to reversed delayed intermarriage between two lineages, i.e. when a man of lineage A marries a woman from lineage B, in the future the reverse process is "hoped" to occur. Wife-givers become wife-receivers during the next affinal relationship that takes place between the two lineages in question. Frequently parallel cousins of opposite gender (of a lineage A) marry into the same lineage (B). In addition, as during an arranged marriage, in April 1981, between a woman of the Taslakian lineage and a man of the Kazandjian lineage, the reversal may occur after a very long period of time. In this case, as members of the bride's lineage pointed out to me (and to the wedding guests) that the marriage was the reversal of another marriage which had taken place over half a century ago, involving the marriage of a Kazandjian woman and a Taslakian man.

The adat was such that no man was allowed to propose to a woman in person. His kin and friends would do so on his behalf. This, I was informed, was a result of the existing segregation between the sexes. Young men and women attended separate schools. Young men and women were not permitted to converse in public. Even after the engagement the future bride and groom were not allowed to talk to each other. Once engaged a woman was considered to be the property of the future husband's lineage. She became their honour (sharaf). Members of the future groom's lineage paid a sum of money, the oujquilek (bride-wealth). The bride was expected to use her oujquilek money to bring gifts to her in-laws after the marriage ceremony.

The invitations for a marriage ceremony were made through gifts (oujet) of candy and candles. The ceremonies began on Thursday with the fitting session of the bridal dress and continued until Sunday. The religious ceremony was held on Saturday. The groom and bride were kept separate until Sunday, when the bridal tiara and the groom's crown were removed (see the unpublished memoirs of S. Cherbetjian, as well as Koushakjian and Madourian 1970).

In general, marriage was endogamous within each of the socio-economic categories. As described by the descendants of Mount Moussa, since each individual was "marked" by his or her birth, marriage was to leave each category "separate" and set apart. The adat of the people was such that categories such as "agha" and "kradja", set apart by birth, had to remain "separate". No marriage between female descendants of aghas and barins and their marabu or kradga lineages have been recorded prior to 1939. The preference for such endogamy is difficult to explain in terms of economic factors, since females did not inherit land or property unless they did not have any male relatives.

According to the descendants of Mount Moussa and the records of the churches, however, ninety-three percent of marriages of male members of agha and barin families were with women (usually of independent farming families) who had no immediate male relatives and, by adat, inherited lands and property. For example, one could mention the case of the most influential aghas of Khudr Beg in the 1900s. Melkin (Melkon) agha and Salan barin had married two orphan sisters from Wakf (The father

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of the orphan girls was an independent land-holding farmer of neither agha nor barin family). The sisters were the sole heirs of their father's lands. The adat was such that a widow could not inherit her husband's property. Property was to pass into the closest male relative. The widow was allowed to stay on her husband's property only if she had a son. In the absence of a son, the widow was usually sent to her father's or brother's house. In this case, she was remarried. The offspring, two daughters one of whom was 18 months old, the other eight years old, were left under the guardianship of a paternal aunt - their father's brother's wife, who was of Salan barin's lineage. Soon after she arranged the marriages to her best judgement. Ownership of the lands was thus passed onto the respective husbands.

Marriage generally served to strengthen political and economic alliances. Hence, variation in marriage arrangement by socio-economic level did exist, although it was rather limited and involved only the independent farming families. The independent small-scale holding cultivators aspired to marry women from the agha and barin lineages. Such marriages were thought to bring

protection and economic security. In any case, inter-marriage between independent small-holding farmers and families of agha or barin descent were rare, since the latter preferred to marry their daughters and sons to other lineages of barins and aghas, to strengthen their economic and political positions. The tendency was for marriages between groups of equal status, to keep property, resources, and power within the same groups.

Coalitions

Aside from marriage, there were various other ways of forming alliances or strengthening existing ones. Godparenthood and patron-client relationships were the most common and highly spread coalitions until the growing penetration of political parties, such as the Social-Democratic Hentchakian political organisation and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, and their affiliated philanthropic associations, such as the Armenian Relief Cross and the Armenian General Benevolent Union. We shall see that various kinds of coalitions provided at least a partial solution to the villagers of Mount Moussa in the face of the growing penetration of the relations of the capitalist mode of production.

The shift from production for immediate consumption to production of commodities for exchange, stimulated by the international division of labour and market economy of the late nineteenth century, created the

need to borrow money - a need which would have been unknown for self-sufficient craftsmen and cultivators. Those who had become factory workers in the silk-industry, for instance, and labourers engaged in the production of commodities for aghas and barins - defined by the relations of the capitalist mode of production - often had to borrow money in order to satisfy their personal needs. However, these labourers were relatively few compared to the independent private-holding cultivators who had moved into the realm of manufacture. These latter as producers were confronted by the capital of the money-lenders, who in the case of Mount Moussa were the aghas and barins - the merchant-landlord-industrialists. This capital becomes, for the independent producers a usurer's capital - a form of interest-bearing capital.

The influence as well as political and economic power of the aghas and barins increased as they added the role of the money-lender to their merchant-manufacturer and landlord functions. To secure their positions the small-scale producers entered into many-stranded dyadic and vertical relations with the aghas and barins through godparenthood relationships, as Wolf (1966: 81-89) terms

them. Usually, relations of godparenthood would have been formed between families of equal status. The preferential relationship was between the families of two brothers. Gradually, independent small cultivators of commodities for exchange and producers of manufacturing goods asked for the godparenthood of lineages of aghas and barins in order to acquire their protection. The consequence was a form of patron-client relationship. This was also a common phenomenon in other parts of the Middle East, where "we find the patron incorporated into the lineage, in the person or persons manning the 'gentry' positions in the lineage" (Wolf 1969: 18). In the villages of Mount Moussa, the fictitious kinship relationships, such as godparenthood between the agha lineages and independent small-scale producers, were used to strengthen the existing bonds.

Mount Moussa and relations with the outside

Until the outbreak of the first World War, the villages of Mount Moussa were under Ottoman rule. There were the following basic inequalities within the Ottoman Empire: Inequalities of master and slave, man and woman, and believer (i.e. Muslim) and unbeliever (any non-Muslim was considered an unbeliever) (Braude and Lewis 1982 I: 4). Since the status of unbeliever was the least visible non-Muslim populations were required to symbolically exhibit their inferiority. The relationship between the Muslim state and non-Muslim communities was governed on the basis of a pact called dhimma, which identified restrictions for non-Muslims; for instance in clothing and the use of beasts of burden. There were also restrictions on the construction of places of worship (Braude and Lewis 1982, I: 5). Hence, "although protected by the contract of dhimma", the non-Muslim population of the Muslim states "were never anything but second-class citizens" (Bosworth 1982:49).

The most heavily felt restriction on non-Muslims, however, was fiscal differentiation. Non-Muslims had to pay higher taxes (Braude and Lewis 1982, vol. I: 6). Tax collection procedures were left to the tax collecting officers themselves. Corruption was widespread in the Ottoman Empire especially during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The various provinces were put on auction. The highest bidders were appointed governors (wali) of the provinces. Since the estimated tax or tribute on each province was usually received by the state from the wali prior to his appointment to the province, the wali made sure to collect more taxes from the people than the amount he either already paid or promised to pay. In addition, officers of the wali asked for bribes from the subjects in return for assigning less taxes.

There were the following forms of taxes: 1. bedelat askarya, levied as an exemption from forced military service. The non-Muslim populations were denied participation in the military until the constitutional reforms of 1908. Hence, this tax was compulsory for every non-Muslim male child, consisting of a half Ottoman gold or the equivalent of half the annual income of an early

twentieth century wage worker of the region, to be paid once during the life-time of the male child in question; 2. tariq bedelnagdissi, a payment of one Majid - (a silver coin equivalent to 27 piastres or to the wage earning of a worker for an entire month in pre-1915 Mount Moussa) collected from every male over twenty years of age, to construct or maintain the roads; 3. 'ashar (lit. a tenth), an income tax collected from all producers consisting of one tenth of the produce, for instance crops, fruits and vegetables or manufactured items; 4. agham parasse, a tax on small domesticated animals, consisting of a payment of a quarter of a Majid per head of sheep and goats; 5. are parasse imposed on honey-production. As a result of these levies, until the introduction of reforms towards the turn of the twentieth century, the inhabitants of Mount Moussa, as their counterparts in the other non-Muslim communities of the Empire were in poverty (see Enfrey 1930: 94-95 for a description of the conditions in northern Syria). Dairy products were absent from the homes of the great majority of the inhabitants. The entire catle of the six villages amounted to only 700 heads of sheep, goats and milking cows (Baghdoyian 1935a: 74). Only later was farming intensified.

There were many encounters between tax collectors and villagers. Clashes became more violent after the 1872 earthquake which left many of the villagers of Mount Moussa practically homeless; the blow was also severe for the crops and orchards. Madourian narrates two instances, one in 1887, the other in 1889 (1970: 259-261): In the spring of 1887, the wali of Aleppo had gone to a visit in Antioch. While he was at the house of a certain Aghazade Abdul Ghani, tax collectors were harassing the Armenian villagers and their headmen. The priest of Haji Habibli reached the wali and complained about the tax collectors. The tax collectors had come to collect the taxes for the past ten years. The wali ordered them not to disturb the villagers. However, in 1889 the tax collectors returned. This time, the villagers and the priest of Haji Habibli literally threw them out, along with the military who had come to help the bureaucrats. The villagers had no surplus left, as the initial surplus had already been collected by various local power holders: the church, the schools, the aghas and barins.

By this time, on the basis of the place

occupied in the production process, the following groups of people existed in the villages: small scale independent producers who individually owned their respective means of production (i.e. petty commodity producers); producers - such as those engaged in charcoal-preparation, who were not separated from the means of production but from distribution (they were in bondage to an agha or a barin); producers separated from the means of production (i.e. the means of production belonged to the agha or the barin to whom they were in bondage); free-labourers engaged in wage-work outside the region; non-producers living off the production of unfree-labourers; the clergy and teachers; owners of means of transportation (the kradja); the managers of the estates of the non-producers living off the production of unfree labourers (the marabus), etc. After the harvest of each agricultural product (e.g. olives, citrus fruits, apricots, cherries, figs, grapes, pomegranates, and a very insufficient amount of cereal), there used to be a re-distribution of the harvest based on custom. The priests, the teachers, the various unfree labourers, and everyone would get a share. The size of the shares depended on the generosity of the owners of the agricultural lands. These landholders were also the initiators of local industries and in some instances they

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also operated the mills. The mills were of great importance to the villagers. It was through the mills that the wheat was transformed into flour - which was and continues to be the basis for their staple, bread. It is to be stressed, the mills were not owned privately by individuals. Certain families of lineages of aghas and barins shared the usufruct of these mills, and were assigned specific days for its use. The mill used to be operated during the autumn only. Whenever villagers brought in their wheat or grain to be processed they had to give a portion to the family that had the right to operate the mill for that day. This constituted an exploitative system. Thus, there were several levels through which the surplus of the direct producers was taken; ranging from the tax collection by the Ottoman officers to the local surplus extraction mechanisms and the re-distributive process of the villagers themselves.

The conditions of the non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire deteriorated as the balance of power shifted towards European countries. The first European intervention in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire occurred as early as in 1535 when the king of France, François I, acquired capitulations (concessions) from

Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566). In 1662 the first French consulate was established in Syria. French cultural centres were founded throughout the region and in the Alexandretta (Iskandaroun) (Moutrde 1932: 104-106). Aside from commerce, the French and later other Europeans engaged in missionary activities among the Christian inhabitants of the Empire and proclaimed themselves the protectors of these non-Muslim communities.

After the 1850s the foreign Catholic and Protestant missionaries began to move into the villages of Mount Moussa leading to factionalist and sectarian cleavages. Aside from the Armenian Orthodox Apostolic Church there emerged Catholic and Protestant Churches and schools. As in the case of Lebanese villages, it was usually family feuds which led to a change in religious denomination.

Upon this scene of oppression and growing factionalism came the new Armenian revolutionaries and their political organisations. The first revolutionary (activist) to reach the villages of Mount Moussa was Aghassi, a member of the Social Democratic Hentchakian organisation, founded in 1887 in Geneva by a group of

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students. The first task of Aghassi was to unify the villagers and arouse the consciousness of the youth against the existing local and external oppression. Soon he started to train the youth with relatively modern weapons and brought automatic guns and rifles purchased from European countries with money donated by local and extra-local Armenians. He even initiated the establishment of a college in Mount Moussa arguing that ignorance is the seed for more oppression and lack of consciousness. He also founded a civil court of the people to deal with local disputes. The prominent local members of the organisation were often imprisoned by the Ottoman government. Zora Iskandarian gives a list of the imprisoned villagers in August 1904. They were accused of being separatist revolutionaries (1974: 11).

It is perhaps worth mentioning that after the 1894-1895 massacres of an estimated three hundred thousand Armenians throughout the Ottoman Empire, Armenian revolutionary organisations showed an interest in all regions where Armenian communities existed. Thenceforth, many revolutionary organisations, in addition to the aforementioned Hentchakian party, showed an interest in Mount Moussa. However, until the outbreak of the first World War their role remained rather insignificant. The

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decision makers of the villages of Mount Moussa remained the aghas and barins.

After the 1908 constitutional reforms of the Ottoman Empire, there was a hope for a better future, where justice would prevail. The non-Muslim taxpaying subjects (rayia) acquired full citizenship rights for the first time in history. Many of the political prisoners were released. However, the promise of a more just future was soon tainted with blood, with the 1909 Adana massacre of the Armenians, involving an estimated thirty thousand victims. The region of Antioch also witnessed massacres. In Mount Moussa itself twenty people were killed by the Turks. These massacres culminated in the 1915 Pan-Turkist plan for annihilation of all Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire.

News of the genocide of Armenians reached the villages through deserting drafted soldiers of the Ottoman army. Soon caravans of people who had survived the genocide were seen passing by towards the Syrian desert. Serving at the Protestant church of Zeitoun - a city in Armenian Cilicia - Reverend Anderiassian of Yoghoun Oluk, barely escaping the deportation and massacre

to which the Armenian populations were subjected, reached Mount Moussa at the exact moment when the orders of "deportation" had been received in Mount Moussa (see Anderiassian 1935). Under the Reverend's initiative the villages were called to discuss the matter. Two choices lay ahead: either surrender to the "deportation" order and be massacred or revolt. (As evidenced through the experiences of other Armenian communities, all those who had obeyed the Ottoman government's deportation orders were being massacred, as deportation orders were a means to annihilate these populations). The assembly decided to follow the second course - a choice with an unknown outcome. With the motto of "Liberty or death" the villagers were led to Mount Moussa. Sixty-six percent of the total number of the inhabitants followed the decision to revolt. The rest, obeying the orders of the government, were deported to an unknown destination. According to the descendants of Mount Moussa as well as studies of the 1915 genocide, two-thirds of the population which obeyed the deportation orders were massacred by the Ottoman government and the rest took refuge in the Syrian desert among Arab pastoralists (see Tcharkhoudian 1978, Boursalian 1953 or 1954, Memoirs of S. Cherbetjian, Koushakjian and Madourian 1970). By an unexpected turn of

events, those who stayed and fought were rescued after forty days by the French navy and taken to Port Sa'yid in Egypt. This was their first experience of being uprooted.

There are several descriptions of this battle (see for instance, Anderiassian 1935, H. Iskandarian 1915, Boursalian 1954, Baghdoyian 1935, Tcharkhoudian 1978), and of the subsequent temporary settlement in Port Sa'yid (see Salpie 1919). The forty days of Mount Moussa have also been the inspiration for numerous literary works (see Bagin Monthly, Sept. 1985). This event has been a symbol of survival for the Armenians. Each year, during the third week-end of September, the descendants of Mount Moussa commemorate the occasion in religious and civil festivities which terminate in a communal meal.⁴

⁴In recent years the celebration of the Forty Day Resistance of Mount Moussa has become an Armenian national feast. Armenians everywhere - from Cambridge, Ontario to Fresno and San Fransisco - celebrate this event through week-end long rituals that take place sometime in September, coinciding with the religious feast of the recovery of the Holy Cross by Queen Helen (Khatchveratz). During the week-end of September 13, 1987 and on September 17 and 18, 1988, I participated in these celebrations in Cambridge. The Archbishop of the Armenian National Church (Orthodox) of Eastern North America present during the ceremonies, proclaimed the nationalisation and institutionalisation of the Forty Day Resistance Battle of Mount Moussa. The ceremonies begin

A tent city was built for the refugees, in Port Sa'yid. Food and other supplies were provided by the British forces. The male inhabitants of Mount Moussa between 16 and 45 years of age were trained by the French forces. About 1500 villagers of Mount Moussa participated in the battle of Arara and in the subsequent conquest of parts of the Ottoman Empire, such as Armenian Cilicia and the region of Antioch.

on Saturday afternoon before sunset, with the sacralisation rituals of the sacrificial animals (or the meat - where the slaughter of animals is forbidden by law, as in case of Cambridge). The first stage involves the preparation of the sacrificial animals (which in the Armenian custom have to be male sheep). The priest first sacrilises a plate of salt. The sacrificial animal is cleansed and fed with the sacralised salt. Religious songs and prayers accompany the whole process. When the animals are prepared they are slaughtered through the neck and the blood is left to flow. The priest and the religious procession (including the congregation) leave. Before the sun sets, the animals are skinned and the meat is cut and put in huge pots on stoves made for the occasion. The wheat is added along with salt and water. The priest and accompanying religious choir (singers) join in and the preparation of the meal is blessed. Throughout the evening there is singing and dancing. Barbequed meat is served. Starting from around mid-night, the sacrificial meal needs constant stirring with a wooden huge and flat spoon. The participants take turns in the stirring process. Usually men and occasionally young men are in charge of the cooking. After mid-night and until dawn the celebrations continue. Revolutionary songs are sung, and speeches made. After a few hours of rest, the participants wash themselves or take a bath and prepare

In Port Sa'yid the various Armenian political organisations began a membership recruitment drive. For the first time, conflict based on divergences in ideologies broke out. The rivalry among the various parties resulted in the increased popularity of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. The A.R.F. gained more and more influence after news of the foundation of the first Armenian Republic (1918) (in eastern Armenia, or present day Soviet Armenia) reached Port Sa'yid. (The A.R.F. was considered to be the main political organisation through whose efforts Armenia had achieved independence in 1918).

themselves for the morning mass. The religious ceremonies resume on Sunday morning and last until noon. At noon the religious procession, singing religious songs leaves the altar with scented flowers (and sometimes with candles) and proceeds to the area in which the sacrificial meal was being cooked. At the site of the pots, the remembrance service is given. The historic event is narrated. The people's heroic resistance is praised. The souls of those who were killed during the Forty Day Battle are blessed. The sacrificial meal is then blessed and distributed to the participants. In the afternoon, celebrations resume. Guest speakers give the historic details and significance of the event and implications for the Armenians in the Diaspora. Through the celebrations the participants believe that they are renewed with the spirit of resistance of the people of Mount Moussa. The ceremonies terminate with singing of Armenian revolutionary songs and the departure of participants.

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After the end of the first World War the inhabitants were returned to Mount Moussa. The Ottoman Empire was defeated by the Allies. France had been given a mandate over Armenian Cilicia, and over Syria and Lebanon. The region of Mount Moussa which was part of Sanjak Iskandaroun became an administrative sub-district with its own representative. In 1924 the region of Antioch began to be represented in the Syrian Parliament by a member of Mount Moussa.

Until 1922 the inhabitants had to endure great economic difficulties. The houses needed repair. Whatever they had left behind had been looted. Agricultural lands had been left unattended. The cattle was destroyed. The silk-industry and trade were in decline. The inhabitants engaged in the following economic activities: the majority of the male inhabitants of Haji Habibli worked for wages in the neighbouring Alawite (Muslim Shi'ite Arabic speaking groups) villages as masons; male inhabitants of Bitias continued to produce charcoal and also engaged in making wooden spoons; the majority of the males of Yoghoun Olouk engaged in

carving of combs, others were coppersmiths, ironsmiths and specialists in arms; the inhabitants of the other villages were engaged in the cultivation of fruits, vegetables and cereals, as well as in animal husbandry. The women of all villages engaged in domestic labour and participated in agricultural activities. After 1926 roads were made suitable for motor transportation. As a result, Bitias became a summer resort for the Armenian population of Aleppo.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (A.R.F.), encouraged local tendencies and resentment against the aghas and barins and gradually their influence was reduced. Step by step the A.R.F. took over the economic and social functions of these leaders. Notable members of the A.R.F. - people from outside the villages - became godfathers to many families of Mount Moussa. Collective economic projects began to be initiated. Collective farms and factories were established. Political involvement was maximised. When European countries decided that the region of Antioch was to be part of Turkey and not of Syria, the inhabitants of Mount Moussa initiated a great movement against the decision. They were joined in their efforts by the Alawites and Arabic-speaking Christians of

the region. A referendum was held to have the people's opinion concerning the annexation of the region to Turkey. In spite of the result of the referendum in which the great majority of the inhabitants rejected annexation to Turkey, and despite protests, the French gave the territory to Turkey to secure its neutrality in the second World War, which had just started (1939). Thus, almost twenty years after their first experience of being uprooted, the inhabitants of Mount Moussa evacuated their villages once again.

In what follows the events which led to the uprootedness of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa are summarised. These events, as the descendants of Mount Moussa expressed it, led them to their "understanding" of themselves and the world. They conceived of the world as an "unjust" place in which to live. As Thomas, one of the older descendants of Mount Moussa summarised in 1986:

"We are a small group of people in a sea of giant fish where the rule of the jungle dominates. Our history has been marked with struggle to survive. We have searched for justice but forgotten that justice lies with those who have power. The history of our uprootedness from our lands has taught us how vulnerable we are. We had been taught that our mountains are a sanctuary, where we could find refuge

from injustices and cruelties of the world. The events of 1937-1939 (not to mention our historical experiences in the 19th century that culminated with the genocide of our fellow Armenians and our first resistance and uprootedness) are evidence that no people are left alone to live a life of their choice. Those in an economic or political power position make decisions on people in our situation. Our "will" does not count."

The following is a summary or a background to the events of 1937-1939 that led to the people of Mount Moussa being uprooted. July 23, 1939 was the date set for the annexation of the Sanjak of Alexandretta to Turkey. The French Mandatory forces were to ensure that the Sanjak was to be devoid of any elements opposed to the annexation plan. Even though the demographic composition and the proportion of each of the different ethnic-linguistic and religious groupings of the Sanjak is a thorny question (see Satloff 1986), there is a general consensus that two-thirds of the population was against the annexation plan. As a consequence, Arabic-speaking groups (consisting of Alawites, and Sunni Muslims), Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Armenians and even some Turkish speaking populations had to evacuate the region because of their rejection of the annexation plan.

In the summer of 1939, prior to harvest time, following the orders of the French Mandate, the majority of Arabic-speaking and Armenian populations of the Sanjak of Alexandretta evacuated the region. Over thirty thousand Armenians of the region, with the memory of the 1915 Armenian genocide, chose to be uprooted from their homeland rather than live under Turkish rule (Madourian 1970:492; Koushakjian 1970: 497). Since 1937 the Arabic-speaking populations, headed by Zaki Arsouzi - the leader of the Antioch chapter of Hezb al Watani, along with Greeks and Armenians, had tried in vain to bring about an alternative solution to the decision of the European powers to annex the Sanjak to Turkey. All those who were against the decision had been left with no other choice but to leave the territory. The people leaving their homes and territories were forced to sign a legal document with the Turkish authorities entitled Tark al-Watan (lit. leave of homeland) through which all future claims to private property and lands were denounced.

On the 17th of July 1939, a week prior to the official date of the annexation of the Sanjak of

Alexandretta, the evacuation of the six villages of Mount Moussa began. The process of evacuation itself was organised by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and had the assistance of the French Mandatory forces. After signing the document for leave, 1068 families of Mount Moussa emigrated. The French Mandatory forces, having traded their homeland to achieve the neutrality of Turkey, resettled the inhabitants of Mount Moussa in 'Anjar in the Beka'a valley of Lebanon - another province of the Old Ottoman Empire under French Mandate, on land purchased from a feudal lord, Rushdi beg. This new settlement called Haouch Moussa, in memory of the homeland, was soon to be the laboratory for an experiment unique in its kind in Lebanon.

The inhabitants themselves viewed (and still do) the annexation of the Sanjak of Alexandretta as an injustice and consider their experience as a forced deportation. For historians and social analysts, the Sanjak of Alexandretta "is a code word for Arab-Turk animosity" (Satloff 1986: 147). The conflict between the French Mandatory power, Turkey and Syria in the late 1930s has been conceived in terms of an internal ethnic,

linguistic, and/ or religious conflict. However, demographic and statistical data clearly exhibit the secondary position assumed by ethnic divisions (Sattloff 1986: 149). The various ethnic-linguistic and religious communities comprising the Sanjak had fashioned "patterns of economic interdependence that simply would not function in an atmosphere of widespread ethnic hatred and mistrust" (ibid.: 147). The history of the French Mandatory period was marked by the rise of new economic divisions:

"... prosperity fostered the growth of new classes of financially secure artisans and modern-educated youth dissatisfied with the apportionment of political power. At first, the established elite was able to thwart any serious effort at reform, such as the attempt to found a carpenters' co-operative in 1928. But by the early 1930s, a depressed economy catalysed the growth of popular disenchantment and exacerbated intra-communal divisions. Both the Turcophone and Arabophone communities fragmented into groups in defence and in opposition to the status quo. Progressive Turks, opposed to the Ottoman style of local Turkish aghas, found patronage in Kemalist Turkey; progressive Arabs, opposed to the accommodationist policies of local chieftains, looked to the Damascene nationalists for support. But the Sanjak's troubles still did not collapse into inter-communal violence. Insurgents within both major linguistic groups comprised only a small fraction of the Sanjak's total population. Indeed, even at the height of Franco-Turkish collusion, in May 1938, a large majority of Alexandrettans rejected both radical Arab and Turkish options and voted to try to settle their domestic troubles among themselves. Nobody listened". (ibid.: 147-148)

It is indeed foreign interference that brought about the dissolution of the ethnic and linguistic compromise in the Sanjak (see also Sandjian 1956). The end result was the cession of Alexandretta and its annexation to Turkey as its sixty-third province (vilayet), and the exodus of two-thirds of its population comprising Sunni Turks, Arab nationalists and Armenians (Satloff 1986: 176).

The problem of population displacements and forced migration has existed throughout history. However, the problem has gained recognition only recently and especially after the first and second World Wars. Indeed, the term "refugee" was formulated in the light of the people who had become homeless as a result of the first and second World Wars (see Scultheis 1985: 20). The people of Mount Moussa were turned into refugees. The refugee problem as defined by the United Nations, is a "unique and area-specific phenomenon" (Schultheis 1985: 20), involving only a single case (individuals). However, as in case of the Armenians of Mount Moussa (in 1915 and

1939) the refugee problem often involves an entire collectivity. The problem has also been considered to be a result of the "dissolution of empires and the postponed realignment of domestic, political and economic forces", in addition to being the consequence of a "systemic disorder" in the "complex inter-relationships among political and economic forces ... integrated into a single world system" (Schultheis 1985: 20).

Modes of Production

Prior to being uprooted in 1939, the villages of Mount Moussa were subject to the growing penetration of capitalist relations of production. Nonetheless, non-capitalist modes of production continued to exist alongside the new relations of capitalism. Communities, such as those of Mount Moussa, do not exist in isolation. They are subject to both external and internal pressures. Falling under the dominion of the Ottoman Empire until the first World War, Mount Moussa had been influenced by the developments affecting that Empire and its political economy.

Perry Anderson in tracing the economic history of the Ottoman absolutist state points out that European mercantile capitalism of the sixteenth century had brought about its long period of decline, marked by corruption and increases in fiscal pressures. The rural population,

and specially the Christian peasantry, was the most affected: "The rayiah poll tax paid by Christian peasantry multiplied six times over between 1574 and 1630" (Anderson 1980: 380).

During the late 18th and 19th centuries, with the rise of the European capitalist market economy as "an economic system controlled, regulated and directed by markets alone" (Polanyi 1957: 68), the empire was increasingly forced to "conform to Western Capitalist norms". By the mid-nineteenth century under French and British pressures the Tanzimat reforms were brought forth with the following consequence for the countryside (Perry Anderson 1980: 389): in 1839 the security of private property was achieved. The introduction of the agrarian law in 1850 had made possible limited rights of inheritance to land and its usufruct. However, it was not until 1867 that local landowners were given juridical ownership of their estates. This led to a stabilisation of office-holding and to the rise of a landowning class.

The data presented on the villages of Mount Moussa cover the period after Western penetration, when relations of production in the region were being subject to those of capitalism. Likewise the legal, political and ideological superstructures as well as technological and economic relations had been "westernised". Western ideas or rather the ideational superstructure with all its diverse and sometimes contradictory ideological discourses had become incorporated in the ideational superstructure of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa along with the capitalist market relations, and relations of production. The result for Mount Moussa was a situation in which feudal relations continued to exist along side newly emerging capitalist relations of production and relations of petty commodity production. Whereas within the villages of Mount Moussa the aghas and barins continued to have feudal relationships with the population in bondage to them, outside (in the regional and international market) they operated as industrial capitalist and merchants. In addition, they also acted as mediators between petty commodity producers in Mount Moussa and the

regional and international market. Thus, among the villagers of Mount Moussa feudalism⁵, capitalism and petty commodity production existed in articulation (and where the dominant relations of production were feudal).

5 Feudalism has been defined in a variety of ways by social scientists and historians. Hindess and Hirst, for instance, define it with respect to ground rent (1975: 221-259). In the case of Mount Moussa ground rent did not define the feudal relationship. All the members of the families in bondage to an agha or a barin used to provide services to the members of the families of the barin or agha in question throughout the year. At the harvest-time of each agricultural crop there used to be a redistribution of the products by the female head of household of the agha or barin family in question. The feudal form of ownership as Marx and Engels have demonstrated "is based on a community; but the directly producing class standing over it is not, as in the case of the ancient community, the slaves, but the enserfed small peasantry" (1977: 125). In case of Mount Moussa, the main forms of property consisted of patrimonial domains, in Eric Wolf's sense of the term (1966) with "serf-labour chained to it" (Marx and Engels 1977: 126) and small-holding independent farms.

CHAPTER TWO

THE 1939-1943 SITUATION: A NEW BEGINNING AND AN EXPERIMENT IN COLLECTIVISATION

The new settlement in the Beka'a valley of Lebanon 'Anjar - Haouch Moussa

Immediately after their relocation in 'Anjar, in the Beka'a valley of Lebanon during the Summer of 1939, the descendants of Mount Moussa engaged in an experiment in the collectivisation of agriculture and industry. It is with joy that they recall their first steps into the new settlement. They describe with great pride the hardship that they had to endure as a collectivity in order to turn the dry uncultivated lands and the swamps into fields suitable for agricultural purposes (see Boyadjian 1963: 3-7). Above all, however, for the descendants of Mount Moussa the early years in this new settlement represent an experiment to bring

social justice among themselves, at a time when as a collectivity they had been forced away from their historical habitat. Indeed, through the collectivisation experiment the descendants of Mount Moussa believed that all social inequality would be abolished: there would no longer remain status distinctions among aghas, barins, kradjas, marabus, since the relations of production would make everyone equal. In any case, the people believed that they had already been made equal by being deported as a collectivity; they were treated as a "uniform body" regardless of position in the production process (or relations of production), social class and status.

As we shall see in the following sections, the inhabitants of Mount Moussa had been exposed to socialist theory and practice since the late 19th century. Furthermore, as early as the 1920s, with the growing influence of the A.R.F., collective farms and factories had been set up in the villages of Mount Moussa. Collectivisation was maximised in the new settlement of Haouch Moussa. All land was held communally under the directorship of a special committee set up by the A.R.F. The committee was composed of six members, each

representing one of the original six villages of Mount Moussa. Among the functions of this committee were the distribution of work, planning and construction of housing accommodation, and distribution of food rations. The committee was also to secure provisions, to organise the cultural life of the community and open schools, as well as take care of hygienic and sanitary problems. Several sub-committees were formed to implement the programmes. Land and property were collectivised (and socialised). Both production and consumption were collectivised. All the members, men and women, children and the elderly had to participate in the construction process, educational, agricultural, food procuring and processing activities. According to the present inhabitants of 'Anjar, all, regardless of the previous social relations of production, were "made" equal: agha, barin, kradja, independent farmer, marabu and peasant were treated equally. According to those among the inhabitants of 'Anjar who were either school age children or adults during the period of collectivisation, the strong and weak, young and old, skilled and unskilled were treated according to their needs and not their merit. There were no wages. An attempt was also made to re-define gender relations among the inhabitants and create new gender identities based on

notions of gender equality. The inhabitants proudly pointed out to me that even when they were living under refugee-tents, they had organised nurseries to "liberate" the mothers from child-rearing duties. The care of the young children was trusted to men and women who had had either pre-school teaching experience or an education specialising in early childhood (pedagogy).

It is to be pointed out, however, that despite this attempt to promote gender equality, women were not represented in the Central Council. Moreover, women were excluded from the decision to re-define gender relations. The decision was made for them by men. Nevertheless, throughout my discussions with women of diverse generations, I only heard praise on the measures taken to put an end to gender segregation and inequality.

The inhabitants of Haouch Moussa believed and still do, that they had the best experience in communalism (hamainagan ashkhadank) and socialism, compared to their knowledge of other similar experiences elsewhere in the world. Collectivisation, however, was not undertaken on a voluntary basis. In this respect, as

many pointed out to me, their experiences were comparable to their knowledge of the Soviet experience. In both cases the collectivisation was planned, directed and executed by a political organisation. In the case of 'Anjar it was done by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (A.R.F.) which was (and is) the sole political organisation of the inhabitants. Labour and land were controlled and managed by the A.R.F. in the name of the collectivity. During my 1980-81 and 1986-87 discussions with the people of 'Anjar everyone (both A.R.F. members and non-members including descendants of high status members in the pre-1939 situation) agreed that this did lead to some rather limited resentment among the inhabitants but it rarely surfaced. In rare instances when this did come out in the open it involved descendants of aghas, barins and high status members in the pre-1939 situation. Moreover, it is to be pointed out that the Central Council which was responsible for the planning, co-ordination and control of the collectivisation, was not regarded as a managerial body. Throughout my formal and informal discussions with the inhabitants of 'Anjar in 1980-81 and 1986-87, I was told that the Council represented the people themselves. In addition, I was reminded time and time again, that everyone living in

'Anjar at the time, were either members of the A.R.F. or sympathisers. As the mayor Mr. H. Cherbetjian stressed, neither the Council nor the A.R.F. represented a segment of the population erected over the rest of the inhabitants. This view was also expressed by most descendants of high status members in the pre-1939 situation. In fact, one of the descendants of an agha lineage pointed out,

"The A.R.F. is the true and sole representative of the population of 'Anjar. At no time has there been any problem with regard to A.R.F. rule. There is no such thing as A.R.F. rule. The A.R.F., in case of 'Anjar, coincides with the people. Membership to the A.R.F.¹ is open to all regardless of gender, religion or socio-economic background, who adhere to its socialist egalitarian principles and want an end to all oppression (facing individuals and collectivities) and believe in the possibility of a Free Independent United and Socialist Armenia. Anyone who wants to introduce a change in the A.R.F. policies and plans concerning a certain issue or region should do so through participation in the group discussions. The structure is such that if an individual member has a view which differs from that expressed in his or her unit or group that person could represent himself or herself in the regional general assemblies along side the delegates from his or her group or region. Problems arise when people decide to bring changes to A.R.F. policies without participating within it. The voices of people outside the A.R.F. is never heard. Any individual who wants to have a voice could only have one through joining the A.R.F."

