

Sunni City

Tripoli, Lebanon's 'Sunni City', is often presented as an Islamist or even jihadi city. However, this misleading label conceals a much deeper history of resistance and collaboration with the state and the wider region. Based on more than a decade of fieldwork and using a broad array of primary sources, Tine Gade analyses the modern history of Tripoli, exploring the city's contentious politics, its fluid political identity, and the relations between Islamist and sectarian groups. Offering an alternative explanation for Tripoli's decades of political troubles – rather than emphasizing Islamic radicalism as the principal explanation – she argues that it is Lebanese clientelism and the decay of the state that produced the rise of violent Islamist movements in Tripoli. By providing a corrective to previous assumptions, this book expands our understanding of not only Lebanese politics but the wider religious and political dynamics in the Middle East.

Tine Gade is Senior Research Fellow in the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs' (NUPI) Research Group on Peace, Conflict and Development. She is a former Max Weber fellow at the European University Institute and the 2012 recipient of the Michel Seurat prize. She has conducted fieldwork on Sunni movements in Lebanon since 2008 and in Iraq since 2016. This is her first book, and it builds on her extensive research during her doctoral studies at Sciences Po Paris (The Paris Institute of Political Studies).

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Sunni City

*Tripoli from Islamist Utopia to the Lebanese
'Revolution'*

Tine Gade

Norwegian Institute of International Affairs



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Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>Who Is Who in Tripoli?</i>	xv
<i>Timeline of Major Events</i>	xx
<i>Note on Arabic Transliteration</i>	xxvi
Introduction: Tripoli, Secondary City of Lebanon	1
The Geography of Modern-Day Tripoli	3
Tripoli as a Microcosm of Ideological Movements	5
Broader Lessons from Tripoli	16
Notes on the Methodology	24
Overview of the Book	26
1 Tripoli's City Corporatism and Identity Politics during the Nationalist Era (1920–1979)	28
Tripoli as a City of Sunni Resistance during the Mandate Period (1920–1943)	32
Tripoli's Protest Movements of the 1950s and 1960s	40
The Beginning of Identity Politics in the 1970s	50
Increasing Tensions between Bab al-Tibbeneh and Jabal Mohsen	56
2 Regional Proxy War: Radical Islamism (1982–1986)	
Alters Tripoli	61
The Creation of the Tawhid Movement (1979–1982)	62
The Syrian–Palestinian War in Tripoli (September–November 1983)	70
Failure of Radical Sunni Islamism	73
JI in the 1980s	83
3 The Postwar Erosion of Tripoli's City Corporatism	86
The Postwar System of Representation	87
Transformations of Sunni Leadership: Decline of Urban Cohesion	92
'A Suit, a Tie, and the Qur'an': The Neoliberal Norms of the Conservative Bourgeoisie	99
Alternative Imagined Communities: The Urban Poor	107

vi	Contents	
4	The Globalization of Islam and the Crisis of Religious Authority	111
	Lebanonizing Salafism: National Variations on a Global Movement	113
	Jihadi Salafism: The Salafism of the Young Urban Poor	121
	Social and Governance-Related Roots of Radicalization	128
5	The Future Movement: Lebanon's Political Crisis and Sectarianization (2005–2011)	140
	The Hariri Assassination and Its Aftermath: Lebanon's Political Crisis (2005–2008)	141
	A Growing Representation Gap under the Future Movement	144
	Winning Hearts and Minds at the Local Level	150
	The Image of Tripoli as a Citadel of Sunni Hardliners	158
	7 May 2008 and the Rise of Radical Sunni Flanks	164
6	Tripoli's Islamists: Clients of Arab Gulf States or Autonomous Actors?	175
	The Memorandum of Understanding between the Salafis and Hizbullah	176
	The Alliance between the Future Movement and the Salafis	177
	The Growing Rejection of Sunni Islamist Alignment with Hizbullah	183
	Pan-Islamism in Tripoli	187
7	The Impact of the Syrian Civil War and Beyond (2011–2020)	194
	Lebanon's Polarized Politics	196
	The Rise and Fall of Islamist Fighting Groups in Tripoli (2011–2014)	198
	A Return of Resilience: Tripoli's Security Plan (2014–2020)	207
	The Fall of the Future Movement	214
	Tripoli, from 'Lebanon's Kandahar' to the 'Bride of the Revolution'	219
	Conclusion: What Can Tripoli Tell Us about Violence and Ideological-Political Activism in the Middle East?	228
	The 'Red Thread' Running through the Book: City Corporatism in Secondary Cities	228
	Unanswered Questions	235
	Why Urban Violence in Tripoli Matters	237
	Conclusion	239
	<i>Bibliography</i>	241
	<i>Index</i>	271

