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THE LEBANESE EXECUTIVE
BETWEEN 1943 AND 1963

HANI.A. BAZZI.

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PREFACE

In this study, I will examine the Lebanese Executive between 1943 and 1963, in law, in practice and in its social composition. In such a study, accuracy is difficult of attainment. The subject involves recent events and a large number of persons who are still living, or who have only recently died. To write objectively about such events or persons is no easy matter. Besides, diplomatic archives and other governmental documents necessary for the research are as yet not available. I have benefited greatly, however, from personal interviews with politicians who are now active.

In order to understand the composition and work of the Executive, one must understand the sectarian basis of Politics in Lebanon. Religious sects abound and their role is crucial. Thus Cabinet members usually represent the main Lebanese sects. Sectarianism also influences the recruitment of administrative officials as well as the judicial personnel and the composition of the Chamber of Deputies. This was the case under the Mandate, and in the majority of the Cabinets formed during the period of Independence.

The most numerous sect in Lebanon are the Maronites¹ who

¹ Salibi Kamal, Ta'rif Tarikhi Biloubnan (al Abhath Magazine: 1962), p. 377. Their number was about 423,000 in 1956, according to the official statistics.

inhabit Mount Lebanon and part of North Lebanon and the Beka'. The Maronites grew in importance because of their traditional leading role in the old autonomous Lebanon, and the privileges enjoyed by them under the French. The President of the Lebanese Republic, who has been a Maronite ever since Independence,¹ seemed to be the effective ruler of Lebanon in many respects. Moreover the Maronite Patriarch has an important influence in the orientation of Lebanese political affairs. During the French Mandate, he used to intervene in favour of those leaders who seemed to him more representative of the Maronite general interest; and his intervention frequently had its effect. After Independence, it was difficult for the President of the Republic and other Government leaders to ignore the Patriarch, who is the spiritual father of the Maronites.²

Before 1943, the Maronites, as a community, feared complete independence from European political tutelage. They considered themselves as a Christian small minority in a vast Moslem world, and thought it necessary to have a foreign protector to defend their separate status.

At the time of Independence and with a view to guarantee their preeminence in the country, the Lebanese Presidency

1

Actually, since 1934, when the Maronite Habib al-Said was appointed President by the French Mandatory authorities to succeed Greek Orthodox Charles Debbas.

2

Patriarch Meouchi played an important role against Chamoun in the 1958 crisis.

became the traditional preserve of the Maronites. A stipulation to this effect was contained in the National Pact of 1943. On account of the Maronite President, the Maronites fear of being absorbed in the Arab Moslem world became considerably less pronounced, although it may not have disappeared altogether.

The second important Lebanese sect are the Sunni Muslims¹ who are to be found in Beirut, Tripoli and Akkar (North Lebanon), in the Beka', in Sidon and some other regions of South Lebanon. Prior to the French occupation, the Sunni Muslims were a favoured sect throughout the Ottoman Empire, Lebanon included. Under the French Mandate they suffered politically on account of their opposition to the policy of the Mandate. Ever since 1937 Lebanese Premiers have been Sunni Muslims.² In theory, Premiers are to share power with the President of the Republic. In practice, however, the President enjoys extensive powers which limit the share of the Premiers in running the affairs of the country. The actual power of the Premier depends on his person, his popularity and the strength of his following.

¹ Their number was about 286,200, Salibi, op. cit., p. 377.

² The only exception to this was General Fuad Shihab (a Maronite) appointed Premier after Khuri's resignation in September 1952.

The third largest Lebanese sect is the Shi'i Muslims¹ who live mainly in South Lebanon and the Beka' (Baalbeck and Hermel district). To its lot has fallen since 1943 the high office of the Speaker of the House.² This post has no constitutionally defined powers; the Speaker's influence thus depends on his personal qualities. Besides the position of Speaker of Parliament, the Shi'is usually have one or two posts in the Cabinet.

The Greek Orthodox Christians³ dispersed throughout the different Lebanese regions are also of some importance in Lebanon. Usually they have the right to one or two ministerial posts.

The Druzes⁴ which are concentrated in the southern part of Mount Lebanon are politically more important than their number indicates, having shared power with the Maronites during the Mutassarrifate.

Druzes are divided in their political loyalties. A section of them follows Majid Arslan and the other Kamal Jumblat. One or two ministerial posts are reserved to this sect.

1 Their number was about 250,600, Salibi, op. cit., p. 377.

2 Habib Abi Shahla (a Greek Orthodox) was an exception to this having been elected for this office between 1946 and 1947.

3 Their number was about 149,000, Ibid., p. 377.

4 Their number was about 190,000, Ibid., p. 377.

The Greek Catholic¹ sect also constitutes an important community. Its members are more or less dispersed throughout Lebanon. They, too, have acquired a traditional right in at least one ministerial post.

Other sects such as Assyrians, Chaldeans, Protestants, 'Alawis are of lesser political importance.

The Executive in Lebanon is affected, in its composition and work, not only by sectarian factors but also by hereditary claims, and by regionalism. The role that hereditary claims play is indicated by the fact that many persons replaced their relatives in the Cabinet, after the death of the latter.² The regional factor also plays a part in the formation of Cabinets. Moreover, some posts are sometimes the monopoly of certain regions. Premiers - except for Riad al-Solh who was from Sidon, and Khaled Shihab who was from Hasbaya - were either from Beirut or from Tripoli.

The confidence of the President of the Republic was probably the most important element in the continuance of a Cabinet. This basically flows from the extensive powers entrusted to the President by the Constitution. The point will be elaborated in the second chapter.

1 Their number was about 88,100, Ibid., p. 377.

2 Philip Takla for example, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs after the death of his brother Salim who occupied this post; Kamel Al-As'ad, likewise, was appointed minister after the death of his father Ahmad.

A final point in regard of the Lebanese Executive is its non-susceptibility to the sustained influence of well-organised political parties. Political parties in Lebanon fall into three types.

There are groupings that strictly speaking are not political parties but loose formations centering around a person and fed purely of private or family interests. The Constitutional Bloc, formed by Bishara al-Khuri is one example; another is that of the National Bloc founded by Emile Edde and subsequently "inherited" by his son Raymond. The Progressive Socialist Party of Kamal Jumblat also partakes of this character.

A second type consists of formations that are sectarian in composition and appeal to the sectarian sentiments. The Kataeb and the Najjade are two examples of this category. The first is mainly composed of Maronites while the second is mainly composed of Sunni Muslims.

The third type is those formations which are centered around ideas rather than persons. These recruit their members from all sects. To this group belong the Ba'th, the P.P.S. and the Communist Party. None of these did as yet secure legal sanction. Except for the Kataeb, the Najjade, the P.P.S. and the Progressive Socialist Party which played a certain role in and after the 1958 crisis, the influence of political parties in Lebanon has been limited.

CHAPTER I

THE EXECUTIVE DURING THE FRENCH MANDATE

Lebanon Before the French Mandate

The main characteristic of the Lebanese governmental system before the French Mandate was its feudal structure. Early before the Turkish occupation in 1517 Lebanon was governed by feudal Amirs (princes). After the Turkish occupation, Lebanon became a part of the Ottoman Empire but was given nevertheless autonomy thanks to the intervention of the European powers. European powers namely France acted as the protector of some Lebanese communities.¹

In 1845, the five Great Powers met in Constantinople, and decided on a divided form of government in Lebanon, by which Christians and Druzes were to wield joint authority. In 1860, and as a result of a confessional civil war France interfered militarily to protect the Maronites. Subsequent to the French intervention, the representatives of the Powers agreed with Turkey on a new form of government for the Mountain of Lebanon. Lebanon was to be governed by a Mutassarif who was also under the supervision of the

¹ S.H. Longrigg, Syria and Lebanon under the French Mandate (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 21-22.

powers.¹ The Governor of Lebanon (or Mutassarif), was a Christian appointed by the Porte but was actually chosen by the Powers. The Governor was assisted by a council of seven elected Qa'immaqams.

During World War I many steps were taken to assure the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon. Between March 4 and April 10, 1915, the secret Constantinople treaty was signed between the Allies. In 1916, the Sykes-Picot agreement, provided that France shall have the right to establish a direct or indirect administration or control in Syria and Lebanon.² The Peace Conference of January 30, 1919, separated the Arab countries from Turkey. On April 25, 1920, the Congress of the High Council of the Allies, was held at San Remo, and it decided inter alia to put Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate. On August 31, 1920, the High Commissioner - General Gouraud, who was a successful military man, during World War I - published a decree "establishing a state of Greater Lebanon, which would include the former territory of the Lebanese Mutassarifate along with Beirut and

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Orient, No. 6, Trimestre 1958, p. 25.

The protectors were:

- a. France for the Maronites.
- b. France and Austria for the Greek Catholics.
- c. Russia for the Greek Orthodox.
- d. Great Britain for the Druzes.

2

George Antonius, The Arab Awakening (Beirut: Khayat's College Book Cooperative, 1955), p. 429.

the Bika', Tripoli, Sidon and Tyre regions."¹ The State of Greater Lebanon was formally proclaimed on September 1, 1920.

Legal Provisions of the Mandate

Lebanon was left by the Ottomans in a deteriorating administrative and political state. The main aim of the French was to help Lebanon attain self-government. "Une administration a restaurer, des intrigues a dejouer, des haines a apaiser, des miseres a secourir, tell etait la situation dans les regions qui leur sont confiees aux agents precurseurs du Mandat."² In the domestic affairs, the French were to give the Lebanese self-government in order to prepare them shortly to complete independence. The foreign affairs of Lebanon were entrusted to the French, provided they respected the autonomy of the Lebanese territory.

The French - before they were legally given the Mandate on Lebanon - aimed at creating a strong centralised administration which will substitute the old feudal regime. This new military regime could help pave the way to a strong rule of the French in Lebanon during the Mandate. A decree was issued on October 24, 1918, by the Governor in Chief of the littoral zone, to build up a new administration which included

¹ K.S. Salibi, A Modern History of Lebanon (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson in the press, typescript), p. 368.

² A. De Feriet, L'Application d'un Mandat (Beyrouth: Imprimerie du Reveil, 1926), p. 29.

a secretariat general, a special secretariat and a military cabinet.

The Secretariat General was composed of:

- A Directorate of the Civilian Affairs and the personnel;
- An office of Finances, Post and Telegraphs and Customs;
- An office of "Ravitaillement", Agriculture, and land and waters;
- An office of Public Works;
- An office of Justice and Wakf;
- An office of commerce and industry;
- An office of "Gendarmerie" and Police;
- An office of Public Instruction and at last an office of accountability, Materials and Archives. These offices were created to centralize the administration, to study and prepare projects, and to control and correct the working of the new administrative developments.¹

From 1919 to May 23, 1926, Lebanon was governed without a written Constitution. On May 23, 1926, a Constitution was promulgated recognizing Lebanon as a unitary state with a republican form of government.

Between 1919-1926

This period was mainly characterized by a strong direct rule of the French in Lebanon. Four High Commissioners served during this period. The first High Commissioner was

¹
Ibid., pp. 31-32.

General Henry Gouraud, a strong military man who was considered as a French hero who played an important role in driving the German troops from the French territory. His advisor Mr. Robert De Caix was an intellectual belonging to an aristocratic family. This latter issued many decrees to lay the foundations of a new Lebanese Administration. He selected from among the students of the French Roman Catholic missionary schools, a number of assistants who became the first civil servants of Lebanon. De Caix introduced some innovations such as the Lebanese electoral law and the real estate laws regulating the land tenure in Lebanon. In March 1920, the Syro-Lebanese pound was introduced by the High Commissioner at the suggestion of Mr. De Caix.¹

General Gouraud, issued a decree dated September 1, 1920, vesting Executive Power in a Governor of Greater Lebanon the latter being appointed by the High Commissioner.² In 1920, the Governor, Captain Trabaud, received legislative advice and consultation from the administrative commission, which was nominated by General Gouraud. It consisted of 17 members and was under the Presidency of Daoud Ammoun. In 1922, this latter issued new decrees bestowing "further executive powers

¹ K.S. Salibi, A Modern History of Lebanon, op. cit., pp. 365-366.

² Grassmuck and K.S. Salibi, A Manual of Lebanese Administration (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1955), p. 4.

upon the governor of the State of Greater Lebanon and gave him alone the right to initiate legislative and administrative proposals including Lebanon's budget."¹ The same decree replaced the Administrative Representative Council which was elected by universal male suffrage in April 1922, for one year and expected to consider legislation concerning the internal affairs of Greater Lebanon - its foreign affairs being the concern of the French. However the powers of this council were limited by the right of the High Commissioner to approve or disapprove any decisions taken by the latter.²

The extensive powers of the High Commissioner were not provided for in the Mandatory agreement which "gave essential weight to the will of the population in the Mandated country."³ Moreover, article 22 of the Covenant defined help as the "rendering of administrative advice and assistance..."⁴ According to the decree of November 23, 1920, (issued by the French President) the High Commissioner was "Le représentant de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban ... exerce tous les pouvoirs de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban ... dirige les service du Haut Commissariat et dispose de forces de terre et dispose des forces navales stationnées

¹ Ibid., p. 4.

² The consecutive Presidents of the Representative Council were: Habib Pasha al Sa'd, Na'um Labaki, Emile Edde.

³ Albert Hourani, Syria and Lebanon (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 309.

⁴ S.H. Longrigg, op. cit., p. 374.

dans les limites de son ressort."¹ This in practice gave the French extensive powers in the affairs of the Lebanese state.

General Weygand, who replaced General Gouraud on May 9, 1923, was the assistant of Marshall Foché in World War I. He was an eminent French officer who saved Poland from the "red armies."² He was known for his calm manners and strong personality. He appointed General Vanderberg to assist him in administering the affairs of Greater Lebanon of which he was the Governor.³ General Weygand interfered in every aspect of Lebanese politics, administration, and judiciary.⁴

On January 2, 1925, Weygand was replaced by General Sarrail, who followed a revolutionary anti-clerical policy. On his first day he called for the resignation of General Vanderberg and informed the Representative Council of the Lebanon that a Lebanese Governor would replace him.⁵ Faced with an attempt to discuss the candidatures, Sarrail issued a decree to dissolve the Representative Council and to appoint the anti-clerical M. Cayla "as a temporary governor of Lebanon

1 De Feriet, op. cit., p. 121.

2 Bechara al Khuri, Haqa'iq Loubnaniyah, Vol. I (Beirut: Manshourat Awraq Loubnaniyah, 1960), p. 127.

3 Ibid., p. 128.

4 Ibid., p. 26.

5 S.H. Longrigg, op. cit., p. 149.

with power to legislate single-handed."¹ Sarrail unsuccessfully tried to abolish confessional allotment of seats in the new Representative Council which met on July 16 to confirm M. Cayla as Governor.² The appointment of this latter as Governor was considered to be prejudicial to the Maronites; since Mr. Cayla was extremely anti-Clerical. An important accomplishment of Sarrail was to divide Lebanon into eleven administrative units each under the rule of a Muhafiz (administrateur).³

In an attempt to a rapprochement policy with the Catholics, Sarrail asked Mr. Cayla to limit his concern to the administrative field only.⁴ However, Sarrail did not stay for a long time; on December 2, 1925, he was replaced by Mr. Henry De Jouvenel, who was the first non-military French High Commissioner in Lebanon.

The Constitutional Era During the Mandate

During the first six years of the Mandate, Lebanon was directly governed by French officials.

By the end of 1925, the French High Commissioner, M. De Jouvenel, a prominent senator and well-known journalist in

¹ Ibid., p. 149.

² Ibid., pp. 150-151.

³ Ibid., p. 150.

⁴ Khuri, op. cit., pp. 128-131.

Paris, entrusted the Representative Council to draft a Constitution for the Lebanese state; this Constitution was promulgated on May 23, 1926. The Representative Council was recognized by the High Commissioner to be the first Lebanese Chamber of Deputies. A newly established senate was composed of 16 members appointed by De Jouvenel. The Constitution was amended in 1927, to merge the Senate with the Chamber of Deputies. Another Constitutional amendment of May 8, 1929 extended the presidential term from three to six years, in order to strengthen the position of the president of the republic by giving him longer tenure. The right of the President to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies was limited to three cases in the original constitution of 1926.¹ However on May 28, 1929, these conditions were eliminated and the President acquired stronger power to dissolve the Chamber. The Constitution provided for the equitable representation of the various religious sects in public office, without fixing a ratio for such representation, or reserving specific government positions for each sect. In this Constitution, the extensive powers of the President were somehow rendered null

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a. The refusal of the Chamber to meet in an ordinary or extraordinary session although it has been called to convene by the President of the Republic for two consecutive times.

b. In case of the rejection by the Chamber of the whole budget estimates in an attempt to paralyse the whole machinery of the government.

c. In case the Chamber adopts decisions liable to raise the country against the Constitution or the Mandate.

by the prerogatives of the Mandatory Power. Lebanese Foreign Affairs were mainly the concern of France.¹ The High Commissioner was "le seul intermediaire des Gouvernements locaux avec les consuls étrangers." He had the power to veto any legislation which he considered prejudicial to the interest of Lebanon or of the Mandate itself. He also had reserved the right to dissolve the Chamber, to suspend the Constitution and to rule by decrees that he issued at his discretion.² Hence the powers of the High Commissioner were more extensive than those of the President of the Republic.

Despite the fact that a Constitution was promulgated, and that the President, the Premier and the Cabinet members were Lebanese, the powers of the High Commissioner and his representatives continued to be decisive in the Lebanese political scene after 1926.

When on May 26, 1926, the Lebanese Chamber met and elected Charles Debbas President of the Republic, the French High Commissioner played the dominant role in the election. Debbas was an impartial politician, who proved to be satisfactory to the French when he was Director of Justice. It might have helped him too that his wife was French. Moreover, Debbas was a Greek Orthodox, and his election as

¹ Quoted by De Feriet, op. cit., p. 121.

² For the prerogatives see articles 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 98, 99 and 102.

President would satisfy the Muslims who preferred a Greek Orthodox President to a Maronite one.¹ The Maronites were not satisfied since they considered the Presidency as their traditional preserve,² but were appeased to have the next President from among them. Debbas stayed in power - as a Constitutional President - for about six years, from May 26, 1926 till May 10, 1932, during which eight cabinets were formed.

Debbas entrusted the formation of the first Lebanese Cabinet to Auguste Pasha Adib, a Maronite, with a long financial experience in Egypt who had already held office as Secretary-General to the French Governors in Greater Lebanon.³ A seven member government was formed, in which Bechara al-Khuri was appointed Minister of Interior.⁴ In this Government, the Prime Minister was interested in the administrative problems, leaving the political field to the President Charles

1 This was probably because Greek Orthodox were nearer to the Arab ideas than the Maronites.

2 Khuri, op. cit., p. 134.

3 Salibi, op. cit., p. 374.

4 The ministerial seats were distributed as follows:

- a. Auguste Adib: Prime Minister and Finance.
- b. Negib Kabbani: Justice.
- c. Bechara al-Khuri: Interior.
- d. Yusuf Iftimus: Public Works.
- e. Negib Amioni: Education.
- f. Ali Nasrat al-As'ad: Agriculture.
- g. Salim Talhouk: Health.

Debbas and the Minister of Interior Bechara al-Khuri.¹ The most important characteristic of this period was the pre-dominance of the French power in running the affairs of Lebanon.²

On October 12, 1926, De Jouvenel was replaced by Henry Ponsot as a new High Commissioner. Ponsot was a traditional diplomat with wide experience. He found the country in a disturbed condition, a strike took place in Beirut against the concessionaires of the tramways company, but the new High Commissioner chose to listen to the grievances of the population without taking efficient steps to remedy the situation.³ During this period the advisors had an open hand in the working of the Lebanese politics and administration.⁴ Ponsot followed a laissez-faire policy, and allowed excessive interference of the French officials in the affairs of Lebanon. These officials were considered more powerful than the ministers themselves.⁵ Meanwhile, the Cabinet

1 Khuri, op. cit., p. 141.

2 Ibid., p. 142.

3 S.H. Longrigg, pp. 176-179. Khuri, p. 144.

4 Philip Hitti, Lebanon in History (London, Macmillan, 1957) p. 473-495

5 Khuri, op. cit., pp. 140-142.

headed by Auguste Adib resigned under the pressure of the Senate which was led by Emile Edde, Ayub Tabet and Emile Cashuh, all of them being political rivals to the Greek Orthodox President, Charles Debbas. They believed that the Presidency belonged to the Maronites.¹

The clash between the Senate and a new Cabinet headed by Bechara al-Khuri paralysed political life and led the High Commissioner to amend the Constitution and merge the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The amendment was approved by the two legislative bodies, the Senate and the Chamber. The new Constitution provided that the majority of the ministers should be taken from among the Deputies. The political rivalry between Edde and Khuri dominated the political scene between 1926 and 1932. After the re-election of Charles Debbas as President of 1929, each of them was looking forward to succeeding him at the end of his term.²

On January 5, 1928, after the resignation of the six member Cabinet, Khuri headed a three-member Cabinet in which he held the ministries of Justice and Education, Ayub Tabet those of Interior and Health and Hussein al-Ahdab the Finance, Public Works and Agriculture. The most important achievement of the Cabinet was the organization of the new judicial system

1 Ibid., p. 140.

2 Salibi, op. cit., p. 382.

which rendered all Lebanese courts subordinate to the French authority.¹ Like other cabinets Khuri's three-member Cabinet could not stay in office for a long time, politicians are eager to replace the ministers. On August 19, 1928, a five-member Cabinet was formed under the premiership of Habib Pasha al Sa'd. This Cabinet was initially formed to pave the way for the re-election of Charles Debbas as President of the Republic.² Soon after that, Khuri returned to head a three-member Cabinet³ which was entitled to supervise the General Elections of July 1929.

The Government, the High Commissioner and his advisors interfered in the formation of the lists and the election of the candidates.⁴ Soon after the General Elections, on October 12, 1929, Khuri resigned and Emile Edde was called upon to form a new Cabinet. Edde asked for the right to legislate by decree-laws, for the sake of speed and simplicity.⁴ The result of these decree-laws was a failure, their promulgation aroused the Muslims against Edde and made it a

¹ Khuri, op. cit., pp. 154-156.

² Ibid., pp. 158-159.

³ The distribution of ministerial seats was as follows:
a. Khuri: Premier, Interior and Health.
b. Nagib Aboussawan: Justice and Education.
c. Hussein al Ahdab: Finance, Public Works and Agriculture.

⁴ S.H. Longrigg, op. cit., p. 202.

necessity for the French to change the Cabinet in an attempt to appease the Muslim mob. Actually Edde abolished half the existing tribunals, and shut more than 100 government schools thus damaging the poor Muslims who were almost alone benefiting from these.¹ Between 25 March 1930, and 10 May 1932, two other Cabinets were formed, both headed by Auguste Adib.²

The most important achievement of these two Cabinets was to ask the Chamber to abolish the right of the Executive to legislate by decree laws.³

The Constitution was suspended in May 1932, by the High Commissioner. This was due to "the continued factions and extravagances of the Chamber, the excessive confessionalism... President Debbas was empowered to legislate by decree (with the High Commissioner's concurrence).⁴ The Cabinet was abolished and a council of seven Directors was established and given the powers of the Ministry. This non-constitutional period lasted for about twenty months. On January 2,

1 Ibid., p. 202. Khuri, op. cit., p. 169.

2 The seats were distributed in the first Cabinet as follows:
a. Auguste Adib: Premiership, Finance and Agriculture.
b. Ahmad Husseini: Justice.
c. Musa Nammur: Interior and Health.
d. Hussein al-Ahdab: Public Works.
e. Jubran Tueiny: Education.
In the second Cabinet the members were the same except for Ahmad Husseini who was replaced by Subhi Haider.

3 Khuri, op. cit., p. 171.

4 S.H. Longrigg, op. cit., p. 203.

1934, the High Commissioner accepted the resignation of Charles Debbas, and passed his function to a French official (M. Aubouard) until the appointment of a successor. Habib Pasha al-Sa'd was appointed President of the Republic and Abdallah Bayhum Secretary of State. Many strikes took place. People asked for the re-establishment of Constitutional life. Mr. Damieu De Martel was appointed High Commissioner on October 12, 1933. He was very intelligent diplomat who represented France in China from which he came with a superiority complex.¹

The new High Commissioner issued a decree on January 3, 1936, restoring the Constitutional life and giving the Chamber the right to elect the President of the Republic.² Emile Edde was elected President on January 1937, after a considerable French intervention on his side. The High Commissioner issued a decree resuming the Constitutional life provided the presidential term becomes three years instead of six. Khaireddin al-Ahdab was appointed Prime Minister, and followed a strictly partisan policy, encouraged by the President of the Republic and the French High Commissioner.³ During the premiership of al-Ahdab, the office of Prime Minister acquired greater importance. Actually, in 1937, Edde, who was President of the Republic introduced a tradition that

1 Khuri, p. 183.

2 Ibid., pp. 206-207.

3 Khuri, op. cit., pp. 196-214.

Premiers should be Sunni Muslims and should have the right to countersign the presidential decrees, no decree being valid unless countersigned by them.¹ This act, by which Edde probably sought to appease the Muslim opinion, gave the Prime Minister greater power.

Meanwhile, a treaty was initialled in November between Lebanon and France, it was approved by the Lebanese Chamber on November 13, 1936.

This treaty provided that "it will come into force within three years and automatically replace the Mandate as soon as Lebanon would be admitted to membership of the League of Nations as sovereign independent state. France undertook to sponsor and secure the admission of Lebanon to membership of the League within three years."² But the treaty was never ratified by the French Parliament when the War broke out in September 1939. Meanwhile, a new electoral law in 1937, enlarged the Lebanese Chamber, two ministries headed by Khaled Shihab and Abdallah el-Yafi succeeded al-Ahdab "and none of them had any notable legislative or any other advance to show."³ Between January 4, 1937 and September 21, 1939,

1 Interview with Pierre Edde.

2 Eugenie Elie Abouchdid, Thirty Years of Lebanon and Syria, 1917-1947 (Beirut: the Sader-Rihani Co., 1948), p. 204.

3 A.H. Hourani, op. cit., p. 204.

Lebanon had eight cabinets, five of which headed by Khaireddin al-Ahdab who followed a quiet partisan policy against Khuri and his political allies.¹ On March 21, 1938, Amir Khaled Shihab headed an alliance Cabinet including Camille Chamoun and Salim Takla, both members of the Constitutional Bloc, founded by Khuri in 1936.²

Two other Cabinets were founded by Abdallah al-Yafi on the same basis.³ The outbreak of war brought considerable change in the Lebanese political life. The Chamber was dissolved, the Cabinet dismissed, the Constitution suspended and the administration confined to a Secretary of State directly responsible to the President of the Republic.

