

The Graduate Center, CUNY  
Politics and Cultural Performance in the Middle East  
Prof. Kate Wilson  
Spring 2017

### **Leftist Militant songs in Lebanon 1975-1977**

Final paper by Mohamad J Hodeib

This essay looks at the development of the leftist militant scene during the 1970s in Beirut. I look at the emergence of a generation of leftist militant songwriters against the backdrop of an overarching revolutionary moment in Beirut that culminated in the military-political alliance of the LNM and the PLO. Their approach to songwriting, production, and performance stands in opposition to the prevalent forms of cultural production. It also clashes with the dominant figures in the cultural scene, especially those embraced by Lebanon's official political-sectarian establishment like the Fairouz and the Rahbani Brothers. Productions by leftist artists, moreover, are also representative of the sociopolitical outlooks of a generation of leftist intellectuals that emerged after 1967 in Beirut. This shift towards radical leftist art is in many ways a cultural embodiment of a political consciousness deeply embedded in the Palestinian and Lebanese revolutionary movements, reflecting the intersectional nature of their struggles, and a shared revolutionary sentiment. This essay falls inline with a broader research on leftist militant music, its nature and functions, and position in popular culture during the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990). In this paper I look at the intrinsically oppositional nature of leftist militant songs in Lebanon during the early years of the war. I examine the collective nature of the leftist artistic scene, and the various components of songs; performance, lyrics, and the debate on esthetics and form.

Normative accounts of Lebanon's civil war often denote it as an era of cultural stagnation. Contesting such a claim, this research focuses on leftist militant music, a genre that emerged at the intersection of radical theatre poetry and music during the 1970s. Leftist militant songs developed with the unfolding of the civil war and became major components of the war's culture. Leftist songs manifested in the context of a greater shift toward radical art inspired by a revolutionary moment in Lebanon that culminated during the early 1970s. Their development is parallel with the political and military developments that eventually led to civil strife. However, the songs signify a general intellectual transition towards radical politics that invited the inevitable revolution of the subordinated. In cultural realms, they contested mainstream culture and positioned themselves as the revolutionary alternative. Beyond merely expressing dissidence, leftist songs and other forms of art project a *practical consciousness* specific to the leftist generation of the 1970s. However, this is not to imply a causal relationship between the political nature of the songs and the civil war. Though the war majorly impacted the development of leftist music, the shift towards political art had been on the rise since before the war began. As Lebanese journalist and writer Abido Basha argues, leftist political songs "encompassed experimentations that seemed to dissent against what is "orthodox" in the artistic field, the cultural and political spheres."<sup>1</sup>

### **Cultural Hegemony in Lebanon's Cultural Realms**

In the early years of the Lebanese Republic, the ruling elites strived to promote an identity for Lebanon rooted in Lebanism; a quasi-nationalist doctrine that stresses Lebanon's particularism as a consociational democracy based on a sectarian power-sharing formula that guaranteed Maronite Christian prerogatives.<sup>2</sup> Culturally, this

involved endorsing artifacts of distinguishable Lebanese appeal, especially those in Lebanese dialect, that would help distinguish Lebanon's cultural field from genres that carried Arab nationalist underpinnings, coming mainly from Nasserist Egypt.<sup>3</sup> As such, the Rahbani Brothers and Fairouz, among other cultural producers like Wadi' al-Safi, and Zaki Nassif, were granted official support if not endorsement. As Stone shows, this case is clear in the prominent status granted by the establishment to the folkloric endeavors of Fairouz and the Rahbani's.<sup>4</sup> As a result the latter achieved a hegemonic status in Lebanon's cultural field since the 1960s. Their influence extent that the colloquial accent they used in their songs was generalized as the "normal" Lebanese dialect.<sup>5</sup> Underlining the impact of Fairouz and the Rahbani's, Kamal Deeb argues that it was the most effective policy for identity-formation; "It was being transmitted into every house for free," he argues, "No book or political speech was widespread or repeatedly broadcasted (on an almost daily basis) as much as the art of the Rahbani's and Fairouz."<sup>6</sup>