Figures

1	Map of Lebanon and Syria.	<i>page</i> xi
2	Neighborhoods of Tripoli.	xii
3	Main sites of Tripoli.	xiii
4	Lebanese prime minister Rashid Karami and president of the United Arab Republic Gamal Abdel Nasser meeting in Cairo (1959)	40
5	Khalil Akkawi carried by his supporters near al-Nour Square in Tripoli (probably in 1985)	59
6	Al-Nour Square in Tripoli in July 2013	62
7	Tripoli during the war in September–October 1985	78
8	Tripoli's al-Nour Square with posters supporting the Iraqi resistance in April 2008	129
9	Future Movement election meeting near Tripoli led by incumbent MP Mustafa Alloush in June 2009	148
10	Picture showing and commemorating Saddam Hussein in Tripoli's cityscape in November 2008	159
11	Najib Miqati, his brother Taha Miqati, and the Mufti of Tripoli during a ceremony organized in September 2009 by Miqati's religious charity	173
12	Posters in the area of al-Qibbeh displaying the images of two martyrs in 2013	201
13	Protests in al-Nour Square, 2 November 2019	220
14	Climbing on the statue with the words of 'Allah' in al-Nour Square during the 'Revolutionary moment' in October 2019	222

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xi

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Figure 1 Map of Lebanon and Syria.
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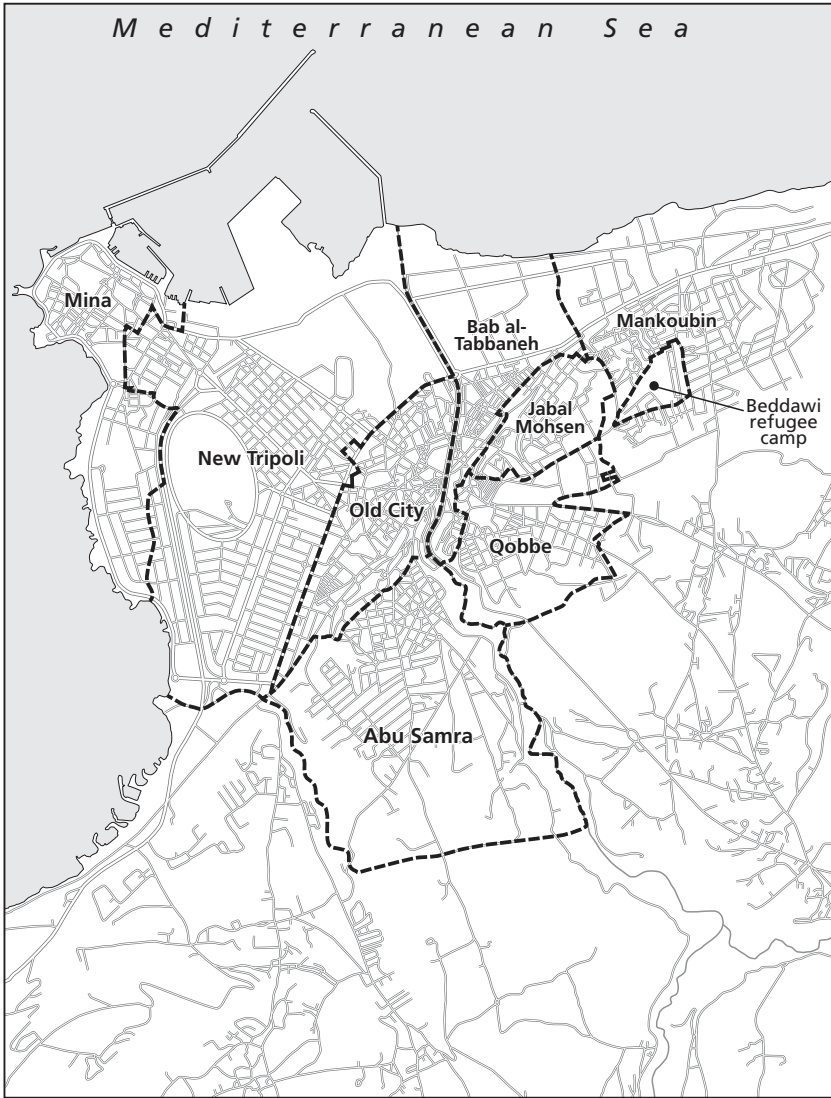


Figure 2 Map of Tripoli's neighborhoods.
Originally published in Lefevre, Raphael, *Jihad in the City: Militant Islam and Contentious Politics in Tripoli* (Cambridge University Press, 2021).

