ROUPEN AVSHARIAN

On the RECORD

Armenian Deputies in the Lebanese Parliaments

Volume II
1972-2017

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By

Roupen Avsharian

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On the Record

Armenian Deputies in the Lebanese Parliaments

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Abbreviations

AGBU	Armenian General Benevolent Union
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
FPM	Free Patriotic Movement
Hunchak	*[Armenian]* Social Democratic Hunchak Party
LBC	Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation
LNM	Lebanese National Movement
MNF	Multi-National Forces
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PSP	Progressive Socialist Party
Ramgavar	Armenian Liberal Democratic Party
SSNP	Syrian Social Nationalist Party
STL	Special Tribunal for Lebanon
Tashnak	Armenian Revolutionary Federation *[Tashnak Party]*
TWA	Trans World Airlines
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nation High Commission for Refugees
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon

UNIIIC	United Nations International Independent Investigation Commission
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSMIS	United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria
US	United States of America
VAT	Value Added Taxes
WTO	World Trade Organization

The 1st Lebanese Republic

Cont'd

The 13th Lebanese Parliament

(1972-76)

The 13th Parliament was unique, exceptional, and therefore quite incomparable with any other Lebanese Parliament. It turned out to be the most important legislative body in Lebanon's modern history, as its newly elected members served for 20 years as legislators (extending their term in office to the 14th, 15th 16th and the 17th legislative cycles as they were classified in the Official Records of the Chamber of Deputies). They witnessed the 1973 Arab-Israeli War and then the eruption of the Lebanese Civil War in 1975. They experienced the occupation of Lebanon by foreign troops including the Palestinians, the Israelis, the Syrians, the army of the Arab League, the US, the French, the Italians, the United Nations and many other unofficial and undeclared troops. They experienced the occupation of the capital Beirut by Israel in 1982 and later witnessed the election and assassination of two presidents and a prime minister.

The Deputies elected to the 13th Parliament further experienced several regional and internationals upheavals, including the Islamic

Revolution in Iran, the Egyptian-Israeli détente and the Camp David Accords, the Iran-Iraq War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the occupation of Kuwait followed by the Gulf War. Most importantly, the surviving members of this Parliament agreed to the terms of the Lebanese National Reconciliation Accord (*Wathiqat El-Wifaq El-Watani El-Lubnani*), better known as the Ta'ef Agreement, which they signed on 24 October 1989 ending the 15-year civil war in Lebanon.

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District	Mtg	Absence	Attend.
1	Joseph Chader	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 1st	91	4	96%
2	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	91	4	96%
3	Souren Khanamirian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	91	20	78%
4	Melkon Eblighatian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	91	4	96%
5	Ara Yerevanian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	91	6	93%
6	Antranig Manougian	Arm. Protes.	Beirut 1st	91	5	95%

Table 13.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 13th Lebanese Parliament (1972-76)

The elections to the 13th Lebanese Parliament were held on 16, 23 and 30 April 1972, based upon the Electoral Law of 1960.[1] The allocation of five seats to the Lebanese-Armenian community was maintained, in addition to the seat for a Protestant, which was captured by Antranig Manougian, increasing the total number of Lebanese-Armenians in the Chambers to six.

The Lebanese-Armenian community was actively engaged in the pre-election campaign.[2] The three incumbents, Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic, Beirut), Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut) and

[1] President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Saeb Salam issued Decree No. 2909 on 8 March 1972 and called for legislative elections to be held on 16, 23 and 30th April 1972 in accordance with the Election Laws of 26 April 1960. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1972)*, Issue No. 21, 13 March 1972, p.205. See also, *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1972)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 12 May 1972.

[2] For pre-election campaign in 1972, please see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.223-260. For an analysis of the results of the 1972 legislative elections, in general, please see Muhamad Murad, *El Intikhabat El Niyabiyeh Fi Lubnan: 1920-2009, [Arabic: The Legislative Elections in Lebanon: 1920-2009]*, (Beirut: Manshourat El Jama'a El Lubnaniyeh 'Lebanese University Publications', 2013), pp.238-258.

99	District	Names of Elected Deputies to the 13th Lebanese Parliament (1972-76)
1	Beirut	Antranig Manougian (Armenian Protestant); Pierre Gemayel (Maronite); Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic); Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox); Souren Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox); Melkon Eblighatian (Armenian Orthodox); Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox) and Nasri El Ma'alouf (Roman Catholic).
2	Beirut	Rasheed El Solh (Sunni); Fareed Gebran (Min.); Muhammad Y. Beydoun (Shia)
3	Beirut	Jameel Kebbi (Sunni); Zaki Mazboudi (Sunni); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Othman El Dana (Sunni) and Najah Wakeem (Roman Orthodox).
4	Ba'abda	Edward Hnein (Maronite); Basheer El A'awar (Druze); Pierre Daccache (Maronite); Mahmoud Ammar (Shia); and Nadeem Na'eem (Maronite);
5	El Metn	Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox); Albert Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox); Ameen Gemayel (Maronite); August Bakhos (Maronite); Fouad Lahoud (Maronite).
6	El Chouf	Ibrahim Abdul Noor (Roman Catholic); Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze); Zaher El Khateeb (Sunni); Abdul Haleem Awaydat (Sunni); Aziz Aoun (Maronite); Fouad El Tahini (Maronite); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze); and Camille Chamoun (Maronite).
7	Aley	Majeed Arslan (Druze); Pierre Helou (Maronite); Tawfeeq Assaf (Druze); Shafeeq Badr (Maronite); and Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox).
8	Keserwan	Elias El Khazen (Maronite); Louis Abu Sharaf (Maronite); Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite) and Maurice Zuwein (Maronite).
9	Jbeil	Ahmad Isber (Shia); Raymond Edde (Maronite) and Emile Rohana Sakr (Maronite).
10	Saida	Nazeeh Abdul Rahman (Sunni).
11	Saida- S.	Adel Osseiran (Shia) and Rashed El Khoury (Roman Catholic).
12	Nabatiyeh	Anwar El Sabah (Shia); Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia) and Fahmi Shaheen (Shia)* replaced by Rafeeq Shaheen (Shia).
13	Soor	Ali El Khalil (Shia) and Kazem El Khalil (Shia) and Youssef Hammoud (Shia).
14	Bent Jbeil	Hameed Dakroub (Shia) and Abdul Lateef Beydoun (Shia).
15	Marja'yun	Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox); Mouneef El Khateeb (Sunni); Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia) and Ali El Khalil Ali Abdullah (Shia).
16	Jezzine	Edmond Rezk (Maronite); Fareed Sarhal (Maronite) Nadeem Salem (Roman Cath).
17	Zahle	Elias El Hrawi (Maronite); Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Mais (Sunni); Hussein Mansour (Shia); and Saleem El Mansour (Roman Orthodox).
18	Rashaya	Saleem El Dawood (Druze); Michel Ma'louli (Roman Orthodox); Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni).
19	Ba'albek Hermel	Sabri Hamadeh (Shia)***;** Tareq El Habshi (Maronite); Albert Mansour (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Rifae (Sunni); Hussein El Husseini (Shia); Subhi Yaghi (Shia); and Abdul Molla Amhaz (Shia).
20	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i (Sunni); Muhammad Ameen El Hafez (Sunni); Maurice Fadel (Roman Orth.); Hashem El Husseini (Sunni).
21	Tripoli-S	Saleh El Kheir (Sunni) and Murshed El Samad (Sunni).
22	Akkar	Suleiman El Ali (Sunni); Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni); Abdullah El Rassi (Roman Orthodox) and Mikhael El Daher (Maronite).
23	Zghorta	Rene Mou'awad (Maronite); Father Sama'an El Doueihi (Maronite) and Antoine Franjieh (Maronite).
24	El Koura	Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orth.); and Bakhos Hakeem (Roman Orth.).
25	Besheri	Habib Keiruz (Maronite) and Gebran Tawq (Maronite).
26	Batroun	George Sa'adeh (Maronite) and Boutros Harb (Maronite).
		*** Deceased**

Table 13.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 13th Lebanese Parliament

	12 May 72	17 Oct 72[3]	16 Oct 73[4]	21 Oct 75[5]
Speaker	Kamel El Asa'ad	Kamel El Asa'ad	Kamel El Asa'ad	Kamel El Asa'ad
Dep. Speaker	Michel Saseen	Fouad Ghossen	M. Ma'alouli	M. Abu Fadel
The Secretariat	A. Gemayel H. El Husseini	Talal El Mer'abi Tareq El Habshi	Talal El Mer'abi A. Gemayel	Talal El Mer'abi A. Gemayel
Commissioner	Ara Yerevanian M. Ma'alouli Ahmad Isber	Ara Yerevanian M. Ma'alouli Ahmad Isber	Ara Yerevanian Ahmad Isber Ra'ef Samara	Ara Yerevanian Ahmad Isber Ra'ef Samara

Table 13.3 - Elected Officials to the Speaker's Bureau of the 13th Lebanese Parliament

Souren Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut) were re-elected, in addition to three new members: Melkon Eblighatian (Armenian

[3] Maurice Zuwein (Maronite, Keserwan), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) with 83 votes. There were 3 blank papers. The absentees were: Fareed Gebran, Beheej Taqiedeedm Basheer El A'awar, Tawfeeq Assaf, Zaher El Khateeb, Salem Abdul Noor, Aziz Aoun, Kamal Jumblatt, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Fouad El Tahini, Adel Osseiran, Ameen Gemayel and Gebran Tawq. Deputy Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox, El Koura) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Talal El Mer'abi (Sunni, Akkar) and Tareq Habshi (Maronite, Hermel) were elected as Secretaries. Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Michel El Ma'alouli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) and Ahmad Isber (Shia, Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1972)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17 October 1972.

[4] Maurice Zuwein (Maronite, Keserwan), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) with 77 votes against Hussein El Husseini's (Shia, Ba'albek) 8 votes. There were 8 blank papers. The absentees were: Murshed El Samad, Zaher El Khateeb, Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, and Fouad Naffa'a. Deputy Michel Ma'alouli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni, Akkar) and Ameen Gemayel (Maronite, El Metn) were elected as Secretaries. Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Ra'ef Samara (Druze, Marja'yun) and Ahmad Isber (Shia, Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1973)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 16 October 1973.

[5] Camille Chamoun (Maronite, El Chouf), the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) with 47 votes against Hussein El Husseini's (Shia, Ba'albek) 1 votes. There were 15 blank papers. There were 34 absentees, including Ara Yerevanian. Deputy Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox, Aley) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, whereas, Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni, Akkar) and Ameen Gemayel (Maronite, El Metn) were elected as Secretaries. Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Ra'ef Samara (Druze, Marja'yun) and Ahmad Isber (Shia, Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1975)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 21 October 1975.

Orthodox, Beirut), Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn) and Antranig Manougian (Armenian Protestant, Beirut).[6]

The 13th Parliament held its first meeting on 12 May 1972 with Maurice Zuwein (Maronite, Keserwan), the eldest Deputy, presiding over the election of the Speaker. Kamel El Asa'ad (Shai, Marjayoun) was elected as Speaker with 87 votes against Sabri Hamadeh's (Shia, Ba'albek) six votes. Deputy Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, and Ameen Gemayel (Maronite, El Metn) and Hashem El Husseini (Sunni, Tripoli) were elected as Secretaries. Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Michel Ma'alouli (Roman Orthodox, Rashaya) and Ahmad Isber (Shia, Jbeil) were elected as Commissioners.[7]

The 13th Parliament held 91 meetings, comprising of 42 ordinary and 49 extraordinary meetings. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies had a very high attendance record during the term of this parliament and were actively involved in the standing committees. Chader was re-elected to the Budget and Finance Committee, but did not continue as its chairman. He was also elected to the Administration and Justice Committee. Yerevanian joined Chader on the committee, and was also elected to the National Economy and Public Planning Committee. Eblighatian was on the National Education, Foreign Affairs and Public Health committees. Manougian was elected to the Public Health Committee, and Babikian served on the Public Planning and Administration and Justice committees.

As soon as the 13th Parliament elected the members of its Speaker's Bureau, Prime Minister Saeb Salam's government resigned to pave the way for a new cabinet. President Suleiman Franjieh, however, re-appointed Saeb Salam to form a new and extended cabinet that was capable of handling the domestic and regional political, military and security challenges, when the Israeli aggression toward Lebanon was at its peak.

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[6] For the official list of the elected Deputies to the 13th Parliament in 1972, please see Official Letter issued from the Ministry of Interior No. 156/S signed by Minister of Interior Saeb Salam dated 2 May 1972. *Official Minutes (1972)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 12 May 1972.

[7] *Official Minutes (1972)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 12 May 1972.

			1972-73[8]	1973-74[9]	1974-75[10]	1975-76[11]
1	Budget & Finance Com	17	Chader Khanamirian	Chader Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Chader Yerevanian
2	Admin. & Justice Com.	15	Chader Babikian	Chader	None	Chader
3	Foreign Affairs	15	None	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian
4	Pub. Works	15	None	None	None	None
5	Labor & Social	12	None	Khanamirian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
6	Nat'l Educ.	12	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian
7	Agriculture	12	None	None	None	None
8	Nat'l Econ/Tour	12	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
9	Nat'l Defense	10	None	None	None	None
10	Public Health Committee	10	Manougian	Manougian Eblighatian	Manougian Eblighatian	Manougian Eblighatian
11	Public Planning Committee	10	Yerevanian Babikian	Yerevanian Babikian	Yerevanian Babikian	Yerevanian Babikian
12	Information & PTT Committee	10	Khanamirian	Khanamirian Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
13	By-Laws Com.	8	Babikian	None	None	None

Table 13.4 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 13th Lebanese Parliament (1972-76)

Salam's new government, formed on 27 May 1972, initially consisted of 16 individuals, but two other ministers were added at a later stage, including the Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Khatchig Babikian, who was entrusted with the Ministry of Information and George Sa'adeh as Minister of Public Planning. Prime Minister Salam presented the ministerial statement of his new cabinet to the 13th Parliament on 8 June 1972 and received 77 votes of confidence, including the votes of all six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies. There were 15 votes of no confidence.[12]

[8] *Official Minutes (1972):* 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 19 May 1972.

[9] *Official Minutes (1973):* 1st Meeting of the 1stOrdinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 20 March 1973.

[10] *Official Minutes (1974):* 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 19 March 1974.

[11] *Official Minutes (1975):* 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 18 March 1975.

[12] Deputies who cast no-confidence votes included Ali El Khalil, Othman El Dana, Beheej Taqiedeen, Zaher El Khateeb, Najah Wakeem, Maurice Fadel, Ameen El Hafez, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Rasheed El Solh, Aziz Aoun, Fareed Gebran, Fouad El Tahini, Salem Abdul Noor, Rasheed Karami, and Hashem El Husseini. Deputies Kamal Jumblatt, Fahmi Shaheen, Antoine Franjieh and Kazem El Khalil were not

Soon after, it was faced with persistent Israeli military ground and air hostilities towards the southern border, and the encroachment of Israeli troops into Lebanese territories. Despite Salam's government lodging several complaints with the United Nations Security Council, Israel's persistent acts of aggression continued culminating in large-scale air and ground attacks on 21, 22 and 23 of June 1972, leading to the adoption of UNSC Resolution No. 316 on 26 June 1972 after the Lebanese Permanent Representative to the UN lodged a complaint.[13] UNSC Resolution 316 called upon Israel to strictly abide by previous UNSC resolutions and refrain from all military acts against Lebanon.[14]

Domestically, Salam's government called an extraordinary session of parliament on 22 August 1972 to discuss issues related to the purchase of arms for the Lebanese Army, including missiles, radar systems and Mirage aircrafts.[15] The deliberations were conducted over several days. The first meeting of the extraordinary session was held on 24 August 1972. Khatchig Babikian attended the meeting as the Minister of Information. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Chader, Eblghatian, Yerevanian and Manougian were all present, while Khanamirian was not.[16] During the second and third meetings, Melkon Eblighatian was absent.[17] A secret meeting was held behind closed doors on the last day of the government's discussion on the country's defense strategy in light

present. *Official Minutes (1972)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 8 June 1972.

[13] Official complaint to the United Nations Security Council lodged by Ambassador Eduard Ghorra, Permanent Representative of the Lebanese Republic on 23 June 1972. *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-Seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1972*, Document No. S/10715. *[Last accessed on 24 March 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/10715.

[14] United Nations Security Council Resolution 316 adopted on 26 June 1972, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/316(1972) *[Last accessed 24 March 2016]*.

[15] Decree No. 3796 dated 18 August 1972 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Saeb Salam calling for an Extraordinary Session of Parliament to commence on 22 August 1972 in order to discuss the purchase of missiles, etc. *Official Gazette (1972)*, Issue No. 69, 28 August 1972, p.993.

[16] *Official Minutes (1972)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 24 August 1972.

[17] *Official Minutes (1972)*: 2nd Meetings of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 29 August 1972 and 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 5 September 1972 respectively.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Suleiman Franjieh		
Cabinet of 27 May 1972[18]		
1.	Saeb Salam	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Albert Moukheiber	Deputy PM; Min. of State for Coops/Hous.
3.	Sabri Hamadeh	Minister of Public Works
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Defense
5.	Basheer El A'awar	Minister of Justice
6.	Suleiman El Ali	Minister of Agriculture
7.	Kazem El Khalil	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
8.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Water & Power
9.	Nazeeh El Bezri	Minister of Public Health
10.	Edward Hnein repl. by Henry Edde[19]	Minister of Education
11.	Jameel Kebbi	Minister of PTT
12.	Khalil Abu Hamad	Minister of Foreign Affairs
13.	Fouad Naffa'a	Minister of Finance
14.	Anwar El Sabah	Minister of Economy
15.	Michel Saseen	Minister of Tourism
16.	Pierre Helou	Minister of State for Oil and Industry
17.	Khatchig Babikian[20]	Minister of Information
18.	George Sa'adeh	Minister of Public Planning

Table 13.5 – Cabinet Members of Saeb Salam's Government (27 May 1972)

of the Israeli aggression. All six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies participated in the secret meeting.[21]

[18] Decree No. 3424 dated 27 May 1972 and signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Saeb Salam appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1972)*, Issue No. 51, 26 June 1972, pp.759-760.

[19] Minister Edward Hnein resigned from the Cabinet and was replaced by Henry Edde as Minister of Education. Decree No. 3761 dated 9 August 1972 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and PM Saeb Salam. *Official Gazette (1972)*, Issue No. 66, 17 August 1972, pp.958-959. At a later stage, Minister Henry Edde was removed from the Cabinet. Decree No. 4065 dated 2 October 1972 signed by President Franjieh and PM Salam. *Official Gazette (1972)*, Issue No. 83, 16 October 1972, p.1206.

[20] A subsequent decree was issued to appoint 2 additional ministers: Decree No. 3427 dated 3 June 1972 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and PM Saeb Salam appointing Khatchig Babikian as Minister of Information and George Sa'adeh as Minister of Public Planning. *Official Gazette (1972)*, Issue No. 51, 26 June 1972, p.760.

[21] Among the absentees to the secret meeting were: Rasheed El Solh, Ra'ef Samara, Adel Osseiran, Youssef Hammoud, Zaher El Khateeb, Salem Abdul Noor, Aziz Aoun, Kamal Jumblatt, Antoine Franjieh, Bakhos Hakeem, Father Sama'an El

The domestic and regional political and security situations were further disturbed when Palestinian commandos attacked and killed Israeli athletes during the 1972 Munich Olympics on 5 September 1972. In retaliation, Israel launched a massive air and land attack on Southern Lebanon on 16 September 1972, causing more than 118 deaths. As a result, tensions escalated in the south between the Lebanese Army and the Israelis.[22] Salam's government immediately declared a State of Emergency in Lebanon on 16 September 1972.[23] The State of Emergency remained in place until 4 October 1972.[24]

The tense security conditions in Lebanon continued to dominate the political scene throughout the end of 1972 and early part of 1973. It further escalated on 10 April 1972, when an Israeli special commando unit led by Lieutenant Ehud Barak landed on the shores of El Ouza'i in the southern outskirts of Beirut and burst into homes and assassinated a PLO executive member, Youssef El Najjar, and his wife, the PLO's spokesperson, Kamal Nasser, at Verdun Street, and PLO leader Kamal Adwan, in addition to nine other individuals, including two Lebanese policemen.[25]

Douieihi, Hasan El Mais, Gebran Tawq, Hashem El Husseini, Maurice Zuwein, and Habib Keirouz. *Official Minutes (1972)*: 4th Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 14 September 1972.

[22] See Joseph Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb: 1975-1990, [Arabic: Dailies of the War: 1975-1990]*, (Beirut: Memorial of Lebanon, 2005), p.18.

[23] Decree No. 3991 dated 16 September 1972 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh, Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Saeb Salam and Minister of Defense Majeed Arslan. The government presented the Decree to the 13th Parliament on the same day with all the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in attendance. Among the absentees to the meeting were: Ra'ef Samara, Adel Osseiran, Salem Abdul Noor, Hasan El Mais, Gebran Tawq, Maurice Zuwein, Hashem El Husseini, Rasheed Karami, Camille Chamoun, Kamal Jumblatt, Ahmad Isber and Mouneef El Khateeb. *Official Minutes (1972)*: 5th Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 16 September 1972.

[24] Decree no. 4068 dated 4 October 1972 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Saeb Salam and Minister of Defense Majeed Arslan lifting the State of Emergency. *Official Gazette (1972)*, Issue No. 83, 16 October 1972, p.1213.

[25] For details of the *Sayeret Mat'kal [Hebrew: The Rent-a-Car Raid]* see Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, (London, Pluto Press, 2012), pp.176-177. See also Theodore Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation*, (London: I.B. Tauris Publications, 2015), pp.170-171 and Chami, Yomiyat El Harb, p.18.

Salam's government lodged an official complaint with the UNSC on 11 April 1972.[26] The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 332 on 21 April 1972 condemning the repeated military attacks by Israel on Lebanon and Israel's violation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and sovereignty and called upon Israel to desist from all military attacks on Lebanon.[27]

Salam blamed the Lebanese Army and the Internal Security Forces for gross negligence and demanded the resignation of General Iskandar Ghanem, the Army's Commander-in-Chief. President Franjieh did not comply and Salam resigned as Prime Minister.[28] President Franjieh named Ameen El Hafez (Sunni, Tripoli) as the new prime minister, who formed an extended Cabinet of 17 politicians in an attempt to control the deteriorating political and security conditions. Deputy Khatchig Babikian was entrusted with the Ministry of Public Planning.

A few days later, on 1 May 1972, Palestinian guerrillas abducted three Lebanese soldiers. The Lebanese Army reacted by taking up positions around the largest Palestinian camps in Beirut the next day. Fighting broke up between Palestinians and the Lebanese Army and the PLO guerrillas fired rockets at the airport from the Bourj El Barajneh Camp. In exchange, the Lebanese Air Force bombarded the Palestinian camp. Syria reacted by immediately closing the Syrian-Lebanese border and sending El Saiqa squads and Palestinian Liberation Army Units across the border into the Beka'a Valley.[29]

President Franjieh declared a State of Emergency in Lebanon on 7 May 1973.[30] However, he gave in to pressure applied by Arab leaders

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[26] *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-Seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1973*, Document S/10911. *[Last accessed 25 March 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/10911.

[27] United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 332 adopted on 21 April 1973, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/332(1973). *[Last accessed 25 March 2016]*.

[28] Decree No. 5510 dated 25 April 1973 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh accepting the resignation of Prime Minister Saeb Salam. *Official Gazette (1973)*, Issue No. 37, 7 May 1973, p.519.

[29] Nicola Naseef, *El Maktab El Thani: Hakem Fi El Zel, [Arabic: Deuxieme Bureau: Ruler in the Shadows]*, (Beirut: Raidy Publishers, 2015), p. 484.

[30] Decree No. 5513 dated 7 May 1973 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh, Prime Minister Ameen El Hafez, Minister of Interior Basheer El A'awar and Minister of Defense Fouad Ghossen declaring a State of Emergency in Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1973)*, Issue No. 44, 31 May 1973, p.545.

who mediated in the matter and the fighting stopped on 8 May 1973 when an agreement was signed at the Hotel Melkart in the Hamra District of Beirut between the Lebanese authorities and the PLO reaffirming the terms of the Cairo Agreement.[31]

The Executive Branch of the Government President Suleiman Franjieh		
Cabinet of 25 April 1973[32]		
1.	Ameen El Hafez	Prime Minister; Minister of Info. and Public Health
2.	Fouad Ghossen	Deputy PM; Minister of Defense
3.	Basheer El A'awar	Minister of Interior
4.	Kazem El Khalil	Minister of Justice
5.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Water & Power
6.	Khatchig Babikian	Minister of Public Planning
7.	Najeeb Alamadeen	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
8.	Khalil Abu Hamad	Minister of Foreign Affairs
9.	Fouad Naffa'a	Minister of Finance
10.	Michel Saseen	Minister of Cooperatives and Housing
11.	Edmond Rezk	Minister of Education
12.	ATony Franjieh	Minister of PTT
13.	Emile Rohana Sakr	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
14.	Fahmi Shaheen	Minister of Agriculture
15.	Ali El Khalil	Minister of Tourism
16.	Beheej Tabbara	Minister of Economy and Trade
17.	Zakaria El Nesouli	Minister of Oil and Industry

Table 13.6 – Cabinet Members of Ameen El Hafez's Government (25 April 1973)

As the Melkat Protocols took effect, Prime Minister El Hafez's government lifted the State of Emergency on 23 May 1972[33] and then

[31] For details about the events leading to the Melkart Agreement, please see Abdul Ra'ouf Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990: Tafakok El Dawleh wa Tasaddo' El Mujtama'a, Vol. 1, [Arabic: The War in Lebanon 1975-1990: The Disintegration of the State and the Clash of Communities]*, (Beirut: Lebanese University Press, 2015), pp.194-197. See also, Elizabeth Pickard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country,* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 2002), pp.87-88 and Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.171.

[32] Decree No. 5512 dated 25 April 1973 and signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Ameen El Hafez appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1973)*, Issue No. 37, 7 May 1973, pp.519-520. The Cabinet of P.M. Ameen El Hafez did not present any Ministerial Statement to the 13th Parliament and did not received any confidence vote.

[33] Decree No. 5515 dated 23 May 1973 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh, Prime Minister Ameen El Hafez, Minister of Interior Basheer El A'war and Minister of

resigned on 14 June 1972 without presenting a ministerial statement nor receiving a vote of confidence.[34] President Franjieh then asked Taqiedeen El Solh to form a new government.

El Solh's government was the first in Lebanon that included two Lebanese-Armenians as ministers: Souren Khanamirian was assigned the portfolio of Tourism and Joseph Chader was appointed as a Minister of State.

Prime Minister El Solh presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 13th Parliament on 25 July 1973 and received 78 votes of confidence, including those of Babikian, Eblighatian, Khanamirian, Yerevanian and Chader. Manougian was not present.[35] Before casting his vote of confidence, Deputy Yerevanian delivered a short speech before the Parliament, and in pertinent parts said:

> "I will not discuss what we need from projects, because the situation we are in, has exceptional circumstances. Your government, Mr Prime Minister, makes it imperative to play a prominent political role that fulfills our aspirations by re-establishing stability, security, and justice so that freedom wins and Lebanon remains . . . The Parliamentary Bloc that I belong to will grant you a vote of confidence. . ."[36] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

After the 2 May 1973 clashes between the Lebanese Army and the Palestinian guerrillas and the signing of the Melkat Protocols, President Franjieh summoned the two Maronite leaders, Camille Chamoun and Pierre Gemayel, to the Presidential Palace in July 1973 to inform them that the situation in Lebanon in general and with the

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Defense Fouad Ghossen lifting the State of Emergency in Lebanon except for Southern Lebanon. *Official Gazette (1973)*, Issue No. 44, 31 May 1973, pp.545-546.

[34] Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, p.187.

[35] There was only one vote of no confidence that of Father Sama'an El Doueihi and two abstentions by Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i and Najah Wakeem. In addition to Antranig Manougian, the following Deputies were not present: Fareed Gebran, Camille Chamoun, Ameen El Hafez, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Abdullah El Rassi, Pierre Helou, Mounir Abu Fadel. *Official Minutes (1973)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 25 July 1973.

[36] For the full Arabic text of Ara Yerevanian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Prime Minister Taqiedeen El Solh on 25 July 1973, see Appendix 4.1 to this Volume. *Official Minutes (1973)*, 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 25 July 1973.

Christians in particular, was going from bad to worse and that the Army was incapable of defending citizens from foreigners, and there was no choice but to arm themselves.[37]

The Executive Branch of the Government President Suleiman Franjieh		
Cabinet of 8 July 1973[38]		
1.	Taqiedeen El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	Fouad Ghossen	Deputy PM; Minister of Public Works & Transp.
3.	Sabri Hamadeh	Minister of Agriculture
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of State
5.	Beheej Taqiedeen	Minister of Interior
6.	Kazem El Khalil	Minister of Justice
7.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Water & Power
8.	Nazeeh El Bezri	Minister of Economy and Trade
9.	Nasri El Ma'alouf	Minister of Defense
10.	Joseph Chader	Minister of State
11.	Albert Moukheiber	Minister of State
12.	Othman El Dana	Minister of Public Health
13.	Fouad Naffa'a	Minister of Foreign Affairs
14.	Michel Saseen	Minister of Cooperatives and Housing
15.	Edmond Rezk	Minister of Education
16.	Tony Franjieh	Minister of PTT
17.	Emile Rohana Sakr	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
18.	Fahmi Shaheen	Minister of Information
19.	Ali El Khalil	Minister of State
20.	Souren Khanamirian	Minister of Tourism
21.	Hasan El Rifae	Minister of Public Planning
22.	Tawfeeq Assaf	Minister of Oil and Industry

Table 13.7 – Cabinet Members of Taqiedeen El Solh's Government (8 July 1973)

By autumn 1973, the 13th Parliament and El Solh's government faced a devastating regional war between Egypt, Syria and Jordan on one side and Israel on the other. The October War, as the Arabs call it and the

[37] The Ba'abda meeting was attended by President Suleman Franjieh, Camille Chamoun, Pierre Gemayel, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army Iskandar Ghanem, Attorney General Michel Tohme, Director General of the General Security Colonel Antoine Dahdah, and the Director General of the Deuxieme Bureau (Intelligence Service) Joul El Bustani and Director of National Security Nabih El Habr. See Naseef, *El Maktab El Thani*, p.484.

[38] Decree No. 5764 dated 8 July 1973 and signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Taqiedeen El Solh appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1973)*, Issue No. 59, 23 July 1973, pp.705-706.

Yom Kippur War as the Israelis name it, was a turning point in the Middle East.[39] Although Lebanon was not directly involved in the war, its ramifications and the toll were very heavily felt in Lebanon.[40] The 13th Parliament convened on 18 October 1973 to discuss the ongoing war in the Middle East and question El Solh's government about the steps taken by the government to defend the country. A secret meeting was conducted based upon the demand of majority of deputies. All six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies participated in that meeting.[41]

The UNSC adopted Resolution 338 on 22 October 1973 and urged all parties to observe a ceasefire, terminate all military activities and engage in negotiations to establish a just and durable peace in the Middle East.[42] The 13th Parliament re-convened on 20 November 1973 to discuss and deliberate on the government's foreign policy with respect to UNSC Resolution 338. Deputies Babikian, Chader, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Yerevanian were present, whereas Manougian did not attend the meeting.[43]

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[39] For an account on different perspectives of the war, please see Claudia De Martino, "Clashing Narratives of the October War: Collective Memory and Group Perspective," Asaf Siniver, Ed., *The October War: Politics, Diplomacy, Legacy*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2013), pp.231-248.

[40] For a detailed account of the October War, please see Muhammad Fawzi, *Harb October 1973, Diraseh wa Drous*, *[Arabic: October 1973 War: Studies and Lessons]*, (Cairo: Al Karma Publications, 2014).

[41] Although the Official Minutes of the meeting do not mention as how the votes were conducted, there were 37 deputies demanding to have a secret meeting against 34 who did not. There were 5 deputies who abstained from voting. Many deputies, however were not present during this meeting, including: Zaki Mazboudi, Othman El Dana, Rashed El Khoury, Ali El Abdullah, Kazem El Khalil, Mounif El Khateeb, Sabri Hamadeh, Subhi Yaghi, Abdulla Molla Amhaz, Nazem El Qadiri, Hussein Mansour, Hussein El Mais, Maurice Fadel, Murshed El Samad, Bakhos Hakeem, Camille Chamoun and Kamal Jumblatt. *Official Minutes (1973)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 18 October 1973.

[42] United Nation Security Council Resolution Number 338 adopted on 22 October 1973, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/338(1973). *[Last accessed 25 March 2016]*.

[43] Besides Antranig Manougian, the following deputies were also not present at the meeting: Ra'ef Samara, Salem Abdul Noor, Fouad El Tahini, Kamal Jumblatt, Sama'an El Doueihi, Maurice Fadel, Hussein El Mais, Saleem El Dawood, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Nazem El Qadiri, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Bakhos Hakeem, Raymond Edde, Ameen Gemayel and Zaki Mazboudi. *Official Minutes (1973)*: 6th

Domestically, on 31 January 1974 the 13th Parliament considered several measures to stabilize the national economy, including a draft rental law. Both Babikian and Chader were actively involved to safeguard the rights of lessees and protect the investments of the lessors. Chader, as a member of the Administrative and Justice Committee, had participated in drafting the proposed Rental Law earlier. Chader in an introductory speech said:

> "This measure in its final form was prepared by the Administration and Justice Committee after conducting thorough research and studies that took 22 meetings during September and October of last year. Subsequently, however, there was an increase in prices, in general, and in particular a rise in rents. Therefore, we the Deputies of the Phalange and Tashnak parties will provide significant amendments to this bill, including a moratorium on any increase to the old rents for residential units. For the commercial leases, we will provide another amendment . . ."[44] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

In addition to the Rental Law, the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were concerned about the wellbeing of Lebanese citizens. As such, in a short speech during a budget discussion on 26 March 1974, Deputy Yerevanian said:

> "I don't care about tourists flooding to Lebanon in order to get acquainted with our civilization and identify themselves with the depth of our roots in history as much as I care that Lebanese citizens be happy in their homeland and feel safe about their own fate and be comfortable about the future of their homeland."[45] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

The 13th Parliament was unable to have effective sessions in 1974, as the security conditions in Southern Lebanon and in Beirut deteriorated rapidly. The Israeli Army invaded Southern Lebanon again

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Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 13th Parlimanet held on 20 November 1973.

[44] *Official Minutes (1974)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 31 January 1974.

[45] For the full Arabic text of Ara Yerevanian's speech during the Budget Discussion, please see Appendix 4.2. *Official Minutes (1974)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 28 March 1974.

on 16 May 1974, leaving more than 300 casualties. Street fighting between the Phalange Party militias and the PLO erupted in the suburb of Dikwaneh, a community close to the Palestinian Tel El Za'ater Refugee Camp, on 29 July 1974.[46]

In September 1974, the Phalangists confronted Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) in the village of Tarsheesh, El Metn, as well, which led to the resignation of Prime Minister Taqiedeen El Solh on 22 September 1974, accusing President Franjieh of covering up a shipment of arms to the Jounieh Port for the Christian militias with the complicity of the Lebanese Army.[47]

President Franjieh immediately appointed Taqiedeen El Solh's cousin, Rasheed El Solh, as the new Prime Minister to form a government on 31 October 1974. Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh formed a cabinet consisting of 18 ministers with Khanamirian as the Minister of Tourism.

Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 13th Parliament on 15 November 1974 and received 66 votes of confidence against 14 with 2 abstentions. There are no independent records to show as how the deputies voted at the time. As Khanamirian and the Phalange Party representatives were part of the Cabinet, it is presumed that all Lebanese-Armenian Deputies cast votes of confidence.[48]

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[46] Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb,* p.20. Pierre Gemayel's Phalange Party and Camille Chamoun's El Ahrar Party began to bear arms in self-defense against the Palestinians in 1974. The Christian militias received two major weapons shipments during the early part of 1974: one shipment was organized by the Deuxieme Bureau (the Intelligence Service) though their contacts at the US embassy in Beirut, and the second shipment was through Sarkis Soghanalian, an arms dealer, who brokered a cargo of weapons from Bulgaria. For details, please see Naseef, *El Maktab El Thani*, pp. 485-486.

[47] Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, pp.188-189. See also, Naseef, *El Maktab El Thani*, p.486.

[48] Please see Jean Malha, *Houkoumat Loubnan: 65 Houkoumeh fi 60 sana. Al Bayanat Alwizariyyet Wal Wouzara'a 1943-2003, [Arabic: Lebanese Governments: 65 Governments in 60 Years. Ministerial Statements 1943-2003]*, (Beirut: Librarie du Liban Publishing, 2003), p.340.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Suleiman Franjieh		
Cabinet of 31 October 1974[49]		
1.	Rasheed El Solh	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Michel Saseen	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Coops and Housing
3.	Adel Osseiran	Minister of Justice
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Public Health
5.	Philip Taqla	Minister of Foreign Affairs
6.	Suleiman El Ali	Minister of Agriculture
7.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Defense
8.	Khaled Jumblatt	Minister of Finance
9.	George Sa'adeh	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
10.	Tony Franjieh	Minister of PTT
11.	Souren Khanamirian	Minister of Tourism
12.	Mahmoud Ammar	Minister of Information
13.	Louis Abu Sharaf	Minister of Oil and Industry
14.	Nadeem Na'eem	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
15.	Zaki Mazboudi	Minister of Public Planning
16.	Malek Salam	Minister of Water & Power
17.	Abbas Khalaf	Minister of Economy and Trade
18.	Muhammad Majed Hamadeh	Minister of Education

Table 13.8 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed El Solh's Government (31 October 1974)

The year 1975 started with an official visit by Syria's President Hafez El Asad to Lebanon. The Lebanese-Syrian summit between Franjieh and El Asad took place on 7 January 1975, in Chtura, Beka'a Valley, the first official visit of any Syrian President to Lebanon since 1953.[50] On the agenda were the issues of shared water resources, Syrian laborers in Lebanon and other matters. The summit was concluded with a defense treaty allowing the Syrians to maintain early warning radars in Lebanon.[51]

Israel continued to escalate its military attacks on Southern Lebanon in January 1975. The 13th Parliament convened on 16 January 1975 to deliberate on the Israeli encroachments into Lebanese territories and the government's policies to counter these infringements.

[49] Decree No. 9372 dated 31 October 1974 and signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1974)*, Issue No. 92, 18 November 1974, pp.1595-1596.

[50] Chami, Yomiyat El Harb, p.20.

[51] Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, p.188.

All Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were in attendance except for Khanamirian.[52]

On 25 February 1975, massive demonstrations by the Lebanese Fishermen's Union in Saida took place protesting the establishment of President Camille Chamoun's Protein Company, at which time the Lebanese Army opened fire on protesters, fatally wounding Ma'arouf Sa'ad, the Sunni Muslim leader of the Popular Nasserite Organization of Saida.[53] Over the following two weeks, demonstrations convulsed virtually all of Lebanon's major cities, with the most intense fighting occurring between the Army and the gunmen in Saida.[54] On 13 April 1975, when Deputy Pierre Gemayel, the leader of the Maronite-dominated Kataeb Party (Phalangist) attended the consecration of a new church in the Christian Beirut suburb, Ayn El Rummana, unknown assailants approached the church in two cars and opened fire, killing three Christians. Within a matter of hours, a group of Maronite militiamen at Ayn Al-Rummana retaliated by ambushing 26 Palestinians in a bus who were on their way to the Tel El-Za'atar Refugee Camp after attending a gathering in Sabra. The civil war in Lebanon thus erupted.[55]

The first meeting of the 13th Parliament after the 13 April 1975 Ain El Rummana incident was on 15 May 1975, when the Deputies adopted a measure to postpone elections to the municipality councils in Lebanon until 31 December 1975 because of the unsecure and unsafe conditions that dominated the country after the clashes between the Christian militiamen and the Palestinians. The draft legislation to postpone the municipality council elections was carried with a majority vote with Deputies Chader and Yerevanian voting in favor, whereas Deputies Manougian, Babikian and Eblighatian voted against it.

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[52] *Official Minutes (1975)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 16 January 1975.

[53] Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, pp.188-189. See also Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* pp.173-174. Also, Brenda Seaver, "The Regional Sources of Power-Sharing Failure: The Case of Lebanon," *Political Science Quarterly*, (June 2000).

[54] Itamar Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon: 1970-1983*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

[55] Please see Pickard, *Lebanon: A Shattered Country*, and Rabinovich, *The War for Lebanon. See also,* Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation: The Abduction of Lebanon*, (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2002) and Marie-Joelle Zahar: "Peace by Unconventional Means: Lebanon's Ta'if Agreement," Stephen J. Stedman, Donald Rothschild &Elizabeth M. Cousens, Eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements,* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), p.567.

Khanamirian was absent. Thereafter, Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh delivered a speech accusing certain parties for igniting a war and announced the resignation of his government and immediately turned to leave the meeting hall. Deputy Ameen Gemayel dashed across the hall and held the Prime Minister by the arm to prevent him from leaving the Parliament building so that the Phalange Party Deputies could rebut the allegations made in his speech. Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad, however, after conferring with Phalange leader Pierre Gemayel, adjourned the meeting to avoid any cross accusations and impediments.[56]

Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh's government resigned and President Franjieh issued Decree No. 10402 and appointed Retired General Nooredeen El Rifae to head the 50th Lebanese Government.[57] This government consisted of high-ranking Lebanese Army officers. However, it did not last long and resigned on 1 July 1975 without presenting a ministerial statement to the parliament.[58]

To safeguard the Lebanese-Armenian community and keep it away from the regional and domestic political pressures and threat of war, the Lebanese Armenian political parties adopted a policy of positive neutrality.[59]

On 1 July 1975, President Franjieh appointed Lebanon's 51st Government headed by Prime Minister Rasheed Karami. There were only five ministers in this Cabinet where Camille Chamoun made a strong comeback to the executive branch. Prime Minister Karami presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 13th Parliament on 15 July 1975 and received a unanimous 80 votes of confidence, including the votes of

[56] In addition to Souren Khanamirian, the following deputies were also not present during the debate: Saeb Salam, Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Youssef Hammoud, Najah Wakeem, Shafeeq Badr, Mahmoud Ammar, Basheer El A'awar, and Zaki Mazboudi. *Official Minutes (1975)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 15 May 1975.

[57] *Official Gazette (1975)*, Issue No. 43, 29 May 1975, p. 579. See also, Malha, *Houkoumat Loubnan*, p.345.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ohannes Geukjian, "The Policy of Positive Neutrality of the Armenian Political Parties in Lebanon during the Civil War, 1975-90: A Critical Analysis," *Middle East Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (January 2007), pp.65-73.

Babikian, Manougian, Eblighatian and Chader. Khanamirian and Yerevanian were not present.[60]

The Executive Branch of the Government President Suleiman Franjieh		
Cabinet of 23 May 1975[61]		
1.	Lieut. General Nooredeen El Rifae	P. M.; Minister of Justice; Health; Oil & Indus.
2.	Lieut. General Moussa Kena'an	Deputy PM; Minister of Info. and Education
3.	General Iskandar Ghanem	Minister of Defense and Water & Power
4.	General Saeed Nasrallah	Minister of Interior; Coops. and Housing
5.	Lieutenant General Francois Jinadri	Minister of Labor & Social Affairs and PTT
6.	Lieut. General Fawzi El Khateeb	Minister of Comm. & Industry; Public Plann.
7.	Lieutenant General Zein Makki	Minister of Public Works and Agriculture
8.	Lousien Dahdah	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tourism

Table 13.9 – Cabinet Members of Nooredeen El Rifae Government (23 May 1975)

The unstable security conditions, however, did not allow for the 13th Parliament to hold as many sessions as were needed in the latter part of 1975.[62] Israeli airstrikes on the Palestinian Nahr El Bared and Baddawi camps on 2 December 1975, that left more than 200 people dead, complicated the situation, while in Beirut the Christian militias carried out a massacre of more than 200 Muslims in East Beirut on 6 December 1975, in what became known as Black Saturday, in a revenge for the killing of four Phalangists in Tel El Za'atar by the Palestinians.[63]

The sectarian fighting continued in 1976 in Lebanon. At the beginning of the year, Camille Chamoun's *Nemour El Ahrar* militias and Pierre Gemayel's Phalange militias launched a "cleansing" operation in the El Metn coastal area of Debbaya, where there was a Christian Palestinian refugee camp, expelling its inhabitants, while simultaneously attacking the Karantina and the Maslakh (public slaughterhouse) districts in East Beirut. The PLO and the Lebanese National Movement

[60] *Official Minutes (1975)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of 13th Parliament held on 15 July 1975.

[61] Decree No. 10402 dated 23 May 1975 and signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Nooredeen El Rifae appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1975)*, Issue No. 43, 29 May 1975, pp.579-580. Prime Minister Nooredeen Rifae's Government did not present any Ministerial Statement to the 13th Parliament and did not receive any confidence vote.

[62] The 13th Parliament held only 3 meetings during its 2nd Ordinary Session in 1975.

[63] For details about Black Saturday, see Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, pp.199-200. See also, Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p.57.

(LNM) militias responded by sieging the coastal town of Damour-Sa'adiyat, where Camille Chamoun lived. Karantina fell on 22 January 1976 and, two days later, massacres were committed in Damour.[64] As a result of the ongoing atrocities, Prime Minister Karami resigned and President Franjieh was unable to name a successor.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Suleiman Franjieh		
Cabinet of 1 July 1975[65]		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance; Defense and Information
2.	Camille Chamoun	Minister of Interior; PTT; Water & Power
3.	Adel Osseiran	Minister of Justice; Public Works and Trans.; Economy & Trade
4.	Majeed Arslan	Minister of Public Health; Agriculture and Coops. and Housing
5.	Philip Taqla[66]	Minister of Foreign Affairs; Education and Public Planning
6.	Ghassan Tueini	Minister of Labor & Social Affairs; Tourism and Oil & Industry

Table 13.10 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami's Government (1 July 1975)

On 7 February 1976, President Franjieh and resigned Prime Minister Karami went to Damascus to meet with President El Asad in an attempt to convince the latter to mediate in Lebanon. Instead, a constitutional charter was drafter establishing parity between the Christians and the Muslims in the parliament and slightly increasing the prerogatives of the prime minister. On his return to Lebanon, President Franjieh announced the constitutional document comprising of 17 major points, that reiterated the provisions of the Cairo Agreement and emphasized the establishment of parity between the religious denominations and accentuated by the National pact of 1943.[67] The Muslim constituent and the LNM rejected the initiative.

As the ministerial crisis continued, Brigadier General Aziz El Ahdab took control of the national television station on 11 March 1976

[64] Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, pp.199-200. See also, Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p.57.

[65] Decree No. 10501 dated 1 July 1975 and signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1975)*, Issue No. 54, 7 July 1975, p.675.

[66] Minister Philip Taqla abandoned his tasks as minister after a while and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami considered him as resigned. Decree No. 10913 dated 16 June 1976 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami. *Official Gazette (1977)*, Issue No. 1, 24 February 1977, p.1.

[67] For the text of President Suleiman Franjieh's constitutional document, see Latif Abdul-Husn, *The Lebanese Conflict: Looking Inward*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998). See also, Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, pp.70-71.

and declared the removal of Suleiman Franjieh.[68] Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad, on his side, presented President Franjieh with a petition signed by 69 Deputies (more than the two-thirds constitutionally necessary) demanding Franjieh's departure.[69] Thereafter, Speaker El Asa'ad, the resigned Prime Minister Rasheed Karami and Deputy Saeb Salam left for Damascus to request the intervention of the Syrian authorities to convince President Franjieh to resign, – they were unsuccessful.[70]

In the meantime, Brigadier General Hikmat El Shehabi, the Chief of Staff of the Syrian Army, approached the then US Ambassador to Damascus Richard Murphy on 14 March 1976 and informed him of President El Asad's intention to intervene militarily in Lebanon, in response to President Franjieh's request for intervention during the meeting of February 1976.[71] A turning point occurred on 27 March 1976, when a stormy seven-hour meeting took place between Kamal Jumblatt and President El Asad in Damascus, ending with Jumblatt leaving the meeting unsatisfied.[72]

The year 1976 was not a productive year for the legislature. The 13th Parliament held four meetings only during the entire year, comprising of one ordinary, one extraordinary and two special meetings. During its 9 March 1976 meeting, however, the 13th Parliament voted to extend its term, which was about to expire, until 30 June 1978. All Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present during the session, except for Khanamirian, and voted in favor of the extension.[73] President Franjieh signed the measure into law on 13 March 1976.[74] In its 10 April 1976 meeting, at its temporarily location at Mansoor Palace, the parliament considered an amendment to Article 73 to the Lebanese Constitution to allow the election of a new president, more than six months before the expiration of the term of the president. All six Lebanese-Armenian

[68] Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, pp.72-73.

[69] Deputy Souren Khanamirian and 13 other Deputies met at the Bristol Hotel on 19 March 1976 to demand the resignation of President Suleiman Franjieh.

[70] Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, p.200.

[71] Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, p.201.

[72] For the details of the Asad-Jumblatt meeting of 27 March 1976, see Patrick Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp.280-282.

[73] *Official Minutes (1976)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 9 March 1976.

[74] Law No. 76/1 extending the term of the Chamber of Deputies to 30 June 1978, signed by President Suleiman Franjieh and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami. *Official Gazette (1977)*, Issue No. 1, 24 February 1977, p.1.

Deputies were present at this meeting.[75] President Franjieh signed the amendment into law on 24 April 1976.[76]

Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad summoned the Deputies to a special meeting on 8 May 1976 to elect the President of the Republic. With only 69 Deputies in attendance, Elias Sarkis was elected as the President, receiving 66 votes. There were three blank papers. All six Lebanese Armenian Deputies were present and participated in the election.[77]

As soon as the official result of the election was announced, the Palestinian factions and the LNM militias started bombarding Hotel Carlton in the Rawche District of Beirut, where President-Elect Elias Sarkis had taken refuge and from where he broadcast his first public message to the Lebanese people calling for an immediate cease-fire and the commencement of re-construction of the country.[78]

A few days later, President-Elect Sarkis delegated his advisor and Lebanese-Armenian politician, Kareem Pakradouni, to visit Damascus in a special mission to meet with President El Asad on Sarkis's behalf to explore the possibility of El Asad's engagement in a peace initiative based upon two prerogatives: the first being on the domestic Lebanese front and the second based upon the reconciliation between Syria and Egypt. President El Asad reluctantly agreed.[79]

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[75] Among the absentees to the meeting were: Kamal Jumblatt, Raymond Edde, Antoine Franjieh, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Boutros Harb, Abdul Lateef Beydoun, Edmond Rezk and Youssef Hammoud. *Official Minutes (1976)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 10 April 1976.

[76] Constitutional Amendment Law, amending Article No. 73 to the Constitution. *Official Gazette (1977)*, Issue No. 1, 24 February 1977, p.1.

[77] Among the Deputies who did not attend the Special Meeting to elect the President, were: Kamal Jumblatt, Raymond Edde, Salem Abdul Noor, Zaher El Khateeb, Aziz Aoun, Fareed Gebran, Tawfeeq Assaf, Fouad El Tahini, Mounir Abu Fadel, Shafeeq Badr, Pierre Helou, Saeb Salam, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Jameel Kebbi, Albert Mansour, Hussein El Husseini, Hasan El Rifae, Edward Hnein, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Zaki Mezboudi, Fareed Sarhal, Ameen El Hafez, Ali El Khalil, Youssef Hammoud, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Othman El Dana, Rasheed El Solh, Albert Moukheiber and Mikhael El Daher. *Official Minutes (1976)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 8 May 1976.

[78] Kareem Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud: Ahd Elias Sarkis 1976-1982*, *[Arabic: The Lost Peace: The reign of Elias Sarkis 1976-1982]*, (Beirut: Sharikat El Matbou'at wa El Nashr, 2010), p.13.

[79] Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud*, pp.15-24.

	P. M.	Saeb Salam	Ameen El Hafez	Taqiedeen El Solh
		8 Jun 1972[80]	25 Apr 1973[81]	25 Jul 1973[82]
1.	J. Chader	√	-	√*
2.	Kh. Babikian	√	-*	√
3.	S. Khanamirian	√	-	√*
4.	M. Eblighatian	√	-	√
5.	A. Yerevanian	√	-	√
6.	A. Manougian	√	-	NS
√ - Confidence Vote; X -No Confidence Vote; A -Abstained; NS -No Show; NVR –No Voting Record				

Table 13.11 (a) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 13th Parliament

[80] Decree No. 3423 dated 27 May 1972 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh appointing Saeb Salam as the Prime Minister to form a new government. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1972)*, Issue No. 51, 26 June 1972, p.759. Prime Minister Saeb Salam presented the ministerial statement of his newly formed Cabinet to the 13th Parliament on 8 June 1972 and received 77 Confidence Votes, including the votes of all 6 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, against 15 No-Confidence Votes that included: Ali El Khalil, Othman El Dana, Beheej Taqiedeen, Zaher El Khateeb, Najah Wakeem, Maurice Fadel, Ameen El Hafez, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Rasheed El Solh, Aziz Aoun, Fareed Jubran, Fouad El Tahini, Salem Abdul Noor, Rasheed Karami, and Hashem El Husseini. Deputies Kamal Jumblatt, Fahmi Shaheen, Antoine Franjieh and Kazem El Khalil were not present. *Official Minutes (1972)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 8 June 1972.

[81] Decree No. 5511 dated 25 April 1973 signed be President Suleiman Franjieh appointing Ameen El Hafez as the Prime Minister to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1973)*, Issue No. 37, 7 May 1973, pp. 519-520. Prime Minister Ameen El Hafez's Government did not present any ministerial statement to the 13th Parliament nor received any vote of confidence.

[82] Decree No. 5765 dated 8 July 1973 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh appointing Taqiedeen El Solh as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1973)*, Issue No. 59, 23 July 1973, pp.705-706. Prime Minister Taqiedeen El Solh presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 13th Parliament on 25 July 1973 and received 78 Confidence Votes, including those of Khatchig Babikian, Melkon Eblighatian, Souren Khanamirian, Ara Yerevanian and Joseph Chader. Antranig Manougian was absent. There was only one vote of no confidence cast by Father Sama'n El Doueihi and 2 abstentions by Abdul Majeed El Rifae and Najah Wakeem. In addition to Antranig Manougian, the following Deputies were not present: Fareed Gebran, Camille Chamoun, Ameen El Hafez, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Abdullah El Rasi, Pierre Helou, Mounir Abu Fadel. *Official Minutes (1973)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 25 July 1973.

	P.M.	Rasheed El Solh	Nooredeen El Rifae	Rasheed Karami
		15 Nov 1974[83]	23 May 1975[84]	15 Jul 1975[85]
1.	J. Chader	NVR	-	√
2.	Kh. Babikian	NVR	-	√
3.	S. Khanamirian	NVR*	-	NS
4.	M. Eblighatian	NVR	-	√
5.	A. Yerevanian	NVR	-	NS
6.	A. Manougian	NVR	-	√
√ - Confidence Vote; X -No Confidence Vote; A -Abstained; NS -No Show; NVR –No Voting Record				

Table 13.11 (b) - Confidence Vote to the Ensuing Governments of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 13th Parliament

On 1 June 1976, President El Asad declared that he was responding to a call for assistance from the Lebanese authorities and sent 6,000 Syrian troops to Lebanon, which were increased to 15,000 in a few

[83] Decree No. 9371 dated 31 October 1974 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh appointing Rasheed El Solh as the new Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (1974)*, Issue No. 92, 18 November 1974, pp.1595-1596. Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 13th Parliament on 15 November 1974 and received 66 votes of confidence against 14 with 2 abstentions. There are no independent records to show as how the Deputies voted. As Souren Khanamirian and the Phalange Party representatives were participans in the Cabinet, it is presumed that all Lebanese-Armenian Deputies cast confidence votes. See, Jean Malha, *Houkoumat Loubnan: 65 Houkoumeh fi 60 sana. Al Bayanat Alwizariyyet Wal Wouzara'a 1943-2003,* (Arabic: Lebanese Governments: 65 Governments in 60 Years. Ministerial Statements 1943-2003), (Beirut: Librarie du Liban Publishing) 2003, p. 340.

[84] Decree No. 10402 dated 23 May 1975 signed be President Suleiman Franjieh appointing retired Army Lieutenant General Nooredeen El Rifae as the Prime Minister to form a new Government. *Official Gazette (1975)*, Issue No. 43, 29 May 1975, p.579. PM El Rifae's military government did not present any ministerial statement to the 13th Parliament nor received any votes of confidence.

[85] Decree No. 10502 dated 1 July 1975 signed by President Suleiman Franjieh appointing Rasheed Karami as the new prime minister to form a cabinet. *Official Gazette (1975)*, Issue No. 54, 7 July 1975, p.675. Prime Minister Karami presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 13th Parlimanet on 15 July 1975 and received a unanimous vote of confidence, including the votes of Khatchig Babikian, Antranig Manougian, Melkon Eblighatian and Joseph Chader. Souren Khanamirian and Ara Yerevanian were not present. *Official Minutes (1975)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 15 July 1975.

days.[86] Two months later, on 6 August 1976, the Christian militias occupied the Naba'a District in East Beirut and expelled more than 20,000 Shia Muslims from East Beirut. The Palestinian stronghold of Tel El Za'atar also fell with the assistance of the Syrian Army on 12 August 1976.[87]

Before taking the Oath of Office, President-Elect Elias Sarkis conducted several meetings with heads of states in order to promote his peace initiative. Sarkis paid a visit to Damascus and met with President Hafez El Asad on 31 August 1976. A few weeks later, on his way to Egypt, he stopped in Damascus again and met with El Asad before meeting with Egypt's Anwar El Sadat on 17 September 1976. The next day, Sarkis met with Yasser Arafat, the PLO Chairman, in Chtura, in the presence of Naji Jameel, a high-ranking Syrian Army, official representing Hafez El Asad.[88]

The last day of the 13th Parliament was on 23 September 1976 when President-Elect Elias Sarkis took the Oath of Office at the Park Hotel in Chtura, Beka'a Valley, under the protection of the Syrian Army. All six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies attended the President's inauguration.[89]

[86] For the Syrian military intervention in Lebanon in June 1976, please see Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, pp.283-289.

[87] Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, pp.92-96. See also, Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, pp.204-207.

[88] For a detailed account on the negotiations, see Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* pp.35-57.

[89] *Official Minutes (1976)*: Special Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 23 September 1976.

The 14th Lebanese Parliament

(1976-80)

The previous Parliament voted on legislation extending the term of its elected Deputies until 30 June 1978.[1] The same six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies continued to be members of the 14th Parliament.

The negative impact of the civil war had a tremendous impact on the lives of the Lebanese in general and members of the 14th Parliament, in particular. As bombardments continued between the fighting factions throughout Lebanon and downtown Beirut, the doors of the Parliament building at Etoile Square remained closed for the duration of the civil war. Accordingly, Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad summoned the Deputies to

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[1] *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1976)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 9 March 1976. President Suleiman Franjieh signed it into law on 13 March 1976. Law No. 76/1 for extending the term of the Chamber of Deputies to 30 June 1978. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1977)*, Issue No. 1, 24 February 1977, p.1.

parliamentary meetings at Mansour Palace, which was located at the border between the west and east of Beirut.

The 14th Parliament met for the first time on 19 October 1976 and elected the members of the Speaker's Bureau. Maurice Zuwein (Maronite, Keserwan), the eldest Deputy present presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) with 53 votes out of 55 present. There were two blank papers. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian, Manougian and Chader were present, whereas Yerevanian was not. Deputy Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker, while Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni, Akkar) and Ameen Gemayel (Maronite, El Metn) were elected as Secretaries. Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox, Marja'yun) and Subhi Yaghi (Shia, Ba'albek) were elected as Commissioners.[2]

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District	Mtgs	Absence	Attend.
1	Joseph Chader[3]	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 1st	35	N/A	N/A
2	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	35	6	83%
3	Souren Khanamirian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	35	16	54%
4	Melkon Eblighatian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	35	6	83%
5	Antranig Manougian	Arm. Protes.	Beirut 1st	35	11	69%
6	Ara Yerevanian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	35	15	57%

Table 14.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 14th Lebanese Parliament (1976-80)

The commencement of the term of the 14th Parliament coincided with the new term of the President of the Republic. President Elias Sarkis, who came to office on 23 September 1976 could not appoint a successor to Prime Minister Rasheed Karami for several months. To implement his peace initiative, however, President Sarkis appointed Saleem El Hoss as the new Prime Minister and entrusted him to form a government comprising of eight "technocrats."[4]

[2] *Official Minutes (1976)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 19 October 1976.

[3] Deputy Joseph Chader passed away in March 1977.

[4] Decree No. 2 dated 9 December 1976 signed by President Elias Sarkis appointing Saleem El Hoss to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1977)*, Issue No. 2, 3 March 1977, pp.9-10.

99	District	Names of Deputies of the 15th Lebanese Parliament (1980-84)
1	Beirut	Antranig Manougian (Armenian Protestant); Pierre Gemayel (Maronite); Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic);* Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox); Souren Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox); Melkon Eblighatian (Armenian Orthodox); Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox); Nasri El Ma'alouf (Roman Cath).
2	Beirut	Rasheed El Solh (Sunni); Fareed Gebran (Minorities); Muhammad Youssef Beydoun (Shia).
3	Beirut	Jameel Kebbi (Sunni); Zaki Mazboudi (Sunni); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Othman El Dana (Sunni) and Najah Wakeem (Roman Orthodox).
4	Ba'abda	Edward Hnein (Maronite); Basheer El A'awar (Druze); Pierre Daccache (Maronite); Mahmoud Ammar (Shia); and Nadeem Na'eem (Maronite);
5	El Metn	Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox); Albert Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox); Ameen Gemayel (Maronite); August Bakhos (Maronite); fouad Lahoud (Maronite).
6	El Chouf	Ibrahim Abdul Noor (Roman Catholic); Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze);* Zaher El Khateeb (Sunni); Abdul Haleem Awaydat (Sunni); Aziz Aoun (Maronite);* Fouad El Tahini (Maronite); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze);* and Camille Chamoun (Maronite).
7	Aley	Majeed Arslan (Druze); Pierre Helou (Maronite); Tawfeeq Assaf (Druze); Shafeeq Badr (Maronite); and Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox).
8	Keserwan	Elias El Khazen (Maronite); Louis Abu Sharaf (Maronite); Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite) and Maurice Zuwein (Maronite).
9	Jbeil	Ahmad Isbir (Shia); Raymond Edde (Maronite) and Emile Rohana Sakr (Maronite).
10	Saida	Nazeeh Abdul Rahman (Sunni).
11	Saida-Sub	Adel Osseiran (Shia) and Rashed El Khoury (Roman Catholic).
12	Nabatiyeh	Anwar El Sabah (Shia); Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia) and Fahmi Shaheen (Shia)* replaced by Rafeeq Shaheen (Shia).
13	Soor	Ali El Khalil (Shia) and Kazem El Khalil (Shia) and Youssef Hammoud (Shia).
14	Bent Jbeil	Hameed Dakroub (Shia) and Abdul Lateef Beydoun (Shia).
15	Marja'yun	Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox); Mouneef El Khateeb (Sunni); Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia) and Ali El Khalil Abdullah (Shia).
16	Jezzine	Edmond Rezk (Maronite); Fareed Sarhal (Maronite); Nadeem Salem (Rom.Cath).
17	Zahle	Elias El Hrawi (Maronite); Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Mais (Sunni); Hussein Mansour (Shia); and Saleem El Mansour (Roman Orthodox).
18	Rashaya	Saleem El Dawood (Druze); Michel Ma'alouli (Rom. Orth.); Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni).
19	Baalbek/ Hermel	Sabri Hamadeh (Shia)***;** Tareq El Habshi (Maronite); Albert Mansour (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Rifae (Sunni); Hussein El Husseini (Shia); Subhi Yaghi (Shia); and Abdul Molla Amhaz (Shia).
20	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i (Sunni); Muhammad Ameen El Hafez (Sunni); Maurice Fadel (Roman Orthodox); Hashem El Husseini (Sunni).
21	Tripoli-Sub	Saleh El Kheir (Sunni) and Murshed El Samad (Sunni).*
22	Akkar	Suleiman El Ali (Sunni); Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni); Abdullah El Rassi (Roman Orthodox) and Mikhael El Daher (Maronite).
23	Zghorta	Rene Mou'awad (Maronite); Father Sama'an El Doueihi (Maronite); Antoine Franjieh (Maronite)*.
24	El Koura	Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox); and Bakhos Hakeem (Roman Orthodox).
25	Besheri	Habib Keiruz (Maronite) and Gebran Tawq (Maronite).
26	El Batroun	George Sa'adeh (Maronite) and Boutros Harb (Maronite).
		*** Deceased**

Table 14.2 – Names of the Deputies of the 14th Lebanese Parliament (1976-80)

	19 Oct 76[5]	18 Oct 77[6]	17 Oct 78[7]	16 Oct 79[8]
Speaker	Kamel El Asa'ad	Kamel El As'aad	Kamel El Asa'ad	Kamel El Asa'ad
Deputy Speaker	Michel Sasseen	Mishel Sasseen	M. Abu Fadel	M. Abu Fadel
The Secretariat	Talal El Mer'abi Ameen Gemayel	Talal El Mer'abi Tareq El Habshi	Talal El Mer'abi Tareq El Habshi	Talal El Mer'abi Saleh El Kheir
Commissioners	A. Yerevanian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	A. Yerevanian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	A. Yerevanian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	A. Yerevanian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi

[5] Maurice Zuwein (Maronite, Keserwan), the eldest Deputy present presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) with 53 votes out of 55 present. There were 2 blank papers. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian, Manougian and Chader were present, whereas Yerevanian was not. Deputy Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker whereas, Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni, Akkar) and Ameen Gemayel (Maronite, El Metn) were elected as Secretaries. Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox, Marja'yun) and Subhi Yaghi (Shia, Ba'albek) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1976)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 19 October 1976.

[6] Camille Chamoun (Maronite, El Chouf), the eldest Deputy present presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) with 76 votes out of 81 present. There were 5 blank papers. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian, Manougian and Yerevanian were present. Chader passed away earlier in 1977. Deputy Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox, Beirut) was elected as the Deputy Speaker whereas, Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni, Akkar) and Tareq Habshi (Maronite, Hermel) were elected as Secretaries. Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox, Marja'yun) and Subhi Yaghi (Shia, Ba'albek) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1977)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 18 October 1977.

[7] Adel Osseiran (Shia, Saida-Other) the eldest Deputy present presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) with 62 votes out of 62 present. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian, Manougian and Yerevanian were present. Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox, Aley) was elected as the Deputy Speaker whereas, Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni, Akkar) and Tareq Habshi (Maronite, Hermel) were elected as Secretaries. Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox, Marja'yun) and Subhi Yaghi (Shia, Ba'albek) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1978)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 17 October 1978.

[8] Maurice Zuwein (Maronite, Keserwan), the eldest Deputy present presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia, Marja'yun) with 68 votes out of 76 present. There were 8 blank papers. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian, Manougian and Yerevanian were present. Deputy Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox, Aley) was elected as the Deputy Speaker whereas, Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni, Akkar) and Saleh El Kheir (Sunnni, Tripoli-other) were elected as Secretaries. Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn), Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox, Marja'yun) and Subhi Yaghi (Shia, Ba'albek) were elected as Commissioners. *Official Minutes (1979)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 16 October 1979.

Prime Minister El Hoss presented the ministerial statement of his newly formed Cabinet to the 14th Parliament on 23 December 1976 and received unanimous votes of confidence, including the votes of all six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies.[9] Because of the continued declined of security conditions in Beirut, the 23 December meeting was the only meeting of the 14th Parliament in 1976.

The year 1977 was no better. The deteriorating political and security conditions in Lebanon did not allow for the 14th Parliament to conduct its legislative business in a normal and productive way. The legislature held only four ordinary meetings during the entire year: once to elect its committee members on 31 March 1977[10] and once to elect the members of the Speaker's Bureau on 18 October 1972.[11] The 14th Parliament held two other meetings to deliberate on four pieces of legislation.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Elias Sarkis		
Cabinet of 9 December 1976[12]		
1.	Saleem El Hoss	P. M.; Minister of Economy & Trade, Oil & Industry & Info
2.	Fouad Boutros	Deputy PM; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense
3.	Salah Salman	Minister of Interior and Cooperatives and Housing
4.	Ibrahim Sha'eeto	Minister of Public Health and Water & Power
5.	Ameen El Bezri	Minister of Public Works and Transportation and Tourism
6.	Michel Doumet	Minister of Public Planning
7.	Asa'ad Rezk	Minister of Education, Labor and Social Affairs and Agriculture
8.	Fareed Roufayel	Minister of Justice, Finance and PTT

Table 14.3 – Cabinet Members of Saleem El Hoss Government (9 December 1976)

[9] There were 21 absent Deputies during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Premier Saleem El Hoss's government, including: Hameed Dakroub, Fareed Serhal, Ahmad Isber, Pierre Helou, Tawfeeq Assaf, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Mounir Abu Fadel, Bakhos Hakeem, Rasheed Karami, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Mikhael El Daher, Albert Mansour, Hasan El Rifae, Saeb Salam, Tareq Habshi, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Pierre Daccache and Majeed Arslan. *Official Minutes (1976)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 23 December 1976.

[10] *Official Minutes (1977)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 31 March 1977.

[11] *Official Minutes (1977)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 18 October 1977.

[12] Decree No. 3 dated 9 December 1976 and signed by President Elias Sarkis and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1976)*, Issue No. 2, 3 March 1977, p.10.

During the early part of 1977, the 14th Parliament lost two prominent members. Joseph Chader passed away, and Kamal Jumblatt was assassinated on 16 March 1977. In their memory, Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad asked the Deputies to observe three minutes of silence during the 31 March 1977 legislative session.[13]

The attendance record of the Armenian Deputies continued to be low during the entire term of the 14th Parliament. Despite such a low attendance record, Deputy Ara Yerevanian was elected to five different committees and Eblighatian to three. Babikian was elected to the Public Planning Committee and Manougian to the Public Health Committee. Souren Khanamirian did not participate in the committees during the term of the 14th Parliament until the last year. He was then elected to the National Defense Committee.

			1977-78[14]	1978-79[15]	1979-80[16]	1980-81[17]
1	Budget & Finance	17	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
2	Admin. & Justice	15	None	None	Eblighatian	None
3	Foreign Affairs	15	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian
4	Pub. Works/Tran.	15	None	None	None	None
5	Labor & Social	12	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Eblighatian	Yerevanian
6	Nat'l Education	12	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	None
7	Agriculture	12	None	None	None	None
8	Nat'l Econ/Tour.	12	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
9	National Defense	10	None	None	None	Khanamirian
10	Public Health Committee	10	Manougian Eblighatian	Manougian Eblighatian	Manougian Eblighatian	Manougian Eblighatian
11	Public Planning Committee	10	Babikian Yerevanian	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian
12	Info. & PTT	10	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
13	By-Laws Comm.	8	None	None	None	None

Table 14.5 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 14th Lebanese Parliament (1976-80)

[13] *Official Minutes (1977)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 31 March 1977.

[14] *Official Minutes (1977)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 31 March 1977.

[15] *Official Minutes (1978)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 21 March 1978.

[16] *Official Minutes (1979)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th parliament held on 20 March 1979.

[17] *Official Minutes (1980)*: 1st meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 18 March 1980.

The highlight event in 1977, however, was the official visit of Egypt's President Anwar El Sadat to Jerusalem to meet with Menachem Begin, Israel's Prime Minister, and deliver a speech at the Israeli Knesset on 20 November 1977.[18]

The year 1978 was not productive for the 14th Parliament either. The deteriorating internal security conditions in Lebanon, in addition to the Israeli invasion of the South, forced the 14th Parliament to convene on an as-needed basis to legislate on urgent matters. As such, the legislature's first meeting was on 19 January 1978 to consider and adopt a few pieces of legislation concerning extending the terms of the local *mukhtars* and raising the minimum wage in lieu of ongoing inflation.[19] During another meeting, the 14th Parliament considered draft legislation submitted by Prime Minister Hoss's government to extend the parliament's term to 30 June 1980. The Chamber of Deputies considered the measure with certain amendments and adopted it and declared the extension as a new full term of the Lebanese Parliament, namely the 14th Parliament from 1976 to 1980.[20]

After President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, the fighting re-recommenced in Beirut and its suburbs as the political tensions escalated between those that supported Sadat's initiative, which included the Christian militias in Lebanon, and those that opposed it, led by the Syrian regime – mostly the Muslim constituents in Lebanon and the PLO. On 8 February 1978, these tensions escalated to widespread military confrontation between the Syrian Army and a Lebanese Army battalion stationed at the Lebanese Military Academy at the Fayadieh barracks that lasted several days claiming several deaths in the ranks of the Syrian

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[18] For the political and military impact of Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 on Lebanon, see Kareem Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud: Ahd Elias Sarkis 1976-1982*, *[Arabic: The Lost Peace: The reign of Elias Sarkis 1976-1982],* (Beirut: Sharikat El Matbou'at wa El Nashr, 2010), pp.161-172. See also, Samir Kassir, *Harb Lubnan: Min Shiqaq El Watani ila El Niza'a El Iqlimi 1975-1982, [Arabic: The War in Lebanon: From National Division to Regional Conflict 1975-1982]*, (Beirut: Dar Annahar Publishing, 1994), pp.294-300. For the Syrian perspective on Sadat's visitation to Jerusalem and President Hafez El Asad's unsuccessful efforts to convince Sadat for changing path, see Patrick Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp.304-307.

[19] *Official Minutes (1978)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 19 January 1978.

[20] *Official Minutes (1978)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 25 January 1978.

Army. The Syrian artillery ruthlessly bombarded the Christian districts of Ain El Rummaneh, Karm El Zeitoun and El Ashrafieh in Beirut.[21] President Sarkis pleaded with President Asad for a ceasefire and, as result, Syria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdul Haleem Khaddam and the Syrian Army Officer Naji Jameel paid a visit to Beirut to negotiate the details of the ceasefire with the Lebanese Christians.[22] The compromise position that satisfied both sides was the establishment of a special tribunal related to crimes perpetrated against the members of the Arab Deterrent Forces in Lebanon. Accordingly, the 14th Parliament, in its meeting of 14 February 1978, considered a draft law in favor of establishing a tribunal. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian, Yerevanian and Manougian were present during the deliberations and voted in favor of the measure.[23]

As the Lebanese and Syrian authorities were engaged in dialogue to ease the tensions between Beirut and Damascus, the PLO and its operatives launched an operation on the road between Haifa and Tel Aviv and also, on 11 March 1978, conducted military skirmishes from the Lebanese border towards Israel. Three days later, at midnight on 14/15 March 1978, massive numbers of Israeli troops crossed into Southern Lebanon from several axes, including Naqoura and the village of Izziyah on the one side and Tibnin on another, and the third was on the heights of Rashayya near Marjayoun. These came in addition to naval and aerial

[21] For a detailed account on the clashes between the Lebanese and Syrian Armies in El Fayadieh on 7-11 February 1978, please see Theodore Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation,* (London: I.B. Tauris Publications, 2015), pp.235-236. See also, Samir Kassir, *Harb Lubnan*, pp.301-303. For the behind the scenes negotiations between President Elias Sarkis and President Hafez El Asad and the latter's demands to punish the Lebanese Army officers who perpetrated "the acts of aggression" on the Syrian Army, please see Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* pp.175-181.

[22] President Elias Sarkis congratulated President Asad for being re-elected for a 2nd term and then pleaded for a ceasefire on 7 February 1978. See Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* p.180.

[23] The Saleem El Hoss government presented a proposal to establish a Special Tribunal for crimes perpetrated against the Arab Deterrent Forces in Lebanon through Decree No. 916 to parliament. Many Deputies did not attend the meeting to adopt the measure including: Najah Wakeem, Hameed Dakroub, Ali El Khalil, Nazeeh El Bezri, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Aziz Aoun, Maurice Zuwein, Rasheed Karami, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Elias El Hrawi, Albert Mansour, Hasan El Mais, Saleem Ma'alouf, Ameen El Hafez, Joseph Skaff, Adel Osseiran and Michel Saseen. *Official Minutes (1978)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 14 February 1978.

attacks on Southern Lebanon causing tremendous loss of lives in Operation Litani. The Permanent Representative of Lebanon at the UN, Ghassan Tueini, lodged a complaint with the Security Council on 15 March 1978 and demanded the withdrawal of all Israeli forces and requested United Nations forces to oversee such a withdrawal and restore peace.[24]

The 14th Parliament held a secret session behind closed doors to discuss the situation in Southern Lebanon on 16 March 1978. Deputies Khanamirian, Eblighatian, Yerevanian and Manougian participated in the deliberations, whereas Babikian was absent.[25]

The Security Council, in its 2074th and 2075th meetings, adopted UNSC Resolutions No. 425 and 426 respectively on 19 March 1978 and called for strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries and urged Israel to cease its military action against Lebanon immediately and withdraw from all Lebanese territories. The Security Council further decided to establish the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of the Israeli forces.[26]

As the security situation on the Southern front came to a temporary hold, fighting broke up between the Syrian Army and the militias in the Christian sector and the southern suburbs of Beirut on 13 April 1978, claiming 30 lives and wounding more than 250 people. As a

[24] *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-Seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, Document S/12600. *[Last accessed 25 March 2016].* http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/12600.

[25] In addition to Khatchig Babikian, the following Deputies did not attend the secret meeting to discuss the situation in Southern Lebanon on 16 March 1978: Hameed Dakroub, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Albert Mansour, Fouad El Tahini, Saleem Abdul El Noor, Aziz Aoun, Raymond Edde, Rasheed Karami, Tony Franjieh, Bakhos Hakeem, Zaher El Khateeb, Michel Saseen, Talal El Mera'abi, Elias El Khazen, Youssef Hammoud, Michel Ma'alouli, Nazeeh El Bezri and Adel Osseiran. *Official Minutes (1978)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 16 March 1978.

[26] United Nations Security Council Resolution Numbers 425 & 426 adopted on http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/425(1978) 19 March 1978. *[Last accessed 25 March 2016]*.

result, Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss submitted his resignation to the President on 19 April 1978.[27]

As the security conditions worsened, Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad summoned members of parliament and El Hoss's government to a meeting at Mansoor Palace on 27 April 1978 to deliberate on the political and military ramifications of the UNSC Resolutions 425 and 426 on Lebanon, and to discuss the deteriorating conditions in the South, in general, and the military presence of Palestinian militias in Lebanon in particular. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Yerevanian were present during the meeting, whereas, Antranig Manougian, as well as several other Deputies were not.[28] The Chamber concluded its secret meeting by adopting a resolution, which was previously endorsed by the political and religious constituents of the 14th Parliament. On behalf of the Lebanese-Armenian alliance of the 14th Parliament, Babikian and Eblighaian signed the resolution, which in pertinent parts stated: [29]

> "First – The implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 425 which stipulates:
>
> a) The respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon and its political independence within the internationally recognized borders.
> b) The withdrawal of all Israeli forces without delay from all Lebanese territory.

[27] Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* pp.186-187.

[28] In addition to Antranig Manougian the following Deputies were absent from the secret deliberations of the 14th Parliament on 27 April 1978: Fareed Gebran, Edward Hnein, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Aziz Aoun, Tony Franjieh, Bakhos Hakeem, Rasheed Karami, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Fouad Ghossen, Abdullah El Rassi, Maurice Fadel, Hashem El Husseini, Albert Mansour, Hasan El Mais, Nazem El Qadiri, Joseph Skaff, Elias El Hrawi, Nazeeh El Bezri, and Hameed Dakroub. *Official Minutes (1978)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 27 April 1978.

[29] The Deputies who were also signatories to the resolution included: Saeb Salam, Adel Osseiran, Camille Chamoun, Pierre Gemayel, Majeed Arslan, Rasheed El Solh, Ameen El Hafez, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Kazem El Khalil, Basheer El A'awar, Beheej Taqiedeen, Othman El Dana, Mikhael El Daher, Kamel El Asa'ad, Albert Moukheiber, Suleiman El Ali, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Zaki Mazboudi, Hasan El Rifae, Fouad Nafa'a, Abdo Awaidat, August Bakhos, Michel Ma'alouli, Saleem El Ma'alouf and Boutros Harb. *Official Minutes (1978)*: 3rd meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 27 April 1978.

c) Ensure the return of effective authority of the State to the southern area of Lebanon.

Second – Cease the military activities of the Palestinians and non-Palestinian factions in all of the Lebanese territories.

Third – Prevent any, and all, armed presence other than the legitimate state authorities and the strict implementation of the Lebanese laws and regulations on all Lebanese citizens and all who reside in Lebanon, without exceptions.

Fourth – Build the Lebanese Army on the basis of sound and correct national principles, in order to be able to carry out its responsibilities and tasks entrusted to it.

Fifth – Develop an economic policy within the framework of the free economic system based on the modern standards by utilizing all natural resources in the country and provide equal opportunities to all citizens and implement social justice throughout all Lebanese regions and among all its citizens.

Sixth - Request from the competent authorities to implement these decisions."[30] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

President Sarkis did not accept the government's resignation, and accordingly, Prime Minister Hoss withdrew the resignation – an act that led to a severe constitutional debate about the validity of the resignation, or the lack thereof, among the Deputies in the Parliament on 25 May 1978. Deputy Babikian was instrumental in arguing the legality of the government, as he argued that, in accordance with Article 53 of the Lebanese Constitution, any government resignation must be accepted through the issuance of an official decree accepting such resignation by the President of the Republic.[31]

To lessen the tense situation in Lebanon, on 31 May 1978 President Sarkis left for Syria to meet with President El Asad at the

[30] For the full Arabic text of the Resolution that was adopted by the 14th Parliament at the conclusion of a secret session on 27 April 1978, please see Appendix 14.1. *Official Minutes (1978)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 27 April 1978.

[31] *Official Minutes (1978)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 25 May 1978.

latter's summer residence in Latakia. The meeting was not successful, as outstanding issues were not resolved, including the issue of the presence of the Free Lebanese Army of the South.[32] The political and security situation got even worse, however, after the assassination of Tony Franjieh and his family in Ehden on 14 June 1978.[33]

The rapid unfolding of domestic, regional and international events did not allow the 14th Parliament to convene for several months in 1978. Domestically, the intense fighting did not stop. As a result, President Sarkis submitted his resignation on 7 July 1978. The Syrian President intervened and convinced President Sarkis to remain in office. President El Asad further ordered the Syrian Army to cease the bombardment of Lebanon. President Sarkis withdrew his resignation on 18 July 1978.[34] The disappearance of Imam Mussa El Sadr, the Lebanese-Iranian Shia cleric, on 31 August 1978 while on a visit to Libya, on the other hand, further complicated the domestic political and security conditions in Lebanon.[35]

Internationally, the signing of the Camp David Accords by Egypt's President Anwar El Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin at the White House in the presence of US President Jimmy Carter on 18 September 1978, led to ferocious bombardment of the Christian quarters of Beirut and El Metn that included Remail, Bourj Hammoud, Ashrafeh, Ain El Rummana, the coast all the way up the mountains to

[32] Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* p.186.

[33] For details of the Ehden Massacre that claimed the lives of Tony Franjieh and members of his family perpetrated by several dozen militiamen, please see Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* pp.239-240. See also, Kassir, *Harb Lubnan*, pp.338-343, Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, pp.215-216. Further see, Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* pp.186-188.

[34] For detailed account on the circumstances leading to the submission and then the withdrawal of Elias Sarkis's resignation, please see Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* pp.195-205. See also, Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.239.

[35] Imam Mussa El Sadr was a distinguished Shia jurist who was of Lebanese origin but born in Iran. El Sadr spent his early years in Qum, Iran and then studied in El Najaf El Shareef in Iraq (1954-58) before settling in Lebanon. Imam Musa El Sadr was instrumental in establishing the Supreme Shiite Islamic Council (*El Majlis El Islami El Shi'i El A'ala*) in Lebanon in 1969 and later founded the Amal Movement in 1975. See Rodger Shanahan, *The Shi'a of Lebanon: Clans, Parties and Clerics,* (New York, I.B. Tauris Publications, 2011), pp.158-162. See also, Omri Nir, *Nabih Berri and Lebanese Politics*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.5-6.

Bikfaya by the Syrian Army. The bombardment lasted for more than 10 days with an average of 2,000 shells per day.[36]

The Syrian Army's fierce bombardment on the Christian sectors in Beirut led the UNSC to convene and adopt Resolution 436 on 6 October 1978 calling upon *"all parties to put an end to the acts of violence and maintain an immediate and effective cease fire and cessation of hostilities so that internal peace and national reconciliation may be restored based on the preservation of Lebanese unity, territorial integrity, independence and national sovereignty."* The resolution further called upon *"all involved to allow the units of the International Committee of the Red Cross into the area of conflict to evacuate the wounded and provide humanitarian assistance"*.[37]

The UN Security Council's adoption of Resolution 436 on 6 October 1978 coincided with President Sarkis's visit to Damascus to meet with President El Asad and discuss the grave military situation and the Syrian involvement in Lebanon. Again, no progress was made. However, President Sarkis was able to invite foreign ministers of the Arab countries that were constituent parts of the Arab Deterrent Forces in Lebanon to a summit at the Beitedeen Palace on 15-17 October 1978.

The Lebanese Parliament, in the meantime, was unable to convene for more than six months. The first meeting of 14th Parliament was on 19 December 1978, when it convened to deliberate on the recommendations adopted by the Arab foreign ministers at the Beitedeen Summit on 17 October 1978.[38]

Several regional and international events in 1979 changed the future path and the political landscape of the Middle East. The first important event was the overthrow of Shah of Iran, who left the country on 16 January 1979 and the return of the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini to Tehran on 1 February 1979, marking the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The second turning point was the signing of the

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[36] For details on the Syrian bombardment of the Christian sectors in September 1978, see Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* pp.215-224, and Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* pp.239-240.

[37] United Nations Security Council Resolution 436 adopted on 6 October 1978, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/436(1978) *[Last accessed 25 March 2016]*.

[38] *Official Minutes (1978)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 19 December 1978.

Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty on 26 March 1979, and the third was the resignation of Iraq's President Ahmad Hassan El Bakr and Saddam Hussein's ascendance to the Iraqi Presidency. The fourth major event, however, was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.[39]

The year 1979 was therefore as bad as its predecessor for the 14th Parliament. The withdrawal of the Sudanese and Saudi Arabian contingents from the Arab Deterrent Forces on 6 and 24 March 1979, followed by that of the UAE's on 5 May 1979, left the political and security conditions in Lebanon in an stagnated state, leading to the resignation of El Hoss's Cabinet in July 1979. President Sarkis, however, asked El Hoss to form a new government.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Elias Sarkis		
Cabinet of 16 July 1979[40]		
1.	Saleem El Hoss	Prime Minister
2.	Fouad Boutros	Deputy PM; Minister of Foreign Affairs
3.	Charles Helou	Minister of State
4.	Beheej Taqiedeen	Minister of Interior and Tourism
5.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Defense and Agriculture
6.	Michel El Murr	Minister of PTT and Cooperatives and Housing
7.	Anwar El Sabah	Minister of Water & Power and Oil & Industry
8.	Ali El Khalil	Minister of Finance
9.	Nazem El Qadiri	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
10.	Boutros Harb	Minister of Education and Public Works and Transp.
11.	Talal El Mara'abi	Minister of Economy & Trade, and Public Works
12.	Youssef Gebran	Minister of Justice and Information

Table 14.6 – Cabinet Members of Saleem El Hoss Government (16 July 1979)

Prime Minister El Hoss presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 14th Parliament on 8 August 1979 and received 54 votes of confidence against nine votes of no confidence. Parliamentary records do not verify how individual Deputies cast their votes. Babikian,

[39] See David W. Lesch, *1979: The Year that Shaped the Modern Middle East,* (Boulder: Westview Press Books, 2001).

[40] Decree No. 3 dated 9 December 1976 and signed by President Elias Sarkis and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1976)*, Issue No. 2, 3 March 1977, p.10.

Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian were present during the session, whereas, Yerevanian was not.[41]

The year 1980 was unproductive for the 14th Parliament as well. It held only seven ordinary meetings to consider a few pieces of legislation on an urgent basis. Most importantly, the 14th Parliament, in its 17 April 1980 meeting, considered a draft law, forwarded by the government through Decree No. 2810, to extend the term of the Deputies until 30 June 1983. The majority of those present during the meeting, including Deputy Antranig Manougian, voted in favor of the extension. Deputies Yerevanian, Eblighatian, Suleiman El Ali and Michel Saseen voted against. Babikian and Khanamirian were not present.[42]

The last day the 14th Parliament was in session was on 29 May 1980.[43]

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[41] Among other absentees to the deliberations on P.M. Saleem El Hoss's ministerial statement on 8 August 1979, were: Michel Saseen, Hameed Dakroub, Kazem El Khalil, Nadeem Salem, Youssef Hammoud, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Ameen Gemayel, Pierre Daccache, Pierre Helou, Zaher El Khateeb, Aziz Aoun, Tawfeeq Assaf, Raymond Edde, Fouad Lahoud, Camille Chamoun, Maurice Zuwein, Albert Mansour, Adel Osseiran, Saeb Salam, Nazeeh El Bezri, Mikhael El Daher, Bakhos Hakeem, Abdul Lateef Beydoun, Michel Ma'alouli, and Suleiman El Ali. *Official Minutes (1979)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 8 August 1979.

[42] Besides Babikian and Khanamirian, the following Deputies were not present: Fareed Gebran, Hameed Dakroub, Rashed El Khoury, Kazem El Khalil, Nadeem Salem, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Ameen Gemayel, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Camille Chamoun, Louis Abu Sharaf, Bakhos Hakeem, Rasheed Karami, Talal El Mera'abi, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Abdullah El Rassi, Maurice Fadel, Hashem El Husseini, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Michel Ma'alouli, Nazem El Qadiri, Ameen El Hafez, Shafeeq Badr, Aziz Aoun, Majeed Arslan, Fouad Ghossen, Rene Mou'awad, Mikhael El Daher and Nadeem Na'eem. *Official Minutes (1980)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 17 April 1980.

[43] *Official Minutes (1980)*: 7th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 29 May 1980.

	Prime Ministers	Saleem El Hoss	Saleem El Hoss
		23 December 1976[44]	8 August 1979[45]
1.	J. Chader	√	-[46]
2.	Kh. Babikian	√	NVR
3.	S. Khanamirian	√	NVR
4.	M. Eblighatian	√	NVR
5.	A. Yerevanian	√	NS
6.	A. Manougian	√	NVR
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 14.7 - Confidence Votes by the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 14th Parliament

[44] Decree No. 2 dated 9 December 1976 signed by President Elias Sarkis appointing Saleem El Hoss as the Prime Minister to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1977)*, Issue No. 2, 3 March 1977, pp.9-10. Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss presented the ministerial statement of his newly formed Cabinet to the 14th Parliament on 23 December 1976 and received unanimous confidence votes, including the votes of all 6 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies. There were 21 absent deputies, including: Hameed Dakroub, Fareed Serhal, Ahmad Isber, Pierre Helou, Tawfeeq Assaf, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Kamal Jumblatt, Camille Chamoun, Mounir Abu Fadel, Bakhos Hakeem, Rasheed Karami, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Mikhael El Daher, Albert Mansour, Hasan El Rifae, Saeb Salam, Tareq Habshi, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Pierre Daccache and Majeed Arslan. *Official Minutes (1976)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 23 December 1976.

[45] Decree No. 2211 dated 16 July 1979 signed be President Elias Sarkis appointing Saleem El Hoss as the Prime Minister to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1979)*, Issue No. 30, 26 July 1979, p.661. Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 14th Parliament on 8 August 1979 and received 54 votes of confidence against 9. There are no independent records to show how the individual Deputies cast their votes. Khatchig Babaikian, Souren Khanamirian, Melkon Eblighatian and Antranig Manougian were present during the session. Joseph Chader had passed away in 1977 and Ara Yerevanian did not attend. Among other absentees were: Michel Saseen, Hameed Dakroub, Kazem El Khalil, Nadeem Salem, Youssef Hammoud, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Ameen Gemayel, Pierre Daccache, Pierre Helou, Zaher El Khateeb, Aziz Aoun, Tawfeeq Assaf, Raymond Edde, Fouad Lahoud, Camille Chamoun, Maurice Zuwein, Albert Mansour, Adel Osseiran, Saeb Salam, Nazeeh El Bezri, Mikhael El Daher, Bakhos Hakeem, Abdul Lateef Beydoun, Michel Ma'alouli, and Suleiman El Ali. *Official Minutes (1979)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 8 August 1979.

[46] Joseph Chader passed away in 1977.

The 15th Lebanese Parliament

(1980-84)

The 14th Parliament, in its 17 April 1980 meeting voted for legislation extending the term of its elected Deputies until 30 June 1983.[1] The same remaining five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies continued to be members of the 15th Parliament.

Several important domestic and regional events took place during the term of the 15th Parliament that negatively affected legislative life in Lebanon. Among the main events were the establishment of the military monopoly of the Lebanese Forces over the Christian areas in Lebanon, the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War of 1980, the Syrian siege and heavy bombardment of predominantly Christian Zahle in the Beka'a Valley in 1981, the assassination of Egypt's President Anwar El Sadat in October 1981, the appearance of Hezbullah for the first time in April 1982, and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the fall of the City of Beirut in June 1982. In Lebanon, events of significance included; the arrival of

[1] *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1980)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 17 April 1980.

the Multi-National Forces (MNF) in Lebanon and the subsequent exodus of the PLO from Beirut; the election of Basheer Gemayel as the President of the Republic and then his assassination, followed by the massacres at the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps; the election of Ameen Gemayel as the President and then the signing of the 17 May 1983 accords between Lebanon and Israel.

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District	Mtgs	Absence	Attend.
1	Joseph Chader	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 1st	--[2]	N/A	N/A
2	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	39	7	82%
3	Souren Khanamirian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	39	11	72%
4	Melkon Eblighatian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	39	8	79%
5	A. Manougian	Arm. Protes.	Beirut 1st	39	9	77%
6	Ara Yerevanian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	39	24	38%

Table 15.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 15th Lebanese Parliament (1980-84)

The 15th Parliament held a total of 39 meetings comprising of 22 ordinary and 17 extraordinary meetings. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies had a relatively low attendance record with Ara Yerevanian registering as low as 38% attendance. Despite that, Yerevanian was elected a commissioner at the Speaker's Bureau three consecutive times during the term of the 15th Parliament. Melkon Eblighatian, however, replaced him as a commissioner in 1983.

All five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were involved in the standing committees of the 15th Parliament. Yerevanian was re-elected as member to four different committees –Eblighatian to the Foreign Affairs and Public Health committees, Khanamirian was elected to the National Defense Committee and Manougian to the Public Health Committee. Babilian was not involved with the committees as he was appointed Minister of Justice in Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan's 55th Lebanese Government. He was later elected to the Public Planning Committee during the last two years of the term of the 15th Parliament.

Because of the tense and unfavorable security conditions in Lebanon, in general, and Beirut, in particular, the 15th Parliament was not able to convene in the latter part of 1980, except for one meeting to consider and deliberate on the ministerial statement of a new cabinet

[2] Joseph Chader passed away in 1977.

99	District	Names of Deputies of the 15th Lebanese Parliament (1980-84)
1	Beirut	Antranig Manougian (Armenian Protestant); Pierre Gemayel (Maronite); Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic);* Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox); Souren Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox); Melkon Eblighatian (Armenian Orthodox); Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox) and Nasri El Ma'alouf (Roman Catholic).
2	Beirut	Rasheed El Solh (Sunni); Fareed Jubran (Minorities) and Muhammad Youssef Beydoun (Shia)
3	Beirut	Jameel Kebbi (Sunni); Zaki Mazboudi (Sunni); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Othman El Dana (Sunni) and Najah Wakeem (Roman Orthodox).
4	Ba'abda	Edward Hnein (Maronite); Basheer El A'awar (Druze); Pierre Daccache (Maronite); Mahmoud Ammar (Shia) and Nadeem Na'eem (Maronite);
5	El Metn	Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox); Albert Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox); Ameen Gemayel (Maronite)†; August Bakhos (Maronite) and Fouad Lahoud (Maronite).
6	El Chouf	Ibrahim Abdul Noor (Roman Catholic); Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze);* Zaher El Khateeb (Sunni); Abdul Haleem Awaydat (Sunni); Aziz Aoun (Maronite);* Fouad El Tahini (Maronite); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze)* and Camille Chamoun (Maronite).
7	Aley	Majeed Arslan (Druze); Pierre Helou (Maronite); Tawfeeq Assaf (Druze); Shafeeq Badr (Maronite) and Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox).
8	Keserwan	Elias El Khazen (Maronite); Louis Abu Sharaf (Maronite); Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite) and Maurice Zuwein (Maronite).
9	Jbeil	Ahmad Isber (Shia); Raymond Edde (Maronite) and Emile Rohana Sakr (Maronite).
10	Saida	Nazeeh Abdul Rahman (Sunni).
11	Saida-Sub	Adel Osseiran (Shia) and Rashed El Khoury (Roman Catholic).
12	Nabatiyeh	Anwar El Sabah (Shia); Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia) and Fahmi Shaheen (Shia) replaced by Rafeeq Shaheen (Shia).
13	Soor	Ali El Khalil (Shia) and Kazem El Khalil (Shia) and Youssef Hammoud (Shia).
14	Bent Jbeil	Hameed Dakroub (Shia) and Abdul Lateef Beydoun (Shia).
15	Marja'yun	Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox); Mouneef El Khateeb (Sunni); Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia) and Ali El Khalil Abdullah (Shia).
16	Jezzine	Edmond Rezk (Maronite); Fareed Sarhal (Maronite) and Nadeem Salem (Roman Catholic).
17	Zahle	Elias El Hrawi (Maronite); Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Mais (Sunni); Hussein Mansour (Shia) and Saleem El Mansour (Roman Orthodox).
18	Rashaya	Saleem El Dawood (Druze); Michel Ma'alouli (Roman Orth.); Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni).
19	Baalbek/ Hermel	Sabri Hamadeh (Shia);* Tareq El Habshi (Maronite); Albert Mansour (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Rifae (Sunni); Hussein El Husseini (Shia); Subhi Yaghi (Shia) and Abdul Molla Amhaz (Shia).
20	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i (Sunni); Muhammad Ameen El Hafez (Sunni); Maurice Fadel (Roman Orthodox) and Hashem El Husseini (Sunni).
21	Tripoli-S.	Saleh El Kheir (Sunni) and Murshed El Samad (Sunni).*
22	Akkar	Suleiman El Ali (Sunni); Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni); Abdullah El Rassi (Roman Orthodox) and Mikhael Daher (Maronite).
23	Zghorta	Rene Mou'awad (Maronite); Father Sama'an El Doueihi (Maronite) and Antoine Franjieh (Maronite).*
24	El Koura	Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox) and Bakhos Hakeem (Roman Orthodox).
25	Besheri	Habib Keiruz (Maronite) and Gebran Tawq (Maronite).
26	Batroun	George Sa'adeh (Maronite) and Boutros Harb (Maronite).
		* Deceased † Elected President of the Republic

Table 15.2 – Names of the Deputies of the 15th Lebanese Parliament (1980-84)

led by Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan.[3] The previous government led by Saleem El Hoss had resigned and President Elias Sarkis appointed Shafeeq El Wazzan to form an expanded government comprising of 22 political figures. Khatchig Babkian was entrusted with the Ministry of Justice in the new government.[4]

	21 Oct 80[5]	20 Oct 81[6]	19 Oct 82[7]	18 Oct 83[8]
Speaker	Kamel El Asa'ad	Kamel El Asa'ad	Kamel El Asa'ad	Kamel El Asa'ad
Deputy Speaker	M. Abou Fadel	M. Abou Fadel	M. Abou Fadel	M. Abou Fadel
The Secretariat	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi
Commissioners	Ara Yerevanian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	Ara Yerevanian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	Ara Yerevanian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	M. Eblighatian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi

Table 15.3 - Elected Officials to the Speaker's Bureau

[3] Decree No. 3591 dated 25 October 1980 signed by President Elias Sarkis appointing Shafeeq El Wazzan as the Prime Minister to form a new government. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1980)*, Issue No. 45, 6 November 1980, p.1141.

[4] The resignation of Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss's government was as a result of the clashes between the Phalangist militias led by Basheer Gemayel and the Camille Chamoun's "El Ahrar" militias on 7 July 1980. Basheer Gemayel's armed forces attacked the Ahrar militias in the Christian Sectors of Beirut and Mount Lebanon putting the entire region under one military command. See Kareem Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud: Ahd Elias Sarkis 1976-1982*, *[Arabic: The Lost Peace: The reign of Elias Sarkis 1976-1982],* (Beirut: Sharikat El Matbou'at wa El Nashr, 2010), pp.275-282.

[5] Deputy Maurice Zuwein, the eldest Deputy, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad as the Speaker of the 15th Parliament by receiving 75 votes out of 77 present. There were 2 blank papers. Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian were attending whereas Yerevanian was absent. *Official Minutes (1980)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 21 October 1980.

[6] Deputy Camille Chamoun, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad as the Speaker by receiving 66 votes against Abdul Lateef El Zein's 13 votes. There was 1 blank paper and 1 defective paper. *Official Minutes (1981)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 20 October 1981.

[7] Maurice Zuwein, the eldest Deputy, presided over the election of Kamel El Asa'ad as the Speaker of the 15th Parliament with 59 votes out of 74 present. There were 14 blank papers and 1 cancelled. *Official Minutes (1982)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 19 October 1982.

[8] Camille Chamoun, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the Speaker's election. Deputy Kamel El Asa'ad received 67 votes out of 74 present with 7 blank papers. *Official Minutes (1983)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 18 October 1983.

Executive Branch of the Government President Elias Sarkis		
Cabinet of 25 October 1980[9]		
1.	Shafeeq El Wazzan	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Fouad Boutros	Deputy PM; Minister of Foreign Affairs
3.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Defense
4.	Nazeeh El Bezri	Minister of Public Health
5.	Khatchig Babikian	Minister of Justice
6.	Rene Mou'awad	Minister of Education
7.	Michel Edde	Minister of Information
8.	Khaled Jumblatt	Minister of Economy and Commerce
9.	Joseph Abu Khater	Minister of State
10.	Michel El Murr	Minister of PTTT
11.	Anwar El Sabah[10]	Minister of Water & Power
12.	Ali El Khalil	Minister of Finance
13.	Mahmoud Ammar	Minister of State
14.	Mounir Abu Fadel	Minister of State
15.	Elias El Hrawi	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
16.	Muhammad Youssef Beydoun	Minister of Oil & Industry
17.	Abdulrahman El Labban	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
18.	Qaysar Nasr	Minister of State
19.	Sami Younis	Minister of State
20.	Saleem El Jahel	Minister of Cooperatives and Housing
21.	Mustafa Durneiqa	Minister of Agriculture
22.	Marwan Hamadeh	Minister of Tourism

Table 15.4 – Cabinet Members of Shafeeq El Wazzan Government (25 October 1980)

Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan presented the ministerial statement of his newly formed government to the 15th Parliament on 16 December 1980 and received 41 votes of confidence, including the votes of the five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies against six votes of no confidence – cast by Pierre Daccache, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Albert

[9] Decree No. 3592 dated 25 October 1980 and signed by President Elias Sarkis and Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1980)*, Issue No. 45, 6 November 1980, pp.1141-1142.

[10] Minister of Water and Power Anwar El Sabah resigned from the Cabinet. Decree No. 4304 dated 2 September 1981 signed by President Elias Sarkis and Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan accepting the resignation of Anwar El Sabah from the Government. *Official Gazette (1981)*, Issue No. 36, 10 September 1981, pp.514-515.

Moukheiber, Michel Saseen, Nadeem Salem and Nadeem Na'eem – with only one abstention by Talal El Mera'abi.[11]

			1981-82[12]	1982-83[13]	1983-84[14]	1984-85[15]
1	Budget/Finance	17	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
2	Admin./Justice	15	None	None	None	None
3	Foreign Affairs	15	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian
4	Public Works	15	None	None	None	None
5	Labor/Social	12	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
6	Nat'l Educ.	12	None	None	None	None
7	Agriculture	12	None	None	None	None
8	Nat'l Econ/Tour	12	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
9	Nat'l Defense	10	Khanamirian	Khanamirian	Khanamirian	Khanamirian
10	Public Health Committee	10	Manougian Eblighatian	Manougian Eblighatian	Manougian Eblighatian	Manougian Eblighatian
11	Public Planning	10	None	None	Babikian	Babikian
12	Info & PTT Com.	10	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian	Yerevanian
13	By-Laws Com.	8	None	None	None	None

Table 15.5 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 15th Lebanese Parliament (1980-84)

The term of El Wazzan's Cabinet did not start any better than its predecessor. On 19 December 1980, a few days after the Cabinet received the vote of confidence from parliament, the Syrian Army launched a massive siege of the Christian city of Zahle and started to bombard indiscriminately for 7 days.[16] The pretext for the Syrian bombardment was that Syria opposed the construction of a road though the mountains

[11] The following Deputies did not attend the session: Jameel Kebbi, Hameed Dakroub, Adel Osseiran, Rafeeq Shaheen, Abdul Lateef El Zein, Kazem El Khalil, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Camille Chamoun, Rasheed Karami, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Fouad Ghossen, Abdullah El Rassi, Hashem El Husseini, Albert Mansour, Hussein El Husseini, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Nazem El Qadiri, Tawfeeq Assaf, Majeed Arslan and Aziz Aoun. *Official Minutes (1980)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 16 December 1980.

[12] *Official Minutes (1981)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 17 March 1981.

[13] *Official Minutes (1982)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 16 March 1982.

[14] *Official Minutes (1983)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1stOrdinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 29 March 1983.

[15] *Official Minutes (1984)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 20 March 1984.

[16] Joseph Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb: 1975-1990, [Arabic: Dailies of the War: 1975-1990]*, (Beirut: Memorial of Lebanon, 2005), p.190.

that the Christian militias were undertaking in order to break the Syrian blockage of the city and link the Christian inhabitants of Zahle with their counterparts to the west. The Syrians regarded the construction of the mountainous road as a breach to Syria' security.[17]

As the sound of the Syrian canons was silenced by early January 1981, the 15th Parliament reconvened for a few meetings in January and February 1981 to consider a few pieces of legislation.[18] On 1 April 1980, however, the Syrian bombardment of Zahle re-started and as the Lebanese Forces inflicted heavy casualties on Syrian troops in the suburbs of Zahle, the Syrian Army retaliated with heavier bombardments.[19] To stop the construction of the mountainous road, the Syrian Army deployed heavier equipment and utilized helicopter gunships for the first time, and occupied the strategic positions on Mount Sannine, northwest of Zahle by occupying the French Room, a fortification dating back to the era of the French Mandate.[20] The Israeli, jets, however, shot down two Syrian helicopters on 28 April 1981. The next day the Syrians escalated the conflict by stationing SAM-2 and SAM-6 ground-to-air missiles in the Beka'a Valley.[21] The encounter in Zahle escalated to a regional level, and US President Ronald Reagan dispatched his private envoy Philip Habib on 5 May 1981 to negotiate an amicable solution to the missile crisis in Lebanon.[22] The Syrian Army eventually lifted its siege of Zahle on 30 June 1981.

The military conditions, however, did not get better in Beirut. Israeli aircraft raided the offices of PLO contingents in the Fakhani District of Beirut on 17 July 1981, claiming hundreds of deaths and over

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[17] For details on the siege and bombardment of Zahle in December 1980, see Theodore Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation*, (London: I.B. Tauris Publications, 2015), pp.249-250.

[18] The 15th Parliament met 3 times only during January to June 1981: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 15 January 1981; 1st & 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 12 and 19 February 1981 respectively.

[19] For details on the Syrian bombardment of Zahle in April 1981, see Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* pp.250-251. See also, Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* pp.291-301.

[20] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.250.

[21] For details, please see Chami, Yomiyat El Harb, p.192. See also Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* p.299.

[22] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.251; Chami, Yomiyat El Harb, p.192, and Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* p.299.

1,000 wounded.[23] The 15th Parliament reconvened on 23 July 1981 to study the unstable situation in Lebanon and consider a few pieces of legislation. Of the Armenian Deputies, Souren Khanamirian attended the meeting as well as Minister of Justice Babikian.[24]

The unstable internal security condition in Lebanon continued for the rest of 1981 and the first half of 1982. During a span of 13 months, the 15th Parliament was only able to convene three times. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon on 4 June 1982 and the Israeli occupation of vast territories in Lebanon, including Beirut, thereafter, changed the political and military landscape in Lebanon.[25]

The Lebanese Government through its Permanent Representative at the United Nations, Ghassan Tueini, lodged an official complaint with the Security Council on 4 June 1982.[26] The Security Council convened on 5 June 1982 and adopted Resolution 508 calling on all parties to ceasefire immediately.[27] It further convened the next day,

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[23] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.252.

[24] In addition to Manougian, Yerevanian and Eblighatian, the following Deputies did not attend: Fareed Gebran, Michel Saseen, Najah Wakeem, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Rashed El Khoury, Kazem El Khalil, Nadeem Salem, Youssef Hammoud, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Elias El Khazen, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Salem Abdul Noor, Fouad El Tahini, Camille Chamoun, Bakhos Hakeem, George Sa'adeh, Rasheed Karami, Talal El Mera'abi, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Fouad Ghossen. Abdullah El Rassi, Maurice Fadel, Albert Mansour, Hussein El Husseini, Hasan El Mais, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Majeed Arslan, Aziz Aoun, Sama'an El Doueihi and Abdo Awaidat. *Official Minutes (1981)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session, 2nd Cycle of the 15th Parliament held on 23 July 1981.