### **The Revolutionary Moment and the Leftist Militant Songs**

In the 1970s, a generation of leftist intellectuals emerged highly critical of the cultural and political narratives embraced by the Lebanese establishment regarding Lebanon's history and identity, its relationship with the Arab world, and its position in the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>7</sup> They argued that the romantic discourse of the "Lebanese idea" alienated a wide spectrum of the population.<sup>8</sup> Leftist intellectuals like Mahdi Amel contested the capitalist nature of the Lebanese establishment in which traditional *Zu'ama* maintained hegemonic control through complex apparatuses of sectarian-political clientelism. He asserted that this system alienated the mass population and exploited the

nation's resources.<sup>9</sup> In cultural realms, dominant cultural figures like Fairouz and the Rahbani's were denounced for the role they played in reproducing Lebanese nationalism in popular culture.

Artistically, this wave of leftist radicalism manifested itself through different mediums including theatre, literature, and song. A generation of artists and cultural producers increasingly began experimenting with new approaches to art as expression of lived realities, triggering a movement in the arts towards radical political expression.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the topical sociopolitical conditions became a major subject in new art works. It is in this period that political art became increasingly vibrant, marked by the spread of radical theatre and new forms of literature and poetry.<sup>11</sup> Though politically inclined art was not essentially leftist in nature, however, it undoubtedly contributed to the rising wave of radicalism. At the heart of Arab cultural production, Beirut was home for a transnational community of Arab intellectuals.<sup>12</sup> Revolutionary Palestinian writers like Mahmoud Darwish and Ghassan Kanafani vanguarded radical literary production. Theatrical productions with political underpinnings also flourished after 1967 with playwrights like Issam Mahfouz, Remon Jebara, Jalal Khouri, and Saadallah Wannous and theatrical groups like *Mohtaraf Beirut lil-Masrah* (Beirut Theatre Workshop).<sup>13</sup> Leftist artists like Roger Assaf, for example, attempted to "reclaim the tools of expression from the establishment and place them in the hands of the subordinated."<sup>14</sup>

Within this general cultural inclination, leftist militant songs emerged at the intersection of radical poetry, theatre, and music.<sup>15</sup> In *Mawt Moudir Masrah* [Death of a Stage Manager], Abido Basha traces the earliest manifestations of 'political songs' with musicians like Ghazi Mikdashi and Paul Matar composing and singing texts by

Mahmoud Darwish and Adonis in the late 1960s and early 1970.<sup>16</sup> He discusses the intersection of the songs' free form with the new poetic movements in Beirut. During the early 1970s, he asserts, Beirut's cultural spaces featured discussions about the possibilities of a 'new song' that would project the new generation's radical revolutionary outlooks.<sup>17</sup> There were experiments in both form and content, featuring extensive debate about the approach to poetry or musical tradition. Theatre was also a major center for the development of song through performance. Basha also mentions the *Mouhtaraf Beirut's* collaboration with musician Walid Gholmieh to compose songs for theatre theatrical productions. For example, Che Guevara's poem 'ma hamm an namout fi douii sarkhat al-harb' [What Does it Matter to Die Amidst the Cries of War] was translated and sung in the play *Majdaloun* in 1969.<sup>18</sup> This inter-medium exchange provided complimentary tools to express the overarching revolutionary moment by facilitating a countercultural movement.<sup>19</sup>

By 1974 a scene was beginning to form in Beirut around leftist militant songwriters. A generation of leftist militant songwriters infiltrated Lebanon's cultural scene, advocating for alternative styles of cultural production. Leftist artists like Khaled Habr, Ziad Rahbany, Ahmad Kaabour, and Marcel Khalife appeared on the scene, by presenting and representing the conditions and aspirations of this new generation.