¹ See annex 3 for a description of A.R.F. organisation.

As this quote reveals, the relationship of the population of 'Anjar and the A.R.F. has been marked with ambiguity. While the A.R.F. has been considered to be "coinciding with the people", observers such as this researcher have been faced with contradictions. These range from the fact that a. not all the inhabitants were members of the A.R.F.; b. the A.R.F. not only planned but actually controlled the entire collectivisation experiment under the rubric of having members appointed as a co-ordinating body, and consequently or rather in a sense became the "ruler". Nonetheless, perhaps realising the implications of such a central co-ordinating body, to keep its aims and egalitarian principles, the A.R.F. set such regulations as to make the members of the co-ordinating body themselves participate in the daily activities of the collective. A further problem can also be seen in the expression that "voices outside the A.R.F." are never heard. The only discourse was that of the A.R.F. Alternative viewpoints and discourses were unable to find expression. As we are going to see in the subsequent chapters, this has had a significant effect on the inhabitants of 'Anjar and their perception of reality.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (A.R.F.);

Its Ideology and agrarian programme

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (A.R.F.)
is a socialist and popular organisation, as the following
song indicates :

Ք Ա Յ Լ Ե Ր Գ

Հ. Յ. ԴԱՇՆԱԿՑՈՒԹԵԱՆ

Մշակ, բանուոր, ռենչաէր աղբէր,
Արի՛ք, միանանք, յառաջ գնանք,
Աշխատանքի, դատի պաշտպան
Դաշնակցութեան թեւ լիկունք տանք

Բա՛ւ է տանջուենք, քրտինք թափենք
Արիւն վաստակ դատենք, դիպենք,
Շահագործող ցեցեր վատնեն,
Իսկ մեզ չոր հաց բաժին հանեն.

Դէ՛հ, սեւ օրեր, բողոք դարձէք,
Արիւն քրտինք երկունք մտէ՛ք,
Տանջանք, զըրկանք, լեզու առէք,
Դաշնակցութեան ճամբայ բազէք

The following is the romanisation of the song.
Each sentence is also followed by its English translation.

1. Mshak,² banuor, rentchper aghper,³
- Farmer, labourer, working
brother

Arik, mianank, haradch gnank,
- Come, let us unite and march forward

Ashkhatanki, dati pashtpan
Dashnaktzutyan tev tikunk tank
- Let us stand in support
of the protector of toil and work,
the A.R.F.

2. Bav e tandchuenk, krtink tapenk
- It is enough that we suffer, shed sweat,

²mshak, lit., cultivator.

³renchber, casual labourer, landless peasant.

Ariun⁴ vastak datenk, tizenk,
Shahagordsogh tsester vatnen,
- Our earnings, (the product of our labour) are
appropriated by exploiters

Isk mez tchor hats bajin hanen
- And leave dry bread for our share.⁵

3. Deh, sev orer, boghok dardzek
- Then, dark /black/ days, turn into protest.⁶

Arioun krtink erkounk mdek,
- Blood, sweat, enter into pains of labour⁷

⁴ariun (lit. blood), vastak (lit. earnings) datenk (lit. to labour, in first person plural, present tense), tizenk (to accumulate, in first person plural, present tense). shahakordsogh (lit. exploiting or exploiter) tsetser (lit. parasites) vatnden (lit. to waste).

⁵ isk (= but) mez (= for us) tchor (= dry) hatz (=bread) bajin (share) hanen (leave).

⁶ deh, sev (lit. black) orer (lit. days), boghok (lit. protest) dardzek (turn, in imperative plural).

⁷ arioun (lit. blood) krdink (=sweat), erkounk (labour pains) mdek (enter, imperative plural).

Tandchank, zrkank, lezou arek,
- Torment, deprivation, sprout tongues,⁸

Dashnaktzutyan djampa batsek
- And open the way for the A.R.F.

kaylerq Hay Heghabokhakan dashnaktzutyan
(A.R.F. Lebanese Youth Association,
Revolutionary Songs 1977: 5)

The development of the A.R.F., its ideology as well as its programme of action, have been linked to the Russian and Caucasian revolutionary struggle of the late nineteenth century. The founding members themselves came from diverse backgrounds and political practices. For instance while Kristapor Mikaelian was a populist active in the Russian Narodnik movement, as well as a teacher, Simon Zavarian was an agriculturalist interested in the writings of Bakunin and was an anarchist, and Rostom on the other hand was a Marxist. The A.R.F. was formed as a movement that would group all those engaged in

⁸tandchank (=tormentation), zrkank (=deprivation), lezou (= tongue) arek (take, imperative plural).

revolutionary practice. At its early stage, the A.R.F. operated as a unit within the Russian Narodnik movement and subsequently with the Russian Socialist Party - an adversary to Lenin's Social Democratic Party. However, consideration of the National question within Tzarist Russia, and news of the oppression within the Ottoman empire gave way to the formation of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation as an independent body in 1890, in Tiflis. Nonetheless the A.R.F. continued to remain in association with the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party.

The formation of the A.R.F. as a political organisation is directly related to the state of affairs among the Russian radical circles in the aftermath of the Russian-Ottoman war (1870-1880s). At the time the belief was that terrorist acts against political personalities, i.e. political murders, would make it possible to subjugate the rulers and achieve both political freedom and socialist transformation. This led to a wave of terrorist acts which culminated in the assassination of Alexander II (Zavarian 1968: 51). The consequence was mass arrests and a decrease in revolutionary action (1881-

1883). Subsequently, socialist discussion groups looked for alternative means and orientation. The conditions in individual regions began to take precedence and emphasis began to be placed on local needs and languages. The most debated issue became the question of nationalism. The Russification policies of Tzarist Russia began to be questioned. However, the Georgians, Armenians and other peoples of the Russian empire were often criticised by Russian socialists for being nationalists. The argument used by the peoples involved was that socialism which stands against all forms of oppression should not tolerate the sacrifice of the helpless small nations or peoples to the benefit of more numerous and powerful nations such as the Russians. It was such considerations which led to the formation of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation as an autonomous revolutionary socialist organisation.

Revolutionary socialism is more action-oriented than evolutionary socialism. Revolutionary socialists considered the revolutionary process to be a dialectic, i.e. on one hand they believed that there could be no transformation by the explosion of the inherent contradictions within bourgeois society by themselves (as

the evolutionary socialists claimed). On the other hand, all attempts to transform a society would fail unless the necessary material conditions and the corresponding relations existed (Krader 1980:298). The Armenian Revolutionary Federation, as a revolutionary socialist organisation, conceived of revolution as a dialectic. Thus, writing in 1892, Zavarian asserted that while any social entity is the product of preceding conditions and a cause for the future, only revolution can bring about an end to existing inherent contradictions and exploitation (1968: 1-7) (for a further understanding of A.R.F.'s conception of revolutionary transformation see Tashjian 1969).

In line with the Narodnaya Volia (see Aharonian 1948 for the relationship of the Russian Narodnik movement to the A.R.F.), which became identified with the aspirations of peasants (Hussain and Tribe 1981, II: 63; Pipes 1964: 457-458), the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, though developing in an urban milieu, became the protector of peasant communes and aimed to preserve the existing peasant socialist consciousness ("primitive communism") in Armenia (Zavarian 1968: 9). At the turn of the twentieth century, ninety-five percent of the

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Armenian population was living in rural areas). The view of the Narodniks and the A.R.F. was also in line with Marx's view of Russia. Like the populists, Marx had stated that "the commune could, if not first destroyed by external forces, become the basis of a regeneration of Russia along socialist lines" (Hussein and Tribe 1981, II: 21; see also the discussion of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich concerning communal ownership and the mir system in Russia in Mitrany 1951: 47-51). The controversy surrounding this issue has been an important part of the "agrarian question". The agrarian question has been the outcome of the political and economic problems faced by socialist organisations and theorists in Germany and Russia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hussain and Tribe 1981, I and II) . Most debates were concerned with the extent of capitalist penetration among the peasantry (see Lenin 1972, III; Kautsky 1970; Banaji 1976). Much of this discussion was not completely consistent with Marx's writings and it could not be understood outside its political context (Hussain and Tribe 1981). For instance, Lenin's study of the development of capitalism in Russia is a dialogue and attack against the views of Vorontsov and Nikolaion, two liberal Narodniks of the 1880s-1890s, who argued that

capitalism in Russia has an artificial character (1972, III: 39). Marx himself had never completely rejected the Narodnik views about the Russian countryside and the mir system. As Hussain and Tribe have well documented, the work of Lenin's adversaries and that of some Narodniks were as close to Marxism as his own works (1981, II: 16-79).

Thus, Lenin and the Narodniks were in disagreement about the extent of the intrusion of capitalism in the Russian countryside. While for some Narodniks capitalism had not yet developed in the Russian countryside, for others (the neo-Narodniks) it had done so by 1861. Consequently, the former tended to reject the possibility of an alliance between the peasantry and the workers proposed by Lenin's party, an alliance which was considered necessary by Lenin for a bourgeois revolution. The emphasis of the Socialist Revolutionary party was on the conservation of the remnants of the Russian communes, and against any proposed reforms to undermine the mir system. As in the case of the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries, the involvement of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation with the peasantry was indirect,

via migrants and teachers (Perrie 1972: 249; Aharonian 1948: 253-368). Nonetheless, the peasant commune was considered to provide a direct transition to communism.

At the turn of the 20th century, and during the 1905 Russian revolution, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation accepted the urban proletariat viewpoint, i.e. the proletariat and not the peasants were to be considered the driving force of the socialist revolution, though the notion of the support of the peasants in such a revolution was never abandoned (Haroutyounian 1984: 3, 8). The new theme became the liberation of all from all types of oppression and exploitation. Several types of exploitation were identified such as feudal extraction, usurer's capital, bureaucratic corruption, capitalist domination, national domination, dictatorship, diplomatic treaties, etc. The type of exploitation, the historical period and geographic location were to determine the strategies for action (Zavarian 1968: 270).

In 1892, considering the immediate needs of the Armenians living under the Ottoman rule, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation developed the following programme or plan of action (Zavarian 1968: 7) :

"A. Through political lobbying and collaboration with other political organisations, the A.R.F. aims to establish a democratic state constitution within the Ottoman Empire, as well as the acceptance of universal suffrage, including:

1. Security for the individual and his/her property.
2. Equality of all the people regardless of ethnic or religious background, and the establishment of universal law.
3. Freedom of speech and press.

B. Liberation of the peasantry.

1. Redistribution of land in accordance to Islamic law.⁹
2. Introduction of a progressive form of taxation.
3. Termination of the military tax.

C. Progress can only be achieved through a. accessibility of education to all; b. modernisation of the production process, in order to extract from Nature more efficiently; c. supporting the communal principle existing among peasants".

⁹During the second half of the 19th century, the conditions for the Armenian communities in the Ottoman Empire were growing worse than ever before (see for instance, the last sections of the previous chapter). As a result, there was a preference for the application of Islamic shari'a law with its specific guidelines for the treatment of the landless farmers, the non-muslims and other minorities.

In the subsequent decades this programme of action underwent changes in view of the new developments, concurrent circumstances and conditions. (For a discussion and summary of the A.R.F. plans of action see Avedikian 1986). However, its broad objective remains unchanged, i.e. to bring about the eventual establishment of a socialist system, in which the means of production - land/soil, the mines, the factories, the system of transportation, including the means of exchange are the possession of the collectivity/society and the entire economy is managed by the collectivity in a democratic decentralised system (Berberian 1985:5)

**The Armenian Revolutionary Federation
and the inhabitants of Mount Moussa**

A representative of the Armenian revolutionary Federation from the region of Aintab in Cilicia, Dr. Baghdoyian had visited the villages of Mount Moussa as early as 1902 in order to recruit the villagers into the ranks of the A.R.F. Baghdoyian was able to make several contacts in the region. Among his contacts was Nerses Kazandjian of Yoghoun Oluk. Kazandjian had informed Baghdoyian that after an armed encounter between the inhabitants, their "Hentchakian" leaders and the Ottoman forces, the region was not ready for any revolutionary organisation. In 1905, Dr. Baghdoyian had again visited Mount Moussa (see Baghdoyian 1935a and b). During this visit, having heard that Nerses Kazandjian had been sentenced for life as a political activist, and as a result had taken refuge - via Cyprus - in Tunisia, Baghdoyian had left in disappointment.

At the time the dominant political organisation among the villages was the Social Democratic Hentchakian party. However, political power resided in the relations of patronage and the social relations of production. The aghas and barins were the most influential leaders in the villages.

In 1903, one of the founding members of the A.R.F., Simon Zavarian visited the villages of Mount Moussa. Afterwards he recalled his experience with disappointment. However, while concluding that there was no revolutionary potential among the villagers, he did not rule out such a possibility in the future. This was expressed in his report at the 1907 Vienna General Assembly of the A.R.F. (Zavarian 1968: 49-50). As a consequence, the Assembly advocated the dedication of a part of the budget to spreading propaganda in Cilicia and northern Syria, including the villages of Mount Moussa. The result for the villagers was the intrusion of the A.R.F. as a rival political organisation to the already existing Social Democratic "Hentchakian" party. The first local chapter of the A.R.F. was established in 1908 after the Constitutional Reforms of the Ottoman Empire. Two

distinct sub-committees were formed, one of which was located in Keboussieh, the other among the grouping of the villages of Yoghoun Oluk, Kheder Beg and Waqf. The Yoghoun Oluk sub-committee was formed with the efforts of Anania Viravorian of Yoghoun Oluk, who had joined the ranks of the A.R.F. pre-youth section (patanekan) in Aleppo. This sub-committee was subject to the jurisdiction of the A.R.F. Aintab valley Committee. The sub-committee of Keboussieh on the other hand was formed by Khosrov Balabanian who had come into contact with the A.R.F. in Adana (a city in Cilicia) and remained subject to the A.R.F. Committee of Adana. The A.R.F. also found great support in Bitias. The reasons given by the descendants of Mount Moussa for this are as follows: During the period of the silk-industry, the inhabitants of Bitias were highly exploited by the aghas of Haji Habibli, and likewise most of the villagers of Bitias were in feudal bondage to Haji Habibli. Considering that the dominant political party in Haji Habibli was the Social Democratic Hentchakian organisation - in fact Haji Habibli was visited by the Hentchakian party representatives in the 1890s, earlier than any other village of Mount Moussa - the villagers of Bitias wanted to be members in a rival organisation, the A.R.F.

In any case, until the first uprooting of the inhabitants in 1915, the political organisations played a very insignificant role in the villages of Mount Moussa. It was in the camp or tent city of Port Sa'yid that party membership recruitment drives began to take an effect and a bitter rivalry arose among members of different organisations. The existent organisations were (and still are) Ramkavar-Azatakans (the Liberals) the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Social Democratic Hentchakians, and the Armenian communist movements. The membership of the liberal party is composed of the Armenian bourgeoisie. Since 1897 the Social Democratic Hentchakian party has given way to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and attempts to reorganise or revive it have failed (see Miassnikian 1925: 66). The Armenian Revolutionary Federation, according to Miassnikian, who used to be one of the prominent Soviet Armenian leaders concerned with the Armenian Diaspora, has become the organisation of the masses or the party of the "masses" (1925: 61-62). Its membership is composed of two rather different groups: a. intellectuals, ideologues, and petit bourgeois elements; b. the proletariat (wage workers/ labourers) and peasants (Miassnikian 1925: 62).

During the period immediately following the Armenian genocide of 1915, all political organisations were trying to organise the deported and dispersed remnants of Armenian populations.

Interest in the inhabitants of Mount Moussa was a result of the special case they represented. They were among the rare groups who had shown a resistance against the Turkish Ottoman plans of genocide. Unfortunately, this membership recruitment drive led to a rivalry which continued to manifest itself in factional fights until the 1930s, when the A.R.F. became the only political organisation among the villagers of Mount Moussa.

The fact that the A.R.F. had now become the sole political organisation in Haouch Moussa has to be explained not in terms of the support of the people to the party policy, but in the failure of the other political parties, such as the Social Democratic Hentchakian party and the Liberals, to show an active interest in the inhabitants after their return to their homeland villages in the 1920s.

An outline of the economy: The 1939-1943 conditions

In 1939, taking advantage of the uprooted condition of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa, the A.R.F. projected a complete transformation of the political, economic and ideological structures or rather the creation of new structures. The foundation of the settlement in 'Anjar - Haouch Moussa marked a new era not only for the inhabitants of Mount Moussa, but in the history of Lebanon: for the first time an attempt was made for a planned economy and planned housing.

Production was made social. In theory production had become the concern of everyone. However, in practice all activity was organised by the A.R.F. Planning, construction of the houses, roads and irrigation canals were considered to be the most important activities. The inhabitants engaged in any of the following activities: collective irrigation, collective

dry cultivation (especially the cultivation of grain), stock-rearing, the setting and operation of mills and bakeries. The aim of all production was for the immediate consumption of the inhabitants and resident A.R.F. leaders.

The collectivisation of agricultural production was undertaken for both ideological and practical reasons. It was believed that such a move would bring about attitudinal changes among the inhabitants (in terms of the removal of the status distinctions and other social inequalities). In addition, the members of the Central Bureau of the A.R.F. believed that a more intensive cultivation of land, (the products of which would satisfy the immediate needs of the inhabitants), could only be possible when all land was held in common and managed by the party directorship. The members of the Central Council, however, were not considered to be "managers". Both the inhabitants of 'Anjar and the members of the Council, treated the Central Council as a co-ordinating body. The Council itself was under dual "command": as a representative of the inhabitants of 'Anjar, it was supposed to be the "voice"

of the people (and to have received its "mandate" and "commands" from the people), and in practice, it was under direct A.R.F. command and control. Moreover, the representatives were, in fact, "chosen" and approved by the A.R.F., or rather by those inhabitants of 'Anjar who were A.R.F. members at the time.

Agriculture was mechanised. The machinery used was imported with the efforts of the A.R.F. and its fund-raising abilities. Armenians from Europe and elsewhere contributed with donations. Benevolent and philanthropic organisations provided tents, food rations, cattle, seeds for sowing, and medical equipment. Much effort was spent in the fight against malaria caused by the swamps and mosquitoes.

The production process and labour, according to the recollections of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa, were organised as follows: the Central Committee composed of representatives of each of the pre-1939 villages, acted as co-ordinators in the daily activities as well as in the preparation and execution of the long term plans. The long term plans were prepared by discussions in the A.R.F.

groups, Committees and the Bureau (see the Annex for the organisation of these various levels). Every morning the able bodied adults (male and female), i.e. those who were neither ill nor sick and were either between sixteen and sixty years of age or older but volunteered their participation, were gathered in a central location and the Central Committee presented the activities that had to take place on that given day. The division of labour was done for that given day. The labour force was divided into groups and each group assumed a specific task for that day. These activities ranged from cutting stone for construction purposes, participating in the activities of drying the swamps and terminating the malaria carrying insects, the agricultural activities of clearing fields, sowing, tending of domesticated animals, collecting of wood (and dried foliage) for fire. Everyone participated in these activities in rotation. The only "fixed" positions or occupations involved those who had special skills such as architects, engineers, nurses, physicians, and teachers. Priests, barbers, and other specialists in crafts were participants in the "rotational" daily activities of the collective experiment. The people who had the permanent specialised positions were either from outside 'Anjar, introduced into the collective by the

A.R.F. or descendants of the members of the higher status system in the pre-1939 situation. The latter, however, were dissociated, by the people of 'Anjar, from their "origins". Their specialised education was needed by the community but their parents were "disregarded", as the inhabitants were eager to point out. Moreover, since the inhabitants were engaged in communal production and all were receiving food, shelter, clothing etc. according to need, those engaged in non-agricultural (and non-construction) activities such as teaching were also given the same provisions instead of wages. Furthermore, education was made free and obligatory for all children under the age of sixteen.

Although the general opinion expressed by the participants in the collectivisation experiment, during my discussions with them in 1980-81 and 1986-87, was that the entire process was done without any problem or complaint, "personal" problems existed between the inhabitants and the members of the Central Council. In fact, many people informed me of conflicts with members of the Council. One council member in particular was found by many to be "rude" and "coercive" with those who were in disagreement with the daily division of labour or

with any other decision taken by the A.R.F. concerning the maintenance and organisation of the new settlement. According to one woman, the behaviour of that particular Council member did not correspond to the egalitarian principles that were being 'promoted':

"He was a very strict person and gave great importance to rules and regulations. He was extremely cruel and rude against those among the youth who did not want to participate in the daily rotational activities. I remember how some young men and women would run away to the cave on the mountain and get some cigarettes from their parents or other adults, and this member would find them and force them to participate in the activities. In principle all work was on a voluntary basis. However, unless one was sick, ill, old or in school (or nursery), everyone was to pass by the morning 'labour-distribution' location. The youth were more interested in fun, not that our work in the fields or elsewhere did not involve fun and games, but it was 'production'. In any case, some other members in the Council were more tolerant than this person. One would have expected that he would be closer to the youth, since he was rather young himself, he also liked to have fun, but not during the daytime. In fact there are some who argue that his life-style and the evening parties led to his untimely death. But these are only 'guesses'. I myself do not have any clear idea about the matter. In any case, he had a lot of 'enemies', i.e. people who had problems with him and his attitude. Nobody seemed to get along with him and yet they never took any action to force his resignation from the Council. Some did find him to be charismatic. He did act as a leader, forgetting that a. he is only a representative of the people and an equal among equals, b. and that he is there to act as a listener and a co-ordinator. He thought or rather behaved in a manner which assumed that he was superior to us all. He did not allow anyone to question the decisions that were being made concerning the daily rotation of the activities of the collective".

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In any case, as already mentioned, in general, the participants in the collectivisation experiment, as they were eager to inform me, were supportive of the project and dissociated any 'personal' problems with individual Council members from the project as a whole.

The economy thus planned was characterised by social production and the absence of commoditisation of labour. The means of production were owned collectively in the case of agriculture, and in the case of stock-rearing the domesticated animals were provided by the Central Committee and towards the end of the collectivisation period were kept by individual families. The milk was collected at a central reservoir operated by the "farming co-operative" - a special sub-committee under the sponsorship of a philanthropic society and the control of A.R.F.

While there seemed to be no direct contact with the regional and world economy, the continuation and social reproduction of the planned economy of Haouch Moussa depended on the outside world: its continuation

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depended on factors beyond the participants themselves. This was so, not only because it was a non-commoditised situation in a region marked with commoditisation of land and labour, and not isolated from the larger totality - the Mandatory Lebanese state and socio-economic formation and consequently of the world economy - but also due to its initial dependence on funds from philanthropic societies and Armenian populations elsewhere as well as because the A.R.F. structure and organisation had linked it to the external world.

Collectivisation of farming and agriculture has been considered to be the cornerstone of socialism. The Russian revolution of 1917 resulted in the abolition of private ownership in land and in measures of collectivisation. However, the problems faced in Russia were at a different level and of a different scale, involving nations and a new state - or a union of states. The case of Haouch Moussa had some resemblance to the kibbutz system, which had also been initiated as a "practical device to spread risks and more efficiently utilise scarce social and financial capital" (Bennett 1975: 82). Eliyahu Kanovsky presents the following

comparison between the Soviet collectives and kibbutz systems, in which significant similarities can be found between the case of Haouch Moussa and the Israeli collectives (1966: 3-4):

"In the kolkhoz, the members are paid in accordance with the number of work-days in the collective farm, the work-day of the skilled being more remunerative than that of the unskilled; in the kibbutz no member is "paid" - he and his family are provided for, regardless of skills or the number of his dependents. The kolkhoz is an agricultural enterprise; the kibbutz has a large mixture of non-agricultural activities".

The Haouch Moussa case resembled the kibbutz system in still another way: both systems were operating in a competing and non-socialist environment. Notwithstanding the differences in experiments of collectivisation, all are marked by a planned economy analogous to that of the Soviet economy (though scales and degrees differ) (see H.H. Ticktin 1973 and E. Mandel 1974 for the nature of Soviet economy)¹⁰. Also, as in case of the discontinuity noted by Diamond between the shtetl and the kibbutz, Haouch Moussa presented a radical break with the past (1957: 70-99).

¹⁰For the effects of the Russian revolution at its early stages, on the countryside, see Hussain and Tribe 1981, vol. II: 92-101. For a discussion of the Soviet agrarian policy after the revolution see Mitrany 1951: 82-104).

Perhaps it is worth noting that Rouben Ter Minassian - the A.R.F. representative in Syria and Palestine since 1924 - was greatly influenced by the kibbutz system and urged for an application of it among the Armenian communities in the diaspora. Rouben Ter Minassian saw in the kibbutz system an alternative experiment to change private land-ownership. He considered the kibbutz system to be an opportunity for the workers to appropriate land without being exploited and to become collective proprietors of the laboratory of their labour (1984: 345 - first published in 1931). In my discussions of the collectivisation period with the inhabitants of 'Anjar (and in particular with the mayor), I was informed that Rouben's position had a significant impact on undertaking the collectivisation experiment. In fact, the mayor, attributed the whole experiment to Rouben's initiative. During my discussions with the inhabitants of 'Anjar, there were several recollections of how Rouben, his wife and two sons participated in the agricultural and other daily activities of the collective. Furthermore, for some the survival or failure of collectivisation was seen to be directly related to

Rouben's position in the A.R.F. As some of the inhabitants suggested, during an informal discussion held in confidence, the failure of the collectivisation had to do as much with the rivalry and opposition against Rouben within the A.R.F.¹¹ as the new Lebanese constitution that did not recognise collective land-holding rights. In any case, the collectivisation itself had many contradictory elements in it, such as the declaration of gender equality and in practice the failure to give women representation in the decision making units. Likewise, whereas egalitarian socialism was assumed to do away with all sorts of social inequality new inequalities were generated based on educational background and position in the party. Whereas in theory all were equal and all labour was equal (and in any case there were no wages), some were "more equal than others". As mentioned earlier, although there was work "rotation" and occupational distinctions "did not exist", yet "specialists" such as engineers, architects, physicians, nurses and teachers were "above"

¹¹I was also given a political novel which describes the internal rivalry present within the A.R.F. Bureau. The novel is written by an ex-member of the A.R.F. (Aleppo region) Antranik Dsarukian, an Armenian poet, essay writer, founder and editor of a literary journal Nairi, in Beirut.

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the "rotational" process and egalitarian principles. In fact, later on when the division of land and houses took place "on an egalitarian basis", such "specialists", unlike everybody else (A.R.F. members and non-members alike), were given a choice of the location of the land-plot and house.

The Context of the Collectivisation Experiment in 'Anjar

The 1939-1943 period coinciding with the second World War years led to the gradual transition of Lebanon into a nation-state in the image of the Third French Republic. Already, the existing international division of labour had shaped the nature of the Lebanese socio-economic formation, which has, historically, been marked by a diversity of social relations of production and modes of production. There were and to some extent still are, the following non-capitalist modes of production, co-existing with marginal or peripheral capitalism, which was and has continued to be the dominant mode of production: a. a feudal mode has flourished among the Druze and the Shi'ites of the South, the Shi'ites in the Beka'a valley and the Sunni in Akkar, in the north. The feudal lords and peasant producers are bound by hereditary ties. Political power stems from their position as land owners, their lineage, and above all from their effective use of the abadai - strong-arm men, as well

as their ability to give patronage; b. petty commodity production existed and still does, among the Christians in the north, in Mount Lebanon, and among some of the communities in the Central Beka'a. Leadership in these communities is derived from the manipulation of patron-client relationships and dynamics of political organisations (as well as the appeal of their political ideologies and programmes to the population). The coastal cities were the most affected by the penetration of capitalism. Within these cities political parties flourished and continue to do so. In addition, among the urban Sunni yet another type of leadership existed, and still does, based on the appeal of the political party programmes and the exercise of patronage and the manipulation of the urban workers, mobilised for them by the abadai such as, for instance, the mobilisation of the municipal maintenance workers by one Sunni representative in Parliament.

It is in this milieu of marginal capitalism and non-capitalist modes of production that the experiment in collectivisation was set in Haouch Moussa. The

consequence was the subordination of a socialist planned economy characterised by the social nature of production and the absence of commoditisation, into the requirements of the reproduction of the relations of production of this marginal capitalism.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LEBANESE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FORMATION: 1943-1970s

The Lebanese administrative structure and Haouch Moussa

Lebanon, as Dubar and Nasr propose, is a socio-economic formation in which juridical constitution only began after 1920, with the efforts or under the influence of the French Mandate. Since its independence in 1943 the same constitution, which was based on that of the Third French Republic, has been kept. The country is divided into five major provinces (muhafazat). Each muhafazat is divided into smaller counties (kaza). The smallest territorial unit is the neighbourhood (mukhtarat; the mukhtar is the elected representative of a neighbourhood). A group of mukhtarats forms a municipality (baladiyahat). After Independence, a transitional period followed during which the land-holding

system in 'Anjar was changed and by 1947 the Central Committee of Haouch Moussa was replaced by a municipal council composed of six members representing each of the original six villages of Mount Moussa. In addition, each of these original villages was considered to form a neighbourhood (mukhtarat).

One of the functions of the municipal council is the maintenance of law and order. For this purpose there is a gendarmerie recruited from among the inhabitants. During my stay in 'Anjar (in 1980-1981 and 1986-1987), however, the gendarmerie was inactive and invisible. I was informed that prior to the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon in 1975, the gendarmerie was composed of 15 members almost all of whom had reached the retirement age by the 1980s. After the civil war the Lebanese government did not allow the recruitment of municipal employees to replace the retired members. Another function of the municipal council is the initiation of the construction and repair of roads. It also issues licences for projects. To fulfill its activities, the council has established various sub-committees.

The members of the municipal council and the mukhtars are elected to office, whereas the members of the sub-committees are appointed. No individual can be nominated to any office without the consent of the A.R.F., nor can a person be elected without the blessing of the A.R.F. It is to be pointed out however, that election to office has been found to depend on other factors as well. One of the first mayors elected to office not only happened to be one of the secretaries of the French Mandatory authorities in Lebanon, he was also of a barin family. While another mayor was a store-owner, the current mayor who has been in office since 1963 is a retired civil engineer, a descendant of independent small-holding farming family of priests and his father used to be the last government representative (mudir) in Mount Moussa. The council includes members of all socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Any council or committee is under the direct or indirect control of the A.R.F. - though theoretically a municipal council has to follow government policies and the will of the inhabitants. The mayor (ra'is al baladiyat) serves as a bridge between 'Anjar and the administrative and political structure of

Lebanon, as well as between this settlement and other settlements in the muhafazat of Beka'a, and the county of Zahlé of which it is a part. There are thus two sets of hierarchies intertwined in Haouch Moussa: the one concerns the party structure of the A.R.F. and the other flows from the Lebanese constitution.

The highest authority in the A.R.F. is the General Assembly of the Central Bureau, held once every four years¹. During this assembly the activities of the regions and committees as well as of the Central Bureau are examined and a new four-year plan is set up along with a new Central Bureau to execute the programme. Within each geographical region, there are Committees and sometimes sub-committees and a Central Committee elected through the respective General Assemblies. At an organisational level, the A.R.F. operates in a highly decentralised fashion. Each regional group chooses its own working priorities and organisational structure. However, all the local and regional units or groups no

¹For a discussion of the A.R.F. organisation and structure see annex 3. In any case, the Central Bureau is the executive unit overarching on the A.R.F. regional and central committees throughout the world.

matter what their internal structures, follow the general guidelines, plan of action and ideology of the A.R.F. Bureau and General Assembly. Thus, each unit acts semi-autonomously in accordance with the specific regional requirements. 'Anjar forms a distinct Committee, the members of which are elected in the local General Assembly. This Committee is also the liaison between 'Anjar and the Central Committee of the A.R.F. in Lebanon. The A.R.F. is thus composed of a multitude of hierarchically arranged general assemblies and executive bodies, each of which sets its own internal policies. The Group constitutes the smallest unit within the organisation. Each group has its own administrative unit composed of at least a secretary, a president of assembly and a treasurer, elected at the annual General Assembly of the Group. Each group elects delegates to higher General Assemblies. The youth organisation of the A.R.F. is relatively more centralised. Each branch falls under the direct control of the Regional Central Administration of the youth organisation and not under the dominion of the local committees.

The preservation and regulation of irrigation works and drinking water are under the direct control of the local A.R.F. Committee and not the municipality. Likewise, a twenty-four hour a day security is maintained by the members of the A.R.F. The revenue of the A.R.F. in great part comes from membership dues - which for each member amounts to one half of a monthly salary per year.

The revenue of the municipality, on the other hand, comes from the following sources: the income accumulated from the government-run fisheries and the auctioning of the municipal lands for annual rights of utilisation; ten percent of the electricity and telephone bills; and the garbage-collection tax. The amount of these taxes has varied from year to year. However, in general they have been lower than in any other parts of the country. It is to be noted that there is no income tax nor is there property-tax (amlakiyat). The Lebanese government does not tax the rural populations.

With Lebanese Independence in 1943, a new period was to begin. An end was put to collective farming

and cultivation - the Lebanese constitution recognises only private land-holdings and ownership. All land and property was divided among the inhabitants on the following basis: each family of one to three members was to receive a house of 400 m² and one land-plot of 6000 m² to which the irrigation system could reach; each family of three to six members was to receive in addition to the above another land-plot of 4000-4500 m² which was not accessible to the water-canal system; each family of over six members was to receive still another non-irrigated land-plot. After the 1945-1947 emigration of about 400 families to the Armenian SSR, their houses and land-plots were redistributed to the remaining families on an equal basis based on the number of children in the family.

With the privatisation a blow was given to the socialist planned economy. However, the privatisation can only be considered to be a factor among others, such as the dynamics of the new production process and social relations of production, along with several other internal and external factors that will be dealt with, that led to the intensification of inequalities and exploitation. External factors created by the whole Lebanese marginal capitalist economy have to be considered. Though by

itself ideology cannot be of significance, the question of an egalitarian socialist ideology as a safeguard against inequality and exploitation has to be examined. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that the A.R.F. did not attempt to preserve the collective holding system in 'Anjar. This has been closely correlated to the existing internal rivalry among the members of its Bureau during that period². Hence, it is possible to argue that the transformation was not only as a result of external factors - such as the Lebanese constitution and the fact that the community in question and the experiment in collectivisation did not exist in isolation, but it was also the outcome of practices of the actors involved - though in this case, these actors themselves were from outside the community under study. Consequently, it could be argued that there were several levels of external

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²As mentioned earlier, Rouben TerMinassian was the A.R.F. (Bureau) representative in Syria, Palestine (Israel), and Lebanon from 1924 until the end of the Second World War. It was specifically through his initiative that the collectivisation experiment in 'Anjar took place.

factors involved. The A.R.F. Central Committee and Bureau constituted one of these external factors affecting the experiment in collectivisation in 'Anjar. The other factors, as already mentioned in passing were the international and regional economy and division of labour, as well as the Lebanese social, economic, political and ideological structures.