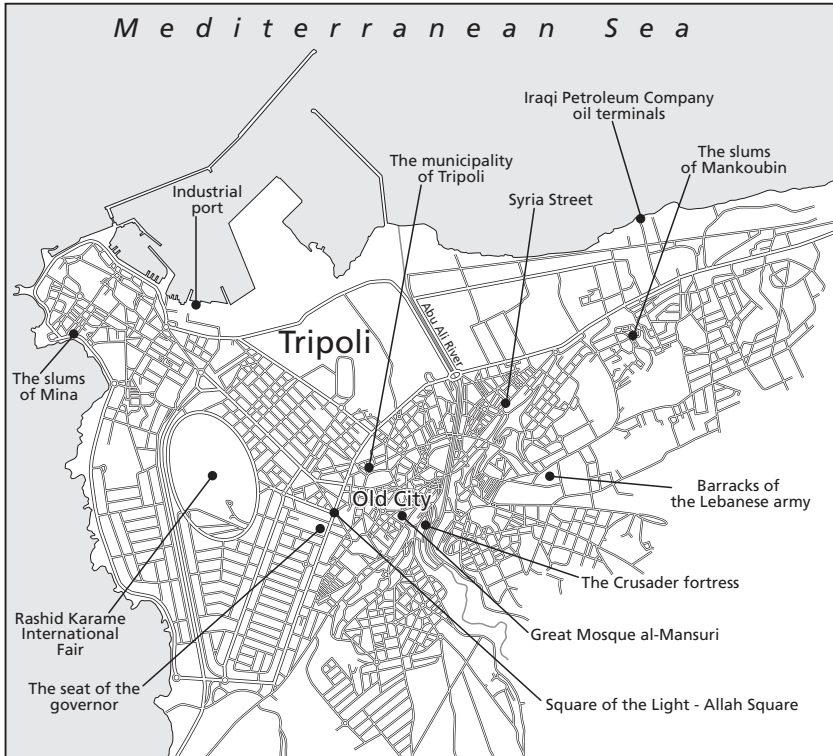


Figure 3 Map of Tripoli's main sites.

Originally published in Lefevre, Raphael, *Jihad in the City: Militant Islam and Contentious Politics in Tripoli* (Cambridge University Press, 2021).

Who Is Who in Tripoli?

- al-Ahbash:** See Society of Charitable Projects (Jam‘iyyat al-Mashari‘ al-Khayriyya).
- ‘Akkawi, Ali** (b. 1947): Khalil ‘Akkawi’s older brother. Led the Group of Anger, predecessor to the Popular Resistance Movement. Died in jail in June 1973.
- ‘Akkawi, ‘Arabi** (b. 1977): Khalil ‘Akkawi’s son, was in Tripoli’s municipality council.
- ‘Akkawi, Khalil** (b. 1954): Leader of the Popular Resistance movement in the area of Bab al-Tibbeneh from 1973 until he was assassinated in 1986.
- Alloush, Mustafa** (b. 1958): Member of Future’s politburo, former MP.
- Arab Deterrent Force** (ADF): International peacekeeping force in Lebanon, established by the Arab League in 1978. Syrian-dominated, included token representation from Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Sudan until 1979.
- Arab New Left:** Combined New Left (Maoist or Marxist-Leninist) ideas with support for the Palestinian resistance movement. Inspired by the Viet Cong and the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Emerged following the defeat of Nasserism in the 1967 Six-Day War.
- al-Assir, Ahmad** (b. 1968): Salafi sheikh and scholar from Saida, gained popularity (also in Tripoli) after 2011, battled the Lebanese army in 2013. Fled; arrested in 2015.
- al-‘Azm wa-l-Sa‘ada** (Determination and Happiness): Movement led by Najib Miqati. It has an affiliated religious branch (al-qitā‘ al-dīnī).
- Bakri, Omar** (b. 1958): The former leader of the radical Islamist al-Muhajirun group in London. Bakri moved to Lebanon in 2005, and is currently in jail in Lebanon.

xvi Who Is Who in Tripoli?