### **Collective Ethos**

A significant characteristic of the leftist cultural scene was its collectivist nature. The establishment of *al-Kawras al-Sha'bi* [the Popular Chorus] marks the first significant

politically oriented music project. The project was founded by Ghazi Mikdashi, a leftist affiliated with the Communist Action Organization, upon his return from Belgium.<sup>20</sup> The *Chorus* consisted mainly of amateurs: neighbors, relatives and friends of Mikdashi's.<sup>21</sup> Through its "collectivist ethos," Mikdashi's project intended to challenge the prevailing professional modes of song production by opening up the participation to whoever was willing. To him, motivation and commitment, with basic knowledge of singing and music, mattered more than professional training. His communal approach facilitated the participation of ordinary people in the production of culture.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the *Chorus* implemented a collectivist approach to song production, including the choice and creation of texts of songs and the composition and interpretation of music.<sup>23</sup> This approach is not limited to the *Chorus*, however. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, bands of different genres and styles emerged around the Arab world, many of which were associated with the revolutionary political outlook. Musical groups that expressed revolutionary sentiments manifested including the *al-Firqah al-Markaziyyah* [the Central Band] of *Palestine* and the Iraqi *al-Tariq* [the Road]. Similarly, several bands with leftist outlooks emerged in Beirut like *al-Firqa* [the band], founded by Khaled Habre and *Firqat al-Ard* [The Land]. The singer/songwriter *Khaled Habre* was affiliated with the Lebanese Communist Party. He released his first collection of political songs in 1975. Similar to the *Chorus*' approach, groups and ensembles challenged the prevailing notions of marketable 'stars' and the mainstream capitalist cultural field that embraced it. Bands were consciously "taking a stand against elitism and a certain professional approach to music, in order to get involved in some kind of grassroots work."<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the LCP-backed *al-Mayadine* [The Fields] musical group had been active since the late 1960s.<sup>25</sup> In

1976 the Communist Party invited communist musician and composer *Marcel Khalife* to front the band, alongside communist singer Omayma al-Khalil and Walid AboudTony Wehbe.

Moreover, there was a mobility of musicians and performers in between leftist groups and ensembles. For example, Toni Wehbe, a leftist singer, worked with both *al-Mayadine* and *Habre's al-Firqa*. While many other artists, including *Habre* and Ahmad Kaabour, were affiliated with the *Popular Chorus* while simultaneously pursuing their own independent musical projects.<sup>26</sup> This mobility contributed to nurturing a kind of coherence by promoting common artistic features in different productions, beyond the exclusive image of individual artists.

### **Decentralized Performance**

Decentralized performance shows another dimension of this dissident attitude towards mainstream culture. Leftist musical groups began touring and performing in different areas of Lebanon. Their performances took place in unconventional locations like schools, hospitals, and military barricades. In the early years of the civil war, *Habre* and *al-Firqa* toured and performed in different areas around Lebanon, especially those with leftist predominance. He performed in provincial cities Tyre, Saida, and Nabatiyyeh in South Lebanon and Tripoli in the North. He also performed in villages like Zawtar. Such performances contested the centrality of Beirut as the major cultural hub in Lebanon. Beyond radio transmission, Leftist artists carried their songs to their audience physically through their decentralized performances. They also challenged the position of

cities being cultural hubs, performing in spaces often considered peripheral on the cultural map.

Similarly, Ahmad Kaabour and his ensemble performed at schools, community centers and field hospitals. He performed his song *Ounadikom* for the first time at a field hospital for civilian war casualties in Khalde region to the south of Beirut. Ziad Rahbani, moreover, was trying to further develop this centralized performance by creating a mobile theatre troupe that would tour and perform around Lebanon.<sup>27</sup> Most interesting to note is that the songs when performed were not an exact adaptation of the recorded versions. A live recording of a 1976 concert in Tripoli by Khaled Habre's group features two guitars, drums, percussions, and wind instruments. The group performs several songs from Habre's first album, which involved only an acoustic guitar. Moreover, several of the songs performed had not been published on tape yet. The crowd interactions, however, reveals their familiarity with the songs. This could be seen in light of the limited resources available for leftist artists during the early years of the civil war. Habre recorded his first album on a monophonic single audio tape recorder at a friend's electronics shop.<sup>28</sup> The performance, hence, was central to exhibit the songs in their real form, trespassing the technical difficulties and financial limitations of performers.

Political rallies and ceremonies by leftist parties also provided a space for performances of leftist songs. The Lebanese Communist Party ceremonies hosted leftist artists since as early as 1974, including Ziad Rahbany and Ghazi Mikdashi, both of whom presented anthems for the event. In fact, performances of leftist artists and political rallies could easily be intertwined. Even outside the context of the political organization, musical performances carried political weight. Artists, through their militant and

unapologetically leftist songs, attracted an audience sympathetic to the leftist political project, fostering a revolutionary moment in every performance. Performances at military barricades by artists like Khaled Habre show this relationship between the militant content of the song and its political-cultural incubator.