The inhabitants recall how he and his family (his wife and children) actively participated in the agricultural activities. However, Rouben had strong opponents in the region (Navassartian - known for his anti-communist attitudes - in Egypt; Papazian, in Syria) who succeeded in isolating him and removing him from his position. It is also worth noting here that the post-World War I period and in particular the period following the end of the Independent Republic of Armenia and the establishment of the Armenian SSR (1921-1928) is one of the least studied periods in the history of the A.R.F. It is also the period of the post-genocide and post-deportation of the Armenians from their historical habitat. This period also marks the formation of the Third International and the split of the socialists (social democrats) from communists.

The Lebanese Agricultural System

Agricultural land (irrigated or not) comprises less than a third of Lebanese territory (386 thousand hectares). Estimates by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) (Fisher 1980: 538) reveal that the area under cultivation remained almost the same in the 1970s. Arable land comprised 240 thousand hectares and land under permanent crops occupied an area of approximately one hundred thousand hectares out of a total area of one million and forty thousand hectares. The main crops (during the late seventies) have been: wheat, barley, sugar beet, potatoes, onions, tobacco, citrus fruit, apples, grapes, olives, tomatoes. Lebanon produces less than twenty per cent of the wheat necessary for the consumption needs of its population. Hence, the Lebanese government controls wheat and barley prices (National Grain Policies FAO 1973: 147-148).

Agriculture is relatively underdeveloped. The reasons for this underdevelopment, aside from geological factors, are historical. During the Ottoman era, the countryside was left at the mercy of the tax-collectors who had absolute control over the amount of taxes to be levied from cultivators. This led to the migration of ruralites. The abandoned lands were later absorbed by the tax collectors themselves. In the Beka'a valley and in the northern region of 'Akkar the Ottoman tax collectors became feudal landholders (Amin Hafez 1965: 72). During the eighteenth century, however, gradually the political and economic power of these feudal landlords - whose "revenue consisted of land tax collected on behalf of the Ottoman government and a rent in kind collected from peasant cultivators (serfs or metayers)" was destroyed under the impact of international trade and local (Lebanese) mercantile and usurious capital (Saba 1976: 1). At the turn of the twentieth century, the characteristics of the Lebanese economy as it was to develop during the subsequent decades were already formulated (Saba 1976: 21-22):

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"A weak and limited manufacturing sphere; a backward agriculture where capitalist relations penetrated very slowly and where a majority of small cultivators lived either in debt or in heavy reliance on remittances from emigré relatives; and a pattern of investment in which capital resources were directed largely to non-productive areas, such as import-export, transit and retail trade, rental property and real estate in Beirut, hoteliery, tourism, and land speculation in the Lebanese mountains".

The trend, thus outlined, continued under the French Mandate and after Independence. In fact, the French "strengthened a pattern of economic activity in which agriculture and industry had become more and more subordinate to banking and trade" (Owen 1976: 24). The result was a republic marked by inter-regional differentiation or disparities and an uneven distribution of income with respect to occupations, regions and communities. The following statistical information reveals the extent of the inequality in the early decades of the post-Independence period in Lebanon: whereas in 1950 agriculture provided 20 % of the national income it employed over half of the labour force. For the same year, commerce which employed less than ten per cent of the working population provided 29 % of the national income (Amin Hafez 1965: 72, 77). In addition, as the following statistics reveal, the post-Independence era in

Lebanon had witnessed a decline in agriculture: whereas in 1948 agriculture comprised 20 per cent of the GNP, this figure had declined to 12 per cent in 1964 and to 9 per cent in 1974. Similarly, the proportion of the labour force engaged in agriculture declined from the late 1950s through the 1960s. Whereas almost half of the active labour population worked in agriculture in 1959, in 1964-1965 this figure had declined to 34 per cent, and in 1970 only 18.9 per cent of the labour force worked in agriculture (Dubar and Nasr 1976: 93). Other indices of the marginalisation of the agricultural sector in Lebanon, given by Dubar and Nasr include the decline in agricultural exports and the slow and unequal progression of irrigated-land (1976: 93).

The situation had become even worse by 1957-58 (see Owen 1976: 28). The findings of the extensive socio-economic survey of the IRFED Mission in 1960-1961 was only to verify the sharp regional disparities as well as occupational differentiations in Lebanon. The fact was that whereas half of the population depended on work in the agricultural sector, agriculture provided less than a sixth of the National Revenue (Mission IRFED 1960-61; II: 273). The study also found out that not only was sixty

percent of potential agricultural land left unexploited but more importantly, close to six hundred villages were without roads, water, irrigation works, electricity and other infra-structural elements (see Amin Hafez 1965: 83-84). Shortly after the ministry of planning initiated a number of agricultural projects such as the Green Project (al- mashruh al- akhdar). The project aimed to make land accessible to the cultivators and to render the available land productive through reforms of the irrigation systems as well as through the introduction of technological innovations into agriculture. A credit system was also made available to individual cultivators. As a result of the irrigation programmes the dam of Qara'oun was constructed (capacity: 210 million cubic meters). (This was also part of the incomplete hydraulic project of the Litani river). Technical schools, agricultural research centres, centres for seeds, laboratories for soil-analysis and centres for preventive medicine specialising in domesticated animals were also part of the project (Amin Hafez 1965: 84). These reforms, however, were not sufficient to reverse the trend of occupational and regional disparities in Lebanon.

As a result of the integration of the Lebanese

economy into the international market and the competition from imported agricultural products from countries in which the production price (and costs) are cheaper than the local prices, agricultural production has undergone considerable transformation. The result has been the unequal development of various agricultural sectors. Thus, whereas production of export-directed fruits, such as apples and citrus fruits, as well as poultry, tobacco production, and cultivation of sugar-beet have considerably increased, the cultivation of cereals has been reduced by almost 40 per cent since 1950 (see Dubar and Nasr 1976: 94).

Along with this structural transformation of Lebanese agricultural production, new social relations of production emerged. Among these are an increase in the number of wage workers, and capitalist large-scale proprietors and agricultural industrialists. In the mid-seventies 57 per cent of the population engaged in agriculture were agricultural wage workers (this figure is actually 67 per cent when the Syrian and Palestinian labourers are also taken into account). This represents a sharp contrast to the situation in 1950, when only 10 per

cent of the agricultural labour force consisted of wage workers (Dubar and Nasr 1976: 98).

The following two factors concerning agriculture need to be stressed: a. the fact that agriculture underwent a decline after the 1950s, leading to a rural urban migration; b. mechanisation introduced in the 1960s led to a further rise of unemployment in agriculture and to yet another wave of rural migration. The industry, on the other hand, was not able to absorb the rural migrants, leading to the formation of squatter settlements and shanty-towns and a poverty belt around Beirut. Further, only some communities were affected by this, mainly the Shi'ites, who are predominantly rural. In addition, the differential impact of the agricultural decline on the various communities can also be attributed to other factors such as unequal access to education and state patronage (Johnson 1986: 32):

"The high level of education on Mount Lebanon meant that those sons of the predominantly Maronite peasantry who were forced off the Mountain by land shortage and increasing fragmentation of holdings could usually find employment as clerks, managers and entrepreneurs in the expanding tertiary sector. That this was so is

indicated by the low level of migration from Lebanon to other countries after the Second World War. Emigration had been the traditional response of Lebanese faced by unemployment, and it was estimated that between 1900 and 1914, for example, 100,000 people - representing a quarter of the local population - had left Mount Lebanon. By comparison, emigration from independent Lebanon ... averaged less than 3000 persons per year during the 1950s. If the Christians of Mount Lebanon were fairly easily absorbed by the government bureaucracy and by the commercial and financial firms of Beirut, the predominantly Shi'ite immigrants from the peripheries of Lebanon were less fortunate".

The ministry of agriculture has several projects, such as the Green Project, the Litani Project and Credit for agriculturalists and farmers. This latter, however, led not to an increase in agricultural activities, but to the sale of agricultural land to multinationals as well as to the migration of ruralites into Beirut, where they formed a sub-proletariat.

The period following Independence and preceding the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon (1950-1970) is characterised by a decline in the agricultural

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population and an increase of rural migration. It corresponds to a period in which the public sector decreased its agricultural credit by five hundred per cent. Agricultural credit by the (private) banking sector, had increased from 50 million in 1950 to 140 million Lebanese pounds in 1970 (The government decreased its support). The interest rates had increased from 12 to 15 per cent in 1950 to an average of 50 percent in 1970. The total interest payments by agriculturalists have been estimated to have reached forty-five million Lebanese pounds in the early 1970s, corresponding to 35 per cent of the annual agricultural credit (Dubar and Nasr 1976: 105).

The Lebanese socio-economic formations and the genesis of
the experiences that resulted in the outbreak of the
war in 1975

Although the political formation of Lebanon dates only from 1920, Lebanon itself has had long and complex historical experiences. The last of the pre-French Mandate experiences take us to the long period under which the whole region was under Ottoman domination. Lebanon emerged from the Ottoman rule with a weak economy and a society profoundly divided on a religious basis, due to the "millet" system as well as through the massacres of 1840-1860 (Samir Khalaf 1982: 107). The French mandatory authorities continued in line with the practices of their predecessors and formed the Lebanese republic on an institutionalised confessionalism and an economy marked by a decline in agriculture, migration into the capital (Beirut), a weak industrialisation both in cities and in the countryside, and a reliance on the service sector. Ironically, the confessionalism which

has become embedded in the parliamentary system is based on demographic information carried out in 1932. When a state and government structure are based on such a fluctuating factor as demography, they are expected to be flexible and reflective of the changing variables. Since the Lebanese system is based on the relative demographic proportion of the various confessions or ethnic-religious-denominational-sectarian groups, the subsequent governments have done their best to eliminate any possibilities to carry out census surveys. Hence, the 1932 census remains the only official census:

"The governmental structure and the intercommunal relations in Lebanon have been based effectively since 1943 on the first and only population census in the history of Lebanon. As a result of this census, the political relationships in the state are based on a ratio of 6:5 in favor of the Christians. In effect, there are six Christian members of the government for each five Muslims. This structure is also translated into parliamentary representation, in which the Maronite Christians have 30 representatives, other Christian groups 24, Druzes six and Muslim groups 39. The structure also spills over into the allocation of senior governmental positions in which the president is a Maronite, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim and the speaker of the parliament a Shiite Muslim" (Soiffer 1986: 192).

It goes without saying that the population of Lebanon has increased over the past fifty-five years.

Several estimates have been produced both by official organisations and by independent researchers. These estimates are far from being in agreement with one another. Most of these estimates have been used by various factions. After a review of the available information, Soffer concludes that "the population of Lebanon in 1983 was 2.7 millions. Of these, some 2.4 millions were Lebanese, some 220,000 Palestinians with approximately another 80,000 foreigners (1986: 197-198). The demographic composition and size of the various groups is even more difficult to estimate. This is so due to the fact that:

"The sectarian structure, more than any other issue, is the most sensitive in the country, and therefore, it is very difficult, almost impossible, to get up-to-date statistics on the various groups" (Soffer 1986: 198).

In 1932, the statistics showed a slight numerical advantage to the Christians with respect to the Muslims, corresponding to a ratio of 6:5. The Maronites constituted the most numerous group, comprising 28.6 % of the total population. Among the rest of the Christian communities, the Greek Orthodox comprised 9.6 %, the Greek Catholic 5.8 %, the Armenians 3.9 %, and the remaining

Christians comprised 3.8 %. On the other hand, the Sunni constituted the most numerous Muslim group with 22.2 % of the Lebanese population, followed by the Shi'ite, comprising 19.4 % of the population. The Druze comprised 6.7 % of the population (also see Vocke 1978: 16; and Johnson 1986: 226, table 11).

This composition has changed over the years, due to the differences in the birth rates of the diverse communities. Estimates have revealed that birth rates are highest among the Shi'ite and the Sunni (3 %), followed by the Maronites and the Druze (2.5 %). The birth rates are lowest among the Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic and the Armenians (2 %) (Soffer 1986: 202). Currently, estimates suggest that the Christians constitute only forty per cent of the population. The Maronites have been reduced to third position, behind the Shi'ite, who have become the most numerous group, and the Sunni. The balance shifts towards the Sunni if one includes the statistics available on the Palestinians, who are predominantly Sunni. However, these changes in the relative size of the groups are not reflected in the Lebanese political structure: the 1932 census still remains the basis for the "sharing of political power" among the communities.

In spite of the fact that the Lebanese republic does not have a state religion, the political system is based on the old Ottoman "millet" system. Within this system each religious community has internal autonomy with respect to the regulation of educational, socialisational and jural concerns. On the other hand, government consists of three bodies: legislative, executive and judiciary. The legislative body consists of a parliament (majless al-nouab) with 99 seats of which 53 are reserved for Christians and 45 for Muslims³. There are seventeen officially registered religious confessions (denominations). All Lebanese have to follow a religious confession. Atheism is not considered as a possibility nor does it have any recognition. However, in Lebanese politics, each denomination forms a political faction. Hence, denominations are referred to as sects by the Lebanese people.

³ The Maronites occupy 30 seats, the Sunni 20, the Shi'ite 19, the Greek Orthodox 11, the Greek Catholic 6, the Druze 6, the Armenian Orthodox 4, the Armenian Catholic 1, the Protestants 1, and one seat is reserved for the rest of the confessions.

Executive power resides in the Presidency. The President is elected by the Parliament every six years and is not-re-eligible for two consecutive Mandates. The prime minister, appointed by the President, selects a variable number of ministers: the Parliament has to approve the cabinet by a vote of confidence. By an agreement, sometimes referred to as the National Pact, the president has to be a Maronite Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim, and the president of the Parliament a Shi'ite Muslim.

Judiciary power is comprised of a hierarchy of courts, in their collectivity independent of the state apparatus. However, since the outbreak of the war in 1975 the judiciary system has not been in operation. In any case, each religious community had its own court system.

In a Parliamentary system, based on Western democratic state structures, political power rests in a group or party that has absolute majority within the Parliament, or a coalition. In Lebanon, neither

cross-cutting class-based alliances nor any confessional religious-sectarian alliances form a majority within the Parliament. No party has an absolute majority: the best represented political party in the present Parliament, the election of which dates to 1972, is the Socialist Progressist Party (P.S.P.), with 10 members, comprising the tenth of the seats. The governments succeed one another through a bargaining procedure based on personal conflicts (see Vocke 1978: 25).

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This system continued to operate without major problems until the 1970s; though there had been preludes to a crisis in 1958-1962, observers were reluctant to predict any possibilities of open conflict. It was unrealistic to assume that the system would resist and contain within itself the growing polarisation within its immediate vicinity after the formation of the state of Israel and the influx of Palestinian refugees. Soon, partly as a result of being the only Arab state modelled after the Western democracies, Lebanon became a ground through which the diverse political tendencies of the region could find expression. These developments were to lead to an increase in the inherent factionalisation within the internal political scene. The emergence of

militant Palestinian organisations in the 1960s, along with the inability of the Lebanese government to control the armed presence of such groups on its territory, led many to be disenchanted with the prospects of an already very precarious government.

The outbreak of the war in 1975 can be considered to be a means to dissolve the inherent conflicts and contradictions marked by two tendencies: a. the growing discrepancies between the division of power and the demographic composition of the various communities, and b. the growing uneven distribution of wealth among regions, religious-sectarian and ethnic groups, and social classes.

Needless to say, such disparities exist in other countries and regions throughout the world. However, these factors rarely result in a civil war. Studies in Lebanon conducted prior to 1975 had failed to show any possibility for such a violent crisis. Lebanon was always presented as a self-sufficient socio-economic formation in equilibrium, composed of a multiplicity of ethnic and religious confessional - sectarian groupings

co-existing peacefully, and sharing political power in a democratic system. What Hourani states in his critique of a collection of articles on Lebanese politics, edited by Binder (1966), applies to all pre-1975 studies:

"/Binder et al/ failed to give due importance to other factors which have helped to determine the ways in which the system works and limited the extent to which it is self-sustaining and can find its own equilibrium. Not enough emphasis was laid, for example, on the smallness and fragility of Lebanon; it was clear from the time of the National Pact, or at least from that of the civil war of 1958, that Lebanon could not easily follow a policy opposed to that of its Arab neighbours, in regard to the problem of Israel, or that of relations with the great powers, but it was not so clear that the surrounding states would have an interest in making use of any kind of inner fragmentation for their own purposes. Again, the degree to which the various communities had really been drawn into the political system may have been exaggerated" (Hourani 1976: 34).

In conclusion, the current crisis can be considered to be not only a consequence of the regional situation (especially the after-effects of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict) and international politics but also a result of the National Pact formulated in 1943 on behalf of the Lebanese, by the local (secular) leaders of the main religious-confessional groupings, as well as a class struggle within each of these groupings, in addition to

being the consequence of the fact that the political formation of Lebanon with its constitution and boundaries were the "creation" of the French Mandate in 1920. As Tewfik Khalaf points out in an article on the Lebanese crisis (1976: 55-56):

"The present crisis is an indication of the disillusion of the Maronites, leading to their rejection of the choice made on their behalf in 1920. It is the revenge of the 'small' Maronite, the hick, the red-neck, over the typical figure of the entrepreneur who has been caught and tied up by the Discourse he was holding.

But beyond the errors made by the parties, we should include the responsibility of all intellectuals and students of Lebanese society, whether Lebanese or foreign, who now have to bear their share of responsibility for what is happening. Right-Wingers, we were eager to praise the Lebanese experience of democracy and liberalism, to compare it with the West, and to set it up as an example for other developing countries; Left-Wingers, we have situated our struggle on the grounds offered by the Right, the French Mandate, international politics and the requirements for world stability. Being true products of an advanced society, we, leftists as much as rightists, have not been able to understand that the 'Mask' of confessionalism which we were either using or condemning - according to one's political beliefs - was not a mask after all, or rather that it was only a mask in our own Westernized minds.

The present crisis is proof enough that the Illusion did not lie in confessionalism but rather in the fallacy of the liberal and Westernized state, and in the absence of homogeneous social classes, let alone class consciousness and class solidarity".

CHAPTER FOUR

THE 1943-1970S SITUATION:

DOMINANCE OF PETTY COMMODITY PRODUCTION

The privatisation undertaken in 1943 led to the transformation of the social nature of production in Haouch Moussa. It is the intention of this chapter to examine the effects of this privatisation. Since the period following the privatisation is marked by a condition of transformation, it forms a transitional conjuncture, in which elements of the period of collectivisation continued to exist alongside the new property and production relations (Hindess and Hirst 1975: 271). While the socialist egalitarian ideology, introduced in the 19th century and experienced through concrete practices of collectivisation experiments since the 1920s, continued after the privatisation in 1943, the

households forming Haouch Moussa gradually found themselves to be individual petty commodity producers. The dairy-farming cooperative and the groceries-cooperative continued their existence along with the new small-holding cultivators producing for a regional and international market. Quantifiable information on the impact of privatisation is difficult to obtain. The ruling A.R.F. members, the municipal archives and the inhabitants themselves tend to recognise no difference in relations of productions. As expressed in my interviews, the argument of the inhabitants is that during both the period of collectivisation and the period following the planned privatisation, the relations of production were egalitarian. Haouch Moussa is perceived by its inhabitants to be a classless egalitarian community marked by the absence of exploitation. However, as will be seen in this and the following chapters the privatisation has led to the development of various social inequalities.

Outline of the post-1943 economy in Haouch Moussa

In order for us to understand the nature of the transformation of the relations of property in 'Anjar, we have to examine and reconstruct the new social relations of production. It is important to examine the nature of privatisation and the way in which individual producers are related to private property, since it is, as Marx has shown, the fact of whether or not the participant individuals are labourers that gives private property its specific character:

"Private property, as the antithesis to social, collective property, exists only where the means of labour and the external conditions of labour belong to private individuals. But according as these private individuals are labourers, or non-labourers, private property has a different character" (Karl Marx 1906, vol. I: 834).

After the privatisation, there emerged the

following forms of production in 'Anjar: production for exchange on an individual basis; production processes involving cooperative labour and distribution of the products of that labour (through the cooperatives). This involved the continuation of some of the practices developed during the period of collectivisation (animal husbandry, for example, continued to be organised in the same way as during the period of collectivisation) and production for use of immediate consumption. However, there was an overlap in terms of the labour organisation for the different types of economic activities and production processes. Until the introduction of electricity in 1961, the commodities produced consisted of agricultural products, such as vegetables like onions, beans, cucumber, cereals, potatoes, fruits like tomatoes and melons, after the 1950s fruits such as apples, grapes, apricots, pears, figs, cherries, etc. also began to be produced. The harvest season starts in spring for some fruits such as apricots, cherries and almonds, and continues till June (barley, wheat) and throughout the summer (peaches, tomatoes, eggplants, sweet-corn) and fall (grapes and apples).

The machinery of the pre-privatisation period was put into auction by the local council which used to manage the collective economy of the settlement. Families of agha and barin origin (such as Melkinenk and Salanenk) that had also began to operate shops and grocery stores, bought the machines. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that throughout the collectivisation period, members of pre-1939 agha and barin families cooperated with the council responsible for the collectivisation and participated in the daily-activities. However, outside the community they did invest their capital in not only the newly developing Lebanese industry, but also in the economies of Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Palestine (Israel), and in some African countries. After the privatisation, they began to invest their capital in 'Anjar by buying agricultural machinery, intiating factories and buying additional agricultural land, aside from engaging in trade and getting some government contracts to build the Lebanese infrastructure. Likewise, individual farmers began to buy or rent their own machinery. A new category of farmers with machinery developed, that provided

services for those who could not afford such machinery, in return for wages.

The characteristics of the production processes led to the incorporation of 'Anjar to the outside world and the international market directly or indirectly. Subsistence activities were not sufficient for the individual household consumption needs. Cloths, oil, flour, salt, sugar, coffee, tea as well as fuel, fertilisers and insecticides for agricultural purposes were imported, along with the machinery and means of transportation. The agricultural produce, and especially apples and grapes, found their way to the local (Lebanese) and international markets including Arab countries. The trade of fruits was highly dependent (and still depends) on exchange and transit regulations (and policies) between Lebanon and the wider world. It is to be noted that despite the liberal economy advertised by Lebanon, the state intervenes in local economic activities and has protective laws for small enterprises and local industry and agriculture. As already discussed earlier the Ministry of Agriculture has several projects to provide

various forms of assistance for agriculturalists and farmers. However, as already noted, instead of leading to an amelioration in the conditions of agricultural production, such projects resulted in the sale of agricultural land to multinationals as well as to the migration of ruralites into Beirut, where they formed the sub-proletariat.

The impact of privatisation
The development of petty commodity production

According to the inhabitants, the privatisation did not have any impact on the egalitarian nature of their community. There is consensus among members of the A.R.F. as well as non-members that the fact that the distribution of lands and houses was done in their view on an "egalitarian" basis, the privatisation need not have had any impact on the "egalitarian nature" of production-relations in 'Anjar. However, in any case, some of the inhabitants were not interested in the egalitarian notions with which the collectivisation experiment had been initiated. For instance, Aram agha and Vartir néné - a term used to refer to grandmothers in an extended or generalised manner - during my stay in 'Anjar in 1980-81 and 1986-87, expressed that the egalitarian principle is utopian. "People can not be made equal, nor are they ever born equal". Nonetheless, the great majority believed in the egalitarian principles behind the collectivisation. In addition, almost everyone with rare exceptions,

believed that in comparison to the pre-1939 situation major steps were taken to achieve equality among the villagers in terms of access to the means of production as well as by attempting to abolish the existing status distinctions and gender inequalities. Furthermore, many of the inhabitants of 'Anjar the application of egalitarian principles started in the collectivisation experiment were being continued with the privatisation. The argument was that whereas in the pre-1939 situation only a minority had land and property and where the great majority were landless farmers in bondage to an agha or a barin or small-holding farmers usually bound to these aghas with usurer's capital, in the post-collectivisation period every household was given an "equal" amount of land and property. However, this notion of "equality" was not related to insurance of well being. In this section we will examine the impact of the privatisation in terms of a. transformation(s) in the relations of production; b. the demography; and c. gender relations.

**The impact of privatisation on the relation(s) of
production**

Although for the inhabitants of 'Anjar, the privatisation adhered to the "egalitarian" principles of the collectivisation experiment, as they recall, the distribution of the houses and land-plots had led to the mass poverty of almost everyone. The individual land-plots were found to be insufficient for the financial needs of families. This situation had continued until the early 1950s when the following factors led to the development and growth of the settlement: a. The redistribution of the houses and land-plots of the emigrants to the Armenian SSR to the remaining population¹. This had led to an increase of per family

¹During 1945-1947 a mass movement arose among the Armenians outside Armenia to organise an emigration movement to the Armenian SSR. The inhabitants of 'Anjar, being recent migrants in the Lebanese context, showed great support to this movement. About 400 families consisting of people of diverse occupations and backgrounds (teachers, farming families, descendants of aghas, members of the A.R.F., supporters of the Hentchakian organisation, and supporters of the Bolshevik revolution) emigrated from 'Anjar.

land holding (about 400 houses and 600 land-plots were re-distributed), and hence, to an increase in per family revenue from the production of agricultural commodities;

b. The construction of the water reservoir in 1947 (with the efforts of the A.R.F. and the funds of the municipality) to distribute water to the residences led to the ability to cultivate the plots of land adjacent to the houses, resulting in additional agricultural produce;

c. The paving of the roads in 1956 which led to the integration of the settlement to the Damsacus international route or highway resulted in an intensification of trade relations with the outside world;

d. The introduction of electricity in 1961 led to the rise of local factories and the production of non-agricultural commodities for local and international markets.

The privatisation of land in 'Anjar thus resulted in creating small-scale producers having direct access to productive property and having individual ownership of the means of production. There was, at least theoretically, an absence of non-labourers in the settlement living on the surplus of the immediate producers. As will be explained in the following section,

this resulted in the fetishisation of the relations of production and in a belief of the continuity of the egalitarian ideology. From a planned economy there arose petty commodity production.

Kahn links the rise of petty commodity production to a. the separation of the producers from the non-producers with property-rights to the means of production, as in the case of the transition from feudalism and/or the destruction of the Asiatic mode of production; b. The dissolution of communal appropriation; and c. The creation of a technical, world division of labour (1980: 134-135). Mandel associates the emergence of petty commodity production, characterised by individual ownership of the means of production and the separation of the producer from the product, to the development of an extensive market (1970, I: 65-66). In the case of Lebanon, the unsuccessful peasant revolution of 1860 and other factors mentioned earlier had led to the creation of petty commodity production among the Maronites of Central Mount Lebanon; with its structural transformation, the dominant mode of production in Lebanon gradually became marginal or peripheral

capitalist. Since, 'Anjar was the only non-commoditised situation in an area where the dominant relations of production (as well as the ideology) were peripheral capitalist, the rise of petty commodity production in this case, can be considered to be the result of the subjection of the planned economy to the requirements of the reproduction of the relations of the peripheral capitalism of the Lebanese social formation. Commodity production was, in this case, a consequence of the dissolution of the collective mode of appropriation.

As Marx has shown, the appropriation of surplus-labour in petty commodity production is masked and fetishised. The origin of this fetishism of commodities is traced to the characteristics of the labour that produces them:

"As a general rule, articles of utility become commodities, only because they are products of the labour of private individuals or groups of individuals who carry their work independently of each other. The sum total of the labour of all these individuals forms the aggregate labour of society. Since the producers do not come into social contact with each other until they exchange their products, the specific social character of each producer's labour does not show itself except in the act of exchange". Marx 1906, Capital I, part I, section 4: 83-84). (Marx 1972: 217).

The mark of petty commodity production is therefore the fetishism of the relations of production, as relations between commodities determined by exchange value. Behind these relations are the relations among producers and merchants - in the case of Haouch Moussa, the producers appear to be equals among themselves and the merchants are located in the wider society. Local traders are very few and are only mediators between the direct producers and the merchants.

It is to be stressed that this fetishism is not exclusive to petty commodity production. Marx associates this phenomenon to any mode of production in which commodity production takes place. It exists whenever the social character of labour appears to the producers themselves "as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour" (Marx 1906, vol.I: 83).

**Haouch Moussa - 'Anjar through the eyes of the
IRFED Mission 1960-1961**

In what follows, the description of 'Anjar, as presented in the findings of the 1960-1961 IRFED Mission, is summarised. The IRFED Mission, commissioned by the Ministry of Planning, carried out the first and the most extensive survey of Lebanon. Among its objectives were to provide quantitative and qualitative information on the diverse regions and economic sectors in Lebanon so that a planned policy for economic growth could be drafted. The IRFED Mission was also the first study that drew attention to the growing disparities within Lebanon.

As already mentioned, 'Anjar lies in the region of Zahlé in the Central Beka'a valley. This region has been characterised by the influence of Zahlé and by its agricultural and economic wealth, as well as by the relative density of its population (Mission IRFED 1960-1961, II: 49). The Mission has divided the region into five distinct sub-divisions and considers 'Anjar to form

a special case in the Beka'a valley; it does not follow the main pattern characteristic to the district; it is the only planned settlement in the area, and its inhabitants are linguistically different from the rest of the population in the region². The area in the immediate vicinity of Zahlé is characterised by its industry, services, a rich agriculture and a history of emigration; the second sub-zone, which lies at the centre of the whole region, is characterised by the cultivation of potatoes, onions and beets; the third sub-division is the western area of the region and it is characterised by its richness and intensity of emigration; the fourth sub-section is the area between Zahlé and Rayak. This sub-section has not been favorable to agriculture and it too has seen an intense wave of emigration; the fifth area is the eastern region of the valley and it constitutes one of the poorest regions of the country (see map 3).

²Since 'Anjar was considered to fall outside the main pattern its socio-economic characteristics are presented separately (Mission IRFED 1960-1961, II: tables 156 and 167): On a scale from zero to four the agricultural machinery has been rated 3, the use of organic fertilizers: 2, the use of chemical fertilizers: 3; selection of the domesticated animals: 3; usage of insecticides and fungicides: 3. At the social level the existence of initiative for collective works was noted and given a score of four out of four.

Haouch Moussa - 'Anjar in 1970

This section provides a summary of a study of 'Anjar, conducted by the Ministry of Public Works and Transportation in 1970 to study the possibilities of growth. The study begins with a description of the setting and the existing zoning of 'Anjar. The information given on land use is as follows: the residential zone covers an area of 116 hectares; the reconstructed ruins of the ancient Ommayad city comprises an area of 15 hectares; the agricultural zone occupies an area of 1174 hectares (Atachian 1970: table 8).

Another factor relevant to the agricultural production of 'Anjar is the fact that artificial irrigation is necessary for the cultivation of most of the local fruits and vegetables. For the purpose of irrigation, water-works had already been built during the early collectivisation stage of the settlement. Later water wells began to be utilised and water was served to

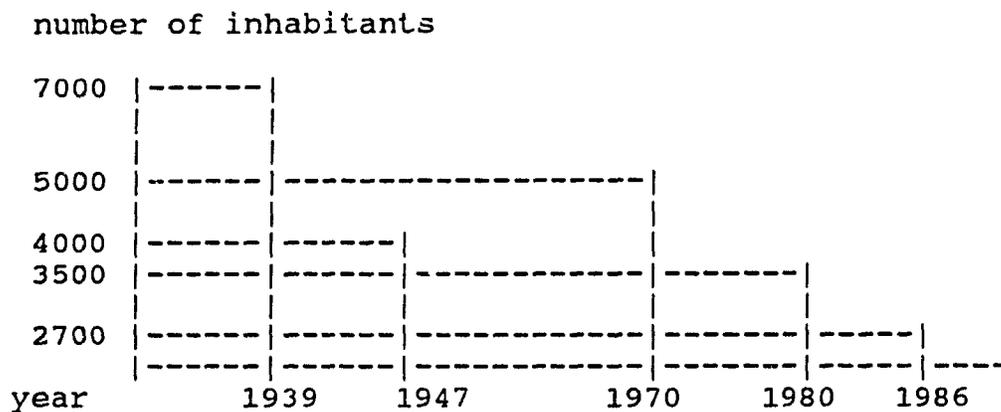
the residential district through a water reservoir (capacity: 600 m³). Each household or residential unit consumes 1.5m³ of water a day. The total daily consumption of water in the residential zone reaches 1800m³. In 1970 agricultural production was as follows: two and a half tons of milk per day and two hundred and fifty thousand packages (boxes of twenty kilograms each) of apples. The figures for vegetables and other fruits are not given (Atechian 1970: table 9). Other agricultural activities were forestry and fisheries. Both of these activities were under the directorship of the Ministry of Agriculture and were initiated as developmental projects to alleviate regional disparities. In addition industrial poultries had made their appearance with the assistance of developmental agencies. However, none of these measures of agricultural industrialisation, as will be evident through a demographic study, were sufficient to reverse the trend of rural migration.

The impact of the privatisation on the demography

During the early stages of the settlement, the population of 'Anjar had reached seven thousand inhabitants. However, shortly after Lebanese Independence in 1943 and the privatisation in 'Anjar, a decline in the population began to be noticeable. At the beginning, the exodus consisted of single and married men who left their families behind and migrated to either Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Haifa or Jafa in search of a livelihood. By 1945 close to a hundred families had emigrated from 'Anjar. During the period between 1945 and 1947 an organised return to Soviet Armenia led to the exodus of about four hundred families from 'Anjar, thus reducing the number of its population to slightly less than four thousand inhabitants. In the 1970s the demographic situation stabilised. By 1975, the population reached five thousand. Subsequently, a sharp decline in the population was noted. In 1980 there

remained only around three thousand inhabitants in the settlement. By 1986-1987 this figure had declined to 2700 inhabitants:

Table 3: The demographic trend in 'Anjar



Sources: Atachian 1970 and A.R.F. annual surveys

The distribution of the population in 1980-1981 was (approximately) as follows:

Table 4: Distribution of population of 'Anjar in 1980-1981³

Age	number of individuals	percentage	Male/ Female Ratio
under 18	875	25	1.21
18-60	2100	60	.94
above 60	525	15	.82
TOTAL	3500	100	

Source: A.R.F. survey.

³ The figures are rounded by the A.R.F. Figures for other regions of Lebanon are not known. Estimates for 1970, excluding the Palestinian refugees show 1,080,015 males and 1,046,310 females for the whole of the country. The total number of the economically active population consisted of 472,620 males and 99,135 females (Fisher 1980: 537).

In 1986-1987, though as already mentioned, I did not have access to the A.R.F. surveys, through my interviews with the youth who conducted these surveys, I was informed that the results of the census indicated a sharp decline in population. The results of my personal survey presented below (in round figures) also show a decrease in population:

Table 5: Distribution of the population of 'Anjar in
1986-1987

age	number of individuals	percentage	Male/ Female Ratio
under 18	537	20	1.16
18-60	1482	55	.94
above 60	673	25	.78
TOTAL	2692 ⁴	100 ⁵	

⁴In an interview with the A.R.F. youth who had conducted the 1986-1987 survey, the figure for the total number of the inhabitants of 'Anjar was given as 2700.