- Baroudi, Bilal:** (b. 1968) Salafi sheikh and scholar, supports the Syrian opposition, imam at al-Salam mosque.
- Committee of Muslim Scholars** (Hay'at al-'Ulama' al-Muslimin, or CMS), Sunni advocacy group founded in Beirut in June 2012.
- Daher, Khalid** (b. 1958): Former MP from Akkar. Represented JI 1996–2000 and then re-entered parliament in 2009 as a Future Bloc MP (to 2018).
- Fatah's Student Squad** (al-Katiba al-Tullabiyya): A New Left activist network created in 1974, turned towards Islam in the early 1980s. Disintegrated in 1982.
- Fatah al-Islam:** A Salafi jihadi group in Lebanon that fought the Lebanese army in the Palestinian refugee camp of Nahr al-Barid for three months in 2007.
- 9 February Movement:** A fiercely anti-Syrian underground network established in 1986 by some of 'Akkawi's former associates. Launched a major offensive in Tripoli in December 1986, resulting in heavy Syrian repression.
- Future Movement:** Political movement established by Rafiq Hariri in the 1990s, inherited by Saad Hariri in 2005.
- Gathering of Muslim 'Ulama':** A Lebanese group created in 1982 by Iran's Ambassador to Lebanon.
- Guardians of the City** (Hurras al-Madina): a charitable organization created in 2015; involved in the 2019–2021 social protests in Tripoli.
- Guidance and Benevolence Institute** (Jam'iyyat al-Hidaya wa-l-Ihsan): Salafi institute of learning headed by Dai al-Islam al-Shahhal.
- Hariri, Rafiq** (1944–2005): Former Prime Minister of Lebanon, founder of the Future Movement. His assassination in Beirut in 2005 triggered the Cedar Revolution.
- Hariri, Saad** (b. 1970): Son of Rafiq Hariri, inherited the Future Movement. Prime Minister of Lebanon 2009–2011 and 2017–2020.
- Hizb al-Tahrir:** Lit.: 'Party of Islamic Liberation', global Islamist group with presence in Lebanon. Aims to re-establish the Islamic emirate across the Muslim world.
- Hulayhil, Ra'id** (b. 1968): Salafi sheikh and scholar in Tripoli, used to live in Aarhus, Denmark.
- 'Ibad al-Rahman** (The Servants of the Merciful), Islamist group, predecessor to al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya.

- ‘Id, Ali** (1940–2015): From Jabal Mohsen in Tripoli, former head of Arab Democratic Party (ADP), an Alawite group that emerged in 1981 (still exists today).
- ‘Id, Rif‘at** (b. 1977): Son of Ali ‘Id; leader of ADP, currently believed to be in Syria.
- ‘Isbat al-Ansar** (‘The League of Partisans’): The oldest and one of the most important Salafi jihadi groups in Lebanon. Main stronghold at the ‘Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp.
- Islamic Action Front** (Jabhat al-‘Amal al-Islami), Islamist umbrella movement created in 2005 by Fathi Yakan. Allied with Hizbullah.
- Islamic Gathering** (al-Liqa’ al-Islami): a political alliance created in Tripoli in 1984. It included Tawhid’s former sub-groups and al-Jama‘a al-Islamiyya.
- al-Jama‘a al-Islamiyya**: The Lebanese branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. Lebanon’s oldest Islamist group. Youth group: the Lebanese Union of Muslim Students.
- Al-Jinan**: University with an Islamic profile. Established in 1988 by Mona Haddad Yakan.
- al-Jisr, Muhammad** (1881–1934): Islamic scholar from Tripoli; MP, former head of the Senate. Stood for president in 1932.
- al-Jisr, Samir** (b. 1944): Future Movement MP from Tripoli (2005–), former cabinet Minister.
- Jund Allah**: Pro-Palestinian militant Islamist group that appeared in Tripoli in 1975, joined Tawhid in 1982. Small presence remaining in Tripoli.
- Kabbara, Muhammad Abdullatif** (b. 1944): Populist MP from Tripoli (1992–), part of the Future Bloc.
- Karami, Abdulhamid** (1890–1950): Mufti (top religious office) of Tripoli 1913–1920; among the most vocal opponents to the French mandate (1920–1943); MP 1943–1945; PM of Lebanon in 1945.
- Karami, Ahmad** (1944–2020): Cousin and rival of Omar. Ahmad Karami’s father, Mustafa Karami, was Abdulhamid Karami’s younger brother.
- Karami, Omar** (1934–2015): Rashid’s younger brother. Inherited Rashid’s leadership. PM of Lebanon 1990–1992 and 2004–2005. MP 1991–2005.
- Karami, Rashid** (1921–1987): Son of Abdulhamid. Long-time PM of Lebanon, leader of Tripoli; killed by a bomb placed aboard his helicopter in 1987.