As such, leftist artists were reaching out to their audiences through their performance. Rather than retaining the song within the conventional cultural sphere, they were physically delivering it to the portions of the population they directly to address: the subordinated communities oppressed on the peripheries, and the militant revolutionaries fighting for their freedom.

### **Text and Form**

The choice of texts for songs carries political underpinnings. A prominent characteristic of leftist songs during the 1970s was their intersections with new poetic forms. Leftist militant songwriters were seeking expressive texts to sing, and found many in the works of contemporary poets. They adapted texts by a wide array of Arabic poets like Bader Shaker al-Sayyab, Mohamad Abdallah, Abbas Baydoun, Shawqi Bzei', Jawdat Fakhreddine, Hassan Abdallah, Samih al-Qassim, and Tawfiq Ziyad.<sup>29</sup> Most prominently, the texts of Palestinian revolutionary poet Mahmoud Darwish were used widely: *The Popular Chorus' Sajjil Ana Arabi!* [Register, I am An Arab!] as well as several works by Khaled el-Habre and Marcel Khalife. Along his own songs, Habre's 1975 album *Agani Siyasiyya* [Political Songs] included the song *Halat al-Ihtidar al-Tawila* [The Long Death] based on the text by Darwish. He would continue to utilize long and short texts by Darwish throughout his musical career including *'Azif al-Guitar*

[The Guitar Player], *Ahmad al-Zaatar* and *Madih al-Thol al-'Ali* [Praise of the High Shadow]. Moreover, Khalife's 1976 album *Wou'oud Minal 'Asifa* [Promises from the Storm] was almost in its entirety a musical adaptation of Darwish's poems. Four out of the five songs on the album were based on his texts *Promises From the Storm*, *My Mother*, *Rita and the Rifle*, and *Passport*. Khalife's musical adaptations of Darwish's poetry are a constitutive characteristic of his own artistic endeavors. In fact, this collaboration between songwriters and poets, especially Darwish, had a mutual effect on both the songwriters' and poets' popularity and reach. Darwish's central position and uncontested popularity in the Arab world expanded even further through this interaction.<sup>30</sup> Such collaborations between poets and songwriters signified the confluence of the Palestinian and Lebanese revolutionary movements, and the intersectional nature of their struggles. The national origin of the poem, the poet, or the songwriter was diluted into the revolutionary potential and political aspirations. As such, the leftist militant songs of the 1970s trespassed the boundaries of nationalities to project a communal Arab — if not even internationalist — revolutionary identity derived from the new experimentations in poetry and song.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, adaptations of New Arabic poetry majorly impacted the songs' form. The fluidity in the forms of modern poems by Mahmoud Darwish, for example, imposed a fluid movement in the song. Musicians experimented with the style and form of their new songs to match the movement of the texts. The new product is not a rigid form of song that is reproduced in future works. Rather, it is an ongoing experiment always manifesting itself in different forms. For example, Ahmad Kaabour's *Onadikum*, based on a poem by Palestinian Tawfiq Ziad, is a constructed in the classical sense with four

verses and a repeated chorus. In contrast, Habre's *Halat al-Ihtidar al-Tawila* is more fluid, flowing along with Darwish's motion in rhyme and rhythm. Habre's performance also switches between singing and reciting the text. Similarly, Khalife's adaptations, though often including a chorus, involve transitions in the scales and melodies of the song to suit the texts at hand.

### **Esthetics: East-West Dialectics**

A significant debate stimulated leftist cultural circles regarding the identity of the "new art." Void of any all-embracing stylistic rules, there was a vast wave of experimentation in form and style of songs. Central to the development of leftist militant songs was the discussion on form and style, especially the song's relationship to oriental Arabic tradition. This contrast is representative of the wider debate regarding the foundations of this new song and the approaches to creating it. This included the validity of using western instruments like the guitar as the basic instrument for composition. For many, this would impose a western appeal at the risk of detaching the songs from the Arabic-oriental tradition, and alienating the general audience. The militant song might then become an elitist expression and a westernized sub-culture, as opposed to its intrinsic ambition to express popular sentiment.