[25] Operation Peace for Galilee was the Israeli code name for the Israeli military operation in Lebanon in 1982. The immediate alleged reason for the Israeli invasion was the attempted assassination of Israel's Ambassador to London Shlomo Argov by the Palestinians on 3 June 1982 outside of the Dorchester Hotel in London. For details of the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon, please see Patrick Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp.376-383. See Also, Abdul Ra'ouf Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990: Tafakok El Dawleh wa Tasaddo' El Mujtama'a, Vol. 1, [Arabic: The War in Lebanon 1975-1990: The Disintegration of the State and the Clash of Communities]*, (Beirut: Lebanese University Press, 2015), pp.290-318.

[26] *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-Seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1982*, Document S/15161. *[Last accessed 3 April 2016].* http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/15161.

[27] United Nations Security Council Resolution Number 508 adopted on 5 June 1982, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/508(1982) *[Last accessed 3 April 2016]*.

on 6 June 1982, and adopted Resolution No. 509 demanding the unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon.[28]

However, the Israeli troops continued their advance and by 20 July 1982 encircled the Ba'abda Presidential Palace. President Sarkis, with the consent of US envoy Philip Habib, formed a six man Salvation Committee representing the six major sects in Lebanon, consisting of Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan (Sunni), Foreign Minister Fouad Boutros (Roman Orthodox), Basheer Gemayel (Maronite), Waleed Jumblatt (Druze), Nabih Berri (Shia) and Nasri El Ma'alouf (Roman Catholic). The Lebanese-Armenians were not represented in the Salvation Committee.[29]

With the intervention of Habib, a multinational contingent force arrived in Beirut composed of troops from the United States, France and Italy, to broker and maintain a ceasefire and oversee the safe evacuation of PLO militants from Lebanon. As the last PLO fedayeens were leaving Beirut, the Deputies of the 15th Parliament met in a Special Meeting at the Fayyadieh Army Barracks on 23 August 1982 to elect a new President of the Republic while under siege from Israeli tanks.[30] Only 62 Deputies attended, including Manougian, Yerevanian, Khanamirian and Eblighatian. Babkian attended as Minister of Justice. Basheer Gemayel received 58 votes against one for Raymond Edde. There were three blank papers. Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad announced, that in accordance with Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution, Basheer Gemayel did not receive the requisite 2/3 votes of the members of the parliament and called for another round of election. Basheer Gemayel received a simple majority of 57 votes with five blank papers. The Speaker then announced him as the President-Elect.[31]

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[28] United Nations Security Council Resolution Number 509 adopted on 6 June 1982, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/509(1982) *[Last accessed 3 April 2016]*.

[29] Fawwaz Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, (London, Pluto Press, 2012), pp. 220-221. Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* p.313.

[30] Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* p.315. See also Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, p.221.

[31] The Lebanese Government was represented by: Michel El Murr, Qaisar Nasr, Khatchig Babikian, Mahmoud Ammar, Rene Mou'awad, Elias El Hrawi and Joseph Skaff. Among the absentee deputies to the Special Meeting were: Jameel Kebbi, Rasheed El Solh, Zaki El Mazboudi, Saeb Salam, Fareed Gebran, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Najah Wakeem, Abdu Lateef Beydoun, Ali El Khalil, Nazeeh El

Before taking the oath, however, President-Elect Gemayel was assassinated on 14 September 1982.[32] The next day Israeli troops entered West Beirut, which had resisted their attacks for three months. Between 15 to 17 September 1982, militiamen along with Israeli troops under the guidance of Ariel Sharon entered the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila and perpetrated the massacre of more than 1,000 Palestinians.[33]

On 16 September 1982, Ghassan Tueini, the Permanent Representative of the Lebanese Government at the United Nations, demanded an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the latest Israeli incursions into Beirut.[34] The Security Council convened the next day and unanimously adopted UN Security Council Resolution 520 condemning the assassination of President-elect Gemayel and further condemning the Israeli incursions into Beirut and demanded the withdrawal of Israeli troops with a call for strict respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.[35]

A few days after the Sabra and Shatila massacres, Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad summoned the Deputies to a Special Meeting at the Lebanese Army barracks at Fayyadiyeh on 21 September 1982 to elect a successor to the late Basheer Gemayel. Eighty deputies attended, including all five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies. Ameen Gemayel received 77 votes and

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Bezri, Ahmad Isber, Albert Moukheiber, Tawfeeq Assaf, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Mounir Abu Fadel, Ameen El Hafez, Bakhos Hakeem, Rasheed Karami, Saleh El Kheir, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Abdullah El Rassi, Hashem El Husseini, Albert Mansour, Hasan El Rifae, Hasan El Mais, Hussein El Husseini, Saleem El Dawood, Abdul Molla Amhaz and Nazem El Qadiri. *Official Minutes (1982)*: Special Meeting of the 15th Parliament held on 23 August 1982.

[32] For detailed account on Basheer Gemayel's assassination, please see Pakradouni, *El Salam El Mafqoud,* pp.315-328, and Traboulsi, *History of Modern Lebanon, 2nd Ed.*, pp.224-225.

[33] For a comprehensive coverage on the Sabra Shatila massacres, see, Bayan Nuwayhed Al Hout, *Sabra and Shatila: September 1982*, (London: Pluto Books, 2004). For an Israeli version of the story, please see Abraham Weizfeld, *Sabra & Shatila*, (Bloomington: Arthur House, 2009). For the Lebanese version of the story, please see Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990,* pp.234-235.

[34] Official Letter of Ghassan Tueini, the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Lebanon at the United Nations dated 16 September 1982. UNSC Document Number S/15392. *[last accessed 21 June 2016].* http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/15392.

[35] United Nations Security Council Resolution Number 520 of 17 September 1982. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/520(1982). *[last accessed on 21 June 2016]*.

there were thre blank papers, and Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad announced him as the President-Elect of the Republic.[36]

President-Elect Ameen Gemayel took the Oath of Office before the 15th Parliament on 23 September 1982. All five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present. Immediately thereafter, Prime Minister El Wazzan presented his Cabinet's resignation. President Gemayel re-appointed El Wazzan to form a new government on 7 October 1982.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Ameen Gemayel		
Cabinet of 7 October 1982[37]		
1.	Shafeeq El Wazzan	Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
2.	Elie Salem	Deputy P.M.; Minister of Foreign Affairs
3.	Roger Shikhani	Minister of Justice and Information
4.	Baha'edeen El Bsat	Minister of Water & Power and Coops. and Housing
5.	Pierre El Khoury	Minister of Public Works; Transp. and Agriculture
6.	Issam Khoury	Minister of Defense and Education
7.	George Efram	Minister of PTT and Oil & Industry
8.	Adnan Merou'e	Minister of Public Health and Labor and Social Affairs
9.	Ibrahim Halawi	Minister of Economy and Commerce and Tourism
10.	Adel Hamiyeh	Minister of Finance

Table 15.6 – Cabinet Members of Shafeeq El Wazzan's Government (7 October 1982)

Before Prime Minister El Wazzan presented the newly formed government's ministerial statement, President Gemayel paid an official visit to the UN in New York and then to Washington, D.C. to meet with President Reagan in October 1982. The Gemayel-Reagan discussions focused on the hostile presence of Israeli troops in Lebanon, and the potential for commencement of negotiations between the Lebanese and Israeli officials.[38]

[36] Among the absentees to the Special Meeting were: Abdul Lateef Beydoun, Ahmad Isber, Raymond Edde, Shafeeq Badr, Zaher El Khateeb, Ameen El Hafez, Rasheed Karami, Bakhos Hakeem, Abdullah El Rassi, Hasan El Rifae, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i and Hashem El Husseini. *Official Minutes (1982)*: Special Meeting of the 15th Parliament held on 21 September 1982.

[37] Decree No. 3 dated 7 October 1982 and signed by President Ameen Gemayel and Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1982)*, Issue No. 30, 21 October 1982, pp.1013-1014.

[38] For details about the President Ameen Gemayel's first visit to Washington, please see Elie A. Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon,* (New York: I.B. Tauris

Prime Minister El Wazzan presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 15th Parliament on 2 November 1982 and received 58 votes of confidence against one vote of no confidence cast by Deputy Najah Wakeem. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Yerevanian and Manougian cast their votes of confidence in Wazzan's Government – Melkon Eblighatian was absent.[39] The 15th Parliament considered and approved a measure to grant the government authority to issue legislative decrees for six months. President Ameen Gemayel signed the measure into law on 17 November 1982.[40]

The 15th Parliament did not have any further meetings in 1982 as security conditions worsened, especially after the attempted assassination of Waleed Jumblatt near Haigazian University in West Beirut on 1 December 1982. In the meantime, the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations began on 28 December 1982 at Khaldeh, with the Lebanese delegation headed by Ambassador Antoine Fattal, the Israeli delegation led by David Kimche, with the US participation by Maurice Draper and his assistant Christopher Ross.[41]

The very first meeting of the 15th Parliament after its deliberation on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan was on 10 March 1983 to consider urgent legislative matters. In the meantime, the Lebanese Army took extraordinary measures to maintain security in the Greater Beirut Area. President Ameen Gemayel, meanwhile met with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Syria's President Hafez El Asad on the sidelines of the Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi on 7 March 1983 and

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Publishers, 1993), pp.22-28. See also, Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.271.

[39] In addition to Melkon Eblighatian, the following Deputies were not present: Jameel Kebbi, Fareed Gebran, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Adel Osseiran, Ali El Abdullah, Kazem El Khalil, Nadeem Salem, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Pierre Daccache, Tawfeeq Assaf, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Shafeeq Badr, Fouad El Tahini, Mounir Abu Fadel, Bakhos Hakeem, Rasheed Karami, Suleiman El Ali, Abdullah El Rassi, Maurice Fadel, Hasan El Rifae, Hasan El Mais, Saleem El Dawood, Saleem El Ma'alouf, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Nazem El Qadiri, Maurice Zuwein, Majeed Arslan and Joseph Skaff. *Official Minutes (1982)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 2 November 1982.

[40] *Official Gazette (1982)*, Issue No. 34, 18 November 1982, p.1121.

[41] For the detailed coverage on the negotiations between Lebanon and Israel, eventually culminating in the signing of the 17 May 1983 Accord, see Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.58-61. See also, Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990,* pp.351-359.

discussed the situation in Lebanon in general and the ongoing Lebanese-Israeli negotiations in particular.[42]

After the Gemayel-Asad meeting in Delhi, President Gemayel dispatched Foreign Minister Elie Salem to north Lebanon on 3 April 1983 to meet with former president Suleiman Franjieh and past premier Rasheed Karami and to keep them abreast wih the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations.[43] A big blast, however, shocked the Lebanese people as a truck full of explosives driven by a suicide terrorist detonated a bomb and demolished the US Embassy in Beirut on 18 April 1983 claiming the lives of 63 people, among whom, Robert Ames, the CIA Chief Middle East Analyst.[44] Some sources claimed that the target was Philip Habib, but was not present at the US Embassy at the time.[45]

The 15th Parliament convened in a secret meeting on 26 April 1983 to discuss the dire security breaches in Beirut, including the status of the negotiations between Lebanon and Israel. Deputies Babikian, Eblighatian and Manougian were in attendance, whereas, Khanamirian and Yerevanian were not.[46]

Despite the tremendous political and military pressure, the government's negotiations with the Israelis went on at Khaldeh and Qariet Shmouna. On 12 May 1983, President Ameen Gemayel invited all the religious leaders in Lebanon to the Ba'abda Palace to brief them on the status of the negotiations and dispatched his Foreign Minister Elie

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[42] For details on the Gemayel-Asad meeting in New Delhi on 7 March 1983, see Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon,* pp.63-67, and Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.64-65.

[43] George Basheer, Philip Abi Akl & Fawzi Mubarak, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef: Min Geneva Ila Lauzanne*, *[Arabic: The Emirs of Religious Sects: From Geneva to Lausanne]*, (Beirut: Wakalet El-Anba' El-Markaziyyeh, 1984), p.31.

[44] See Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, p.406. See also Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon*, p.75, and Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.275.

[45] See Basheer et al, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef,* p.31.

[46] In addition to Khanamirian and Yerevanian, the following deputies did not show up at the secret session of the 15th Parliament on 26 April 1983: Adel Osseiran, Abdul Lateef El Zein, Fareed Sarhal, Kazem El Khalil, Nazeeh El Bezri, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Pierre Helou, Raymond Edde, Salem Abdul Noor, Maurice Zuwein, Bakhos Hakeem, Rasheed Karami, Abdullah El Rassi, Maurice Fadel, Hasan El Mais, Tareq Habshi, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Anwar El Sabah, Fouad Nafa'a, Ameen El Hafez and Majeed Arslan. *Official Minutes (1983)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 26 April 1983.

Salem to Damascus to update the Syrian authorities[47] On the same day, the 15th Parliament met to extend its own term to 31 December 1984. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian were present and voted in favor of the extension. Yerevanian was absent.[48] President Gemayel singed the extension into law on 21 May 1983.[49]

Thwe 15th Parliament reconvened in a secret session on 16 May 1983 to listen to the government's statement on the status of the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations and the terms of the Israeli withdrawal, just one day before the Lebanese-Israeli Accord was singed – 80 deputies attended the secret meeting.[50]

The Lebanese-Israeli Accord, nevertheless, was signed on 17 May 1983.[51]

A few weeks later, the 15th Parliament, in its 13 June 1983 meeting, ratified the Accord with a majority of 65 votes against two objections from Deputies Zaher El Khateeb and Najah Wakeem. Four others, including Rasheed El Solh, Zaki Mazboudi, Albert Mansour and Hussein El Husseini abstained. All five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies – Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian, Yerevanian and Manougian – were present and voted in favor of the ratification.[52]

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[47] Basheer et al, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef,* p.32.

[48] In addition to Yerevanian, the following deputies were also absent: Camille Chamoun, Rasheed Karami, Raymond Edde, Kazem El Khalil, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Maurice Zuwein, Bakhos Hakeem, Gebran Tawq, Abdullah El Rassi, Maurice Fadel, Hasan El Rifae, Hasan El Mais, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Majeed Arslan, Othman El Dana, Muneef El Khateeb, and Adel Osseiran. *Official Minutes (1983)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 12 May 1983.

[49] Law No. 9/83 dated 21 May 1983 extending the term of the Parliament until 31 December 1984 signed by President Ameen Gemayel and Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan. *Official Gazette (1983)*, Issue No. 21, 26 May 1983, p.540.

[50] The Official Minutes of the 15th Parliament lack the attendance record of the meeting. *Official Minutes (1983)*: 6th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 16 May 1983. See Basheer et al, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef,* p.32.

[51] For the full text of the Lebanese-Israeli Accord of 17 May 1983, see Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon,* Appendix 2, pp.280-289.

[52] The absentees to the ratification of the 17 May Agreement meeting were: Fareed Gebran, Fareed Serhal, Ahmad Isber, Tawfeeq Assaf, Raymond Edde, Ameen El Hafez, Bakhos Hakeem, Rasheed Karami, Saleh El Kheir, Abdullah El Rassi, Hashem El Husseini, Hasan El Rifae, Saleem El Dawood, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Nazem El Qadiri, Mounir Abu Fadel and Ra'ef Samara. *Official Minutes (1983)*: 1st

A month later, on 19 July 1983, President Gemayel accompanied by Prime Minister El Wazzan paid a second visit to Washington to meet with President Reagan and seek US help in securing Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon in accordance with the 17 May Agreement.[53] President Reagan then replaced Philip Habib with Robert McFarlane as his Special Envoy to the Middle East.[54]

Severe opposition to the 17 May Accord started to gain momentum in Lebanon immediately after Gemayel's visit to the US. The Lebanese opposition, backed by Syria, organized itself into a National Salvation Front that included Suleiman Franjieh, Rasheed Karami, Waleed Jumblatt and Nabih Berri.[55] The Syrian Army and Jumblatt's Druze militias resumed the shelling of Beirut, the airport, the Presidential Palace and positions held by the Multinational Forces in August 1983.[56]

The 15th Parliament convened on 2 August 1983 to discuss the dire security and political situation in Lebanon and hear from the government about the Lebanese-US dialogue. Babikian, Eblighatian and Manougian attended the meeting, whereas Khanamirian and Yerevanian did not.[57]

On 3 September 1983, the Israeli Army abruptly withdrew from the El Chouf Mountains, leaving a security vacuum that led to the bloody clashes between the Christian Lebanese Forces and Jumblatt's PSP militias.[58] The Battle of Bhamdoun on Sunday 4 September 1983 claimed 150 lives from the Lebanese Forces. Then, from 6 September to 15 December 1983, a 100-day siege of Deir El Qamar, in the Chouf

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Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 13 June 1983.

[53] For detailed account on President Gemayel's visit to the US in July 1983, see Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon,* pp.109-112, and Abdullah Bu Habib, *Ad-Daw' Al-Asfar: Al-Siyaseh Al-Amerikiyyeh Tijah Loubnan, [Arabic: The Yellow Light: The American Policy towards Lebanon]*, (Beirut: Sharikat Al-Matbou'at Liltawzi'h Wa An-Nashr, 1991), pp.30-31. See also, Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.68-69, and Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p.246.

[54] Basheer et al, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef,* p.33.

[55] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.284.

[56] Ibid.

[57] *Official Minutes (1983)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session, 2nd Cycle of the 15th Parliament held on 2 August 1983.

[58] Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990,* p.342.

Mountains, was enforced by the Druze PSP militias – claiming hundreds of deaths and thousands wounded.[59]

In the meantime, Saudi Arabia tried to broker a ceasefire through its envoy Prince Bandar Bin Sultan and his assistant businessman Rafik El Hariri, who shuttled between Riad-Beirut-Damascus for a ceasefire in Lebanon between 5 to 25 September 1983 and organize a conference on the Lebanese national dialogue among the warring factions in Geneva.[60] In parallel, the new US Envoy Robert McFarlane arrived in Lebanon and Syria on 26 September 1983 to negotiate a ceasefire himself.[61]

As heads of the Lebanese militias were getting ready to participate in a national dialogue in Geneva, suicide commandos blew up the US Marine contingent at Beirut International Airport on 23 October 1983, claiming the lives of 241 marines and wounding hundreds of others.[62]

On 31 October 1983, the National Dialogue Conference was held in Geneva with the participation of President Ameen Gemayel, Syrian Foreign Minister Abdul Haleem Khaddam, Saudi Arabian Minister of State Muhammad Ibrahim El Mas'oud, Camille Chamoun, Pierre Gemayel, Suleiman Franjieh, Saeb Salam, Rasheed Karami, Adel Osseiran, Waleed Jumblatt and Nabih Berri along with their respective assistants.[63] The Geneva Conference entrusted President Gemayel to seek Washington's help in annulling or amending the 17 May agreement.[64]

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[59] For a detailed account of the Battle of the Mountain between the Lebanese Forces and the Druze militias of the Progressive Socialist Party, please see Paul Andary, *War of the Mountain: Israelis, Christians and Druze in the 1983 Mount Lebanon Conflict through the Eyes of a Lebanese Forces Fighter,* (New York: Create Space Amazon.com, 2012).

[60] For details about the engagement of Prince Bandar Bin Sultan and Rafik El Hariri in the Lebanese crisis in September 1983, see William Simpson, *The Prince: The Secret History of the World's Most Intriguing Royal - Prince Bandar Bin Sultan*, (New York: Harper Collins Publications, 2007), pp.104-110. See also, Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon,* pp.119-120, and, Basheer et al, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef,* pp.33-34.

[61] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.287.

[62] Please see, Seale, *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*, p.416. Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.287 and Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, pp.258-259.

[63] For details about the Geneva Conference, see Basheer et al, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef,* pp.41-116. See also, Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon*, pp.121-128, and Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.86-87.

[64] Basheer et al, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef,* p.131.

The Lebanese-Armenian community was not invited to participate at the Geneva Conference. However, its religious, political and civic leaders gathered together at the Catholicosate of Cilicia at Antelias on 7 October 1983 and adopted a resolution concerning the situation in Lebanon and presented it to the Geneva Conference.[65]

The 15th Parliament convened on 8 December 1983 to deliberate on the Geneva talks. From the Lebanese-Armenian Parliamentary coalition, only Khanamirian and Manougian participated. Babikian, Eblighatian and Yerevanian did not attend.[66]

In January 1984, Waleed Jumblatt and Nabih Berri called for the resignation of President Ameen Gemayel claiming that the President neglected to discharge his obligations as per the discussions at the Geneva Conference in re-negotiating or nullifying the 17 May Accord. Consequently, Druze militias started a heavy artillery bombardments and military offensive on Souk El Gharb on 29 January 1983.[67] As a result, Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan submitted his resignation to the President who unofficially accepted it without issuing an official Decree.[68]

President Gemayel went to Damascus to meet with President El Asad at the end of February 1983. Gemayel and El Asad agreed that the best outcome for the Lebanese would be the annulment of the 17 May Agreement. On his return to Beirut, President Gemayel chaired the Council of Ministers on 5 March 1983 and declared the cancellation of the 17 May Accord between Lebanon and Israel.[69]

The Geneva Conference was replaced with another conference in Lausanne, Switzerland on 12 March 1984, with the participation of the same politicians, with no success.[70] Syria's Abdul Haleem Khaddam

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[65] For the full Arabic text of the Resolution/Decisions adopted by the Lebanese-Armenian religious, political and civic leaders concerning the situation in Lebanon on 7 October 1983, please see Appendix 15.1 to this Volume.

[66] *Official Minutes (1983)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 8 December 1983.

[67] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.289.

[68] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.88-89. See also, Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p.262.

[69] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.90-91.

[70] For the details on the Lausanne Conference of 1984, see Basheer et al, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef,* pp.145-199. Also see, Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon*, pp.158-162, and Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.90-91.

participated at the Lausanne Conference as the newly appointed Syrian Vice-President.

There was no Lebanese-Armenian participation at the Lausanne Conference either. However, the Lebanese-Armenian parliamentarians presented a proposal to the Lausanne Conference, which demanded:

> "The preservation of the distinguished proper identity of Lebanon and its consolidation, as well as the preservation of its international relations and their consolidation, namely its close and harmonious ties with the Arab countries on the basis of full respect without undermining its independence, sovereignty and regime, and within the framework of the UN Charter as well as the Arab League Charter.
>
> "The preservation of the sectarian form which still has its vital role at this stage. However, it has to be based on mutual respect and recognition among all religious sects, and the relationships and dealings between them ought to be solid, deep, stable and loyal. Furthermore, there should be equality of rights and obligations in a fair and balanced distribution.
>
> "The preservation of the parliamentarian democratic regime and the creation of a Senate representing all religious sects so that the participation of the Lebanese sects in the government may be at the highest level in order to preserve an equilibrium between them.
>
> "At the level of the legislative authority: the increase in the number of Deputies and the adoption of the principle of equality in the distribution of seats between Muslims and Christians.
>
> "In view of the fact that the sectarian form is still prevailing and effective, we propose, by virtue of an explicit constitutional article, to constitutionally set apart confessional affiliation to the Presidency of the Republic, the Premiership of the Cabinet, the Deputy-Premiership of the Cabinet, the Speakership of Parliament and the Deputy-Speakership of Parliament, as well as the Presidency of the Senate and his Vice-President."

> "The election of the Prime Minister of the Cabinet in Parliament and taking into consideration the representation of the seven largest Confessions during the appointment of ministerial portfolios."[71] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

The Lausanne Conference also failed. President Gemayel once again dashed to Damascus accompanied by Foreign Minister Elie Salem, Jean Obeid and Muhammad Shqeir to meet with President El Asad and Vice-Present Khaddam on 19 April 1984.[72] On his return to Lebanon, President Gemayel officially accepted El Wazzan's resignation and appointed Rasheed Karami to form a 10-member National Unity government. There were no Lebanese-Armenians in the new Cabinet.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Ameen Gemayel		
Cabinet of 30 April 1984[73]		
1.	Rasheed Karami	Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs
2.	Camille Chamoun	Minister of Finance and Cooperative and Housing
3.	Adel Osseiran	Minister of Defense and Agriculture
4.	Saleem El Hoss	Minister of Labor and Education
5.	Joseph Skaff	Minister of Information
6.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of PTT; Public Health; and Social Affairs
7.	Abdullah El Rassi	Minister of Interior
8.	Victor Qaysar	Minister of Economy & Commerce; Oil and Industry
9.	Nabih Berri	Minister of Justice and Water & Power
10.	Waleed Jumblatt	Minister of Public Works and Transportation and Tourism

Table 15.7 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed Karami's Government (30 April 1984)

Prime Minister Karami presented his new government's ministerial statement to the 15th Parliament on 31 May 1984 and received 53 votes of confidence. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies

[71] For full Arabic text of the Proposal submitted by the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies to 1984 Lausanne Conference, see Appendix 15.2. For the full English translation of the Proposal, see Roupen Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," Aida Boujikanian, Ed., *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2009), Document D, pp.440-445.

[72] For detailed account about the negotiations in Damascus, see Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon*, pp.164-168, and Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.91-92.

[73] Decree No. 1631 dated 30 April 1984 and signed by President Ameen Gemayel and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1984)*, Issue No. 12, 10 May 1984, pp.222-223.

Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian cast votes of no confidence in Karami's government. Yerevanian was not present.[74]

Before casting his No-Confidence Vote, Babikian delivered a speech explaining why the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies did not give votes of confidence:

> "Two hundred thousand Lebanese citizens, members of the Armenian Orthodox denomination, with their political parties and social leaders, demand equal treatment with the remaining representatives of other denominations to be represented with a ministerial portfolio in the Cabinet. In the name of the Parliamentary Bloc to which I belong, I find myself . . . obliged to announce that we are unable to give a vote of confidence to your government for this specific reason."[75] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

During the meeting on 31 May 1984, the 15th Parliament considered and adopted a measure to extend its own term to 31 December 1986.[76] This was the last day of the 15th Parliament. President Ameen Gemayel signed the measure extending the term of the Parliament into law on 22 June 1984.[77]

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[74] There is no record as how the individual Deputies cast their votes during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Premier Rasheed Karami. Casting of no-confidence votes of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies is inferred from Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberation. See Appendix 3.1 for full Arabic text. *Official Minutes (1984)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 31 May to 12 June 1984.

[75] For the full Arabic text of Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the Prime Minister Rasheed Karami's 56th Government's ministerial statement, see Appendix 3.1. *Official Minutes (1984)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 31 May 1984.

[76] *Official Minutes (1984)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 31 May 1984.

[77] Law No. 3/84 dated 22 June 1984 signed by President Ameen Gemayel and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami extending the term of the Parliament to 31 December 1986. *Official Gazette (1984)*, Issue No. 18, 23 June 1984, p.1.

	Prime Ministers	Shafeeq El Wazzan	Shafeeq El Wazzan
		16 Dec. 1980[78]	2 Nov. 1982[79]
1.	Joseph Chader[80]	N/A	N/A
2.	Khatchig Babikian	√	√
3.	Souren Khanamirian	√	√
4.	Melkon Eblighatian	√	NS
5.	Ara Yerevanian	√	√
6.	Antranig Manougian	√	√
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 15.8 (a) - Confidence Vote of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 15th Parliament

[78] Prime Minister Shafeeq El Wazzan presented his ministerial statement to the 15th Parliament on 16 December 1980 and received 41 votes of confidence, including those of the 5 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies against 6 no-confidence votes cast by Pierre Daccache, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Albert Moukheiber, Michel Saseen, Nadeem Salem and Nadeem Na'eem, with only one abstention by Talal El Mera'abi. The following Deputies did not attend the session: Jameel Kebbi, Hameed Dakroub, Adel Osseiran, Rafeeq Shaheen, Abdul Lateef El Zein, Kazem El Khalil, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Camille Chamoun, Rasheed Karami, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Fouad Ghossen, Abdullah El Rassi, Hashem El Husseini, Albert Mansour, Hussein El Husseini, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Nazem El Qadiri, Tawfeeq Assaf, Majeed Arslan and Aziz Aoun. *Official Minutes (1980)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 16 December 1980.

[79] Decree No. 2 dated 7 October 1982 signed by President Ameen Gemayel appointing Shafeeq El Wazzan as Prime Minister to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1982)*, Issue No. 30, 21 October 1982, p.1013. Prime Minister El Wazzan presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 15th Parliament on 2 November 1982 and received 58 votes of confidence against one cast by Deputy Najah Wakeem. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Yerevanian and Manougian cast their votes of confidence to Wazzan's Government. Melkon Eblighatian was absent, along with Jameel Kebbi, Fareed Gebran, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Adel Osseiran, Ali El Abdullah, Kazem El Khalil, Nadeem Salem, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Pierre Daccache, Tawfeeq Assaf, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Shafeeq Badr, Fouad El Tahini, Mounir Abu Fadel, Bakhos Hakeem, Rasheed Karami, Suleiman El Ali, Abdullah El Rassi, Maurice Fadel, Hasan El Rifae, Hasan El Mais, Saleem El Dawood, Saleem El Ma'alouf, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Nazem El Qadiri, Maurice Zuwein, Majeed Arslan and Joseph Skaff. *Official Minutes (1982)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 2 November 1982.

[80] Joseph Chader passed away in 1977.

	Prime Ministers	Rasheed Karami
		31 May 1984[81]
1.	Joseph Chader[82]	N/A
2.	Khatchig Babikian	X
3.	Souren Khanamirian	X
4.	Melkon Eblighatian	X
5.	Ara Yerevanian	NS
6.	Antranig Manougian	X
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record		

Table 15.8 (b) - Confidence Vote of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies of the 15th Parliament

[81] Decree No. 1630 dated 30 April 1984 signed by President Gemayel appointed Rasheed Karami as the Prime Minister to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1984)*, Issue No. 12, 10 May 1984, p.222. Prime Minister Karami presented his new government's ministerial statement to the 15th Parliament on 31 May 1984 and received 53 votes of confidence. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian cast no-confidence votes to Karami's government. Ara Yerevanian was not present. There is no record as how individual Deputies cast their votes. Casting of no-confidence votes of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies is inferred from Deputy Babikian's speech during the deliberation. See Appendix 3.1 for the full Arabic text. *Official Minutes (1984)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 31 May to 12 June 1984.

[82] Joseph Chader passed away in 1977.

The 16th Lebanese Parliament

(1984-88)

On 31 May 1984, the 15th Parliament voted to extend the term of its Deputies until 31 December 1986.[1] The same five remaining Lebanese-Armenian Deputies continued to be members of the 16th Parliament.

Under unprecedented unstable security conditions throughout its term, the 16th Parliament held a total of 33 meetings comprising of 26 ordinary and 7 extraordinary meetings. The participation of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in legislative life was relatively weak. During the term of the 16th Parliament several Deputies passed away, including Pierre Gemayel (29 August 1984), Deputy Speaker Mounir Abu Fadel (28 January 1987), Nadeem Na'eem (22 April 1987), Camille Chamoun (7 August 1987), Fouad Lahoud (4 October 1987), Hasan El

[1] *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1984)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 31 May 1984.

Mais (25 January 1988), Father Sama'an El Doueihi (7 March 1988), and Saleem El Ma'alouf (27 April 1988).

The term of the 16th Parliament commenced as Beirut came under new bombardments in summer 1984.[2] The first meeting of the 16th Parliament was on 16 October 1984 when it elected Hussein El Husseini as its Speaker with Camille Chamoun, the eldest Deputy presiding. Deputy Hussein El Husseini received 41 votes out of 75 present against Kamel El Asa'ad's 28 votes. There were four blank and two cancelled papers. Mounir Abu Fadel was elected as Deputy Speaker and Melkon Eblighatian was elected as one of the three Commissioners at the Speaker's Bureau, replacing Ara Yerevanian. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian were present, whereas Yerevanian was not.[3]

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District	Mtgs	Abs.	Attend.
1	Joseph Chader[4]	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 1st	--	N/A	N/A
2	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	33	4	88%
3	Souren Khanamirian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	33	10	70%
4	Melkon Eblighatian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	33	1	97%
5	Antranig Manougian	Arm. Protes.	Beirut 1st	33	9	73%
6	Ara Yerevanian[5]	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	33	33	0%

Table 16.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 16th Lebanese Parliament (1984-88)

The 16th Parliament did not have a productive term, as the unsteady domestic and regional political and military conditions had a negative impact on its legislative life. The ongoing Iran-Iraq War, the Israeli bombardment of the South, the inter-Christian rivalries in Lebanon, the War of the Palestinian camps between Amal militias and the PLO, the Tripartite Agreement followed by the bloody hostilities between

[2] See Joseph Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb: 1975-1990, [Arabic: Dailies of the War: 1975-1990]*, (Beirut: Memorial of Lebanon, 2005), p.266.

[3] The absentees at the meeting were: Ahmad Isber, Raymond Edde, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Sueiman El Ali, Joseph Skaff, Saeb Salam, Fareed Sarhal, Nadeem Salem, Nazeeh El Bezri, Maurice Zuwein, Abdullah El Rassi, and Bakhos Hakeem. *Official Minutes (1984):* 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 16 October 1984.

[4] Joseph Chader passed away in 1977.

[5] Deputy Ara Yerevanian submitted his resignation as a member of the Lebanese Parliament. However, the resignation was not officially accepted. The Official Minutes of the Parliament kept classifying him as an an absentee.

99	District	Names of Deputies of the 16th Lebanese Parliament (1984-88)
1	Beirut	Antranig Manougian (Armenian Protestant); Pierre Gemayel (Maronite);* Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic);* Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox); Souren Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox); Melkon Eblighatian (Armenian Orthodox); Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox) and Nasri El Ma'alouf (Roman Catholic).*
2	Beirut	Rasheed El Solh (Sunni); Fareed Gebran (Minorities); Muhammad Youssef Beydoun (Shia)
3	Beirut	Jameel Kebbi (Sunni); Zaki Mazboudi (Sunni); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Othman El Dana (Sunni) and Najah Wakeem (Roman Orthodox).
4	Ba'abda	Edward Hnein (Maronite); Basheer El A'awar (Druze); Pierre Daccache (Maronite); Mahmoud Ammar (Shia) and Nadeem Na'eem (Maronite)*.
5	El Metn	Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox); Albert Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox); Ameen Gemayel (Maronite)†; August Bakhos (Maronite) and Fouad Lahoud (Maronite).*
6	El Chouf	Ibrahim Abdul Noor (Roman Catholic); Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze);* Zaher El Khateeb (Sunni); Abdul Haleem Awaydat (Sunni); Aziz Aoun (Maronite)* Fouad El Tahini (Maronite); Kamal Jumblatt (Druze);* and Camille Chamoun (Maronite).*
7	Aley	Majeed Arslan (Druze);* Pierre Helou (Maronite); Tawfeeq Assaf (Druze); Shafeeq Badr (Maronite) and Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox).
8	Keserwan	Elias El Khazen (Maronite); Louis Abu Sharaf (Maronite); Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite) and Maurice Zuwein (Maronite).
9	Jbeil	Ahmad Isber (Shia); Raymond Edde (Maronite) and Emile Rohana Sakr (Maronite).
10	Saida	Nazeeh Abdul Rahman (Sunni).
11	Saida-Sub	Adel Osseiran (Shia) and Rashed El Khoury (Roman Catholic).
12	Nabatiyeh	Anwar El Sabah (Shia); Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia) and Fahmi Shaheen (Shia)* replaced by Rafeeq Shaheen (Shia).
13	Soor	Ali El Khalil (Shia) and Kazem El Khalil (Shia) and Youssef Hammoud (Shia).
14	Bent Jbeil	Hameed Dakroub (Shia) and Abdul Lateef Beydoun (Shia).
15	Marja'yun	Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox); Mouneef El Khateeb (Sunni); Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia) and Ali El Khalil Abdullah (Shia).
16	Jezzine	Edmond Rezk (Maronite); Fareed Sarhal (Maronite); Nadeem Salem (Rom. Cath.).
17	Zahle	Elias El Hrawi (Maronite); Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Mais (Sunni);* Hussein Mansour (Shia) and Saleem El Mansour (Roman Orthodox).
18	Rashaya	Saleem El Dawood (Druze); Michel Ma'alouli (Roman Orthodox) and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni).
19	Baalbek/ Hermel	Sabri Hamadeh (Shia);* Tareq El Habshi (Maronite); Albert Mansour (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Rifae (Sunni); Hussein El Husseini (Shia); Subhi Yaghi (Shia) and Abdul Molla Amhaz (Shia).
20	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i (Sunni); Muhammad Ameen El Hafez (Sunni); Maurice Fadel (Roman Orthodox) and Hashem El Husseini (Sunni).
21	Tripoli-S.	Saleh El Kheir (Sunni) and Murshed El Samad (Sunni).*
22	Akkar	Suleiman El Ali (Sunni); Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni); Abdullah El Rassi (Roman Orthodox) and Mikhael El Daher (Maronite).
23	Zghorta	Rene Mou'awad (Maronite); Father Sama'an El Doueihi (Maronite)* and Antoine Franjieh (Maronite).*
24	El Koura	Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox) and Bakhos Hakeem (Roman Orthodox).
25	Besheri	Habib Keiruz (Maronite) and Gebran Tawq (Maronite).
26	El Batroun	George Sa'adeh (Maronite) and Boutros Harb (Maronite).
		* Deceased † Elected President of the Republic

Table 16.2 – Names of the Deputies of the 16th Lebanese Parliament (1984-88)

	16 Oct 84[6]	22 Oct 85[7]	21 Oct 86[8]	20 Oct 87[9]
Speaker	H. El Husseini	H. El Husseini	H. El Husseini	H. El Husseini
Deputy Speaker	M. Abu Fadel	M. Abu Fadel	M. Abu Fadel	A. Moukheiber
The Secretariat	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi
Commissioners	M. Eblighatian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	M. Eblighatian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	M. Eblighatian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	M. Eblighatian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi

Table 16.3 – Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 16th Lebanese Parliament

Geagea and Hobeiqa, the Muslim boycott of President Ameen Gemayel and the assassination of Prime Minister Rasheed Karami in June 1987, the termination of the President's term without the election of a replacement and the appointment of General Michel Aoun as the Prime Minister of a military cabinet, negatively impacted the performance of the 16th Parliament.

There were no significant events highlighting the involvement of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies during the term of this parliament. There were no specific comments or speeches nor there was any participation by Babikian during the deliberations. Nevertheless, the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, except for Yerevanian, were elected to standing committees. Both Eblighatian and Khanamirian were each

[6] Camille Chamoun, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Hussein El Husseini, who received 41 votes out of 75 present against Kamel El Asa'ad's 28 votes. There were 4 blank and 2 cancelled papers. *Official Minutes (1984)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 16 October 1984.

[7] Camille Chamoun, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Hussein El Husseini as the Speaker to the 16th Parliament with 57 votes out of 64 present. There were 5 blank and 2 cancelled papers. *Official Minutes (1985)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 16th parliament held on 22 October 1985.

[8] Camille Chamoun, the eldest deputy presided over the election of Hussein El Husseini with 57 votes out of 65 present. There were 8 blank papers. *Official Minutes (1986)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 21 October 1986.

[9] Kazem El Khalil, the eldest Deputy present presided over the election of Hussein El Husseini as the Speaker of the 16th Parliament with 51 votes out of the 67 present. There were 15 blank and 1 canceled papers. *Official Minutes (1987)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 20 October 1987.

involved in three separate committees, whereas Babikian and Manougian were elected to two and one committees respectively.

The unstable conditions continued to dominate the political and military scenes in Lebanon during 1985. The Christian dominated areas witnessed an internal revolt within the ranks of the Phalange Party and the Lebanese Forces by March 1985. The Politbureau of the Kataeb Party, in its 10 March 1985 meeting, agreed to dismiss Sameer Geagea from the party and disbar him from any military activities relevant to the Phalange Party, accusing Geagea of not abiding by the Politbureau's orders to remove the Barbara checkpoint on the main coastal highway.[10] The Lebanese forces reacted immediately. An internal revolt took place and Elie Hobeiqa was elected the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Lebanese Forces and Sameer Geagea was appointed as the commander of its militias on 9 May 1985.[11]

During the first half of 1985, the 16th Parliament was unable to convene – except for once in order to elect the members of the standing committees and once on 12 March 1985 to consider and adopt a few pieces of legislation.[12]

The regional and international political conditions worsened in summer 1985, when a TWA aircraft was hijacked by radical Islamic militants and forced to land at Beirut International Airport on 14 June 1985. Some 40 American passengers on board were taken hostage, and one was killed.[13]

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[10] For details, please see Kareem Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan: Min Harb Loubnan Ila Harb El-Khalij*, *[Arabic: The Curse of the Homeland: From the Lebanese War to the Gulf War]*, (Beirut: Shariket El Matbou'at lil Tawzee' wa El Nashr, 2010), pp.104-107. See also, Abdul Ra'ouf Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990: Tafakok El Dawleh wa Tasaddo' El Mujtama'a, Vol. 1, [Arabic: The War in Lebanon 1975-1990: The Disintegration of the State and the Clash of Communities]*, (Beirut: Lebanese University Press, 2015), pp.423-428.

[11] See Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.110-113, Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990*, pp.425-432, and Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p.268.

[12] *Official Minutes (1985)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 12 March 1985.

[13] For the political ramifications of the hijacking of the TWA aircraft in June 1985, See Elie A. Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon*, (New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1993), pp.198-199.

			1985-86[14]	1986-87[15]	1987-88[16]	1988-89[17]
1	Budg./Finance	17	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblghatian	Khanamirian
2	Admin/Justice	15	None	None	None	None
3	Foreign Affair	15	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian
4	PubWork/Tran	15	None	None	None	None
5	Labor & Social	12	Khanamirian	Khanamirian	Khanamirian	Khanamirian
6	Nat'l Education	12	None	None	None	None
7	Agriculture	12	None	None	None	None
8	Nat'l Economy	12	Khanamirian	Khanamirian	Khanamirian	Eblighatian
9	Nat'l Defense	10	Khanamirian	Khanamirian	Khanamirian	Khanamirian
10	Public Health Committee	10	Manougian Babikian	Manougian Babikian	Manougian Babikian	Manougian Babikian
11	Public Planning	10	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian
12	Info. & PTT	10	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian	Eblighatian
13	By-Laws Com.	8	None	None	None	None

Table 16.4 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 16th Lebanese Parliament (1984-88)

As the summer months unfolded, Elie Hobeiqa was able to communicate indirectly with Waleed Jumblatt, Nabih Berri and the Syrians to find an amicable solution for the Lebanese crisis. Eventually, under the patronage of Syria's Vice-President Abdul Haleem Khaddam, Hobeiqa met with Jumblatt and Berri in Damascus on 24 September 1985 and discussed the possibility of entering into an agreement concerning the future of Lebanon.[18]

The 16th Parliament was unable to convene during the second half of 1985, as the War of the Camps was ignited between the Amal

[14] *Official Minutes (1985)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 19 March 1985.

[15] *Official Minutes (1986)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 18 March 1986.

[16] *Official Minutes (1987)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 17 March 1987.

[17] *Official Minutes (1988)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 22 March 1988.

[18] For the details of the 19 September 1985 meeting among Elie Hobeiqa, Waleed Jumblatt and Nebih Berri, please see Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon,* pp.200-203, and Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.114-118. See also, Theodore Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation,* (London: I.B. Tauris publications, 2015), pp.306-308. *Al-Safir* Newspaper published Elie Hobeiqa's secret letters addressed to Abdul Haleem Khaddam on 29 December 1985.

militias and the Palestinians in November 1985, and the political situation in the Christian sectors of Beirut and El Metn and Keserwan remained tense between the followers of Geagea and those of Hobeiqa. In an attempt to salvage the political situation in Lebanon, Elie Hobeiqa, Waleed Jumblatt and Nabih Berri signed a tripartite agreement in Damascus in the presence of President El Asad and Vice-President Khaddam on 28 December 1985.[19]

The immediate reaction to the signing of the Tripartite Agreement was the breaking of severe fighting between the followers of Sameer Geagea and those of Elie Hobeiqa on 31 December 1985 which continued until 16 January 1986 claiming hundreds of death and a thousand of wounded and the surrender of Elie Hobeiqa, himself, rendering the demise of the short-lived Tripartite Agreement.[20]

During these turbulent times in East Beirut and the coastal parts of El Met and Keserwan, the 16th Parliament convened on 28 January 1986 to consider a measure extending its own term to 31 December 1988. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian and Yerevanian, with 35 other colleagues, were not present. The measure, however, was passed in a unanimous vote, including the votes of Eblighatian and Manougian.[21] President Gemayel signed it into law on 11 February 1986.[22]

With the defeat of Elie Hobeiqa and the annulment of the Tripartite Agreement, the Lebanese forces headed by Sameer Geagea,

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[19] For the details of the ceremony during the signing of the Tripartite Agreement on 28 December 1985, and President Hafez El Asad's speech then, please see Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.122-127. For the contents of the Tripartite Agreement, please see Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon,* pp.203-204, and Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990*, pp.657-658. *Annahar* Newspaper published the full text of the Tripartite Agreement the next day on 29 December 1985. See also a re-print at Lieutenant General Fouad Aoun's *Loubnan Fi Zel El Houkoumeteyn: Ayloul 1988 – Tishreen El Awal 1990, [Arabic: Lebanon under Two Governments: September 1988 – October 1990]*, (Beirut: Stampa Media Publications, 2010), pp.199-213.

[20] For details on the fighting between the respective followers of Geagea and Hobeiqa in January 1986, see Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.128-134, and Salem, *Violence and Diplomacy in Lebanon,* pp.214-216, and Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990*, pp.660-669.

[21] *Official Minutes (1986)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 28 January 1986.

[22] Law No. 11/86 dated 11 February 1986 signed by President Ameen Gemayel and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami extending the term of the Parliament until 31 December 1988. *Official Gazette (1986)*, Issue No. 8, 20 February 1986, p.67.

became the sole dominant military power in the Christian areas of Lebanon. The Christian denominations in Lebanon including the members of the Independent Maronite Parliamentary Bloc, the El-Kataeb Party (the Phalanges), the El-Wataniyoun El-Ahrar Party (Free Nationalist Party), the Lebanese Forces and the Lebanese-Armenian Parliamentary Coalition represented by Babikian and Eblighatian gathered and considered and adopted a joint proposal, entitled the "*Lebanese Peace Initiative*" on 16 March 1986, to end the civil atrocities in Lebanon.[23]

On behalf of the Lebanese-Armenian Parliamentary Bloc, Deputies Babikian and Eblighatian signed the Lebanese Peace Initiative, which, in pertinent parts, proposed:

> "Lebanon is an absolute, free, sovereign and independent country within its borders stipulated in the constitution and internationally recognized. Lebanon is an Arab country and a full and founder member of the Arab League as well as the United Nations and is committed to the charters thereof."
>
> "Lebanon is a parliamentary democratic republic based on the respect of public freedoms, particularly the freedom of opinion and belief as well as on the principle of separation of powers and equality of rights and duties and social justice between all citizens.
>
> "Liberation of the Lebanese territories in full and restoration of Lebanon sovereignty on all its territories and ensuring the integrity thereof and execution of the UN resolutions, particularly resolution No. 425 and revocation of Cairo Agreement.
>
> "Establishment of customs related to the allocation of three presidencies: President of the Republic be a

[23] The Lebanese Peace Initiative of 1986 was signed by Boutros Harb and Gebran Tawq on behalf of the Independent Maronite Bloc; Deputies Khatchig Babikian and Melkon Eblighatian on behalf of the Lebanese-Armenian Parliamentary Bloc; George Sa'adeh and Joseph El Hashem on behalf of the Phalange Party ("El Kataeb"); Michel Saseen and Nabeel Karam on behalf of the Free Nationalist Party ("El Ahrar"); Kareem Pakradouni, George Adwan and Emile Rahmeh on behalf of the Lebanese Forces and Gebran Tueini on behalf of the Drafters' Committee. For the full Arabic text of the Lebanese Peace Inistiative of 1986, please see Appendix 15.3 to this Volume.

Maronite, the Speaker of the Parliament be a Shia and the Prime Minister be a Sunni. Equal allocation of parliamentary and ministerial seats between Muslims and Christians, with proportionately within each group.

"The President of the Republic shall be elected by two thirds majority in the first session and 55% majority of the quorum of the parliament in a subsequent session.

"For more comprehensive participation in the governance, there shall be introduced the position of Vice President to be filled by six people who represent the major sects in Lebanon, except for the President's sect.

"The Prime Minister shall be elected by parliament by a majority of 55% at least of the members of such parliament. The elected Prime Minister shall carry out parliamentary consultations in view of which the Cabinet shall be formed in agreement with the President of the Republic and then the necessary decrees shall be issued.

"The members of the legislature shall be elected on the basis of new election laws that ensure the correct and just popular representation within the framework of equal shares of Christians and Muslims. The number of parliament members shall be increased to 108 for broader representation within the framework of equality between Christians and Muslims. The Speaker of the Parliament, his Deputy and the members of the Parliament Office shall be elected for two years, renewable.

"A Constitutional Court shall be formed to control the constitutionality of laws and settle all disputes and objections arising from the presidential and parliamentary elections as well as the disputes that may arise between the central administration and decentralized departments. A higher council shall be formed to prosecute presidents and vice presidents and

> ministers as provided in the constitution."[24] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

The Peace Initiative produced an immediate negative and violent reaction. The local militias in West Beirut murdered several Lebanese-Armenian citizens.[25] Syria, on the other hand, responded by bombarding Eastern Beirut, El Metn and the Keserwan regions indiscriminately claiming several hundred lives.[26] The Syrian regime refused to deal with President Gemayel and the Lebanese Prime Minister Karami and the Muslim ministers of the cabinet boycotted him.

With this volatile political situation in Lebanon, the 16th Parliament was only able to convene for four times throughout 1986 – these meetings were to consider a few pieces of urgent legislation. The fighting over the Palestinian camps between Amal militias and Palestinians continued throughout the first half of 1986. In October 1986, Amal militias carried out a successful siege of the Rashidieh Camp near Tyre (Soor), and the PLO launched counter offensive against Amal in Beirut.[27]

By mid-February 1987, a rivalry erupted between Nabih Berri's Amal Movement and Waleed Jumblatt's PSP militias leading to armed confrontation in West Beirut. Prime Minister Karami and the Muslim ministers requested Syrian intervention, and on 22 February1982, two Syrian brigades of 7,000 Syrian troops re-entered West Beirut.[28]

To complicate matters, in April 1987, fundamentalist Iranian and Lebanese clerics presented a draft constitution for an Islamic Republic of Lebanon, closely modeled after the Islamic Republic of Iran, leading to clashes, between Amal and Hezbullah militias on one side and Syrian

[24] For the English translation of the Lebanese Peace Initiative, see Roupen Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," Aida Boujikanian, Ed., *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2009), Document E, pp.446-457.
[25] See Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," pp.396-397.
[26] Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, pp.270-271.
[27] For details, see Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, pp.312-314.
[28] See details at Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p.274 and Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, pp.314-315.

troops on the other, throughout West Beirut, Southern Suburbs and Southern Lebanon.[29]

Prime Minister Karami submitted his resignation on 4 May 1987.[30] President Gemayel did not accept it officially. Two weeks later the 16th Parliament convened and unanimously adopted a measure withdrawing parliament's ratification of the 17 May agreement between Lebanon and Israel and abrogating the 3 November 1969 agreement signed by General Emile Bustani and Arafat, known as the Cairo Agreement. The Deputies, including Babikian, Eblighatian and Manougian, unanimously adopted both measures. Khanamirian and Yerevanian were not present.[31]

Before President Gemayel signed both measures into law, Prime Minister Karami was assassinated when a bomb planted in his army helicopter exploded on 1 June 1987.[32] President Gemayel appointed Saleem El Hoss as the Acting Prime Minister on the same day.[33] Although the Cabinet did not meet, it passed decrees by circulation, while parliament met a few times to adopt urgent pieces of legislation for the rest of 1987.[34] One such urgent legislative measure was to extend the term of the members of the parliament until 31 December 1990. The measure was carried unanimously, including the votes of Babikian,

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[29] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, pp.316-319. See also, Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990*, pp.413-417.

[30] See Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p.279 and Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p.319.

[31] In addition to Khanamirian and Yerevanian, the following deputies did not attend the session withdrawing the Parliament's ratification of the 17 May Agreement and annulling the 1969 Cairo Agreement: Jameel Kebbi, Zaki Mazboudi, Saeb Salam, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Michel Saseen, Najah Wakeem, Hameed Dakroub, Ali El Khalil, Fareed Gebran, Kamel El Asa'ad, Kazem El Khalil, Muneef El Khateeb, Nazeeh El Bezri, Youssef Hammoud, Ahmad Isber, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Fouad Naffa'a, Ameen El Hafez, Bakhos Hakeem, Rene Mou'awad, Talal El Mera'abi, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Maurice Fadel, Hasan El Rifae, Subhi Yaghi, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Nazem El Qadiri, Tawfeeq Assaf, and Nasri El Ma'alouf. *Official Minutes (1987)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 21 May 1987.

[32] See Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* p.197, See also, Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, pp.319-320 and Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, pp. 278-279.

[33] Decree No. 3936 dated 1 June 1987 signed by President Ameen Gemayel appointing Minister of Education and Labor Saleem El Hoss, as the Acting Prime Minister to replace the deceased Prime Minister Rasheed Karami. *Official Gazette (1987)*, Issue No. 25, 18 June 1987, p.627.

[34] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p.320.

Khanamirian and Eblighatian. Manougian and Yerevanian were not present.[35] President Gemayel signed the measure into law on 22 December 1987.[36]

The year 1988 was a turning point in the Lebanese Civil War. Because of the ongoing security breaches and the fighting between the Amal and Hezbullah militia, on one side, and the Amal and the PSP and Palestinians on the other, and the heavy shelling by the Syrian Army of the Christian sections of the country, the 16th Parliament was unable to convene except for a few times in the early part of the year.

The year 1988 was the last year of President Ameen Gemayel's term and the situation in Lebanon reached an unprecedented political deadlock, with Gemayel's six-year presidential term expiring in September 1988. The Syrian President Hafez El Asad started to exert political and military pressure as early as January 1988 to select a Lebanese President who would promote the Syrian interests in Lebanon.[37] Damascus attempted to impose the election of Suleiman Franjieh who had previously served from 1970 to 1976.[38] Western governments, including France and the United States, were adamantly opposed to such proposition.[39]

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[35] In addition to Manougian and Yerevanian, the other absentees to deliberations on granting the extension to the term of the Parliament until 31 December 1990, were: Saeb Salam, Fareed Gebran, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Najah Wakeem, Anwar El Sabah, Hameed Dakroub, Rashed El Khoury, Kamel El Asa'ad, Fareed Sarhal, Kazem El Khalil, Muneef El Khateeb, Nazeeh El Bezri, Ahmad Isber, Raymond Edde, Zaher El Khateeb, Fouad Naffa'a, Ameen El Hafez, Bakhos Hakeem, Hashem El Husseini, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Maurice Fadel, Salem Abdul Noor, Fouad El Tahini, Rafeeq Shaheen, Hasan El Mais, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Elias El Khazen and Boutros Harb. *Official Minutes (1987)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 1 December 1987.

[36] Law No. 52/87 dated 22 December 1987 signed by President Ameen Gemayel and Acting Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss extending the term of the Parliament until 31 December 1990. *Official Gazette (1987)*, Issue No. 53, 31 December 1987, p.1023.

[37] Augustus Richard Norton, "Lebanon after Ta'if: Is the Civil War Over?" *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 3, (Summer 1991), p.457.

[38] Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, of the Department of State before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on October 13, 1988. *Department of State Bulletin*, December 1988, p.41.

[39] Ibid.

To offset the Christian leaders, Franjiyeh commenced intense consultations and behind the scenes negotiations on the local, regional and international levels in 1988, which included several meetings with the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies including Eblighatian and Manougian in January 1988.[40] Khanamirian, on the other hand, consulted President Gemayel on 14 January 1988.[41]

By mid-1988, President Gemayel aimed to renew his term for two additional years.[42] In the light of such intentions, Franjiyeh met with Khatchig Babikian, who affirmed on 31 July 1988 that Franjiyeh was the only person capable to lead Lebanon out of the unstable political and military conditions.[43]

As Franjieh officially announced his candidacy, Speaker Hussein El Husseini summoned the members of the parliament to the election of the President at the Mansour Palace on 18 August 1988.[44] Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Eblighatian, Khanamirian and Manougian held a meeting on August 17, 1988, just a day before the election, to discuss the following day's presidential elections, but could not come to a unified position.[45]

President Gemayel, Sameer Geagea and Commander-in-Chief General Michel Aoun boycotted the meeting of the parliament on 18 August 1988 by preventing the Deputies from reaching the Mansour Palace.[46] Except for Khanamirian, the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were unable to attend the meeting.[47] Out of the 76 Deputies, only 28 Muslim

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[40] Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," pp.397-398.

[41] Ibid.

[42] On 9 June 1988 the plane carrying President Ameen Gemayel, coming from the Arab League Summit in Algiers, landed in Paris, France, where the French President Francois Mitterrand's National Security Advisor, in the presence of Fouad El-Turk, the Lebanese Ambassador to France and Minister Joseph El-Hashem, offered Gemayel a renewal for another two years. See, George Bikasini, *Asrar At-Ta'ef: Min Aahd Ameen Gemayel Hatta Souqout El-General*, *[Arabic: The Secrets of Tae'f: From the Rein of Ameen Gemayel until the Fall of the General]*, (Beirut: Dar At-Ta'awouniyyeh At-Tibaiyyeh, 1993), p.11; see also Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan*, p.10.

[43] Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," p.398.

[44] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p. 569 and Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p. 280.

[45] Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," p.398.

[46] See, Sarkis Na'oum, *Michel Aoun: Houlm Em Wahem*, *[Arabic: Michel Aoun: Nightmare or Imagination]*, (Beirut, 1992), p.50.

[47] Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," pp.398-399.

and 10 Christian Deputies attended. As there was no constitutional quorum for the election of the President, Speaker Hussein El Husseini adjourned the meeting.[48]

On 15 September 1988, President Reagan's envoy Richard Murphy flew to Damascus to negotiate with President El Asad for a compromise. The US-Syrian joint proposed choice for the Lebanese Presidency was Deputy Mikhael El Daher.[49] President Gemayel, Geagea and Aoun rejected the choice, leading to a political impasse in Lebanon that continued until the last day of President Gemayel's term in office. A day before the last day in office, President Gemayel dashed to Damascus on 21 September 1988 to meet with President El Asad for a last attempt of mediation with no avail.[50]

The Executive Branch of the Government President Ameen Gemayel		
Cabinet of 22 September 1988[51]		
1.	Army General Michel Aoun	Prime Minister; Minister of Defense and Information
2.	Colonel Issam Abu Jamra	Deputy P.M.; Minister of PTT, Coops & Housing, Econ. and Trade
3.	General Mahmoud Tay Abu Dergham	Minister of Pub. Works & Transportation, Tourism and Labor.
4.	Lieut. General Edgar Ma'alouf	Minister of Finance, Health, Social Affairs, Oil & Indus.
5.	Lieut. General Nabeel Qoreitem	Minister of Foreign Affair, Interior and Nat'l Education
6.	Colonel Lutfi Jaber	Minister of Water & Power, Agriculture and Justice

Table 16.5 – Cabinet Members of General Michel Aoun's Military Government (22 September 1988)

[48] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p.569. See also, Aoun, *Loubnan Fi Zel El Houkoumeteyn*, pp.141-144.

[49] For details, see Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990*, pp.440-445. See also, Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p. 569 and Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p.280, and Aoun, *Loubnan Fi Zel El Houkoumeteyn*, pp.151-157.

[50] Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, p. 570 and Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb*, p.280, and Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990*, pp.445-446.

[51] Decree No. 5388 dated 22 September 1988 and signed by President Ameen Gemayel and Prime Minister Michel Aoun appointing the Ministers. Aoun, *Loubnan Fi Zel El Houkoumeteyn* pp.158-159.

On his return to the Ba'abda Palace, President Gemayel issued Presidential Decree No. 5387 and appointed General Michel Aoun as the Prime Minister for a transitional government on 22 September 1988. Later, President Gemayel issued Presidential Decree No. 5388 at 11:53 p.m. (just 7 minutes before his time was up) and appointed the following as members of the Cabinet: Michel Aoun (Maronite) Prime Minister; Issam Abu Jamra (Roman Orthodox); Edgar Ma'alouf (Roman Catholic); Nabeel Qoreitem (Sunni); Lutfi Jaber (Shia); Mahmoud Tay Abu Dergham (Druze). After the appointment of the military officers, the Muslim members of the Cabinet quit.[52] There were no Lebanese-Armenians in the military government.

General Michel Aoun and his three-member Cabinet took over the Ba'abda Presidential Palace, whereas, Acting Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss and his Cabinet took over the Sana'i Palace in West Beirut, giving rise to two rival Lebanese governments. Both governments neither presented their ministerial statements, nor received parliament's vote of confidence.

[52] For details, see Aoun, *Loubnan Fi Zel El Houkoumeteyn*, pp.156-160, and Bikasini, *Asrar At-Ta'ef.* See also, Nikola Nasr, *Intikhabat Rabi'h 2005: Ma Qabel Wa Ma Ba'ad. Rou'ya Wa Tahzir, [Arabic: Elections of Spring 2005: Before and After. Vision and Warning], (Beirut:* Dar Al-Mourad, 2004), p.19, George Sa'adeh, *Qissati Ma'a At-Ta'ef, [Arabic: My Story with El Ta'ef],* (Beirut, 1998).

The 17th Lebanese Parliament

(1989-92)

The 16th Parliament in its 1 December 1987 meeting voted to extend the term of its Deputies until 31 December 1990,[1] and President Gemayel signed it into law on 11 February 1986.[2] The same five remaining Lebanese-Armenian Deputies continued to be members of the 17th Parliament.

Between September 1988 and November 1989, Lebanon was governed by two rival governments. General Michel Aoun and his Cabinet ruled over the Christian sectors of the country from the Ba'abda Presidential Palace, and Acting Prime Minister El Hoss and his Cabinet controlled most of the rest of the Lebanese territories from the old Serai

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[1] *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1987)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 16th Parliament held on 1 December 1987.

[2] Law No. 11/86 dated 11 February 1986 signed by President Ameen Gemayel and Prime Minister Rasheed Karami extending the term of the Parliament until 31 December 1988. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1986)*, Issue No. 8, 20 February 1986, p.67.

in West Beirut. There was no legislative oversight over either government, as the unstable political and security conditions in Beirut did not facilitate for the Lebanese Parliament to convene for more than a year. After President Gemayel left the Ba'abda Palace on 23 September 1988, parliament was unable to hold its Ordinary Session that should have convened in October 1988, nor was it able to hold its meetings in March 1989.

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District	Mtgs	Absence	Attend.
1	Joseph Chader[3]	Arm. Cath.	--	--	--	--
2	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	40	0	100%
3	Souren Khanamirian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	40	12	70%
4	Melkon Eblighatian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 1st	40	10	75%
5	A. Manougian	Arm. Protes.	Beirut 1st	40	8	80%
6	Ara Yerevanian[4]	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	40	40	0%

Table 17.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 17th Lebanese Parliament (1989-92)

During the term of the 17th Parliament several political figures passed away or were assassinated: Past Prime Minister Taqiedeen El Solh passed away on 27 November 1988; Mufti Hasan Khaled and Deputy Nazem El Qadiri were assassinated on 16 May 1989 and 21 September 1989 respectively; the newly elected President Rene Mou'awad was also assassinated on 22 November 1989. Deputies Kazem El Khalil (21 April 1990), Bakhos Hakeem (28 August 1990) and Fouad El Tahini (4 December 1990) passed away and Dani Chamoun was assassinated on 21 October 1990.

The 17th Parliament witnessed unprecedented domestic, regional and international upheavals that had direct and indirect impact on the political life in Middle East, in general, and Lebanon in particular. Domestically, Aoun's declaration of the "Liberation War" against Syria and by the signing of the Ta'ef Accords by Lebanese parliamentarians, followed by the election and assassination of President Rene Mou'awad, and the Declaration of "Annihilation War" against the Lebanese Forces weakened the State. Regionally, Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait

[3] Joseph Chader passed away in 1977.

[4] Ara Yerevanian resigned as member of Parliament, but his resignation was never accepted.

99	District	Names of Deputies of the 17th Lebanese Parliament (1989-91)
1	Beirut	Antranig Manougian (Armenian Protestant); Pierre Gemayel (Maronite);* Joseph Chader (Armenian Catholic);* Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox); Souren Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox); Melkon Eblighatian (Armenian Orthodox); Michel Saseen (Roman Orthodox) and Nasri El Ma'alouf (Roman Catholic).*
2	Beirut	Rasheed El Solh (Sunni); Fareed Gebran (Minorities); Muhammad Youssef Beydoun (Shia)
3	Beirut	Jameel Kebbi (Sunni); Zaki Mazboudi (Sunni); Saeb Salam (Sunni); Othman El Dana (Sunni) and Najah Wakeem (Roman Orthodox).
4	Ba'abda	Edward Hnein (Maronite); Basheer El A'awar (Druze); Pierre Daccache (Maronite); Mahmoud Ammar (Shia) and Nadeem Na'eem (Maronite)*.
5	El Metn	Ara Yerevanian (Armenian Orthodox); Albert Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox); Ameen Gemayel (Maronite)†; August Bakhos (Maronite) and Fouad Lahoud (Maronite).*
6	El Shouf	Ibrahim Abdul Noor (Roman Catholic); Beheej Taqiedeen (Druze);* Zaher El Khateeb (Sunni); Abdul Haleem Awaydat (Sunni); Aziz Aoun (Maronite);* Fouad El Tahini (Maronite)*; Kamal Jumblatt (Druze)* and Camille Chamoun (Maronite).*
7	Aley	Majeed Arslan (Druze);* Pierre Helou (Maronite); Tawfeeq Assaf (Druze); Shafeeq Badr (Maronite) and Mounir Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox).
8	Keserwan	Elias El Khazen (Maronite); Louis Abu Sharaf (Maronite); Fouad Naffa'a (Maronite) and Maurice Zuwein (Maronite).
9	Jbeil	Ahmad Isber (Shia); Raymond Edde (Maronite) and Emile Rohana Sakr (Maronite).
10	Saida	Nazeeh Abdul Rahman (Sunni).
11	Saida-Sub	Adel Osseiran (Shia) and Rashed El Khoury (Roman Catholic).
12	Nabatiyeh	Anwar El Sabah (Shia); Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia) and Fahmi Shaheen (Shia)* replaced by Rafeeq Shaheen (Shia).
13	Soor	Ali El Khalil (Shia) and Kazem El Khalil (Shia)* and Youssef Hammoud (Shia).
14	Bent Jbeil	Hameed Dakroub (Shia) and Abdul Lateef Beydoun (Shia).
15	Marja'yun	Raef Samara (Roman Orthodox); Mouneef El Khateeb (Sunni); Kamel El Asa'ad (Shia) and Ali El Khalil Abdullah (Shia).
16	Jezzine	Edmond Rezk (Maronite); Fareed Sarhal (Maronite) ; Nadeem Salem (Roman Catholic).
17	Zahle	Elias El Hrawi (Maronite)†; Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Mais (Sunni);* Hussein Mansour (Shia) and Saleem El Mansour (Roman Orthodox).
18	Rashaya	Saleem El Dawood (Druze); Michel Ma'alouli (Roman Orthodox) and Nazem El Qadiri (Sunni)*.
19	Baalbek/ Hermel	Sabri Hamadeh (Shia);* Tareq El Habshi (Maronite); Albert Mansour (Roman Catholic); Hasan El Rifae (Sunni); Hussein El Husseini (Shia); Subhi Yaghi (Shia) and Abdul Molla Amhaz (Shia).
20	Tripoli	Rasheed Karami (Sunni); Abdul Majeed El Rifae (Sunni); Muhammad Ameen El Hafez (Sunni); Maurice Fadel (Roman Orthodox) and Hashem El Husseini (Sunni).
21	Tripoli-S.	Saleh El Kheir (Sunni) and Murshed El Samad (Sunni).*
22	Akkar	Suleiman El Ali (Sunni); Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni); Abdullah El Rassi (Roman Orthodox) and Mikhael El Daher (Maronite).
23	Zghorta	Rene Mou'awad (Maronite)†*; Father Sama'an El Doueihi (Maronite)* and Antoine Franjieh (Maronite).*
24	El Koura	Fouad Ghossen (Roman Orthodox) and Bakhos Hakeem (Roman Orthodox)*.
25	Besheri	Habib Keiruz (Maronite) and Gebran Tawq (Maronite).
26	El Batroun	George Sa'adeh (Maronite) and Boutros Harb (Maronite).
		* Deceased † Elected President of the Republic

Table 17.2 – Names of the Deputies of the 17th Lebanese Parliament (1988-91)

on 2 August 1990 changed the political landscape in the Middle East, leading to the 1st Gulf War led by the US, while the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 ended the Cold War, and paved the way for the direct and unchallenged political and military intervention of the US in the Middle East.

With the inability of parliament to elect a President and the *de facto* presence of two antagonistic governments in Lebanon by the end of 1988, Arab foreign ministers held an emergency meeting on 12 January 1989 in Tunisia to discuss the Lebanese crises and established a seven-member committee led by the Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Sabah Ahmad El Sabah and the membership of Foreign Ministers of Algiers, Tunisia, Jordan, and the UAE along with the Secretary General of the Arab League.[5] The seven-member committee invited Michel Aoun, Saleem El Hoss and Speaker Hussein El Husseini to a meeting in Tunisia on 30 January 1989 to discuss the possibility of having a national reconciliation dialogue. General Aoun demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country as a precondition to the start of any negotiations, whereas Prime Minister Hoss and Speaker Husseini insisted on the primacy of internal reforms.[6]

The decision of Arab foreign ministers concerning an equitable outcome of the Lebanese crisis was delivered to Lebanese-Armenian community, through the personal representative of Speaker El Husseini and Prime Minister El Hoss in a meeting attended by the Armenian

[5] Kareem Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan: Min Harb Loubnan Ila Harb El-Khalij*, *[Arabic: The Curse of the Homeland: From the Lebanese War to the Gulf War]*, (Beirut: Shariket El Matbou'at lil Tawzee' wa El Nashr, 2010), pp.228-229. See also, See, George Bikasini, *Asrar At-Ta'ef: Min Aahd Ameen Gemayel Hatta Souqout El-General*, *[Arabic: The Secrets of Tae'f: From the Rein of Ameen Gemayel until the Fall of the General]*, (Beirut: Dar At-Ta'awouniyyeh At-Tibaiyyeh, 1993); and Marie-Joelle Zahar, "Peace by Unconventional Means: Lebanon's Ta'if Agreement," Stephen J. Stedman, Donald Rothschild & Elizabeth M. Cousens, Eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), p.567.

[6] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* p.228. See also, Joseph Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb: 1975-1990, [Arabic: Dailies of the War: 1975-1990]*, (Beirut: Memorial of Lebanon, 2005), p.283.

Catholicos Karekin II and Deputies Babikian and Eblighatian on January 25, 1989.[7]

As the seven-member Arab Committee continued to negotiate with the Lebanese parties, General Aoun declared a liberation war from the Syrian occupation on 14 March 1989.[8] In the light of the military escalation, the Maronite Patriarch Nasrallah Sfeir called for an emergency meeting on 18 April 1989 of 23 Christian parliamentarians at Bekerki. Among the attendees were Babikian, Eblighatian, Manougian and Khanamirian.[9] The Armenian Deputies, in conjunction with the rest of the Christian parliamentarians, denounced Aoun's conduct and called upon the warring factions to stop the heavy fighting immediately.[10]

A few weeks after the Bekerki meeting, in a summit in Moscow on 6 May 1989, Edward Shevardnadze, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union and the US Secretary of State James Baker III issued a joint communiqué demanding that the fighting in Lebanon be stopped immediately, and that the warring factions convene for a dialogue. The communique further expressed the willingness of the superpowers to do everything possible to facilitate such dialogue.[11] As an immediate reaction to the international outcry, an Arab League summit was held in Casablanca on 23 May 1989, where a tripartite committee was born with the membership of King Fahed Bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia, King Hasan II of Morocco, and President El-Shathili Bin Jdid of Algiers.[12] The

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[7] Roupen Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," Aida Boujikanian, Ed., *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2009), p.399.

[8] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.235-238. See also, George Sa'adeh, *Qissati Ma'a At-Ta'ef*, *[Arabic: My Story with the El Ta'ef]*, (Beirut: 1998); Also see, Albert Mansour, *Al-Inqilab Ala At-Ta'ef, [Arabic: The Revolt on the El Ta'ef],* (Beirut: Dar Al-Jedid, 1993); and Chami, *Yomiyat El Harb: 1975-1990,* p.283. For the Syrian version of Aoun's "Liberation War," please see Farouq El Shara'a, *Al Riwaya Al Mafqoudah, [Arabic: The Lost Story],* (Beirut: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2015), pp.177-178.

[9] Sa'adeh, *Qissati Ma'a At-Ta'ef*, p.33. See also, Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," p.400.

[10] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* p. 238, and Sa'adeh, *Qissati Ma'a At-Ta'ef*, p.32.

[11] A'aref El-Abd, *Loubnan Wa At-Ta'ef: Taqato' Tarikhi Wa Masar Gheir Mouktamel*, *[Arabic: Lebanon and the Ta'ef: Historical Intersection and an Unfinished Path]*, (Beirut: Markaz Dirasat Al-Wahdeh Al-Arabiyyeh, 2001), p.203.

[12] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* p.239, and El Shara'a, *Al Riwaya Al Mafqoudah,* pp.179-180.

Tripartite Committee was successful in formulating a truce plan that stipulated a cease-fire to come into effect in Lebanon.[13]

	5 Nov 89[14]	16 Oct 90[15]	22 Oct 91[16]
Speaker	Hussein El Husseini	Hussein El Husseini	
Deputy Speaker	Albert Moukheiber	Michel Ma'alouli	
The Secretariat	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi	Saleh El Kheir Tareq Habshi	Tareq Habshi Talal El Mer'abi
Commissioners	Melkon Eblighatian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	Melkon Eblighatian Ra'ef Semara Subhi Yaghi	Melkon Eblighatian Elie Ferzli Subhi Yaghi

Table 17.3 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 17th Lebanese Parliament

The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, particularly Khatchig Babikian was directly involved with the negotiations with the Tripartite Committee. Patriarch Sfeir had called for the formation of a committee comprising of the six Christian Deputies, Rene Mou'awad, Michel Saseen, Nasri El-Ma'alouf, Boutros Harb, George Sa'adeh and Khatchik Babikian, that was later identified as the Bekerki Committee, to discuss the proposed reconciliation document that the Tripartite Committee formulated in order to end the Lebanese Civil War. This committee met nine times with Patriarch Sfeir during August and September 1989.[17]

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[13] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* pp.240-242.

[14] *Official Minutes (1989)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 5 November 1989.

[15] Adel Osseiran, the oldest deputy present, presided over the election of Hussein El Husseini as the Speaker of the 17th Parliament with 48 votes out of 57 present. There were 9 blank papers. The election of the Speaker was based upon the amended Article 44 of the Lebanese Constitution published on 21 September 1990, which stipulated that the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament would be elected for the term of the Parliament. Thus, Hussein El Husseini and Michel Ma'alouli were elected as the Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively for the duration of the 17th Parliament. *Official Minutes (1990)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 16 October 1990.

[16] *Official Minutes (1991)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 22 October 1991.

[17] For the involvement of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies during the negotiations with relevant parties, including Patriarch Sfeir and General Aoun before the Ta'ef Meeting, please see Sa'adeh, *Qissati Ma'a At-Ta'ef*, p.58, and Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," pp.400-401.

Upon the invitation of the Arab Tripartite Committee, 62 Deputies of the Lebanese Parliament, 31 Muslim and 31 Christians, convened and deliberated in Ta'ef, Saudi Arabia, under the aegis of the League of Arab States to find a solution to the Lebanese crises. Among the participants were the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Eblighatian and Manougian. Deputy Khanamirian and Yerevanian did not attend.[18]

The Lebanese National Reconciliation Accord (*Wathiqat El-Wifaq El-Watani El-Lubnani*), better known as the Ta'ef Agreement, was signed on 24 October 1989 ending the 15-year-old civil war in Lebanon.[19] Unfortunately, the official records of the Ta'ef meeting were not published so as to have a better understanding of what transpired during the meetings.[20]

Despite the unstable political and security conditions in Lebanon by the end of October 1989, the 17th Parliament convened in an ordinary session at Qelaya'at's Military Airport Base to elect the officers of the Speaker's Bureau,[21] discuss and ratify the Ta'ef Agreement,[22] and elect a new President on 5 November 1989.[23]

Deputy Kazem El Khalil, the eldest Deputy present, presided over the election of Hussein El Husseini as the Speaker of the 17th Parliament, who received 52 votes out of 57 present. There were five blank papers.

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[18] Originally 63 Deputies went to Ta'ef, however, 62 participated in the deliberations. Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," pp.402-404.

[19] For a detailed coverage of the Ta'ef deliberations, see Theodore Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon: Decline of a State and Rise of a Nation*, (London: I.B. Tauris Publications, 2015), pp.583-590. For the English translation of the Lebanese National Reconciliation Accord, the "Wathiqat El-Wifaq El-Watani El-Lubnani", please see Paul E. Salem, Translated and annotated, "The New Constitution and the Ta'if Agreement," *The Beirut Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (Spring 1991). See also, Elie Salem, "The National Conciliation Document: A Critique," *The Lebanon Report*, (Beirut: The Lebanese Center for Policy Studies), Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1991.

[20] The minutes of the deliberations of the Ta'ef Meeting are not published yet, but are kept with the Past Speaker Hussein El Husseini. Personal interview with Speaker Hussein El Husseini by this Author on 13 September 2005.

[21] *Official Minutes (1989)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 5 November 1989.

[22] *Official Minutes (1989)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 5 November 1989.

[23] *Official Minutes (1989)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 5 November 1989.

Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian were in attendance. Yerevanian was not.[24]

After electing the members of the Speaker's Bureau, the 17th Parliament deliberated over the provisions of the Ta'ef Agreement and ratified it. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian voted in favor of the ratification of the Ta'ef Agreement.[25]

After ratification of the Ta'ef Agreement, Speaker El Husseini declared that the 17th Parliament was convened in a Special Meeting to elect the President of the Republic. Deputy Rene Mou'awad received 35 votes, George Sa'adeh received 16 votes and Elias El Hrawi 5. There were 2 blank papers. As none of the candidates was able to secure 2/3 majority vote in accordance with the Lebanese Constitution, Speaker El Husseini announced a second round of election. Deputies Sa'adeh and El Hrawi withdrew their candidacies and as such Rene Mou'awad received 52 votes with 6 blank papers. Speaker El Husseini announced Rene Mou'awad as the President-Elect,[26] who later took the Oath of the Office.[27] President Mou'awad was assassinated two weeks later on 22 November 1989.[28]

In accordance with Article 74 of the Constitution, Speaker El Husseini summoned the Deputies to another special meeting to elect a new president on 24 November 1989. Fifty-two Deputies were present at the meeting. After casting their votes, Elias El Hrawi received 46 votes against Edmond Rezk's one vote. There were four blank and one

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[24] In addition to Ara Yerevanian, the following deputies did not attend the meeting: Raymond Edde, Albert Mansour, Rashed El Khoury, Kamel El Asa'ad, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Edward Hnein, Gebran Tawq, Pierre Daccache, Abdo Awaidat, Fouad El Tahini, Joseph Skaff, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, and Salem Abdul Noor. *Official Minutes (1989)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 5 November 1989.

[25] The Ta'ef Agreement was ratified with a unanimous vote. However, the following deputies voted in favor of the ratification with reservations: Zaher El Khateeb, Anwar El Sabah, Muneef El Khateeb, Tawfeeq Assaf, Ali El Khalil, Fareed Gebran, Shafeeq Badr and Hasan El Rifae. *Official Minutes (1989)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 5 November 1989.

[26] *Official Minutes (1989)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 5 November 1989.

[27] *Official Minutes (1989)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 5 November 1989.

[28] For a detailed account, please see Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* pp.590-595.

cancelled papers. Speaker El Husseini announced that the candidates did not receive the constitutionally required 2/3 votes (out of 71 surviving deputies) and called for a second round of election. Deputy El Hrawi received 47 votes. There were five blank papers. As such, Speaker El Husseini announced Elias El Hrawi as the President-Elect. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian were in attendance, whereas Yerevanian was not.[29] President Hrawi took the Oath of Office the same day.[30]

After electing Hrawi as the new President, on the same day the 17th Parliament, proceeded to adopt a legislative measure to extend its own term until 31 December 1994. President Hrawi signed the measure into law on 7 December 1989.[31]

As soon as President Hrawi ascended the Presidency, issued Decree No. 1 and appointed Saleem El Hoss as the first Prime Minister to head the Lebanese Government after the Ta'ef Agreement.[32] Hrawi later issued Decree No. 2 and appointed the ministers including Souren Khanamirian as the Minister of Oil and Industry.[33]

Prime Minister El Hoss presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 17th Parliament the next day on 26 November 1989 and received a unanimous vote of confidence. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies

[29] In addition to Ara Yerevanian, the following Deputies were also absent: Kamel El Asa'ad, Raymond Edde, Joseph Skaff, Rashed El Khoury, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Edward Hnein, Gebran Tawq, Pierre Daccache, Albert Moukheiber, Abdo Abaidat, Salem Abdul Noor, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Tareq Habshi, George Sa'adeh, Maurice Fadel, Nadeem Salem, Michel Saseen and Fouad Naffa'a. *Official Minutes (1989)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 24 November 1989.

[30] Official Minutes (1989): 6th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 24 November 1989.

[31] Law No. 1 dated 7 December 1989 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss extending the term of the Parliament until 31 December 1994. *Official Gazette (1989)*, Issue No. 41, 21 December 1989, p.165.

[32] Decree No. 1 dated 25 November 1989 signed by President Elias El Hrawi appointing Saleem El Hoss as the Prime Minister to head the 58th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (1989)*, Issue No. 38, 30 November 1989, p.133.

[33] Decree No. 2 dated 25 November 1989 signed President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss. *Official Gazette (1989)*, Issue No. 38, 30 November 1989, p.133.

Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian cast their votes of confidence in Hoss's government. Yerevanian was not present.[34]

The Executive Branch of the Government President Elias El Hrawi		
Cabinet of 25 November 1989[35]		
1.	Saleem El Hoss	Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs
2.	Michel Saseen	Deputy PM; Minister of Labor
3.	Nazeeh El Bezri	Minister of Economy and Trade
4.	George Sa'adeh	Minister of PTT
5.	Edmond Rezk	Minister of Justice and Information
6.	Ali El Khalil	Minister of Finance
7.	Souren Khanamirian	Minister of Industry and Oil
8.	Abdullah El Rassi	Minister of Health, Social Affairs and Tourism
9.	Nabih Berri	Minister of Water & Power, Cooperatives and Housing
10.	Waleed Jumblatt	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
11.	Elias El Khazen	Minister of Interior
12.	Albert Mansour	Minister of Defense
13.	Mouhsen Dalloul	Minister of Agriculture
14.	Omar Karami	Minister of Education

Table 17.4 – Cabinet Members of Saleem El Hoss Government (25 November 1989)

Immediately after forming the Cabinet, President Hrawi and Prime Minister Hoss issued Decree No. 3 on 28 December 1989 and dismissed Michel Aoun from his post as the Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army, and elevated the then Lieutenant General Emile Lahoud to the rank of Army General and appointed him as the new Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army.[36] As official Lebanon was trying to rise

[34] In addition to Ara Yerevanian, the following Deputies did not attend the meeting: Saeb Salam, Kamel El Asa'ad, Raymond Edde, Albert Moukheiber, Maurice Fadel, George Sa'adeh, Tareq Habshi, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Joseph Skaff, Rashed El Khoury, Edward Hnein, Jubran Tawq, Pierre Daccache, Abdo Awaidat, Fouad El Tahini, Salem Abdul Noor, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Michel Saseen, Kazem El Khalil, Pierre Helou, Najah Wakeem, Anwar El Sabah, Talal El Mera'abi, Hashem El Husseini, Muneef El Khateeb, Fareed Sarhal, Habib Keiruz, and Fouad Naffa'a. *Official Minutes (1989)*: 7th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 26 November 1989.

[35] Decree No. 2 dated 25 November 1989 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1989)*, Issue No. 38, 30 November 1989, p.133.

[36] Decree No. 3 dated 28 November 1989 signed by President Elias El Hrawi, Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss, Minister of Defense Albert Mansour and Minister of

from the ashes of the civil war after the Ta'ef Agreement, the Christian dominated parts of the country witnessed one of the most devastating wars between General Michel Aoun's Army and Sameer Geagea's Lebanese Forces. The Annihilation War started on 27 January 1990 and by 31 January Geagea's militias were able to capitulate garrisons at Amsheet and Sarba and then the Naval Base in Jounieh, whereas the Army was able launch a counter-offensive on 6 February and captured Dbayeh and Antelias on the coastal line and moved to Eastern Beirut. The fight further spread throughout all regions including the most villages in El Metn and Keserwan.[37] The severe fighting went on for three months claiming more than 1,000 deaths and 3,000 wounded.[38] The War of Annihilation ended when Pope John Paul II strongly condemned it and urged the warring parties to stop the fighting at once on 25 May 1990.[39]

As the Lebaese were trying to assess their losses as a result of the War of Annihilation, the entire political and geostrategic landscape of the Middle East suddenly changed when Saddam Hussein's Iraqi Army invaded and within 12 hours occupied the State of Kuwait on 2 August 1990. Within a short time, a strong anti-Iraqi international coalition was formed under the leadership of the United States. By mid-August 1990, the US Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly met with President El Asad and delivered a personal letter from President George H.W. Bush concerning the situation in the Middle East and the formation of the international coalition against Saddam Hussein.

In the light of the US-Syrian dialogue, the US Ambassador to Damascus Edward Djerejian announced that Washington wanted to see the implementation of the Ta'ef Accord on 20 August 1990.[40] One day after Djerejian's announcement, the 17th Parliament convened and

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Finance Ali El Khalil, dismissing Michel Aoun from his post as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and appointing Lieutenant General Emile Lahoud as the new Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army after elevating him to the rank of Army General. *Official Gazette (1989)*, Issue No. 39, 7 December 1989, p.144.

[37] For a detailed coverage of the fighting between General Michel Aoun and Sameer Geagea, please see Abdul Ra'ouf Sunno, *Harb Lubnan 1975-1990: Tafakok El Dawleh wa Tasaddo' El Mujtama'a, Vol. 1, [Arabic: The War in Lebanon 1975-1990: The Disintegration of the State and the Clash of Communities]*, (Beirut: Lebanese University Press, 2015), pp.479-484. See also, Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* pp.598-601.

[38] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* p.256. See also, Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.605.

[39] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* p.260.

[40] Pakradouni, *La'net Al-Watan,* p.264.

considered and adopted a measure to amend the Lebanese Constitution in order to incorporate the provisions of the Ta'ef Agreement. The measure was carried with a unanimous vote of the 48 deputies present. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian attended the meeting and voted in favor of the constitutional amendments. Yerevanian was absent.[41]

Deputy Babikian delivered a remarkable speech during the deliberations on considering the amendments to the Lebanese Constitution in the light of the Ta'ef Accord. Babikian, in the name of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, announced an unconditional approval and consent to the proposed amendments to the constitution and stressed that by consenting to the amended provisions of the Lebanese Constitution, three objectives were being ratified, namely:

> "First: To spread harmony and accord among all parties that have good-intentions and good-will by putting an end to the long-lasting calls for achieving equality in the legislative and the executive branches.
>
> "Second: To liberate the territories from occupation and stop the injustice exercised in the south.
>
> "Third: To give the crucial deadlines in accordance with the Ta'ef Accord to start dissolving militias and having the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese armies within six months from the date of ratifying the reforms." [42] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

[41] In addition to Ara Yerevanian, the following deputies did not attend the meeting: Hameed Dakroub, Rashed El Khoury, Kamel El Asa'ad, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Albert Moukheiber, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Pierre Daccache, Pierre Helou, Raymond Edde, Salem Abdul Noor, Abdul Haleem Oweidat, Fouad Nafa'a, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Maurice Fadel, Joseph Skaff, Tareq Habshi and Hasan Rifae. *Official Minutes (1990)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 21 August 1990.

[42] For the full Arabic text of Khatchig Babikian's speech on the proposed amendments to the Lebanese Constitution based on the provisions of the Ta'ef Agreement, see Appendix 3.2. *Official Minutes (1990)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 21 August 1990.

President El Hrawi signed the Constitutional Amendments into law on 21 September 1990.[43]

			1990-91[44]		1991-92(a)[45]	1991-92(b)[46]
1	Budget & Finance	17	Babikian	17	Eblighatian Khanamirian	A. Chader
2	Admin. & Justice	15	Babikian	15	Eblighatian	Barsoumian
3	Foreign Affairs	15	Eblighatian	17[47]	Eblighatian	Eblighatian
4	Pub. Works/Tran.	15	None	15	None	Barsoumian
5	Labor & Social Affairs	12	Manougian	12	Manougian	Manougian A. Chader
6	Nat'l Educ. Com.	12	None	12	None	None
7	Agriculture Com.	12	None	12	None	None
8	Nat'l Eco/Tour.	12	Eblighatian	12	Eblighatian	Eblighatian
9	Nat' Defense	10	Eblighatian	15[48]	Eblighatian	Khanamirian
10	Public Health Com.	10	Manougian Babikian	10	Manougian	Manougian
11	Public Planning	10	None	10	Eblighatian	Barsoumian
12	Info. & PTT	10	Eblighatian	10	Eblighatian	None
13	By-Laws Com.	8	None	8	None	None

Table 17.5 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 17th Lebanese Parliament (1989-92)

During this time, General Aoun still occupied the Ba'abda Presidential Palace without having any legal or constitutional authority. President Hrawi officially requested military support from Syria's

[43] Law No. 18 concerning Constitutional Amendments dated 21 September 1990 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss. *Official Gazette (1990)*, Issue No. 39 Supplement, 27 September 1990, pp.2-8.

[44] *Official Minutes (1990)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 20 March 1990.

[45] *Official Minutes (1991)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 19 March 1991.

[46] Antoine Joseph Chader and Shahe Barsoumian were appointed as members of the Parliament pursuant to Decree No. 1307 dated 7 June 1991 and signed by President Elias El Hrawi. Both were elected to their respective standing committees as shown in Table 17.5. *Official Minutes (1991)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 2 July 1991.

[47] Article 18 of the By-Laws was amended to increase the number of members of the Foreign Affairs Committee from 15 to 17. *Official Minutes (1991)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 19 March 1991.

[48] Article 18 of the By-Laws was amended to increase the number of members of the National Defense Committee from 10 to 15. *Official Minutes (1991)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 19 March 1991.

President Hafez El Asad to oust Aoun from Ba'abda on 11 October 1990. Two days later, the Syrian Air Force started to bombard the Presidential Palace while the Syrian and Lebanese tanks started to advance towards Ba'abda. Aoun surrendered at the French Embassy in Beirut and sought political asylum in France.[49]

The 17th Parliament then convened in its ordinary session and considered several pieces of legislation during the last two months of 1990. The standing committees were rejuvenated and Deputy Eblighatian was elected to seven different committees, while, Babikian was involved in three others. Khanamirian and Manougian were involved in only one committee each. Babikian was further elected to the 7-member Supreme Council, which was newly created and entrusted to try and sentence presidents and ministers in accordance with Article 80 of the Lebanese Constitution, as amended after the Ta'ef Agreement.[50]

As the provisions of the Ta'ef Accord were incorporated into the Lebanese Constitution, a conflict started between President Hrawi and Prime Minster El Hoss, who tried to conduct the official business of the Prime Minister according to the new understandings, whereas, President Hrawi wanted to maintain certain executive powers that were transferred to the Prime Minister as a result of the Ta'ef Agreement. One such encroachment into the Prime Minister's rights was Hrawi's consultation with President El Asad on the composition of a new government when Hrawi visited Damascus on 15 December 1990.[51] Accordingly, Prime Minister El Hoss resigned on 19 December 1990.[52]

President Hrawi immediately appointed Omar Karami to form a new government. Karami's Cabinet was the largest in Lebanese history, comprising of 30 ministers representing most political parties, except for

[49] For an eyewitness account of the bombardments of the Syrian aircrafts on 13 October 1990 and the events leading to the ousting of General Michel Aoun from the Ba'abda Palace, see Fouad Aoun, *Loubnan Fi Zel El Houkoumeteyn: Ayloul 1988 – Tishreen El Awal 1990, [Arabic: Lebanon under Two Governments: September 1988 – October 1990]*, (Beirut: Stampa Media Publications, 2010), pp.774-779.

[50] *Official Minutes (1990)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 6 November 1990.

[51] President Hrawi ignored the powers of both the Prime Minister and the Speaker of Parliament when negotiating with President Hafez El Asad on the composition of a *de facto* government. See, Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon,* p.614.

[52] Ibid.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Elias El Hrawi		
Cabinet of 24 December 1990[53]		
1.	Omar Karami	Prime Minister
2.	Michel El Murr	Deputy PM; Minister of Defense
3.	Nazeeh El Bezri	Minister of State
4.	Khatchig Babikian	Minister of Justice
5.	Jameel Kebbi	Minister of Health and Social Affairs
6.	Michel Saseen	Minister of Labor
7.	George Sa'adeh	Minister of PTT
8.	Ali El Khalil	Minister of Finance
9.	Boutros Harb	Minister of Education
10.	Muhammad Youssef Beydoun	Minister of Water & Power
11.	Marwan Hamadeh	Minister of Economy and Commerce
12.	Nabih Berri	Minister of State
13.	Waleed Jumblatt	Minister of State
14.	Albert Mansour	Minister of Information
15.	Mouhsen Dalloul	Minister of Agriculture
16.	Zaher El Khateeb	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
17.	Nadeem Salem	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
18.	Muhammad Jaroudi	Minister of Industry & Oil
19.	Gen. Sami El Khateeb	Minister of Interior
20.	Shawqi Fakhouri	Minister of State
21.	Nicola El Khoury	Minister of State
22.	Hagop Choukhadarian	Minister of State for Environmental Issues
23.	Abdullah El Ameen	Minister of State
24.	Asa'ad Hardan	Minister of State
25.	Muhammad Beydoun	Minister of Cooperatives and Housing
26.	Fares Boueiz	Minister of Foreign Affairs
27.	Sameer Geagea/Roger Deeb[54]	Minister of State
28.	Elie Hobeiqa	Minister of State
29.	Suleiman Tony Franjieh	Minister of State
30.	Emir Talal Arslan	Minister of Tourism

Table 17.6 – Cabinet Members of Omar Karami's Government (24 Dec. 1990)

[53] Decree No. 861 dated 24 December 1990 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Omar Karami appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1991)*, Issue No. 1, 3 January 1991, pp.1-2.

[54] Minister of State Sameer Geagea was replaced by Roger Deeb, as Minister of State, through Decree No. 1034 dated 20 March 1991 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Omar Karami. *Official Gazette (1991)*, Issue No. 13, 28 March 1991, p.169.

Hezbullah, Aoun supporters, Communists and the Nationalist Bloc.[55] Several militia leaders were included in the line-up of the new government as Ministers of State with no specific portfolios. There were two Lebanese-Armenians who were appointed as ministers: Khatchig Babikian (Armenian Orthodox) was entrusted with the Ministry of Justice, and Hagop Choukhadarian (Armenian Catholic) as the Minister of State for Environmental Issues.

Prime Minister Karami presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 17th Parliament on 9 January 1991 and received 37 votes of confidence against three votes of no confidence cast by Deputies Albert Moukheiber, Mahmoud Ammar and Najah Wakeem. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian cast votes of confidence in the Karami Government. Yerevanian was not present.[56]

As soon as Karami's government received the confidence vote from the 17th Parliament, proceeded to make several appointments of high-ranking officials, including the appointment of Michel Beshara El Khoury as the Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon,[57] General Muhammad Qobrosi as the Director General of the Internal Security

[55] Decree No. 860 dated 24 December 1990 signed by President Elias El Hrawi appointing Omar Karami as the new Prime Minister to form a government. *Official Gazette (1991)*, Issue No. 1, 3 January 1991, p.1.

[56] On the record, in addition to Yerevanian, the following deputies were not present during the deliberations on P.M. Omar Karami's Ministerial Statement: Saeb Salam, Nasri El Ma'alouf, Edmond Rezk, Anwar El Sabah, Hameed Dakroub, Rashed El Khoury, Fareed Sarhal, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, August Bakhos, Elias El Khazen, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Pierre Daccache, Pierre Helou, Tawfeeq Assaf, Raymond Edde, Shafeeq Badr, Fouad Naffa'a, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Joseph Skaff, Hussein Mansour, Subhi Yaghi and Tareq Habshi. *Official Minutes (1991)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 9 January 1991.

[57] Decree No. 868 dated 16 January 1991 signed by President Elias El Hrawi, Prime Minister Omar Karami and Minister of Finance Ali El Khalil. *Official Gazette (1991)*, Issue No. 4, 24 January 1991, pp.42-43.

Forces[58] and Raymond Roufayel as the Director General of General Security.[59]

In 1991, the 17th Parliament was engaged in considering several legislative measures. On 9 May 1991, it considered two important and vital legislative measures for the country. The first was proposed draft legislation on the Property Ownership Laws, which had been dragging on for several years. President Ameen Gemayel and Prime Minister Karami had forwarded the proposed legislation on 30 March 1985 but it was not acted upon until 1991, because of the devastating civil war. The second piece of legislation was a measure to amend the Legislative Election Laws of 1960 to incorporate the provisions of the Ta'ef Accord.[60]

After considering the draft Property Ownership Laws, as amended by the Administrative and Justice Committee, the 17th Parliament adopted the measure unanimously. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian were present and voted in favor of the measure and President Elias El Hrawi signed it into law on 30 May 1991.[61]

On the same day, the 17th Parliament deliberated on a proposed piece of legislation amending the Legislative Election Laws of 26 April 1960 to incorporate the relevant provisions of the Ta'ef Agreement. After long and exhaustive discussions, the measure was approved and adopted by a majority vote, increasing the number of Deputies to 108, by adding nine new seats allocated to the Muslim denominations in order to maintain parity between the Christians and Muslim in the parliament. The measure further stipulated that for one time only, and under extraordinary circumstances, the government would appoint new Deputies from a pool of candidates in order to fill the vacant seats of the

[58] Decree No. 873 dated 18 January 1991 signed by President Hrawi, P.M. Karami, Minister of Interior Sami El Khateeb and Minister of Finance Ali El Khalil. *Official Gazette (1991)*, Issue No. 4, 24 January 1991, p.41.

[59] Decree No. 875 dated 18 January 1991 signed by President Hrawi, P.M. Karami, Minister of Interior Sami El Khateeb and Minister of Finance Ali El Khalil. *Official Gazette (1991)*, Issue No. 4, 24 January 1991, pp.40-41.

[60] *Official Minutes (1991)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session - 2nd Cycle of the 17th Parliament held on 9 May 1991.

[61] Law No. 58 concerning Property Ownership Laws signed on 30 May 1991 by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Omar Karami. *Official Gazette (1991)*, Issue No. 23, 6 June 1991, pp.303-314.

17th Parliament. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian voted in favor of the amendment. Nine other

	Name of Appointed Deputy	Muhafaza	District
1.	Elias Joseph Hobeiqa	Beirut	1st District
2.	Antoine Joseph Chader	Beirut	1st District
3.	Akram Hussein Sheheyyeb	Beirut	2nd District
4.	Muhammad Abdul Qader El Jaroudi	Beirut	3rd District
5.	Adel Eid Sakr	Mount Lebanon	4th District – Ba'abda
6.	Mahmoud Fares Abu Hamdan	Mount Lebanon	4th District – Ba'abda
7.	Ayman Shawqat Shqeir	Mount Lebanon	4th District – Ba'abda
8.	Naseem Saleem Lahoud	Mount Lebanon	5th District – El Metn
9.	Munir Fayez El Hajj	Mount Lebanon	5th District – El Metn
10.	Shahe Vahram Barsoumian	Mount Lebanon	5th District – El Metn
11.	Jean Badawi Obeid	Mount Lebanon	6th District – El Shouf
12.	Fouad Raji El Sa'ad	Mount Lebanon	6th District – El Shouf
13.	Waleed Kamal Jumblatt	Mount Lebanon	6th District – El Shouf
14.	Marwan Muhammad Hamadeh	Mount Lebanon	6th District – El Shouf
15.	Michel Elias El Murr	Mount Lebanon	7th District - Aley
16	Talal Majeed Arslan	Mount Lebanon	7th District - Aley
17.	Fares Nouhad Boueiz	Mount Lebanon	8th District - Keserwan
18.	George Aziz Kassab	Mount Lebanon	8th District - Keserwan
19.	Nabih Mustafa Berri	South Lebanon	11th District - Saida Subs
20.	Muhammad Abdul Hameed Beydoun	South Lebanon	13th District – Sour
21.	Abdullah Muhammad El Ameen	Nabatiyeh	14th District – Bent Jbeil
22.	Anwar Muhammad El Khalil	Nabatiyeh	15th Dist. – Marja'youn
23.	Roy Elias El Hrawi	Bekaa Valley	17th District - Zahle
24.	Muhammad Ali Sa'eed El Mais	Bekaa Valley	17th District - Zahle
25.	Elie Najeeb El Ferzli	Bekaa Valley	17th District - Zahle
26.	Abdul El Raheem Youssef Murad	Bekaa Valley	18th District - Rashaya
27.	Faisal Saleem El Dawood	Bekaa Valley	18th District - Rashaya
28.	Ali Hamad Ja'afar	Bekaa Valley	19th District - Hermel
29.	Mouhsen Ali Dalloul	Bekaa Valley	19th District - Hermel
30.	Omar Abdul Hameed Karami	North Lebanon	20th District - Tripoli
31.	Omar Shawqat Mustafa Museikeh	North Lebanon	20th District - Tripoli
32.	Ali Youssef Ali Eid Eid	North Lebanon	20th District - Tripoli
33.	Hamad Muhammad Ali Qasem El Samad	North Lebanon	21st Dist. – Tripoli Subs
34.	Wajeeh Muhammad El Ba'areini	North Lebanon	22nd District - Akkar
35.	Abdul Rahman Muh'd Abdul Rahman	North Lebanon	22nd District - Akkar
36.	Nayla Najeeb Issa El Khoury	North Lebanon	23rd District - Zghorta
37.	Suleiman Antoine Franjieh	North Lebanon	23rd District - Zghorta
38.	Estefan Boutros El Doueihi	North Lebanon	23rd District - Zghorta
39.	Elias Shukri Saba	North Lebanon	24th District - El Koura
40.	Saleem Abdullah Sa'adeh	North Lebanon	24th District - El Koura

Table 17.7 – Appointed Deputies to the 17th Lebanese Parliament (7 June 1991)

Deputies cast negative votes and four others abstained.[62] President Hrawi signed the measure into law as Law No. 51 amending the 1960 Legislative Election Laws on 23 May 1991.[63]

Another important measure that the 17th Parliament considered was the ratification of the Lebanese-Syrian Brotherly Cooperation and Coordination Treaty that presidents Elias El Hrawi and Hafez El Asad had signed on 22 May 1991. The parliament, in its 27 May 1991 meeting, voted in favor of the ratification. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian voted in favor of the measure. Albert Moukheiber was the only Deputy who voted against it. Deputy Hameed Dakroub abstained from voting.[64]

As the amended Electoral Law took effect and in anticipation of the implementation of Law No. 51 by increasing the number of Deputies to 108, the 17th Parliament in its 6 June 1991 meeting considered a draft proposal to amend its by-laws. Deputy Babikian was one of the pillar Deputies arguing to promote certain amendments to the by-laws so that they also correspond with the spirit of the Ta'ef Agreement. The

[62] Deputies who cast negative votes against amending the Legislative Election Laws of 1960 were: Kamel El Asa'ad, Muneef El Khateeb, Anwar El Sabah, Fareed Sarhal, Hameed Dakroub, Mikhael El Daher, Albert Moukheiber, Najah Wakeem and Michel Ma'alouli. Deputies Emile Rohanna Sakr, Edmond Rezk, Pierre Helou and Abdul Lateef El Zein abstained from voting. The absentees from the session were: Jameel Kebbi, Saeb Salam, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Adel Osseiran, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, August Bakhos, Elias El Khazen, Pierre Daccache, Raymond Edde, Salem Abdul Noor, Fouad Naffa'a, Mahmoud Ammar, George Sa'adeh, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Hashem El Husseini, Joseph Skaff, Hussein Mansour and Tareq Habshi. *Official Minutes (1991)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session - 2nd Cycle of the 17th Parliament held on 9 May 1991.

[63] Law No. 51, Amending the 1960 Legislative Election Laws signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Omar Karami on 23 May 1991. *Official Gazette (1991)*, Issue No. 21 Supplement, 23 May 1991, pp.5-7.

[64] The following Deputies were not in attendance during the ratification of the Lebanese-Syrian Brotherly Cooperation and Coordination Treaty of 22 May 1991: Saeb Salam, Rashed El Khoury, Fareed Sarhal, Edward Hnein, Ahmad Isber, Elias El Khazen, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Pierre Daccache, Raymond Edde, Saleem Abdul Noor, Fouad Naffa'a, Mahmoud Ammar, Gebran Tawq, Habib Keiruz, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Joseph Skaff, Hussein Mansour and Tareq Habshi. *Official Minutes (1991)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 27 May 1991.

amendments were adopted with a unanimous vote, and Speaker El Husseini singed the amended by-laws into effect on 6 June 1991.[65]

The very next day, on 7 June 1991, and in accordance with Law No. 51, the government issued Decree No. 1307 and appointed 40 new Deputies in addition to the 68 remaining Deputies.[66] Among the appointees were Antoine Joseph Chader who replaced his father, the late Joseph Chader, for Beirut's Armenian Catholic seat and Shahe Barsoumian replacing Ara Yerevanian for the Metn's Armenian Orthodox Seat.[67]

On 26 August 1991, the 17th Parliament contemplated another important post-Ta'ef issue, a piece of legislation granting a general amnesty for all crimes perpetrated before 28 March 1991 in Lebanon. Deputies Babikian and Manougian voted in favor of granting the amnesty, whereas Eblighatian and Khanamirian did not attend the session. Deputies Nasri El Ma'alouf, Othman El Dana, Najah Wakeem and Albert Moukheiber voted against the measure, whereas Rasheed El Solh abstained from voting.[68]

Omar Karami's government resigned and President Hrawi appointed Rasheed El Solh to form a new government and entrusted him to enact a new election law and organize and oversee new legislative elections that were going to take place for the first time in 20 years.[69]

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[65] The newly adopted by-laws of the Lebanese Parliament were published in the *Official Gazette (1991)*, Issue No. 25 Supplement, 20 June 1991, pp.1-13.

[66] Decree No. 1307 dated 7 June 1991 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Omar Karami appointing 40 new deputies to the Lebanese Parliament. *Official Gazette (1991)*, issue No. 24, 13 June 1991, pp.334-336.

[67] *Official Minutes (1991)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 2 July 1991.

[68] In addition to Eblighatian and Khanamirian, the following Deputies did not attend the meeting to consider a law granting a general amnesty: Saeb Salam, Rashed El Khoury, Ali El Abdullah, Edmond Rezk, Ra'ef Samara, Fareed Sarhal, Adel Osseiran, Elias El Khazen, Ahmad Isber, Edward Hnein, Pierre Daccache, Ayman Ashqar, Salem Abdul Noor, Fouad Naffa'a, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Maurice Fadel, Habib Keiruz, Hasan El Rifae, Abdul Molla Amhaz, Joseph Skaff, Hussein Mansour, Subhi Yaghi and Nayla Mou'awad. Deputies Abdul Haleem Aweidat and Fareed Gebran were excused. *Official Minutes (1991)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session – 2nd Cycle of the 17th Parliament held on 26 August 1991.

[69] Decree No. 2418 dated 16 May 1992 signed by President Elias El Hrawi appointing Rasheed El Solh to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1992)*: Issue No. 21, 21 May 1992, p.514.

Deputy Shahe Barsoumian was appointed as the Minister of Oil and Industry in El Solh's government.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Elias El Hrawi		
Cabinet of 16 May 1992[70]		
1.	Rasheed El Solh	Prime Minister
2.	Michel El Murr	Deputy PM; Minister of Defense
3.	Nazeeh El Bezri	Minister of State
4.	Nasri El Ma'alouf	Minister of Justice
5.	George Sa'adeh	Minister of PTT
6.	Zaki Mazboudi	Minister of Education
7.	Marwan Hamadeh	Minister of Health and Social Affairs
8.	Nabih Berri	Minister of State
9.	Waleed Jumblatt	Minister of State
10.	Mouhsen Dalloul	Minister of Agriculture
11.	Gen. Sami El Khateeb	Minister of Interior
12.	Shawqi Fakhouri	Minister of Public Works & Transportation
13.	Abdullah El Ameen	Minister of Labor
14.	Asa'ad Hardan	Minister of State
15.	Muh'd Abdul Hameed Beydoun	Minister of Water & Power
16.	Fares Boueiz	Minister of Foreign Affairs
17.	Sameer Geagea	Minister of State
18.	Elie Hobeiqa	Minister of State for the Displaced
19.	Suleiman Franjieh	Minister of Cooperatives and Housing
20.	Shahe Barsoumian	Minister of Oil & Industry
21.	Sameer Maqdesi	Minister of Economy and Commerce
22.	Asa'ad Diyab	Minister of Finance
23.	Lieut. Gen. Ahmad Sami Menqara	Minister of Tourism
24.	Michel Smeha	Minister of Information

Table 17.8 – Cabinet Members of Rasheed El Solh's Government (16 May 1992)

Prime Minister El Solh presented his new government's ministerial statement to the 17th Parliament on 28 May 1992 and received 76 votes of confidence, including those of Khatchig Babikian, Melkon Eblighatian, Antranig Manougian, Antoine Chader and Shahe Barsoumian. Souren Khanamirian was not present. Deputies Dakroub,

[70] Decree No. 2419 dated 16 May 1992 and signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1992)*, Issue No. 21, 21 May 1992, p.515.