On July 8, 1941, General George Catroux representative of Free France promised independence to the inhabitants of Syria and Lebanon in the name of General De Gaulle. He said: "in this capacity I come to put an end to the Mandatory regime and to proclaim you free and independent."⁴ This was followed by a period of negotiations during which Alfred Naccache was President of the Lebanese Republic.⁵

1 Khuri, op. cit., p. 209.

2 Ibid., p. 247.

3 Ahmad Mustafa Haidar, Al-Dawlat al-Lubnaniyah (Beirut: Matba'at al-Nijmeh, 1954), pp. 65-66.

4 A.Hourani, op. cit.

5 Ibid., p. 247.

On November 29, 1941, Mr. Cordell Hull stressed the sympathy which the U.S. government felt for "the natural and legitimate aspirations of the people of Syria and Lebanon."¹

In May of 1942, with Hamid Franjieh as Minister of Foreign Affairs;² under the Premiership of Ahmad Da'ouk, a legislative decree was issued which "specified broad duties and responsibility for the ministry and established it as an essential segment of Lebanese administration."³ Here we have the requisites of administrative independence appearing even as pressure for political independence increased. Meanwhile, Sami al-Solh headed a new Cabinet on July 27, 1942. The essential duty of this Cabinet was to remedy the economic crisis which was predominant in Lebanon at that time.⁴ Solh's Cabinet was succeeded by a three-member Cabinet entrusted to supervise general elections. Actually in August 1943, under the presidency of Dr. Ayub Thabet, general elections were held to give Lebanon the Chamber which elected Sheikh Bechara al-Khuri as the first President of the independent Lebanese Republic.

1 Ibid., p. 253.

2 This was the first time a Minister of Foreign Affairs was appointed in a Lebanese Cabinet under the French Mandate.

3 Salibi and Grassmuck, op. cit., p. 11.

4 Sami al-Solh Muthakkarat Sami al-Solh (Manshurat al-fikr al 'Arabi, 1960), pp. 55-57.

General Characteristics

The most important characteristic of the Lebanese Executive under the Mandate was the power of the French High Commissioner and his assistants. Actually, early in 1918 - before the Declaration of the Mandatory agreement - the French have exercised military rule over Lebanon. Until 1926, no Lebanese Constitution was drafted, and the French ruled Lebanon directly, despite the presence of Administrative or Representative Council. Actually conflict between these Councils and the French authorities would have led to the dissolving of them.

After 1926, Lebanon had its Constitution, its President of the Republic and its Cabinet and its Chamber.

The Presidents were either elected or appointed, in both cases the French had the final say. Moreover, any prejudice brought to the power of the High Commissioner, would lead to the suspension of the Constitution. The dismissal of the President or Cabinet member and the dissolving of the Chamber. All these were done by simple decree issued by the French High Commissioner. Therefore, the constitutional era did only transform the direct rule of the French into an indirect one; " ... we... in Lebanon are likewise governed by our Parliament, our Parliament is governed by the Executive and the Executive can perform nothing without the approval of the "Advisor", therefore, we can safely say that

it is the Advisor who really governs us."¹

Another important characteristic of the Executive under the Mandate was the rapid change of governments. Actually, between 1926 and 1943 Lebanon had 19 Cabinets. The Constitution was suspended for about seven years during which Cabinets were substituted by Councils of Directors. Therefore, the average life of a Cabinet was about six months. This probably was due to the instability of the Lebanese political life at that time and the attempt of the French authorities to give the political rivals the opportunity to become ministers each in his turn. Until 1937, the Prime Minister was a Maronite; this probably was an appeasement of this sect which was deprived of the Presidency for about 8 years when the Greek Orthodox Charles Debbas took over this post. After 1937, Presidents were Maronites and Premiers belonged to the Sunni Muslim sect. Confessionalism was basical in the formation of cabinets. When the cabinets consisted of three members only, the Maronites and the Sunni Muslims were always represented. When the number of ministers exceeded three, two other sects - such as Shi'i Muslims, Druzes, Greek Orthodox - were given ministerial seats.³ These considerations will leave their strong impact on the Lebanese Executive after independence.

¹ Quoted by Abuchdid, op. cit., p. 56.

² This number had varied between three, four, five, six seven and ten.

³ See Haidar, op. cit., pp. 51-70.

CHAPTER II

THE EXECUTIVE IN THE CONSTITUTION

The Powers of the President of the Republic

The Lebanese Constitution gives the President of the Republic extensive powers. Of these powers, the two most important are the right to dissolve the Chamber and the right to appoint and dismiss the ministers at his own discretion. The first assures a certain balance between the Executive and the Legislative: if the Chamber tries to exercise a dictatorship over the Cabinet, the President can dissolve it and new elections take place.¹ As to the power of the President to appoint and dismiss ministers, it is limited by the peculiar composition of the Lebanese people. Sectarianism can not be neglected, article 95 of the Constitution provides for an adequate representation of the different Lebanese sects in the Cabinet.

The President is elected by secret ballot and a two-third majority of the Chamber. After the first ballot an absolute majority is sufficient for the president election. The secret ballot probably constitutes a safeguard for those

¹ Abdo Oueidat, An-Nudhum ad-Dasturiyah fi Lubnan Wal Bilad al Arabiyah Wal 'Alam, (Mansurat Oueidat, Beirut, 1961), p. 524.

deputies who have voted against the elected President. The President is elected for a term of six years and may not be re-elected until six years have passed since his last mandate expired.¹

This limitation of the presidential term was probably meant to reduce the President's power over both Cabinet and Chamber; it was also to give some eminent Lebanese politicians the opportunity of being elected Presidents.² Actually, this term was three years renewable for one time before the constitutional amendment of May 8, 1929.³

The Lebanese electoral system being based on simple majority, the President elected by a two-third majority or by an absolute majority could represent a minority of the population. This could partly account for the increasing weight of public opinion in influencing the Lebanese political life.⁴

¹ Bishara al-Khuri, however, was re-elected in 1948 even though he was still in power, after the introduction of a provisional constitutional law for this purpose.

² Al-Hassan: *al Qanun al Dasturi wal Dastur fi Lubnan (Beirut 1959)* p. 228.

³ Subhi Mahmasani, *Addastur Waddimuqratiyya* (Dar al-Ilm Lilmalayin, Beirut, 1952), p. 61.
Oueidat, *op. cit.*, pp. 519-520.

⁴ The resignation of Khuri in 1952 despite the fact that the majority in the Chamber was with him is one example; Chamoun's failure to renew his term in 1958, although he had the sufficient number of deputies in the Chamber ready to reelect him is another example.

The President is given considerable powers in law-making. He promulgates the laws after they are passed by the Chamber, and has the right to delay their promulgation for a period of one month. If the Chamber asks for an urgent promulgation of a law, he has to promulgate it within five days. However, the President can ask for the reconsideration of a law. In this case the law needs an absolute majority of the Chamber to be passed, while a simple majority is sufficient to withdraw the confidence of the Chamber from the Cabinet. Technically, this could lead to a contradiction: if the law does not secure an absolute majority to be promulgated and the simple majority considers it to be of crucial importance, this simple majority can withdraw its confidence from any Cabinet which will accept this presidential right to ask for reconsideration of the law. The President can dissolve the Chamber if he secures the approval of the Council of Ministers. This could be avoided if the absolute majority of the Chamber is asked to withdraw its confidence from the Cabinet.¹ Article 86 of the Constitution gives the President the power to issue a decree promulgating the budget estimates if the Chamber fails to consider it before the beginning of the new year. This is rather giving the President too much power in the

¹ Dr. Assayid Sabri, An-nuzum ad-Dasturiyya fil Bilad al'Arabiyah (Jami'at Addual al 'Arabiyah, 1956), pp. 318-320.

legislative domain.¹ Moreover, the President, with the approval of the Council of Ministers, can issue a decree to put into effect any bill which has been previously declared to be urgent by the Council of Ministers in the decree of transmission..... and on which the Chamber has not given a decision within forty days following its communication to the Chamber. This also gives the President considerable power. In keeping with these provisions, he can communicate any number of urgent bills on May 30 or October 14, i.e. one day before the end of the ordinary sessions of the Chamber. Thus the Chamber will not have the time to study these bills. They can hence be issued by decrees; if this happens the executive will be legislating. The President, however, is required to convoke the Chamber if an absolute majority so desires. Here the President may adjourn the Chamber for a period not exceeding one month, leaving only ten days for the Chamber to study the urgent bills submitted to it. Moreover, one should not neglect the power given to the President to dissolve the Chamber.² This makes many deputies hesitate to oppose him.³

¹ Ibid., pp. 316-317, and al-Hassan, op. cit., pp.206-216.

² Actually the Chamber was dissolved in 1947 by Khuri, in 1953 by Camille Chamoun and in 1960 by Fuad Chehab. See Mahmassani, op. cit., pp. 216-238.

³ See Hassan, op. cit., pp. 220-225 and Oueidat, op. cit., pp. 530-536.

The President is given the right to negotiate and ratify international treaties. He makes them known to the Chamber whenever the interest and safety of the state permit.¹ Who is here to decide? The President himself. He can categorically refuse to inform the Chamber about a treaty, unless this treaty involves the finances of the state or its higher commercial policy, or is binding for more than one year. Treaties of the latter kind cannot be considered ratified until they have been approved by the Chamber. However, the initiative of signing a treaty is always the preserve of the Executive. The Chamber has no right to conclude a treaty, it can only accept it, refuse it or adjourn it.²

In his pledge, the President swears before Parliament to respect the constitution and to try his best to preserve the independence of Lebanon. This very fact means that the President should be given extensive powers which enable him to fulfil the provisions of his pledge.³

We have seen that the Lebanese Constitution gives the President of the Republic considerable powers, which are sometimes theoretically limited but extensive in reality.

¹ Usually such treaties are of minor importance, since very few treaties can be denounced every year.

² Subhi Mahmassani, Addastour Waddimuqratiyya (Dar al-Ilm Lilmalayin, Beirut, 1952), p. 200.

³ Oueidat, op. cit., pp. 523-524.

We will be dealing with this in some detail while examining the powers of the Ministers and Prime Minister.

Another important fact is that the President cannot be held responsible except in case of high treason. Article 80 provides for the special court entitled to try the President.¹ This further contributes to make the Lebanese President a virtually all-powerful ruler and secures a high prestige to the Presidential post.²

These are the main powers that the Lebanese Constitution gives to the President and they are extensive. However, these powers are limited in theory by those of the Prime Minister and the Ministers.

The Powers of the Ministers and Prime Minister

The Constitution does not give the Prime Minister a great importance. He is to be appointed with the Ministers.³ However, in Article 66 of the Constitution, we see that the Prime Minister is considered as the representative of the Cabinet. While facing the Chamber, the Prime Minister, or a Minister acting on his behalf, shall draw up and present the government statement of policy. Moreover, constitutional practice gives the Prime Minister some powers. In

¹ Lebanese Constitution, Art. 80.

² Mahmassani, op. cit., p. 213,

³ Lebanese Constitution, Art. 53.

practice, the President of the Republic appoints the Prime Minister first and chooses the Ministers in consultation with him.¹

Since 1937, the Prime Minister has had the power to countersign any decree issued by the President, no decree being valid unless he countersigns it. Unlike the President who can never be responsible except in case he commits high treason or violates the Constitution.² The Prime Minister and his Cabinet are politically responsible to the Chamber.³ This responsibility emanates from an attempt to assure a certain balance between the Legislative and the Executive. No Cabinet can rule without the confidence of the Chamber.⁴ If the Chamber tries to exercise certain dictatorship over the Executive, the latter can always return to the people by dissolving the Chamber and administering new elections.⁵

The Ministers, each in his field, have to countersign any decree issued by the President, no decree being valid unless they countersign it. This right of the Prime

¹ Oueidat, op. cit., pp. 525-527.

² For the President's responsibility see Bassila, op. cit., pp. 81-83. Al-Hassan, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

³ Hassan, op. cit., pp. 244-249, and Bassila, pp. 83-87.

⁴ The Chamber never withdrew its confidence from any Cabinet.

⁵ Oueidat, op. cit., pp. 542-543.

Minister and the responsible Minister (or Ministers) could limit the power of the President. This power was given to the ministers because of their political responsibility before the Chamber. Since the Cabinet is responsible to the Chamber, the President himself is likely to take the opinion of the Chamber into consideration before he issues a decree. This is due to the fact that the President is constitutionally limited by the power of the Ministers. Actually, when the President is faced by a strong Cabinet, he can not rule open-handed. The Constitution gives the Prime Minister and the Ministers considerable power, which entitles them to share effective power with the President.

The Council of Ministers which is not mentioned in the Constitution, but was introduced by constitutional tradition to designate the meeting of the Cabinet headed by the President of the Republic,¹ has the right to appoint high government officials. This could result in Ministers exercising a strong influence over the directors-general and the other Government officials.

However, General Fuad Shihab in 1959 introduced the Civil Service Council and the Central Inspection Service. The first has the right to organise and supervise the examinations on the basis of which the Government officials are recruited - first class officials being exempt from examinations,

¹ Oueidat, op. cit. p. 227-28.

The second has the power to punish any Government official who violates regulations. This was meant to reduce political pressure on the Government officials. By this very fact, the power of a Minister over his administration was reduced.¹ President Shihab said, when the Council of Ministers signed the decree to form these two councils: "This is the first time in my life I see people signing a law to cut their own head."² The Constitution does not examine, however, all the main powers of the Executive.

We have seen that the President of the Republic has extensive powers, limited by those of the Premier and the Ministers, but whether or not these powers are limited also in practice is something that we will try to deal with while examining the working of the Executive. There are some powers of the Executive on which the Lebanese Constitution is rather silent. This was basically due to the fact that this Constitution was first drafted in 1926 during the French Mandate. The Constitutional amendments of 1943 did not add these lacking provisions to the Constitution. The Executive can not (probably) declare war without the consent of the Chamber.³ Many authors saw it necessary to amend the

1 For further details on this subject see Bassila, op. cit., pp. 117-121.

2 Interview with Mr. Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

3 Al-Hassan, op. cit., p. 231.

Constitution in order to give the Executive this right.¹ However, some authors say that the executive has the right to declare war after a foreign power has violated the sovereignty of the country by attacking its territory, even though the Constitution says nothing on this point.²

These were the main points of the Constitution concerning the Executive. The powers are distributed between the President of the Republic, the ministers and the Chamber of Deputies. The President is given extensive powers limited by the right of the ministers each in his own field to countersign any decree no decree being valid unless countersigned by them. The power of the ministers is limited by their political responsibility to the Chamber. The present Lebanese Constitution, which was an imitation of the French Constitution of 1875, was criticized and considered a handicap against a potential progress in the Lebanese political life.³

¹ Mahmassani, op. cit., p. 240.

² Al-Hassan, op. cit., pp. 231-232.

³ See Oueidat, op. cit., pp. 347-391.

CHAPTER III

THE EXECUTIVE DURING THE KHURI REGIME

The Lebanese Executive, in theory, has a dual leadership embodied in the Maronite Presidency and the Sunni Muslim Premiership. This was probably meant to be a means for check and balance between the Muslims and Christians as to their control of the Lebanese Executive. The actual share of the Premier in this leadership, however, has varied with circumstances and persons. As a rule, the President of the Republic in Lebanon, after 1943, has been the true leader of the Executive. This has been due partly to the wide constitutional powers enjoyed by the President, and partly to the fact that the three Presidents of Lebanon since 1943 have been able to keep most of the Premiers under control.¹ Moreover, in a heterogeneous country like Lebanon, a final decision can hardly be taken by the clashing groups. This decision is that of the President who enjoys a great prestige. The President has this prestige since he constitutionally represents Lebanon. As we have seen, the President is elected by the absolute majority of the Chamber of

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- (a) Interview with Sleiman Franjiyeh, November 19, 1963.
- (b) Interview with Abdallah el-Mashnouk, July 19, 1963.

Deputies, he is given the right to appoint and dismiss Ministers, and to dissolve the Chamber after the approval of the Council of Ministers. In this right of appointing and dismissing Ministers, and dissolving the Chamber lies to a considerable extent the extensive power of the Lebanese President.

Whereas the President is in his post for a fixed term of six years, which gives him a certain self-confidence, the Premier is liable to be replaced at any moment by another Sunni Muslim who will be better suited to the Presidential policy.¹ This makes the position of the Premier unstable, and hence tends to render him incapable of more effectively sharing the executive leadership with the President of the Republic. In this context, one should bear in mind that Premiers in Lebanon usually come to power and fall, depending on the will of the President who deeply influences the Chamber of Deputies. Lebanon being a country in which no organized political party ever took complete control of the country, Premiers do not usually have a solid command of the majority in Parliament.

The Presidency of Shaikh Béchara al-Khuri

Bechara al-Khuri was born in Rishmaya (Mount Lebanon) in 1890, of a prominent Maronite family which had once held

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Interview with Maurice Zwein, October 15, 1963.

feudal sheikhdom in the Jurd district. He studied at the St. Joseph University in Beirut and became a lawyer. In 1912, Khuri trained as a graduate lawyer in the law office of Emile Edde, who became President of Lebanon under the Mandate in 1936. Later, in February 1920, Khuri was appointed Secretary General to the Government of Mount Lebanon by the French High Commissioner. Under the French Mandate, Khuri held ministerial posts and was three times Prime Minister between 1927 and 1929, he formed the Constitutional Bloc to oppose the policy of the French Mandate, after Emile Edde was elected President of the Republic in that year. The Constitutional Bloc was a group of men gathered around the person of Khuri.¹

Khuri's First Presidential Term

In September 1943, Khuri was elected President of the Lebanese Republic by a majority of 41 votes and eleven abstentions. The first Presidential term of Khuri lasted, constitutionally, from October 1943 until September 1949. His most important achievement during this term was the establishment of a greater degree of security in Lebanon. Lebanon had been left by the Mandatory Power in a state of administrative deterioration. Traditional Lebanese leaders

¹ See Appendix II, pp. 1-2.

were very powerful in their respective regions. In South Lebanon, Ahmad al-As'ad was a highly influential Za'im. Sabri Hamadeh, for some short period, was probably as powerful as the Government forces in the Hermel and the Southern Beka' regions. Majid Arslan, in the Southern parts of Mount Lebanon, Hamid Franjiyeh in Zgorta, and Abdel Hamid Karame in Tripoli were also strong politicians.¹ These people were regional leaders or za'ims, and no Government could probably be successful without their cooperation.² Khuri once called them the "sword of Independence."³ He knew their force and knew how to exploit it. The cooperation between Khuri and these Za'ims, while serving to a certain extent the interest of Lebanon, was to lead after some years, to the corruption of the country.

Khuri's Solh Relation

Four Premiers came to power during Khuri's first term. The first of them, Riad el-Solh, is widely regarded as the most influential and had, in fact, shared effective power with the President of the Republic.⁴ The reasons for his

1
Interview with Majid Arslan, December 10, 1963.
Interview with Takiyeddin al-Solh, October 15, 1963.

2
This statement was especially true in the first years of Independence.

3
Bechara al-Khuri, Majmou'at Koutab, (Beirut, 1951)

4
(a) Interview with Sleiman Franjiyeh, November 19, 1963.
(b) Interview with Maurice Zwein, October 15, 1963.

power were: First, Solh belonged to a family which had political significance as far back as the eighteenth century.¹ His father, Riḍa el-Solh was a member in the Ottoman Parliament and minister in Faysal's government of 1920. This perhaps explains his outstanding political qualities. It was probably in the benefit of Khuri to cooperate with Riḍa al-Solh who was "a person of acute intelligence, great political ability and a disarming bonhomie."² Early under the French Mandate, he played an important role in explaining the Arab national demands for independence to the European people and in particular to European leftist parties. He acquired considerable prestige, and thus was able to spread the idea of an independent Lebanon among the Muslims who inclined to unity with Syria.³ Khuri did the same with the Christians who favoured French presence.

Therefore, when Solh was appointed Premier, he was the chief spokesman of the Muslims in Lebanon. Moreover, on account of his tolerance, Solh enjoyed the support of many Christian leaders. In a way one could say that Khuri had no choice to appoint a Prime Minister on September 25, 1943,

¹ Interview with Takieddin al-Solh, October 15, 1963.

² V.H.W. Dowson, "The Lebanon", Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, (1950), p. 71.

³ Interview with Abdallah el-Mashnouk, July 19, 1963.

Riad al-Solh was there, sharing with Khuri the role of hero of independence. Each of these two men represented an important section of Lebanese opinion. The mutual cooperation between Khuri and Solh facilitated the compromise between the Christians and the Muslims - a compromise that formed the basis of Lebanon's independence.¹

Before independence, Solh had come to be highly regarded as a nationalist and statesman throughout the Arab world, and he successfully maintained his prestige as an Arab leader after coming to office as Lebanese Premier. This added to his power in Lebanon. Indeed, many Lebanese Muslims, and some Christians also, were pro-Arab and looked at Riad el-Solh as their representative at home and abroad.

Solh headed the first Lebanese Cabinet after independence on September 25, 1943. The first very important step taken by this Cabinet was the amendment of the Lebanese Constitution. On October 7, Solh made a proposal to the Chamber announcing the Cabinet's intention to amend the Constitution. This would be "purged of all provisions inconsistent with the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon, so that henceforward no authorities other than the legitimate representatives of the nation would participate in its government."¹

¹ Hourani, op. cit., p. 285.

The amendment of the Constitution without the agreement of the French who were still present in Lebanon, was considered prejudicial to the Mandatory Power. On November 10, 1943, Khuri, Solh and three ministers were arrested by French forces and removed from Beirut. The constitutional amendments were declared void, the Chamber was dissolved, and Emile Edde was appointed President of the Republic by Mr. Helleu, the French delegate general at the time. The Lebanese people displayed a striking unity against the French policy in a country which was already considered to be independent. In an attempt to appease the situation, General Catroux was sent to Beirut, Mr. Helleu was replaced by Mr. Chataigneau, and after some negotiations between Khuri and Solh on one hand, and the French on the other, the Lebanese leaders were freed and returned to Beirut where they were acclaimed as the Heroes of independence.

Two members of the Lebanese Cabinet had escaped being arrested: Majid Arslan and Habib Abu Shahla. Despite the presence of Edde as a President appointed by the French, These ministers took over power and acted as the legitimate Executive of Lebanon during the absence of the constitutional President, the Premier and the other ministers.¹

On July 3, 1944, Riad al-Solh dropped Camille Chamoun and Adel Osseiran from the Cabinet, and replaced them by

¹ Khuri, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 33-51.

Hamid Franjiyeh and Mohammad al-Fadl. This second Cabinet, undertook to strengthen the relations between Lebanon and the Arab countries. These relations were to be guided by the spirit of the National Pact of 1943, which was agreed to by both Khuri and Solh. This Pact was considered as the basic agreement between the Muslims and the Christians in regard to Lebanon's domestic and foreign policy. Adequacy in the distribution of governmental posts was provided for on the internal level. Neutrality among the foreign powers, and brotherhood with Arab countries were to be respected by the two major groups in Lebanese Christians and Muslims. Lebanon will never become a station for imperialism, nor will it be allowed to be a passage to foreign powers having aggressive purposes towards the Arab countries.¹ Solh left office on January 9, 1945, after the appointment of Abdel Hamid Karame as Premier, after the advice of Khuri's brother in law Michel Chiha.² The appointment of Karame was done after the consultation of Riad el-Solh who accepted to leave the Premier-ship though not whole-heartedly.³ Khuri asked Karame to have the consent of Solh before taking any step.⁴ In an attempt to please Solh, no minister of his Cabinet, except Salim Takla, accepted to cooperate with Karame.

¹ See Kamal Hajj, and Michel Ghorayib, Attaifiyah Wal Iqta'yeh fi Lubnan (Beirut: Matbait Soumia, 1962), pp. 1-98.

² He was a banker, who was very influential during the Khuri regime.

³ Khuri, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

⁴ Khuri, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 123-124.

However, some of the new ministers were followers of Riad al-Solh; the latter opposed Karame and made it difficult for him to continue in power. Actually Karame stayed in power for about seven months, after which he was replaced by Sami al-Solh in August 1945. Khuri says in his memoirs that he appointed Sami al-Solh to the Premiership because the majority in Parliament so desired. Probably Khuri's desire to avoid the appointment of direct political rivals of Riad al-Solh¹ as Premiers, led him to decide on Sami al-Solh, who was not openly opposed to his cousin, and who was at the same time congenial to the presidential policy. Hence, Khuri never neglected Riad al-Solh, even when this latter was not Prime Minister. Riad continued to have a decisive role in bringing about or discharging Premiers. The Premiership of Sami al-Solh ended in May 1946 when three ministers, members in Abdel Hamid Karame's Independence Party, namely Ahmad al-As'ad, Sa'di al-Munla and Jamil Talhouk resigned. Sa'di al-Munla was thereupon appointed to succeed Sami al-Solh. Riad al-Solh approved of the Premiership of Munla, this being essential, as Solh was always representing majority opinion among the Muslims. Munla faced an overwhelming economic crisis which made it difficult for him to stay in power for a long time,² he resigned on Dec. 14, 1946,

¹ These were, Karame, Sa'di al-Munla, Abdallah al-Yafi and Saeb Salam.

² Interview with Sa'di al Munla on the Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, 1946 minutes, pp.

after an acute attack on his government in the Chamber.¹

The General Elections were shortly to take place, and Riad al-Solh was brought back to Premiership in view of Khuri's belief that Solh alone could successfully manipulate the electoral situation in the country. Moreover, Solh had left the Premiership for about two years and Khuri thought it necessary to have the strong Premier again in power.² It was under the Premiership of Riad al-Solh therefore that Lebanon had the elections of May 1947. The Chamber resulting from these elections renewed Khuri's presidential term in 1948.

Khuri's Second Presidential Term

Khuri was re-elected President in May 1948, more than one year before the end of his first term. This re-election probably had neglected the constitutional tradition which requires that the President should be elected one month at least and two months at most before the end of the mandate of his predecessor. For this purpose a provisional constitutional law was passed by the Chamber and promulgated by the President on May 22, 1948. The constitutionality of this law was doubted by some. Moreover, this wish to re-elect the President was related to the *rigged* elections of 1947. "Le

¹ Khuri, op. cit., pp. 277-278.

² Ibid., p. 278.

17 mai, il avait encore devant lui un an et plusieurs mois. Cependant, parce qu'il a faussé les élections du 25 mai 1947 afin de s'assurer la majorité requise des deux tiers, et parce qu'il avait conservé cette majorité au prix de faveurs de toutes sortes distribuées à ses futurs électeurs, il avait hâte de stabiliser sa position future."¹

Khuri came to power in 1943 as a national hero, acclaimed by the majority of the Lebanese country. After his re-election in 1948, Khuri cooperated with the same persons, Riad al-Solh, kept the Premiership from July 26, 1948 until February 14, 1951. Despite the power of Solh and his high prestige, criticism of the Khuri regime became serious especially after the general elections of 1947. The amendment of the constitution was considered in itself a bad thing. Even Michel Chiha, Khuri's brother-in-law, criticized it.² The policy which Khuri followed was the cause of his perpetuation of his regime. Being powerful enough, he followed an extremely authoritarian policy. "Le vote du 29 mai confirma Bechara el-Khuri dans l'idée de sa toute - puissance... il prit une mentalité de dictateur et se mit à pratiquer un culte ridicule et mesquin de la personnalité."³ The

1 Camille Chamoun, Crise au Moyen Orient (L'air du Temps 179, Editions Gallinard, 1963), p. 232.

2 Salibi, op. cit., p. 414.

3 Chamoun, op. cit., p. 233.

importance of the feudal Zaims, (leaders) was aggravated, the "raison d'état" was subordinate to the personal interests of the political leaders. Hamid Franjiyeh a prominent Maronite leader, who took office many times during the Khuri regime said: "Les abus de ce que nous appelons les féodaux, sont allés en s'accroissant. On leur a trop donné, le sentiment de leur importance... Les régions où ils sévissent ont souvent ressemblé à de véritables satrapies... l'autorité (d'un homme) se substitue ainsi à celle de l'Etat..."¹

On February 14, 1951, Hussein Oueini was asked to form a Cabinet to supervise the General Elections of 1951. His Cabinet was supposed to organize ideally free elections. Following these elections Abdallah al-Yafi was appointed to head the Cabinet. Riad al-Solh had by then become, as his supporters claimed, opposed to the gross corruption of Khuri.² On February 12, 1952, Yafi left office and Sami al-Solh was appointed Premier. To stay in power at that time was no easy matter. In fact Lebanon was in a state of economic and administrative deterioration.³ On September 9, 1952, Solh gave a speech in Parliament; he violently attacked Khuri's

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Quoted by Bahige Tabbara, Les Forces Politiques Actuelles du Liban (Université de Grenoble, 1954), p. 173.