In response, many of the guitar players argued on the basis of the guitar being a mobile instrument that could easily be transported and practically used. Most compositions, moreover, were being based on oriental scales, most significantly the Bayyat Maqam, to maintain the oriental outlook of their work.

This binary opposition is clear in two of the earliest productions of leftist 'political

music': Khaled Habre's *Aghani Siyasiyya* [Political Songs] and Marcel Khalife's *Wou'oud Min al-'Asifa* [Promises from the Storm].<sup>32</sup> Published in 1975 and 1976 respectively, two albums were explicitly political, albeit in two different styles. A main commonality of the two albums is that the songs were entirely composed and recorded with a single instrument: Habre utilizes an acoustic guitar while Khalife composes in the eastern tradition using an 'Oud. Both albums also included a song entitled *Jafra*, based on a text with the same title written by Palestinian poet Ezzeddine al-Mounasra. Though the lyrics of both songs are almost identical, the contrast in composition and style is obvious, reflecting the debate between Khalife's 'Oud and Habre's guitar.

Experimentation with new forms and styles was not limited to the two instruments, however. It transcends the binary opposition between Eastern and Western music opening the possibility of fusion and merging. Artists like Ghazi Mikdashi, Paul Matar, and Makhoul Kasouf had been experimenting with western genres of music since the late 1960s. Forbearers of this leftist political genre, they were testing the limits of composition using eastern musical scales on classical western instruments. Similarly, more advanced experimental approaches followed during the 1970s with groups like *Firqat al-Ard* producing songs in the jazz tradition.

Ziad Rahbany's work problematizes further this binary opposition. He composed songs in both eastern and western traditions using the piano and the *buzuq* as his main instruments. Ziad had also been composing and performing jazz. He collaborated with other artists like Khaled Habre and Ahmad Kaabour on several songs with western compositions. For example, *Sobhi al-Jeez*, based in the jazz tradition, was released on Habre's 1976 album of the same title.<sup>33</sup> Differently, the songs from his plays were mostly

composed in the Oriental Sharqi tradition (*Sahriyyi* and *Nazl al-Surour*).

The piano and buzuq are a commonality between Ziad and his father Assi Rahbani, who is primarily accredited for standardizing the “Lebanese song.”<sup>34</sup> The Rahbanis themselves did not commit to a rigid traditional approach to music. Their work borrowed and built on a wide array of musical traditions from around the world, including Brazilian, European, and classical music. The Rahbanis were influenced by the modernist approaches to musical production in the works of Egyptians Sayyid Darwish and Mohammad Abdul Wahab.<sup>35</sup> The musical component of the “Lebanese” song that they had introduced was in no way limited to a strict musical tradition. Rather, it was fluid and very modern in nature and form. This in itself allows for further experimentations that leftist artists attempted during the 1970s, without alienating their work from the general culture.

Another aspect of this debate is the musical background of leftist songwriters. Beirut’s during the 1970s was a metropolitan city with cultural influences from across the globe. Most prominently, cultural field was influenced by Oriental *Tarab* music coming from Nasserist Egypt and the Francophone colonial inheritance.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, since the 1960s, international music festivals, mainly *Baalbeck International Music Festival*, hosted international music stars, including jazz star Dizzie Gallespie.<sup>37</sup> Global trends inevitably infiltrated the scene, including the counter-cultural movements from the United States and Europe, and the Free Jazz movement as well as the sub-cultures of the 1968 uprisings in France. Against this backdrop of cultural diversity, a wide spectrum of musical traditions and trends, whether historical or contemporary, informed the musical endeavors leftist artists in the 1970s. Sheikh Imam, Jazz, The Beatles, Gilbert Bécaud,

Sayyed Darwish, Jaque Brell, and Brazilian Song, among other forms influenced leftist songwriters in Beirut.<sup>38</sup>