- al-Kibbi, Sa'd al-Din** (b. 1960): sheikh, scholar, and director of the Imam Bokhari Institute (Salafi).
- 8 March Alliance:** Coalition of political parties and independents in Lebanon (formed in 2005), united by their pro-Syrian stance and their opposition to the 14 March Alliance. It was the ruling coalition in Lebanon under the government headed by Prime Minister Najib Miqati June 2011–March 2013.
- 14 March Alliance:** Coalition of political parties and independents in Lebanon (formed in 2005), united by their anti-Syrian government stance and their opposition to the 8 March Alliance. Named after the date of the Cedar Revolution.
- Mawlawi, Faysal** (1941–2011): Secretary General of JI (1992–2009).
- Minqara, Hashim** (b. 1952): leader of the Tawhid branch in al-Mina, rose to riches by controlling the port of Tripoli. Arrested after the failed ‘coup’ in Bab al-Tibbeneh in 1986; close to Syrian intelligence after his release from jail in Syria in 2000.
- Miqati, Najib** (b. 1955): businessman from Tripoli, leads al-Azm wa'l-Saadeh; youth movement Shebab as-Azm. MP 2000–, PM 2005, 2011–2014, 2021–.
- al-Masri, Zakaria** (b. 1954): Salafi sheikh and scholar in Tripoli.
- Mrad, Ismat**, founder of the Arab Lebanon Movement, often described as the ‘real mastermind’ of the Islamic Tawhid Movement.
- Naji, Kan'an** (b. 1956): head of Jund Allah after Naji (from the late 1970s), a former leader of Tawhid; hails from a wealthy Tripoli family.
- Popular Resistance movement:** neighbourhood movement in Bab al-Tibbeneh created by Khalil 'Akkawi in 1973, turned from New Left activism to Islam in 1979, joined Tawhid in 1982.
- al-Qaddour, Shehab** (b. 1971): a.k.a. Abu Hurayra, former Tawhid member, converted to jihadism in the 1990s. Joined Fatah al-Islam in 2006, died in 2007.
- al-Rafi'i, Abdulmajid** (1927–2017): a Ba'hist MP from Tripoli, from an old, family. Gained the most votes from Tripoli in the national elections of 1972.
- al-Rafi'i, Salem** (b. 1961): Salafi sheikh in Tripoli.
- Rifi, Ashraf** (b. 1954): Populist leader from Tripoli who headed ISF (2005–2013), later Justice Minister; used to be an ally of Rafiq Hariri in the police in the 1990s.

- al-Sabbag, Husam** (b. 1962): a Lebanese-Australian man with ties to global jihadi networks and to jihadi financiers in Australia.
- Safadi, Muhammad** (b. 1944): businessman from Tripoli, elected to Parliament in 2000. Former cabinet minister of Finance, Economy and Trade.
- Shaʿban, Bilal** (b. 1966): son of sheikh Saʿid, inherited the Tawhid Movement in 1998.
- Shaʿban, Saʿid** (1930–1998): Islamist sheikh and prominent Tawhid leader.
- al-Shahhal, Daʿi al-Islam:** (1960–2020). Salafi sheikh and scholar; operated the Salafi Guidance radio station for periods in the 1990s and 2000s.
- al-Shahhal, Salem** (1922–2008): a puritanical sheikh and religious scholar, later seen as Lebanon’s first Salafi.
- Society of Charitable Projects** (Jamʿiyyat al-Mashariʿ al-Khayriyya), a.k.a. al-Ahbash.: Pro-Syrian, violently opposed to Salafism in the 1990s.
- Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP):** Pro-Syrian party in Lebanon, militia during the civil war, opposed the Tawhid. It still has some influence.
- Tawhid** a.k.a. The Islamic Tawhid Movement (Harakat al-Tawhid al-Islami, or the Movement of Islamic Unification), Sunni Islamist militia that overtook military control of Tripoli, December 1983–October 1985.
- Tripoli Brigades** (Afwaj Tarablus, a.k.a. Tripoli Bands): created by the Future Movement in January 2007; approx. 4,800 members in north Lebanon in 2007.
- Yakan, Fathi** (1933–2009): respected Islamic intellectual, author, founder and leader of JI, close to the Syrian regime. Left JI in 2005.
- al-Zuʿbi, Safwan** (b. 1978): Salafi sheikh in Tripoli.
- Yakan, Mona Haddad** (1943–2013): prominent Islamic scholar from Tripoli, established her own school, university and a large charity, al-Jinan.

Timeline of Major Events

Political events in Tripoli		Lebanese and regional major events
Tripoli was part of the Ottoman Empire, one of three capital cities in <i>Bilad al-Sham</i> , a sub-region of the Empire	1516–1840	
Tax riots in Tripoli, anti-European riots	1700	
Tripoli loses its capital status (1840)	1800s	Ottoman reforms (1839–1876); Unprecedented growth in Beirut. European investment in Mount Lebanon
Large demonstrations organized in Tripoli in support of Abdulhamid II (Apr.)	1908	Abdulhamid II evicted by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) coup in Istanbul (Apr.)
The French take over Tripoli, Syrian coastline (Oct.); depose mufti Abdulhamid Karami; Faysal visits Tripoli (Nov.)	1918	First World War ends (Nov.); Ottoman army withdraws from Syria
Tripoli's Sunni leaders reject the Lebanese state, demand reunification with Syria (until 1930s–1943)	1920	The state of Greater Lebanon created (Sept.), Syria divided into several states
	1926	First President of Lebanon elected, a Christian
	1928	Muslim Brotherhood established in Egypt, spread to Syria and Palestine in the 1930s (to Lebanon in the 1950s)
Sheikh Muhammad al-Jisr from Tripoli presents himself as presidential candidate	1932	National census shows that Christians have a slight majority over Muslims
Large demonstrations, strikes in Tripoli (Sept.–Nov.)	1936	Franco-Syrian treaty (Sept.), Franco-Lebanese treaty signed (Nov.)
Abdulhamid Karami acknowledges the Lebanese state	1943	Lebanon independence, power-sharing deal reached
Al-Muslimun Islamist group created in Tripoli	1947	