Sakr, Rezk, El Khazen, Harb and Moukheiber cast votes of no confidence, whereas Anwar El Sabah and Muneef El Khateeb abstained from voting.[71]

The first task of the newly formed government was to enact new election laws. Solh's government submitted draft legislation to amend the 1960 Legislative Election Laws to the Parliament, which considered and adopted an amended version of it on 16 July 1992. The measure was carried with a majority vote. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Manougian and Barsoumian voted in favor of the amended Election Law. Deputy Antoine Chader voted against the measure, whereas Eblighatian was not present.[72]

The amended Legislative Election Law stipulated that the number of the Deputies of the Lebanese Parliament be 128, with the allocation of a total of six seats to the Lebanese-Armenian community: three Orthodox and one Catholic seats in Beirut, one Orthodox seat in El Metn and another one in Zahle, Beka'a Valley. The Law further shortened the term of the 17th Parliament by advancing the termination date from 31 December 1994 to 15 October 1992. President Hrawi signed the measure into law on 22 July 1992,[73] and issued Decree No. 2540 and called for new legislative elections to be held on Sunday 23 August 1992 in North Lebanon and Beka'a Valley; Sunday 30 August 1992 in Beirut

[71] In addition to Souren Khanamirian, the following deputies were absent: Saeb Salam, Nadeem Salem, Raymond Edde, Ahmad Isber, Edward Hnein, Pierre Daccache, Adel Sakr, Tawfeeq Assaf, George Kassab, Naseeb Lahoud, Fouad Naffa'a, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Omar Karami, Omar Museikeh, Subhi Yaghi and Najah Wakeem. Deputies Albert Mansour, Abdul Raheem Murad and Fareed Serhal were excused. *Official Minutes (1992)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 28 May 1992.

[72] In addition to Antoine Chader, the following Deputies voted against the adoption of the amended Election Law: Kamel El Asa'ad, Muneef El Khateeb, Anwar El Sabah, Hameed Dakroub, Albert Moukheiber, Najah Wakeem, Boutros Harb, Emile Rohanna Sakr, Pierre Helou, Othman El Dana, Munir El Hajj and Adel Sakr. Deputies Melkon Eblighatian and Abdul Rahman Murad were excused, whereas the following deputies were absent from the session: Saeb Salam, Michel Saseen Rashed El Khoury, Fareed Serhal, Raymond Edde, Elias El Khazen, Ahmad Isber, August Bakhos, Pierre Daccache, Abdul Haleem Aweidat, Naseeb Lahoud, Fouad Naffa'a, Abdul Majeed El Rafi'i, Maurice Fadel, Omar Karami, Omar Museikeh, Tareq Habshi and Subhi Yaghi. *Official Minutes (1992)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session – 2nd Cycle of the 17th Parliament held on 16 July 1992.

[73] Law No. 154 dated 22 July 1992 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh amending the 1960 Election Laws to incorporate the number of deputies to 128. *Official Gazette (1992)*, Issue No. 31 Supplement, 30 July 1992, pp.1-6.

and Mount Lebanon and Sunday 6 September 1992 in South Lebanon and Nabatiyeh.[74]

	Prime Ministers	Saleem El Hoss	Omar Karami	Rasheed El Solh
		26 Nov. 1989	09 Jan. 1991	28 May 1992
1	Joseph Chader[75]	--	--	--
2	Khatchig Babikian	√	√*	√
3	Souren Khanamirian	√*	√	NS
4	Melkon Eblighatian	√	√	√
5	Antranig Manougian	√	√	√
6	Ara Yerevanian	NS	NS	--
a	Antoine Chader	--	--	√
b	Shahe Barsoumian	--	--	√*
√ - Confidence Vote; X -No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record				

Table 17.9 - Governments during the 17th Lebanese Parliament (1989-92)

The 17th Parliament held a total of 40 meetings from November 1989 to August 1992. The last day of the 17th Parliament was on 4 August 1992.

[74] Decree No. 2540 dated 22 July 1992 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh calling for new legislative elections. *Official Gazette (1992)*, Issue No. 31, 30 July 1992, p.686.

[75] Joseph Chader passed away in 1977.

The 2nd Lebanese Republic

The 18th Lebanese Parliament

(1992-96)

The previous Parliament, in its 23 April 1992, meeting amended the 1960 Election Law and shortened its own tenure so it would end on 31 December 1992 rather than 31 December 1994.[1] President El Hrawi signed the measure into law on 22 July 1992.[2]

Among other things, the amended Election Law called for:

1. Number of Deputies to be 128;

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[1] *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1992)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 23 April 1992.

[2] Law No. 154 dated 22 July 1992 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh amending the 1960 Election Law to incorporate the increase of the number of deputies to 128 and advanced the termination date of the Parliament to 31 December 1992. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1992)*, Issue No. 31 Supplement, 30 July 1992, pp.1-6.

2. The electoral districts to be on the basis of *Mouhafazas*;
3. The term of the 17th Parliament to end on 15 October 1992;
4. The Lebanese-Armenian community to have six deputies, with the following allocation:
   a) Three Armenian Orthodox representatives from Beirut;
   b) One Armenian Catholic representative from Beirut;
   c) One Armenian Orthodox representative from El Metn District - Mount Lebanon;
   d) One Armenian Orthodox representative from Zahle District-Beka'a Valley.

The elections to the new parliament took place in accordance with Decree No. 2540 that called for legislative elections to be held on Sunday 23 August 1992 in North Lebanon and the Beka'a Valley; Sunday 30 August 1992 in the *Muhafazats* of Beirut and Mount Lebanon; and Sunday 6 September 1992 in South Lebanon and Nabatiyeh.[3]

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District	Mtgs	Absc.	Attend.
1	Khatchig Babikian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	53	10	81%
2	Souren Khanamirian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	53	8	85%
3	Yeghia Jeredjian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	53	6	88%
4	Hagop Choukhadarian	Arm. Cath.	Beirut	53	1	98%
5	Nourijan Demirdjian	Arm. Protest.	Beirut	53	0	100%
6	Shahe Barsoumian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	53	0	100%
7	George Kassarji	Arm. Orth.	Zahle	53	3	94%

Table 18.1 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 18th Lebanese Parliament (1992-96)

The Lebanese people were rejuvenated after having a 20-year hiatus on legislative elections.[4] Lebanese born in 1951 were the last

[3] Decree No. 2540 dated 22 July 1992 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh calling for new legislative elections. *Official Gazette (1992)*, Issue No. 31, 30 July 1992, p.686.

[4] For a detailed analysis of the 1992 Legislative Elections in Lebanon, please see Judith P. Harik and Hilal Khashan, "Lebanon's Dicisive Democracy: The Parliamentary Elections of 1992," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 15, Issue No. 1, (Winter 1993), pp.41-60.

128	Names of the Elected Deputies of the 18h Lebanese Parliament (1992-96)	
Beirut Dist. (19)	Nourijan Demirdjian (Protestant); Khatchig Babikian (Arm. Orthodox); Souren Khanamirian (Armenian Orthodox); Yeghia Jeredjian (Armenian Orthodox); Hagop Choukhadarian (Armenian Catholic); Asmar Asmar (Minorities); Issam No'man (Druze); Beshara Merhej (Roman Orthodox); Najah Wakeem (Roman Orthodox); Joseph Mougheizel (Roman Catholic); Ossama Fakhouri (Sunni); Rasheed El Solh (Sunni); Zuheir El Obeidi (Sunni); Saleem El Hoss (Sunni); Adnan Trabolsi (Sunni); Muhammad Qabbani (Sunni); Muhammad Berjawi (Sunni); Muhammad Youssef Beydoun (Shia) Ghassan Matar (Maronite).	
South Leb. (23)	Anwar El Khalil (Druze); Asa'ad Hardan (Roman Orthodox); Michel Moussa (Roman Catholic); Nadeem Salem (Roman Catholic); Ahmad Suweid (Sunni); Bahiyeh El Hariri (Sunni); Mustafa Sa'ad (Sunni); Ahmad Ajami (Shia); Ayyoub Hameed (Shia); Habib Sadeq (Shia); Hasan Alawiyeh (Shia); Sa'eed El Asa'ad (Shia); Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia); Abdullah El Ameen (Shia); Ali El Khalil (Shia); Ali Osseiran (Shia); Imad Jaber (Shia); Muhammad Beydoun (Shia); Muhammad Ra'ad (Shia); Muhammad Fneish (Shia); Nabih Berri (Shia); Suleiman Kena'an (Maronite); and Sameer Azar (Maronite).	
North Leb. (28)	Riad El Sarraf (Roman Orth.); Saleem Habib (Roman Orth.); Saleem Sa'adeh (Roman Orth.); Abdullah El Rassi (Roman Orthodox); Fayez Ghossen (Roman Orth.); Fareed Makari (Roman Orthodox); Asa'ad Harmoush (Sunni); Hasan Azzedeen (Sunni); Saleh Kheir (Sunni); Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni); Omar Karami (Sunni); Omar Mesqawi (Sunni); Muhammad Ameen El Hafez (Sunni); Muhammad Kabbara (Sunni); Mahmoud Tebbo (Sunni); Mahmoud Fathi Yakon (Sunni); Wajeeh El Ba'areini (Sunni); Abdul Rahman Abdul Rahman (Alawite); Ali Eid (Alawite); Estefan El Doueihi (Maronite); Jean Obeid (Maronite); Habib Keiruz (Maronite); Sayed Akl (Maronite); Suleiman Franjieh (Maronite); Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite); Manuel Younis (Maronite); Mikhael El Daher (Maronite); Nayla Mou'awad (Maronite).	
Beka'a Valley (23)	Zahle District:	George Kassarji (Armenian Orthodox); Youssef El Ma'alouf (Roman Orthodox); Elie Skaff (Roman Catholic); Nicola Fattoush (Roman Catholic); Ali Maita (Sunni); Mouhsen Dalloul (Shia); and Khalil El Hrawi (Maronite).
	Ba'albeck/ Hermel District:	Su'oud Roufayel (Roman Catholic); Ibrahim Bayan (Sunni); Mounir El Houjeiri (Sunni); Sheikh Ibrahim El Sayyed (Shia); Sheikh Khoder Tlais (Shia); Sheikh Ali Taha (Shia); Hussein El Husseini (Shia); Muhammad Hasan Yaghi (Shia); Yehia Shams (Shia); and Rabi'a Keiruz (Maronite).
	Rashaya District:	Faisal El Dawood (Druze); Elie El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox); Sami El Khateeb (Sunni); Abdul Raheem Murad (Sunni); Mahmoud Abu Hamdan (Shia); and Robert Ghanem (Maronite).
Mount Leb. (35)	Chouf District:	Marwan Hamadeh (Druze); Waleed Jumblatt (Druze); Khalil Abdul Noor (Roman Cath.); Zaher El Khateeb (Sunni); Ala'edeen Terro (Sunni); George Youssef Deeb (Maronite); Sameer Aoun (Maronite); Nabeel El Bustani (Maronite).
	El Metn District:	Shahe Barsoumian (Arm. Orth.); Riad Abu Fadel (Roman Orth.); Michel El Murr (Roman Orth.); Michel Smeha (Roman Cath.); August Bakhos (Maronite); Habib Hakeem (Maronite); Ghassan El Ashqar (Maronite); Naseeb Lahoud (Maronite).
	Jbeil District	Mahmoud Awwad (Shia); Maha El Khoury (Maronite); Michel El Khoury (Maronite).
	Ba'abda District:	Ayman Shqeir (Druze); Basem El Saba'a (Shia); Ali Ammar (Shia); Elias Hobeiqa (Maronite); Antoine Khalil (Maronite); and Jean Ghanem (Maronite).
	Aley District:	Akram Sheheyyeb (Druze); Talal Arslan (Druze); Marwan Abu Fadel (Roman Orthodox); Pierre Helou (Maronite); and Fouad El Sa'ad (Maronite).
	Keserwan District:	Elias Shukrallah El Khazen (Maronite); Rasheed El Khazen (Maronite); Fares Nouhad Boueiz (Maronite); Camille Antoine Ziadeh (Maronite); and Mansur Fouad Ghanem El Bon (Maronite).

Table 18.2 – Names of the Deputies of the 18th Lebanese Parliament (1992-96)

generation that had participated in elections, back in 1972, while those born between 1952 and 1971 had not been involved with any legislative elections ever. The Lebanese-Armenian community was revitalized as well and conducted intense pre-election campaigning as many new Armenian candidates came on to the Lebanese political scene in 1992.[5] Incumbents Babikian and Khanamirian were re-elected. The new elected Deputies were Yeghia Jeredjian (Armenian Orthodox), Hagop Choukhadarian (Armenian Catholic) from Beirut and Shahe Barsoumian (Armenian Orthodox) from El Metn District. George Kassarji (Armenian Orthodox) was the first elected Armenian Representative from the Zahle District. Nourijan Demirdjian (Armenian Protestant) was elected to the Protestant seat in Beirut.

The first meeting of the 18th Parliament was held on 20 October 1992, with Qabalan Issa El Khoury, the eldest Deputy present, presiding. The youngest elected Deputy was Suleiman Tony Franjieh who acted as the Secretary.[6] After reading Article 44 of the Lebanese Constitution, as amended, the Deputies elected Nabih Berri (Shia, South Lebanon) as the Speaker of the 18th Parliament for the duration of the term, and proceeded to elect the officials of the Speaker's Bureau. Elie El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox) was elected as the Deputy-Speaker for the rest of the term, whereas, Akram Sheheyyeb (Druze, Aley) and Camille Ziadeh (Maronite, Keserwan) were elected as Secretaries. Hagop Choukhadarian (Armenian Catholic, Beirut), Abdul Rahman Abdul Rahman (Sunni, North Lebanon) and Joseph Mougheizel (Roman Catholic, Beirut) were elected as the 3 Commissioners for a term of 1 year. Past Speaker Hussein El Husseini and Saleem Sa'adeh were not present to the first meeting and Babikian was excused for not attending.[7]

[5] For detailed pre-election campaign of the Lebanese-Armenian community, please see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press 2014), pp.268-289.

[6] "Official Results of the 1992 Legislative Elections," as announced by the Ministry of Interior in a letter dated 14 October 1992 and signed by Sami El Khateeb, Minister of Interior. *Official Minutes (1992)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 20 October 1992.

[7] *Official Minutes (1992)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 20 October 1992.

	1992-1996			
Speaker	Nebih Berri			
Deputy Speaker	Elie El Ferzli			
	1992-93	**1993-94[8]**	**1994-95[9]**	**1995-96[10]**
The Secretariat	A. Sheheyyeb Camille Ziadeh	A. Sheheyyeb Camille Ziadeh	A. Sheheyyeb Camille Ziadeh	A. Sheheyyeb Camille Ziadeh
Commissioners	Choukhadarian Abdul Rahman J. Mougheizel	Choukhadarian Abdul Rahman J. Mougheizel	Choukhadarian Abdul Rahman J. Mougheizel	Choukhadarian Abdul Rahman J. Mougheizel

Table 18.3 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 18th Lebanese Parliament

The 18th Parliament held a total of 53 meetings during its term comprising of 29 ordinary and 24 extraordinary meetings. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were active and had a high attendance record throughout. Souren Khanamirian, Yeghia Jeredjian, Demirdjian and Barsoumian kept relatively low profile participation compared to Babikian, Kassarji and Choukhadarian, who voiced their opinions and participated in the legislative discussions throughout.

The Lebanese-Armenian deputies were actively involved in the standing committees of the 18th Parliament. Kassarji and Demirdjian were elected to the National Economy and Public Health Committees respectively. Babikian was elected to the Administration & Justice and the Public Planning committees, whereas Khanamirian was involved in the Budget and Finance as well as the National Defense committees. Jeredjian was elected to the Public Works and the National Economy committees, whereas Choukhadarian was involved in the Foreign Affairs Committee and was the Rapporteur of the Agriculture & Environment Committee, and as such signed and presented 14 different reports to the 18th Parliament. Choukhadarian became a member of the By-Laws Committee as well.

[8] *Official Minutes (1993)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 19 October 1993.

[9] *Official Minutes (1994)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 18 October 1994.

[10] *Official Minutes (1995)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 17 October 1995.

			1992-93[11]	1993-94[12]
1	Budget & Finance Com.	17	Khanamirian	Khanamirian
2	Admin. & Justice Com.	15	Babikian	Babikian
3	Foreign Affairs Com.	15	Choukhadarian	Choukhadarian
4	Public Works & Transp.	15	Jeredjian	Jeredjian
5	Labor Committee	12	None	None
6	Nat'l Education Com.	12	None	None
7	Agriculture/Tourism	12	Choukhadarian	Choukhadarian
8	Nat'l Economy Com.	12	Jeredjian/Kassarji	Jeredjian/Kassarji
9	Nat'l Defense Com.	10	Khanamirian	Khanamirian
10	Public Health/Social	10	N. Demirdjian	N. Demirdjian
11	Public Planning	10	Babikian	Babikian
12	Info. & PTT Committee	10	None	None
13	By-Laws Committee	8	None	Choukhadarian

Table 18.4 – Committee memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 18th Lebanese Parliament (1992-94)

After Rasheed El Solh's government successfully organized and held the first legislation election in 20 years, submitted its resignation and paved the way for the appointment of a new government that world work with the new parliament.[13] President Hrawi appointed Rafik El Hariri to form a new 30-member government to embark to a new era. Rafik El Hariri's first Cabinet included two Lebanese-Armenian Ministers: Shahe Barsoumian as Minister of State and Hagop Yervant Demirdjian as the Minister of Public Works and Transportation.

Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri presented the ministerial statement of his newly formed government to the 18th Parliament on 9 November 1992. After long and heated discussions, Hariri's government received 104 votes of confidence against 12 votes of no confidence. Three other Deputies abstained from voting, whereas Past Speaker Hussein El Husseini and Suleiman Franjieh did not attend the meeting. All seven Lebanese-Armenian Deputies cast votes of confidence.[14] Before casting

[11] *Official Minutes (1992)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 November 1992.

[12] *Official Minutes (1993)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 19 October 1993.

[13] Decree No. 2898 dated 31 October 1992 signed by President Elias El Hrawi accepting the resignation of Rasheed El Solh's Government. *Official Gazette (1992)*, Issue No. 45, 5 November 1992, p.1043.

[14] Amongst the deputies who cast votes of no confidence to Rafik El Hariri's 1st Government were: Khoder Tlais, Muhammad Berjawi, Muhammad Yaghi,

his vote of confidence, however, Kassarji delivered a speech wherein, in pertinent parts, he stated:

> "I would like to express my admiration to the ministerial statement hoping that it would be implemented and not just be a matter of theory. In this respect, this new government is important and so is its statement.
>
> "I have some remarks that I would like to make. First: When it comes to creating new ministries, there is an inevitable question to be asked: Where is the need for the Ministry of Planning? Each and every public developmental project mentioned in the Statement imposes on us the creation of such a ministry. May God have mercy on Sheikh Morris Gemayel's soul.
>
> **"**Second: The positive aspects of the ministerial statement include the creation of an independent ministry for occupational and technical education because this type of education is important in the development of human and natural resources.
>
> "The strange paradox, however, is that the government seems to be dismantling the State Employment Department which is considered the first office for studying the real needs for manpower in terms of specialization and expertise. Therefore, I would like to draw your attention to reactivating the role of this department and giving due consideration to it.
>
> "Third: We hope that this government would take into consideration the importance of sports and youth as they have become a well-known benchmark for civilization. Therefore, we consider that the establishment of sports arenas throughout Lebanese territories is of utmost importantance. Hence, we have to call for the establishment of the role of the General

---

Muhammad Ra'ad, Ali Ammar, Muhammad Fneish, Ali Taha, Su'oud Roufayel, Ibrahim El Sayed, Ibrahim Bayan, Rabi'a Keiruz, and Najah Wakeem. The deputies who abstained were Sami El Khateeb, Fathi Yakon and Zuheir El Obeidi. In addition to Hussein El Husseini and Suleiman Franjieh, Asa'ad Harmoush and Mounir El Hujeiri were not present (both excused). *Official Minutes (1992)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 9 November 1992.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Elias El Hrawi		
Cabinet of 31 October 1992[15]		
1.	Rafik El Hariri	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	Michel El Murr	Deputy Prime Minister
3.	Reda Waheed	Minister of State for Expatriate Affairs[16]
4.	Michel Edde	Minister of State for Cultural Issues & Higher Educ.
5.	Beheej Tabbara	Minister of Justice; Acting for Admin. Reform issues
6.	Asa'ad Rezk	Minister of Oil & Industry
7.	Marwan Hamadeh	Minister of Health and Social Affairs
8.	George Efra/Jean Obeid[17]	Minister of Water & Power
9.	Waleed Jumblatt	Minister of State for Displaced Issues
10.	Mouhsen Dalloul	Minister of Defense
11.	Abdullah El Ameen	Minister of Labor
12.	Fares Boueiz	Minister of Foreign Affairs
13.	Elias Hobeiqa	Minister of State for Social Affairs
14.	Suleiman Tony Franjieh	Minister of State for Municipality Issues
15.	Shahe Barsoumian	Minister of State
16.	Michel Smeha	Minister of Information
17.	Mikhael El Daher	Minister of Education
18.	Omar Masqawi	Minister of State for Transportation Issues
19.	Anwar El Khalil	Minister of State
20.	Nicola Fattoush	Minister of Tourism
21.	Beshara Merhej	Minister of Interior
22.	Hasan Azzedeen	Minister of State for Occupational Education
23.	Ali Osseiran	Minister of State
24.	Mahmoud Abu Hamdan	Minister of Cooperatives and Housing
25.	Muhammad Ghaziri	Minister of PTT
26.	Adel Qortas	Minister of Agriculture
27.	Sameer Muqbel	Minister of State for Environmental Issues
28.	Hagop Yervant Demirdjian	Minister of Economy and Commerce
29.	Muh'd Bassam Murtada	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
30.	Fouad El Siniora	Minister of State

[15] Decree No. 2900 dated 31 October 1992 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1992)*, Issue No. 45, 5 November 1992, pp.1044-1046.

[16] As soon as the 18th Parliament adopted a law for the establishment of a number of new ministries, please see *Official Minutes (1993)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 16 March 1993, President Hrawi and P.M. Hariri through Decree 3383 re-appointed Reda Waheed as Minister of Expatriates. See *Official Gazette (1993)*, Issue No. 16, 22 April 1993, pp.335-336.

[17] Minister George Efram was dismissed from the Government though Decree No. 3920 and Jean Obeid was appointed as Minister of State to replace him through Decree No. 3921. *Official Gazette (1993)*, Issue No. 33, 19 August 1993, p.757.

> Directorate of the Youth and Sports, which has been as good as been annulled.
>
> "Fourth: The last Rental Laws should be reconsidered with retroactive effect.
>
> "Finally, due attention should be given to the Hammana-Chtura Tunnel which will solve the main transport problem between Beirut and the Beka'a Valley."[18] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

In a subsequent meeting, the 18th Parliament elected the members of the Supreme Council, in accordance with Article 80 of the Lebanese Constitution, as amended.[19] The agenda for the meeting, however, was not distributed to the Deputies beforehand and the absence of Prime Minister El Hariri at the meeting, prompted Deputy Choukhadarian to make derogatory remarks on the record, accusing the Speaker of ignoring the Lebanese-Armenian contingent in parliament by not providing copies of the agenda. Choukhadarian protested:

> "We note that the Armenian Deputies did not receive today's agenda. Are we Deputies in this Chamber or not? What is the reason?"

He then proceeded to say:

> "With regards to this meeting as being the first after the government was granted a confidence vote…. we wonder about the reasons for the absence of the Prime Minister at this session. Is it as a result of disrespect or the lack of interest in this Chamber? We totally refuse this unacceptable matter in form and in substance, especially when there may be several necessary and urgent questions that may be posed to the government

[18] For the full Arabic text of George Kassarji's speech before casting his Confidence Vote to Rafik El Hariri's 1st Government, please see Appendix 5.1. *Official Minutes (1992)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 9 November 1992.

[19] Article 80 of the Lebanese Constitution stipulates that parliament should elect 7 Deputies as members of the Supreme Council that tries and issues sentences on presidents and ministers for criminal activities. See Article 80 of the Lebanese Constitution at: "The Lebanese Constitution," *Official Website of the Presidency of the Republic of Lebanon. [Last accessed 17 August 2015]*.. http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf.

> and the Prime Minister, himself, who must respond to them personally. We protest the absence of the Prime Minister from the deliberations of this chamber.
>
> "By the way, should the same percentage of government minsters attending this meeting were to be applied to the number of Deputies present, we would not have had a quorum today."[20] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

	Elected Deputies to the Supreme Council (1992-96)[21]		
	Name of Deputy	**Sect**	**District**
1.	Fouad El Sa'ad	Maronite	Aley
2.	Robert Ghanem	Maronite	Rashaya
3.	Joseph Mougheizel	Roman Catholic	Beirut
4.	Riad Abu Fadel	Roman Orthodox	El Metn
5.	Khatchig Babikian	Armenian Orthodox	Beirut
6.	Zaher El Khateeb	Sunni	El Chouf
7.	Ahmad Suweid	Sunni	South Lebanon
a.	Ali Maita (1st Substitute)	Sunni	Zahle
b.	Hasan Alawiyeh (2nd Substitute)	Shia	South Lebanon
c.	Su'oud Roufayel (3rd Substitute)	Roman Catholic	Ba'albeck/Hermel

Table 18.6 – Elected Deputies to the Supreme Council (1992-96)

Speaker Berri then proceeded to call for the election of Deputies to the Supreme Council with three substitutes. Babikian was elected as one of the seven members of the Supreme Council. The elected Deputies took the oath of responsibility on 2 February 1993.[22]

The 18th Parliament considered and adopted several pieces of legislation throughout 1993. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, especially Babikian, Choukhadarian and Kassarji were quite active in

[20] Deputies Souren Khanamirian and Khatchig Babikian were not present at this meeting. Other absentees included: Najah Wakeem, Rasheed El Khazen, Ameen El Hafez, Ali Eid, Ali El Khalil, Asa'ad Hardan, Sami El Khateeb and Khoder Tlais. In addition to Khatchig Babikian, the following deputies were excused: Asa'ad Harmoush, Khalil Abdul Noor, Elias El Khazen, Hussein El Husseini, Saleem El Hoss and Nadeem Saleem. *Official Minutes (1992)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 19 November 1992.

[21] *Official Minutes (1992)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 19 November 1992.

[22] *Official Minutes (1993)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 2 February 1993.

debating, commenting and proposing certain amendments and modifications to most debated legislation.

During a general discussion session, that President Elias El Hrawi attended and delivered a speech on 5 January 1993, Babikian, Choukhadarian and Kassarji gave speeches covering several ongoing concerns of the Lebanese people.[23]

Babikian, in his speech, welcomed the presence and participation of the President of the Republic at the Parliament and proceeded to say:

> "This is a beautiful opportunity and suitable initiative *[the presence of the President of the Republic within the Parliament]* to remind the Lebanese all across, that this Chamber, which includes all different politicians, reminds us of the principles of unity, freedom, and social justice. The more we move away from these principles the more we widen the dividing lines among ourselves.
>
> "As to the government led by my dear friend Sheikh Rafik El Hariri, represented today by my friend Minister El Murr, how could we discuss its work performance when only 100 days have passed in its mandate . . . Therefore, let us be satisfied with the confidence and trust that the Lebanese felt with the appointment of the Prime Minister, who helped stabilize the Lebanese currency . . ."[24] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Deputy Choukhadarian, in turn, thanked the government for its accomplishments in maintaining peace and security in Lebanon, and then highlighted three urgent matters concerning the environment and

[23] President Elias El Hrawi attended the Parliamentary meeting on 5 January 1993 and gave a speech. All Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present except for Souren Khanamirian who was excused along with several other deputies, including: Omar Karami, Fareed Makari, Basem El Saba'a, Akram Sheheyyeb, Ala'edeen Tro, Khalil Abdul Noor, Behiyeh El Hariri, Elie Skaff, Pierre Helou, Asa'ad Harmoush, Ghassan El Ashqar, Rasheed El Solh, Beshara Merhej, Zukeir El Obeidi, Abdul Raheem Murad, Yahia Shams and Ossama Fakhouri. Deputies Ameen El Hafez, Ali Eid and Husein El Husseini were absent. *Official Minutes (1993)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 January 1993.

[24] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech during the 5 January 1993 session of the Parliament, please Appendix 3.3. *Official Minutes (1993)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 January 1993.

proper waste management, along with issues related to wild fires and airport traffic. Choukhadarian further demanded that:

> "We insist on the issuance of the citizenship laws, because there are large groups of Armenians who were born in Lebanon, and so far do not have any nationality (whether under consideration or otherwise). I therefore insist on this and demand that the necessary attention be given to it.
>
> "As to the environment, you all know that I was the Minister of Environment for more than a year and a half. We started from scratch and made the environment an important national topic. Environment and humans complement one another. The environment without humans cannot be considered as environment, and humans without the environment cannot be human beings. Therefore, we need to speed up the establishment of the Ministry of Environment. This is a vital and important issue. Hence I ask the government, Where is the proposed draft environmental law?
>
> "I have a friendly comment for the current Minister of the Environment, as he has turned his private office into a base for the Ministry of Environment, knowing that there are headquarters for this Ministry. Why do this? Is it permissible for the Minister of Electricity, or to the Minister of Public Works, to conduct official public business from their private offices?"[25] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Kassarji was also keen to send his remarks across to the Executive Branch during this session due to the presence of the President. In his speech, Kassarji emphasized four issues:

> "Firstly, there were several people who were killed during the recent holidays (Christmas and New Year's) because of flying bullets that were fired in the air during the celebrations, including the fourteen-year-old daughter of George Saliba of Zahle. They were unable to

[25] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the General Discussion Session of the 18th Parliament on 5 January 1993, see Appendix 6.1. *Official Minutes (1993)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 January 1993.

> find a hospital willing to accept the girl, because their staff was busy celebrating the New Year.
>
> "I want to declare on the record that the decision issued by the Ministry of Interior and the Army to prevent the firing of bullets to celebrate, was not prosecuted, and the state did not exert any effort to apprehend all those who did. The Ministry of Health was not prepared for such a situation, and the Ministry of Information failed to inform the citizens about the importance of not firing shots during celebrations.
>
> "Secondly, citizens on the Beirut-Chatura highway are still experiencing a lot of difficulties, especially when it is foggy and snowy . . . As a result, there were three casualties recently.
>
> "Thirdly, the issue of customs brokers who have exclusivity to handle merchandise arriving from Syria at the Masna'a Customs Area are dictating the terms and conditions for their services and are skyrocketing their fees. . .
>
> "Fourthly, citizens, whether landlords or tenants, are waiting anxiously for promulgation of the new Rental Law, which was mentioned in the ministerial statement of this government. We hope that this government will be concerned about it and expedite the issuance of the new law."[26] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

During another meeting, Deputy Choukhadarian was instrumental in bringing up the subject that related to the property rights of the Catholic Armenians in the El Bus area (Soor/Tyre). Choukhadarian expressed concerns of the ongoing irregular activities, by asserting:

> "A few days ago, there were some encroachments on the properties that belong to the Armenian-Catholic community in Soor/Tyre and specifically in the El Bus area, where some occupants are constructing buildings on the estate of the Religious Endowment, and despite our filing complaints related to this subject, the

[26] For the full Arabic text of George Kassarji's speech during the General Discussion Session of the 18th Parliament on 5 January 1993, see Appendix 5.2. *Official Minutes (1993)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 January 1993.

> transgressions continue. We demand that the government takes the appropriate measures to stop these infringements."[27] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

In a subsequent session, Choukhadarian reiterated the subject of the El Bus properties, and informed the Chamber that:

> "I already mentioned the subject of infringements on the properties belonging to the Armenian Catholics at the El Bus area in Soor to this Chamber. One of the holders of a power of attorney had sold it to Palestinians who have erected some buildings. I looked this up with a colleague here in this Chamber, who gave me hope that the issue may be resolved amicably. We hope that is the case."[28] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Babikian, on the other hand, made numerous comments and delivered several short speeches and opined on different issues, such as the legislation on the mergers of the banks in Lebanon;[29] laws on the status of public employees;[30] laws regulating the practice of medicine and dentistry in Lebanon;[31] renovation of ministry buildings; a proposed law establishing the Constitutional Court;[32] and laws regulating the practice of public notaries.[33] Babikian, as a legislator, was instrumental in deliberating and commenting on the draft legislation on regulating the religious courts for the Sunni and Ja'afari denominations, as well as the laws regulating matters of the Alawite community in Lebanon.[34]

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[27] For the full text of Hagop Choukhadarians remarks on the infringements on the "El Bus" properties, please Appendix 6.2. *Official Minutes (1993)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 11 February 1993.

[28] *Official Minutes (1993):* 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 11 May 1993.

[29] *Official Minutes (1992):* 6th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 22 December 1992.

[30] *Official Minutes (1993):* 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 11 February 1993.

[31] *Official Minutes (1993):* 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 16 March 1993.

[32] *Official Minutes (1993):* 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 24 June 1993.

[33] *Official Minutes (1994):* 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 26 April 1994.

[34] *Official Minutes (1995)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 30 May 1994 and 4th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 24 July 1995.

On behalf of the Lebanese-Armenian Parliamentary coalition, Babikian was also instrumental in demanding the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 425 and the full withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Southern Lebanon. He demanded:

> "We appeal to the government to give this issue the highest priority, and work with all brotherly and friendly countries, to implement this resolution *[UNSC Res. 425]* and keep the theme of liberation of the South in the forefront of their concerns before becoming a premise for intervention of third parties in our internal affairs."[35] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Hagop Choukhadarian, in turn, after praising the spirit of democracy that Lebanon enjoyed, re-emphasized Babikian's stance on the state's foreign policy by arguing that:

> "We cannot speak about anything before reiterating the importance of standing in front of this great democratic edifice represented by our Chamber of Deputies which constitutes an open platform for the practice of true democracy, for the exchange of different views among representatives of all the people in order to support the continuation of the process of reconciliation and reconstruction, especially during such times as the Arab region and our beloved Lebanon are going through.
>
> "The reasons that we want to speak about special policies concerning development and reconstruction go back to our convictions that the priority today is to fight unemployment and underemployment. Our historic responsibility lies in finding ways and means to create jobs for our children for generations to come.
>
> "On the same subject *[Administrative Reforms]*, as it relates to the recent administrative appointments, the Armenian Community's rights have not been respected. We look forward to the implementation of the promises and pledges made by the civic authorities to correct the

[35] For the full Arabic text of Khatchig Babikian's speech during the General Discussion of the Parliament on 13 July 1993, please see Appendix 3.4. *Official Minutes (1993)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 13 July 1993.

> injustice done towards us, quickly."[36] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

In addition to Babikian and Choukhadarian, several Deputies commented on the performance of the government during the 18th Parliament's General Discussion Session on 13 July 1993, specially on the issue of the implementation of UNSC Resolution 425, as skirmishes between the Israeli Army on one side and Hezbullah and Palestinian guerrillas on the other were ongoing on a daily basis, until the Israeli Army embarked on a 7-day, full-blown invasion of the South under "Operation Accountability" code on 25 July 1993. It was the heaviest Israeli attack since 1982, and was an attempt by Isreal to end the threat from Hezbullah and the Palestinians. However, the United States was successful in negotiating a cease-fire in the form of a verbal agreement between the warring parties.

The legislative life in 1994 started with deliberations on the proposed Budget for the following year. Deputies on both sides of the isle argued, commented and questioned the government on many different issues. Deputy Kassarji brought up the subject of telephone lines and the lack thereof in the Bekaa Valley, in general and in the Zahle-Chtura region particularly. He also complained about the increase of the electricity charges. In a speech, Kassarji criticized the government by stating:

> "In 1982, the Zionist enemy destroyed the telecommunication building and the Central Post Office in Chtura. As such, the phone lines were cut off and the postal services were discontinued to a wide area in the central Beka'a Valley. The state began the re-construction of the Central Post Office under the supervision of the Council for Development and Reconstruction. However, because of the poor and neglected construction, the ceilings of the three stories are cracking, and the rain is leaking in between the cracks and collecting in the basement, forming a pool of stagnated water.
>
> "Since 1982, Chtura has no phones. This government, at its inception, promised to restore at least 2000 landlines. Every time we ask about the status, we receive

[36] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Choukhadarian's speech on 13 July 1993, please see Appendix 6.3. *Official Minutes (1993)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 13 July 1993.

> a new promise and a new timetable of no more than a few weeks. To this day, there are no landlines. We and the residents, observed that the delay was not due to technical reasons, but for political one. This is a serious matter that gives the citizen a bad impression and a sense of injustice and oppression.
>
> "According to local residents, the equipments *[at the telecommunications building]* have been installed for four months and could be used. This is what we know and what residents have confirmed. The biggest proof of this is the presence and operation of about 200 landlines by influential people in Chtura, in addition to some private telecommunication operators utilized by the new mafia in the region known as the "Chtura Mafia", who are using public property and have already made more than 47,000 telephone calls for their own benefit.
>
> "The decision to increase electricity charges, whether for the residential consumption or for industrial use, triggered outrage among citizens on all levels."[37] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Choukhadarian, on the other hand refused to approve a budget that included provisions to increase taxes. Choukhadarian demanded that:

> "It has been a year and two months since this government received the vote of confidence … and it is time to be accountable.
>
> "This accountability stems from our position, by reviewing the draft budget – which is summarized in our refusal to accept the numbers in Table 9. We demand its deletion as they are too burdensome for the majority of citizens, especially with the significant increases in fees and taxes."[38] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

[37] For the full Arabic text of Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the proposed budget on 20 January 1994, see Appendix 5.3. *Official Minutes (1994)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 20 January 1994.

[38] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the deliberations on the State Budget on 20 January 1994, see Appendix 6.4. *Official*

			1994-95[39]	1995-96[40]
1	Budget & Finance Com.	17	Khanamirian	Khanamirian
2	Admin. & Justice Committee	17	Babikian	Babikian
3	Foreign Affairs Committee	17	Choukhadarian	Choukhadarian
4	Public Works; Trans., W&E Com.	17	Jeredjian	Jeredjian
5	Nat'l Education Committee	12	None	None
6	Public Health, Labor & Social Com.	12	N. Demirdjian	N. Demirdjian
7	Nat'l Defense, Interior &Gen. Sec.	17	Khanamirian	Khanamirian
8	Housing, Coops.& Displaced Affairs	12	None	None
9	Agriculture, Tourism, Environ.	12	Choukhadarian	Choukhadarian
10	Nat'l Econ., Commerce, Petroleum	12	Jeredjian/Kassarji	Jeredjian/Kassarji
11	Information & PTT Committee	12	Kassarji	Kassarji
12	Public Planning & Development	12	Babikian	Babikian
13	Human Rights & By-Laws	8	None	None

Table 18.7 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 18th Lebanese Parliament (1994-96)

After approving the amended Budget, in its 8 February 1994 meeting the 18th Parliament considered and ratified several agreements that the Lebanese Government had entered into with different countries. Of concern was the ratification of the cooperation and coordination agreements signed between Lebanon and Syria in several different fields, including health, economy, commerce and human trafficking. All seven Lebanese-Armenian Deputies (Babikian, Khanamirian, Jeredjian, Choukhadarian, N. Demirdjian, Barsoumian and Kassarji) were present during the deliberations and voted in favor of the ratification of the

Minutes (1994): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 20 January 1994.

[39] The 18th Parliament amended Article 28 of its By-Laws and accordingly the jurisdiction and the number of members in each committee was changed. The new committee assignments for the deputies were changed slightly. *Official Minutes (1994)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 18 October 1994.

[40] *Official Minutes (1995)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 17 October 1995.

agreements.[41] President Hrawi signed them into law on 22 February 1994.[42]

In a subsequent general discussion session, Deputy Choukhadarian raised the issue of granting Lebanese citizenship to those people who were born of foreign parents and have lived their entire life in Lebanon, as was the case for so many Armenians, as asserted by Choukhadarian.[43]

The first Hariri government lasted for about two and a half years. The era was characterized with the reconstruction of downtown Beirut.[44] Under pressure, the government then resigned. President Hrawi, however, re-appointed Rafik El Hariri to form his second government.[45] Shahe Barsoumian was appointed as Minister of Oil & Industry and Hagop Demirdjian was entrusted with the portfolio of the Ministry of Municipalities.

Prime Minister Hariri presented the new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 18th Parliament on 5 June 1995 and received 76 votes of confidence against 18 votes of no confidence. There were five abstentions. Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Jeredjian, Choukhadarian,

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[41] Among the absentees to the meeting ratifying several agreements between Lebanon and Syria were: Hussein El Husseini, Najah Wakeem, Rasheed El Khazen, Riad El Sarraf and Ali Eid. The absence of the following deputies were excused: Fouad El Sa'ad, Ahmad Ajami, Ghassan Matar, Naseeb Lahoud, Habib Keirouz, Sayed Akl, Talal Arslan, Asa'ad Hardan, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, Elias Skaff, Fareed Makari, and Ali Ammar. *Official Minutes (1994)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 8 February 1994.

[42] Law No. 298 concerning several cooperation and coordination agreements between the Republic of Lebanon and the Arab Republic of Syria dated 22 February 1994, signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri. *Official Gazette (1994)*, Issue No. 10, 10 March 1994, pp.281-289.

[43] For the full Arabic text of the speech delivered by Hagop Choukhadarian concerning, among other issues, the proposed Citizenship Law in Lebanon, please see Appendix 6.5. *Official Minutes (1994)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 26 April 1994.

[44] For a detailed coverage on the reconstruction of Lebanon during the post-Civil War era please see Tom Najem, *Lebanon: The Politics of a Penetrated Society*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp.83-94.

[45] Decree No. 6811 dated 25 May 1995 signed by President Elias El Hrawi appointing Rafik El Hariri to form a new government. *Official Gazette (1995)*, Issue No. 22, 1 June 1995, p.511.

Nourijan Demirdjian, Barsoumian and Kassarji were present and cast their confidence votes in favor of the new Cabinet.[46]

During the deliberations on the ministerial statement of El Hariri's second government (Lebanon's 62nd Government), Kassarji reminded the newly formed government of the dire concerns of the residents of the Beka'a Valley, including Zahle and its surrounding and then proceeded to promote the political rights of the Lebanese-Armenian community, and demanded that the Government declares the Armenian Christmas, January 6, as a National Holiday in Lebanon.[47]

Choukhadarian, like his colleague, also gave a speech before casting his vote of confidence in the government, in which he argued:

> "First of all, I wonder, like the rest of the people here, about the reason behind the absence of the small Christian sects in the government's line-up. I did not want to talk about this issue, however, our system is based upon sectarianism. I would like not to talk about the fact that our system is not sectarian . . . In recent years, in the government of Prime Minister Omar Karami, which was composed of thirty ministers, this community was represented by holding a ministerial portfolio.

[46] The Deputies who cast votes of no confidence in Hariri's 2nd government were: Sameer Aoun, Rabi'a Keiruz, Ibrahim Bayan, Muhammad Berjawi, Muhammad Ra'ad, Ali Taha, Khoder Tlais, Muhammad Fneish, Mounir El Hujeir, Muhammad Yaghi, Ibrahim Ameen El Sayed, Ali Ammar, Su'oud Roufayel, Zaher El Khateeb, Najah Wakeem, Zuheir El Obeidi, and Mahmoud Fathi Yakon. The deputies who abstained from voting were: Naseeb Lahoud, Marwan Abi Fadel, Souad El Sa'ad, Pierre Helou and Muhammad Habib Sadeq. The absentees to the deliberations were: Rasheed El Solh, Asmar Asmar, Osama Fakhouri, Beshara Merhej, Issam No'man, Talal Arslan, Antoine Khalil, Michel Smeha, Mahmoud Awwad, Talal El Mera'abi, Riad El Sarraf, Saleem Habib, Saleh Kheir, Kareem El Rassi, Jean Obeid, Fayez Ghossen, Suleiman Franjieh, Omar Karami, Muhammad Kabbara, Asa'ad Harmoush, Muhammad Beydoun, Hussein El Husseini, Yahia Shams, Saleem Sa'adeh and Nayla Mou'awad. *Official Minutes (1995)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 June 1995.

[47] For the full Arabic text of George Kassarji's speech during the discussion of the Ministerial Statement of Rafik El Hariri's 62nd Lebanese Government, please see Appendix 5.4. *Official Minutes (1995)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 June 1995.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Elias El Hrawi		
Cabinet of 25 May 1995[48]		
1.	Rafik El Hariri	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance
2.	Michel El Murr	Deputy P. M.; Minister of Interior
3.	Michel Edde	Minister of Culture & Higher Education
4.	Ali El Khalil	Minister of Expatriates
5.	Beheej Tabbara	Minister of Justice
6.	Marwan Hamadeh	Minister of Public Health
7.	Waleed Jumblatt	Minister of State for Displaced Issues
8.	Mouhsen Dalloul	Minister of Defense
9.	Nadeem Salem	Minister of State for Parliamentary Issues
10.	Shawqi Fakhouri	Minister of Agriculture
11.	Asa'ad Hardan	Minister of Labor
12.	Fares Boueiz	Minister of Foreign Affairs
13.	Elias Hobeiqa	Minister of Water & Power
14.	Shahe Barsoumian	Minister of Oil & Industry
15.	Omar Masqawi	Minister of Transportation
16.	Anwar El Khalil	Minister of State for Admin. Reforms
17.	Nicola Fattoush	Minister of Tourism
18.	Mahmoud Abu Hamdan	Minister of Cooperatives and Housing
19.	Hagop Demirdjian	Minister of Municipalities
20.	Fouad El Siniora	Minister of State for Financial Issues
21.	Qabalan Issa El Khoury	Minister of State
22.	Joseph Mougheizel/Pierre Pharaon[49]	Minister of Environment
23.	Abdul Raheem Murad	Minister of Technical Education
24.	Robert Ghanem	Minister of Education and Youth & Sports
25.	Fareed Makari	Minister of Information
26.	Estefan El Doueihi	Minister of Social Affairs
27.	El Fadl Shalaq	Minister of PTT
28.	Yaseen Jaber	Minister of Economy and Commerce
29.	Ali Harajli	Minister of Public Works
30.	Fayez Shukr	Minister of State

Table 18.8 – Cabinet Members of P.M. Rafik El Hariri's Government (25 May 1995)

[48] Decree No. 6812 dated 25 May 1995 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1995)*, Issue No. 22, 1 June 1995, pp.511-512.

[49] Minister Joseph Mougheizel passed away just after being appointed. Pierre Pharaon replaced him as the Minister of Environment. Decree No. 6905 dated 26 June 1995 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and PM Rafik El Hariri. *Official Gazette (1995)*, Issue No. 26, 29 June 1995, p.608.

> "In the government of Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh, which was consisted of twenty-four ministers only, a ministerial portfolio was reserved for minorities. Since Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri took the premiership, we were surprised during the first time around to see the disappearance of members from some Christian denominations in the government. We complained and expressed our concerns at the time, hoping that the situation may be remedied the next time around.
>
> "In this second administration, we are surprised by our absence, contrary to the concept of the Ta'ef Constitution, which provides for the participation of all communities in the government.
>
> "Lebanon is composed of seventeen religious sects. There are only seven denominations in the current government. There are ten communities that are not represented . . . We *[Catholic Lebanese-Armenians]* are an important constituent of this nation, that have contributed to the building of this country, have contributed to the economy, and to its scientific and technical development. We have contributed to the promotion of this country wherever we are, whether at home or abroad. Why should we be ignored? Is this some revelation of truth, fairness and justice?
>
> "Also, we note the absence of parliamentary representation from Beirut in the current government. The Governorate of Beirut has nineteen Deputies, and only one has been appointed to this government, the late Mr Joseph Mougheizel, who just passed away. Now there is no one left from the City of Beirut in this government. Why?"[50] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

After receiving the vote of confidence, the Government entered into several bilateral agreements with friendly states. Among these, Hariri's government was able to sign an agreement on International Land Transportation with the Republic of Armenia on 1 May 1995. The 18th

[50] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the discussion on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri's 2nd government (62nd Lebanese Government) on 5 June 1995, see Appendix 6.6. *Official Minutes (1995)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 June 1995.

Parliament in its 9 July 1996 meeting considered and then rectified the agreement.[51]

Further to other measures, Hariri's second government submitted draft legislature to extend President Hrawi's term for another three years. The 18th Parliament in its 19 October 1995 session considered the draft to amend Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution on a temporary and for one time only basis allowing the president's term to be extended until 23 November 1998. The measure was carried with 110 votes against 11. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, Khatchig Babikian, Souren Khanamirian, Yeghia Jeredjian, Hagop Choukhadarian, Nourijan Demirdjian, Shahe Barsoumian and George Kassarji were present during the deliberations and all voted in favor of amending Article 49 of the constitution.[52] President Hrawi signed the measure into law on the same day.[53]

For the first time, the Lebanese Parliament officially hosted a president of a foreign country. In its 4 April 1996 meeting, the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies welcomed Jacque Chirac, President of France, who delivered a speech covering the bilateral relations between Lebanon and France and the situation in the Middle East. All seven Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were in attendance.[54]

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[51] For the full Arabic text of the International Land Transportation Agreement between Lebanon and Armenia, see the *Official Minutes (1995)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 9 July 1996.

[52] The Deputies who voted against the amendment of Article 49 of the Constitution, included: Saleem El Hoss, Najah Wakeem, Zaher El Khateeb, Mikhael El Daher, Naseeb Lahoud, Pierre Helou, Camille Ziadeh, Habib Sadeq, Mustafa Sa'ad El Masri, Riad Abi Fadel, and Issam No'man. Deputies Michel Smeha, Hussein El Husseini, Elias Skaff and Yahia Shams were not present, whereas, excused absentees were Habib Keiruz, Talal Arslan and Mahmoud Fathi Yakon. *Official Minutes (1995)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 19 October 1995.

[53] Law No. 462 dated 19 October 1995 concerning Constitutional Amendment to Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution: *"For one time on an extraordinary basis, the term of the president is extended for 3 years ending on 23 November 1998."* Signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri. *Official Gazette (1995)*, Issue No. 42, 19 October 1995, p.1189.

[54] For the President Jacque Chirac's speech in French and its Arabic translation before the Lebanese Parliament, see, *Official Minutes (1996)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 4 April 1996.

	Prime Minister	Rafik El Hariri	Rafik El Hariri
		09 November 1992[55]	05 June 1995[56]
1	Khatchig Babikian	√	√
2	Souren Khanamirian	√	√
3	Yeghia Jeredjian	√	√
4	Hagop Choukhadarian	√	√
5	Nourijan Demirdjian	√	√
6	Shahe Barsoumian	√*	√*
7	George Kassarji	√	√
√ - Confidence Vote; X -No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 18.9 – Confidence Votes to the Governments by 18th Lebanese Parliament

[55] Decree No. 2900 dated 31 October 1992 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1992)*, Issue No. 45, 5 November 1992, pp.1044-1046. Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri presented the ministerial statement of his newly formed government to the 18th Parliament on 9 November 1992. PM Hariri's government received 104 confidence votes against 12 no-confidence votes. Three other deputies abstained from voting. Amongst the deputies who cast no-confidence votes in Rafik El Hariri's 1st Government were: Khoder Tlais, Muhammad Berjawi, Muhammad Yaghi, Muhammad Ra'ad, Ali Ammar, Muhammad Fneish, Ali Taha, Su'oud Roufayel, Ibrahim El Sayed, Ibrahim Bayan, Rabi'a Keiruz, and Najah Wakeem. The deputies who abstained were Sami El Khateeb, Fathi Yakon and Zuheir El Obeidi. In addition to Hussein Husseini and Suleiman Franjieh, Asa'ad Harmoush and Mounir Rl Hujeiri were not present (both excused). *Official Minutes (1992)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 9 November 1992.

[56] Decree No. 6812 dated 25 May 1995 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1995)*, Issue No. 22, 1 June 1995, pp.511-512. PM Hariri presented the new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 18th Parliament on 5 June 1995 and received 76 Confidence Votes against 18 No-Confidence Votes. The Deputies who cast no-confidence vote to Hariri's 2nd Cabinet were: Sameer Aoun, Rabi'a Keiruz, Ibrahim Bayan, Muhammad Berjawi, Muhammad Ra'ad, Ali Taha, Khoder Tlais, Muhammad Fneish, Mounir El Hujeir, Muhammad Yaghi, Ibrahim Ameen El Sayed, Ali Ammar, Su'oud Roufayel, Zaher El Khateeb, Najah Wakeem, Zuheir El Obeidi, and Mahmoud Fathi Yakon. The Deputies who abstained from voting were: Naseeb Lahoud, Marwan Abi Fadel, Souad El Sa'ad, Pierre Helou and Muhammad Habib Sadeq. The absentees to the deliberations were: Rasheed El Solh, Asmar Asmar, Osama Fakhouri, Beshara Merhej, Issam No'man, Talal Arslan, Antoine Khalil, Michel Semaha, Mahmoud Awwad, Talal El Mera'abi, Riad El Sarraf, Saleem Habib, Saleh Kheir, Kareem El Rassi, Jean Obeid, Fayez Ghossen, Suleiman Franjieh, Omar Karami, Muhammad Kabbara, Asa'ad Harmoush, Muhammad Beydoun, Hussein El Husseini, Yahia Shams, Saleem Sa'adeh and Nayla Mou'awad. *Official Minutes (1995)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 June 1995.

A week later, however, the Israeli Army invaded Southern Lebanon in so-called Operation Grapes of Wrath on 11 April 1996. The Israelis bombarded Beirut, Soor/Tyre, Saida and southern villages, claiming hundreds of deaths and wounding thousands. The most outraged offensive, however, was on 18 April 1996 when the Israelis committed a massacre at Qana, a village close to the UNIFIL Headquarters, where thousands of people had sought refuge. Hariri's government, though its Permanent Representative at the United Nations in New York, lodged an official complaint with the Security Council on 18 April 1996.[57] The same day, the Security Council considered and passed resolution No. 1052 expressing grave concerns over the situation in Lebanon and calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities.[58] France was able to mediate and an unwritten agreement was reached between the parties involved, including Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Hezbullah and the Palestinians. This stipulation was better known as the April Understanding, which established rules of military engagement, barring attacks against civilian areas.[59]

As the four-year term of the 18th Parliament was about to end in 1996, Hariri's government submitted a draft law amending the 1960 Legislative Election Laws to the parliament. In its 9 July 1996 extraordinary meeting, the majority of Deputies approved and adopted the amended Election Law, which maintained the *muhafazats* as the electoral districts and put some restraints on certain public servants in terms of their candidacies in the election. Deputies Khanamirian, Jeredjian, Choukhadarian, N. Demirdjian, Barsoumian and Kassarji voted in favor of the amendment. Babikian was not present.[60] Several Deputies

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[57] *Official Records of the Security Council, Forty-Fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1996*, Document S/280. *[Last accessed 25 March 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/1996/280

[58] United Nations Security Council Resolution Number 1052 of 18 April 1996. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1052%20(1996). *[Last accessed 25 March 2016]*.

[59] Imad Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon,* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p.61. For the Syrian perspective of the "April Understanding" please see Farouq El Shara'a, *Al Riwaya Al Mafqoudah, [Arabic: The Lost Story],* (Beirut: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2015), pp.350-354. See also, Bouthaina Sho'ban, *Ashrat A'wam ma'a Hafez El Asad: 1990-2000*, *[Arabic: Ten Years with Hafez El Asad: 1990-2000]*, (Beirut: Markaz Dirasat El Wahdeh El Arabia, 2015), pp.195-208.

[60] The Amended Election Law was adopted with a majority vote. The following Deputies, however, voted against the measure: Najah Wakeem, Naseeb Lahoud, Habib Sadeq, Riad Abi Fadel, Ibrahim Ameen El Sayed, Camille Ziadeh, Michel

filed a petition with the Constitutional Council arguing the unconstitutionality of the Amended Election Law.[61] Nevertheless, President Hrawi signed the measure into law on 11 July 1996.[62] Accordingly, the government issued Decree No. 8760 and called for legislative elections to be held on several days: Elections in Mount Lebanon on 18 August 1996; North Lebanon on 25 August; Beirut on 1 September; South Lebanon and Nabatiyeh on 15 September; and the Beka'a Valley on 15 July 1996.[63]

After considering petitions filed by a number of Deputies, the Constitutional Council rendered a decision on 7 August 1996 striking certain provisions of the amended Election Law as unconstitutional.[64] Hariri's government submitted an amended Election Law to the 18th Parliament for consideration with the same proposed election dates. Parliament adopted the new amended Election Law with a majority vote on 13 August 1996. All 7 Lebanese Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Jeredjian, Choukhadarian, N. Demirdjian, Barsoumian and

Smeha, Zaher El Khateeb, Fouad El Sa'ad, Saleem El Hoss, Ali Taha, Mikhael El Daher, Elias El Khazen, Mustafa Sa'ad, Rabi'a Keiruz, Muhammad Fneish, Ibrahim Bayan, Ali Ammar, Muhammad Berjawi, Zuheir El Obeidi, Khoder Tlais and Pierre Helou. The following deputies abstained from voting: Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Issam No'man, Muhammad Kabbani, Asmar Asmar and Riad El Sarraf. Amongst the absentees were: Talal Arslan, Suleiman Franjieh, Omar Karami, Hussein El Husseini, Munir El Hujeiri and Khatchig Babikian. *Official Minutes (1996)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 9 July 1996.

[61] The following deputies filed petitions with the Constitutional Council claiming the unconstitutionality of the amended Election Law: Mikhael El Daher, Zaher El Khateeb, Riad Abi Fadel, Asmar Asmar, Osama Fakhouri, Sameer Aoun, Najah Wakeem, Mustafa Sa'ad, Michel Smeha and Habib Sadeq. Decision No. 4/96 of the Constitutional Council dated 7 August 1996 partly rejecting the petition. *Official Gazette (1996)*, Issue No. 36, 9 August 1996, pp.2197-2200.

[62] Law No. 530 dated 11 July 1996 for amendment to the 1960 Legislative Election Laws signed by President Elias El Hrawi and PM Rafik El Hariri. *Official Gazette (1996)*, Issue No. 29, 12 July 1996, pp.1633-1637.

[63] Decree No. 8760 dated 13 July 1996 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri calling for legislative elections. *Official Gazette (1996)*, Issue No. 30, 15 July 1996, p.1645.

[64] Decision No. 4/96 of the Constitutional Council dated 7 August 1996. *Official Gazette (1996)*, Issue No. 36, 9 August 1996, pp.2197-2200.

Kassarji were present and voted in favor of the new amendment.[65] President Hrawi signed the measure into law on 13 August 1996.[66]

The last meeting of the 18th Parliament was on 13 August 1996.

[65] The following Deputies voted against the measure: Naseeb Lahoud, Mikhael El Daher, Marwan Abu Fadel, Pierre Helou, Fouad El Sa'ad, Sameer Aoun, Su'oud Roufayel, Ibrahim Bayan, Zaher El Khateeb, Muhammad Berjawi, Ibrahim El Sayed, Camille Ziadeh, Riad Abi Fadel, Ali Taha, Michel Semaha, Fathi Yakon, Zuheir El Obeidi, Najah Wakeem, Habib Sadeq and Mustafa Sa'ad. Deputies Saleem El Hoss, Rasheed El Solh and Riad El Sarraf abstained from voting. The absentees to the meeting were: Talal Arslan, Hasan Azzedeen, Suleiman Franjieh, Omar Karami, Hussein El Husseini, Mounir El Hujeiri, Muhammad Yaghi, and Mahmoud Ra'ad. *Official Minutes (1996)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 13 August 1996.

[66] Law No. 587 dated 13 August 1996 amending the 1960 Election Law. *Official Gazette (1996)*, Issue No. 37, 14 August 1996, pp.2209-2210.

The 19th Lebanese Parliament

(1996-00)

The elections to the 19th Parliament took place in accordance with Decree No. 8760 that called for legislative elections to be held on several days: 18 August 1996 in Mount Lebanon; 25 August in North Lebanon; 1 September in Beirut; 15 September in South Lebanon and Nabatiyeh; and on 15 July 1996 in Beka'a Valley.[1]

The Lebanese-Armenian community conducted a very active pre-election campaign during the 1996 parliamentary elections.[2] Khatchig

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[1] Decree No. 8760 dated 13 July 1996 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri calling for legislative elections. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (1996)*, Issue No. 30, 15 July 1996, p.1645. For a detailed account on the 1996 legislative elections, please see Muhammad Murad, *El Intikhabat El Niyabiyeh Fi Lubnan: 1920-2009, [Arabic: The Legislative Elections in Lebanon: 1920-2009]*, (Beirut: Manshourat El Jama'a El Lubnaniyeh 'Lebanese University Publications', 2013), pp.320-333.

[2] For a detailed account on the pre-election campaign conducted by the Lebanese-Armenian candidates and their respective communities in 1996, please see

Babikian (Armenian Orthodox), Yeghia Jeredjian (Armenian Orthodox), Hagop Demirdjian (Armenian Orthodox), Hagop Choukhadarian (Armenian Catholic) and Abraham Dedeyan (Armenian Protestant) were elected from the Beirut District. Sebouh Hovnanian (Armenian Orthodox) and George Kassarji (Armenian Orthodox) were elected to the seats from El Metn (Mount Lebanon) and Zahle (Beka'a Valley) districts respectively.[3]

The 19th Parliament held its first meeting on 22 October 1996 with Qabalan Issa El Khoury, the oldest Deputy present, acting as the Speaker *pro tempore* until the Deputies elected Nabih Berri as the Speaker of the 19th Parliament for the duration of the term. Berri received 122 votes out of the total 126 Deputies present, with four blank papers. Deputies Omar Karami and Wadi' Akl were not present. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Jeredjian, Choukhadarian, H. Demirdjian, Dedeyan, Hovnanian and Kassarji voted in favor of Nabih Berri.[4] The Deputies then proceeded to elect Elie El Ferzli as the Deputy Speaker and the rest of the members of the Speaker's Bureau. Choukhadarian was elected as a Commissioner.

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District	Mtg	Absence	Attend.
1	Khatchig Babikian[5]	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	44	10	77%
2	Yeghia Jeredjian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	44	0	100%
3	Hagop Demirdjian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut	44	1	98%
4	Hagop Choukhadarian	Arm. Cath.	Beirut	44	0	100%
5	Abraham Dedeyan	Arm. Protest.	Beirut	44	0	100%
6	Sebouh Hovnanian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	44	2	95%
7	George Kassarji	Arm. Orth.	Beka'a	44	4	91%

Table 19.1 – Names of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 19th Lebanese Parliament (1996-00)

Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press 2014), pp.291-339.

[3] For the announcement of the official results of the 1996 Legislative Elections, please see *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1996)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 22 October 1996.

[4] *Official Minutes (1996)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 22 October 1996.

[5] Deputy Khatchig Babikian passed away in November 1999 and was replaced by Andre Tabourian. For details on Tabourian's nomination and selection, please see Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, pp.343-345.

128	Names of the Elected Deputies of the 19th Lebanese Parliament (1996-00)	
Beirut Dist. (19)	Khatchig Babikian* (Armenian Orthodox) replaced by Andre Tabourian (Armenian Orthodox); Yeghia Jeredjian (Armenian Orthodox); Hagop Demirdjian (Armenian Orthodox); Hagop Choukhadarian (Armenian Catholic); Abraham Dedeyan (Protestant); Khaled Sa'ab (Druze); Beshara Merhej (Roman Orthodox); Najah Wakeem (Roman Orthodox); Michel Pharaon (Roman Catholic); Jameel El Shammas (Minorities); Baha'edeen Itani (Sunni); Tammam Salam (Sunni); Rafik El Hariri (Sunni); Saleem El Hoss (Sunni); Saleem Diyab (Sunni); Adnan Araqji (Sunni); Hussein Yateem (Shia); Muhammad Youssef Beydoun (Shia) and Ghassan Matar (Maronite).	
South Leb. (23)	Anwar El Khalil (Druze); Asa'ad Hardan (Roman Orthdox); Michel Moussa (Roman Catholic); Nadeem Salem (Roman Catholic); Ahmad Suweid (Sunni); Bahiyeh El Hariri (Sunni); Mustafa Ma'arouf Sa'ad (Sunni); Ayyoub Hameed (Shia); Hasan Alawiyeh (Shia); Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia); Abdullah Qusair (Shia); Ali Hasan Khalil (Shia); Ali Osseiran (Shia); Ali Youssef El Khalil (Shia); Ali Khreis (Shia); Muhammad Ra'ad (Shia); Muhammad Abdul Hameed Beydoun (Shia); Muhammad Fneish (Shia); Nabih Berri (Shia); Nazeeh Mansour (Shia); Yaseen Jaber (Shia); Suleiman Kena'an (Maronite); Sameer Azar (Maronite).	
North Leb. (28)	Riad El Sarraf (Roman Orthodox); Issam Fares (Roman Orthodox); Fayez Ghossen (Roman Orthodox); Fareed Makari (Roman Orthodox); Maurice Fadel (Roman Orthodox); Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox); Ahmad Fatfat (Sunni); Ahmad Karami (Sunni); Jihad El Samad (Sunni); Khaled El Daher (Sunni); Saleh Kheir (Sunni); Talal El Mera'abi (Sunni); Omar Karami (Sunni); Omar Mesqawi (Sunni); Muhammad Kabbara (Sunni); Muhammad Musbah El Ahdab (Sunni); Wajeeh El Ba'areini (Sunni); Ahmad Hbous (Alawite); Abdul Rahman Abdul Rahman (Alawite); Estefan El Doueihi (Maronite); Boutros Harb (Maronite); Jean Obeid (Maronite); Gebran Tawq (Maronite); Sayed Akl (Maronite); Suleiman Franjieh (Maronite); Fawzi Hbeish (Maronite); Qabalan Issa El Khoury (Maronite) and Nayla Mou'awad (Maronite).	
Beka'a Valley (23)	George Kassarji (Armenian Orthodox); Faisal El Dawood (Druze); Elie El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox); Shawqi Fakhouri (Roman Orthodox); Elias Skaff (Roman Catholic); Marwan Fares (Roman Catholic); Nicola Fattoush (Roman Catholic); Ibrahim Bayan (Sunni); Ismail Sukkarieh (Sunni); Sami El Khateeb (Sunni); Abdul Raheem Murad (Sunni); Muhammad El Mais (Sunni); Ibrahim El Sayed (Shia); Hasan Ali El Hajj Hasan (Shia); Hussein El Husseini (Shia); Assem Qanso (Shia); Ammar El Musawai (Shia); Ghazi Ze'ayter (Shia); Mouhsen Dalloul (Shia); Mahmoud Abu Hamdan (Shia); Rabi'a Keiruz (Maronite); George El Hrawi (Maronite) and Henri Chedid (Maronite).	
Mount Leb. (35)	Chouf District:	Marwan Hamadeh (Druze); Waleed Jumblatt (Druze); Khalil Abdul Noor (Roman Catholic); Zaher El Khateeb (Sunni); Ala'edeen Terro (Sunni); George Youssef Deeb (Maronite); Wadi' Akl (Maronite) and Nabeel El Bustani (Maronite).
	El Metn District:	Sebouh Hovnanian (Armenian Orthodox); Raji Abu Haydar (Roman Orthodox); Michel El Murr (Roman Orthodox); Antoine Haddad (Roman Catholic); Habib Hakeem (Maronite); Shaker Abu Sleiman (Maronite); Ghassan El Ashqar (Maronite) and Naseeb Lahoud (Maronite).
	Jbeil District:	Mahmoud Awwad (Shia); Emile Nawfal (Maronite) and Nouhad Jermanos (Maronite).
	Ba'abda District:	Ayman Shqeir (Druze); Basem El Saba'a (Shia); Salah El Harakeh (Shia); Elias Hobeiqa (Maronite); Pierre Daccache (Maronite) and Jean Ghanem (Maronite).
	Aley Distric:	Akram Sheheyyeb (Druze); Talal Arslan (Druze); Antoine Andrawos (Roman Orthodox); Antoine El Hatti (Maronite) and Abdo El Bejjani (Maronite).
	Keserwan District:	Elias Shukrallah El Khazen (Maronite); Rasheed Saleh El Khazen (Maronite); Fares Nouhad Boueiz (Maronite); Camille Antoine Ziadeh (Maronite) and Mansur Fouad Ghanem El Bon (Maronite).
		* Deceased

The 19th Parliament's term was relatively stable as no major domestic or regional political or military events affected the everyday life in Lebanon. As such, the 19th Parliament held a total of 44 meetings comprising of 26 ordinary and 18 extraordinary meetings. It considered, debated and passed numerous pieces of legislation into law, including amending the Legislative Election Law of 1960.

The 19th Parliament further welcomed three different Presidents, who delivered speeches from the Parliament's podium: President of Italy, Oscar Scalvaro on 7 November 1997;[6] President of Argentine, Carlos Mennem on 3 February 1998;[7] and the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani on 10 August 1999.[8]

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[6] All 7 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies: Khatchig Babikian, Yeghia Jerejian, Hagop Demirdjian, Hagop Choukhadarian, Abraham Dedeyan, Sebouh Hovnanian and George Kassarji were present during the speech delivered by the Italian President Oscar Scalvaro on 7 November 1997. The following 30 deputies were not present: Hussein Yateem, Michel Pharaon, Najah Wakeem, Emile Nawfal, Antoine Andrawos, Antoine Haddad, Khalil Abdul Noor, Raji Abu Haidar, Rasheed El Khazen, Ala'edeen Terro, Ghassan El Ashqar, Mahmoud Awwad, Mansur El Bon, Nabeel El Bustani, Wadi' Akl, Boutros Harb, Gebran Tawq, Issam Fares, Omar Karami, Fareed Makari, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, Muhammad Kabbara, Nayla Mou'awad, Muhammad Ra'ad, Muhammad Fneish, Mustafa Sa'ad, Hussein El Hajj Hasan, Assem Qanso, Ammar El Musawi and Khalil El Hrawi. *Official Minutes (1997)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 7 November 1997.

[7] Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Yeghia Jerejian, Hagop Demirdjian, Hagop Choukhadarian, Sebouh Hovnanian and George Kassarji attended the meeting receiving President Carlos Mennem of Argentine on 3 February 1998. Khatchig Babikian and Abraham Dedeyan did not attend the meeting along with 31 other deputes, including: Najah Wakeem, Antoine Andrawos, Khalil Abdul Noor, Raji Abu Haidar, Zaher El Khateeb, Abdo Bejjani, Alaiedeen Terro, Ghassan El Ashqar, Camille Ziadeh, Mansur El Bon, Nabeel El Bustani, Wadi' Akl, Ahmad Hbous, Ahmad Fatfat, Ahmad Karami, Boutros Harb, Gebran Tawq, Issam Fares, Omar Karami, Musbah El Ahdab, Maurcie Fadel, Nayla Mou'awad, Wajeeh El Ba'areini, Anwar El Khalil, Abdul Lateef El Zein, Muhammad Beydoun, Mustafa Sa'ad, Nazeeh Mansur, Ibrahim Ameen El Sayed, Elie Skaff, and Hussein Hajj Hasan. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 3 February 1998.

[8] Deputies Yeghia Jeredjian, Hagop Demirdjian, Abraham Dedeyan, Sebouh Hovnanian and George Kassarji were in attendance. Hagop Choukhadarian and Khatchig Babikian were not. Deputy Babikian was ill and eventually passed away. Additionally, the following 11 deputies were not present during the speech delivered by Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani, Emir of Qatar: Issam Fares, Shawqi Fakhouri, Elias Skaff, Mohsen Dalloul, Talal El Mera'abi, Fareed Makari,

	1996-00			
Speaker	Nabih Berri			
D. Speaker	Elie El Ferzli			
	1996-97[9]	**1997-98**[10]	**1998-99**[11]	**1999-00**[12]
The Secretariat	Ayman Shqeir Camille Ziadeh	Ayman Shqeir Camille Ziadeh	Ayman Shqeir Camille Ziadeh	Ayman Shqeir Camille Ziadeh
Comm.	Choukhadarian A. Rahman Michel Mousa	Choukhadarian A. Rahman Michel Mousa	Choukhadarian A. Rahman Michel Mousa	Choukhadarian A. Rahman Michel Mousa

Table 19.3 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 19th Lebanese Parliament

Immediately after the election of the 19th Parliament, Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri presented his Cabinet's resignation.[13] President Elias El Hrawi, after consultations with parliamentarians, re-appointed El Hariri to form a new government.

Hariri's new 30-member government included two Lebanese-Armenian ministers: Shahe Barsoumian was appointed as Minister of Oil and Industry and Hagop Demirdjian was entrusted with the portfolio of the Ministry of Municipalities. Prime Minister El Hariri presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 19th Parliament on 19 November 1996 and received 102 votes of confidence against 19 votes of no confidence. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Jeredjian, Choukhadarian, Demirdjian, Dedeyan, and Hovnanian cast their votes of

Talal Arslan, Mustafa Sa'ad, Camille Ziadeh, Abdul Rahman Abdul Rahman, and Riad El Sarraf. *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 10 August 1999.

9 *Official Minutes (1996)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 22 October 1996.

10 *Official Minutes (1997)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 21 October 1997.

11 *Official Minutes (1998)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 20 October 1998.

12 *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 October 1999.

13 Decree No. 9499 dated 7 November 1996 signed by President Elias El Hrawi accepting the resignation of the Rafik El Haririr's Government. *Official Gazette (1996)*, Issue No. 57, 14 November 1996, p.4325.

confidence in this 63rd Lebanese Government. George Kassarji, however, was not present.[14]

Before casting his vote of confidence, Deputy Babikian brought up the issue of the absences of the Deputies from parliamentary meetings. He reiterated Article 61 of the By-Laws of Parliament and stated that Deputies must attend the general meetings and could not be absent for more than twice in each parliamentary session. He further cited Article 44 of the By-Laws and reminded that the Deputies must attend committee meetings or be considered as dismissed from membership of the relevant committee if the Deputy missed three meetings. Reflecting his views on the ministerial statement, Babikian claimed that:

> "My heart rejoiced after I read the ministerial statement to see that the socio-economic issues were top priority, as we originally conducted the last election campaign with Prime Minister Sheikh Rafik El Hariri on the basis of the priority of social issues. However, how would the government be able to implement such policies . . . with the semi-paralyzed status of the Social Security Fund?"[15] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Babikian further argued that Lebanon was in need for administrative reform that must achieve three goals. Firstly, there must be a distance between politics and administration; secondly, the government must achieve the decentralization of services; and lastly,

[14] In addition to George Kassarji, the following deputies were not present: Issam Fares and Omar Karami. Deputies Camille Ziadeh, Mahmoud Awwad and Sami El Khateeb were excused. The deputies who cast No-Confidence Vote to Rafik El Hariri's 3rd Government were: Nazeeh Mansur, Khaled El Daher, Mustafa Sa'ad, Najah Wakeem, Pierre Daccache, Abdullah Qusair, Rabi'a Keiruz, Muhammad Ra'ad, Ibrahim El Sayed, Ibrahim Bayan, Ammar El Musawai, Zaher El Khateeb, Hussein El Hajj Hasan, Muhammad Fneish, Saleem El Hoss, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Hussein El Husseini, Boutros Harb and Naseeb Lahoud. *Official Minutes (1996)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 November 1996.

[15] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of PM Rafik El Hariri's 3rd Government on 19 November 1996, see Appendix 3.5. *Official Minutes (1996)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 November 1996.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Elias El Hrawi		
Cabinet of 7 November 1996		
1.	Rafik El Hariri	Prime Minister; Minister of Finance and PTT
2.	Michel El Murr	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Interior
3.	Michel Edde	Minister of State
4.	Beheej Tabbara	Minister of Justice
5.	Waleed Jumblatt	Minister of Displaced Affairs
6.	Mouhsen Dalloul	Minister of Defense
7.	Nadeem Salem[16]	Minister of State for Issues of Industry
8.	Shawqi Fakhouri	Minister of Agriculture
9.	Asa'ad Hardan	Minister of Labor
10.	Fares Boueiz	Minister of Foreign Affairs
11.	Elie Hobeiqa	Minister of Water & Power
12.	Suleiman Franjieh	Minister of Public Health
13.	Talal Arslan	Minister of Expatriates
14.	Shahe Barsoumian[17]	Minister of Oil & Industry
15.	Omar Masqawi	Minister of Transportation
16.	Nicola Fattoush	Minister of Tourism
17.	Beshara Merhej	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
18.	Mahmoud Abu Hamdan	Minister of Cooperatives and Housing
19.	Hagop Demirdjian[18]	Minister of Municipality Issues
20.	Fouad El Siniora	Minister of State for Financial Issues
21.	Jean Obeid	Minister of Education and Youth & Sports
22.	Yaseen Jaber	Minister of Commerce and Economy
23.	Ali Herajli	Minister of Public Works
24.	Fawzi Hbeish	Minister of Culture and Higher Education
25.	Basem El Saba'a	Minister of Information
26.	Akram Sheheyyeb	Minister of Environment
27.	Ayyoub Hameed	Minister of Social Affairs
28.	Farouq El Barbeer	Minister of Occupational Education

[16] Nadeem Salem, was subsequently appointed as Minister of Industry after a Ministry of Industry was established. See Decree No. 10357 signed by President Hrawi and P.M. Hariri re-appointing Nadeem Salem as Minister of Industry. *Official Gazette (1997)*, Issue No. 29, 12 June 1997, p.2322.

[17] *Official Gazette (1997)*, Issue No. 28, 7 June 1997, pp.2149-2151. Shahe Barsoumian was re-appointed as Minister of Oil. Decree No. 10357 signed by President Hrawi and PM Hariri. *Official Gazette (1997)*, Issue No. 29, 12 June 1997, p.2322.

[18] Minister Hagop Demirdjian resigned from Hariri's Cabinet. Decree No. 12721 dated 30 July 1998 signed by President Hrawi and P.M. Hariri accepting the resignation of Hagop Demirdjian. *Official Gazette (1998)*, Issue No. 35, 6 August 1998, p.3437.

29.	Elias Hanna[19]	Minister of State
30.	Ghazi Seifedeen	Minister of State

Table 19.4 – Cabinet Members of Rafik El Hariri's Government (7 November 1996)

both branches of the government should provide good and acceptable services to the citizens.

During the same session, Deputy Choukhadarian questioned the Prime Minister as to why Armenian Catholics in Lebanon were not represented in the Cabinet. Choukhadarian then brought up the issue of the Bourj Hammoud landfill. In pertinent parts, he demanded:

> "I should also say a word on the subject of the garbage landfill in Bourj Hammoud. We are all talking about the need to give attention to environmental issues, and the need to find solutions . . . including sewer treatment, etc. The Bourj Hammoud landfill has become a mountain of garbage at the entrance of Beirut. This landfill, which has become an environmental disaster, distorts the Lebanese reputation, as bad odors and the transmission of toxins in Beirut's airspace and its suburbs grow day after day without any solution.
>
> "This subject is totally rejected and cannot be tolerated. We are faced with serious difficulties in controlling the residents of the area. We urge that the government provides solution to this matter as soon as possible. The residents want to stop this landfill, even through the use of force and violence."[20] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

In general, the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were very active during their tenure in the 19th Parliament. Their attendance record was outstanding, except for Babikian, who contrary to his own record throughout his professional career as a legislator was relatively low as he was physically weak and eventually passed away in November 1999.

[19] Subsequently Elias Hanna was given the portfolio of Minister of State for Parliamentary issues. Decree No. 10358 dated 5 June 1997. *Official Gazette (1997)*, Issue No. 29, 12 June 1997, p.2322.

[20] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of PM Rafik El Hariri's government on 19 November 1996, see Appendix 6.7. *Official Minutes (1996)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 November 1996.

"Khatchig Babikian was one of the pillars of the Lebanese Legislature," announced Speaker Berri, and asked the Deputies to stand and observe one minute of silence in Babikian's memory at the opening of the legislative meeting on 9 December 1999.[21]

			1996-97[22]	1997-98[23]	1998-99[24]	1999-00[25]
1	Budget/Finance	17	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian
2	Admin/ Justice	17	Choukhadarian	Choukhadarian	Choukhadarian	Choukhadarian
3	Foreign Affairs	17	None	None	None	None
4	Pub.Work/Tran W&E Resources	17	Dedeyan Kassarji	Dedeyan Kassarji	Dedeyan Kassarji	Dedeyan Kassarji
5	Nat'l Education	12	None	None	None	None
6	Health, Labor	12	Hovnanian	Hovnanian	Hovnanian	Hovnanian
7	Nat'l Defense, Inter/Gen. Sec.	17	Dedeyan Hovnanian	Dedeyan Hovnanian	Dedeyan Hovnanian	Dedeyan
8	Housg/Disp	12	Jeredjian	Jeredjian	Jeredjian	Jeredjian
9	Agr. Tour. Envir	12	Choukhadarian	Choukhadarian	Choukhadarian	None
10	Nat'l Economy, Comm/Petrol	12	Jeredjian	Jeredjian	Jeredjian H. Demirdjian	Jeredjian H. Demirdjian
11	Info & PTT	12	Kassarji	Kassarji	Kassarji	Kassarji
12	Public Planning & Develop. Comm.*	12	Babikian	Babikian	Babikian H. Demirdjian	Choukhadarian Babikian H. Demirdjian
13	Rights/By Laws	8	None	None	None	None
14	Environment		N/A	N/A	N/A	None
			* Choukhadarian, Committee Chairman (1999-00)			

Table 19.5 – Committee memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 19th Lebanese Parliament (1996-00)

The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were involved in all the committees, except for the Foreign Affairs, National Education and the Human Rights/By-Laws committees, during the tenure of the 19th Parliament. Sebouh Hovnanian was involved in one committee only, whereas, the rest were involved in two separate committees. Towards the end of the term of the 19th Parliament, Babikian, H. Demirdjian and

[21] *Official Minutes (1999)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 7 December 1999.

[22] *Official Minutes (1996)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 14 November 1996.

[23] *Official Minutes (1997)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 21 October 1997.

[24] *Official Minutes (1998)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 20 October 1998.

[25] *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 October 1999.

Choukhadarian were elected to the same 12-member Public Planning and Development Committee with Choukhadarian being elected as its Chairman.

The year 1997 was a busy one for the 19th Parliament. Deputies Babikian, Choukhadarian and Kassarji were very vocal during the deliberations to approve the Budget as presented by the Hariri Government in January 1997. Babikian delivered a long speech, wherein he stressed the importance of looking into the main elements that affected the Budget and not deliberate on insignificant issues that were only distractions. Babikian, in particular mentioned:

> "What caught my attention is the responses of some new colleagues who enter the debate for the first time and criticize the Budget as if being a formality or a marginal issue . . . The [Finance] Minister says that the expenditures in the Budget are based upon two items: the interest (debt service) that represents 42% of the total budget, and the salaries and wages. What is the use of research and debate over the salaries and wages, which are imposed on us in any case. However, the debt and debt service alone, consume 42% of the total budget . . . what does the state do in this case?
>
> "The state has a lot of frozen funds that has not benefited from, whereas it pays high interest to service its debts. I do not want to mention here all the duties, taxes and revenues that are not levied at the proper time and are mostly lost, sometimes not even levied such as the electricity and water bills . . .
>
> "The state incurred as much debt as it has, and I am not criticizing the debt policy of the government, because the alternative could inevitably have led the country into poverty and destitution of our people who are already exhausted from a 17-year destructive war . . . I say that the state must not leave its debt without servicing it and without giving it the state's utmost and absolute priority."[26] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

[26] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the 1997 Budget, see Appendix 3.6. *Official Minutes (1997)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 29 January 1997.

During the same session, Deputy George Kassarji, on the other hand, delivered a very long speech arguing and criticizing the government for not providing services to the Beka'a Valley in general, and Zahle and Chtura districts in particular. Kassarji accused some of the ministries, including the Ministry of Water and Power, the Ministry of Displaced Affairs and the Telecommunications Ministry for gross negligence in not providing proper services to citizens. As to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kassarji said:

> "As to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it earns and gains from some of our productive embassies in the world. We in parliament have set aside some money to establish and open certain embassies, including the Embassy of Lebanon in Armenia. However, the Ministry, for example, has fulfilled its duties in Kazakhstan and neglected Armenia, and we are still waiting for the promises of the concerned Minister, who has no excuses whatsoever."[27] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

	Elected Deputies to the Supreme Council (1996-00)		
	Name of Deputy	**Sect**	**District**
1.	Camille Ziadeh	Maronite	Keserwan
2.	Marwan Fares	Roman Catholic	Beka'a Valley
3.	Khatchig Babikian	Armenian Orthodox	Beirut
4.	Zaher El Khateeb	Sunni	El Chouf
5.	Ayman Shqeir	Druze	Ba'abda
6.	Salah El Harakeh	Shia	Ba'abda
7.	Raji Abi Haidar	Roman Orthodox	El Metn
a.	Hasan Alawiyeh (1st Substitute)	Shia	South Lebanon
b.	Ahmad Hbous (2nd Substitute)	Alawite	North Lebanon
c.	Michel Pharaon (3rd Substitute)	Roman Catholic	Beirut

Table 19.6 – Elected Deputies as Members to the Supreme Council (1996-00)

During the same session, the 19th Parliament elected Babikian as one of the seven members of the Supreme Council, that had jurisdiction

[27] For the full Arabic text of Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the Budget discussions on 29 January 1997, see Appendix 5.5. *Official Minutes (1997)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 29 January 1997.

to try and sentence presidents and ministers for treason and other capital crimes related to national security of the Republic.[28]

During another legislative session, Deputies Babikian and Choukhadarian argued on issues that were related to the Lebanese-Armenian community. Babikian, on behalf of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, wanted to put on the record that, firstly, the Lebanese-Armenians were in favor of conducting municipal elections on time and secondly, the community was in favor of decentralization, as provided in the Ta'ef Agreement.[29] Choukhadarian thanked the Minister of Environment for all his efforts to end the dumping of garbage at the Bourj Hammoud landfill.[30] Kassarji also commented on agricultural issues accusing the ministry of inability to assist farmers in difficult times and demanded the immediate resignation of the Minister of Agriculture.[31]

During a question and answer session on 28 May 1997, the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies debated issues related to people's livelihood. Kassarji pressed the issue of the high prices of cellular phones and the poor services thereof, whereas, Choukhadarian questioned the government on the status the Bourj Hammoud landfill, while Babikian, being the oldest Deputy present during the deliberations, acted as the Speaker *pro tempore*.[32]

In another general discussion session, Choukhadarian praised the government's foreign relations related accomplishments, claiming that international attention had re-focused on Lebanon once again, as

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[28] *Official Minutes (1997)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 29 January 1997.

[29] See Khatchig Babikian's comments at *Official Minutes (1997)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 February 1997.

[30] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Choukhadarian's short speech on environmental issues during the legislative session on 19 February 1997, see Appendix 6.8. *Official Minutes (1997)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 February 1997.

[31] For the full Arabic text of George Kassarji's speech demanding the resignation of the Minister of Agriculture, see Appendix 5.6. *Official Minutes (1997)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 February 1997.

[32] Khatchig Babikian acted as the Speaker *pro tempore* during the second half of a general discussion meeting held on 28 May 1997, where he presided over a heated discussion by the Deputies, including Hagop Choukhadarian, questioning the Minister of Environment Akram Shehayyeb in Rafik Hariri's 63rd Lebanese Government. *Official Minutes (1997)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 28 May 1997.

heads of states and high-ranking officials were paying official visits to Lebanon, including Pope John Paul, HRH Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul-Aziz, Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, and later the Prime Minister of Malaysia and the Chairman of International Monetary Fund. However, Choukhadarian criticized the government's neglect of environmental issues, including the adverse impact of the Bourj Hammoud's dump on the population.[33] Choukhadarian further argued that the government was not promoting a policy to appoint skilled Lebanese-Armenian professionals to high-ranking administrative positions in the government. He argued:

> "Nowadays we hear a lot about landfill at Bourj Hammoud. The reality is that it is the landfill of Lebanon. It is a shame for all of Lebanon, especially when someone looks at Lebanon by sea or by air and sees this mountain of waste extending on the Beirut's and the El Metn's coastline, and wonders what that is.
>
> "Yes, Dear Colleagues. The landfill in Bourj Hammoud is Lebanon's shame and must be removed as soon as possible if we really want to bring tourism and prosperity to Lebanon. How many times were we promised it would be shut down? How many times were promises given and dates set for closing it down? And we waited and we waited in vain, and the landfill is still there, and trucks full of waste are still dumping poison on it. Enough is enough!
>
> "The residents of Beirut and the El Metn coast cannot remain silent on this matter anymore. So after consultations, the Deputies from Beirut and El Metn decided to stage a peaceful one-hour strike at noon on Wednesday, to express their dismay over the indifference of the authorities in addressing this vital issue.
>
> "Finally, I have a word about the rights of the Armenian community as to the issue of executive appointments. We all see many appointments here and there, but there aren't any appointments for Armenian citizens amongst them. Why is this injustice perpetrated against the rights of the community? We always hear from everyone that

[33] *Official Minutes (1997)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 7 July 1997.

> we are ideal citizens, that abide by the law, pay taxes, do not create problems… but despite all those, appointments have not been done. So what is the reason?"
>
> "We simply cannot remain silent about this imbalance and demand that a correction be done and the Armenian Community is given its legitimate rights."[34] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Choukhadarian, in another speech on 20 January 1998, reiterated the rights of the Lebanese-Armenians and demanded that the government remedy the shortcomings as soon as possible. He demanded that:

> "In conclusion, I have to reiterate the issue of the rights of the Armenian Community. As you probably know that the Ta'ef Agreement provided certain rights to the Armenian community, as being one of the seven main religious sects in Lebanon. Therefore, their rights and obligations are the same as the rest of the Lebanese sects. But when it comes to executive appointments, they are being ignored. Despite our repeated outcries and despite the repeated promises made, we are surprised every time that our rights have been ignored. Why is this injustice carried out against the Armenian community? Why aren't there any Armenian members on the Board of Directors of any public institution or any semi-private ones? If we count the number of appointees currently in Lebanon, the number may be more than three hundred or four hundred people. If we check the names, we do not find any Armenians. We cannot remain silent on this matter and ignore the painful reality. This imbalance must be corrected and the legitimate rights of the Armenian Community in the appointments to the first category must be restored." [35] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

[34] For the full Arabic text of Choukhadarian's speech given on 7 July 1997, please see Appendix 6.9. *Official Minutes (1997)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 7 July 1997.

[35] For the full Arabic text of Choukhadarian's speech on 20 January 1998, see Appendix 6.10. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 20 January 1998.

During the same session, Kassarji delivered a long speech and criticized the fiscal and financial policies of the Hariri government, and charged the Minister of State for Financial Issues, Fouad El Siniora, of highlighting collateral issues and not concentrating on the main financial problems of the government. Before casting a negative vote to the adoption of the state budget as presented, Kassarji, in pertinent parts of his speech, said:

> "After scrutinizing the draft budget and the annexed tables, it shows that the Minister of State for Financial Affairs is clearly defending Hariri's successive governments since 1993. Additionally, he desperately shows the positives by providing tables on the GDP growth, and the proportions of the budget deficit, and the evolution of public debt, and the balance of payments, and rates of inflation, rates of prices and the evolution of the dollar exchange rate, all of which enable him to defend the performance of Hariri successive governments in order to receive a good grade. However, the best measure of how successful successive Hariri governments were, is to hear from our people."[36] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

In addition to Choukhadarian and Kassarji, Deputy Abraham Dedeyan delivered a long speech during the same session, emphasizing six different points. Dedeyan announced:

> "First: I am with the austerity of the Budget, with the right spending for the right and proper place, so that does not exceed the spending cap of this Budget. We should not have a new deficit.
>
> "Second: Because the Budget is directly tied first and foremost with the citizen, and is supposed to be for the sake of their survival and dignity, and not against them, I feel the suffering of the people and the nation, and call for the heavy and burdensome taxes be lifted from the citizens, and ask the government - especially the

[36] For the full Arabic text of George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the Hariri government's 1998 Budget and before casting his negative vote to the adoption of it, see Appendix 5.7. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 20 January 1998.

> Ministry of National Education – to put an end to the outrageous costs and fees of private schools. . ."
>
> "Third: I respect all sects in Lebanon, but I oppose sectarianism, because they have a malignant disease that kills the homeland and the citizenry and contributes to the deepening of the gap amongst the constituents of one homeland.
>
> "Fourth: I also announce my full support for national resistance against the Zionist enemy that occupies a portion of our land, and distorts our rights. I also salute the heroes of the resistance and its martyrs, and applaud the detained heroes in Israeli prisons, and call for efforts to free and honor them, and to provide all humanitarian aid and life to them, in particular: work, hospitalization and schools. I hope that resistance becomes the "reservoir" of different Lebanese sects that melt into one. . .
>
> "Fifth: Because the Budget is also linked to the land, I announce at this critical juncture, my position in favor of the need for the Syrian military presence in Lebanon, and announce my absolute rejection of the Israeli presence and occupation of our land.
>
> "Sixth: I announce my rejection to any Turkish-Israeli agreement, because it only means more aggression, hostility and racism. . ."[37] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Abraham Dedeyan's speech generally depicted the Lebanese political mood in 1998. By the same summer, as the presidential election deadline was approaching, most politicians and the mass media were pre-occupied with the ascertaining the identity of the forthcoming president. President Hrawi's chances for a second prolongation was

[37] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Abraham Dedeyan's speech during the discussion on the State Budget on 20 January 1998, see Appendix 8.1. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 20 January 1998.

almost nil.[38] Hence the most acceptable candidate for the next Lebanese presidency was Army's Commander-in-Chief General Emile Lahoud.[39]

General Lahoud's candidacy, however, had constitutional barriers, as Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution, did not allow Grade One Civil Servants to be elected as President during their term in other office, or within two years of their resignation or retirement.[40]

Accordingly, the 19th Parliament in its 13 October 1998 meeting considered a proposed law submitted by the Hariri government through Decree No. 13182 to amend Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution for one time only on an extraordinary basis and allow the election of judges or Grade One Civil Servants to the presidency. The measure was carried with a unanimous vote. All Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, Babikian, Jeredjian, Choukhadarian, H. Demirdjian, Dedeyan, Hovnanian and Kassarj were present during the deliberations and voted in favor of amending Article 49 of the Constitution.[41] President Hrawi signed the Constitutional Amendment into law on the same day.[42]

Two days after amending the constitution, the 19th Parliament convened in a Special Session and elected Emile Lahoud as the President

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[38] For an account on the pre-election political mood in Lebanon in summer 1998, see Kareem Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance: The Mandate of Emile Lahood, the former President of Lebanon,* (Readings: Garnet Publishing, 2012), pp.14-17.

[39] Domestically, regionally and internationally, there was a consensus that Emile Lahoud should be the new President of Lebanon. See Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance,* p.15.

[40] Third Paragraph of Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution states: *"It is also not possible to elect judges, Grade One civil servants, or their equivalents in all public institutions to the Presidency during their term or office or within two years following the date of their resignation and their effective cessation of service, or following retirement." Official Website of the Presidency of the Republic of Lebanon. [Last accessed 17 August 2015]* http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf.

[41] The following Deputies did not attend the meeting for the consideration of amending Article 49 of the Constitution: Waleed Jumblatt, Akram Sheyayyeb, Marwan Hamadeh, Ayman El Ashqar, Rasheed El Khazen, Ala'edeen Terro, Wadi' Akl, Omar Karami, Khalil Abdul Noor, Nabeel El Bustani and George Deeb Na'ameh. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 13 October 1998.

[42] Law No. 687 dated 13 October 1998 for Amendment to Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri. *Official Gazette (1998)*, Issue No. 46, 13 October 1998, p.4171.

of the Lebanese Republic with 118 votes out of 118 present. All seven Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were in attendance and voted in favor of electing Lahoud.[43] The President-Elect took the Oath of Office on 24 October 1998.[44]

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Lahoud		
Cabinet of 4 December 1998[45]		
1.	Saleem El Hoss	Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs & Expatriates
2.	Michel El Murr	Deputy PM; Minister of Interior and Municipality Issues
3.	Muh'd Y. Beydoun	Minister of Educ.; Youth & Sports; Culture & Occup. Ed.
4.	Suleiman Franjieh	Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives and Housing
5.	Anwar El Khalil	Minister of Information and Displaced Issues
6.	Ghazi Ze'ayter	Minister of Defense
7.	Michel Moussa	Minister of Labor and Social Affairs
8.	Issam No'man	Minister of PTT
9.	Joseph Shaoul	Minister of Justice
10.	Suleiman Trabolsi	Minister of Water & Power and Oil
11.	Hasan Shalaq	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
12.	George El Qorum	Minister of Finance
13.	Karam Karam	Minister of Public Health
14.	Nasri El Sa'eedi	Minister of Commerce and Trade and Industry
15.	Arthur Nazarian	Minister of Tourism and Environment
16.	Muh'd Najeeb Miqati	Minister of Public Works and Transportation

Table 19.4 – Cabinet Members of P.M. Saleem El Hoss's Government (4 December 1998)

As soon as President Lahoud took office, and after consulting with the Deputies, was unable to come to a consensus over Rafik El

[43] Deputies Waleed Jumblatt, Akram Sheheyyeb, Marwan Hamadeh, Ayman El Ashqar, Ala'edeen Terro, Wadi' Akl, Omar Karami, and Khalil Abdul Noor did not attend the Special Meeting. Deputies Nabeel El Bustani and George Deeb Na'ameh were excused. *Official Minutes (1998)*: Special Meeting of the 19th Parliament to elect Emile Lahoud as the President, held on 15 October 1998.

[44] All except Deputies Tammam Salam and George Deeb Na'ameh (both excused) attended the ceremony of taking the Oath of Office by President Emile Lahoud. *Official Minutes (1998)*: Special Meeting of the 19th Parliament held on 24 October 1998.

[45] Decree No. 4 dated 4 December 1998 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (1998)*, Issue No. 55, 10 December 1998, pp.4977-4978.

Hariri's candidacy as the new prime minister and hence appointed Saleem El Hoss to head the 64th Lebanese Government.[46]

Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss formed a 16-member government that included Arthur Nazarian as Minister of Tourism and Environment. The newly formed government held a long meeting on 11 December 1998 to draft the ministerial statement, at which time some new ministers complained of corruption within their respective ministries.[47]

Prime Minister Hoss presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement, dubbed as the Rescue and Change Government, to the 19th Parliament on 14 December 1998 and received 85 votes of confidence out of 116 present with 31 members abstaining.[48] The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Choukhadarian, Dedeyan, Hovnanian and Kassarji cast their votes of confidence, whereas, Jeredjian and H. Demirdjian abstained from voting.[49] Before casting their votes of confidence in Hoss's government, Babikian, Choukhadarian and Kassarji delivered speeches. In his address, Babikian, in pertinent parts, stated:

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[46] For a detailed account on the negotiations between President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri just after Lahoud took Office in November 1998, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance,* pp.23-24. See Also, Saleem El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh: Tajarob Al-Hokem Ma Beyn 1998 Wa 2000*, *[Arabic: For the Truth and History: Governing Experience between 1998 and 2000],* (Beirut: Sharikat Al-Matbouaat Lil-Tawzee' Wa An-Nasher, 2001), pp.65-70.

[47] For a detailed coverage on the corruption as discussed during the meeting of the Council of Ministers on 11 December 1998, please see, El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.74-76. See also, Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance,* p.26.

[48] El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh*, pp.76-84 and Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.26.

[49] In addition to Jeredjian and H. Demirdjian, the following deputies abstained from voting on the ministerial statement presented by Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss on 14 December 1998: Waleed Jumblatt, Marwan Hamadeh, Akram Sheheyyeb, Ayman Shqeir, Abdo Bejjani, Basem El Saba'a, Khalil Abdul Noor, Nabeel El Bustani, Antoine Andrawos, Ala'edeen Terro, Baha'edeen I'tani, Saleem Diyab, Adnan Arakji, Khaled Sa'ab, Jameel Shammas, Fareed Makari, Michel Pharaon, Beshara Merhej, Omar Maskawi, Ahmad Karami, Ahmad Fatfat, Abdullah Quseir, Ibrahim Ameen El Sayed, Muhammad Ra'ad, Muhammad Fneish, Nazeeh Mansur, Ammar El Musawi, Ibrahim Bayan and Rabi'a Keiruz. The following deputies did not attend the meeting: Rafik El Hariri, Omar Karami and Wajeeh El Ba'areini. The deputies who were excused for not attending were: George Deeb Na'ameh, Issam Fares, Ayyoub Hameed, Bahiyeh El Hariri and Ali Hasan Khalil. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 14 December 1998.

"Firstly, on behalf of the Armenian coalition in Parliament and on behalf of myself, let me congratulate the statesman and my dear friend Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss and congratulate as well his colleagues in the government, who are in our view deserve appreciation and respect as they are characterized by clean hands and genuine commitment to national agendas.

"The government wants to call itself the Rescue and Change Government. I would have preferred calling it the Change Government rather than Rescue.

"Why rescue and from whom to rescue? Are we going to ignore to an extent the achievements of the last era with the launch of the unprecedented reconstruction projects in the center of a commercial district of Beirut . . .?

"No gentlemen, the country does not need to be rescued, but needs change. Yes, we need to change, the man *[Rafik El Hariri]* who will be remembered in history as the creative reconstruction chief, who has, because of his great political weight and capacity, with internal and external contacts available at his disposal, reached a summit, where he utilized the troika system in the Cabinet, the civil service, and other institutions to speed up the reconstruction and development process.

"Secondly: a few words on the ministerial statement, which was inspired by the speech of the Presidential Oath promising to start a new era in dealing with public affairs. These national goals you set in details, Mr Prime Minister, will guide our political life. However, I just want to emphasize some aspects of the relationship with Syria. Not only do we commit ourselves to the unity of the two tracks *[tracks of peace negotiations with Israel]* and this is normal between two people who share a unity of struggle and determination, but also we are committed to continue the common struggle against the Turkish-Israeli alliance, which is aimed at singling out the sisterly Syria and undermine its dignity as she stands as a shield in the face of Israeli ambitions and defend the

> rights of Arabs in a just, comprehensive and lasting peace."[50] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

In turn, Choukhadarian argued:

> "The change in our understanding is a concept that addresses the methods, people and the goals on which basis is the retention of what is good in this country. . . However, if it was necessary to highlight the positive intentions of the Prime Minister and his government, we believe that it will invite us to draw the attention of this government to the demographic realities in Lebanon, as this lineup of the portfolios in the government . . . did not include such realities . . . as the Lebanese Constitution provides for eighteen religious sects and only seven denominations are represented in this government. This means that ten other Lebanese denominations are not equal and do not have the right to participate in governance of this country.
>
> "As it relates to the strengthening of the national alliance with Syria, we have to admit that Prime Minister Hariri strengthened this alliance, as he has spared no effort to confirm the unity of the two people and the unity of the two tracks in the face of Israeli ambitions, and in promoting the Brotherhood, Cooperation and Coordination Treaty with Syria. We also recognize the tremendous achievements of the resistance to the *[Israeli]* occupation, the support to the Resistance and the release of the remains of the martyrs and some of the detainees. We all know that with his *[Rafik El Hariri's]* relentless efforts Lebanon regained visibility in the world."
>
> "I conclude my speech by raising a righteous demand, namely the sectarian rights of the Armenians in Lebanon. . . I feel obliged to draw the attention of the officials to the national rights of the Armenian community in Lebanon as they do not have the adequate participation in the functions of the governmental departments and public institutions. Our religious

[50] For the full Arabic Text of Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by PM Saleem El Hoss on 14 December 1998, see Appendix 3.7. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 14 December 1998.

> denomination is absent in these jobs and, therefore, we will prepare a memorandum and submit to President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Dr Saleem El Hoss to confirm the validity and seriousness of these demands . . ." [51] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

George Kasssarji, however, used the occasion to criticize the previous two Hariri Governments. In his speech, Kassarji claimed:

> "Congratulations to the Lebanese people, who was under occupation by continuous domestic power for six years when there was no realistic possibility for a change in regime, since that era was personalized in one political character.
>
> "The occupation was on the financial decisions, the occupation was on the monetary decisions, the occupation was on the political decisions, the occupation was on legislative decisions, the occupation was on the administrative decisions, the occupation was on the diplomatic decisions and the judiciary, the occupation was on the decisions of the development and reconstruction, and the occupation was on the decision of the media.
>
> "The end result of those six years, was the creation of a new phrase called "Political Harirism", that has been added to the Lebanese political slang language, and which is attributed to exclusivity, domination, control and hegemony. . . until a white coup d'état came along bringing a new era with a hope of canceling the role of unofficial government and restoring the legitimate government, its powers and tasks . . ." [52] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

As soon as El Hoss's government received the necessary vote of confidence, it engaged itself with new appointments of the first degree

[51] For the full Arabic Text of Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of PM Saleem El Hoss on 14 December 1998, see Appendix 6.11. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 14 December 1998.

[52] For the full Arabic Text of Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by PM Saleem El Hoss on 14 December 1998, see Appendix 5.8. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 14 December 1998.

governmental posts, that included the appointment of Jameel El Sayyed (Shia) as the Chief of General Security, and Mustafa Hamdan (Sunni) as Chief of the Presidential Guard, creating an outrage among Christians in general and the Maronites in particular, as both positions had been held by Maronites over past decades.[53]

The Lahoud-Hoss era commenced with a political bombshell dropped by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Michel El Murr on 24 January 1999, when he announced the discovery of serious "gaps" in the Municipality Fund and claimed that his predecessors at the Ministry of Interior had withdrawn money from the Fund without notifying the Council of Ministers.[54]

As the political tensions between the El Hoss government and the opposition led by former Prime Minister El Hariri escalated as a result of the El Murr announcement, President Lahoud paid an official visit to Damascus to meet with President Hafez El Asad on 12 February 1999. President El Asad provided full support to the Lebanese President and both agreed to keep in touch telephonically, which subsequently they did every Saturday morning.[55]

Endorsed by his Syrian counterpart, President Lahoud, on his return to Beirut, immediately presided over a meeting of the Council of Ministers and launched a fight against corruption. As a result, the Attorney General summoned the former Oil and Energy Minister, Shahe Barsoumian, for investigation and also arrested four other civil servants on corruption and embezzlement charges on 4 March 1999.[56] The General Accounting Office published a 300 page report on the Municipality Fund on 30 March 1999 and found the former Ministers Fouad El Siniora, Basem El Saba'a and Hagop Demirdjian accountable for the detected financial irregularities.[57]

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[53] Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.27. See also, El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.88-89.

[54] El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.89-91, and Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.31-32.

[55] Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.32.

[56] El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.98-99 and Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.33.

[57] Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.33. See also, El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.108-109.

In an attempt to defend the rights of the Lebanese-Armenian community and try to distance it from criminal investigations against former Minister Barsoumian, Deputies Choukhadarian and Kassarji delivered short speeches during the open session of the 19th Parliament on 16 March 1999. In his speech, Choukhadarian stressed that:

> "The escalation in the South and the Western Beka'a is disturbing and frightening, and cannot be tolerated. What the Israeli enemy is planning imposes on the Lebanese State to counter it with all caution and vigilance. We have full confidence in our brave Army and the Lebanese Resistance. We hope that these attacks will stop, and Resolution 425 will be implemented unconditionally. We are in solidarity with the South and the Resistance until the liberation of the entire homeland.
>
> "Lately there has been a lot of talk about investigation of some files. The investigation into the files related to oil led to the arrest of a former minister, who was and still is a friend to many of us in this Chamber. Maybe this minister has sinned, and that it is up to the judiciary to decide. We have total trust and confidence in the administration of justice. But what we do not accept, is to stop at this point of the investigation and not to pursue an in-depth investigation to ascertain the whole truth no matter how offensive or obscene it becomes. We demand that within the framework of the slogan to fight against corruption and bribery and waste, that all files be opened.
>
> "We must apply what was said yesterday by the President that no one is above the law, and therefore the law must apply to everyone without exception, no matter how high their business or official ranking is."[58] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Deputy George Kassarji defended the Lebanese-Armenian community by asserting:

[58] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Chaoukhadarian's speech in connection with the apprehension of former Minister Shahe Barsoumian, please see Appendix 6.12. *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 16 March 1999.

