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**زاهر الخطيب ودوره السياسي في لبنان
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المستخلص بلغة الرسالة

تناولت الرسالة زاهر الخطيب ودوره السياسي في لبنان (1970 – 1990) وقسمت الرسالة إلى مقدمة وأربعة فصول وجاء الفصل الأول: بعنوان: التطورات السياسية في لبنان (1970-1975) وموقف زاهر الخطيب منها، وقد قسم إلى ثلاثة مباحث تناول الأول: زاهر الخطيب وتكوينه الاجتماعي والثقافي حتى عام 1970، واتسم بإعطائه أولاً : نبذة تاريخية عن عائلة آل الخطيب: الذي ضم اصل العائلة ابتداءً من جدهم احمد الخطيب ثم ولده أنور ثم ظافر، وثانياً: نشأة زاهر الخطيب ومسيرته العلمية الثقافية، ومنها ولادته ، ومؤلفاته ونشاطه الفكري، وهواياته وزواجه. واحتوى المبحث الثاني على العنوان دخوله المعتزك السياسي 1970، والذي تطرق فيه إلى زاهر الخطيب والانتخابات النيابية عام 1970، انتماءاته الحزبية، زاهر الخطيب ومواقفه السياسية في لبنان (1970 1975)، ، وموقفه من حكومة صائب سلام، وموقفه من استقلال الدول الاشتراكية، ومناقشة سياسة الحكومة العامة، وقضية صواريخ كروتال، وموقفه من حكومة تقي الدين الصلح 1973، وتطرق المبحث الثالث الى: موقف زاهر الخطيب من الوجود الفلسطيني في لبنان، وتناول موقفه من القضية الفلسطينية، ودفاعه عن المقاومة والعمل الفدائي، واعتقال زاهر الخطيب، وموقفه من الاعتداءات الإسرائيلية .

أما الفصل الثاني: المعنون القضايا الاقتصادية والاجتماعية في لبنان (1970 – 1975) وموقف زاهر الخطيب منها ، فقد قسم إلى مبحثين تناول المبحث الأول: القضايا الاقتصادية، منها الأزمة الاقتصادية في لبنان، ودفاعه عن العمال وغلاء المعيشة، فضلاً عن دفاعه عن الدكتور أنطوان معلوف، ودفاع زاهر الخطيب عن إضراب مزارعي التبغ، ودفاعه عن العمال والمزارعين وافادتهم من الضمان الاجتماعي، ومسألة الغلاء والاحتكار الاقتصادي، في حين تناول المبحث الثاني: القضايا الاجتماعية، وموقف الخطيب منها، موقفه من مسألة مياه قرى الجنوب، ومطالبته بتحسين وضع مستشفى شحيم، وموقفه من قانون الإيجار، ودفاعه عن الموظفين، وموقفه من الحراس الليليين، ومناقشة الاختناق السكاني والتلوث الصناعي، وموقفه من قضايا التعليم 1975 1970.

وجاء الفصل الثالث: بعنوان، الحرب الاهلية اللبنانية

(1975-1980) وموقف زاهر الخطيب منها وقسم على ثلاثة مباحث تناول المبحث الأول: نشوب الحرب الأهلية 1975، وتطرق إلى أسباب الحرب الأهلية 1975، وموقف زاهر الخطيب منها، وموقفه من انتخاب الياس سركيس 1976، أما المبحث الثاني فقد تطرق الى: موقف زاهر الخطيب من التدخل السوري في لبنان 1976، وتضمن، التدخل السوري في لبنان، وموقف زاهر الخطيب من هذا التدخل، في حين تناول المبحث الثالث: الاجتياح الإسرائيلي لجنوب لبنان 1978، واستعرض فيه اجتياح القوات الإسرائيلية لجنوب لبنان، وموقف زاهر الخطيب من هذا الاجتياح، وانضمامه إلى حزب رابطة الشغيلة 1979.

وجاء الفصل الرابع المعنون التطورات السياسية في لبنان (1980-1990) وموقف زاهر الخطيب منها ، مقسماً على أربعة مباحث، المبحث الأول: تناول زاهر الخطيب والأوضاع الداخلية اللبنانية، وتوتر علاقته بالحكومة اللبنانية (1980-1981)، ودوره في الدفاع عن سكان الأكواخ، وتناول المبحث الثاني: موقف زاهر الخطيب من الاحتلال الاسرائيلي وتداعياته 1982، والاحتلال الإسرائيلي لجنوب لبنان 1982، ودوره في التصدي للاحتلال ، موقفه من انتخاب بشير الجميل، واقتحام منزل النائب زاهر الخطيب، وموقفه من اتفاق 17 ايار 1983، أما المبحث الثالث: زاهر الخطيب ودوره السياسي في لبنان (1983-1988)، فقد تناول موقف الخطيب من مبادرات التسوية (1983-1984)، وموقفه من

الاتفاق الثلاثي 1985 وتداعياته، وموقفه من حرب المخيمات(1985-1988)، وضم المبحث الرابع دور زاهر الخطيب في اتفاق الطائف (1989-1990)، ومباحثات الاتفاق، ودوره في الاتفاق، وموقف الجبهة الوطنية من الاتفاق.

Abstract

Recent years have received great attention by researchers with regard to the study of personalities, political and others, because of the active role of these personalities and a great impact in revealing many mysteries and historical facts in various countries of the world, and that delving into the study of personalities is characterized by difficulty, as the researcher must adhere to Impartiality and objectivity, and caution against inclinations in presenting the course of events, no matter how important this character is. The contemporary political history of Lebanon was characterized by the emergence of a number of political figures who deserved more than one study because of the influential role they played, especially during the period of the civil war in Lebanon, which lasted from (1975-1990), and this prompted the researcher to travel to the Lebanese Republic to shed light on the political and militant role played by the personality (Zaher Al-Khatib) during an important period of time in its contemporary political, struggle and partisan history, in addition to the external personal relations he established with each of (Syria-and Iran), in addition to his opposition to the political and economic trends pursued by the Lebanese government, and his adherence to nationalism and Arabism.