Timeline of Major Events

xxi

(cont.)

Political events in Tripoli		Lebanese and regional major events
Arab nationalism on the rise in Tripoli	1948	The state of Israel is established
	1951	'Ibad al-Rahman group created (Beirut)
Disastrous flooding of the Abu Ali River	1955	
Rural–urban migration to Tripoli. Social differences widen	1950s, 1960s	Lebanese economic boom, Nasser president in Egypt
Pro-UAR demonstrations in Tripoli (Feb.); al-Jama'at al-Islamiyya (JI) created in Tripoli	1958	The United Arab Republic (UAR) established (until Feb. 1961)
Insurgents seize Tripoli areas (May–July); Rashid Karami from Tripoli becomes PM (Sept.); Tripolitanians increasingly accept the Lebanese state (Sept. 1958–)	1958	Small-scale civil war in Lebanon: Arab nationalists vs. pro-Western President Chamoun (May–June)
Peasant movement active in Akkar	1960s	Ba'ath party rises to power in Syria
	1964	Ji officially authorized by the state
	1967	Six-Day War; Arab New Left becomes popular in Lebanon
Violent clashes, unrest in Tripoli	1969	Unrest across Lebanon; Cairo Agreement (Lebanon, PLO) (Nov.)
	1970	Nasser dies (Sept.); Hafiz al-Assad in power in Syria (Nov.); Black September
Alawite Youth Movement created; Ba'athist candidate wins elections; Ali 'Akkawi dies (June)	1972	Polarizing legislative elections in Lebanon (Apr.)
	1973	Syrian domestic protests begin
Jund Allah group created (Mar.); clashes Tripoli–Zgharta (Apr. 1976)	1975	Beginning of Lebanese civil war (Apr.)
Palestinian-Progressive Forces destroy the home of Ali 'Id in Jabal Mohsen (Spring)	1976	Syrian forces enter Lebanon (June); the Arab Deterrent Force created (Oct. 1978)
	1978	Israel invades south Lebanon (Mar.); Camp David Accords (Sept.)
Islamism on the rise in Tripoli; First instance of heavy fighting between Bab al-Tibbeneh and Jabal Mohsen	1979	Iranian revolution (Feb.); Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Dec.)

xxii Timeline of Major Events

(*cont.*)

Political events in Tripoli		Lebanese and regional major events
Creation of the Islamic Tawhid movement in Tripoli (Aug.), Tawhid attacks its enemies and forces them to leave Tripoli	1982	Destruction of Hama (Feb.); Israeli invasion of Lebanon (June), siege of West Beirut (June–Aug.). Evacuation of 15,000 Palestinian commandos from Beirut (Aug.). Sabra and Shatila massacres (Sept.), in retaliation for assassination of president-elect Gemayel (Sept.); The Gathering of Muslim ‘Ulama’ created by Iran’s Ambassador to Lebanon; PLO and Jordan sign four-point agreement (Dec.)
Syrian–Palestinian war in Tripoli (Sept.–Nov.); Tawhid attacks Communist Party HQ (Oct.); Tawhid military rule in Tripoli begins (Dec.); Evacuation of Arafat and 4,700 Fatah loyalists from Tripoli (Dec.)	1983	
Tawhid armistice agreement signed in Damascus; Syrian forces enter Tripoli; Tawhid defeated (Oct.) Ali ‘Id becomes leader of the Arab Democratic Party	1985	War begins between Shi‘a militants and Sunni Palestinians in Beirut (May 1985–July 1988)
Assassination of Khalil Akkawi (Feb.); massacres at Bab al-Tibbeneh (20–22 Dec.)	1986	
Former premier Rashid Karami killed (June)	1987	
First Salafi Institutes opened in Tripoli	1988	
	1989	Ta’if Agreement ends Lebanon’s Civil War; creates Syrian ‘guardianship’ and changes power-sharing in Lebanon (from Maronite dominance to 50–50)
	1990	Aoun’s ‘War of Liberation’ against Syria ends (Oct.)
Early 1990s: Many former Tawhid members released from Syrian prisons return to Tripoli	1991	National amnesty law, former militia leaders become MPs.
	1992	1 st national elections since 1972. Christian boycott. Rafiq Hariri PM (until 1998)

Timeline of Major Events

xxiii

(cont.)