2

(a) Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

(b) Once he sent him a message in which he said:

"You must choose between your sons and your country."
(Ya-w-ladak ya-blada).

3

Muthakkarat Sami al-Solh, (Beirut, 1960), pp. 214-216.

regime and said that he could no more continue in office.¹ By then, Khuri's regime was nearing its end. Many strikes and demonstrations took place in Beirut and in other Lebanese towns.² Nazim Akkari, a high administrative official at the time, was appointed Premier, but resigned five days after his appointment. Saeb Salam was called upon to succeed him and took office on September 14. His appointment, however, did not save the regime. Riad al-Solh, who was the only man capable of controlling the Muslim populace in time of crisis, had been shot dead while in Jordan in 1951. After his death it became obvious that no Muslim leader could truly take his place. On September 18, Khuri was forced to resign under the pressure of public opinion, after many unsuccessful attempts to stay in power.

Khuri's relation with the Cabinet

The presence of Riad al-Solh, as a strong Premier, who stayed in power for more than five years, prevented Khuri from exercising an autocratic rule, neglecting the presence of a responsible Cabinet. However, the entente between Solh and Khuri paved the way to the head of the state to exercise extensive power. Solh, as described by Pierre Rondot, "demeure, par un melange de sagesse sceptique, de souple modération,

¹ Ibid., pp. 222-227.

² Salibi, op. cit., p. 418.

d'énergie parfois brutale et extrême, un type particulièrement caractéristique..."¹ When other persons took over the Premiership, Khuri was able to exercise extensive power over the Cabinet. In a speech given in Parliament, Abdel Hamid Karame, referring to his Premiership said: "I saw many public servants who were appointed only to take their salary, many others were dishonest and some were of no use to the state. I tried, unsuccessfully to put them out because of the interference of powerful men on their benefit."² Yusuf Karam, deputy at the time, said in the Chamber, referring to the ministers: "I would like to see them only once governing as real ministers who emanated from this Chamber."³

Sa'di al-Munla, while reading his government's statement of policy to the Chamber, on May 25, 1946, openly mentioned the importance of the Presidential help in the success of a Cabinet.⁴ According to Mohammad al-Mustafa, deputy in 1946, the Cabinet is responsible for this situation. Actually, every deputy asks for reform but when he becomes minister he forgets many things about what he said.⁵

¹ Quoted by Mohammad Majzoub, L'Indépendance Libanaise dans l'Ordre Interne and International Public 1943-1956, (La Pensee Universitaire, Aix-en-Provence, 1956), p.65.

² The Lebanese Republic, The Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1946, p. 621.

³ Ibid., p. 620.

⁴ Ibid., p. 617.

⁵ Ibid., p. 623.

Khuri used to interfere in every minute detail of the political life of Lebanon, even in the judiciary field which was supposed to be above political consideration. "Les magistrats étaient interpellés directement, contraints de juger selon les désirs des personnages hauts placés sous peine de vengeances cruelles dont les moindres étaient le transfert dans une province éloignée et le refus de tout avancement.¹ Speaking of Khuri, George Kirk says: "he was no mere figurehead, but took an active part in the administration and in every day activities of the government. He sometimes presided over Cabinet meetings, and he dealt personally with various officials over the heads of the ministers who were their superiors, thus overstepping his Presidential functions.² Sami al-Solh, Prime Minister, gave a statement of policy to the Chamber on September 9, 1952, which could clearly explain Khuri's relation with the Cabinet. In this statement, Solh began by disavowing all responsibility for the state of affairs and went on saying: "They want the Prime Minister to be a tool in their hands, executing their will and securing their private interests...some people make of the dismissing of Cabinets and the appointment of new ones as a comedy... they were dancing on the skulls of dead men."³ He continued,

¹ Chamoun, op. cit., p. 233.

² George Kirk, Independent Syria and Lebanon, Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, v. 35, July, Oct. 1948, pp. 328-329.

³ The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1952, pp. 2506-2509.

addressing the Chamber: "we are not asking you for your confidence, gentlemen, we are informing you of the situation. As for our resignation we will present it to the President." ¹ Emile Lahoud a prominent lawyer who was a minister and a supporter of Khuri, answered Solh, saying that he did not consult the ministers before giving this statement. Lahoud reminded Solh of the responsibility of a Prime Minister in leaving the President rule single-handed. ² It is true, that Premiers were the cause of the state of affairs. Actually, they have acquired enough power, which, if exercised would enable them to check the Presidential policy.

Khuri's Relation with the Chamber

Khuri's relation with the Chamber was in practice a twofold relation. The first aspect of this relation was Khuri's interference in the formation of the electoral lists and the election of candidates. The second aspect was the power of Khuri over the Chamber after its election. During the Khuri regime, two general elections took place. On May 25, 1947, general elections were held and became the classic example of rigged elections in Lebanon. Khuri, together with his ally Riad al-Solh, Prime Minister at the time, had falsified the elections, in order to bring about a Chamber

¹ Ibid., p. 2509.

² Ibid., p. 2510.

which will be congenial to the presidential policy, and to assure the renewal of Khuri's presidential term. Governmental interference in these elections was generally accepted.

Mohammad majzoub refers to them as follows: "les elections du 25 mai 1947 ayant ete truquees et falsifiees par le gouvernement."¹ Deputies were indirectly appointed: "The government saw itself hard-pressed to gain a majority, and accordingly restored it by administrative manipulation of the elections to a degree which had few precedents even in the Middle East."²

In 1951, new General Elections were held. These were supposed to be ideally free so that people would forget those of 1947. Hussein Oueini, Premier at the time, promised to conduct the elections without any governmental interference.³ But, it seems that Oueini was not capable to enjoy full power, and governmental pressure was practiced against his will.⁴ Armed men, who were the "Zilms" of the candidates favoured by government, abounded in Lebanon and especially in the North and the South.⁵

¹ Majzoub, op. cit., p. 111.

² Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, op. cit., p. 263.

³ Al-Hayat, No. 1507, April 7, 1951.

⁴ Ibid., April 13, 1951, No. 1512.

⁵ Ibid., April 15, 1951, No. 1513. I personally saw about 50 armed men surrounding the house of Ahmad al-As'ad in Attaybeh.

Describing the 1951 elections, R. Mosseri says: "They resulted in a Chamber which was not much different from the one elected in 1947 and those elections were admittedly fraudulent."¹ This governmental interference in the General Elections is prejudicial to the democratic system. Deputies, who are supposed to represent the people might come to serve everything but the public interest. The Constitution gives the right to dissolve the Chamber after the approval of the Council of Ministers. This gives Khuri extensive power over the Chamber. The governmental interference in the Elections will bring about deputies who are indebted to the President for their deputyship. This could explain the extreme power enjoyed by Khuri over the Parliament. Deputies were not energetic persons who came to work and legislate. "I wonder about some people who struggle so hard to be elected deputies, and after they become deputies, they absent themselves from the sessions."² Deputies lose their time in struggling against a police agent or a door keeper.³ Some deputies, moreover did not believe in the efficiency of the Lebanese electoral system. In the May 9, 1946 session of the Chamber,

¹ Middle East Affairs, The Struggle in Lebanon, R. Mosseri, (Council for M.E. Affairs, New York, 1952), p. 328.

² Khuri, op. cit., p. 73.

³ Solh, op. cit., p. 217.

Kamal Jumblat said: "we have noticed that this Chamber is founded on false electoral basis."¹ After Jumblat went too far in criticising the Chamber, he was forced to leave by the Speaker of the House. While leaving, Jumblatt said: "I will return by armed force."² This attitude of the deputies, among whom we find some who refuse to come to the sessions, and some others who misregard the Chamber, is a gap from which Khuri entered to practice extensive power over the legislative body. From this relation between Khuri and the Chamber emanates another relation between the President and the public opinion. The deputies being unrepresentative of the people, they pave the way before the public opinion to have the final say in the important moments of the Lebanese political life. Actually, in 1952, Khuri had to resign under the pressure of public opinion though he had 55 deputies out of 77 on his side. In such cases public opinion seems to fill the gap resulting from the inadequate representation of the Lebanese people in the Chamber of deputies, and is a real check against any virtual presidential extravagance.

¹ The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1946, p. 571.

² Ibid., p. 573.

Khuri's Corruption

An important characteristic of the Khuri regime was the interference of his friends and his family members in the affairs of Lebanon. Khuri, "though himself by repute an able man and shrewd politician, had built up around himself an entourage which insulated him from public opinion."¹ Enjoying sufficient power, Khuri was in a strong enough position to discriminate in favours between his friends and relatives on one hand and his political enemies on the other.² Favours to friends and relatives were, of course, done at the expense of the Lebanese public interest. While leading members of the Constitutional Bloc were appointed as ministers, other friends of the President, of his son, Sheikh Khalil, of his brother, Sheikh Salim, nick-named sultan Salim, were shown favours in different ways.³ This in one respect was the nature of Khuri regime. Moreover, many people accuse Khuri of nepotism. Even some of his friends agree to this accusation, although they attribute the corruption to the family of Khuri.⁴

¹ World Today, L.J. Peaceful Change in the Lebanon (Royal Institute of International Affairs, Hertfordshire, 1953), p. 162.

² Interview with Takiuddin el-Solh, October 15, 1963.

³ Maurice Zwein told me that Michel Doumit was appointed Minister at the request of Sheikh Salim. Ali Bazzi believes that Sleiman Nawfal was indirectly appointed by Sheikh Khalil.

⁴ Interview with Abdallah at-Mashnouk, November 19, 1963.
Interview with Pierre Edde, October 30, 1963.

Friends of Khuri admit that he was weak towards his relatives.¹ Besides, it is reported Khuri was not in principle opposed to the exploitation of official positions. In an interview with Mrs. Jamil Chehab, she reported Khuri as saying to her once: "why is Jamil a poor man despite the fact that he held important positions?"²

¹ Interview with Yusuf Hrawi, November 19, 1963.

² Interview with Mrs. Jamil Chehab. This was approved by her elder son, Eve Chehab, September 18, 1963.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXECUTIVE DURING THE CHAMOUN REGIME

Camille Chamoun was born in Deir el-Qamar, (Mount Lebanon), in 1900, of a prominent Maronite family. He studied at the St. Joseph University where he graduated in law.

During the French Mandate, he was elected deputy in 1934 and held ministerial posts in 1938 and 1939.

In 1943, General (Sir) Edward Spears, the British representative in Lebanon at the time, favoured him as a compromise candidate to the Lebanese Presidency.¹ Chamoun, indeed, was a prominent member of the Parliamentary Bloc of Khuri, of whom he remained a staunch supporter until 1948. After the revision of the non-succession clause of the Lebanese Constitution in that year, with a view to enabling Khuri to renew his presidential term, Chamoun became a leading opponent of the Khuri regim. In fact, he had clearly expected to succeed Khuri upon the end of his presidential term in 1949. Chamoun and some of his political friends, ultimately, succeeded in forcing Khuri to resign under popular pressure, before completing his second term. Chamoun together with Hamid Franjiyeh were competing for the Presidency. The latter

¹ Solh, op. cit., p. 82.

though securing certain popular support, was not popular among the deputies. "Il avait le soutien de quelques cercles étrangers, de la majorité du clergé, et des milieux financiers, mais au bout de quelques jours il se rendit compte qu'il n'avait réussi à convaincre qu'un petit nombre de députés."¹ Losing hope Franjiyeh withdrew from the race, and Chamoun was elected President on 23 September 1952.

Chamoun came to power as a representative of the "Socialist popular front" which was composed of 8 deputies who led the opposition against the Khuri regime. In his statement of policy before the Chamber on 23 September 1952, Chamoun's emphasis was mainly on the reform which will put an end to the corruptions of the Khuri regime. He promised to struggle against the corruption and the anarchy which were the main characteristics of the preceding regime. Justice, which will guarantee the equality of the Lebanese before the law will prevail. The administration, as well as the electoral laws will be changed to give Lebanon a legislative body capable of facing the new changes which took place in Lebanon and abroad.² The strong impact of the "Socialist National Front" is clearly shown in this Presidential program.³

¹ Chamoun, op. cit., p. 245.

² Solh, op. cit., pp. 230-231.

³ See Tabbara, op. cit., pp. 199-201.

Soon after his election, Chamoun faced the difficulties of appointing a new Cabinet. Khuri's supporters who represented majority opinion in the Chamber, thought it is their right to take office. Chamoun's political friends also wanted to hold power. The first group was not likely to be thought of. "Il n'était pas question d'avoir recours à l'ancienne majorité qui portait sa part de responsabilité dans le mauvais état de l'administration sous le régime de Bechara el Khuri." The second group represented minority opinion among the deputies. Chamoun was to choose between dissolving the Chamber and appointing an extra-parliamentary Cabinet.¹ He chose the second alternative and Khaled Chehab was called upon to form a four-member Cabinet composed of well-known Lebanese public servants. "Je choisis la solution d'un gouvernement neutre composé à sa tête d'un politicien modéré et de hauts fonctionnaires présentant le maximum de garantie tant par leur probité que par leur expérience."² Khaled Shehab was known for his calm manners and unaggressive attitude. With him as Premier, Chamoun could probably more easily exercise extensive power over the Lebanese Executive.

In presenting his government's statement of policy to the Chamber, Chehab emphasized the revolutionary aspect of the new regime. His program was to develop agriculture, to

¹ Chamoun, op. cit., p. 246.

² Ibid., p. 248.

protect national industry, "Tenant compte des possibilites du marche local et de la limite de nos exportations, elle consistait a empecher la concurrence ruineuse."¹ The amendment of electoral law gave women their political rights.²

The Cabinet was given the vote of confidence, together with the power to legislate by decree-laws which will enable it to reform Khuri's administration in a short period of time. Actually, this reform was no easy matter. "... Par ailleurs la machine administrative, développée sans vergogne au gré des besoins de la vie publique, s'était alourdie de nombreux fonctionnaires, des primaires admis sans diplomes ni examens. L'expédition des affaires était forcément lente et témoignait souvent d'une réelle incompetence."³ The Chamber had given the Cabinet six months to accomplish his duty, in February 1953. The majority of the deputies asked for the resignation of the Cabinet. "Une importante majorité des députés, moins poussée par la conviction que mue par les ambitions personnelles, s'opposait irréductiblement à son maintien."⁴ On April 30, 1953, Saeb Salam, a strong Sunni Muslim leader, was called upon and entrusted to supervise the General

¹ Ibid., pp. 249-250.

² The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1952, pp. 2531-2532.

³ Chamoun, op. cit., p. 246.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 251-252.

Elections who were to take place at the time. The old majority, which supported the Khuri regime tried to build up a homogeneous group which will supervise the Cabinet and try to play a leading role in manipulating the political affairs of Lebanon. Chamoun rid this attempt by dissolving the Chamber,¹ After the General elections, Salam resigned, and Chamoun faced the difficulty of appointing a Prime Minister. Four persons were potential candidates to this post. The young Rachid Karame had succeeded his father Abdel Hamid and commanded a large number of partisans in Tripoli. In Beirut, Sami al-Solh and Abdalla al-Yafi were almost equally popular, Saeb Salam, though less popular, "the most forceful."² None of these was as strong as Riad al-Solh, "With these four possible Premiers (Solh, Yafi, Salam, and Karame) to choose from, President Chamoun found himself in a position where he could exercise full power, as he could always change Cabinets to suit his policy."³ On August 16, 1953, Abdallah al-Yafi was appointed Prime Minister. He stayed in power for about thirteen months, but was unsuccessful to build the country on the new administration which was supposed to be the result of the popular revolution. Many people criticized the con-

¹ Ibid., p. 252.

² Salibi, op. cit., p. 419.

³ Ibid., p. 419.

tinuity of the Khuri corrupt regime. "Chamoun's Administration, indeed gave ample room for criticism."¹

Ghassan Tueini, deputy in 1954, said that the decree-laws were fruitless and incapable of changing the corrupt situation, since the governmental machinery was always the same.² Kamal Jumblat asserted: "the situation after the revolution is like the situation before the revolution."³ He went on criticising the presidential interference in every minute detail of administration. The popular hopes in the new regime "soon ended in bitter disappointment: the new regime was in no way different from its predecessors."⁴

Chamoun Solh Relation

It was on September 16, 1954, that Sami al-Solh undertook the Premiership for the first time during the Chamoun regime. Solh was a popular leader in Beirut. He was a distant cousin of Riad al-Solh, "as a statesman, however, he lacked Riad's exceptional gifts."⁵ Solh, as described by Ghassan Tueini, was a politician "who knows how to rule, how

¹ Ibid., p. 420.

² The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1954, pp. 1552-1553.

³ Ibid., p. 1534.

⁴ Middle East Affairs, Lebanon by S. Yin'am, (Council for Middle Eastern Affairs, New York, 1954), p. 11.

⁵ Salibi, op. cit., p. 419.

to oppose a Cabinet and how to leave office."¹ Chamoun's relation with Solh characterized the Lebanese political scene for about three years. In 1954, Solh came to power after the failure of his predecessors to reform the Lebanese Administration.² "Les deux cabinets, de Salam (mai-août 1953) et de Yafi (août 1953 - février 1954) n'ont pas pu profiter utilement des pleins pouvoirs. Ceux-ci ont eu pour résultat de compliquer et de retarder, au lieu de faciliter, les mesures réformatrices."³ Solh's appointment was criticized by Kamal Jumblat being neither democratic nor parliamentary, nor constitutional.⁴ Probably, Chamoun appointed Solh and his Cabinet without consulting the Chamber before. But saying that this is unconstitutional is going too far. Actually the Constitution doesn't ask for the previous consultation of the Chamber before appointing a Cabinet.⁵ Despite the domestic difficulties, Solh faced a series of foreign problems which were characterized by the new developments in the

1 The Lebanese Republic, op. cit., p. 1530.

2 Solh, op. cit., p. 234.

3 Majzoub, op. cit., p. 71.

4 The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1954, p. 1534.

5 This consultation, however, seems to have become a constitutional tradition.

inter Arab relations.¹ By now the Lebanese policy began to deviate from the National Pact. As a matter of fact, Chamoun did not believe the National Pact was to guide the Lebanese policy. In his statement of policy before the Chamber, on September 23, 1952, he said: "...This father-land, the fundamental law of which was consolidated in 1943 by the National Pact... and which has distinguished its policy only in the name of confessionalism... wants its children to grow up above regimes and pacts because they are no longer merely multiple elements which agree or disagree, but a single people."² In fact, the spirit of the National Pact was neglected in both domestic and foreign policies. In the domestic field, "having started by alienating Kamal Jumblat, the President went on to consolidate his personal supremacy, by clipping the wings of all serious rivals... By the end of his fourth year in office, there were few Lebanese leaders whom he had not in the same way antagonized."³ This policy was probably dictated by Chamoun's will to become almost the sole ruler of Lebanon. Solh took no effective step to put an end to this new policy. Actually, Solh was not in a position which

¹ Solh, op. cit., pp. 235-255.

² The Lebanese Republic, op. cit., 1952, p. 2519.

³ Salibi, op. cit., p. 422.

enabled him to act. Emile Bustani, or the "Sultan" of the Chamoun regime was probably more powerful than the Prime Minister.¹

The deviation between Chamoun and Solh on one hand, and their political rivals on the other hand was increasing. During the Suez Crisis, Yafi and Salam, respectively Prime Minister and Minister of State at the time asked Chamoun to cut Lebanon's diplomatic relations with both France and Great Britain. "precisant que dans le cas contraire,... ils se verraient contraints de presenter leur demission."² This step was considered by Chamoun as "empreinte d'un excès de zèle inspiré autant par le désir de plaire à Gamal Abdel Nasser que par un sentiment maladif de démagogie."³ The two Muslim leaders, however, said that Chamoun's policy expressed basically the Christian point of view and thus alienated the Muslim majority of the population.⁴ Lebanon's adherence to the Eisenhower Doctrine, together with the results of the General Elections of 1957, aggravated the situation. The Eisenhower Doctrine was considered by many as a violation of the National Pact of 1943. This Pact involved the commitment of Lebanon

¹ Solh, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

² Chamoun, op. cit., p. 309.

³ Ibid., p. 309.

⁴ Interview with Abdallah al-Yafi, Oct. 28, 1963.

to a neutral policy, exceptions to this being subject to general approval. The 1957 General Elections resulted in the failure of Saeb Salam, Ahmad al-As'ad, Kamal Jumblat and Abdallah al-Yafi. All of these were opposed to Chamoun's domestic and foreign policies. They declared that, Chamoun rigged the elections, to bring about his friends in an attempt to renew his presidential term, hence, extend his foreign policy to another six years.¹ According to Chamoun, the elections took place in a completely free atmosphere. "Les deux ministres neutres, proposés au contrôle de la régularité du scrutin, firent une déclaration à la presse, assurant l'opinion publique que les opérations électorales s'étaient déroulées dans la plus parfaite légalité."² Whether or not Chamoun wanted to renew his term this he did not say. He followed destroying his political enemies, and weakening almost every strong Maronite politician.³ This was probably because of Chamoun's attempt to renew his term. By the end of 1957, the country was somehow split into two major groups. Many Muslims would say that Solh, having followed a policy suitable to Christians' interest, ceased to represent them.⁴

¹ Interview with Abdallah al-Yafi, October 28, 1963.
Interview with Hussein Oueini, September 3, 1963.
Interview with Takieddine al-Solh, October 15, 1963.

² Chamoun, op. cit., pp. 383-384.

³ Salibi, op. cit., p. 422.

⁴ Salibi, op. cit., p. 422.

The result of this policy was the crisis of 1958. This crisis proved that the National Pact of 1943, whether good or bad, is the best for Lebanon, this country in which "compromise is the key attitude." Don't make enemies is the key action. This attitude and the axiom have tended to develop a consistency of political reaction which has been solidifying Lebanon into a viable political entity despite the obvious religious and political problems that exist in the country."¹

Chamoun's Relation with the Cabinet

The absence of a strong Sunni leader during the Chamoun regime, gave the President an open hand over the Cabinet. "When Camille Chamoun succeeded in 1952, the Muslims could boast of no effective leadership."² The first Cabinet, headed by Khaled Shehab being composed of government officials, was not in a position to contradict any Presidential will. In fact Shehab's Cabinet was there thanks to Chamoun's help. "Il y (la chambre) comptait peu de soutien mais mon autorité morale lui avait valu la possibilité de légiférer par décrets-lois et de durer."³ Sami al-Solh, accuses Chamoun of having monopolized the Executive power, thus violating article 17 of the Lebanese Constitution. This

¹ Middle East Journal, Lebanese Economic Development since 1950, by William Persen, (Middle East Institute, Washington), p. 281.

² Salibi, op. cit., p. 418.

³ Chamoun, op. cit., p. 251.

article reads: "The Executive power shall be intrusted to the President of the Republic who shall exercise it assisted by the Ministers in this Constitution." Solh, in his Memoires, says: "every body knows that the actual governor in Lebanon is the President of the Republic, he keeps his office for six years, whereas the average duration of a Cabinet is about eight months."¹ Therefore the Cabinet is trespassed by the President. The situation was quite similar to that of 1952.² Every minister or Premier has "to be subordinate to the "Sultans", their followers and the followers of these followers."³ The Cabinet was but a facade which is responsible without being the actual ruler of the country. Even at the critical moment of 1958, Chamoun asked for the landing of American Troops in Lebanon without consulting the Cabinet.⁴ One should not neglect the responsibility of the Cabinet itself in this respect. If Chamoun used the Cabinet as a "tool,"⁵ as Solh puts it, it is because he is not confronted by powerful people who refuse to be tools. The Constitutional power, given to the Premier and his Ministers enables them to put an end to the President trespassing them.

¹ Solh, op. cit., pp. 317-318.

² Ibid., p. 316.

³ Ibid., p. 320.

⁴ Interview with Basheer al-A'war, October 3, 1963.

⁵ Majzoub, op. cit., p. 61.

The President of the Republic, however, "sait que la souveraineté est moins une souveraineté de droit qu'une souveraineté de fait... il gouverne, ou, du moins, il est porté à gouverner."¹ The relation between the President and the Cabinet have proved, during the Chamoun regime, that the latter was almost subordinate to the first. Actually, "par la confusion de fait des pouvoirs qui profitent au president, le gouvernement, aupres de lui, fait figure d'intrus et de simple executeur du bon plaisir du chef de l'Etat."²

Chamoun's Relation with the Chamber

Like Khuri, Chamoun exercised extensive power over the Chamber. At the very beginning Chamoun's term, Khaled Shehab and his Cabinet asked the Chamber to give them the power to legislate by decree. This very fact was considered by some as prejudicial to the Deputies, who were asked to give up their important prerogative. Deputy Pierre Edde said: "these decree-laws were asked in an extraordinary situation which was caused by the Khuri regime, however, this should never become a precedent in the Parliamentary history of Lebanon..."³ Moreover, these decree-laws were a proof that the Chamber was unrepresentative of the Lebanese people, hence

¹ Majzoub, op. cit., p. 61.

² Tabbara, op. cit., p. 43.

³ The Lebanese Republic, op. cit., 1952, pp. 2557-2558

unwilling and incapable to satisfy the public demands.¹

Bahige Takieddine, another deputy, criticized the decree-laws, saying that Lebanon was not in an emergency situation, such as war, so that the Chamber will give the right of Legislation to the Executive.² When Khaled Shohab failed in his job, decree-laws were given again to Sami al-Solh in 1954.

"Sami al-Solh, qui succede en octobre 1954 a A. Yafi, declare qu'il lui est impossible de proceder aux reformes attendues sans la revision de la loi des pleins pouvoirs. La Chambre s'incline, comme d'habitude et lui accorde les pleins pouvoirs pour realiser cette revision."³ Another important fact in the relation of Chamoun to the Chamber was Chamoun's intervention in the vote of Confidence of the Chamber only if they are not congenial to the Presidential policy. "les députés, eux-mêmes, ne sont prêts à soutenir et à appuyer un ministère que si celui-ci jouit de la confiance du président de la République."⁴ Kazem al-Khalil, a minister who resigned in February 1954, told Chamoun that the Chamber was dominated by the President of the Republic. Actually, this overwhelming power of Chamoun over the Chamber, could probably be

¹ Ibid., p. 2559.

² Ibid., p. 2548.

³ Majzoub, op. cit., p. 71.