⁵The percentages are those of the A.R.F. youth.

The reasons for this population decrease may very well be related not only to the dynamics of the petty commodity production but also to the on-going civil war in Lebanon, since after 1975 a decline in the population was noted (see table 3). Interviews conducted in Beirut with migrants from 'Anjar, however, identify economic factors as the main reason for the rural exodus. Debts, mortgages on agricultural land, and inability to repay agricultural credit (to either banks or low interest loans to the agricultural funds set by the government) were the reasons cited in 95 % of the cases studied⁶. This trend seems to apply for the entire Lebanese countryside.

⁶Until the early 1950s the migrants consisted of teachers (of Armenian language and history), and students (whose reasons of migration were not related to agricultural debts), as well as temporary migrant labourers (who used to leave their families in charge of the agricultural activities and with their wages (derived from non-agricultural activities) provide a supplementary income. Although this trend has continued (1986-1987), the late 1950s (and early 1960s) as well as the post-1975 periods have been marked with permanent migrancy. The majority of the people interviewed in Beirut had settled there in the late 1950s and early 1960s. There were also descendants of Mount Moussa who had been living in Beirut since the pre-1939 period. The post-1975 period was marked with a migration to North America and temporary migration to the Arab oil producing countries.

In 'Anjar itself, almost four decades after the privatisation the characteristics of petty commodity production have undergone transformation. A growing number of individual commodity producers have found themselves as wage labourers, others had been left with no alternative but to migrate to Beirut, Damascus, to the Arab oil producing countries or the Americas in search of a means of livelihood. Still others have become industrial capitalists and merchant capitalists within the settlement. Nonetheless the dominant ideology has persisted. Furthermore, despite the transformation in the relations of production, the A.R.F. has continued to be the only political power in Haouch Moussa.

The impact of the privatisation on gender relations in
'Anjar⁷

Since the pre-school care-centres were abolished with the privatisation, and whereas one of the main themes of the collectivisation experiment of the inhabitants of 'Anjar was the re-definition of gender relations and an aspiration to achieve gender equality, in what follows the transformations in gender relations and identities among the inhabitants of 'Anjar is presented.

Numerous stories have been narrated of the participation of women in the Forty Day resistance battles of Mount Moussa. Sonia Zeitlian has recorded some of these stories in her study of the role of women in the

⁷Earlier versions of this section have been presented at the 1986 CESCE conference and the Learned Societies' 1988 conference.

history of the Armenian liberation (and revolutionary) movement. The active participation of the descendants of these women (i.e. the women of 'Anjar) in the political organisations and activities of Lebanese Armenian community has also been well known among the Lebanese communities. When I started my field work in 'Anjar, I became interested in examining the relationship between the transformation of social relations of production and modes of production on gender relations. My interest increased further as I was invited by the local Akhtamar chapter of the Armenian Relief Cross to present a lecture on the women's liberation movement and the condition of the contemporary Armenian woman in view of the current crisis in Lebanon, and the Armenian diaspora in general. In this section, I will examine specifically the effects of the privatisation as well as the relationship between power and economic relations as they affect the position of women in Haouch Moussa.

The literature on gender relations covers diverse issues and questions, ranging from a discussion of the existence of equality among the genders, to gender inequality and subordination of women, the reasons and

logic behind such inequality, gender politics and discourses. These concerns have sometimes led a re-examination of our conceptualisations of production and reproduction. Attempts to analyse gender relations, and in particular the position of women, have often been hindered by the very nature of our conceptual frameworks or constructs. As Felicity Edholm, Olivia Harris and Kate Young observe, the central problem is that the category "women" has been used in an ahistorical manner (1977: 101):

"The core of the problem, as we see it, lies in the unhistorical atemporal nature of the category 'women'. If what defines women as women is the eternal fact of biology, this definition will intrude into any attempt at historical and theoretical specificity. Following from this, a major dilemma in trying to theorise women's position is the need, on the one hand, to provide a universal explanation for what is perceived - rightly or wrongly - to be a universal subordination of women, and on the other to periodise that same subordination".

Explanations for women's subordination have often been found to be dependent on concepts that have been apparently argued to have universal applicability. However, the position followed in this section is that we need to look into historically determined and specific factors in defining the position of the genders in given societies.

Women and the transition into commodity economy in 'Anjar

As noted, three periods can be recognised in the history of the inhabitants of 'Anjar. The pre-1939 period, starting with the late nineteenth century was marked by the rise of a commodity economy within a feudal social relations of production. A commoditisation of land was evident along with the existence of usurer's capital and patronage and the rise of merchant-landlord-manufacturers. During this period both men and women participated in the production of commodities for use- and exchange values. However, gender segregation was practiced at all levels. For instance, women worked in a separate locality regardless of the economic activity or production process involved; at the social level, young men and women were not allowed to converse in public; separate schools existed for young men and women. Kinship, descent, marriage, adat and the manipulation of fictitious kinship ties used to define economic relations. Patrilocality was practiced. The household, the basic economic unit was composed of the extended family with parents, the unmarried or widowed sisters and brothers of

the father, the married sons and their offspring, and unmarried daughters. The household head consisted of the eldest male and the eldest female (who may or may not have been the wife of the eldest male). The latter was considered to be the planner of the home and economic activities.

Age was an important factor in defining gender relations and status. Both men and women, regardless of family position, gained social esteem as they grew older. Until puberty, both young girls and boys were considered to be "wild". Between the ages of six to eight they were left by themselves to play in the forest and mountains. As they grew older, they were given the responsibility of taking the domesticated animals to the grazing pastures. After puberty, however, the segregation process applied. Moreover, women were treated as property, and were denied inheritance of property, except in the absence of male heirs. Marriages were arranged. Neither the young man nor the woman participated in the engagement and marriage procedures, although they were given a chance to express their agreement or refusal to the marriage

arrangement. A bride was not allowed to converse in the presence of the members of her new household until her in-laws (one at a time) gave her gifts of gold or Ottoman majids so that "she may open her sealed mouth" and accept her new family.

Furthermore, despite their engagement in agricultural production, craft-industry, herding, manufacture of dairy products, extraction of olive oil, weaving, spinning, maintenance of the house women were not involved in the decision-making process except in old age as managers of a household. Food preparation, especially baking bread and cooking meals, laundry, washing and cleaning of the house, child-rearing and socialisation of children, taking care of the sick, the old etc., milking of domesticated animals, the gathering of fruits, roots and wood (for making fire) were strictly women's work.

After the relocation of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa in the Beka'a valley, in 1939, significant changes were introduced for women. During the early stage

in the new settlement, as shown earlier an experiment in collectivisation was attempted. Women began to be totally engaged in the production process. Child-care centres were established for pre-school children. There were no wages for any labouring activity. One may assume that the problems encountered, for example in China, concerning the "non-work" nature of domestic labour were absent. However, despite A.R.F. policy on gender equality, domestic labour still remained under the responsibility of women. The description presented by Norma Diamond for rural China holds true for the case of 'Anjar as well:

"... household chores remain the responsibility of the woman: a man can choose 'to help her with her work' but if he does not, the woman must still manage to find time to engage in political activity and productive labour" (1975: 386).

During this period an attempt was made to "remove" all existing pre-1939 social and gender inequalities. Segregation between genders was no longer practiced. Women began to participate in the political activities of the community. A membership drive to recruit women in the ranks of the A.R.F. and its affiliated organisations intensified. Despite attempts to abolish segregation,

however, many of the organisations themselves led to segregation. For instance, although established jointly by men and women, as a non-gender based organisation with socialist-feminists overtones, as I was informed when I became a member, the Armenian Relief Cross became identified with women among all the Armenian communities. There were also cases, such as the scout movements, which had male and female sections (within the same organisation). Nevertheless, women of all ages began to express their views on all matters relevant to the community as a whole.

After the collectivisation was brought to an end, the participation of women in the decision making process and political activities continued (and still does) after the privatisation of land and property. However, they became identified with housework and child-rearing. This exclusion from the so-called productive labour did not undermine the role of women in political activities and local electoral processes. In fact, the women seemed to have more time to be politically active. Once, in the summer of 1981, a handful of women were able to stop the operation of the municipal road-repair workers because

I they had requested a complete re-asphaltisation of their street (and were not satisfied with repairs). With their protests against the repairs the women achieved their goal. Nevertheless, as the type of economy and production began to be characterised by abstract labour, domestic labour and child-care became non-work. It is to be noted that at the early stage of the privatisation, however, both men and women continued to be engaged in all levels of production. Later on women became increasingly identified with the domestic sphere (the fact that the neighbourhood nurseries were closed down may have influenced this process) and gradually they were left outside the domain of production for exchange value.

I In general, at the time in which my fieldwork was carried out, the women's self-perception of themselves was as "keepers" of the "home" and culture. Men were considered to be "wild" and could only be considered "social" through marriage. These gender identities were, I was informed, "almost similar" to their pre-1939 gender identities, (and this is asserted by the inhabitants despite the existence of gender segregation and gender inequality in terms of ownership rights in the

pre-1939 situation and the attempts to re-define gender relations and introduce gender equality during the collectivisation period). As in the pre-1939 situation and during the collectivisation period, when a young man spends his time in leisure and indulges in gambling and drinking (of alcoholic beverages), his immediate kin arrange a marriage for him. The young man is asked whether he has a girlfriend or lover "or any woman in his mind". In case he has such a woman, then his relatives set an appointment to officially propose to her. On the other hand, if the man in question has no particular relationship with another woman, the relatives start a search for a suitable wife (within the limits of the marriage rules and preferences). An inquiry is also conducted "to see if any young woman has an interest in the person in question". In any case, the woman chosen by the consensus of the relatives, has to have certain qualities. She has to be "strong" and be able to "tie" the husband to her and through her to the home. It is only after being married that men become "tame" and begin to participate in the visiting pattern of the families. Young unmarried women, on the other hand, are identified with family and social life.

During my stay in 'Anjar in 1980-1981 and 1986-1987, on several occasions, I found generational differences in the attitudes towards housework and child care. Women of over sixty years of age tended to view the younger women engaged in housework and child rearing as being engaged in non-work. They constantly spoke of the not so recent past (the periods corresponding to the pre-1939 situation; the early years of the settlement - 1939-1943; and the first few decades following the privatisation) when women were in fact engaged in "real work", consisting of agricultural and farming activities. Towards the end of the 1960s, however, gradually women were excluded from farming and agricultural production. The reasons given by the inhabitants for this change included the rising standard of living in the region; the rapid industrialisation following the introduction of electricity; the introduction of what is termed by the inhabitants as "kaghkeniyatzoum" (the process of becoming "bourgeois" and adopting a "bourgeois ideology") or "a generalised middle class ideology" with an emphasis on the role of women as housewives (tantikin in Armenian and town knak in the local dialect) and the role of men as bread winners. By the 1980s, however, a growing number of

women were working outside the home. The life-styles and type of occupation that this new generation of women held was rather different from that of the two previous generations. Unlike their grandmothers who were agricultural producers these women worked mainly in the service sector; and as salaried employees they no longer relied on the wages and income of their husbands/brothers/fathers as their mothers had done. In spite of this change, nonetheless, housework continues to be considered as difficult, but "non-work", and remains identified with women. Men may choose to "help" in housework, cooking, and child-care, but there is no obligation to do so.

It is in the context of studies of labour, its reproduction and the labour theory of value that women have been brought into Marxist analyses (Mackintosh 1979: 173; Harris and Young 1981: 111). This has been so as a consequence of the focus on capitalism. Capitalism has been characterised by a dualism of wage labour and unpaid (and therefore invisible) labour within the domestic sphere. This dualism has led to what is now known as the

"domestic labour debate". The argument is that the separation of the sphere of domestic labour and reproduction from other forms of production has contributed to women being equated with the former (Harris and Young 1981: 111). As Meg Luxton points out in More than a labour of love. Three generations of women's work in the home (1980), in spite of the growing inclusion of women in the Canadian wage labour force, domestic labour is still woman's work for Canadians. Within the family, regardless of whether a woman has paid employment, she is responsible for domestic labour. One wonders whether there is a universal trend here, since, in spite of the differences in the case studied by Luxton and the case of 'Anjar, in general, in both situations women have been noted to be responsible for domestic labour.

The domestic labour debate has been traced to the early writers interested in trying to understand the subordination of women in their own Western capitalist and North American societies. There exist several criticisms of the domestic labour debate. Molyneux, for instance criticises what she finds to be the underlying functionalist assumption held by the proponents of the domestic labour argument; for her the proposition that

the labour of the housewife is a functional consequence of the needs of the capitalist mode of production is a fallacy (1979: 3-28). Mackintosh and Vogel, on the other hand, in their respective critiques of the domestic labour debate, show that a theoretical impasse has been reached as a result of the fact that the focus was on capitalism alone without a wider historical or cross-cultural perspective (Vogel 1983: 24; Mackintosh 1979: 173). Furthermore, the analyses tended to be economic. Domestic labour was taken as an unproblematic whole; Few attempts were made to define it (Luxton 1980: 20).

In a relatively recent study Carchedi points out (1983: 120) that domestic labour and the nuclear family are a condition of the reproduction of capitalist relations. This is so, since domestic labour, "as concrete labour, by making the family's unproductive consumption possible, is necessary for the labour power, and the maintenance of this latter during periods of inactivity"; and that "the family makes possible the payment of wages lower than the value of women's labour power".

The early writers concerned with an understanding of the devaluation of domestic labour and the oppression of women, concentrating only on capitalism and wage work, identified the roots of the problem in its production of use values instead of exchange values (for instance Margaret Benston 1969: 13-27). Later on the question of gender inequality and women's oppression was taken beyond the level of unpaid domestic labour into the realm of social reproduction and the reproduction of labour power (see Barrett 1980: 79; Mackintosh 1979: 189-190). By focusing on the social relations of domestic production, Mackintosh concludes that both in capitalist and non-capitalist societies, the relations within the household and especially the marriage relation are the roots of the subordination of women. However, it is worth noting here that, Mackintosh seems to have problems in transcending functionalism. Nevertheless, her comments remain significant:

"For the set of social relations that constitutes the household, and which creates and maintains women's subordination, is mutually interwoven - and therefore to some extent mutually determining - with the set of social relations that governs other social production,

in this case the relations of capitalist value production and wage labour. The household, the location of women's domestic labour, is the mediating institution for these two sets of relations: women's position and work within the household traps her and forces her into a subordinate position also within wider society" (Mackintosh 1979: 190).

Meillassoux, however, argues that in capitalism the oppression of women is only indirectly related to their role in the process of social reproduction (1975: 49). In certain non-capitalist modes of production, however, such as in the lineage or domestic mode, power resides in the control over the means of human reproduction, namely women and subsistence goods (Meillassoux 1975: 49). Harris and Young (as well as others) agree that the problem of the oppression of women is in the realm of social relationships and reproduction, yet they criticise the rather loose use of the concept of reproduction itself (1981: 109-147). Their argument is that "it is important to distinguish on the one hand the control over women's labour and the product of that labour, and on the other, control over women's capacity for biological reproduction (1981: 120-121).

As a brief overview of the literature on the domestic labour debate shows, the authors involved in it have been unable to transcend economic arguments. Moreover, the theory also reveals an inability to account for generational differences such as that found among the inhabitants of 'Anjar.

The situation in 'Anjar represents a case in which socialist ideology co-exists with a pre-1939 feudal ideology (the status system as an ideology still exists) and newly emerging capitalist relations of production have led to contradictory relations of gender where women are supposed to be both "domestic(ated)" and "equal" and where the relations of production do not permit them to be either wholly domestic labourers (they do work outside the home, and are politically active, and they do participate in the political organisations and decision making processes of the community) or equal (they do not have equal access to the relations of production).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CURRENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION IN 'ANJAR:

FROM PETTY COMMODITY PRODUCTION TO CAPITALISM

After the privatisation in 1943, individual households in 'Anjar became petty commodity producers. The social relations of production became marked by the separation of producers from each other and individual ownership and appropriation by the direct producers (Kahn 1980: 133). The following fact sets petty commodity production apart from other modes of production and gives it a distinct character: the direct producers own the means of production and they do so separately (Kahn 1980: 134):

"Unlike feudalism, the direct producer in petty commodity production owns the means of production as well as of appropriating them. Unlike capitalism, the owner of the means of production in petty commodity production is also a direct producer. Finally, the producers own the means of production separately, i.e. there are communal rights neither of appropriation nor of ownership within the petty commodity mode of production."

In order for petty commodity production to reproduce itself, the social relations of production that are based on a separation of the producers from each other and their equality have to be "maintained through the process of production and distribution" (Kahn 1980: 136). Built into the structural dynamics of petty commodity production, however, as Kahn (1980: 144) points out, are "contradictions - contradictions which threaten the very basis of the productive relations". Similarly, Cook in his study of the Zapotec stoneworkers shows that transformation is inherent to this mode of production: when the petty commodity producers are incorporated into a market-exchange situation, price no longer reflects the labour value of commodities, and the possibility for accumulation and expansion emerges, leading to the eventual transformation of the mode itself. In what follows an attempt will be made to analyse the conditions which led to the transformation of petty commodity production in 'Anjar. However, before doing so, an outline of the economy will be presented and the modes of productions analysed.

An outline of the economy

As already described in the previous chapter, the post-privatisation period in 'Anjar was marked by the gradual transformation of the production processes from collectivisation into petty commodity production. During the subsequent decades the inhabitants continued to engage in the same economic activities. However, the relations of production had changed. At the initial stages, the relations of production became characterised by the fact that the individual direct producers had private ownership of their means of production. Gradually, the equality and separation of the producers from each other gave way to yet other relations of production. Whereas the inhabitants continue to engage in the economic activities of the pre- and post- privatisation periods, there has been further industrialisation; and the community has been more and more incorporated into the local, regional, national and international markets.

At the time of the research - 1980-1981 and 1986-1987, the inhabitants engaged in a variety of economic activities: irrigation agriculture and dry cultivation; animal husbandry; manufacture of dairy products; poultry production; fisheries; shoe-making; coppersmithing; blacksmithing; gold and silversmithing; carpentry; construction industry; textile and garment industry etc. The tools and industrial machinery were either locally produced or imported. Different production sectors co-existed:

- a. The production of subsistence food and goods for immediate use. This consisted of cultivation of vegetables and fruits, as well as tending domesticated animals in the vicinity of the residential unit. The labour force engaged in such production for use consisted mostly of women and older members of the household.

- b. The processing of raw food and other consumption goods. This consisted of preparation of the mouni, the winter supply of dried and crushed wheat-grain, lentils, beans, dried trkhana (yoghurt and crushed wheat), tomato paste, ipoutz matzon (dried yoghurt), various jams, marmalades, etc., as well as the preparation of daily meals. All these activities were done by women.

- c. Petty commodity production for exchange. This consisted of agricultural activities on the land plots outside the residential zone as well as crafts. The owners of the means of production in this case were the direct producers. The whole family was expected to help in agricultural activities. However, decisions were taken by the heads of households, which in most cases were men. Crafts were also men's work, except for needlecraft which has traditionally been considered to be women's work.
- d. Production of non-agricultural commodities on a large scale. This consisted of factory-production. Both men and women participated in this type of production as wage workers. The owners of the means of production were either from the local population or from outside the community.
- e. Production of agricultural commodities on a large scale. This was non-cooperative and it involved the employment of wage workers by the owners of the agricultural land or by people who have rented the land-plot¹.

¹ Land, even after the privatisation in 'Anjar, was not allowed (by the A.R.F.) to be sold. Needless to say, however, land purchase from outside the territory of 'Anjar was never under the control of the A.R.F. Indeed, during the early stage of the privatisation, people of agha or barin descent did buy land from the territories of neighbouring municipalities. Within 'Anjar, however, land was not treated as a commodity for sale. People who either had grown too old to be able to cultivate their own land-plots or had salaried or wage employment outside the agricultural sector or were not interested in agriculture, used to give their land-plot to others in return for a fixed annual fee (a rent). These latter would either work on the land with the labour of their families or sometimes would hire temporary or permanent wage labourers.

f. Production of agricultural commodities on a small scale, involving the employment of wage workers by small-holders.

g. Non-productive labour and the service sector.

These implied the co-existence of different modes of productions and social relations of production, namely, petty commodity production and capitalism. The various relations of production in 'Anjar were subject to the requirements of the social reproduction of the dominant mode of production in the Lebanese social and economic formation(s). This dominant mode has been considered to be peripheral or marginal capitalism.

Until the outbreak of the crisis in 1975, as already discussed earlier, the Lebanese social and economic formation had been characterised by the articulation of several modes of production where the dominant relations were not of labour and capital. As mentioned earlier, although capitalist relations had been initiated quite early in the Lebanese history, some elements of feudalism continued to flourish among the Druzes, the Shi'ites of South Lebanon and the Beka'a valley, and among the Sunni of the Akkar region in the

north. Towards the the 70s, however, the feudal lords had themselves been transformed into capitalist farmers. Nevertheless, as an ideology, feudalism was still playing a dominant role in politics. Petty commodity production, which is sometimes considered to be a transitional stage to capitalism and may co-exist with the latter, exists among the Maronites and the Christians of the north, as well as among the Sunni and Christians of the Beka'a valley. Capitalist relations were most developed in the coastal cities. This also led to the rise of new political structures and the formation of political parties. The dominant relations, however, were those of what has been termed finance-commercial capital. Industrialisation was only in its early phase. In fact, the state represented the interests of finance capital and the landed bourgeoisie. Industrial capital was hardly represented in the state apparatus.

Before examining or re-constructing the mode of production in 'Anjar and its transformation(s), in what follows I will present the current socio-economic situation at the time of my field-research in 1980-81 and 1986-1987.

An Overview of the Post-Civil War Situation in 'Anjar

Since the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon in 1975, security and socio-economic conditions in 'Anjar have been determined by factors affecting the Central Beka'a valley as a whole.

The Beka'a valley, as already noted, forms one of the five administrative provinces (muhafazat) of the Lebanese Republic. Its population accounts for 15 per cent of the total population of Lebanon. The seat or capital of the muhafazat is Zahlé - which as we have seen is a predominantly Greek Catholic city in the Central Beka'a. While the area to the north of Zahlé is one of the main strongholds of the Shi'ite Muslims, to its south the Sunni Muslims form a majority. Until 1975, the political scene was dominated by religious leaders and

feudal families. Political parties did not play any significant role. I know of only one instance when political parties made an alliance to defeat a Lebanese feudal lord (Joseph bek) during the 1968 general Parliamentary elections. The incident had impressed me as a young child. At that time I was surprised to learn from my parents and other politically active relatives that fascism, socialism and the state collaborated: the Lebanese Phalangist Party al-Kataeb - a right-wing political organisation, represented as a fascist party and other so-called progressist elements in the Central Beka'a were co-operating together with the local Armenian Revolutionary Federation, which at the time was still a member of the Second International (Socialist), and all this with the aid of the Lebanese Intelligence Service (maktab theni) to bring an end to the Parliamentary representation of "feudal" elements and their interests to the benefit of the rising professionals and industrial capitalists. In spite these efforts, as the following general elections in 1972 were to show, the feudal lords were still dominating the scene and their defeat in 1968 represented only a temporary failure. Although the area continued to be represented by the feudalists - within the Lebanese state structure and Parliament - among the local

people various political organisations began to gain support.

At the initial stages of the civil war in 1975-1976 the scene outside Zahlé became dominated by Palestinian and other so-called radical Muslim factions. In Zahlé itself, the Kataeb begun to gain control. After the 1976 Syrian occupation of eastern Lebanon, the region has been largely affected by Syria's military presence, its policies, as well as its relations with Beirut.

Most rural inhabitants throughout this post-1975 period have remained neutral avoiding any political connections, and in return for their neutrality they have received Syrian protection. Likewise, the Armenian community of 'Anjar, ever since the initial stages of the turmoil, has kept its neutrality. Since the outbreak of the crisis in Lebanon on the 13th of April, 1975 until the Syrian occupation of eastern Lebanon in 1976, the residential, industrial and agricultural zones of 'Anjar, had fallen under the dominion of numerous Palestinian factions, the Lebanese Arab Army (formed by

Ahmad Khatib), and various radical Muslim factions. Since the beginning of the summer of 1978, Syria has strengthened its military positions in and around 'Anjar. Syrian Intelligence Service and Army units occupy strategic positions near the Armenian National School, the sources of 'Anjar and Shamsin, the historic site of the Ommayad city and its vicinity, and have a checkpoint at the main entry point.

The Syrians, however, do not involve themselves with the internal security of the community. The inhabitants themselves are responsible for their internal security. A 24-hour a day guard is kept by the local youth - who are mostly unemployed or have intermittent employment.

The Syrian presence has had political, economic and social consequences. During my recent stay in the community significant changes were observable. Until the Syrian occupation, the only political power dominating the internal scene has been the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. The Syrians did not recognise

this de facto authority. In their dealings with the local community affairs they operated with the aid of their own "contacts", who gained significant importance as mediators. Such contacts were occupational in nature. They were either restaurant owner-operators or other skilled workers - mechanics, electricians, or ex-Syrian army recruits of Armenian descent living in the community.

At its earlier stages the civil war did not leave any negative effect on the economic conditions of the region. As one inhabitant points out:

"The war hardly affected our lives here, but /in recent years/ we do feel its impact on the overall economy - the inflation, as well as through the presence of the military forces in the region".

The initial stages of the war led to the decentralisation of the Lebanese economy. As a result, the peripheral regions, such as the Beka'a valley, underwent economic growth. This continued until the Israeli invasion in 1982 (and the partial but sudden

Israeli withdrawal in Sept. 1983) with its disastrous impact on the Lebanese economy. The situation during my 1980-1981 stay in the community was one of "economic progress", as Mosvess Aintabian, the principal of the Armenian National Gulbenkian College and "Haratch" school expressed it in December 1980:

"The effects of the civil war have been rather positive for the economy of the region as a whole. This has been so, due to the decentralisation of the Lebanese economy. Whereas prior to the outbreak of the civil war, in 1975, everything was concentrated in Beirut and to a lesser extent in the other major cities, nowadays industrialisation, commercialisation, the finance sector, the market, in short, everything has moved from the center to the periphery. In addition, 'Anjar has also witnessed a growth as a result of the Syrian peace keeping forces' position vis-a-vis the sectarian composition of the provincial capital - Zahlé. . . The intermittent sieges of Zahlé have had their positive economic impact on its periphery as well as on this settlement. This has had an overall positive impact on the living standard of the region ".

By 1986-1987, however, the economic conditions in Lebanon had drastically deteriorated. The entire Central Beka'a valley was in economic recession. Whereas, in 1980-1981 new industries, services, stores, businesses were beginning to flourish, in 1986-1987, many businesses and industries closed down.

The major preoccupation of the inhabitants, however, was the growing inflation and the economic crisis that followed the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The post-1982 situation throughout Lebanon has been marked by the painful downfall of the economy and rising inflation: whereas in 1983 the minimum wages corresponded to U.S. \$242.82, in 1984 they were equivalent to \$162.33; in 1985 they corresponded to \$86.76; in 1986 they corresponded to \$47.82; and in 1987 the minimum wages became equivalent to only \$18.70.² The inhabitants of the whole region were concerned with "mass poverty" - as they put it. Everyone became concerned with the deteriorating economic conditions and their impact.

²These figures are based on the daily local exchange rates published in the local newspapers and announced in governmental radio daily news broadcasts as well as the announcements of the Confederation of Labour. It is also to be noted that everyone in 'Anjar was familiar with the salary ranges, the inflation rate as well as with the fluctuations of the exchange rate of the Lebanese currency to foreign currencies.

A source of local economic crisis has also been water-pollution. The Syrian presence at the Source has made it impossible to ensure and maintain the purity of the water as well to control the water-canal - agriculture, as already mentioned, is based on artificial irrigation. The water problem led to numerous water disputes within 'Anjar. In addition, the rainfall level during the past winter had been significantly lower than average. The result was a drought observable in the dry season when irrigation is most needed for agriculture.

Petty commodity production and its transformation in
'Anjar

This section examines the transformations in the modes of production in 'Anjar during the post-privatisation period in 'Anjar. As already examined in the previous chapter, with privatisation, the relations of production among the inhabitants of 'Anjar had become those of petty commodity production. In what follows we will analyse the theoretical (structural) possibilities for the transformation of this mode of production and present data on 'Anjar.

While different historical preconditions and experiences may lead to the rise of contradictions which will eventually threaten the basis of the productive relations within petty commodity production, Kahn locates the source of these structural

contradictions in the development of the productive forces (1980: 144). It is indeed the development of the productive forces that leads to the eventual destruction of the small-scale producers existing in separation from each other and from non-producers, that is characteristic of petty commodity production.

In the case of the Lebanese countryside, the introduction of industrial agriculture and the development of the productive forces, along with other factors, has led to the eventual destruction of petty commodity production itself, accompanied by the massive rural migration to the cities. This justifies Kahn's suggestion that:

"When considering the case of the petty commodity mode of production in isolation, the effect of the development of the productive forces would be that an increasing number of small producers would lose access to their own means of production, and thus have no way of earning a living" (Kahn 1980: 148).

Historically, Marx traces the rise of capitalism from petty commodity production (1906, vol. I: 94):

"The mode of production in which the product takes the form of a commodity, or is produced directly for exchange, is the most general and most embryonic form of bourgeois production".

Therefore, already inherent in such a mode of production is the potential for the rise of the capitalist mode of production. But by this potential itself the destruction of the petty commodity production is brought about and marks the beginnings of capitalism. The annihilation of petty commodity production,

"/The/ transformation of the individualised and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, of the pigmy property of the many into the huge property of the few, the appropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil, from the means of subsistence, and from the means of labour, this fearful and painful expropriation of the mass of the people forms the prelude to the history of capital" (Marx 1906, vol. I: 835).

Theoretically, then, the dynamics of petty commodity production are similar to those of other modes of production. The actual instance and time of the emerging crisis that eventually leads to the disappearance of the

mode of production and of the corresponding social forms of development are, as Marx posits, announced by:

"... the depth and breadth of the contradictions and antagonisms, which separate the conditions of distribution, and with them the definite historical form of the corresponding conditions of production, from the productive forces, the productivity, and development of their agencies. A conflict then arises between the material development of production and its social forms" (Marx 1906, vol. III: 1030).

Although this viewpoint is rather evolutionary in its perspective, it is to be stressed that it is not unilinear. In practice, petty commodity production and other non-capitalist modes of production co-exist alongside capitalism. This problem is also raised by Kahn (1980: 132):

"In spite of the fact that petty commodity production appears today within a social formation in which the Capitalist Mode of Production is dominant, it remains in some sense outside it as well. This is ... a premise which has come under criticism, particularly from those who maintain the concept of a world capitalist totality which embraces all corners of the world involved within the system of capitalist distribution".

The problem may have been initiated through Marx's belief that the rise of capitalism coincides with the annihilation of any forms of petty commodity production (1906, vol. I: 820; 835). It is possible, however, to have instances in which the destruction of petty commodity production has been initiated, and some of the relations of production continue to be those of petty commodity production while others are those of the capitalist mode of production. In fact, capitalism can, in some cases reinforce petty commodity production.

In 'Anjar a consequence of the inherent dynamics of petty commodity production (along with the effects of the Lebanese political economy) has been the decrease of the population by forty per cent in four decades. Inherent to the petty commodity production has also been the rise of inequalities which eventually led to the decline and transformation of petty commodity production itself. In spite the fact that the dominant relations of production in this mode of production are

marked by an apparent equality of the individual producers who own the means of production separately, not all could have access to new technological advances such as new agricultural machinery, nor could all the agricultural land-plots have the same yield or fertility. Furthermore, in the case of 'Anjar access to water depended (and depends) on ability to manipulate personal relationships with the A.R.F.-designated water-distribution committee (In theory everyone has access to the irrigation-works. The process is regulated by a roster which one joins by paying a fixed fee; however, people with better relations with the A.R.F. or with the individual members of the committee could have access to irrigation-water outside their turn. During my stay in 'Anjar, I was able to record numerous cases in which the water was cut off from a person's land-plot during his/her rightful turn and given to a "privileged" member of the community. The wronged person then would take the issue to the water-distribution committee and have the water turned back to his/her land-plot). In addition, some people had water-wells on land-plots which the irrigation-works do not reach, and began to sell water to their neighbours.

These inequalities became specially visible in the 1970s with the development of industries in the region. The annual surveys conducted by the A.R.F. Youth are indicative of this trend. The variables chosen to determine the rise of social inequality by the A.R.F. have been the additions made to the basic residence unit (the houses were built en masse and distributed on an equal basis and each consists of 400m²); the ownership of additional land-plots acquired after their distribution was made; ownership of agricultural machinery; ownership of water-wells; ownership of means of transportation; luxury items, such as television sets and more recently, video machines (VCRs), sports cars, etc.; income and occupation. The results indicated that there was unequal distribution of land, the housing facilities likewise showed inequalities, in short there was unequal distribution of wealth no matter what criterion was taken. For instance, there were approximately six hundred private vehicles in 'Anjar and around fifteen cars had permits for public transportation. The distribution of

the cars throughout the population was uneven. Whereas some families had a concentration of cars, others did not have any. Sports cars were considered to be prestige items. The owners of such items were usually the young - interestingly enough, as I found out later, these young men and women were unemployed or at most had intermittent employment. Families who had a concentration of cars (and who provided their offspring with sports cars), however, formed only six percent of the community. In addition, the ownership of cars concentrated in the hands of twenty five percent of the overall number of families. Likewise, VCRs were found in only twenty percent of houses.

This growing inequality has been evident in the income distribution of the inhabitants of Haouch Moussa, as revealed from the A.R.F. 1980-1981 annual survey (Table 6) and from my personal survey conducted in 1986-1987 (Table 7).

Table 6: Income distribution in 1980-1981

Annual Income (in L.L.)	Number of families	Percentage
above 50 000	25	3
30 000-50 000	95	12
24 000-30 000	120	15
18 000-24 000	420	52.5
12 000-18 000	80	10
below 12 000	60	7.5
 TOTAL	 800	 100

Source: A.R.F. annual surveys.

Note: The exchange rate for the Lebanese currency was 2.90 L.L. per U.S. dollar.

Table 7: Income distribution in 1986-1987

Annual Income in L.L.	Number of families	Percentage
above 240 000	23	3
200 000-240 000	52	7
120 000-200 000	111	15
72 000-120 000	148	20
60 000-72 000	221	30
38 000-60 000	112	15
below 38 000	75	10
TOTAL	742	100

Note: The exchange rate of the Lebanese currency reached 100 L.L. per U.S. dollar in November 1986.

An examination of the population distribution according to occupation revealed that the high-income groups are the owners of waterwells, owners of gambling houses, smugglers, and industrial capitalists. Almost all households engage in subsistence cultivation and tend domesticated animals (in the immediate vicinity of their houses, i.e. within the limits of the 400m² allotted to each household). However, usually the women and the elderly, (i.e. people who are at least over sixty years of age) undertake these subsistence activities. In rare cases also, the youth are found to be engaged in subsistence activities. In addition, until my field research in 1986-1987, the inhabitants of 'Anjar had continued to be occupied with their individual land-plots and petty commodity production. For a great majority, agricultural petty commodity production, however, was only a supplementary occupation and source of income. Both during my fieldwork in 1980-1981 and in 1986-1987, there was an overlap in the occupations. Tables 8 and 9 give occupational distributions.

