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In this regard, it is important to note that the demographic dimension has changed during the bloodshed of the last twelve years. Indeed, the existing religious hatred and fanaticism were manifested in the "identity card killings." Individuals were kidnaped or arrested at roadblocks and executed if the religion designated on their identity cards was not the same as that of their captors. This led Christians and Moslems to flee from isolated and besieged areas to places where their communities predominated. In the case of Christians, the sectarian character of the war was accentuated by the fact that many Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics, who for years had followed the politics of accommodation in Lebanon and the Arab world, came to accept the hegemony of the Maronites and their militia as effective protectors of the the Christian community at large.
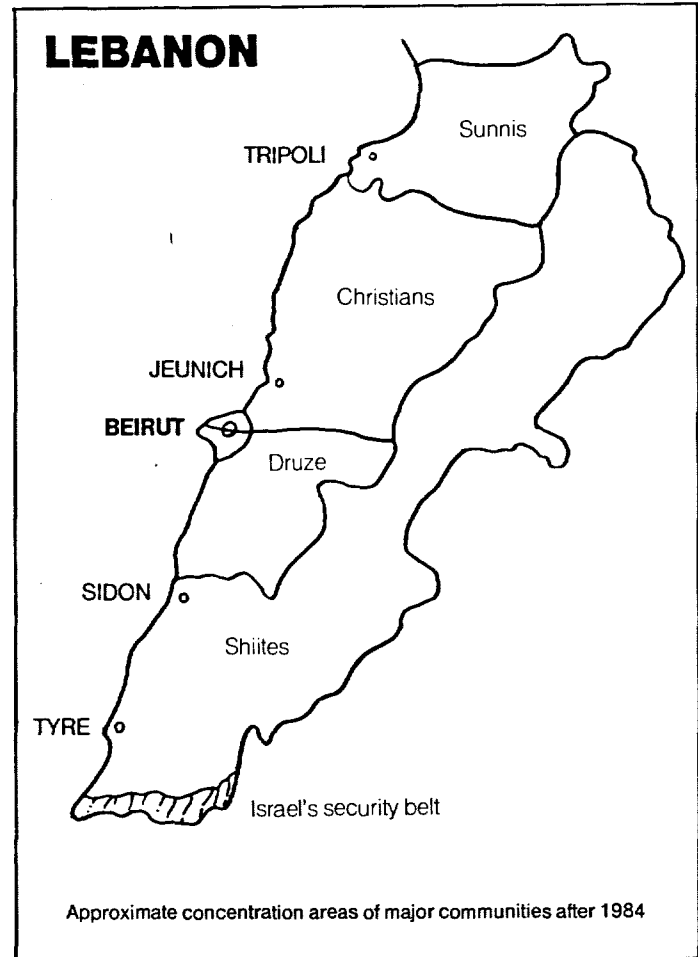
Religious territoriality

All of this has resulted in Lebanon's territory finally being divided along religious lines. An autonomous Christian community has developed, with its capital in Jounieh, or East Beirut, and a comparable Druze mini-state or canton has become established in the Shouf mountains. Meanwhile, the Shiites now dominate and control directly the larger part of West Beirut, eastern and southern Lebanon. Sunni political bosses and their militia maintain control over the far north along the Syrian border (see map). Most significant of all is the fact that in order to protect and articulate their peculiar qualities, all factions have hastened to establish their own social and medical services, broadcast communications, educational systems and internal security networks.

This general pattern of such *de facto* confessional and territorially-based divisions has produced a situation in which Lebanon may avoid either a total partition or the complete restoration of the old system. Therein lies the importance of federalism as a reconciliatory device between the forces of unification and partition. The fact that Lebanese communities now are geographically based might pave the way for a federal society.

Federalism could work

The points needing emphasis here are that federalism is a function not of constitutions but of societies, that it is a reflection of territorial interests, and that it is a means of accommodating diversity within the context of unity. This means that only under conditions in which the federal authority is delegated on a territorial basis can the diverse elements within a plural society be protected effectively. This does not necessarily undermine consociationalism as a solution to pluralism. Above all consociational and federal elements may and do coexist within a single plural society. In a way, a consociational structure is more like a community-based federation. But in a federation, territorial communities are its basic components. Accordingly, a federal Lebanon could be expected to offer the following advantages. First, federalism would allow each territorial community to be autonomous within its own boundaries without having a majority dominate a minority or a minority exploit a majority. Second, federalism would give every unit an equal incentive to preserve, support and share in the benefits of the union. And, finally, federalism could be expected to enhance the individual's participation in local politics, reduce his or her dependency on traditional leadership and abolish the need for communal endorsement.

A federal Lebanon could be based on the following premises: first, the country is composed of diverse religious and cultural communities, each of which has its own character and history;

LEBANON

TRIPOLI

Sunnis

JEUNICH

Christians

BEIRUT

Druze

SIDON

Shiites

TYRE

Israel's security belt

Approximate concentration areas of major communities after 1984

second, the present Lebanese state is unitary in form, which is appropriate for a homogeneous society, while that of Lebanon is diverse and pluralist; third, federalism is a viable alternative to partition and a unifying force because it would prevent confessional friction; and, finally, decentralization would promote the development of local life in all areas and so help promote prosperity in underdeveloped areas.

Some federal institutions

What determines the federal nature of a government, however, is not only the constitution that draws the lines of compromise, but the whole pattern of instrumentalities that are employed as a result of these demands. To this end, a federal system in Lebanon might be set along liberal-democratic principles. These include, to mention a few, the election of the president by a popular vote; the constitutional entrenchment of a national Bill of Rights to prevent abuse of power at all levels; and the arrangement of inter-federal relations on the notion of the "compact theory," according to which the central government ought to regard itself as a creature of the cantons. Inherent in this is the notion that every federal unit is sovereign within its appointed jur-