⁴ Ibid., p. 62.

explained by his constitutional right to dissolve it after the approval of the council of Ministers. However, Chamoun made an attempt to liberate deputies from feudal Zaims (leaders). The revised electoral law of 1952, which provided that every district should elect its own deputy,¹ weakened the power of heads of lists who were able to bring a number of candidates on their list during the Khuri regime. According to the new law, men were obliged to vote, and women given the right to vote and to be elected.² The revision of this electoral law, however, was not complete: "la nouvelle loi a marqué un progrès indéniable dans la lutte contre la féodalité confessionnelle, mais continue de peser sur les destinées du pays."³

Some Characteristics of Chamoun's Regime

Probably the two most important features of Chamoun's rule were: First the deliberate weakening by the President of the most prominent traditional leaders in the country, second, the pro-Western foreign policy he followed, which came to an end in the 1958 crisis.⁴ In 1952, Chamoun was

¹ In some districts two or three deputies were elected.

² Chamoun, op. cit., p. 248.

³ Majzoub, op. cit., p. 75.

⁴ Interview with Bashir al-AIwar, October 3, 1963, for further details on the 1958 crisis see Ma'ruf Sa'd, Indama Qawamna (Dar al-Ilm Lilmalayin, Beirut, 1959). Michel Asmar, Ba'd al Mihnah wa Qablaha (Manshurat an-Nadwat al Lubnaniyah, Beirut, 1959), and Solh, op. cit., pp. 442-569.

acclaimed as a man of the people, who came to power to put an end to the corruption of the Khuri regime. However, the corruption which characterised his own regime was considered by some to be worse.¹ Chamoun, who is now extremely wealthy, was a poor person before he came to power, and even friends of his asserted that he used his post to material advantage. His friends were shown favour in different ways. He used his power to be partisan of some Lebanese against the others. "Le Président de la République jouit en effet, constitutionnellement et traditionnellement, de pouvoirs très étendus. Il en use pour diriger la politique du pays, mais il en use aussi comme tout chef de communauté féodale: pour favoriser sa clientèle, pour la faire accéder aux emplois publics, pour l'aider de cent manières dans la réussite de son industrie et le développement de ses affaires."² Sami al-Solh, who was Chamoun's friend, accuses him of corruption. In 1955, Solh realized, that the situation in Lebanon was very similar to that of September 9, 1952.³ Moreover, Chamoun

¹ a. Interview with Mr. Sleiman Franjiyeh, Nov. 19, 1963.
b. Interview with Abdallah al-Mashnouk, July 19, 1963.
c. Interview with Pierre Edde and Salim Lahoud, Oct. 30, 1963.

² L'Orient, op. cit., Troubles insurrectionnel au Liban, by Jean Pierre Alem, p. 39.

³ Solh, op. cit., pp. 316-317.

seemed to ignore a fundamental truth in the Lebanese political scene. Chamoun's regime however, was not deprived of good characteristics. The main distinction of this regime in this respect was the freedom it secured for public opinion:

"Lebanon, under Chamoun became a haven of freedom and security and a last bastion of liberalism in the Arabic-speaking world."¹

A Lebanese President's success depends mainly on his ability to compromise between the different political and sectarian groupings. Chamoun showed no inclination to come half way. His policy was considered to be prejudicial to the continuence of the National Pact and the prevalence of harmony between the different groups of Lebanon.

¹ Salibi, op. cit., pp. 421-422.

CHAPTER V

THE EXECUTIVE DURING THE SHIHAB REGIME

Amir Fuad Shihab was born in 1903. His father, Abdallah Shihab, was not a rich man. His mother belonged to the Houbeishe of Kesrouan, a noted family of former feudal sheikhs, who were moderately wealthy.

In 1921, Shihab entered the military academy in Damascus, after he had done his secondary education at the Ecole Freres Maristes in Jounieh, and the College de la Sagesse in Beirut, he then went to France where he studied at Chalons, Versailles and the famous military school of St. George. In 1938, he joined the French Army under the Mandate, and was promoted by the Vichy Government to command the Lebanese batallion of the French Army of the Levant.

In 1945, Shihab was named commanding officer of Lebanon's new army and soon built it up into a compact force.¹ On September 18, 1952, when President Khuri was forced to resign, Shihab temporarily took over the functions of Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence, to maintain order in Lebanon.

¹ Interview with Takieddine al-Solh, October 15, 1963.

Shortly before he had refused, as army commander, to intervene and stop the demonstrations which asked for Khuri's resignation, maintaining that the army was meant for the defence of Lebanon and not to be used for political purpose against the Lebanese people. Shihab was offered the Presidency of the Lebanese Republic in 1952, by many Lebanese deputies, but refused it.¹

On November 19, 1956, he was appointed Minister of National Defence, while he kept his post as army commander.

On August 31, 1958, he was elected President of the Lebanese Republic, being the only person who was neutral and strong enough to establish peace in Lebanon, which was in a state of serious crisis at the time.² Actually, Chamoun was elected President by the Chamber composed in its majority of Khuri's supporters. Shihab was elected by the Chamber which was ready to renew Chamoun's Presidential term. This was because "it is traditional that successful Lebanese politicians never take extreme positions on any political issues. Indeed it has been difficult to pin down Lebanese politicians as to just what they did advocate or oppose. The Lebanese are experts at shifting from one position to another and usually leave an escape valve or two in order

¹ Khuri, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 478.

² (a) Interview with Abdallah al-Yafi, Oct. 28, 1963.
(b) Interview with Maurice Zwein, Oct. 15, 1963.

to be able to extricate themselves from any rigid policy which they might momentarily espouse."¹ Unlike his predecessors Ghéhab came to the Presidency without being indebted to any of the traditional politicians. He was chosen because of his personal qualities which were a safeguard for Lebanon. "Un tempérament de médiateur plutôt que de lutteur, un personnage sympathique, universellement respecté pour son honnêteté, exerçant sur son armée une autorité incontestée, telle est le général."²

Unlike his civilian predecessors, Ghéhab was a military man, who never sought to become President: "durant la crise de 1952 le général s'était dérobé à l'appel, il faut croire que la pression n'était pas encore assez forte. Il aura fallu six ans après cette effroyable tragédie pour que la chose se fit. Il ne lui était plus possible d'échapper à son destin."³

Actually, Ghéhab took over power after he realized the necessity of his role in the appeasement of the Lebanese situation at that time. Speaking about his election, he said: "Ce n'est pas moi que les libanais ont élu; je ne

¹ Middle Eastern Affairs, Lebanon, by S. Yin'am (Council for M.E. New York, 1954), p. 13.

² Orient, op. cit., Troubles Insurrectionnels au Liban, p. 42, quoted from Camille Chamoun.

³ Quoted by Pierre Rondot, in L'Orient L'expérience Politique du Chehabisme au Liban, p. 44.

représente que l'impossibilité ou ils se trouvent d'en élire un autre."¹

On September 23, 1958, Chéhab made his statement of policy before the Chamber of Deputies. In this statement, he said that his duty will be to establish order in all Lebanese regions, to abolish misunderstandings between Lebanon and its Arab sister states, and above all to assure the withdrawal, from Lebanon, of the American troops, as quickly as possible. The National unity should be the guiding principle of every Lebanese citizen.

Lebanese policy, whether domestic or foreign, should follow the National Pact, "Lebanon's unwritten Constitution." The new state should be established on new basis, emanating from the "planning of the elite, the interest of the people and the hope of the Nationa."² At the end of his speech, Chéhab glorified "our cherished army, which was the guardian of Lebanon, and the safeguard of the democratic regime."³

The main accomplishment of Chéhab during the first year of his regime was establishing order in the country and

¹ Rondot, op. cit., p. 46.

² The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1958, pp. 672-673.

³ Ibid., p. 674. The role of the army during Chéhab's regime will be examined later.

assuring the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon. The establishment of order needed a new government which will be accepted by the Lebanese as a whole.

Ghahab's Karame Relation

During the Ghahabi regime, Karame took over the office of Premier for about 47 months. Actually on September 24, 1958 Karame was chosen by the opposition leaders to represent them. He was called upon to form a new Cabinet. He formed an eight-member Cabinet. The new Premier forthwith declared "that his Cabinet had come to pluck the fruits of the revolution."¹ The new Cabinet, was considered by the majority of the Christians as composed of elements who were too close to the "opposition."² After a Christian strike, the country was somehow paralyzed, some incidents between Christians and Muslims made Ghahab fear a sectarian war.³ To appease the Christians, on October 14, 1958, a new Cabinet was formed, in which Karame and Hussein Oueini represented the Muslims, Pierre Gemayel and Raymond Edde the Christians. The slogan of "no victor no vanquished" was to prevail in the Lebanese politics. An understanding of Karame Ghahab relation could

¹ Salibi, op. cit., p. 432.

² The opposition of the Chamoun regime.

³ Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

probably be rooted in Karame's statement of policy before the Chamber on October 17, 1958. In his statement, Karame said: "we have decided to forget the past and to begin a new phase, in which the "National Unity" will be our guide ... We will follow the policy which was laid down by President Ghéhab in his speech before the Chamber on September 23, 1958 . . . The government wants to emphasize his intention to protect Lebanon's sovereignty and defend its Independence.¹ This policy was congenial to that of Ghéhab, hence was a safeguard for Karame, who tried to abide by it,² to stay in power for a long time. Moreover, Karame was Premier when the decree, laws were given to the Cabinet on November 12, 1958. These decree-laws were meant to enable the Cabinet to reorganize the Administration. When the Civil Service Committee and the Council of Central Inspection were created, Karame who was in power, was probably given the opportunity to understand Ghéhab's motives, and to adopt them. One can understand this favoured position of Karame only if he knows that Ghéhab considered these two organs as instrumental for a new Lebanese Administration based on equity and freed of interference of the traditional politicians,³ whose attitude

¹ The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1958, pp. 79-80.

² Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

³ I will study these two organs under Chehab's relation with the Cabinet.

was to complicate "by their conflicting ambitions the work of successive Governments."¹ After the General Elections of 1960, Saeb Salam was called upon to form a new Cabinet. On August 1, 1961, an eighteen-member Cabinet was formed, and was the first in the Lebanese Constitutional life to consist of such a large number. This number was criticized by several deputies. Edward Hnein, a deputy, wondered about the efficiency of having two ministers for a ministry.² Hnein went on saying: "we expected a Cabinet capable to rule, but had only a representative one."³ Salam reduced his Cabinet to include eight ministers, but did not stay very long in power. Actually, he had to resign on October 31, 1961, after many attacks on his policy in the Chamber.⁴ Karame was called upon again to form a new Cabinet which stayed in power for about twenty eight months, the longest time during which a Cabinet had stayed in power ever since Independence. This

¹ Salibi, op. cit., p. 444.

² The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1960, pp. 36-38. He meant Abdallah al-Mashnuk who was Minister of Municipalities usually under the authority of the Ministry of Interior, and Katchik Babikian, Minister of Administrative Reform, usually concerning the Ministry of General Planning.

³ Ibid., p. 38. Hnein emphasized that this Cabinet represented almost the Parliament but was not an effective one capable of ruling Lebanon, because of the heterogeneity of its structure. Ali Bazzi, deputy at the time, also criticized this big number. Ibid., pp. 18-19 and by Jean Aziz.

⁴ The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1961, pp. 1618-1877. Most of the Ministers who were in the eighteen member Cabinet opposed Salam's new Cabinet.

stability of Karame's Cabinets in office seems to indicate a certain homogeneity between him as a Premier and Ghéhab as a President of the Republic.

Ghéhab's Relation with the Cabinet

An important characteristic of Ghéhab's relation with the Cabinet was the relative stability of the latter during Ghéhab's regime. Actually, if we exclude the two Cabinets which were entrusted the supervision of the General Elections,¹ the Lebanese Premiership during the Ghéhab regime, was the preserve of Rachid Karame and Saeb Salam, Ghéhab does not appear to have favoured frequent changes of Cabinets. He is said to believe that, as politicians are mostly alike, there is no need to change Governments every now and then.² Moreover, he thinks that a stable Cabinet is more likely to be productive.³ Hence Lebanon had few Cabinets that assumed office during his Presidency. Ghéhab, having no faith in most of the Lebanese politicians, Cabinet members being themselves chosen from among these, he made every possible effort to keep them away from administration. This explains the creation of the Civil Service Committee and the Council

¹ The first was headed by Ahmad Da'ouk in 1960 and the second by Hussein Oueini in 1964. (see Appendix II).

² Interview with Takieddine al-Solh on Oct. 15, 1963.

³ Interview with Ali Bazzi on September 15, 1963.

of Central Inspection. These two organs were meant, as Katchick Babikian, Minister of Administrative Reform in 1960 says, to limit political interference in the administrative field.¹ Sheikh Farid Dahdah, a high ranking judge, was appointed President of the Civil Service Committee, which was to recruit Government officials on the basis of competitive examinations.² Any decision, even if taken in the Council of Ministers, should be counter-signed by Dahdah if it were to be legitimate if this decision concerned the recruitment of Government officials. If Dahdah rejects it, this decision had to be reconsidered by the Council of Ministers and becomes effective only if the Council of Ministers insists on it for the second time.³ The Council of General Inspection was meant to supervise the working of the administration, punishing those civil servants who do not fulfil their duties. This was another attempt to raise the level of government officials. Shéhab recruited some honest civil servants who were entrusted to study any important project before it is passed by the Council of Ministers. The President wanted to build a modern state worthy of

¹ Interview with Katchick Babikian, October 25, 1963.

² Confessionalism was an obstacle against the perfect working of this Committee.

³ Interview with a high-ranking official in the Presidency of the Republic, September 12, 1964.

Independence with the present state of affairs in Lebanon. "C'est avec les Libanais comme ils sont, avec ces politiciens valant ce qu'ils valent; c'est avec eux et à travers eux qu'il faut faire un état libanais ... avec cette conscience amère de la nécessité de passer à travers les hommes-mêmes qui ont avili l'autorité et dégardé le pouvoir."¹ Though he tried to avoid the interference of the ministers in administration, Ghéhab was ready to abide by the decision of the majority in the Council of Ministers, provided this decision was not prejudicial to the Lebanese Public interest.²

Ghéhab's Relation with the Chamber

Ghéhab showed a relative respect to the will of the Chamber of Deputies. This probably could be traced back to Ghéhab's respect of the Constitution, or the "Book" as he usually calls it.³ In 1960, the Electoral law was revised and the number of deputies was raised to 99, and the secret Chamber was introduced.⁴ The larger body would probably make possible a more precise and a satisfactory representation of all religious communities. The General Elections of

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Quoted by Pierre Rondot, Orient, L'expérience Politique du Chehabisme au Liban, 4e année, 1960, No. 16; p.48.

2

Interview with Philip Boulos on 9 July, 1963, and with Ali Bazzi on September 15, 1963. Both were Ministers for a long time under the Chehab regime.

3

Interview with Ali Bazzi on September 1, 1963.

4

Middle East Journal, The Lebanese Elections of 1960, by Nicola Ziadeh, (Middle East Institute, Washington, 1960), p. 372.

1960 were generally regarded to be free. However, unsuccessful candidates made allegations of interference. "Basheer al-Othman and his supporters withdrew from the elections on polling day, in protest against what they called intervention of the 'Deuxième Bureau'."¹ Soon after these elections, Chéhab, on July 20, 1960, feeling that he had done his duty towards the country, tendered his resignation to the Chamber. He withdrew it at the insistence of the Deputies and the country as a whole,² who considered him as the irreplaceable man at that time. This resignation strengthened the position of Chéhab. He was considered as the President acclaimed by the majority of the country.

The power of the deputies during Chéhab's regime was limited in some aspects. The factors which limited the powers of the Cabinet directly, indirectly limited that of the Chamber members. The latter usually used to ask the Cabinet members for many demands which were many times against the Lebanese public interest.³ Chéhab, though unable to put an end to this, limited its effectiveness to a consider-

¹ Ibid., p. 381. The General Elections of 1964 were regarded by some as rigged elections, some compared them to those of May 25, 1947; having taken place in 1964, I will not be concerned with them.

² Ibid., p. 380.

³ The Lebanese Republic, Chamber of Deputies, Minutes, 1947, p. 623.

able extent.¹ Moreover, when his regime was nearing its end, Ghéhab played an effective role to secure peace in Lebanon. He refused to renew his presidential term, and contributed to legitimacy by assuring an orderly transfer of power to the elected President Charles Helou. This was the first time in the history of independent Lebanon that a President leaves office without an attempt to stay in power.

Characteristics of Ghéhab's Regime

An important characteristic of the Ghéhabi regime was the personality of the President himself. Actually, unlike his predecessors who represented certain political groups, Ghéhab came to power as a judge between the different Lebanese groupings. Ghéhab was highly respected in Lebanon and abroad. Pierre Rondot describes him as "l'homme providentiel."² Ghéhab's personality was probably at the basis of the rapid developments which took place in the Lebanese political scene. After a bloody revolution in October 1958, Lebanon, by July 1960 had a new President, Parliament and Cabinet... plus a profusion of declarations of brotherhood and outlining of new government programs of national

¹ The interference of Deputies to appoint their supporters in public offices was decreased by the introduction of the Civil Service Committee.

² Orient, 1960, op. cit., p. 43.

construction and public welfare, plus the general return of security and prosperity to the country, all signify the end of an unhappy chapter in the history of Lebanon.¹

The Role of the Army

The army played an important role during Ghéhab's regime. The interference of the military in politics could be traced to September 18, 1952. General Fuad Ghéhab, Commanding Officer at the time, refused to "put the army against the will of the people,"² and told Khuri that the only solution was the resignation of the President, and Khuri complied. In that year, Ghéhab was asked to accept the Presidency since he was highly respected as the Commanding Officer of the army, which consisted of well disciplined soldiers. "Les seuls fonctionnaires qui ne sont pas encore ete discredites."³ It is reported that, in November 1956, Charles Malik refused to enter the Cabinet unless Fuad Ghéhab accepts a ministerial post.⁴ During the crisis of 1958, the army saved Lebanon, as Ghéhab put it in his speech of September 23, 1958. All these factors gave the Lebanese

¹ Middle East Journal, The Lebanese Elections, by Malcolm Kerr, (Middle East Institute, Washington, 1961), p.

² World Today, Peaceful Change in Lebanon, by L.J. (Royal Institute of International Affairs Hertfordshire, 1953), p. 169.

³ Quoted by Pierre Rondot, Orient 1960, op. cit., from George Naccache, p. 44.

⁴ Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

army a high prestige. Moreover, Ghéhab never trusted the politicians, whom he called "fromagistes" and whose main purpose was to exploit the state for their own selfish interest.¹ Because of these reasons Ghéhab preferred to use the army as his machinery to establish order in the country, appointed high-ranking army officials to head the Police, the Gendarmerie and the General Security.² A military office was established in the presidential palace; it was entrusted to supervise certain political activities. The "Deuxième Bureau" was given considerable power in an attempt to establish order in the country and to prevent any virtual attempt on Lebanon's security.³ Ghéhab believed that the Army had the right and the duty to cooperate in the building of a new Lebanon. Addressing the new officers he once said: "Dear officers, your noble duty is not only to protect the frontiers, but to work, together with the people, to safeguard the National Unity."⁴ He always believed that the Army, of which he considered himself the father, was a coherent part of the people. This Lebanese nation had

¹ Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.
Interview with Takieddine al-Solh, October 15, 1963.

² They were respectable Colonel Michel Sun'an, Aziz al-Ahdab and Toufic Jalbout.

³ Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963. He was a Minister of Interior for about one year.

⁴ Fadel Sa'id Akl, Falsafat Ashahabiyah (Manshourat Akl, 1964), p. 382.

faced, since its independence, till these days, troubles and difficulties which strengthened the links between the Lebanese people and the Lebanese Army to an ideal degree.¹ Some politicians went on criticizing this stress on the army,² others thought it was an instrumental factor in the development of Lebanon and the establishment of order in the country.³

The Development of the Depressed Areas

Soon after he took office, Ghéhab, looking at a map of Lebanon, told one of his friends: "governmental achievements were centered in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, my duty will be to extend them to all Lebanese regions."⁴ Ghéhab is known for his attempt to civilize the underdeveloped areas. "In 1957 he resigned from the Army because of the mistreatment by the government of the Dandash tribe in Hermel."⁵ In his view we can ask a region to fulfil its duties only

1
Ibid., p. 382.

2
Interview with Sa'di al-Munla, August 15, 1963.
Interview with Sleiman Franjiyeh, Nov. 19, 1963.
Interview with Pierre Edde, Oct. 30, 1963.

3
Interview with Abdallah al-Yafi, Sept. 28, 1963.
Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.
Interview with Maurice Zwein, Oct. 15, 1963.

4
Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

5
Interview with Takieddine al-Solh, Oct. 15, 1963.

if we help it reach a certain level of modernism. Ghéhab, a humane person, sought to treat equally all the Lebanese people. Moreover, as a Lebanese Christian, Ghéhab "felt that no Muslim can be as loyal to Lebanon as his Christian compatriot unless he is also as contented... consequently, he has paid much attention to the depressed areas of the country, which are mainly inhabited by Sunnites, Shéites and Druzes."¹ In view of accomplishing this aim, Ghéhab asked for the opening of technical schools in different regions, water and electricity, roads ceased to be the preserve of certain regions.²

The Social Welfare Policy

The realization of social welfare was considered by Ghéhab as a necessity for the building of a modern state. "We can never divorce any of our essential problems... we can never think of curing any disease, or realizing any lasting good unless we overcome our social problems, using a scientific serious method." In an attempt to surmount the social difficulties, Ghéhab concentrated on social justice, promulgated the Social Security Law and ordered the building of "people's homes."³ This social reform was a novelty in

¹ Salibi, op. cit., p.

² Akl, op. cit., p.

³ See Father Lebre, Lubnan Yuwajih Qadiyyat Tanmiyatih, Lebanon, Ministry of General Planning.

Lebanon; Ghéhab being "certainement l'homme le plus à gauche que nous ayons vu au pouvoir: il représente la première pensée sociale qui soit jamais entrée au Sérail."¹

Role of Foreign Experts

Ghéhab was firmly convinced to build the Lebanese State on modern basis. Lebanese experts, he believed, could not do an objective work in this respect: they are too much involved in politics, therefore, they will subordinate the interest of the country to their political interests. The sole solution to secure objectivity in the intended reform was to work with foreigners. For this reason, Ghéhab's regime was characterised by the big number of foreign experts who came to help the President fulfil his projects in the building of the Lebanese State. Ghéhab, by nature is a man who prefers silent work. He likes to be called "le grand muet." (the one who never speaks). Foreign experts, who were serious persons working without any political motivation behind their plans were congenial to the presidential policy.² Actually, Ghéhab was satisfied with their work. He favoured the well-studied organised work. "Il n'y a pas de volonte plus opiniatre que la sienne..., mais il sait aussi que rien ne se fait dans la contrainte et dans la

¹ Quoted by Pierre Rondot, Orient op. cit., 1960, 16e Volume, p. 47.

² Interview with a high ranking government official in the Presidential Palace, September 12, 1964.

crispation... Cette facon lente, cette avance fluctuante, cette procedure presque paresseuse de son action... toute cette tactique faite de poussees et de reprises... n'est ce pas exactement le style chehabien?"¹

The experts had no binding authority, they were consulted on different subjects, their relation was usually with the President of the Republic.² Very rarely they were called upon to the Council of Ministers to explain some of their views to the Premier and the Cabinet members.³ The decisions of these experts were usually executed by the Lebanese authorities upon the request of the President.⁴ Many experts of different nationalities came to Lebanon. The most important of them was the I.R.F.E.D.⁵ Commission headed by Father Lebre. This Commission studied the economic situation in Lebanon.... The results of I.R.F.E.D.'s investigations were sobering.

¹ Quoted by Pierre Rondot, in *Orient*, op. cit., Vol. 16, p. 47.

² Interview with Andre Bonnet, September 12, 1964. (He is a French expert for the Youth Organization).

³ Interview with a high ranking official in the presidential palace, September 12, 1964.

⁴ Interview with Ali Bazzi, 15 September, 1963.

⁵ Institut international de Recherches et de Formation en vue du Developpement.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE

All three Presidents came from prominent Maronite families of middling income. Bechara al-Khuri was the son of a Director of Interior in Ottoman times, and Chamoun of a Qaimaqam. Shéhab's father went abroad to work and died at sea.

Khuri and Chamoun had in course of their career accumulated great wealth. Shéhab's financial status has not changed much.

All three Presidents had their secondary training in schools run by religious orders. Khuri and Chamoun studied at the Jesuit school and Shéhab in the "Freres Maristes" at Jounieh and the "Hikmah" school in Beirut. Khuri and Chamoun were graduates in law from St. Joseph University, while Shéhab studied at St. Cyr and Chalons military academies in France.

All three Presidents were born in Mount Lebanon, Khuri in Rishmaya, Chamoun in Deir al-Qamar, and Shéhab in Ghazir. All of them were in their fifties when they assumed office.

As to the twelve Premiers, all were Sunni Muslims, with the exception of Fuad Shéhab (a Maronite) who assumed office temporarily between September 18 and 30 in 1952.

Five of the Premiers were from Beirut;¹ four of them were from Tripoli, one from Sidon, one from Hasbaya (South Lebanon) and one from Ghazir (Mount Lebanon).

Six Premiers (Salam, Yafi, Riad and Sami al-Solh, Abdel Hamid and Rashid Karame) were land owners, two of them were men of capital (Oueini and Daouk) and four belonged to the middling income group (Chehab, Akkari, al-Munla and Khaled Chehab.)

Six Premiers (Yafi, Rachid Karame, Sami and Riad al-Solh, al-Munla and Akkari) were lawyers. Three of these graduated from St. Joseph University, three from Istambul and one from Cairo University. Of the other Premiers, one was a Mufti, with traditional religious education, another (Salam) was a graduate from A.U.B. and Oxford University, one studied engineering in France (Ahmad Daouk), and three (Khaled and Fuad Sh^hhab and Hussein Oueini) were trained at schools run by religious orders but did not continue their University education.

Seven Premiers were in their fifties, two in their late forties and only one in his thirties. Of the others one was seventy years old and another sixty two years old. Thus Premiers were recruited from older persons as is the case with traditional states.

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Sami al-Solh, however, was born in Akka, though he came to Beirut early during his youth.

In the thirty six Cabinets which assumed office since Independence there were 296 appointments and 103 ministerial appointees from 87 different Lebanese families. Some of these families are interconnected by marriage, such as Karame and Salam, al-As'ad and Hamadeh, Osseiran and al-Khalil. These links had to some extent political consequences. Sabri Hamadeh and Ahmad al-As'ad were usually political allies, so were Henry Pharaon and Charles Helou, Kazem al-Khalil and Adel Osseiran. On the other hand, despite the link between the families of Rashid Karame and Saeb Salam, these two politicians were usually rivals in the struggle for power.

Cabinet posts were of course distributed between different Lebanese sects. The share of the Maronites was 77 appointments (34 appointees), that of the Sunni Muslims 72 appointments (21 appointees). The Shi'i Muslims had 37 appointments and 15 appointees. There were also 6 Druze appointees (37 appointments) and 12 Greek Catholic appointees (36 appointments) with 15 Greek Orthodox appointees (36 appointments).