Table 8

Occupational Distribution: 1980-81; 1986-87

Occupation	Number of Individuals		Percentage of Women	
	1980-81	1986-87	1980-81	1986-87
Owners of water-wells	5	15	0	0
Operators of illegal businesses	40	48	0	0
Industrial capitalists	20	37	0	0
Professional salaried employees	300	173	35	35
Teachers	45	67	40	45
Public servants	25	15	0	0
Storeowners (groceries /boutiques)	50	97	4	5
Crafts-producers	150	75	5	5
Agricultural petty commodity producers	100	55	15	5
Agricultural wage labourers	300	253	5	5
Industrial labourers	400	302	20	20
Subsistence farmers	1000	762	70	65
Students	675	450	55	65

Total. 1980-81: approximately 800 families composed of
2625 adults.

1986-87: 742 families; 2155 adults.

Sources: A.R.F. annual surveys and personal surveys.

Note: Figures for agricultural petty commodity production is not included here. It is to be mentioned that agricultural petty commodity production was practiced by all households. However, the decision-makers were the heads of household, who in most cases were men.

Table 9. Overlaps in Occupational Distribution
1986-1987

Number of Individuals engaged in occupations:

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	T
a.	55	63	62	16	241	217	88	37	31	69	5	879
b.	63	2	3	1	..	..	1	1	1	3	..	75
c.	62	3	38	638	11	2	3	1	1	1	2	762
d.	16	1	638	3	..	..	1	1	..	76	..	736
e.	241	..	..11	..	..1	..	..	..	..	..	..	253
f.	217	..	2	..	..	83	..	..	..	..	..	302
g.	88	1	3	1	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	97
h.	37	1	1	1	..	..	..	4	3	1	..	48
i.	31	1	1	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	37
j.	69	3	1	76	..	..	1	1	..	84	5	240
k.	5	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	3	15

T=total= corresponds to figures for 1986-87 in Table 8

Occupations:

- a. agricultural petty commodity production
- b. crafts petty commodity production
- c. subsistence cultivation
- d. domestic unpaid labour
- e. agricultural wage labour
- f. industrial wage labour
- g. storeowners
- h. owners of illegal businesses
- i. industrial capitalists
- j. salaried service sector
- k. owners of water-wells

In the following chapters we will discuss these findings in relation to the observed inequalities, it suffices to mention here that, in view of the decrease of the population from 3500 in 1980-1981 to 2700 in 1986, compared to the 1980-1981 data, a decrease was observed in the number of people engaged in petty commodity production as their main occupation and an increased participation of women in the salaried and wage labour. Furthermore, whereas in 1980-1981 there were only five families with water-wells, in 1986-1987 this figure had tripled. Most members of these families had also salaried employment in the service sector (professionals). Some of them were also employed as agricultural wage labourers. Likewise, an increase was noticed in the operation of illegal businesses such as gambling houses, and industries. Some of the industrial capitalists were also operating gambling houses. An increase was also noticed in the number of stores.

CHAPTER SIX

IDEOLOGICAL CHANGES

In this chapter we will examine and attempt to re-construct the ideational superstructure, in Larrain's use of the term (1979), of the inhabitants of 'Anjar and its transformations through the transformations in the relations and modes of production. We will consider identity formation among the inhabitants, including ethnicity, and examine the existing ideologies and their transformations through the transformations of modes of production. In addition, the articulation of various ideologies and discourses in existence among the inhabitants of 'Anjar at the time of my fieldwork will be presented. Since the notions of ethnicity and identity are abstract constructs we have to construct them in theory. As a first step, then, I will examine the way in which the concept of ethnicity has been employed (and defined) in anthropological discourse.

Ethnicity: an ideological construct

In the anthropological literature, the concept of ethnicity, as Cohen points out, is "an ubiquitous presence" (1978: 379). The term has been used to replace the notion of "tribe" and is closely related with a noted shift from viewing societies, groups and communities in isolation into an emphasis on relations between such units. The concept of ethnicity has acquired much attention in anthropological literature during the past two or three decades. However, the term "ethnicity" has often been used without a clear definition (Cohen 1978: 385). In any case, as Paranjpe (1986: 1) , in his introduction to a collection of articles on ethnic identity in the Third World, suggests : "The phenomenon of ethnicity is a highly complex and elusive one".

Most sociological definitions tend to use the term "ethnicity" to refer to a way of identifying, naming

or differentiating groupings of human populations as units of analysis. In addition, ethnicity as a concept is recognized to be a political construct. Weber, for instance, employs the notion of ethnicity in the following context:

"human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonisation and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action, like the latter. In our sense, ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political sphere. On the other hand, it is primarily the political community, no matter how artificially organised that inspires the belief in common ethnicity. This belief tends to persist even after the disintegration of the political community, unless drastic differences in the custom, physical type, or, above all, language exist among its members" (1968: 389).

In its broad sense, Weber's definition may be applicable to a variety of empirical cases, perhaps including the case of the various Armenian communities throughout the world. However, it is deterministic and limits ethnic group formation to a belief in common descent. In any case, within anthropology, "ethnicity" has been used in

relation to "a culture" or in place of the culture concept. The concept has also been referred to in relation to "ethnic identity" and "ethnic category", i.e. to formation of ethnic groups and individual adherence to such groups. As summarised by Barth (1969: 10-11), the term ethnic group is employed to refer to a human population or grouping, which has the following characteristics:

"1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating; 2. shares fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms; 3. makes up a field of communication and interaction; 4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order".

Barth then defines ethnic groups in "an organisational sense" as ways of classifying persons in terms of their "basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by origin and background" (1969: 13). Thus such groups become formed in relation to the degree "that actors use ethnic identities to categorise themselves and others for purposes of interaction" (Barth 1969: 13-14). Thus by focusing on ethnic identity formation and interaction, Barth has been able to move beyond the Weberian

deterministic notion of ethnicity. However, Barth's approach limits the notion of ethnicity by keeping the deterministic elements of identity formation in the Weberian definition, namely descent.

Several attempts have been made to surpass the limitations of Barth's definition. As Cohen points out such attempts have rendered the concept more ambiguous (1978: 387). However, as Rousseau (1978a: 63) shows, Barth's definition is inadequate, hence, we need to develop an alternative approach to it:

"Cette définition est inadéquate, parce qu'elle fixe le contenu de l'ethnicité une fois pour toutes. Barth y affirme que l'ethnicité réfère à l'identité la plus fondamentale et ensuite que cette identité est déterminée par l'origine. Cette définition comporte à la fois un excès et une carence. Elle dit trop, parce que l'ethnicité n'établit pas nécessairement l'identité la plus fondamentale. Pour nombre de personnes, l'appartenance à une classe ou à un groupe religieux représente un facteur bien plus important que leur identité ethnique. En outre, l'idée d'origine englobe plusieurs aspects; par exemple, les fidèles d'une religion peuvent se réclamer d'une origine commune dans la mesure où ils forment une 'famille spirituelle' ou, de façon plus concrète, parce qu'ils ont hérité d'une même tradition. D'ailleurs, certaines classifications ethniques regroupent sous la même catégorie des taxa qui sont reconnus pour ne pas avoir une origine commune".

The variables chosen as a basis for ethnic identity or group formation are, in fact, dependent on the specificity of the cases under study. The content, context and definition of ethnicity differ in each case. It may or may not be a part of identity formation. In general, however, it does serve as a basis for identification and classification of differences among individuals and groups (Rousseau 1978a: 64). Following Rousseau's argument, ethnicity is considered to be an ideological construct similar to a system of stratification: both are conceptual phenomena (Rousseau 1978a: 64) and serve as means of classifying groups and individuals. In some cases ethnicity and systems of stratification are correlated, in others there may not exist any correspondence between them. Since, ethnicity is an ideological construct, theories and conceptualisations of ideology (or ideologies) will be presented.

There have been many overviews and attempts to trace the history of the concept of ideology itself (see Larrain 1979: 17-34 and Giddens 1979: 165-197).

Ideology has been related to the notion of false consciousness; it has been equated with the world view of a people or group; it has been conceived to constitute the superstructure of a social formation; it has been defined to be coterminous with culture; the concept has also been defined in opposition to science or positivist scientific inquiry. However, as Larrain (1979: 33) aptly puts it:

"From Machiavelli and Bacon, via Holbach, Helvetius, de Tracy and Napoleon, to Comte and Feuerbach, the phenomenon analysed under the name of idol, prejudice, religion or ideology, was almost always considered a psychological distortion, a problem at the level of cognition".

This problematic can be seen to continue in Marx's conception of ideology. In fact, Marx's approach to ideology has been considered to be an integration of "the philosophy of consciousness" and notions of "scientific rationality" (Larrain 1979: 35):

"From the philosophy of consciousness Marx draws the idea of the active subject, but this subject becomes historically concrete. . . . From the new scientific rationality Marx takes the concern for material reality as the real starting point of science and the critique of religion, but this material reality is conceived as historically made by men and, therefore susceptible to be changed by their practice. If on the one hand the subject

is no longer the idea which produces reality, on the other hand Marx is interested not only in the scientific apprehension of reality as it is, but also in changing that reality by means of revolutionary practice".

Giddens provides a similar understanding of Marx's concept of ideology. In such a perspective ideology becomes distorted consciousness, which would be overcome only through "actual social intervention" (1979: 167). Gramsci's interpretation of Marx's notion of ideology is also related to the theory or philosophy of praxis (1971). Moreover, in Gramsci's definition the concept of "hegemony" is introduced. In his perspective then revolution can only take place by destroying the ideological hegemony and the creation of an alternative political culture (see also Albert and Hahnel 1978: 297-352).

It has been shown that many of the problems of conceptualisation of a Marxist theory of ideology have been a result of a confusion in Marx's works:

"In effect, occasionally one has the impression that the term 'ideological' is used to make general reference to all forms of consciousness, theories and intellectual representations corresponding to a certain economic base.

From here various interpreters derive the term 'ideological superstructure'. But in the majority of cases ideology refers to a particular distorted kind of consciousness which conceals contradictions. These two meanings should not be confused" (Larrain 1979: 50).

The problem has become even more confused due to the fact that the "point of departure" for scholars interested in Marx's notion of ideology has become either Althusser or Lukacs (Larrain 1982: 5):

"In fact, Marx is seen through the eyes of Lukacs or Althusser, but there is no attempt to directly assess whether a different interpretation can emerge from the renewed study of Marx's ideas".

Marx's conceptualisation of ideology, being essentially a negative one, has been criticised to have been the source of the problems generated by the concept of "false consciousness". This objection has been expressed in terms of "ideology" being both "false" and "consciousness" (Larrain 1982: 8):

"With regard to the latter, Althusser (1977: 233) argues that ideology is a system of representations 'but in the majority of cases these representations

have nothing to do with 'consciousness': they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all as structures that they impose on the vast majority of men, not via their 'consciousness'. Ideology is therefore independent of individual subjectivity, it is an objective level of social reality. Because of this, "ideology is not ideal or spiritual" (Hirst 1977: 27) but is material. It is not the subject that produces ideas, but it is rather ideology that produces the subject".

Though Larrain raises serious objections to the aforementioned reactions against a perception of ideology as "false consciousness", he does not accept such a formulation for the reason that the character of the falsity cannot be determined and that renders it an inadequate conceptualisation (1982: 14). For him, the solution lies in Marx's theory of praxis:

"Ideology ... is a solution in the level of social consciousness to contradictions which are not solved in practice. The specific effect of these distorted solutions is the concealment of the very existence or character of these contradictions" (Larrain 1982: 15).

Whenever, on the other hand, ideology is defined as a specific level of an ensemble of relative coherence of representations, values and beliefs (Poulantzas 1982: 223), the concept itself becomes that which gives a coherence (real or imaginary) to the

contradictions inherent in a mode of production and social formation. There are two types of contradictions in a mode of production. One of these is internal to the relations of production, and appears before the other. The second appears with the development of the system and creates the material conditions for the possibility of the system's disappearance (Godelier 1972: 87). According to Godelier, the solution of the second contradiction consists in changing the relations of production and bringing them into correspondence with the forces of production. These contradictions may go on without any solution (Godelier 1972: 87).

In case of the petty commodity production in 'Anjar the relations of production were transformed to correspond to the changes in the forces of production. However, the socialist egalitarian "ideology" has remained. This then renders the application of the above framework problematic.

An approach to ideology and a definition in which the articulation of different discourses can be examined becomes necessary here. A way out is through the introduction of Larrain's construct of the idealistic superstructure, leaving the concept of ideology as "a particular kind of consciousness dependent upon contradictions" (1979: 50). The "idealistic superstructure" becomes a structural level consisting of "conflicting theories and ideas, some of them not in the least functional to the system" (Larrain 1979: 52). Such a conceptualisation would lead to the identification of not only the dominant class ideas and to the "forms of social consciousness correspond/ing/ to the system of domination", but would also give importance to alternative and "disruptive ideas" (Larrain 1979: 52). In the following sections I will re-construct the ideational superstructure of the inhabitants of 'Anjar with its diversities.

'Anjar: a multitude of overlapping collective identities

The inhabitants of 'Anjar are constantly reminded in their day-to-day activities both that they are the only non-Arabic speaking group in the region, and that they are part of several larger totalities. On the one hand as Lebanese citizens they are part of the Lebanese state structures and socio-economic formation and co-exist as a collectivity with several other groups and communities with whom they have various relationships. Furthermore, along with these other communities they are part of the international division of labour. On the other hand, as Armenians they are also part of both the Armenian community in Lebanon and the diaspora, as well as in Soviet Armenia. As such then, the "habitus" of 'Anjar is also the product of quite diverse historical experiences and in turn "produces individual and collective practices and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (Bourdieu 1977: 82).

In the Lebanese "multi-sectarian" context in general, and in the Beka'a valley in particular, the Armenian communities have been considered to be constituting ethnic rather than sectarian groups. Such classifications have been based on linguistic factors of group differentiation. For the inhabitants of 'Anjar, on the other hand, group identity is based on "place names": The term by which the inhabitants designate themselves is 'Anjartza (lit. inhabitants of 'Anjar). In addition, they consider themselves to be Jebel Moussetza. The latter includes people who are not 'Anjartza, i.e. people who are from the original villages of Mount Moussa, but never had a home in 'Anjar. Likewise, the differentiation or identification of "the other" has also been in terms of place names. Thus for instance, when speaking about the neighbouring villagers and city dwellers, the identification is not in terms of religion nor of language but the name of the city or village: Majdaltza - a person from the neighbouring Sunni Muslim village of Majdal 'Anjar; Zahletza - an inhabitant of Zahlé; Barcutza refers to anyone who resides in Beirut. Interestingly enough any Armenian whose "history" in a geographical locality is unknown to the inhabitants of

'Anjar is classified as yabandja - lit. an inhabitant of Japan, which has acquired the meaning of distant, unknown land.¹

Be this as it may, language also plays an important role in identity formation for the inhabitants of 'Anjar. Their sense of an us as opposed to the rest of the Armenian populations is also based on differences in dialect. When speaking of the local dialect they identify it as mir lizon - lit. our language, as opposed to the written and spoken standardised Armenian languages².

¹The inhabitants refer to the Japanese people in terms of the Western Armenian designation, /djapontsi/). However, the term yabanja is only used to refer to "other" Armenians (and never to other peoples).

² The inhabitants of 'Anjar consider all other Armenian spoken and written dialects as "the other" as opposed to their dialect. Prior to the 19th century the Armenian language consisted of one written language (krabar) (which is still the language used in the Armenian (Gregorian) National Church) and several local dialects. During the 19th century attempts were made to standardize the dialects. The result of these attempts has been the creation of two Armenian languages: Western Armenian, which is based on the dialect of the Armenians living in Istanbul during the 19th century; and Eastern Armenian, which is based on the dialect of the Armenians living in region of Erevan during the 19th century. Today most Armenians living outside Soviet Armenia use Western Armenian, and Eastern Armenian, after undergoing further changes (referred to as reformed orthography), has become the language of the Armenians living in the Armenian SSR.

I have been told of several childhood incidents concerning this issue. Early childhood socialisation takes place in the local dialect and not in Western Armenian which is the language of instruction in the local schools. I was informed that many children, who after the first few days, weeks or months of school, have gone home and complained to their parents that they have not brought them up as Armenians. Several parents of school age children narrated to me that their children returning from school had asked "mama, tchva mi hay arouts tchess ?" (lit. Mother, why have you not brought us up as hay = Armenian).

During my discussions with the inhabitants of 'Anjar a multitude of collective identities were recognised (by those present): a. as inhabitants of 'Anjar; b. as descendants of inhabitants of Mount Moussa; c. as inhabitants of the Central Beka'a valley; d. as Lebanese citizens (or inhabitants of Lebanon); e. as Armenians. Depending on the context, one or the other (or several of these identities) were brought in and stressed. In addition, the inhabitants viewed themselves as

"refugees" and victims of "international politics". The multiplicity of the collective identities of (and related concerns or issues) is expressed in the following extract from an informal discussion with one inhabitant of 'Anjar:

"We often ask ourselves 'what are we doing here ?' This is not our land. We cultivate it, but when the political currents turn against us, we will be deported once more. After all, not long ago, we were forcefully uprooted from our historical homeland and that was our land (and to think that we would be left in peace in 'Anjar which is not our historical homeland!?). We may be deported any time despite our Lebanese citizenship. After all, we do not know what is going to happen to Lebanon. As you know, the future is rather uncertain. The Lebanese crisis may go on forever, or one day we may find out that Lebanon has been removed or wiped off the surface of the map. In any case, even when the A.R.F. goals of a United Free and Socialist Armenia are achieved, we won't get our lands. We have lived so far away from historic Armenia, some theorists suggest that we were living in our mountains (in Mount Moussa) since the second millennium B.C., and yet our sons and daughters (since the first World War and on) have fought and are fighting for the liberation of all Armenians and their historic lands. This process sometimes has included an armed resistance and struggle and at others the preservation of Armenian culture. This is a serious problem for all Armenians. We are perhaps in a unique situation in the diaspora. In the sense that we and our children live in semi-isolation. We have our own Armenian schools and unlike the situation in Beirut, where in spite the fact that there are Armenian schools, the neighbourhoods and the streets in which the children play are not Armenian. Whereas here in 'Anjar our children grow up with other children of 'Anjar who speak the local dialect and Armenian, the Armenian children of Beirut, play with Arabic speaking children."

Similar concerns were also expressed by others present during the discussion. The 55 year old wife of a restaurant-owner and mother of three married daughters, for instance, pointed out that the opinion presented by the first respondent "used to be shared by all the inhabitants during the early years in 'Anjar, but not any more":

"I remember from my childhood (and from people of my parents' generation) that during the early years of settlement in 'Anjar, people were not sure that 'Anjar would be a permanent settlement. Some had assumed that this would be a temporary uprootedness similar to the 1915-1919 Port Sa'yid experience. However, it was evident from the planned collectivisation and housing that we were going to be here for good and there was no hope for a return. The political climate was such that our lands in Mount Moussa would never be ours again. In any case, our stay in Lebanon was guaranteed. We were given Lebanese identity cards (and citizenship). The other Lebanese peoples consider us Lebanese, after all we were here prior to Lebanese Independence".

In addition, as a young working mother has expressed in the following quote (and the earlier quote also reveals), the inhabitants have considered themselves to be in a rather different situation from other Armenians elsewhere,

but with whom they share the same concerns and obligations of preserving their cultural identities or "Armenianness":

"Unlike Armenians, in let us say, cities, or in Europe or for that matter in North America, we have a better chance of preserving our Armenian culture. We also are a community in exile, but we, unlike other Armenian communities of the diaspora a. live in semi-isolation, and that constitutes our blessing, b. have a common collective history (unlike the other communities we have a memory of a homeland and a history of a collective resistance or uprising, which has made us world-known, especially through Franz Werfel's novel). I remember when in 1974 an Armenian poet from Soviet Armenia had come and visited 'Anjar, he was impressed greatly, and said that we are living in a little Armenia. We have created our little sanctuary in which we are not only preserving our culture, but are turning it into a living culture. Unfortunately, however, the crisis in Lebanon has had its negative impact on our community. Many have left the area. We are afraid that, if this continues, 'Anjar will be completely depopulated and that would be a major blow to the Armenian culture as a whole. The threat of assimilation will befall all".

Other inhabitants of 'Anjar likewise expressed that their cultural survival depends on the one hand on their anti-emigration stance, which has also been the A.R.F. policy for the past decades; and on the other hand on the creation of a new collective history and common identity, based on the history of the Armenians as a whole. This history has been marked with repeated conquests, forced

deportations, massacres, and some heroic resistances and a liberation struggle. We can see this new collective history already reconstructed (and continuously re-defined) in Armenian communities such as the London Armenians, studied by Vered Amit Talai (1988: 50-51):

"Communities such as that found in London are therefore seen as communities in exile from their true motherland in eastern Anatolia. But this loss is further viewed as part of a long and ancient series of tragedies befalling Armenians in which, caught between the machinations of rival powers, they suffered repeated conquests, occupations, and consequent dispersals. Armenians today are seen as still caught in the middle between contemporary super-powers, their national aspirations and territorial claims being subjugated to international conflicts, over which they have little tangible influence. [This has led to a charter, which puts] the moral imperative imparting to successive generations a 'duty' to perpetuate their ethnic identity."

Although the inhabitants of 'Anjar consider themselves to be in a relatively more favourable situation than other Armenians in the diaspora, there is, as in the case of the London Armenians, an absence of a uniform prescription on how to perpetuate and maintain their identity and culture (see Talai 1988: 51). The members of A.R.F youth organisation, for instance, expressed concern that whatever means they have to

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preserve their identity are insufficient to end the threat of assimilation, as one member summarised:

"Assimilation is a serious threat to the perpetuation of our culture. We have seen evidence of this in the Middle Eastern Armenian communities, which we had thought were rather 'safe', in comparison to our communities in Europe and the Americas. We believe the only way to prevent this is by rallying the people towards the determination to demand justice for the Armenian genocide and the return of our lands. As long as we live in the diaspora, the threat of assimilation is going to be part of our reality. Hence, we have to find a way to achieve our objective of a 'Free and United Socialist Armenia'. Only then can we express our identities and preserve our culture and language".

The teachers of Armenian language, literature and history also expressed concern that the courses that they teach are not sufficient to perpetuate Armenian culture. Such courses are also subject to government policies and regulations. As one school principal pointed out:

"The educational curriculum has to be approved by the Lebanese government. The students have to be prepared for the Lebanese governmental exams and as a result, we have to give priority to subjects in these exams. Armenian language, literature and history are not part of the programme. They are given over and above the required courses. Hence, some students do not take these courses seriously. Nonetheless, I must say that the majority of our students are interested in learning Armenian. Many of our graduates have become teachers of Armenian language, literature, and history in other schools of the Armenian diaspora. Still others have become Armenian poets and writers".

One has to stress that the membership in the A.R.F. and its affiliated organisations as well as the Armenian schools were seen as means through which "Armenianness" can be maintained, but they were considered to be "no more than pain relievers". Furthermore, in spite of this shared concern for the preservation of their cultural identities, the inhabitants of 'Anjar did not provide for a "shared" means to achieve this end. Nor was there agreement on what constitutes Armenianness as a collective identity.

**The articulation of ideologies in 'Anjar
as expressed in the everyday discourse and practices of
the inhabitants**

The participant observer in 'Anjar, during his or her daily encounters with the inhabitants in 'Anjar experiences the articulation of the pre-1943 egalitarian ideology, and the pre-1939 feudal ideology, with the new relations of production and the new dominant mode of production - capitalism. The concept of articulation, following Comaroff (1985: 154), implies "the multilevel process of engagement which follows the conjuncture of" not only "socio-cultural systems" but also parts of such systems and ideologies. Visitors, researchers and villagers alike are faced in their everyday lives with the co-existence of diverse ideological representations and social, economic organisations as well as social relations of production. A description of the activities of any inhabitant during a regular day will suffice to show this.

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Let us take a day in the life of Vartouhi - a thirty-four year old mother of two school children and the wife of an agricultural wage worker. Her activities depend upon the season of the year. On an autumn day, she will have to prepare breakfast for the children, for her husband as well as for herself - though most women such as herself, who are not engaged in wage-work, do not have breakfast. The breakfast at home for the husband and children, would consist of milk³, bread⁴, home-made jam

³Milk is either purchased from the cooperative farm or the milk-cooperative, or from a neighbour who raises cows, or brought by an Arab nearby villager who collects the milk in the surrounding villages and sells it himself or herself, or it could be powder milk made in a European country and purchased either from the local stores, or the consumers' cooperative or distributed by the Armenian Relief Cross.

⁴There is a great variety of bread as well. It could be home baked in the neighborhood tonir - brick deep stove fueled by dried tree branches (tsakh), or purchased from the bakery, or it could be Arabic bread purchased from a local store, or from the automated bakery at the main entrance to the village on the Damascus-Beirut highway.

made of home-grown fruits, butter⁵, olives⁶. After sending the children to school and the husband to work, Vartouhi and the neighbourhood married and unmarried women who do not work outside the home come together and have subhiyyieh (a neighbourhood-based informally organised rotating get-togethers in one of the neighbour's house) for Arabic coffee, sweets, cookies, cakes, manaish - bread covered with za'tar and olive oil, and there may be some other Arabic pudding presented as well along with light and lively conversation. Even a glance at the food choices would let us see the co-existence of different types of production⁷ as well as distribution.

⁵ Butter is either home prepared or purchased from the local stores or the consumers' cooperative that have access to the imported butter from the European countries, mainly Denmark and France.

⁶Olives could be black or green, home prepared, sometimes home grown, but in most instances, it is purchased through the local stores that bring it in from Kura - northern Lebanon.

⁷Subsistence agriculture and farming co-operatives co-exist with petty commodity production and capitalism and a world division of labour.

Let us continue. Vartouhi remembers that she has to pay a visit to an old aunt and give her a little tomato paste that she made for herself the other day to last her throughout the winter. Making tomato paste is a major activity which takes place towards the end of the tomato season. The tomatoes - 50 to 100 kilograms - have to be washed, cut, squeezed, the juice then is cleared of the seeds, and then cooked in a large flat bowl (lagh) over a stove made of stone where a fire is made of wood and dried tree-foliage. The activity involves the participation of all the neighbourhood women and other relatives and takes about two evenings and a day. A barbecue (of sweet-corn cobs, tomatoes, eggplants, pepper, meat) is also made on the fire, for the immediate consumption of the participants in the activity as well as the children and husband of the household involved. As Vartouhi leaves her house to deliver the tomato paste to her old relative, she makes a conscious effort to prepare herself to be cross-examined by the members of the household of the agha family, whose house is on the road towards her destination. She tries to avoid them, but they somehow manage to catch her. They have to know where she is going, what is she carrying in her hands, what she

plans to do that day, what she is going to cook for the day and so on. Occasionally, they ask her to step in their house and do some chores as if she was their servant. She thinks, so what if they had been aghas in the homeland, they are not "feeding" anyone now. We have all been made equal. Finally, she makes it back home. She has yet to do the grocery shopping and prepare the main meal. Later on in the afternoon, she has to attend a meeting of the local Armenian Relief Cross "Akhtamar" chapter - an organisation that has educational, social, medical plans and takes a feminist-socialist standpoint in its educational public lectures and practices. The next day, she is going to miss her meeting for the Women's Association affiliated to the Church, because she has to go with her relatives to the apple orchard and help them in the harvest. She also has to discuss with her relatives about the house of another relative who has migrated to Saudi Arabia with his family. She had heard rumours that the house was going to be confiscated by the Syrian troops. Maybe something could be done, and if there is a relative who is willing to occupy it for a while, then the house could be saved. They could also take the issue to the A.R.F.

In the afternoon, the children will be back from school. She has to feed them something light - some fruits, either apples, pomegranates from their own garden near the house, or oranges purchased at the local stores or from Arab itinerant-vendors. Afterwards, she has to help them in their studies and if there are some subjects in which her husband excels, she leaves those until he returns from the field or orchard. She also has to listen the complaints of the children about the fact that they do not have a VCR. The other children at school talk about the cartoon-shows that they watch on their video-machines before going to bed. She listens time-and-time again to the argument that they need a car so that they could go to places outside 'Anjar as a family. Her young daughter has already suggested: "Let father sell his tractor, so that we too could have a nice car just like the one Salpi's father brought to her mother". Well, Vartouhi would tell them that, unlike Salpi's father, their father does not have a factory.

The dinner or the supper will be a time when the children narrate their activities and talk about their school record to their father. She also remembers that she has to mention to her husband that the children

are reaching the age to join the local organisations. She is not going to take them herself to the clubs; after all their father is as much responsible for their upbringing as she is. Tonight, the meal will consist of a vegetable stew and some cheese, olives, yoghurt (matzoun) and the husband likes to have a drink of arak as well. Afterwards, the schoolwork of the children is taken care of, and they are sent to bed. Resistance will follow. There are video-films to watch at the neighbour's house or some other program on Syrian television stations that has to be attended (the villagers have not been able to get the Lebanese television broadcast since the outbreak of the civil war).

Later at night, around 9 p.m., the husband and wife usually go out to visit friends or relatives (or sometimes receive visitors in their own house). Such evening visits are common and are referred to as injimain. This visiting activity is based on a homeland practice, common during the winter, involving the gathering of relatives and friends around an indoor fire. In the past, during the injimain, someone would narrate long legendary stories. Story tellers were highly valued and there were special skills associated with the narrative.

A technique employed was suspense and the division of the story into episodes. Nowadays, such get-togethers rarely involve story-telling, but rather they involve an informal discussion of the regional and international news, politics and presentation of issues of local importance.

A day in the life of a younger man or a younger woman would be quite different from the one just presented. Let us take, for instance, the case of Koko - a twenty-year old male. Koko was a high school dropout, and yet I found him always reading books. He also shows a great interest in the fine arts - especially in drawing and painting. He has intermittent employment as a jewelry designer in a goldsmithing firm - paid according to both the hours spent as well as for piece work. He also devotes a considerable amount of his time to the A.R.F. local youth chapter. Aside from serving as a designer of posters, as a member of the youth organisation, he has also to take part in the security programme, which involves spending a twenty-four hour stretch every week guarding the settlement (this has been so since the outbreak of the war in Lebanon, in 1975 - at the time Koko was too young to participate, now it is his turn). At his

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parents' home, he rarely partakes in the day-to-day activities. He wants "a way out" and a solution to the on-going crisis in Lebanon as well as an end to the work-shortages, as he once told me. Koko's work itself makes him aware of the problems of a commodity economy and the effects of the war, as well as of the international division of labour, and the world economic system. As a wage worker he works intermittently for a local goldsmithing factory that sells its products to Europe and the Arab oil countries, and his own work depends on the market demands in these countries. His case also reveals the existence within the settlement itself of capitalist and wage-worker relationships.

Young women of Koko's age, on the other hand, rarely drop out of high school. Usually, after graduation from high school, they continue their education. They could attend the government school in Hamara or in Zahlé or even in Beirut, and after passing the Baccalaureate part II examination in either mathematics, experimental sciences or in literature and philosophy enter a University. The preference once such a choice is made is for moving to Beirut and attending either the American University of Beirut, the Beirut University College, the

Haigazian College (Armenian), the Lebanese University, the Al-Jami'ya al 'Arabiyyah or follow either the pedagogical section or the Armenian studies section of the A.R.F.-run seminar programme in Djemaran (a College). During the pre-1975 years most young women ended up studying to become registered nurses (Numerically, according to the A.R.F. surveys and my own observations, those who continued in obtaining a post-high school education comprised only slightly less than ten percent of the annual high school graduates. Moreover, ninety-five per cent of all who did continue in their post-secondary education became diploma or B.S. nurses). Most of these nurses emigrated to the Arab oil countries and sent a considerable revenue to their parents, who used it to add new sections to the houses, to pay for the agricultural expenses and, if possible, to start a new business (or if the parents already had a business the money would be invested in that enterprise). Eventually, some of these women returned in order to get married and depending on the husband's position, occupation, income, ownership of land and property, either stayed or moved back into the Arab oil countries. After the outbreak of the civil war, the high school graduates began to consider a diverse range of specialisations. Unlike the earlier

high school graduates who were interested mainly in nursing diplomas and degrees, the post-1975 students began to exhibit an interest in the liberal arts and sciences. Young men also started to show a greater interest in pursuing a university education.

The cases described here can be used to unravel the existing dichotomies and relationships that may lead to contradictions. Some of these problems are the consequence of the co-existence of the pre-1939 feudal relations as an ideology in everyday activities, alongside socialism and capitalist relations of production. Other related issues are a consequence of the "generational" differences in terms of both knowledge and practice as well as differences in gender relations and the existence of social inequalities and their denial by a socialist ideology that attempts to do away with all inequalities.

As already mentioned, in spite of the fact that 'Anjar does not constitute a social and economic formation, it gives the impression - both to the inhabitants themselves and to visitors - of being a

totality, or rather a totality within larger totalities. This totality involves an articulation of various sociocultural and economic systems, modes of production and a world economic system. In the last pages we have attempted to re-construct that social reality. The inhabitants themselves view themselves as being part of the Armenian diaspora, the Lebanese State, the Beka'a province, the Zahlé county, and the international division of labour - through social, cultural, political, ideological and economic structures. The self-identifications (and as we have seen, there were a multitude of identities: as inhabitants of 'Anjar, as descendants of Mount Moussa, as an oppressed people, as refugees, Armenians, and Lebanese), however, as we shall see through the excerpts from interviews, rarely involved a recognition of class-based identity. In general, this coincided with an awareness of the diversity of the social relations of production both within their own community and throughout the Lebanese agricultural sector and countryside. Furthermore, the inhabitants interviewed showed a tendency to consider themselves (and all of 'Anjar) to be part of a broad "middle class" - to use their own terminology. In addition, unlike other regions of Lebanon, where sectarian loyalties have been found to

be one of the bases for identification, in 'Anjar, there was no evidence of such loyalties. Linguistic difference has been the main criterion used to differentiate themselves as a totality from the inhabitants of the other settlements in the region. At the same time, however, the inhabitants of 'Anjar use the following criteria to differentiate themselves from each other: the differences in local dialect and membership in an original homeland village, the family history - genealogies, and to a lesser extent religious confession.

The neighbourhood-divisions within the village, as already mentioned, are based on the names of the homeland villages. The inhabitants speak variants of a Western Armenian dialect. They all consider themselves to be Christians, but stress that they are not a religious people. The great majority are ascribed members of the Armenian National Church (Hayastanyiatz Arakelakan Yegeghetzi) (known as Armenian Orthodox Church) which used to be the Armenian State-religion since 301 AD until the downfall of the last Armenian kingdom in Armenia in 1045 and in Cilicia in 1375). The settlement has three churches with their respective schools: Armenian Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant-Evangelical. As discussed

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earlier, the emergence of the Catholic and Protestant churches among the Armenian communities in general, and among the inhabitants of 'Anjar, can be traced to the European and American missionary movement in the 19th century, throughout the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. As explained by the descendants of the first converts to Catholicism as well as converts to the Protestant Church, the conversions were based on a hope that there would be direct European or American (whichever the case may be) protection for the converts. In addition, as discussed earlier, some of the conversions followed personal disagreements and conflict with the families associated with the local Armenian National Church. However, after the relocation of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa in 'Anjar, there have not been any conversions.