The ongoing debate on the nature and function of the song was gradually being absorbed by the collaborative nature of the scene, nevertheless. Collaborations within the scene also affected the general direction of leftist songs. Fleeing the right-wing dominated areas, Ziad Rahbani, Joseph Sakr, and Sami Hawat relocated to leftist-dominated West Beirut. The three began working more closely with leftist artists in Ras Beirut after 1976, further flourishing the leftist cultural scene. Ziad's collaborations with Ahmad Ka'abour and Khaled el-Habre on songs like *Shou B'aad* [How Far they Seem] and *Sobhi al-Jeez* began appearing as early as 1976. A major example to such collaboration is the 1977 production *Ahmad al-Zaatar* by Khaled Habre. Composed and performed by Habre, this orchestration was arranged by Ziad and performed by the *al-Mayadeen* ensemble.<sup>39</sup> The variation of styles and approaches to song production among leftist cultural producers provided a diverse array of artifacts. It could be seen in light of the diverse nature of the Lebanese National Movement. The debate on the nature and identity of the new song is reminiscent of the diversity within the National Movement itself, and leftist circles in general, regarding the outlooks and politics of the leftist discourse.<sup>40</sup> Recalling his relocation to West Beirut, Hawat discusses the possibilities in cultural and political diversity of the scene in the 1970s. "The project of the National Movement was not an authoritative homogenizing project [...] the movement embraced the diversity, and the scene is merely an example."<sup>41</sup>

As such, the diverse cultural artifacts provide for the diverse popular tastes, attracting a broad audience in Leftist circles and outside them. However,

As I hope to have shown, leftist militant songwriters did not essentially clash with the dominant on the aesthetic level. In fact, it seems like they embraced it but proposed to move beyond it. They wanted to penetrate the cultural scene in search of possibilities to trespass what is already available and dominant in popular culture.<sup>42</sup>

Those features are representative of the diversity and political nature of the leftist songs beyond being merely an oppositional phenomenon. Though their oppositional nature to the dominant is clear, however, it needs to be reduced to simply political or aesthetic.

Leftist militant songwriters inevitably clashed with dominant cultural artifacts in Lebanon during the 1970s. Nevertheless, reducing analysis of leftist songs to their oppositional character might be at the risk of overlooking their intrinsic dissident nature.<sup>43</sup> As I hope to have shown in this discussion, there are several characteristics that underline the political nature of leftist songs. Those elements can be seen in their form and content, or the incubating leftist cultural scene that produced them. The experimentation in form and style signifies a broader debate on identity and the future. While the collective ethos and the decentralized performance tells a lot about how leftist intellectuals perceived means to dissent against the status quo, granting voice for the subaltern communities. Such dissident practices are representative of the general revolutionary outlook of leftist intellectuals who were rejected the segregation of the struggles of oppressed peoples. They continuously reaffirmed the intersectional nature of the struggles, unifying it under the banners of the revolutionary leftist movement marching actively towards change, whether in the cultural realms, or in the political and military involvement in Lebanon's bloody civil war.

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### Footnotes

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- <sup>1</sup> Basha 1985 in Bardawil, “Art, War, and Inheritance: The Esthetics and Politics of Ziad Rahbani.” p19
- <sup>2</sup> Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*. p98
- <sup>3</sup> Stone, *Popular Culture and Nationalism: The Fairouz and Rahbani Nation*. And Bardawil, “Art, War, and Inheritance: The Esthetics and Politics of Ziad Rahbani.”
- <sup>4</sup> Bardawil, “Art, War, and Inheritance: The Esthetics and Politics of Ziad Rahbani.” p5.
- <sup>5</sup> Stone, *Popular Culture and Nationalism: The Fairouz and Rahbani Nation*.; Deeb, *Tārīkh Lubnān al-Thaqāfi*. p233
- <sup>6</sup> The works of Fairouz and the Rahbani Brothers were given priority broadcasting in Radio Orient, the state’s official and sole radio channel in Lebanon, mainly for nationalist ends. Bardawil, “Art, War, and Inheritance: The Esthetics and Politics of Ziad Rahbani.” p11
- <sup>7</sup> Deeb, *Tārīkh Lubnān al-Thaqāfi*; Baydoun. *al-Sirā` `Ala Tarīkh Lubnān*.
- <sup>8</sup> Deeb. *Tārīkh Lubnān al-Thaqāfi*. 427
- <sup>9</sup> Amel. *Moqaddimāt Nathariyya Li Dirāsāt `athar Al-Fikrī Al-Istirākī Fi ḥarakat Al-Taharror Al-Wataniyya*.
- <sup>10</sup> - “the explosion of the struggle paved the way for different expressive experiments in theatre, cinema, political song, short story, and painting” p? Basha, Abido. *Mawt Mudṭr Masrah: Dhākirat al-`Ughniya al-Siyāsiyya*. p17
- <sup>11</sup> Deeb. *Tārīkh Lubnān al-Thaqāfi*.330