The Maronite representation in the Cabinet was clearly adequate. In relation to their percentage in the population, the Sunni Muslims were over-represented in the Cabinet. This was probably due to the fact that the office of Premier is the preserve of this sect. The Greek Orthodox, the Greek Catholic and the Druzes were also over-represented at the

expense of the Shi'i Muslims and other Lebanese minorities.¹ It is of interest to mention that in the case of the Druzes, many appointments fell to very few persons. This is probably due to the pronouncedly feudal character of the Druze leadership.² The loyalties of the Druzes have tended since Independence to be divided between Majid Arslan and Kamal Jumblat. The former represented his sect in 19 Cabinets, the latter in four Cabinets. The remaining thirteen posts were shared by four other Druzes.³

In regard to the regional factor, we note that thirty six of the appointees were from Mount Lebanon (120 appointments), 21 from Beirut (60 appointments), 17 from North Lebanon (43 appointments), sixteen from South Lebanon (40 appointments) and eight from the Beka' (17 appointments). Six were born outside Lebanon. Ten Cabinet members were born in Beirut, seven in Tripoli, three in Tyre, three in Zahleh and two in Sidon; the others belonging to different

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If the number in population were the criterion, the Greek Orthodox who count 149,000 should have only 29 appointments, but had in fact 36, and the Greek Catholics who counted 88,100 should have had only 20 ministerial appointments, but had 37. The Armenian Orthodox sect, counting about should have had about 10 ministerial appointments, but received only one in 1960, when Katchik Babikian was appointed Minister of Administrative Reform.

2

In fact they had about seventeen members more than their number in population would indicate.

3

Salibi, op. cit., pp. 373-374.

Lebanese villages. Mount Lebanon was over-represented in the Cabinet while the Beka' is under represented.

Fifty Cabinet members were trained in Law, ten in engineering, one in philosophy and one in Pharmacology, seven in medicine, four in economics and four in political studies. This tends to show a preference for the legal profession, unlike the situation say in a country like Egypt, where since the revolution of 1952 the accent has been on recruiting Cabinet members from the technical professions.

Seven Cabinet members had their Ph.D. degree, fifty eight their "licence", four their Master degree, two their Bachelor degree, and twenty eight were trained in secondary schools. Of these, thirty were graduates from St. Joseph University, a French University run by religious order, twelve from A.U.S.B., nine from universities in France and five in the United States. The propensity to recruit from St. Joseph University students was obvious.

The majority of the Cabinet members were from the wealthy element of the population. Twenty-six of them were big land-owners, forty men of capital the others had middling incomes. This fact probably tends to give the financial and land-owning classes great weight in the political life of Lebanon.

CONCLUSION

The Lebanese governmental system is in theory a parliamentary one. The powers of the Executive are constitutionally limited by the check of the Chamber. The extensive powers of the President of the Republic are accounted for by the weakness of Premiers and ministers. Hence a President tends to be strong when his Cabinet members are weak.

(Apart from the influence of the President on the Cabinet, the latter is susceptible to the impact of a number of important forces. These are sectarianism, hereditary claims and personal interests. It is probably often difficult for a minister to reconcile the demands of the public interest and the demands of his own sect or his own inherited following. This is probably what has tended to reinforce the preeminence of the presidency and to reduce the importance of the Cabinet).

Moreover, the President is not accountable in his action to any person or institution, except in case of high treason, when he is tried before a special court organized to the purpose by a two-thirds majority of the Chamber.

This presidential non-accountability could be prejudicial to Lebanon's public interest. On the other hand no President could afford to neglect public opinion which in effect serves as a check against arbitrary behavior. How potent this factor could be is shown by the fact that Khuri

faced by a hostile public opinion in 1952 had to resign although he enjoyed the support of a majority in Parliament. Again in 1958 Chamoun was unable to renew his term office even though he had the necessary parliamentary backing. This leads one to question the genuineness of the parliamentary representation. Governmental interference in General Elections partly accounts for this divergence between the people and their representatives. Another factor is the absence of well organized political parties which could guide the people and increase their political consciousness. This factor could be an element accounting for the instability of Lebanese Cabinets hence of Lebanese political life.

(Another force which has tended increasingly to influence the Executive particularly through the influence of parliament is money power. Indeed many of the members of the Cabinet as we have seen, and this is true of parliament, came to be from the wealthy class.) This inevitably leaves its traces on the content of legislation.

The Lebanese Executive leaves room for considerable improvement. Any salutary reform should be in the direction of a lesser emphasis on sectarian and personal ties and more on national loyalty. Probably an active party life would also serve to bring about an executive more susceptible to the wishes and interest of the people.

APPENDIX I

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE LEBANESE PRESIDENTS SINCE 1943

Sheikh Bechara al-Khuri

Born in Rashmaya on August 10, 1890; belonged to an old prominent Lebanese family; son of a man who was director of the Arabic Department, i.e. director of Interior for forty years under the Ottoman rule; and grandson of a man who was a judge in Deir al-Qamar; studied in the Jesuit School till 1908; then went to Paris and obtained a degree in law in 1911; returned to Lebanon to practice law and stayed in Beirut until the start of World War I; went to Egypt, remained throughout the War, making acquaintances among prominent Egyptian lawyers;¹ returned to Lebanon in 1918; in 1923, appointed President of the Court of Appeal; in June 1926, appointed Minister of Interior under Auguste Pasha Adib; when the latter resigned in 1927, Khuri was appointed Prime Minister under President Charles Debbas, and stayed in office until 1929;² appointed member of the Senate

¹ Bechara al-Khuri, Haga'iq Loubnaniyeh, (Beirut: 1960), vol. I, pp. 20-79, (Arabic).

² Ibid., pp. 119-149.

after the death of Yusuf Nammour;¹ in 1936, ran for Presidency of the Republic against Emile Eddeh, but did not succeed; received eleven votes against fourteen for Eddeh, who became President; some consider this the cause of Khuri's subsequent opposition to the French Mandate;² in 1936, founded the Constitutional Bloc;³ on September 22, 1943, elected President of the Lebanese Republic; on May 22, 1948, article forty-nine of the Lebanese Constitution was amended in order to enable Khuri to be re-elected as President of the Republic;⁴ on May 27, 1948, the Chamber met and re-elected him unanimously;⁵ many criticized this; and it was generally accepted that the President interfered personally in the general elections of May 1947 to ensure his re-election. Although he had the absolute majority of the Chamber to support him, his interference in the 1947 elections was not easily forgotten. Many strikes and demonstrations took place, and many people were imprisoned. Twenty-seven newspapers ceased publication in a strike to protest the government's suspension of nine other newspapers. Two news-

1
Ibid., p. 150.

2
Iskandar al-Riachi, Rouasa'a Loubnan Kama 'Araftu-hum: (Beirut: Commerce Office, 1961, pp. 123-160, (Arabic).

3
Al-Khuri, op. cit., pp. 196-197.

4
Ibid., vol. II, p. 123.

5
Ibid., vol. III, p. 123.

paper owners were sentenced to four months imprisonment and a fine of two hundred Lebanese pounds. Five other owners were sentenced to one month's imprisonment and a fine of one hundred Lebanese pounds, for re-printing an article regarded as critical of the President. On September 9, 1952, the Cabinet resigned. On September 15, of the same year, a general strike was proclaimed by the opposition forces and clashes broke out between the police and the demonstrators.¹ On September 18, was forced to resign under the pressure of public opinion, and General Fuad Chehab temporarily took office. Many responsible people denounced the corruption of his regime. Abdel Hameed Karamah said: "During al-Khuri's Presidency, the Lebanese State became a farm."² The same Karamah once gave a speech in Sofar, pointing out the ill-begotten gains which accrued to the President personality.³ Some deny this, but even those who are not opposed to the President accept the fact that his son Sheikh Khalil, and his brother Sheikh Fuad, enriched themselves of exploiting his influence.⁴ Pierre Eddeh accused the President of having given rare currency to his friends and family members thus

¹ Middle East Affairs, published by Council for Middle East Affairs Inc. New York, Vol. III, pp.306-307.

² Interview with Albert Moukhaiber, September 13, 1963.

³ Interview with Pierre Eddeh, October 30, 1963.

⁴ Interview with Yusuf Hrawi, November 19, 1963.

damaging the Lebanese economy. Fuad al-Khoury, a member of the Constitutional Bloc plainly stated in an interview I had with that Michel Doumit was appointed minister of Social Affairs in 1952, because Khuri's brother, Salim (nicknamed Sultan Salim) so desired.¹

Chemoun, Camille

Born in Deir al-Qamar (Mount Lebanon) in 1900, belongs to an old prominent Maronite family, forced by the Turks to leave his mountain home with his parents, educated at a French Catholic school in Beirut, later, graduated in law at St. Joseph University of Beirut. Began his political career by joining the Constitutional Bloc of Sheikh Bechara al-Khuri in 1934, elected to the Chamber of Deputies, Minister of Finance in 1938, and of Public Works in 1939. In the first Cabinet after Independence appointed Minister of Interior under Riad al-Solh in 1944. Visited the United States as President of the Lebanese delegation to the Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago in 1945. Appointed Lebanese Ambassador to London, and held this post until 1947. Attended the Conference for the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Committees in 1945. Also member of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations in 1946. Represented Lebanon at the abortive London Conference on Palestine. Appointed representative

¹

Interview with Maurice Zwein, October 15, 1963.

to the first session of the United Nations in London, also President of the Lebanese delegation to the second session of the General Assembly in New York in 1947. Took an active part in the controversy over the Partition of Palestine in November 1947. In May 1948, Bechara al-Khuri changed the Constitution (Article forty-nine), in order to allow himself a second six-year term; Chamoun, until then, a staunch supporter of the President, became his opponent and played an important part in the "Popular Front" movement against Khuri in 1952. The former resigned, Chamoun was elected President of the Republic by seventy-six votes out of seventy-seven constituting the Chamber. In his acceptance speech he promised to reform the country's political life and said that he would work for the strengthening of the relations between Lebanon and the Arab League countries. In the spring of 1953, visited Egypt where he had talks with General Naguib and Prime Minister Gamal Abdel Nasser. Before leaving, announced that his government fully supported the Egyptian demand for the evacuation of British forces from the Suez Canal - which eventually took place in April 1956. Re-introduced the non-succession clause, article forty-nine, to the Constitution, reduced the Chamber from seventy-seven to forty-four. Paid a state visit to Ankara where the Turkish government hoped that Lebanon would help broaden the recent Baghdad Pact. After the nationalization of the Suez Canal, he said: "Egypt has the right to nationalize anything within her territory." He also instructed the Lebanese Ambassador

in Cairo to tell President Nasser of "Lebanon's solidarity with her sister Egypt against Israeli attack." In 1958 a crisis took place in Lebanon, many trace the causes of it to different reasons, probably Chamoun's domestic and foreign policy led to the crisis of 1958.

General Fuad Chehab

Born in Ghazir in 1903. Belongs to one of the greatest Maronite Lebanese families. His father was not rich, his mother belonged to the Houbeish Sheikhs, a noble family in Kesrowan. Obtained his secondary education in Junieh, and in 1921, entered the Military Academy at Damascus. Then went to France where he studied at St. Marient, Chalon, Versailles and the famous St. Cyr, In 1938 joined the French Army under the Mandate, was promoted by the Vichy French to Command of the Lebanese batallion of the French Army of the Levant. Named chief of independent Lebanon's new army in 1945 and built it into a compact, disciplined force under firm control. On May 14, 1948, the Lebanese Ministry of National Defense promoted him to Chief of the Lebanese Armed Forces during the Palestine War. On September 18, 1952, after the resignation of President Bechara al-Khuri, took over function of Prime Minister and Minister of National Defense, the only Christian to become Prime Minister during the twenty years history of the Independent Lebanon. Was offered the Presidency of the Lebanese Republic but refused it to continue serving Lebanon as a Commanding Officer of the Army. On November 19, 1956, appointed Minister of

National Defense, and kept his post as the Commander in Chief of the Army. This was because Charles Malik and Sami al-Solh refused to become members of the Cabinet unless General Chehab agreed to keep the peace by accepting this post. In the 1958 crisis, saved Lebanon from an overwhelming civil war. Never tried to destroy the rebels really, instead, used the army passively to protect the government.¹ Was the one who met the opposition as well as the Cabinet members, never thought about agreeing to become President, as a matter of fact, refused this post in September 1952.² Under the pressure of public opinion General Chehab had to accept the Presidency, and was elected President of the Republic on July 31, 1958, since he was the only man strong and neutral enough to establish peace in Lebanon. One major reason for his accepting this post, was to keep the army separate from politics. Had he refused, the crisis would have continued and at a certain time, the army would have had to undertake effective rule in Lebanon.³ In his pledge before the Parliament, he said that he would work to create conditions "which will facilitate the withdrawal of foreign

¹ Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963, and Takiyeddin al-Solh, October 15, 1963.

² (a) Bechara al-Khuri, Hagaiq Lubnaniyeh (Beirut 1960) Vol. III, p. 478 (Arabic).
(b) Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

³ Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

troops as soon as possible." Being a staunch nationalist, he refused categorically the American troops landing in Lebanon, and had he not feared a disaster, he was firmly convinced to oppose this landing by force. The second thing he did after establishing peace in Lebanon was to issue law-decrees, limiting the power of the ministers in the administrative field, by creating the Civil Service Council and the Committee of Central Inspection. When the ministers signed these law-decrees, he said ironically, but truly indeed "this is the first time in my life I see people signing a law to cut off their own heads."¹ On July 20, 1960, Chehab resigned, saying "I have done my duty, my conscience is clear."² The whole Chamber of Deputies went to Sarba, and categorically refused to accept this resignation, asking President Chehab to stay, "appealing to his patriotism to save the country at that delicate hour."²

¹ Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

² (a) Official Pamphlet, Lebanese Ministry of Information.
(b) Interview with Takiyeddin al-Solh, October 15, 1963.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE MINISTERS

WHO SERVED UNDER BECHARA AL-KHURI

Al As'ad, Ahmad

Born in Attaybeh, (South Lebanon) in 1908. Belonged to a Shi'i Muslim family. Son of a deputy and cousin of Ali Nasrat al-As'ad, Minister under the French. Of a prominent aristocratic family in South Lebanon which ruled this area for tens of years. Got his primary education in Marj'youn, his secondary education in Beirut. Knew Arabic and some English. Deputy between 1937 and 1939, 1943 and 1957, and 1960 and 1961. Died in March 1961. Was very popular, for example in 1951, anyone running on his list was sure to win. Appointed Minister of Public Health in 1938, and Minister of Agriculture in 1939. Under Khuri's regime, Minister of Public Works, Public Health, National Defense and Agriculture successively. Speaker of Chamber between June 5, 1951 and May 3, 1953. Opposed Chamoun in 1958. One of the "zai'ims"¹ who failed in the 1957 general elections. His power was hereditary and he kept it till 1960. Due to his intelligence and the weakness of his enemies.² Was very poor before he came to power, but built a castle in Beirut a few years ago and became a landowner.

¹ Arabic word for popular leader.

² Interview with As'ad al-As'ad, son-in-law of Ahmad al-As'ad, October 15, 1963.

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Al As'ad, Ahmad

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¹ Arabic word for popular leader.

² Interview with As'ad al-As'ad, son-in-law of Ahmad al-As'ad, October 15, 1963.

Abboud, Mohammad

Born in Akkar (North Lebanon) in 1901, belonged to a Sunni family. Son of Abboud Abdel Razzak, a big Sunni landlord. Was deputy for many times. Graduated in law, spoke French and Arabic elected deputy in 1937, in 1947, Minister of Finance. Killed on July 26, 1953 for political reasons.¹

Abou-Jawdeh, Khalil

Born in Antelias (Mount Lebanon), in 1906. Belonged to a well-known Maronite family. Knows Arabic and French. On account of his membership in the Constitutional Bloc, appointed Minister of Information on March 25, 1950. Not a great important one politically.² Deputy and minister under the French Mandate and member of the Chamber in 1951.

Abi Shahla, Habib

Born in Beirut in 1900. Belonged to a Greek Orthodox family. Son of a trader. Obtained Bachelor of Arts from the American University of Beirut. Studied law at the French College, got his Ph.D. in law from the University of Paris. Knew Arabic, French and English. A successful lawyer, held important positions in national and foreign companies, e.g. Tapline. Was a member in the Beirut Municipality Council between 1930 and 1934. In 1936, he was deputy.

¹ An-Nida', No. 1029, July 27, 1953. (Arabic).

² Interview with Takieddin al-Solh, October 15, 1963.

Appointed Minister of Interior under President Emile Eddeh. Deputy in 1943, 1947 and 1951. Under Bechara al-Khuri, he was Minister of Education and Justice, Post, Telephone and Telegraph successively. Speaker of the House between 1946 and 1947.¹ On the arrest of government in 1943, revolted against the Mandatory Powers, took refuge with Amir Arslan and Sabri Hamadeh in Bshamoun, and forced the French Authorities to go to Rashmaya and negotiate with Bechara al-Khuri and Riad al-Solh. Died on March 22, 1957.²

Al-Abdallah, Hussein

Born in Khyam, (South Lebanon) in 1919, belongs to a Muslim Shi'i family. Son of a big landowner, his father's cousin Ali was deputy in 1943 and his brother-in-law Ibrahim was deputy in 1960. Studied at Khyam, Marj'youn, Beirut and Paris and obtained a degree in Electrical Engineering. Knows French and Arabic. Held many administrative positions. Went to Aden to work on his own. Elected deputy in 1951 on Ahmad al-As'ad's list. Appointed Minister of Post, Telephone and Telegraph to please Ahmad al-As'ad. Is now a director in the High Council of Customs.

1

This was the first time a non-Shi'i held this capacity.

2

Interview with Amir Magid Arslan, with Roger Assi, Abi-Shahla's nephew, October 24, 1963.

Doumit, Michel

Born in Mount Lebanon in 1898. A well-known Maronite entrepreneur. Elected deputy in 1951. On account of his friendship with Sheikh Salim al-Khuri, was appointed Minister of Public Works and then Minister of Social Affairs. His appointment to the Ministry of Public Works was considered by many as a result of Salim al-Khury's desire to get enriched through him.¹

Al-Fadl, Mohammad

Born in Nabatiyeh (South Lebanon) in 1905. Belongs to a prominent Shi'i family. The cousin of Fadl al-Fadl, a deputy and minister under the French Mandate, a nephew of Bahige al-Fadl, minister in that period. Now not involved in politics.

Hamadeh, Sabri

Born in Hermel (Beka') in 1901. Belongs to a prominent Shi'i tribe. Son of a big landowner. Finished his primary education. Deputy between 1929 and 1963. Appointed Minister of Public Works under the French Mandate and Minister of Interior in 1946. Played an effective role in Bshamoun² after the imprisonment of the Lebanese government by the Mandatory Authorities in 1943. Was elected fifteen times

¹ Interview with Sa'id Fawwaz and Maurice Zwein, August 19, 1963.

² Interview with Magid Arslan, December 10, 1963.

as the Speaker of the House, a position that is the preserve of the Shi'is. Used to bring deputies on his list because of his popularity which is now declining.

Al-Hussayni, Ahmad

Born in Jbeil (Mount Lebanon) in 1900. Belonged to a Shi'i Muslim land-owning family. Speaks Arabic and French. Was a member in the first Parliament in Lebanon. Deputy between 1926 and 1953. Minister of Justice in 1946 and 1948. Minister of Public Works in 1952, also, Minister under the French Mandate.¹

Hrawi, Yusuf

Born in Yeni (Beka') in 1888. Belongs to a Maronite family. Studied at the Hikmeh School and Eastern School in Zahleh. Studied law in Beirut. Was a member of the Council of Directors in Zahleh, local administrative council in Ottoman period, later elected vice-president of the Municipality of Zahleh. Director of Telephones, in the French army under the Mandate. Deputy in 1943. Minister of Agriculture in 1946. In 1953, re-elected deputy. Now works in agriculture. He is a big landowner.²

1 Interview with Ali-al-Housayni, September 2, 1963.

2 Interview with Yusuf Hrawi, November 19, 1963.

Istfan, Antoine

Born in Jbeil (Mount Lebanon) in 1895. Belonged to a prominent landowning Maronite family. A physician. Cousin of Yusuf Istfan, deputy and minister several times during the French Mandate. Deputy in 1951 and minister during the Khuri regime.¹

Karameh, Abdel Hameed

Born in Tripoli (North Lebanon) in 1894. Belonged to a Sunni Muslim sect. Son of a religious man. Studied religion and then was mufti of Tripoli. Opposed the French during the Mandate. In 1937 killed a member of the Mokaddam family, and was imprisoned but regained his freedom with the help of the French. Premier in 1947 but stayed only seven months on account of his opposition to President Khuri.

Al-Munla, Sa'adi

Born in Tripoli (North Lebanon) in 1895. Belongs to a prominent Sunni family. Studied law in Istanbul. Knows French, Turkish and Arabic. Condemned to death in 1917 by the Turks. Joined Prince Faysal in 1920, and was appointed officer in the Arab Army. Condemned to death by the French, sentence never carried out, elected deputy in 1943. Appointed Minister of Justice, Prime Minister and Minister of Economics² during the Khuri regime

¹ Interview with Sheikh Edmond Kosbar, September 18, 1963.

² Interview with Sa'adi al-Munla, August 15, 1963.

Lahoud, Emile

Born in Baabdat (Mount Lebanon) in 1901. Belonged to an old Maronite family. Studied law in Beirut. Knew French and Arabic. Was eloquent speaker and prominent lawyer, especially in criminal cases. Member in the Constitutional Bloc, deputy between 1943 and 1953 and twice Minister of Finance, of Education and Fine Arts. Was devoted to President Khuri and considered as one of the strong politicians in Lebanon.¹

Al-Khoury, Fuad

Born in Hadeth (Mount Lebanon) in 1890. Belongs to the Greek Orthodox sect. No familial link between him and Sheikh Bechara al-Khuri. Started his education in Hadeth then moved to Showeifat to become a teacher. Studied law and practiced it from 1911. Knows French and Arabic. Chief of the Law Syndicate in 1940. Deputy of the Metn in 1951. Appointed Minister of Justice in 1952. Was member of the Constitutional Bloc.²

Nou'eim, Wadih

Born in Shayyah (Mount Lebanon) in 1888. Belongs to a Maronite family. Studied at the Hikmeh School and the Ecole des Freres. Professor Shuhaiber taught him law. became

¹ Interview with Salim Lahoud (his nephew) Dec. 17, 1963.

² Interview with Fuad al-Khoury, December 4, 1963.

a lawyer in 1912. Practiced law between 1918 and 1960. In 1945 was sent as President of the Lebanese delegation to the San Francisco Conference. In the Same year, was appointed Minister of Education and Interior. Failed in the general elections of 1951.¹

Noun, Edward

Born in Mushmush (Mount Lebanon) in 1900. Belongs to a Maronite family. Studied law at the French University. Knows French and Arabic. Actually not a professional politician. Member in the Constitutional Bloc in 1943. Appointed Minister of Education, Public Works and Communication on 1951, in the General Elections Cabinet. Representative of many companies.²

Nowfal, Sleiman

Born in Marj'youn (South Lebanon) in 1896. Belongs to the Greek Orthodox sect. Studied his secondary education in Beirut. Knows Arabic, French and some English. A landowner and a businessman. Was a General in the Lebanese Army. Appointed Minister of National Economy during the Khuri regime. Owns a Television Company.³

1 Interview with his son Samir Nou'eim, Jan. 10, 1964.

2 Interview with Edward Noun, August 30, 1963.

3 Interview with General Sleiman Nowfal, Jan. 16, 1964.

Osseyran, Adel

Born in Sidon (South Lebanon) in 1905. Belongs to a Shi'i family. Traced back three hundred and fifty years from Bani Asad in Iraq. Nephew of Nagib Osseyran, deputy from 1920 to 1940 and Minister under the French Mandate. Relative of Samih Osseyran, deputy nowadays. Studied at the American University of Beirut and took B.A. degree in 1928 and M.A. degree in 1938. Speaks English and French in addition to Arabic. Entered politics in 1934. was imprisoned when certain incidents took place in 1934. Failed in 1936 elections because the French were against him. Deputy in 1943 and 1947. Appointed Minister of Supplies in 1943. Elected Speaker of the House between 1952 and 1957. Once the Iranian government entrusted him with a mission to Saudi Arabia, to discuss the rupture of relations between the two countries. In the course of this, he went to Syria and Asked the help of Shukri al-Kuwatly who in turn gave him a letter to king Abdel Aziz from the ambassador of Saudi Arabia in Syria. Met the King three times and succeeded in getting a letter from King Abdel Aziz to the Shah of Iran, in which he apologized indirectly about what had happened and asked for an exchange of commissioners in both countries. Met President Abdel Nasser three times within three weeks. The main purpose was to discuss the rupture of relations between the Lebanese government and the United Arab Republic. He appeared to succeed, but actually, he did not, since the

crisis of 1958 proved his effort to have been unsuccessful.
A very big landowner.¹

Pharaon, Henry

Born in Alexandria (Egypt) in 1901. Belongs to a Greek Catholic family. Relative of several members of the Administrative Council.² Son of a rich landowner. Studied in Alexandria and in Switzerland. In 1922 graduated with law degree. Knows French, English, Arabic and German, elected deputy in Beirut in 1928. In 1943, deputy on the Constitutional Bloc list. Appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice in the Ministry of Abdel Hameed Karameh. In 1947, refused to become a Minister of Foreign Affairs unless the ministry would include the affairs of the emigrants. In 1951, was elected deputy and President of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Founded the "Pharaon Bank." He is a very rich person and a big landowner. Owns many companies and banks.³

Salem, Yusuf

Born in Tyre (South Lebanon) in 1897. Belongs to a Greek Catholic family. Brother, Nicolas Salem deputy and minister. Studied in Beirut and continued in Paris.

¹ Interview with Adel Osseyran, September 19, 1963.

² This Council was during the Ottoman rule.

³ Interview with Henry Pharaon, September 11, 1963.

Appointed Engineer for "Beirut Water Company" in Paris, and later director of this same company. Deputy under the French Mandate. After the Lebanese independence in 1943 and in 1960.¹ Appointed Ambassador in Egypt in 1944 and Minister of Interior in 1946. In 1945, sent as Lebanese delegate to the United Nations in San Francisco. In 1947, left the field of politics and worked in the economic field. President of the "National Union" insurance company. Director of the Al-Ahli Bank and member in the administrative council of the Syrian Bank. Salem is a big businessman, and a landowner.²

Al-Solh, Riad

Born in Sidon (South Lebanon) in 1894. Belonged to a prominent Sunni Muslim family. Son of Roda Bey, Minister of Interior and deputy during the Ottoman period. Secondary education at Sheikh Ahmad Abbas School, and in the Jesuit School. Then went to Istanbul where he graduated in law. Joined several secret Arab nationalist clubs. Very intelligent and politically active ever since his youth. During the First World War, condemned to death by a summary court, but on account of his youth, the court changed its judgement to life imprisonment, and he was exiled with his father to Anatolia, where he spent most of the War period. Came to Beirut before the Armistice. In 1920, while in Sidon, all

¹ He only failed once in 1939.