Political events in Tripoli		Lebanese and regional major events
	1993	PLO/Israel Oslo Accords
	1995	'Alawite sect recognized by parliament as one of Lebanon's 18 religious groups
Guidance and Well-doing Institute closed	1996	Parliamentary elections
Closure of the Tawhid radio by force	1997	
	1998	Creation of the al-Qaeda movement
	1998	Hariri forced to resign as Lebanon's PM
Future Movement 1 st office in north Lebanon; Diniyyeh clashes (jihadis, army) (Dec.–2000)	1999	
Najib Miqati and Muhammad Safadi elected MPs Hashim Minqara released from Syrian prison; Kanaan Naji returns from exile	2000	Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon (June); pressures on Syria to withdraw from Lebanon. Hafiz al-Assad dies; succeeded by Bashar (June). Lebanese parl. elections (Aug.–Sept.), Rafiq Hariri again becomes PM
Tripoli-based jihadist attack restaurants	2002	
Some Tripolitians join the jihad in Iraq	2003	US invasion of Iraq, Saddam regime falls; Pro-Iran/pro-Shi'a government in Baghdad
	2004	UN Security Council Res. 1559 (Sept.) Hariri forced to resign as PM (Oct.)
Suspected jihadis from the Dinniyeh clash released from prison (July) (Geagea also pardoned)	2005	Assassination of Rafiq Hariri (Feb.). 'Cedar Revolution' to expel Syria; 8 and 14 Mar., mass demonstrations pro/contra Syria. Syrian forces leave Lebanon (Apr.); Parliamentary elections (May–June); Siniora I government (until July 2008)
Legalization of Hizb al-Tahrir (May) Return of exiled Salafi preachers to Tripoli Islamic Action Front formed in Tripoli (July) 70,000 displaced by the 2006 war arrive in Tripoli	2006	Worldwide protests, riots after publication of prophet cartoons in Denmark. Danish embassy in Beirut torched (Feb.); Aoun-Hizbullah MoU (Feb.). 34-day war between Israel, Hizbullah (July), 150,000 flee from Shi'a south to Beirut. Five Shi'a cabinet ministers resign; Hizbullah-led sit-in before Parliament (Dec.–May 2008)

xxiv Timeline of Major Events

(cont.)

Political events in Tripoli		Lebanese and regional major events
Tripoli Brigades created (Jan.); Fatah al-Islam battles the Lebanese army in Nahr al-Bared (May–Sept.), 300–350 arrested in Tripoli	2007	Clashes between Amal supporters and Future supporters at the Arab University in Beirut (Jan.)
Anti-Hizb. demonstrations in Tripoli (May) Sunni mobs expel 8 Mar. supporters from the north. At Halba (Akkar), attack on SSNP HQ (May). Clashes between Bab al-Tibbeneh, Jabal Mohsen (May–Sept.). Fatah al-Islam explosions in Tripoli and Syria (Aug., Sept.)	2008	Lebanese government (Siniora I) seeks to dismantle Hizbullah telecom; riots result. Hizb. turns its weapons against Future Movement HQs in West Beirut (aided by SSNP, Amal). Doha Agreement ends 18-month crisis. 8 Mar. Alliance given veto in cabinet (May)
Hariri makes concessions in the election list in Tripoli (May)	2009	Gaza war (Dec. 2008–Jan. 2009). Saudi Arabia reconciliation with Syria (Jan. 2009); cuts off funding to Future Movement. Narrow victory for FM, 14 Mar. Alliance in parliamentary elections (June). Hariri I cabinet (Nov.), visits Syria (Dec.). Joint press statement with Bashar al-Assad
Lebanese municipal elections won in Tripoli by Hariri rival Najib Miqati (May)	2010	The Future Movement attempts organizational reform
Tripoli welcomes 70,000 Syrian refugees (220,000 in north Lebanon), pro-Syrian opposition demonstrations in Tripoli (Mar.)	2011	Saad Hariri government collapses, Hariri goes into exile (Jan.); Arab uprisings (Jan.–); Syrian crisis begins (Mar.)
Two sheikhs killed in Akkar; Islamist protests in Tripoli, clashes between Bab al-Tibbeneh, Jabal Mohsen (May); Committee of Muslim Scholars founded (June). Explosions at al-Taqwa, al-Salam mosques (Aug.)	2012	Lebanon adopts Baabda Declaration, neutrality principle vis-à-vis Syria war (June)
Sheikh Salem al-Rafi'i declares jihad in al-Qusayr, calls on Lebanese Sunni volunteers to join (Apr.); Lebanese Sunni fighters battle Hizbullah in al-Qusayr in Syria (May–June)	2013	Nasrallah publicly admits Hizbullah involvement in Syria (May); Lebanon postpones legislative elections (May); Hizbullah takes control of Syrian–Lebanese border areas. Ahmad al-Assir battles the Lebanese army in Saida (June).