> "It was necessary to stop the waste and corruption . . . It started with opening of the oil files, which led into the investigation of what it led to, giving the matter comfort to the public *[referring to the investigation of past Minister Barsoumian]*. However, some people used such investigation to raise narrow political and religious sensitivities and stir emotions, specially against the Lebanese people of Armenian descent . . ."
>
> "So, dear colleagues, again, we want to make it clear that we are like other Lebanese citizens, we have the same duties and we have the same rights, and we are not an isolated island from the world and we are not above the law or alien to the community."
>
> "We are Lebanese of Armenians heritage and are an integral part of this country, its development and prosperity. It will happen to us as it will happen to all Lebanese. . . The progress of the Lebanese is our progress. . . and the Armenians are weakened by the weakening of the state and strengthened with the strengthening of the state.
>
> "The waste and corruption do not have any specific identity and a certain range and a certain area. . . so, for the sake of future generations and our nation let's sincerely expand and open up the waste and corruption files."[59] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

As Prime Minister Hoss's government and the 19th Parliament were engaged in debating the ongoing investigations and prosecutions of certain civil servants on charges of corruption, a horrible crime shook the Lebanese people on 8 June 1999, when unidentified gunmen broke into the courtrooms in Saida (Sidon) and shot four judges in cold blood.[60] Both the Hoss government and the 19th Parliament condemned the criminal action at the Saida Courthouse.[61]

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[59] For the full Arabic text of George Kassarji's speech in connection with the apprehension of former Minister Shahe Barsoumian, please see Appendix 5.9. *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 16 March 1999.

[60] El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.132-134 and Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.35.

[61] El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* p.134.

The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, specifically expressed their concerns about the political and security conditions in South Lebanon, in general, and praised the efforts exerted by the Resistance against the Israeli aggression, in particular. During the deliberation hearing on the State Budget on 12 July 1999, Deputy Abraham Dedeyan delivered a short speech, wherein he highlighted five important principles. Dedeyan, in pertinent parts, stated:

> "The homeland is greater than any leader or the people, and the national interest is supreme and above any other interests. . . as such I like to refer to some basic principles:
>
> "Firstly: Lebanon is for all its citizens, and all citizens must be for Lebanon. The fortification of the domestic front and national unity is a duty that must be exercised to face the foreign threats to Lebanon.
>
> "Secondly: The Israeli occupation of the south and the western Beka'a is an occupation of the land and its people. Therefore, the human resistance to occupation is a legitimate resistance to the restoration of sovereignty of the land and dignity of the people.
>
> "Thirdly: The unity of the path and destiny between Syria and Lebanon is a national principle and brotherly value which is impossible to alienate and separate as we are the believers that a just and comprehensive peace is the ultimate goal we all pursue.
>
> "Fourthly: We must be prepared wisely and efficiently and patiently to face the forthcoming policies of *[Israeli Prime Minister]* Ehud Barak . . .
>
> "Fifth: There would be no nation without a healthy people, as the people are exhausted through paying taxes, and having a decline in their standard of living and health. Therefore, let us build the proper citizenship with a proper and sound country."[62] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

[62] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Abraham Dedeyan's speech during the deliberations on the State Budget during Saleem El Hoss's Government in 1999, see Appendix 8.2. *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 12 July 1999.

During the same session, Deputy Choukhadarian, in a speech, praised the resistance of the Lebanese people against the Israeli aggressions. Choukhadarian, in pertinent parts, brought up 10 pressing issues:

> "Before I start discussing the Budget, I would like to salute the steadfastness of the Lebanese people and their brave and unified position toward the Israeli criminal and brutal attacks, especially the last ones that targeted innocent civilians and the country's infrastructure. I applaud the cooperation between the national army and the Resistance in confronting the enemy, who would not be able to undermine our steadfastness no matter how hard it tries.
>
> "I would also like to salute the new era led by His Excellency President Emile Lahoud, this efficient man, who restored the national issues to their normal pace, and mended the defects that the county experienced, including economic, administrative, social and political affairs. He is a national leader in every sense of the word because he demonstrated high qualities that were essential to become a national political leader.
>
> ". . . First, the administration is still corrupt. Bribery in the public departments is still rampant. Where are we with the administrative reforms? What are the steps that the government intends to take to put an end to this corruption and bribery?"
>
> "Second: Where is the decision of the authorities on the prevention of the use of cellular devices during driving of automobiles? It is enough of traffic accidents and victims every day.
>
> "Third: Where are we with the purchase of aircrafts to extinguish wild fires? Aren't these planes national needs in order to extinguish forest fires, such as the recent wild fires and the Bsalim station? Where is the government with the water treatment plants?
>
> "Fourth: Where are we with the appointments to the first category of civil servants in the public institutions appointments in order to see whether the current government is giving the Armenian community its legitimate rights by appointing Lebanese-Armenians

based upon the promises given in accordance with the Constitution of Ta'ef.

"Fifth: Where are we with the election laws based upon the principle of equality among citizens?

"Sixth: Where are we from the implementation of the merger of ministries. Our hope is that the idea of merger be dismissed once and for all, especially for the merger of the Ministry of Environment with another ministry.

"Seventh: Where are we in the promotion of the role of judicial overview that investigates and takes appropriate disciplinary actions, and not simply receives complaints and shelves them later."

"Eighth: Where are we in the establishment of the Ministry of Public Planning and Development in order to put an end to the waste and non-coordination amongst the ministries and public institutions.

"Ninth: Why is it that the General Accounting Office would not be directly linked with the Chamber of Deputies, as its role is to control spending of the executive branch and the role of the Chamber is to monitor the performance of the executive itself.

"Tenth: As it relates to military service, the majority of people are asking for its abolition, similar to France. In Lebanon, it did not give the desired results. The basic idea was to save the state treasury. However, have we thought about the adverse effect it would have on the family budget? And have we thought about why many young men are not returning to their homeland, Lebanon?"[63] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

As the Deputies were discussing the provisions of the Budget in July 1999, skirmishes in Southern Lebanon between Hezbullah and the Israeli Army were continuing on a regular basis, until the Israelis launched a massive air attack against Lebanese infrastructure destroying

[63] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the deliberations on the State Budget during Saleem El Hoss's Government in 1999, please see Appendix 6.13. *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 12 July 1999.

the power stations in Bsalim and Jamhour on 25 July 1999, killing dozens of civilians and wounding hundreds.[64]

El Hoss's government immediately embarked on fund raising to restore the infrastructure destroyed by the Israeli raids. The Arab Gulf States extended funding for the reconstruction. Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani paid an official visit to Lebanon for that purpose and delivered a speech at the Lebanese Parliament on 10 August 1999. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, H. Demirdjian, Dedeyan, Hovnanian and Kassarji were all in attendance, but Choukhadarian and Babikian were not.[65]

After the passing of Deputy Babikian, the longest serving Lebanese-Armenian Deputy, Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss's government issued Decree No. 1699 on 17 November 1999 and called for a by-election for the Armenian Orthodox Seat in Beirut District to replace the late Babikian and set it for Sunday 19 December 1999.[66] The Lebanese-Armenian community, however, decided not to deplete resources, as the general legislative elections were due within months. Andre Tabourian was therefore left as the uncontested candidate to replace Babikian.[67]

The official appointment of Tabourian as a Deputy to the 19th Lebanese Parliament was through a Ministry of Interior Letter (Reference No. 4/313/S) dated 6 December 1999 signed by Michel El Murr at an open session of the Parliament on 7 December 1999, considering Tabourian as the only and uncontested candidate for the by-election of the Armenian Orthodox seat in Beirut, and accordingly the

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[64] El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.135-136; and Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.36.

[65] In addition to Choukhadarian and Babikian, the following 11 deputies were not present during the speech delivered by Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani, Emir of Qatar: Issam Fares, Shawqi Fakhouri, Elias Skaff, Mohsen Dalloul, Talal El Mera'abi, Fareed Makari, Talal Arslan, Mustafa Sa'ad, Camille Ziadeh, Abdul Rahman Abdul Rahman, and Riad El Sarraf. *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 10 August 1999.

[66] Decree No. 1699 dated 17 November 1999 signed by President Emile Lahoud, Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss and Minister of Interior Michel El Murr. *Official Gazette (1999)*, Issue No. 55, 18 November 1999, p.3293.

[67] For a detailed account how the Lebanese-Armenian community reacted to the by-election for the Armenian Orthodox Seat in Beirut replacing the late Khatchig Babikian, see Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Election,* pp.343-345.

winner. Speaker Nabih Berri welcomed the new member to the 19th Parliament, who, according to Berri, had returned to the Chamber after 28 years."[68]

As the four-year-term of the 19th Parliament was approaching its end, P.M. Hoss's government presented a proposed law to amend the 1960 Legislative Election Law.[69] The amended law divided Beirut into three districts allocating one Armenian Orthodox seat in Beirut's 2nd District, two Armenian Orthodox and one Armenian Catholic seats in Beirut's 3rd District, and one Armenian Orthodox seat in each of El Metn and Zahle districts.[70] The measure amending the election laws was carried by a majority vote. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, H. Demirdjian, Dedeyan, Hovnanian, Kassarji and Tabourian voted in favor of the amendments to the Election Law.[71] President Lahoud signed it into law on 6 January 2000 as Law No. 171.[72]

The year 2000 started with Lebanon being hit by Islamist extremists, as an Army unit was attacked on the New Year's Eve at Dinniyeh, North Lebanon, that jolted the political elite in Lebanon and had certain ramifications at a later stage in world terrorism, such as the 9/11 attack on New York in 2001.[73] In addition to the acts of terrorism

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[68] *Official Minutes (1999)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 7 December 1999.

[69] Decree No. 1870 dated 11 December 1999 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss proposing an amendment to the 1960 Legislative Election Laws. *Official Minutes (1999)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 22 December 1999. See also, El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.293-297.

[70] Ibid.

[71] The Deputies who opposed the measure to amend the 1960 Election Law as presented by the El Hoss Government, were: Rafik El Hariri, Najah Wakeem, Musbah El Ahdab, Khaled El Daher and Naseeb Lahoud. Deputies Nayla Mou'awad and Hussein El Husseini abstained from voting. The following deputies, however, were not present during the deliberations: Ghassan Matar, Rasheed El Khazen, Talal Arslan, Mansour El Bon, Wadi' Akl, Waleed Jumblatt and Omar Karami. The excused deputies were: Pierre Daccache, Habib Hakeem, Gebran Tawq, Saleh El Kheir, Issam Fares, Wajeeh El B'airini and Ahmad Hbous. *Official Minutes (1999)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 22 December 1999.

[72] Law No. 171 for Amendment to the Election Laws dated 6 January 2000 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss. *Official Gazette (2000)*, Issue No. 2, 13 January 2000, pp.44-57.

[73] See Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.65. See also, El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.179-182.

against the Lebanese people, Israeli aggression escalated with the bombardment of three different power stations in Ba'albeck, Deir Nbouh near Zghorta, and Jamhour on 7 February 2000.[74]

Unprecedented Arab and international solidarity was extended to the Lebanese people immediately after the Israeli aggression. The President of the Republic of Armenia, Robert Kocharian, paid an official visitation to Lebanon on 15 February 2000, followed by an official visit by President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt on 19 February, followed by Sheikh Sabah El Ahmad El Sabah, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Kuwait on 22 February 2000. Farouq El Qadoumi, the head of the political department at the PLO also paid a visit to President Lahoud on 23 February 2000. Additionally, Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz Bin El Saud, Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, paid an official visit to Lebanon to express the Kingdom's solidarity with the Lebanese people on 3 March 2000.[75]

Nevertheless, the most highlighted political event in the Middle East in 2000 was Syrian-Israeli negotiations between President Hafez El Asad and Prime Minister Ehud Barak under the auspices of the US President Bill Clinton in Geneva in March 2000, where President Asad refused a proposal made by Barak for an Israeli withdrawal of the entire Golan Heights except for a narrow strip of territory adjacent to the Sea of Galilee.[76] As an immediate consequence to the refusal, and under tremendous domestic and international political pressure, the Israeli

[74] El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.145-146.

[75] For details about the official visits of the heads of states to Lebanon during February 2000, see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.75-77 and El Hoss, *Lil-Haqiqa Wa At-Tareekh,* pp.225-231.

[76] For details on the Geneva Talks between Syrian President Hafez El Asad and Israel's Prime Minister Ehud Barak, see Itamar Rabinovich, *Waging War: Israel and the Arabs, 1948-2003*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp.138-140. See also, Nicholas Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon*, (New York, I.B. Tauris, 2009), pp.71-73. For the Syrian perspective, please see, Farouq El Shara'a, *Al Riwaya Al Mafqoudah*, *[Arabic: The Lost Story]*, (Beirut: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2015), pp.437-451, and Bouthaina Sho'ban, *Ashrat A'wam ma'a Hafez El Asad: 1990-2000*, *[Arabic: Ten Years with Hafez El Asad: 1990-2000]*, (Beirut: Markaz Dirasat El Wahdeh El Arabia, 2015), pp.437-451. For the US standpoint on the Geneva Talks, see Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), pp.583-587.

Government abruptly withdrew its troops from Lebanon except for Sheba'a Farms and the Hills of Kfarshouba on 24 May 2000.[77]

However, the passing of President Hafez El Asad on 10 June 2000 changed the political landscape of the Middle East. A new era in the Middle Eastern politics commenced with the ascendency of Bashar El Asad to the Presidency of Syria.[78]

During the term of the 19th Parliament, several Armenian related issues were discussed, deliberated and passed into law. For the first time in Lebanon's legislative history, on 2 April 1997 Lebanese parliamentarians considered and adopted a proposal recognizing the pain and sorrow that Lebanese-Armenians experienced during the years 1915 and 1923, and paralleled it with the pain and suffering of the Lebanese people during the same era under the Ottoman rule.[79]

In February 2000, Deputy Choukhadarian proposed that April 24 be declared as an official holiday in Lebanon,[80] while, Kassarji demanded that the Lebanese government recognized the Armenian language as a

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[77] See Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.94-96. See also, Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon*, pp.73-74, Rabinovich, *Waging War*, pp.141-143. The General Directorate for Research and Information of the Lebanese Parliament, under the directives of Speaker Nabih Berri has published a thorough factual and an evidentiary study on the rightful ownership of Sheba'a Farms and Hills of Kfarshouba in 2001. See, Youssef Deeb, Ed., *Mazareh Shaba'a: Dirasa Watha'iqiheh Limarahel El Ihtitlal wal Iqtila' wa Ta'keed El Haq El Loubnani, 3rd Edition*, *[Arabic: Sheba'a Farms: Documentary Research for the Stage of the Occupation, Its Takeoff and Intentions and The Assertion of the Lebanese Right]*, (Beirut: Lebanese Parliament Press, 2005).

[78] See Flynt Leverett, *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire,* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), pp.58-68. According to Kareem Pakradouni, President Emile Lahoud was the last person who had spoken to President Hafez El Asad before the latter's death. Please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.106-107.

[79] For the full Arabic text of the proposal adopted by the 19th Parliament concerning the pain and suffering of the Lebanese-Armenians in 1915, see Appendix 17.1. The proposal, however, was not introduced as an item on the agenda and the official records do not specify who was (or were) the sponsor(s) of the proposal. Before calling for adjournment, Speaker Nabih Berri mentioned that the MPs should consider "a proposal." *Official Minutes (1997)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 2 April 1997.

[80] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Choukhadarian's speech on 1 February 2000, proposing that April 24 be declared as an official holiday in Lebanon, see Appendix 6.14. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 1 February 2000.

second language in the schools.[81] During the 9 May 2000 session, however, the 19th Parliament considered, accepted and voted on a proposal recognizing the Armenian Genocide.[82]

The 19th Parliament considered, debated and rectified several bilateral agreements between Lebanon and Armenia. In its 4 March 1998 legislative session, the 19th Parliament considered a measure submitted by the Hariri government to ratify the Agreement for the Protection of Reciprocal Investments between the Republic of Lebanon and Republic of Armenia. On the same day, the 19th Parliament further ratified a Friendship and Cooperation Agreement between the two republics.[83] Parliament, in a subsequent meeting on 27 October 1998, ratified a third agreement concerning Customs Cooperation and a fourth agreement on Cooperation in Commerce and Economy between the two nations.[84] In 1999, the Parliament further considered and approved a Coordination Agreement for Higher Education between Lebanon and Armenia.[85] In February 1999, parliament considered, and ratified, a Double Taxation Treaty between the two countries,[86] and in October 1999 ratified a Cultural Exchange Agreement signed between the two.[87]

The last meeting of the 19th Parliament was on 26 July 2000.

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[81] For the Arabic text of Deputy George Kassarji's speech, see Appendix 5.10. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 1 February 2000.

[82] For the full Arabic text of the proposal accepting the Armenian Genocide, see Appendix 17.2. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 9 May 2000.

[83] President Hrawi signed both measures as Law No. 680 and Law No. 682 respectively on 16 March 1998. *Official Gazette (1998)*, Issue No. 14, 26 March 1998, pp.1070-1084.

[84] *Official Minutes (1998)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 27 October 1998.

[85] For the official Arabic text of the Cooperation Treaty for Higher Education between the Republic of Lebanon and the Republic of Armenian, please see the *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 10 February 1999.

[86] *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 10 February 1999.

[87] *Official Minutes (1999)*: 1st Meeting of the 3rd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 13 October 1999.

		PM. Rafik El Hariri
		19 November 1996[88]
1	Khatchig Babikian	**√**
2	Yeghia Jeredjian	**√**
3	Hagop Demirdjian	**√***
4	Hagop Choukhadarian	**√**
5	Abraham Dedeyan	**√**
6	Sebouh Hovnanian	**√**
7	George Kassarji	**NS**
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record		

Table 19.5 (a) - Governments during the 19th Lebanese Parliament (1996-00)

[88] Decree No. 9501 dated 7 November 1996 signed by President Elias El Hrawi and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1996)*, Issue No. 57, 14 November 1996, pp.4325-4326. Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 19th Parliament on 19 November 1996 and received 102 Confidence Votes against 19 No-Confidence Votes. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Khatchig Babikian, Yeghia Jeredjian, Hagop Choukhadarian, Hagop Demirdjian, Abraham Dedeyan, and Sebouh Hovnanian cast their votes of confidence. George Kassarji, however, was not present along with Issam Fares and Omar Karami. Deputies Camille Ziadeh, Mahmoud Awwad and Sami El Khateeb were excused. The deputies who cast No-Confidence Vote to Rafik El Hariri's Government were: Nazeeh Mansur, Khaled El Daher, Mustafa Sa'ad, Najah Wakeem, Pierre Daccache, Abdullah Qusair, Rabi'a Keiruz, Muhammad Ra'ad, Ibrahim El Sayed, Ibrahim Bayan, Ammar El Musawai, Zaher El Khateeb, Hussein El Hajj Hasan, Muhammad Fneish, Saleem El Hoss, Muhammad Youssef Beydoun, Hussein El Husseini, Boutros Harb and Naseeb Lahoud. *Official Minutes (1996)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 November 1996.

		PM Saleem El Hoss
		14 December 1998[89]
1	Khatchig Babikian	√
2	Yeghia Jeredjian	A
3	Hagop Demirdjian	A
4	Hagop Choukhadarian	√
5	Abraham Dedeyan	√
6	Sebouh Hovnanian	√
7	George Kassarji	√
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record		

Table 19.5 (b) - Governments during the 19th Lebanese Parliament (1996-00)

[89] Decree No. 4 dated 4 December 1998 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (1998)*, Issue No. 55, 10 December 1998, pp.4977-4978. Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 19th Parliament on 14 December 1998 and received 85 Confidence Votes out of 116 present with 31 members abstaining. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Khatchig Babikian, Hagop Choukhadarian, Abraham Dedeyan, Sebouh Hovnanian and George Kassarji cast their Confidence Votes, whereas, Yeghia Jeredjian and Hagop Demirdjian abstained from voting. The following Deputies also abstained from voting on the ministerial statement: Waleed Jumblatt, Marwan Hamadeh, Akram Sheheyyeb, Ayman Shqeir, Abdo Bejjani, Basem El Saba'a, Khalil Abdul Noor, Nabeel El Bustani, Antoine Andrawos, Ala'edeen Terro, Baha'edeen I'tani, Saleem Diyab, Adnan Arakji, Khaled Sa'ab, Jameel Shammas, Fareed Makari, Michel Pharaon, Beshara Merhej, Omar Maskawi, Ahmad Karami, Ahmad Fatfat, Abdullah Quseir, Ibrahim Ameen El Sayed, Muhammad Ra'ad, Muhammad Fneish, Nazeeh Mansur, Ammar El Musawi, Ibrahim Bayan and Rabi'a Keiruz. The following deputies did not attend the meeting: Rafik El Hariri, Omar Karami and Wajeeh El Ba'areini. The deputies who were excused for not attending were: George Deeb Na'ameh, Issam Fares, Ayyoub Hameed, Bahiyeh El Hariri and Ali Hasan Khalil. *Official Minutes (1998)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 14 December 1998.

The 20th Lebanese Parliament

(2000-05)

The Lebanese legislative elections of 2000 were based upon the newly amended Law No. 171 of 6 January 2000, dividing Beirut into three smaller electoral districts.[1] President Lahoud and Prime Minister El Hoss issued Decree No. 3294 on 28 June 2000 setting the legislative election date for the 20th Parliament on 27 August 2000.[2]

The incumbent Deputies Jeredjian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut 2nd District) and Kassarji (Armenian Orthodox, Zahle District) were re-

[1] Law No. 171 amending the Election Laws dated 6 January, signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (2000)*, Issue No. 2, 13 January 2000, pp.44-57.

[2] Decree No. 3294 dated 28 June 2000 and signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss setting 27 August 2000 as the Legislative Election date for the 20th Parliament. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2000)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 17 October 2000.

elected, whereas Jean Ogassapian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut 3rd District), Hagop Kassardjian (Armenian Orthodox, Beirut 3rd District), Serge Toursarkissian (Armenian Catholic, Beirut 3rd District), and Sebouh Hovnanian (Armenian Orthodox, El Metn District) joined the Chamber for the first time.[3]

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District	Mtgs	Absen	Attend.
1	Yeghia Jeredjian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 2nd	49	3	94%
2	Jean Ogassapian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 3rd	49	2	96%
3	Hagop Kassardjian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 3rd	49	4	92%
4	Serge Toursarkissian	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 3rd	49	1	98%
5	Sebouh Hovnanian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	49	2	96%
6	George Kassarji	Arm. Orth.	Zahle	49	4	92%

Table 20.1 – Names of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 20th Lebanese Parliament (2000-05)

It was a challenging time for the members of the 20th Parliament.[4] During their term in office, they witnessed several important international, regional and domestic events that had adverse impact on the lives of the Lebanese people in general, and the lives of the Deputies themselves in particular. Among the major events that shook the world, were the bombing and collapse of the Twin Towers in New York on 11 September 2001; the declaration of War on Terror by the George W. Bush's administration that changed the world order with the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and then Iraq in 2003; the passage of US's Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003, followed by the passage of United Nation Security Council Resolution No. 1559 on 2 September 2004.[5]

[3] For a pre-election campaign conducted by the Lebanese-Armenian candidates and their respective communities, please see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.345-375.

[4] For a detailed account on the 2000 legislative elections, in general, please see Muhammad Murad, *El Intikhabat El Niyabiyeh Fi Lubnan: 1920-2009, [Arabic: The Legislative Elections in Lebanon: 1920-2009]*, (Beirut: Manshourat El Jama'a El Lubnaniyeh 'Lebanese University Publications', 2013), pp.334-347. For the official results of the elected deputies to the 20th Parliament, please see *Official Minutes (2000)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 17 October 2000.

[5] For an analysis on the direct and indirect impact of the aforementioned events on Lebanon, see Karim Knio, "Lebanon: Cedar Revolution or Neo-Sectarian Partition?" *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (July 2005), pp.225-231.

Names of the Elected Deputies of the 20th Lebanese Parliament (2000-05)	
Beirut 1st Dist.	Rafik El Hariri (Sunni); Adnan Araqji (Sunni); Ghattas Khoury (Maronite); Michel Pharaon (Roman Cath.); Atef Majdalani (Roman Orth.) Basel Fuleihan (Protestant).
Beirut 2nd Dist.	Waleed Eido (Sunni); Basem Yammut (Sunni); Muhammad Berjawi (Shia); Beshara Merhej (Roman Orth.); Yeghia Jeredjian (Arm. Orth.) and Nabeel de Freij (Minorities).
Beirut 3rd Dist.	Ghenwa Jaloul (Sunni); Muhammad Qabbani (Sunni); Naser Qandeel (Shia); Ghazi El Araidi (Druze); Serge Toursarkissian (Armenian Catholic); Hagop Kassardjian (Armenian Orthodox) and Jean Ogassapian (Armenian Orthodox).
Mt. Leb. 1st Dist.	Abbas Hashem (Shia); Nazem El Khoury (Maronite); Fares Sa'eed (Maronite); Fareed Haikal El Khazen (Maronite); George Afram (Maronite); Mansour El Bon (Maronite); Na'matullah Abi Nasr (Maronite) and Fares Boueiz (Maronite).
Mt. Leb. 2nd Dist.	Emile Emile Lahoud (Maronite); Pierre Ameen Gemayel (Maronite); Ghassan El Ashqar (Maronite); Antoine Haddad (Roman Catholic); Michel El Murr (Roman Orthodox); Albert Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox) and Sebouh Hovnanian (Armenian Orthodox).
Mt. Leb. 3rd Dist.	Basem El Saba'a (Shia); Ali Ammar (Shia); Ayman Shqeir (Druze); Salah Hnein (Maronite); Antoine Ghanem (Maronite); Abdullah Farhat (Maronite); Akram Sheheyyeb (Druze); Talal Arslan (Druze); Fouad El Sa'ad (Maronite); Pierre Helou (Maronite) and Antoine Andrawos (Roman Orthodox).
Mt. Leb. 4th Dist.	Muhammad El Hajjar (Sunni); Ala'edeen Terro (Sunni); Marwan Hamadeh (Druze); Waleed Jumblatt (Druze); Nabeel El Bustani (Maronite); George Na'ameh (Maronite); Elie Aoun (Maronite); and Na'ameh Youssef Tohme (Roman Catholic).
North Lebanon 1st Dist.	Jamal Ismail (Sunni); Wajeeh El Ba'areini (Sunni); Muhammad Yehia Yehia (Sunni); Mikhael El Daher (Maronite); Issam Fares (Roman Orthodox); Kareem Abdullah El Rassi (Roman Orthodox); Abdul Rahman Abdul Rahman (Alawite); Ahmad Fatfat (Sunni); Jihad Murshed El Samad (Sunni); Gebran Tawq (Maronite) and Qabalan Shebel Issa El Khoury (Maronite).
North Lebanon 2nd Dist.	Muhammad Najeeb Miqati (Sunni); Muhammad El Safadi (Sunni); Muhammad Kabbara (Sunni); Omar Karami (Sunni); Muhammad Musbah El Ahdab (Sunni); Ahmad Hbous (Alawite); Jean Obeid (Maronite); Maurice Fadel (Roman Orthodox); Saleh El Kheir (Sunni); Suleiman Antoine Franjieh (Maronite); Nayla Mou'awad (Maronite); Qaisar Fareed Mou'awad (Maronite); Boutros Harb Maronite); Sayed Akl (Maronite); Fayez Ghossen (Roman Orthodox); Fareed Makari (Roman Orthodox) and Saleem Sa'adeh (Roman Orthodox).
South Lebanon 1st Dist.	Mustafa Ma'arouf Sa'ad (Sunni); Bahiyeh El Hariri (Sunni); Nabih Berri (Shia); Ali Adel Osseiran (Shia); Michel Hanna Mousa (Rom. Catholic); Abdullah Ahmad Qusair (Shia); Muhammad Abdul Hameed Beydoun (Shia); Ali Youssef El Khalil (Shia); Ali Youssef Khreis (Shia); Muhammad Fneish (Shia); Ayyoub Hameed (Shia); Ahmad Bazzi (Shia).
South Lebanon 2nd Dist.	Qassem Omar Hashem (Sunni); Nazeeh Ali Mansour (Shia); Ali Hasan Khalil (Shia); Anwar Muhammad El Khalil (Druze); Asa'ad Hardan (Roman Orhtodox); Muhammad Ra'ad (Shia); Abdul Lateef Youssef El Zein (Shia); Yaseen Jaber (Shia); George Nejem (Maronite); Sameer Azar (Maronite) and Antoine Saleem El Khoury (Roman Catholic).
Beka'a Valley 1st Dist.	Ibrahim Suleiman Bayan (Sunni); Mas'oud Hussein El Houjeiri (Sunni); Hussein Ali El Hajj Hasan (Shia); Ammar El Mousawi (Shia); Ghazi Ze'ayter (Shia); Hussein El Husseini (Shia); Muhammad Hasan Yaghi (Shia); Assem Qanso (Shia); Nader Sukkar (Maronite) and Marwan Fares (Roman Catholic).
Beka'a Valley 2nd Dist.	Muhammad Ali El Mais (Sunni); Mouhsen Dalloul (Shia); Khalil El Hrawi (Maronite); Elias Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Nicola Fattoush (Roman Catholic); Youssef El Ma'alouf (Roman Orthodox) and George Kassarji (Armenian Orhtodox).
Beka'a Valley 3rd Dist.	Sami El Khateeb (Sunni); Abdul Rahman Murad (Sunni); Mahmoud Abu Hamdan (Shia); Faisal El Dawood (Druze); Robert Iskendar Ghanem (Maronite); Elie Najeeb El Ferzli (Roman Orthodox).

Table 20.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 20th Lebanese Parliament

Domestically, the term of the 20th Parliament was shaken by several political events, including the announcement by the Statement of the Council of Maronite Bishops of 20 September 2000 against the Syrian presence in Lebanon, the formation of the Qornet Shehwan Gathering on 30 April 2001, the Bristol Gathering of 2004, the extension of President Lahoud's term in September 2004 followed by the assassination attempt on Deputy Marwan Hamadeh on 1 October 2004 and later the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri on 14 February 2005. All these events contributed in changing the political landscape in Lebanon, and contributed to the eventual withdrawal of all Syrian troops from Lebanon by 26 April 2005.[6]

	2000-05			
Speaker	Nebih Berri			
Deputy Speaker	Elie Ferzli			
	2000-01[7]	**2001-02[8]**	**2002-03[9]**	**2003-05[10]**
The Secretariat	Ayman Shqeir Fareed El Khazen	Ayman Shqeir Fareed El Khazen	Ayman Shqeir Fareed El Khazen	Ayman Shqeir Fareed El Khazen
Commissioners	S. Toursarkissian A. Abdu Rahman Antoine Haddad	S. Toursarkissian A. Abdul Rahman Antoine Haddad	S. Toursarkissian A. Abdul Rahman Antoine Haddad	S. Toursarkissian A. Abdul Rahman Antoine Haddad

Table 20.3 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 20th Lebanese Parliament (2000-05)

The 20th Parliament held a total of 49 meetings that included 30 ordinary and 19 extraordinary meetings. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were very active and attended most of the meetings, registering high attendance record. Despite the international political restraints, the 20th Parliament welcomed three Presidents who delivered speeches from the parliament's podium: President of France, Jacque Chirac, on 17 October 2002;[11] President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mohammad Khatami,

[6] Imad Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*, (New York: Routledge Publishing, 2014), pp.66-67.

[7] *Official Minutes (2000)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 17 October 2000.

[8] *Official Minutes (2001)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 16 October 2001.

[9] *Official Minutes (2002)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 22 October 2002.

[10] *Official Minutes (2003)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 21 October 2003.

[11] Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Yeghia Jeredjian, Hagop Kassardjian, Serge Toursarkissian and George Kassarji were present during President Jacques Chirac's speech at the Parliament on 17 October 2002. Deputy Sebouh Hovnanian

on 14 May 2003;[12] and President of Brazil, Louis Enasiou Lola Da Silva, on 5 December 2003.[13]

The 20th Parliament held its first meeting on 17 October 2000 with Qabalan Issa El Khoury, the oldest Deputy present, acting as the Speaker *Pro Tempore* until the Deputies elected Nabih Berri as the Speaker of the 20th Parliament for the duration of the term. Berri received 124 votes out of the 126 deputies present. There were two blank papers. Deputies Mustafa Sa'ad and Elie Aoun were not present. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Hovnanian, Toursarkissian and Kassarji voted in favor of Nabih Berri.[14] The Deputies then proceeded to elect Elie El Ferzli as the Deputy Speaker and the rest of the members of the Speaker's Bureau. Deputy Toursarkissian was elected as one of the three Commissioners at the Speaker's Bureau.

During the term of the 20th Parliament, the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were very active during the general discussions and actively participated in the deliberations. They were also active in the standing committees of the parliament. Toursarkissian was elected to the Administration and Justice Committee and later to the Youth and Sports Committee. Jeredjian was involved in the Committee for National Economy, Commerce and Industry, as well as in the Displaced Affairs Committee. Kassarji was elected to the Public Works and the Information & Telecommunication committees and later became involved with the newly formed Information Technology Committee. Kassardjian was involved with Youth and Sports and the National Economy committees.

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was present as Minister of Youth & Sports, whereas Deputy Jean Ogassapian's absence was excused. *Official Minutes (2002)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 17 October 2002.

[12] Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Yeghia Jeredjian, Jean Ogassapian, Hagop Kassardjian and George Kassarji were present during President Mohammad Khatami's speech at the Parliament. Deputy Sebouh Hovnanian was also present as Minister of Youth & Sports, whereas Serge Toursarkissian was absent. *Official Minutes (2003)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament on 14 May 2003.

[13] All Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present during President Da Silva's speech at the Parliament on 5 December 2003. Deputy Sebouh Hovnanian was present as Minister of Youth & Sports, however, the Lebanese-Armenian Minister of State Kareem Pakradouni was not present. *Official Minutes (2003)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 5 December 2003.

[14] *Official Minutes (2000)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 17 October 2000.

			2000-01[15]	2001-02[16]	2002-03[17]
1	Budget & Finance	17	None	None	None
2	Admin & Justice Com.	17	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian
3	Foreign Affairs Com.	17	None	None	None
4	Public Works/Trans	17	Kassarji	Kassarji	Kassarji
5	Nat'l Educ. Com.	12	None	None	None
6	Public Health, Labor	12	None	None	None
7	Nat'l Defense, Security	17	Ogassapian	Ogassapian	Ogassapian
8	Displaced Affairs	12	Jeredjian	Jeredjian	Jeredjian
9	Agriculture & Tourism	12	None	None	None
10	Environment Com.	12	Ogassapian	Ogassapian	Ogassapian
11	Nat'l Econ., Comm., Industry Committee	12	Jeredjian Kassardjian	Jeredjian Kassardjian	Jeredjian Kassardjian
12	Info & Telecom. Com	12	Kassarji	Kassarji	Kassarji
13	Youth & Sports Committee	12	Kassardjian	Kassardjian Toursarkissian	Kassardjian Toursarkissian
14	Human Rights	12	None	None	None
15	Women & Children	12	None	None	None
16	Info. & Tech. Comm.[18]	9	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 20.4 (a) – Committee Memberships in the 20th Lebanese Parliament (2000-05)

Ogassapian was elected to the National Defense and the Environment committees and later joined the Foreign Affairs Committee.

[15] *Official Minutes (2000)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 31 October 2000.

[16] *Official Minutes (2001)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 16 October 2001.

[17] *Official Minutes (2002)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 22 October 2002.

[18] In October 2003, the parliamentary By-Laws were amended to add one more committee: "Information Technology Committee" comprising of 9 members. *Official Minutes (2003)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 21 October 2003.

			2003-04[19]	2004-05[20]
1	Budget & Finance	17	None	None
2	Admin & Justice Com.	17	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian
3	Foreign Affairs Com.	17	Ogassapian	Ogassapian
4	Public Works/Trans	17	Kassarji	Kassarji
5	Nat'l Educ. Com.	12	None	None
6	Public Health, Labor	12	None	None
7	Nat'l Defense, Security	17	Ogassapian	Ogassapian
8	Displaced Affairs	12	Jeredjian	Jeredjian
9	Agriculture & Tourism	12	None	None
10	Environment Com.	12	None	None
11	Nat'l Econ., Comm., Industry Committee	12	Jeredjian Kassardjian	Jeredjian Kassardjian
12	Info & Telecom. Com	12	Kassarji	Kassarji
13	Youth & Sports Committee	12	Kassardjian Toursarkissian	Kassardjian Toursarkissian
14	Human Rights	12	None	None
15	Women & Children	12	None	None
16	Info. & Tech. Comm.[21]	9	Kassarji	Kassarji

Table 20.4 (b) – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 20th Lebanese Parliament (2000-05)

The 2000 legislative elections produced a shift in the political landscape in Lebanon, as the new election law was tailored by Ghazi Kena'an, the Syrian General who was stationed at the Armenian dominated village of Anjar, Bekaa'a Valley, and who held the Lebanese Portfolio for the Syrian Government, in conjunction with some Lebanese security officials in favor of El Hariri and his Future Movement.[22]

As the 2000 legislative election results turned out in favor of the opposition, the Lebanese were shaken when the Council of Maronite

[19] *Official Minutes (2003)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 21 October 2003.

[20] *Official Minutes (2004)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 19 October 2004.

[21] In October 2003, the By-Laws of the Parliament were amended to add one more committee named: "Information Technology Committee" comprising of 9 members. *Official Minutes (2003)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 21 October 2003.

[22] See Kareem Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance: The Mandate of Emile Lahood, the former President of Lebanon,* (Readings: Garnet Publishing, 2012), pp.124-125. See also, Nicholas Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon*, (New York, I.B. Tauris, 2009), pp.78-79.

Bishops, in their monthly meeting on 20 September 2000, issued a statement attacking the presence of the Syrian Army in Lebanon, especially after the withdrawal of Israeli troops in May 2000.[23] The Maronite Bishops demanded that Syria redeployed its troops as a first step towards full withdrawal from Lebanon in compliance with the Ta'ef Agreement and UNSC Resolution 520.[24]

Under internal and regional political pressure, President Lahoud held parliamentary consultations on 21 October 2000 to determine who would be the new prime minister. Rafik El Hariri secured 106 votes out of 128 Deputies, and President Lahoud had no choice but to appoint El Hariri as the new Prime Minister.[25]

Rafik El Hariri formed a Cabinet consisting of 30 ministers, however, he allocated only one ministerial portfolio to the Lebanese-Armenians as opposed to the two required under the Ta'ef Agreement.[26] Deputy Sebouh Hovnanian was appointed as Minister of Youth & Sports.

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[23] For a detailed account and analysis for the Maronite-Syrian relationship since 1975 and the Maronite Bishop's call for the Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, please see Robert G. Rabil, "The Maronites and Syrian Withdrawal: From 'Isolationists' to 'Traitors'?" *Middle East Policy*, Volume 8, Issue No. 3 (September 2001), pp.23-43.

[24] For the full text of the Statement issued by the Council of Maronite Bishops on 20 September 2000, please see Middle East Intelligence Bulletin, Vol. 2 No. 9, 5 October 2000 at https://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0010_ldoc0920.htm. *[last accessed on 21 June 2016]*. See also, http://www.maronite-heritage.com/Maronite%20Patriarch.php *[last accessed 21 June 2016]*. See Kareem Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.126-127. See also, Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon,* pp.80-81. The UNSC Resolution 520 of 17 September 1982, in pertinent parts stated: *"The Security Council . . . Calls again for the strict respect of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and political independence of Lebanon under the sole and exclusive authority of the Government of Lebanon through the Lebanese Army throughout Lebanon."* UNSC Res. No. 520. *[last visited on 21 June 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/520(1982)

[25] Decree No. 4335 dated 26 October 2000 signed by President Emile Lahoud appointing Rafik El Hariri as the Prime Minister to form the 65th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2000)*, Issue No. 50, 2 November 2000, p.4321.

[26] For the entitlement of the Lebanese-Armenian community to two ministerial portfolios in a 30-member Cabinet under the Ta'ef Accord, see, Roupen Avsharian, "The Ta'ef Agreement and the Lebanese-Armenians," Aida Boujikanian, Ed., *Armenians of Lebanon: From Past Princesses and Refugees to Present-Day Community*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2009), pp.402-404.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Lahoud		
Cabinet of 26 October 2000[27]		
1.	Rafik El Hariri	Prime Minister
2.	Issam Fares	Deputy Prime Minister
3.	Pierre Helou	Minister of State
4.	Beheej Tabbara	Minister of State
5.	Marwan Hamadeh	Minister of Displaced Affairs
6.	George Afram	Minister of Industry
7.	Muh'd Abdul Hameed Beydoun	Minister of Water & Power
8.	Talal Arslan	Minister of State
9.	Suleiman Franjieh	Minister of Public Health
10.	Asa'ad Diyab	Minister of Social Affairs
11.	Beshara Merhej	Minister of State
12.	Fouad El Siniora	Minister of Finance
13.	Abdul Raheem Murad	Minister of Higher Education
14.	Michel Mousa	Minister of Environment
15.	Karam Karam	Minister of Tourism
16.	Muhammad Najeeb Miqati	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
17.	Fouad El Sa'ad	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
18.	Sebouh Hovnanian	Minister of Youth & Sports
19.	Khalil El Hrawi	Minister of National Defense
20.	Michel Pharaon	Minister of State
21.	Ghazi El Araidi	Minister of Information
22.	Basel Fuleihan	Minister of Economy and Commerce
23.	Mahmoud Hammoud	Minister of Foreign Affairs & Expatriates
24.	Sameer El Jisr	Minister of Justice
25.	Nazeeh Habib Beydoun	Minister of State
26.	Ali Qanso	Minister of Labor
27.	Ghassan Salameh	Minister of Culture
28.	Elias El Murr	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
29.	Ali Ajaj Abdullah	Minister of Agriculture
30.	Jean Louis Qerdahi	Minister of Telecommunication

Table 20.5 – Cabinet Members of P.M. Rafik El Hariri's Government (26 October 2000)

Before Prime Minister El Hariri presented the ministerial statement of the newly formed government, the 20th Parliament, in its 31 October 2000 session, considered amending Articles 20 and 21 of its by-laws, thus preventing a Deputy from being a member of more than two

[27] Decree No. 4336 dated 26 October 2000 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (2000)*, Issue No. 50, 2 November 2000, pp.4332-4334.

standing committees, unless the Deputy was a member of the Human Rights Committee or the Women and Children Committee.

During the same session, the 20th Parliament elected Jean Ogassapian as one of the seven members on the Supreme Council, that had jurisdiction to try and sentence presidents and ministers for treason and other capital crimes related to national security.[28]

	Elected Deputies to the Supreme Council (2000-05)		
	Name of Deputy	**Sect**	**District**
1.	Fares Boueiz	Maronite	Mount Lebanon
2.	Nicola Fattoush	Roman Catholic	Beka'a Valley
3.	Waleed Eido	Sunni	Beirut
4.	Ali Hasan Khalil	Shia	South Lebanon
5.	Fayez Ghossen	Roman Orthodox	North Lebanon
6.	Mikhael El Daher	Maronite	North Lebanon
7.	Jean Ogassapian	Armenian Orthodox	Beirut
a.	Ayman Shqeir (1st Substitute)	Druze	Mount Lebanon
b.	Antoine Ghanem (2nd Substitute)	Maronite	Mount Lebanon
c.	George Nejem (3rd Substitute)	Maronite	South Lebanon

Table 20.6 – Elected Deputies as Members to the Supreme Council (2000-05)

Prime Minister El Hariri presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 20th Parliament on 2 November 2000 and received 95 votes of confidence against 6 votes of no-confidence that included that of Deputy George Kassarji. There were 17 abstentions, including those of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian and Toursarkissian as a show of discontent over the allocation of only one ministerial portfolio to the Lebanese-Armenians. Sebouh Hovnanian, who was appointed as Minister, did not show up during the deliberations and voting on the El Hariri's ministerial statement.[29]

[28] *Official Minutes (2000)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 31 October 2000. Jean Ogassapian and his colleagues took the oath as members of the Supreme Council on 19 December 2000. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 19 December 2000.

[29] The Deputies who cast vote of no confidence in Hariri's government were: Albert Moukheiber, Naseeb Lahoud, Boutros Harb, Pierre Gemayel, Nicola Fattoush and George Kassarji. Those who abstained were: Yeghia Jeredjian, Jean Ogassapian, Hagop Kassardjian, Serge Toursarkissian, Hussein El Husseini, Muhammad Ra'ad, Nayla Mou'awad, Hussein El Hajj Hasan, Ibrahim Bayan, Mas'oud El

For the first time in the history of the Lebanese Parliament, out of the six elected Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, five gave long speeches on the same day during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri's 65th Government. In a speech, Yeghia Jeredjian expressed disappointment and dissatisfaction over the elimination of a ministerial post from the Lebanese-Armenian community. In pertinent parts, Jeredjian stated:

> "Our chamber is holding its parliamentary meeting allocated to discuss the government's ministerial statement, at a time when Lebanon is going through very sensitive stage in its modern history, and it is only natural that the peculiarities of these stages have made it through to the ministerial statement and have also dominated the discussions in this meeting.
>
> "I see that the peculiarities of this era are divided into two: regional and domestic. The government's ministerial statement has touched upon the political aspect, in order to address the regional situation with its various aspects, focusing deeply on the risks and challenges in order to reach a just, comprehensive and lasting peace.
>
> "As such, the topics covered in the statement are as follows:
>
> 1. Safeguarding the accomplishments of the Resistance in liberating the land and work on utilizing it in all aspects.
> 2. Completing the liberation of the land to the very last inch.
> 3. Liberating all prisoners and detainees from Israeli prisons.
> 4. Addressing the issue of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon with the emphasis on the principle of rejection of any settlements of any kind or form.

Hujeiri, Abdullah Qusair, George Nejem, Ali Ammar, Muhammad Yaghi, Nazeeh Mansour, Ammar El Mousawi, and Muhammad Fneish. In addition to Sebouh Hovnanian, the following deputies did not attend the session: Fares Boueiz, Fareed El Khazen, Abbas Hashem, Na'ameh Tohme, and Antoine Ghanem. Those who were excused were Muhammad Berjawi, Mustafa Sa'ad, Issam Fares, and Musbah El Ahdab. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 2 November 2000.

5. Endorsing the Palestinian people's uprising in order to liberate their lands and regain their sovereignty, showing unity to establish their independent state with Jerusalem as its capital.
6. Emphasizing the government's stance on the principle of the unity of path and destiny *[negotiations with Israel]*, which links Lebanon and Syria in the framework of their respective independence and sovereignty.

"Most of these principles, policies and practices came in the right place, and sought to address the fundamental problems in the country, however, I have some observations that I want to record according to their sequence in the government's statement.

"First: The National Accord and complete return of the displaced: I support the priority given to the issue of the displaced, knowing that it is not only a social issue, but also a national political issue.

"Second: The supremacy of the law and protection of citizens: I agree with the government on the principle 'that one is innocent until proven guilty', and the government's confirmation of the principle of the independence of the judiciary. However, I wonder on what basis some political activists were detained lately? Was it for political reasons? I'll wait for the government's response.

"Third: Media and freedom of speech: I agree with the government's assertion that freedom and democracy are the foundations of our political system. However, I demand that the government's official media maintains a neutral position with respect to domestic political issues.

"Fourth: Attention to youth: I agree with the government on its policy of giving attention to the role of the youth and sports, as I was one of the advocates for the establishment of the Ministry of Youth and Sport in Lebanon. However, I want to put on the record my fear that sports clubs and youth federations are becoming dictated by this ministry through various administrative procedural laws and regulations.

"Before concluding my remarks on economic policy, I would like to point out that the issue of banking secrecy was missing from the ministerial statement. I request that the Prime Minister covers this point during his responses to the representatives.

"Before concluding my statement, I wish to refer to the important subject that was missed by the government statement entirely, which is the subject of the abolition of sectarianism. In any circumstances that the issue of sectarianism is brought up, political sectarianism is highlighted as if sectarianism is confined to the political side only and does not exist in other areas, while the opposite is true. Its presence is widespread and pervasive like mushrooms in all fields, so I called it sectarian mentality and not just political sectarianism.

"I remember years ago, during the elections of the Football Federation. . . two Armenian athletic associations promoted their respective candidates . . . After deliberations and several interventions, it was said that it is unlikely to have two individuals from the Armenian community at the Federation. If we continue to follow this mentality, we will reach a day when the players of the national *[football]* team will be distributed according to sectarian quotas – i.e. the goalkeeper would be from a certain sect, defense would be from another sect, the midfielder and the forward players would be from another sect. I do not know whether the Armenian or the Alawite communities would have players on the bench to participate in the team. It's an actual problem, Mr Prime Minister, that requires great effort and strong will to resolve it.

"The injustice that took place against the Armenian community during the formation of this government was an intense shock and such a blow was not expected. I do not allow myself to overlook to defend the communal rights of the Armenians. The Armenian community is watching, and naturally their Deputies find themselves in a tense situation." [30] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

[30] For the full Arabic text of the speech given by Yeghia Jeredjian during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Rafik El Hariri's 65th Government,

Jean Ogassapian, in turn, criticized the way the current government was formed and expressed dissatisfaction that a second Armenian minister had not been appointed. Before abstaining from voting, Ogassapian delivered a speech wherein he stated:

> "Today, Lebanon and the new government faces great challenges, including:
>
> "First, the deepening of the economic crisis has led to the closure of many institutions and the layoff of a huge number of workers and employees. The improvement of the current situation requires attracting new investments, which remain the main incentive for the revitalizing the economy and reduce the deficit and the debt service.
>
> "Second, the issue of the lack of national reconciliation, which was emphasized by escalating the sectarian rhetoric in recent times, is having an adverse effect on the success of any rescue plan. . . Only the national dialogue between the state and the societies is the guarantee to achieve national sovereignty and independence and maintain a balance among the Lebanese sects under the Ta'ef Agreement.
>
> "Third, the unstable situation in the region is amplified as Israel refuses any peace and seeks to create a state of instability and tension in the region. . . In this regard, we support the Lebanese government's decision not to deploy the Lebanese Army on the southern border, along the Blue Line, because Lebanon should not be responsible for protecting Israel's northern border. . . We are also committed to unity with the Syria track *[of peace negotiations]* to achieve the adoption of a just and comprehensive peace strategy in the region.
>
> "We call upon the government to make the most of the political, economic and media skills and potentials of Lebanese expatriates worldwide, and Lebanese-Armenians in particular, who are dispersed in different countries, especially in the United States and Europe, to support the Lebanese and the Arab cause.

see Appendix 7.1. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 2 November 2000.

> "As to the Armenian representation in the government, we have all the trust in His Excellency the President and the Prime Minister to find an amicable solution to the injustice that has happened as a result of the appointment of only one minister from the Armenian Orthodox community in the government."[31] *[Translation from Arabic].*

Hagop Kassardjian was also vocal in expressing his discontent about the injustice done to the Armenian community by not appointing a second Lebanese-Armenian to a ministerial position in the Hariri government. Kassardjian said:

> "Mr Prime Minister you are at the start of a very sensitive pathway. As you know, the country is dying, and all of the remaining sectors and institutions are falling. When the country reaches this stage it is very difficult to take the lead.
>
> "Mr Prime Minister, I am not skeptical of the government's good intentions, and I'm not skeptical about the future of this country, of which I consider myself an integral part,"
>
> "I feel there is a prejudice against the representation of the Armenian community in this government. This injustice does not extend to individuals only, but rather to the entire community, that exists along with its quantitative and qualitative relevance, and with its sufferings and attitudes that have been expressed throughout history in Lebanon or in the Diaspora.
>
> "Armenian representation is our right, and this right is enshrined in the Ta'ef Agreement and successive governments had followed this Agreement. We cannot tolerate if not being fulfilled.
>
> "From here I remind you of the responsibilities of all relevant parties that contributed to the adoption of this resolution, which did not respond to our call, and thus put us in an awkward position in front of our religious

[31] For the full Arabic text of the speech delivered by Jean Ogassapian during the discussions on the ministerial statement of Rafik El Hariri's 65th Government, see Appendix 9.1. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 2 November 2000.

> denomination, and ask them to correct this imbalance, especially we all know what we need solidarity at this stage for the betterment of the homeland.
>
> "Finally, we must pay tribute to the heroic resistance that brought back Lebanon's glory and dignity and by defeating the enemy and kicking Israel outside of the Lebanese territories. We support the liberation of the remaining occupied territories, and acknowledge the role of the President of the Republic and the military in achieving this victory." [32] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Serge Toursarkissian also commented on the ministerial statement on 2 November 2000 by expressing his thoughts on several pressing issues. Toursarkissian in pertinent parts stated:

> "I will not enter into the discussion of the ministerial statement, but I will have some requests to the ministers:
>
> "First: We must support women in all areas of social, political, economic matters. Especially abolish all legal provisions that distinguish between men and women.
>
> "Second: Support the agricultural sector noting that a large proportion of the Lebanese community depends on agriculture, the basic living resource, and the basis of all productive society and advancement.
>
> "Third: Reactivate the role of the public schools by upgrading cadres and equipment necessary to be compatible with the private schools.
>
> "Fourth: Improve the image of Lebanon among all expatriates in all countries, not only to encourage them to return and live here but to invest in the country. Also activate the role of Lebanon as a touristic destination for expatriates, a move that will generate additional resources…

[32] For the full Arabic text of the speech given by Hagop Kassardjian during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Rafik El Hariri's 65th Government, see Appendix 10.1. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 2 November 2000.

> "Fifth: Regarding the judiciary, the independence of the judiciary is an ambition and inspiration for all Lebanese since independence.
>
> "Sixth: It must be noted that in the formation of the government, the Armenian denomination was unfairly treated in terms of the number of its representatives within the Cabinet. We are confident that His Excellency the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister will take into consideration the positions of the Armenian community and their political parties and their representatives by correcting the imbalance by having at least two *[Armenian]* ministers in the Cabinet."
>
> "Seventh: Activating the pivotal role of the Capital, Beirut.
>
> "Eighth: Support our people in the South, our people who stood firm and fought and sacrificed for the salvation of Lebanon, in the hope that the government will provide the means to secure a decent living for them." [33] *[Translation from Arabic].*

Deputy George Kassarji, however, delivered a long speech before casting his vote of no confidence in Hariri's 65th Lebanese Government. In his speech, Kassarji highlighted the importance of the Lebanese-Armenian community and its entitlement to a second ministerial seat in the current government. In pertinent parts, Kassarji argued:

> "Mr Speaker: Are we looking for a vote of confidence vote by this Chamber or for the vote of confidence of the people at large? I assure you that the confidence vote of this Chamber will be given, because, since the days of the *[French]* Mandate to date, all governments have received the confidence votes of the legislature. The Parliament has never withheld any confidence vote from any government under this dome. The confidence of the people, however, is questionable with such a government, with such a ministerial statement.

[33] For the full Arabic text of the speech given by Serge Toursarkissian during the discussion of the ministerial statement on 2 November 2000, see Appendix 11.1. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 2 November 2000.

"This is the government of quotas and the government of the coups. A coup against administrative reforms, a coup against the fight against corruption. It is a rebellious government – against transparency, against the rule of law. A government that is revolting against the national reconciliation agreement. A government against the Ta'ef Conference . . .

"It is true that the quotas were utilized in revenge wars and it is true that they gave certain immunity to some Cabinet members, and it is true that they endorsed some of their respective members, but these quotas made us feel sorry for what injustice was perpetrated against Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss, and made us feel sorry for those general managers who were the victims of the 2-year war. It made us feel sorry for the sufferance of the Minister Shahe Barsoumian, and made us regret the abuse committed by Abdul Moun'em Youssef. It further saddened us for the abuse committed against Minister Hagop Demirdjian."

"Perhaps the ugliest of all… is the confirmation of the revolt against the National Reconciliation Document and the decisions of the Ta'ef Conference and the encroachment on the rights of a fundamental community in this country, encroachment on the rights of the Armenian community. After the unthankful efforts to strip them from minority parliamentary seat in Beirut, and denying them any first-category public servants appointments for the last 10 years, now comes this current Cabinet lineup with a premeditated and deliberated plan to strike the Armenian representation in it.

"Mr Speaker, the Lebanese-Armenian community is an essential religious sect in this country. It is even considered as one of the pillars of the Ta'ef Conference and one of the seven core communities and thus it must be considered in all ministerial lineups that exceed fourteen ministers, two Cabinet ministers must be from the Lebanese-Armenian community, as they were represented by two Cabinet ministers in the previous Hariri governments.

"In line with my view of things, and in the context in which I argued, and out of my respect to this country and

> to the people of this nation, I declare that I have no confidence in this government. [34] *[Translations from Arabic].*

In November 2000, the former Deputy Ara Yerevanian passed away, and Speaker Berri asked the Deputies to observe a moment of silence in Yerevanian's memory during the opening of the legislative meeting on 4 December 2000.[35]

In 2001, the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were engaged in heavy legislation and actively deliberated over the state budget as presented by the Hariri government. Kassarji, sponsored a piece of legislation dated 13 February 2000, amending the Army Drafting Laws, which was considered during the legislative session on 21 March 2000.[36] Kassarji's amendment intended to grant exemption from joining the army for those Lebanese youth who were expatriated for more than three years by imposing a fine of 3 million Lebanese pounds on them, payable to the state treasury. As the proposal was presented, a heated debate ensued over the subject. Several deputies argued in favor, while others proposed numerous amendments. Deputies Ogassapian and Toursarkissian commented on the proposed law and suggested certain amendments to it, including raising the suggested three-year absence from the country to five continuous years of absence. The measure, nevertheless, was approved with the suggested amendment with the deletion of the imposition of any fine.[37] The amended Draft Law was signed into law by President Emile Lahoud as Law No. 310 on 3 April 2001.[38] During the same session, Jeredjian, Kassardjian, Ogassapian and Toursarkissian co-

[34] For the full Arabic text of the speech given by Geoge Kassarji during the discussion of the Ministerial Statement of Rafik El Hariri's 65th Government, see Appendix 5.11. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th parliament held on 2 November 2000.

[35] *Official Minutes (2000)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 4 December 2000.

[36] For the full Arabic text of George Kassarji's proposed law for the Army Draft, please see Appendix 5.12. *Official Minutes (2001)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 27 March 2001.

[37] *Official Minutes (2001)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 21 March 2001.

[38] Law No. 310 dated 3 April 2001 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri. *Official Gazette (2001)*, Issue No. 17, 10 April 2001, pp.1220-1221.

sponsored another piece of legislation, along with other Deputies, to amend the laws concerning the issuance of state bonds.[39]

The introduction and adoption of the amendment to the Army Draft Law coincided with anti-Syrian demonstrations in Lebanon – mostly conducted by students at Christian universities, at a time when the Maronite Patriarch Nasrallah Sfeir was paying an official pontifical visit to the United States and Canada in March and April 2001.[40] Patriarch Sfeir's bold announcement against the Syrian presence in Lebanon led to the formation of the Qornet Shehwan Gathering on 30 April 2001. The Gathering was comprised mostly from Christian individuals, intellectuals, journalists and politicians who originally called for the redeployment of the Syrian Army to the Beka'a Valley as a prelude to a full withdrawal from Lebanese territories in accordance with the Ta'ef Agreement.

Amidst anti-Syrian sentiments, the Hariri government presented its proposed Budget for 2001 to the 20th Parliament on 29 May 2001, with the participation of all six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies.[41] The deliberations on the Budget took several days before its adoption. Several Deputies made remarks and others attacked the government's fiscal policies. Amongs the commentators on the Budget were Deputies Ogassapian, Toursarkissian and Kassardjian.

In his comments over the budget, Ogassapian stated:

> "Based upon our commitment to the public interest and following up on the progress of the government and the success of its approaches, it is necessary to draw attention to several key issues, namely:

[39] Other co-sponsors to the proposed amendment to the State Bond Laws were: Nabeel de Freij, Bassem El Saba'a, Ghenwa Jaloul, Muhammad Fneish, Ahmad Fatfat and Atef Majdalani. *Official Minutes (2001)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 21 March 2001.

[40] See Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.150. See also, Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon,* p.81.

[41] The absentees to the deliberation on the State Budget were: Waleed Jumblatt, George Nejem, Abdullah Qusair, Muhammad Fneish, Hussein El Hajj Hasan, and Ammar Mousawi. Those how were excused were Faisal El Dawood, Jean Obeid and Albert Mukhaiber. *Official Minutes (2001)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 May 2001.

"First: In the context of the cooperation between state and private-sector. It is necessary to define the role of the state in line with local, regional and international developments, and reassess the structures of the public sector and current regulations through the utilization of modern techniques.

"Second: On the subject of economic recovery and financial reform, we support the steps the government is taking to reduce the cost of servicing the public debt and improving the credit level of the state by replacing internal debt in Lebanese pounds and short-term for long-term external debts with low interest … We also demand that the government reactivates the various projects that have been stalled for the past two years. We further demand that Lebanon enters into global financial agreements, most importantly, the WTO *[*World Trade Organization*]* and the European Partnership Agreement, and enter trade bilateral and multilateral economic agreements and strive to complete the establishment of the Arab Free Trade Zone.

"Third: Beirut is the political capital of Lebanon… and it should not be thought that only Hamra Street or Ras Beirut, or the Raouche or the Verdun district are considered the Capital Beirut, as the Ouwza'i and Karantina, the Maslakh and *[Khalil]* Bedawi and Zoqaq El Blat and Khandaq El Ghameeq and Sabra and Karm El Zeitoun and other disadvantaged areas are also part of the capital and are all in dire need for greater attention and care.

"Fourth: It is not permissible for Lebanon to fail in its development policies, especially after the triumph in the war of liberation. The population in the liberated areas are in need of services, as they were deprived of aid and freedom during the occupation.

"Fifth: On the subject of the environment that threatens the lives of citizens and their health, and impacts tourism in Lebanon, we support the decision to stop diesel-powered vehicles and support the implementation of the recent agreements signed among Lebanon, Syria and Egypt to import natural gas, gradually replacing the energy that pollutes the air… As to the waist and rubbish, we need to have approved

> methods for treatment, including adoption of comprehensive plan for waste collection."
>
> "In conclusion, it should be emphasized that under these delicate and dangerous stages that Lebanon is going through economically under repeated daily threat from the Zionist enemy, we must support the government in its political and economic projects and unite internally and show cooperation and solidarity and have dialogue through formal constitutional institutions."[42] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Serge Toursarkissian recorded his support to the fiscal policies of the government with certain reservations. Toursarkissan stated:

> "I will not enter into the discussion about the budget and numbers and the law, but I have some wishes for the esteemed ministers:
>
> "More attention should be given to improve the image of Lebanon, the motherland, among all expatriates, not only in order that they return to their homeland or invest in it, but also to promote the image of Lebanon as a touristic destination for expatriates, in order to provide additional financial and moral support …"
>
> "Everyone speaks about Beirut receiving the lion's share *[of reconstruction funds]*. Simply, this is acceptable for the capital of a country that lacks the basic buildings to accommodate students and scholars, especially as two-thirds of the Lebanese people reside therein, having been promised improvements in the public schools.
>
> "I will not speak about the second ministerial seat for the Armenian community, as we were promised that this would be ratified through a new presidential decree and we respect this promise.
>
> "It is well known that Lebanon is a democratic country and enjoys a system that allows for all public institutions and individuals to give opinions. However, public

[42] For the full Arabic text of Jean Ogassapian's speech during the deliberation over the 2001 State Budget presented by the Hariri Government, see Appendix 9.2. *Official Minutes (2001)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 May 2001.

> institutions are regulated by laws and regulations and are the responsibility of the legislative authority represented by the Chamber of Deputies. Therefore, Is it possible that the military institution, which we all respect and defend, puts an end to the discussions concerning the issue of military service?
>
> "I support the modern rental laws that put an end to the historical differences between the landlords and the tenants."
>
> "The Government must stimulate privatization in all sectors.
>
> "With regards to the performance of this government, no one can deny the achievements of the present government made in a short period of time with all difficulties and sensitivities it faced."[43] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Deputy Kassardjian delivered a long speech during the same deliberation session on the State Budget and reminded officials of the injustice perpetrated against the Lebanese-Armenian community by not allocating an extra ministerial portfolio in the government. Kassardjian, in relevant parts said:

> "Mr Speaker, we support the government on its national monetary policy, and we support its policy in dealing with the problem of the public debt, whether in terms of reducing its balance or servicing it by postponing the maturity dates. Support and encouragement must be given to the efforts exerted by the Prime Minister in this respect, because the issue is of an utmost importance. However, that does not stop us from wondering why a portion of the international loans was not allocated to development projects?
>
> "We need these development projects in Beirut and in other parts of Lebanon. In Beirut, there is a deficiency in the number of public schools. How long will the state university hospital project remain unaccomplished?

[43] For the full Arabic text of Serge Toursarkissian's speech during the deliberation over the 2001 State Budget presented by the Hariri Government, please see Appendix 11.2. *Official Minutes (2001)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 May 2001.

And for how long should there remained to be a lack of green space amid environmental pollution that is getting worse day after day?

“We were optimistic about the Cabinet's decision to launch a workshop in the commercial center of the capital, after a long wait. And now, we hope that this will get the economy moving and encourage investment, as the residents of Beirut want their city to play a national role leading to embrace the national unity, especially in its central commercial district.

“Today, more than ever, Lebanon needs a genuine national solidarity and a comprehensive economic advancement as proposed by the government in its draft 2001 Budget. Therefore, we again call upon all constituents to put aside their differences and rise above sensitivities and narrow differences and abandon the defamatory language. We all belong to this homeland and there should not be any discrimination between one individual or another, or between one group or another.”

“Therefore we call for popular solidarity with the government, a solidarity similar to the solidarity manifested more than a year ago that led to the liberation of the South and the western Beka’a from the Israeli occupation. Solidarity with the government will inevitably give results on the economic level similar to those during the liberation of the South.

“In conclusion, it is necessary to recall the promises made to the Armenian community over and over again by the President of the Republic and the Council of Ministers regarding the ministerial representation. The priorities ranging from addressing economic affairs to other issues prevented such appointment. We are confident and we hope that this issue will be resolved after the completion of the process of adoption of the budget with the acknowledge that should another religious denomination was faced with the same

> problem, it would have been resolved without any procrastination."[44] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

George Kassarji did not waste any opportunity, but gave long speeches promoting the rights of the residents of Zahle and Chtura and criticized Hariri government policies on several occasions.[45]

The 20th Parliament considered a measure to ratify an agreement between the Lebanese Republic and the Republic of Armenia in the field of public health and medical sciences. After long deliberations on the reports submitted by the Public Health Committee, the 20th Parliament voted in favor of ratifying the bilateral agreement between the two republics on 13 August 2001.[46]

The most international flabbergasting event, however, that changed the political and security landscape of the world was the bombing of the Twin Towers on 11 September 2001, followed by the US declaration of war against terror and the invasion by US troops of Afghanistan.[47] As the world in general, and Lebanon in particular, followed unfolding events of the war on terror, the 20th Parliament did not hold any meetings for the rest of the year except for one meeting on 4 December 2001 when it approved several legislative measures. All five Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were in attendance.

The Lebanese started the year 2002 with a security breach as a huge explosion took the life of the former Minister Elie Hobeiqa along

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[44] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Kassardjian's speech during the deliberation over the 2001 State Budget, please see Appendix 10.2. *Official Minutes (2001)*: 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 May 2001.

[45] For the full Arabic text of Kassarji' speech criticizing the policies of the Government, please see Appendix 5.13. *Official Minutes (2001)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 25 July 2001. Also see, Kassarji's speech on 13 August 2001, Appendix 5.14. *Official Minutes (2001)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 13 August 2001.

[46] *Official Minutes (2001)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 13 August 2001.

[47] For an investigative report of the 9/11 attacks on the US conducted by a special US bipartisan Task Force, please see, *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2004). See also, David Ray Griffin, *The 9/11 Commission Report: Omissions and Distractions*, (Northampton: Olive Branch Press, 2005).

with his three bodyguards in Hazmieh District on 24 January 2002.[48] The assassination was the first since the adoption of the Ta'ef Agreement in 1989. The assassination preceded the deliberations on the 2002 state budget by the 20th Parliament. The latest security breach and other governmental failures in the field of the economy, public development and fiscal policies were heavily debated during the parliamentary session over the budget on 27 January 2002. Among others, Deputy Kassarji did not waist any opportunity and criticized the government over its domestic, fiscal and foreign policies in a very long speech on the first day of deliberations on the Budget. In his speech, Kassarji accused the government of manipulating the entire democratic system in Lebanon by monopolizing the decision making of both the legislative and the executive branches of the government.[49]

Jean Ogassapian delivered a speech during the deliberations on the Budget as well. In addition to highlighting some of the successes that the Hariri government had accomplished, Ogassapian expressed some concerns regarding certain shortcomings. In pertinent parts, Ogassapian said:

> "We recognize that the current government has taken several positive measures, that led to a confidence in the national economy and the economic momentum necessary to implement the reforms and growth programs, which have achieved exceptional accomplishments, including:
>
> "First: The signing of the European Partnership Agreement, which constitutes a milestone in the history of modern Lebanon, because it leads Lebanon to a high level of participation with the international community and helps to develop its own economy. The Agreement has a further political significance as it reflects the

[48] Former Minister Elie Hobeiqa was also the former head of the Executive Committee of the Lebanese-Forces. Hobeiqa had held a press-conference on 2 July 2001 announcing his willingness to attend and testify before the Belgian Courts against Israel's former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon for the Sabra and Shatila massacres of 1982. The Belgian Court Hearing was scheduled sometime in February 2002. For details, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.173-178.

[49] For Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the 2002 State Budget, see *Official Minutes (2002)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 27 January 2002.

convergence of the European perspective with that of the Lebanese one.

"Second: The upcoming Paris Conference II, emphasizes that there aren't any intentions to apply financial or economic sanctions against Lebanon… and the delay in its happening is only the result of the pressure applied by the Jewish lobby on the American administration.

"Third: The confidence expressed by the international rating agencies, which still consider that Lebanon has a great potential to attract foreign investments due to the importance of currency reserves and liquidity enjoyed by the banking sector.

"Fourth: The modernization of the real estate ownership laws for foreigner.

"Fifth: The support provided to the private sector by the reduction of social security costs on the commercial institutions and of providing loans through guarantees.

"Sixth: The enactment of the VAT, as it is one of the most successful solutions, because it puts the least burden on the working and lower-income class and will have a significant impact on improving revenue and reducing expenditure and servicing public debt. It will contribute to the promotion of financial stability and the flow of private capital, thus compensating for the losses from the customs revenues.

"Despite all these measures taken by the government, it did not produce the desired results, but left some satisfaction in the financial markets. However, the measures failed on several aspects, including:

"First: Addressing the standard of living and stopping the migration and creating more job opportunities for the Lebanese. The Lebanese have lost confidence in the future of their country as a result of political harassments and unwarranted arrests and infringement on public freedoms, which are all the foundations of a democratic system.

"Second: On the level of administrative reforms, the cost-cutting policy as signified in the new Budget does not involve promising prospects in the public

> administrations domain and the situation remains unchanged.
>
> "Third: The procrastination over the privatization of the power and telecommunications sectors despite what they will carry benefits to the state treasury and to alleviate part of the public debt and provide better service to the citizens.
>
> "Fourth: The government has refrained from applying the air pollution laws and the regulation concerning the mountain excavations. It also failed to adjust social affairs, especially the health care benefits.
>
> "It is clear that after the events of September 11, Lebanon is racing against time under international pressure. We fear that the diplomatic pressure on Lebanon will contribute to the imposition of some sanctions that are not officially announced yet. It will further lead the deterioration of economic conditions, especially that the *[international]* fight against terrorism will impose unusual changes in the financial and banking systems in line with international standards for combating money laundering, which the international community considers it as the most popular means to finance terrorist operations."[50] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

As Lebanon was getting ready to host the summit of Heads of Arab States in March 2002, Deputy Kassarji opened an investigation into the issue of telecommunication, in general, and cross-examined Minister Jean Louis Qerdahi, Minister of Telecommunication in a special session of the 20th Parliament on 5 March 2002, demanding a re-cast of confidence/no-confidence vote as to the Minister himself. After long deliberations, discussions, investigations, accusations and self-defending speeches the 20th Parliament cast 78 votes of confidence in favor of

[50] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Jean Ogassapian's speech during the deliberations on the 2002 State Budget, please see Appendix 9.3. *Official Minutes (2002)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 27 January 2002.

Minister Qerdahi, with eight abstentions. There was only one deputy who cast a vote of no confidence.[51]

In anticipation of the Beirut Summit of Heads of Arab States, Syrian President Bashar El Asad paid an official visit to Lebanon.– the first visit by a Syrian President for more than 30 years.[52] Asad's visit was followed by Prince Saud El Faysal, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, on 20 March 2002, who delivered the text of an Arab-Israeli peace initiative prepared by Crown Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz to be considered during the summit.[53] The Beirut Declaration was adopted at the end of the Arab Summit approving the peace initiative with certain modifications, introduced by President Emile Lahoud.[54]

On 13 April 2002, Deputy Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox, El Metn 2nd District) passed away. Immediately the Hariri government issued Decree No. 7811 on 26 April 2002 and set 2 June 2002 as the date of the by-elections in the El Metn's 2nd District.[55] The Lebanese-Armenian community in the El Metn District particularly became engaged during the pre-election campaign of three candidates: Gabriel El Murr, Mirna El Murr (Michel El Murr's daughter) and Ghassan Moukheiber.[56] The Interior Ministry announced that Gabriel El Murr was the winner of the by-elections. However, Mirna El Murr lodged a complaint with the Constitutional Council to invalidate her uncle's election. On 4 September 2002, the Constitutional Council issued a ruling invalidating Gabriel El

[51] The Parliamentary Records do not show as who gave a vote of confidence and who did not. It is inferred, however, that Kassarji cast a vote of no-confidence. *Official Minutes (2002)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 5 March 2002.

[52] For details of President Bashar El Asad's visit to Lebanon, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.178-179.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid, pp.184-185.

[55] Decree No. 7811 dated 26 April 2002 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri setting 2 June 2002 as the By-Election date for the Roman Orthodox seat in El Metn's 2nd District. *Official Gazette (2002)*, Issue No. 25, 2 May 2002, p.3538.

[56] For the involvement of the Lebanese-Armenian community during the pre-election campaign of the By-Election for the El Metn District, please see Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, pp.392-393.

Murr's election and declared Ghassan Moukheiber as the winner of the by-elections.[57]

In July 2002, Deputy Mustafa El Sa'ad (Sunni, South Lebanon 1st District) passed away. The government set 15 September 2002 as the date for the by-elections in South Lebanon.[58] However, the elections did not take place as Ossama Sa'ad, the only candidate for the position, was announced as *de facto* elected deputy on 30 August 2002.[59]

Politically, 2002 was a very prolific year, as Lebanon succeeded in accomplishing several things, including hosting the Arab Summit earlier in March and hosted the Francophonie Summit in the presence of 43 heads of states in October. A day before the official opening of the Summit, President Jacque Chirac delivered a speech before the members of the Lebanese Parliament on 17 October 2002, with the attendance of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian and Kassarji. Ogassapian was absent and Hovnanian attended in his official capacity as Minister of Youth and Sports.[60] President Chirac hosted the Paris II Conference for the friends of Lebanon on 23 November 2002, an initiative that was taken by Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri to bolster the Lebanese economy.[61]

The domestic political climate, however, was not in favor of the Paris II Conference during the latter part of 2002, as the disagreements and the disparities between President Lahoud and Premier El Hariri increased, especially when the Syrians started considering the half-

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[57] Constitutional Council Decision No. 5/2002 dated 4 September 2002. *Official Gazette (2002)*, Issue No. 61, 7 November 2002, pp.6969-7001. See also Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.185-187.

[58] Decree No. 8403 dated 8 August 2002 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri setting 15 September 2002 as the By-Election date for the Sunni seat in South Lebanon's 1st District. *Official Gazette (2002)*, Issue No. 45, 15 August 2002, p.5451.

[59] Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.187.

[60] *Official Minutes (2002)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 17 October 2002.

[61] Paris I was held in February 2001. The El Hariri government presented a paper entitled: *"Beyond Reconstructions and Recovery…Towards Sustainable Growth,"* to the Paris II Conference, providing an overview of the progress that was done since the Paris I meeting and listed the program that the Government had adopted for the coming years, and further elaborated that major privatizations were about to be launched. The document may be found at http://www.hariri-foundation.org/admin/document/paris2.pdf *[lasted visited on 26 June 2016]*.

Lebanese and half-Saudi business tycoon Prince Waleed Bin Talal as a replacement for El Hariri.[62]

As the struggle between Lahoud and El Hariri continued into 2003, the international political status started to deteriorate more, particularly the relations between Syria and the US worsened as a result of the US determination to oust Iraq's President Saddam Hussein and the non-cooperation of President Bashar El Asad, who exerted pressure on Lahoud on one side and El Hariri on the other to instigate change in the Lebanese Cabinet line-up to include pro-Syrian politicians.[63] The direct Syrian meddling in Lebanese internal affairs surfaced as the intensity of the cross-accusations between Damascus and Washington reached an unprecedented levels following the US invasion of Iraq in March 2003. Damascus immediately reshuffled its military intelligence structure in Lebanon by replacing the long serving intelligence chief Ghazi Kena'an with Major-General Rustom Ghazaleh.[64]

Prime Minister El Hariri could not withstand the pressure and presented his resignation.[65] After conducting parliamentary consultations, President Lahoud re-appointed El Hariri to form a new government. In the new line up of the 66th Lebanese government, El Hariri allocated two portfolios for the Lebanese-Armenian community. Sebouh Hovnanian was re-appointed as the Minister of Youth & Sports, whereas, Kareem Pakradouni, who was the President of the Phalange Party, was chosen to be the Minister of State for Administrative Reforms.

Prime Minister El Hariri presented the new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 20th Parliament on 29 April 2003 and received 85 votes of confidence, including those of Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian and Hovnanian. Deputy Kassarji cast a vote of no confidence along with 12 other Deputies to the El Hariri government. There were 13 others who abstained from voting. Before considering the ministerial statement, however, Speaker Berri asked the parliamentarians to observe a one-minute silence in the memory of the

[62] Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon*, p.85.
[63] Ibid., p.87.
[64] Ibid., p.88.
[65] Decree No. 10055 dated 17 April 2003 signed by President Emile Lahoud accepting the resignation of Rafik El Hariri's Government. *Official Gazette (2003)*, Issue No. 20, 24 April 2003, p.2287.

newly departed former Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Antranig Manougian.[66]

Heated discussion ensued during the deliberation over Prime Minister El Hariri's ministerial statement. Several Deputies took the podium and expressed their dissatisfaction with the policies presented by the government. Apparently, Deputy Serge Toursarkissian was distracting the deliberations by interrupting the speeches of other Deputies. Speaker Nabih Berri demanded from Deputy Toursarkissian to turn his microphone off as he was interrupting the speakers. George Kassarji, on the other hand, delivered a very long and fiery speech during the deliberations before casting his vote of no confidence in El Hariri's government. Kassarji, in his speech criticized the government policies and accused the government of being extremist in encroaching on the liberties of the citizens. In pertinent parts, Kassarji asserted:

> "During the Iraqi invasion, the Lebanese people stood side by side with the Iraqi people in their pain and suffering… for the horror and tragedy this brotherly people experienced. The entire Lebanese people rejected the US war on the Iraqi population.
>
> "The distribution of the portfolios in the Lebanese governments is still on a sectarian basis, and takes into account the sectarian considerations. The situation in Lebanon did not reach a stage where the formation of cabinets are on the basis of party representations, leaving each party free to designate their own representatives. We still continue to choose out

[66] In addition to George Kassarji the following Deputies cast no-confidence votes in the El Hariri government on 29 April 2003: Ghassan Moukheiber, Na'amatullah Abi Nasr, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, Gebran Tawq, Mikhael El Daher, Nazem El Khoury, Ossama El Sa'ad, Mansur El Bon, Fares Sa'eed, Musbah El Ahdab, Naseeb Lahoud, and Boutros Harb. Deputies who abstained from voting were: Muhammad Berjawi, Ali Ammar, George Nejem, Muhammad Fneish, Nazeeh Mansour, Muhammad Yaghi, Mas'oud El Hujeiri, Ibrahim Bayan, Hussein El Hajj Hasan, Muhammad Ra'ad, Abdullah Qusair, Ammar El Mousawi and Salah Hnein. The absentees at the deliberations were: Issam Fares, Hussein El Husseini, Omar Karami, Maurice Fadel, Pierre Gemayel, George Afram, Talal Arslan, Fareed Makari, Youssef Ma'alouf, and Muhammad Kabbara. Those who were excused were: Nayla Mou'awad, Muhammad El Safadi, Pierre Helou, Antoine Haddad and Antoine Ghanem. *Official Minutes (2003)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 April 2003.

> ministers based on their sectarian representation and not their political party affiliation."
>
> "We, the Lebanese of Armenian decent, do not mind the change from the representation system to become party-based, on the condition that it would be applied to everyone.
>
> "We do not mind, and even support, the appointment of ministers from the Phalange, or *[the Lebanese]* Forces, or the Aoun or any other party. However, the appointment of a Phalange Minister in the Cabinet should not be at the expense of the Armenian community, and it should not be deducted from the Armenian representation in the government, nor should become a precedent such was the case in the previous government when the portfolio allocated to the Armenians was given to Basel Fuleihan as a pretext of minority representation."
>
> "We, the Lebanese of Armenian decent, do not mind if Kareem Pakradouni becomes the minister representing the Phalange Party. We even consider that as reflection of progress and development that an Armenian has ascended the presidency of an ancient Maronite party, when Kareem Pakradouni declares that he represents his *[Kataeb]* Party in the government. It is well known that he *[Pakradouni]* does not represent the Armenians, and that he is not associated with any religious Armenian sect, and has stopped visiting the Armenian Catholicos, and does not want to be affiliated with any Armenian religious group."[67] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

After the fall of Baghdad on 3 May 2003, US Secretary of State Colin Powell paid an official visit to Syria and met with President Bashar El Asad and confronted the latter with outstanding grievances that the US had with Syria, including the withdrawal of Syrian troops from the rest of the Lebanese territories to the Beka'a Valley.[68] Powell then visited

[67] For the full Arabic text of Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations over the ministerial statement of the 66th Lebanese Government, see Appendix 5.15. *Official Minutes (2003)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 April 2003.

[68] For a comprehensive coverage on the Powel-Asad discussions in May 203, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.192-193 and Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon*, pp.86-87.

Lebanon and met with President Lahoud, Speaker Berri, Premier El Hariri and Jean Obeid, Minister of Foreign Affairs.[69]

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Lahoud		
Cabinet of 17 April 2003[70]		
1.	Rafik El Hariri	Prime Minister
2.	Issam Fares	Deputy Prime Minister
3.	Beheej Tabbara	Minister of Justice
4.	Marwan Hamadeh	Minister of Economy and Commerce
5.	Asa'ad Hardan	Minister of Labor
6.	Fares Boueiz	Minister of Environment
7.	Talal Arslan	Minister of State
8.	Suleiman Franjieh	Minister of Public Health
9.	Asa'ad Diyab	Minister of Social Affairs
10.	Michel Smeha	Minister of Information
11.	Fouad El Siniora	Minister of Finance
12.	Abdul Raheem Murad	Minister of State
13.	Jean Obeid	Minister of Foreign Affairs
14.	Ayyoub Hameed	Minister of Water & Power
15.	Michel Mousa	Minister of State
16.	Karam Karam	Minister of State
17.	Muhammad Najeeb Miqati	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
18.	Sebouh Hovnanian	Minister of Youth & Sports
19.	Khalil El Hrawi	Minister of State
20.	Ghazi El Araidi	Minister of Culture
21.	Mahmoud Hammoud	Minister of National Defense
22.	Sameer El Jisr	Minister of Higher Education
23.	Elias El Murr	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
24.	Jean Louis Qerdahi	Minister of Telecommunication
25.	Elias Skaff	Minister of Industry
26.	Ali Qanso	Minister of State
27.	Ali Hasan Khalil	Minister of Agriculture
28.	Abdullah Farhat	Minister of Expatriates
29.	Kareem Pakradouni	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
30.	Ali Hasan Abdullah	Minister of Tourism

Table 20.7 – Cabinet Members of P.M. Rafik El Hariri's Government

[69] For a detailed account on the discussions during the meeting between US Secretary of State Colin Powell and the Lebanese officials, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.193-196.

[70] Decree No. 10057 dated 17 April 2003 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri appointing the ministers of the 66th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2003)*, Issue No. 20, 24 April 2003, pp.2287-2289.

Powell's visit to Lebanon was immediately followed by an official visit of Iran's President Mohamad Khatami on 12 May 2003. President Khatami was the first Iranian president to visit Lebanon since the Islamic Revolution in 1979. After meeting with President Lahoud and Premier El Hariri, President Khatami delivered a speech before the 20th Parliament on 14 May 2003. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian and Kassarji were present, whereas Deputy Toursarkissian was absent. Hovnanian was present in his capacity as Minister of Youth and Sports along with his colleague Kareem Pakradouni, Minister of State for Administrative Reforms.[71]

As the term of President Lahoud was approaching its end in 2004, tensions between the US and Syria escalated during the Fall of 2003, when the Syrian Government started to promote a three-year extension to Lahoud's term in office. The US responded to the direct Syrian intervention in Lebanon's domestic affairs by considering and adopting the Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003.[72] This act threatened to impose sanctions against Syria unless it fulfilled certain conditions. Among the demands were Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, ceasing support of terrorist groups, abandoning the development of weapons of mass destruction and evicting Hezbullah and the Iranian Revolutionary Guard from the Lebanese border with Israel.[73]

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[71] In addition to Toursarkissian, the following Deputies were also absent during Khatami's speech: Marwan Hamadeh, Nabeel El Bustani, Sayed Akl, Saleem Sa'adeh, Issam Fares, Muhammad El Safadi, Maurice Fadel and Bahiyeh El Hariri. The following deputies were excused: Ghenwa Jaloul, Naser Qandeel, Antoine Haddad, Boutros Harb and Muhammad Kabbara. *Official Minutes (2003)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 14 May 2003.

[72] The US House of Representatives adopted the Syria Accountability Act on 15 October 2003 while the US Senate adopted it on 11 November 2003 with certain modifications. The final version of the Act was accepted by the House on 20 November 2003. President George W. Bush signed it into law on 12 December 2003. For the Syrian reaction to the adoption of the Act, please see Taku Osoegawa, *Syrian and Lebanon: International Relations and Diplomacy In the Middle East*, (New York: I. B. Taurus Publications, 2013), pp.103-104. See also, Tom Najem, *Lebanon: The Politics of a Penetrated Society*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp.70-71. Also see, David Schenker, "America and the Lebanon Issue," Barry Rubin, Ed., *Lebanon: Liberation, Conflict, and Crisis*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp.222-223.

[73] The United States' "Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003." *[last visited on 27 June 2016]*. https://www.congress.gov/108/plaws/publ175/PLAW-108publ175.pdf

Within a tense regional and domestic political atmosphere, in its 16 December 2003 meeting, the 20th Parliament considered the allegations against the Former Oil Minister Shahe Barsoumian. In a secret session, the parliament deliberated over the allegations against Barsoumian and elected a three-member Special Committee to investigate such allegations and report back to the Chamber. The Special Committee consisted of the Deputy Speaker, Elie El Ferzli (Chairman), Yaseen Jaber and Muhammad El Safadi. Deputies Sami El Khateeb, Nazem El Khoury and George Kassarji were elected as substitute members. Attending this behind closed doors session of parliament were Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian and Minister Sebouh Hovnanian. Deputy Kassarji and Minister Pakradouni did not attend.[74]

Under tremendous political pressure, the government presented the draft Budget to the 20th Parliament in April 2004. Heated debate ensued among the MPs over the details and the government's fiscal policy. Deputy Ogassapian delivered a speech wherein he commented on the regional and international political and security conditions, analogizing the US invasion of Iraq with the Palestinian Nakba in 1948. Furthermore, Ogassapian expressed grievance on the lack of enthusiasm within the Lebanese political echelons for the Paris II. Commenting on the State Budget, Ogassapian in pertinent parts, said:

> "This Budget will not be a positive prelude to economic advancement, but it would place Lebanon in an embarrassing position with respect to the international organizations and institutions that gave their confidence in Lebanon, particularly when all its obligations were dropped within the framework of Paris II Conference… It was a lost opportunity for those decision-makers in Lebanon as it was an opportunity to compensate for the weak Lebanese economy and build confidence by

[74] In addition to George Kassarji, the following deputies did not attend the secret meeting conducted to investigate the allegations against the Former Oil Minister Shahe Basoumian: Michel Pharaon, Emile Lahoud, George Afram, Gassan El Ashqar, Marwan Hamadeh, Naseeb Lahoud, Waleed Jumblatt, Ahmad Hbous, Issam Fares, Muhammad El Safadi, Musbah El Ahdab, Maurice Fadel, Asa'ad Hardan, Muhammad Fneish, Khalil El Hrawi and Ammar El Mousawi. The following deputies were excused for not attending: Adnan Araqji, Ayoub Hameed, Ghazi El Araidi, Nayla Mou'awad, Ali Khreis, Talal Arslan, Atef Majdaani, Na'ametullah Abi Nasr and Ahmad Fatfat. *Official Minutes (2003)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 16 December 2003.

> allowing to seek opportunities in the international financial markets. Additionally, it is necessary to instigate series of administrative reforms and reduce the public expenses and activate the private sector in addition to the adoption of the principle of privatization, which seems not achievable so far under the existing political conditions."[75] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Deputy Kassarji, on the other hand used the opportunity of the budget discussion to criticize the government. In a long speech, Kassarji accused the Prime Minister of not having any specific plan to reduce the public debt, and blamed the Government for its unfounded promises. In particular Kassarji asserted:

> "The government just presented an empty document with no substance, without any specific program to tackle the problem of the public debt, and without mentioning any practical ways to service the debt and stop its deterioration.
>
> "While it is true that this budget must be labelled as the letter of resignation *[of the government]*, it is considered an obituary for the ambitions of the Lebanese people, where the government compels the citizen to curse the homeland after he curses the government and those who are within the government.
>
> "Dear colleagues, the Prime Minister holds no plan to address the public debt. His thoughts carry general headings only, that vanished with the fall of Paris II and the collapse of the distorted privatization programs through which he wanted to sell certain public service providers for reduced prices to the people in his entourage."[76] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Kassarji's opinionated expressions depicted the tense partisan mood that dominated the Lebanese domestic political scene, as President Lahoud's term was about to end in 2004. The Syrian regime continued to exert pressure on the Lebanese politicians to secure an extension to

[75] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Jean Ogassapian's speech during the Budget Discussion in the Parliament, please see Appendix 9.4. *Official Minutes (2004)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 5 April 2004.

[76] For the full Arabic text of Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the 2004 State Budget, please see Appendix 5.16. *Official Minutes (2004)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 5 April 2004.

Lahoud's term. The US and France, on the other hand, escalated their international diplomatic efforts to force Syria to withdraw from Lebanon and disarm Hezbullah.[77]

On his part, Syria's El Asad began consultations with Lebanese politicians by mid-August 2004 to assess their views regarding the upcoming presidential election.[78] El Asad received the Lebanese Prime Minister El Hariri in Damascus on 26 August 2004, and informed him that El Hariri had no choice but to accept a prolongation of Emile Lahoud's term in office by additional three years.[79] Accordingly, the Lebanese Cabinet convened and in a majority of vote agreed to accept an extension to Lahoud's term until 23 November 2007. Ministers Marwan Hamadeh, Ghazi El Araidi and Abdullah Farhat objected to the extension, whereas Ministers Fares Boueiz and Jean Obeid did not attend the Cabinet meeting.[80] The same day the government issued Decree No. 13257 and called for an extraordinary session of parliament in order to consider a proposed amendment to Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution.[81]

As the Lebanese Government approved the extension to Lahoud's term, the UNSC convened and adopted Resolution 1559 on 2 September 2004.[82] The UNSC Resolution 1559 expressed concerns over the

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[77] During the 60th Anniversary celebrations of the American Normandy landings in June 2004, Presidents George W. Bush and Jacques Chirac issued a communiqué expressing their intension to secure an international resolution concerning Lebanon. See Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.216-217.

[78] For details of President Bashar El Asad's consultations with Lebanese politicians, please see Flynt Leverett, *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire*, (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2005), pp.111-112. See also, Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon,* p.99.

[79] Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*, p.66, and Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon,* p.100.

[80] For a detailed coverage on the deliberations during the Cabinet meeting on 28 August 2004, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.218-219. See also, Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon,* pp.102-103.

[81] Decree No. 13258 dated 28 August 2004 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minster Rafik El Hariri calling for an Extraordinary Session of the Parliament for the consideration of an amendment to Article 49 of the Constitution. *Official Gazette (2004)*, Issue No. 46, 2 September 2004, p.8126.

[82] For details on the United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 1559, see Phillis Bennis, "The Lebanon War in the UN, the UN in the Lebanon War," Nubar Hovsepian, ed., *The War on Lebanon: A Reader*, (Gloucestershire: Arris Books Publishing, 2007), pp.225-226. Also see, Richard Falla and Asli Bali, "International Law at the Vanishing Point," Nubar Hovsepian, ed., *The War on Lebanon,* p.214. For the Syrian reaction on the adoption of the UNSC Res. 1559,

upcoming Lebanese presidential elections and underlined the importance of free and fair elections according to the Lebanese Constitution, without any foreign interferences. The resolution reaffirmed the call for strict respect of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and political independence of Lebanon under the sole and exclusive authority of the Lebanese Government; and called upon all remaining foreign forces to withdraw from Lebanon with the disbanding and disarmament of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias. It further declared its support for a free and fair electoral process in the upcoming presidential election in Lebanon.[83]

Immediately after the adoption of the UNSC Res. 1559, Speaker Berri tabled an amendment to Article 49 of the constitution on 3 September 2004. Some 125 Deputies attended this sesson. Deputies Nazem El Khoury, Ghassan Moukheiber and George Afram were absent. After heated debate over the proposed amendment, the 20th Parliament voted in favor of amending Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution allowing for a one time only the extension of the current President's term until 23 September 2007. The measure was carried with 96 votes against 29. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian, Hovnanian and Kassarji voted in favor of the amendment.[84] President Lahoud signed the Constitutional Amendment into law on 4 September 2004.[85]

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please see Leverett, *Inheriting Syria,* pp.144-146, and Osoegawa, *Syrian and Lebanon*, p.104.

[83] United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 1559 of 2 September 2004, UNSC Official Document No.: S/RES/1559 (2004). *[last accessed 28 June 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1559(2004).

[84] The Deputies who voted against amending Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution were: Waleed Jumblatt, Ghazi El Araidi, Ghattas Khoury, Mansour El Bon, Muhammad El Hajjar, Pierre Gemayel, Basem El Saba'a, Fouad El Sa'ad, Antoine Andrawos, Nabeel El Bustani, Fares Boueiz, Ala'edeen Terro, Henry Helou, Marwan Hamadeh, Saleh Hnein, Fares Sa'eed, Ayman Shqeir, Akram Sheheyyeb, Na'ameh Tohme, Elie Aoun, Antoine Ghanem, Abdullah Farhat, Naseeb Lahoud, George Deeb Na'ameh, Musbah El Ahdab, Mikhael El Daher, Boutros Harb, Ahmad Fatfat, and Nayla Mou'awad. *Official Minutes (2004)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 3 September 2004.

[85] Constitutional Law No. 585 dated 4 September 2004 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri, amending Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution to allow for one time only the extension of the current president's term in office until 23 September 2007. *Official Gazette (2004)*, Issue No. 48, 7 September 2004, p.9237.

The three-year extenson of Emile Lahoud's term was fiercely opposed by the Druze leader, Waleed Jumblatt, who withdrew the Progressive Socialist Party's (PSP's) ministers from the government. Accordingly, Minister of Economy and Commerce Marwan Hamadeh; Minister of Culture Ghazi El Araidi; and Minister of Expatriates Abdullah Farhat resigned in addition to the resignation of theMinister of Environment Fares Bouiez.[86]

The extension of President Lahoud's term was in contravention of UNSC Resolution 1559. As the Secretary General was about to deliver his report pursuant to UNSC Res. 1559 to the Security Council on 1 October 2004, a car bomb exploded in West Beirut severely injuring Deputy Marwan Hamadeh and killing his driver and personal police escort Sergeant Ghazi Abu Karoum.[87]

In his report on 1 October 2004, the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan did not touch upon the assassination attempt, but claimed that the extension of President Lahoud's term in office was the result of direct intervention by the Syrian government.[88]

Amid international, regional and domestic pressure, Prime Minister El Hariri resigned, and President Lahoud accepted his resignation on 26 October. 2004.[89] After consultations with parliamentarians, President Lahoud appointed Omar Karami as the new Prime Minister and asked him to form a new government. Karami formed his Cabinet without the participation of the Phalange Party or members of the Murr family. He also excluded partisans from Hariri's and Jumblatt's camps.[90] Karami's 30-member cabinet included two

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[86] Decree No. 13345 dated 9 September 2004 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri accepting the resignations of Marwan Hamadeh, Ghazi El Araidi, Abdullah Farhat and Fares Boueiz. *Official Gazette (2004)*, Issue No. 50, 16 September 2004, p.9326.

[87] President Lahoud, in confidence, claimed that whoever executed the attempted assassination of Marwan Hamadeh was targeting Lahoud, himself. See Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.221. For details about the attempted assassination plot, please see Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon,* p.110.

[88] "Report of the Secretary General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1559 (2004)," UNSC Official Document No. S/2004/777. *[last accessed 29 June 2004]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2004/777.

[89] Decree No. 13619 dated 26 October 2004 signed by President Emile Lahoud accepting the resignation of Rafik El Hariri's government. *Official Gazette (2004)*, Issue No. 58, 28 October 2004, p.10631.

[90] See Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.223.

Lebanese-Armenian ministers, Sebouh Hovnanian, as the Minister of Youth and Sports, and Alain Tabourian as Minister of State.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Lahoud		
Cabinet of 26 October 2004[91]		
1.	Omar Karami	Prime Minister
2.	Issam Fares	Deputy Prime Minister
3.	Elias Saba	Minister of Finance
4.	Elie El Ferzli	Minister of Information
5.	Albert Mansour	Minister of State
6.	Talal Arslan	Minister of Displaced
7.	Suleiman Franjieh	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
8.	Ahmad Sami Menqara	Minister of Higher Education
9.	Abdul Raheem Murad	Minister of National Defense
10.	Yaseen Jaber	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
11.	Ghazi Ze'ayter	Minister of Social Affairs
12.	Karam Karam	Minister of State
13.	Sebouh Hovnanian	Minister of Youth & Sports
14.	Mahmoud Hammoud	Minister of Foreign Affairs
15.	Jean Louis Qerdahi	Minister of Telecommunication
16.	Elias Skaff	Minister of Agriculture
17.	Assem Qanso	Minister of Labor
18.	Fareed El Khazen	Minister of Tourism
19.	Adnan El Qassar	Minister of Economy and Commerce
20.	Mahmoud Abdul Khaleq	Minister of State
21.	Adnan Addoum	Minister of Justice
22.	Naji El Bustani	Minister of Culture
23.	Maurice Sahnawi	Minister of Water & Power
24.	Layla El Solh	Minister of Industry
25.	Ibrahim El Daher	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
26.	Youssef Salameh	Minister of State
27.	Muhammad Jawad Khalifeh	Minister of Public Health
28.	Wafa' Hamza	Minister of State
29.	Alain Tabourian	Minister of State
30.	Wee'am Wahab	Minister of Environment

Table 20.8 – Cabinet Members of Omar Karami's Government (26 October 2004)

[91] Decree No. 13621 dated 26 October 2004 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Omar Karami appointing the ministers for the 67th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2004)*, Issue No. 58, 28 October 2004, pp.10631-10633.

Prime Minister Karami presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 20th Parliament on 4 November 2004 and received 59 votes of confidence, against 24 votes of no confidence with 35 Deputies abstaining from voting. The official records do not show as who cast confidence votes and who did not. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Yeghia Jeredjian, Jean Ogassapian, Hagop Kassardjian, Serge Toursarkissian, Sebouh Hovnanian and George Kassarji were all present during the deliberations over the ministerial statement, but the record does not state as how they voted. Deputies Ghattas Khoury, Fares Boueiz and Fareed Makari were absent, whereas Marwan Hamadeh, George Afram and Issam Fares were excused from attending.[92]

Of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, only Kassarji delivered a speech during the deliberations on Karami's ministerial statement. In his speech, Kassarji confirmed that he was casting a conditional vote of confidence in Karami's government, by stating:

> "Mr. Speaker, I announce that I will cast a vote of confidence in this government… However, my casting a vote of confidence does not mean that I am giving a blank check to it, and it does not mean giving up on holding the government accountable.
>
> "The first thing that I like to warn the government against is exposing the democratic life of this country to danger, and against infringement on individual and public freedoms, and against undermining in any shape or form, and under any pretext, the role of the media.
>
> "The second, which is linked to democracy and freedoms, is having modern, progressive and civilized election laws, that preserve the value of the voter, and do not undercut the rights of any citizen, and which must be based on true representation of the people.
>
> "Thirdly, It is not enough to say that the government will fight corruption and to repeat the same headlines about corruption. The government must give a timetable, and

[92] *Official Minutes (2004)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 4 November 2004.

> say how and where and in what ways it will fight the corruption."[93] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

The tense and antagonistic political rhetoric continued in Lebanon as President Lahoud, with Karami's government, tightened the government's grip over the opposition. Led by Waleed Jumblatt, a multi-sectarian opposition front was born in December 2004 during a gathering at the Bristol Hotel in Beirut, later known as the Bristol Gathering. Those involved issued a warning that Lebanon had entered a very dangerous phase and called for honest and free parliamentary elections. They also demanded the resignation of the government.[94] The Bristol Gathering did not include any Lebanese-Armenian contingent.

To counter the Bristol Gathering claims, Speaker Nabih Berri held a meeting at his home at Ain El Tineh on 8 February 2005, which was attended by most pro-government factions in Lebanon, that included – in addition to Speaker Berri – Prime Minister Omar Karami, Hezbullah leader Hasan Nasrallah, Talal Arslan, Michel El Murr, Elie Skaff, Suleiman Franjieh and the Tashnak representative Hovig Mekhitarian. They agreed to form a 16-member committee to monitor events and prepare for the upcoming legislative elections in Lebanon.[95] The Ain El Tineh Committee denounced UNSC Resolution 1559 and expressed solidarity with the Syrian regime.[96] The participation of the Armenian Tashnak Party at the Ain El Tineh meeting escalated the polarization of the

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[93] For the full Arabic text of Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by Prime Minister Omar Karami, please see Appendix 5.17. *Official Minutes (2004)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 4 November 2004.

[94] The Bristol Gathering included politicians from the Qornet Shehwan Gathering, Jumblatt's PSP, Sameer Geagea's Lebanese Forces and followers of Michel Aoun's Free Patriotic Movement. The Sunni presence was not emphasized, however there was minimum Shia presence. See Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon,* pp.116-117. See also, Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon,* pp.63-64.

[95] For more details on the involvement of the Armenian Tashnak Party in the Ain El Tineh Committee, please see Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, pp.403-404.

[96] The 16-member Ain El Tineh Committee included Speaker Nabih Berri representing Amal Movement, Prime Minister Omar Karami, Hezbullah's Hasan Nasrallah, Suleiman Franjieh representing El Marada, the SSNP, the Lebanese Ba'ath Party, Talal Arslan, representing the Lebanese Democratic Party, the Nassaerite Movement and the Armenian Tashnak Party represented by Hovig Mikhitarian. please see Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, p.407.

Lebanese-Armenian community and split it into pro and anti government factions.

Four days after the Ain El Tineh meeting, and under turbulent regional and domestic political conditions, a huge explosion on near Hotel Saint George in Beirut, killed former Prime Minister El Hariri and several others and severely wounded Deputy Basel Fuleihan on 14 February 2005.[97]

The United Nations Security Council issued a Presidential Statement the next day and expressed grave concerns about the assassination of Former Prime Minister Hariri and asked the UN Secretary General to investigate the situation and report back urgently to the Council on the circumstances, causes and consequences of the "terrorist act" perpetrated in Beirut.[98] Accordingly, the UN Secretary General appointed Peter FitzGerald as the head of the Fact-Finding Mission into the assassination of Rafik El Hariri. FitzGerald arrived in Beirut on 25 February 2005.[99]

Two weeks after the St. George explosion, the 20th Parliament met on 28 February 2005 to discuss Hariri's assassination. Several Deputies expressed their frustration and anger during the deliberations, while others went further and accused the Syrians of plotting Hariri's assassination.[100] The Parliament's official records do not state as who was absent during that particular meeting. The session's highlight,

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[97] For a detailed account on the huge blast assassinating Rafik El Hariri, please see Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon,* pp.128-147. For President Emile Lahoud's immediate reaction to the assassination of the former Prime Minister, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.232-238.

[98] "Statement by the President of the Security Council" dated 15 February 2005 concerning the situation in Lebanon. *[last accessed 30 June 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2005/4. UNSC Doc. No. S/PRST/2005/4.

[99] Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon,* p.66.

[100] Amongst the speakers during the 28 February 2005 Parliamentary session dedicated for the discussion about the Hariri assassination, were: Speaker Nabih Berri, Prime Minister Omar Karami, and Deputies: Waleed Eido, Basem El Saba'a, Mikhael El Daher, Boutros Harb, Fareed El Khazen, Ghenwa Jaloul, Jean Obeid, Robert Ghanem, Na'matullah Abi Nasr, Naseeb Lahoud, Muhammad El Hajjar, Fareed Makari, Gebran Tawq, Ghazi El Araidi, Bahiyeh El Hariri and Ghattas Khoury who bluntly demanded that President Bashar El Asad withdraws the Syrian troops from Lebanon. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 28 February 2005.

however, was an emotional speech delivered by Rafik El Hariri's sister, Deputy Bahiyeh El Hariri, eventually leading Prime Minister Omar Karami to announce the resignation of his government.[101]

The assassination increased the intensity of the internal tention between pro and against the government factions, while international political pressure increased on Lebanon and Syria alike in the light of UNSC Resolution 1559. Under such political upheaval, President Bashar El Asad delivered a speech in front of the Syrian Parliament on 5 March 2005, and announced the initial withdrawal of the Syrian troops to the Beka'a Valley as a first step and then complete withdrawal from Lebanon altogether. Asad further called upon the Lebanese-Syrian High Commission to meet in order to review the withdrawal plans.[102]

Hariri's assassination and Karami 's resignation led the country into a political abyss, as Hezbullah organized a "pro-Syrian" public demonstration at the Riad El Solh Square in Beirut on 8 March 2005 to express public support for the Syrian troops in Lebanon.[103] The Armenian Tashnak Party unofficially participated in the 8 March rally.[104] A week later, on 14 March 2005, a counter demonstration was organized by the opposition, that included the Qornet Shehwan and Bristol Gatherings, along with Hariri's own Future Movement, demanding the full withdrawal of the Syrian Army from Lebanon and the arrest of he Lebanese security and intelligence service chiefs.[105] The one-million-men march, ending at Martyrs' Square in Beirut, polarized the domestic political scene into two antagonistic groups, the "8 March" and "14

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[101] *Official Minutes (2005)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 28 February 2005.

[102] President Bashar El Asad's speech before the Syrian Parliament on 5 March 2005 was televised live and was watched on large screens at Beirut's Martyrs' Square. For detail please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.246-247, and Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon,* pp.158-159.

[103] For details about the 8 March demonstrations at the Riad El Solh Square in Beirut, see Marwan George Rowayheb, "Political Change and the Outbreak of Civil War: The Case of Lebanon," *Civil Wars*, Volume 13, Issue No. 4 (December 2011), pp.425-428.

[104] For an analysis of the political division among the Lebanese-Armenians into 8 March and 14 March camps, see Ohannes Geukjian, "From Positive Neutrality to Partisanship: How and Why the Armenian Political Parties Took Sides in Lebanese Politics in the Post-Taif Period (1989-Present)," *Middle East Studies,* Vol. 45, No. 5 (September 2009), pp.752-753.

[105] For details about 14 March rally to the Martyrs' Square in Downtown Beirut, see Rowayheb, "Political Change and the Outbreak of Civil War," pp.419-425

March" camps. Lebanese-Armenian participation at the 14 March rally was very high, as Armenians converged from Antelias, Jdeideh, Bourj Hammoud, Hajin, Khalil Bedawi and other Armenian populated quarters onto Martyrs' Sqaure. The Lebanese-Armenian contingent was led by Deputies Yeghia Jeredjian, Hagop Kassardjian, Jean Ogassapian and Serge Toursarkissian.[106] This 14 March demonstration was later branded as the "Cedar Revolution".[107]

UN Secretary General Kofi Anan presented a report submitted by Peter FitzGerald, Head of the UN Fact-finding Mission in Lebanon, to the UN Security Council on 24 March 2005. In his report, FitzGerald claimed that it was the mission's view that the Lebanese security services and Syrian military intelligence bore the primary responsibility for the lack of security, protection, and law and order in Lebanon, and further found that the Syrian Government was primarily responsible for the political tension that preceded Hariri's assassination. The report recommended that international and regional political support be provided to safeguard Lebanon's national unity and shield its fragile polity from unwarranted pressures.[108]

Based upon the findings and recommendations of the UN Commission, the Lebanese Government officially informed the Security Council, in a letter dated 29 March 2005 and submitted by Ibrahim Assaf, the Lebanese Chargé d'Affaires at the UN, of its approval for the UNSC decision to establish an international commission of inquiry into El Hariri's assassination, and that it was ready to cooperate with the commission within the framework of Lebanese sovereignty and its legal

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[106] Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, pp.408-409.

[107] For an in-depth analysis of the ramifications of the 14 March "Cedar Revolution" on the domestic and international politics, see, Knio, "Lebanon: Cedar Revolution or Neo-Sectarian Partition?" pp.225-231.