² Interview with Yusuf Salem, August 23, 1963.

its inhabitants proclaimed him as their administrative governor. When the Syrian Conference was held in Damascus, the people of Sidon elected him as their deputy. In 1920, when the Meysaloun event took place, he went to Egypt, then to Europe, moving from one capital to another advocating the case of the Arabs. Participated actively in the Syrian Palestinian Conference at Geneva in Switzerland. During his European exile in 1925, he developed friendship with leftist parties who in turn sympathized with Arab demands. In 1924 Riad al-Solh was permitted to come back to Lebanon, where he started working again for the liberation of his nation. In 1925, all the liberals were suppressed, Riad al-Solh was obliged to leave Lebanon secretly for Turkey, Egypt and then Europe, where he resumed his political endeavours among leftist parties. In 1928, came back to Lebanon to find a great deal of dissatisfaction among the people against the Ponsot regime. Solh continued to resume his earlier struggle for independence. In 1925 was exiled to al-Kamishly. 1936, participated in the negotiations which took place between France on one side, and Syria and Lebanon on the other. A promise to put an end to the Mandate. 1943 was elected deputy in the first independent Lebanese Parliament. Prime Minister from 1943 to 1945, and from 1946 to 1951. Minister of Finance, Interior, Supplies, Justice, Education and Fine Arts successively. Killed on July 16, 1951 while

paying a state visit to Jordan.¹

Takieddin, Bahij

Born in Ba'aklin (Mount Lebanon) in 1909, the son of a landowner. Belongs to the Druze sect. Obtained law degree from the French School of Law in Beirut. Successful lawyer. Deputy in 1947 and in 1951. Member of the Constitutional Party. Minister of Agriculture in 1948. Held ministerial posts under Khuri's regime. Deputy in 1960.

Takla, Selim

Born in Zouk-Mka'il (Mount Lebanon) in 1895. Belonged to a Catholic family. Studied at Al-Azaryeh and Ai'ntoura where he finished his secondary education in 1911. Studied law in Egypt at the French Law University, but could not continue because of his health. Came back to Lebanon and entered St. Joseph School where he was prevented from finishing his studies because of the occurrence of World War I in 1914. In 1920 obtained a law degree from Beirut. Knows Arabic and French. Was the President of the Judicial Inspecting Committee of the Court of Appeal in 1919. Inspector of Justice in the Alawi Country. In 1921 was the Director of Justice till February 1922, i.e. Minister of Justice. On January 21, 1923, he was Mutasarrif and Director of the Ministry of Interior in 1927. In 1945 appointed Minister of

1

Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 1, 1963.

Interview with Takieddin al-Solh, October 15, 1963.

Foreign Affairs. Member in the Constitutional Bloc, and entered more than one Cabinet under the French Mandate.¹

Talhok, Jamil

Born in Aley (Mount Lebanon) in 1884. Belonged to a prominent landowning Druze family. Cousin of Dr. Salim Talhouk, Minister under the French Mandate. Brother of the mayor of Aley. Obtained his elementary and secondary education at Showeifat and Souk al-Gharb, took the high school degree in 1899 and a year after, he passed the freshman class. Studied medicine because his father obliged him to do so. Graduated in 1905 from the Medical School of the American University of Beirut. Specialized in internal medicine in London. Spointed Minister of Agriculture and Supplies in 1944.²

¹ Addiyar, No. 739, p. 1, Col. 5, and p. 2, Col. 3 (Arabic).

² Interview with Wadih Talhouk (his son), September 27, 1963.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE MINISTERS

WHO SERVED UNDER CAMILLE CHAMOUN

Akl, Georges

Born in a village of the Shouf (Mount Lebanon) in 1901. Belonged to a prominent Maronite family. Brother of Sa'id Akl, one of those sentenced to death for having fought for Lebanon's independence against the Turks. Studied his secondary education in his village, and then in Beirut where he graduated in law. Elected deputy several times. Appointed Minister of Information and Fine Arts in 1955-1956.¹

Al-A'war, Basheer

Born in Karnayel (Mount Lebanon) in 1909. Belongs to a well-known Druze family. Son of a landowner. Studied at the National College of Aley until 1926, when he shifted to the French Lycee, then entered the School of Law in 1929 and graduated in 1932. Practiced law till 1934, when he was appointed to a position with the judicial police. In 1942, appointed to the tribunal of Mount Lebanon, but left the judiciary early in 1951 and was appointed Minister of Public Health. In 1953, appointed Minister of Public Works, of Justice and Post, Telephone and Telegraph, and again Minister of Justice in 1958. Deputy between 1951 and 1963.

¹ Interview with Fadel Sa'id Akl (his nephew)
October 1, 1963.

Belonged to no political party. Refused one million Lebanese pounds to leave politics and give Nagib Salha the opportunity to take his Parliamentary seat in 1960.¹

Al-Bizri, Nazih

Born in Sidon (South Lebanon) in 1918. Belongs to a well-known Sunni Muslim family. Son of a landowner. Studied medicine in Beirut. Deputy in 1953. Minister of Public Health and Economics in 1955 and Public Health and Social Affairs in 1956.²

Bustani, Emile

Born in Deir al-Qamar (Mount Lebanon), in 1908. Belonged to a Maronite family. Son of a poor man who died in 1916 of Typhoid, leaving an affectionate but penniless family. Entered an orphanage and subsequently the American University of Beirut on scholarships and grants. Got his B.A. with honors in 1929 and M.A. in Astro-Physics in 1932. As a result of his learned treatise on the effect of atomic explosions on the sun's surface, he became a student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Was compelled to borrow three hundred and twenty-five dollars aboard the ship for a couple of hours in order to have enough money on his person to persuade the Ellis Island authorities to let

1
Interview with Basheer al-Awar, October 3, 1963.

2
Interview with Nazih al-Bizri, November 7, 1963.

him enter the United States. At both the A.U.B. and M.I.T., Bustani helped work his way by waiting at table. Back from America with an engineering degree, he started a construction company in Haifa. Being the only person to work in it. In 1938, he founded the Contracting and Trading Company, C.A.T., now the largest industrial enterprise in the Middle East. Its progress proved to be very rapid. In the twenty four years of its existence, C.A.T. transformed much of the Arab World, built numerous hospitals, power stations, housing projects, airports, harbours, oil pipelines and highways. Its operations extended to Palestine and throughout Africa. Today C.A.T. maintains twenty-one offices in a dozen different countries, has up to seventeen thousand employees. Bustani recently devoted one hundred thousand dollars for an A.U.B. Women Students' Hostel. Deputy in the Lebanese Parliament from 1951 to 1963. Was briefly Minister of Public Works and Planning. He was the only Arab member of the A.U.B. Board of Trustees, and in 1962 was elected Alumni President for the third time. He wrote different books. In 1958 he published a book on the Middle East called "Doubts and Dynamite" and in 1962 "March Arabesque."¹ Bustani was killed in 1963 in an aeroplane accident.

¹ Interview with Mahmoud Abu-Rish, Time-Life correspondent, October 17, 1963.

Chehab, Jamil

Born in Bikfaya (Mount Lebanon) in 1895. Belonged to a Maronite family. Graduated from the "Freres" School at Junieh. Elected President of the Alumni. Judge at Zahle during the First World War. In 1923 he was appointed Director of Finance and also minister, then he held many posts in the Ministry of Finance. In 1955 appointed Minister of Finance and resigned three months later because of the corrupt policy of Chamoun in the Litani Plan. Known to be a very honest man.¹

Chehab, Khalid

Born in Hasbaya (South Lebanon) in 1890. Belongs to a Sunni Muslim family. The Chehab family comes primarily from Hasbaya and Rachaya. In 1860 the Chehab family were frightened away from Hasbaya, and so then went back to Damascus. Son of Amir Fuad Chehab, Qaimaqam for Akkar, Safad and Marj'youn, and the Commissioner of King Faysal. Knows Turkish and some French. Elected a council representative between 1922 and 1926. Appointed Minister of Finance in 1927 in the first Ministry of Bechara al-Khuri. In 1932 elected deputy and worked for the cancellation of the French Mandate. Elected Speaker of the House between 1935 and 1937. Appointed Prime Minister in 1938 for eight months. After the coming of the British in 1943, a new ministry was formed,

¹ Interview with Mrs. Jamil Chehab and two of her sons, September 18, 1963.

and Chehab was representative of the Muslims in that ministry. In 1948 he was appointed Lebanese Representative in Amman. Formed the first Cabinet of Chamoun's regime and was Minister of Interior and Justice and he formulated several laws such as the granting of political rights to Lebanese women. Gave permission to forward legislative decrees and gave the right for all government employees to rise automatically in rank. Went back to Amman between 1953 and 1954. In 1960 elected deputy for South Lebanon and remains one up till now.¹

Eddeh, Pierre

Born in Beirut in 1921. Belongs to a prominent Maronite family. Studied law at the Jesuit School. In 1951 and 1957 elected deputy for Metn and Beirut. Appointed Minister of Education in 1953. In 1953, 1954, 1955 and 1958 appointed Minister of Finance, he is a big business man, the Director General of Beirut al-Riyad Bank.²

Al-Hibri, Khalil

Born in Beirut in 1905. Belongs to a Muslim Sunni family. Son of a Sunni Sheikh. Studied at the Makassed School and then at the American University of Beirut. Studied Motorcar Engineering in the United States and came back to Beirut where he started his career as a trader. Was

1 Interview with Amir Khalid Chehab, September 3, 1963.

2 Interview with Pierre Eddeh, October 30, 1963.

never involved in politics before 1957. When he was elected deputy. Appointed Minister of Public Works. His coming to power is probably a result of Chamoun's policy to throw out the classical politicians, who belong to prominent strong families.¹

Haidar, Salim

Born in Bidnayel (Beka') in 1911. Belongs to a prominent Shi'i family. Relative of Subhi Haidar, minister under the Mandate, cousin of Ibrahim Haidar, deputy and Minister. Studied at the Lycee Francais and obtained a Doctorate in law from the University of Paris in 1938. In 1944 appointed Charge d'Affaires in Iran. Between 1946 and 1957, appointed Minister in Iran. Appointed Minister of Education, Public Health and Public Works between 1952 and 1953. In 1954 and 1955, appointed Minister of Agriculture and Communications.²

Hakim, Georges

Born in Tripoli (North Lebanon) in 1913. Belongs to a Greek Orthodox family. Graduated from the University of St. Joseph with M.A. degree. Appointed adjunct Professor of Economics at the American University of Beirut in 1943. Member of several governmental advisory committees on economics

¹ Interview with Khalil Hibri, November 29, 1963.

² International Who's Who, (Europa publication: London 1955), p. 377.

and financial questions. Between 1942 and 1946, appointed alternate delegate of Lebanon to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Chief delegate in the United Nations in 1949. Between 1946 and 1957, counsellor of the Lebanese Delegation in the United States and Charge d'Affaires in 1948. In 1951, appointed Minister of Finance, Agriculture and National Economy, and between 1952 and 1953, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Economics. Represented Lebanon at several international conferences including the International Health Conferences in New York and United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment in London in 1946, 1947 in Geneva and between 1947 and 1948 in Havana. Member of the Board of Governors in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund. In 1949, Vice-Chairman of the Economic and Financial Committee in the United Nations. In 1951, Chairman of the group of experts in economics and development of under-developed countries appointed by the United Nations.¹

Hrawi, Georges

Born in Zahle (Beka') in 1913. Belonged to a Maronite family. Son of a counsellor in the Municipality of the City of Zahle. Studied at the University of St. Joseph and in the School of Law and Economic Science in Beirut. City Counsellor in Zahle in 1941. Deputy between 1953 and 1957. Appointed

¹ Ibid.

Minister of Interior in 1945. Minister of Public Health and Welfare in 1955. Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for National Economy, Agriculture and Tourism. In 1956, appointed Chief of the Lebanese Delegation and Chairman of the Nominations Committee to the F.A.O. Between 1957 and 1960, elected deputy. In 1957 and 1959, appointed head of the Lebanese delegation to F.A.O., and Chairman of the Commission at the 1957 Conference. Member of the Parliamentary Committee on Agriculture and National Economy, and head of the Lebanese delegation to F.A.O. in 1961. In 1961, Chairman of the F.A.O. Conference at its eleventh session, and head of the Lebanese delegation at the council session held in New York in April 1962. Deputy since 1960. Appointed head of the Lebanese delegation to the World Food Congress and returned to Rome as head of the delegation to the F.A.O. Council.¹

Karam, Georges

Born in Jounieh (Mount Lebanon) in 1901. Belongs to a Maronite family. Son of a trader. Studied at Ai'ntoura and specialized in trade and economics. In 1953 appointed Minister of Finance, and 1956, Minister of Finance and Economics. A well known business man.²

¹ Interview with Georges Hrawi, September 28, 1963.

² Interview with Georges Karam, November 29, 1963.

Al-Khalil, Kazem

Born in Tyre (South Lebanon) in 1902. Belongs to a Muslim Shi'i family. Son of the governor of Tyre and Bent-Jbail, during the Ottoman rule, was also member in the Ottoman Parliament. Failed once in the elections. Was President of the Municipality of Tyre and appointed Chief of the Court. Studied at the Secondary School of Tyre and at the Preparatory School in Beirut. Graduated in law from the Syrian University. Knows English and a little French. Practiced law between 1930 and 1934 when he was appointed a judge. Elected deputy in 1937. Appointed Minister of Post, Telephone and Telegraph, and Public Works in 1956, and Minister of Agriculture, Economics and General Planning. In 1958, appointed Minister of Economics.¹

Kouzma, Farid

Born in Jezzine (South Lebanon) in 1897. Belonged to a Maronite family. Studied law in Beirut and graduated in 1921. Knows French and Arabic. Elected deputy in 1957 and appointed Minister of Education and Fine Arts between August 1957 and September 1958. Elected once President of the Syndicate of Lawyers, in 1955.

¹ Interview with Kazem al-Khalil, November 22, 1963.

Lahoud, Salim

Born in Baabdat (Mount Lebanon) in 1910. Belongs to a Maronite family. Nephew of Emile Lahoud, deputy and minister. Studied in Baabdat, Ai'ntoura and later in Beirut at the French Institute from where he obtained his engineering degree, then went to Paris and studied hydraulic engineering and mechanics at Lille University and graduated in 1932, when he returned to Lebanon and worked in his own office till 1936, that year he was appointed an engineer for the water system in the Ministry of Public Works for five years. In 1941, appointed Technical Director of the water system in Beirut and still holds this job. In 1948 appointed Engineering Professor at the Jesuit University of Beirut. In 1948 was designated a consulting engineer in the Lebanese army, up till now he receives one pound as a symbolic salary. Elected deputy on the death of his uncle in 1954, In 1955 appointed Minister of Education and Foreign Affairs, then Minister of Foreign Affairs and Public Works. As an engineer, he thinks that business is not run appropriately in Lebanon because of the political motives which interfere even in the technical study of a project.¹

Maalouf, Nasry

Born in Mousharre'h (Mount Lebanon) near Baskinta, in 1915. Belongs to a Greek Catholic family. Studied at the

¹

Interview with Salim Lahoud, October 30, 1963.

Patriarchal School, Freres School and graduated in law from the University of Damascus. Very well known lawyer and editor in chief of "Al-Jarydeh" newspaper. Appointed Minister of Finance, Economics and Social Works between 1956 and 1957.¹

Malik, Charles

Born in Bitiram (North Lebanon), in 1906. Belongs to a Greek Orthodox family. Studied for seven years in village schools, and between 1920 and 1923, entered the American Mission High School for Boys in Tripoli, Lebanon. Between 1923 and 1927, attended the American University of Beirut. Continued his graduate study in Philosophy at Harvard University from 1932 to 1935, and spent one more year as travelling fellow from Harvard University at Freiburg University in Germany till 1936. Holds several degrees. B.A. in mathematics and physics from the American University of Beirut in 1927, and in 1934 he was granted his M.A. in Philosophy and Ph.D. degree in Philosophy from Harvard University in 1937. Also, holds forty honorary degrees from American, Canadian and European Universities and Colleges. From 1955 to 1958, was appointed Dean of Graduate Studies and Head of the Department of Philosophy at the American University of Beirut, and in 1960, K.E. Hall Visiting Professor at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, and in the same year he

¹ Nadia Shikhari, The First Hundred, Beirut, 1959
(Arabic) Al-Miat Al-Awwaloun, p.

was a visiting professor at the Summer School of Harvard University. Became University Professor from 1961 to 1962 at the School of International Service of the American University of Washington, D.C., and later in 1962, appointed a distinguished Professor of Philosophy at the American University of Beirut. His non-academic career varies between employments diplomatic, international and political, they are listed as follow:

- 1929 - 1930: employee, Al-Hilal Publishing House, Cairo, Egypt.
- 1930 - 1932: technician, Rockerfeller Foundation, Expedition investigating the bilharzia disease in Cairo, Egypt.
- 1945 - 1955: Minister and Ambassador of Lebanon in the United States.
- 1945 - 1955: representing Lebanon as member, and often as chairman of delegation to the San Francisco Conference on International Organizations and to subsequent sessions of diverse organs of the United Nations, including the General Assembly.
- 1956 - 1958: chairman, delegation of Lebanon to the General Assembly of the United Nations.
- 1947 - 1951: rapporteur, commission on Human Rights of the United Nations.
- 1948: president, Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.
- 1948 - 1949: chairman, third Committee (on social cultural, and humanitarian matters) at the General Assembly of the United Nations.
- 1951 - 1952: Chairman, Commission of Human Rights of the United Nations.
- February, 1953, January and December 1954: President, Security Council of the United Nations.

- 1955 (April): member of the delegation of Lebanon at the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia.
- 1958 - 1959: president, General Assembly of the United Nations.
- 1956 - 1957: minister for National Education and Fine Arts of Lebanon.
- 1956 - 1957: minister of Foreign Affairs of Lebanon.
- 1957 - 1960: member of Parliament for the Al-Koura district of Lebanon.¹
- 1962 - 1963: distinguished professor of Philosophy at the A.U.B.

Majdalani, Nassim

Born in Beirut in 1912. Belongs to a Greek Orthodox family. Son of a trader. Graduated in law from the St. Joseph University of Beirut. Owns the Majdalani Bank. Deputy from 1957 to 1963. Opposed Chamoun in 1958. Minister of Public Works during the Chehab regime. Considered as a pro-Nasserite person.²

Mikkawi, Jamil

Born in Beirut in 1911. Belongs to a Sunni Muslim family. Studied at the Ahliyah School, Islam University, and Ecole des Freres. Later at the Sorbonne University in Paris where he graduated in law in 1935. Subsequently, practiced law from 1935 to 1944, when he was appointed

¹ Interview with Dr. Charles Malik, July 8, 1963.

² Interview with Nassim Majdalani, October 15, 1963.

Counsellor at the Lebanese Embassy in London and later Lebanese Representative in Switzerland till 1953. Represented Lebanon in several world conferences in the United Nations, and was a member of the Lebanese delegation in the United Nations for three years. In the early forties, he founded the Al-Najadeh Bloc, an extremist secular party in 1957, elected deputy and appointed respectively Minister of Finance.¹

Moghabghab, Na'im

Born in Deir al-Qamar (Mount Lebanon) in 1916. Belonged to a middle-class Greek Catholic family. Son of a trader in Egypt. Elected deputy and appointed Minister during the Chamoun regime. Killed in 1960 by the men of Kamal Jumblat his political opponent.

Mukhaiber, Albert

Born in Beit-Mery (Mount Lebanon) in 1914. Belongs to a prominent Greek Orthodox ^{family} ~~sect~~. Nephew of a Qaimaqam for the Koura district in 1914. Studied in Brummana and Beirut where he studied medicine and specialized in medicine in Switzerland. Meanwhile, studied political science. Returned to Lebanon, where he practiced his profession and became interested in political affairs. One of the founders of the National Bloc. In 1951, ran for election but lost, in 1957, however, was elected deputy and chairman of the Health

¹

Interview with Jamil Mikkawi, August 5, 1963.

Commission. In 1958 appointed Minister of Public Health and Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs. In 1960 elected deputy and President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs.¹

Naccashe, Alfred

Born in Beirut in 1888. Belongs to a Maronite family. Cousin of Georges Naccashe, Minister of Public Works and Information in 1960. Relative of Nicolas Naccashe, deputy in Istanbul and translated the Ottoman trade laws from Turkish to Arabic. Brother of Maroun Naccashe, who introduced the theatre to the Arabic. Studied at the Jesuit School in Beirut and law at Paris University from where he graduated three years later. Knows French and Arabic. Practiced law for four years in Cairo. Returned to Lebanon after the declaration of World War I. President Dabbas appointed him respectively counsellor in the Court of Appeal, President of this same court and President of the Council of State. On May 1, 1941, General Dentz, leader of the Vichy government, asked him to form a government following the resignation of President Eddeh, and he succeeded. Appointed Ahmad Daouk Prime Minister. Passed several new laws, such as the Commerce Law and many others which are still in effect. During that period, the government experienced a shortage of grain and could not handle the situation. In 1941, the

¹

Interview with Albert Mukhaiber, September 13, 1963.

Allied Armies entered Lebanon and General Catroux declared the independence of Lebanon and appointed Alfred Naccashe President of the Lebanese Republic. Elected deputy of Beirut in 1943. Appointed minister in 1954, during the Chehab regime, was appointed President of Foreign Affairs delegation to Africa and South America.¹

Nsouli, Mihyeddin

Born in Beirut in 1896. Belonged a Muslim Sunni family. Obtained M.A. degree in Economics from the American University of Beirut. Worked as a trader for some time. Laid the foundation of "Al-Najadeh" party and founded two newspapers: "Beirut" and "Beirut al-Massa". In 1937 elected deputy for Beirut. Chief of the Press Syndicate in 1945. In 1953 appointed respectively Minister of Justice, Finance, Post, Telephone and Telegraph, and Interior.

Al-Othman, Basheer

Born in Akkar in 1917. Belongs to a feudal Muslim Sunni family. Son of Othman Pasha, a big landowner. Finished his secondary education. Minister under Chamoun's regime. Deputy in 1951, 1957 and 1964.²

¹ Interview with Alfred Naccashe, September 18, 1963.

² Interview with Husni Atiyeh, October 31, 1963.

Sabra, Mohammad

Born in Burj al-Barajneh (Mount Lebanon) in 1915. Belongs to a Shi'i Muslim family. Son of a trader who was not actively involved in politics. Studied law at St. Joseph University of Beirut, member of the "National Appeal Party" (Hizb Annida' al-Qawmi). Minister of Information, Post, Telephone and Telegram in 1956, and Public Works, General Planning and Post and Telegram from 1956 to 1957.¹

Salem, Nicolas

Born in Tyre (South Lebanon) in 1906. Belongs to a Greek Catholic family. Brother of Yusuf Salem, deputy and minister. Obtained engineering degree. Was elected deputy in 1951. Held ministerial posts between 1953 and 1954. Left the political life after 1958, but elected deputy again in 1960.²

Shader, Joseph

Born in Beirut in 1907. Belongs to a Greek Catholic family. Specialized in economics and law. In 1947, failed in the elections for Beirut, but succeeded in 1951, 1953, 1959 and 1960. Appointed Minister of General Planning in 1958. Entered the Kataeb Party in 1940.³

¹ Interview with Mustafa Sabra (his brother), December 16, 1963.

² Al-Jaridah, No. 2301, June 27, 1960 (Arabic)

³ Beirut, No. 2295, June 19, 1960, p. 3 (Arabic) and interview with Georges Omayra, October 30, 1963.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE MINISTERS WHO
SERVED DURING GENERAL FUAD CHEHAB'S REGIME

Al-Dana, Othman

Born in Beirut, belongs to a Sunni Muslim family. Relative of Abdel Kader al-Dana, mayor of Beirut. Studied at the Lycee School and in al-Makassed and graduated in law from the Jesuit University in 1946. Studied one year for his Ph.D. degree but did not continue. In 1947, appointed a judge in South Lebanon.¹ Then was transferred to several judicial positions for ten years in Beirut starting as a counsellor in the Court of Appeal and becoming Vice President in the Court of Appeal and the Criminal Court, in 1960, entered politics and was elected deputy and appointed Minister of Public Works and General Planning.²

Al-As'ad, Kamel

Born in Attaybeh (South Lebanon) in 1930. Belongs to a prominent Shi'i Muslim family in South Lebanon. Son of Ahmad al-As'ad, deputy and minister. Studied in Beirut and graduated in law from the faculty of Beirut. Elected deputy in 1953 and 1957. After the death of his father, elected deputy in 1961. In 1960, ran for deputy in Marj'youn but failed, marking the beginning of the end of the al-As'ad

¹ He was under age, but illegally changed his age to become a judge.

² Interview with Othman al-Dana, August 22, 1963.

leadership of the south. Appointed Minister of Education and Fine Arts in 1961.¹

Babikian, Khatchik

Born in Cyprus in 1923. Belongs to an Armenian Orthodox family. Studied in Beirut, London and Paris, and graduated in law. Came to Lebanon and practiced law. Elected deputy in 1957 and 1960. Appointed Minister of Administrative Reform in the Cabinet of Saeb Salam in 1960.²

Bazzi, Ali

Born in Bint-Jbeil (South Lebanon) in 1912. Belongs to a Shi'i Muslim family, son of a rich religious landowning man. Relative of Sleiman Bazzi, appointed governor of South Lebanon by Jamal Pasha, and Mohammad Sa'id Bazzi. Elected a member of the Jury of Marj'youn as representative of South Lebanon. Studied at the village school in Nabatiyeh and later went to Damascus to continue his education. Entered political life since his youth. When he was twenty years old, he firmly opposed the French Mandate. Played a role in the 1936 Palestinian Rebellion by sending arms to the rebels. In the same year, he was imprisoned for three months for political reasons. In 1941, was put in prison by the French for about twenty months. Ran for elections

¹ Interview with As'ad al-As'ad (his brother-in-law), Oct. 16, 1963. After the death of his father he inherited the support of six deputies who were candidates in his father's list.

² Interview with Khatchik Babikian, October 25, 1963.

in 1947, but lost. Deputy respectively in 1951, 1957 and 1960. In 1959, appointed Minister of Interior and Information and Minister of Public Health in 1961. Played an important role in the 1958 crisis to avoid an all-embracing civil war in Lebanon.¹

Beyhum, Amine

Born in Beirut in 1899. Belongs to a Sunni Muslim family. Relative of several persons who were delegates of Beirut in the Ottoman Parliament, such as Hajj Hussein Beyhum and Hajj Mehyiddin Beyhum. Mohammad Beyhum, Ahmad Mukhta Beyhum and Omar Beyhum were Presidents of the Municipality of Beirut during the French Mandate, Abdallah Beyhum was Secretary of State. Studied at the Ottoman School where Abbas al-Azhari taught. Went to Paris between 1913 and 1915. Came back in the course of World War I. Studied commerce at the American University of Beirut. In 1920, elected to represent Beirut in the Syrian Parliament with Salim Ali Salam. In 1934 was appointed member of the Municipality Council when Salim Takla was President of the Municipality. Elected deputy in 1951, but became sick, so could not continue his duties. Later returned to practice commerce again. In 1960 appointed Minister of Finance and Social Affairs, then returned to commerce. Was appointed President of the Municipality of Beirut. Is manager of a shipping company.²

¹ Interview with Ali Bazzi, September 12, 1963.

² Interview with Amine Beyhum, August 15, 1963.