Timeline of Major Events

xxv

(cont.)

Political events in Tripoli		Lebanese and regional major events
Security plan implemented in Tripoli, Rif at 'Id flies to Syria (Mar.); Lebanese jihadi cell in Krak de Chevalier scattered (Mar.); Army-jihadi clashes in Tripoli (Oct.)	2014	President Sleiman's mandate expires (June); Lebanon postpones legisl. elections (Oct.); Lebanese army attacked by Syrian jihadis in Arsal (Aug.)
Suicide attack in Jabal Mohsen (Jan.) Populist figures from Tripoli quit Future Bloc	2015	Lebanon postpones national elections. Rubbish collection protests in Beirut (July 2016–)
Persons accused of Fatah al-Islam association released from prison; militia leaders released from jail (Mar.); civil society-sponsored list wins Tripoli's municipal elections (May)	2016	Lebanese municipal elections (May); Saad Hariri returns to the premiership (Dec.) after deal with Aoun
	2017	National elections delayed (Mar.) Hariri attempts to resign, alleges Saudi pressure (Nov.)
Jl loses its only seat in parliament	2018	Parliamentary elections held (June), Future Movement suffers serious losses
Tripoli mayor resigns after corruption accusations (Aug.); Tripoli becomes 'bride of the revolution' (Oct.)	2019	Lebanon's financial collapse begins (Aug.); Start of Lebanon's 'revolutionary moment' (Oct.); Hariri govt. resigns (Oct.).
Salafi Sheikh Da'i al-Islam al-Shahhal dies in Turkey after contracting Covid-19 (Nov.)	2020	PM declares Lebanon insolvent (Mar.), economic crisis, coronavirus pandemic

Note on Arabic Transliteration

For Arabic words, this study follows the transliteration guidelines of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES), which generally use diacritical marks (macrons and dots) and the letters ‘*ayn* [ʾ] and *Hamza* [ʾ] in Unicode font. It however implements a few adjustments to better serve the Lebanese local dialect and the target readership.

Transliterated titles of books and articles are written with diacritical marks in addition to ‘*ayn* and *Hamza*.

Only ‘*ayn* and *Hamza* are used with proper names of political parties, places, people, and organizations. No diacritics are used.

With place names that end with *tāʾ marbūʿa* [ā], the [a] is sometimes replaced by ‘-eh’ (e.g. al-Tibbeneh) to match with the Lebanese local dialect.

When the word stands alone (for example, ‘al-Qabaḏāy’), a definite article ‘al-’ is used. When the definite article belongs to an English word following it, ‘al-’ is omitted. For example: ‘The qabaḏāy movement’.

The names of authors of Arabic origin whose publications are in English are kept as they are mentioned in those publications.

As an exception to the IJMES wordlist, this study writes sheikh, Ali, Omar, Abdullah, and Abdul (i.e. Abdulhamid – for names starting with ‘*Abd al-*’). The proper names are written without ‘*ayn* considering that they have become common in Western societies.

Anglicized plurals (i.e. muftis, sheikhs, Shi‘as, imams, ‘Alawites) are used in order to avoid confusion with complex broken plurals in the Arabic language. The exception is for *zu‘ama* (plural of *za‘īm*) and *qabaḏāyyat* (plural of *qabaḏāy*), where Arabic forms are used.

Arabic or other non-English names of prominent political or cultural figures are spelt according to the ‘accepted English spellings’, for example, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Fouad Siniora, Michel Aoun. Similar names of less prominent figures are written according to the IJMES

transliteration system, but without diacritics, for example Sa'd al-Din Kibbi.

Place names with accepted English spellings are spelt in accordance with English norms, for example, Akkar, Baalbek, Damascus, Riyadh, Iraq, Tartus.

While in transliteration it should be [us], some Lebanese names have been transliterated with -ous, for example, Wannous.

While Hasan (without shadda) is commonly written Hassan (i.e. Hassan al-Banna), it is written here with one [s] (i.e. Hasan al-Banna, Hasan Nasrallah, Hasan al-Shahhal, and Hasan Khalid), while the double [s] is used for the different name Hassan (with shadda), like the name of the former Lebanese Prime Minister Hassan Diab. Shadda is a diacritic used in the Arabic script to indicate gemination of a consonant.

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