In any case, the members who were responsible for the A.R.F. survey did not provide information on the religious composition of 'Anjar, arguing that it is not a basis for identification nor has anything to do with social inequality. Unlike Lebanon, where access to privileges and political power depends on religious confessionalism, in 'Anjar such factors are irrelevant. Such information could be obtained from the individual

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parishes⁸. Nonetheless, both during my 1980-1981 and 1986-1987 interviews I did ask questions about the religious denomination of the inhabitants. Although the tendency is to deny the existence of sectarianism, there is great participation in church-related activities. In fact, despite the claim of the inhabitants that they are not religious, most of them attend church services on a regular basis. In addition, the A.R.F. shows an active interest in the internal organisation and educational programmes of the churches. Church-affiliated organisations have assumed a role equivalent to social clubs. Such organisations, for instance, have been a meeting place for the youth of the community. In contrast

⁸During my fieldwork, I met with the responsible priests and civil members of all three parishes. The Armenian National Church is the largest in size (for instance, approximately 600 of the 742 families or households in 1986-87 were ascribed members of the Armenian National Church).

to adherence to the A.R.F., membership to such groups is rather open. As revealed through the interviews as well as through participant observation, unlike elsewhere in Lebanon, the churches are apolitical in 'Anjar. However, it has to be stressed that the Armenian National Church has a significant meaning in Armenian identity formation. As an Armenian poet has expressed, the National Church is "the honoured home of the Armenians" (dunne hayun badvagan). Furthermore, since religious confessionality is significant in Lebanon, I have included it as background information for the subjects interviewed. The following is the religious composition of the families interviewed:

Table 10: The confessional distribution of the interviewed families

Religious Confession	Number of Families	
	1980-1981	1986-1987
Armenian Orthodox	219	292
Armenian Catholic	4	5
Armenian Protestant (Evangelical)	2	3
TOTAL	225	300

According to my discussions with the leaders of the three religious denominations as well as my personal observations, this confessional composition of the interviewed population also corresponds to the overall population of 'Anjar . The Armenian National Church dominates not only the physical space of the community (it is the largest building in 'Anjar and is located on the highest ground in the area), it also governs the ritual calendar of the inhabitants of 'Anjar regardless of their religious denomination. Moreover, the majority of the inhabitants are members of the Armenian National Church. However, the distribution of the students in the three schools does not correspond to this pattern. Parents choose to send their children to any of the three schools regardless of confessional affiliation.

The denial of sectarianism is also expressed through the practices of collaboration among the three churches. Armenian National memorial feasts such as Vartanatz and April 24 (the memorial day for the Armenian genocide) are held within the premises of any of the churches (or affiliated school buildings). The clergy of all three Churches participate in such activities. During

such events, the main speakers, however, are members of the A.R.F. (in most cases the A.R.F. would have guest speakers from Beirut).

This non-sectarianism, I was told, is only a recent phenomenon. Indeed, in the past there had been struggle among the Protestants, Catholics and the Armenian National Church. The Protestants and Catholics were looked upon by the youth of the 1950s and 1960s as attempting to generate cleavages among the Armenians. In addition, the Catholics were accused of giving priority to their Pope, undermining the interests of the Armenian people. The Protestants, on the other hand, were seen as leading the Armenian population, in particular the students, into Bible study and Christian passivity. For the inhabitants of 'Anjar, religion should not be given too much importance. On the contrary, in any educational programme, history, in particular the history of the revolutionary struggles of peoples (and of the Armenian people), should have priority over any other concerns. As the inhabitants were eager to show me, during the 1980s, both the Protestants and the Catholics had changed. They now give priority to the concerns of the

Armenian people. Their church sermons and school programmes devote considerable attention to Armenian history, the genocide, the resistance movement and Armenian National holidays. This change in attitude, I was informed, was brought about through the efforts of the A.R.F. (and in particular, through the practices of the youth of the 1960s). During the past two decades, as the inhabitants of 'Anjar expressed it, "a medium of happy co-existence and cooperation has been generated".

Furthermore, for the inhabitants of 'Anjar, their non-sectarianism and de-emphasis of religion did not have any relationship to their individual-selves as believers. Beliefs, for them, were "personal" and "apolitical". Indeed, participation in religious rituals and feasts, I was told and also observed, was assumed "to have nothing to do" with beliefs. Believers (regardless of religious denomination) and non-believers alike participated in religious ceremonies, as an expression of "Armenianness". As one inhabitant of 'Anjar pointed out:

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"The participants in the ceremonies could be atheists, Armenian Orthodox, Protestants, Catholics or followers of pre-Christian practices⁹. Beliefs are not an issue here. The feasts and ceremonies are there to express our Armenian National history."

⁹The inhabitants of 'Anjar explained that they have a number of recognised beliefs and practices which date to the pre-Christian period in Armenian history (pre-303 A.D.). Such beliefs and practices include a belief in the "evil eye", the "tree of life" (sacred trees); an avoidance to describe children as "beautiful". In expressing their love of someone else's child they tend to say "tegh sirim zas tcherkin dghan" (let me love this ugly boy), or "ishenk hala tchouts tcherkin ashkain gounak" (let us see how ugly a girl you have). They also have a long list of prescriptions on behaviours, on starting a new piece of work, or cutting the nails.

The discourses in 'Anjar

The dominant discourse in 'Anjar has been the socialist ideology of the A.R.F. This dominance has through the practices of the A.R.F. involving 1. a gradual control over the socialisation process, including the school programmes and boards of education in most of the diaspora communities (However, unlike other communities in the diaspora, in 'Anjar the A.R.F. faces no competition); 2. control over the churches and their affiliated organisations; 3. creation of a series of A.R.F.-affiliated organisations such as the Armenian Relief Cross, the Armenian Scouts Movement, the Armenian Sportive General Association (Homentetmen), and the "Hamazkain" Armenian Cultural Association throughout the diaspora (see annex 3); 4. within 'Anjar itself this control also includes economic aspects such as the control over the municipality and its resources, the co-operatives and the water-works. The distribution of drinking water, irrigation and the maintenance of the

water-works are in the hands of the local A.R.F. committee. The members responsible for this operation are either appointed or elected on an annual basis and are not paid wages. Only technicians are employees (part-time or full-time wage workers).

The dominant A.R.F. discourse has been perpetuated in the everyday life of the inhabitants of 'Anjar through a variety of ways. Official A.R.F. publications such as Aztag (daily newspaper), Droshak (weekly review), Razmik (review published by the A.R.F. Youth organisation of Lebanon), Kaidzer (A.R.F. Bureau publication for all Armenian youth throughout the world) and numerous other publications have constituted and continue to constitute means through which the discourse and ideology of the A.R.F. have been transmitted to the local population. Songs of the Armenian liberation struggle and other A.R.F. revolutionary songs have also been a means through which the ideology of the A.R.F. has been perpetuated. Learnt during childhood, these songs have become part of the life of every member in 'Anjar. Such songs have been sung and continue to be sung during official A.R.F. gatherings, public meetings, funerals,

weddings, family re-unions and in fact on almost any occasion. The stress in this discourse has been on revolutionary (armed) struggle against all forms of oppression and on the liberation of the oppressed and dispersed Armenians throughout the world. The socialism expressed in the publications and songs of the A.R.F. has been the revolutionary overthrow of all oppressive relationships and the establishment of social justice, democratic socialist relations and societies in which the means of production as well as of distribution are held collectively and managed in a democratic decentralised way (analogous to how the A.R.F. views its own organisation; see for instance Berberian (1985: 5). This discourse fails to take into consideration the existence of social inequalities among the Armenian populations. The official position has been that such observations would undermine the unity of the Armenian masses and would result in a hindrance to the Armenian cause.

The inhabitants of 'Anjar have recognised within the A.R.F. discourse an encouragement for their own liberation struggle or uprising in 1915. In addition, as they have expressed it, their concern for social justice

has also been the concern of the A.R.F. This concern for social justice had been present in their discourse long before they had become members within the A.R.F. The mythologies and legends of their ancestors had always expressed a deep sense of social justice. Their heroes have been poor but honest and hardworking men and women or suffering people (rich or poor). The legends also expressed a hatred for oppression and a longing for love and the disappearance of rulers. Thus, for instance, we see these notions expressed in the legend of the crying cliff narrated by A. Leylani (M. DerKaloustian 1929: 47-51):

This [the crying cliff] rock formation located near the village of Keboussieh in Mount Moussa, used to be a shrine. The belief was that inside the crying cliff resided the Conscience, who had come into our world in the form of a beautiful maid, named Tekghin. She had come from a legendary world like a goddess holding a green olive branch and carrying on her shoulder a pot full of the essence of happiness. The path that she had crossed in her journey had been covered with a variety of flowers. However, the cities and villages refused to give this beautiful woman permission to enter. Hit and stoned by the guards of cities, palaces and villages, Tekghin took refuge in Mount Moussa. In the forest she met her sister Varvara. Together they sung a song that tamed the wild beasts and drove the mermaids /tsovanushner/ into Mount Moussa where they danced around the two sisters. The rulers and city-guards heard of the singing and sent their troops to Mount Moussa. Varvara was killed by the soldiers. The mermaids were transformed into blind egheramairer

[professional singing women in funerals] and the mountain itself was transformed into a dark thick forest. Tekghin had run away and taken refuge in the cliff. Since that time, the cliff with its red tears continues to "cry over the lost Conscience in this world". One day, the people believed, when rulers, kings, and princes no longer exist Tekghin (Conscience) and justice would again appear in the world.

In contrast to this sense of justice, the inhabitants of Mount Moussa had an elaborate system of stratification (and classes), and therefore social inequality. As we have seen in the previous chapters, in 1939 an attempt was made to abolish the pre-1939 relations of production and status system. However, in spite of the widely-held socialist principles and notions of equality, these pre-1939 elements of the ideational superstructure, in Larrain's sense of the term (1979), had found expression in the social relations and everyday discourse and practices of the inhabitants.

During my stay in 'Anjar in 1980-81 and 1986-87, I found out that whereas a considerable majority of the inhabitants of 'Anjar followed the dominant A.R.F.

discourse (and argued that 'Anjar constitutes a classless egalitarian community), as we will see in the following chapter in my discussion of social classes, many of those people showed awareness of the growing inequalities in 'Anjar. Still others followed the pre-1939 status system (and openly argued that the principle of equality is utopian. Some people stated that "equality has never been achieved nor will it ever be achieved", and that "people are not born equal, nor could they be made equal". A descendant of a family of aghas asserted that the pre-1939 status system has continued and that, not only relations of production have never changed, it is necessary to have aghas. His argument was that in order for any production process to occur there have to be people who occupy different positions with respect to it. There has to be a category of people who own the means of production and others who have to provide labour. He added that if all people were aghas and owners of the means of production who would "produce our food ?" To justify his argument for the necessity of different production relations, he used to say: "es agha an agha mer aghune ov agha" /when I am an agha he/she is an agha, who is going to grind our wheat ?/).

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Suffice it to mention that marriages that involved a challenge to the pre-1939 status system could also be considered to be evidence of the co-existence of diverse discourses (practices). Such marriages, as discussed in earlier chapter, constitute instances where discourses are produced that support the pre-1939 status system. We could consider the discourses of some of the youth and some of the women who had shown, throughout my stay in 'Anjar, a sense of an understanding of the existing inequalities and the effects of the war to be forming yet a further contrast to the dominant discourse of the A.R.F. and the continuation of the pre-1939 status system as an ideology.

The diversities of ideological discourses expressed in the literary works (and perhaps the paintings and sculpture) of the inhabitants of 'Anjar could also be considered to be part of the ideational superstructure. The early writers of the descendants of Mount Moussa were of diverse background and of diverse political affiliation. The ideas expressed in their writings also reflected this diversity. The most prominent writers, according to the inhabitants of 'Anjar, however, were

those who wrote in a "committed" (engagé) style. Many of the writers such as Eduard Boyadjian, Boghos Snabian, Bedig Herian (Hergelian), and many others are well known among the Armenians.

Written between 1930s and the early 1960s, E. Boyadjian's poetry and prose, for instance, reflect the historical experiences, revolutionary ideas and practices of the inhabitants in the pre-1939 situation, the 1915 uprising, the 1937-1939 turmoil and deportation orders, the process of evacuation and its difficulties, the hardship of the first years in the new settlement (including resentment to the attempt to abolish social inequalities), the second World War, the post-War problems, the mass emigration movement to the Armenian SSR, and the view of the world that inhabitants of 'Anjar have developed through these experiences. This view treats the individual practices of the descendants of Mount Moussa and their practices as a collectivity within a wider framework subject to the practices of other collectivities and their interests. Furthermore, Boyadjian's work also depicts the diversity of discourses among the inhabitants of 'Anjar. For instance, one of his short stories depicts an old man's anger and frustration

against the egalitarian way in which the 1939-1943 Central Council treated the inhabitants of 'Anjar. The man wanted his status and rank in the A.R.F. and in the pre-1939 situation to "have meaning" in the new context, and help him get a house on "higher ground" /"bartser tegh tun me"/, but in vain. No one received "a favourable treatment". Everyone was made equal and therefore, "non-distinct"/ "non-unique" (Boyadjian 1963: 8-66).

Snabian's work, written between the 1940s and 1980s, also expresses a concern for the experiences of the people of Mount Moussa and 'Anjar. Born in 1929 in Bitias (Mount Moussa), Boghos Snabian experienced the uprooting of his people in 1939, and this led him to express anger against the World through his writings. One of his short stories, for example, entitled "Kisherain mahazank" (Night death-tolls) is a narrative of his childhood recollection of the events of 1937-1939 and diverse reactions of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa (1983: 7-36). He also shows a strong identification and attachment to the historic resistance of his people in 1915. In a north American tour in October 1988 both in Cambridge, Ont. and in Montréal, his lectures were on the Forty Days of Mount Moussa, from the reality to Franz Werfel's

novel. His writings also cover other aspects of the human condition and a recognition of cultural diversities. He stands for justice and the ideals of the A.R.F. and openly criticises practices of some members and their abuse of their elected or appointed positions.

It is to be stressed that these diverse thoughts were and are supported by the A.R.F. Since the A.R.F. has advocated an ideological diversity and has institutionalised diversity within its own discourse, it openly supports writers, works of art and artists. This is also considered part of the A.R.F. support for Armenian culture and its perpetuation.

It is perhaps worth mentioning here that recent (1970s and 1980s) poetry and prose published by local writers does not show a close link with the experiences of the inhabitants of 'Anjar as a community. The movement is "to do away with regionality". Thus, for example, the works of the late young poet B. Herian (Hergelian) reflect broader concerns such as the human society, social values, the human condition, the Armenian cause (as a totality),

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the civil war in Lebanon (see Naz DerSarkissian 1987 for an overview of Herian's poetry). With Herian, a new interest emerged among the youth of 'Anjar in international literature and philosophical schools. Herian also led to the rise of a new literary movement among the youth of 'Anjar.

One could also argue that even the dominant ideological discourse in 'Anjar has never been "uniform". The A.R.F., as discussed in earlier chapters, has historically been a re-groupment of diverse discourses, namely, Marxism, Anarchism, and Populism. The organisation of the A.R.F. with its structural decentralisation has provided its followers with an ideational superstructure, within which inconsistencies can and do co-exist. Throughout my stay in 'Anjar, I noticed that the A.R.F. was cherished by all (regardless of whether they were members of the A.R.F. or not). However, at the same time there was strong criticism directed against A.R.F. actions (and inadequacies). As one A.R.F. member pointed out, the A.R.F. has had serious problems in the past decades, one of the most serious of which has been a lack of a clear prescription for how to reach its objectives (an end to all kinds of exploitation,

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social equality and "Free and United Socialist Armenia").

Another member also expressed a similar view:

"The A.R.F. has this ideal of an end to all injustice, social inequality, and exploitation, and has assumed the responsibility of bringing a solution to the Armenian Cause. But it has not provided us with a clear guideline on strategies that would lead us to our objectives. It is an open forum for diverse opinions. Some members have more practical strategies than others. There are some who are extremely cautious, and others who believe in armed struggle. There are still others who believe that the A.R.F. and other similar organisations are only a means to perpetuate our cultural heritage and act as a hindrance against assimilation and all these objectives are nothing more than symbols to express our Armenianness. All these diverse views are expressed within the A.R.F. and are not considered inconsistent, even though they do appear to be rather contradictory. The A.R.F. is the medium within which contradictory views can and do co-exist. At one point one view may be dominant, because the people or members who represent it may be in a higher position within the organisation and some other time the dominant view could be the opposite of the previous view."

In fact, this very flexibility to incorporate diverse discourses has led the A.R.F. "to be the political organisation of the masses", as one inhabitant attested. Moreover, support for the A.R.F. has become a means of expressing one's "Armenianness". However, through incorporating diverse discourses, the A.R.F. has led to the mystification of the reality.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE APPEARANCE OF SOCIAL CLASSES AND THEIR NATURE:

AN EGALITARIAN SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

In the last chapter I began to present the ideological discourses expressed among the inhabitants of 'Anjar. In what follows these discourses will be examined further and an attempt will be made to see their relationship to the existing social inequalities that have been evident throughout the interviews and surveys conducted in 'Anjar.

The socio-economic profile of the inhabitants interviewed (in 1980-81 and 1986-87) revealed the following factors: the majority of the male members of the families interviewed were either agricultural wage workers or non-agricultural commodity producing wage workers. On

the other hand, the majority of the women in the interviewed families were housewives or unpaid domestic labourers in their household, in addition to being subsistence cultivators or farmers, while others were non-commodity producing wage workers. Only a minority of the women was found to be engaged in agricultural or non-agricultural commodity producing wage work. This trend was also evident in the results of the general surveys summarised earlier. In both cases, the results indicate the co-existence of diverse relations of production and the dominance of the relation between capital and commodity producing wage work. The dominant social relations of production were therefore, between capital and commodity producing wage labour. The other relations were those of petty commodity production and non-productive wage work. The co-existence of capitalism with petty commodity production and subsistence cultivation renders the otherwise dichotomous relationship between capital and wage labour difficult to be perceived. In order to determine the nature of these relations and whether or not the categories thus defined are organised in classes, political and ideological criteria have to be examined.

The interviews also revealed that great importance was given to family backgrounds. This was evident in almost all cases. In addition, the position of individuals in the A.R.F. was also taken to be as a decisive element in establishing social position: A man gained prestige among his friends and relatives due to the fact that his daughter had married the local A.R.F. committee representative. Ironically enough, when the marriage plans were announced, the inhabitants found the bride to be of a family far superior to that of the groom's. She is a descendant of a family of barins and he is not.

In most cases, the perceptions of class position as well as of status were based on criteria other than income, occupation, position with respect to the production process, the position of the family in the homeland situation. For instance, a household - descendants of a well established and esteemed family of independent peasants (petty commodity producers), perceived itself to be of "lower classes". It is to be noted that the household was composed of four unmarried

young sisters -left orphan (both parents had died early). They were all high school graduates and the eldest was specialised in dress-designing. She was working at home as a dress-designer and seamstress. The second sister helped the first in doing the needlework. The third sister worked independently and earned a living through selling her knitcraft-products. The fourth sister was the manager of a local bookstore; she had a salaried employment. They also derived an income from their apple orchard, and practiced subsistence agriculture on the land-plot near the house. House chores were shared equally (They took turns in cooking, cleaning, shopping, etc). They also collectively owned a car. The housing facilities consisted of two bedrooms - one of which was turned into a work-shop for the designing and making of the dresses for the local clients; a living room, which was quite well decorated; a large kitchen and dining room; two bathrooms with hot-water installations. Their income for 1986 was estimated to be over one hundred and fifty thousand Lebanese pounds. They also are active participants in the local cultural association, Hamazkain, in the associations affiliated with the Armenian National Church (Armenian Orthodox), as well as in neighbourhood associations. I found it rather odd that they considered

themselves to be "of lower classes and poor". The second sister stated:

"Our family moved into 'Anjar after my mother's death. At the time we were very young. I hardly remember it. My youngest sister was only sixteen months old. My father had thought that it is better to raise the children in the countryside than in the city. Though we are from Mount Moussa, my father's family had migrated in the late 1930s to Aleppo. My father had a small work-shop where he used to carve combs of wood, bone or ivory. A merchant would then pick up the produce and sell it in either the local market or export it. After we re-settled in 'Anjar, he secured us a house and a land-plot. For a while the agricultural produce constituted our only income. As in the case of the combs, again the merchants got the profit from our agricultural production. Since we were very young, my father relied on hired help as well as help from other relatives in taking care of the land. After his death we managed the land again on hired labour and through the guidance of relatives. In this world, you either have to be a wage labourer or a very rich person. We are neither. I really think that moving into a city would provide us with more opportunities than those available here. We are in stagnation. I think we belong to the lower classes and to the rank of the numerous poor in the world. I must say that our situation is not as bad as that of the famine stricken people in Africa or in other parts of the world, nor is it comparable to the condition of the refugees from Southern Lebanon - though, I must remind you that our descendants were also refugees [in 1939 and earlier in 1915-1919]."

This excerpt reveals a number of themes that were frequently brought into the discussions. Among these an identification with poverty was a common theme. There

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was also a feeling or a notion that socio-economic conditions in 'Anjar were in stagnation. There were relatively fewer opportunities open to the inhabitants; a sense of an identification with other refugees; an undefined notion of classes, etc. The young also brought in the effects of the civil war. A twenty three year old girl, the youngest daughter of a restaurant owner who had accumulated a lot of agricultural land, for instance, pointed out that the inflation, itself the consequence of the last stage of the Lebanese crisis, is bound to have negative effects on the whole region:

"The great majority of the inhabitants of 'Anjar, as well as of other agricultural settlements, are daily wage workers. The wages are not keeping up with the fast pace of the rate of inflation. How are these people going to live when day wages are still only 100 - 150 L.L. when the prices of foods and other household consumption needs have more than tripled, and are continuing to rise? It may be a minor problem to us, because we had turned our money into commodities and hence are immune to the inflation process. However, the majority of the inhabitants (in particular the daily wage workers) do not have money that they do not need for their immediate subsistence and therefore, cannot buy commodities for future use, as a safeguard against inflation. As a result, some people are getting poorer while others are getting richer. I think this is an instance of class (engerayin dassakarg) differentiation. Until now we had been immune from class inequalities; now we can't help it. Maybe our organisations (the A.R.F. and the Armenian Relief Cross) would do something, but distributing charity will not resolve the problem".

These examples are not the norm. The general tendency was to deny the existence of classes. In informal discussions and interviews, the notion of social class was conceptualised by the inhabitants of 'Anjar, in a variety of ways. These were in terms of: a. life-style. Each class was assumed to have a life-style associated with it. The inhabitants of 'Anjar were considered to be having the life-style of the middle classes in Lebanon. This was in turn defined in terms of material goods such as the ownership of electrical appliances such as washers, television sets, VCRs, ownership of cars and other household goods, as well as in terms of fashion; b. Sometimes the notion of class was defined in terms of income and at others with respect to occupation. However, the tendency was to view every household in 'Anjar to be having quite similar annual incomes. Moreover, occupation was rarely associated with income. Often individuals belonging to the professional occupations such as engineering and medicine were considered to constitute the upper class; c. genealogies and family position (status) in the pre-1939 situation. It was argued, by the majority, that despite one's current financial situation,

a person whose family had a high status prior to 1939 has a different life-style and is of a higher class even though "there may exist no classes in 'Anjar". The argument is that 'Anjar constitutes an egalitarian community and that as a collectivity the standard of life in it corresponds to that of the middle class in Lebanon. This was the view expressed by the majority (58 %) of the three hundred families interviewed. This was also the viewpoint of the key personnel, such as the mayor, the priests, the school principals, the older members of the community and older members in the rank of the A.R.F. (as well as the official A.R.F. position). However, some of the members of the A.R.F. committee and the youth organisation both during 1986-1987 and in 1980-1981, held considerably different views from the "official" A.R.F. position. Many were aware of the inequalities inherent in the community. Others, although they recognised the existence of inequalities in 'Anjar, refrained from making any remarks on the issue. Moreover, it is perhaps worth noting here that in 1986-1987 there was concern by all the inhabitants of 'Anjar that "inequality may develop" due to the deterioration of the economic conditions of the region as a whole.

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It is also worth stressing here that only very few people and some young people showed a consciousness that the deteriorating economic conditions were affecting some people more than others and that it was a serious problem to agricultural wage workers and those who were either unemployed or had intermittent employment.

This brings us to the problem of class consciousness and the concept of ideology or ideologies as well as of discourses. Class consciousness is only one form of consciousness; and just like any other form it is socially determined; and there are a variety of expressed discourses. Further, the example of 'Anjar of the 1980s forces one to question the existing conceptualisations of the concept of ideology as well as the "workings of ideologies" (Messick 1987: 219). The "critical" opinion expressed by the youth and some members in 'Anjar can be considered subordinate discourse to that upheld by the dominant group - the A.R.F. and yet this latter, in turn, represent a subordinate discourse coexisting with the dominant ideology (ideologies ?) of the Lebanese state -

such a conceptualisation is rather problematic in view of the fact that, as Dubar and Nasr (1976) have shown, Lebanon has a plurality of ideologies, some of which are in contradiction to one another; each segment of population and/or religious-sectarian grouping has its own ideology - in the sense of world view, as well as a different image of Lebanon or what it should be.

In the case of 'Anjar, as the occupational distribution suggests, there are several wage workers, implying that many people are part of capitalist relations of production. At the same time, there are also petty commodity producers and subsistence cultivators co-existing with the former. In addition, some of the wage-workers themselves practice subsistence agriculture and farming, making the situation even more complicated to analyse. Moreover, this co-existence of the different modes of production makes it difficult to examine the nature of the inequalities exhibited by the unequal distribution of income. Are the social relations of production those of class relations? Can inequalities of income constitute classes? In any case, how are social classes defined? How can they be identified in a

concrete field-situation ? In what follows an attempt is made to answer some of these concerns through a brief overview of the way in which social classes have been conceived within the anthropological discourse.

Social Classes and Anthropology

Social classes have been considered by some social scientists and anthropologists such as Sahlins (1958: 2-3), to be modern phenomena and irrelevant to the study of so called "primitive" or non-Western or traditional societies subject to anthropological inquiry. However, inequality of which class differentiation is one example, has been considered to be manifest in all human societies¹.

¹In anthropological discourse, the notion of inequality appears in relation to hierarchic relationships, stratification and the concept of power. The concepts of stratification, inequality and hierarchies are linked to notions of status, role, office, and this latter to notions of rank, order or estate. The concept of status, originated by Maine and Spencer, refers to the position of an individual with respect to others within the same group. The notion of role, on the other hand, represents the dynamic aspect of status. Both concepts are associated to the notion of office, which implies them and through it they both seem to be its particular cases. Moreover, the category of office "expresses political power, and its own hierarchy, in its relation to social stratification" (Balandier 1972: 88-89). The concepts of rank and order denoted by the notion of office are sometimes confused in the anthropological literature or rather they are used interchangeably (Balandier 1972: 89). However, whereas the former refers to a particular hierarchy, the latter is a type of stratification (see Rousseau 1978b: 90-92; and Balandier 1972: 89).

Moreover, until recently, discussions of types of social inequality rarely went beyond an examination of ranking to include types of stratification. This has been so as a result of a pre-occupation by anthropologists with "other cultures". Further, as already mentioned, this is a consequence of an assumption held by some social scientists that for instance social classes are "modern" phenomena. Thus, for example, Bottomore believes that "the division of society into distinct social classes is one of the most striking manifestations of inequality in the modern world" (1966: 8-9). If so, then, are the societies, cultures, peoples, communities that anthropologists study, outside that modern world ?

In reviewing the literature on classes, Lasswell comes to the following conclusion:

"The area of social class and social stratification at present seems to be a conceptual muddle. The vista is admittedly depressing. We find it peopled by those who insist that social class is indistinguishable from social stratification; by those who insist that social class is real and social stratification is a fiction; by still others who insist that neither social class nor social stratification has any real referent" (Lasswell 1965: 53).

Two broad approaches to the study of classes can be recognised: Marxist and non-Marxist. The non-Marxist tradition stems from Max Weber's approach, which shows a tendency for a hierarchical rather than a dichotomous conception of classes². An alternative to either hierarchical or dichotomous conceptions of classes is their conceptualisation in terms of the functions they

² A class, for Weber, consists of a group of persons in the same class situation, which is a probability deriving from the relative control over goods and skill, as well as from their income producing uses within a given economic order (1968: 302). As Crompton and Gubbay argue, Weber's conceptualisation of classes is based on his notion of "life chances", as mediated through the market (1978: 5-6). Central to his argument is that life-chances or class situations are not determined by economic factors alone. Explicitly or implicitly Weber has set out to contradict what he considered an economic determinism in Marx's work. It is to that aim that he has put forth the concept of life chances and the notion of status. Thus, in his work there is a distinction between class stratification and stratification by prestige (Weber 1968: 305). It is this latter conception which is found to undermine Marx's notion of class consciousness, as Bottomore points out (1966: 25), in two important ways: a. by interposing between the two major classes a range of status groups and thus, narrowing the differences between the extreme positions in the class structure; b. when social hierarchy is presented as a continuum of status positions, the relations between the groups becomes one of competition and not of conflict. Within the Marxist tradition, on the other hand, class consciousness is the consciousness of common interests, and is achieved when a "class-in-itself" is transformed into a "class-for-itself". Class consciousness appears when "classes 'in themselves' are transformed into historical subjects, and as such capable of reflection and initiative, by struggling and fighting

fulfill (Ossowski 1963: 58)³. Another trend has been attempts to synthesize the Marxist and Weberian theories of classes. The first to initiate such an attempt has been Dahrendorf. Dahrendorf takes Weber's notion of status and develops his own terminology of classes as opposed to strata⁴ (1959).

Adherents of theories of social classes hesitate to attribute them to so-called traditional societies. Some theorists following a Marxist notion of classes have interpreted such societies in terms of proto-classes, or have considered them to be in a transitional stage between classless and class societies (Balandier 1972: 91).

against each other" (Terray 1975: 92). A major criticism against Weber's theory of class, as Crompton and Gubbay point out (1978: 3), is that "class conflicts are not confined to the gaining and losing of market advantage". Another criticism is that the conception of classes with respect to their relations to the market does not rise above economic determinism nor does it account for the relationship between social class and political power.

³ An example of this is Parsons' conception of classes, which is both hierarchical and functional. Thus, while regarding classes as "a transitional phase in the

⁴ He defines a stratum as "a category of persons who occupy a similar position on a hierarchical scale of

However, it is to be noted that during the past two decades, French Marxist anthropology has contributed not only a re-evaluation of Marxist concepts, but also it has led to the application of the concept of class to non-Western and pre-capitalist and traditional societies. Examples, to mention only a few, include Terray's study of classes in the Abron kingdom of Gyaman (1975), Rey's political and theoretical presentation of the transformation of peasants into urban proletariat in African marginal or peripheral capitalism (1976), as well as his earlier studies on colonialism and neocolonialism (1971) and on the alliance of classes (1973).

development of the stratification systems which have become prominent in modern societies since the industrial revolution", he considers inequalities essential in economic productivity, power and authority, as well as competence, to be contributing to societal functioning.

certain situational characteristics such as income, prestige, style of life". As such, then, it is a descriptive category drawing from Weber's concept of stratification by prestige. Class, in contrast is "an analytical category" that has existence and "meaning" within the confines of a theory of class. Classes are unen conceived to be "interest groupings emerging from certain structural conditions which operate as such and effect structural changes" (1959: ix).

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Another angle of the problem concerns the limitations of the concept of class to state societies. Fried, for instance, regards the existence of stratification to be a pre-requisite for the emergence of the state (1968: 167). Likewise, White treats the state as a product of inequality and the cleavage between the rulers and the ruled (1959)⁵. The relationship between the state - irrespective of whether it is an early state or not - and social classes becomes evident with respect to the notion of political power, which by definition exists only in hierarchies of social relationships, and therefore implies social inequality (see Poulantzas 1978: 147 and Wesolowski 1979: 18-29).

⁵Such positions derive from Engels' work on The origins of the family, private property, and the state, where Marx's concept of the Asiatic mode of production has been left out. The question of the existence and role of classes in the appearance of the state, and the ascription of the characteristics of the Asiatic mode to the early states has been raised by Claessen and Skalnik (1978: 23).

The concept of class has become the symbol of Marxism (Ossowski 1963: 70-71). This is perhaps related to Marx's and Engels' famous proclamation in the Manifesto of the Communist Party that: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (1980: 35). However, as Engels notes in the 1888 English edition, history here is used to refer to "all written history". Furthermore, Marx in a much cited letter to Wydemeyer (March 5, 1852) refrains from taking credit for "discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them". What he claims to have introduced is:

"... to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society" (1980: 679).

Throughout their works, Marx and Engels have employed the concept of class in various contexts suggesting "a variable denotation" (Ossowski 1963: 71). Nevertheless, the distinctive characteristics of Marx's

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conception, as mentioned in the aforementioned letter are: that classes are perceived with respect to the place they occupy in a given mode of production - their existence depends on "particular historical phases in the development of production"; and that class struggle leads to the transformation of the particular historical epochs marked by the existence of classes. It is to be stressed that the importance given to the "sharing of economic interests" in the Marxian conceptualisation of classes, "does not constitute a sufficient condition for a valid definition" within that framework (Ossowski 1963: 71).

Several criticisms have been directed towards Marx's theory of classes. Some like Schumpeter have found Marx's theory fragmentary. Thus we see Schumpeter pointing out that although Marx did recognise the importance of classes, he did not develop a theory of classes per se. What he gave or offered was an outline of a theory of the formation of classes (1951: 134). Parkin, on the other hand, directs his criticisms to the fact that Marx's theory of classes does not provide any room for the possibility of cleavages in terms of ethnic, religious, linguistic or sexual divisions:

"The Marxist preoccupation with the realm of production, increasingly held up as its mark of theoretical rigour, obscures from view any recognition of the possibility that some line of cleavage other than that between capital and labour could constitute the primary source of political and social antagonism" (1979: 5).

Parkin's criticism is not well grounded and shows his lack of familiarity with the various works of Marxists and Engels' study of the position of the labour class in England in the light of the Irish immigrants (1960; Engels 1971: 104-107) - a situation, which, as Rey shows (1973: 177), resembles the discourse which is taking place today.

Since the notion of classes within Marx's theory has been associated with "particular historical phases in the development of production", a considerable amount of attention has to be devoted to the constructs of "modes of production" and "social formations". The last decades have witnessed a growing interest in reviving Marx's theoretical constructs and specifically his concept of mode of production. In his critical review of Marxism, and the theory or theories of social classes

pertinent to Africa, Stephen Katz gives several reasons for this renewed interest in "mode of production", among which the following shows its relevance to the theory of social classes (1980: 51):

"An adequate theory of class depends on the theoretical differentiation of class and economy. Furthermore, the study of class formation can only successfully proceed if the effects of politics and ideology (as well as the economy) on class formation are clearly understood. The concept of mode of production has been essential in clarifying these theoretical requirements and therefore in contributing to the adequate theorisation of class".