Boutros, Fuad

Born in Beirut in 1917. Belongs to the Greek Orthodox sect. Son of a trader. Studied at the "Freres" School and graduated in law in 1938 from St. Joseph University. Held many judiciary posts and practiced law. Appointed Minister of Education and General Planning, and in 1961, Minister of Justice.¹

Daouk, Ahmad

Born in Beirut in 1890. Belongs to a Sunni Muslim family. Son of an industrialist. Obtained the "Baccalaurat" in 1910 when he went to Paris to study engineering, then went to "Aix en Provence" to study advanced Social Studies. After some administrative positions, was appointed Prime Minister in 1941 and in 1942 under the French Mandate. Between 1944 and 1958, was the Lebanese Ambassador in Paris and Madrid. Also, President of the Arab League delegation to Western Germany. In 1960, headed the General Elections Government. Founder and President of many banks and business enterprises.²

1 Interview with Fuad Boutros, July 11, 1963.

2 Interview with Ahmad Daouk, October 4, 1963.

Eddeh, Raymond

Born in Alexandria (Egypt) in 1913. Belongs to a prominent Maronite family. Son of Emile Eddeh, who was President of the Lebanese Republic in 1936. Studied at the Jesuit Fathers' College in Beirut and received his law degree from St. Joseph University of Beirut in 1934. Practiced law in his father's office. In 1934, he was appointed by his father a member of the Party Council his father's National Bloc Party, and was elected its Dean (highest position in the Party). Deputy in 1953, after ex-President Bechara al-Khuri resigned and new elections were held, and again in 1957 when no one ran against him. During the 1958 crisis he did not openly take sides, but attacked both hostile extremes. In 1958, he ran for the Presidency against General Fuad Chehab, who won. In October 1958, he was a member of the four-man emergency cabinet, resigned in October, 1959. Was elected deputy with all the members of his list in 1960, is now leader of the opposition as well as Dean of the National Bloc Party.¹

Franjiyeh, Sleiman

Born in Ehden (North Lebanon) in 1905. Belongs to a prominent Maronite family. Son of a deputy under the French Mandate. Brother of Hameed Franjiyeh. deputy and minister. Studied at French School, but did not continue his graduate

1

Interview with Mohammad Abou-Rish, October 17, 1963, Time-Life correspondent.

education. Was not active politician until his brother Hameed became sick. In 1960, elected deputy as a successor to his brother. Appointed Minister of Post and Telegram in 1960 and Minister of Post, Telegram and Agriculture.¹

Jemayyel, Maurice

Born in Bikfaya (Mount Lebanon) in 1904. Belongs to a Maronite family. Studied at Ai'ntoura and then in Paris where he graduated with a law degree. When he came back to Lebanon he practiced law and participated in the foundation of the "Kataeb" Party. Is very well versed in economic affairs. In 1957, he lost in the elections, but in 1960, won and was appointed Minister of Finance.²

Jemayyel, Pierre

Born in Bikfaya (Mount Lebanon) in 1905. Belongs to a Maronite family. Studied Pharmacy at the Jesuit University where he graduated in 1926. Knows French and Arabic. Went to France and Germany and then returned to Lebanon to found a Pharmacy. Laid the foundation of the "Kataeb" party in 1936. In 1937, he led a demonstration against the French and in 1953, failed in the elections. In 1958, appointed Minister of Education, Public Health,

1

Interview with Sleiman Franjiyeh, November 19, 1963.

2

Interview with Georges Omayra, editor in chief of "al-Amal" Phalangist newspaper, October 30, 1963. (Arabic).

Agriculture and Public Works. In 1960, elected deputy and appointed Minister of Finance and in 1961, Minister of Finance and Public Health. In 1963, appointed Minister of Public Works. Came to power after the 1958 crisis, representing the Christians.¹

Kusbar, Edmond

Born in Tourza (North Lebanon) in 1903. Belongs to a Maronite family. Son of a President of the Court during the Turkish period, the Kusbar family is traced back to Abou Lias from Latakiyyeh. Studied at the Jesuit University and graduated in law from St. Joseph University in 1924, when he started practicing his profession. Knows French and Arabic, appointed Professor in Lebanese Law University. Elected member of the Syndicate of Lawyers and Secretary General in 1933. In 1944, elected President of this Syndicate for the first time and in 1952 for the second time. In 1960, appointed Minister of Interior.²

Mansour, Hussein

Born in Mashgara (Beka') in 1917, belongs to a Shi'i Muslim middle class family. Studied in Beirut, went into business and went to Africa from where he returned a very

1

2

Interview with Edmond Kusbar, September 18, 1963,

rich man. Elected deputy and appointed Minister in 1960. Owns shares in many companies. ¹

Mashnouk, Abdallah

Born in Hama, Syria, in 1904. Belongs to a Sunni Muslim family. Studied at the Ottoman University and then shifted to the American University of Beirut and graduated with B.A. degree in 1926. Went to Paris and studied law. Taught education and philosophy in Iraq. Has written two books: "History of Education" and "Philosophy of Education". Director of al-Makassed School for twenty-five years. Laid the foundation of two newspapers: "Beirut" and "Beirut al-Masa'". Also, composed school books, "Pictorial Readings" "Arabic Reading Book", and arithmetic books. In 1935, started his journalistic life and ceased teaching. Brought out the idea of developing social centers, such as schools, clubs, hospitals, mosques and workhouses. In 1960, elected deputy and appointed Minister of Interior and Information.²

Mikdad, Hassan

Born in a village of the Beka' in 1919. Belongs to a Shi'i Muslim family. Son of a landowner. Appointed Minister of Public Health in the electoral cabinet in 1960 to represent the Shi'i sect in the government.³

¹ Interview with Hussein Mansour, September 6, 1963.

² Interview with Abdallah Mashnouk, July 19, 1963.

³ Interview with Hassan Mikdad, July, 19, 1963.

Naja, Rafik

Born in Tripoli (North Lebanon), in 1913. Belongs to the Sunni Muslim sect. Son of a Sunni Mufti. Studied in Beirut and specialized in economics and finance. Graduated with Ph.D. degree. Worked as a teacher, then appointed director of a University in Nigeria. Has a respectable position at Intra Bank and is the President of the National Committee. In 1960 elected deputy and appointed Minister of Economics in 1961.¹

Najjar, Fuad

Born in Abadiyeh (Mount Lebanon) in 1909. Belongs to a prominent Druze family. Studied in Abadiyeh, National University in Aley, and then in France where he studied agricultural engineering and graduated in 1932. Knows French, Arabic and English. In 1934 laid the foundation of the agricultural cooperative organization. In 1954, member in the High Agricultural Council. In 1950, laid the foundation of the Lebanese Farmers' Union. In 1955, was delegated to study the European markets and their potentiality of buying Lebanese fruits. In 1958, appointed Minister of Agriculture. Was the first one to encourage fruit expositions and to use aircraft for planting tomatoes in isolated

¹

Interview with Rafik Naja, September 25, 1963.

areas. In 1960, appointed Minister of Agriculture and Post, from October, 1960 until now has been President of the Union of Farmers and in 1962, member of the Municipal Council of Beirut.¹

Naccache, Georges

Born in Beirut in 1903. Belongs to a Maronite family. Studied engineering at St. Joseph University. A very well-known journalist. Founded "L'Orient" newspaper which is widely read among the Christians. Appointed Minister of Information and Public Works in the electoral government of 1960.²

Shaheen, Rafiq

Born in Nabatiyeh (South Lebanon) in 1926. Belongs to a Shi'i Muslim middle class family, who were not deeply involved in politics. Studied at Nabatiyeh, then in the American University of Beirut from where he went to the United States to get his Master degree and his Ph.D. in Economics in 1955. Elected deputy in 1960 with the help of Ahmad al-As'ad, and in the same year, was appointed Minister of General Planning in the eighteen month cabinet of Saeb Salam.³

¹ Interview with Fuad Najjar, January 15, 1964

² Interview with Georges Naccache, August 30, 1963.

³ Interview with Rafik Shaheen, September 8, 1963.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE MINISTERS
WHO SERVED UNDER DIFFERENT REGIMES

Akkari, Nazim

Born in Tripoli (North Lebanon) in 1897. Belongs to a Sunni Muslim family who was not involved in the Lebanese political life. Obtained a law degree. Held important administrative posts before he became Prime Minister for five days in 1952.¹

Al-Ali, Sleiman

Born in Akkar (Mount Lebanon) in 1909. Belongs to a Sunni Muslim family. Son of a feudal zai'm.² Finished his elementary education in Tripoli. Elected deputy in 1943, 1947, 1951 and 1960. Appointed Minister during the Khuri and Chehab regimes. When Mohammad al-Abboud was killed, he was accused of being the instigator and was imprisoned for three years.³

Arslan, Majid

Born in Showeifat (Mount Lebanon) in 1908. Belongs to a prominent Druze family which is traced back to al-Tanoukheen of Persian origin. Son of Tawfik and nephew of

¹ Interview with Nazim Akkari, December 7, 1963.

² Popular leader.

³ Interview with Sleiman al-Ali, November 12, 1963.

Mustafa, who were Qaimaqam for the Shouf district. Relative of Mohammad, a member of the Ottoman Parliament, and Fuad, a member of the Lebanese Parliament. Finished his elementary education in 1926. Elected deputy in 1931 when he was obliged to change his identity card to show himself to be four years older, and has been deputy continuously since then. In 1937, appointed minister and remained for more than twenty years. Was a leader of the revolution of Bshamoun when President Khury and the ministers were arrested by the French in October, 1943.¹

Beydoun, Rasheed

Born in Beirut in 1889. Belongs to the Shi'i sect. Brother of Mohammad Beydoun, deputy of Beirut in 1947. Studied at the Ottoman School in Beirut where he later taught. A landowner and President of the Amylyeh School. Elected deputy in 1937, 1939, 1947, 1957 and was unsuccessful in 1953 and 1960. Appointed Minister of Defense in 1951 and 1958. In 1953, appointed Minister of Post, Telephone and Telegraph.²

Boulos, Philip

Born in Kfar Akka (North Lebanon) in 1902. Belongs to a Greek Orthodox family. Obtained law degree from the

¹ Interview with Sleiman al-Ali, November 12, 1963.

² Interview with Rasheed Beydoun, July 25, 1963.

St. Joseph University of Beirut. Was a judge for a long time and became governor of Beirut in 1958. Appointed Minister of Education when Emile Eddeh was President, during the French Mandate. In 1951 appointed acting Minister of Public Works and in 1961, acting Minister of Justice and Economics.¹

Franjiyeh, Hameed

Born in Ehden (North Lebanon) in 1907. Belongs to a prominent Maronite family. Son of a deputy, and nephew of Sleiman Franjiyeh who was a director. Studied in Tripoli and Ai'ntoura. Obtained a degree in law from the St. Joseph University. Knows French and a little English. Elected deputy between 1931 and 1960, representing North Lebanon. In 1938, appointed Minister of Finance and in 1941, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Appointed Minister of Finance, Foreign Affairs, Education and Fine Arts under Bechara al-Khuri, was also Minister of Foreign Affairs under Chamoun. President of the Lebanese delegation to Paris, where he took an active role in assuring the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon in 1946. Was firmly convinced of the efficiency of a pro-Arab Lebanese policy, within the framework of Lebanon's independence. This attitude could explain his being Minister of Foreign Affairs under

1

Interview with Philip Boulos, July 9, 1963.

two different regimes. His personal power should not be ignored, since he assures stability to the cabinet in which he serves. In 1958, he was thoroughly against Chamoun, who opposed him when he was Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1955.¹

Ghosn, Fuad

Born in Kosha (North Lebanon) in 1912. Belongs to the Greek Orthodox sect. Son of Nicolas Ghosn. Deputy and minister. Studied in Tripoli and St. Joseph University from which he obtained a law degree in 1925 and practiced it till 1942. Knows French and Arabic. Was respectively appointed qaimaqam of Marj'youn, Betroun and Metn. Between 1953 and 1957, elected deputy for Koura district and appointed respectively vice president of the Lebanese Cabinet, Minister of Justice, Education, Fine arts and Communication, Tourism and Information, and the Lebanese delegation to Brussels Conference, where he presided over the conference sessions.²

Helou, Charles

Born in Beirut in 1912, belongs to a Maronite family, son of a trader. Studied at the Jesuit School and graduated in law from the St. Joseph University of Beirut. Practiced law and was the Editor in Chief of "Le Jour". Appointed

¹ Interview with Sleiman Franjiyeh, November 19, 1963.

² Interview with Fuad Ghosn, July 27, 1963.

Lebanese representative in the Vatican between 1947 and 1949. In 1939, worked with Riad al-Solh in directing an office for Arab Propaganda. In 1936 founded with Pierre al-Jamayyel and Hameed Franjiyeh the "Kataeb Party". In 1949, Minister of Justice and Information. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Emigrants in 1951, and in 1954, Minister of Justice and Public Health. In 1958, appointed Minister of Economics and Information.¹

Jumblat, Kamal

Born in Moukhtara (Mount Lebanon) in 1917. Belongs to a prominent Druze family. Son of Fuad Jumblat, governor of the Shouf District under the French Mandate, and of Sitt² Nazirah, leader of a large section of the Druze in Shouf area. Studied in Ai'ntoura, then went to Paris between 1937 and 1938, where he studied philosophy, psychology and sociology, and in 1939, came back to Lebanon, where he graduated with a law degree from the St. Joseph University in 1942. In 1943 and 1947, started his political life and was elected Druze member of parliament for Mount Lebanon. Was re-elected for the Shouf District in 1953 and 1960, but defeated in 1957. In 1961, appointed Minister of Public Works and Planning in Saeb Salam's eight member cabinet. And in the same year, appointed Minister of the Interior in

1 Interview with Charles Helou, August 24, 1963.

2 Arabic word for lady.

Karamah's fourteen member cabinet. In 1940, travelled to India and China and was influenced by Indian philosophy and mysticism and took up the practice of Yoga. In 1949, founded the Progressive Socialist Party. In 1952, became the secretary general of the "National Socialist Bloc" which backed Chamoun for President against Khuri. In 1953, he began to oppose Chamoun for his failure to carry out Jumblat's socialist program. After his defeat in the 1957 elections, became an active leader in the opposition. In 1958 he led the opposition forces in Mount Lebanon and was the chief distributor of arms from Syria to rebel forces in the Southern Beka' and Shouf.¹

Karamah, Rasheed

Born in Tripoli (North Lebanon), in 1921. Belongs to a prominent Sunni Muslim family. Son of Abdel Hameed Karamah, deputy and Prime Minister. Studied in Tripoli and then went to Cairo University from where he graduated in 1947 with a degree in law. Practiced law for a few years and in 1951 appointed Minister of Justice after the death of his father. In 1953, appointed Minister of Economics and Social Affairs in the ministry of Abdallah al-Yafi, and again in the ministry of Sami al-Solh. On September 13, 1955 he resigned from the Cabinet of Sami al-Solh, and was

1

Interview with Mahmoud Abou-Rish, October 17, 1963.
Time Life correspondent.

asked to form a government. Appointed Prime Minister in 1955, 1958 and 1961. Opposed President Chamoun in 1958. Now, he is a leader in Tripoli.¹

Al-Khazen, Clovis

Born in a village of Kesrowan (Mount Lebanon) in 1909. Belonged to a wealthy notable Maronite family. Relative of several persons who held important positions, e.g. Salim al-Khazen, Minister under the French Mandate. Finished his secondary education. Elected deputy between 1953 and 1957. Appointed Minister of Education in 1958. Died in 1963.

Al-Khoury, Elias

Born in Wadi Shahrour (Mount Lebanon), in 1896. Belongs to a Maronite family. No familial link between him and Sheikh Bechara al-Khuri, but was named Khoury because his father was a priest.² Educated at the "Hikmeh" school and graduated in medicine from the French University of Medicine in Beirut, and specialized in Europe. Member of the "Constitutional Bloc". In 1947, appointed Minister of Public Health and Education. Appointed Minister of Public Health in 1948, 1949 and 1950. Between 1949 and 1951, appointed minister of Interior. Elected deputy in 1960.³

1 Official document of the Ministry of Information.

2 Khouri in Arabic

3 Interview with Elias al-Khoury, November 14, 1963.

Moubarak, Moussa

Born in Beirut in 1900. Belongs to a Maronite family. Studied law at the St. Joseph University. Played an active role during the French Mandate being the first secretary of the High Commissioner. Held many diplomatic posts and was appointed minister in the first cabinet during Ghamoun's regime in 1952.

Al-Murr, Gabriel

Born in Btighrine (Mount Lebanon) in 1892. Belongs to a Greek Orthodox family. Son of a business man. Studied at the American University of Beirut and later went to America to continue his studies. Knows English, French and Arabic. In 1932, laid the foundation of the chain of cinemas in Syria and Lebanon. Elected deputy in 1943, 1947 and 1953. Appointed Minister of Public Works and Acting Prime Minister in 1945 and 1946, and again Acting Prime Minister in 1948. In 1954, appointed Minister of Public Works, and in 1955, Minister of the Interior and Acting Prime Minister. In 1955 appointed Minister of Public Health and Acting Minister of Justice.¹

Nahhas, Jubran

Born in Tripoli (North Lebanon) in 1890. Belongs to a notable Greek Orthodox family. Son of a wealthy landowner.

¹

Interview with Gabriel al-Murr, October 9, 1963.

Did not continue his education. Appointed Minister during the Khuri regime and in the electoral cabinet of 1960, during General Fuad Chehab's regime.¹

Oueini, Hussein

Born in Beirut in 1900. Belongs to a Sunni Muslim family. Studied at St. Joseph School and Patriarchal School, from where he finished his secondary education. Entered commerce which remained his main occupation. Rebelled against the French in 1922, when he was imprisoned for seven months. Soon, was ordered to leave Lebanon, and went to Palestine and to Saudi Arabia from 1923 till 1942, when he returned to Lebanon. In 1947 he was appointed Minister of Finance, and in 1951 Minister in the Ministry which directed the elections of 1953. From then onwards, left the field of politics until the presidency of Chamoun. Opposed Chamoun's policy in 1958. During the Chehab regime, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Justice and Planning until 1960. He is a wealthy self-made man.²

Safiyeddin, Mohammad

Born in Tyre (South Lebanon) in 1912. Belongs to a Shi'i Muslim Ashraf family. Son of Sayyed Hussein, who was a landowner. Studied in Beirut and graduated with a law

¹ Interview with 'Assem al-Jisr, November 19, 1963.

² Interview with Hussein al-Oueini, September 3, 1963.

degree from Damascus. Was appointed a judge but resigned in 1951, when he was elected deputy. In 1952, appointed Minister of Post, Telephone and Telegraph, and Director of the Ministry of Public Works and Social Affairs until his resignation. In 1958, appointed Minister of Public Health and Education and in 1961, Minister of National Education and Social Affairs.¹

Salam, Saeb

Born in Beirut in 1905. Belongs to a prominent Sunni Muslim family. Son of Salim Salam, a trader who apposed the French Mandate and was imprisoned and exiled twice. Studied at various national schools and the American University of Beirut and graduated in 1922. Later, went to England where he pursued his studies at Oxford University. Very well versed in English and Arabic. In 1936, was offered the Governorship of Beirut, which he declined except on certain conditions to which the French would not agree. In 1943, appointed Secretary of the Islamic Congress in Beirut whose leaders were Abdul Hameed Karamah, Riad al-Solh, Majid Arslan, and which comprised all Muslim leaders, and in the same year was elected deputy of Beirut for the first time. Participated in the formulation of the National Pact and in the

¹ Interview with Mohammad Safiyeddin, December 16, 1963.

revolution of October 1943, with Henry Pharaon, Sa'adi al-Munla and Sabri Hamadeh designed the Lebanese flag. During the revolution of 1943, led the struggle for a period of thirteen days, which culminated in the defeat of France and with the victory of the legal national sovereignty. In 1945, together with Minister of Foreign Affairs, Henry Pharaon, represented Lebanon in the drafting of the Covenant of the Arab League in Cairo. In 1946, appointed Minister of the Interior. In 1951 his list of Parliamentary elections succeeded in full. In 1953, assumed the Premiership and carried out Parliamentary elections. In 1956, was Minister of State but resigned during the Suez crisis. Together with others and Hameed Franjiyeh, formed the "United National Front" which comprised country leaders who strove for the downfall of Camille Chamoun and his rule. In 1957 the elections were "falsified"¹ and the pro-government list succeeded. In 1958, led the revolution the most important role of which, was the safeguarding of the national unity and the result of which was the non-renewal of Chamoun's presidency and his policy, and the return of Lebanon to the National Pact. In 1960, won the elections, formed the Cabinet. Represented Lebanon at the United Nations ordinary session for 1960. Meanwhile, in 1945, he had founded the Middle East Airlines with a national capital and purely

¹ That was Salam's claim.

national management. Was President of the Board of Directors and the General Manager for a period of ten years. Became President of the Makassed after the death of his father and his brother Mohammad.¹

Skaff, Joseph

Born in Zahle (Beka') in 1912. Belongs to a Greek Catholic family. Son of Elias Skaff, who was deputy under the French. Studied at the "Freres" School and then the American University of Beirut where he studied political science. Between 1947 and 1951, deputy of the Southern District of Lebanon. Lost in 1952, but elected deputy for Zahle again in 1953 and he still occupies this position. In 1955, 1956 and 1961, appointed Minister of Agriculture. In 1957, appointed Minister of Public Health and Social Affairs, and in 1958 and 1960, Minister of Social Affairs. He is a big landlord, and very popular in his district, he was able to bring persons from Beirut and make them deputies in Zahle.² Is still leader of Zahle.³

¹ Official document from the Ministry of Information.

² This was the case of Takieddin and Kazem al-Solh.

³ Interview with Joseph Skaff, August 6, 1963.

Al-Solh, Sami

Born in Acca (Palestine), in 1890. Belongs to a prominent Sunni Muslim family. Son of Abdul Rahim al-Solh who held several positions in the Ottoman Empire. Nephew of Roda al-Solh and cousin of Riad al-Solh. Studied at Istanbul and graduated with a law degree. Appointed Director of the Railway Company in Turkey. Entered the Judiciary between 1920 and 1942. Was the Head of the Criminal Court at Beirut. Appointed Prime Minister between 1942 and 1943, when he came from Syria, he worked at the Judicial Court in Beirut. Elected deputy between 1943 and 1959. Was also Premier during the Khuri and Chamoun regimes. During the 1958 crisis, he was appointed Prime Minister and backed Chamoun's policy and lost his prestige in the Muslim community.¹

Takla, Philip

Born in Zouk Michael (Mount Lebanon) in 1905. Belongs to a Greek Catholic family. Brother of Salim Takla, who held ministerial and administrative posts under the French Mandate and the Khuri regime. Studied at Al'intoura School and graduated in law from the St. Joseph University. Practiced law for several years and was appointed Ambassador. Represented the government at many conferences. In 1946, Minister

¹

In 1960 he ran for deputyship but did not succeed.

of Economics and Education, in the same year. Minister of Foreign Affairs and Education. Between 1949 and 1951, appointed Minister of Economics, Post, Telephone and Telegraph, Foreign Affairs and Economics successively. In 1952, 1958, 1960 and 1961, appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is a very rich person.¹

Trad, Bassile

Born in Beirut in 1900. Belongs to a well-known Greek Orthodox family. Son of a businessman. Relative of Fuad and Petro Trad. Also, relative of Najeeb Trad who was a member in the Administrative Council during the Ottoman Period and Vice President of the Municipality Council in Beirut. Studied at home and later at the "Ecole Francaise de Droit" from where he obtained a degree in law. Knows French, Arabic and Italian. Later, worked in Banco de Roma as an acting director till 1939. After the French Mandate, the government designated him to carry on negotiations between Syria and Lebanon. Was given full administrative power, with Jamil Chehab, Moussa Moubarak and Ibrahim al-Ahdab. In 1952, appointed Minister of Economics, Public Works, Education and Health. In September, 1952 was appointed Minister of Economics, Social Affairs, Justice and Finance.²

¹ Interview with Halim, Abou-Izzeddin, January, 5, 1964.

² Interview with Bassile Trad, September 13, 1963.

Al-Yafi, Abdallah

Born in Beirut in 1901. Belongs to a Sunni Muslim family. Son of a trader. Studied at the Ottoman School, and graduated with a degree in law from the Jesuit University. Later went to Paris and took a Doctorate degree in law. Practiced law for several years. Appointed Prime Minister under the French Mandate, 1938 to 1939. Also deputy between 1937 and 1939. Member in the board of the Municipality of Beirut. Attended several international conferences, such as the Arab League Conference. Represented Lebanon in the United Nations in 1947. Deputy of Beirut from 1947 to 1951. In 1951, 1952 and 1956 appointed Prime Minister and Minister of Interior. In 1953 to 1954, was again appointed Prime Minister, Minister of Interior, Defense and Information. In the same year, appointed Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and Information.¹

Zwein, Maurice

Born in Ma'ameltain (Mount Lebanon) in 1902. Belongs to a Maronite family. Son of Georges Zwein, deputy of Mount Lebanon, who died in 1953, studied in Lebanon and then in Europe where he specialized in Agricultural Engineering. Was director of the "Sanayeh" school then General Director of the Ministry of Agriculture. Deputy in 1953 and 1957. Minister of Education and Agriculture between 1954 and 1955.²

¹ Interview with Abdallah al-Yafi, October 28, 1963.

² Interview with Maurice Zwein, October 15, 1963.