Accordingly, and from this standpoint, the topic "Zaher Al-Khatib and his political role in Lebanon 1970-1990" was chosen to shed light on different aspects of his life and to present those events in a manner commensurate with the growth stages of Zaher Al-Khatib's personality.

The dissertation was divided into a preface and four chapters. The preamble included the title Zaher Al-Khatib and his social, cultural and political formation in 1970. The first topic was characterized by giving it first: a historical overview of the political role of the Al-Khatib family: in which he dealt with the origin of the family starting from their grandfather Ahmed Al-Khatib, then his son Anwar, then Zafer, and the birth of Zaher Al-Khatib, his studies and the development of his cultural life, including his birth, his scientific career, his intellectual writings, his intellectual activity, and his hobbies in addition to his party affiliations.

The first chapter came under the title: Zaher Al-Khatib and the Internal Politics of Lebanon (1970-1975). And his position on the government of Saeb Salam, and his position on the independence of socialist countries, and discussing the general government's policy, the Crotal missile issue, his position on the government of Taqi al-Din al-Sulh, and the second topic dealt with: Zaher al-Khatib and the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, as he dealt with his position on the Palestinian issue, his defense of Resistance and commando action, his arrest while

transporting weapons to the Palestinian resistance, his position on the Israeli attacks.

As for the second chapter: entitled Zaher Al-Khatib and Economic and Social Issues in Lebanon (1970-1975), it was divided into two sections. Dr. Antoinette Maalouf, and his defense of workers and farmers and their benefit from social security, his defense of workers and the high cost of living, while the second topic dealt with: social issues, including his position on the issue of water in the villages of the south, his demand to improve the status of Chehim Hospital, and about the rental law, his defense of employees, and his position From the night guards, and discussing population suffocation and industrial pollution, Zaher Al-Khatib's position on education issues 1970-1975.

The third chapter came under the title, Zaher Al-Khatib and the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1980) and was divided into three topics. The first topic dealt with: the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War 1975, in which he touched on the causes of the outbreak of the civil war, Zaher Al-Khatib's position on the civil war, and Al-Khatib's position on the election of Sarkis 1876. As for the second topic, it dealt with: Zaher Al-Khatib's position on the Syrian intervention in Lebanon in 1976. Ali, the Israeli forces' invasion of southern Lebanon, and Zaher Al-Khatib's position on the 1978 invasion, Zaher Al-Khatib's accession to the League Party, the founding of the Workers' League Party.

The fourth chapter was entitled Zaher Al-Khatib and his political role in Lebanon (1980-1990), and it was divided into four topics. : Zaher Al-Khatib's position on the Israeli occupation and its repercussions 1982, and the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon 1982, Al-Khatib's role in confronting the occupation, Zaher Al-Khatib's position on the election of Bashir Gemayel, the storming of the house of Representative Zaher Al-Khatib, Al-Khatib's position on the May 17 1983 agreement, and the third topic: Zaher Al-Khatib and his role The political position in Lebanon (1983-1988), Al-Khatib's position on the settlement initiatives (1983-1984), Al-Khatib's position on the 1985 tripartite agreement and its repercussions, Al-Khatib's position on the war of camps (1985-1990), and the fourth topic included the Taif Agreement (1989-1990). The role of Zaher al-Khatib in the agreement, the position of the National Front on the agreement.

The study dealt with the political role played by the personality of Zaher Al-Khatib in Lebanon, and showed his positions on the events that occurred in the Lebanese arena during the study period, such as the civil war that Lebanon witnessed. A number of conclusions can be summarized as follows:

1. Zaher Al-Khatib belongs to the Sunni sect, and he is from an ancient political family to which he testifies to patriotism and the Arab national struggle, and due to this, the Al-Khatib family was in constant conflict with the Maronites by virtue of its demands for fairness to the Muslim Arabs in Lebanon, and giving them their rights by consoling them in privileges with the Maronites, in addition to what its sons are famous for. Of eloquence and eloquence, all of this had a clear impact on the extent to which this family was affected by the course of Lebanese events.
2. Zahir Al-Khatib's affiliation with the Progressive Party was not out of complete conviction of the party's goals, but rather came by virtue of completing his father's political career in it, with evidence that he later left the party. Rather, he sought behind this affiliation to achieve personal gains and goals under the party's shadow with his brother Zafer, if he was not Zaher would have won the 1970 elections, had he not received the support of Kamal Jumblatt, as evidenced by the fact that he failed in the elections he entered after leaving the party.
3. It is clear that Zaher Al-Khatib's political role was based on opposing and criticizing most of the projects put forward by the Lebanese government, in addition to his opposition to all governments that have established in Lebanon. Noting that some of these issues have been dealt with by the government.
4. It is clear that Zaher Al-Khatib did not appreciate the critical position of the Lebanese government and the deteriorating political, economic and social conditions it is witnessing. He contented himself with directing accusations against it, and took advantage of the political crises to attack it and expose its shortcomings, so we see him insulting the system of which he is a part, although there is nothing forcing him to be part of this. If the regime really wanted to fix the situation, it would not have rejected the ministry that was offered to it, except because it knew that it would not achieve anything and would lose its fans.
5. In addition, Zaher was calling on the Lebanese government to do more than it could, including containing Palestinian refugees, supporting them, providing shelter and weapons, standing up to Israeli aggressions, preventing foreign interference in Lebanon, and carrying out reforms, which cannot be achieved in light of the civil war.

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