The following passage from the preface to A contribution to the critique of political economy, is relevant to an understanding of Marx's concept of modes of production and their transformations:

"In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general ... At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production ... From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution" (1980: 182).

The mode of production, thus, defines the essence of all historical reality. Though it refers to the economic aspect of production, it does not neglect the articulation of the non-economic aspects in their relation to the mode of economic production (Balibar 1967: 189). The contradictions leading to the transformation of modes of production are at a level of the productive forces and the social relations of production. For Althusser, once the determination in the last instance by the mode of production has been established, the other structural levels can be treated in relative autonomy (1982: 111).

Balibar considers the means of production to be derivatives of social relations of production, and comes to define a mode of production as an ensemble of elements necessary in the economic process. Such a conception requires the enumeration of the functions of the process and determination of criteria which permit the distinction of the forms or elements within the process in question. These elements are the labourer, the means of production and the non-labourer, combined in terms of relations of property and relations of real appropriation (1967: 204-

209). Hence, for him, the task is to outline the elements of a general definition of a mode that will apply to all modes, which will be variations of the general model.

Hindess and Hirst, on the other hand, present conflicting views on modes of production. Thus, in Pre-capitalist modes of production they accept the essentials of Althusserian conceptualisation, by defining a mode of production as follows:

"an articulated combination of relations and forces of production structured by the dominance of the relations of production. The relations of production define a specific form of social distribution of surplus-labour and the specific form of social distribution of the means of production corresponding to that mode of appropriation of surplus labour" (1975: 9-10).

However, in their autocritique, Hindess and Hirst reject the notion of "the articulated combination of forces and relations of production", as well as the unity of the concept of mode of production, and argue for a development of notions of relations of production and social formations (1977: 5).

The existence of classes is established by the appropriation of surplus labour. However, the nature of classes is determined by "the use to which extorted surplus labour is put and the effects this utilisation has on the intensity of exploitation" (Terray 1975: 97). Moreover, within the Marxist theory of classes, the conceptualisation is with respect to the place they occupy in the production process. Within this framework how is, then, the notion of class consciousness - a term associated with Marxism - formulated? Classes "characterised by their function within the mode of production, their position at one end or other of a relation of exploitation" form classes "in themselves" (Terray 1975: 91). Exploitation alone does not render a class "in itself" into a class "for itself" - a class conscious of itself. The transformation occurs through class struggle:

"classes 'in themselves' are transformed into historical subjects, and as such capable of reflection and initiative, by struggling and fighting against each other. But this transformation, which may be more or less deep-seated, more or less lasting, will vary with the mode of production" (Terray 1975: 92).

The introduction of the notions of classes in- and for-

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themselves, however, do not provide us with a solution. A class in itself refers to the "position in the system of production relations". A class for itself, on the other hand, refers to a situation where a. all members occupy the same position in the relations of production and b. where they have adequate perception of their position. Moreover, the distinction between a class 'in itself' to a class 'for itself', as Giddens points out (1982: 40), "conceals a possible ambiguity". This is so, as a consequence of the relationship assumed between classes 'for themselves' and class consciousness. Furthermore, the notion of class consciousness itself is marked with ambiguity since, as Giddens argues:

"All class relations ... involve the conscious activity of human agents" (1982: 40).

In this study, following Poulantzas (1973) (and also Rousseau 1978a) the descriptive quantitative information will be used as an aid to define the existing categories or positions with respect to the social relations of production. After identifying positions with respect to the relations of production and identifying contradictions, one must identify the existing struggles,

and then see how these are related to relations of production. In this perspective classes are "groups of social agents", defined "principally but not exclusively by their place in the production process" (Poulantzas 1973: 27). In addition, a class does not exist by itself and it is more than just a collection or a group of individual social agents:

"The separate individuals form a class only insofar as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors. On the other hand, the class in its turn achieves an independent existence over against the individuals, so that the latter find their conditions of existence predestined, and hence have their personal development assigned to them by their class, become subsumed under it" (Marx and Engels 1973: 72).

Hence, though classes are groups of individual social agents, they have a reality over and above the former. Moreover, classes exist in class struggle. Therefore, political and ideological structures also play an important role in the definition of social classes. Thus,

"a social class is defined by its place in the ensemble of social practices, i.e. by its place in the ensemble of the division of labour which includes political and ideological relations. This place corresponds to the structural determination of classes, i.e. the manner in which determination by the structure (relations of

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production, politico-ideological domination/subordination) operates on class practices - for classes have existence only in the class struggle" (Poulantzas 1973: 27-28).

Following this argument, a distinction is made between "class position in the conjuncture" and the fact that classes are determined only in class struggle. Furthermore, as Shivji has shown (1976: 7): "Built-in to the concept of class is the inseparable idea of the political struggle of classes". However, for analytical reasons, we have to begin at the level of the economic sphere, which is "determined by the production process and the place of the agents, i.e. by their distribution into social classes by the relations of production" (Poulantzas 1973: 28).

It is perhaps worth noting here that the only empirical study of classes that Marx conducted was with respect to industrial capitalism. Marx's general theory of class (consisting of the principles that class struggles are the moving force of history; classes and their conflicts arise out of contradictions in the means and modes of productions) does not allow us to deduce "the specific conditions which prevail in a given society" (Nicolaus 1978: 231).

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In the capitalist mode of production Marx recognised three major classes: the wage-workers; the capitalists; and landlords (1906, vol. III: 1031):

"The owners of mere labour-power, the owners of capital, and the landlords, whose respective sources of income are wages, profit and ground-rent, in other words, wage labourers, capitalists and landlords, form the three great classes of modern society resting upon the capitalist mode of production".

The distinction among the different classes is not based solely on the "identity of their revenues and their sources of revenue" (Marx 1906, vol. III: 1032). It is rather, at least in part based on the place each group occupies in the production process. Furthermore, to identify a social class we must begin, "not only from the mode of production, but also from the social formation of which it is a part. Not only the economic infrastructure, but also the political and ideological superstructures, must be taken into account," since a class "is the product of the combined action of all these structures" (Terray 1975: 91).

Part of the difficulties in trying to conceptualise classes in 'Anjar also lies in the fact that

the community under study is part of a totality. The notion of "a part society" has been associated with attempts to deal with the reality and as a substitute for the existence of a world capitalism or a world economy. The position expressed in this study, as stated in the introduction, is an approach that puts emphasis on the articulation of modes of production and ideologies with the economy and division of labour. Having this in mind we proceed to argue that 'Anjar does not constitute a social and economic formation. However, it does have a specific set of economic, social relationships and an "idealistic superstructure" in Larrain's sense of the term (1979:52). It is this specificity which gives 'Anjar a sense of uniqueness as well as a sense of being a totality within a totality.

The question remains to find out the hidden logic and rationality behind the transformation of the relations of production and the mode of production from planned economy into petty commodity production and from petty commodity production into capitalist mode of production. The problem has become even more complicated by the articulation of the pre-1943 egalitarian ideology, and the pre-1939 feudal ideology, with the new relations

of production and the new dominant mode of production. In this context, socialism has become an ideology (in the negative sense in which Marx used it) that in fact masks the existing inequalities. It is perhaps through the (subordinate or alternative) discourses of the youth and women and their practices that eventually the reality would unravel.

Review of literature on social classes in Lebanon

As mentioned earlier, Lebanon follows the constitution and state structure of the Third French Republic and yet the religious-confessional composition of the population is used as the basis of the sharing of political power. Since religion and sect play an important role, attention is given to the interplay between power⁶, class and sect. The Lebanese Parliamentary system is based on the religious-confessional composition of the population. In this context, groupings based on religious-confession act as sects⁷ that have become institutionalised and membership in them has become

⁶Power, as Balandier points out, "results from dissymmetries affecting social relations" (1972: 78). It legitimates the "social stratification and system of social classes established between individuals and groups" (Balandier 1972: 78). Poulantzas in search for the relation between class and power comes to define power as the capacity of a class to realise its objective interests (1982: 110).

⁷This notion of sect is different from the Weberian notion of the term. For Weber, a sect is like a corporation, acting as one individual. In addition, Weber comes to

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compulsory. In this case, a sect has to be conceived as a conceptual framework for classifying and differentiating individuals. Like ethnicity, sectarianism is an ideological construct. Consequently, what Rousseau suggests in the case of ethnicity, applies to sects (1978a: 62): While the systems of stratification establish a hierarchy and the form and content of relations between the strata, the concept of sect does not specify anything but a mere recognition of differences.

The question of the relation between sect and class depends on the definition of classes, and thus the importance of a conception of class as defined not solely by the economic instance becomes relevant. In some cases, sectarianism, like ethnicity, acts as the basis for a system of stratification. Its influence on the nature of classes depends on the degree of the dominance of the ideological instance of which sectarianism is a part. In any case, factors other than economic ones have to be taken into consideration in the definition of classes

differentiate a religious sect from a church with respect to their mode of organisation. Thus, while a church is organised compulsorily, a sect, on the other hand, is voluntarily organised (1958: 152, 254-255).

since, as Rousseau demonstrates, the relation between class and ethnicity is very much dependent on the relative dominance of the economic, political, ideological instances (1978a: 66):

"la question du lien entre classe et ethnicité est un cas particulier du problème de la définition des classes. Celles-ci sont déterminées non seulement par l'économie, mais aussi par le politique et l'idéologie. L'importance relative de ces trois instances dans la formation des classes dépend de leur dominance respective".

Consequently, the existence or non-existence of a relationship between class and ethnicity is bound to depend on the definitions given for these concepts. Thus, for example, if one follows a culturalistic approach to ethnicity, or considers ethnic identity to be, first and foremost, based on primordial ties or relationships, then rarely does it have any relation to the notion of social class unless a. ethnic groups formed on the basis of primordial ties occupy a specific position within a given production process, mode of production and social formation; or b. ethnicity has become part of the dominant ideological instance of a society. In Lebanon, as we have seen, sectarianism has been reinforced by the political system. Religious differences have led not only to

. identity formation, but have been the basis for political action and practices. In addition, sectarianism has been known to have generated violent crises throughout Lebanese history as a result of its manipulation. For instance, the 1840-1860 peasant revolts soon turned into sectarian warfare. However, sectarianism was only one factor among others such as the policies of the Egyptian administration (Lebanon at the time was under Egyptian rule), the end of Chehabi rule (based on an alliance between the Maronites and the Druzes in Mount Lebanon), the rivalries of British and French imperialism, the ambitions of the Maronite Patriarch, the desire of the Ottoman government to re-establish its control over Lebanon, and the struggle involving, on the one side, the feudal ruling class, and on the other, the opposed mass of peasants, the Maronite church and the emerging class of merchants, moneylenders and peasant landowners. Likewise, the 1975 crisis could also be considered to be the result of external factors as well as to the "manipulability" of the sectarian nature of the Lebanese polity.

On the other hand, economic factors may be argued to play a dominant role in ethnic identity

formation. As an example of such an attempt one could cite Julia K. Schulz's (1985) study of a French-Canadian community in New England. The focus of the study is the role of economic factors in the persistence of French Canadian identity. The approach follows Gluckman's (1961: 68-69) position with regard to rural migration in Africa and his famous stance that a migrant's position in the economic and production process has to be given primary importance in the analysis rather than his/her origin, primordial relations, descent, ethnic or tribal background. The adherence to ethnic groups then has to be interpreted in the new setting of migrant labour. In Schulz's perspective, ethnicity becomes "a possible basis for differentiation, group solidarity and as an idiom for purposeful action", thus remaining within the functionalist framework. In any case, the location of ethnicity in experiences of migration may not have universal applicability, especially in instances where diversity has not been related to such processes but in the creation of artificial political boundaries.

The course followed then in relation to

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ethnicity would be to avoid the construction of a definition with universal applicability, keeping in mind, however, irrespective of the differences in content, that ethnicity remains an ideological construct. Its predominance or insignificance in a given society will always remain based on the dominant ideological structures. In the case of the Middle East, for instance, historically ethnicity has been subordinated to religious differences as a basis for classification. This has been directly or indirectly related to the Ottoman administration and its millet system. In the case of Lebanon, as we have already seen, the old Ottoman millet system has been incorporated into the political and administrative structure of the state - a fact which has been considered to be, by many observers, one of the main reasons behind the outbreak of the current crisis in the country.

Furthermore, as already noted the focus of the studies of Lebanon, with few exceptions, have been on religious affiliations and primordial ties. Indeed sectarianism is of great significance in the Lebanese context, so are family and kinship loyalties. However,

inter-community relations should not be solely understood in these terms. An approach similar to Shivji's study of class and ethnicity in Tanzania, whereby the focus becomes the isolation of the production relations not only between or among the various communities, but also within each community, may shed light on the relationship between class and sect or ethnicity (1976: 40-44).

Lebanon represents, as already mentioned, a multi-group situation in which no single group can claim a majority. The Lebanese "formula" was based on a system of partition of power and privileges that was supposed to assure the co-existence of the composite, various ethnic, religious-communities. However, as Huxley (1978: 2-3) demonstrates, and the CEMAM Reports (1975: 1) show, the fact that no community could form a majority was to generate unexpected consequences sooner or later.

This situation has its origins in the short-lived semi-colonial experience of Lebanon. French Mandatory authorities set the new boundaries of the Lebanese republic. The result was the creation of a multi-religious and sectarian society that lacks a definite majority. The various sects and ethnic groups,

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in spite of rural migration, have kept their historical geographical residential zones (see Huxley 1978: 3-4). In addition, within each of the regions and communities different political, ideological and economic relations and structures predominate. Likewise different modes of production can be correlated with each of these units, and yet they are incorporated into the totality of the Lebanese social and economic formation, subject to the requirements of the reproduction of the relations of production of marginal or peripheral capitalism.

Some observers, as well as Sunni and Shi'ite political leaders, have argued that the religious divisions within Lebanon correspond to the existing class relations of the country. For instance, Vallaud (1976: 39) who does not present the issue in class terms argues that poverty follows confessional differences within the country:

"la division confessionnelle, religieuse, existe, c'est vrai, mais elle recoupe une division d'ordre social. Ce sont les Musulmans, surtout les Chiites, qui sont les plus pauvres. C'est donc a ce niveau que se retrouvent clivages sociaux et clivages confessionnels".

The situation, however, is not as simple as presented by Vallaud. To be sure, there is a definite relation between confessional categories and classes in Lebanon, but it is not clear-cut. Each of the confessional-sectarian-religious-ethnic communities has had a different historical experience. Within each there are or have been different production processes and social relations of production. Thus, for instance while elements of a "feudal" ideology continue, among the Shi'ites of the South and the Beka'a, as well as among the Sunni of the Akkar region (see Gilsehan 1986) (and where some of the social relations of production are still feudal in nature), feudalism had disappeared among other communities. In addition, all these units are part of, and subject to, Lebanese peripheral or marginal capitalism. It is also to be noted that the original National Pact of 1943 was established between Christian and Muslim members of the commercial-financial bourgeoisie (Johnson 1986: 117-118), thus rendering any simplistic explanation of the current situation or crisis in terms of the "underprivileged Muslims" against the "privileged Christians" unacceptable (see also Corm 1985: 77). In addition, such attempts ignore several factors, such as the existence of partisan interests and the fact that the

rich and the poor of religious groupings sided together and continue to do so. Moreover, as Harik points out, although it has been argued that "Muslims are generally economically deprived relative to Christians", the Muslim Sunni "are wealthiest in terms of assets and cash holdings". In fact, economists point out that the income gap between the rich and poor among Muslims is wider than that among Christians and Muslims (Harik 1981: 7).

In this section we will examine how the interplay between class, sect or ethnicity is treated in studies dealing with Lebanon. An overview of sociological and anthropological studies conducted in Lebanon shows a lack of interest in socioeconomic differences as an element of analysis. As Starr (1977: 221) points out scholars have rarely included in their analyses any reference to class and socioeconomic differentiation:

"While appropriately indicating the importance of confessional and extended family groups in relation to other types of social differentiation, observers have often minimized or failed to point out additional important factors upon which distinctions may be based - economic, educational or occupational criteria. Some have rejected the concept of social class as a useful tool of analysis, and few have seriously attempted to define or clarify the concept as it may be applied to Lebanon". (Starr 1977: 215).

Though there may be no reference to the category of social class in the analyses, the data presented are indicative of the existence of socioeconomic hierarchies. For instance, Fuad Khuri, in his study of two south-western suburbs of Beirut while ignoring the issue of classes, presents the data in terms of occupation, income and sectarian and family loyalties (1975). Likewise Fuller, while denying the existence of classes, draws attention to the existence of income (and possession) differentiation in Buarji - a Sunni Muslim village, as well as to the fact that it has become a necessity for some (and only for some) to migrate outside the village in search of seasonal wage work or to engage in share-cropping while others have large landholdings which enables them to have a different life style. In this context one could also mention the study of rank and status among a Lebanese Muslim village by Emrys peters (1963), and Charles Churchill's study of the status system of 13 villages in the Central Beka'a valley of Lebanon (1959). Such studies, though were not concerned with class analysis, did draw attention to the existence of sharp economic and social differentiation among the various Lebanese communities.

Studies conducted after the outbreak of the civil war in 1975, however, give much more importance to the question of the existence or non-existence of social classes in Lebanon. For instance, whereas Dubar and Nasr (1976) hail the civil war as a sign of class struggle, T. Khalaf, on the other hand in a quote cited in an earlier chapter argues that (1976: 56), the current crisis is in fact an indication of an "absence of homogeneous social classes".

As Starr reveals in his survey of the literature, studies on Lebanon seem to indicate that: 1. Loyalties to family, sect and religion come prior to class consciousness (1977: 221); 2. Voluntary associations or political organisations are usually formed along familial or sectarian ties rather than along class lines (1977: 221); 3. There is no class affiliation resulting from economic exploitation; 4. There certainly exist, however, socio-economic hierarchies and differential access to resources and sources of power and privileges (1977: 215). This leads one to conclude that the denial of the existence of class consciousness itself has to be made significant and an object of analysis, as well as to see a need for a re-definition of social classes and class consciousness.

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An interesting work that does not follow the main trend in the literature is Johnson's study of class and clientelism among the Sunni Muslim community of Beirut (1986). Johnson follows Marx in his definition of classes, and Weber in dealing with confessionnalism/sectarianism and clientelism:

"To show the interaction of class, confession and clientelism in Beirut, it is useful to make an initial distinction between three types of 'social stratification', identified by Weber as 'class, status and party'. It should be pointed out that in this book I use the Marxist concept of class, defining it in terms of 'relations of production' rather than the Weberian 'relations of market'. Despite the difference in conceptualisation, however, Weber's distinctions are useful in helping to identify three different structures or sets of structures which together form a system of social relations which can be described as 'clientelist' (Johnson 1986: 6).

Through this framework, Johnson is able to identify two types of social status that serve as a basis for stratification: confessionnalism and family. These two forms of status rendered some confessions, such as the Shi'ites to be ranked lower than others and considered some families to be "notables" and others to be of lower status. After an examination of the relationship among

these elements, as well as the political and socio-economic history of the Lebanese social formation, Johnson concludes that the Lebanese class structure was greatly influenced by confessionalism:

"As classes developed in Lebanon, the relationships between them and confessional categories became clearer. In the countryside, Maronite freeholding peasants and farmers on Mount Lebanon were in marked contrast to the neo-feudal landlords and sharecropping peasantry in the Muslim peripheries - predominantly Sunni in the northern 'Akkar region and Shi'ite in the north-eastern Beka'a and South Lebanon. The class structure of the Mountain did not change significantly after Lebanese independence, but in the peripheries capitalist relations further developed during the 1960s as a consequence of mechanisation.. ... [In Beirut] however,... the dominance of a largely Christian bourgeoisie is one of the most important characteristics" (Johnson 1986: 33).

Dubar and Nasr have reached a somewhat similar conclusion. However, unlike Johnson who considered the outbreak of the civil war in 1975 as a sign of the absence of "national classes" in Lebanon, Dubar and Nasr recognise the existence of such classes and argue that the preceding decades had been marked by the development of new conditions for class struggle (1976: 324-328). After identifying the following classes: the bourgeoisie, under the hegemony of the financial and commercial bourgeoisie

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and a newly emerging industrial bourgeoisie, and agricultural bourgeoisie; the salaried and non-salaried middle classes, the petite bourgeoisie; the semi-proletariat; the working classes; the lumpen-proletariat; the peasantry differentiated as follows:

"-Les petits et moyens propriétaires exploitants qui sont majoritaires dans le Mont-Liban, et, notamment au sein des Maronites ruraux descendants des vieilles familles libanaises. ...

-Les propriétaires-metayers et les fermiers qui se rencontrent surtout dans le Liban périphérique mais aussi dans les petites propriétés côtières. ..

-Les metayers-ouvriers agricoles qui sont de plus en plus nombreux dans la mesure où les gros propriétaires terriens (bek) repugnent, de plus en plus, à donner leur terres en metayage et où se développe en conséquence l'agriculture capitaliste.

-Les ouvriers agricoles qui sont en majorité Syriens ou Palestiniens au Liban; mais il existe des ouvriers libanais, notamment dans le Liban-Sud dominé par la culture du tabac" ... (Dubar and Nasr 1976: 258-259).

Dubar and Nasr, then, argue that the following conditions in pre-1975 Lebanon had transformed the situation into one marked by class struggle: a. the penetration of capitalism in the rural regions, particularly in the Beka'a valley, in the Akkar region, and in the coastal region of Southern Lebanon. This led to a crisis in petty commodity production under the impact of urban capitalist-controlled credit system, as well as

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of commercialisation. New relations of production began to become dominant in the countryside, namely those of capital and agricultural wage labour. A consequence of the rise of capitalist relations in rural Lebanon was also the increase of rural exodus towards Beirut; b. the pre-war period also witnessed a movement of industrialisation based on the Arab oil countries and centred around the food and textile industries and on construction related materials. This newly growing industrial movement, however, was able to absorb only a small part of the rural migrants, who worked under conditions of low wages and lack of job security; c. monopolies as well as processes of economic concentration led not only to inflation, but also to the failure of new enterprises and industries; d. the acceleration of the establishment of foreign corporations specially in the banking sector as well as in the new industries that used Lebanon as a base to reach directly into the Arab oil countries. This direct penetration of foreign capital led to a crisis in the Lebanese banking sector; e. an increase in the unemployment rate in all sectors and among all social categories. These conditions had led to various organised and non-organised responses and social struggles. In the countryside, the traditional leadership was being

challenged both by radical political organisations as well as by the rise of religious groupings such as those organised by Imam Moussa Sadr among the Shi'ites (one of the Muslim denominations or sects in Lebanon) The urban scene became polarised under the themes of the rising inflation. the working conditions in the new industries, as well as the right to organise labour strikes. The period was also marked by the radicalization of the student body of the various private and public secondary and post-secondary institutions. Finally, the strikes organised by the commercial sector came to be considered as a sign of a conflict of interest with the newly emerging industrial bourgeoisie (Dubar and Nasr 1976: 326-328).

A question, then, arises: can these conflicts, and at times open confrontations, be considered class struggles? The views are rather diverse. For some scholars, such as Harik, "class distinctions in Lebanon are too obscure to sustain the class struggle argument" (1981: 8). In order, for us, to understand the nature of these conflicts as well as to examine whether or not they were based on class interests each of these instances has to be dealt with in-depth. Furthermore, any study of

social classes in Lebanon has to take into account the historical experiences of the various communities and regions in Lebanon, as well as the history of the development of capitalism within the Lebanese social and economic formation. Likewise, in order to understand the relationship or interaction between religion/sectarianism (confessional category/ religious denomination) and social classes one has to examine the ideological and political structures that define a class. In the case of Lebanon, this involves the identification and reconstruction of a. the diverse modes of production and b. the elements of the superstructure corresponding to each of these modes, as well as c. the reconstruction of the dominant mode and the way in which the various modes of production and the corresponding superstructures are articulated. Since this is beyond the scope of the present study, it suffices to mention here that Lebanon represents a situation in which several non-capitalist modes of production co-exist with capitalism. This has led some observers such as Johnson to argue that the dominant mode in Lebanon is a transitional form of capitalism. However, it may not be so, since capitalist relations of production may in fact co-exist with the relations of production of non-capitalist modes of production such as for instance, in

France (as discussed by Poulantzas 1973). In any case, Johnson points out that in Lebanon, the transition to capitalism began in the early nineteenth century, but the feudal relations (as in France, for instance, or in other cases throughout the world) were never completely transformed (1986: 222-223):

"The problem with the bourgeois revolution in Lebanon is that it was never completed in the sense of fully transforming social relations by fully transforming the mode of production. Investment was directed towards the import and export trade, banking and insurance, tourism and hotels, and real estate and property speculation. Capital was not usually invested in industry, and the economy developed as a form of service capitalism. The individualistic social structure associated with a mercantile society was not replaced by the production relations of industrial bourgeoisie and proletariat, and thus class consciousness did not supersede those primordial loyalties which were both resources in a competitive society and a sense of community within that competition".

Likewise, Michel Kamel shows that the dominant mode of production in Lebanon can at best be termed "dependent" capitalist, which has emerged "as a result of a fusion with the world market, essentially in the commercial and banking sphere, without any real developments of industry" (1976: 20). Feudal relations of production continued to exist alongside the newly

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introduced capitalist relations of production (Kamel 1976: 20).

Johnson recognises four phases in this incomplete bourgeois revolution: I. mid-19th century until 1913 - the establishment of the Beirut Reform Society, which marked the confessional unity of the bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie was composed of predominantly non-Maronite Christians and Sunni Muslims; II. The French Mandate period (1920-1943). During this phase the unity of the bourgeoisie was seriously handicapped. The end of this second period was marked by the reconstitution of the bourgeoisie to form the National Pact "to which the Maronite bourgeoisie was now a leading party, along with other Christians and Sunni Muslims"; III. the early phase after independence 1943-1958. This period is marked by a gradual break in the unity of the financial-commercial bourgeoisie especially among the Maronites and the Sunni who were "pressed by their clientel to adopt confessional stances"; IV. The Shehabist period (1958-1970). This phase witnessed a series of reforms and the re-unification of the bourgeoisie as well as the introduction into the alliance, the newly developed Shi'ite bourgeoisie based

on the transformation of neo-feudalism into capitalist farming. This period, however, saw a gradual alienation of some bourgeois families who felt that "they had lost control of state patronage, brought about a strong alliance of the confessions in the city's dominant class, which eventually defeated Shehabism in 1970". The end of this phase was also marked by the expansion of the bourgeois alliance to incorporate the Maronite bourgeoisie as well as petty bourgeoisie, the Sunni bourgeoisie, and the Shi'ite landed bourgeoisie. However, as Johnson stresses the bourgeois or capitalist revolution was never completed in Lebanon (1986: 224):

"Although the commercial-financial bourgeoisie won virtually complete control of the state in 1943, and by the 1970s did not even have to share power with a neo-feudal landed class, it remained politically weak in the sense that it could not promote its cultural hegemony and establish a secular nationalism, nor could it transform its political structures and institutions and create the necessary autonomy for the state to control or manage the contradictions inherent in the transition to capitalism".

Eventually, this unity of the bourgeoisie, as the 1975 civil war was to reveal, was only based on a compromise necessitated by external factors such as the presence of the French Mandate at the time when the Lebanese National

Pact was formulated. The civil war also was revelatory in yet another sense:

"there appeared to be no national class - neither bourgeoisie nor any other - which was conscious of its common interests and able to constitute a point of unity in the midst of communal diversity" (Johnson 1986: 226).

Moreover, the civil war, contrary to some observers, cannot be considered to be evidence of class struggle. All factions alike were never once concerned with economic conditions: Their sole concern has been with the "changes to be made in power sharing" (Harik 1981: 8).

Classes among the inhabitants of 'Anjar

The practices of the inhabitants of 'Anjar have produced (and continue to produce) conditions that have become (and will become) independent of themselves and this has constituted (and will constitute) their reality as a contradictory reality. In other words, these conditions have constituted the structures that have produced the "habitus" which has determined the practices, and which act upon the structures (see Bourdieu 1977: 95; Bidet 1979: 203 and Larrain 1979: 45, discussed in the introduction to this study). As we have seen these practices have resulted in the following structures: pre-1939 feudal mode of production (see chapter one above), the 1939-1943 collectivisation experiment (see chapter 2) and subsequent privatisation leading to petty commodity production (discussed in chapter four above) and capitalism. Furthermore, these structures were also in articulation with other (external) structures, which were the product of other practices. In what follows we will

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attempt to unravel the nature of the contradictory reality produced through the practices of the people in question in view of the context of those experiences.

During the pre-1939 situation, as we have seen, the inhabitants of 'Anjar used to live in the villages of Mount Moussa - an area which the inhabitants considered (and still consider) their original homeland. Before their removal from their villages the dominant mode of production was feudal in nature. In this mode of production, the aghas, the barins, the clergy, along with the agents of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, against whom the former were in opposition, (directly or indirectly) appropriated the surplus labour of the direct producers, "in bondage" to the aghas or barins. In addition, there were independent cultivators and artisans co-existing alongside the unfree labourers and aghas and barins. These free-labourers were also related to the aghas and barins through relations of godparenthood as well as through usurers capital. Alongside feudal relations and petty commodity production, co-existed capitalist relations of production - wage labour and capital - as a consequence of the formation of an international division

of labour and a capitalist world system.

The feudal estates and status levels, as Rousseau demonstrates (1979: 234-235, and 1978b: 87-88), present a "homology" with the structure of relations of production, i.e. "the estate structure identifies to a large extent, but imperfectly, the basic social aggregates which have contradictory interests" (Rousseau 1979: 235). In the case of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa, although the different identified categories had contradictory interests, they were unified against external factors such as the Ottoman state. It is to be stressed, however, that the descendants of the villages of Mount Moussa themselves showed a great recognition of the contradictory nature of the interests of the pre-1939 social categories. In fact, they were eager to point out to me that the collectivisation experiment was specifically initiated to wipe out these categories and the contradictory reality created through their past practices. Furthermore, they tried to show that in spite of the unity of the people in the face of external threats, such as during the 1915 forty day resistance or struggle against the deportation orders of the Ottoman

state or when the 1939 deportation order was issued, there were several instances of open conflict. This conflict had even taken the form of an armed struggle against for instance the aghas of the village of Hadji Habibli. These aghas as mentioned earlier were considered to be exploiting the labour of the villagers of Bitias. The aghas, had also become supporting members for the Social Democratic Hentchakian organisation. As a result, the inhabitants of Bitias started to join the ranks of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, as an alternative political organisation in support of the "oppressed" people. The contradictory interests of these aggregates were then expressed in an open armed conflict, during the post-1920 period. According to the present-day inhabitants of 'Anjar, this open struggle lasted several decades and appeared as a rivalry among the two political parties involved. The dominant relations of production during the pre-1939 situation were feudal and the two main classes consisted of the aghas and the villagers in bondage to the former.

As already described, the first years after the relocation of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa in 'Anjar represented an attempt to remove all forms of social inequality among themselves and "make all equal" in status as well as with respect to the place one may occupy in relation to the production process, i.e. an attempt was made to abolish both the status system and estate structure as well as class relations among themselves. Collective land holding rights and the non-existence of wage work (along with the absence of commoditisation) was hoped to bring about social (and gender) equality among the inhabitants. Throughout the short-lived collectivisation period, people occupying a higher position in the pre-1939 status system and class structure openly resented the egalitarian socialist principles. People showed discomfort against being treated equal to one another (as "non-marked" individuals). In any case, due to both internal and external factors, as mentioned, the experiment was brought to an end. The result of the privatisation has at first been petty commodity production, and at the time of my fieldwork the situation represented several modes of production in articulation with a feudal ideology and socialism.

In an attempt to understand the constitution of social classes in 'Anjar, I had chosen as my unit of analysis the household. Soon I realised the limitations of this unit of analysis. When the household is taken as the unit of analysis, the position of the members of the household, in particular the position of the women would be a reflection of the class relations of heads of household, who in most cases are men. In most of the cases encountered the household did not relate to the relations of production as a totality or single unit. In most cases, each member within a household was related to the production processes as an individual. This led me to follow Elisabeth Garnsey's suggestion to examine the relationship between gender, work and classes (1982: 425-445). Furthermore, the relationship between classes and gender inequality has to be taken into consideration in the case of 'Anjar since, as already seen, gender relations had transformed with the transformations of the social relations of production.

The occupational distribution of the

inhabitants of 'Anjar, as already mentioned revealed a strong relationship between gender relations and work. The results also showed that women engaged in wage-work were employed in the service sector. Tasks involving taking care of the sick and children as well as clerical jobs had become associated with women.

The discussion of the question of women's oppression and gender inequality has been associated with other types of inequalities such as class and racial or ethnic oppression (Leacock 1979: 185-186). Its origins have been located in the role of women in the social reproduction and in the devaluation of domestic labour with the commoditisation of labour in capitalism. It is with the development of capitalism that labour power is exchanged with money and only paid labour is considered to be productive work. As Mackintosh has shown, the separation of the home from the workplace along with the social relations under which domestic labour has been carried out have led to the subordination of women (1979: 174). This has been so as a result of the fact that domestic labour and/or housework is not value production,

i.e. the goods and services produced are not for exchange. Only abstract labour, which is a characteristic of commodity economy, "'creates' value, it is the 'content' or 'substance' of value" (Rubin 1979: 136). This does not mean that domestic labour is not related to or influenced by the law of value. As Marx points out in his discussion of the value of labouring power (or the value of labour), it is "the quantity of labour necessary to produce it" that determines its value (1980: 210). This includes domestic labour and social as well as biological reproduction: "the value of labouring power is determined by the value of the necessaries required to produce, develop, maintain, and perpetuate the labouring power" (Marx, 1980: 211).

The position of women in 'Anjar after privatisation has been marked with ambiguity. On the one hand, they have become domestic labourers engaged in "non-value production", on the other hand they have continued to be involved in political activities. Throughout my discussions with them, they attempted to convince me that in spite the fact that domestic labour is "non-work" for them, they were not and are not subordinated to men. The

examples given to me concerned the women's influence on implementation of decisions on public works such as pavement of roads; their participation in election campaigns; their decision making position within their own households; access to education etc. In spite of the fact that women had become associated with housework and "caring" [Taking care of the sick, the children, the elderly](regardless of whether they were wage workers or not⁸) they had continued to be politically active. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that the first labour strike ever to occur in the community was led by women workers in a garment (manufacturing) industry despite the fact that none of the workers were unionised; both management and labour belong to the same political organisation (A.R.F.).

⁸In any case, until recently women of 'Anjar were employed in professions that had been associated with "caring", such as teaching and nursing.

The adequacy of existing theoretical frameworks for an examination of gender inequality is a highly debated issue. Since the oppression of women is not exclusive to capitalism, the question which follows then concerns the application of "categories formulated for the analysis of class exploitation and conflict in a capitalist mode of production" for an understanding of women's oppression (Himmelweit 1984: 168). For instance, Sheila Rowbotham in Woman's consciousness, man's world, states that "sex and class are not the same" (1973: 117). Thus, categorically rejecting any application of frameworks for the analysis of class inequality for an understanding of gender inequality. It is often argued that simply adding gender inequality as a variable to existing theoretical frameworks may not be satisfactory. Several attempts, on the other hand, have been made to deal adequately with both inequalities of class and gender. Gardiner, for instance, proposes to resolve the problem by focusing on the divisions within the family (1975: 159).