<u>1st Ministry</u> Sept. 25, 1943 to July 2, 1944	<u>Riad al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Finance	<u>Habib Abi-Shahla</u> Acting Prime Minister National Education Justice	<u>Camille Chamoun</u> Interior Post Telegraph	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense Agriculture Public Health
	<u>Salim Takla</u> Foreign Affairs Public Works	<u>Adel Ossayran</u> Supplies		
<u>2nd Ministry</u> July 3, 1944 to Jan. 9, 1945	<u>Riad al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Interior Supply	<u>Habib Abi-Shahla</u> Acting Prime Minister Justice Post, Telephones and Telegraphs	<u>Salim Takla</u> Foreign Affairs Public Works	<u>Hameed Franjiyeh</u> Finance
	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Public Health Agriculture Defense	<u>Mohammad al-Fadl</u> Post Economics Commerce & Industry		
<u>3rd Ministry</u> Jan. 9, 1945 to Aug. 22, 1945	<u>Abdel Hameed-Karame</u> Prime Minister Finance Defense	<u>Nicolas Ghosn</u> Acting Prime Minister Post, Telegraphs Commerce & Industry	<u>Salim Takla</u> Foreign Affairs	<u>Henry Pharaon</u> Justice
	<u>Ahmad al-As'ad</u> Public Works Public Health	<u>Wadiah Nou'eim</u> National Education Interior	<u>Jamil Talhouk</u> Agriculture Economics	

<p><u>4th Ministry</u> Aug. 22, 1945 to April 11, 1946</p>	<p><u>Sami al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Economics Industry Post, Telegraph</p>	<p><u>Gabriel al-Murr</u> Acting Prime Minister Public Works</p>	<p><u>Sa'adi al-Munla</u> Justice</p>	<p><u>Hameed Franjiyeh</u> Foreign Affairs National Education</p>
<p><u>Emile Lahoud</u> Finance</p>	<p><u>Yusuf Salem</u> Interior</p>	<p><u>Yusuf Salem</u> Interior</p>	<p><u>Ahmad Al-As'ad</u> Agriculture Defense</p>	<p><u>Jamil Talhouk</u> Public Health Public Works</p>
<p><u>5th Ministry</u> April 11, 1946 to May 22, 1946</p>	<p><u>Sami al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Justice Post, Telegraph</p>	<p><u>Hameed Franjiyeh</u> Foreign Affairs</p>	<p><u>Sa'adi al-Munla</u> Interior</p>	<p><u>Emile Lahoud</u> Finance</p>
<p><u>Philip Takla</u> Economics National Education</p>	<p><u>Ahmad al-As'ad</u> Agriculture Defense</p>	<p><u>Jamil Talhouk</u> Public Health Public Works</p>	<p><u>Jamil Talhouk</u> Public Health Public Works</p>	<p><u>Philip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs National Education</p>
<p><u>6th Ministry</u> May 22, 1946 to Dec. 14, 1946</p>	<p><u>Sa'adi al-Munla</u> Prime Minister Economics</p>	<p><u>Gabriel al-Murr</u> Acting Prime Minister Public Works</p>	<p><u>Ahmad al-Husseini</u> Justice</p>	<p><u>Philip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs National Education</p>
<p><u>Emile Lahoud</u> Finance</p>	<p><u>Saeb Salam</u> Interior</p>	<p><u>Saeb Salam</u> Interior</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Public Health Defense</p>	<p><u>Yusuf Hrawi</u> Agriculture Post, Telegraph</p>
<p><u>7th Ministry</u> Dec. 14, 1946 to June 7, 1947</p>	<p><u>Riad al-Solh</u> Prime Minister</p>	<p><u>Sabri Hamadeh</u> Acting Prime Minister Interior</p>	<p><u>Abdallah al-Yafi</u> Justice</p>	<p><u>Henry Pharaon</u> Foreign Affairs</p>
<p><u>Camille Chamoun</u> Finance</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Public Works Defense Post, Telegraph</p>	<p><u>Kamal Jumblat</u> Agriculture Economics Social Welfare</p>	<p><u>Kamal Jumblat</u> Agriculture Economics Social Welfare</p>	<p><u>Elias al-Khoury</u> National Education Public Health</p>

<u>8th Ministry</u> June 7, 1947 to July 26, 1948	<u>Riad al-Solh</u> Prime Minister <u>Camille Chamoun</u> Interior Public Health	<u>Gabriel al-Murr</u> Acting Prime Minister <u>Hameed Franjiyeh</u> Foreign Affairs Tourism National Education	<u>Ahmed al-Husseini</u> Justice <u>Mouhamad al-Abboud</u> Finance	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense Post Telegraph <u>Sleiman Nawfal</u> Economics Agriculture
<u>9th Ministry</u> July 26, 1948 to Oct. 1, 1949	<u>Riad al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Justice <u>Ahmad al-As'ad</u> Public Works	<u>Gabriel al-Murr</u> Acting Prime Minister <u>Philip Takla</u> Economics Post, Telegraph	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense Agriculture <u>Elias al-Khoury</u> Public Health	<u>Hameed Franjiyeh</u> Foreign Affairs Tourism <u>Hussein al-Oueini</u> Finance
<u>10th Ministry</u> Oct. 11, 1949 to Feb. 4, 1951	<u>Riad al-Solh</u> Prime Minister National Education <u>Elias al-Khoury</u> Interior	<u>Jubran Nahhas</u> Acting Prime Minister Justice <u>Hussein al-Oueini</u> Finance Post, Telegraph	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense <u>Raif Abi Lama'</u> Public Health	<u>Philip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs Tourism Economics <u>Bahij Takieddin</u> Agriculture
<u>11th Ministry</u> The Ministry was modified on Oct. 6, 1951	<u>Riad al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Interior <u>Philip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs <u>Bahij Takieddin</u> Agriculture	<u>Jubran Nahhas</u> Acting Prime Minister Economics Post, Telegraph <u>Elias al-Khoury</u> Public Health <u>Charles Helou</u> Justice Information	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense <u>Hussein al-Oueini</u> Finance	<u>Ahmad al-As'ad</u> Public Works <u>Ra'if Abi Lama'</u> National Education

<p><u>12th Ministry</u> The Ministry was modified on March 25, 1950</p>	<p><u>Riad al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Interior</p> <p><u>Philip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs</p> <p><u>Bahij Takiyeddin</u> Agriculture</p>	<p><u>Jubran Nahhas</u> Acting Prime Minister Justice</p> <p><u>Elias al-Khoury</u> Public Health</p> <p><u>Khalil Abou Jawdeh</u> Post, Telegraph Information</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense</p> <p><u>Hussein al-Oueini</u> Finance</p>	<p><u>Ahmad al-As'ad</u> Public Works</p> <p><u>Ra'if Abi Lama'</u> National Education</p>
<p><u>13th Ministry</u> Feb. 14, 1951 to June 7, 1951</p>	<p><u>Hussein al-Oueini</u> Prime Minister Interior Foreign Affairs and Tourism Defense Finance</p>	<p><u>Boulos Fayyad</u> Justice Economics Public Health Agriculture</p>	<p><u>Edward Noun</u> Public Works National Education Post, Telephone, and Telegraph Information</p>	
<p><u>14th Ministry</u> June 7, 1951 to Feb. 11, 1952</p>	<p><u>Abdallah al-Yafi</u> Prime Minister Interior</p> <p><u>Yusuf Hrawi</u> Agriculture</p> <p><u>Mohammad Safflyeddine</u> Post, Telegraph Information</p>	<p><u>Philip Boulos</u> Acting Prime Minister Public Works</p> <p><u>Bahij Takiyeddin</u> Public Health Social Work</p> <p><u>Rashid Karame</u> Justice</p>	<p><u>Emile Lahoud</u> National Education</p> <p><u>Charles Helou</u> Foreign Affairs Tourism</p>	<p><u>Philip Takla</u> Finance Economics</p> <p><u>Rasheed Beydoun</u> Defense</p>

<p><u>15th Ministry</u> Feb. 11, 1952 to Sept. 9, 1952</p>	<p><u>Sami al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Interior</p> <p><u>Emile Lahoud</u> Finance</p> <p><u>Antoine Istfan</u> National Education</p>	<p><u>Fuad al-Khoury</u> Acting Prime Minister Justice</p> <p><u>Philip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs Tourism</p> <p><u>Husein al-Abdallah</u> Post, Telegraph Information</p>	<p><u>Ahmad al-Husseini</u> Public Works</p> <p><u>Suleiman al-Ali</u> Economics Agriculture</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense Public Health</p> <p><u>Michel Doumit</u> Social Work</p>
<p><u>16th Ministry</u> Sept. 9, 1952 to Sept. 14, 1952</p>	<p><u>Nazim Akkari</u> Prime Minister Interior Foreign Affairs Information Agriculture Defense</p>	<p><u>Bassile Trad</u> Acting Prime Minister Economics Public Works National Education Public Health</p>	<p><u>Moussa Mobarak</u> Justice Finance Post, Telegraph Social Work</p>	
<p><u>17th Ministry</u> Sept. 14, 1952 to Sept. 18, 1952</p>	<p>The Prime Minister, Mr. Nazim Akkari was replaced by Mr. Saeb Salam. (Resignation of Sheikh Bechara el-Khuri)</p>			
<p><u>18th Ministry</u> Sept. 18, 1952 to Sept. 30, 1952</p>	<p><u>Fu'ad Chehab</u> Prime Minister Interior Defense</p>	<p><u>Nazim Akkari</u> Acting Prime Minister Foreign Affairs Public Works National Education Post, Telegraph Public Health Agriculture Information</p>	<p><u>Bassile Trad</u> Economics Social Work Justice Finance</p>	

<u>19th Ministry</u> Sept. 30, 1952 to April 30, 1953	<u>Khaled Chehab</u> Prime Minister Interior Information Defense	<u>Moussa Mobarak</u> Foreign Affairs Public Works Post, Telegraph	<u>Salim Haider</u> National Education Public Health Social Work	<u>George Hakim</u> Finance Economics Agriculture
<u>20th Ministry</u> Decree no. 953 April 30, 1953 to Aug. 16, 1953	<u>Khaled Chehab</u> Public Works	<u>Salim Haider</u> Post, Telegraph	<u>George Hakim</u> Foreign Affairs	<u>George Hakim</u> Foreign Affairs Tourism Economics
<u>21st Ministry</u> Decree no. 2511 Aug. 16, 1953 to Mar. 1, 1954	<u>Abdellah al-Yafi</u> Prime Minister Interior Defense Information	<u>Alfred Naccache</u> Foreign Affairs	<u>Gabriel al-Murr</u> Public Works	<u>Basheer al-A'war</u> Justice Post, Telegraph
<u>22nd Ministry</u> Decree no. 4293 March 1, 1954 to Sept. 6, 1954	<u>Abdellah al-Yafi</u> Prime Minister Finance Information	<u>Alfred Naccache</u> Foreign Affairs Justice	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense	<u>Gabriel al-Murr</u> Public Works
	<u>Rashid Karame</u> Economics Social Works	<u>Kazim al-Khalil</u> Public Health Agriculture	<u>Nicolas Salem</u> National Education	<u>Pierre Eddeh</u> Finance
	<u>Rashid Karame</u> Economics Social Work	<u>Kazim al-Khalil</u> Public Health Agriculture	<u>Nicolas Salem</u> National Education Post, Telegraph	<u>George Hrawi</u> Interior

<p><u>23rd Ministry</u> Decree no. 6392 Sept. 16, 1954 to July 9, 1955</p>	<p><u>Sami al-Solh</u> Prime Minister</p> <p><u>Charles Helou</u> Justice Public Health</p> <p><u>Maurice Zwein</u> National Education</p>	<p><u>Gabriel al-Murr</u> Acting Prime Minister Interior</p> <p><u>Rashid Karame</u> Economics Social Work</p> <p><u>Na'im Moghabghab</u> Public Work</p>	<p><u>Alfred Naccache</u> Foreign Affairs</p> <p><u>Salim Haider</u> Agriculture Post, Telegraph</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense</p> <p><u>Mihyeddine Nsouli</u> Finance Information</p>
<p><u>24th Ministry</u> Decree no. 9857 July 9, 1955 to Sept. 19, 1955</p>	<p><u>Sami al-Solh</u> Prime Minister General Planning</p> <p><u>Rashid Karame</u> Economics Social Work</p> <p><u>Na'im Moghabghab</u> Public Works</p>	<p><u>Gabriel al-Murr</u> Acting Prime Minister Justice Public Health</p> <p><u>Salim Haider</u> Agriculture Post</p> <p><u>Salim Lahoud</u> National Education</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense</p> <p><u>Pierre Eddah</u> Finance</p>	<p><u>Hameed Franjiyeh</u> Foreign Affairs</p> <p><u>Mihyeddine Nsouli</u> Interior Information</p>
<p><u>25th Ministry</u> Decree no. 5300 Sept. 19, 1955 to Mar. 19, 1956</p>	<p><u>Rashid Karame</u> Prime Minister Interior</p> <p><u>Salim Lahoud</u> Foreign Affairs</p> <p><u>Jamil Chehab</u> Finance</p>	<p><u>Fuad Ghosn</u> Acting Prime Minister Justice</p> <p><u>George Akl</u> National Education Information</p> <p><u>Jamil Mikkawi</u> Public Works</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense</p> <p><u>Joseph Skaf</u> Agriculture</p>	<p><u>Kazim al-Khalil</u> Post, Telegraph Social Work</p> <p><u>Nazih al-Bizri</u> Public Health Economics</p>

<p>26th Ministry Decree no. 11777 Mar. 19, 1956 to June 8, 1956</p>	<p><u>Abdellah al-Yafi</u> Prime Minister Interior</p> <p><u>George Hakim</u> Economics National Education</p> <p><u>Emile al-Bustani</u> Public Works General Planning</p>	<p><u>Saeb Salam</u> State Minister</p> <p><u>Salim Lahoud</u> Foreign Affairs Justice</p> <p><u>Mouhammad Sabra</u> Information Post, Telegraph</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense</p> <p><u>Joseph Skaf</u> Agriculture</p>	<p><u>George Karam</u> Finance</p> <p><u>Nazih al-Bizri</u> Public Health Social Work</p>
<p>27th Ministry Decree no. 12478 June 8, 1956 to Nov. 18, 1956</p>	<p><u>Abdellah al-Yafi</u> Prime Minister Interior General Planning</p> <p><u>George Karam</u> Finance Economics</p> <p><u>Nazih al-Bizri</u> Public Health Social Work</p>	<p><u>Alfred Naccache</u> Justice</p> <p><u>Fuad Ghosn</u> National Education Post, Telegraph</p> <p><u>Mouhammad Sabra</u> Public Works Information</p>	<p><u>Saeb Salam</u> State Minister</p> <p><u>Salim Lahoud</u> Foreign Affairs</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense</p> <p><u>Joseph Skaf</u> Agriculture</p>
<p>28th Ministry Decree no. 14165 Nov. 18, 1956 to Aug. 18, 1957</p>	<p><u>Sami al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Interior Justice Information</p> <p><u>Charles Malik</u> Foreign Affairs National Education</p>	<p><u>Fuad Chehab</u> Defense</p> <p><u>Nasri al-Maalouf</u> Finance Economics Social Work</p>	<p><u>Majid Arslan</u> Public Health Agriculture</p> <p><u>Yusif Hitti</u> State Minister</p>	<p><u>Mouhammad Sabra</u> Public Works General Planning Post, Telegraph</p> <p><u>Mohammad Ali-Bayhum</u> State Minister</p>

<u>29th Ministry</u> Decree no. 17054 Aug. 18, 1957 to Mar. 14, 1958	<u>Sami al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Justice <u>Joseph Skaf</u> Public Health Social Work	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense Post, Telegraph <u>Jamil Mekkawi</u> Finance	<u>Kazim al-Khalil</u> Agriculture Economics General Planning <u>Charles Malik</u> Foreign Affairs	<u>Salim Lahoud</u> Public Works <u>Farid Kouzma</u> National Education Information
<u>30th Ministry</u> Decree no. 19142 Mar. 14, 1958 to Sept. 24, 1958	<u>Sami al-Solh</u> Prime Minister Interior <u>Pierre Eddeh</u> Finance <u>Farid Kouzma</u> Information <u>Albert Mkeibar</u> Public Health	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Agriculture <u>Kazem al-Khalil</u> Economics <u>Joseph Shader</u> General Planning <u>Khalil al-Hibri</u> Public Work <u>Phillip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs	<u>Rashid Beydoun</u> Defense <u>Joseph Skaf</u> Social Work <u>Basheer al-Othman</u> Post, Telegraph	<u>Basheer al-A'war</u> Justice <u>Charles Malik</u> Foreign Affairs <u>Chamice al-Khazen</u> National Education
<u>31st Ministry</u> Decree no. 3 Sept. 24, 1958 to Oct. 14, 1958	<u>Rashid Karame</u> Prime Minister Interior Defense <u>Yusuf al-Sawda</u> Justice Social Work	<u>Rafik Naja</u> Finance	<u>Charles Helou</u> Economics Information <u>Farid Trad</u> Public Works General Planning	<u>Mohammad Saffyedine</u> National Education Public Health <u>Fuad Najjar</u> Agriculture Post, Telegraph

<u>32nd Ministry</u> Decree 31 Oct. 14, 1958 to May 14, 1960	<u>Rashid Karame</u> Prime Minister Economics Defense Information <u>Maurice Zwein</u> Social Work Post, Telegraph	<u>Hussein al-Oueini</u> Foreign Affairs Justice General Planning	<u>Raymond Eddah</u> Interior Social Work	<u>Pierre al-Jemayyel</u> Public Works National Education Agriculture
<u>33rd Ministry</u> Decree no. 4256 May 14, 1960 to Aug. 1, 1960	<u>Ahmad al-Daouk</u> Prime Minister Defense <u>Edmond Kushar</u> Interior General Planning	<u>Fuad Najjar</u> Agriculture <u>Jubran Nahhas</u> Justice National Education <u>George Naccache</u> Public Works Information	<u>Ali Bazzi</u> Interior Information <u>Philip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs Economics <u>Hassan Mikdad</u> Public Health	<u>Fuad Boutros</u> National Education General Planning <u>Fuad Najjar</u> Agriculture Communications <u>Amine Beyhum</u> Finance Social Work
<u>34th Ministry</u> Decree no. 4944 Aug. 1, 1960 to May 20, 1961	<u>Suleiman al-Ali</u> Economics <u>Khatchik Babikian</u> <u>Othman al-Dana</u> Public Works	<u>Fuad Ghosn</u> Information <u>Abdallah al-Mashnouk</u> <u>Hussein Mansour</u>	<u>Joseph Skaf</u> Social Works <u>Suleiman Franjiyeh</u> Post, Telegraph <u>Rafik Shaheen</u> General Planning	<u>Pierre al-Jemayyel</u> Finance <u>Maurice al-Jemayyel</u>
<u>35th Ministry</u> Decree no. 6785 May 20, 1961 to Oct. 31, 1961	<u>Saeb Salam</u> Prime Minister Defense <u>Mohammad Saffiyeddine</u> National Education Social Work	<u>Philip Boules</u> Acting Prime Minister Justice Economics <u>Pierre al-Jemayyel</u> Finance Public Health	<u>Philip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs <u>Suleiman Franjiyeh</u> Agriculture Post, Telegraph	<u>Kamal Jumblat</u> Public Works General Planning <u>Abdallah al-Mashnouk</u> Interior Information

<u>36th Ministry</u> Decree no. 7992 Oct. 31, 1961	<u>Rashid Karame</u> Prime Minister Finance	<u>Phillip Boulos</u> Acting Prime Minister Information	<u>Majid Arslan</u> Defense	<u>Phillip Takla</u> Foreign Affairs Tourism
	<u>Kamal Jumblat</u>	<u>Joseph Skaf</u> Agriculture	<u>Rafik Najja</u> Economics	<u>Pierre al-Jemayyel</u>
	<u>Othman al-Dana</u> General Planning	<u>Kamel al-As'ad</u> National Education	<u>Ali Bazzi</u> Public Health	<u>Fuad Boutros</u> Justice
	<u>Edward Hnein</u> Social Work	<u>Rene Maawad</u> Post, Telegraph		

APPENDIX III

LISTE DES EXPERTS ETRANGERS AUPRES DU GOUVERNEMENT LIBANAIS
au 1 Decembre 1963

<u>Ministere</u>	<u>Nom</u>	<u>Nationalite</u>	<u>Fonction</u>	<u>Date d'arrivee</u>	<u>Date d'expiration du contrat</u>
<u>Interieur</u>	<u>Par Contrat</u>				
	Mennegay Marcel	Fr.	Armes & Munitions	1955	
	Deplaigne Lucien	"	Explosifs	1955	
<u>Finances</u>	<u>Cooperation Bilaterale</u>				
	Tardy Laurent	"	Organisation de la Comptabilite	7.59	30.6.64
	<u>Cooperation multilaterale</u>				
	Guyon Charles	"	Legislation fiscale	20.6.62	20.6.63
	Cheyman Georges	"	Cour des Comptes	11.63	
<u>Education Nationale</u>	<u>Cooperation multilaterale</u>				
	Boschscloss-Tenaerts	Belge	Formations des Maitres	3.11.60	30.6.63
	Louise				
	Flandre Arthur	Fr.	Enseignement Technique	8.4.61	2.4.64
	Rey M.P.	Suisse	"	24.10.62	-
	Fouques M.P.A.	Fr.	"	29.8.62	22.8.64
	Valin Emile	"	Recherches psychopedagogiques	24.9.62	19.9.63
	Bietelet Rodolphe	"	Enseignement des Sciences Sociales	25.2.63

Cooperation Bilaterale

Morin Andre	Fr.	Enseignement Technique (Tripoli)	1.11.62	1.11.64
Landau Andre	Fr.	Enseignement Technique (Zahle)	6. 1.63	1.11.64
Marlier Rene	Fr.	Enseignement Technique		
Bosdevant	Fr.	Enseignement sports	10.63	

Sante

Cooperation multilaterale

Odo Francesco	Italien	Lutte contre la Malaria	21.10.60	
Farmanfarmayan Sabbar	Iranien	Lutte contre la Malaria	1. 4.60	Regional
Devenport M.S.	Angl.	Technicien de Laboratoire	27. 5.62	
Roberts M.J.	Angl.	Energie atomique (radiophysicien)	8.10.63	
Vildzius Margarita	U.S.A.	Physiotherapie	27. 4.63	
Thymakis Kyriakos	Grece	Entomologie	7. 7.63	

Travail et
Affaires
Sociales

C.D.S.

Coop. Bilaterale

Oueidat Denise	Fr.	Psychiatrie et Enfance delinquante	15. 2.61	31.12.63
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Coop. multilaterale

Meker Maurice	Fr.	Developpement Communautaire	11. 6.61	30. 6.60
Louis Raymond	Fr.	Developpement rural	11. 7.63	11. 7.64

<u>Ministere</u>			
<u>Cooperation Bilaterale</u>			
Golay Emile	Suisse	Ecole Horlogere (Direction technique)	3. 2.62 3.2.63
Chapatte Remi	Suisse	Ecole Horlogere (Assistant)	1. 5.62 1.5.65
Ordronneau Jean	Francaise	Problemes de l'habitat	15. 3.63 15.3.64
<u>Cooperation Multilaterale</u>			
De Muynek Auguste	Belge	Education Ouvriere	24. 3.63
Blanchard	Belge	Formation Professionnelle	1. 9.63
<u>Information Cooperation Bilaterale</u>			
Lecompte Yves	Belge	Organisation Administrative	31.7.63
<u>Travaux Publics. Affaires Hydrauliques</u>			
Moullard Louis	Belge	Eaux Souterraines (Directeur du projet)	31.10.62
Mijatovic Borivoje	Yougoslave	Eaux souterraines Hydrogeologue	14. 8.63
<u>Aviation Civile. (Cooperation Mult.)</u>			
Mac Clean Donald Allan	Angl.	Navigabilite des Aeronefs	16. 9.60
Vivian M.O.	Angl.	Securite Aeronautique	2.11.62
Perry Donald	Angl.	Flight Simulator	8.63
Depuis Rene	Canada	Incendie et Sauvetage	23. 9.63

Programme Regional

Jackson David. J
May Wilhelm
Haack Percy

Cooperation Bilaterale

Dumont Andre

Off. des Grands Contrats

Travaux

Chaumeny P.

Agriculture. Cooperation Multilaterale

Ecimovic JuraJ

Moulton M.W.

Chu M.W.

Macak M.M.A.

Childs M.B.B.

Horton - Smith M.

Canadien Navigabilite Aerieeme
Allemand Communications

Francais Meteorologie

Francais Irrigation

Yugoslave Statistiques Agricoles 2. 9.59
Etats-Unis Sante Animale (Direction) 31. 7.62
Chinois Sante Animale (Directeur Adjoint) 11.10.62
Australie Sante Animale (Administration) 4. 7.62
Anglais Sante Animale (Laboratoire) 15. 8.62
Anglais Sante Animale (Parasitologie) 6.10.62

15.11.62 15. 5.63

10.62 10.63

Thompson M.R.	Anglais	Sante Animale (Laboratoire)	22. 9.62
Sojka	Pologne	Sante Animale Bacteriologue	27.10.63
D. Coulon M.	Suisse	Education Forestiere (Directeur du Projet)	24.11.62
Veltkamp M.J.J.	Hollande	Education Forest. (Exp. Adjoint)	14. 3.63
Sears M.T.W.	U.S.A.	Education Forest. (Aménagement des Paturages)	28. 4.63
Telegan Heras Benito	Espagne	Education Forestiere. Elevage du Betail	7. 9.63
Wormer Jean	Suisse	Education Forestiere. Ingenieur Forestier	1.11. 63
Hure Bernard	Francais	Ingenieur Forestier (Sylviculture)	11.59
Roy J.	Francais	Lutte contre le Criquet Pelerin	5. 1.63
Petit J.	Belge	Lutte contre le Criquet Pelerin (Assistant)	6. 1.63
Courshee R.	Angl.	Lutte contre le Criquet Pelerin (Assistant)	5. 1.63
Roffey M.J.	Angl.	Lutte contre le Criquet Pelerin (Officier de recherche)	29. 3.63
Gerbier Norbert	Francais	Lutte contre le Criquet Pelerin Meteorologiste	18. 4.63
Verbist Christian	Belge	Lutte contre le Criquet Pelerin (Administration)	26. 2.63
Dandoy Rober	Belge	Lutte contre le Criquet Pelerin (Officier Medical)	26. 2.63
Baltaxe Robert	Angl.	Lutte contre le Criquet Pelerin (Photogrammetrie)	28. 3.63
Aubert Louis	Francais	Cartographie des Sols (Directeur du Projet)	15. 5.63
Thirion M.J.G.	Belge	Cartographie des sols (Pedologue en chef)	15. 5.63
Dessaunettes J.	Francais	Cartographie des sols (Prospection des sols)	28. 9.63
Mahler Philippe	Francais	Cartographie des sols Ingenieur Agronome	19.10.63
Knight	Anglais	Application des Radioisotopes en Agriculture	27.11.63
<u>Programme Regional</u>			
Mathieu M.M.	Francais	Fertilite des sols (Progr. Regional)	16. 8.61
Hekstra M.M.	Hollandais	Fertilite des sols (Expert-adjoint)	25. 1.63

Cooperation Bilaterale

Mossoiros Basille	Grec	Orientation Agricole	10. 5.61	10. 5.64
Lamoureux Maurice	Francais	Pedologie	1. 6.62	1. 6.63
Brough M.	Etats-Unis	Direction des Fermes	6.62	6.64
Etienne Gerard	Francais	Elevage du mouton	16. 4.63	
Kehren Lucien	Francais	Pedologie	14. 7.63	14. 7.64

P.T.T.Coop. MultilateraleProp. Opex

Lamazouade Andre	Francais	Telecommunications	7. 2.62	31.12.63
Dossus Roger	Francais	Organisation postale	31. 1.62	31.12.63

PlanCoop. Bilaterale

Sanson Carette Andre	Francais	Organisation des Statistiques	10.59	31.12.63
Gilleron Marcel	Francais	Economie Industrielle	1. 6.62	31.12.63
Mazure Pierre	Francais	Planification Regionale	1. 7.62	11.10.63

Coop. Multilaterale

Jocard Louis	Francais	Tourisme	1. 4.63	
Bricet Andre	Francais	Urbanisme	15. 5.63	3. 6.64
Klappacher W.W.R.	Autriche	Organisation de la Recherche Scientifique	14. 9.63	

Contrat

Mission Irfed	Francais	Developpement	1960	26. 6.64
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Institut de Formation
(IFD)

Reforme Administrative. Coop. Bilaterale (F. Ford)

Calderwood James	U.S.A.	Industries	9.63	9.64
Garnez Joseph	Francaise	Sante Publique	19.61	31.12.63
Commeau Francis	Francais	Conseil en Organisation	10.61	31.12.63

Fonction

Coop. Bilaterale (F. Ford)

Grenier G.	Canadien	Ad. Publique (Finances)	8.62	8.64
- Jumfer	Etats-Units	Ad. Publique	7.62	7.64

Centre Regional

Coop. Multilaterale

El Koussy Abdel Aziz	U.A.R.	Directeur du Centre	1. 1.62	
Abdel Daim Abdallah	Syrie	Directeur Adjoint	30.12.61	
Werdelin Ingrar	Suede	Statistique de l'Education	28.10.62	

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