[108] "Report of the Fact-finding Mission to Lebanon investigating the causes, circumstances and consequences of the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri" dated 24 March 2005 submitted by Peter FitzGerald, Head of the UN Fact-finding Mission to Lebanon. The Report was attached to Secretary General Kofi Anan's letter to the President of the UNSC. UNSC Document No. S/2005/203. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2005/203. *[Last accessed 14 July 2016].* The Report is also published on the official website of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon at http://www.stl-tsl.org/en/documents/un-documents/un-factfinding-mission/240-Report-of-the-Fact-finding-Mission-to-Lebanon. *[Last accessed 30 June 2016].*

system.[109] Accordingly, the UNSC, in its 5160th meeting on 7 April 2005, adopted Resolution 1595 and established an international independent investigation commission based in Lebanon in order to assist the Lebanese authorities in their investigation of all aspects of the Hariri assassination, including identifying its "perpetrators, sponsors, organizers and accomplices".[110]

In an unprecedented time of regional and domestic political tensions, and after the international investigatigation of the Hariri assassination, President Emile Lahoud officially accepted Omar Karami's resignation on 19 April 2005[111] and immediately appointed Najeeb Miqati to form a transitional government in order to organize and oversee the upcoming legislative elections. Miqati formed a 14-member Cabinet, the smallest since the Ta'ef Agreement, wherein Alain Tabourian was appointed as Minister of Telecommunications and of Youth and Sports.

As international pressure mounted on Syria to withdraw its military apparatus from Lebanon, Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati presented his newly formed government's ministerial statement to the 20th Parliament on 26 April 2005, which coincided with the day that the last Syrian troops left Lebanon.[112] The deliberations over the government's policies were extremely tense as at one point Deputy Serge Toursarkissian started to argue with Deputy Salah El Kheir while the latter was delivering a speech on the political and security conditions in Lebanon. Speaker Berri warned Toursarkissian and ordered him not to cut off any colleague. Miqati's government received 109 votes of confidence against one vote of no confidence – cast by Antoine Haddad. Deputies Ossama El Sa'ad and Ghassan Moukheiber abstained. Lebanese-

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[109] UNSC Document No. S/2005/208. Official letter submitted by Ibrahim Assaf, Chargé d'Affaires of Lebanon at the UN. *[Last accessed 30 June 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2005/208.

[110] United Nations Security Council Resolution Number 1595 of 7 April 2005. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1595(2005). *[Last accessed 30 June 2005]*.

[111] Decree No. 14321 dated 19 April 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud accepting the resignation of Omar Karami's Government. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 17, 21 April 2005, p.1547.

[112] Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon,* p.67. For the international pressure exerted on Syria and its withdrawal from Lebanon, please see, William Harris, "Bashar Al-Assad's Lebanon Gamble," *Middle East Quarterly*, (Summer 2005), pp.33-44.

Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian, Hovnanian and Kassarji cast votes of confidence.[113]

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Lahoud		
Cabinet of 19 April 2005[114]		
1.	Muhammad Najeeb Miqati	Prime Minister
2.	Elias El Murr	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Nat'l Defense
3.	Adel Hamiyeh	Minister of Public Works & Transp.; Displaced
4.	Mahmoud Hammoud	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates
5.	Ghassan Salameh, replaced by Asa'ad Rezk[115]	Minister of Higher Education and Culture
6.	Muhammad Jawad Khalifeh	Minister of Public Health and Social Affairs
7.	Alain Tabourian	Minister of Telecom. and Youth & Sports
8.	Charles Rezk	Minister of Information and Tourism
9.	Khaled Qabbani	Minister of Justice
10.	Hasan El Saba'a	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
11.	Trad Kanj Hamadeh	Minister of Labor and Agriculture
12.	Tareq Metri	Minister of Environment; State for Admin. Reforms
13.	Dimyanos Qattar	Minister of Finance; and Economy and Commerce
14.	Bassam Yammeen	Minister of Water & Power and Industry

Table 20.9 – Cabinet Members of Najeeb Miqati's Government (19 April 2005)

On the very next day, in its 27 April 2005 legislative session, the Deputies of the 20th Parliament considered an amendment to the Electoral Law that divided the capital into three districts and made the *Qada* the electoral district rather than the *Muhafaza*. The Deputies further passed a resolution to terminate their own term by 20 June 2005, and set 29 May 2005 as the date for the next legislative election.

[113] The following deputies were absent during the deliberations: Waleed Jumblatt, Na'amatullah Tohme, George Afram, Omar Karami, Emile Lahoud, Saleem Sa'adeh. Deputy Talal Arslan was excused for not attending. The following deputies did not participate in the voting: Bassam Yammout, Adnan Arakji, Michel Pharaon, Fareed El Khazen, Mikhael El Daher, and Muhammad Beydoun. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 26 April 2005.

[114] Decree No. 14323 dated 19 April 2005 signed by signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 17, 21 April 2005, pp.1547-1548.

[115] Minister Ghassan Salameh was replaced by Asa'ad Rezk through Decree No. 14325 dated 28 Aril 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 18, 28 April 2005, p.2.

		P.M. Rafik El Hariri 2 November 2000[116]
1	Yeghia Jeredjian	A
2	Jean Ogassapian	A
3	Hagop Kassardjian	A
4	Serge Toursarkissian	A
5	Sebouh Hovnanian	√*
6	George Kassarji	X
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record		

Table 20.10 (a) - Governments during the 20th Lebanese Parliament (2000-05)

Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian, Hovnanian and Kassarji were present and voted in favor of the amendment.[117] President Lahoud signed the amendment into law on 28 April 2005.[118] A week later, President Lahoud further issued Decree No.

[116] Decree No. 4336 dated 26 October 2000 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri appointing the Ministers. *Official Gazette (2000)*, Issue No. 50, 2 November 2000, pp.4332-4334. Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 20th Parliament on 2 November 2000 and received 95 votes of confidence against 6 votes of no-confidence that included that of Deputy George Kassarji. There were 17 abstentions, including those of Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian and Toursarkissian. Sebouh Hovnanian, who was appointed as Minister did not show up. The Deputies who cast no-confidence votes to Hariri's Government were: Albert Moukheiber, Naseeb Lahoud, Boutros Harb, Pierre Gemayel, Nicola Fattoush and George Kassarji. Those who abstained were: Yeghia Jeredjian, Jean Ogassapian, Hagop Kassardjian, Serge Toursarkissian, Hussein El Husseini, Muhammad Ra'ad, Nayla Mou'awad, Hussein El Hajj Hasan, Ibrahim Bayan, Mas'oud El Hujeiri, Abdullah Qusair, George Nejem, Ali Ammar, Muhammad Yaghi, Nazeeh Mansour, Ammar El Mousawi, and Muhammad Fneish. The following deputies did not attend the session: Sebouh Hovnanian, Fares Boueiz, Fareed El Khazen, Abbas Hashem, Na'ameh Tohme, and Antoine Ghanem. Those who were excused were Muhammad Berjawi, Mustafa Sa'ad, Issam Fares, and Musbah El Ahdab. *Official Minutes (2000)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 2 November 2000.

[117] *Official Minutes (2005)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 27 April 2005.

[118] Law No. 676 dated 28 April 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati amending the Electoral Law. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 18 Supplement, 28 April 2005, pp.1-2.

		P.M. Rafik El Hariri 29 April 2003[119]
1	Yeghia Jeredjian	**√**
2	Jean Ogassapian	**√**
3	Hagop Kassardjian	**√**
4	Serge Toursarkissian	**√**
5	Sebouh Hovnanian	**√***
6	George Kassarji	**X**
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record		

Table 20.10 (b) - Governments during the 20th Lebanese Parliament (2000-05)

14377 and called for legislative elections to be conducted over four days during May and June 2005.[120]

[119] Decree No. 10057 dated 17 April 2003 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri appointing ministers of the 66th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2003)*, Issue No. 20, 24 April 2003, pp.2287-2289. Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri presented the Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 20th Parliament on 29 April 2003 and received 85 votes of confidence against 13 votes of no-confidence with 13 abstentions. Yeghia Jeredjian, Jean Ogassapian, Hagop Kassardjian, Serge Toursarkissian and Sebouh Hovnanian cast confidence votes. There were 13 others who abstained from voting. The following Deputies cast no-confidence votes: George Kassarji, Ghassan Moukheiber, Na'amatullah Abi Nasr, Qabalan Issa El Khoury, Gebran Tawq, Mikhael El Daher, Nazem El Khoury, Ossama El Sa'ad, Mansur El Bon, Fares Sa'eed, Musbah El Ahdab, Naseeb Lahoud, and Boutros Harb. Those who abstained were Muhammad Berjawi, Ali Ammar, George Nejem, Muhammad Fneish, Nazeeh Mansour, Muhammad Yaghi, Mas'oud El Hujeiri, Ibrahim Bayan, Hussein El Hajj Hasan, Muhammad Ra'ad, Abdullah Qusair, Ammar El Mousawi and Salah Hnein. The absentees to the deliberations were: Issam Fares, Hussein El Husseini, Omar Karami, Maurice Fadel, Pierre Gemayel, George Afram, Talal Arslan, Fareed Makari, Youssef Ma'alouf, and Muhammad Kabbara. Those who were excused were: Nayla Mou'awad, Muhammad El Safadi, Pierre Helou, Antoine Haddad and Antoine Ghanem. *Official Minutes (2003)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 April 2003.

[120] Decree No. 14377 dated 5 May 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati calling for legislative elections to be conducted on several days: Sunday 29 May 2009 for Beirut; Sunday 5 June 2005 for South Lebanon; Sunday 12 June 2005 for Mount Lebanon and the Beka'a Valley; and Sunday 19 June 2005 for North Lebanon. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 20 Supplement, 5 May 2005, pp.5-6.

		PM Omar Karami 4 November 2004[121]	P.M. Najeeb Miqati 26 April 2005[122]
1	Yeghia Jeredjian	NVR	√
2	Jean Ogassapian	NVR	√
3	Hagop Kassardjian	NVR	√
4	Serge Toursarkissian	NVR	√
5	Sebouh Hovnanian	NVR*	√
6	George Kassarji	NVR	√
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 20.10 (c) - Governments during the 20th Lebanese Parliament (2000-05)

The last day of the 20th Parliament was on 7 May 2005, when it considered President Emile Lahoud's letter of 3 May 2005 and address to the parliament, wherein President Lahoud reiterated the urgency of conducting legislative elections on time.[123] On the same day, the exiled leader of the Free Patriotic Movement (FPM) General Michel Aoun returned to Lebanon from exile in France.

[121] Decree No. 13621 dated 26 October 2004 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Omar Karami appointing the ministers for the 67th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2004)*, Issue No. 58, 28 October 2004, pp.10631-10633. PM Omar Karami presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 20th Parliament on 4 November 2004 and received 59 votes of confidence against 24 votes of no-confidence with 35 abstentions. The Official Records of the Parliament do not show as who cast confidence vote and who did not. Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian, Hovnanian and Kassarji were all present. Deputies Ghattas Khoury, Fares Boueiz and Fareed Makari were absent, whereas Marwan Hamadeh, George Afram and Issam Fares were excused from attending. *Official Minutes (2004)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 4 November 2004.

[122] Decree No. 14323 dated 19 April 2005 signed by signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 17, 21 April 2005, pp.1547-1548. Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati presented his newly formed government's ministerial statement to the 20th Parliament on 26 April 2005 and received 109 votes of confidence against one no-confidence vote cast by Antoine Haddad. Deputies Ossama Sa'ad and Ghassan Moukheiber abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 26 April 2005.

[123] *Official Minutes (2005)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 7 May 2005.

The 21st Lebanese Parliament

(2005-09)

The elections for the 21st Parliament was based upon the amended Electoral Law No. 676 of 28 April 2005, amending the 1960 Election Law and dividing the Capital, Beirut into three districts and having the *Qada* as the electoral district rather than the *Muhafaza*.[1]

The elections took place on four consecutive Sundays pursuant to Decree No. 14377 issued by President Lahoud and Prime Minister Miqati.[2] The Lebanese-Armenian community was actively engaged in the

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[1] Law No. 676 dated 28 April 2005 signed into law by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (2005)*, Issue No. 18 Supplement, 28 April 2005, pp.1-2.

[2] Decree No. 14377 dated 5 May 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati calling for legislative elections to be conducted on Sunday 29 May 2009 for the 3 Beirut districts; Sunday 5 June 2005 for South Lebanon's 2 districts; Sunday 12 June 2005 for Mount Lebanon's 4 districts and the Beka'a Valley's 3 districts; and Sunday 19 June 2005 for North Lebanon's 2 districts. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 20 Supplement, 5 May 2005, pp.5-6.

pre-election campaign and the incumbents Yeghia Jeredjian, Jean Ogasspian, Hagop Kassardjian, Serge Toursarkissian and George Kassarji were re-elected, whereas Sebouh Hovnanian was replaced by Hagop Pakradounian from the El Metn District.[3]

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District	Mtgs	Absence	Attend.
1	Yeghia Jeredjian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 2nd	37	5	86%
2	Jean Ogassapian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 3rd	37	1	97%
3	Hagop Kassardjian	Arm. Orth.	Beirut 3rd	37	2	94%
4	Serge Toursarkissian	Arm. Cath.	Beirut 3rd	37	0	100%
5	Hagop Pakradounian	Arm. Orth.	El Metn	37	6	84%
6	George Kassarji	Arm. Orth.	Zahle	37	9	76%

Table 21.1 – Names of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 21st Lebanese Parliament (2005-09)

The 21st Parliament held a total of 37 meetings comprising of 20 ordinary and 17 extraordinary meetings. Its term may be considered as one of the worst tenures in the history of Lebanese legislation. It was very challenging, as Lebanon witnessed very stormy political and security conditions. The country was polarized between the 8 March and 14 March coalitions and experienced direct international and regional interventions in the domestic affairs of Lebanon.[4] Political assassinations highlighted its tenure, which included the assassination of its own elected Deputies, Gebran Tueini, Pierre Ameen Gemayel, Antoine

[3] For a narrative of the events during the 2005 pre-election campaign within the Lebanese-Armenian community, see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.411-436. For an analysis of the outcome of the 2005 legislative elections in Lebanon, in general, please see Muhammad Murad, *El Intikhabat El Niyabiyeh Fi Lubnan: 1920-2009, [Arabic: The Legislative Elections in Lebanon: 1920-2009]*, (Beirut: Manshourat El Jama'a El Lubnaniyeh 'Lebanese University Publications', 2013), pp.347-384. For the official results of the elected deputies to the 21st Parliament, see Ministry of Interior Official Letter No. 4/207/S, dated 21 June 2005 signed by Hasan El Saba'a Minister of Interior. *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2005)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 28 June 2005. The official results of the 2005 legislative elections was also published in the *El Hayat El Niyabiyeh – Lubnan, [Arabic: Parliamentary Life – Lebanon]*, (Beirut: Lebanese Parliament's General Directorate for Research and Studies), Volume 55, June 2005, pp.13-46.

[4] Marie-Joelle Zahar, "Foreign Interventions, Power Sharing and the Dynamics of Conflict and Coexistence In Lebanon," Are Knudsen and Michael Kerr, (Eds.), *Lebanon After the Cedar Revolution*, (London: Hurst & Co. Publishing, 2012), pp.63-81.

Ghanem and Waleed Eido. As the legislative elections for the 21st Parliament were under way, the country was further shaken by the assassinations of Samir Kassir[5] and George Hawi[6] on 2 and 21 June 2005, respectively.

The 21st Parliament held its first meeting on 28 June 2005 with Edmond Na'eem being the eldest Deputy presiding. After a long speech congratulating the newly elected members of the Lebanese Parliament, Speaker *pro tempore* Na'eem called upon the Deputies to elect the new Speaker. Deputy Nabih Berri received 90 votes against Basem El Saba'a's one vote, and 37 Deputies cast blank papers. Berri was announced the Speaker for the entire term of the 21st Lebanese Parliament.[7] Fareed Makari was elected as Deputy Speaker and Serge Toursarkissian as one of the Commissioners.

As the political tension kept escalating between the 8 March and 14 March camps, the majority of the newly elected Deputies demanded that the Executive Branch issue a decree to call for an extraordinary session of parliament in order to deliberate, on an urgent basis, several outstanding issues related to political and criminal accusations against certain individuals, including Sameer Geagea, the people involved in the Denniyeh and Majdal Anjar incidents, and the allegations against former Minister Shahe Barsoumian. Accordingly, and under tremendous domestic political pressure, President Lahoud issued Decree No. 14922

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[5] Samir Kassir was a journalist at the *Annahar Daily* and was an outspoken proponent of the Syrian Army's withdrawal from Lebanon. See details, at http://samirkassirfoundation.org/en/Home-Page *[last accessed 17 July 2016]*. The United Nations Security Council issued a Presidential Statement on 7 June 2005 condemning "in the strongest terms the 2 June terrorist bombing in Beirut, Lebanon, that killed a Lebanese journalist, Samir Kassir, who was a symbol of political independence and freedom, and expresses its deepest sympathy and condolences to the family of the victim and to the people of Lebanon." Please see UNSC Document Number: S/PRST/2005/22. *[Last visited on 17 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2005/22.

[6] George Hawi was a Lebanese politician and former secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party, who was also advocating the withdrawal of the Syrian troops from Lebanon. See Kareem Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance: The Mandate of Emile Lahood, the former President of Lebanon*, (Readings: Garnet Publishing, 2012), p.265. See also, Imad Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), p.67.

[7] *Official Minutes (2005)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 28 June 2005.

Names of the Elected Deputies of the 21th Lebanese Parliament (2005-09)	
Beirut 1st Dist.	Sa'ad El Hariri (Sunni); Ammar El Houry (Sunni); Solange Tutunji (Maronite); Michel Pharaon (Roman Catholic); Gebran Tueini* (Roman Orthodox) replaced by Ghassan Tueini; and Basem Ramzi El Shab (Protestant).
Beirut 2nd Dist.	Waleed Eido* (Sunni) replaced by Muhammad Itani (Sunni); Beheej Tabbara (Sunni); Ameen Sherri (Shia); Atef Majdalani (Roman Orthodox); Yeghia Jeredjian (Armenian Orthodox); and Nabeel de Freij (Minorities).
Beirut 3rd Dist.	Ghenwa Jaloul (Sunni); Muhammad Qabbani (Sunni); Ghazi Youssef (Shia); Ghazi El Araidi (Druze); Serge Toursarkissian (Armenian Catholic); Hagop Kassardjian (Armenian Orthodox) and Jean Ogassapian (Armenian Orthodox).
Jbeil	Abbas Hashem (Shia); Waleed El Khoury (Maronite); and Shamel Mozaya (Maronite).
Keserwn	Fareed Elias El Khazen (Maronite); Michel Aoun (Maronite); Youssef El Ma'arouf Khalil (Maronite); Na'matullah Abi Nasr (Maronite) and Gilberte Maurice Zuwein (Maronite).
El Metn	Ibrahim Kena'an (Maronite); Pierre Ameen Gemayel* (Maronite) replaced by Camille Khoury (Maronite); Saleem Salhab (Maronite); Nabeel Nicola (Maronite); Michel El Murr (Roman Orthodox); Ghassan Moukheiber (Roman Orthodox); Edgar Ma'alouf (Roman Catholic) and Hagop Pakradounian (Armenian Orthodox).
Ba'abda	Basem El Saba'a (Shia); Ali Ammar (Shia); Ayman Shqeir (Druze); Edmond Na'eem** (Maronite) replaced by Pierre Daccache (Maronite); Antoine Ghanem* (Maronite); and Abdullah Farhat (Maronite).
Aley	Akram Sheheyyeb (Druze); Talal Arslan (Druze); Henri El Sa'ad (Maronite); Faisal El Sayegh (Maronite); and Antoine Andrawos (Roman Orthodox).
El Chouf	Muhammad El Hajjar (Sunni); Ala'edeen Terro (Sunni); Marwan Hamadeh (Druze); Waleed Jumblatt (Druze); Nabeel El Bustani (Maronite); George Adwan (Maronite); Elie Aoun (Maronite); and Na'ameh Youssef Tohme (Roman Catholic).
Akkar	Mustafa Hussein (Sunni); Mahmoud El Murad (Sunni); Mustafa Muhammad Hashem Beik (Sunni); Azzam Hasan Dandashi (Alawite); Hadi Hbeish (Maronite); Riad Rahhal (Roman Orthodox) and Abdullah Rou'ouf Hanna (Roman Orthodox).
Denniye	Qasem Ali Abdul Aziz (Sunni) and Ahmad Fatfat (Sunni).
Besherri	Sethrida Tawq Geagea (Maronite) and Elie Keiruz (Maronite).
Tripoli	Muhammad El Safadi (Sunni); Muhammad Kabbara (Sunni); Sameer El Jisr (Sunni); Mustafa Alloush (Sunni); Muhammad Musbah El Ahdab (Sunni); Badr Wannous (Alawite); Elias Hanna Atallah (Maronite); Badr Hanna Atallah (Maronite) and Maurice Fadel (Roman Orthodox).
Meniyeh	Hashem Alamedeen (Sunni).
Zghorta	Sameer Hameed Franjieh (Maronite); Nayla Mou'awad (Maronite); Jawad Boulos (Maronite).
Batroun	Boutros Harb Maronite) and Antoine Zahra (Maronite).
El Koura	Fareed Makari (Roman Orthodox); Fareed Habib (Roman Orthodox); Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orth).
Saida	Bahiyeh El Hariri (Sunni) and Ossama Ma'arouf Sa'ad (Sunni).
Zahrani	Nabih Berri (Shia); Ali Adel Osseiran (Shia) and Michel Hanna Mousa (Roman Catholic).
Soor	Muhammad Fneish (Shia); Hasan Hoballah (Shia); Abdul Majeed Saleh (Shia) Ali Youssef Khreis (Shia).
B. Jbeil	Hasan Fadlallah (Shia); Ali Ahmad Bazzi (Shia) and Ayoub Fahd Humayed (Shia).
Nabatieh	Muhammad Ra'ad (Shia); Yaseen Jaber (Shia) and Abdul Lateef Youssef El Zein (Shia).
Marja'un	Qassem Omar Hashem (Sunni); Anwar Muhammad El Khalil (Druze); Muhammad Haidar (Shia); Ali Hasan Khalil (Shia) and Asa'ad Hardan (Roman Orthodox).
Jezzine	Pierre Fareed Sarhal (Maronite); Sameer Azar (Maronite) and Antoine Saleem El Khoury (Roman Catholic).
Ba'albek Hermel	Ismail Muhammad Sukkarieh (Sunni); Kamel Muhammad El Rifae (Sunni); Hussein Ali El Hajj Hasan (Shia); Nawwar El Sahili (Shia); Ghazi Ze'ayter (Shia); Hussein El Husseini (Shia); Ali El Meqdad (Shia); Jamal Ali El Taqsh (Shia); Nader Sukkar (Maronite) and Marwan Fares (Roman Catholic).
Zahle	Assem Araiji (Sunni); Hasan Muhammad Yaqoub (Shia); Saleem Aoun (Maronite); Elias Joseph Skaff (Roman Catholic); Nicola Fattoush (Roman Catholic); Camille Khalil El Ma'arouf (Roman Orthodox) and George Kassarji (Armenian Orthodox).
Rashaya W. Beka'a	Ahmad Fattouh (Sunni); Jamal El Jarrah (Sunni); Naser Muslim Nasrallah (Shia); Wa'el Abu Fa'our (Druze); Robert Iskendar Ghanem (Maronite) and Antoine Nicola Sa'ad (Roman Orthodox).
	* Assassinated ** Deceased

Table 21.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 21st Lebanese Parliament

on 8 July 2005 and called for the commencement of an extraordinary session of the parliament immediately.[8]

As the newly elected parliament was getting ready to convene, a car explosion rocked the El Rabiyeh District of Beirut, severely wounding the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Elias El Murr on 12 July 2005.[9] The assassination attempt prompted the formation of a new government, and the 21st Parliament immediately convened in an extraordinary session on 18 July 2005 with the first item on the agenda being to consider the report submitted by the special committee to investigate the allegations against the Former Oil Minister Shahe Barsoumian. After the parliamentary report was read, Speaker Berri ordered the deliberations on the contents of the report be postponed to the next legislative meeting.[10] During the same session, however, the 21st Parliament dscussed and approved a draft law granting a general amnesty to all those who were charged with crimes as a result of the Denniyeh and Majdal Anjar incidents. The measure was carried with a majority vote with only Deputy Saleem Aoun voting against the measure. All six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies voted in favor of the proposed law.[11] The Parliament further considered and adopted another law granting a general amnesty for all crimes committed before 30 December 1994 – which, in fact, inherently included the allegations against Sameer Geagea, the head of the Lebanese Forces who was incarcerated for the bombing of the Sayyidet El Najat Church on 27 February 1994. Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian, Pakradounian and Kassarji

[8] Decree No. 14922 dated 8 July 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati calling for an extraordinary session of the Parliament based upon an official demand dated 6 Jul 2005 by the majority of the Parliament. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 20, 14 July 2005, pp.3340-3341.

[9] For a detailed coverage of the blast for the attempted assassination of Deputy P.M. and Minister of Defense Elias El Murr on 12 July 2005, please see Nicholas Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon*, (New York, I.B. Tauris, 2009), pp.175-176. See also Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance,* pp.266-267.

[10] For the full text of the Report of the Special Committee of the Parliament to investigate the allegations against the Former Minister Shahe Barsoumian, please see *Official Minutes (2005)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 18 July 2005. The Report was also published in its entirety in the *El Hayat El Niyabiyeh*, Volume 56, September 2005, pp.179-195.

[11] Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian, Pakradounian and Kassarji voted in favor of adopting the general amnesty to the Denniyeh and Majdal Anjar incidents. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 18 July 2005.

voted in favor of the measure.[12] President Lahoud signed both measures into law on 19 July 2005.[13]

	2005-09		
Speaker	Nebih Berri		
Deputy Speaker	Fareed Makari		
	2005-08[14]	**2006-2007[15]**	**2008-09[16]**
The Secretariat	Ayman Shqeir Jawad Boulos	N/A	Ayman Shqeir Jawad Boulos
Commissioners	Serge Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Muh'd Kabbara	N/A	Serge Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Muh'd Kabbara

Table 21.3 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 21st Lebanese Parliament (2005-09)

As soon as President Lahoud singed both amnesty laws into law, accepted the resignation of Prime Minister Miqati,[17] and, based upon parliamentary consultations, named Fouad El Siniora as the new Prime Minister and delegated him to form a new government. Siniora formed a 24-member cabinet, appointing Ogassapian as the Minister of State for Administrative Reforms.

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[12] The following Deputies were absent from the deliberations in granting the general amnesty: Abbas Hashem, Shamel Mozaya, Michel El Murr, Na'ameh Tohme, Waleed Jumblatt, Michel Aoun, Muhammad Kabbara and Ismail Sukkariya. The following deputies were excused from attending: Hussein El Husseini, Basem El Saba'a and Abdul Lateef El Zein. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 18 July 2005.

[13] Law No. 677 dated 19 July 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati granting a general amnesty on all crimes perpetrated before 30 December 1994. Also see, Law No. 678 dated 19 July 2005 signed by President Lahoud and PM Miqati granting amnesty to all individuals involved in the Denniyeh and Majdal Anjar incidents. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 20 Supplement, 20 July 2005, pp.1-2.

[14] *Official Minutes (2005)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 18 October 2005.

[15] The 21st Parliament was unable to convene during the second half of 2006 and the entire year of 2007.

[16] *Official Minutes (2008)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 21 October 2008.

[17] Decree No. 14952 dated 19 July 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud considering the government headed by Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati as officially being resigned. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 20 Supplement, 20 July 2005, p.2.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Emile Lahoud		
Cabinet of 19 July 2005[18]		
1.	Fouad El Siniora	Prime Minister
2.	Elias El Murr	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Defense
3.	Michel Pharaon	Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs
4.	Na'ameh Tohme	Minister of Displaced Affairs
5.	Pierre Gemayel	Minister of Industry
6.	Muhammad Fneish	Minister of Water and Power
7.	Muhammad Jawad Khalifeh	Minister of Public Health
8.	Nayla Mou'awad	Minister of Social Affairs
9.	Jihad Az'our	Minister of Finance
10.	Khaled Qabbani	Minister of Education
11.	Yaqoub El Sarraf	Minister of Environment
12.	Joseph Sarkis	Minister of Tourism
13.	Muhammad El Safadi	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
14.	Jean Ogassapian	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
15.	Ahmad Fatfat	Minister of Youth & Sports
16.	Ghazi El Araidi	Minister of Information
17.	Sami Haddad	Minister of Economy and Commerce
18.	Fawzi Salloukh	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates
19.	Charles Rezk	Minister of Justice
20.	Trad Kanj Hamadeh	Minister of Labor
21.	Tareq Metri	Minister of Culture
22.	Hasan El Saba'a	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
23.	Talal El Sahili	Minister of Agriculture
24.	Marwan Hamadeh	Minister of Telecommunications

Table 21.4 – Cabinet Members of Fouad El Siniora's Government (19 July 2005)

In a very tense and hostile political environment following the assassinations of Rafik El Hariri, former Minister Basel Fuleihan, Samir Kassir, George Hawi and the attempted assassination of Elias El Murr along with the ongoing investigation conducted by Commissioner Detlev Mehlis of the The United Nations International Independent Investigation Commission (UNIIIC) to identify the "perpetrators, sponsors, organizers and accomplices", Prime Minister El Siniora presented his Government's ministerial statement to the 21st Parliament on 28 July 2005. After 47 deputies taking the podium and delivering speeches that lasted several days, the Government received 92 votes of

[18] Decree No. 14953 dated 19 July 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 20 Supplement, 20 July 2005, pp.3-4.

confidence against 15 votes of no confidence with two abstentions. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, and Toursarkissian cast votes of confidence, whereas Hagop Pakradounian, aligning himself with the Michel Aoun's Free Patriotic Movement (FPM), and George Kassarji, who associated himself with the Zahle Bloc, cast votes of no confidence.[19]

Before casting his vote of confidence in Seniora's Government, Deputy Hagop Kassardjian delivered a speech wherein he praised the new government and criticized his fellow Lebanese-Armenian colleagues in the Parliament, accusing them of distorting public opinion by calling themselves the "Armenian Parliamentary Bloc." In pertinent parts, Kassardjian argued:

> "I start with my declaration that I will cast a vote of confidence in the government of Lebanon's youth, which we, as MPs and ministers, shall endeavor not to disappoint the hopes of the 14 March 2005 uprising.
>
> "The Government of Reform and Advancement, headed by Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora, which was the result of democratically conducted parliamentary elections, by way of election and representation, has identified and prioritized number of reforms that the 24 members of the Cabinet will, in collaboration with the Parliament, will work to turn the page of the obnoxious past.
>
> "We believe that time has come to deviate from the several coups against the Ta'ef Agreement that started had 15 years ago with the assassination of President Rene Mou'awad, and later by the strong grip of the security apparatus that hijacked the democratic system

[19] In addition to Hagop Pakradounian and George Kassarji, the following deputies cast no-confidence votes to Fouad El Siniora's July 2005 Government: Ghassan Mukheiber, Na'ametullah Abi Nasr, Ibrahim Kena'an, Saleem Aoun, Fareed El Khazen, Shamel Mozaya, Abbas Hashem, Waleed Khoury, Youssef Khalil, Saleem Salhab, Assem Araji, Camille El Ma'alouf and Elie Skaff. Deputies Hasan Yacoub and Ossama Sa'ad abstained from voting. The following deputies did not attend the deliberations on the ministerial statement: Sa'ad El Hariri, Michel Aoun, Edgar Ma'alouf, Waleed Jumblatt, Elias Attallah, and Nader Sukkar. Those who were excused from attending were: Hussein El Husseini, Muhammad El Hajjar, Nabeel Nicola, Basem El Saba'a, Sethrida Tawq Geagea, Asa'ad Hardan and Ali Hasan Khalil. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 30 July 2005.

and which lasted several years, culminating in a major earthquake in Beirut on 14 February 2005 with the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri and MP Basel Fuleihan and their colleagues. These events were preceded by a desperate attempt to assassinate Minister and MP Marwan Hamadeh, followed by the assassination of journalist Samir Kassir, then Georges Hawi and the attempted assassination of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Elias El Murr.

"Because Lebanon does not live in an oasis with a fake democracy, it is imperative that sincere and concerted efforts be exerted to revert back to the provisions of the Ta'ef Constitution and apply the rule of law, and true reconciliation among the Lebanese factions be accomplished, especially after the return of General Michel Aoun and the release of Dr Sameer Geagea.

"As to foreign policy, we support the Government's foreign policy as it relates to Hezbullah, on the grounds that the issue of weapons held by the Resistance is an internal Lebanese concern, and that the Lebanese themselves should find an amicable solution through dialogue and discussion, based on the idea of embracing and supporting the Resistance that has made an effective and significant contribution in liberating our lands. In this context, we request from the Government starts an open dialogue with the stakeholders to discuss the fate of the party's weapons in ordr to reach the right and wise decision in this regard. We also announce our agreement with the Government's commitment to the legitimate international agreements and resolutions and in particular those related to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

"Before I finish my remarks, I would like to direct your attention to two important issues related to our political life. There has been much talk in the Armenian community in Lebanon recently, that the community is neither represented in the Chamber of Deputies nor in the Government. As such, I would like to pose a question as to who Minister Jean Ogassapian is? Who are the Armenian Representatives in the Future Movement? Aren't we Deputies in this Parliament and ministers in the Government? Aren't we as Armenians representing the Lebanese voters in general and the Lebanese-Armenians in particular? I contend that there are those

> who are desperately trying to separate Lebanese-Armenian parliamentarians from their popular bases.
>
> "Because transparency has been the basis in our communication with our voters, we say that these attempts are miserable and desperate distortions of truth. They came as a result of electoral attempts to cramp certain political alliances. It is important, in our opinion, to say because the Tashnak Party is not represented in the Government it cannot allege that the entire Armenian community is not represented. We must differentiate between the representation of a particular party in the government and the Chamber and the Armenian community in general.
>
> "Therefore, from this podium, I would like to explain to the Lebanese people that I am a Lebanese of Armenian descent, and a representative of the Lebanese Liberal Democratic Party, Ramgavar, and I assert that Yeghia Jeredjian is a Lebanese of Armenian descent from the Hunchak Party and that Jean Ogassapian and Serge Toursarkissian are both Lebanese independents of Armenian descent.
>
> "The reality is that there are 18 different religious sects in Lebanon, including the Armenian community. We are astounded to see that there are a few MPs who call themselves the Armenian Bloc in this Parliament. We don't see any Maronite Bloc, nor any Shia Bloc, or any Catholic or Sunni blocs. If a specific party wants to form a parliamentary bloc, then it should be called or have its own label, such as the Tashnak Party Bloc or the Ramgavar Party Bloc or the Hunchak Party Bloc like the rest of the other party blocs in this Chamber."[20] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Hagop Pakradounian, on the other hand, delivered a speech that highlighted the unsuccessful efforts made, inherently by the Tashnak Party, to participate in the current government. Before casting his vote of no confidence, Pakradounian, in pertinent parts, stated:

[20] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Kassardjian speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora's Government on 28 July 2005, please see Appendix 10.3. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 28 July 2005.

"At this difficult stage that Lebanon is going through, and after the struggle of the Lebanese people and all its constituents for a better future and the future of upcoming generations, this Government was born, the Government of Reform and Advancement. The ministerial statement depicts the deep pain of the Lebanese people, and gives great hope for all the Lebanese people at home and abroad, and to those who have sacrificed for this country.

"Our sincere wish is that this government succeeds. Our hope is that it achieves even a fraction of what was listed in wishes, slogans, dreams and future projects. The people are fed up with promises and disputes and narrow political discourses and corruption.

"The introduction of this statement should be considered as a program of work for every citizen. It is a statement of self-accountability and reconciliation with oneself and the nation. It calls for regret for the mistakes of the past and a promise not to repeat them because amnesty for past deeds may not be possible in the future.

"Perhaps this government was formed under difficult circumstances. As stated in the introduction of the ministerial statement, after the convergence at the "squares of democracy," *[Riad El Solh and Martyrs' Squares in Beirut]* and the granting of general amnesty, reconciliation and tolerance and by turning the page on the elections, I pose a sincere question to the Prime Minister: Did you exert all efforts to form a national unity government based upon reconciliation, as we were the first claimants even before the earthquake *[assassination of Rafik El Hariri]* that hit Lebanon and the Lebanese people?

"I have the honor to represent a region which is one of the most beautiful areas in Lebanon. It is region that is characterized by being resilient and which always stood by the rule of law and institutions. It is the northern El Metn region. It is imperative that I express the pain and suffering of the residents due to the accumulated neglect in this area, starting from the borders of Beirut up to the high mountains. We live in a deprived area where there are no development projects and no road networks and

> no public hospitals to meet the needs of the people in the region.
>
> "I would also like to comment on the condition of the coastline of the Northern El Metn region at Nahr El Mot near the border of Beirut, where the garbage dump has accumulated and turned into a waste mountain, the waste water recycling plant, the slaughterhouse, all releasing stinky and deadly odors and toxic gases into a region that is one of the most densely populated areas.
>
> "We expect a lot from this Government, where we have many friends. We sought to relieve some of your responsibilities and share the burden with you, unfortunately you chose to proceed without taking into account the large constituency that we represent."[21] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Deputy George Kassarji accused the government for neglecting Zahle residents by not including any representatives in the Cabinet. Kassarji claimed:

> "This Government calls itself as the Government of Reform and Advancement while we see it as the opposite. We can simply call it 'the replacement government for the lost one'.
>
> "We called it the 'replacement for the lost one' because it is the government of ambiguous things. On the surface, Fouad *[El Siniora]* heads it, but he is not the actual Premier, and he has been delegated to announce the decisions but not make any decisions, and his task is to implement directives and not initiate them … And most points in his statement are vague rather than providing clear steps to execute them.
>
> "Zahle is the capital of Catholicism in the Middle East, wherein this religious denomination is embodied and based. Not having a representative from Zahle in the Cabinet constitutes a major deviation and setback from the National Reconciliation Accord. It is a violation of the

[21] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Pakradounian's speech during the deliberations on P.M. Fouad El Siniora's Ministerial Statement, please see Appendix 12.1. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 28 July 2005.

> Preamble to the Constitution, which states: "There shall be no constitutional legitimacy for any authority which contradicts the pact of communal coexistence". It also means that the intention of the current government is to strike the sectarian balance, and not implement the Ta'ef Agreement.
>
> "How can such a government mostly comprise of faces from the previous era associated with corruption that exploit power and carry on suspicious actions be accepted. It exploits public funds in the name of reform and advancement.
>
> "Since I am associated with the Lebanese people who are keen to see the improvement of the future of their children and their country, and because the government needs to make enormous efforts to convince our people it will fulfill its promises, I hereby cast a vote of no confidence in this government."[22] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

After the Deputeis cast their votes of confidence in Seniora's government, Jean Ogassaian resigned from Foreign Affairs Committee and as a member of the Supreme Council, to avoid any conflict of interest, as he was officially made Minister of State for Administrative Reforms.[23] Deputy Hagop Pakradounian was elected to replace Ogassapian as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and Yeghia Jeredjian was elected to replace Ogassapian on the Supreme Council.[24]

In its next legislative session, on 16 August 2005, the 21st Parliament considered the report prepared by the Special Committee to investigate the allegations against the former Minister Shahe Barsoumian. After reiterating the relevant parts of the Lebanese Constitution and the By-Laws of the Chamber, Speaker Berri called for a

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[22] For the full Arabic text of George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the 2005 Ministerial Statement, see Appendix 5.18. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 28 July 2005.

[23] Deputy Jean Ogassapian was elected as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee on 18 July 2005, before he was appointed as a Minister in the Siniora's Cabinet. See *Official Minutes (2005)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 18 July 2005.

[24] *Official Minutes (2005)*: 4th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 30 July 2005.

secret session of the Parliament to deliberate on the findings of the Special Committee. The majority of 56 Deputies acquitted Barsoumian from all charges, whereas 10 Deputies voted in favor of the allegations – 27 others cast blank papers and one vote was annulled.[25] Thus, Basrsoumian was exonerated of all charges.

	Elected Deputies to the Supreme Council (2005-09)		
	Name of Deputy	**Sect**	**District**
1.	Ibrahim Kena'an	Maronite	Mount Lebanon
2.	Nicola Fattoush	Roman Catholic	Zahle
3.	Sameer El Jisr	Sunni	Tripoli
4.	Ghazi Ze'ayter	Shia	Ba'albeck/Hermel
5.	Nicola Ghossen	Roman Orthodox	El Koura
6.	Hadi Hbeish	Maronite	Akkar
7.	Yeghia Jeredjian	Armenian Orthodox	Beirut 2nd District
a.	Ayman Shqeir (1st Substitute)	Druze	Ba'abda
b.	Gebran Tueini (2nd Substitute)	Roman Orthodox	Beirut 1st District
c.	Nawwar El Sahili (3rd Substitute)	Shia	Ba'albeck/Hermel

Table 21.5 – Elected Deputies as Members to the Supreme Council (2005-09)

In its 8 August 2005 meeting, Prime Minister Seniora's Government decided to establish a national commission charged with preparing a draft electoral law, headed by the Former Minister of Foreign Affairs Fouad Boutros.[26] Accordingly, Chairman Boutros called upon all political parties, movements, forces and leaders, as well as all other interested Lebanese groups, to submit, within one month, their proposals for the reform of the electoral law and to name their representatives to become members theirin. Arda Ekmekji was named as one of the members of the Commission.[27]

[25] The following deputies did not attend the secret session to deliberate on the Report submitted by the Parliament's Special Committee on the allegations against Shahe Barsoumian: Sa'ad El Hariri, Solange Tutunji, Basem El Saba'a, Michel Aoun, Fareed Makari, Musbah El Ahdab, Asa'ad Hardan and Elias Skaff. The excused deputies from attending were: Beheej Tabbara, Ammar El Houri, Ali Bazzi, Sethrida Tawq Geagea, Ayman Ashqar, Michel Pharaon, Ahmad Fatfat, Antoine Zahra and George Adwan. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 16 August 2005.

[26] Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance,* p.269.

[27] "Call for Election Law Reform Proposal" dated 17 August 2005, submitted by former Minister Fouad Boutros. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 35, 18 August

Amid the government's attempts to create favorable and stable conditions during the summer of 2005, the international investigation into the assassination of the Rafik El Hariri was rapidly progressing, which led to an unprecedented domestic political jolt to the system on 3 September 2005, when, upon the request of Commissioner Detlev Mehlis, the Lebanese Examining Magistrate Elias Eid arrested four Lebanese Generals: Mustafa Hamdan, Jameel El Sayyed, Raymond Azar and Ali El Hajj, on accusations in connection with the assassination of El Hariri.[28]

A few weeks later, a car bomb exploded critically wounding the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation's (LBC's) anchorwoman for political news, May Chidiac, just after her Sunday 26 September 2005 talk show was aired.[29] As a result, outrage erupted throughout Lebanon and journalists and politicians rallied expressing their denunciation and dismay at the security breaches and the attempt to silence the outspoken voices in Lebanon.

Parliament convened for an extraordinary session on 5 October 2005 to discuss the security breaches in the country. Several Deputies took the podium and accused the government for malfeasance, while others demanded an international investigation ino the terrorist acts perpetrated against the Lebanese people. Deputy Toursarkissan, in particular, argued that the attempted assassination of Chidiac was tantamount to striking a blow against the freedom of speech and thought in Lebanon and demanded that an international investigation be ordered to identify the perpetrators of the crime. In pertinent parts, Toursarkissian said:

> "We have not seen anything like what is happening today in Lebanon nor have we seen anything throughout the past bloody eras in Lebanon. The terrorist acts are now affecting every single citizen, without exception. I can only make some brief remarks, as the current period is for acts and not speeches.
>
> "The attempted assassination of May Chidiac, an individual of principles and a defender of freedom and free thought and speech, is a huge blow to the right of

2005, p.4000. Dr. Arda Ekmekji, Dean of Arts and Sciences at the Haigazian University, Beirut-Lebanon was named as a Commission member.

[28] Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance,* p.269.

[29] Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon*, pp.176-177. See also, Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance,* p.271.

> freedom of opinion and speech that all members of the press and media, and even every Lebanese citizen who believes in his homeland, have.
>
> "The bombings and the assassinations are acts of terrorism perpetrated through sophisticated methods that the authorities responsible for the general security are currently incapable of ascertaining. Therefore, we must adopt policies and new methods and techniques in order to put an end to them.
>
> "Given the dangerous nature of several criminal acts in Lebanon over the past year that destabilized the internal security and weakened the morale of the citizens, it is important that the investigations in these terrorist crimes be handled by the international community, especially after Lebanese officials announced the state's inability to combat such crimes.
>
> "Due to the quality and effectiveness of the ongoing international investigation into the assassination of the Martyr, Prime Minister *[Rafik]* El Hariri, it is in the interest of Lebanon and it is the state's duty towards its citizens to request the assistance of the international community in this regard in order to preserve the country's security and safety of its citizens, especially… no one has claimed responsibility for any of these bombings and assassinations."[30] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Deputy Kassarji, on the other hand, blamed the government for being impotent in ascertaining the identity of the terrorists and demanded the resignation of the Seniora government. Kassarji, in his speech, contended that:

> "Terrorism is hitting our country once again and the latest incident was the fourteenth in a row. This terrorism in a concerted effort, with a premeditated objective, undermines the Lebanese unity and the co-existence of its citizens.

[30] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Serge Toursarkissian's speech on the occasion of the attempted assassination of anchorwoman May Chidiac, please see Appendix 11.3. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 8th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 5 October 2005.

> "As a result of these terrorist incidents, we emphasize to all, as we have done so in the past, that we support the idea of strengthening centralized authority and improve security conditions in the state. Either we tighten the grip of the state's security apparatus on our fellow citizens and control our daily lives, or leave terrorism drag the country back into a new civil war by forcing political forces to resort on arming themselves
>
> "The problem does not lie as to where or when terrorism hits or in what size the human and material losses are. The problem lies in the composition of this incapable government for not apprehending and identifying the perpetrators of these acts and being unable to develop any plan to capture them.
>
> "Therefore, the most effective solution to this issue, is the resignation of the government and the replacement by a national unity government, where all actual powerful individuals in the country participate without any exceptions, and without the exercise of a veto on anyone or any side. The government can assist in this regard and uncover the truth, by immediately submitting its resignation and paving the way for the creation of a new national unity government."[31] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Complicating the unsecure conditions in Lebanon, General Ghazi Kena'an, the former Syrian Intelligence Chief in Lebanon, gave an interview to the Voice of Lebanon Radio Station on 12 October 2005 announcing that it was his last interview and accused New TV for launching a campaign against him in connection with the El Hariri assassination. A few hours later, General Kena'an committed suicide.[32]

Under such unstable political and security conditions, the 21st Parliament held its ordinary session on 18 October 2005 and elected

[31] For the full Arabic text of Deputy George Kassarji's speech on the occasion of the attempted assassination of May Chidiac, see Appendix 5.19. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 8th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 5 October 2005.

[32] For details, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.273. According to media reports, General Ghazi Kena'an allegedly had mishandled certain funds. Something that Kena'an denied during the interview on Voice of Lebanon on 12 October 2005. For details, please see Endnote 9 of Chapter 4 in Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon*, p.223.

members of the standing committees. Yeghia Jeredjian was re-elected to the Committee for the Displaced and the National Economy; George Kassarji was involved in the Public Works and Information, and the Telecommunication committees; Hagop Kassardjian was elected to the National Economy, Commerce and Industry Committee, and became the Chairman of the Displaced Committee. Serge Toursarkissian was elected to the Administration and Budget Committee as well as to the Youth and Sports Committee. Hagop Pakradounian was elected to the Foreign Affairs and the Environment committees. As Jean Ogassapian was appointed a Minister in Lebanon's 69th and 70th governments during the term of the 21st Parliament, was not involved with the any of the parliamentary committees.

As the political tensions between the 8 March and 14 March camps escalated, especially after the assassination attempt on May Chidiac and the purported suicide of General Ghazi Kena'an, on 19 October 2005 the UNIIIC Commissioner Detlev Mehlis issued his first report on the findings in the Rafik El Hariri assassination case, creating an uproar and upheaval among the two polarized camps in Lebanon on one side, and Syria and the international community on the other, as the Mehlis Report bluntly implicated Lebanese and Syrian security officials as accomplices in the act.[33]

[33] Commissioner Detlev Mehlis presented his Report to the UN Secretary General Kofi Anan on 19 October 2005. In his Report, Mehlis accused the Lebanese and Syrian security officials for being involved in the assassination of Rafik El Hariri. According to Mehlis, the Report was based upon the review "of more than 16,000 pages of documents, including transcripts of interviews of 450 witnesses and suspects." Please see UN Secretary General Kofi Anan's Letter dated 20 October 2005 addressed to the UN Security Council President and UNIIIC's Report attached thereto. UNSC Doc. No. S/2005/662. *[Last accessed on 20 July 2005]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2005/662. For a thorough analysis of the first Mehlis Report, please see Are Knudsen, "Special Tribunal for Lebanon: Homage to Hariri?" Are Knudsen and Michael Kerr, Eds., *Lebanon: After the Cedar Revolution*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2012), p.224.

			2005-05[34]	2005-08[35]	2008-09[36]
1	Budget & Finance	17	None	None	None
2	Admin. & Justice	17	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian
3	Foreign Affairs	17	Ogassapian	Pakradounian	Pakradounian
4	Pub.Works/Transp.	17	Kassarji	Kassarji	Kassarji
5	Nat'l Education	12	None	None	None
6	Pub. Health, La	12	None	None	None
7	Nat'l Defense, Interior	17	None	None	None
8	Displaced Affairs Committee	12	Kassardjian* Jeredjian Pakradounian	Kassardjian* Jeredjian	Kassardjian* Jeredjian
9	Agriculture & Tourism	12	None	None	None
10	Environment	12	Pakradounian	Pakradounian	None
11	Nat'l Econ., Commerce., Industry	12	Jeredjian Kassardjian	Jeredjian Kassardjian	Jeredjian Kassardjian
12	Infor & Telecom	12	Kassarji	Kassarji	Kassarji
13	Youth & Sports	12	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian
14	Human Rights	12	None	None	None
15	Women & Children	12	None	None	None
16	Information Tech.	9	Kassarji	Kassarji	Kassarji
			* Committee Chairman		

Table 21.6 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 21st Lebanese Parliament (2005-09)

On 31 October 2005, the UNSC held its 5297th meeting at the ministerial level and considered the UNIIIC Report, and unanimously adopted Resolution 1636 under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, endorsing the Commission's conclusion that it was incumbent upon the Syrian authorities *"to detain those Syrian officials or individuals whom the Commission considered as suspected of involvement in the planning, sponsoring, organizing or perpetrating"* of the terrorist act of

[34] *Official Minutes (2005)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 18 July 2005.

[35] Committee elections were re-done on 18 October 2005 in accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 18 October 2005. There were no committee elections in 2006 and 2007 because of the unstable political and security situation in Lebanon. The next committee elections were done in October 2008.

[36] *Official Minutes (2008)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 21 October 2008.

assassinating Rafik El Hariri.[37] In an immediate reaction to the accusations and the passage of UNSC Resolution 1636, President Bashar El Asad delivered a speech at the University of Damascus on 11 November 2005 and expressed the Syrian defiance against the international community.[38]

As a result of the unfolding events, the tension between two political camps in Lebanon reached an unprecedented level. In the midst of the escalation of rivalry, Commissioner Mehlis issued his second report to Kofi Anan on 10 December 2005, who in turn presented it to the Security Council on 12 December 2005.[39]

On the same day as Kofi Anan was about to present Mehlis's second report to the UN Security Council in New York, a huge blast went off in Beirut instantly killing the member of Parliament and Editor-in-Chief of the *Annahar Daily*, Gebran Tueini, who had returned from Paris the night before.[40] The UNSC immediately reacted by issuing a Presidential Statement on 12 December 2005 condemning the *"terrorist bombing in the suburbs of Beirut that killed Lebanese Member of Parliament, editor and journalist Gebran Tueni, a patriot who was an outspoken symbol of freedom and the sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon, as well as three others. It expresses its deepest sympathy to the families of those killed and injured."*[41]

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[37] Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council: 1 August 2005 - 31 July 2006, (New York: UN Security Council Official Records, 2006), pp.58-63. For the entire text of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1636, please see UNSC Document No. S/RES/1636 (2005). *[Last accessed 20 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1636%20(2005).

[38] For detailed analysis of President Bashar Asad's speech on 11 November 2005 in reacting to the passage of UNSC Res. 1636, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.274-275.

[39] UNIIIC second report signed by Commissioner Detlev Mehlis dated 10 December 2005 was presented to the UN Security Council by Secretary General Kofi Anan on 12 December 2005. UNSC Doc. No. S/2005/775. *[Last accessed 20 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2005/775.

[40] For detailed account on the assassination of MP Gebran Tueini, please see Blanford, *Killing Mr. Lebanon*, pp.181-182, and Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance,* p.276.

[41] "Statement of the President of the Security Council" dated 12 December 2005. UNSC Document No. S/PRST/2005/61. *[Last accesses 20 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2005/61.

Prime Minister Siniora immediately reacted by calling the Cabinet to an emergency meeting on 12 December 2005, at which time he proposed that the Lebanese Government demanded from the UNSC to extend the mandate of the UNIIIC to include investigations of assassination attempt, assassinations and explosions in Lebanon, starting with the attempt on the life of Marwan Hamadeh on 1 October 2004, and to establish a tribunal of an international character inside or outside. of Lebanon to try all those responsible for the terrorist acts perpetrated against El Hariri. Ministers representing the Amal Movement and Hezbullah vehemently objected and voted against the decision and walked away from the Cabinet meeting, while the Cabinet narrowly approved the proposal.[42] The very next day, Prime Minister Siniora dispatched a letter to the Kofi Anan officially notifying him of the decision of the Lebanese Government.[43]

The Lebanese Parliament in its turn reacted to the assassination of Gebran Tueini. Speaker Nabih Berri dedicated the entire meeting of 14 December 2005 to mourn the loss of Deputy Tueini. In addition to Speaker Berri, 16 other Deputies took the podium and expressed their anger, grief, sorrow and extended their condolences for the lost life. The Speaker then asked the Deputies to participate in the funeral procession.[44] Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Kassardjian, Toursarkisian, Pakradounian and Kassarji were all present. Ogassapian was also present in his official capacity as Minister of State.

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[42] For details, please see Knudsen, "Special Tribunal for Lebanon," p.225.

[43] Official Letter dated 13 December 2005 from Fouad El Siniora, Prime Minister of the Republic of Lebanon. United Nations Security Council Document Number S/2005/783. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2005/783. *[Last accessed 20 July 2016]*.

[44] The Deputies who took the podium to express their anger, grief and sorrow over the assassination of Gebran Tueini were: Speaker Nabih Berri, Elie Aoun, Waleed Eido, Atef Majdalani, Michel Pharaon, Sameer El Jisr, Mustafa Hashem, Robert Ghanem, Fareed El Khazen, Solange Tutunji Gemayel, Akram Sheheyyeb, Muhammad Ra'ad, Ammar El Houri, Abdul Lateef El Zein, Marwan Fares, Issam Araji and Marwan Hamadeh. Those who did not attend the meeting were: Sa'ad El Hariri, Muhammad Qabbani, Edmond Na'eem, Antoine Ghanem, Basem El Saba'a, Michel Aoun, Na'ameh Tohme, Waleed Jumblatt, Mustafa Hussein, Maurice Fadel, Ossama Sa'ad, and Kamel El Rifae. All 6 Lebanese-Armenian Deputies were present and did not record any statement. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 14 December 2005.

On 23 December 2005, the government issued an executive decree and called for a by-election for Tueini's vacant Roman Orthodox seat in Beirut's 1st District, to be held on 5 February 2006.[45] The tense political conditions did not pave the way for multiple candidates to come forward for the vacant parliamentary seat. The only candidate for the Roman Orthodox seat, however, was Gebran Tueini's father, Ghassan Tueini, who was pronounced as the successor by the Ministry of Interior on 21 January 2006.[46]

The year 2006 started with high tensions between the rival 8 March and 14 March camps. The Shia ministers refused to participate in the meetings of the Council of Ministers and demanded that the Siniora government acknowledged and officially accepted Hezbullah as part of the resistance and excluded them from the provisions of UNSC Res. 1559 that called for the disarmament of militias in Lebanon. Deputy Waleed Jumblatt, on the other hand, started a verbal attack against Hezbullah by categorizing it as possessing "weapons of treason". [47] Meanwhile, Secretary General Kofi Anan appointed the Belgian Lawyer Serge Brammetz as the new Commissioner of the UNIIIC to replace Detlev Mehlis, who had resigned after submitting his second report on 12 December 2005.[48]

In such a tense and antagonistic political climate, the 21st Parliament was only able to convene for three extraordinary meetings, held in January 2006 to consider and adopt the State Budget[49] and three

[45] Decree No. 15996 dated 23 December 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud, Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora and Minister of Interior Hasan El Saba'a calling for by-election for the Roman Orthodox seat in Beirut's 1st District. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 59, 29 December 2005, p.6246.

[46] See the official letter from Hasan El Saba'a, Minister of Interior dated 21 January 2006 informing the Lebanese Parliament of the election of Ghassan Tueini in the by-election for the Roman Orthodox seat in Beirut's 1st District. *Official Minutes (2006)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 30 January 2006.

[47] For details, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.278.

[48] Letter dated 11 January 2006 from UN Secretary General Kofi Anan to the UN Security Council informing of the appointment of Serge Brammetz as the new Commissioner to the UNIIIC. UNSC Official Doc. No. S/2006/17. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/17. *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*.

[49] Decree No. 16180 dated 23 January 2006 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora calling for an extraordinary session of the

ordinary sessions from 23 March until 4 May 2006. Thereafter, as tensions escalated, followed by the Israeli war on Lebanon in July 2006, the 21st Parliament was unable to convene for almost 24 months – from May 2006 until May 2008. The government, on the other hand was only able to convene a few times but with the cautious participation of President Lahoud, as the disparity and gap between the President and the Prime Minister widened throughout 2006 and 2007. Lebanon, nevertheless, remained an important item on the agenda of the UNSC during 2006, as the UNSC considered eight different reports on the situation in Lebanon, and issued five Presidential Statements concerning the conditions there and adopted four resolutions in relation to the state of affairs in Lebanon.[50]

In the midst of turbulent political and ecurity conditions the Lebanese were astounded with the signing of a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between Hezbullah's Hassan Nasrallah and the Free Patriotic Movement's Michel Aoun on 6 February 2006. Basically, the MOU was between a cross-section of the Maronite contingent in Lebanon and that of the Shia, which eventually led to the widening of the gap among the Maronites themselves and between the 8 March and 14 March camps.[51] The political division and the rivalry between the two factions further deepened when 13 members and one former member of the parliament dispatched a letter to Speaker Berri on 20 February 2006

Lebanese Parliament. *Official Gazette (2006)*, Issue No. 4, 26 January 2006, pp.255-256.

[50] UNSC Resolution Number 1655 of 31 January 2006 extending the term of UNIFIL. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1655%20(2006). United Nations Security Council Resolution Number 1664 of 29 March 2006 delegating Kofi Anan to negotiate with the Lebanese Government for the establishment of international tribunal to try the Hariri assassination. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1664%20(2006). UNSC Res. No. 1680 of 17 May 2006 reaffirming the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution Number 1559. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1680%20(2006). And United Nations Security Council Resolution Number 1701 of 11 August 2006 for the cessation of Israeli hostilities and dispatching of the Lebanese Army to the South. *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1701%20(2006).

[51] For an analysis of the consequences and ramifications of the MOU between Hizbullah and FPM, please see Hilal Khashan, "Lebanon' Shiite-Maronite Alliance of Hypocrisy," *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 19, Issue No. 3 (Summer 2012), pp.79-85.

informing him that they were all subjected to pressure and under threat from the Syrian and Lebanese security services to compel them to adopt and ratify the law extending the term of President Lahoud on 3 September 2004. These 14 Deputies further considered their votes at the time as being tarnished by lack of free will, thus rendering the voting process to the constitutional amendment extending the term of the President as null and void. Those who signed the letter included Deputy Speaker Fareed Makari, Muhammad El Mais, Waleed Eido, Michel Pharaon, Nicola Fatoush, Nabeel de Freij, Bahiyeh El Hariri, Ghenwa Jaloul, Muhammad Qabbani, Atef Majdalani, and the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Yeghia Jeredjian, Jean Ogassapian and Serge Toursarkissian.[52]

In order to ease the inter-communal tension and mindful of trying to resolve the outstanding political disagreements between the 8 March and 14 March camps, Speaker Berri took the initiative and extended an invitation to the representatives of the Lebanese factions to attend a national dialogue conference on 2 March 2006. The Shias were represented by Speaker Berri and Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, the Sunnis by Premier Siniora, Sa'ad El Hariri and Muhammad El Safadi, whereas the Druze were represented by Waleed Jumblatt. Former President Ameen Gemayel, Michel Aoun, Sameer Geagea and Boutros Harb represented the Maronites at the conference, and Michel El Murr and Gassan Tueini represented the Roman Orthodox community where Elias Skaff represented the Roman Catholics. The Lebanese-Armenians were represented a by Yeghia Jeredjian, Hagop Kassardjian and Hagop Pakradounian.[53] The national dialogue agenda included the creation of

[52] A copy of the 20 February 2006 letter addressed to Speaker Nabih Berri and signed by the MPs was submitted to UN General Kofi Anan's representative during a meeting in Beirut. The letter was attached as Annex II to Secretary General's Report on the implementation of the UNSC Res. 1559 to the UN Security Council dated 18 April 2006. United Nations Security Council Official Doc. No. S/2006/248. *[Last accessed on 22 July 2016]* http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/248. A reprint of the English translated version of the letter is found at Appendix 18.1 to this Volume.

[53] For details about the National Dialogue Conference initiated by Speaker Nabih Berri and which held its 1st meeting on 2 March 2006, please see Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.282-283. For the Lebanese-Armenian involvement during the Conference, please see Ohannes Geukjian, "From Positive Neutrality to Partisanship: How and Why the Armenian Political Parties Took Sides in Lebanese Politics in the Post-Taif Period (1989-Present)," *Middle East Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 5 (September 2009), p.754.

an international special tribunal, the presidency of the republic, the weapons of the Resistance and the bilateral relations with Syria.[54]

As the participants discussed the creation of the international tribunal to try the accomplices to the Hariri assassination, the United Nations Secretary General submitted the 3rd Report of the UNIIIC, prepared by Commissioner Brammetz, to the Security Council on 14 March 2006,[55] followed by another report on 29 March 2006 covering details of the negotiations that his office was conducting with the Lebanese Government for the creation of the special tribunal.[56] Accordingly, the UNSC adopted Resolution 1664 on 29 March 2006 delegating a duty on the General Secretary Anan to negotiate the details to establish the international tribunal with the Lebanese Government.[57]

In the midst of the attempts to defuse the political tensions in Lebanon, the 21st Parliament held its first ordinary meeting on 23 March 2006 to consider several queries submitted by Deputies to the government on different subjects. One such inquiry was posed by Deputy Hagop Kassardjian that concerned the contamination of the Beirut River.[58] After its third ordinary meeting on 4 May 2006, the 21st Parliament went dark and was unable to convene because of the internal political escalation between the two poitical camps and the non-cooperation and non-coordination between Prime Minister Siniora and President Lahoud, which in itself made it impossible for the two heads of the Executive Branch to issue any decree to call any extraordinary session of the Parliament. Speaker Berri, on his side and under

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[54] Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, p.283.

[55] Third Report of the UNIIIC prepared by Serge Brammetz dated 14 March 2006. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/2006/161. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/161. *[Last accessed 22 July 2006]*.

[56] "Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 1644 (2005)" dated 21 March 2009. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/2006/176. *[Last accessed 22 July 2006]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/176.

[57] United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/RES/1664(2006). http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1664(2006). *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*.

[58] For the full texts of the question posed by Deputy Hagop Kassardjian on the contamination of the water in the Beirut River and the Government's response to it, please see *Official Minutes (2006)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 23 March 2006.

tremendous local, regional and international pressure kept the doors of parliament closed in respect of any ordinary sessions.

P.M. Siniora's government kept negotiating with the UN to establish the tribunal despite severe opposition from Hezbullah, Amal and the President. In fact, Siniora stressed the need for the international tribunal and expressed his government's readiness to enter into an agreement with the UN in that regard during a speech before the members of the Security Council at their 5417th meeting in New York on 21 April 2006.[59]

However, the flow of events drastically changed during the summer of 2006, when Hezbullah contingents crossed the Blue Line in the South into Israel and captured two Israeli soldiers on 12 July 2006, prompting a vast aggressive and devastating war by the Israeli Army against the Lebanese in general and Hezbullah in particular, that lasted 33 days.[60] Immediately, the Lebanese *Chargé d'affairs* at the UN lodged a complaint and demanded that the Security Council convene to discuss the Israeli aggression against Lebanon.[61] The Security Council convened on 27 July 2006 to discuss the situation in Lebanon and issued a Presidential Statement, wherein it expressed its deepest shock and distress over the attack perpetrated by the Israeli Defense Forces on a United Nations Observer post in southern Lebanon on 25 July 2006, which caused the death of four UN military observers. The statement further expressed the Council's deep concern for Lebanese civilian casualties and sufferings, the destruction of civil infrastructures and the rising number of internally displaced people.[62]

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[59] Official Minutes of the 5417th Meeting of the UN Security Council held on 21 April 2006. UNSC Official Doc. No. S/PV.5417. *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PV.5417.

[60] For a comprehensive coverage of the unfolding events on a day-to-day basis during the Israeli War against Lebanon in 2006, as well as thorough coverage on the ramifications and implications of the war on the infrastructure in Lebanon, please see Nubar Hovsepian, Ed., *The War on Lebanon: A Reader*, (Cloucestshire, Arris Books Publishing, 2007).

[61] Official Letter by Caroline Ziadeh, the Lebanese *Chargé d'affairs* at the UN dated 13 July 2006. UNSC Official Doc. No. S/2006/517. *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/517.

[62] UNSC Presidential Statement concerning the situation in Lebanon issued on 27 July 2006. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/PRST/2006/34.

After three days, on 30 July 2006, the Security Council reconvened and issued yet another Presidential Statement and expressed its *"extreme shock and distress at the shelling by the Israeli Defense Forces of a residential building in Qana, in southern Lebanon, which has caused the killing of dozens of civilians, mostly children, and injured many others."* The Statement further affirmed the Council's *"determination to work without any further delay to adopt a resolution for a lasting settlement of the crisis, drawing on diplomatic efforts under way."*[63]

As a result, the *Chargé d'affairs* of the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the United Nations dispatched an official letter to the Security Council on 11 August 2006, informing of the decision of the Lebanese Government to adopt a seven-point plan put forth by Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora during the Rome Conference on 26 July 2006, which called for an immediate and comprehensive ceasefire between Israel and Lebanon and a declaration of agreement on the part of the Lebanese Government to extend its authority over the Lebanese territory through its own legitimate armed forces, so that there would be no weapons or authority other than that of the Lebanese State, as stipulated in the Ta'ef National Reconciliation Accord.[64]

Accordingly, the United Security Council passed Resolution 1701 on 11 August 2006, calling, among other things, for *"a full cessation of hostilities based upon, in particular, the immediate cessation by Hizbollah of all attacks and the immediate cessation by Israel of all offensive military operations"* and emphasized *"the importance of the extension of the control of the Government of Lebanon over all Lebanese territory in accordance with the provisions of resolution 1559 (2004) and resolution 1680 (2006), and of the relevant provisions of the Taif Accords, for it to*

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http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2006/34. *[Last accessed 22 July 2006]*.

[63] UNSC Presidential Statement concerning the situation in Lebanon issued on 30 July 2006. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/PRST/2006/35. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2006/35. *[Last accessed 22 July 2006]*.

[64] The Seven-Point Plan as endorsed by the Lebanese Government, submitted by Caroline Ziadeh, the *Chargé d'affairs* of the Permanent Mission of the State of Lebanon at the United Nations, dated 11 August 2006. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/2006/639. *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/639.

exercise its full sovereignty, so that there will be no weapons without the consent of the Government of Lebanon and no authority other than that of the Government of Lebanon."[65]

The effect of the July 2006 war on Lebanon was devastating. The Siniora government gave an estimated cost of of more than $15 billion in damages.[66] The state became paralyzed, as there was neither cooperation between the legislative and executive branches, nor was any coordination between the President and the Prime Minister.[67] UNSC Resolution 1701, on the other hand, created a massive imbalance between Israel and Lebanon on one hand and amongs the Lebanese opposing camps on the other.[68]

As the Lebanese people tried to rise from the ashes and devastation of the war, the issue of the international tribunal started to re-surface in the political echelons and re-created friction between the 8 March and 14 March camps. With a lack of legislative oversight over the Executive Branch, Prime Minister Siniora called a Council of Ministers meeting for 13 November 2006 in order to ratify the draft agreement between Lebanon and the UN to establish an international tribunal to try the perpetrators of the El Hariri assassination, despite the opposition of President Lahoud and Speaker Berri. As a result, the five Shia Ministers (Amal and Hezbullah) along with Minister Yacoub El Sarraf resigned from the government, claiming that they were not given enough time to study the draft resolution to establish the tribunal.[69] The government, nevertheless, approved the measure and ratified the agreement.

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[65] UNSC Resolution No. 1701 of 11 August 2006. UNSC Official Doc. No. S/RES/1701(2006). http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1701%20(2006). *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*.

[66] For a detailed account on the economic and human cost of the war, please see Haneen Sayed and Zafiris Tzannatos, "The Economic and Human Costs of the War," Nubar Hovsepian, Ed., *The War on Lebanon: A Reader*, (Cloucestshire, Arris Books Publishing, 2007), pp.316-342.

[67] For the consequences of the 2006 war in Lebanon and the creation of institutional paralysis therein, please see Boaz Atzili, "State Weakness and Vacuum of Power in Lebanon," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 33 (2010), pp.448-449.

[68] For a detailed analysis of the imbalances created by the adoption of the UNSC Res. 1701, please see Richard Falk and Asli Bali, "International Law at the Vanishing Point," Nubar Hovsepian, Ed., *The War on Lebanon: A Reader*, (Cloucestshire, Arris Books Publishing, 2007), pp.216-222.

[69] Pakradouni, *Years of Resistance*, pp.317-318.

The 8 March camp immediately called for a huge rally at the Riad El Solh Square in Beirut and demanded the resignation of the government. The Armenian Tashnak Party and Deputies Hagop Pakradounian and George Kassarji considered the government's decision to ratify the international tribunal as illegitimate and participated in the sit-in organized by Hezballah and Amal "until Armenian demands of fair representation *[in the Cabinet]* were fulfilled".[70]

As soon as Prime Minister Siniora officially notified Kofi Anan of the Government's decision to ratify the tribunal agreement, the latter presented a report to the UN Security Council on 15 November 2006 concerning the establishment of the tribunal[71] followed by a legal brief submitted by the Legal Counsel on the legality of the tribunal on 21 November 2006.[72]

Amid high tensions and cross accusations and warnings as Hezbullah, Amal, the FPM and other 8 March contingents surrounded the government's headquarters at the Grand Serail. Lebanon was jolted further when Deputy and Minister of Industry Pierre Ameen Gemayel was assassinated by several gunmen on 21 November 2006. Parliament was unable to convene to condemn the assassination as it did a year ago when Deputy Gebran Tueini was assassinated. Nevertheless, the UNSC issued a Presidential Statement and unequivocally condemned *"the assassination in Beirut on 21 November 2006 of Industry Minister Pierre Gemayel, a patriot who was a symbol of freedom and of the political independence of Lebanon."* The Security Council further condemned *"any attempt to destabilize Lebanon through political assassination or other terrorist acts,"* and expressed grave concern over the *"assassination and its possible impact on ongoing efforts by the government and people of*

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[70] For details on the Armenian Revolutionary Federation's (the Tashnaks) participation in the 8 March organized rally against the Siniora Government at the Riad El Solh Square in Beirut, please see Geukjian, "From Positive Neutrality to Partisanship," pp.757-788.

[71] Report of the Secretary General to the UN Security Council dated 15 November 2006 concerning the establishment on an international tribunal for Lebanon. The Report also included the draft agreement between Lebanon and the UN along with the proposed By-Laws and statutes for the special tribunal for Lebanon. UNSC Doc. 2006/2006/893. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/893. *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*.

[72] United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/2006/893/Add.1. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/893/ADD.1. *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*.

Lebanon to solidify democracy, extend the authority of the Lebanese Government throughout its territory and complete the reconstruction process."[73]

The Siniora government, on the other hand, held a meeting on 25 November 2006 and passed Decision No. 2 to ratify the agreement between the Government of Lebanon and the United Nations for the establishment of the Special Tribunal for Lebanon (the Agreement) despite a boycott by Shia ministers. Siniora dispatched an official letter to President Lahoud on 27 November 2006 for the latter's consideration. However, the Directorate General of the Presidency responded to Siniora's letter on 9 December 2006 and refused to acknowledge the validity of Decision No. 2 of the Cabinet and demanded that the Council of Ministers reconsidered its decision. The Cabinet reconvened on 12 December 2006 and upheld its decision[74] in accordance with Article 56 of the Lebanese Constitution, which in pertinent parts stated:

> "He *[the President]* shall issue decrees and demand their publication; he has the right to ask the Council of Ministers to reconsider any decision taken by the Chamber within fifteen days as of its registration with the Presidency. If the Council of Ministers insists on the adopted decision or if the time limit expires without the decree being issued or returned, the decision or decree shall be considered automatically operative and must be published."[75]

Accordingly, Siniora's government published the Agreement with its amendments in lieu of an executive decree and dispatched it to the Parliament for consideration and ratification.[76] Parliament, however, was unable to convene because most Shia constituents loyal to Hezbullah

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[73] UNSC Presidential Statement dated 21 November 2006 condemning the assassination of Deputy and Minister of Industry Pierre Gemayel. United Nations Security Council Document Number S/PRST/2006/46. *[Last accessed 22 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2006/46.

[74] Please see *Official Gazette (2006)*, Issue No. 59 Supplement, 14 December 2006, pp.3-4.

[75] Article 56 of the Lebanese Constitution. Please see the *Official Website of the Presidency*. http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf. Lebanese Constitution. *[Last accessed 23 July 2016]*.

[76] *Official Gazette (2006)*, Issue No. 59 Supplement, 14 December 2006, pp.3-88.

refused the measure and stayed away, making it constitutionally impossible to ratify the Agreement. President Lahoud vehemently refused to sign any decree calling for an extraordinary session of the Parliament whereas, Speaker Berri did not adjourn the Parliament during any of its ordinary sessions in order to avoid a vote on the ratification.[77]

Despite the political impasse, the Siniora government and the United Nations signed the Agreement on 23 January and 6 February 2007, respectively, just before the 7th Report of the UNIIIC was due to be released.[78] With no possibility of it being ratified into law, Prime Minister Siniora dispatched a letter to Ban Ki-moon, the newly appointed UN Secretary General, reiterating the reasons for the impasse which, according to Siniora, had been created by the refusal of the Speaker to convene a session of the Parliament to formally ratify the statutes of the Tribunal and the bilateral agreement with the United Nations. Siniora further confirmed the willingness the of parliamentary majority to support the Tribunal and their readiness to formally ratify it if only a session could have been convened, leading any Lebanese domestic route to ratification at a dead end. Siniora asked that the UN Security Council adopted a binding resolution to establish such tribunal.[79]

On 30 May 2007, in its 5685th meeting, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1757 establishing the Special Tribunal for Lebanon under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.[80] The adoption of

[77] For detailed analysis on the constitutional impasse as a result of the refusal of the 8 March Camp to the establishment of the international Special Tribunal for Lebanon, please see Knudsen, "Special Tribunal for Lebanon," p.225.

[78] Report of the UN Secretary General on the UNIIIC dated 15 March 2007. UNSC Official Document No. S/2007/150. *[Last accessed 24 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2007/150.

[79] Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora's Letter to Ban Ki-moon dated 14 May 2007 was attached as Annex to Secretary General's letter to the United Nations Security Council on 15 May 2007. UNSC Official Document No. S/2008/281 *[Last accessed 24 July 2016]*.. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2007/281.

[80] United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/RES/1757(2006). http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1757(2007). *[Last accessed 24 July 2016]*.

Resolution 1757 further widened the political gap and disagreement between the rival 8 March and 14 March camps in Lebanon.[81]

As an immediate reaction to Resolution 1757, a huge blast was set off in Beirut on 13 June 2007 killing at least nine people, including Member of Parliament Waleed Eido and injuring several others. Eido was one of the signatories to the letter addressed to Nabih Berri concerning the retraction of the vote that allowed the extension of the term of President Lahoud. The government and the UNSC issued a Presidential statement condemning the criminal act and categorized it as a "terrorist attack".[82] A few days later, another bomb exploded in the town of Khiyam, south Lebanon, killing six UNIFIL contingents. The UN Security Council issued another Presidential Statement wherein it condemned "in the strongest terms the terrorist attack on 24 June near the town of Khiyam in South Lebanon, which targeted the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and killed six United Nations peacekeepers of the Spanish contingent".[83]

The assassination of Waleed Eido and the bombing of the UNIFIL soldiers, immediately after the adoption of UNSC Resolution 1757, caused a havoc within the ranks of the 14 March Deputies, the majority

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[81] For a thorough analysis of the impact of the Special Tribunal on the Lebanese domestic political life as well as its implication on the regional level from the national security perspective, see Aram Nerguizian, "Lebanon at Crossroads," A Statement before the US Senate Foreign Relations Sub-committee on Near Eastern and South and Central Asian Affairs, 25 February 2014. (Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), pp.2-4. See also, Maria-Rita Kassis, "Justice or Peace? The Hariri Assassination and the Special Tribunal for Lebanon," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Volume 4, Issue No. 6 (December 2010), pp.3-14. For a detailed analysis on the legal aspects of the Tribunal, including matters related to international criminal law, proper jurisdiction and its implications under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, please see Samar El Masri, "The Hariri Tribunal: Politics and International Law," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 15, Issue No. 3 (Fall 2008), pp.80-92.

[82] United Nations Security Council Presidential Statement dated 13 June 2007 condemning Waleed Eido's assassination. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/PRST/2007/18. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2007/18. *[Last accessed 24 July 2016]*.

[83] UNSC Presidential Statement dated 24 June 2007 condemning the killing of UNIFIL soldiers. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/PRST/2007/21. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2007/21. *[Last accessed 24 July 2016]*.

of whom left Lebanon to seek refuge in other countries for fear of being killed.[84] The heavy clashes between the Lebanese Army and Fateh El Islam militants at the Naher El Bared Palestinian Camp in Northern Lebanon in June 2007, further destabilized the country.

In the meantime, the government issued an executive decree without the President's signature, under Article 56 of the Constitution, and called for by-elections in the Beirut's 2nd District for the vacated Sunni seat and Mount Lebanon's 2nd District (El Metn) for the vacated Maronite seat – as a result of the assassinations of Waleed Eido and Pierre Gemayel respectively – to be held on 5 August 2007.[85] Muhammad Itani (Sunni, Beirut 2nd District) and Camille Khoury (Maronite, Mt. Lebanon 2nd District- El Metn) were elected.[86]

With the Special Tribunal for Lebanon in place, followed by a series of political assassinations targeting 14 March Deputies and the approaching end of the extended term of President Lahoud, the tension among the Lebanese factions reached another unprecedented level. The tense political rhetoric further escalated when a car exploded in the Sin El Fil District in Beirut killing Deputy Antoine Ghanem and six others on 19 September 2007.[87]

As the term for the second ordinary session of the Parliament approached in October 2007, the sit-in and the blockage of the government's quarters in downtown Beirut by the 8 March political

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[84] Most pro-government Deputies (14 March) sought refuge at the Intercontinental Hotel in Abu Dhabi, UAE for several weeks. Others left for European countries. Personal interview by this author with most Deputies in Abu Dhabi, including Deputy Antoine Ghanem, just a few days before his assassination on 19 September 2007.

[85] Decree No. 493 dated 2 July 2007 under Article 56 of the Constitution (please see Footnote No. 75, infra) calling for by-elections in the Beirut's 2nd and Mt. Lebanon's 2nd Districts for the vacated Sunni and Maronite seats, respectively, to be conducted on 5 August 2007. *Official Gazette (2007)*, Issue No. 40, 3 July 2007, pp.4105-4106.

[86] The Lebanese-Armenian community was engaged in both by-elections. For a detailed account on both pre-election campaigns and their outcome, see Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, pp.438-444.

[87] The UN Security Council issued a Presidential Statement on 20 September 2007 condemning the assassination of Antoine Ghanem. United Nations Security Council Document Number S/PRST/2007/34 *[Last accessed on 24 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2007/34.

parties as well as the lack of consensus among rival politicians as to a successor to President Lahoud, left Speaker Berri with no choice but to keep the doors of the Parliament closed. The opposition boycotted the presidential election and did not agree to any of the presidential candidates of the majority 14 March group. As a result, President Lahoud left the Ba'abda Palace on 23 November 2007, leaving a constitutional vacuum behind.[88]

By December 2007, Lebanon was torn between the rival camps of 8 March and 14 March, with no coordination between the legislative and executive branches of the government. Legislative oversight over the government was totally absent because Speaker Berri considered Siniora's government as illegitimate because of the resignation of the Shia ministers. With a total paralysis of the Lebanese State, the constituent parties of the 14 March Camp began assimilating the idea of electing Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army General Michel Suleiman as the new President, especially after the successes that the Army registered in the Naher El Bared battle under Suleiman's leadership. The opposition, however, without rejecting the candidacy of General Suleiman, asserted their terms for a new government post the presidential election. In the midst of such convoluted political situation, the terrorists targeted the Lebanese Army by detonating a car bomb at Ba'abda and killing Brigadier General Francois El Hajj of the Lebanese Armed Forces on 12 December 2007.

The government immediately reacted to the assassination and dispatched a letter to the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon on 12 December 2007, requesting technical assistance from the UNIIIC to investigate the crime, especially as the attack was, according to Siniora's letter, *"the first against a high-ranking officer in the Lebanese Army, the symbol of national unity, and [was]clearly an attempt to intimidate this institution in the exercise of its duties. Furthermore, the timing of this terrorist act undermine[d] the process to elect a new President of the Republic."*[89] The UNSC reacted by releasing a Presidential Statement on

[88] The international community expressed concerned about the institutional vacuum in Lebanon as the Parliament could not convene to elect a new president in 2007. Please the UNSC Presidential Statement dated 11 December 2007. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/PRST/2007/46. *[Last accessed 24 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2007/46.

[89] Prime Minister Fouad Siniora's letter dated 12 December 2007 addressed to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. United Nations Security Council Official

the same day, strongly condemning the terrorist act that killed Brigadier General El Hajj.[90]

Furthermore, the Siniora government issued Decree No. 1 on 24 December 2007 and referred El Hajj's assassination file to the Judicial Council.[91] It further issued Decree No. 2 proposing a constitutional amendment to Article 49 to allow, on a one-time basis, the election of a judge or any category-one public servant to the presidency be considered by parliament. [92] It also issued Decree No. 3 and called for an extraordinary session of the Parliament to convene in January 2008 and deliberate on the proposed constitutional amendment and the adoption of the budget.[93] Parliament, however, did not convene.

Nevertheless, the sit-in blockading the Grand Serail and minority's boycott of the government continued throughout the early part of 2008. The tense political conditions further deteriorated when another car bomb exploded in an eastern suburb of Beirut on 25 January

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Document Number S/2007/735. *[Last accessed 25 July 2016]*.http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2007/735.

[90] UN Security Council Presidential Statement dated 12 December 2007 condemning the assassination of Brigadier General Francois El Hajj of the Lebanese Armed Forces. UNSC Official Document No. S/PRST/2007/47. *[Last accessed 25 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2007/47.

[91] With the absence of a President of the Republic who usually signs all decrees, the Siniora government proceeded to issue executive decrees in accordance with Article 62 of the Lebanese Constitution, which states: "Should there be a vacancy in the Presidency for any reason whatsoever, the Council of Ministers shall exercise the authorities of the President by delegation." Article 62 of the Lebanese Constitution. *[Last accessed 25 July 2016]* http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf.. Decree No. 1 dated 24 December 2007 signed by Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora and all the Cabinet Ministers. *Official Gazette (2007)*, Issue No. 80, 27 December 2007, pp.9084-9095.

[92] Decree No. 2 dated 24 December 2007 signed by P.M. Siniora and all Cabinet members, for a draft law amending Article 49 of the Constitution. *Official Gazette (2007)*, Issue No. 80, 27 December 2007, pp.9081-9083.

[93] Article 33 of the Constitution in pertinent parts states: "The President of the Republic in agreement with the Prime Minister may summon the Chamber to extraordinary sessions by a decree that specifies the dates of the opening and closing of the extraordinary sessions as well as the agenda." Accordingly the Government issued Decree No. 3 dated 24 December 2007 calling for an extraordinary session of the Parliament to convene on 1 January 2008. *Official Gazette (2007)*, Issue No. 80, 27 December 2007, pp.9083-9084.

2008 killing Major Wissam Eid, head of the technical department of the Internal Security Forces and Adjutant Ossama Mehreb. At the time, Major Eid was playing a central role in uncovering the perpetrators of the previous assassinations in Lebanon.[94]

The animosity between the 14 March led Siniora government and the Hezbullah-led 8 March camps escalated to an unprecedented levels when the Lebanese Government, at its 5 May 2008 meeting, issued two decisions to shut down Hezbullah's telecommunication networks and dismiss General Wafiq Shqeir from his post as the security chief at Beirut's Rafik El Hariri International Airport. Hezbullah and Amal considered these decisions as acts of hostility against the Resistance and called for massive riots – which eventually turned into armed clashes between Hezbullah, and its affiliated militants, and the Sunni and Druze contingents in Beirut, Mt. Lebanon and Rashayya on 7 May 2008.[95]

An Arab diplomatic delegation arrived in Beirut on 13 May 2008 to mediate and put an end to the controversy, and it was able to extract a tentative deal between pro-government factions and the opposition to continue negotiations under the auspices of the League of Arab States in association with an extended invitation by Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani, Emir of Qatar, to the Lebanese leaders to meet in Doha for further deliberations.

The rival Lebanese factions, that had been part of the National Dialogue initiated by Speaker Nabih Berri in 2006, travelled to Doha on 15 May 2008 and negotiated to end the political stalemate that had gone on for 18 to 24 months. The members of the National Dialogue were able to reach an agreement on 21 May 2008 on five major, critical and controversial issues in Doha: (1) The parties agreed that Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army Michel Suleiman be the consensus President of the Republic; (2) The agreement stipulated that the formation of a national unity government of 30 ministers,with the so called "one-third obstructionist" or alternatively "one-third guarantor" rights, be given to the opposition and that the majority would appoint 16 cabinet members, and 11 would go to the opposition and the President would appoint three

[94] Please see P.M. Siniora's letter dated 29 January 2008 addressed to Ban Ki-moon, requesting the technical assistance of the UNIIIC to uncover the perpetrators of the Eid assassination. United Nations Security Document Number S/2008/60. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2008/60. *[Last accessed 25 July 2016]*.

[95] Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*, pp.73-74..

ministers. (3) The participants agreed to hold parliamentary elections in 2009 on the basis of the 1960 Electoral Law with certain amendments that would include smaller voting constituencies (*Qada*) and divided Beirut into three districts. (4) Both camps agreed to refrain from using the rhetoric of treason or any derogatory language against one another to avoid any sectarian strife. (5) The parties further agreed to refrain from using weapons and violence for political gains.[96] The Lebanese-Armenian community also played a pivotal role in facilitating the Doha Agreement.[97]

The Doha Agreement of 21 May 2008, was signed by Speaker Berri, Prime Minister Siniora, Former President Ameen Gemayel, General Michel Aoun, Michel El Murr, Sa'ad El Hariri, Waleed Jumblatt, Boutros Harb, Elias Skaff, Ghassan Tueini, Muhammad El Safadi, Muhammad Ra'ad, Sameer Geagea and Hagop Pakradounian. It was witnessed by Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassem Bin Jaber Al Thani, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar, and Amr Moussa, Secretary General of the League of Arab States.[98]

The UNSC issued a Presidential Statement on 22 May 2008 and congratulated *"the leaders and people of Lebanon and welcome[d] and strongly support[ed] the agreement reached in Doha on May 21 under the auspices of the Arab League, which constitute[d] an essential step towards*

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[96] For a detailed analysis of the events leading to the Doha Agreement and the direct involvement of the Arab League throughout the negotiation phase with the Lebanese factions in the Doha Agreement, see Farah Dakhlallah, "The Arab League in Lebanon: 2005-2008," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 25, Issue No. 1 (March 2012), pp.68-73. Also see Karim Knio, "Is Political Stability Sustainable in Post-'Cedar Revolution' Lebanon?" *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 13, Issue No. 3 (November 2008), pp.449-451. For a thorough analysis of the negotiation techniques utilized during the negotiation at Doha, including strategies and tactics used to arrive to a concluding agreement, please see Natalie Zufle, "The Doha Agreement for Lebanon: Analysis of a negotiation situation from Contemporary International Relations," Seminar paper, (Norderstedt-Germany: GRIN Verlag), 2009.

[97] Geukjian, "From Positive Neutrality to Partisanship," p.760.

[98] A copy of the Doha Agreement signed by the participants and its English Translation was lodged with the United Nations Security Council by Ambassador Yahia Mahmassani, the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the UN on 22 May 2008. UNSC Official Document No. S/2008/392. *[Last accessed 25 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2008/392. A copy of the English Translation as lodged with the UN may be found at Appendix 19.1 to this Volume.

the resolution of the current crisis, the return to the normal functioning of Lebanese democratic institutions, and the complete restoration of Lebanon's unity and stability." It further commended *"the efforts of the Arab League, in particular of the committee of Foreign Ministers, under the leadership of the Emir of the State of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, Qatari Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jaber Al-Thani, and Secretary-General Amr Moussa, in helping Lebanese leaders reach an agreement."*[99]

Accordingly, Speaker Berri summoned the Deputies to an ordinary session of the Parliament on 25 May 2008 to elect the new president. All 127 Deputies attended the session and elected Michel Suleiman as President with 118 votes.[100] There were six blank papers and three papers with different names. President-elect Suleiman took the Oath of Office on the same day.[101]

In furtherance to the provisions of the Doha Agreement, Prime Minister Siniora resigned to pave the way for the appointment of a national unity government. After conducting parliamentary consultations, President Suleiman asked Fouad El Siniora to form a new government in conjunction with the Doha understandng. The consultations with different parties to come to an acceptable line up of ministers took a few months. President Suleiman, eventually issued Decree No. 17 and officially appointed Fouad El Siniora to form a new Cabinet.[102] Prime Minister Siniora formed a 30-member government with the appointment of two Lebanese-Armenian ministers: Jean Ogassapian became a Minister of State whereas Alain Tabourian was entrusted with the portfolio of Minister of Water and Power.

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[99] UNSC Presidential Statement dated 22 May 2008 concerning the Doha Agreement. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/PRST/2008/17. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2008/17. *[Last accessed 25 July 2016]*.

[100] Assassinated Deputy Antoine Ghanem was not replaced, rendering the total number of Deputies 127. *Official Minutes (2008)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 25 May 2008.

[101] For President Michel Sleiman's inaugural speech, see, *Official Minutes (2008)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 25 May 2008.

[102] Decree No. 17 dated 11 July 2008 signed by President Michel Suleiman appointing Fouad El Siniora to form a new government. *Official Gazette (2008)*, Issue No. 29, 17 July 2008, p.3037.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Michel Suleiman		
Cabinet of 11 July 2008[103]		
1.	Fouad El Siniora	Prime Minister
2.	Issam Abu Jamra	Deputy Prime Minister
3.	Elias El Murr	Minister of Defense
4.	Talal Arslan	Minister of Youth & Sports
5.	Ghazi Ze'ayter	Minister of Industry
6.	Ghazi El Araidi	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
7.	Ali Qanso	Minister of State
8.	Elias Skaff	Minister of Agriculture
9.	Muhammad Jawad Khalifeh	Minister of Public Health
10.	Alain Tabourian	Minister of Water & Power
11.	Khaled Qabbani	Minister of State
12.	Tareq Metri	Minister of Information
13.	Muhammad El Safadi	Minister of Economy & Commerce
14.	Muhammad Fneish	Minister of Labor
15.	Jean Ogassapian	Minister of State
16.	Fawzi Salloukh	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates
17.	Bahiyeh El Hariri	Minister of Education and Higher Learning
18.	Wa'el Abu Fa'our	Minister of State
19.	Naseeb Lahoud	Minister of State
20.	Tammam Salam	Minister of Culture
21.	Raymond Audi	Minister of Displaced
22.	Youssef Taqla	Minister of State
23.	Ibrahim Najjar	Minister of Justice
24.	Muhammad Shateh	Minister of Finance
25.	Mario Aoun	Minister of Social Affairs
26.	Antoine Karam	Minister of Environment
27.	Ibrahim Shamsedeen	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
28.	Elie Marouni	Minister of Tourism
29.	Ziad Baroud	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
30.	Gebran Baseel	Minister of Telecommunications

Table 21.7 – Cabinet Members of P.M. Fouad El Seniora's Government (11 July 2008)

Prime Minister El Siniora presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 21st Parliament on 8 August 2008 and received 100 votes of confidence against five votes of no confidence – cast by Deputies Beheej Tabbara, Solange Tutunji Gemayel, Ossama Sa'ad, Muhammad

[103]Decree No. 18 dated 11 July 2008 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (2008)*, Issue No. 29, 17 July 2008, pp.3037-3039.

Kabbara and Atef Mejdalani. Deputies Ghassan Tueini and Elias Atallah abstained. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Yeghia Jeredjian, Hagop Kassardjian, Jean Ogassapian, Serge Toursarkissian, Hagop Pakradounian and George Kassarji cast votes of confidence.

Hagop Pakradounian, however, delivered a speech before casting his vote of confidence wherein, in pertinent parts, stated:

> "After painful suffering, and faced with the threat of a civil war and the fear of the collapse of the state, it was marvelous to return to the conscience and responsibility and the conviction to accept the other and desist from eliminating the other side and use dialogue as the only means to resolve the domestic problems in Lebanon.
>
> "Now that we have a consensus President and a national unity government and a new electoral law very soon, as stipulated by the Doha Agreement, here lies the most important question: Did we need three years and the blood of the martyrs and the collapse of the economy, and increased number the youth of Lebanon migrating, and widening the gap between the sons of the same homeland through foreign interventions, not necessarily to help Lebanon, but to satisfy the interests of those countries? Did we need all these things to get to the conclusion that dialogue is the most importance pillar for a national unity government?
>
> "It is our wish that this government succeeds even for a short period. It is our wish that the experience of having national unity be successful… the people are fed up from promises and personal conflicts, and political rhetoric, and with corruption and government waste.
>
> "The ministerial statement of this government is tailored to produce a perfect homeland, for which we all fight for. A homeland where people give loyal allegiance to Lebanon only and not to religious confessions or specific regions, where citizenship is an honor and not a burden.
>
> "The citizens are expecting a lot from this government – the government of partnership, the government of all of Lebanon. Based on these convictions, let us give hope to the citizens, in order to mend what was destroyed over the past years, so that we have the answer to the

> question that future generations may pose of 'What did you do for Lebanon?'"[104] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

During the same session, Serge Toursarkissian interrupted Deputy Ghassan Moukheiber's speech by saying that the issues that Moukheiber was addressing were in fact covered at the Ta'ef Conference. Speaker Berri, however, reprimanded Toursarkissian saying that no one had asked for Toursarkissian's opinion. Nevertheless, Toursarkissian kept interjecting during another Deputy's speech – namely Saleem Aoun's, who demanded that Toursarkissian not to interrupt.[105] Toursarkissian was further reprimanded by the Speaker in subsequent meetings because of his unwanted intrusions into the speeches of other Deputies.[106]

In accordance with the provisions of the Doha Agreement, the 21st Parliament convened on 27 September 2008 in an extraordinary session to consider a draft legislative election law. After long deliberations, the Chamber of Deputies adopted a revised version of the 1960 Electoral Law dividing the City of Beirut into three districts and having the smaller *Qada* as the electoral districts. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Kassardjian, Ogassapian, Toursarkissian, Pakradounian and Kassarji voted in favor of the new law.[107] President Michel Suleiman signed the new Electoral Law into law on 8 October 2008.[108]

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[104] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Hagop Pakradounian's speech during the deliberations on the ministerial statement of PM Fouad El Siniora's "National Unity Government" on 8 August 2008, see Appendix 12.2. *Official Minutes (2008)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 8 August 2008.

[105] *Official Minutes (2008)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 8 August 2008.

[106] See *Official Minutes (2008)*: 5th Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 16 December 2008. In another session, Speaker Nabih Berri scolded Toursarkissian by telling him that Toursarkissian was not the one who presided over the parliamentary meetings, therefore he should not interrupt any colleague. *Official Minutes (2009)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 19 February 2009.

[107] *Official Minutes (2008)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 27 September 2008.

[108] Law No. 25 for Legislative Election Law dated 8 October 2008 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora. *Official Gazette (2008)*, Issue No. 41, 9 October 2009, pp.3917-3950.

Articles 11 to 23 of the new Law No. 25 of 8 October 2008 (Legislative Election Law) stipulated that an "Oversight Authority for Election Campaign" be formed which would have the authority to monitor all aspects of the election campaign, including media coverages and campaign expenditures. Accordingly, the Siniora government issued Decree No. 1044 and established the Oversight Authority with the membership of the following individuals: Ghassan Abu Alwan, Chairman, Iskandar Fayyad, Deputy Chairman, and the memberships of Hanifa Sabra, Saleem El Osta, George Mourani, Imad Basheer, Pierre Azar, Khalil Jabbara, Arda Ekmekji and Atallah Ghasham.[109] A week later, the government issued Decree No. 1116 and called for legislative elections to be held on 7 June 2009.[110]

Before the next legislative elections, the 21st Parliament held only two extraordinary and two ordinary meetings in 2009. Upon a decree issued by President Suleiman, the Parliament convened in an extraordinary session on 17 January 2009[111] to host UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, who delivered a speech before the MPs on the political and security conditions in the Middle East, in general, and the Israeli aggression on Gaza, Palestine, in particular.[112] The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Kassardjian, Toursarkissian, Pakradounian and Kassarji were present. Jean Ogassapian and Alain Tabourian were also present in their capacities as ministers.

In its 19 March 2009 ordinary meeting, the 21st Parliament considered and debated over a proposed law amending Article 21 of the Lebanese Constitution lowering the voting age to 18.[113] After a heated

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[109] Decree No. 1044 dated 23 December 2008 signed by President Michel Suleiman, Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora and Minister of Interior Ziad Baroud establishing the Oversight Authority for Election Campaign. *Official Gazette (2009)*, Issue No. 1, 1 January 2009, p.31.

[110] Decree No. 1116 dated 31 December 2008 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora calling for legislative election to be held on 7 June 2009. *Official Gazette (2009)*, Issue No. 2, 8 January 2009, pp.157-158.

[111] Decree No. 1209 dated 13 January 2009 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora calling for an extraordinary session of the Parliament. *Official Gazette (2009)*, Issue No. 3, 15 January 2009, p.219.

[112] *Official Minutes (2009)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 17 January 2009.

[113] Article 21 of the Lebanese Constitution states: "Every Lebanese citizen who has completed his twenty-first year is an elector provided he fulfills the conditions stated by the electoral law." Please see, the *Official Website of the Presidency*. *[Last accessed 27 July 2016].*

debate, the measure was adopted and forwarded to the Executive Branch for further consideration. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jeredjian, Ogassapian, Kassardjian, Tourisarkissian, Pakradounian and Kassarji voted in favor of the measure.[114] However, the government was not able to act upon it within the time frame left for the 21st Parliament and the voting age remained at 21.

The last day of the 21st parliament was on 7 April 2009.[115]

http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf.

[114] The co-signatories to the proposed draft constitutional amendment for Article 21 lowering the voting age to 18 were: Hasan Fadlallah, Wa'el Abu Fa'our, Mustafa Ali Hussein, Abdullah Farhat, Nader Sukkar, Abdullah Hanna, Ossama Sa'ad, Ibrahim Kena'an, Ghassan Moukheiber and Ismail Sukkarieh. *Official Minutes (2009)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 19 March 2009.

[115] *Official Minutes (2009)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 7 April 2009.

		PM Fouad El Siniora 28 Jul 05[116]	PM Fouad El Siniora 08 Aug 08[117]
1.	Yeghia Jeredjian	√	√
2.	Jean Ogassapian	√[118]	√[119]
3.	Hagop Kassardjian	√	√
4.	Serge Toursarkissian	√	√
5.	Hagop Pakradounian	X	√
6.	George Kassarji	X	√
√ -Confidence Vote; X -No Confidence Vote; A -Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR –No Voting Record			

Table 21.8 - Governments during the 21st Lebanese Parliament (2005-09)

[116] Decree No. 14953 dated 19 July 2005 signed by President Emile Lahoud and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora appointing the ministers. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 20 Supplement, 20 July 2005, pp.3-4. PM Siniora presented his Government's ministerial statement to the 21st Parliament on 28 July 2005 and received 92 confidence votes against 15 no-confidence votes with 2 abstentions. The following deputies cast no-confidence votes: Hagop Pakradounian, George Kassarji, Ghassan Moukheiber, Na'ametullah Abi Nasr, Ibrahim Kena'an, Saleem Aoun, Fareed El Khazen, Shamel Mozaya, Abbas Hashem, Waleed Khoury, Youssef Khalil, Saleem Salhab, Assem Araji, Camille El Ma'alouf and Elie Skaff. Deputies Hasan Yacoub and Ossama Sa'ad abstained from voting. The following deputies did not attend the deliberations on the ministerial statement: Sa'ad El Hariri, Michel Aoun, Edgar Ma'alouf, Waleed Jumblatt, Elias Attallah, and Nader Sukkar. Those who were excused from attending were: Hussein El Husseini, Muhammad El Hajjar, Nabeel Nicola, Basem El Saba'a, Sethrida Tawq Geagea, Asa'ad Hardan and Ali Hasan Khalil. *Official Minutes (2005)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 30 July 2005.

[117] Decree No. 18 dated 11 July 2008 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Fouad El Seniora appointing ministers. *Official Gazette (2008)*, Issue No. 29, 17 July 2008, pp.3037-3039. Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora presented his new Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 21st Parliament on 8 August 2008 and received 100 confidence votes against 5 no-confidence votes cast by Deputies Beheej Tabbara, Solange Tutunji Gemayel, Ossama Sa'ad, Muhammad Kabbara and Atef Mejdalani. Deputies Ghassan Tueini and Elias Atallah abstained from voting. *Official Minutes (2008)*: 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 8 August 2008.

[118] Jean Ogassapian was appointed as Minister of State in Prime Minister Fouad El Senior's 69th Lebanese Government pursuant to Decree Number 14953 dated 19 July 2005 and signed by president Emile Lahoud. *Official Gazette (2005)*, Issue No. 20 Supplement, 20 July 2005, pp.3-4.

[119] Jean Ogassapian was appointed as Minister of State and Alain Tabourian was appointed as Minister of Water & Power in Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora's 70th Lebanese Government pursuant to Decree No. 18 dated 11 July 2008 signed by President Michel Suleiman. *Official Gazette (2008)*, Issue No. 29, 17 July 2008, pp.3037-3039.

The 22nd Lebanese Parliament

(2009-17)

The elections for the 22nd Parliament took place pursuant to Law No. 28 of 8 October 2008, which was previously adopted by the 21st Parliament in conjunction with the Doha Agreement.[1] The new Election Law stipulated that Beirut be divided into three districts and the *Qada* be the electoral district in the rest of the Lebanese territories. Accordingly, the legislative elections took place on 7 June 2009 pursuant to Decree No. 1116 that President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora issued on 13 December 2008.[2]

The Lebanese-Armenian community engaged itself in the pre-election campaign, encumbered upon the provisions of the Doha

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[1] Law No. 25 for Legislative Election Law dated 8 October 2008 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora. *Official Gazette of the Lebanese Republic (2008)*, Issue No. 41, 9 October 2009, pp.3917-3950.

[2] Decree No. 1116 dated 31 December 2008 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora calling for legislative elections to be held on 7 June 2009. *Official Gazette (2009)*, Issue No. 2, 8 January 2009, pp.157-158.

Agreement, wherein, the signatory parties, including the Lebanese-Armenians had agreed that the two seats allocated to the Orthodox Armenians in Beirut's 3rd District be shared by the 8 March and 14 March coalitions.[3] However, Sebouh Kalpakian (Armenian Orthodox) and Arthur Nazarian (Armenian Orthodox) where declared the winners for the seats before Election Day as there were no other candidates. Kalpakian represented the Hunchak Party that was aligned with the 14 March alliance, whereas Nazarian represented the Tashnak Party, one of the members of the 8 March coalition.[4] The incumbents Jean Ogassapian (Armenian, Orthodox) and Serge Toursarkissian (Armenian Catholic) were elected from Beirut's 1st District and Hagop Pakradounian (Armenian Orthodox) from the El Metn District, whereas Shant Chinchinian (Armenian Orthodox) was elected from the Zahle District.[5]

	Name of Deputy	Sect	District
1	Jean Ogassapian	Armenian Orthodox	Beirut 1st District
2	Serge Toursarkissian	Armenian Catholic	Beirut 1st District
3	Arthur Nazarian	Armenian Orthodox	Beirut 3rd District
4	Sebouh Kalpakian	Armenian Orthodox	Beirut 3rd District
5	Hagop Pakradounian	Armenian Orthodox	El Metn District
6	Shant Chinchinian	Armenian Orthodox	Zahle District

Table 22.1 – Names of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 22nd Lebanese Parliament (2009-17)

In general, the 2009 legislative elections gave the 14 March group a slight majority, and thus some little control, in parliament securing 71

[3] For a narrative of the pre-election campaign within the Lebanese Armenian Community in 2009, please see Zaven Messerlian, *Armenian Participation in the Lebanese Legislative Elections*, (Beirut: Haigazian University Press, 2014), pp.450-501.

[4] Jean Ogassaian represented the Future Movement, Sebouh Kalpakian and Serge Toursarkissian represented the Hunchak Party whereas Arthur Nazarian and Hagop Pakradounian represented the Tashnak Party and Shant Chinchinian represented the Lebanese Forces. For a detailed account on the Lebanese-Armenians taking sides in the Lebanese electoral politics in 2009, please see, Ohannes Geukjian, "From Positive Neutrality to Partisanship: How and Why the Armenian Political Parties Took Sides in Lebanese Politics in the Post-Taif Period (1989-Present)," *Middle East Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 5 (September 2009), pp.760-764.

[5] Official announcement of the election results. See *Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2009)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 25 June 2009.