- <sup>12</sup> Lebanon's cultural diversity, modernist outlook, and democratic appeal provided adequate conditions for cultural and intellectual production in a context that protects freedom of expression. See Deeb. *Tārīkh Lubnān al-Thaqāfi*. p149
- <sup>13</sup> Deeb. *Tārīkh Lubnān al-Thaqāfi*. pp 341-2
- <sup>14</sup> Deeb. *Tārīkh Lubnān al-Thaqāfi*. p389
- <sup>15</sup> Basha. *Mawt Mudīr Masrah: Dhākirat al-'Ughniya al-Siyāsiyya*. p19
- <sup>16</sup> Use of 'political song' as a category is deeply informed by Abido Basha categorization in Basha. *Mawt Mudīr Masrah: Dhākirat al-'Ughniya al-Siyāsiyya*.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid. p23
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid. p40
- <sup>19</sup> Bardawil, "Art, War, and Inheritance: The Esthetics and Politics of Ziad Rahbani." p
- <sup>20</sup> Basha, p21
- <sup>21</sup> Bardawil, "Art, War, and Inheritance: The Esthetics and Politics of Ziad Rahbani." p 19
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid. p33
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid. p33
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid. p20
- <sup>25</sup> citation
- <sup>26</sup> Bardawil, "Art, War, and Inheritance: The Esthetics and Politics of Ziad Rahbani." p20
- <sup>27</sup> Karim Mroueh (2001) in Bardawil, "Art, War, and Inheritance: The Esthetics and Politics of Ziad Rahbani." pp70-1
- <sup>28</sup> Personal communication with Habre
- <sup>29</sup> Basha. *Mawt Mudīr Masrah: Dhākirat al-'Ughniya al-Siyāsiyya*. p134
- <sup>30</sup> Darwish was already a star poet, with thousands attending his poetry recitals. Their song adaptations popularized them even more, facilitating their dissemination into popular culture. Massad, "Liberating Songs: Palestine Put to Music." p32
- <sup>31</sup> The song helped carry the banner of new poetry, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Basha. *Mawt Mudīr Masrah: Dhākirat al-'Ughniya al-Siyāsiyya*. p157
- <sup>32</sup> My use of 'political songs' is follows Abido Basha
- <sup>33</sup> This song was later performed by Fairouz and released on her 2002 album *Wala Keef* which was produced by Ziad Rahbany.
- <sup>34</sup> Deeb. *Tārīkh Lubnān al-Thaqāfi*; Stone, *Popular Culture and Nationalism: The Fairouz and Rahbani Nation*.
- <sup>35</sup> Deeb. *Tārīkh Lubnān al-Thaqāfi*. p212
- <sup>36</sup> Basha. *Mawt Mudīr Masrah: Dhākirat al-'Ughniya al-Siyāsiyya*. P7
- <sup>37</sup> Aidi, *Rebel Music: Race, Empire, and the New Muslim Youth Culture*. P249
- <sup>38</sup> Nassereddine, F. *Committed Song in Lebanon*.
- <sup>39</sup> This project did not include Marcel Khalife, who produced another adaptation of the same poem with al-Mayadine in 1988. Basha
- <sup>40</sup> For example, 'Amel. *Hal al-Qalb lil Sharq wal 'Akl lil-Gharb*
- <sup>41</sup> Personal communication with Hawat
- <sup>42</sup> Bardawil, "Art, War, and Inheritance: The Esthetics and Politics of Ziad Rahbani." pp.24-25
- <sup>43</sup> Basha argues that the only commonality between leftist songs as a genre is their oppositional character to the dominant political-cultural constructs. Basha. *Mawt Mudīr Masrah: Dhākirat al-'Ughniya al-Siyāsiyya*. p11