In examining the dualism between class and

gender inequalities, Himmelweit urges for the construction of analytical tools to understand the causes behind the existence of separate divisions between classes and genders in specific societies (1984: 168). The institutionalisation of gender inequality, for example, has been correlated with the development of class society and state formation (see Vianna Muller 1985: 93, and Gailey 1985).

A related question to the relationship between gender and classes is of whether women and men should be assigned to different classes. This problem perhaps derives from the definition of classes. It is also to be noted that in some cases, such as in capitalism, where domestic labour exist and it has been associated with women, "women cannot be considered as a class, or a fraction of a class, since they cannot be identified in terms of productive relations" (Carchedi 1983: 122). This leads one to argue that class and gender inequality are not the same, even though they may have originated as a result of the same conditions. Bossen, on the other hand, in criticising studies of classes recognises that such analyses tend to assume a homogeneity in women as a

category - aloof from the class divisions of a capitalist or market economy, or treat women's position as a mere reflection of their husband's class position. Her argument is that women should not be considered to be immune to class structure (Bossen 1984: 8).

In the case of 'Anjar, the problem of the immunity of women to class structure becomes doubly significant, since the dominant ideological discourse denies the very existence of classes among the inhabitants of the community in question. However, a growing number of young men and women are expressing alternative discourses, in which an awareness of existing inequalities is evident. Attention is drawn by young men and women to the fact that women are excluded from certain occupations and that, despite claims by the dominant discourse that all the inhabitants of 'Anjar are made to be equal, not all have equal access to resources. Wealth is not distributed equally, nor do all occupy a similar position with respect to the social relations of production.

As already mentioned, the situation in 'Anjar represents a case in which socialist ideology co-exists

with a pre-1939 status system as an ideology and newly emerging capitalist relations of production along with subsistence farming and petty commodity production. This articulation of diverse ideologies and the emerging capitalist relations of production have led to contradictory relations of gender where women are supposed to be both "domestic(ated)" and "equal" and where the relations of production do not permit them to be either wholly "domestic" labourers or equal.

The existence of capitalist relations among the inhabitants signifies the existence of contradictory interests of capital and labour. Other social inequalities also were noticed, such as gender inequality and inequalities based on membership status in the A.R.F. (and relations to it) - an inequality which follows from socialism. Likewise, the civil war in Lebanon was also leaving an impact along with other factors in generating more inequalities and unequal distribution of wealth and resources. However, the main discourse represented by the A.R.F. denied the existence of inequalities and social classes and yet that same discourse in 1939 had attempted to abolish all forms of inequalities - those based on the

pre-1939 estate and status systems, as well as inequalities in gender relations. During my field work the discourse of the A.R.F. was not on class struggle, rather it was directed towards the overall world political and economic system and the effects of the civil war in Lebanon. For instance, during the New Year's Eve celebrations in December 1987, the local chapter of the A.R.F. youth organisation had issued posters criticising the following categories of people: a. those who were exploiting the escalating inflation rate and the economic crisis. (Under this category fell the owners and operators of retail stores and groceries, as well as owners and/or managers of factories); b. those who were leaving 'Anjar on a permanent and/or a semi-permanent basis and planning to settle in North America, which according to the local population has a theory and practice of assimilation or Anglicization of migrants; c. the individuals engaged in gambling games or operating gambling houses. In addition, throughout the post-1975 period, the main pre-occupation of the A.R.F. has remained the provision of essential materials and supplies to the inhabitants as well as the insurance of their physical security. In spite of criticisms directed against the categories representing capitalist interests,

however, the existence of classes and contradictory interests of capital and labour within the community has been denied.

This denial of the existence of classes and social inequalities can be considered to be the result of the A.R.F. analysis of reality and of its becoming an ideology that masks the contradictory nature of reality. On the other hand, the explanation could lie in the experiences of the Lebanese people(s).

In fact, the post-1939 experiences of the inhabitants, as already mentioned, cannot be understood outside the framework of the Lebanese social and economic formation and the plurality of the practices of the Lebanese people(s). As already discussed, Lebanon represented a multiplicity of geographically segregated religious-sectarian (ethnic) groups. The outcome of the practices of the population had been expressed in a variety of ways. An analytically recognised aspect of this has been the co-existence of several modes of production. The dominant mode of production, however, as

Nasr points out (1978: 6), was a dependent peripheral capitalism. Since the dominant relations of production were different depending on the regions and communities, it was difficult to identify the existence and nature of social classes. In spite of this fact, however, the following trend was evident throughout the countryside:

"Because of the dependent and intermediary nature of Lebanese peripheral capitalism, capitalist relations of production have not become predominant in Lebanese agriculture over the last two decades. On the eve of the civil war, rural Lebanon was in a transitional phase. The agrarian capitalist sector and the urban-financial-commercial sector have an interest in maintaining and exploiting this large sector of small-scale peasant production through differential rents and through the sphere of circulation and distribution" (Nasr 1978: 6).

Under the impact of "the increasing integration of the Lebanese economy into the world market", gradually capitalist relations began to be dominant within the agricultural sector. As a consequence, the Lebanese countryside began to face a crisis (Nasr 1978: 8). The outcome of this has been the decrease of the rural population and the formation of the "poverty belt" in and around Beirut.

At the eve of the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon, the Lebanese economy was characterised by a. its domination by Western capital; b. a rural economy subject to growing penetration of capitalism as well as under the impact of the world division of labour, regional and international markets; c. a highly exploitative industrial sphere that was unable to absorb the rural migrants (Nasr 1978: 12). In addition, there was unequal distribution of wealth among the regions and religious (ethnic) communities. Furthermore, these internal inequalities were also "accompanied" by external pressures from foreign political and military interventions.

The experiences of the inhabitants of 'Anjar (during the last decade and half) can thus, be explained in the context of the Lebanese social and economic formation(s). As the dominant relations in the Lebanese countryside had become those of capital and labour so had the dominant relations of production within 'Anjar been transformed from those of petty commodity production to capitalist relations. In fact, at the time of fieldwork several fractions of the capitalist classes such as financial, industrial and agricultural capitalists, formed

the dominant class within 'Anjar. However, the dominant ideology was not that of the dominant classes. This dominant ideological discourse consisted of diverse (and sometimes inconsistent) discourses comprising the theory of egalitarian socialism practiced by the A.R.F., the only political organisation dominant among the inhabitants of 'Anjar. In fact, within the A.R.F., the co-existence of diverse discourses has been institutionalised. Its polemic was (and is) anti-capitalist and against all types of exploitation. Its objective has been the liberation of people from exploitations. It has a history of struggle for the liberation of the Armenian people as an oppressed collectivity (in solidarity with other oppressed peoples), and this history has been giving it a legitimacy among the inhabitants of 'Anjar. However, this dominant discourse ignored the existence of class inequalities within the community, as it had also failed to recognise the potential for unequal social relations of production with the privatisation of land and property in 'Anjar. Alternative discourses expressed by individual members of the dominant political organisation as well as the expressions of those who had been "outside" this dominant discourse, revealed a recognition of the contradictory reality in 'Anjar.

To conclude, the two fundamental classes in 'Anjar at the time of my fieldwork were those of the dominant mode of production in the Lebanese social and economic formation(s). Thus, the dominant relations were of capital and labour (finance capitalism, agricultural capital and agricultural wage labour as well as industrial capital and wage labour). In addition, almost every household had continued to be engaged in agricultural petty commodity production and subsistence farming. There were also some people who had continued to be non-agricultural petty commodity producers and small scale traders. Furthermore, there were many salaried employees in the services, professional and commercial sectors (banking, accounting, engineering, nursing, teaching). The women constituted a majority among this latter group. The existence of these diverse relations of production in articulation with capitalist relations of production was accompanied by the articulation of diverse ideological discourses that formed the ideational superstructure in 'Anjar. Thus, whereas the pre-1939 feudal estate and status system had continued as an ideological discourse along with religious discourses, the dominant ideology in

'Anjar had been that of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. This dominant ideological discourse had denied the existence of inequalities (of both classes and gender) among the inhabitants of 'Anjar, and attempted to present its interest and the interest of the masses in a uniform way. This tendency had always been evident within the A.R.F. Historically, its membership had been composed of students, peasants and the proletariat. During the last decade or two professionals and petty bourgeois elements had also joined its ranks. Its programme had been based on the assumed identical interest of the masses, constituted mainly by the working classes and the peasantry. This resulted in the denial of differences of interest and inequalities within the population under its control (and therefore, it has become an ideology, in the narrow sense that Marx employs the notion, that masks the reality and which has to be overcome through the practices and alternate discourses present among the constituent population(s)).

CONCLUSION

My ethnographic research can be considered to be a work in the making. The initial quest was guided by my socialist practice, as well as by my identity (and history) as a Lebanese, an Armenian and a woman. The process of data collection was framed both by my understanding or interpretation of anthropological discourse and the understanding of the inhabitants of 'Anjar themselves. The final product of these on-going quests (or processes) is the outcome of the practices of the inhabitants of 'Anjar as Lebanese, Armenians and socialists and, therefore, it represents part of my history as well.

In my effort to "translate" the experiences of the inhabitants of 'Anjar and the dynamicity of their reality into academic discourse, I followed a Marxist analytical language in which an attempt was made to narrow

the gap between structure, history and practice. Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" (1977) was also introduced to insure the "mediation between structure and praxis" (Bidet 1979: 203). In addition, this language was also a reflection of the analytical framework of the inhabitants of 'Anjar themselves.

Throughout my stay in 'Anjar (both in 1980-1981 and 1986-1987), although I noted the existence of diverse discourses about inequalities and social classes, each and everyone of the inhabitants - young and old, men and women - attempted to convey to me the same view of the world. This "unified" discourse involved the conceptualisation of the world as being composed of interconnected units, where there are contradictory interests among the constituent parts and that individual practices and of a collectivity such as 'Anjar, can only be understood within this wider framework. The inhabitants of 'Anjar led me to study their current situation through their history and the external factors that had affected their practices (and therefore, their history as well as their current conditions).

Beyond this discourse which was shared by all the inhabitants of 'Anjar, as already mentioned, existed alternative discourses that constituted part of the conceptual framework of individual members of the community or a segment of the population. My own theoretical concern with the internal dynamics of 'Anjar (and with the historical experiences of its inhabitants) could also be considered as one of the many discourses existing beyond the above mentioned unified discourse among the members of the community in question.

Guided by this dual (or multivocal) theoretical framework, this study became a summary and translation of the experiences of the inhabitants of 'Anjar. The study began with the present and moved to the past in order to understand the present or the situation at the time when the field research was conducted. The current situation, as already mentioned, was conceived to be both the product of the practices of the inhabitants of 'Anjar and the product of practices external to them, international politics, the world economy and division of labour, the

Lebanese social and economic formation, the practices of the Lebanese people(s) and practices of the Armenians. Part of these practices and factors had also led to the civil war in Lebanon. The conditions of 'Anjar at the time of my fieldwork were also under the effects of this civil war. As already discussed, the early years of the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon were marked by a decentralisation of the economy and a movement of commerce and banking into peripheral areas such as the Central Beka'a valley, in which 'Anjar is located. However, the years following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon (1982) became marked by a general economic recession, inflation and unemployment (see W. Harris 1985). During my research in 1986-1987 the inhabitants of 'Anjar were experiencing the following effects of this economic recession: an increase of unequal distribution of wealth, unemployment among the youth, closed down industries, businesses, services, unequal access to agricultural machines and fertilizers, etc.

'Anjar of the 1980s, represented a situation in which several modes of production (socialist and cooperative production [involving the dairy-production

and consumers' cooperatives] coexist with petty commodity production and capitalism) and ideologies (a socialist ideology coexists with a feudal status system and a newly emerging bourgeois ideology) were in articulation with the dominant mode of production in the Lebanese social and economic formation as well as with the world economy (international division of labour) and international politics. This study has been an attempt to reconstruct the genesis of these structures and practices and therefore the history of the inhabitants of 'Anjar.

Based on the experiences of the people of 'Anjar, the following historical periods were recognised:

1. The pre-1939 situation in Mount Moussa - the original habitat of the people in question;
2. the 1939-1943 situation marking the deportation of the descendants of Mount Moussa, their relocation in the Beka'a valley and their experiment in collectivisation;
3. the post-1943 period marked by privatisation;
4. the current situation coinciding with the period of civil war in Lebanon.

We have seen that the pre-1939 period, beginning from the late eighteenth century was characterised by the rise of

production for exchange value. The dominant relations of production were feudal. A commoditisation of land was evident along with the existence of usurer's capital and patronage. The feudal mode of production continued to exist alongside capitalist relations, marked with private property in land and the emergence of merchant-landlord-manufacturers. During this period both men and women participated in the production of use values and exchange values. However, gender segregation was practiced. Women were excluded from decision-making processes except in old age. This period was also marked by an elaborate status system which has continued to exist as an ideological system among the inhabitants of 'Anjar.

The second period (1939-1943) which represents the early years after the deportation of the inhabitants of the seven villages of Mount Moussa from the Sanjak of Iskandaroun and their resettlement or relocation in the Beka'a valley, was marked by an experiment in collectivisation. Both production and consumption were collectivised. An attempt was made to abolish all social

inequalities (including gender inequality). Shortly after Lebanese Independence, due to the Lebanese constitution as well as internal factors discussed earlier, all land and property were divided among the inhabitants on a set pattern agreed by the majority. The first few decades after the privatisation were marked by the dominance of petty commodity production. In spite of the apparent egalitarian nature of the relations of production characteristic to petty commodity production after four decades, class inequalities had emerged. Such inequalities became especially visible in the 1970s with the development of industries in the Central Beka'a valley. In addition, the civil war in Lebanon has had its effects on the region as well. The early years of the outbreak of the crisis were marked by a decentralisation of the Lebanese economy and the relocation of commerce and banking in the peripheral areas such as the Central Beka'a. However, the years following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon became marked by an escalating inflation rate and an economic crisis. The immediate effects for 'Anjar have been an increase in inequalities and unequal distribution of wealth.

Annex 1

Information on the uprising of the inhabitants of Mount Moussa against the Ottoman orders of deportation of the Armenian populations in 1915 can be found in all of the Western and non-Western media. The following is an example taken from a Canadian newspaper:

L'ÉVÉNEMENT
vendredi 24 septembre 1915

QUÉBEC, VENDREDI 24 SEPTEMBRE 1915



L'ÉVÉNEMENT

JOURNAL POPULAIRE

PROBLEME DES BALKANS SE COMPLIQUE

LES RUSSES TIENNENT BON

A RECONSTITUER
LES AUTRO-ALI
LES TENTATIVES POUR
LES PERTES DES AUS
NOTES OFFICIELLES

Berlin, samedi, le premier article dans le journal...
Berlin, samedi, le premier article dans le journal...
Berlin, samedi, le premier article dans le journal...

La France sauve les martyrs
du régime turc en Arménie

Plus de cinq mille malheureux Arméniens sont recueillis sur des croiseurs français

Paris, 24. — Un rapport publié par agresseurs en respect jusqu'au com-
le ministère de la marine raconte mence de septembre
de la matière suivante comment un Leurs munitions et leurs provi-
grand nombre d'Armeniens persecu sions s'épuisant ils auraient inévita-
les par les Turcs ont été recueillis blement succombé s'ils n'avaient pas
à bord des navires de guerre français, réussi à faire connaître leur triste
Poursuivis par les Turcs, cinq situation à un croiseur français
mille Arméniens parmi lesquels se trouvent des femmes des enfants et
des vieillards au nombre de trois mille s'étaient réfugiés dans les mon-
tagnes du Diébel Moussi à la fin de juillet. Ils réussirent à tenir leurs



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LES NOTES DIPLOMATIQUES
Le Protocollé...
Le Protocollé...
Le Protocollé...

LES NOTES DIPLOMATIQUES
Le Protocollé...
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tagnes du Diébel Moussi à la fin de juillet. Ils réussirent à tenir leurs

Le maire Médéric Martin
est de nouveau en greve

Il ne s'agira pas au Bureau de Contrôle tant que M. Pr...
Il ne s'agira pas au Bureau de Contrôle tant que M. Pr...
Il ne s'agira pas au Bureau de Contrôle tant que M. Pr...

Annex 2

Franz Werfel's (1890-1945) novel has been translated from its original German version into thirty-six languages within the first two years of its publication in 1933-34. The following extract from the preface to the French edition gives the significance of the historical novel in generating a feeling for the people of Mount Moussa as well as for human justice:

"Cette communauté villageoise arménienne, condamnée par les convulsions d'une histoire qui la dépasse, m'est devenue proche. Guettée par la mort, elle revendique sa liberté. Assiégée par un ennemi impitoyable, trahie par une société indifférente, elle choisit la résistance armée. Pour sauver l'honneur arménien? Pour sauver l'honneur de l'homme".

Elie Wiesel (1986: 5).

In his introduction to the French translation Pierre Benoit relates the novel to the history of the Armenian people. This history has been marked by constant struggles against invasions and tragedies. Werfel's novel narrates one of the most poignant episodes of the history of a people (Benoit 1986 (1936): 9):

"Le livre extraordinaire que voici relate un des ultimes épisodes, et des plus poignants, de ce martyre. Mais, dans les Quarante Jours du Musa Dagh, les agneaux subitement sont devenus enragés et se sont mis à mordre les loups. Cinq semaines de lutte forcenée, dont l'issue normale n'est pas douteuse. Que peuvent, cernés sur la montagne sacrée, ces cinq mille hommes, vieillards, femmes, enfants, à peu près privés de munitions, d'armes, de vivres? Mais, un beau matin, sur les flots violets, cinq beaux navires apparaissent: le salut qui arrive sous la forme des vaisseaux de guerre français.

Annex 3

BRIEF

on the

ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION

September 1988

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

Montréal*

*The A.R.F., as discussed in the thesis, is an Armenian political organisation which exists among all the Armenian communities outside Soviet Armenia. This annex, prepared by the Armenian National Committee of Canada, based in Montréal, to be distributed to Canadian political parties, is included here to provide the readers with an understanding of the way the A.R.F. presents itself.

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**ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION (ARF)
"DASHNAKSOUTIOUN"**

**ITS HISTORY: STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION:
SOCIALIST PLEDGE.**

Founded in 1890 as a confederation of various action groups fighting for Armenian national liberation, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, known as "Dashnaktsoutioun" has been carrying on this struggle with all available means - armed struggle, political action as well as propaganda against the Ottoman state. The Ottomans had conquered the Armenian homeland during the Touranian invasions and had established a repressive regime, notorious for its cruelty, obscurantism and ferocious racism, a regime under which Armenians as well as other peoples endured untold sufferings for long centuries.

At a very early period, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation embraced a socialist ideology and elaborated its vision of Independent Armenia in progressist terms. It is in this same perspective that the ARF participated in various social movements agitating Russian Transcaucasia (where a part of Armenia was situated) at the beginning of the twentieth century and concluded alliances with other oppressed nations. It played a leading part during the struggle for Iranian national liberation at the beginning of our century. In brief, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation was the expression and the objectivation of Armenian national aspirations to independence, which, after three long decades of unrelenting struggle and sacrifices, culminated in the founding in 1918 of the Republic of Armenia. Three years later, when this Republic was taken over by the Soviets, the principal architect of national independence became a party in exile, in the Armenian Diaspora.

ITS IDEOLOGY: A SOCIALISM IN HARMONY WITH ARMENIAN REALITIES.

As part of its socialist ideology, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation believes in active participation in social struggles and in a real fraternization among oppressed peoples fighting for their rights. But it considers the struggle for national liberation as being of paramount importance and shares today's socialist tendencies, in that it refuses to dissociate the two forms of struggle, national and social. It rejects, too, both closed and reactionary nationalism as well as extremist internationalism. It is worth noting that the ARF has adopted this position since 1890, at a time when the failure of these two extreme options was neither evident nor proven.

The basic platform of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation's ideology have been and still are the Armenian working masses: wor-

kers, artisans, technicians, members of liberal professions and progressist intellectuals, in brief, all the Armenians who consider the ideal of independence as closely associated with social justice and the condemnation of the principle of Man exploiting Man. However, the ARF has always been open to certain alliances with other classes of the Armenian nation as part of its deep conviction that a united action on a national scale is necessary for the success of the national liberation struggle. It maintains, too, that for the time being, it is not in a position to give a precise definition of its socio-economical claims, nor is it prepared to take any concrete action in the Diaspora with respect to these claims. For the Armenian Revolutionary Federation what actually counts is the intensification of the national liberation struggle and the consolidation of the alliance with various national forces.

To this national characteristic; socialism as professed by the ARF adds a democratic option. All the party Programs have stressed that there can be no authentic socialism without respect of the human being and of individual liberties and that democracy becomes a fake and loses its efficacy if it is not guaranteed by socialist principals. Moreover, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation advocates administrative decentralization as well as a maximum participation of the basic platform in government, in the management of economy and in the redistribution of wealth. Naturally "Dasnaksoutioun" rejects the exploitation of Man by Man, of one class by another, of individuals by a repressive State, of a weak nation by powerful nations.

ORGANIZATION AND MEANS OF ACTION.

As an organization, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation does not exist inside Soviet Armenia; in the Diaspora, it is the most important of the Armenian political parties. Unlike the other Armenian parties, the ARF is a thoroughly organized network of cells and sections covering practically all countries where there are Armenians.

Through various organizations and associations, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation coordinates and directs both the political and cultural activities of the Armenians in the Diaspora. The Hamazkaine Armenian Cultural Association with its thirty sections and with a membership of 5000, possesses and manages a number of schools including an Institute for advanced studies in Armenology. It sponsors radio and TV programs and various artistic events (musical, theatrical etc.). In its publishing house all kinds of Armenian books are published and old ones reprinted.

The Armenian Relief Society consisting of eighty sections and 20000 members, is a feminine association covering the whole Diaspora. Though its main objective is social and medical relief work, it nevertheless manages important monetary funds set up to help Armenian schools or to pay the tuition fees of needy Armenian students. It also has its proper publication.

The Armenian General Union of Athletics and Sports (Homenetmen) with its well-structured network of sixty sections and about 20000 scouts, athletes and members, prepares fine sportsmen as well as loyal patriots.

As another example of the indirect form of action adopted by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in organizing the Diaspora, it must be noted that "Dashnaktsoutioun" has a great influence on the Armenian Church (the See of Cilicia, i.e., the independent Church of the Diaspora) through bodies of laymen democratically elected in all the Armenian communities. These laymen are entrusted with the management of community affairs related to the Church; a role with important political implications.

This rapid survey enables us to state that the action and the organizing capabilities of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation affect 50-60% of the Diaspora Armenians who thus constitute the mass of its supporters, whereas the number of its members is somewhere between 2-3% of the Armenians of the Diaspora, these proportions being by far superior to the other Armenian political parties taken together.

In its internal organizational system, the ARF combines democratic freedom of opinion with rigorous self-imposed discipline. In this combination lies the secret of its flexibility and of its strenght. In this structural organization "legislative" assemblies and "executive" bodies - always collegiately and democratically elected by a majority vote - progressively climb up from the base to the summit.

The decentralized organization and this tradition of liberty and discipline guarantees the free circulation of ideas and the exchange of opinions among the ranks of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and in the pages of its media (numerically the most important and the most active in the Diaspora). Through debates, ideas and opinions are crystalized and party ideology and strategy elaborated.

The principles of organization have governed the existence and the activities of "Dashnaktsoutioun" since 1890. In the course of nearly one hundred years of history and despite the various periods through which it went - armed struggle for national liberation, activities in the context of a national independent

state and a very tiring diasporic existence - only minor adaptation modifications were needed.

FUNDAMENTAL STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation puts all the above mentioned possibilities at the disposal of the Armenian National Cause. Without losing sight of the imperatives of its socialist ideals, the ARF considers, as it always has, that the strategic objective of the National Cause is a top priority.

The ARF is more than ever on the front line, continuously leading the struggle for the National Cause. If, during these past decades, Armenian activism manifested itself with greater vigor, this is due to the long and sustained efforts of "Dashnaktsoutioun".

In order to serve the sacred National Cause, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation vowed to resort to all means made available by political conjecture and inspired by its own ideology. Its fundamental objective remains the creation of a free, independent and reunified Armenia destined to become the cradle of Armenian socialism.

It is this global objective that dictates all the options to "Dashnaktsoutioun". Its resolve to fight with all available means against the fascist and usurping Turkish State which, after oppressing the Armenians, today oppresses other native minorities as well as its own people. Its refusal of any unreserved alliance with a West whose appetites often overrule positive values as well as its refusal to become an unconditional vassal of the Soviet block, which, despite the fact that it includes the nucleus of an Armenian State, has always betrayed the trust of certain Armenians and whose ideological principles cannot be accepted without serious reservations, especially when they concern the conception of socialism and above all its application.

It is always the same global objective, the aspiration to an independent national existence in an atmosphere of socialist justice and society and the co-existence of sovereign nations respectful of their mutual rights which rules and shall continue ruling the Armenian Revolutionary Federation's alliances and friendships: peoples and nations of the West, the East or the Third World, respectful of other peoples rights, will always find in "Dashnaktsoutioun" a warm supporter and an unreserved sympathizer.

THE ARMENIAN CAUSE: APPROACH OF ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION.

The Armenian Question is a legacy of the corrupt and racist administrations of the Turkish Governments of the Ottoman Empire of the "Young Turks" and of the Kemalists regime.

The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire gave rise to the problems of Palestine, Kurdistan, Armenia and in general to questions concerning all the Nations and national minorities of the Near East .

The Armenian Question is a result also of the economic and territorial ambitions of Imperialist Europe and the expansionist Russian Empire on the one hand, and of the Pan-Touranic dreams of the "Young Turks" and the racist nationalism of Mustafa Kemal, on the other.

A peaceful, hardworking and humane people was sacrificed on the altar of "Realpolitik". The first genocide of the modern era, organized and meticulously executed by the Turkish Governments during the period 1915-1923, gave the Armenian Question an entirely new dimension.

The elimination of the majority of Armenians and of their 3000 year old cultural heritage from the historical land of Armenia, the deportation of two million and a half and the following massacre of one million and a half innocent men, women and children and the avowed Turkish policy of depopulation of Armenia gave the Armenian Question its international and human dimension. A criminal offence on such a scale should have been unequivocally condemned and punished, after having been put on the Agenda of the League of Nations or of its inheritor, the United Nations.

Realpolitik should not become the refuge of criminals. "De facto" realities of criminal origin should not take precedence on the right of oppressed peoples to self-determination and self-government. This applies especially to peoples struggling for social justice and equality and for fraternity within and among nations.

The solution to the Armenian Question and the solutions to the problems of all peoples who have been wronged has a universal significance. International security and peace, stability, co-existence and fraternity can never be achieved if just solutions are not found to the problems of all peoples.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation strives for the creation of a united, free and independent Armenia with integrate lands and an integral nation.

The borders of Armenia should include the territories delineated by the Treaty of Sevres (1920) - namely part of the Eastern provinces of what is today called Turkey -, as well as the provinces of Nakhitchevan, Karabagh and Akhalkalak, annexed by the Azerbaidjan S.S.R. and the Georgian S.S.R.

Armenians, deported and scattered to all corners of the world shall return to their homeland.

The unpunished genocide perpetrated by Turkey against the Armenian people, shall be condemned, and amends shall be made to it for material, moral and human prejudice endured.

The Armenian Cause is founded on the natural right of the Armenians to live, build and prosper peacefully in their ancestral homeland. The repopulation of the emptied homeland is the core of the Armenian Problem, because Genocide cannot and shall not be admitted as the means of political or other ends.

The United Nations Charter, the Convention on Genocide and the Declaration on Human Rights give hope and impetus to the downtrodden.

The Nations of the World are considered to be singly and collectively responsible for the full application of International Law and for the preservation of Human Rights everywhere and for all.

Armenians await and struggle for Justice.

THE PURSUIT OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION SINCE 1920

As soon as it became clear that the Treaty of Sevres, signed on August 10, 1920, by the Allied and Associated Powers, Turkey and Armenia (providing for an independent republic of Armenia to be established over the major part of historic Armenia) was not to be implemented, the Armenians all over the world decided to pursue their just cause. This was done mainly through the Delegation of the Republic of Armenia, the Armenian National Delegation, the Armenian political parties and various Armenian committees and personalities. The aim was to seek justice for the Armenian people which had lost the major part of its homeland through deportations and massacres, at the hands of the Turkish authorities.

Towards the end of 1920, what remained of historic Armenia, the newly independent Republic of Armenia in Transcaucasia, was attacked by nationalist Turkey and one third of its territory was

annexed, while the remaining part was forced into acceptance of the Soviet regime

The Armenian activities in the pursuit of their cause were supplemented by activities of various associations and committees calling themselves Friends of Armenia, in Europe and the United States. Leading political figures did not hesitate to take part.

At the approach of the London Conference of February 1921 and later the Lausanne Conference of 1922-23, the two Armenian delegations were meeting with the Allied leaders-ministers, statesmen, politicians, newspaper editors, to prepare the ground for the acceptance of minimum Armenian demands, if the Treaty of Sevres was to be finally revised.

The result of these efforts was that the General Assembly of the League of Nations adopted two Resolutions in 1921 and 1922 in favour of the establishment of an Armenian "national home" in historic Armenia.

The Lausanne Treaty of July 24, 1923, finalizing the peace process with Turkey, ignored these appeals and no mention was made of Armenia in the final text.

Around a million Armenians in the Diaspora, mainly survivors of the massacres of Turkish Armenians, did not lose hope and pursued their efforts through various committees. No statesmen or politician, in Europe or in the U.S. had been able to avoid receiving some visit, letter or memorandum about the Armenian question

In the late twenties, an Armenian refugee office in Paris conducted a protracted correspondence with the Secretary General of the League of Nations to secure, at least, the right of return for Armenians, but of no avail. The Turkish authorities were adamant in refusing to the Armenians the right to return to their homes which were finally confiscated by Turkish law, as absentia property.

In the thirties, with the gathering of the storm in Europe and the obvious preparation for another world conflict, the efforts of Armenians had lost momentum, with the expectation that a new world order might bring justice to the Armenians. After all, the Armenians had the immediate and the urgent task of organizing themselves in the new homes where they had settled.

After World War II, in the course of which the role of Turkey was one of duplicity, waiting for the proper opportunity to side with Nazi Germany against the Allies, nothing was done for the Armenians. The warlords establishing a new order at Yalta,

ignored Armenia. At San Fransisco, committees as well as the former Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia presented memoranda to remind the nations of their obligations towards the Armenians and at least to free the region of Kars and Ardahan from the Turkish yoke. Nothing happened.

The year 1965, the fiftieth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, was the occasion for Armenians all over the world to commemorate the massacre of a million and a half Armenians and the loss of their homeland. The Armenians were telling the world that they were still waiting for justice, by organizing marches and meetings, as well as by numerous publications, and memoranda addressed to the U.N. and the major powers. But nothing came out. The wall of silence built around the Armenian Question by the friends of Turkey was too thick to be pierced.

In 1970, the Armenians were again stirring the world conscience by reminding the signatories of the Treaty of Sevres that their written promises and pledges, made fifty years ago had not been fulfilled. Armenian National Committees everywhere were again appealing to nations, large and small, to tell them about the Armenian Question .

The fiftieth anniversary of the Lausanne Treaty was another occasion to remind the world of the unfulfilled promises and the betrayal of the Armenian Cause .

In the year 1975, on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the world witnessed a wave of anger going through the Armenian masses and their organizing committees, the political parties, national bodies, the church, students and intellectuals. The Armenians bombarded with cables, memoranda and letters the representatives of international organizations, the leaders of nations and various human rights groups. Marches and meetings, from New York and Los Angeles to Buenos Aeres, Ottawa, London, Paris, Beirut, Tehran and Sidney, were clamouring for the urgency of solving the Armenian problem and stressed the loss of patience that was to be seen in some Armenian circles especially the younger generation.

What added to the exasperation of Armenians was the adoption in 1978 of a report on genocide by the Sub-commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in the UN where paragraph 30 referring to the Armenian Genocide had been deleted because of Turkish pressures. A wave of protest from Armenians everywhere and their friends (Commission on International Affairs, Minority Rights Group) and a recommendation by the UN Commission of Human Rights to re-insert the paragraph did not produce any results. Only in 1985, did the Sub-Commission accept a report which mentions the Armenian Genocide.

On the positive side, being discussed in several national and international forums, the public opinion has been made aware of the existence of an Armenian Question. But this meagre result is due more to the violent acts of some Armenian groups than to the peaceful means that the Armenians have adopted in the pursuit of their cause over the last 60-70 years.

The Armenians were therefore losing hope in their search for peaceful means to pursue their just cause, mainly because of the contempt and cynicism the world and Turkey have shown towards the notions of justice and international law, and because no tangible results have yet been attained, in terms of the recognition of the political and territorial rights of the Armenian people.

The recent demonstrations and manifestations in Mountainous (Nagorny-) Karabagh, Soviet Armenia and the communities of the Diaspora, demanding the re-unification of Nagorny-Karabagh with Soviet Armenia, have given new impetus and a new dimension to the activities in pursuance of the Armenian Cause.

THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION AND THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

In 1896, the official organ of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Droshak (published in Geneva), presents a memorandum to the Congress of the Socialist International.

In 1905, the Bureau of the A.R.F. expresses its wishes to be part of the Second International.

In 1907, the Fourth World Congress of the A.R.F. officially adopts the Socialist ideology. The party is accepted into the Socialist International and it participates in the Congress of Stuttgart, as a member of the Pan-Russian section.

In 1908, in Brusselles, the Western branch of the A.R.F. (which was fighting the tyranny of the Turkish Sultan) is also accepted into the Socialist International.

During 1918-1920, the A.R.F. is the majority party of the Republic of Armenia. Thus, the delegates of the A.R.F. to the Socialist International participate in its congresses as the representatives of a Socialist government.

During 1921-1939, following the sovietization of Armenia, the A.R.F. remains a full member of the Socialist International and participates in its congresses in that capacity.

After the Second World War, following the reorganization of the Second International, the A.R.F. continues to be considered an authentic Socialist party, but, deprived of a national independent government, it participates at the Socialist Congresses only as a fraternal delegation. In this capacity, it participates in the congresses of Frankfurt (1951), Milan (1952), Stockholm (1953), London (1955), Vienna (1957), Hambourg (1959), Rome (1961) and Stockholm (1966).

In 1972, the Secretariat of the Bureau of the Socialist International admits the representatives of the A.R.F. to the Socialist Congress of Vienna as observers. The A.R.F. refuses to participate in that capacity, and since then, has not taken part in the activities of the Second International.

Today, as then, the A.R.F. wishes to participate in the work and activities of the International Socialist as a full member, since it considers that to be the undeniable right of one of the oldest Socialist parties of the world. At least, the A.R.F. should be granted back its capacity of a fraternal delegation, as was the case during 1951-1972.

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