128	Names of the Elected Deputies of the 22nd Lebanese Parliament (2009-17)
Beirut 1st Distr.	Nadeem Gemayel (Maronite); Michel Pharaon (Roman Catholic); Nayla Gebran Tueini (Roman Orthodox); Serge Toursarkissian (Armenian Catholic) and Jean Ogassapian (Armenian Orthodox).
Beirut 2nd Distr.	Nouhad El Mashnouq (Sunni); Hani Qubeisi (Shia); Arthur Nazarian (Armenian Orthodox) and Sebouh Kalpakian (Armenian Orthodox).
Beirut 3rd Distr.	Sa'ad El Hariri (Sunni); Tammam Salam (Sunni); Muhammad Qabbani (Sunni); Ammar El Houry (Sunni); Imad El Hout (Sunni); Ghazi Youssef (Shia); Ghazi El Araidi (Druze); Atef Majdalani (Roman Orth.); Basem El Shab (Protestant) and Nabeel de Freij (Minorities).
Jbeil	Abbas Hashem (Shia); Waleed El Khoury (Maronite); and Simon Abi Ramia (Maronite).
Keserwan	Michel Aoun (Maronite); Fareed Elias El Khazen (Maronite); Youssef El Ma'arouf Khalil (Maronite); Na'matullah Abi Nasr (Maronite) and Gilberte Maurice Zuwein (Maronite).
El Metn	Ibrahim Kena'an (Maronite); Saleem Salhab (Maronite); Nabeel Nicola (Maronite); Sami Ameen Gemayel (Maronite); Edgar Ma'alouf (Roman Cath.); Michel El Murr (Roman Orth.); Ghassan Moukheiber (Roman Orth.) and Hagop Pakradounian (Arm. Orth.).
Ba'abda	Ali Ammar (Shia); Bilal Farhat (Shia); Fadi El A'war (Druze); Hekmat Deeb (Maronite); Alain Aoun (Maronite) and Naji Gharios (Maronite).
Aley	Akram Sheheyyeb (Druze); Talal Arslan (Druze); Henri Helou (Maronite); Fouad El Sa'ad (Maronite) and Fadi El Habr (Roman Orthodox).
El Chouf	Muhammad El Hajjar (Sunni); Ala'edeen Terro (Sunni); Waleed Jumblatt (Druze); Marwan Hamadeh (Druze); Dori Chamoun (Maronite); Elie Aoun (Maronite); George Adwan (Maronite) and Na'ameh Youssef Tohme (Roman Catholic).
Akkar	Khaled El Daher (Sunni); Khaled Zaherman (Sunni); Mou'een El Mera'abi (Sunni); Hadi Hbeish (Maronite); Riad Rahhal (Roman Orth.); Nidal Tohme (Roman Orth.) Khoder Habib (Alawite)
Denniyeh	Qasem Ali Abdul Aziz (Sunni); Ahmad Fatfat (Sunni) and Hashem Alamedeen* (Sunni) replaced by Kazem Saleh Kheir (Sunni).
Besherri	Sethrida Tawq Geagea (Maronite) and Elie Keiruz (Maronite).
Tripoli	Muhammad El Safadi (Sunni); Najeeb Miqati (Sunni); Muhammad Kabbara (Sunni); Sameer El Jisr (Sunni); Ahmad Mustafa Karami (Sunni); Samer George Sa'adeh (Maronite); Robert Maurice Fadel (Roman Orthodox) and Badr Wannous (Alawite).
El Meniyeh	Hashem Alamedeen (Sunni).
Zghorta	Suleiman Franjieh (Maronite); Estefan El Doueihi (Maronite); Saleem Karam (Maronite).
El Batroun	Boutros Harb Maronite) and Antoine Zahra (Maronite).
El Koura	Fareed Makari (Roman Orthodox); Fareed Habib* (Roman Orthodox) replaced by Fadi Karam (Roman Orthodox) and Nicola Ghossen (Roman Orthodox).
Saida	Bahiyeh El Hariri (Sunni); Fouad El Siniora (Sunni) and Ossama Ma'arouf Sa'ad (Sunni).
Saida Subs	Nabih Berri (Shia); Ali Adel Osseiran (Shia) and Michel Hanna Mousa (Roman Catholic).
Soor	Abdul Majeed Saleh (Shia); Muhammad Fneish (Shia); Nawwar El Mousawi (Shia); Ali Youssef Khreis (Shia).
Bent Jbeil	Hasan Fadlallah (Shia); Ali Ahmad Bazzi (Shia) and Ayoub Fahd Humayed (Shia).
Nabatiyyeh	Muhammad Ra'ad (Shia); Yaseen Jaber (Shia) and Abdul Lateef Youssef El Zein (Shia).
Marja'oun	Qassem Omar Hashem (Sunni); Anwar Muhammad El Khalil (Druze); Ali Rasheed Fayyad (Shia); Ali Hasan Khalil (Shia) and Asa'ad Hardan (Roman Orthodox).
Jezzine	Ziad Aswad (Maronite); Michel El Helou* (Maronite) and Issam Sawaya (Roman Catholic).
Ba'albeck Hermel	Kamel Muhammad El Rifae (Sunni); El Waleed Muhammad Sukkariyeh (Sunni); Ali El Meqdad (Shia); Nawwar El Sahili (Shia); Hussein Ali El Hajj Hasan (Shia); Ghazi Ze'ayter (Shia); Hussein El Mousawi (Shia); Assem Qanso (Shia); Emile Rahme (Maronite) and Marwan Fares (Roman Catholic).
Zahle	Assem Araiji (Sunni); Oqab Sakr (Shia); Elie Marouni (Maronite); Toni Abu Khater (Roman Cath.); Nicola Fattoush (Roman Cath.); Joseph Anis Ma'arouf (Roman Orth.); Shant Chinchinian (Armenian Orthodox).
Rashaya W. Beka'a	Ziad El Qadiri (Sunni); Jamal El Jarrah (Sunni); Ameen Wahbi (Shia); Wa'el Abu Fa'our (Druze); Robert Iskendar Ghanem (Maronite); Antoine Nicola Sa'ad (Roman Orthodox).

Table 22.2 – Names of the Elected Deputies of the 22nd Lebanese Parliament

seats out of the 128. The majority, however, was bound by the Doha Agreement to form a national unity government.[6]

The first meeting of the 22nd Parliament was held on 25 June 2009 with the eldest Deputy, Abdul Lateef El Zein (Shia, Nabatiyyeh), acting as the Speaker *pro tempore* presiding over the election of the Speaker for the entire term of the 22nd Parliament. Nabih Berri (Shia, Saida-Suburbs) was elected as Speaker with 90 votes. Deputy Abbas Hashem (Shia, Jbeil) received three votes, whereas Deputies Oqab Sakr (Shia, Zahle) and Ghazi Youssef (Shia, Beirut 3rd) received one vote each. A vote was cast in the memory of the late Former Speaker Sabri Hamadeh (Shia, Ba'albeck) and there were 28 blank papers with 3 cancelled ones.[7] On the same day, Deputy Fareed Makari (Roman Orthodox, El Koura) was elected as the Deputy Speaker for the duration of the 22nd Parliament.

	2009-13			
Speaker	Nebih Berri			
Deputy Speaker	Fareed Makari			
	2009-10[8]	**2010-11[9]**	**2011-12[10]**	**2012-13[11]**
The Secretariat	Marwan Hamadeh Antoine Zahra	Marwan Hamadeh Antoine Zahra	Marwan Hamadeh Antoine Zahra	Marwan Hamadeh Antoine Zahra
Commissioners	S. Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Ahmad Fatfat	S. Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Ahmad Fatfat	S. Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Ahmad Fatfat	S. Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Ahmad Fatfat

Table 22.3 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau

[6] For a thorough analysis of the 2009 legislative election results, please see Muhammad Murad, *El Intikhabat El Niyabiyeh Fi Lubnan: 1920-2009, [Arabic: The Legislative Elections in Lebanon: 1920-2009]*, (Beirut: Manshourat El Jama'a El Lubnaniyeh 'Lebanese University Publications', 2013), pp.384-426. For an overview of the shortcomings during the 2009 elections, please see, Daniel Corstange, "Vote Trafficking in Lebanon," *International Journal of the Middle East Studies*, Volume 44 (2012), pp.483-505. See also, Imad Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), p.79.

[7] All elected Deputies were present during the 1st Meeting of the 22nd Parliament with only Riad Rahhal being absent (excused). *Official Minutes (2009)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 25 June 2009.

[8] *Official Minutes (2009)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 20 October 2009.

[9] *Official Minutes (2010)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 19 October 2010.

[10] *Official Minutes (2011)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 18 October 2011.

[11] *Official Minutes (2012)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 16 October 2012.

In its 20 October 2009 meeting, the 22nd Parliament elected Deputies Marwan Hamadeh (Druze, El Chouf) and Antoine Zahra (Maronite, El Batroun) as Secretaries while Deputies Serge Toursarkissian (Armenian Catholic, Beirut 1st), Michel Mousa (Roman Catholic, Saida) and Ahmad Fatfat (Sunni, El Denniyeh) were elected as Commissioners at the Speaker's Bureau.[12]

As soon as Parliament elected the members of the Speaker's Bureau, Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora presented his Cabinet's resignation to pave the way to form a new national unity government as stipulated in the Doha Agreement. President Michel Suleiman asked Siniora's Government to continue overseeing the day-to-day activities of the country in a care-taking capacity until a new prime minister was officially designated. After consultations with parliamentary colleagues, President Suleiman named Sa'ad El Hariri to form a new coalition government on 28 June 2009.[13]

It took five months for Prime Minister designee Sa'ad El Hariri to form a government. In the meantime, tensions re-surfaced between the 8 March and the 14 March groups leading to the postponement of two consecutive parliamentary meetings on 27 October and 5 November 2009 respectively, for lack of a quorum, as the 22nd Parliament was trying to elect members to the standing committees. Eventually, elections were held on 12 November 2009 and Deputy Serge Toursarkissian was elected to Administration and Justice Committee and the Women and Children's Affairs Committee. Deputy Hagop Pakradounian became a member of the Foreign Affairs and Youth and Sports committees. Arthur Nazarian was elected to the Environment Committee as well as to the Information Technology Committee. Sebouh Kalpakian became a member of the National Economy, Commerce and Industry as well as the Displaced Affairs committees. Shant Chinchinian was elected as member of the Displaced Affairs Committee and became its Chairman.[14] Chinchinian signed and presented a report on Displaced Affairs to the Parliament on

[12] *Official Minutes (2009)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 20 October 2009.

[13] Jeffrey Fleishman, "In Lebanon, Saad Hariri assumes prime minister's post," *Los Angeles Times*, 28 June 2009. *[Last accessed 1 August 2016]*. http://articles.latimes.com/2009/jun/28/world/fg-lebanon-hariri28.

[14] *Official Minutes (2009)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 12 November 2009.

15 June 2010.[15] Jean Ogassapian did not participate in any committees in 2009-10 as he was appointed a minister.

			2009-10[16]	2010-11[17]	2011-12[18]	2012-13[19]
1	Budget/Finance	17	None	None	None	None
2	Admin & Justice	17	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian
3	Foreign Affairs	17	Pakradounian	Pakradounian	Pakradounian	Pakradounian
4	Public Works/Tr	17	None	None	None	None
5	Nat'l Educ. Com.	12	None	None	None	None
6	Public Health	12	None	None	None	None
7	Nat'l Defense	17	None	None	None	None
8	Displaced Affairs Comnmittee	12	Chinchinian* Kalpakian	Chinchinian* Kalpakian	Chinchinian* Kalpakian	Chinchinian* Kalpakian
9	Agr. & Tourism	12	None	None	None	None
10	Environment	12	Nazarian	Nazarian	Nazarian	Nazarian Chinchinian
11	Nat'l Econ., Commerce and Industry Committee	12	Nazarian Kalpakian	Nazarian Kalpakian Ogassapian	Nazarian Kalpakian Ogassapian	Nazarian Kalpakian Ogassapian Pakradounian
12	Info./Telecom	12	None	None	None	Ogassapian
13	Youth & Sports	12	Pakradounian	Pakradounian	Pakradounian	None
14	Human Rights	12	None	None	None	None
15	Women & Children Affairs	12	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian Chinchinian	Toursarkissian Chinchinian
16	IT Committee	9	Nazarian	Nazarian	Nazarian	Nazarian
			* Committee Chairman			

Table 22.4 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 22nd Lebanese Parliament (2009-13)

[15] Official Report of the Committee for the Displaced Affairs dated 9 March 2010 signed and presented by Shant Chinchinian amending a proposed law to allow the displaced citizens to fix/build in a structure that was not up to code. *Official Minutes (2010)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 15 June 2010.

[16] The session on 27 October 2009 to elect the members of the standing committees was not held for lack of quorum and was postponed to 5 November 2009. It was not held for lack of quorum either and was postponed 12 November 2009. *Official Minutes (2009)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 12 November 2009.

[17] *Official Minutes (2010)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 19 October 2010.

[18] *Official Minutes (2011)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 18 October 2011.

[19] *Official Minutes (2012)*: 1st meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 16 October 2012.

Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri formed a 30-member government and appointed Jean Ogassapian as Minister of State and Abraham Dedeyan as Minister of Industry,[20] and presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 22nd Parliament on 8 December 2009. After speeches given by 66 Deputies over three days, El Hariri's government received 121 votes of confidence against only one vote of no confidence cast by Deputy Nicola Fattoush, and one abstention from Deputy Imad El Hout. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Ogassapian, Toursarkissian, Nazarian, Kalpakian, Pakradounian and Chinchinian cast votes of confidence. [21] Before casting his vote of confidence, however, Deputy Sebouh Kalpakian took to the podium and delivered a speech, wherein, in pertinent parts, he said:

> "We do not reveal a secret when we say what the people want from this government: Firstly, the maintenance of peace and stability, and secondly the improvement in their economic and social affairs. People want to go to work in the morning and be assured that they will return home in the evening safely. In these turbulent political and security conditions, where tensions are escalated by the political rhetoric engaged in on the streets, I hope that this government brings together all the parties, including the opposition and the pro-government forces, in order to ease the tense political atmosphere in the country.
>
> "Yes, the people care about a defense strategy, but it does not constitute a priority in their daily lives. In this regard, it is important to note that there isn't anyone in Lebanon today that does not consider Israel as an enemy. There is a basic consensus that everyone wants to liberate every inch of Lebanese land. The difference, however, is to do so through diplomacy. We do not see a

[20] Jean Ogassapian was appointed as Minister of State in Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri's 71st Lebanese Government pursuant to Decree No. 2839 dated 9 November 2009 and signed by President Michel Suleiman. The same Decree appointed Abraham Dedeyan as the Minister of Industry. *Official Gazette (2009)*, Issue No. 53, 12 November 2009, pp.6123-6125.

[21] Sa'ad El Hariri's government received 121 votes of confidence against only 1 vote of no confidence cast by Deputy Nicola Fattoush and one abstention by Deputy Imad El Hout. Deputy Dori Chamoun was absent while Deputy Talal Arslan did not participate in the voting. Deputies Hashem Alamedeen, Hasan Fadlallah and Nabeel Nicola were excused from attending. *Official Minutes (2009)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 8 December 2009.

contradiction in that the President of the Republic, in his infinite wisdom, wants to put this issue on the table of national dialogue to be discussed quietly and with national responsibility.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Michel Suleiman		
Cabinet of 9 November 2009[22]		
1.	Sa'ad El Hariri	Prime Minister
2.	Elias El Murr	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Defense
3.	Boutros Harb	Minister of Labor
4.	Akram Sheheyyeb	Minister of Displaced Affairs
5.	Ghazi El Araidi	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
6.	Michel Pharaon	Minister of State for Parliamentary Issues
7.	Ali Hussein Abdullah	Minister of Youth & Sports
8.	Adnan El Qassar	Minister of State
9.	Muhammad Jawad Khalifeh	Minister of Public Health
10.	Tareq Metri	Minister of Information
11.	Muhammad El Safadi	Minister of Economy and Commerce
12.	Muhammad Fneish	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
13.	Jean Ogassapian	Minister of State
14.	Wa'el Abu Fa'our	Minister of State
15.	Ibrahim Najjar	Minister of Justice
16.	Ziad Baroud	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
17.	Gebran Baseel	Minister of Water and Power
18.	Hussein El Hajj Hasan	Minister of Agriculture
19.	Abraham Dedeyan	Minister of Industry
20.	Mona Afeish	Minister of State
21.	Ali Hussein El Shami	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates
22.	Hasan Menaymeh	Minister of Education and Higher Learning
23.	Adnan El Sayyed Hussein	Minister of State
24.	Charbel Nahhas	Minister of Telecommunications
25.	Fadi Abboud	Minister of Tourism
26.	Saleem Sayegh	Minister of Social Affairs
27.	Raya Haffar	Minister of Finance
28.	Youssef Sa'adeh	Minister of State
29.	Saleem Warde	Minister of Culture
30.	Muhammad Rahhal	Minister of Environment

Table 22.5 – Cabinet Members of PM Sa'ad El Hariri's Government (9 November 2009)

[22] Decree No. 2839 dated 9 November 2009 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri appointing ministers. *Official Gazette (2009),* Issue No. 53, 12 November 2009, pp.6123-6125.

> "I would like to draw your attention to the need to take into consideration the results of the parliamentary elections to reflect the actual representation around the national dialogue table, particularly Armenian issues.
>
> "As to the issue of privatization, I represent a 122-year-old democratic socialist party *[Hunchak]* that has a doctrine that is in opposition with the concept of privatization. By the same token, however, we vehemently oppose any waste and corruption in the public sector."[23] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Deputy Toursarkissian kept interjecting a few times during the speeches given by other Deputies as they deliberated over El Hariri's ministerial statement. Speaker Berri reprimanded Toursarkissian when he interrupted Deputy Khaled Zaherman's speech on the second day of deliberations. Later on, an argument ensued between Nicola Fattoush and Toursarkissian, as the latter interrupted Fattoush a few times as Fattoush was delivering a long speech criticizing the policies in El Hariri's ministerial statement. Toursarkissian demanded the Speaker to omit certain allegations made by Fattoush on the record against the 14 March coalition, whereas Fattoush demanded Toursarkissian to "shut up". Speaker Berri immediately interjected and reprimanded the Deputies and asserted that only the Speaker knew what to omit or not to omit from the record. However, Toursarkissian continued to argue with Fattoush, and the latter demanded that Toursarkissian leave the meeting hall immediately. Speaker Berri admonished both Deputies again by stressing that the Speaker was the one who managed the meeting and did not need anyone to provide him with advice on how to do it. During the same deliberation, Speaker Berri claimed that it was "easier to milk a bird than to shut Serge *[Toursarkissian]* up…," an Arabic proverb, indicating the impossibility of achieving something.[24]

With the high number of confidence votes that Sa'ad El Hariri's National Unity Government received, the intensity of communal violence dropped and no assassinations took place in 2010. However, tensions

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[23] For the full Arabic text of Deputy Sebouh Kalpakian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement presented by Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri on 8 December 2009, please see Appendix 13.1. *Official Minutes (2009)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 8 December 2009.

[24] *Official Minutes (2009)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 9 December 2009.

between the constituents of the 8 March and 14 March coalitions continued throughout the year. All factions seemed to be committed to the Doha Agreement, and El Hariri tried to improve his relationships with Hezbullah and Syria.[25]

In its 22 February 2010 meeting, the 22nd Parliament considered a proposal by the Government to amend Article 21 of the Lebanese Constitution reducing the voting age to 18. The measure had been sent to the Government by the previous Parliament, when it adopted proposal submitted by some Deputies.[26] After a long and heated debate, wherein Toursarkissian had an argument with Deputy Ali Ammar, the measure was put to vote. Thirty-four Deputies voted in favor of the amendment, whereas sixty-six others abstained. Only Toursarkissian voted against the measure.[27] The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Sebouh Kalpakian, Arthur Nazarian, Jean Ogassapian and Shant Chinchinian abstained from voting on the Constitutional Amendment. Hagop Pakradounian was absent. The measure was not carried and the voting age remained 21.[28]

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[25] Marwan George Rowayheb, "Political Change and the Outbreak of Civil War: The Case of Lebanon," *Civil Wars*, Volume 13, Issue No. 4 (December 2011), pp.429-430.

[26] *Official Minutes (2009)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 19 March 2009.

[27] The Deputies who voted in favor of amending Article 21 of the Lebanese Constitution reducing the voting age to 18 were: Ali Osseiran, Ala'edeen Terro, Wa'el Abu Fa'our, Kamel El Rifae, Nicholas Fattoush, Ali Ammar, Bilal Farhat, El Waleed Sukkariyeh, Hasan Fadlallah, Nawwar El Sahili, Ali El Miqdad, Muhammad Fneish, Muhammad Ra'ad, Michel Mousa, Qasem Abdul Aziz, Imad El Hout, Hani Qubeis, Marwan Fares, Assem Qanso, Asa'ad Hardan, Anwar El Khalil, Abdul Lateef El Zein, Ali Khreis, Ali Bazzi, Ayyoub Humayyed, Najeeb Miqati, Ahmed Karami, Ali Hasan Khalil, Ghazi Ze'ayter, Qasem Hashem, Abdul Majeed Saleh, Muhammad El Safadi, Yaseen Jaber and Nabih Berri. 19 other deputies were absent from the meeting, including: Hagop Pakradounian, Saleem Salhab, Talal Arslan, Ghassan Moukheiber, Michel El Murr, Na'ameh Tohme, Waleed Jumblatt, Sethrida Tawq Geagea, Suleiman Franjieh, Nawwar El Musawi, Elie Marouni, and Hussein El Mousawi. Those who were excused were: Ziad El Qadiri, Elie Keiruz, Waleed Khoury, Joseph El Ma'alouf, Nayla Tueini, Robert Fadel, Ali Fayyad. *Official Minutes (2010)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 22 February 2010.

[28] Deputies Ogassapian and Toursarkissian (and Pakradounian) had voted in favor of the amendment to the Article 21 during the previous Parliament a year ago. See *Official Minutes (2009)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 19 March 2009.

On the same day (22 February 2010), in accordance with Article 80 of the Lebanese Constitution, the 22nd Parliament elected its members to the Supreme Council that had jurisdiction over trying and sentencing state presidents and ministers.[29] Deputy Kalpakian was elected as one of the seven members.[30] The Deputies elected to the Supreme Council took the oath on 15 June 2010.[31]

	Elected Deputies to the Supreme Council (2009-Current)		
	Name of Deputy	**Sect**	**District**
1.	Ibrahim Kena'an	Maronite	El Metn
2.	Nicola Fattoush	Roman Catholic	Zahle
3.	Sameer El Jisr	Sunni	Tripoli
4.	Ghazi Ze'ayter	Shia	Ba'albeck/Hermel
5.	Nicola Ghossen	Roman Orthodox	El Koura
6.	Hadi Hbeish	Maronite	Akkar
7.	Sebouh Kalpakian	Armenian Orthodox	Beirut 2nd District
a.	Marwan Hamadeh (1st Substitute)	Druze	El Chouf
b.	Nayla Tueini (2nd Substitute)	Roman Orthodox	Beirut 1st District
c.	Nawwar El Sahili (3rd Substitute)	Shia	Ba'albeck/Hermel

Table 22.6 – Elected Deputies as Members to the Supreme Council (2009-Current)

[29] Article 80 of the Lebanese Constitution states: "The Supreme Council, whose function is to try Presidents and Ministers shall, consist of seven Deputies elected by the Chamber of Deputies and of eight of the highest Lebanese judges, according to their rank in the judicial hierarchy, or, in case of equal ranks, in the order of seniority. They shall meet under the presidency of the judge of the highest rank. The Decisions of condemnation by the Supreme Council shall be rendered by a majority of ten votes. A special law shall be issued to determine the procedure to be followed by this Council." http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf. *[Last accessed 27 July 2016].*

[30] *Official Minutes (2010)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 22 February 2010.

[31] All seven elected members along with the 3 substitutes took the Oath of the Office along with 8 elected and 6 substitute judges to the Supreme Council on 15 June 2010. The judges who took the oath along with the MPs were: Judge Ghaleb Ghanem, Judge Sa'eed Mirza, Judge Nadeem Abdulmalak, Judge Sami Mansour, Judge Rashed Taqqoush, Judge Elias Abu Naseef, Judge George Karam, Judge Wa'el Murtada, Judge Nabeel Mousa, Judge Marwan Karkabi, Judge Charbel Abu Samra, Judge Sameer Hummoud, Judge Hatem Madi, and Judge Anthony Issa El Khoury. *Official Minutes (2010)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 15 June 2010.

During 2010, the 22nd Parliament held three other legislative meetings during which it adopted several laws and ratified a number of agreements that the government had entered into.[32] After the summer of 2010, tensions between the 8 March and 14 March coalitions started to surface again as Prime Minister Hariri tried to endorse the workings of the special Tribunal for Lebanon, leading to a dangerous deadlock by the turn of the new year when the 8 March coalition, led by Hezbullah, demanded that the Hariri Government reconsidered its position on the international special tribunal – leading the government to eventual collapse.[33]

To seek western backing for his government, Prime Minister El Hariri travelled to Washington, D.C. in January 2011. On the same day, as El Hariri was about to meet with President Barak Obama, the 8 March ministers in Hariri's government announced their resignations, thus bringing down the government.[34]

Immediately thereafter, President Suleiman held parliamentary consultations to designate a new prime minister. The previous parliamentary majority was shaken as Deputy Waleed Jumblatt and his bloc moved away from 14 March and aligned themselves with the 8 March coalition, naming Najeeb Miqati as their candidate. Accordingly, President Suleiman asked Miqati to form a new government on 25 January 2011.[35]

Tensions between the rival political groups of 8 March and 14 March directly affected the 22nd Parliament's ability to convene its first ordinary session in March 2011. The Parliament did not convene in an extraordinary session either, as the Hariri's government remained a caretaker government until the new government was officially decreed.

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[32] *Official Minutes (2010)*: 1st, 2nd and 3rd Meetings of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 15 June, 15 July and 17 August 2010 respectively.

[33] On 13 January 2011, Hezbullah and its allies demanded from the Hariri Government to reconsider its stance on the Special Tribunal for Lebanon. Rowayheb, "Political Change and the Outbreak of Civil War," p.429.

[34] Salamey, *The Government and Politics of Lebanon*, p.79.

[35] "Hezbollah-backed Najib Mikati appointed Lebanese PM," BBC News, 25 January 2011. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12273178. *[Last accessed 1 August 2016]*.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Michel Suleiman		
Cabinet of 13 June 2011		
1.	Najeeb Miqati	Prime Minister
2.	Sameer Muqbel	Deputy Prime Minister
3.	Talal Arslan/Marwan Kheiredeen[36]	Minister of State
4.	Nicola Fattoush	Minister of State for Parliamentary issues
5.	Ghazi El Araidi	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
6.	Ali Qanso	Minister of State
7.	Ali Hasan Khalil	Minister of Public Health
8.	Muhammad El Safadi	Minister of Finance
9.	Muhammad Fneish	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
10.	Wa'el Abu Fa'our	Minister of Social Affairs
11.	Gebran Baseel	Minister of Water & Power
12.	Hussein El Hajj Hasan	Minister of Agriculture
13.	Charbel Nahhas/Saleem Jeraysati[37]	Minister of Labor
14.	Fadi Abboud	Minister of Tourism
15.	Saleem Karam	Minister of State
16.	Ala'edeen Terro	Minister of Displaced Affairs
17.	Ahmad Karami	Minister of State
18.	Nazem El Khoury	Minister of Environment
19.	Fayez Ghossen	Minister of Defense
20.	Shakeeb Qortebawi	Minister of Justice
21.	Adnan Mansour	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates
22.	Nicola Nahhas	Minister of Economy and Commerce
23.	Marwan Charbel	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
24.	Vrej Saboundjian	Minister of Industry
25.	Waleed El Da'ouq	Minister of Information
26.	Panos Mandjian	Minister of State
27.	Hassan Diyab	Minister of Education and Higher Learning
28.	Gaby Leon	Minister of Culture
29.	Nicola Sahnawi	Minister of Telecommunications
30.	Faisal Karami	Minister of Youth & Sports

Table 22.7 – Cabinet Members of Najeeb Miqati's Government (13 June 2011)

[36] Minister Talal Arslan resigned from Miqati's Government. Decree No. 5868 dated 18 July 2011 signed by President Suleiman and P.M. Miqati accepting the resignation of Talal Arslan and appointing Marwan Kheiredeen as Minister of State. *Official Gazette (2011)*, Issue No. 34, 21 July 2011, p.2709.

[37] Minister Charbel Nahhas resigned from Miqati's Government and a day later was replaced by Saleem Jeraysati. Decree No. 7572 dated 23 February 2012 accepting the resignation of Charbel Nahhas. Decree No. 7609 dated 24 February 2012 signed by President Suleiman and P.M. Miqati appointing Saleem Jeraysati as Minister of Labor. *Official Gazette (2012)*, Issue No. 9, 1 March 2012, pp.623-624.

As the Lebanese people were trying to cope with the domestic ramifications of the resignation of the 8 March ministers and the collapse of the El Hariri government, the Arab world, in general, and the Lebanese in particular were caught by surprise as the so-called Arab Spring unfolded in Tunisia and then Egypt, as waves of revolutionary demonstrations and protests began against the governing regimes in January 2011. The unrest then extended to other countries, including Algiers, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, Iraq and Syria.

The uprising in Syria, however, had a heavy toll on Lebanon because of Syria's proximity and the direct relationship between the people of the two countries. Although the uprising in Syria started with non-violent demonstrations in Dera'a and elsewhere, it soon turned into violent clashes between the revolutionaries and the Syrian Army, leading to a full-blown civil war by mid-2011.[38]

As the Syrian uprising widened the gap between the supporters of the Syrian regime and those who opposed it in Lebanon, and with the increase of the political rhetoric between the 8 March and 14 March parties, Najeeb Miqati was unable to form a unity government for five months, as the disagreements among different parties reached an unprecedented level. After back-and-forth consultations, however, Miqati formed a government with the exclusion of the 14 March coalition, thus ending the era of the Doha Agreement. The posts in the new 30-member government were shared among members of the 8 March coalition groups only. Lebanese-Armenians were represented by Vrej Sabounjian and Panos Mandjian as ministers of Industry and State respectively.

Prime Minister Miqati presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 22nd Parliament on 5 July 2011 and, after heavy debate that lasted three days, received 68 votes of confidence, against 53 votes of no confidence, with one abstention by Robert Ghanem. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Kalpakian, Ogassapian, Toursarkissian and

[38] For details on the non-violent demonstrations in Dera'a and elsewhere in Syria, leading to armed struggle, see Fouad Ajami, *The Syrian Rebellion*, (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2012), pp.69-82. For the rise of the political and armed opposition in Syria, please see Emile Hokayem, *Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant*, (New York: IISS and Routledge, 2013), pp.67-104. See also, David W. Lesch, *Syria: The Fall of the House of Assad*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), pp.87-121.

Chinchinian cast votes of no confidence, whereas Hagop Pakradounian and Arthur Nazarian cast their votes in favour of the government.[39]

Before casting his vote of no confidence in Miqati's government, Deputy Ogassapian delivered a speech criticizing the policies in the ministerial statement, and demanded that Miqati resigned or he would expose the country to political risks. In pertinent parts of the speech, Ogassapian said:

> "I like to count on the open-mindedness of Prime Minister Miqati and the esteemed colleagues whom I respect, however, today we are going to discuss very important and sensitive national issues. We are in the process of discussing the government's ministerial statement in the face of the political reality that was created recently and became the focus of accusation from more than half the people of Lebanon. It is the reality of "armed culture."
>
> "It is a reality that has dangerous ramifications. A reality wherein this government is deviating from truth and justice. A government of persistence in the face of the international community and a government that takes the country to a wider internal division and exposes Lebanon to all types of risks.
>
> "In fact, this government should have resigned since it was doomed to fail and it clearly failed when it was

[39] In addition to the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jean Ogassapian, Serge Toursarkissian, Sebouh Kalpakian and Shant Chinchinian, the following deputies cast No-Confidence Votes to Miqati's Government: Nadeem Gemayel, Michel Pharaon, Nayla Tueini, Nouhad El Mashnouq, Tammam Salam, Muhammad Qabbani, Ammar El Houri, Imad El Hout, Ghazi Youssef, Atef Majdalani, Basem El Shab, Nabeel de Freij, Sami Gemayel, Henry Helou, Fouad El Sa'ad, Fadi El Habr, Muhammad El Hajjar, Marwan Hamadeh, Dori Chamoun, George Adwan, Khaled El Daher, Khaled Zaherman, Mou'een El Mera'abi, Hadi Hbeish, Riad Rahhal, Nidal Tohme, Khoder Habib, Qasem Abdul Aziz, Kazem Saleh Kheir, Elie Keiruz, Muhammad Kabbara, Sameer El Jisr, Samer Sa'adeh, Robert Fadel, Badr Wannous, Boutros Harb, Antoine Zahra, Fareed Makari, Fareed Ghossen, Bahiyeh El Hariri, Fouad El Siniora, Ossama Sa'ad, Elie Marouni, Ziad El Qadiri, Jamal El Jarrah, Ameen Wahbi and Antoine Sa'ad. The following deputies were absent: Sa'ad El Hariri, Talal Arslan, Ahmad Fatfat, Sethrida Tawq Geagea, and Oqab Sakr. Deputies Toni Abu Khater and Joseph El Ma'alouf were excused. *Official Minutes (2011)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 5 July 2011.

unable to commit to the International Tribunal and all relevant judicial proceedings. Who will bear the consequences of such decisions or measures or sanctions? Mr Prime Minister, if you realize the consequences of these decisions then you have a problem, and if you don't then it is a disaster.

"Yes, Mr Prime Minister, we are entering a crucial period in Lebanon. For the first time, after more than 270 political assassinations in Lebanon and after all the war crimes in the territories of our beloved country, justice has finally prevailed against criminal minds and against what has become a basis for impunity and a lack of punishment.

"Allow me to bow my head in appreciation to all martyrs of Lebanon, specifically the martyrs of the Cedar Revolution and the martyrs of the Lebanese Army, where I had the honor to serve for 25 years, and martyrs of the Resistance who liberated Lebanon and regained the dignity of the Lebanese people. However, Your Excellency, as much as I respect the weapons aimed at the Israeli enemy, I strongly reject such weapons being aimed against the Lebanese people. I also strongly reject any weapons that aim at putting political pressure on anyone. I further reject that weapons govern the State of Lebanon. It is time that these weapons are put under the state control.

"On 28 February 2005, a man for whom I have great respect and who comes from an ancient political family, Premier Omar Karami, announced the resignation of his government due to the atrociousness of the assassination of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri. Today, the scene is being repeated under the dome of the Parliament. Prime Minister Miqati is facing the same experiment. He is at a crossroad: Either he submits his resignation and history will mention him and future generations will speak about his boldness and his eagerness to save Lebanon, or he will stay in power for power's sake taking the country to the unknown, exposing it to a greater risk. No, Mr Prime Minister Miqati, this is not how someone respects the martyrs and shows loyalty to your friend Rafik El Hariri. History will not forgive you. We reiterate that the International Tribunal is coming and justice will prevail despite the

> fact that some are fantasizing otherwise."[40] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

Ogassapian's speech reflected the tense partisan atmosphere that dominated the Lebanese political scene during 2011 and 2012. The advanced stage of the proceedings of the International Special Tribunal for Lebanon, on one side, and the disturbances in Syria, on the other, complicated the unstable situation in Lebanon even further.

The United Nations Security Council, on its side, issued a Presidential Statement on 3 August 2011 and expressed *"its grave concern at the deteriorating situation in Syria, and expresse[d] profound regret at the death of many hundreds of people."* It also condemned *"the widespread violations of human rights and the use of force against civilians by the Syrian authorities."* The Council further called upon the Syrian authorities *"to alleviate the humanitarian situation in crisis areas by ceasing the use of force against affected towns."*[41]

As a result of the massive exodus of Syrians seeking safe heavens in neighboring countries, including Lebanon, the number of incidents between local Lebanese and incoming Syrian refugees increased in the cities and towns. Such confrontations, for example, ensued between the Lebanese-Armenian contingent in Bourj Hammoud and the Syrian Kurdish refugees, leading Deputy Hagop Pakradounian to give a statement on the record during a legislative session of the Parliament on 2 November 2011, wherein Pakradounian stated:

> "There is an uproar over a topic concerning Bourj Hammoud, where some media outlets picked up incorrect information about certain comments made by MPs and political parties on issues related to decisions made by the Municipality of Bourj Hammoud to regulate the leases and adjust building irregularities in the

[40] For the full Arabic text of Jean Ogassapian's speech during the deliberations on Premier Najeeb Miqati's ministerial statement on 5 July 2011, please see Appendix 9.5. *Official Minutes (2011)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 5 July 2011.

[41] United Nations Security Council Presidential Statement dated 3 August 2011. Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati's Government through its Permanent Representative at the UN dissociated itself from the Statement. United Nations Security Council Document Number S/PRST/2011/16. *[Last accessed 3 August 2016].* http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2011/16.

> neighborhood. The issue was taken out of context and given political implications by accusing citizens, a specific party *[Tashnak]* and the public institutions.
>
> "All it was, that the Municipality, in coordination with the Internal Security Forces and the Army, tried to regulate encroachments, irregularities and violations and to prevent practices contrary to public morals and the ethics of certain Lebanese and non-Lebanese individuals *[in Bourj Hammoud]*.
>
> "I want to emphasize that there is absolutely no political intent to these procedures. I ask that this matter not be exploited or talked about. The news about expelling Kurds, our brothers, from the area, be they Syrians or Lebanese, is an attempt to undermine the concept of coexistence in Bourj Hammoud. It is an attempt to change the common history and destiny of the Kurdish people and the Armenians, who both were victims of massacres by the same perpetrator.
>
> "I wish that everyone refrain from exploiting any legal or regulatory issue in order to promote a domestic or external political agenda that we have no relationship with."[42] *[Translation from Arabic]*.

As the deteriorating security conditions in Syria worsened leaving tremendous negative impact on Lebanon, Miqati's government tried to disassociate itself from what was happening there by adopting a neutral stance, whereas, the rival political groupings of 8 March and 14 March accused one another of endorsing, or not endorsing, the Asad regime. The Council of the League of Arab States, on the other hand, convened several times and deliberated on the Syrian disturbances and, in its extraordinary session of 22 January 2012 held at ministerial level at the headquarters of the General Secretariat in Cairo, adopted a resolution that, *inter alia*, called for an immediate cease fire in Syria and supported the UN Observer Mission and called for coordination with the

[42] For the full Arabic text of Hagop Pakradounian's speech during the legislative session of the 22nd Parliament about the skirmishes between the local Lebanese-Armenians and the Kurdish refugees in Bourj Hammoud, please see Appendix 12.3. *Official Minutes (2011)*: 2nd meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 2 November 2011.

UN Secretary-General in support of the mission. The resolution was dispatched to the UN Security Council for further consideration.[43]

Accordingly, the UNSC considered a draft Resolution on 4 February 2012, wherein it expressed *"grave concern at the deterioration of the situation in Syria, and profound concern at the death of thousands of people"* and called for *"an immediate end to all violence."* It also welcomed *"the League of Arab States' Action Plan of 2 November 2011 and its subsequent decisions, including its decision of 22 January 2012, which aim[d] to achieve a peaceful resolution of the crisis."* The resolution, however, was vetoed by China and the Russian Federation.[44] Alternatively, the General Assembly of the UN, in its 97th plenary meeting on 16 February 2012, adopted Resolution A/66/253 A endorsing the Action Plan of 2 November 2011 of the Arab League and its subsequent resolution of 22 January 2012.[45]

As the security conditions further deteriorated in Syria, the Security Council adopted Resolution 2042 on 14 April 2012 authorizing an advance team of up to 30 unarmed military observers to liaise with the relevant parties in Syria and to begin to report on the implementation of a full cessation of armed violence.[46] A week later, the UNSC adopted another Resolution 2043 on 21 April 2012 and established "a United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) under the command of a Chief Military Observer, comprising an initial deployment of up to 300

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[43] United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/2012/71. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2012/71. *[Last accessed 3 August 2016].*

[44] United Nations Security Council draft resolution of 4 February 2012 vetoed by China and Russia. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/2012/77. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2012/77. *[Last accessed on 3 August 2016]*.

[45] UN General Assembly Resolution A/66/253 A concerning the situation in Syria adopted on 16 February 2012. United Nations General Assembly Official Document Number A/RES/66/253. *[Last accessed 3 August 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/66/253.

[46] United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 2024 adopted on 14 April 2012. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/RES/2042 (2012). http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2042%20(2012). *[Last accessed 3 August 2016]*.

unarmed military observers as well as an appropriate civilian component as required by the Mission to fulfill its mandate".[47]

The international pressure on the Syrian regime on one side, and the warring factions on the other, had an adverse effect on political life in Lebanon. The 8 March coalition vehemently endorsed the Syrian regime in its crackdown on the Syrian opposition, whereas, the 14 March Alliance, in general, expressed its support for the Syrian opposition. On the domestic front, the rhetoric between the two groups escalated and disagreements between them surfaced on almost every issue by mid-2012.

On 17 April 2012, the 22nd Parliament held a special session to discuss the implementation of the policies adopted by the government during the past nine months. Sixty-two Deputies took the podium, over three consecutive days, and deliberated on the performance of the government on the domestic as well as the foreign affairs. The unstable security conditions in neighboring Syria and the big influx of the Syrian refugees into Lebanon were the dominant subjects discussed. The 14 March opposition MPs accused the government of malfeasance whereas the 8 March Deputies endorsed the Miqati government's stance on the Syrian conflict. Other domestic issues including problems related to public education, refugee assistance, the scarcity of water and power and new legislative election laws dominated the deliberations. At the end of the third day, Deputy Sami Gemayel, unsatisfied with the responses given by the relevant Cabinet ministers and the Prime Minister himself, demanded another vote against the Miqati government. Speaker Nabih Berri ordered another vote of confidence, at which time most 14 March opposition Deputies left the meeting hall without voting. Nevertheless, the government received 63 votes of confidence against three votes of no confidence cast by Deputies Sami Gemayel, Fadi El Habr and Samer Sa'adeh. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Pakradounian and Nazarian cast votes of confidence, whereas, Kalpakian, Ogassapian, Toursarkissian and Chinchinian walked away from the meeting.[48]

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[47] UNSC Res. 2043 of 21 April 2012. UNSC Official Document Number S/RES/2043 (2012). http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2043%20(2012). *[Last accessed 3 August 2016]*.

[48] The Deputies who cast confidence vote in Najeeb Miqati's government on 19 April 2012 were: Elie Aoun, Akram Sheheyyeb, Wa'el Abu Fa'our, Ghassan Moukheiber, Talal Arslan, Simon Abi Ramia, Hagop Pakradounian, Ali Osseiran, Michel Aoun,

Despite the widened gap between the opposition and the supporters of the government, President Michel Suleiman was able to gather the two rival camps around a table at the Ba'abda Palace in an attempt to ease the tension, and he was able to extract a compromise that all parties agreed and promised to adhere to. The National Dialogue Committee was eventually able to consent to certain topics proposed by President Suleiman in a meeting held on 11 June 2012, which was later known as the Ba'abda Declaration.[49]

In this tense political situation, the 22nd Parliament was not able to hold any legislative sessions during the rest of 2012 except for one meeting on 2 July to consider and adopt a few pieces of legislation on an urgent basis.[50]

Ibrahim Kena'an, Alain Aoun, Na'amatullah Abi Nasr, Hekmat Deeb, Naji Gharios, Gilberte Zuwein, Edgar Ma'alouf, Fareed El Khazen, Nabeel Nicola, Fadi El A'awar, Waleed Khoury, Michel Helou, Abbas Hashem, Ali Ammar, Arthur Nazarian, Youssef Khalil, Ghazi Ze'ayter, Ali Fayyad, Nawwar El Sahili, Ziad Aswad, Hussein El Mousawi, Muhammad Fneish, Bilal Farhat, Kamel El Rifae, Ali El Miqdad, El Waleed Sukkariyyeh, Emile Rahme, Muhammad Ra'ad, Hussein El Mousawi, Nawwar El Mousawi, Hasan Fadlallah, Ali Khreis, Ali Bazzi, Michel Mousa, Assem Qanso, Asa'ad Hardan, Marwan Fares, Suleiman Franjieh, Istefan El Doueihi, Abdul Lateef El Zein, Yaseen Jaber, Abdul Majeed Saleh, Ayyoub Humayyed, Hani Qubeisi, Qasem Hashem, Hussein El Hajj Hasan, Ahmed Karami, Nicola Fattoush, Najeeb Miqati, Saleem Karam, Muhammad El Safadi, Ala'edeen Terro, Ali Hasan Khalil, and Nabih Berri. The following Deputies were absent from the deliberations: Nouhad El Mashnouq, Michel El Murr, Waleed Jumblatt, Sethrida Tawq, Fareed Habib, Anwar El Khalil, Bahiyeh El Hariri, Issam Sawaya, Oqab Sakr and Ghazi El Araidi. *Official Minutes (2012)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 17, 18 and 19 April 2012.

[49] The Ba'abda Declaration as agreed by all parties became an official document and was dispatched to the League of Arab States and the Secretary General of the United Nations. UNSC Official Document No. S/2012/477 as well as UNGA Official Document No. A/66/849. *[Last accessed 3 August 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2012/477. A re-print of the Ba'abda Declaration in English is found as Appendix 20.1 to this Volume.

[50] The 22nd Parliament in its 2 July 2012 considered and passed 33 pieces of legislation forwarded by the Miqati government pursuant to Decree No. 8251 dated 4 June 2012 signed by President Michel Suleiman and PM Najeeb Miqati calling for an extraordinary session of parliament to consider certain pieces of legislation. *Official Gazette (2012)*, Issue No. 24, 7 June 2012, p.2232. Also see *Official Minutes (2012)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 2 July 2012.

The year 2013 was even worse as far as legislation was concerned. The regional and international pressure increased on the Lebanese politicians as the term of the 22nd Parliament was approaching its end in 2013, and a new dispute surfaced between the Prime Minister and the ministers connected to Hezbullah and Amal over the upcoming legislative elections and the granting of an extension to the term in office of Major General Ashraf Rifi, the Director General of the Internal Security Forces. Prime Minister Miqati, with the agreement of President Michel Suleiman, issued Decree No. 9968 on 4 March 2013 and called for new legislative elections to be held on Sunday 9 June 2013, based upon Law No. 25 of 8 October 2008.[51]

During the Cabinet meeting of 22 March 2013, Miqati reached a deadlock with the Hezbullah ministers over the issues related to Ashraf Rifi and the upcoming legislative elections and announced the resignation of his government.[52] After parliamentary consultations, President Suleiman named Tammam Salam as the new Prime Minister on 6 April 2013, and asked him to form a national unity government.[53]

A few days later, Speaker Berri invited members of Parliament to an ordinary session on 10 April 2013 to consider a proposed piece of legislation to suspend all deadlines stipulated in the Election Law No. 25 until 19 May 2013. The measure was adopted by the majority present, with objections recorded from Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati, Ministers Ahmad Karami and Nicola Fattoush, along with Deputy Boutros Harb. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Kalpakian, Ogassapian, Toursarkissian, Pakradounian and Chinchinian were all present and voted in favor of the legislation.[54] President Suleiman signed the measure into law on 12 April

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[51] Decree No. 9968 dated 4 March 2013 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati calling for legislative elections to be held on Sunday 9 June 2013 based upon the Election Law No. 25 of 8 October 2008. *Official Gazette (2013)*, Issue No. 10, 7 March 2013, p.867.

[52] Laila Bassam, "Lebanese Prime Minister Najib Mikati Resigns," www.Reuters.com 22 March 2013. http://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon-mikati-idUSBRE92L0TG20130322. *[Last accessed 3 August 2016]*.

[53] During the parliamentary consultations, 124 out of 128 Deputies requested that President Michel Suleiman name Tammam Salam as the new Prime Minister in order to from a new government. "Lebanon names Salam as Prime Minister," *The Guardian,* 6 April 2013. *[Last accessed 4 August 2016]*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/apr/06/lebanon-tammam-salam-prime-minister.

[54] There were 27 absentees to the ordinary meeting to consider the proposed law suspending all deadlines and deleting Article 50 of Election Law No. 25 of 8

2013.[55] Immediately thereafter, however, some Deputies filed a petition with the Constitutional Council to invalidate the law as being unconstitutional and, in turn, the Council rejected the petition and declared Law No. 245 as being constitutional on 13 May 2013.[56]

A few weeks later, as Tammam Salam was conducting negotiations with the 8 March and 14 March factions to form a new government, the 22nd Parliament reconvened on 31 May 2013 to consider a proposal made by Deputy Nicola Fattoush to extend the term of the 22nd Parliament because of the unstable political and security conditions in Lebanon. The original proposal was to extend the term to 20 June 2015. However, the majority of the Deputies voted in favor of an amended version of the proposal and extended their own term to 20 November 2014. The measure was carried with 98 Deputies voting in favor. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Kalpakian, Ogassapian, Toursarkissian, Nazarian, Pakradounian and Chinchinian were present

October 2008. The absentee deputies included: Joseph Ma'alouf, Na'ameh Tohme, Henry Helou, Nidal Tohme, Antoine Zahra, Antoine Sa'ad, Elie Aoun, Elie Marouni, Badr Wannous, Bahiyeh El Hariri, Tammam Salam, Sethrida Tawq, Sa'ad El Hariri, Atef Mejdalani, Issam Sawaya, Oqab Sakr, Ala'edeen Terro, Ghazi Youssef, Fadi El Habr, Fareed Makari, Fouad El Sa'ad, Marwan Hamadeh, Mou'een El Mera'abi, Michel Aoun, Michel El Murr, Nayla Tueini, Nouhad El Mashnouq and Waleed Jumblatt. *Official Minutes (2013)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 10 April 2013.

[55] Law No. 245 dated 12 April 2013 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati suspending all deadlines mentioned in Election Law No. 25 and deleting Article 50 thereto. *Official Gazette (2013)*, Issue No. 16, 13 April 2013, p.2141.

[56] The Deputies who filed a petition with the Constitutional Council to invalidate Law No 245 of 12 April 2013 were: Waleed Jumblatt, Fareed Makari, Na'ameh Tohme, Elie Aoun, Ghazi El Araidi, Ala'edeen Terro, Akram Sheheyyeb, Wa'el Abu Fa'our. Henry Helou, Ahmad Karami and Marwan Hamadeh. Constitutional Council Ruling No. 1/2013 dated 13 May 2013. *Official Gazette (2013)*, Issue No. 21, 16 May 2013, pp.2399-2402.

and voted in favor of the extension.[57] President Suleiman signed the extension of the term of the Parliament into law on the same day.[58]

The 22nd Parliament, with its extended term, did not convene immediately, as the political and security conditions deteriorated in Lebanon as a result of the ongoing military clashes in neighboring Syria, which eventually escalated to a level that chemical weapons were used by the warring parties, especially in the Ghouta area of Damascus on 21 August 2013. As a result, the special United Nations Mission, which was dispatched to Syria on 13 August 2013, submitted a report to the UN Secretary General that, after conducting relevant investigation, it concluded that chemical weapons were in fact used in the ongoing conflict between the parties in Syria specially against the civilians. In a letter addressed to the UN Security Council, the Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon expressed his *"profound shock and regret at the conclusion that chemical weapons were used on a relatively large scale, resulting in numerous casualties, particularly among civilians and including many children."*[59]

The use of the chemical weapons in the Syrian conflict prompted the close attention of the international community. Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov and US Secretary of State John Kerry met and reached a framework agreement in Geneva on 14 September 2013

[57] There were 27 absentee and 3 excused Deputies from the session dedicated to extend the term of the 22nd Parliament to 20 November 2014. The absentees were: Tammam Salam, Sa'ad El Hariri, Nouhad El Mashnouq, Ibrahim Kena'an, Edgar Ma'alouf, Alain Aoun, Gilberte Zuwein, Hekmat Deeb, Saleem Salhab, Simon Abi Samra, Abbas Hashem, Ghassan Moukheiber, Fadi El A'awar, Fareed El Khazen, Michel Aoun, Naji Gharios, Nabeel Nicola, Na'ametullah Abi Nasr, Waleed El Khoury, Youssef Khalil, Robert Fadel, Mou'een El Mera'abi, Bahiyeh El Hariri, Ziad Aswad, Issam Sawaya, Michel El Helou, and Oqab Sakr. The excused from attending the meeting were: Fareed Makari, Joseph Ma'alouf and Nidal Tohme. *Official Minutes (2013)*: 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 31 May 2013.

[58] Law No 246 dated 31 May 2013 extending the term of the Parliament to 20 November 2014, signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati. *Official Gazette (2013)*, Issue No. 24, 1 June 2013, pp.2509-2510.

[59] For the "Report of the UN Mission to Investigate Allegations of the Use of Chemical Weapons in Syria," dated 13 September 2016, please the Annex to the UN Secretary General's letter addressed to the UN Security Council on 16 September 2013. UNSC Official Document No. S/2013/553*[Last accessed 4 August 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2013/553.

for the elimination of Syrian chemical weapons.[60] Accordingly, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution No. 2118 under Title VII of the UN Charter on 27 September 2013 and welcomed the "Framework for Elimination of Syrian Chemical Weapons" between Russia and the United States and mandated Syria to destroy its chemical weapons program in an expeditious, and safest, way.[61]

In the midst of political and security upheaval in the region, Speaker Berri summoned the Deputies to the 2nd Ordinary Session of the Parlimanet on 22 October 2013, when Deputy Toursarkissian was re-elected to the Administration and Justice Committee and the Women and Children's Affairs Committee. Deputy Pakradounian became a member of the Foreign Affairs and the National Economy and Commerce committees. Kalpakian was re-elected to the National Economy, Commerce and Industry as well as the Displaced Affairs committees. Chinchinian was elected as member of the Displaced Affairs Committee and became its Chairman and became a member of the Environment Committee and the Industry Committee, becoming its Chairman. Arthur Nazarian did not participate in any committee activities because he was considered as a potential minister in Tammam Salam's Cabinet at the time.[62]

The deteriorating military conditions in Syria and the direct involvement of Hezbullah militants in different parts of Syria in support of the local regime complicated the process of forming a government by Prime Minister designee Tammam Salam for almost 10 months. The tension and rivalry between the 8 and 14 March coalitions escalated even more with the approach of the deadline to elect a successor to President Michel Suleiman in May 2014.

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[60] See the Letter dated 19 September 2013 signed by Vitaly Churkin Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations and Samantha Power Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and its Annex. UNSC Official Document No. S/2013/565. *[Last accessed 4 August 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2013/565.

[61] UNSC Resolution 2118 of 27 September 2013 eliminating the Syrian chemical weapons under Title VII of the UN Charter. United Nations Security Council Official Document Number S/RES/2118 (2013). *[Last accessed 4 August 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2118%20(2013).

[62] *Official Minutes (2013)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 22 October 2013.

	2013-17			
Speaker	Nebih Berri			
Deputy Speaker	Fareed Makari			
	2013-14[63]	**2014-15**[64]	**2015-16**[65]	**2016-17**[66]
The Secretariat	M. Hamadeh Antoine Zahra	M. Hamadeh Antoine Zahra	M. Hamadeh Antoine Zahra	M. Hamadeh/ W. Abu Fa'our[67] Antoine Zahra
Commissioners	S.Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Ahmad Fatfat	S.Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Ahmad Fatfat	S.Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Ahmad Fatfat	S.Toursarkissian Michel Mousa Ahmad Fatfat

Table 22.8 - Elected Officials for the Speaker's Bureau of the 22nd Lebanese Parliament (2013-2017)

Despite all the political rhetoric, Tammam Salam was eventually able to form a government consisting of 24 members on 15 February 2014, that included the Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Arthur Nazarian as the Minister of Water and Power.

[63] *Official Minutes (2013)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 22 October 2013.

[64] The term of the 22nd Parliament was extended until 20 November 2014 pursuant to Law No. 246 of 31 May 2013. The election of the members at the Speaker's Bureau was conducted on 21 October 2014. *Official Minutes (2014)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 21 October 2014.

[65] Another extension of the term of the 22nd Parliament until 20 June 2017 was adopted by Law No. 16 of 11 November 2014. As such, election of the members of the Speaker's Bureau was held on 20 October 2015. *Official Minutes (2015)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 20 October 2015.

[66] As the term of the 22nd Parliament was extended until 20 June 2017, the 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Meeting of the 22nd Parliament was held on 18 October 2017 in accordance with Article 32 of the Constitution, at which time the members of the Speaker's Bureau were elected. For the official results please see the *Official Website of the Lebanese Parliament*. https://www.lp.gov.lb/Temp/Files/9047458f-9b44-4bcf-8ed1-055a56ba5ddd.pdf. *[Last accessed 23 November 2016]*.

[67] Deputy Wa'el Abu Fa'our was elected as a member of the Secretariat of the Speaker's Bureau on 27 December 2016, replacing Marwan Hamadeh as the latter was appointed as the Minister of Education and Higher Learning in Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri's Cabinet of 18 December 2016. *Official Website of the Lebanese Parliament*, www.lp.gov.lb.

Executive Branch of the Government President Michel Suleiman		
Cabinet of 15 February 2014[68]		
1.	Tammam Salam	Prime Minister
2.	Sameer Muqbel	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Defense
3.	Boutros Harb	Minister of Telecommunications
4.	Akram Sheheyyeb	Minister of Agriculture
5.	Ghazi Ze'ayter	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
6.	Arthur Nazarian	Minister of Water & Power
7.	Michel Pharaon	Minister of Tourism
8.	Ali Hasan Khalil	Minister of Finance
9.	Muhammad Fneish	Minister of State for Parliamentary Issues
10.	Gebran Baseel	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates
11.	Wa'el Abu Fa'our	Minister of Public Health
12.	Hussein El Hajj Hasan	Minister of Industry
13.	Nouhad El Mashnouq	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
14.	Nabeel de Freij	Minister of State for Administrative Reforms
15.	Ramzi Jereij[69]	Minister of Information
16.	Rasheed Derbas	Minister of Social Affairs
17.	Muhammad El Mashnouq	Minister of Environment
18.	Alice El Shabteeni	Minister of Displaced Affairs
19.	Abdul Muttaleb El Hannawi	Minister of Youth & Sports
20.	Seja'an Azzi[70]	Minister of Labor
21.	Ashraf Rifi[71]	Minister of Justice

[68] Decree No. 11217 dated 15 February 2014 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Tammam Salam appointing the Ministers of the 73rd Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2014),* Issue No. 8, 20 February 2014, pp.331-332.

[69] Ministers Ramzi Jereij, Seja'an Azzi and Alain Hakeem were the representatives of the Phalange Party in Tammam Salam's Cabinet. All three resigned pursuant to a decision of the Political Bureau of the Phalange Party as announced by its Chairman Sami Gemayel on 14 June 2016. Subsequently however, Minister Azzi retracted his resignation. *AP Online*, 14 June 2016. https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1A1-00a8fd2028ce4d899337938869418771.html. *[Last accessed 28 July 2016]*.

[70] Minister Seja'an Azzi retracted his resignation. See the Note above.

[71] Minister Ashraf Rifi resigned as Minister of Justice from Tammam Salam's Government on 21 February 2016. See "Lebanese minister resigns over Hezbollah domination," AP Online, 21 February 2016. https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1A1-c1a482aa539143cb9562c8fe29bb1f4d.html. *[Last accessed 28 July 2016]*. Minister Alice El Shabteeni became the Acting Minister of Justice pursuant to a prior Decree No. 11260 dated 9 April 2014 signed by President Suleiman and P.M. Salam. *Official Gazette (2014)*, Issue No. 16, 17 April 2014, pp.885-886.

22.	Alain Hakeem[72]	Minister of Economy and Commerce
23.	Raymond Araiji	Minister of Culture
24.	Elias Abu Sa'ab	Minister of Education and Higher Learning

Table 22.10 – Cabinet Members of Tammam Salam's Government (15 February 2014)

Prime Minister Salam presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 22nd Parliament on 19 March 2014 and received 96 votes of confidence against 8 votes of no confidence cast by Antoine Zahra, George Adwan, Sethrida Tawq Geagea, Elie Keiruz, Fareed Habib, Toni Abu Khater, Joseph Ma'alouf and Shant Chinchinian, with only one abstention by Deputy Imad El Hout. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Kalpakian, Ogassapian, Toursarkissian, Pakradounian and Nazarian cast votes of confidence in Salam's government.[73]

A few weeks after receiving the parliament's votes of confidence, Tammam Salam's government appointed three new Deputy-Governors to the Central Bank and extended the term of the fourth Deputy-Governor Haroutiun Samuelian, until a new one could be appointed.[74]

[72] Minister Alain Hakeem resigned from Salam's Cabinet on 14 June 2016. See footnote above.

[73] The Deputies who did not show up during the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by Tammam Salam, were: Sa'ad El Hariri, Talal Arslan, Suleiman Franjieh, Michel Aoun, Waleed Jumblatt, Nadeem Gemayel, Dori Chamoun, Fareed Makari, Assem Qanso, Oqab Sakr, Michel El Helou and Issam Sawaya. The Deputies who were excused from attending were: Yaseen Jaber, Gilberte Zuwein, Emile Rahme, Muhammad El Hajjar, Muhammad El Safadi, Fareed El Khazen, Marwan Hamadeh, Asa'ad Hardan and Khoder Habib. *Official Minutes (2014)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 19 March 2014.

[74] Decree No. 11268 dated 12 April 2014 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Tammam Salam appointing Ra'ed Hussein Sherefedeen, Sa'ad Ameen El Indari and Muhammad Ahmed El Ba'asiri as three new Deputy-Governors to the Central Bank and extending the current term of Haroutiun Samuelian until a fourth Deputy Governor be appointed. *Official Gazette (2014)*, Issue No. 16, 17 April 2014, pp.891-892.

			2013-14[75]	2014-15[76]	2015-16[77]	2016-17[78]
1	Budget & Finance	17	None	None	None	None
2	Admin & Justice	17	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian	Toursarkissian
3	Foreign Affairs	17	Pakradounian	Pakradounian	Pakradounian	Pakradounian
4	Pub.Works/Trans	17	None	None	None	None
5	Nat'l Educ. Com.	12	None	None	None	None
6	Pub.Health/Labor	12	None	None	None	None
7	Nat'l Defense	17	None	None	None	None
8	Displaced Affairs Committee	12	Chinchinian* Kalpakian	Chinchinian* Kalpakian	Chinchinian* Kalpakian	Chinchinian* Kalpakian
9	Agr. & Tourism	12	None	None	None	None
10	Environment Com.	12	Chinchinian	Chinchinian	Chinchinian	Chinchinian
11	Nat'l Econ., Commerce and Industry Com.	12	Ogassapian* Kalpakian Pakradounian	Ogassapian* Kalpakian Pakradounian	Ogassapian* Kalpakian Pakradounian	Ogassapian* Kalpakian Pakradounian
12	Information/Telec.	12	Ogassapian	Ogassapian	Ogassapian	Ogassapian
13	Youth & Sports	12	None	None	None	None
14	Human Rights	12	None	None	None	None
15	Women & Children Affairs	12	Toursarkissian Chinchinian	Toursarkissian Chinchinian	Toursarkissian Chinchinian	Toursarkissian Chinchinian
16	IT Committee	9	None	None	None	None
		* Committee Chairman				

Table 22.9 – Committee Memberships of Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the 22nd Lebanese Parliament (2013-17)

As the deadline of the term of President Suleiman approached, Speaker Berri summoned the Deputies to a meeting to elect a new president on 23 April 2014. 124 out of 128 Deputies attended the meeting. After reiterating the relevant Articles 49, 73 and 75 of the Lebanese Constitution, Speaker Berri conducted the election with the candidacies of Sameer Geagea, Henri Helou, Nadeen Mousa, Tarek Dani Chamoun and Beshara Abi Yoonis.[79] None of the candidates were able to

[75] *Official Minutes (2013)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 22 October 2013.

[76] *Official Minutes (2014)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 21 October 2014.

[77] *Official Minutes (2015)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 20 October 2015.

[78] As the term of the 22nd Parliament was extended until 20 June 2017, the 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Meeting of the 22nd Parliament was held on 18 October 2016 in accordance with Article 32 of the Constitution. For official results of the election of Committee Members, please see Official Website of the Lebanese Parliament. https://www.lp.gov.lb/Temp/Files/9047458f-9b44-4bcf-8ed1-055a56ba5ddd.pdf. (Last accessed 23 November 2016).

[79] Article 49 of the Constitution in relevant parts states: "The President of the Republic shall be elected by secret ballot and by a two-thirds majority of the

gather the constitutional required two-third (86) votes to become the new president. Out of the 124 votes present, there were 52 blank papers. Sameer Geagea received 48 votes, Henri Helou received 16 votes, and Ameen Gemayel one vote. There was one empty envelope, and two papers mentioned the name Tarek Dani Chamoun, and four other papers each had the names: Rasheed Karami, Dani Chamoun, Jihan Toni Franjieh, and Elias El Zayek.[80] Accordingly, Speaker Berri adjourned the meeting to 30 April 2014 to elect the new president.

Four additional meetings were called by Speaker Berri to elect a new president without having the required constitutional two-thirds majority quorum, before the term of President Suleiman ended on 24 May 2014. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Kalpakian, Ogassapian, Toursarkissian and Chinchinian were all present during all four sessions to elect a president, whereas Pakradounian and Nazarian were not.[81]

Before leaving office, President Suleiman dispatched a letter to the Parliament in accordance with Subsection 10 of Article 53 of the Lebanese Constitution urging the members of the Parliament to constitute the necessary quorum in order to elect the next president.[82] Speaker Berri immediately summoned the members of Parliament to a

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Chamber of Deputies." Article 73 in pertinent part states: "One month at least and two months at most before the expiration of the term of office of the President of the Republic, the Chamber shall be convened by its President to elect the new President of the Republic." Article 75 states: "The Chamber meeting to elect the President of the Republic shall be considered an electoral body and not a legislative assembly. It must proceed immediately, without discussion of any other act, to elect the Head of the State." The Lebanese Constitution. Official website of the Presidency, *[Last accessed 27 July 2016].* http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf..

[80] The absentees to the Special Session of the 22nd Parliament to elect the president of the Republic were: Sa'ad El Hariri, Oqab Sakr, Elie Aoun and Khaled El Daher. *Official Minutes (2014)*: 5th Meeting of the 1st ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 23 April 2014.

[81] See the Official Record of attendees to the Special Meetings to elect the President of the Republic on 30 April, 7 May, 15 May and 22 May 2014. Official Website of the Lebanese Parliament. https://www.lp.gov.lb/ViewSessions.aspx?Id=28. *[Last accessed 4 August 2016]*.

[82] Sub-section 10 of Article 53 of the Constitution states: *"He [the President] shall address, when necessary, messages to the Chamber of Deputies."* The Lebanese Constitution. Official website of the Presidency: *[Last accessed 27 July 2016].* http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf.

session to discuss the contents of the President's letter on 21 May 2014. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Kalpakian, Ogassapian, Toursarkissian and Chinchinian attended the meeting, whereas, Pakradounian was excused and Nazarian did not attend.[83]

President Suleiman left office on Saturday 24 May 2014 leaving behind a vast political and constitutional vacuum. Thereafter, Prime Minister Tammam Salam's government was obligated to issue the executive decrees, collectively, in accordance with Article 62 of the constitution.[84]

With the term of the 22nd Parliament nearing its end by 20 November 2014, Salam's government issued Decree No. 321 on 19 August 2014 and called for legislative elections in Lebanon on 16 November 2014 in accordance with election Law No. 25 of 8 October 2008.[85] It further called for the Lebanese Expatriates in the State of Kuwait to participate in the legislative elections on 7 November 2014 at the Lebanese Embassy in Kuwait, and those in Sydney and Melbourne,

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[83] In addition to Hagop Pakradounian, the following deputies were also excused from not attending: Emile Rahme, Atef Majdalani, Sethrida Tawq Geagea and Fouad El Siniora. The absentee deputies were: Arthur Nazarian, Sa'ad El Hariri, Nayla Tueini, Edgar Ma'alouf, Elie Aoun, Bilal Farhat, Gilberte Zuwein, Saleem Salhab, Talal Arslan, Abbas Hashem, Ali Ammar, Fadi El A'awar, Fouad El Sa'ad, Michel Aoun, Michel El Murr, Nabeel Nicola, Na'ameh Tohme, Henry Helou, Youssef Khalil, Suleiman Franjieh, Muhammad El Safadi, Najeeb Miqati, Nidal Tohme, Asa'ad Hardan, Anwar El Khalil, Bahiyeh El Hariri, Hasan Fadlallah, Ziad Aswad, Issam Sawaya, Ali Fayyad, Qasem Hashem, Muhammad Ra'ad, Muhammad Fneish, Michel El Helou, Michel Mousa, Nawwar El Mousawai, Ameen Wahbi, Hussein El Mousawi, Assam Qanso, Oqab Sakr, Ali El Miqdad, Kamel El Rifae, Marwan Fares, Nawwar El Sahili, and El Waleed Sukkariyya. *Official Minutes (2014)*: 6th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 21 May 2014.

[84] Article 62 of the Constitution stipulates: *"Should there be a vacancy in the Presidency for any reason whatsoever, the Council of Ministers shall exercise the authorities of the President by delegation."* The Lebanese Constitution. *Official website of the Presidency*. *[Last accessed 27 July 2016].* http://www.presidency.gov.lb/English/LebaneseSystem/Documents/Lebanese%20Constitution.pdf.

[85] Decree No. 321 dated 19 August 2014 signed by Prime Minster Tammam Salam and all other ministers calling for legislative elections to be conducted in Lebanon on 16 November 2014, and in the State of Kuwait on 7 November 2014 and in Australia on 9 November 2014. *Official Gazette (2014)*, Issue No. 34 Supplement, 18 August 2014, p.13.

Australia on 9 November 2014 at their Lebanese Embassy and Consulate respectively.[86]

In a response to the Executive Branch's call for legislative elections on 16 November 2014, the 22nd Parliament convened on 5 November 2014 and, among other proposed legislation, considered a proposal to extend its own term until 20 June 2017. After some debate, the measure was passed by 95 votes out of 97 present. The only two Deputies who voted against the extension of the term were Pakradounian and Nazarian. Deputies Kalpakian, Ogassapian, Toursarkissian and Chinchinian voted in favor of the extension.[87] In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the Government published the extension of the term of the Parliament until 20 June 2017 as Law No. 16 on 11 November 2014.[88]

During 2015, Tammam Salam's government continued to administer the day-to-day activities of state without taking any major political decisions, as the standoff between the 8 March and 14 March groups continued for most domestic and regional issues, including the Syrian conflict and Hezbullah's involvement therein. The abduction of Lebanese Army soldiers by ISIS, on the one hand, and the Jabhet El Nusra, on the other, kept the government busy. Demonstrations by civic groups against the Minister of Environment, as a result of the waste crisis,

[86] Article 104 of Election Law No. 25 of 8 October 2008 stipulates that every Lebanese who does not live in Lebanon shall have the right to participate in the legislative elections at the Lebanese embassies and/or consulates. Article 114 allows for the Lebanese Expatriates to participate in the next legislative elections that follow the 2009 elections. *"Election Law No. 25 dated 8 October 2008." Official Gazette (2008)*, Issue No. 41, 9 October 2008, pp.3917-3950.

[87] The Deputies who were not present during the deliberations on the proposed law to extend the term of the 22nd Parliament to 20 June 2017, were: Sa'ad El Hariri, Nadeem Gemayel, Ibrahim Kena'an, Edgar Ma'alouf, Alain Aoun, Gilberte Zuwein, Hekmat Deeb, Fared El Khazen, Abbas Hashem, Waleed Khoury, Saleem Salhab, Simon Abi Ramia, Ghassan Moukheiber, Nabeel Nicola, Fadi El Habr, Fadi El A'awar, Naji Gharios, Na'ametullah Abi Nasr, Sami Gemayel, Michel Aoun, Youssef Khalil, Najeeb Miqati, Ziad Aswad, Issam Sawaya, Elie Marouni, Oqab Sakr, Nouhad El Mashnouq, Talal Arslan, and Samer Sa'adeh. Only Bahiyeh El Hariri was excused from attending. *Official Minutes (2014)*: 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 5 November 2014.

[88] Law No. 16 dated 11 November 2014 extending the term of the Parliament until 20 June 2017. *Official Gazette (2014)*, Issue No. 48, 11 November 2014, p.4341.

slowed down the political rapprochement between the antagonistic political coalitions.

Parliament, on the other hand, failed to constitute quorum to elect a new president. Nevertheless, it was able to convene on 20 October 2015 in its 2nd Ordinary Session and elected the members of the Speaker's Bureau and the members of the standing committees.[89] The Parliament further met in November 2015 and adopted several pieces of legislation on an urgent basis, including a draft law for declaration of cross-border money transport;[90] a law for exchange of taxation information for tax fraud and tax evasion;[91] a law against money laundering and terrorism financing;[92] and ratified the accession of Lebanon to the International Agreement to Fight Terrorism Financing of New York.[93]

[89] Please see Table 22.9 for the elected Lebanese-Armenian Deputies to the standing committees. *Official Minutes (2015)*: 1st Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 20 October 2015.

[90] Law No. 42 dated 24 November 2015 signed by PM Tammam Salam and all ministers. *Official Gazette (2015)*, Issue No. 48, 26 November 2015, pp.3310-3312.

[91] Law No. 43 dated 24 November 2015 signed by PM Tammam Salam and all ministers. *Official Gazette (2015)*, Issue No. 48, 26 November 2015, pp.3312-3313.

[92] Law No. 44 dated 24 November 2015 signed by PM Tammam Salam and all ministers. *Official Gazette (2015)*, Issue No. 48, 26 November 2015, pp.3313-3318.

[93] Law No. 53 dated 24 November 2015 signed by P.M. Tammam Salam and all ministers. *Official Gazette (2015)*, Issue No. 48, 26 November 2015, pp.3381-3410.

		P.M. Sa'ad El Hariri 8 December 2009[94]	P.M. Najeeb Miqati 5 July 2011[95]
1.	Jean Ogassapian	**√***	**X**
2.	Serge Toursarkissian	**√**	**X**
3.	Arthur Nazarian	**√**	**√**
4.	Sebouh Kalpakian	**√**	**X**
5.	Hagop Pakradounian	**√**	**√**
6.	Shant Chinchinian	**√**	**X**
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 22.11 (a) - Governments during the 22nd Lebanese Parliament (2009-17)

[94] Decree No. 2839 dated 9 November 2009 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri appointing the ministers of the 71st Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2009),* Issue No. 53, 12 November 2009, pp.6123-6125. P.M. Sa'ad El Hariri presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 22nd Parliament on 8 December 2009 and received 121 votes of confidence against only one vote of no-confidence cast by Deputy Nicola Fattoush and one abstention by Deputy Imad El Hout. Deputy Dori Chamoun was absent while Talal Arslan did not participate in the voting. Deputies Hashem Alamedeen, Hasan Fadlallah and Nabeel Nicola were excused from attending. *Official Minutes (2009)*: 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 8 December 2009.

[95] Decree No. 5818 dated 13 June 2011 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Najeeb Miqati appointing the ministers to the 72nd Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2011),* Issue No. 28, 16 June 2011, pp.2355-2356. P.M. Miqati presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 22nd Parliament on 5 July 2011 and after heavy debate that lasted 3 days, received 68 votes of confidence against 53 votes of no-confidence with one abstention by Robert Ghanem. In addition to the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jean Ogassapian, Serge Toursarkissian, Sebouh Kalpakian and Shant Chinchinian, the following deputies cast No-Confidence Votes to Miqati's Government: Nadeem Gemayel, Michel Pharaon, Nayla Tueini, Nouhad El Mashnouq, Tammam Salam, Muhammad Qabbani, Ammar El Houri, Imad El Hout, Ghazi Youssef, Atef Majdalani, Basem El Shab, Nabeel de Freij, Sami Gemayel, Henry Helou, Fouad El Sa'ad, Fadi El Habr, Muhammad El Hajjar, Marwan Hamadeh, Dori Chamoun, George Adwan, Khaled El Daher, Khaled Zaherman, Mou'een El Mera'abi, Hadi Hbeish, Riad Rahhal, Nidal Tohme, Khoder Habib, Qasem Abdul Aziz, Kazem Saleh Kheir, Elie Keiruz, Muhammad Kabbara, Sameer El Jisr, Samer Sa'adeh, Robert Fadel, Badr Wannous, Boutros Harb, Antoine Zahra, Fareed Makari, Fareed Ghossen, Bahiyeh El Hariri, Fouad El Siniora, Ossama Sa'ad, Elie Marouni, Ziad El Qadiri, Jamal El Jarrah, Ameen Wahbi and Antoine Sa'ad. The following deputies were absent: Sa'ad El Hariri, Talal Arslan, Ahmad Fatfat, Sethrida Tawq Geagea, and Oqab Sakr. Deputies Toni Abu Khater and Joseph El Ma'alouf were excused from attending. *Official Minutes (2011)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 5 July 2011.

		P.M. Tammam Salam 19 March 2014[96]	P.M. Sa'ad El Hariri 28 December 2016[97]
1.	Jean Ogassapian	**√**	**√***
2.	Serge Toursarkissian	**√**	**√**
3.	Arthur Nazarian	**√***	**√**
4.	Sebouh Kalpakian	**√**	**√**
5.	Hagop Pakradounian	**√**	**√**
6.	Shant Chinchinian	**X**	**√**
√ - Confidence Vote; X - No Confidence Vote; A - Abstained; NS - No Show; NVR – No Voting Record			

Table 22.11 (b) – Government(s) during the 22nd Lebanese Parliament (2009-17)

As 2016 started, with the 22nd Parliament still struggling to have a quorum in order to elect a successor to President Suleiman. The UNSC issued a Presidential Statement on 22 July 2016 in this regard, and stressed that the election of *"[a] President, the formation of a unity government and the election of a parliament by May 2017 are critical for Lebanon's stability and resilience to withstand regional challenges."* It also expressed "*its deepest concern over the two-year-long vacancy in the*

[96] Decree No. 11217 dated 15 February 2014 signed by President Michel Suleiman and Prime Minister Tammam Salam appointing the ministers of the 73rd Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2014),* Issue No. 8, 20 February 2014, pp.331-332. P.M. Tammam Salam presented his Cabinet's ministerial statement to the 22nd Parliament on 19 March 2014 and received 96 votes of confidence against 8 votes of no-confidence cast by Antoine Zahra, George Adwan, Sethrida Tawq Geagea, Elie Keiruz, Fareed Habib, Toni Abu Khater, Joseph Ma'alouf and Shant Chinchinian. Deputy Imad El Hout abstained from voting. The deputies who did not show up at the meeting, were Sa'ad El Hariri, Talal Arslan, Suleiman Franjieh, Michel Aoun, Waleed Jumblatt, Nadeem Gemayel, Dori Chamoun, Fareed Makari, Assem Qanso, Oqab Sakr, Michel El Helou and Issam Sawaya. The deputies who were excused from attending were: Yaseen Jaber, Gilberte Zuwein, Emile Rahme, Muhammad El Hajjar, Muhammad El Safadi, Fareed El Khazen, Marwan Hamadeh, Asa'ad Hardan and Khoder Habib. *Official Minutes (2014)*: 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 19 March 2014.

[97] After conducting parlimanetary consultations, Present Michel Aoun named Sa'ad El Hariri to form a government. Decree No. 2 signed by President Michel Aoun dated 18 December 2016 officially appointing Sa'ad El Hariri as the Prime Minister. *Official Gazette (2016)*, Issue No. 60, 22 December 2016, p.4083. Prime Minister Hariri presented his newly formed Cabinet's misterial statement to the Lebanese Parlimanet on 27 December 2016 and received 87 votes of conficence out of the 92 attedning MPs. Four deputies cast no-confidence votes, incliding Sami Gemayael, Nadeem Gemayel, Samer Sa'adeh and Khaled El Daher. Only Deputy Imad El Hout abstained from voting. 34 deputies did not attend the meeting, including Waleed Jumblatt and Suleiman Franjieh. *Official Website of the Lebanese Parliament*, www.lp.gov.lb. *[Last accessed 2 February 2017]*.

presidency of Lebanon since the expiration of the mandate of former President Michel Sleiman on 24 May 2014." The Security Council further admonished the Lebanese leaders *"to adhere to Lebanon's Constitution and National Pact and calls on all parties to act responsibly, put Lebanon's stability and national interests ahead of partisan politics and show the necessary flexibility and sense of urgency to apply mechanisms provided for by the Lebanese Constitution with regards to the election".* Moreover, it welcomed *"the efforts of Prime Minister Tammam Salam to govern under increasingly difficult circumstances and calls on all parties in Lebanon to enable the Government to function effectively."* The Security Council also condemned *"in the strongest terms, acts of terrorism on Lebanese territory, and commends the Lebanese Armed and Security Forces for their commitment and critical role played in preventing and combating terrorism within Lebanon"* The Security Council underscored *"its previous calls on all Lebanese parties to recommit to Lebanon's policy of dissociation and to cease any involvement in the Syrian crisis, consistent with their commitment in the ministerial declaration of the current government and in the Baabda Declaration of 12 June 2012"*. It further expressed concern over *"the impact of hosting over 1,000,000 Syrian refugees registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Lebanon, which represents more refugees per capita than any other country, and its impact on host communities, on the stability and security of Lebanon and the wider region."*[98]

* * *

After numerous unsuccessful attempts to constitute constitutional quorum, the Lebanese Parliament re-convened on 31 October 2016 in the presence of 127 Deputies and elected General Michel Aoun as the President of the Republic. All six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies – Ogassapian, Toursarkissian, Pakradounian, Nazarian, Kalpakian and Chinchinian were present and voted for Aoun. Present-Elect Aoun took the Oath of Office immediately thereafter.[99]

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[98] United Nations Security Council Presidential Statement dated 22 July 2016. UNSC Official Document No. S/PRST/2016/10. *[Last accessed 4 August 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2016/10.

[99] Speaker Nabih Berri presided over the Special Meeting to elect the Present of the Republic. At the first round, General Michel Aoun received 84 votes against one vote for Gilberte Zouein. There were 36 blank papers and 7 others were defective and were cancelled. As General Michel Aoun did not have the necessary two

The United Nations Security Council in its 7799th meeting issued a Presidential Statement on 1 November 2016 and reaffirmed its *"strong support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Lebanon, in accordance with resolutions 1701 (2006), 1680 (2006), and 1559 (2004),"* and welcomed the election of Michel Aoun as the President of the Republic, stressing that *"the formation of a unity government and the election of a parliament by May 2017, in accordance with the Constitution, are critical for Lebanon's stability and resilience to withstand regional challenges."* The UN Statement further affirmed that Lebanon's stability was essential to regional stability and security. It also underscored its *"previous calls on all Lebanese parties to recommit to Lebanon's policy of dissociation and to cease any involvement in the Syrian crisis, consistent with their commitment in the Ba'abda Declaration."*[100]

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, after the election of the new President of the Republic, the Government headed by Prime Minister Salam was considered as having resigned. President Aoun held the required parliamentary consultations and asked Deputy Sa'ad El Hariri to form a new government.

The resignation of the government headed by Prime Minister Salam was formalized with the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 1 on 18 December 2016.[101] Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri formed a 30-

thirds votes necessary to be elected as the President of the Republic, in accordance with the Article 49 of the Lebanese Constitution, Speaker Berri ordered another round of election. The second round, however, was declared invalid as the number of ballots were 128 when there were only 127 Deputies present. Speaker Berri invalidated the ballot and ordered another round of election. For the third time the ballot was cancelled because the number of ballots acceded the number of Deputies by one. After taking drastic measures to safeguard the integrity of the casting of exact number of votes, Michel Aoun received 83 votes against 1 vote for Sethrida Tawq Geagea. There were 36 blank papers and 7 defective ones. Speaker Nabih Berri declared Michel Aoun as the President-elect. *Official Website of the Lebanese Parliament. [Last accessed 23 November 2016].* https://www.lp.gov.lb/ViewContentRecords.aspx?fromdate=10312016&todate=10312016.

[100] United Nations Security Council Presidential Statement dated 1 November 2016. UNSC Official Document No. S/PRST/2016/15. *[Last accessed 8 January 2017]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2016/15.

[101] Decree No. 1 signed by President Michel Aoun dated 18 December 2016 considering the Government headed PM Tammam Salam as being resigned. *Official Gazette (2016)*, Issue No. 60, 22 December 2016, p.4083.

member Cabinet, naming Jean Ogassapian as Minister of State for Women's Affairs and Avedis Guidanian as Minister of Tourism.

The Executive Branch of the Government President Michel Aoun		
Cabinet of 18 December 2016[102]		
1.	Sa'ad El Hariri	Prime Minister
2.	Ghassan Hasbani	Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Public Health
3.	Marwan Hamadeh	Minister of Education and Higher Learning
4.	Talal Arslan	Minister of Displaced
5.	Ghazi Ze'ayter	Minister of Agriculture
6.	Michel Pharaon	Minister of State for Public Planning
7.	Ali Qanso	Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs
8.	Ali Hasan Khalil	Minister of Finance
9.	Muhammad Fneish	Minister of Youth & Sport
10.	Jean Ogassapian	Minister of State for Women's Affairs
11.	Yaqoub El Sarraf	Minister of Defense
12.	Gebran Baseel	Minister of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates
13.	Hussein El Hajj Hasan	Minister of Industry
14.	Saleem Jereysati	Minister of Justice
15.	Nouhad El Mashnouq	Minister of Interior and Municipalities
16.	Muhammad Kabbara	Minister of Labor
17.	Ayman Shqeir	Minister of State for Human Rights
18.	Jamal El Jarrah	Minister of Telecommunications
19.	Mou'een El Mera'abi	Minister of State for Displaced
20.	Ghattas Khoury	Minister of Culture
21.	Pierre Raffoul	Minister of State for Presidential Affairs
22.	Nicola Tueini	Minister of State for Combating Corruption
23.	Tareq El Khateeb	Minister of Environment
24.	Inaya Azzedeen	Minister of State for Administrative Development
25.	Youssef Finyanos	Minister of Public Works and Transportation
26.	Melhem Riyashi	Minister of Information
27.	Pierre Abu Assi	Minister of Social Affairs
28.	Avedis Guidanian	Minister of Tourism
29.	Cezar Abi Khalil	Minister of Water & Power
30.	Ra'ed Khoury	Minister of Economy and Commerce

Table 22.12 – Cabinet Members of P.M. Sa'ad El Hariri's Government (18 December 2016)

[102] Decree No. 3 dated 18 December 2016 signed by President Michel Aoun and Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri appointing the ministers of the 74th Lebanese Government. *Official Gazette (2016)*, Issue No. 60, 22 December 2016, pp.4083-4084.

Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri presented the ministerial statement of the new government to the Lebanese Parliament on 27 and 28 December 2016 and received 87 votes of confidence including those of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Ogassapian, Toursarkissian, Kalpakian, Pakradounian, Nazarian and Chinchinian. Four other Deputies cast votes of no confidence, including the Phalange Party representatives Sami Gemayel, Nadeem Gemayel, Samer Sa'adeh and Khaled El Daher. Only Muhammad El Hout abstained from voting, whereas 34 other Deputies did not show up at the meeting.[103]

The new government promised to devise a new election law according to which new legislative elections may be held in summer 2017. Accordingly, President Aoun issued Decree No. 23 on 7 January 2017 and called for an extraordinary session of the Lebanese Parliament to commence on 9 January 2017 and have new legislative election laws as part of its agenda.[104] Speaker Berri called for a meeting of the members of the Speaker's Bureau on 12 January 2017 to consider and adopt total of 73 items on the agenda. Speaker Berri then summoned the members of Parliament to a legislative session held on 18 and 19 January 2017. Among several legislative proposals were two separate draft laws proposed by Deputies Toursarkissian and Chinchinian concerning traffic laws and new passport fees, respectively. After long deliberations on Toursarkissian's proposed draft law, the members of Parliament postponed further discussions on the matter to the next legislative meeting. Chinchinian's proposal, however, was not discussed because of lack of time and was put over along with other legislative matters to the next meeting.[105]

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[103] PM Sa'ad El Hariri received 87 Confidence Votes out of 92 present on 28 December 2016. 34 other Deputies were not present out of the 126 members (Tripoli MP Robert Fadel had resigned from the Parliament and Michel Aoun was elected as President of the Republic). *Official Website of the Lebanese Parliament*. www.lp.gov.lb. *[Last accessed 9 February 2017]*.

[104] Decree No. 23 dated 7 January 2017 signed by President Michel Aoun and Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri calling an extraordinary session of the Parliament to commence on 9 January and end on 20 March 2017. *Official Gazette (2017)*, Issue No. 2, 12 January 2017, p.9.

[105] The *Official Minutes (2017)* of the 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 18 and 19 January 2017 were not published yet at the time of the publication of this book. Information was based upon a personal interview of the Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Shant Chinchinian by this Author, on 20 January 2017.

* * *

With the election of President Michel Aoun and appointment of Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri, the Lebanese politicians started to make new political alignments outside of the 8 March and 14 March coalitions, which seemed to be fading away with the new domestic and regional political and security developments. Harirs's Government in conjunction with President Aoun however was able to appoint new chiefs to the Lebanese armed forces which were overdue for some time. Through special decrees the Government appointed Brigadier-General Joseph Aoun as the Army Commander-in-Chief,[106] Brigadier-General Imad Othman as the Director-General of the Internal Security Forces,[107] Major General Abbas Ibrahim as Director General of the General Security[108] and Sa'adallah Mohiedeen El Hamad as the Secretary General of Higher Defense Council.[109]

It is yet to be seen how the Lebanese Parliament will react to any proposed new legislative election laws or may simply maintain the *status quo* by re-endorsing the 1960 election laws. Alternatively, it will extend its own term for a third time, as its current term will end on 20 June 2017.

[106] Decree No. 305 dated 8 March 2017 signed by President Michel Aoun, Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri, Minister of Defence Yacoub El Sarraf and Minister of Finance Ali Hasan Khalil promoting Brigadier Joseph Aoun to the rank of Army General and appointing him as the Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army. *Official Gazette (2017)*, Issue No. 13, 16 March 2017, p.1508.

[107] Decree No. 307 dated 8 March 2017 signed by President Michel Aoun, Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri, Minister of Interior Nouhad El Mashnouq and Minister of Finance Ali Hasan Khalil appointing Brigadier-General Imad Othman as te Director General of Internal Security Forces. *Official Gazette (2017)*, Issue No. 13, 16 March 2017, p.1505.

[108] Decree No. 316 dated 8 March 2017 signed by President Michel Aoun, Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri, Minister of Interior Nouhad El Mashnouq and Minister of Finance Ali Hasan Khalil appointing Major General Abbas Kazem Ibrahim as te Director General of General Security. *Official Gazette (2017)*, Issue No. 13, 16 March 2017, p.1507.

[109] Decree No. 306 dated 8 March 2017 signed by President Michel Aoun, Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri, Minister of Defense Yacoub El Sarraf and Minister of Finance Ali Hasan Khalil appointing Brigadier-General Imad Othman as te Director General of Internal Security Forces. *Official Gazette (2017)*, Issue No. 13, 16 March 2017, p.1505.

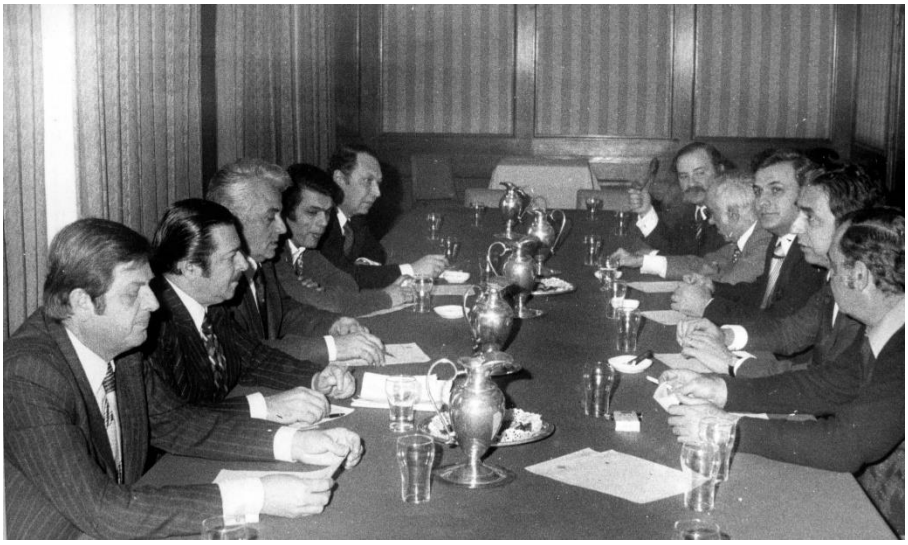
Photos

24 May 1972 – The newly elected members of the Armenian Bloc of the 13th Parliament walking out of the Ba'abda Palace after meeting with President Suleiman Franjieh immediately after the the legislative elections of April 1972. From Left to Right: Deputies Souren Khanamirian, Khatchig Babikian, Melkon Eblighatian, Antranig Manougian and Ara Yerevanian.

(Photo by Annahar)

13 April 1975 – Unknown assailants opened fire and killed three Christians when Deputy Pierre Gemayel, the leader of the Maronite-dominated Kataeb Party (Phalangists) was attending the consecration of a new church in the Christian Beirut suburb, Ayn El-Rummana. Within a matter of hours, a group of Maronite militiamen retaliated by ambushing twenty-six Palestinians in a bus in the Ayn El-Rummana district, who were on their way to the Tel El-Za'atar Refugee Camp. The civil war in Lebanon thus erupted.

(Photo from the web)



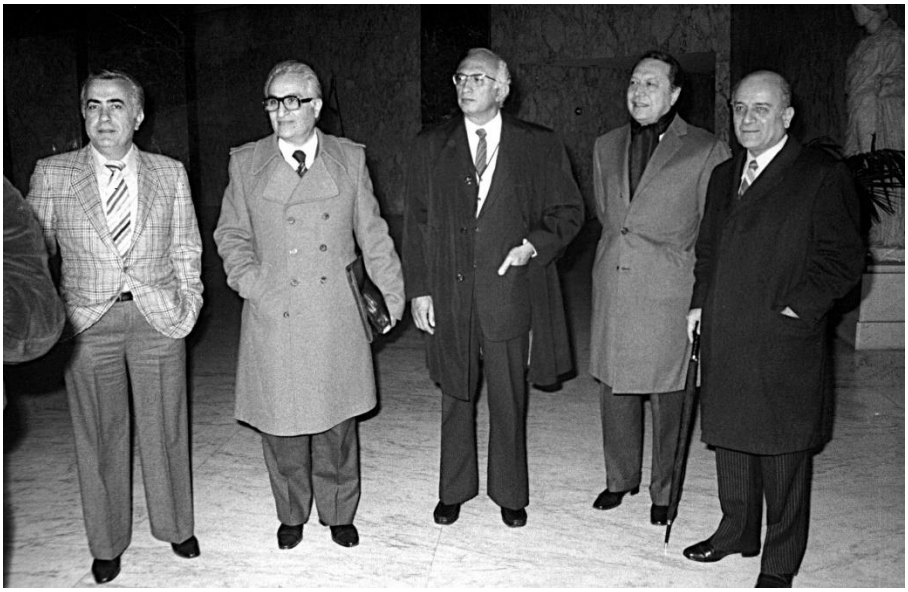
19 March 1976 – Deputy Souren Khanamirian (farthest left) meeting with 13 other Deputies at the Bristol Hotel in Beirut, to demand the resignation of President Suleiman Franjieh almost a year after the Lebanese Civil War had erupted.

(Photo by George Semerdjian, Annahar)

27 December 1976 – The National Dialogue Council, which included many influential Lebanese politicians as members, discussing potential solutions for the ongoing civil war in Lebanon.

Seated on the left: Kamal Jumblatt, Abdullah El Yafi, Camille Chamoun, Khatchig Babikian and Majeed Arslan. On the right: Rene Mou'awad, Ghassan Tueini, Raymond Edde, Rasheed Karami, Saeb Salam and Pierre Gemayel. In the middle: Elias Saba, Edmond Rabbat and Najeeb Qranouh.

(Photo by Annahar)



27 February 1980 – Left to Right: Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Ara Yerevanian, Khatchig Babikian, Melkon Eblighatian, Souren Khanamirian and Antranig Manougian after a meeting with President Elias Sarkis at the Ba'abda Palace.

(Photo by Annahar)

24 October 1980 – From Left to Right: Prime Minister nominee Shafeeq El Wazzan, and Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Melkon Eblighatian, Khatchig Babikian, Souren Khanamirian and Antranig Manougian during a meeting with El Wazzan before the latter formed a new government and named Babikian as the Minister of Justice.

(Photo by Annahar)

31 May 1984 – The 15th Parliament presided by Speaker Kamel El Asa'ad in a session during the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by the newly formed government headed by P.M. Rasheed Karami, just after the Geneva and Lausanne conferences. Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Babikian, Khanamirian, Eblighatian and Manougian cast votes of no-confidence in Karami's government. Deputy Yerevanian was not present.

(Photo By Annahar)

28 December 1985 – Nabih Berri, Waleed Jumblatt and Elie Hobeiqa meeting with Syria's President Hafez El Asad after signing the Tripartite Agreement in the presence of Syria's Foreign Minister Abdul Haleem Khaddam and Kareem Pakradooni.

(Photos by Annahar)

18 October 1989 – Saudi Arabia's King Fahed bin Abdul Aziz El Saud hosting the Taef Conference of Lebanese MPs.

Seated from Left to Right: Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz El Saud, Speaker Hussein El Husseini, King Fahed Bin Abdul Aziz El Saud, Deputies Adel Osseiran and Saeb Salam.

Upon the invitation of the Arab Tripartite Committee, 62 Lebanese Deputies (31 Muslim and 31 Christians) convened and deliberated in the City of Ta'ef, Saudi Arabia, under the aegis of the League of Arab States to find a solution to the Lebanese crises. Among the participants were Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Khatchig Babikian, Melkon Eblighatian and Antranig Manougian.

(Photo from the web)

8 January 1992 – Speaker Hussein El Husseini (center) chairing a joint meeting of the standing committees of the Lebanese Parliament. Seated next to the Speaker is Minister of Justice Khatchig Babikian, conferring with Minister of Economy and Commerce Marwan Hamadeh. To the far right is Hagop Choukhadarian, Minister of State for Environmental Issues in Prime Minister Omar Karami's 30-member Cabinet.

(Photo by Annahar)

22 May 1992 – Newly appointed Minister of Oil and Industry Shahe Barsoumian (seated 2nd from the left) taking over the Ministry from the outgoing Minister Muhammad El Jaroudi. Barsoumian was appointed as a minister in Prime Minister Rasheed El Solh's 24-member Cabinet that organized the 1st legislative elections in 20 years.

(Photo by Annahar)

9 November 1992 – The 18th Parliament in session with Speaker Nabih Berri presiding over the deliberations on the ministerial statement presented by Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri. Hagop Demirdjian was appointed as Minister of Public Works and Transportation whereas Shahe Barsoumian was named as Minister of State in Hariri's 1st government. All seven Lebanese-Armenian Deputies, Khatchig Babikian, Souren Khanamirian, Yeghia Jeredjian, Hagop Choukhadarian, Hagop Demirdjian, Nourijan Demirdjian, Shahe Barsoumian and George Kassarji cast votes of confidence in Hariri's government.

(Photo by Annahar)

17 September 1993 – Minister of Economy and Commerce Hagop Demirdjian (second from the left) singing bilateral agreements for economic developments between the Republic of Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic, surrounded by Lebanese and Syrian officials headed by Lebanon's PM Rafik El Hariri and Syria's PM Mahmoud El Zuabi. Demirdjian and Minister of State Barsoumian were the first two Lebanese-Armenian ministers appointed by Hariri in the 1st Lebanese Government post the 1st legislative elections after the Ta'ef Agreement.

(Photo by Annahar)

8 January 1997 – The Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in a meeting. From Left to Right: Minister of Oil and Industry Shahe Barsoumian, Deputies Hagop Choukhadarian, George Kassarji, Sebouh Hovnanian, Khatchig Babikian and Abraham Dedeyan.

(Photo by Annahar)

3 January 2001 – Lebanese-Armenian Deputy from Zahle District George Kassarji meeting with President Emile Lahoud at the Ba'abda Palace. Deputy Kassarji was an outspoken opponent of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri's policies. Kassarji cast vote of no confidence in Hariri's Government, partly because of Hariri's economic policies and partly because Hariri did not appoint a second Lebanese-Armenian minister to his Cabinet in October 2000.

(Photo by Annahar)

2 February 2001 – Lebanese-Armenian Deputies meeting with H.E. Phillippe Lecourtier, the French Ambassador to Lebanon. Seated from Left to Right: French Embassy diplomat, Deputies Serge Toursarkissian, Yeghia Jeredjian, the French Ambassador, Jean Ogassapian and Hagop Kassardjian.

(Photo by Annahar)

30 November 2001 – Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Yeghia Jeredjian meeting with Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri. Jeredjian abstained from casting a vote of confidence in the Cabinet headed by Hariri in November 2000 because Hariri did not include a second Armenian minister in his Government.

(Photo by Annahar)

19 November 2002 – Lebanese Armenian Kareem Pakradouni, President of the Phalange Party (El Kataeb) meeting with Speaker Nabih Berri. Several months later, Pakradouni was appointed as the Minister of State for Administrative Reforms in Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri's government of 17 April 2003.

(Photo by Annahar)

4 August 2004 – Lebanese-Armenian Minister of Youth and Sports Sebouh Hovnanian meeting with Speaker Nabih Berri at Ain El Tineh.

(Photo by Annahar)

22 March 2006 – From Left to Right: Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Hagop Kassardjian, George Kassarji, Yeghia Jeredjian and Hagop Pakradounian after participating in the National Dialogue Conference organized by Speaker Nabih Berri to ease the inter-communal tensions, specially between the 8 March and 14 March camps after the assassinations of Rafik El Hariri and several other politicians.

(Photo by Annahar)

July 2006 – The devastating Israeli war on Lebanon.

(Photo from the web)

17 May 2008 – Upon the invitation of Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani, Emir of Qatar, the participants of the Lebanese National Dialogue Conference met in Doha and after long deliberations and negotiations signed the Doha Agreement that put an end to the political impasse leading to the election of Michel Suleiman as the President of the Republic. The Lebanese-Armenian Deputy Hagop Pakradounian signed the Doha Agreement on behalf of the Lebanese-Armenian Community.

(Photo by Annahar)

28 May 2008 – Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Hagop Pakradounian (Left) and George Kassarji (Right) meeting with newly elected President Michel Suleiman at the Ba'abda Palace, as part of the mandatory parliamentary consultations to name a new prime minister.

(Photo by Annahar)

19 March 2009 – The 21st Lebanese Parliament in session with the attendance of the Government headed by Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora. Minister of Water and Power Alain Tabourian is seated second from the left on the first row and Minister of State Jean Ogassapian is seated third from the left on the second row just behind the Prime Minister. During this session, the Chamber considered and debated a proposed law lowering the voting age to 18. The measure was adopted by the majority and referred to the government for consideration, with no further success.

(Photo by Annahar)

27 June 2009 – The newly elected Lebanese-Armenian Deputies to the 22nd Parliament confer with President Michel Suleiman as part of the mandatory parliamentary consultations to name a new prime minister. Seated from Left to Right: Deputies Sebouh Kalpakian, Jean Ogassapian, President Suleiman, Deputies Serge Toursarkissian and Shant Chinchinian.

(Photo by Annahar)

9 May 2010 – Minister of Industry in Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri's Government, Abraham Dedeyan with Deputy Hagop Pakradounian at a Fire Station.

(Photo by Annahar)

25 January 2011 – From Left to Right: Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Serge Toursarkissian, Sebouh Kalpakian and Jean Ogassapian making a statement after meeting with President Michel Suleiman at the Ba'abda Palace, as part of the mandatory parliamentary consultations to name a new prime minister, immediately after Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri's resignation. Hariri was forced to resign after the ministers of the 8-March coalition collectively reigned while Hariri was on an official visit to the U.S. President Barack Obama.

(Photos by Annahar)

19 December 2014 – Minister of Water and Power Arthur Nazarian (third from the left) meeting with Prime Minister Tammam Salam in the presence of other Deputies to discuss outstanding issues in the oil and gas sector in Lebanon.

(Photo by Annahar)

31 October 2016 – Presided over by Speaker Nabih Berri, the Lebanese Parliament convened in the presence of 127 Deputies and elected General Michel Aoun as President of the Republic. All six Lebanese-Armenian Deputies Jean Ogassapian, Serge Toursarkissian, Hagop Pakradounian, Arthur Nazarian, Sebouh Kalpakian and Shant Chinchinian were present.

(Photo from the Presidential website)

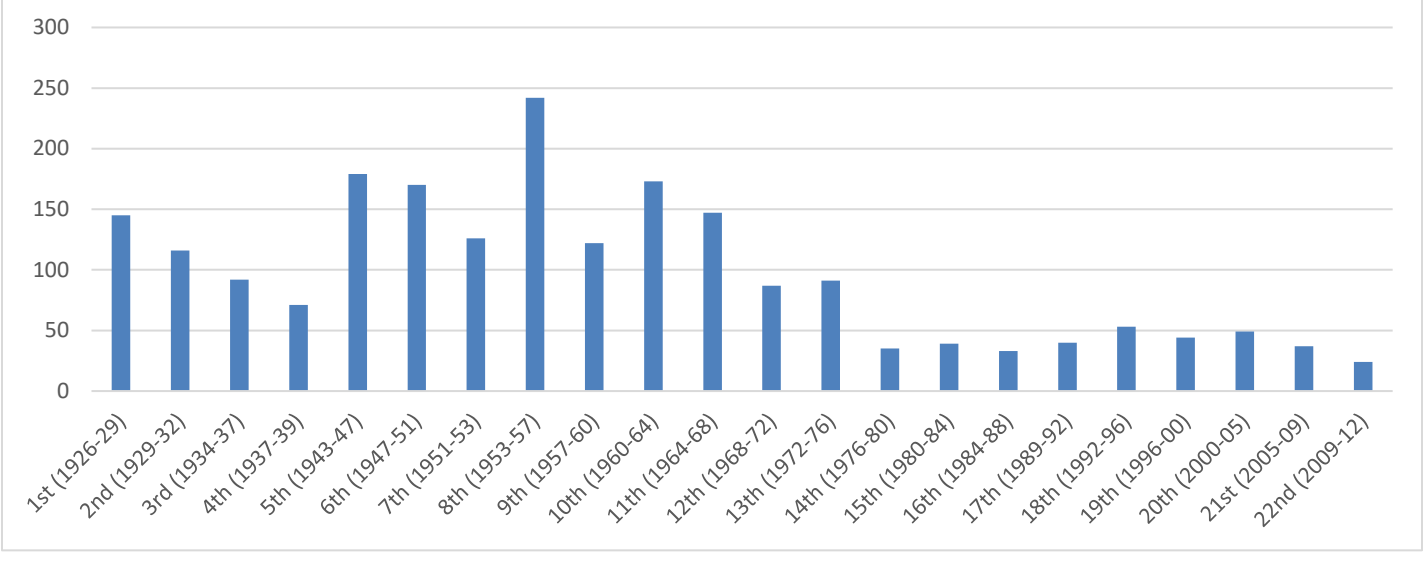
31 October 2016 – President -Elect Michel Aoun taking the Oath of Office before the Lebanese Parliament presided over by Speaker Nabih Berri.

(Photo by Annahar)

Appendices

Appendix 1
Chart of Parliamentary Meetings

Appendix 1



Total Number of Ordinary and Extraordinary Meetings of the Lebanese Parliaments (1926-2012) *

* Information available until 2012

Appendix 2

Lebanese-Armenian Deputies

(1972-2017)

Lebanese-Armenian Deputies in the Lebanese Parliaments (1972 to 2017)												
23	Shant Chinchinian											
22	Sebouh Kalpakian											
21	Arthur Nazarian											
20	Hagop Pakradounian											
19	Serge Toursarkissian											
18	Jean Ogassapian											
17	Hagop Kassardjian											
16	Andre Tabourian											
15	Abraham Dedeyan											
14	Sebouh Hovnanian											
13	Hagop Demirdjian											
12	Nourijan Demirdjian											
11	Hagop Choukhadarian											
10	George Kassarji											
9	Yeghia Jeredjian											
8	Shahe Barsoumian											
7	Antoine Chader											
6	Antranig Manougian											
5	Ara Yerevanian											
4	Melkon Eblighatian											
3	Souren Khanamirian											
2	Khatchig Babikian									*		
1	Joseph Chader		*	*	*	*						
Lebanese Parliaments		13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	Tr.	18th	19th	20th	21st	22nd
		1972-1976	1976-1980	1980-1984	1984-1988	1989-1991	91-92	1992-1996	1996-2000	2000-2005	2005-2009	2009-2017
No. of Armenian Deputies		6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	6	6	6
Total No. of Deputies		99	99	99	99	99	108	128	128	128	128	128

Appendix 3
Khatchig Babikian

Appendix 3.1

Khatchig Babikian – 31 May 1984

Speech by Katchig Babikian at the Deliberation of the Ministerial Statement of Rasheed Karami's 56th Lebanese Government before casting a No-Confidence Vote.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1984): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 15th Parliament held on 31 May 1984

خاتشيك بابكيان ـ دولة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء الكرام،

الحرب المفروضة على لبنان انتهت، من الآن فصاعداً يعود اللبناني سيد مصيره فأما أن يجنح إلى استمرار الحرب فلن يجد من يردعه عنها وإما أن يجنح إلى السلام فلن يعترض سبيله على الأرجح معترض. هذا بالتقريب إن لم يكن بالتحديد ما قاله لي صديقي الذي نعت أمس إذاعات العالم وفاته أثر إصابته بنوبة قلبية مفاجئة رئيس الوزراء في مصر وصديق لبنان الحميم الدكتور فؤاد محي الدين.

وكان ذلك في أوائل كانون الثاني 1984 في لقاء خاص في مؤتمر دولي في القاهرة.

هذا الكلام يومذاك أصاب صدى في قلبي وأثار في نفسي الحزينة علي بلدي أملا فرحت اتفحص ما ينطوي عليه من صحة وصواب.

والحق يقال أن مجال الأحاديث التي حضرتها منذ ذلك الوقت، في الداخل، مع المراجع الصديقة سياسية كانت أم دبلوماسية أو دينية تصب في القناة ذاتها.

الحرب المفروضة على لبنان قد انتهت أو أوشكت ومن الآن فصاعداً اللبناني سيد مصيره. فله أن يختار بين حرب وخراب ودمار وبين سلم وسلام وعمار.

أكثر من ذلك، كان فؤاد محي الدين قد قال مستطرداً في حديثه، بقدر ما انتهت الحرب المفروضة على لبنان بقدر ما سائر إلى الزوال اهتمام الدول العظمى في بلدكم. وكان يبشر بانسحاب أميركا المبكر منذ ذلك الحين.

يقول حذاري اللبناني الاتكال على الغير. صديقاً أم غريباً، أحزموا أمركم ووحدوا صفوفكم حتى لا يضيع، لا سمح الله، بلدكم الجميل ولا يصيب لبنان من النسيان والزوال ما أصاب أوطاناً ودولاً كثيرة أضحت في ذمة التاريخ.

فؤاد محي الدين الصديق الحميم للبنان أصبح منذ أول أمس ذمة الله ولكن كلامه لا يزال حياً في أذني. لبنان من الآن فصاعداً مسؤولية اللبنانيين ومصيره في يد أبنائه.

موفور الكرامة في بلد يسومه النظام لا الخوف والظلام، ويدوي فيه صوت الحق ولا أزيز الرصاص ودوي القنابل.

ولو جاز لي بعد كل ما قيل في البيان الوزاري أن أضيف شيئاً واحداً لاختصرناه بما يلي:

حذار من ان تتفادوا وتنزلقوا في مزلاق ودهاليز التشاريع وسن القوانين واستصدار النصوص وتصريح المراسيم.

هذا مرض أضاع على الوطن في الماضي فرصاً ثمينة في الإصلاح والتطوير والنمو. فحذار من أن يدب في صفوفكم ويعبث بوقتكم وبأعمالكم في هذه المرحلة المصيرية من تاريخ لبنان.

المطلوب اليوم:

ـ توطيد الأمن..

ـ تحرير الأرض..

وكلاهما لا يتم لا عن طريق مراسيم عن طريق تعاليم بل على الطريق واحد لا غير: أن تجتمعوا في صومعة أو دار أو قاعة مقفلة وتتفقوا مهما كلف الأمر وقبل أن تأكل الثورة كل أخضر ويابس وبعد أن تأكل الثورة أبناءها. على تنظيم الجيش وتوحيده ليصبح هذا الجيش القوة الرادعة في الداخل ضد من يعبث بأمن الوطن والمواطنين. ويصبح في الخارج القوة الضاربة التي تنهي كل احتلال أجنبي. ولا يغرنكم العمل في سن القوانين وتصحيح المراسيم وتنظيم الإدارات والمصالح.

الشكوى ليست في القوانين وقلتها، لا بل الشكوى كل الشكوى في انعدام السلطة وعدم تطبيق القوانين وقلة تنفيذها.

ولعل طلبكم حق التشريع في ميادين شتى لا حصر لها ولا حد ينم عن عوارض معينة لهذا المرض المستشري في الجسم السياسي والإداري اللبناني منذ زمن والذي سميته في مناسبات عديدة مرض الفقيه، وهذا الاعتقاد أنه بسن القوانين وإصدار النصوص واستصدار للمراسيم وتدبيج التعاليم المسهبة يمكن إصلاح أمرها. وهذا يتنافى مع مفهوم الحكم الحديث ومفهوم الإدارة العصرية.

والآن، عودة إلى موضوع الثقة.

في الوقت الذي، كما نأمل، تفتح صفحة جديدة في تاريخ لبنان وتقضي الظروف الدولية باعتقادنا أن ترفع أكثر من دولة كبيرة يدها عن لبنان. فيما دول صديقة وفي طليعتها سوريا والمملكة العربية السعودية تمد لنا يد العون لتوحيد الصف واسكات المدفع وتعطيل القنابل

كما نتمنى أن لا يغب عن هذه التشكيلة الوزارية عضو كريم من أعضاء العائلة اللبنانية الكبرى عنيت.

والآن السؤال الكبير، هل هذه الوزارة هي وزارة المصير؟ وهي نعتمدها لتقرير المصير؟

لقد تنوعت التسميات وتعددت المفردات في وصف هذه الوزارة فمنهم من سماها هيئة إنقاذ (هكذا قال الشيخ بيار الجميل) ومن سماها لجنة أمنية عليا (الرئيس شمعون) ومن سماها هيئة اتحاد وطني (الرئيس كرامي). ومن سماها هيئة تحديث وتغيير (الرئيس سليم الحص) والبعض سماها هيئة تشريعية إشارة إلى البيان الوزاري المطالب بحق التشريع إلى آخر ما هنالك من تسميات أطلقت على هذه الوزارة من أعضائها أو من مريديها أو من معارضيها.

ولقد استمعنا أيضاً إلى الزملاء الكرام وكلهم إخلاص وحق وهم يناقشون البيان الوزاري. فمنهم من شكك بقدرة هذه الوزارة في تحقيق ما وعدت به من توطيد للأمن وضبط للفلتان، ومنهم من أنكر عليها القدرة (حتى الصلاحيات الدستورية).. على تحقيق أي تحديث أو تغيير وجلهم يرفض منحها حق التشريع عن طريق المراسيم الاشتراعية، نعم استمعنا إلى كل هذا.. وسمعنا أيضاً مع الأسف، في أجواء العاصمة ولا تزال حتى هذه الساعة دوي الانفجارات والقصف والدمار. هذا كله بالإضافة إلى ما عددنا من جرحى وما بكينا من قتلى منذ ثلاثين نيسان، منذ تشكيل هذه الوزارة.

كل هذا لا يشجع ولا يرحم ولا نسأل مع البديل؟

ماذا بيد هذا المجلس البديل؟ أن يقدم إلى شعبنا المعذب المتعطش منذ عشر سنوات، إلى فترة ولو إلى ليلة واحدة من الهدوء والأمن والسلام ينام قرير العين، غير قلق على حياته وحياة أطفاله وأهله وعياله.

ماذا بإمكان هذا المجلس الكريم أن يقدم إلى عمالنا من رجال ونساء عاطلين عن العمل قلقين على مصيرهم ومصير عيالهم وإلى أرباب العمل المهددين بإقفال متاجرهم وإفلاس مؤسساتهم. أيها السادة، إن في هذه الوزارة وجوهاً كريمة وأصدقاء لنا أوفياء ومن الرجالات ما يجعل الرجاء على يدهم أملاً وطيداً سيما وعلى رأسهم دولة الرئيس رشيد كرامي الذي نجل ونحترم. أكثر من ذلك، أن في عنق كل عضو من أعضاء هذه الوزارة أمانة غالية لا يستهونن بها أحدهم. هي أمانة الأجيال الغابرة التي جبلت أرض هذا الوطن بعرق جبينها تارة وبالدماء الذكية التي بذلها طوراً دفاعاً عن حرياته وكراماته. أمانة وأحلام الشهداء الذين سقطوا مسلمين ومسيحيين صفاً واحداً يوم أقام الظالم العثماني الأعواد ليضرب أعناق الأبطال ليسكت صوت الأحرار، هي أمانة مائة ألف لبناني لم يمض على استشهادهم عقد من الزمن دفعوا في هذه الحرب المجنونة حياتهم إيمانهم بوطنهم وتمسكهم بأرضهم وديارهم وقرارهم. هي أمانة ثلاثة ملايين من اللبنانيين المقيمين وإضعافهم من اللبنانيين المغتربين ينظرون بشفق وأمل إلى يوم الفرج والخلاص تعود أرض لبنان حرة طليقة محررة من كل احتلال من جنوبها إلى بقاعها. ويعود اللبناني سيراً حراً مستقلاً تمثيل الطائفة الأرمنية الارثوذكسية. ولست هنا في موضع تذكير دور هذه الطائفة منذ فجر الاستقلال في بناء الوطن وترسيخ قواعده، طائفة أصيلة يعود تاريخها إلى تاريخ إنشاء دولة لبنان المعاصر..

ولقد تميزت هذه الطائفة، في جميع مراحل النضال الوطني، بانضباطية وخلقية مع الزمن مضرب الأمثال، فالمجالس النيابية لم تشهد طائفة تمثلت على مر السنين، لا بل منذ يوم الاستقلال بممثلين كلهم على الدوام من اتجاه سياسي واحد، يقفون صفاً واحداً في كل ظرف وطني شأن هذه الطائفة دون استثناء.

ولا الحكومات المتتالية طائفة واحدة يقف ممثلوها مع الشرعية ضاربين صفحاً بكل مصلحة شخصية ولو فئوية أو حزبية، غير آبهين إلا بالاعتبارات السياسية السامية شأن بناء الدولة الحديثة القوية القادرة، ونشر القوانين الاجتماعية وتوطيد أمن البلد وسعادته واستقلاله، والحفاظ على وحدة بنيه أرضاً وشعباً. وفيما حرب العشر سنوات تقبل، إن شاء الله على الزوال.

هل من حاجة للتذكير بدور هذه الطائفة الريادي في رأب الصدع يوم أوشك الوطن تهديما وتفتيتاً وتشتيتاً، وهل بحاجة للتذكير في مناطقها مع العلم أن بناء الوطن الواحد دون تمييز في الدين والمذهب والعقيدة، ولا الانتماء الطائفي أو السياسي أو الحزبي.

هل يكتمل عقد العائلة اللبنانية بغياب ممثل عن هذه الطائفة الأصيلة، وقد قطعت الوعود مثنى وثلاثا ورباع في الاشتراك في مؤتمر جنيف، ثم في مؤتمر لوزان ثم في وزارة الإنقاذ الوطني ولم تر الوعود وفاء.

نهيب عما يلحق بها من غبن في ميدان التوظيف وشرف الخدمة في مؤسسات الدولة وإدارتها ومصالحها.

لبنان البلد الصغير بمساحته وعدد سكانه. نقول ونردد أنه كبير، كبير بإشعاعه ونوره أو هكذا كان على الأقل قبل تفاقم الأوضاع وقبل إفلات الصراعات الدموية فيه.

فالطائفة الأرمينية الأرثوذكسية شأن سائر الطوائف اللبنانية الكبرى تتعاطف مع سائر أنحاء العالم مع الملايين مع أبنائها المنتشرين هنا وهناك، وهذه قوة يستمد منها الوطن إشعاعاً ومناعة فكيف نهمل كل ذلك ونضرب صفحاً بالإشعاع الثقافي والفني والدعم الروحي والعاطفي لهذه الملايين. هكذا يرسخ الشعور بالوحدة الوطنية والإحساس بالمواطنية لدي اللبنانية. أو هكذا تجمد الطاقات عبر العالم بدعم قضية لبنان لدى القاضي والداني.

إنه منطق غريب يرفضه مائتي ألف مواطن لبناني من أبناء الطائفة الأرمينية الأرثوذكسية وهم بقياداتهم السياسية والحزبية والاجتماعية يدعون إلى تصحيح هذا الخلل ويطلبون معاملتهم بالتساوي مع سائر الطوائف المماثلة عدداً وحجماً فباسم كتلة النواب التي انتمى إليها أرى نفسي مضطراً يا دولة الرئيس مع كل احترامي ومحبتي ومع تمنياتي الصادقة بأن تحققوا مع عقد من وزاراتكم من آمال كثيرة وأمان صادقة إلى إعلان عدم إمكاننا إعطاء الثقة لحكومتكم لهذا السب بالذات ودمتم ودام لبنان.

Appendix 3.2

Khatchig Babikian – 21 August 1990

Speech by Katchig Babikian at a Legislative Meeting discussing the Amendments to the Constitution based upon the Ta'ef Accord.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1990): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 17th Parliament held on 21 August 1990.

خاتشيك بابكيان:

باسمي وباسم زملائي في الكتلة التي انتمي إليها، يسرني أن أعلن بادئ ذي بدء موافقتنا التامة على مشروع القانون المتضمن التعديلات الدستورية براً وإنفاذاً لما اتفقنا عليه في الطائف. وإذ نقدم اليوم على تنفيذ هذه الخطوة التاريخية على طريق توحيد الشعب والمؤسسات، نأمل من صميم الفؤاد أن نكون قد أدينا قسطنا للعلي سبحانه وتعالى وللضمير وللوطن بطي صفحة مريرة من تاريخ لبنان المعاصر وبفتح أفق مشرق جديد أمام شبابنا الذي لم يروا حتى الآن من الحياة غير ألوانها القاتمة. وبالتصديق على هذه التعديلات نأمل أن تتحقق الأهداف السامية لوثيقة الطائف، والتي تتلخص بنظرنا بثلاثة:

أولاً: نشر الوئام والوفاق بين صالحي النية وحسني الإرادة من أبنائنا من جميع الأطراف وذلك بوضع حد للصرخة القائمة منذ أمد طويل في المطالبة بالمساواة في السلطة التشريعية والمشاركة في السلطة التنفيذية.

ثانياً: تحرير أرض الوطن من الاحتلال ورفع الجور عن أرض الجنوب الغالي.

ثالثاً: إطلاق المهل المصيرية التي توافقنا عليها في الطائف للبدء في رفع علم الشرعية بحل الميليشيات في ظرف ستة أشهر من تاريخ إقرار الإصلاحات وانسحاب جميع الجيوش غير اللبنانية وفقاً لما نصت عليه الوثيقة.

دولة الرئيس،

لقد قبل قسم غير يسير من النواب الحاضرين هنا الهجرة والغربة في عقر دارهم، ثم العزلة والنفي عن أهلهم ورفاقهم، لا بل التعدي على أموالهم وتفجير ديارهم إرهاباً وظلماً وعدواناً. ولكني ها أنا أقولها علناً وجهاراً، ما من وقت شعرت بشرف أعظم، وأنا أتذكر كل الذين من رجال الدين والدنيا، كانوا يرددون: أنه ما من شرف أعظم للمرء من أن يمتهن شرف الهجرة ومن العزلة ونصب عينه خلاص بلاده، وبلادي في حرب شرسه منذ خمس عشرة سنة، حصدت من الأرواح البريئة بالألوف المؤلفة ما حصدت وعمقت من الأحقاد والضغائن ما

عمقت، ناهيك عما دمرت وخربت. فعسى أن تكون خاتمة الأحزان، وعسى أن تكون الخطوة التاريخية التي عليها اليوم بداية النهاية في الأم هذا الشعب الذي ذاق الأمرين. وتحضرني في هذه الآونة ما تعرض له أهلنا ورفاقنا من شعبنا بالمنطقة الشرقية في المدة الأخيرة، وقد كادوا أن يفقدوا كل أمل بعد أن حلت الشعارات والنداءات الزائفة محل الالتزام بنشر السلام والوئام.

نعم أنه لامل كبير يخالج النفوس بفتح أفق جديد، ونحن على كل حال كما سبق وقلت، نحن مع مشروع الإصلاحات الدستورية وسوف نشارك بالمناقشة مشاركة إيجابية آملين التصويت على المشروع وإقراره بالغالبية المطلوبة.

دولة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء،

لابد باسم كتلة النواب الأرمن أن نوضح أمرين: لا بل نذكر وسبق أن أعلنا في سياق مناقشتنا بالطائف.

الأمر الأول: أن وثيقة الطائف فيما تهدف إلى أهداف سامية في طليعتها إنهاء حالة الحرب في لبنان وإسراء الوفاق بين أبناء الوطن الواحد، أن لا يمكن أن تعتبر أحكامه مستكملة للشروط المطلوبة لدستور حديث عصري ينظم علاقة المواطن بالحكم وبالمؤسسات العامة.

هناك فصل كامل واسع شامل يتعلق بحقوق المواطنين في مفهوم الدولة الحديثة، ألا وهي الحقوق الاجتماعية التي لا يمكن أن يكفلها الدستور، وهي تشكل العمود الفقري لكل دستور حديث. من هذه الحقوق هل لي أن أذكر الحق في العمل، وهو حق يضمن لكل مواطن شرف الخدمة في المجتمع وحق المشاركة في عملية الإنتاج، أكان ذلك في الخدمة الخاصة أو الوظيفة العامة، ويقابل هذا الحق، حق الضمان ضد البطالة ضمن ظروف وأحكام معينة.

ثم الحق في السكن من الحقوق الاجتماعية، وهو يضمن للمواطن أن لا يبقى شريداً في أرضه ووطن، ثم الحق في التربية والتعليم، فلا جهل بعد اليوم ولا تخلف لمجتمع يدعي النور والإشعاع. كل هذه الحقوق وغيرها من الحقوق الاجتماعية التي لا مجال لتعدادها هنا، لم يعد من الجائز إهمالها ونحن على أبواب القرن الحادي والعشرين. لذا ندعوا الحكم بأن يفكر جدياً في أن يضمن هذه الحقوق قوانين دستورية تضاف في المستقبل حالما تسمح الظروف بذلك إلى هذا التعديل الذي نحن بصدده اليوم.

الأمر الثاني: الذي نريد أن يسجل هذه المناسبة هو موضوع الانتشار اللبناني. هنا لابد من التذكير أن لبنان يفاخر بهذا الشأن بمركز فريد لا يضاهيه بلد آخر في الدنيا. لبنان من البلدان النادرة التي يتجاوز فيها حجم المغتربين عدد المقيمين في الوطن الأم. فسواه أخذنا بالإحصاءات التي حصرت عددهم بخمسة ملايين مشيرة إلى من زال ينطق باللغة الأم، أم بالتي تحدده بخمسة عشر مليون نسمة إشارة إلى جميع المتحدرين من أصل لبناني فإن لنا في الانتشار اللبناني عبر القارات الست امتداداً بلا حد، لا بل إمبراطورية لا تغيب عنها الشمس. هل يجوز ونحن ننسج الدساتير ونسن القوانين ونثور على القديم، هل يجوز أن لا يأتي دور الاغتراب في تصورنا لهيكلة دولة لبنان الغد. أنه لموضوع لنا فيه أكثر من مشروع

بهذا الخصوص يتعلق بصميم بناء المؤسسات وإعادة النظر في الهيكليات وإرساء قواعد لبنان الغد.

لا يقبل أن يكون لثلاثة ملايين لبناني مقيم خمسة وخمسون موظفاً ومجالس وهيئات وإدارات، ولا يراعي شأن خمسة عشر مليون مغترب سوى مدير يعاونه رئيس قسم وأمين سر في وزارة سميت مجازاً بوزارة الخارجية والمغتربين، أنها ثورة لبنان الحية الفاعلة.

وهناك أيضاً نطالب الحكم بأن يطلق حال عودة السلام واستتاب الأمن، أن يطلق حواراً وطنياً هادفاً حول هذا الموضوع يشارك فيه أهل الوطن وأهل الاغتراب حتى تتبلور الرؤية ويدخل موضوع الاغتراب والحلول المرسومة له في أصلب دستورنا وإذا فعلنا ذلك نكون قد أكسبنا دستورنا الوطني البعد الصحيح، البعد الذي يتطابق وإبعاد الانتشار اللبناني الامتناهي واللامحدود في العالم. وعلكم السلام.

Appendix 3.3

Khatchig Babikian – 5 January 1993

Speech by Deputy Khatchig Babikian during a General Discussion Session of the Parliament welcoming the presence of the President of the Republic Elias El Hrawi at the Chamber of Deputies.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies 1993): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 January 1993.

خاتشيك بابكيان: دولة الرئيس،

دعوني في مستهل كلامي أنوه بحضور فخامة رئيس الجمهورية الذي أضفى على هذه الجلسة صيغة رسمية ووجها خاصا، وأن أسجل للرئاسة - يا دولة الرئيس - الرئاسة الكريمة - جزيل الشكر للدعوة التي وجهت ولفخامة الرئيس للكلمة التي تلطف بها .

وانها يا دولة الرئيس، مناسبة وبادرة جميلة لتذكير جميع اللبنانين عبر المؤسسة الام- هذا المجلس الذي يضم كل فعاليات البلد- تذكيرهم بالمسلمات، الوحدة، الحرية، العدالة الاجتماعية التي كلما ابتعدنا عنها أو نسيناها دخلنا في الفرقة والقسمة، أعاذ الله اللبنانيين من الفرقة والقسمة. أما الحكومة وعلى رأسها الصديق العزيز الشيخ رفيق الحريري ومن يمثلها اليوم وهو الصديق الوزير المر، فكيف نناقش اعمالها ولم يمر على تسلمها مقاليد الحكم حتى الان، سوى تلك الفترة المحدودة التي تعتبر فترة مراجعة ذاتية في أعراف السياسة، وهي فترة المئة يوم، فلنكتف بجو الثقة الذي أشاعه تعيين رئيسها، وقد ادى حقيقة الى نوع من الانقلاب في المقاييس النقدية، فعادت الثقة الى العملة اللبنانية ونتمنى أن يكون الخير الى الامام .

ان الحكومة أشاعت بجو الثقة الذي يسود بين أفرادها الثقة بها في شعبنا العزيز .

وبهذه الثقة تمكنت من اتخاذ اجراءات جريئة على صعيد الامن الداخلي، وكذلك فانها في السياسة الخارجية سجلت للبنان مواقف منظورة ولا بد من أن ننوه بصورة خاصة بموقف الحكومة في قضية المبعدين .

أخيرا يا دولة الرئيس، فاننا نهنئكم ونهنىء مجلسنا الكريم بالوسام الرفيع الذي قلده فخامة الرئيس اليوم لهذا المجلس، وليست الاوسمة في مفهومنا المتواضع تكريما ولا تشريفا بل تذكيرا بالواجبات والمسؤوليات، واذ أراني معتزا وفخورا بهذا المجلس العظيم الذي أثبت في فترة قصيرة قدرته الفائقة في العمل والمحاسبة والتشريع والمراقبة، ارى ان حيويته تكمن - وستكمن اكثر وأكثر في المستقبل - في قدرته على الحفاظ على ديناميكية العمل والتجاوب مع تطلعات الشعب ومطالبه، ولعل خير طريقة لاثبات تلك الحيوية جعله منبرا ومرجعا حيا

يعبر فيه من قبل ممثلي الشعب بشكل حي وناطق وبشكل بسيط ومعبر دون كلفة ولا تكليف عن القضايا التي تهم الرأي العام، والرأي العام في لبنان منور بما فيه الكفاية وموجه بما فيه بنظر الهداية .

المجلس البريطاني - يا دولة الرئيس - وهو أقدم المؤسسات النيابية قاطبة يعيش في قلوب أهل البلد مؤسسة حية عبر جلسات دستورية أسبوعية مخصصة للاسئلة والاجوبة، يطرح النائب السؤال ويجيب الوزير المختص وهذا خير حافز لتحريك العمل الحكومي، ولتثبيت همة الادارة، التي على عاتقها تقع مهمة تأمين خدمة الشعب ومطالبه .

فلعلنا نتنبه - يا دولة الرئيس- الى نص المادة 144 بكل تفاصيلها، لا من حيث المناقشة العامة فقط، بل من حيث ما ورد فيها لجهة الاسئلة والاجوبة، فلنتابع ذلك بشكل دوري ومنظم ونجعله عملا دؤوبا في هذا المجلس .

للمناقشة العامة طبعا دورها ووقتها وتوقيتها، ويكون ذلك في نظري عندما يكون للحكومة المتسع الكافي من الوقت، لوضع المشاريع والمخططات واتخاذ الاجراءات والتدابير المعبرة عن سياستها وهذا لم يحن بعد .

أما الآن فليس لنا ختاما، سوى تكرار الامل في أن تكون الحكومة عند وعدها وتعهداتها وما عبرت عنه في بيانها الوزاري ليستقيم الامر وليعم لبنان الرجاء وشعبنا العزيز الرخاء وكل عام وأنتم بخير وشكرا.

Appendix 3.4

Khatchig Babikian – 13 July 1993

Speech by Deputy Khatchig Babikian about the implementation of the UNSC Resolution 425 and the full withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon during a General Discussion Session.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1993): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 13 July 1993.

خاتشيك بابكيان: دولة الرئيس،

بمناسبة مهمة قمت بها في اقاصي افريقيا وعدت منها منذ يومين فقط، بعد ان تعرض الزملاء لمعظم قضايا الساعة دعوني اطلعكم على بعض ما استلفت نظري وقد آليت على نفسي ان انقل على مسامعكم بعض ما شاهدته لعلنا نستلهم ونهتدي .

المشهد الاول: هو النجاح الباهر الذي حققه المغتربون في البلد الذي نزلت فيه. هناك، كما في معظم بلدان افريقيا، يتميز اللبناني بمركز مرموق :

-بدأ من الصفر وجمع بكده المال الوفير.

-واليوم تراه في صحبة رجال الحكم، ابواب الكبار مفتوحة امامه، مع ما يجر ذلك من حسد في عامة الشعب ويقف البعض له بالمرصاد .

المشهد الثاني: هو شعور المغترب بالاهمال ان لم نقل بالنسيان .

فلا سفير يعاونه كاتب ولا وزير يمر عليه صدفة مرة دون مرة من شأنه ملء الفراغ :

المغترب يتوق الى كل ما يذكره بلبنان

بسهوله وجباله

باهله وعياله

بلسانه وعربانه

ولكن اين النادي والملتقى

اين المدرسة

اين الاعلام ودور الثقافة والصداقة؟

اين البيت اللبناني الذي يجتمع تحت سقفه اهل الاغتراب من كل حدب وصوب .

وهنا لا بد لي من توجيه كلمة الى صديقي معالي وزير المغتربين الدكتور رضا وحيد لأؤكد له ان الوضع الحاضر اذا استمر واذا بقي المغترب تائها دون توجيه ودون رعاية اخشى ما اخشاه ان تكرر في معظم بلدان افريقيا بعض ما حصل في سيبيريا وسواها حيث اشتهر اللبناني بحنكته وصلابته في جمع المال واحتكار التجارة، فانقلب السحر على الساحر .

هناك تحرك وتوجيه وسياسة مدروسة لا بد من اعتمادها على صعيد الدولة لتجميل صورة الاغتراب وجعلها محببة ومقبولة عند عامة الشعب في افريقيا. والطرق كثيرة والوسائل وفيرة اذا احسنتم استعمالها .

يبقى التحرك والتنظيم والعمل الذي يجدي فأملي ان تتحركوا قبل فوات الاوان .

الموضوع الثاني الذي اريد ان اعبر عنه بأسم كتلة النواب الارمن :

الوضع في الجنوب

بعد الذي حصل في الايام الاخيرة وما يتعرض له يوميا اهل الجنوب من اعتداء اثيم وخسارة فادحة في الارواح والممتلكات، ناهيك عن انتهاك حرمة الارض والسيادة .

لا اعتقد انه يمكن السكوت والتغاضي عن خطورة ما يحصل هناك .

ان المجتمع الدولي قال كلمته في الموضوع منذ زمن وقد صدر القرار 425 وقضى بالانسحاب الفوري لقوات الاحتلال .

وبالامس في مؤتمر الدول 47 الناطقة كليا او جزئيا بالفرنسية كرر ممثلو هذه الدول دعوتهم لتطبيق هذا القرار .

فاننا نناشد الحكومة اعطاء هذا الموضوع اولى الاولويات، والعمل مع جميع الدول الشقيقة والصديقة، على تحريك هذا القرار وابقاء موضوع تحرير الجنوب في طليعة اهتماماتها قبل ان يصبح الجنوب مضغط افواه وحجة لتدخل الغير في شؤوننا الداخلية والنيل من اشقائنا وسيادتنا، (ومنتهى السخرية والمحال، للتعرض الى شرعية مؤسساتنا .(

علينا الا ننسى ان الجنوب كان في البداية الباب الذي منه تسللت قوى الشر والفتنة في سعيها لتدمير المجتمع اللبناني .

فكيف العمل لتوحيد الصف والتأكيد على ان يكون في النهاية الجنوب هو المفتاح وهو الحل باتجاه استعادة لبنان سيادته وباتجاه نشر السلام العادل والدائم الذي تسعى اليه الدول العربية مجتمعة والا فبئس المصير علينا وعلى غيرنا .

اخيرا كلمة اختم بها مداخلتي هذه هي،

اطمئن الحكومة، كلمة شكر وامتنان

سيدي،

لقد مضى وقت طويل والحكومات المتعاقبة تجدد كل مرة وعدها بايجاد الحل المناسب لقضية انسانية كبيرة لعلها اكبر القضايا في ميدان حقوق الانسان الا وهي قضية التجنيس او التجنس.

اذكر اني انا نفسي كنت اعددت منذ العام 1991، في حكومة دولة الرئيس كرامي، مشروعا كاملا مستكملا لحل هذه القضية المستطيلة وقد رفعنا يومذاك الى مجلس الوزراء مشروع قانون جديد بالتجنيس وكان يتضمن - في احكامه الانتقالية- الحل المنشود لعرب وادي خالد ولاهل القرى السبع ما عدا المجموعات البشرية المتواجدة هنا وهنالك ممن احتضنوا لبنان وطنا نهائيا لهم وآمنوا بارضه وقيمه ومثله.

بالامس سمعنا الصديق الوزير بشارة مرهج يعلن من على شاشة التلفزيون استعداد الحكومة للانطلاق في عملية التجنيس وان هناك استمارات جاهزة يمكن اعتمادها لتقديم الطلبات تمهيدا لدرسها واستصدار المراسيم اللازمة.

فاذا صح هذا ومضت العملية بسلام، كما نرجو فتكون حكومتكم قد سجلت انتصارا بارعا في موضوع يتعلق بأعز ما عند الانسان وهو هويته وشعوره بالانتماء الى وطن وارض.

لذا تروننا نهنئكم سلفا عليها ولا فرق عندنا يا دولة الرئيس اكانت العملية نجحت في الصيف او الشتاء... او حتى في الربيع.

المهم ان تحرصوا شخصيا مع الوزراء والمراجع الادارية المختصة على ان تكون هذه العملية عملية نظيفة، بعيدة عن الوساطات والمساومات حتى لا تدنسها المخالفات والارتكابات فتتكلل بالنجاح الذي نرجوه لها وعليكم السلام.

Appendix 3.5

Khatchig Babikian – 19 November 1996

Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of P.M. Rafik El Hariri's 3rd Government on 19 November 1996.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1996): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 November 1996.

خاتشيك بابكيان: دولة الرئيس،

مع افتتاح الدورة الأولى للمجلس النيابي الجديد، كلمة تحية ومحبة لابد لي من أوجهها إلى الزملاء جميعاً، تهاني الخاصة إليك يا دولة الرئيس لانتخابك على رأس هذا المجلس، وهذه مسؤولية عظيمة في زمن ينظر فيه الشعب إلى المجلس النيابي لإصلاح كل خلل، وتصويب كل أعوجاج، ولكني أريد أن أوجه كلمة خاصة إلى الزملاء الجدد الذين يدخلون هذه الندوة لأول مرة، وليعذروني إذا كنت بعد أربعين سنة من وجودي على هذه المقاعد أوجه إليكم يا زملائي الكرام بعض الملاحظات.

لقد خرجنا جميعاً من انتخابات شاقة مضنية، كان معظمنا يواجه فيها قواعد انتخابية مترامية الأطراف يتراوح عدد الناخبين فيها بين أربعمائة أو خمسمائة ألف ناخب فكيف نتعامل في الأربع سنوات المقبلة حتى يكون الحساب في النهاية إيجابياً نرضي فيه ضميرنا وشعبنا ولا ينقلب علينا الميزان رغم المجهود والسعي، هنا أريد أن أذكر بعض ظواهر حياتنا النيابية وأسلوب العمل في هذا المجلس، قد يكون ديوان المجلس سلمكم نسخة عن النظام الداخلي، وفيه أكثر من نص يرسم أسلوب حياتنا والتزاماتنا وواجباتنا.

(المادة 61): على النائب أن يحضر الجلسات العامة ولا يجوز أن يغيب أكثر من مرتين في الدورة الواحدة.

(المادة 44): على النائب أن يحضر جلسات اللجان ويعتبر مستقيلاً حكماً إذا غاب عن ثلاث جلسات، فثقوا ولتعذرني الرئاسة الكريمة إذا قلتها بصراحة: لم أرد طوال حياتي النيابية مرة واحدة تطبيقاً لهذه النصوص، وهذا طبيعي والحق يقال أن النائب سيد نفسه وهو المسؤول أمام شعبه وضميره.

إلا أنه في ممارسة مهامكم أيها الزملاء الكرام، لن يمضي وقت طويل حتى تروا أن النائب مشدود شاء أم أبى بين تيارين قويين متنازعين، فإما أن يخصص لهذا المجلس معظم أوقاته وينشط بين أعمال اللجان والجلسات العامة في العمل التشريعي، ويهمل بالتالي بعضاً من

ناخبيه، وقد رأينا ما حصل من هذه الجهة لبعض الزملاء وعلى رأسهم رئيس لجنة الإدارة والعدل السابق الزميل أوغست باخوس، وإما أن يعطي النائب وقته لتلبية مراجعات الناخبين وملاحقة معاملاتهم من دائرة إلى دائرة، ومن منطقة إلى منطقة، رأفة بمصالحهم المهدورة "الضائعة في دهاليز الدوائر الحكومية، ولكن هذا الأمر يؤدي حتماً على المدى الطويل إلى حرمان البلاد من طاقة النائب الخلاقة في توفير التشريعات اللازمة لتسيير الشأن العام، وإلى الحد من مشاركته في اشتراع المشاريع الكبرى التي تعود على البلد بالنفع العام.

ولا تستغربوا أيها الزملاء الكرام إذا رأيتم أن هذا التيار الأخير فيه خدمة المواطنين، أنه الضاغط لأن حالة المواطن تعيسة في علاقاته مع الإدارات، فلابد من أن يستنجد بكم لتخليص معاملة أو إنهاء مراجعة، لذلك أطرح عليكم السؤال الآتي، هل سنقبل إلى ما لا نهاية له أن يضطر النائب إلى ملاحقة المعاملات والتوسط في ملفات، وأن يخسر معظم وقته هكذا هدراً، علماً أن الأمر هو بالنسبة للمواطن نفسه يخسر ساعة أو ساعتين كل يوم ليستطيع الوصول إلى مقر عمله وسط فوضى السير وانعدام وسائل النقل المنظم، أو ملاحقة معاملة في الجمارك أو طلب فقط هاتف أو اشتراك ماء، أو طلب براءة ذمة مالية أو بلدية، أو رخصة بناء أو رخصة سير، كيفما دار المواطن وكيفما راجع يجد أمامه في الإدارة حائطاً من اللامبالاة و "الاستلشاق"، إن لم نقل من الاستيلاء والاستهزاء، وليس الأمر مغايراً بالنسبة للدولة نفسها التي تبقى مشاريعها، إن وجد من يخطط لها، حبراً على ورق.

وإن كان صحيحاً أنه جاء مؤخراً من يعوض النقص هذا بإدارات ومجالس موازية، ولكننا جميعاً نعلم أن هذا الحل ليس بالحل المنشود، هذا كليه يجري أيها الزملاء الكرام علماً أنه لم يعد مقبولاً في زمن "يصبح" المواطن و "يمسي" على صور من التلفزيونات العالمية تبرز أنماط حصرية لإدارات متحركة، تخلق الأعاجيب في خدمة المواطن أو مشاريع الدول المتقدمة.

البيان الوزاري قرأته وأفرح قلبي ما قرأت، وقد وضع في رأس الأولويات موضوع القضية الاجتماعية الاقتصادية، ونحن أصلاً خضنا الانتخابات الأخيرة مع دولة الرئيس الشيخ رفيق الحريري على أساس الأولوية للشأن الاجتماعي، ولكن ملاحظتي بشأن هذا البند شأن سائر البنود هي التالية: كيف ستعمل الحكومة لتنفيذ سياساتها وفي الطليعة السياسة الاجتماعية التي تشمل لزاماً على سبيل المثال تحسين وضع صندوق الضمان الاجتماعي والصندوق مصاب بشبه شلل.

نشر التعليم الرسمي عن طريق مدارس رسمية حين يتأخر إنشاؤها رغم مساعي وزير احترمناه وغاب عنا في هذه الندوة، مستشفيات حكومية مازالت جامدة غير منتجة رغم الجهود الذي بذله وزير محترم، كذلك مدارس مهنية رسمية تبقى قاصرة غير فاعلة إزاء قطاع خاص مزدهر، كيف يمكن معالجة كل ذلك؟

اعتقد أننا نتفق جميعاً أن الجواب هو واحد فقط لا غير، إصلاح الإدارة، ولأن هذا الموضوع هو الأساس التي على نفسي أن أحضر كلامي في موضوع إصلاح الإدارة ولا أتعاطى في غير هذا البند، ماذا نفهم بالإصلاح الإداري؟ والكل يا دولة الرئيس ينادي بالإصلاح الإداري، ومنذ مطلع الاستقلال ما من عهد في لبنان إلا وافتتح صاحبه مهامه وهو ينادي بالإصلاح

الإداري، تذكرون في العام 1952 تسلم الرئيس كميل شمعون تقاليد الحكم بحجة محاربة الفساد والإصلاح الإداري، فكانت فعلاً مراسيم اشتراعية هامة في عام 1953 على يد الرئيس خالد شهاب رئيس الوزراء يومذاك، في العام 1958 انتخب الرئيس فؤاد شهاب وكانت مجموعة المراسيم الاشتراعية والتنظيمية الشهيرة في العام 1959 .

في العام 1964 انتخب الرئيس الحلو وأطلق بعد سنة حركة التطهير الشهيرة المتعلقة بالعناصر البشرية.

وفي العام 1970 انتخب الرئيس فرنجية وأطلق مجمع بيت الدين سنة 1971 ومجمع بعبدا سنة 1972، فأين نحن من حركة الإصلاح الإداري؟ لاشك أنه موضوع دقيق ولعل خير من صور صعوبة هذا الأمر ذلك الوزير الفذ في الحكومة الإيطالية في الثمانينيات واسمه، لويدجي بيارو "ولأنه كان الوزير الرابع عشر للإصلاح في إيطاليا وهو رجل مرموق ومحترم جداً بأعماله وسمى بلويس الرابع عشر تشبها بالملك الفرنسي العظيم.

ذات يوم قال أحد النواب للوزير: يا معالي الوزير نحن نتتبع أعمالك، ومعجبون بنشاطك وهمتك، ولكننا لا نرى شيئاً قد تغير، فأجابه الوزير: أنا أسعى بكل جهدي ولو أن الإدارة حائط من فولاذ لاخترقته بقنبلة أو صاروخ ولكن الإدارة حائط من مطاط، أدفع بهذا الحائط وحين أدير ظهري يعود الحائط إلى حيث كان، وهذه هي مشكلتنا في جميع المساعي إلى أن نتفق جميعاً على أن عملية الإصلاح الإداري لابد منها، ولو كانت دقيقة وعويصة، يتفق الجميع على أن أي عملية إصلاح في الإدارة يجب أن تهدف إلى ثلاثة أهداف: أبعاد السياسة عن الإدارة، تحقيق اللامركزية، وإنجاز المعاملات، وتنفيذ المشاريع بأسرع وقت ممكن، وبأقل كلفة ممكنة.

الهدف الأول، إبعاد السياسة عن الإدارة، كل مؤسسة لها دائرة توظيف، وكان التعيين في ما مضى يحصل على يد رجال السياسة، من وزراء ومدراء عامين ورؤساء مجالس، إلى أن جاء الرئيس فؤاد شهاب ينيط التعيينات وكل ما يتعلق بحياة الموظف من تعيين ونقل وترقية وصرف بهيئة سميت بمجلس الخدمة المدنية، وهذا المرسوم الذي أنشأ مجلس الخدمة المدنية له حكاية، كان الرئيس فؤاد شهاب معروفاً بحذره الشديد من المداخلات السياسية فراح يضمن هذا المرسوم نصاً يقول: بعد تعيين رئيس وأعضاء مجلس الخدمة المدنية، ورئيس وأعضاء هيئة التفتيش، لا يعود لمجلس الوزراء ولا لرئيس الجمهورية أن ينقلهم أو يصرفهم أو يستغني عن خدماتهم، ولا يمكن المس بخدماتهم إلا بموافقة خطية منهم لدرجة أنه قام يومذاك أحد النواب ولا أريد أن أسميه، لأنه كان هناك معاكسة قوية بينه وبين الرئيس فؤاد شهاب، وقال: هذا مخالف للدستور، فالدستور قبل اتفاق الطائف كان يقول أن رئيس الجمهورية بإمكانه أن يعين الوزراء ويقيلهم، فكيف يقيل الوزراء ولا يمكن له ولا لرئيس مجلس الوزراء أن يمس بهؤلاء، هذا النص حاجزاً منيعاً بوجه أية مداخلة إلى أن أطيح بهذا النص في الثمانينات في عهد الرئيس أمين الجميل ففتح الباب واسعاً أمام جميع المداخلات، أمام المطلوب اليوم فإعادة هذا النص...

الرئيس: أطيح بالنص في الثمانينات أي أن نص الحصانة أُلغي في الثمانينات، والمشروع الذي بين أيدينا ـ وسنضعه إن شاء الله في الجلسة المقبلة ـ وهو الإطاحة بالإطاحة.

خاتشيك بابكيان: المطلوب اليوم هو إعادة النص، ويسرني أن البيان الوزاري يشير إلى ذلك، ويعلن عزمه على تحصين الهيئات الرقابية، بما فيها مجلس الخدمة المدنية والتفتيش المركزي.

الهدف الثاني، اللامركزية: تحقق منه شيء في عهد الرئيس شهاب عندما أنشئ لكل وزارة مديرية أو مصلحة في كل منطقة أو في كل مركز محافظة أو قائمة، ولكن الأهم من كل ذلك أنه جرت في عهد الرئيس شهاب انتخابات بلدية في العام 1963 وكان هذا "وجه الضيف" ولم نر شيئاً منه بعد ذلك.

أملى أن نتفق جميعاً على إجراء هذه الانتخابات، لأن الحكم المحلي هو شرط من شروط التنمية، ولبنان غني بذلك، فيه حوالي سبعمائة بلدية، وتسعون بالمائة مشلول لا يعمل، وسائر بنود اللامركزية مذكورة في وثيقة الطائف وحسناً فعلت الحكومة بأنها تعهدت في بيانها بتقديم مشروع بهذا المعنى.

وأضيف كلمة واحدة: أن اللامركزية يجب أن ترافقها اللاحصرية أي حق الموظف المحلي باتخاذ قرار، وإلا كانت اللامركزية حلقة جديدة في تعقيد الشأن الإداري، ويضطر المواطن الذي كان ينهي معاملته في العاصمة أن يقدمها في القرية أو القائمقاية أو في المحافظة، إذا كان الموظف المحلي غير مخول اتخاذ حق القرار فاللاحصرية لا بد منها.

أخيراً الهدف الثالث: التوفير والإسراع في خدمة المواطنين وهنا بيت القصيد، ماذا يريد المواطن من كل الإصلاح الإداري؟ يريد أن ينهي معاملاته ويؤمن مراجعاته بأقل عناء وبسرعة ممكنة، نأمل أن الوزير الصديق الأستاذ بشارة مرهج وزير الإصلاح الجديد، وهو المعروف بحسه المرهف وشعوره بمعاناة الشعب، أن يعير هذه الناحية كل اهتمامه، لأن التحقيق الإداري شيء رهيب، وأقص عليكم قصة صغيرة من هذه الناحية:

عام 1973 كنت وزيراً للإعلام وكان عندنا أناس يحضرون إلى الإذاعة ويغنون ربع ساعة، وكانوا يتقاضون ثلاثين ليرة وكنت أسمع على الدوام شكوى هؤلاء بأن قبض ثلاثين ليرة يستغرق ما بين شهرين أو ثلاثة أشهر، وذات يوم كنت في القصر الجمهوري عند الرئيس فرنجية، فسمعت أن كل شيء على أحسن ما يرام، فاستأذنت الرئيس أن أتابع عن كثب موضوع هذه المعاملات، وكلفت أحد الاختصاصيين في التنظيم الإداري أن يضع لي بياناً يوضح سير هذه المعاملات، وباختصار جاءني بعد شهر بفرمان طوله متران، المعاملة تستغرق 122 إحالة و68 توقيعاً وعندما طلبت إليه أن يعيد النظر ويعرض على الشيء المنطقي المعقول، جاءني بفرمان أخر بأنه يمكن إنجاز المعاملة بستين إحالة وثلاثين توقيعاً، فاستغربت الأمر فقال لي هذا هو الممكن في وضع الأنظمة والقوانين الحالية فقلت: فإذا عدلنا هذه القوانين والأنظمة ماذا يحصل؟

كان جوابه بعد الدراسة تسع حالات وستة تواقيع فقط والمعاملة لا تأخذ أكثر من ثلاثة أيام، وهذا يفتح أمامنا جميعاً ملفات الإصلاح الإداري: تخمة في التواقيع والإحالات، منها تخمة في عدد الموظفين و "طفرة" في ملاكاتهم، ومنها الهدر في الوقت والمال للدولة وللمواطن.

الخلاصة هي ضرورة إعادة موضوع الإدارة أقصى الاهتمام، ووضع الموضوع في رأس الأولويات، فهل يوافق دولة الرئيس وتوفق حكومته حيث فشل الكثيرون قبله، أقولها بصراحة وليعذرني صديقي دولة الرئيس، إذ قلت أن الإصلاح الإداري وهو يعلم ذلك جيداً، مرهون أولاً بأول بتوفير الإرادة السياسية الصحيحة المخلصة عند أولياء الأمر، وأعني بذلك جميع الذين بيدهم زمام الحكم، (الترويكا) من رؤساء ووزراء، وفي الماضي أعطيت الحصانة الكلية لمجلس الخدمة المدنية، ولم يوظف المجلس إلا من رأي فيه الكفاءة، إلا أنه إلى جانب مجلس الخدمة كنا نرى وزراء ومدراء عامين ورؤساء مجالس يحشون الإدارات والمؤسسات العامة بالإلزام والمحسوبين، عن طريق التعيينات بالتعاقد وبالفاتورة، وبتعيين المياومين وما إلى ذلك من طرق ملتوية وثغرات إدارية معروفة، أملي أن يشرف دولة الرئيس شخصياً على هذا الشأن العام، حتى لا يصيب حكومته ما أصاب غيرها.

كنت أريد أن أشير إلى أهمية الإدارة، إلا أنه منذ ثلاثة أشهر خصصت الحكومة الكندية خمسة ملايين دولار لأي مشروع يأتي لمساعدة الدول النامية، وبالإضافة إلى الجامعات الكندية تقدم ستة وعشرون مشروعاً وكل مشروع يختلف عن الآخر، من الزراعة إلى الصناعة إلى صيد الأسماك إلى الإعلام إلى آخره...

جامعة واحدة هي جامعة "كيبك" تقدمنا نحن وإياها مجلس الخدمة المدنية والجمعية اللبنانية لإدارة الأعمال بمشروع إصلاح الإدارات العامة في هذه الدول، وهذا المشروع فاز بهذه المنحة.

يعني ذلك أن موضوع الإدارة، الجميع يعطيه الأولوية، ويبقي أن نعمل نحن أيضاً في هذا السبيل، واختم كلامي يا دولة الرئيس، فأقول ثقوا أن هذا المجلس المتجدد سيعاونكم بكل عناصره وكل قواه، ويقف معكم كلما رأى أنكم تسيرون قدماً في عملية تحديث الإدارة، التي من ورائها تحديث الدولة، وذلك بالصلابة والإيمان الإخلاص الذي نعهده بكم، إذ نحن معكم وإياكم يا دولة الرئيس، ومعاً إلى الأمام إن شاء الله، وشكراً.

Appendix 3.6

Khatchig Babikian – 29 January 1997

Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the 1997 Budget.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1997): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 29 January 1997.

خاتشيك بابكيان: دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

ما كنت لاتولى الكلام لو لم ار بعض الزملاء يؤكدون على ما اثرت في لجنة المال والموازنة من نقاط واقتراحات فيظهر انه حري ان يؤخذ بها للتطبيق ويستحسن عرضها امامكم .

ولكن قبل اثارة هذه النقاط لفت نظري ما ورد على السنة بعض الزملاء الجدد الذين يدخلون الندوة لاول مرة وهم ينتقدون هذه الموازنة ويتنكرون لها هذا يصنفها بأنها شكلية وذاك انها هامشية. على كل حال لا يمكن من خلال ارقامها قراءة سياسة الدولة المالية والاقتصادية واجتماعية ولعل السبب في ذلك اننا لم نتوصل بعد الى تطبيق مبدأ الوحدة والشمولية. ففي الدولة تتعدد مواطن الصرف وتتعدد مواطن التمويل وتتعدد المجالس واهمها مجلس الانماء والاعمار وهو اشبه بدولة ضمن الدولة وتتعدد المؤسسات العامة والصناديق المستقلة وغير المستقلة .

ولكن كلام حق يقال اذا امعنا النظر في الفذلكة التي اعدها لما معالي وزير الدولة المكلف بالشؤون المالية نرى ان فيها مجهودا كبيرا هذه السنة لا بل قفزة نوعية حقيقية اذ ادخل معالي الوزير لاول مرة في طريقة تحضير الموازنة واسلوب عرضها علينا مفاهيم علمية مأخوذة من مبدأ الموازنة الوظيفية التي تسمح عن طريق تصنيف الارقام والحسابات باجراء التحليل الاقتصادي التفصيلي لسياسة الموازنة وللنواحي الاجتماعية والاستثمارية والادارية، اما اذا امعنا النظر في هذه الموازنة كما عرضت علينا فماذا نرى؟ للموازنة اجزاء، جزء اول، جزء ثاني " أ " و " ب " وللموازنة ابواب تبلغ ثلاثين بابا، فهل علينا ان نناقش كل جزء وكل باب على حدة .

مثل هذا الاسلوب يذكرني بحديث للعالم الشهير في الادارة "باركنسون " الذي كان يؤاخذ على مجالس الادارة في بعض الشركات الاميركية ميزانيتها الضخمة، ويعطي مثالا على ذلك ميزانية شركة "جنرال موتورز" ويوم كتب ذلك كانت هذه الميزانية اكثر من ميزانية دولة ايطاليا واسبانيا معا وفي كتابه المعنون 2+ 2=5 قال "باركنسون" ان في مجالس الادارة تأتي الميزانية مثلا في "جنرال موتورز" على الشكل الآتي: 50 مليار دولار لشراء الفولاذ والحديد لصناعة السيارات، و20 مليار دولار للقطع و10 مليارات لكذا وكذا 0000،

و120 الف دولار للقهوة والضيافة، فيتمسك الاعضاء بهذه النقطة ويناقشونها وتمر المليارات والملايين بدون أي مناقشة واعتراض ودون حسيب او رقيب .

دولة الرئيس،

انا لن اقع في محظور القهوة والضيافة واكتفي بقراءة ما ورد في الفذلكة صفحة 35 .

يقول معالي الوزير: ان النفقات في الموازنة يسيطر عليها بندان هما: الفوائد وتمثل 42% من مجموع الموازنة والرواتب والاجور. فما الفائدة من البحث في الرواتب والاجور وهي مفروضة علينا ومنزلة ولا فائدة من النقاش فيها. اما المديونية، وخدمة الدين وحدها فانها تستهلك 42% من مجموع الموازنة. من نوافل القول ان كل مديون اذا وقع تحت الدين وتراكمت عليه الفوائد يسعى قصارى جهده لتسديد ما امكن بسرعة كلية حتى يخفف عن نفسه عبء الفوائد، فماذا نرى في حالة الدولة؟

للدولة اموال هائلة مجمدة دون فائدة بينما هي تدفع الغرم الباهظ على ديونها. لا اريد ان اذكر هنا كل الرسوم والضرائب والعائدات والمحاصيل التي لا تجبى في حينها وفي معظمها واحيانا لا تجبى نهائيا كما يحصل ذلك في القسم الاكبر من عائدات الكهرباء والماء ...

امامي لائحة بالايرادات والضرائب المباشرة وغير المباشرة وهي تبلغ 50 بندا نصفها اعتقد انه لايجبى في حينه بل يمضي وقت طويل لجبايته. بالامس سمعت ان كازينو لبنان حقق في الشهر الاول من نشاطه ارباحا بمقدار خمسة ملايين دولار منها 30% حصة الدولة واعتقد النسبة تزيد كل سنة أليس كذلك يا معالي الوزير؟ .

وزير الشؤون المالية: نعم .

خاتشيك بابكيان: هذا جيد، تساءلت متى يا ترى ستدخل حصة الدولة الى صناديقها والدولة تدفع من جهتها فوائد فاحشة. هل تقبضون شهريا؟

وزير الشؤون المالية: نعم نقبض شهريا .

خاتشيك بابكيان: لقد طمأنتني الآن.

اهم من ذلك كله اذا راجعنا ميزانية مصرف لبنان ماذا نجد فيها؟ نجد ودائع القطاع العام اعني مال الدولة وهو يتراوح بين 2500 و3000 مليار ليرة وهذه المبالغ مودعة دون فائدة بينما الدولة تدفع فوائد تتراوح بينن 17 و18% وكانت في الماضي بين 28 و30 %

هناك موضوع آخر سأتكلم فيه. يعلم كل منا ان لكل صاحب مصلحة ورب عمل دفتر استحقاقات استحقاق ديونه وهو يراجع حسب هذا الجدول المديونية لو كان لدى وزارة المال دفتر الاستحقاقات او مسؤول عن ادارة الدين العام لكانت نبهت الى الكثير من الديون التي يفترض ان تدخل الخزينة في نهاية كل شهر وهي لا تدخل، وكانت بالاخص تنبهت. مثلا الى ان رسم الطوابع الذي يفترض ان يعطي رسما شهريا معنيا حتى الملايين اصبح معدوما

فجأة بشكل شبه كلي وكان يفترض بعد الشهر الاول او الثاني ان تتحقق عن اسباب هذا الانعدام فتكشف ما لم تكشفه مع الاسف الا بعد مضي شهر لا بل سنة او سنتين كما يقال وقد ضرب من ضرب وهرب من هرب ومات من مات وقتل من قتل .

الرئيس: احسنت .

خاتشيك بابكيان: خلاصة القول. ان دولة بلغ دينها ما بلغ ولست ابدا في معرض انتقاد سياسة المديونية لان البديل كان يؤدي حتما الى ترك البلد سائبة والفقر والعوز ينخر شعبنا المنهك اصلا من حرب الى 17 سنة المدمرة... اقول ان دولة بلغ دينها ما بلغ لا يجوز ان يترك هذا الدين وخدمة هذا الدين دون ايلائها الاهمية القصوى والاولوية المطلقة .

كلنا نقر لك يا معالي الوزير السنيورة بالمقدرة والاخلاص والتفاني في الخدمة، يا معالي الوزير الخبرة التي اكتسبت والثقة التي اوحيت للمحافل الدولية والاندية المختلفة تؤهلك بأن تحرك اصدقاء لبنان ليس في واشنطن فقط بل وايضا في اوروبا واميركا الجنوبية والشرق الاوسط حيث اليابان مصدر اموال هائل ويقال ان هناك مبالغ كبيرة مخصصة لمشاريع لم يستفد منها لبنان حتى الان وسمعت ان هناك مبلغ 400 مليون دولار خصصته اليابان لمشاريع بيئية في الشرق الاوسط وان للبنان حصة منها اذا طالب بذلك وقدم مشروعا، وبطبيعة الحال المشاريع البيئية تعج في لبنان ولا اريد ان اذكر بمكب برج حمود كل ذلك يجعلنا نقول انه بينما انت يا معالي الوزير منهمك بالف وظيفة ووظيفة وطبعا هي من وظائف وزير المال المخلص الكفؤ، يحق للدولة بمرجع رفيع او مستشار مميز متخصص متفوق في المقدرة والعزم يعمل ليلا نهارا لمجابهة المديونية قبل ان تصبح ذلك المرض العضال الذي ينخر جسم الكثير من الدول وعليكم السلام.

Appendix 3.7

Khatchig Babikian – 14 December 1998

Deputy Khatchig Babikian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement presented by Prime Minister Saleem El Hoss on 14 December 1998.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1998): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 14 December 1998.

خاتشيك بابكيان: دولة الرئيس،

السادة النواب الكرام،

لقد توالى على هذا المنبر اكثر من ثلاثين زميلا وبعد كل ما سمعناه من الزملاء الكرام وجلهم ان لم نقل كلهم نشاطرهم الرأي، يتوجب علينا احتراما لوقت المجلس الكريم واحتراما لوقت الحكومة ايضا ان نختصر الكلام وخير الكلام ما قل ودل .

اولا: باسم كتلة نواب الارمن وباسمي الخاص دعوني اهنىء اولا رجل الدولة والصديق العزيز الرئيس سليم الحص واهنىء كذلك زملاءه في الحكومة وكلهم بنظرنا جديرون بالتقدير والاحترام لما يتصفون به من نظافة الكف والالتزام الوطني الصادق الجم .

حكومة ارادت لنفسها عنوان الانقاذ والتغيير وقد يكون في هذا العنوان بعض التجاوز وكنت انا شخصيا افضل الاكتفاء بعنوان حكومة التغيير .

لماذا الانقاذ؟ ومم الانقاذ؟ هل نتجاهل الى هذا الحد الانجازات للعهد الماضي في اطلاق حركة اعمار لم يسبق لها مثيل في وسط تجاري مهدوم موبوء تحتله قوافل من المهجرين القادمين من كل حدب وصوب حتى كاد يفقد الامل في استعادة العاصمة دورها، الى مداخل ومخارج وطرق وانفاق وساحات تقر العين، وعمران امتد الى المناطق ولو محدودا في ظروف صعبة كان كل شيء بحاجة الى اعادة تعمير وتأهيل .

يقول المثل الايطالي «Iparagoni Sono Odiosi» :أي ان المقارنات بغيضة ومع ذلك لا اتذكر قول العميد ريمون اده عندما كان ينتقد العهود القديمة لبطء العمل في مجال العمران ويقول بالتحديد بالنسبة الى اوتوستراد طرابلس ان كل حكومة تمد الاوتوستراد بين كيلو مترين وثلاثة وعلى هذا النسق والكلام للعميد ريمون اده لن يصل المشروع الى نهايته ولن ترى طرابلس آخر الفرج الا بحدود العام الالفين وعشرين. لا ايها السادة لم تكن البلاد بحاجة الى انقاذ بقدر ما كانت بحاجة الى تغيير، نعم كنا بحاجة الى تغيير، فالرجل الفذ الذي سيذكره

التاريخ انه الرجل العمار المبدع، اصبح حقا بعد مدة بسبب ضخامة اعماله وثقله الكبير وسعة اتصالاته الداخلية والخارجية يختزل الحكم في نفسه وبين يديه، من القمة حيث برزت بدعة الترويكا الى مجلس الوزراء، الى الخدمة المدنية، الى مؤسسات كثيرة ولعل في ذلك ما ساعده على تسريع عملية الاعمار والانماء .

ولكن، بعد ان تأمنت للبلاد الركائز الاساسية للبنى التحتية تبرز اليوم الحاجة الملحة الى حركة انماء وتطوير واسعة شاملة تجيش كل طاقات البلاد وتجمع بين كل الشرائح في المجتمع وهذه حركة لا تنهض ولا تتحقق بارادة رجل واحد فالانماء يتطلب المشاركة من الجميع .

واذا كان الاعمار يمكن الى حد ما، ان يكون فعل فرد فالتنمية لا تأتي الا حصيلة ارادة مشتركة وجهود متكافئة نتيجة حركة شاملة جامعة ونحن نرى فيك يا دولة الرئيس السيد سليم الحص نرى بك رجل الساعة الذي بطباعه الحميدة وخصاله يمكن ان يقود مسيرة الانماء والتطوير لذا نقول اهلا وسهلا بحكومة الانماء والتغيير ولعل التعبير اصح من حكومة الانقاذ والتغيير .

ثانيا: كلمة مختصرة في البيان الوزاري، لقد جاء هذا البيان مستلهما خطاب القسم الشهير الذي رسم فيه فخامة الرئيس اهداف العهد الجديد واسلوبه في التعامل مع الشأن العام، هذه الاهداف الوطنية حددتموها يا دولة الرئيس بكل دقة وهي الثوابت التي سترعى حياتنا السياسية، انما اريد فقط ان اشدد فقط على بعض النواحي في العلاقة مع سوريا، لا نلتزم فقط وحدة المسارين وهذا امر طبيعي، بين شعبين تجمعهما وحدة النضال والمصير، بل نلتزم ايضا مواصلة الكفاح المشترك ضد الحلف الاسرائيلي التركي الذي يهدف الى استفراد الشقيقة سوريا والنيل من كرامتها فيما هي تقف سدا منيعا في وجه الاطماع الاسرائيلية وتدافع عن حق العرب في سلم عادل وشامل ودائم .

بالنسبة لدعم المقاومة نحن نذكر ان تاريخ الشعب الارمني مطبوع، بأمجاد المقاومة وبطولاتها فالمقاومة في قلوبنا ونحن نحيي الشهداء والصامدين من ابنائنا في الجنوب والبقاع الغربي .

وانا من على هذا المنبر اطلق نداء صادقا الى المحتل الاسرائيلي ان يضع حدا لسفك الدماء ويوقف هذا الحرب العبثية التي لا من حل لها الا الرحيل والتحرير وقد وضع المجتمع الدولي الاطار القانوني لذلك في القرار 425 الصادر عن مجلس الامن لمنع المزيد من المآسي والآلام والمعاناة .

اما بعد ذلك فنقول طبعا نعم، لبنود ذكرت في البيان الوزاري من بناء دولة القانون والتعاون مع مجلس النواب وهو امر طبيعي والمجلس هو مصدر كل السلطات يتكلم باسم الشعب الذي يمثل، نعم لصون الحريات الى آخره، نقف عند البند العاشر المتعلق باللامركزية الادارية لنقول ان الموضوع بحث مليا في فترات مختلفة في الحكومات السابقة وتجربتنا بالموضوع، ان اعادة النظر بالتقسيم الاداري هو موضوع شائك جدا، وكذلك غير يسير موضوع انشاء المؤسسات الملحوظة في وثيقة الطائف بالنسبة للامركزية الادارية وقد يستغرق ذلك وقتا

طويلا وتشريعات مختلفة ولكن ريثما يتم كل ذلك، هناك مدخل اساسي ورئيس لتحقيق اللامركزية الادارية دون التعرض لمسائل سياسية شائكة وهو تعزيز نظام البلديات وتقوية اجهزتها الادارية والمالية وتوسيع صلاحياتها وقد حققت الحكومة السابقة على يد وزير الداخلية الاستاذ ميشال المر انجازا كبيرا باتمام الانتخابات البلدية بعد ركود دام 32 سنة فرأينا المدن والارياف تنتعش فجأة بين ليلة وضحاها دون اكلاف ولا التزامات جديدة .

البند /11/ نعم للالتزام بوثيقة الطائف وهو طبعا دستورنا اليومي الوطني، اما وضع خطة انمائية متكاملة ومتوازنة تقدم الاهم على المهم، فاسمحوا لي يا دولة الرئيس ان اقول ان هذا التعبير العام المبتذل يذكرنا بالبيان الوزاري الذي كنا نعده في عام 1957، أي منذ 42 سنة مضت ايام المغفور له الرئيس سامي الصلح الذي كان يردد عند كتابة البيان ويقول: «اكتبوا يا بابا الاهم قبل المهم» الا ترى يا دولة الرئيس ان هذا الموضوع يستأثر بالمزيد من التوضيح والتفصيل؟

لنعلم على الاقل توجه الحكومة، من يضع هذه الخطة؟ واي جهاز؟ أي مرجع؟ او وزارة تخطيط عام؟ او مجلس اعلى للتخطيط؟ او مصلحة بسيطة في مجلس الانماء والاعمار كما هي الحال حاليا؟ لنا بهذا الخصوص مواقف وآراء ومداخلات تملأ كتبا ومجلدات، كما ولمعالي وزير المال جورج قرم مواقف عبر عنها في اكثر من مناسبة، فالموضوع محفوظ لمناسبة اخرى نبدي فيها آراءنا للملأ .

اخيرا نعم لسائر البنود في هذا المجال وبصورة خاصة الزامية التعليم الابتدائي الامر الذي تحقق في المدارس التابعة للطائفة الارمنية بقرار اتخذ بالاجماع منذ العام 1973 وان كان تنفيذه مكلفا ندفع ثمنه كل يوم من مالنا وممتلكاتنا .

واخيرا لا آخرا التعاون مع مجلس النواب في كل الاجراءات الآيلة الى الغاء الطائفية، هذا الامر أي الغاء الطائفية ينقلني مباشرة الى بحث الاصلاح الاداري وقد يسأل سائل ما العلاقة بين الاصلاح الاداري وبين الغاء الطائفية .

ثالثا: في الاصلاح الاداري. منذ اربعين سنة خلت كان يحكم البلاد رئيس وضع عهده تحت شعار الاصلاح الاداري كانت بالنسبة الى الرئيس فؤاد شهاب مجرد عملية اعادة النظر في الانظمة الادارية وتحسين اداء الدوائر الحكومية في تسيير المعاملات خدمة للمواطنين .

الواقع ان الموضوع كان على خلاف ذلك تماما، كان رحمه الله صاحب رؤية وطنية فذة وآفاق اجتماعية واسعة وهو يهدف في عملية الاصلاح الى اثنين .

اولا: انماء المناطق النائية ونشر العدالة الاجتماعية .

ثانيا: وقبل كل شيء احداث ثورة بيضاء في نظام الموظفين بابعاد السياسة عنهم وتأمين ولائهم للدولة بمعزل عن كل انتماء فئوي طائفي او حزبي لم يكن الرئيس شهاب يهدف من وراء انشاء مجلس الخدمة المدنية والتفتيش وأجهزة المراقبة الا الى كسر الطوق الذي كان يربط كل موظف بمرجع حزبي او ديني، او طائفي يلجأ اليه في كل مراحل حياته الوظيفية من تعيين الى ترقية، الى ثواب، الى عقاب فيصبح بالنتيجة عبدا عند هؤلاء فكان رحمه الله

في رؤية تنبئية يقول ان الموظف اذا استمر هكذا فسوف تتعمق عند الجمهور النزعة الطائفية حيث يلجأ كل الى طائفته في تعامله مع الدولة ودوائرها .

اما اذا توصلت اجهزة الاصلاح الاداري الى تأمين حماية الموظف والاشراف وحدها على مقدراته دون سواه من المراجع الطائفية الدينية او الحزبية فسوف يرتاح الجمهور الى الموظف دون النظر الى انتمائه الطائفي وتسود يد القانون على الجميع ويخطو المجتمع خطوة هامة في سبيل تخفيف المضار الطائفية .

من هذه الزاوية ننظر الى اهمية عملية الاصلاح الاداري ونتوسم كل خير في اشراف معالي الدكتور حسن شلق على هذا المرفق الهام وهو الاداري الالمعي العصامي الذي نال كل اعجاب وتقدير في المحافل الادارية الوطنية والدولية .

يبقى ان للاصلاح الاداري اوجها عديدة اخرى الماكرو اصلاح والميكرو اصلاح ولكن لضيق الوقت لن ادخل في تفاصيل ذلك .

رابعا: واخيرا في التوجهات الاقتصادية والمالية واختصارا للكلام ترى كتلتنا ان معظم ما ورد في هذا الباب متفق مع التوجهات العامة لخطاب القسم الذي تضمن رؤية جديدة الى نظام ضريبي اكثر عدالة وهذا بالتحديد ما عرضناه على الرئيس سليم الحص عند الاستشارات وصرحنا عنه للملأ في اكثر من مناسبة، تخفيف الاعباء المالية والرسوم على الطبقات الوسطى .

اما موضوع الخصخصة فهو موضوع خطير يثير الكثير من التساؤلات ويدعو الى الحذر .

الموضوع خطر لانه بمقدار ما ينطبق على مرفق عام حيوي ينطلق من فرضية اولى ان الادارة اللبنانية مصابة بمرض الشلل ميؤوس منها لادارة مرفق وعلى اساس «فالج لا تعالج» وهنا اسمحوا لي ان اقول ان هذا بمنتهى السخرية، والمحال لبرنامج حكومي يضع في رأس سلم اولوياته اصلاح الادارة وتحسين ادائها. من جهة اخرى امامنا قطاعات كالقطاع الصحي الاستثنائي ادت فيها الخصخصة الى رفع يد الدولة عن مرفق حيوي هام وقد بلغت التقديمات للمستشفيات الخاصة مبالغ هائلة ترهق سنويا خزينة الدولة وتحول دون تمويل القطاع الاستشفائي العام .

كذلك امامنا مثال آخر هو مثال الهاتف الخليوي الذي يثير فيه موضوع الخصخصة بالشكل الذي جرى فيه موجة عارمة من الاستنكار وفقدان ثقة المواطن بحكامه والقيمين على اموره، لذلك نقول اننا بالوقت الحاضر ضد مبدأ الخصخصة في المطلق ونترقب سير الموضوع عن كثب .

بالمقابل، نحن من اشد الدعاة لدعم المؤسسات الاقتصادية الصغيرة والمتوسطة ونعتبر ان في تشجيعها مدخلا قاطعا لتحريك عجلة الاقتصاد وتوفير فرص العمل للكثير من شبابنا الراغبين في دخول عالم الانتاج .

ويسرني ان اقول اننا احتفلنا منذ ايام، بمرور عشرين عاما على تأسيس مؤسسة «A.F.E.D.» (Armenian Fund for Economic Development)أي الصندوق الارمني للتنمية الاقتصادية وهو صندوق انشىء في العام 1978 بهبات وعطاءات محدودة ثم تطور مع الزمن وقد بلغ حاليا عدد الذين استفادوا من تقديماته عشرة آلاف وثلاثماية مؤسسة صغيرة وسقف القرض فيه خمسة آلاف دولار اميركي ومجموع الرأس المال المتداول لا يتجاوز المليون دولار .

خامسا: في التوجهات الاجتماعية، مما لا شك فيه ان كل سياساتنا الاقتصادية والمالية والادارية لا معنى لها اذا كانت لا تهدف بالنتيجة الى خدمة الانسان وتأمين الحد الادنى من اسباب العيش الرغيد له ولعياله وتأمين الامن والرفاهية للجميع في هذا المضمار لم نر في البيان الوزاري مشروعا واضحا لمعالجة بعض الآفات الاجتماعية التي تنغص حياة المواطن ومنها ضمان الطبابة والاستشفاء وكان بذلك يمكن اعتماد طريق البطاقة الصحية وفي ذلك توفير كبير على الخزينة التي توزع اليوم المال الوفير دون رقيب وحسيب على صناديق ومجالس وهيئات من صندوق الضمان الاجتماعي الى صندوق ضمان الموظفين، الى صندوق ضمان القضاة، الى صندوق ضمان افراد قوى الامن، الى صندوق ضمان الجيش وصناديق وهيئات اخرى تتشابك فيها التقديمات وتكثر فيها التجاوزات .

كذلك موضوع ضمان الشيخوخة وقد كثرت بشأنه الدراسات والمشاريع وما زال الموضوع عالقا رغم انه الحل الامثل لمعضلة التقاعد عند السواد الاعظم من اللبنانيين اكانوا مستخدمين او عمالا يعملون في مختلف القطاعات .

اخيرا سها عن بال الحكومة التعاطي بايجاد السبل لتفعيل دور الشباب والطلاب في الحياة الوطنية .

ختاما دعوني اقل لكم يا دولة الرئيس ان كتلتنا تمنحكم كامل ثقتها وهي على يقين انها قلما اجتمعت في حكومة اسباب النجاح كما في هذه الحكومة من دعم بلا حد ومنقطع النظير لخطاب القسم الذي منه استوحيتم معظم بنود بيانكم، الى حكومة متجانسة الاعضاء على رأسها رجل دولة مشهود له بأنه يستسيغ دائما العمل كفريق في خدمة الشأن العام، انها مسؤولية كبيرة ونحن نتحملها معكم لانجاح الاهداف السامية التي فعلها فخامة الرئيس في خطابه امام هذا المجلس. الا اننا نصارحكم بكل صدق واخلاص ونقول انه لا انتم ولا نحن بامكاننا وحدنا ان نحقق ذلك التغيير الذي اصبح شعار العهد وشعار حكومتكم. ونقول ببعض الاسف اننا كنا نأمل ان نجد في بيانكم ذلك النفس والزخم والقوة الجارفة التي تنبع من الايمان بالتغيير والتي تترجم باطلاق الدعوة الصارخة للتغيير الى جميع اللبنانيين على اختلاف فئاتهم ومشاربهم واحزابهم، الدعوة للتغيير موجهة الى جميع الشرائح والقطاعات، الدعوة للتغيير اخيرا موجهة الى جميع الطوائف وهي تدعي دائما حقوقا وقلما تذكر ما يقابل هذه الحقوق من واجبات وهي التي بما تملك من ثروات وامكانات وطاقات مالية ادارية وبشرية عظيمة بامكانها ان تحدث التغيير في مجالات كثيرة ليس اقلها توفير الاسكان وايجاد فرص العمل لمنع شبابنا من الاغتراب .

احدثوا يا دولة الرئيس نوادي في كل قرية ودسكرة تحت عنوان نوادي الانماء والتغيير، اطلقوا رموزا على اوسع مدى وشعار عنوانه التغيير حتى يعم الجميع الالتزام بالتغيير، (وان الله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيروا ما بأنفسهم). وشكرا.

Appendix 4

Ara Yerevanian

Appendix 4.1

Ara Yerevanian – 25 July 1973

Ara Yerevanian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Prime Minister Taqiedeen El Solh on 25 July 1973.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1973), 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 25 July 1973.

ارا يراوينيان: دولة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء الكرام،

سبقني الزملاء الاعزاء، فأجادوا وابدعوا فيما عالجوه من مواضيع وتطرقوا إليه من أبحاث كانت فعلاً بمستوى ما يذكر به هذا المجلس من إمكانات. وما تمنيناه له من نشاط، ساعة يدعو داعي الواجب وتستدعي ذلك الضرورة القصوى. فلا أريد أن أتطرق إلى نفس المواضيع التي عالجها غيري. ولن أعرض أمام الحكومة الجديدة ما تشكو منه منطقتي التي تعد فعلاً من المناطق الطبيعية في لبنان. سياحة واصطيافاً وعمراناً، وذلك لأنه من البديهي أن تلم كل حكومة مسؤولة بحاجات المناطق. فتعمل من ذاتها دونما أي رجاء أو مراجعة، على الاهتمام بالمناطق اللبنانية، لأنها كلها متساوية تجاه لبنان، وليس بالكثير علينا، ولا على أية حكومة تؤلف، أن نبذل من ذاتنا لنؤمن ديمومة وطن، هو بحاجة إلى المخلصين من أبنائه، الذين يهمهم لبنان قبل الكرسي، وتهمهم الوطنية الحقة قبل سواها .

استمعنا إلى البيان الوزاري وغيره من البيانات الوزارية وكلها، ولا شك بيانات تترجم عما في صدور الحكومات من الاستعدادات الطيبة لتحقيق ما يصبو إليه اللبنانيون من عز ورفاهية وعدل وأمن وحرية. وهذا البيان بالذات تلمسنا فيه الرغبة لتثبيت هذه الدعائم الخمس، ولكن ما نخشاه، أن يبقى الفعل مطموراً بالنيات الطيبة، فلا يخرج إلى حيز التنفيذ ويظل في دنيا الرغبات، بعيداً عما نريده له من واقع .

لن استعرض إذاً، ما نحن بحاجة إليه من مشاريع، لأن الظرف الذي نحن فيه، ظرف استثنائي. يحتم على حكومتكم يا دولة الرئيس، أن تلعب دوراً سياسياً بارزاً. يكون بمستوى ما نعقده عليها من آمال. فيعود الاستقرار وينتشر الأمن، ويسود العدل، وتنتصر الحرية ويبقى لبنان. وكم أعجبتني وتعجبني عبارات ثلاث، لأحد كبار رجالاتنا، ممن طواهم الموت وخلدهم تاريخ لبنان عندما سئل، ممن تستمد العون في حكمك؟ وكيف تصيب النجاح إذا حكمت؟ أجاب، خشيت الله في أيام الرخاء وفزعت إليه في الليالي الكوالح واجتهدت في كل ما عملت وأعمل أن أكون إنساناً قبل أن أكون رئيساً. فلنا ولك، يا دولة الرئيس عبرة من هذا القول. فلقد رافقتم الرعيل الأول من الرجالات الذين ارسوا قواعد الوحدة الوطنية الصحيحة. فجعلوا من لبنان لبناناً يقضي على الانانيات. لبناناً لا يتاجر به الطائفيون، لبناناً لكل اللبنانيين.

فكتلتنا بمن تمثل وما تمثل، تمنحكم ثقتها كاملة على هذا الأساس، لتلعب دور السياسي المؤهل له على أكمل وجه في هذا الظرف بالذات، فينعم لبنان بالاستقرار والأمن والعدل والرفاهية وعند ذاك تنصرفون إلى المشاريع. لأن أي عمل بناء لن يكتب له النجاح في أي بلد من بلدان العالم، ما لم يكن هناك استقرار وعدل وأمن وحرية. فنأمل أن تظل حكومتكم يا دولة الرئيس، على مستوى ثقتنا وثقة الغير بها، فنكون فعلاً قد لبينا صوت الضمير، ونداء الواجب. فلا نضطر فيما بعد أن نأسف على ما فعلت.

Appendix 4.2

Ara Yerevanian – 28 March 1974

Deputy Ara Yerevanian's speech during the deliberations on the State Budget.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1974), 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 13th Parliament held on 28 March 1974.

آرا يروانيان ـ دولة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء الكرام،

أجاد زملائي في معالجة موضوع الموازنة وأشبعوه درساً وتمحيصاً وتعليقاً ولا أرى حاجة ملحة إلى تكرار ما ذكره مخافة أن تمل الآذان التكرار وتأنف ما يعاد ذكره مرات ومرات. ماذا يفيد الإنسان إلى ربح العالم كله وخسر نفسه؟ وبالتالي، ماذا يفيدنا أن ربحنا كل شيء وخسرنا لبنان لا سمح الله، وماذا يفيد لبنان إن غمرناه بالمال وحققنا له المشاريع وهو بحاجة إلى سواعد تتكاتف وقلوب تتآلف وواردات خبرة تتفاعل للعمل على بقاء لبنان وخلوده.

أنا لا يهمني أن يتدفق السياح على لبنان ليتعرفوا على حضارتنا ويتحققوا من عمق جذورنا في التاريخ الإنساني، بقدر ما يهمني أن يكون اللبناني سعيداً في وطنه مطمئناً إلى مصيره، ومرتاحاً إلى مستقبل بيته.

أنا لا ارتاح إلا عندما تستطيع الدولة أن تحقق فعلياً ما يختلج في صدور اللبنانيين من آمال ورغبات، أن تؤمن مسكناً لكل مواطن، فيتعلق بالأرض، أرضه، ولا يعود يفكر بالهجرة وما ستجر على لبنان فيما بعد من خراب ودمار.

أنا لا أرتاح إلا عندما تتحسن الحكومة أوضاع كل فرد من اللبنانيين، فكما تعيش مع الميسور أريدها أن تعيش مع البائس، القابع في الأكواخ، يتعذب ويتألم، فتعمل بكل ما أوتيت من جهد لتنشئته من بؤسه، وتشعره أنه إنسان يعيش في مجتمع القرن العشرين، أن تعمل للعدالة الاجتماعية، فيتساوى الناس في العيش الكريم، كما يجب أن يتساووا أمام الحق والقانون، لأننا أصبحنا في زمن تتفاذفه تيارات مختلفة من المبادئ الهدامة والعقائد غير البناءة وأكاد أخشى إن لم تعم العدالة الاجتماعية بين الناس أن يجرفنا التيار الهدام، فنندم ساعة لا يعود النفع الندم.

لم يعد الشعب يرضى أن يستمع إلى التصاريح تطلق من هذا المسؤول أو ذاك، ولم تعد تستهوي اللبناني نكرزات هذا الزعيم لذاك الزعيم، ولم يعد يهمه نجاح فلان أم رسوب فلان في هذه الانتخابات أو تلك، بل أصبح كل همه أن يعيش كريماً في وطنه مطمئناً إلى مصيره، ومرتاحاً إلى مستقبل بيئته. وأصبح كل همه أيضاً أن تشعره الدولة بأنه مواطن له عليها

حقوق كما لها عليه واجبات، أن تغمره بنعمها كما يغمرها بالضرائب المتوجبة عليه. وكثيراً ما تكون منتزعة من فم أطفاله. أن تحقق له الوعد الذي تقطعه له فلا تعطيه حقاً تحت وطأة الإضراب أو تحت تأثير التهديد والوعيد، بل أن تهبه النعم بتأثير من حقه المشروع وأبسط الحقوق الإنسانية.

وأخيراً، أن تكون الدولة تجاه المواطن بمثابة الأب الذي يرعى بنيه، فلا يفضل واحداً منهم على الآخر لأنهم جميعاً من لحمه ودمه، وهكذا الدولة كما نتمناها أن تكون، الراعية الصالحة لرعايا، يوجد هدف واحد، وتجمعهم أرض واحدة، ويشدهم إلى بعضهم مصير واحد، وعلى هذا الأساس وعلى هذا الأمل أختتم كلمتي يا دولة الرئيس التي أطلقها من قلبي لتلج قلبكم، وفي هذا مصلحة الدولة وخير لبنان وخير بنيه.

Appendix 5
George Kassarji

Appendix 5.1

George Kassarji – 9 November 1992

Speech by George Kassarji at the Deliberation Meeting on the Ministerial Statement of Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri's 61st Lebanese Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1992): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 9 November 1992

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس،

حضرة الزملاء المحترمين،

أريد أولاً أن أسجل إعجابي بالبيان الوزاري متمنياً تنفيذه وعدم التوقف عند صيغته، وفي ذلك أهمية هذه الحكومة الجديدة وأهمية بيانها.

لدى فقط بعض الملاحظات التي أود إثارتها:

أولاً: أمام استحداث وزارات جديدة، لابد من سؤال يطرح نفسه:

أين وزارة التصميم؟ فكل تخطيط لمستقبل إنمائي بالشكل الحضاري الذي تحدث عنه البيان يفرض إنشاء مثل هذه الوزارة، رحم الله الشيخ موريس الجميل.

ثانياً: من إيجابيات البيان الوزاري: العمل على استحداث وزارة مستقلة للتعليم المهني والتقني نظراً لأهمية هذا النوع من التعليم في عملية إنماء الموارد البشرية والطبيعية.

والمفارقة الغريبة أن الدولة في طريقها إلى إلغاء مصلحة الاستخدام التي تعتبر المكتب الأول لدراسة الاحتياجات الحقيقية لليد العاملة اختصاصاً ومستوى.

لذلك: نتمنى على الحكومة أن تأخذ بعين الاعتبار أهمية الرياضة والشباب بعد أن أصبحت في العالم ميزاناً حضارياًَ معروفاً، ولهذا نجد أن إنشاء الملاعب الرياضية في كافة المناطق اللبنانية أمر ضروري وملح، وهنا لابد من المطالبة بتفعيل دور المديرية العامة للشباب والرياضة التي أصبحت في حكم الملغاة.

رابعاً: إعادة النظر في قانون الإيجارات الأخير خاصة فيما يتعلق بالمفعول الرجعي.

وأخيراً، الاهتمام الجدي والسريع بنفق حمانا ـ شتورة الذي يحل مشكلة النقل الأساسية بين بيروت وشتورة، وشكراً.

Appendix 5.2

George Kassarji – 5 January 1993

Speech by Deputy George Kassarji during a General Discussion Meeting in the presence of the President of the Republic Elias El Hrawi.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1993): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 January 1993.

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس،

أيها الزملاء،

في البداية لا بد من كلمة شكر وتقدير للدور الرائد الذي تلعبه الدولة، والذي أكد من جديد ان لبنان باق وانه ذو سيادة وصاحب قرار.

أخص بالذكر الموقف الثابت والشجاع بالنسبة لمسألة الاخوة الفلسطينيين المقتلعين من أرضهم ووطنهم، وما اشيع من رضى وثقة لدى المواطنين بعد عمليات المداهمة لبعض بؤر الفساد في المناطق اللبنانية ، كذلك الاهتمام البالغ بعودة المهجرين الى منازلهم وأرضهم.

لكن اسمحوا لي أن أسجل على الحكومة الكريمة الامور التالية:

1- خلال الاعياد الماضية (الميلاد ورأس السنة) سقط على الاراضي اللبنانية بعض القتلى من جراء الرصاص الذي أطلق بالهواء ابتهاجا، منهم ابنة جورج صليبا من زحلة والتي لم يبلغ عمرها اربعة عشر عاما، وعندما حملها أهلها مصابة برصاصة في رأسها لم يجدوا بسهولة مستشفى مستعدا لاستقبالها لانهماك الجميع بسهرة رأس السنة.

أريد هنا أن أسجل ان القرار الذي صدر عن وزارة الداخلية وقيادة الجيش، بمنع اطلاق النار ابتهاجا، لم يلاحق، ولم تعمد الدولة لاعتقال أي مطلق للنار، ثانيا على وزارة الصحة التي لم تتهيأ لمثل هذه الحالة وثالثا على وزارة الاعلام التي لم تعمد الى ابراز أهمية عدم اطلاق النار بعرض صور المصابين على صفحات الجرائد، وعلى شاشات التلفزيون لمدة أسبوع عل مطلق النار يرتدع في المرات القادمة عن اطلاق النار.

2- ان طريق بيروت - شتورة والتي كثر الحديث عنها ما زالت، وبالرغم من بعض الاعمال التي جرت عليها تعاني الكثير من المصاعب، خاصة عند تشكل الضباب أو تساقط الثلوج، لقد سبق وطلبت من معالي وزير الاشغال ان يعمد الى تلزيم رسم الخطوط الفوسفورية في منتصف وجوانب الطريق لتسهيل رؤية حدودها على السائق في الليل وأثناء تشكل الضباب

ولقد تجاوب معاليه وأجرى تلزيم العمل لتنفيذ هذه الخطوط، ثم بدأ العمل ولكنه ما لبث ان توقف قبل انجازه، لماذا؟.. اذا كان السبب هو سوء الطقس فلا اظن ان الطقس كان سيئا دائما، فلقد مرت عدة أيام كان يمكن فيها تنفيذ المشروع واكماله على الاقل على جوانب الطريق، اذا تعذر في منتصفها لوجود جدار الثلج.

وهنا لا بد من الاشارة الى ان عدم وجود هذه الخطوط قد تسبب في سقوط أكثر من ثلاثة اشخاص في حوادث سير على هذه الطريق وخاصة في بلدة المريجات.

3- اما عن حالة مكاتب التخليص على الحدود اللبنانية السورية "المصنع" فهناك مكاتب مرخص لها بحق الحصرية في التخليص لكنها تضع النصوص التي تناسبها على مزاجها. فقبل الشهر العاشر من العام 1991 كانت المعاملة الجمركية لشاحنة النقل تكلف 57500 ل.ل. منها 2400 ل.ل. بدل طابع أميري والباقي يعود لاتحاد مكاتب التخليص. بعد ذلك أصبحت الكلفة للغرض نفسه تكلف 30000 ل.ل. منها ألف ليرة بدل طابع أميري والباقي لاتحاد المكاتب.

واليوم أصبحت الكلفة 287□000 ل.ل. منها ثمانية آلاف للدولة والباقي للجهة نفسها.

نحن نسأل: الا ترون ان ذلك يعيق عملية التصدير وبالتالي ما هي عائدات الدولة من هذه الرسوم؟

4- ورد في البيان الوزاري ان الحكومة ستسعى الى تعديل قانون الايجارات كما صدر سابقا وتريد التعجيل بذلك لعلمها بما لهذا القانون من أهمية بالغة في سير العجلة الاقتصادية، وحتى هذا التاريخ لم تعمد الحكومة الى التعديل، والمواطن ينتظر بفارغ الصبر سواء كان مستأجرا أو مؤجرا، وأعمال الاثنين معا متوقفة بانتظار صدور القانون، فنرجو من هذه الحكومة ان تهتم بالامر وتسرع في اصدار القانون الجديد.

هذا ما ألفت الحكومة الكريمة اليه راجيا ان تتكرم بايلائه الاهمية وتسعى الى تنفيذه.

Appendix 5.3

George Kassarji – 20 January 1994

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the proposed budget on 20 January 1994.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1994): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 20 January 1994.

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس، حضرة الزملاء الكرام،

أردت التحدث عن مسألة واحدة قد تبدو بسيطة جداً لدرجة أنها لا تستاهل أن نثيرها في مجلسنا الكريم، لكن الإهمال الذي قد يكون مقصوداً دفعني لإثارتها وإيجاد السبيل المناسب لوضع الحل النهائي لها، وقد نلجأ إما لإيجاد لجنة للتحقيق من هذا المجلس أو من الوزارة المختصة. "إنها مسألة الهاتف في بلدة شتورا والبريد والهاتف في مدينة زحلة".

إليكم القصة باختصار شديد.

في العام 1982 أقدم العدو الصهيوني على تدمير بناء السنترال والبريد في شتورا، فتوقف الهاتف في منطقة واسعة في البقاع الأوسط بالإضافة إلى خدمات البريد. بادرت الدولة إلى إعادة إنشاء هذا البناء وأشرف عليه مجلس الإنماء والأعمار فجاء التنفيذ بأسوأ صورة إذ أن السقوف الثلاثة قد تشققت فأصبحت مياه الأمطار تنحدر من السقف الأعلى إلى الذي يليه، ثم إلى الأسفل إلى أن تتجمع هذه المياه في الطابق السفلي ليصبح خزاناً للمياه، كما أن هذا البناء لم تنفذ فيه الأشغال الداخلية الأساسية من تمديدات كهربائية وتجهيزات صحية وتوريق وتبليط ودهان فهو لا يصلح أن يكون مقراً للهاتف أو للبريد.

وللضرورة القصوى وأهمية الاتصالات في منطقة شتورا التي يعرف الجميع أنها المركز الرئيسي للبقاع والمدخل الأول لبوابة الوطن العربي انطلاقاً من الشقيقة سوريا. لجانا إلى معالي الوزير غزيري، الذي نكن له كل تقدير واحترام، كان ذلك مع بداية عهد هذه الحكومة. أبدى معاليه كل تجاوب فرصد بعض الأموال لإعادة تشغيل الخطوط القديمة والبالغة 2400 خط وأرسل فرقاً للعمل وأسمحوا لي هنا أن أتوقف قليلاً أمام فريق العمل هذا، كان عددهم 72 عاملاً معظمهم من المعاقين وكبار السن، العاملين منهم لا يزيدون عن العشرة عمال. اعترضنا آنذاك على هؤلاء لكن دون جدوى. المهم في الأمر أن هذه الفرقة قامت لإعادة الخطوط في راشيا وجب جنين ومشغرة وعين زبدة لأنها كما بدا لمسؤولي الهاتف في البقاع تأتي في الدرجة الأولى في سلم الأولويات وقبل مدينة شتورا وقراها المجاورة. قبلنا هذا الأمر وانتظرنا البدء في إعادة تأهيل سنترال شتورا.

تجاوب معنا الوزير غزيري وأرسل الكابلات والتجهيزات المناسبة وصرف الأموال بهدف إعادة وصل الخطوط بأسرع وقت ممكن ولكن بعد إنجاز كل هذه الأمور جاءت رئاسة المنطقة في البقاع لتقول أن كل هذه التمديدات غير صالحة ولا يمكن الاعتماد عليها لوصل الخطوط. وكل ما صرف وما بذل من جهد ووقت جاء هباء منثورا.

دولة الرئيس، أيها الأخوة الزملاء،

منذ العام 82 وشتورا بلا هاتف. هذه الحكومة ومع بداية عهدها وعدت بإعادة وصل الخطوط الضرورية أي حوالي ألفي خط. وفي كل مرة كنا نراجع فيها نتلقى وعداً جديداً وتوقيتا لا يزيد عن الأسابيع وحتى تاريخه لا خطوط ولا هاتف، حتى لاحظنا ولاحظ معنا أهالي المنطقة أن المانع ليس فنياً لكنه سياسي.. وهذه مسألة خطيرة تترك لدى المواطن انطباعاً سيئاً وشعوراً بالغبن والقهر وكل هذا المواطن قد أصبح سلعة تُباع وتشترى أمام أهداف سياسية رخيصة. فإن التجهيزات التي تأمنت والعاملين عليها يؤكدون أنها جاهزة ويمكن استخدامها منذ أربعة أشهر. هذا ما نعرفه ونؤكده ما وما يعرفه المواطن ويؤكده، أكبر دليل على ذلك أن حوالي مئتي خط هي في التداول لأصحاب النفوذ في شتورا بالإضافة إلى بعض السنترالات الخاصة وهي تشارك في مافيا جديدة في المنطقة اسمها "مافيا شتورا" تصوروا أن أحد الخطوط وهي ملك للدولة عليها 47000 مخابرة حتى تاريخه يستخدمها التاجر لمصلحته الشخصية ويدفع رسومها صندوق الدولة أي من دم وتعب وجهد المواطن اللبناني.

هذا عن الهاتف في شتورا أما عن بريد زحلة فإنه متوقف تماماً عن العمل والسبب في ذلك عدد الموظفين الذين لا يزيد عددهم عن الاثنين فقط لا غير بعد أن كانوا 33 موظفاً قبل العام 1975. أن البرقية التي يرسلها مجلس النواب إلى البقاع لنواب المنطقة تصلهم بعد حصول الجلسة التي يدعو إليها دولة الرئيس بخمسة عشر يوماً. أما بريد المواطن فلا يصله أبداً. طلبنا من معالي الوزير زيادة الموظفين أجاب أنه ما يزال ينتظر جواب مجلس الخدمة المدنية الذي كتب له في هذا الأمر عدة مرات.

وعن هاتف زحلة والذي لا نراه أوفر حظاً. السنترال يحتوي سبعة آلاف خط هاتفي الكتروني غير مستخدم يقول المسؤولون لعدم توفر الشبكة. راجعنا معاليه وأثبتنا له وجود هذه الشبكة الفارغة، وبعد اقتناعه وافق على تشغيل 1800 خط من أصلها كبداية لاستكمال المشروع وأرسل لها كافة التجهيزات. وما حصل أن الكابلات والتجهيزات مازالت أمام مبنى السنترال منذ أربعة أشهر ولا من ينفذ. من ناحية أخرى هناك 1700 خط موزعة بطريقة بدائية ودون أي وجه شرعي، خطوط هاتفية ممدة من شبابيك السنترال أعطيت لبعض المحسوبيات خلال الانتخابات النيابية السابقة. أصحابها على استعداد لدفع الرسوم المتوجبة عند تشريعها وهو مبلغ لا يقل عن المليار ليرة لبنانية. وتجدر الإشارة إلى السبعة آلاف خط ولو كتب لها أن توزع للمستفيدين لأدخلت للخزينة عائدات تزيد قيمتها عن الأربع مليارات ليرة لبنانية بالإضافة إلى عائداتها الدائمة.

وعن بناء السنترال في زحلة فلقد عمدت الدولة إلى تلزيم إعادة تأهيله ولقد فاتني أن أذكر أن الدولة الكريمة قد أسقطت سهواً ولا أدري إن كان مقصوداً إعادة تأهيل سنترال شتورا مع

موجة التعهدات لكافة السنترالات لبنان، وعندما راجعت مجلس الإنماء والأعمار في هذا الأمر وعدوني بتلزيمه في فرصة قادمة ولا أدري متى تأتي هذه الفرصة.

وفي إعادة تأهيل سنترال زحلة نسى المخططون تلزيم غرفة استقبال الكابلات وهي موجودة في ملفاتهم لكنه سقطت سهواً، وكان السهو في هذا العهد أصباح موضة العصر. راجعناهم أيضاً بإضافة هذه الغرفة في ملفاتهم، وعدنا بزيادتها وهي الموجودة في هذه الملفات "تبين لنا ذلك بعد اجتماعنا بهم في وزارة الهاتف". المهم في الأمر أن تلزيم هذه الغرفة لم يلحظ حتى الآن ونحن ننتظر كما ينتظر كل مواطن بقاعي.

استناداً إلى كل ما تقدم أتوجه لأطلب من دولة الرئيس بري ومعالي الوزير غزيري ما يلي:

1- إيجاد الصيغة المناسبة لتشكيل لجنة، أما على مستوى مجلس النواب أو أقله على مستوى الوزارة مهمتها الكشف على ملابسات صرف الأموال التي تذهب هدراً بالإضافة للوقت المستهلك دون طائل لما جرى في تمديد خطوط سنترال شتورا منذ سنة وحتى تاريخه وكإننا نعود إلى ذي بدء. أتمنى أن أسمع جواباً لهذا الأمر في هذه الجلسة.

2- من معالي وزير الاتصالات نطلب إرسال فريق عمل وبشكل فوري إلى سنترال شتورا للبدء بتوزيع الخطوط على أصحابها.

3- ما لا نريده في الظروف الراهنة أن يلجأ المواطن في منطقة شتورا إلى السلبية لما يمارس عليه من قهر ولا مبالاة فلقد أبلغت أن أهالي المنطقة سيعمدون إلى الإضرابات التصعيدية إذا لم تتحسن الدولة ما يصيبهم وتبدأ فوراً بتنفيذ الشبكة الهاتفية وتوزيعها على المستحقين. ولابد لي هنا من أن أكون مع قاعدتي، وعلى رأسهم في هذه الحملة السلبية بعد أن استنفذت كل الوسائل في ردعهم عن هذا الأمر وعلى مدى أكثر من أربعة أشهر.

ويؤسفني أن أقرأ على صفحات الجرائد وأشاهد على شاشات التلفزيون تصريح دولة الرئيس الحريري للمواطنين البقاعيين الذين جاءوه للزيارة أن أمر إنماء منطقة البقاع يتطلب سنوات وسنوات. فهل نريدهم أن ينتظروا سنوات ليكون لهم هاتف في منازلهم. نحن لا نريد أن أكثر من الممكن نريد تحديداً إعادة الخطوط التي دمرتها الحرب وهي الخطوط الأولى قبل زيادة المشاريع الجديدة والتحديث الذي نسمع به.

ونحن يا دولة الرئيس لسنا ضد إنماء العاصمة لكن هل تريدون إهمال الريف يهرب منها المواطن ليسكن هذه العاصمة التي باتت مأوى لجميع اللبنانيين في حين أصبح هذا الريف فارغاً من سكانه. ولا أرى أن أحداً يؤيد ما تفعلون في إهمال المناطق ووضع كل الطاقات في العاصمة فكما تعلم يا دولة الرئيس أن دولة العالم المتحضرة تقدم كل الإغراءات لمواطنيها من تخفيض للضرائب ومساعدات بكل الوسائل ليبقوا في المناطق البعيدة عن العاصمة تشجيعاً وإنماء للريف وتخفيفاً من زحمة السكن والسير في العاصمة.

بالنسبة للكهرباء،

أن قرار زيادة أسعار الكهرباء أثار نقمة شعبية واسعة أن على صعيد الاستهلاك المنزلي أم في القطاع الصناعي أو التجاري.

وهذا ما أردنا عرضه على معالي وزير الموارد المائية والكهربائية، فعلى الصعيد المنزلي أن زيادة أسعار الكهرباء زاد نفقة على المستهلك بلغ حوالي 50 ألف ليرة لبنانية كحد أدنى فتكون الزيادة التي أعطتها الدولة والتي لم تبلغ الـ80 ألف ليرة لبنانية لأصحاب الحد الأدنى قد أعطيت باليد اليمنى وأخذت باليد اليسرى. وعلى صعيد الصناعة والتجارة فإن هذه الزيادة قد أضافت إلى الكلفة زيادة جديدة للمادة المحصنة أو المباعة مما يستوجب زيادة أسعار بيعها في السوق وهذه السلعة تصبح حتماً في هذه الحالة عبئاً جديداً على المستهلك أو المنتج الذي يتعرض للمضاربة المشروعة في السلع المستوردة المماثلة.

اقترح على معالي وزير الموارد المائية والكهربائية الأستاذ إيلي حبيقة لما نعرفه عن علاقاته الحميمة بالطبقات الشعبية والعمالية أن يعمل على تأجيل تنفيذ هذا القرار ريثما يعود التيار الكهربائي إلى حالته الطبيعية أي على مدى 24 ساعة، فإنني أرى أنه قرار حكيم لكنه جاء مبكراً وقبل إعادة تأهيل الكهرباء، أن اللبنانيين ينفقون اليوم ثمناً للكهرباء لجهتين اثنتين أحدهما للدولة وأخرى للمولد الخاص أو بطريقة الاشتراك في مولد عمومي.

وأنني وبعد متابعتي لأمور الصناعيين لاحظت أن البعض منهم سيضطر للتوقف عن العمل بسبب الزيادة العالية للكفلة من جراء زيادة سعر الكهرباء كذلك بالنسبة للمؤسسات السياحية والتجارية وهناك الكثير من المؤسسات الصناعية تتوقف عن العمل مع توقف التيار الكهربائي أي أنها تتوقف عن الإنتاج أثناء انقطاع التيار الكهربائي لأنها تستهلك الكثير من الطاقة الكهربائية مما لا تؤمنه المولدات الخاصة فتصبح أجور العاملين والوقت الضائع على نفقة صاحب المؤسسة.

اقتراح موجه إلى الحكومة برئيسها وأعضائها:

لأن البعض يرى أن هذه الحكومة تخرج عن المألوف وتقوم وبشكل ملف بالسهر على المواطن، ولأننا متأكدون أن أي وزارة من وزارات الخدمات لا تستطيع أن ترى حقيقة ما يجري في كافة المناطق اللبنانية وهي في مكاتبها في العاصمة فإننا ندعو الوزراء أن يخصصوا يوماً واحداً من وقتهم في كل شهر لكل محافظة من محافظات الوطن، يداوم فيها الوزير في مكتب وزارته في هذه المحافظة. يكون هذا اليوم حالة تواصل مباشرة وحقيقية بين المواطن والوزير. فيكون الوزير قد تعايش وبشكل عملي وفعلي معه، أولاً مع كيفية التعامل بين موظفيه والمواطن، ثانياً ليشعر هذا المواطن أن الوزير هو قريب منه يتحسس مشاكله ويتعايش مع أمور الحياتية.

فهل سيكون لهذه الأذان الصاغية لما نقول؟ أن هذا الاقتراح لم يأت بناء لرغبة في الكلام المستهلك لكنه نزولاً عند رغبة هذا المواطن الذي بدأ يتهمنا بالكلام دون التنفيذ.

أتمنى ولو لمرة واحدة أن تأخذ هذه الحكومة برأي النائب الذي يتعايش مع المواطن وبشكل يومي لتكون هذه الحكومة التي علقت عليها الآمال فتستكمل الخطة العملية الفاعلة في فتح

الأبواب أمام كل مواطن مغبون لإزالة الغبن فتعطي بذلك كل ذي حق حقه وتبدأ النقلة النوعية وبشكل فعلي في بناء دولة المؤسسات.

Appendix 5.4

George Kassarji – 5 June 1995

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Rafik El Hariri's Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1995): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 June 1995.

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس، حضرة الزملاء،

لا أريد أن أناقش البيان الذي تقدمت به حكومتنا الفتية، لأني أعتبر وبصدق وبعد التجربة أن مناقشة هذا البيان الذي لخص الأمور بعناوين عامة يصح أن يدرج تحتها ما تريده، وما لا تريده بالإضافة إلى التجربة السابقة في بيان الحكومة السابق والذي أعلنته وناقشناه مطولاً لكن الممارسات، بعد ذلك جاءت مغايرة إلى حد بعيد لما جاء فيه وكأنه مادة نظرية تقدم إلى النواب لا تلتزم به الحكومة.

بإيجاز سريع ولأني ابن البقاع في زحلة أود أن ألفت نظر الأخوة الوزراء إلى بعض الشؤون الهامة والحياتية لأبناء البقاع كلفتها قليلة جداً بالمقارنة مع ما تنفقه الدولة على مشاريع لا تتعلق بالوجه اليومي للمواطن. أبدأ بوزارة الهاتف الخاصة وأن على رأسها الآن رجلاً عرفناه ديناميكياً فاعلاً ونشيطاً في مجلس الإنماء والأعمار آملين أن لا يلبس طربوش الوزارة ويأخذ نهج السابقين.

في البقاع يا دولة الرئيس مجموعة من سنترالات للهاتف أكبرها سنترال زحلة وثانيها سنترال شتورة الذي دمرته إسرائيل بعدوانها عام 1982 تدميراً كاملاً فأعيد بناؤه على يد متعهدين تعاقبوا عليه ولم ينفذوا حتى تاريخه ما أردناه وما اشترط به مجلس الإنماء والأعمار الذي خطط وأشرف على التنفيذ، وعندما طلبنا في السابق وبتاريخ 1994/1/20 التحقيق بهذا الأمر بادر وزير الهاتف إلى تشكيل لجنة من ثلاثة مهندسين للقيام بهذه المهمة لكن وحتى تاريخه لم نتوصل لمعرفة ما جاءت به هذه اللجنة، لكن مجلس والإنماء والأعمار عمد إلى تلزيم هذا السنترال مرة ثانية ولا أدري كيف انتهت الأمور مع المتعهد الأول ومن تحمل النفقة؟ المعروف حتى الآن أن هذا السنترال ما زال ينتظر والمواطنون في منطقة شتورة ينتظرون ولا من يستجيب.

وهناك أيضاً مشاكل الهاتف في زحلة والتي تكلمنا وطالبنا بحلها منذ مدة طويلة ألخصها بما يلي:

ـ النقص الهائل في سيارات الخدمة للإصلاح، سمعنا أن هناك 6 سيارات مجهزة ستسلم إلى زحله لكنها لم تصل حتى الآن، عمدت المصلحة إلى إصلاح القديم بمبالغ طائلة لكن المعطل ما زال معطلاً، نرجو الإسراع بتأمين هذه السيارات.

ـ سنترالات راشياً ومشغرة بالإضافة لسنترال زحلة بحاجة ماسة إلى إعادة تأهيل البناء تنتظر الإنماء والأعمار ليقوم بها.

ـ في سنترال زحلة اليوم 1600 خط هاتفي معطل من أصل 3000 و السبب عائد إلى الكرت الالكتروني على جهاز MT الذي عندما يتعطل لا يقوم أحد بإصلاحه وعندما راجعنا كانت الإجابة أن ديوان المحاسبة لا يوافق على الاعتمادات اللازمة للإصلاح.

ـ أن الهاتف في البقاع يفتقر إلى الفنيين للصيانة، طالبنا في السابق إعطاء ساعات عمل إضافية للمتوفرين منهم لم توافق عليه الوزارة وهم غير قادرين على تلبية الحاجة خاصة وأنهم يتقاضون على إصلاح الخط 20 دولاراً من صاحب العلاقة فيصلحون خطأ ويعطلون خطأ أخر رغبة في الربح الأوفر. قبل الحرب الأهلية كان لدينا في البقاع 300 عامل بين إداري وفني واليوم ليس لدينا إلا 140 وهناك ساعات عديدة من اليوم لا يكون في السنترال أي موظف للمراقبة وأنت تعلمون أنه معرض في أي لحظة إلى خطر الحريق كما حصل في العام الماضي.

ـ رئيس المصلحة في زحلة لا تتوافر في صندوق الأموال اللازمة للإصلاح الفوري عند الضرورة تعطي له السلفة بالقطارة فلا تكفي لسد الرمق نرجو زيادة هذه السلفة حسب الحاجة.

ـ أما في البريد فما زال يعاني من النقص الهائل في طاقاته البشرية، كان لديه 33 موظفاً قبل الحرب والآن بقي منهم ثلاثة فقط، وعندما عرضنا الأمور على دولة الرئيس أمدنا بعشرة عمال يسكنون بعيداً عن زحلة راتبهم لا يكفي أجوراً للنقل ولذلك هم لا يداومون، نرجو تأمين إجراء من زحلة لتسهيل الأمور. "تصوروا أن برقية من مجلس النواب تصلني بعد 15 يوماً من إرسالها".

ـ شركة أريكسون تقوم اليوم ببعض الحفريات لتمديد كابلات جديدة للهاتف، فتقوم بتمديد هذه الكابلات فوق قساطل المياه الرئيسية وهو أمر ممنوع فنياً في كل دول العالم، حاولنا توقيفهم عن العمل لكنهم عادوا ونفذوا على هواهم ومددوا الهاتف بالطريقة التي لا يقبلها أي منطق فني. هذا بالإضافة إلى تمديد كابل 1800 خط، بدأ عاملان تركيان بفرز خطوطه وهما تابعان أيضاً إلى أريكسون لكنهم توقفوا عن العمل قبل استكماله منذ شهرين فيكيف ستنجز الأعمال في هاتف زحلة إذا كانت الأمور تجري على هذه الوتيرة.

ـ هذا يا معالي وزير الهاتف بعض من فيض الأعباء الكثيرة لكن على قدر أهل العزم تأتي العزائم.

ـ لدى أيضاً بعض الملاحظات لبعض الوزارات أولها وزارة التعليم المهني والتقني التي تعلق عليها وعلى وزيرها الجديد الآمال الكبار لأن التعليم المهني في لبنان يساوي مستقبل لبنان

فهو الخزان الحقيقي للقوى العامة في قطاعيه العام والخاص. نفتقر في لبنان وخاصة في البقاع إلى مدارس عديدة للتعليم المهني والتقني، ومدرسة زحلة الحالية لا تستوعب أكثر من 250 طالب نرجوا العمل وبسرعة هائلة إلى البدء في بناء مدرسة جديدة في منطقة البقاع الأوسط ولا يغيب عن ذهننا الانصراف إلى إنشاء مراكز التدريب المهني المعجل في جميع المحافظات.

نتمنى على الحكومة أيضاً أن تسن قانوناً تمنع فيه ممارسة أي مهنة أو حرفة قبل الحصول على شهادة مهنية في الاختصاص المطلوب أسوة بقوانين العالم بأكمله وتحسيناً للأداء العمالي والحرفي في لبنان، وتحفيزاً للإقبال على التعليم والتدريب المهني. لقد رحبنا كثيراً عندما أنشأت الدولة وزارة خاصة للتعليم المهني والتقني لكننا نتمنى أن تولي الحكومة الاهتمام الكامل لهذه الوزارة عن طريق تأمين الأموال الكافية لتفعيل دورها ولقد علمنا أن بعض وزارات الدولة وبعض القطاعات الأهلية تحاول انتزاع بعض مهام هذه الوزارة، نرجو وضع حداً لهذا الأمر وترك التعليم المهني يقوم بدوره.

وأما وزارة الزراعة ووزيرها بقاعي زحلي يعيش هموم المزارع بيومياته ونرجو منه أن يتنبه إلى ما يلي:

1- بعد أن تصدت الدولة للزراعات الممنوعة ونجحت إلى حد بعيد وهذا ما نريده لكننا نريد أيضاً إيجاد البديل العملي والشرعي، اقترح أن يكون لهذا البديل إنشاء مصنع للزيوت من دوار الشمس والصويا وبالإضافة لتشجيع زراعة البطاطا بعد تواجد مشاريع الري خاصة في المنطقة الواقعة بين الهرمل وبعلبك حيث تتوفر المياه من نهر العاصي.

2- الاهتمام أكثر بالروزنامة الزراعية وحماية الإنتاج المحلي بشكل فعال انطلاقاً من الاتفاق مع الشقيقة سوريا لمساواة المزارع اللبناني بالمزارع السوري بالنسبة للتقديمات وتصريف الإنتاج.

3- توفير مكاتب خاصة للإرشاد الزراعي لحماية الإنتاج من الآفات ومراقبة الأراضي واقتراح الزراعات المناسبة على المزارع.

4- مساعدة الفلاحين أو أصحاب مزارع الدواجن بدعم الأدوية والأسمدة الزراعية واللقاحات للدواجن.

5- تسهيل التسليف الزراعي والتعويض على المزارع عن المواسم التي أصيبت من الصقيع لهذا الموسم خاصة مواسم المشمش والدراق والكرز والخوخ والخرما في منطقة البقاع.

أما في وزارة الأشغال وكلنا يعرف ما لهذه الوزارة من دور ونعرف الهدر الكبير في الإنفاق السابق ونرى يومياً كيف تنفذ الأعمال صوريا وتوضع الأموال في جيوب المتعهدين وإزلامهم آملين اليوم أن تتغير الأمور مع الوزير الجديد، نريد منه أولاً أن يتنبه إلى المافيات التي تحيط به من كل جانب والتي ورثها عن السالفين، أبسط الأمور إننا نطالب من سنتين وضع الفوسفور على الطرقان لما له من أهمية في الحفاظ على سلامة المواطن. حتى الآن

لم ينفذ هذا الموضع بالمواصفات الفنية اللائقة فلقد أنجز هذا العمل لثلاث مرات متتالية في المادة التي توضع على الأسفلت لا تلبث أن تزول في الأيام القليلة الأولى من وضعها خصوصاً عن طريق ضهر البيدر ـ شتورا.

ولمعالي وزير الداخلية أتوجه من جديد لإيلاء الأهمية الكبرى في إعادة النظر في السجون التي أصبحت بؤرة للفساد، بدلاً من كونها في المبدأ إصلاحاً للنفوس والعادات السيئة. أن السجن في زحلة يفتقر لأدنى المواصفات الصحية يحشون فيه المساجين بمختلف الأعمال ولمختلف العقوبات، فيضعون ابن 16 سنة مع ابن 50 سنة والمجرم مع مرتكب حادث سير بسيط، والغرفة التي تتسع لخمسة أشخاص يوضع فيها أكثر من 20 . نتمنى على معالي وزير الداخلية تنفيذ ما وعد به سابقاً في بناء سجن جديد تتوفر فيه الشروط الصحية والفنية ولقد سبق لهذه الوزارة أن حازت على الاعتمادات اللازمة لبناء السجون بناء على القانون رقم 219 تاريخ 1993/5/13 والذي لاحظ بناء سجون جديدة في المناطق.

ولوزير الشؤون البلدية والقروية أتوجه بلفت النظر إلى أن المتعهدين الذين يعملون داخل المدن والقرى يقومون بالحفريات حسب مقتضى عملهم فينجزون العمل لكنهم لا يعيدون الطريق إلى حالته السابقة حسب الأصول فإننا نتمنى على معالي الوزير أن ينفذ القانون القديم الذي يقضي بوضع كفالة مالية على المتعهدين لا تسدد إلا بعد إنجاز العمل وردم الحفرة وتزفيتها لأننا نعاني من حفر في الطرقات مضى عليها أكثر من سنة من متعهدين لا تسدد إلا بعد إنجاز العمل وردم الحفرة وتزفيتها لأننا نعاني من حفر في الطرقات مضى عليها أكثر من سنة من متعهدين تقاضوا ما لهم ولم يقوموا بما عليهم، ونتمنى على جميع الوزارات التشديد في الحصول على براءة ذمة من قبل أن يتقاضى المتعهد كامل حقه في الالتزام.

ولوزارة الخارجية أعود من جديد لتذكير معالي الوزير بقضية الأراضي التركية في لبنان وأراضي اللبنانيين في تركيا وهي مساحات واسعة لا يستهان بها راجين استكمال مشروع الاستبدال الذي توقف العمل عليه منذ العام 1957 ولقد تقدمنا من معاليكم بطلب يشرح هذا الأمر بتاريخ 1993/4/26 وأطلب هنا من دولة رئيس الحكومة بما أن لديه صداقات جديدة مع الحكومة التركية فلعله يتدخل في هذا الأمر عوضاً عن وزارة الخارجية.

كذلك فإن مجلس النواب قد قرر افتتاح 10 سفارات جديدة في المعالم ووضعت الاعتمادات اللازمة لذلك ولا ندري لماذا لم تفتتح هذه السفارات. من المراجعات من معالي الوزير أفادنا بأن وزارته تفتقر إلى الموظفين لملء الشواغر. لا يسعنا هنا إلا التمني على المسؤولين أن يسهلوا عمل الوزير في تعيين الأكفاء في هذه الوظائف.

وأنني أذكر دولة رئيس مجلس الوزراء بما وعدنا به في لقاءات عديدة عن صرف مبلغ 15 مليار ليرة لبنانية على مدى ثلاث سنوات لمسألة الضم والفرز في منطقة البقاع وتحديداً في أقضية زحلة، راشيا، بعلبك، الهرمل، والبقاع الغربي التي أصبحت أراضيها بحاجة ماسة إلى الضم والفرز حفاظاً على انتاجياتها وتسهيلاً للمالكين باستثمارها.

دولة الرئيس أن الأرمن وكما تعلمون يشكلون شريحة واسعة من المجتمع اللبناني ولهم الحق كما لغيرهم أن يكون لهم عيد واحد على الأقل هو عيد الميلاد الذي يصادف السادس من كانون الثاني من كل عام، أتمنى عليكم إدراجه في لائحة الأعياد الرسمية.

في النهاية اتوجه إلى جميع الوزارات في هذه الحكومة بالترحيب والتمنى أن تكون مكاتبهم هي بيع الأراضي اللبنانية وأن يخصصوا يوماً واحداً على الأقل من كل شهر يداومون فيه في مراكز المحافظات أو الأقضية، ويزورون وبشكل دوري أماكن العمل لوزاراتهم على امتداد الوطن فيشعر المواطن بالاطمئنان ويملس الرعاية التي نريدها لكل فرد دون تفريق أو تمييز.

Appendix 5.5

George Kassarji – 29 January 1997

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the Budget discussions on 29 January 1997.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1997): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 29 January 1997.

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس،

اسمحوا لي ان ارفع هذه العناوين التي هي اهداف واعمال حكومة اليوم الحكومة بحاجة للمال، الهدر، العمولات، والسمسرات مسلمات لا تمس. تحصيل الاموال لا يأتي الا من دم الشعب وعرقه.

اود في بداية الحديث ان اتمنى على حكومتنا الكريمة التي اخذت على عاتقها في برنامجها معالجة الوضع الاجتماعي والاقتصادي معتبرة هذا الامر من اول الاولويات.

اتمنى على هذه الحكومة ان تتكرم بالرد علينا خلافا للعادة التي دأبت على ممارستها في سد الآذان بالطين والعجين ونود ان نؤكد ان ما نطرحه عليها ليس لنا أي مصلحة فيه خاصة وانها تعلم حق العلم بأن موقفنا السياسي ليس لجهة دون اخرى وليست متحيزة لفئة من الفئات الا فئة واحدة هي الوطن الذي اولانا الثقة لنتكلم باسمه ولنطرح همومه وشجونه تحت هذه القبة.

واسمحوا لي يا دولة الرئيس ان اركز على نقطتين هامتين تشغلان الراي العام اللبناني هما الهاتف ورفع التعرفة عليه.

التعويضات من صندوق المهجرين التي طالت الفئات غير المستحقة وتناست الفئات صاحبة الحق.

واما عن المهجرين وصندوق المهجرين فلقد كنا نشاهد من بعيد ونسمع عن الهدر في هذه الوزارة وكنا نتساءل عن صحة هذه المعلومات الى ان جاء اليوم الذي جاء صندوق المهجرين الى البقاع وتحديدا في بلدة تعلبايا وشاهدنا بام العين مأساة الدفع للمهجرين لا ابالغ يا سادة اذا قلت ان المستحقين لم يستفيدوا من هذا الصندوق بل الذين لم يطالهم لا التهجير ولا الضرر هم الذين استفادوا. تصوروا ان بيتا واحدا في تعلبايا يتقاضى كل فرد من افراد الاسرة" الساكنة فيه خمسة ملايين ليرة من صندوق المهجرين دفع لاصحاب هذا المنزل اكثر من ثمنه وهو قائم لم يتضرر وبايدي اصحابه. واناس آخرين قبضوا من الصندوق وليس لهم أي

بيت او مسكن في تعلبايا لا قديما ولا حديثا. وامثلة كثيرة من هذا القبيل فمن اراد تفصيلا لدينا ملفا كاملا لهذا الموضوع استطعنا بوسائلنا الخاصة الحصول عليه لان الوزارة لم تزودنا باي لائحة للمستفيدين. اما عن المستحقين الشرعيين فانهم لم يتقاضوا قرشا واحدا الا فيما ندر. وعندما طالبنا تلقينا وعودا بانهم سيدفعون لعدد آخر من اهالي تعلبايا فقمنا باعداد ملفات كاملة عن كل منزل ووضعناها بتصرف الادارة. لكن شيئا من هذا القبيل لم يتم ولم تقدم الوزارة حتى الآن بوضع ملحق للمستفيدين الحقيقيين.

دولة الرئيس، اني اتمنى عليكم ان تؤلفوا لجنة نيابية للتحقيق بهذا الموضوع الهام جدا فان موظفي تعلبايا مصابون بخيبة امل كبيرة ومرارة وهم ناقمون على الحكومة و ادائها.

الرئيس: من اين دفع لهم.

جورج قصارجي: صندوق المهجرين يقولون بان هذا ملف سياسي والاسماء اتت بملف لا علاقة لاحد به.

فاذا كان هناك ملفات سياسية ترد، معنى ذلك ان كل مسؤول في الدولة يحضر ملفا ويقبض مليارين وثلاثة واربعة ونحن نفتش عن 5 قروض ضريبة ندفعها للناس.

واما عن تغطية العجز عن طريق الجباية في مصلحة كهرباء لبنان فاني هنا احذر الحكومة ان لا تعمد كثيرا على هذا الامر خاصة وانها خاضت التجربة ولزمت الجباية منذ سنتين لكن هذه الجباية لم تتحسن عن الاربعين في المئة فاني اتوقع من الآن ان هذه الجباية لن تتغير ولن تستطيع تغطية العجز الحاصل. واني اخشى ان تلجا الحكومة بعد ذلك الى زيادة جديدة على الكهرباء وهو امر لن يتحمله المواطن. مطلقا، على الحكومة ان تحضر منذ الان عن بديل صالح لتغطية هذا العجز المتوقع.

وللمناسبة سيدي الرئيس فان الوزارات تعتمد من وقت لآخر الى بعض الزيادات في قطاعاتها دون العودة الى مجلس النواب والقانون يجيز لها ذلك. ما اطلبه ورحمة بهذا المواطن ان تعيد الامور الى نصابها ونعمل على اصدار تشريع جديد يمنع اي زيادة على المواطن من قبل الوزارات الا بعد موافقة مجلس النواب الذي يمثل الشعب ويتحسس معاناته اكثر من أي جهة اخرى.

يخطر لنا تلقائيا قضية البريد في بلادنا ومن ايام اجدادنا كان البريد يوزع على الحمار نحن نطالب اليوم ان نعود الى هذه الحالة لانها اسرع بمئة مرة عما هي عليه اليوم، الدولة لا تعتبر اهتماما للبريد على اهميته لكنكم ستكتشفون معي غدا ان هذه الحكومة تقصد القضاء على هذه المؤسسة والهدف هو تلزيم هذا الامر لشركة خاصة على غرار اوجيرو. تريد هذه الدولة ان تقول ان الحكومة تاجر فاشل لكن الحقيقة ان الحكومة ليست تاجرا فاشلا لكن القيمين عليها هم فاشلون ولا يريدونها ناجحة، ان على صعيد الاداء الاداري او التنظيمي او التنفيذي. وهكذا تستتمر العملية عملية تلزيم قطاعات الدولة الى الشركات الخاصة شاهدنا منها الكثير والاتي اعظم...

اطالب امامكم يا دولة الرئيس ان تنتبه وزارة البريد والمواصلات السلكية واللاسلكة وان تعيد النظر بادائها وادارتها وان نتوقف عر تلزيم قطاعاتها بل تقوم بنفسها باستثمار هذه القطاعات وهي تعلم حق العلم بأن استثمار الهاتف والبريد هو مشروع رابح والا لما قبلت الشركات بالتزامها. وان تتنبه لمصلحة المواطن. ان كان تاجرا او صناعيا او عاملا في قطاع الخدمات فالاتصال الهاتفي والبريدي امر حيوي وهام ولا يجوز التغافل عنه او اهماله.

دولة الرئيس،

اني عندما احاول ان اطرح في هذا المجلس بعض معاناة المواطن محاولا ان اقوم بالدور الذي اؤتمنت عليه من المواطن ككل نائب في هذا المجلس، فاذا كان ما نقوله اليوم سيبقى كلاما فاني اتمنعلى الجميع اخذ المبادرة لاتخاذ القرارات المناسبة لبحثه وايجاد السبل المناسبة. فاما ان نتوقف بعدها عن الكلام في المجلس ونقف متفرجن غير متدخلين على ما يقوم به الوزراء واما ان يكون لنا الفعالية المناسبة في تقويم عمل الحكومة بما يريده الشعب لاننا مؤمنون بأن ما يجب ان تقوم به الحكومة يجب ان يصب في مصلحة المواطن، لا الى دمار المواطن وتجويعه.

اقترح سيدي الرئيس ان نجد حلا لهذه المسألة بالطريقة التي ترونها مناسبة ويا حبذا لو استطعنا الحصول على اجابة مباشرة من الوزير المختص عندما نتعرض لسؤال معين يختص بوزارته حتى ولو طالت الجلسات ساعات او اياما نكون بذلك قد اجبنا المواطن على الاسئلة التي يطرحها علينا ونحن نوصلها بدورنا الى المجلس، في الوضع الحالي يسمع المواطن السؤال من النائب لكنه لا يتلقى اي جواب وتبقى الامور معلقة، والقليل النادر من الوزراء من يجبنا على اسئلتنا بعد انتهاء الجلسات. اضف الى هذا الامر امرا آخر عندما نسمع او نقرأ بعض المسائل التي تمس الحكومة ووزراتها يسمعها المواطن او يقرأها وينتظر ردا من جهة رسمية عليها لكن دون جدوى.

اعطي مثلا صغيرا ما جاء على لسان احد المسؤولين بحضور بعض النواب في احد برامج اجهزة الاعلام المسموعة يتابعه الغالبية العظمى من المواطنين حيث اكد ان احد الموظفين انفقت عليه ادارته "وقد سماها بالاسهم "اكثر من 800 الف دولار اميركي للعلاج في الخارج وموظفين آخرين بمبالغ مشابهة، سمع المواطن الخبر لكنه لم يسمع أي تأكيد او توضيح لهذا الامر، مثل هذا الموضوع ومواضيع اخرى مشابهة تطعن المواطن في الصميم وتؤذيه خاصة وانه مدعو لدفع الضريبة والرسوم المستحقة التي تتزايد يوما بعد يوم. لماذا لا يتم تأليف لجنة تحقيق دائمة مهمتها متابعة هذه الامور لترد على ما يأتي على ألسنة النواب بالاضافة الى ما يصدر من اجهزة الاعلام، اسوق هذا الاقتراح مؤيدا ما اقترحه النائب غسان مطر بتعيين مثل هكذا لجنة في الجلسة الماضية.

وسنعود للكلام الذي كررناه عشر مرات على الوزارات وقضية الشؤون البلدية سنتكلم عنها لخامس مرة اليوم فاسمعوا لعل ذلك يغير في الامر شيئا:

وفي هذا الامر اتوجه الى وزارة الشؤون البلدية والقروية بلفت النظر الى ان المتعهدين الذين يعملون داخل المدن والقرى يقومون بالحفريات حسب مقتضى عملهم فينجزون العمل بدون

مراقبة البلدية المحلية لكنهم لا يعيدوا الطريق الى حالته السابقة حسب الاصول فاننا نتمنى على معالي الوزير ان ينفذ القانون القديم الذي يقضي بوضع كفالة مالية على المتعهدين ولا تسدد الا بعد انجاز العمل وردم الحفرة وتزفيتها لاننا نعاني من حفر في الطرقات مضى عليها اكثر من سنة من متعهدين تقاضوا ما لهم ولم يقوموا بما عليهم.

ونتمنى على جميع الوزارات التشديد في الحصول على براءة ذمة من البلدية قبل ان يتقاضى المتعهد كامل حقة في الالتزام وبدون البزاءة لن تدفع او تنهي اي معاملة.

وزارة الخارجية سنسألها كذلك ذات الاسئلة فلا جديد فيها والطبعة ذاتها نقرأها كل مرة.

وزارة الخارجية، وبالفم الملان تربح وتكسب من بعض سفاراتنا المنتجة في بعض البلدان، كنا وفي المجلس النيابي قد خصصنا اموالا لفتح بعض السفارات ومنها سفارة للبنان في ارمينيا، لكن الوزارة قامت بواجباتها مثلا في كازاخستان واهملت ذلك في ارمينيا وما زلنا ننتظر وعود الوزير المختص الذي لا عذر له. ومن الوزارة تفوح رائحة الجوازات الخاصة، حيث يحصل عليها من يحق له ومن لا يحق له، لذلك اطالب بأن تستبدل جوازاتنا الخاصة لاعضاء المجلس بجوازات اخرى مميزة عن هذه الجوازات لانها اصبحت تؤخرنا امام الامن العام بدلا من تسهيل الامور بسبب تشييعها وتوزيعها على المحاسيب. واعود من جديد لتذكير معالي الوزير بقضية الاراضي التركية في لبنان واراضي اللبنانيين في تركيا وهي مساحات واسعة لا يستهان بها راجيين استكمال مشروع الاستبدال الذي توقف العمل عليه منذ العام 1957 ولقد تقدمنا من معاليكم بطلب يشرح هذا الامر بتاريخ 26/4/1993، وهذه خامس مرة نقرأها.

واما لوزارة الزراعة ووزيرها بقاعي زحلاوي يعيش هموم المزارع بيومياته نرجو مه ان ينتبه الى ما يلي:

1 - تصدت الدولة للزراعات الممنوعة ونجحت الى حد بعيد، وهذا ما نريده لكننا نريد ايضا ايجاد البديل العملي والشرعي، اقترح ان يكون هذا البديل انشاء مصنع للزيوت من دوار الشمس والصويا وبالاضافة لتشجيع زراعة البطاطا من النوع المستعمل لصناعة الشيبس لانها حاليا تستورد بكميات لا باس بها من الخارج بعد تواجد مشاريع الري خاصة في المنطقة الواقعة بين الهرمل وبعلبك حيث تتوفر المياه من نهر العاصي.

2 - مساحة الفلاحين او اصحاب مزارع الدواجن يدعم الادوية والاسمدة الزراعية واللقاحات للدواجن.

3 - وحيث يعمل حوالي اكثر من 60% من الشعب اللبناني في الزراعة وبالتحديد اهالي البقاع بنسبة اكبر كمزارعين يعتمدون في معيشتهم على محاصيلهم او كأشخاص يعملون في اعمال لها علاقة بالزراعة كتصنيع المنتجات الزراعية وتسويقها. ولما جاء في بيانكم الوزاري اعتبار الزراعة احد اعمدة الاقتصاد الوطني نذكركم بأنها اكثر من ذلك فهي المورد الرئيسي لحوالي 70% من البقاعيين ومن الشماليين في سهل عكار والجنوب وكذلك سهول الساحل... ودرجت الدولة على حماية انتاجها بصورة عامة وسننت تشريعات مختلفة تؤول

الى تأمين هذه الحماية من كل مزاحمة خصوصا خلال ذروة مواسمها الزراعة. ونحن من اشد الدول حاجة الى حماية انتاجنا لا سيما الزراعي منه لما يلاقيه من مزاحمات عديدة لا نقوى على دفعها الا باتخاذ تدابير فعالة.

يتحتم على الحكومة ان تجد طريقة مستمرة لضمان تصريف منتوجاتنا الزراعية باسعار تضمن للفلاح وللمنتج تغطية اكلافه على الاقل وتأمين ما امكن من سبل العيش. فمن الشمندر الى التفاح والبطاطا والبصل والبندورة وانواع الفواكه من الكرز الى المشمش وخير مثال على ذلك ازمة العنب الاخيرة التي شهدت كساد الموسم في ارضه حيث عاش البقاعين من سوء الحظ. لم يعد من الجائز ابقاء هذا السهل وهذه المنطقة بدون مركز عصري كبير ترعاه وزارة الزراعة لتوضيب وحماية كل الانتاج الزراعي. وكذلك الى مصنع عصري ضروري لاعداد المحاصيل الزراعية للاستهلاك والتصدير الخارجي. ومن هنا نطالب بالقضاء على مزاحمة الاستيراد لكافة مزروعاتنا.

واخيرا مراقبة معامل الكحول وتحديد انتاجها وسبل استعماله ومنع تلويثه باستخراج العرق من غير العنب كالميلاس وغيره. كما ينبغي ايضا درس الطرق الفنية الحديثة المؤدية لتحسين توضيب وحفظ العنب بشكل يساعد على تصديره الى الخارج حيث توجد اسواق كثيرة تضمن تصريف انتاجنا بكامله لانه يمكنه مزاحمة العنب الاجنبي بالنظر لجودة اصناف عنبنا ولتأخر مواسمه.

كما ان سهل البقاع بحاجة الى معمل جديد حديث لانتاج السكر من الشمندر السكري المزروع بكميات كبيرة في سهلنا واعادة النظر بطريقة دعم الشمندر السكري والبحث بالجدوى الاقتصادية لهكذا سياسة.

كان لدينا معمل للشمندر يريدون بيعه حديد خردة منذ عشر سنوات ولم يشتره احد. فأعطوه المال وتم تشغيله من جديد واصبحنا ننتج الشمندر السكري، طن السكر يكلفنا الف دولار فيه بينما نأتي به من الخارج بثلاثماية دولار.

المعمل مهترىء وعمره اكثر من 30 - 40 سنة ولا يعمل ندفع 25 مليار دعما للشمندر، ليس دعما للمزارعين بل بسبب انعدام وجود معمل حديث.

جورج قصارجي: الرجاء ان تفهموني، المعمل الموجود غير نافع ولا يعطي انتاجا نريد معملا حديثا هذا ما اقول فالدعم الذي ندفعه ليس للمزارعين بل بسبب قلة عدم وجود اجهزة حديثة للمعمل.

اما بالنسبة للهاتف ولا ادري من اخاطب في هذا القطاع لاني كلما توجهت بسؤال عن الهاتف القى ردا من مؤسسة اوجيرو فلماذا لا تسمى هذه الوزارة بوزارة اوجيرو، نعرف آنذاك من نخاطب ولمن نتوجه، والثقة التي اعطاها هذا المجلس الى وزارة اسمها وزارة الهاتف كان من الاولى ان نعطيها الى وزارة اوجيرو التي بسطت سلطتها عليها لتصبح هي الوزارة بعينها والمرجع الوحيد لها.

تعلمون يا دولة الرئيس اننا عندما تصدينا لرفع اسعار الكهرباء وحاولنا معكم لاشهر عدة بل لسنين حتى لجأنا الى صاحب الحق اعني به المواطن ورفعنا شعار "نور ولا تدفع" كيف تعرضنا لهجوم واسع من الجهات المستفيدة بأن جورج قصارجي يقوم بدور المحرض لعدم تسديد اجور الكهرباء واليوم وحتى بعد القليل من التنزيلات والتنازلات من الحكومة راى المواطن نفسه عاجزا عن دفع هذه الفاتورة. واليوم وانا اطالب بعدم رفع اسعار التخابر يأتيني الرد من اوجيرو وليس من الوزارة بأني اسعى الى مكاسب سياسية وكأن هذه الاوجيرو قد اصبحت بسحر ساحر مدافعة عن المواطن اكثر من النائب الذي انتخبه الشعب، هذا ما قرأته في الجريدة حيث ردت علي اوجيرو.

ان مؤسسة الهاتف ايها السادة تقوم اليوم بمد شبكات في البقاع في الكروم والسهول ولا ادري الى اين ستصل هذه الشبكات ولم تحاول ان تتوجه لما هو اولى أي الى الأماكن الآهلة بالسكان مثل خط شتورة- بر الياس عنجر وخط كسارة المدينة الصناعية الفرزل وخطوط قب الياس وغيرها من الاماكن المكتظة بالسكان.

اسوق اليكم مثلا عما تفعله وزارة البريد والمواصلات السلكية واللاسلكية: لقد لزمت الوزارة السنة الماضية اعادة تأهيل بناء الهاتف في زحلة وقامت بالطرش والدهان من الداخل والخارج ثم اعادة التلزيم مرة اخرى للبناء نفسه وفي السنة نفسها. قلنا ان البناء انتهى واصبح جاهزا ولائقا للعمل. فوجئنا اليوم بأن هذا البناء قد لزم مرة ثالثة وهذا الالتزام يقتضي بنزع الدهان وتلبيس الجدران بالحجر الطبيعي.

فما رأيكم بدولة تفتش على القروض في البنوك والصناديق العربية والعالمية لتهدير هذه الاموال على جدار بما يوازي اضعاف مضاعفة لبنائه؟ ويقولون يا سادتي اين الهدر... ناهيك عن اعداد من الموظفين مكدسة في غرف السنترالات ليدس لها اي عمل الا انها ارضاء لخاطر النافذين، واظهار اهمية اجيرو امامهم فهي تدعي بانها ستؤمن العمل في السنترالات على مدار 24 ساعة.

فاسمحوا لي ان اتوجه بالشكر الى الامن السوري الشقيق الذي يفرز عنصرا من المخابرات السورية في السنترال ليكون الوحيد الموجود في الهاتف في فترة ما بعد الظهر الساعة الرابعة الى صباح اليوم التالي في زحلة مثلا ويدفعون رواتب اضافية للشباب المرضي عنهم في اوجيرو على اساس انهم يعملون24 ساعة كذلك عدد لا بأس به من الشباب بالسنترال يأخذون رواتب من الدولة وليس من اوجيرو لا عمل لهم.

هذا ما يحصل في زحلة مما يعني ان ذلك يحصل ببقية السنترالات.

لدينا اموال مهدورة تحت الارض، عندما تم تركيب الكابلات والسنترالات الجديدة بقيت الكابلات القديمة النحاسية تحت الارض بملايين الليرات. يمكن ان نكلف الشباب الذين لا عمل لهم بنزع هذه الكابلات لانهم يرغبون بالعمل. مثل آخر: لا نسمع سوى بالتدشين: "دشنا سنترال شتورة، دشنا سنترال رياق، دشنا سنترال في صيدا... الخ. فيظهر المسؤول على التلفزيون ويعلن تدشين السنترال واستلامه فيتبين ان السنترال لن يعمل قبل تسعة اشهر او سنة كالشورى عندنا نسأله ما الاسباب؟ الاسباب نرفها كمقاولين سابقا واغلب الزملاء النواب

يعرفونها ايضا. عندما يلزم المتعهد عملا يأتي بالمعدات الى الورشة يسلمها ويأخذ 70% من قيمة العقد. يبقى 30% للحفريات وتسكيرات... الخ، ما يحصل هو ان الدولة تستدين ونأتي الى شركة اريكسون وسيمنس ونستلم منها علبا بالسنترالات على انها تعمل فنكتشف انها لم تشغل بعد.

سنترال شتورا استلموه منذ ثلاثة اشهر قال المدير العام على التلفزيون ان هذا السنترال يحتاج لمدة تسعة اشهر كي يشغل، اذ ان الحفريات وامداد الكابلات لم تحصل بعد. بدأوا بالحفريات الآن. يستلمون السنترال وبعدها يبدأون بالحفريات، بدل عمل العكس، البدء بالحفريات لجلب الخط الى السنترال ووصلها بالعلب، اننا ندفع فقط.

مع كل ما تقدم فاني وعلى سبيل المحاولة اليائسة ارفع عبر هذا المجلس وامام السلطتين اللبنانيتين امور الهاتف الهامة لعل في هذه المحاولة فائدة يريدها المواطن ويتمناها الوطن.

1 - قضية زيادة الرسوم على الهاتف وبعض الجوانب من الاخطاء التي ترتكبها وزارة الهاتف بحق المواطن.

* تقول الوزارة بأن رسم التخابر لم يبلغ مستويات فرنسا وفي بريطانيا وان هذا الرسم هو ارخص من الرسم في هذه الدول.

* نحن يا سادة نقبل بأن ترفعوا الرسم الى ما يوازيه في فرنسا وفي بريطانيا شرط ان تزيدوا دخل المواطن كما هي الحال في هاتين الدولتين. وان يصبح الحد الادنى للاجور مماسويا الحد الادنى في هذه الدول.

وايضا ان تصبح مستوى الخدمات والصيانة لدينا موازية للمستوى لديهم. مع كل هذا فاني ساوضح لكم ان الهاتف في لبنان هو الاغلى في العالم.

1 - رسم التركيب والتأسيس في التعرفة الجديدة هو: 400000 ل. ل.

2 - رسم تحديث وتأهيل: 125000 ل.ل.

3 - يضاف اليها سلفة بمبلغ: 100000 ل. ل.

فيكون المجموع: 625000 ل. ل.

وهو اعلى رقم في العالم لتركيب خط هاتفي.

* تتباهى الوزارة بأنها خفضت رسم الخط الثاني واسأل هل حصل المواطن على الخط الاول لتخفض له الخط الثاني؟ وهل من يركب خطا ثانيا هو مواطن يحتاج الى تخفيض؟ ثم تدعي ان زيادة سعر التخابر هو ضروري للقيام بأعمال الصيانة. ان رسم التأسيس الذي تجنيه الدولة كان للقيام بذلك خاصة وان الوزارة كما تقول قد تعاقدت مع شركات اجنبية بأدنى الاسعار لتنفيذ المليون خط والكل يعلم بان توسيع الشبكة لزيادة الخطوط يؤدي الى تدني سعر كلفة الخط الواحد الى حده الادنى وبالتالي فان رسم التأسيس سيكون كافيا لتغطية النفقة

الناتجة عن الصيانة. ان هذه الوزارة تدعي ايضا ان هذه الزيادة ستقوم بترشيد المواطن للتخفيف من التخابر، اعتقد هنا ان اللبناني ليس بحاجة للترشيد، اتركوا له الكلام على الهاتف على الاقل. ثم تقول انها قضت على الاعطال، بربكم ما هي نسبة الخطوط التي تعمل في لبنان اثناء هطول الامطار. وايضا تطمئن الوزارة اللبنانيين.

انها لن تزيد اسعار المخابرات الدولية. وهل هناك اغلى من لبنان في اسعار هذه المخابرات لتزيدها، علما بان سياسة الدولة متجهة لتشجيع الاعمال التجارية مع الخارج، فكيف يكون التشجيع اذا بقيت اسعار المخابرات الخارجية هي الاغلى في العالم.

مثالا على ذلك توجد على كل شوارع العاصمة ارمات تقول الاتصال بالعالم سعر المخابرة 1.50$ بينما عندنا هو 3$ ان التجار في لبنان يستعملون كلمة،"Call beek" (كول باك) اي الدفع في الخارج لان سعر المخابرة من اليابان 4/1 1$ ومن لبنان 3$، في الولايات المتحدة 0.85 سنت.

* وايضا تدافع وزارة الهاتف عن جملة امور منها ان دول العالم تزيد من اسعار المخابرات مرة او مرتين في السنة- (كل ذلك مكتوب في الصحف، اخذته نقلا عن اوجيرو)- وتتناسى ان هذه الدول تزيد الرواتب والاجور مرة او مرتين في السنة ايضا. ناهيك عن الحاجة الملحة لدى المؤسسات بالاشتراك في الانترنيت والخطوط السريعة وغيرها فهل تستطيع هذه الشركات ان تستعمل الخطوط الهاتفية العالمية مع مصادر العلومات هذه، "دون قرصنة او سرقة" بالسعر الذي تضعه الدولة حاليا؟ ونحن ندعي باننا نسعى للتنمية الاقتصادية والتجارية وتبادل المعلومات مع العالم اجمع. اليست التعرفة المرتفعة هي احد اسباب الفضائح والفساد والتي كان آخرها شبكة بدارو.

نحن لا نرى يا سادة مبررا للزيادة الا التغطية المالية لارباح شركة "اوجيرو" بكل ما تمثل، ونفي الخصخصة لا يقلل مما يجري داخل هذه الوزارة من خصخصة. فلقد خصخصت الصيانة، وخصخصت الخليوي، وخصخصت الخدمات وخصخصت التمديدات وخصخصت البريد وتتجه اليوم لخصخصة البث الفضائي والاستيلاء عليه ولا ندري ماذا يخبىء المستقبل. علي ضوء ما تقدم ولاننا نسعى الى الافضل دون اي خلفية سياسية فانني لا اريد من كل ما اقوله الا نقل المعاناة والحلول البديلة لحالة متردية لما اؤتمنت عليه من اللبنانيين فاني اطالب باسم كل البنانيين من وزارة الهاتف ورئيس الحكومة الذي تربع على عرش هذه الوزارة، بما يلي:

1 - ايقاف العمل بالتعرفة الجديدة نهائيا ووضع تعرفة مرنة تجعل الهاتف الوطني ملجأ بنافس الهاتف الخليوي.

2 - خفض الرسم على الخط الثاني و الخطوط الاضافية الباقية الاخرى لتحصل المؤسسات عليها والى استعمال الخط الوطني كي لا تلجأ الى الخطوط الخلوية.

3- ايقاف العمل نهائيا بالرمز بين المناطق (ستة رموز) وجعل لبنان منطقة واحدة لجهة الرسوم، كما حدث في فرنسا حديثا تشجيعا للحركة الاقتصادية داخل الوطن في 18/10/1996 الغت الحكومة الفرنسية تسعيرة الرمز بين كل محافظات الفرنسية.

ايها الزملاء ان معدل الحد الادنى لقسط الهاتف في زحلة هو 100000 ل. ل. ومنهم من يدفع بمئات الالوف اذا حسبا المعدل الادنى 150000 ل. ل. تصبح اليوم الفاتورة الجديدة 225000 ل. ل. بالتعرفة الجديدة.

وقد بدأ العمل بهذه التعرفة اعتبارا من شهرين أو اكثرر أي منذ اول تشرين الثاني فالدقيقة الواحدة كانت بعشر ليرات ضمن بيروت واصبحت اليوم: ثلاثين ليرة للدقيقة الاولى والباقي بعشرين ليرة، واذا اردت ان تطلب صيدا من بيروت فان كلفة الدقيقة الاولى خمسون ليرة، والدقيقة الثانية اربعين ليرة وكانت سابقا بعشرين ليرة.

فاذا اجرينا عملية حسابية فان الى 100.000 ليرة تصبح 225000 ليرة. لذلك اتوجه الى الاخوة الزملاء في هذا المجلس الكريم ان يقفو ا مع الشعب الذي يمثلون ويدعموا طلبي بالتوقف عن تسديد الفواتير الهاتفية على التسعيرة الجديدة والضغط على الحكومة حتى نتراجع عن هذه الزيادة الجائرة وليثبت شعب لبنان اليوم انه حاضر وموجود بالرغم مما يقال ان في لبنان حكومة لكن الشعب غائب.

دولة الرئيس، بعد كل هذه الاسباب ارجو ان تطرحوا الثقة باسمي على وزير البريد والاتصالات السلكية واللاسلكية في حال عدم الرجوع عن هذه الزيادة قبل نهاية جلسات تصديق الموازنة ولكم الشكر.

Appendix 5.6

George Kassarji – 19 February 1997

George Kassarji's speech demanding the resignation of the Minister of Agriculture during a legislative session of the Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1997): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 February 1997.

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس،

الاخوة الزملاء،

قبل الخوض في جدول الاعمال المقرر لدي مداخلة صغيرة لكنها من الاهمية بمكان لتعلقها بمعيشة المواطن اليومية وعلى الاخص المزارع اللبناني الذي يشكل الغالبية العظمى من السكان .

دولة الرئيس، مساء الاحد في 1997/02/16 شاهد اللبنانيون معالي وزير الزراعة يتحدث على احدى شاشات التلفزيون عن الحالة الزراعية في لبنان قائلا: اعرب وزير الزراعة شوقي فاخوري عن خيبة لتحديد زيادة ميزانية وزارة الزراعة 0?7 بالمئة أي ما يعادل رواتب الموظفين. قال بالنسبة للوضع الزراعي يعتبر وضعا تعيسا ووضعا يائسا وهذا كله نتيجة تهميش وزارة الزراعة ومن تهميش كميزانية لم تستطع ان تحقق المشاريع التي وضعناها هي التي تساهم في احياء القطاع الزراعي في جميع المحافظات اللبنانية. وقد بدا معالي الوزير فاخوري وكأنه ينعي المستقبل الزراعي في لبنان خاصة وان موازنة الـ 0?7% من الموازنة العامة تكفي بالكاد رواتب الموظفين وبالتالي فإننا نفهم بأننا قادمون على كارثة حقيقية- لذلك وحرصا على المستقبل الزراعي في الوطن وبعد ان تأكد لنا ان ما قالته الحكومة عن ايلاء الزراعة والصناعة الاهتمام الخاص كان كلاما في الهواء لا علاقة له بالممارسة اليومية لهذه الحكومة لان تهميش قطاع الزراعة من قبل الدولة سيؤدي حتما الى كارثة لا نعرف ابعادها ومداها، فالحكومات المتعاقبة والميزانية المتواضعة التي لا تتعدى 0?7% هي التي كانت السبب في هذا التشاؤم الوارد في كلام الوزير والازمة الزراعية الخانقة هي النتيجة الطبيعية لسياسة الحكومة ومن يزرع العاصفة لا يحصد الا الريح. اين المصرف الزراعي اين مصارف التسليف الزراعية اين الارشاد الزراعي اين السماد المجاني؟ اين هي مختبرات التربة المعممة على كل الاراضي اللبنانية؟ اين الزراعات البديلة اين الدعم الحقيقي للانتاج الحقيقي؟ اين مصانع التعليب واين البرادات المجانية؟ وباختصار اين الحماية الجدية لانتاجنا الزراعي بوجه الاستيراد المضارب؟ اين السياسة الزراعية لدى وزارة الزراعة والحكومة؟ لم نسمع الا جعجعة في الطواحين. ولأننا حريصين على سمعة

معالي وزير الزراعة الصديق شوقي فاخوري كونه عاجزا عن تطمين المزارعين ورفع اليأس عن كاهلهم وبأن الحكومة مجتمعة عاجزة عن تقديم الحلول فإني ادعوه اليوم وامام هذا الوضع اليائس ان يقف وقفة تاريخية قبل فوات الأوان وقبل ان تطاله نقمة المزارع البقاعي ويعلن استقالته من هذه الوزارة الى أن تجد الحكومة مجتمعة حلا منطقيا ومقنعا لتحسين الوضع الزراعي، لئلا يبقى شاهد زور على سياسة لا ترضيه وغير مقتنع بها .

هذا كل ما اردت قوله متمنيا اخذه بالاهمية البالغة وبذلك اكون قد قمت بدوري كنائب ممثل للشعب منبها بالحدث قبل حدوثه.

Appendix 5.7

George Kassarji – 20 January 1998

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the Hariri Government's 1998 Budget before casting his negative vote.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1998): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 20 January 1998.

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس،

في تمحص دقيق لمشروع الموازنة العامة والموازنات الملحقة ولفذلكة الموازنة، يظهر وبوضوح هم وزير الدولة للشؤون المالية للدفاع عن حكومات الحريري المتعاقبة منذ العام 1993 اضافة الى جهده المستميت لاظهار ايجابياتها عبر عرض جداول بنمو الناتج المحلي، ونسب عجز الموازنة، وتطور الدين العام، وميزان المدفوعات، ونسب التضخم، ومعدلات الاسعار، وتطور سعر صرف الدولار، وكل ذلك ليشكل صيغة للدفاع عن اداء الحكومات الحريرية المتعاقبة وليحظى بعلامة مدرسية مقبولة، لكن افضل مقياس لمعرفة نجاح او فشل سياسة الحكومات الحريرية المتعاقبة هو الاذان الصاغية لجماهير شعبنا، حيث وكل فرد من موقعه ودوره في هذا المجتمع يبين وبالتفاصيل آثار هذه السياسة ونتائجها .

فحيث سرد الايجابيات متروكة «للطبالين والهتافين» والواهمين وليس علينا نحن التوقف عندها، لانها الواجبات المسلم بها والمفروض على الحكومة ان تقوم بها دون منة، ودون تربيح جميلة فنحن سنستعرض ما تدعيه الحكومة من ايجابيات :

-1تدعي الحكومة السيطرة على التضخم وارتفاع الاسعار وتحقيق الاستقرار النقدي واعادة الثقة الى العملة الوطنية لكن التحسن النقدي قد انطوى على كلفة باهظة اذ اقترن باتباع سياسة معدلات فائدة مرتفعة، كان من بين نتائجها الارتفاع المطرد في اعباء خدمة الدين وتعزيز السلوك الريعي للمواطن والمستثمر الذي فضل التوظيف في سندات الخزينة بدلا من التوظيف في قطاعات الاقتصاد المختلفة لا سيما قطاعات الانتاج، ومن بين نتائج سياسة التثبيت النقدي ايضا تحول القطاع العام الى منافس رئيسي للقطاع الخاص على الموارد والتسليفات المصرفية الداخلية المتاحة حيث فاقت حصة القطاع العام من اجمالي التسليفات الـ60% الامر الذي حد من قدرة القطاع الخاص على تأمين ما يحتاج اليه من تمويل اضافي لزيادة قدراته الانتاجية وتوسيع نطاق اعماله .

وان التحسن المالي بدا وظهر بالتالي كهدف قائم بذاته ينشد حصرا الدفاع عن السعر الخارجي لليرة من دون ان يندرج ضمن سياسة اهدافها اعم واشمل لتفصيل النشاط الاقتصادي وتطوير قدرات الانتاج وزيادة استخدام العملة الوطنية من قبل القطاع الخاص في مجالات الاستثمار

المختلفة. وان التحسن النقدي لم يترافق مع تحسين مواز في القدرة الشرائية الداخلية للعملة الوطنية حيث استمر التضخم وارتفاع اسعار الاستهلاك وان بمعدلات ادنى من ذي قبل، الامر الذي حال دون انعكاس الانفراج النقدي ايجابا على الصعيدين المعيشي والاجتماعي، لا سيما ان تصحيحات الاجور المتراكمة منذ عام 1992 لم تعوض الخسارة في القوة الشرائية للاجر الناجمة عن التضخم المتراكم منذ ذلك العام. وليسأل أي لبناني اليوم، أتفضل ان تؤسس شركة او حرفة او أي استثمار آخر ام انك تفضل ايداع رأس مالك مقابل الفائدة العالية، فالجواب لدى الاغلبية الساحقة هو البقاء للاستفادة من معدلات الفائدة المرتفعة. الثمن الذي ندفعه لقاء تحقيق الاستقرار النقدي هو باهظ جدا في السنوات التي خلت وفي السنوات القادمة. ورغم ما يقال عن الاستقرار، ما زال هذا الاستقرار عرضة للتقلبات السياسية فحينا يظهر مرتبطا بصحة جسم شخص ما، (الله لا يزحطوا بالحمام) وتارة بالاستحقاقات، فان لم تحصل هذه الاستحقاقات ندفع الثمن، وان حصلت الاستحقاقات ندفع ايضا، لذلك يبقى العامل السياسي مؤثرا في الاستقرار النقدي.

كما ان هذا الاستقرار بجانب منه مفتعل حيث ان اقتصادنا ليس باقوى من الاقتصاد الالماني والفرنسي والياباني والبريطاني فلماذا تهبط عملات هذه الدول تجاه الدولار بينما تحقق الليرة اللبنانية تحسنا؟

هل كان هبوط سعر الليرة مفتعلا؟

ام ان تحسن سعر الليرة مفتعلا؟

-2تدعي الحكومة خطة لضبط العجز المالي والمديونية العامة، لكن خلفية سياسة الحكومة الراغبة بالظهور بمظهر «المنقذ» والراغبة بتسويق جميع الاولويات دفعة واحدة تحت شعار «اننا بحاجة لكل شيء وجميع المشاريع اولوية...» هذه الخلفية تمنعها من ضبط العجز المالي والمديونية العامة وها هي قد اقرت ولعدة مرات خطوات وتوجهات عامة للسيطرة التدريجية، مركزة بشكل اساسي على تحسين الواردات وتعزيز الجباية، بيد ان النتائج الملموسة المحققة على هذا الصعيد لم تكن في مستوى الآمال المعقودة والدلائل تشير الى ان العجز المالي للدولة ماض اكثر فأكثر في اكتساب سمات ذات طابع بنيوي، حيث ما زال هذا العجز يتجاوز نسبا عالية من اجمالي النفقات الامر الذي انعكس ارتفاعا مطردا في الدين العام الاجمالي والذي بات يمثل نحو 110 بالمئة من اجمالي الناتج المحلي، واذا كانت بعض المهمات الملقاة على عاتق الحكومة تبرر جزءا مهما من هذا الارتفاع الا ان جزءا آخر منه قد بقي من دون تبرير وارتبط الى حد كبير باستمرار اشكال الهدر والتسيب والفلتان التي هي انعكاس طبيعي لطريقة ادارة البلاد من قبل ترويكا الحكم وللطريقة الخطأ في ادارة الشأن العام الاقتصادي والسياسي ان غلبة النفقات الواردة في الموازنة ستستهلك في انفاق غير منتج مما يشير في الواقع الى صعوبة مساهمة الموازنة في تمويل الانفاق الانمائي والاعماري الذي اصبح بالتالي اكثر فأكثر معتمدا على الاستدانة من الخارج عبر القروض واصدارات سندات الخزينة بالعملات الاجنبية مع ما لذلك من آثار مباشرة على ارتفاع الدين العام الخارجي.

وها هو رئيس الحكومة بأفطار اقامه على شرف الفعاليات الشمالية وباتصال مع وزير المهجرين يعد خطة تمويل لاعادة المهجرين من خارج بنود الموازنة، وكأننا هنا نناقش من اجل النقاش ليس من اجل التصويب والتصحيح «فالمطبلون» من الموالين لرئيس الحكومة يناشدوننا قائلين اننا جميعا في سفينة واحدة وفي «سلة واحدة» وان «الانقاذ» مسؤولية الجميع، «والحلول مسؤولية مشتركة» وها هو بدوره رئيس الحكومة لا يعير المجلس والمؤسسات أي اهتمام لا بل يعيد وبشكل صريح وواضح «ان الكلام ماشي... والحكي ماشي» وليلتهي المجلس بمناقشة رواتب واجور الموظفين والاجراء فقط، بينما الموازنة الفعلية لمشاريعه ومخططاته من خارج الموازنة وتناقش خارج قبة هذا المجلس.

-3وتدعي الحكومة رغبتها بتحسين الايرادات العامة لكن التركيز المتزايد على الضرائب والرسوم غير المباشرة وخفض معدلات ضريبة الدخل وضريبة الارباح الى ثلث مستواها السابق، قد جعلا استمرار زيادة هذه الايرادات بصورة ملحوظة هدفا صعب التحقيق بالنظر الى وجود سقف اعلى لما يمكن للمواطن العادي وللطبقات الوسطى تحمله من ضرائب ورسوم غير مباشرة في ظل الاختلالات الاجتماعية التي تفاقمت خلال السنوات الماضية ولعل ما يؤكد وجود هذا السقف ان الايرادات المتوقعة في موازنات السنوات المنصرمة لم تتحقق بالكامل وقد بلغ الفارق بين هذه التوقعات وبين الايرادات المحصلة فعلا بونا شاسعا.

وربما كانت مصلحة الواردات والجهاز البشري لادارة الضرائب غير فعالين ويحتاجان الى تحديث وتطوير، لكن الامر لا يتعلق بالكادر وبهذا الجهاز فقط انما بالسقف الذي يمكن فرضه على الطبقات الوسطى والفقيرة، ان المسألة ليست مسألة تقنية، ولا تتعلق بشروط تقنية ضمن الجدول رقم 9، وليست كما يصورها البعض الف ليرة اضافة او الف ليرة يمينا وشمالا، ان الجدول رقم 9 واي جدول او رسوم وضرائب اخرى لن يكتب لها النجاح ليس بسبب طريقة التحصيل التقنية، والحسابية، انما بسبب ان الوضع المادي للطبقات الفقيرة والمتوسطة هذا هو سقفه، حيث اصبح مجموع ما تسدده هذه الطبقات اكبر بكثير مما تجنيه، فاللبناني اليوم يسدد ثمن كل سلعة مرتين :

-يسدد الكهرباء مرتين، مرة للدولة ومرة للمولدات.

-يسدد المياه مرتين، مرة للدولة ومرة لشراء المياه.

-يسدد الهاتف مرتين، مرة للدولة ومرة للخليوي.

-يسدد المحروقات مرتين، مرة للدولة ومرة للكارتيل النفطي.

-يسدد فاتورة ازدحام السير مرة للدولة ومرة اخرى لقطع الغيار المرتبطة بهذه الزحمة.

-يسدد فاتورة الحرب والتهديم ويسدد مرة اخرى فاتورة اعادة البناء والاعمار.

بينما المطلوب، ايها السادة ليس تحسين شروط الجدول رقم 9 انما نسفه من اساسه كونه غير مقبول وغير قابل للتطبيق الاقتصادي، والعمل على اعادة النظر بالنظام الضرائبي برمته، حيث يعاد النظر بضريبة الدخل وضريبة الارباح وضريبة انتقال الملكية، وضريبة الارث،

وضريبة التحسين، حيث اننا لم نعد نستطيع فهم اصرار الحكومة على عدم اعادة النظر بالنظام الضرائبي، ولعل عدم اقدام الاستثمارات الاجنبية على الاستثمار «بالجنة الضرائبية» مدخلا لاعادة النظر بهذا النظام الجائر وغير العادل والذي يمنعنا من تحسين الايرادات وتطويرها ويظهر السقف الاعلى الذي يمكن للطبقات الفقيرة من تحمله.

-4ولعل التحدي الصارخ الذي يواجه الحكومة والذي يزيد من نفقاتها غير المجدية هو اصلاح الادارة واعادة بناء مؤسسات الدولة بشكل صحيح وسليم حيث ان بقاء الادارة كما هي لم يعد متناسبا مع تحديات المرحلة وخاصة تحديات الحقبة الاعمارية، وعدم تحول عمل مجلس الوزراء الى عمل ذي طابع مؤسساتي واستمرار التجاذبات السياسية الفوقية ذات الخلفية الطائفية والفئوية حالا دون قيام مناخ مؤات للمشروع في اصلاح اداري حقيقي وواسع النطاق. وما فشل المحاولة التي نفذت عام 1994 الا دليلا واضح على استحالة اجراء مثل هذا الاصلاح الاداري المنشود من دون توفر المرتكزات السياسية الحاضنة له وان عدم نضج الطبقة السياسية وعدم رغبتها لفتح ملف الادارة العامة سيزيد من نشوء المؤسسات البديلة والموازية (الزميل عصام فارس ذكر انها بلغت 26 مؤسسة جديدة منذ العام 1992 أي منذ تولي الرئيس الحريري مقاليد الحكومة) التي ستزيد من التضارب والازدواجية بين الوزارات والاجهزة التقليدية وبين هذه «الجزر الادارية» وسينعكس ذلك على التعينات والتجهيز والاجور والتعويضات واصبحت الادارة العامة «ادارتين» او «قائمقاميتين» مما ادى الى ارتفاع ملحوظ في فاتورة القطاع العام من دون ان يسهم فعلا في توفير معالجات شاملة للوضع الاداري المترهل. وفي ظل ذلك شلت اجهزة الرقابة، وهمش دورها، واخضعت ربما اكثر من ذي قبل للسلطة السياسية وللتجاذبات الضيقة بين اطرافها، وربما اصبح من نافل القول ان أي تقدم حقيقي على صعيد الاصلاح الاداري يبقى مشروطا بتوفر الارضية السياسية وتغيير العقلية والطبقة السياسية السائدة.

-5وتدعي الحكومة انها تقدم الكثير على الصعيد الاجتماعي بيد ان النتائج تزيد من الاختلالات الاجتماعية وتعمق الخلل الاجتماعي كون ذلك غير مرتبط باتخاذ اجراءات او قرارات ادارية لاعادة توزيع الثروة والدخل بل هي اضافة الى ذلك مرتبطة بقدرة الدولة والمجتمع على زيادة الانتاج وتحسين الانتاجية والاستثمار الامثل للموارد والطاقات المتاحة.

ولا ندعو الى ضرورة التوصل الى اجتثاث الخلل الاجتماعي بين ليلة وضحاها، وانما التدرج في اقرار وتنفيذ سياسات واجراءات من شأنها الحد من عمق هذا الخلل وشموله حتى لا يطيح بمقومات الاستقرار الاقتصادي وبعملية اعادة البناء ومن هذه النظرة نرى ان الحكومة ورئيسها المتعاقب قد زادت من انفاقها في المجال الاجتماعي بيد ان النتائج الملموسة المتأتية عن هذه الزيادة لم تنطو على فعالية كبيرة بسبب الادارات الرسمية المكلفة بايصالها الى مستحقيها، العاجزة عن تحقيق هذه المهمة بما يعتريها من انتفاع وفساد وتسيب وبسبب طبيعة هذه التقديمات المتوسطة او طويلة الاجل.

وصحيح ان الناتج المحلي قد زاد بين عامي 90 و97 بيد ان هذه الزيادة لم تطل بالنسبة ذاتها المكونات التي يتشكل منها الناتج المحلي، جميعنا يعلم بأن مكونات الناتج المحلي هي الاجور والارباح والفوائد والريع، فهل تستطيع الحكومة بواسطة ارقامها واحصائياتها ودوائرها تفنيد حصة كل قسم من تحسن الناتج المحلي، لانه اصبح جليا للكل ان حصة الفوائد

كنسبة من الناتج المحلي قد تضاعفت في هذه الفترة وان حصة الارباح مالت هي الاخرى نحو الارتفاع مستفيدة من التزامن بين تحسن سعر الليرة وتراجع قوتها الشرائية، لكن في المقابل لم تتحسن حصة الاجور عموما والتي تعني نحو ثلثي القوة العاملة بنفس النسب الذي تحسنت فيه الارباح والفوائد المكونة معها الناتج المحلي اذ ان الحد الادنى للاجور لم يرتفع بنفس نسبة ارتفاع الزيادة في الناتج المحلي. اضافة على هذا التفاقم في الخلل الاجتماعي هناك عدم تصحيح اسعار وتعرفات الخدمات العامة من ماء وكهرباء وهاتف حيث ان هذه الاسعار ارتفعت بسرعة قياسية وبمعدلات عالية بالمقارنة مع معدلات تطور مداخيل المواطنين وتحملت القوى ذات الدخل المحدود ارتفاع اسعار وتعرفات الهاتف والكهرباء والمياه والنقل والمحروقات بينما التعديلات التي استحدثت على قانون ضريبة الدخل قد انطوت هي الاخرى على عدم ادراك كاف لمغزى التحولات الاجتماعية الجارية حيث استسهلت تلك التعديلات خفض ضريبة الدخل ومضاعفة الضرائب والرسوم غير المباشرة وبذلك تكون قد تخلت عن الموارد لدى الميسورين للتفتيش عنها لدى المعوزين مما انعكس شحا في الموارد في وقت ترغب فيه في تنفيذ مشروع اعماري «كله اولويات»، دون اللجوء الى الضرائب المباشرة واعادة النظر بضريبة الدخل .

-6في الخطة الاعمارية: لقد اظهرت تجربة السنوات الماضية بطئا ملحوظا في تنفيذ المشاريع الاعمارية الامر الذي استدعى تكرار اعادة جدولة البرنامج الزمني لاعمال التنفيذ، ولعل ما يؤكد ذلك القروض الخارجية التي لم يتم سحبها بكاملها وفي الاوقات المحددة. ان هذا البطء في التنفيذ نتيجة خطأين متلازمين ميزا بشكل عام مجمل توجهات السياسة الاعمارية :

اولهما: سوء التقدير لحجم الموارد الحقيقية المالية والبشرية المتاحة في البلد والقابلة موضوعيا للتعبئة في المشروع الاعماري .

ثانيهما: الافراط في تضخيم حجم هذا المشروع نفسه وعدم انسجام العلاقة بين حجم المشروع الاعماري من جهة وحجم الناتج المحلي القائم من جهة ثانية .

انطلاقا من ذلك تصبح مسالة الاولويات مطروحة بالحاح شديد، ان جميع المشاريع تعتبر بهذا القدر او ذاك اولوية بالنسبة الى بلد كلبنان تعرض لحرب اهلية ولدمار شامل، بيد ان هذا القول النظري لا يكون صحيحا من الزاوية العملية لان الموارد الضرورية لذلك غير متاحة لوضع الاولويات كافة ولمرة واحدة موضع التنفيذ من دون الاخلال بالتوازنات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية، لذلك فان استمرار الحكومة النظر بشكل افقي ومتواز الى موضوع الاولويات وضعنا بقلب المغامرة وقربنا من المخاطر المميتة وينبغي استبدال الكم الهائل من المشاريع بعملية تراتب اكثر وزنا لهذه الاولويات واسقاط فكرة الدور التقليدي للبنان المتوسطي الذي كان قائما قبل الحرب والذي اصبح من الماضي لصالح خطة اعمار تخصص جزءا من انفاقها لمساعدة القطاع الخاص (الصناعي والزراعي والحرفي) وبخاصة مؤسساته الصغيرة والمتوسطة على تلمس دروب انتاجية جديدة لتتلاءم مع سياسة العولمة واسقاط الحواجز الاقتصادية بين الدول والامم وفتح الاسواق بعضها على بعض، وتهيئة المناخ لها، لتحسين ميزاتها النسبية والتفاضلية بما يتلاءم مع تقسيم العمل الدولي ودور لبنان في هذا التقسيم. حيث ان دور لبنان الاقتصادي في المنطقة تغير وتبدل ودوره التقليدي ما قبل الحرب

لم يعد مطروحا اليوم في زمن اقامت فيه دول المنطقة منظومتها من شبكة الخدمات. ان ما نحتاج اليه اليوم هو القيام باعادة تقييم هادئة لمسيرة الاعمار بما فيها من نقاط قوة ونقاط ضعف لجهة الاهداف والاولويات القطاعية والمناطقية ومصادر التمويل. واعادة النظر بجغرافية المشاريع المنوي تنفيذها على قاعدة الانماء المتوازن، هذا الانماء الجغرافي المتوازن المبني على حق جميع المكلفين من كامل الاراضي اللبنانية بمشاريع في جميع المناطق، لا ان تقتصر ايرادات الموازنة المحصلة من كامل الاراضي اللبنانية على مركزة اعادة الاعمار والمشاريع في العاصمة وجوارها، وان لا يخضع الانماء المتوازن لرغبة هذا المسؤول او ذاك، ولمزاجية هذا المسؤول او ذاك، (ومن الامثلة البارزة على هذه المزاجية ما ظهر في السنة الفائتة حيث اقترح اصحاب الكسارات والمقالع في منطقة البقاع توسيع وتزفيت طريق سكة الحديد تحت نفق ضهر البيدر على حسابهم الشخصي واستعمالها من قبل الشاحنات والكميونات لتلافي استعمال الطريق التقليدية، فلم تعر الحكومة هذا الاقتراح أي اهتمام، وتفاجأنا جميعا بافطار رئيس الحكومة لابناء البقاع حيث ابلغهم ان الحكومة وعلى حساب الخزينة ستقوم بتعبيدها وتخصيصها للشاحنات (...

وصحيح ان اللجوء الى القروض الخارجية في ظل اوضاع كالتي يعيشها لبنان هو امر محتوم خصوصا اذا توفر المصدر وكانت شروط الاقتراض ميسرة ومقبولة، ولكن ما يدعو لدق ناقوس الخطر هو الافراط في المزيد من الاقتراض دون تفعيل طاقات وشرائح واسعة من صغار المنتجين ومتوسطيهم في المدينة والريف وتفعيل القطاعات المنتجة لمنع ان تتحول الميزانية الى مشروع قطع حساب فيه الزائد والناقص اذا لم تتضمن سياسة تسليفات صناعية وزراعية وحرفية تساعد على نمو المؤسسات الصغيرة والمتوسطة .

ان الميزانية المعدة مخالفة لابسط القواعد فهي مخالفة للمبادىء التالية :

-1مبدأ وحدة الميزانية حيث هناك ميزانية وميزانيات ملحقة، ناهيك عن ميزانيات المجلس والادارات المستقلة والتي هي خارجها. وميزانيات المشاريع وما اكثرها لا اثر لها في ما نطرح ونناقش .

-2مبدأ شمولية الميزانية حيث ان قوانين المحاسبة العامة وقانون اعداد الموازنة يقضي بأن تدخل جميع الايرادات ضمن الميزانية وتصرف جميع الاعتمادات بناء على تصديق المجلس النيابي، ونرى في اكثر من موقع مخالفات لهذا المبدأ، آخرها الفضيحة التي اطلقها وزير الدفاع حول المرفأ واقرار الوزير السنيورة بأن ادارة المرفأ تحتفظ بأكثر من 100 مليار ليرة لتمويل مشاريعها الذاتية .

فمذ متى في لبنان نتبع هذا الاسلوب المخالف للقوانين؟

أليس القانون هو الذي نص على مبدأ وحدة وشمولية الميزانية حيث يقتضي ان تدخل جميع الايرادات دون استثناء صندوق الخزينة ويتم صرفها بناء على اعتمادات مقررة في المجلس النيابي .

وحيث انني مقتنع ان هكذا حكومة بتركيبتها الحالية، وسياستها المعتمدة، لا يمكن لها ان تخط هكذا سياسة ولا ان تحضر لميزانية ملائمة لما طرحت، لذلك امتنع عن التصويت لصالح هكذا ميزانية.

Appendix 5.8

George Kassarji – 14 December 1998

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement presented by P.M. Saleem El Hoss on 14 December 1998.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1998): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 14 December 1998.

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس،

ايها الزملاء الكرام،

بعض التحركات المريبة تجري على الارض مما يستدعي من حكومتكم التمركز السريع لحماية القطاع المصرفي، ولحماية المودعين، ولحماية الثقة بمناعة المصارف اللبنانية.

اسهم السوليدير تدنت عن سعر الكلفة وتخطت نزولا سعر السهم الحقيقي، لكن ليس هذا وحده المريب، انما المخيف هو انه بعد ان قام بنك عودة مع البنك العربي والمتوسط باقراض السوليدير مبلغ 150 مليون دولار واعلان سوليدير انها لن تحمي سعر سهمها بدأ وبشكل مفاجيء تدني سعر سهم بنك عودة وبدأت اسواق البورصة وخاصة الاوروبية منها تشهد تخليا واسعا لاسهم بنك عودة.

لذلك، وقبل مناقشة البيان الوزاري، على وزير المال...

جورج قصارجي: هذا يخرب اقتصاد لبنان اذا لم يتم التحرك.

هنيئا للشعب اللبناني الذي ازال احتلالا دام ست سنوات متواصلة لسلطته الداخلية حيث لم يعد من امكانية حقيقية للتناوب على السلطة، وحيث انطبعت تلك المرحلة بطابع الشخص، فكنا امام:

احتلال القرار المالي، واحتلال للقرار النقدي، واحتلال للقرار السياسي، واحتلال للقرار التشريعي، واحتلال للقرار الاداري، واحتلال للقرار الديبلوماسي، واحتلال للقرار القضائي، واحتلال للقرار الانمائي والاعماري، واحتلال للقرار الاعلامي.

فمن جراء تلك السنوات الست اضيفت عبارة «الحريرية السياسية» على الخطاب السياسي اللبناني، وعرفنا معها قمة التفرد والسطوة والهيمنة، حتى اتى الانقلاب الابيض فغدا ثورة مخملية تلغي دور الحكومات والادارات غير الرسمية وتعيد للحكومة الشرعية، صلاحياتها

ومهماتها وبذلك استعيد القرار السليب، واحرج من صادره لست سنوات فأخرج نفسه. وها هو «الرئيس المتوج» يتصرف بعقلية «المقاول» ويتصرف بناء لاعتبارات محض شخصية، ويجري حسابه الشخصي على اساس الربح والخسارة، كما كان يتصرف مع المديونية العامة ومع المشاريع الفضفاضة، دون الالتفات الى مستقبل البلد ومستقبل اجيالنا، ودون الالتفات الى البشر حتى ان الوزيرة الاميركية الدونا شلالا ذكرت «انه ليس فقط بالجسور تبنى الاوطان» فهل كانت الحكومة بحاجة لشهادة الدونا ولم يكن يكفيها كلام: الدون سليم الحص، والدون بطرس حرب، والدون نسيب لحود، والدون نجاح واكيم، والدون زاهر الخطيب، والمعارضة والبلد بشكل عام، ام ان آذان الحكومة السابقة لم تكن للسمع؟

ألم تكف الملكية الشخصية فصودر الوطن، وتم تملك الجمهورية، وتمكنتم من كل شيء، حتى من بلدية بيروت، ومسلخ بيروت، وانارة بيروت، ومحطات التسفير في بيروت، وتنظيفات بيروت، وحدائق وارصفة بيروت، ومحافظة بيروت، وسباق الخيل في بيروت.

ألم تكف السيطرة على مجلس الانماء والاعمار الذي صادر صلاحيات كل الوزارات؟

الم تكف السيطرة على المؤسسة الوطنية لتشجيع الاستثمار التي لم نر على ايامها اية استثمارات انما فضائح آخرها فضيحة الـ 38 مليون دولارا التي قبضتها كبدلات لايجار محلات المنطقة الحرة في مطار بيروت والتي لم تدخل الخزينة، والتي تملكت ارض «القريعة» بحجة المناطق الصناعية وابقتها بورا وسليخا.

ألم تكف السيطرة على مجلس تنفيذ المشاريع الكبرى، وعلى التنظيم المدني، وعلى سوليدير، وعلى ليونور واليسار، وعلى اوجيرو. وعلى الـ T.M.A فتجاهلت الحكومة محاولات افلاس الـ T.M.A. ووضع اليد عليها.

ألم نكن امام محاولات جادة لضرب استقلالية القضاء واستعمال النيابة العامة كأداة تنفيذ لسياسة معينة؟

الم نكن امام الغاء كلي لمجلس الخدمة المدنية؟ ولديوان المحاسبة؟ وللتفتيش المركزي؟ ولجميع مؤسسات الرقابة المسبقة والرقابة المؤخرة؟

ألم تتهم الحكومة السابقة المجلس النيابي وبسبب الاكثرية الموالية الحاضرة غب الطلب، ببعض القوانين وحملت المجلس النيابي مسؤولية بعض اعمالها، وحاولت التعمية والتخفيف من مسؤوليتها بالقاء جزء من المسؤولية على السلطة التشريعية؟

ماذا كان رد الحكومة على بيان مجلس القضاء الاعلى الصادر بتاريخ 1998/2/19 والذي طالب: «بسلامة التعاطي مع السلطة القضائية، واجتناب كل ما يسيء الى مسارها الهادىء والمنيع وعلى الاخص الامتناع عن التدخل في الموضوع القضائي...».

الا المزيد من التدخل والتعاطي لتوريط القضاء ولضرب استقلاليته وللتشكيك بنزاهته ومصداقيته وادت الى بعض الاستقالات من الجسم القضائي.

ألم تتفلت الحكومة السابقة من رقابة المجلس النيابي فأنشأت بعض المجالس واقرت لهذه المجالس سلفات من خارج الموازنة وذلك لمنع الرقيب والحسيب، ويوم اقر البنك الدولي مبلغ الـ 614 مليون دولار المخصصة لمشاريع البنية التحتية. لم تستعمل الحكومة السابقة منها مبلغ 404 مليون دولار وذلك لان البنك الدولي يريد مراقبة تنفيذ المشاريع والاشراف عليها، رغم الادعاءات المتكررة من الحكومة السابقة بأنها حكومة اعمار البنية التحتية.

ألم ينم قانون محاكمة الرؤساء والوزراء في ادراج رئيس الحكومة السابقة بعد ان اقره المجلس النيابي.

الم تفخخ الحكومة السابقة مشروع قانون الاثراء غير المشروع لحماية هذا الاثراء وللتأمين على الفساد والهدر وضياع الاموال العامة؟

ألم تمارس الحكومة السابقة الخداع الاعلامي في اكثر من قضية ابرزها حول نتائج مؤتمر اصدقاء لبنان الذي انعقد في واشنطن، وادعائها بأنها جمعت للبنان حولي الثلاثة مليارات ونصف، فلم يدم هذا الخداع طويلا وانكشف تزوير الحقائق.

ألم تضرب الحكومة السابقة عرض الحائط بقرارات مجلس شورى الدولة وآخرها عندما خالفت رأي مجلس شورى الدولة بالمرسوم 7510 والمنشور في الجريدة الرسمية تاريخ 1995/11/30 وقامت بتمليك الافراد املاك الدولة العامة، حيث يمنع القانون والدستور تملك او ايجار او مصادرة املاك الدولة العامة، عدا انها لم تحرك ساكنا لمنع الاعتداء على املاك الدولة العامة انما عملت على حماية المعتدي وحاولت شرعنة وضعه ليصبح صاحب حق في ذلك.

الم تسكت الحكومة السابقة عن محاولات السيطرة على القرار الامني عبر مشروع اعادة تنظيم الامن الداخلي وعدم تعيين مدير للامن الداخلي وعبر افتعال مشكلة حول ترقية جزء من ضباط الجيش ومنع الترقية عن بعضهم الآخر.

الم تثر الحكومة السابقة وبشكل غير مشروع واستغلت موقعها في السلطة يوم وزعت مغانم الاعلام، ويوم خالفت قانون الاعلام فمنحت التراخيص لبعض الوسائل ومنعت التراخيص عن بعضها الآخر.

ألم تصادر الحكومة السابقة القرار النقابي فأخرجت نقابات وادخلت اخرى في الاتحاد العمالي العام واجرت انتخابات له بعد ان املت شكلها وتاريخها ونتائجها سلفا؟

هل احترمت الحكومة السابقة ورئيسها قرارات مجلس الوزراء وقرارات المجلس النيابي ولنا خير مثال على ذلك القرار حول مشروع الزواج المدني الاختياري وقرارات المجلس النيابي حول سندات الخزينة بالعملة الاجنبية؟

دولة الرئيس،

تتفضل الحكومة الجديدة وتتعهد ببيانها الوزاري برغبتها بنشر وتوسيع المحاكم المالية وضمان فعاليتها والتخصص في القضايا المالية (كما ذكرت في الصفحة 13 والصفحة 14) بالمقابل يصرح رئيس الحكومة الذي نجل ونحترم والذي ترافقنا واياه في صفوف المعارضة النيابية بما يوحي لابناء السوء بعكس ذلك عندما قال: «لن نجعل همنا فتح ملفات الماضي، فعندما يقع بين ايدينا مخالفات معينة فسنحقق بها، فنحن اتينا للعمل من اجل المستقبل وليس لفتح ملفات الماضي».

لنتصارح دولة الرئيس الحص،

للخزينة حقوق مهدورة يجب ان تفتش عنها وان تعمل على استعادتها، واذا صمتت الخزينة عن مالها وعما هدر ونهب وعبثت به ايادي السوء تكون قد اسست ومن خلال الشعار الذي لم تقولوه وهو (عفا الله عما مضى) تكون قد أسست لمرحلة جديدة ولشكل جديد من الفساد والهدر، اموال الخزينة يجب وبجميع الاشكال والوسائل القانونية ان يتم التفتيش عنها واعادتها الى الخزينة.

ولنتصارح اكثر دولة الرئيس الحص،

اكثر ما يؤخذ عليكم، ترددكم، ومحاولتكم «مسك العصا من النصف»، والبطء في اتخاذ قراركم، ومسايرتكم لاوضاع معينة تتنافى والرغبة الشعبية بمحاسبة كل من عبث بالاموال العامة، فالناس كل الناس تريدكم لتثق بكم وبخطواتكم ان تفتحوا ملفات الهدر والفساد والتطاول على المال والا شئتم ام ابيتم ستصنفون بخانة الوزارات ورؤساء الحكومات التقليديين ولن يقتنع الناس بشعار حكومة «الانقاذ والتغيير»، لذلك انتم مطالبون ان لا تظللوا بمظلتكم الفساد والهدر وان لا تنتظروا ان يقع بين ايديكم مخالفات للتحقيق فيها، انما ان تجدوها لا لنكء الجراح انما للحفاظ على الاموال العامة.

وفي هذا المجال عليكم بداية ان تعيدوا النظر بأمرين ملحين في «السوليدير»:

اولهما: منع الاعفاء الضريبي عنها وذلك بارسالكم لمشروع قانون الى مجلسنا، والا ساتقدم شخصيا باقتراح القانون هذا.

ثانيهما: اعادة النظر بالنظام الداخلي للسوليدير ودفعها الى احترام القانون، واحترام مجلسها الاداري لنظامها الداخلي الذي خالفه لمرات عدة واباح لنفسه المحرمات والممنوعات.

وبذلك تكون الحكومة خطت اولى خطواتها نحو العمل من اجل المستقبل الذي تتكلمون عنه، لان المستقبل المؤسس على الفساد نتيجته المزيد من الهدر والفساد.

فلماذا ستنشرون المحاكم المالية وتتكلف الخزينة عليها بحال لن يكون لها من العمل ومن المهمات بما يتطابق مع الغاية التي نشأت من اجلها؟ واسمحوا لي ان اشير الى ان عمل هذه المحاكم المالية سيكون «لفوق رأسها» وان مهماتها كثيرة بحال رغبتم باستعادة اموال الخزينة.

دولة الرئيس،

لن يحسدكم أي لبناني على فترة حكمكم هذه...

لن يحسدكم أي لبناني على تبوئكم سدة الحكم في هذه الفترة وبعد افلاس الخزينة وتفريغها من أي احتياطي، وتوريثكم فقط الديون الباهظة، والعجز في الميزانيات، والتباطؤ في النمو العام، وشكاوى القطاعات المنتجة، وانين اوسع العائلات التي ترزح بفقر مدقع.

لن يحسدكم أي لبناني على كونكم «وكلاء تفليسة»، ورثتم تفليسة لتدويرها بعد ان افرغها الحكم السابق من كل محتوياتها، وعصرها حتى آخر نقطة، وتركها خاوية ليس فقط لسنوات انما لاجيال قادمة ستتكبدون معها مشقة اعادة الامور الى نصابها.

دولة «وكيل التفليسة» نقدر قولكم انكم دون تعاون مجلسنا النيابي لا يمكن كتابة النجاح وانتم المشهود لكم ببرلمانيتكم، لذلك سنحاول جاهدين مناقشة بعض المفاهيم لعلنا نتوصل لرؤية مشتركة حولها.

اولا: في الخصخصة:

لن نتخذ موقفا مسبقا جامدا من الخصخصة «مع او ضد» سنكون معها او ضدها حسب الاسلوب الذي ستطرح به والغاية المرجوة منها.

أ - في الاسلوب: اذا كانت لتزيد من الاحتكار وتحكم رأس المال الممركز بيد

القلة الداخلية والخارجية سنكون ضد هذا الاسلوب.

اما اذا كانت بمتناول العامة والجمهور اللبناني رغم عدم توفر السيولة لديه فلا مانع لدينا.

اذا اقفلت امام الجمهور عبر رفع الحد الادنى لسعر الاسهم سنكون ضدها. اما اذا الحد الادنى لسعر الاسهم كان بمتناول الجميع مع تحديد حد ادنى من الاسهم مخصصة للجمهور اللبناني لا يمكن تخطيه مما يبقى ملكية المشاريع المنوي تخصيصها للبنانيين فلا مانع لدينا.

اذا قمتم بتشكيل هيئة عليا وطنية وضمت وجوها صادقة ومشهودا لها بنزاهتها وصدقها ووطنيتها فلا مانع من الخصخصة.

اذا قامت الهيئة العليا بطرح «جردة» للمؤسسات والمشاريع المنوي خصخصتها مع مفاضلة بين ما هو افضل للخصخصة وما يمكن ان يؤجل فلا مانع من ذلك.

اذا طرحت الهيئة العليا موجب تخصيص المؤسسات والقطاعات غير المربحة، وامتنعت عن تخصيص القطاعات التي تدر ارباحا سنعتبر الامر سليما. فالدولة لم تكن «تاجرا فاشلا» ولماذا لم تفشل الدول الراقية بذلك، انما كانت هناك سياسات معينة ترغب باظهار ان «الدولة تاجر فاشل»، واكبر مثال على ذلك عدم مساواة المواطنين امام الاعباء العامة، وعدم مساواة المواطنين اما تسديد الرسوم والضرائب واسعار الخدمات المقدمة من قبل الدولة، فاذا قامت

الهيئة العليا باقتراح المؤسسات التي قمنا باعادة تأهيلها وجهزناها والتي نأمل ان تحقق ارباحا فسنكون لها بالمرصاد، اما اذا اقترحت المؤسسات التى لا نوى منها فلا مانع من ذلك.

ب - في الغاية من الخصخصة: سنكون مع الخصخصة او ضدها بقدر قربها او بعدها من الغايات التالية:

1 - اذا هدفت الى وقف العجز في الخزينة.

2 - اذا هدفت الى تكوين فائض في الميزانية.

3 - اذا هدفت الى التخفيف من الدين العام.

4 - اذا هدفت الى الصرف الاستثماري والى زيادة النمو العام.

5 - اذا هدفت الى مشاركة القطاع الخاص اللبناني والجمهور الواسع اللبناني وليس فقط المصارف والاجانب.

لكن لا موافقة على الخصخصة الا بعد ان يقر المجلس النيابي التشريعات الضرورية والاطار القانوني العام المنزه عن كل المصالح الخاصة والتي يبعد عمليات الخصخصة عن كل احتكار جديد، ويسمح في نفس الوقت بالمنافسة الشريفة التي تقدم للبلد نوعية خدمات افضل وسعر خدمات افضل، لذلك وبموازاة قوانين الخصخصة وانشاء الهيئة العليا على الحكومة بالتعاون مع المجلس ان تقترح قوانين موازية الا وهي:

- قانون منع الاحتكار.

- قانون منع التعدي على الملكية الفكرية والصناعية.

- قانون الاثراء غير المشروع.

وان تقدم الحكومة «جردة» لما يمكن ان يخصص ولما لا يمكن ان يخصص مع جدول مقارنة بين مشروع للتخصيص ومشروع آخر، لنستطيع ان نفاضل ونقارن.

ويبقى ايضا دراسة سعر الكلفة وسعر الموجودات والاصول لكل مشروع منوي تخصيصه، ونحذر سلفا من محاولات تسعير بعض القطاعات باقل من كلفتها والمثال الصارخ المتداول حاليا ان قيمة الكهرباء مليارا دولار فقط بينما الجميع يعرف ان قيمتها اكبر من ذلك بكثير.

وبضوء ذلك نطلب منكم اعادة النظر ببعض المشاريع التي تم تخصيصها على يد الحكومات السابقة والتي كانت ستدر ربحا وفيرا على الخزينة والتي تم تخصيصها بالكامل بينما المطلوب كان ان تحتفظ الحكومة بنسب عالية من ملكيتها وما خصخصة الهاتف الخليوي بكامله الا مثال صارخ على ذلك.

فمرة جديدة ومع بداية عهد جديد نطالبكم باعادة النظر بقصة الهاتف الخليوي والعمل على ان تستعيد الدولة لاجزاء اساسية من ملكيته عبر القوانين الضرورية لذلك.

ثانيا: في الضريبة:

قبل الغوص في مفهوم الضريبة ودورها الاقتصادي والاجتماعي في كل مجتمع، علينا ان نشجب الحملة المركزة والمدروسة والمبرمجة والمدفوع ثمنها ضد وزير المالية الجديد عملا بالمسلسلات المكسيكية المدبلجة: «السنيورة او لا احد»، فوزير المالية الحالي عكس نظيره السابق يتمتع بحس اجتماعي وانساني راق نقدره ونثمنه، ويعوض عن بعض وزراء الحكومات السابقة الذين فقدوا حسهم الاجتماعي، وشخصيته هذه ميزة وليست بنقيصة. للضريبة وظيفة اجتماعية تهدف الى ردم الفجوات الاجتماعية بين طبقات المجتمع الواحد وان تنشر العدالة الاجتماعية وان لا تؤسس لخلل اجتماعي يتراكم ليصبح قنبلة موقوتة تفجر حربا اهلية جديدة.

والضريبة اساس كل عقد اجتماعي وهي التي تحدد العلاقة بين الميسور وغير الميسور، بين القادر والعاجز، بين الغني والفقير، وعلى أي منهما تقع مسؤولية بناء الدولة.

فالحكومات السابقة عملت على تحميل الفقير والمعوز مسؤولية بناء الدولة بعد ان تحمل مسؤولية انهيار وخراب الدولة، فكما تحمل اوزار الحرب كان عليه ان يتحمل اوزار اعادة البناء والاعمار.

والمبدأ المطروح في جميع المجتمعات على من يقع عبء بناء الدولة؟

من يتحمل من؟ من يساعد من؟

الحكومات السابقة ورغم جميع الادعاءات الباطلة عملت على تحميل الفقير مهمة بناء الدولة واعادة الاعمار واعفاء القدير والغني والمتمكن من هذه المسؤولية.

بينما نستشف في البيان الوزاري الحالي وفي برنامج الحكومة رغبة صادقة في التأسيس لاطار جديد لعقد اجتماعي جديد بين طبقات المجتمع مبني على اساس «من كل حسب قدرته والدولة للجميع».

لذلك وفي ضوء ما ورد تبقى الوظيفة الاقتصادية للضريبة مرتبطة ارتباطا وثيقا بالوظيفة الاجتماعية دون فصل مصطنع، الوقوع فيه خبيث الغايات، واننا ونحن نناقش البيان الوزاري نطالب:

1 - بضريبة تساعد على تحفيز الاستثمار لكن مرتبطة ارتباطا وثيقا بالدخل.

2 - بضريبة مباشرة وغير مباشرة، المباشرة منها تتحملها الفئات القادرة وغير المباشرة تتحملها الفئات غير القادرة، شرط ان تصبح نسبة التحصيل للضرائب المباشرة اكبر من نسبة الضرائب غير المباشرة.

3 - بضريبة خاصة بالرأسمال الاجنبي او غير المقيم مبنية على اعطائه تسهيلات وحوافز واعفاءات تتعاظم بقدر تعاظم الرأسمال الموظف في البلد، وتطول بقدر طول استثماراته، لاننا لا نعاني من الاستثمارات القصيرة الامد انما اقتصادنا يعاني من شحة الاستثمارات المتوسطة والطويلة الامد التي تخلق فرصا حقيقية للعمل وتساعد على النمو الاقتصادي.

4 - بضريبة يمكن ان يكون اساسها الـ 10% لكن ليست لجميع مستويات الدخل، فالنسبة يجب ان تختلف مع اختلاف الشطور وتعاظمها.

ويجب الاشارة ان الزيادة التي حصلت سابقا في ايرادات الخزينة نتجت عن تفعيل آلية التحصيل ولم تنتج بسبب النظام الضرائبي الذي قام على مبدأ الـ 10% FLAT، لذلك مع تطلعنا الى هذا النظام الضرائبي الجديد علينا الاستمرار بتفعيل آلية التحصيل واشاعة المساواة في التحصيل بحيث تطال الضرائب الجميع دون استثناء فلا يبقى من يتحمل تمويل الدولة وغيره ويهرب من التسديد وينعم بتقديمات الدولة.

فالمساواة امام الاعباء العامة والمساواة في تسديد الرسوم والضرائب واجب كل مواطن، والتحصيل والحفاظ على ايرادات الدولة واجب الحكومة، فلا التهرب من قبل الافراد والمؤسسات يلقي موافقة ولا التقصير في الجباية من قبل الحكومة سيلقى الاستحسان.

ولا يمكن التفكير في خصخصة أي مشروع وهناك تهرب من تسديد الرسوم المتوجبة له او هناك تقصير في جبايتها. والنظام الضرائبي الذي قدم طيلة السنوات التي مرت اعفاءات وحوافز، استفاد منها فقط الرأسمال الذي وظف في المضاربات العقارية او في تكوين رأسمال المصارف بينما عجزت القطاعات المنتجة عن الاستفادة من ذلك خاصة منها التي تحتاج الى رأسمال تشغيلي او الى استثمارات متوسطة وطويلة الامد وبذلك فقد مبرر وجوده او لم يعد يلبي الغاية المرجوة منه، فالاقلاع منه ضرورة والعودة عن الخطأ فضيلة.

ثالثا: في عجز الموازنة:

من المعلوم ان المديونية ليست مشكلة بحد ذاتها، انما تصبح مشكلة مستعصية خطرة حينما تتجاوز نسبة خدمة الدين نسبة النمو في الناتج المحلي، والملاحظ ان نسبة النمو تراجعت من 8% في العام 93 الى اقل من 3% في العام 98، وان الحكومات السابقة لم تستطع رغم سعي المجلس النيابي الدائم ان تخفض العجز وان تضبطه.

ولدينا كلام عن الهاتف الخليوي والسرقات التي تحصل في هذا المجال ولكننا نظرا لضيق الوقت نترك هذا الامر لمعالي الوزير لكي يعالجه، ونطالب في هذا الموضوع بـ:

1 - اعادة النظر بتعرفة التخابر في المنطقة الواحدة وبين المناطق.

2 - تخفيض الاشتراك الشهري الذي اصبح 22 الف ليرة حاليا، في الشهر كان الرسم 5 آلاف ثم اصبح 8 آلاف ثم 22 الفا.

وقد طرحنا الثقة بالوزير المختص سابقا لاجل هذه الاشياء وهذا الامر لن نرضى به باي شكل.

3 - اعادة النظر بجدوى التعاقد مع «اوجيرو» التي كانت مهماتها اساسا تحديث وضبط الفواتير فاصبحت بين ليلة وضحاها «غول الوزارة» و«حوت المداخيل» واساس المصروف والهدر دون رقابة، حتى ان التندر بمكاتبها ومفروشاتها واجور موظفيها اصبح على كل شفة ولسان.

4 - العمل الجدي على استعادة اجزاء اساسية من ملكية الهاتف الخليوي وضبط اسعار خدماته.

في العام 1997 طرحت الثقة بشخص الرئيس الحريري على التصويت وكنت الوحيد طيلة السنوات الست الذي طرح الثقة بحكوماته وذلك لم يكن بهدف التسلية او المزاح السياسي انما كان عن قناعة راسخة بأن ما كان يجري يتناقض ومصلحة اللبنانيين.

واليوم اعتبر وجودكم على رأس الحكومة والاسماء والوجوه التي تضمها بمثابة اعادة اعتبار لذلك التصويت الخاطىء الذي قامت به اكثرية «غب الطلب» والتي تحاول اليوم ان تكفر عن خطاياها السابقة، لذلك وانا امنحكم اليوم الثقة اطالبكم باحترام بيانكم الوزاري وباحترام توجهاتكم ولكم وبكم كل الثقة، وشكرا.

Appendix 5.9

George Kassarji – 16 March 1999

Deputy George Kassarji's speech in connection with the apprehension of former Minister Shahe Barsoumian.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1999): 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 16 March 1999.

جورج قصارجي:

كان لا بد لنوقف الهدر والفساد من ان ننطلق من نقطة ما، وتم ذلك بفتح ملف النفط، وادت التحقيقات الى ما الت اليه، ولاقى هذا الامر ارتياحا شعبيا واسعا، لكن عملت بعض الجهات على النفخ بأبواق الحساسيات الضيقة واثارة المشاعر الغرائزية، خاصة لدى اللبنانيين من اصل ارمني تحت حجة انهم استضعفوا الارمن فنالوا منهم، لذلك ايها الزملاء ولمرة اضافية، نريد ان نوضح اننا لسنا الا ككل المواطنين الاخرين، علينا نفس الواجبات ولدينا نفس الحقوق، ولسنا جزيرة معزولة عن الوطن ولسنا فوق هذا المجتمع او خارجه. انما نحن لبنانيون من اصل ارمني جزء لا يتجزأ من هذا البلد، تطوره وازدهاره يصيبنا كما يصيب كل اللبنانيين، وامراضه وعلله تنالنا كما تنال من جميع اللبنانيين، فان تقدم نتقدم معه وان تخلف نتخلف معه، والارمن يضعفون بضعف الدولة ويقوون مع تزايد قوة الدولة، فما جرى لا بد الا ان يقوي الدولة ويرسخ القانون ويعزز هيبة القضاء، ولا بد من ان السكوت التاريخي والصمت الطويل المتمادي قد اثرا سلبا على مسيرة بناء الدولة واضعفا مسيرتنا واضعفا السلطة المركزية، وساهما باستشراء الفساد والهدر والمحسوبية وخرق القانون. واللبنانيون الارمن عرفوا قبل غيرهم كيف يحاسبون ممثليهم، وخطوا لانفسهم طرقا خاصة لمحاسبة هؤلاء، ابتدعوا اسلوبا من المحاسبة الداخلية كان قد برز في محطات عدة في السنوات الاخيرة، لكن الم يكن هناك ايضا رئيس للحكومة ووزير للمالية لهما من الصلاحيات ما لهما ليوقفا الهدر؟ الم يصرح رئيس الحكومة السابق ان نصف وزرائه من المرتكبين، فلماذا لا يستدعى رئيس الحكومة السابق ليدلي بما لديه وليشير الى هؤلاء الوزراء، وليسأل عن مسؤوليته في عدم محاسبتهم ومساءلتهم، وعن مسؤوليته في تغطيتهم والسكوت عنهم لسنوات عدة بحجة انه كان مغلوبا على امره، بينما الجميع يعلم انه كان الآمر والناهي وصاحب الباع الطويل، وهو الذي خرق الدستور وجميع الانظمة والقوانين وضرب هيبة مجلس الوزراء وتجاهل المجلس النيابي، وهو الذي صمت دهرا عن هذا الملف الذي فتح لاول مرة في عهده ولم يحرك ساكنا في اتجاه الحفاظ على المال العام.

ايها الزملاء،

ليس للهدر وللفساد هوية معينة وطائفة معينة ومنطقة معينة، انما يتوحد عند الجميع ويوحد بين جميع المرتكبين والفاسدين، لذلك، دعونا باخلاص وحرصا على مستقبل اجيالنا ووطننا ان نتوسع بفتح ملفات الهدر والفساد، وان نعمم حربنا النظيفة ضد الايادي السوداء المتلطية خلف كل طائفة ولنعلنها حربا شعواء ضد هذه الافات لان ليس للفساد طائفة او منطقة او هوية، واننا ندعو الحكومة ان تحرص على فتح جميع الملفات مهما بلغت درجة حساسيتها ومهما بلغ شأن اصحابها، وان ثبت بالفعل ان الحرب ضد الفساد وهدر الاموال العامة ليست عملية انتقائية وليست شعارا للبازار السياسي، انما هي نهج واسلوب وعملية متكاملة ومتواصلة مترافقة مع حرص شديد على استعادة الاموال العامة وعند التثبت من هذا النهج سيكون الجميع وليس فقط اللبنانيون من اصل ارمني مع هذه السياسة العامة البعيدة عن الانتقائية.

Appendix 5.10

George Kassarji – 1 February 2000

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberation on the State Budget in February 2000, demanding that the Government recognized the Armenian Language as a second language in schools.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2000): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 1 February 2000.

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس،

ما اجمل توصيف المشاكل الاقتصادية التي تقوم به الحكومة، واضافة عاملا مؤثرا من هنا وعنصرا من هناك، او زيادة حاشية هنا او رقما هناك، او الاستعانة بمبدأ من مجلد او رأي من كتيب، وكان جل عملنا هو توصيف الامراض، والدلالة على المشاكل فقط.

اما كيفية الخروج من الازمة ووصف الدواء هو امر اخر، واجتراح الحلول هو امر مؤجل، واذا كان الحكم «رؤية» واستنباط وتخطيط، فيمكننا الحكم بان حكومة الانقاذ والتغيير ما زالت تدرس وتستطلع وتبحث عن الاسباب ولم تصل بعد الى مرحلة العلاج.

فمهما طالت اطروحات الفذلكة وهي تفسر العوامل البنيوية والتغيرات التي طرأت على الاقتصاد المحلي والاقليمي والدولي فما فتىء الشعب يئن من العوز والجوع والحرمان ومن صلافة العيش، ويرزح تحت اعباء الحياة الصعبة يفتش يوميا عن لقمته ولقمة اطفاله وعياله، ويتدبر بدل اقساط المدارس ورسوم الكهرباء والمياه التي لا يرى منها الا النذر القليل، ويطرق ابواب المحسنين لاعانته على دواء او لتسديد فاتورة مستشفى، والحكومة غريبة عن المعالجات الحقيقية ودابرة عن التصدي لهذه الازمات وكان جل ما يشفي غليلها التربع عن كراسيها.

بالله عليكم افصحوا كيف اوقفتم الاستدانة التي اشتكينا منا طويلا، وكيف عالجتم ارتفاع ارتفاع خدمة الدين، وكيف قضيتم على العجز في الموازنة، وكيف اوقفتم وكسرتم الحلقة المفرغة الناتجة عن العجز والدين وخدمة الدين، وما هي خطتكم التي ما زلتم تحضرونها لمعالجة ازمة القطاعات المنتجة ولرفد الزراعة والصناعة والحرفيين وصغار المنتجين بنبض جديد يقي اقتصادنا من تعثرات جديدة وافلاسات جديدة، والمعالجة - حضرة الوزراء - ليست فقط اصلاحات مالية انما اساسا هي اصلاح اقتصادي ومعالجة اقتصادية. الكثير من الارقام الواردة سواء في الموازنة ام في الفذلكة ممكن استعمالها في تعزيز وتثبيت بعض النظريات المالية والاقتصادية لكن ايضا ممكن الاستفادة منها ذاتها وبطريقة مختلفة لنقض ومواجهة هذه النظريات، ولعلنا في السنوات العشر الاخيرة لم نحظ الا بوزراء مالية

«يدلكون» الارقام، ويغطونها، ويتحايلون على الواردات ويجذبونها بمغريات، مستفيدين احيانا بذكاء واحيانا باقل منه من بعض تعاليم ومفاهيم اعلان وسياسة التسويق، متفاخرين بسياسة الشفافية وكانها منة وكرم ينعمون بها علينا، وكان الشفافية ليست باداة انما هدف قائم بذاته.

وكما مع الواردات كذلك مع النفقات يخالفون ما قررنا في موازنة العام الفائت ويمتنعون عن تسديد نفقات ضرورية لحياة المواطن ولعل ابرز مثال على ذلك اموال البلديات المستحقة، والتي هي عصب عمل البلديات، والتي هي ضرورة ملحة لتثبيت تجربة اللاحصرية الادارية، والتي هي المعنى الحقيقي لعمل هذه الهيئات المنتخبة من الشعب مباشرة، واموال البلديات هي المعنى الحقيقي للاستقلال المالي للهيئات الممثلة لمصالح الناس والتي تخرج البلديات من اطار المركزية الحصرية الى التوسع في تجربة اللاحصرية والتي هي مقدمة ضرورية لكل مشروع يهدف الى اللامركزية الادارية الحقيقية.

ولعل المثال الصارخ «لتقطير» اموال البلديات ما تعانيه بلديات برج حمود والنبعة وانطلياس وعنجر وكل البلديات التي مؤخرا ومع فيضان الطبيعة حل الخراب، وحلت ماسي كبيرة في مصالح قاطني وتجار برج حمود والنبعة والمدور والدورة وجل الديب وعمارة شلهوب وانطلياس ولم يسلم منها احد حتى اهالي وتجار عنجر، فجرف الطوفان ما جرف، وقضى على مزارع، وخرب اثاث المنازل، واغرق المستودعات واعطب الموجودات، واتى على جني العمر ولم يكن للبلديات من يد مساعدة لافتقادها لاموالها وللعصب الذي يحرك اجهزتها، وكيف بنا اليوم نطالب بالتعويض لاهالي وتجار برج حمود والنبعة والمدور وجل الديب وعمارة شلهوب وعنجر بينما لو اعطينا البلديات حقوقها في الوقت المناسب لكانت ربما قد خففت من مآسي المتضررين.

ونحن نستعرض هذه المآسي لا بد من الاشارة الى مسؤولية المنفذيت والمقاولين اللذين سمحوا مثلا في منطقة كمنطقة برج حمود والدورة والتي تضررت كثيرا من الطوفان الاخير ان يبنوا شبكات الصرف والاتية بوحول ومياه وردميات المكلس والجديدة والمناطق الاخرى العالية، بعرض واسع حتى الكيلومترات الاخيرة وقبل نهاية شبكة الصرف يعمدون الى تركيب شبكات وقساطل ومجارير اقل عرضا لا تستطيع ان تسرب هذه الكميات الكبيرة فتفيض هذه الشبكات بدء من اقسامها الاخيرة وعودة الى منطقة برج حمود والدورة.

وكانه مكتوب على منطقة برج حمود والمدور والدورة والكرنتينا وبعض اقسام الجديدة ان تبتلي بكل الماسي وهي التي تعاني من ماساة كبيرة كانت وما زالت، حملها اياها الوطن بكامله الا وهي ماساة هذا «المعلم الاثرى»، الحضاري، السياحي، والذي اصبح يعد من عجائب الدنيا الثمانية اي «تلة الزبالة» هذه التلة التي تستطيع ان ترى من على روابيها ركاب الطائرات المحلقة بالاجواء او شمم صنين، بقيت بعيدة عن المعالجات الحقيقية والضرورية، والتي تبقى وصمة عار على جبين لبنان وعلى جبين البيئة وحماتها، هذه التلة التي اقفلت الحكومة عيناها عنها وسدت اذنيها وتناستها وكانها تدفع باهالي هذه المناطق اللذين عرفوا بانضباطيتهم ومواطنيتهم الصالحة الى اللجوء الى السلبية والتمرد واخذ الحق بالطرق المتاحة بينما الحكومة غاربة عن التصدي لهكذا مشكلة.

دولة الرئيس،

للارمن بعد اتفاق الطائف حقوق ما زالت مغيبة، فاتفاقية الطائف اعترفت بالارمن كاحدى الطوائف السابع الاساسية ولكن هذا الاعتراف لم ينعكس بالتعينات الادارية وما زلنا نحتاج الى «التلسكوب» والمجهر لنرى مديرا عاما امنيا او عميدا امنيا او مديرا ارمنيا، او رئيسا لدائرة او موظفا درجة اولى من هذه الطوائف، وانتم الذين تؤكدون ودائما انكم حريصون على تنفيذ جميع بنود اتفاق الطائف، افما تعتقدون انه حان الاوان لانصاف الارمن واحقاق الحق.

وكما جميع الطوائف التي تحتفل باعياد دينية خاصة بها اضافة الى الاعياد الوطنية التي هي للجميع، فان كتلة نواب الارمن وجميع اللبنانيون من اصل ارمني، يطالبونكم بيوم ارمني واعتباره يوم عطلة وطنية، للاعراب عن مشاعر التضامن الوطني مع هذه الفئة من الشعب اللبناني ولتمتين اواصر المحبة والوحدة الوطنية مع كل لبناني من اصل ارمني وما يوم 24 نيسان المفعم بروح الشهادة والتضحية والنضال من اجل الحقوق - يوم الشهيد الارمني - الا اقرارا من الحكومة بالتوازن والمساواة وبرغبتها بتحقيق التكامل على اسس عادلة، وهذا العيد يبلسم بعض الجراح ويعوض جزئيا عما لحق باللغة الارمنية من اجحاف يوم صدر المرسوم رقم 10227 تاريخ 8 ايار 1997 ويوم صدرت سلسلة المناهج التعليمية الجديدة ورات التدابير التربوية الجديدة النور والتي اقصت اللغة الارمنية بعد اعتمادها لسنوات طويلة عن المناهج التربوية، والتي لم تعد تعتمدها كلفة ثانية يستطيع التلميذ والطالب في المدارس الارمنية من تعلمها والتقدم الى الامتحانات مستندا اليها.

فان كتلة نواب الارمن تطالب الحكومة باعادة اللغة الارمنية واعتبارها في المدارس الارمنية لغة ثانية واعادة الامور الى ما كانت عليه وذلك احتراما لمبادئ الدستور واحتراما للقيم والتقاليد التي نشأنا عليها واحتراما لمبادئ الديمقراطية.

Appendix 5.11

George Kassarji – 2 November 2000

Speech given by Deputy Geoge Kassarji during the discussions on the Ministerial Statement of Rafik El Hariri's 65th Government before casting a No-Confidence Vote.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2000): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th parliament held on 2 November 2000.

جورج قصارجي:

دولة الرئيس، تتطلعون إلى ثقة النواب أم إلى ثقة الناس؟ ثقة المجلس تطمئنكم ستنالونها لأنه ومنذ الانتداب ولغاية اليوم جميع الحكومات نالت ثقة السلطة التشريعية ولم يحدث أبداً أن حجب المجلس عن أية حكومة الثقة أو أسقطها تحت قبته.

أما ثقة الناس فإنه مشكوك مع هكذا حكومة وهكذا بيان أن تحظوا بها، فهي نعمة لن تظللكم مع هكذا تشكيلة وهكذا بيان وزاري.

حكومة محاصصة موصوفة تعيد إلى الأذهان السمعة السيئة "للترويكا" مطورة إياها لتصبح "كواترو" مع كل ما للمحاصصة من مفاعيل باقتسام الوزارات والحقائب والمغانم ضاربة عرض الحائط بتطلعات الناس وبرغبات الشعب وبالمقاييس الصحيحة والمعايير المطلوبة.

حكومة محاصصة وحكومة انقلاب، حكومة انقلاب على الاصلاح الإداري، حكومة انقلاب على محاربة الفساد، حكومة انقلاب على الشفافية، حكومة انقلاب على دولة القانون، حكومة انقلاب على وثيقة الوفاق الوطني، حكومة انقلاب على الوفاق الوطني، حكومة انقلاب على مؤتمر الطائف، حكومة أقل ما يقال فيها أنها عودة للوراء، وعوة إلى تجدد الأزمات، وعودة إلى اقتسام المغانم، واستغلال السلطة، وحكومة ليست لحل المشاكل إنما لتصبح جزءاً أساسياً من المشاكل، وحالة من حالات التأزيم في البلد.

المحاصصة أسقطت الجميع ومن شارك فيها في لعبة الصراع السياسي، ولم يعد أحد بمنأى عنها، والصراع السياسي لا يحفظ لأحد دوره كحكم بين السلطات، وبالتالي تجعل الجميع يتخذ موقفاً سياسياً لصالح فريق ضد فرق آخر، وبالتالي سقطت إحدى مقولات الطائف من أن للبلد حكماً هو فوق الصراع السياسي وهو رمز وحدة البلد وفوق الجميع.

والمحاصصة صحيح أنها حروب الانتقام ووصلت إلى الغرام، وصحيح أنها أعطت بعض الوزراء براءة ذمة، وصحيح أنها "بيضت" وجوه بعض أعضائها، لكن هذه المحاصصة

جعلتنا نتأسف على ما ارتكب بحق الوطني الرئيس سليم الحص، وجعلتنا نتأسف للمديرين العامين الذين ذهبوا ضحية حرب السنتين، وجعلتنا نتأسف لما عانى الوزير شاهي برصوميان، وجعلتنا نندم على التنكيل الذي لحق بعبد المنعم يوسف، وجعلتنا نحزن للأساء التي لحقت بالوزير أغوب دمرجيان، وجعلتنا نستهجن التعرضات التي طالت النائب حبيب حكيم، والمحاصصة هذه ضربت الآمال بإصلاح إداري، ومحاربة الفساد، وبإشاعة دولة القانون، لا بل أنها تؤسس لجولة جديدة من الكيدية أبطالها أسماء جديدة ووجوه جديدة، ولن تحفظ للوزراء الحاليين حصانتهم من هذه الكيدية بعد انتهاء ولا يتهم، حروب الانتقام انتهت إلى غرام، والاعتكاف السابق أدى إلى التكليف، لكن ما هي الضمانات لعدم انتقال حرب الألغاء التي دامت سنتين إلى داخل الحكومة؟

وكيف ستكون عليه الأمور إذا رفعت المتاريس داخل الحكومة؟ وكيف ستنعكس الحروب المقبلة على جو الاستثمار وعلى الوضع الاقتصادي والمالي؟ ومن هم الوسطاء الذين سيتولون الفصل في كل مرة تبتعد الأزمة وتبتعد التطلعات والمواقف؟ إن الحكومة، ورغم المحاصصة ورغم أن لكل حسب مقامه حصته، تحتوي على عناصر تفجيرها من داخلها، وأنها تحتوي على قنابل موقوتة، وأنها مزروعة بداخلها بعوامل التفجير.

إن الحكومة هي حكومة من يطغى على الآخر، من يطغى على الآخر بعدد الوزراء ومن يطغى على الآخر، بعدد الحقائب، ومن يطغى على الآخر، بنوعية الحقائب، ومن يطغى على الآخر، ببرنامجه وشعاراته ووعوده.

وإن جوقة المبشرين والمطبلين ستخيب آمالهم مع مرور بضعة أشهر قادمة وسيكتشفون زيف ادعاءاتهم بأن عمر هذه الحكومة طويل جداً بعمر ولاية هذا المجلس، وسيكتشفون أيضاً أن لا أحد ومهما علا شأنه يستطيع أن يصادر دور مجلس النواب، وأن يصادر كلمته التي هي الوحيدة الفاصلة حول عمر الحكومات وطول بقائها.

وصفقة المقايضة لن تستطيع إضفاء الشرعية والدستورية على كلام الوزير السنيورة الذي تولى ومنذ اليوم الأول، وقبل نيل الثقة، الاسهاب حول ما ستفعله الحكومة وما لا ستفعله، بالرغم من أن المادة 64 من الدستور واضحة عندما نصت من أن:

"رئيس مجلس الوزراء هو رئيس الحكومة يمثلها ويتكلم باسمها ويعتبر مسئولاً عن تنفيذ السياسة العامة التي يضعها مجلس الوزراء".

وهذا دليل واضح على أن هناك بين الوزراء من هو وزير للصورة وللشكل فقط، بينما هناك وزراء "سوبر" مباح لهم حتى خرق الدستور، وخرق مبدأ التضامن الوزاري، وخرق المبدأ القائل بأن السلطة في مجلس الوزراء مجتمعاً.

والأمر الآخر الواضح هو كيفية التحايل على التمثيل الطائفي، و كيف تم التحايل على التمثيل الماروني والتمثيل الدرزي والتمثيل الشيعي والتمثيل الكاثوليكي لتوزير المحاسبي والموظفين والأقارب والاتباع وندماء الجلسات والسهرات.

ولعل الأبشع بعد التسريبات التي لم يتبناها أحد والتي ثبتت أنها حقيقية وواقعية، رغم أنها

بقيت يتيمة دون أم ودون أب، وأتت التشكيلة الوزارية لتؤكد هذه التسريبات ولتؤكد التطاول على وثيقة الوفاق الوطني وعلى مقررات مؤتمر الطائف وعلى حقوق طائفة أساسية في هذا البلد، على حقوق الطائفة الأرمنية، فبعد أن بذل جهد كبير لإبعادها عن مقعد الأقليات النيابي في بيروت، وبعد إبعادها طيلة السنين العشر الأخيرة عن جميع وظائف الفئة الأولى، أتت التشكيلة الحالية وعن سابق تصور وتصميم، وضمن خطة مدروسة لتصيب التمثيل الأرمني بخلل متعمد هدفه اللاحق مد اليد ونهش حصة من هذه الطائفة على طريقة ما حصل مع الطوائف الأخرى.

دولة الرئيس،

الطائفة الأرمنية طائفة أساسية في هذا البلد، لا بل ركن من أركانه ومؤتمر الطائف اعتبرها من الطوائف السبع الأساسية واعتبر أن كل تشكيلة وزارية تتجاوز الأربعة عشر وزيراً يجب أن تتمثل بها الطوائف الأرمنية بوزيرين، وفي حكومات الحريري السابقة تمثلت بوزيرين.

فلماذا هذا التحايل الآن؟ ولماذا هذا التطاول الآن؟ ولماذا هذا التطويق الآن؟ أصريتم على توزير أحد أتباعكم عن الأقليات فلا مانع من ذلك فالمس بحقوق الطائفة الأرمنية خط أحمر، وإخلال بالتوازن الوطني، ومساس بشعور طائفة أساسية في هذا البلد، ومراكمة لمجموعة من الارتكابات بحقها بدءاً من حصتها في وظائف الدرجة الأولى، مروراً بحرمان مناطقها وصولاً إلى نزع مقعدها النيابي عن الأقليات والتطاول على مقعدها الوزاري الثاني في التشكيلة الواسعة.

تحايلتم على قانون حصر دمج الوزارات وزدتم سبعة وزراء دولة واعلنتم وزارة من 30 مقعداً، وأتيتم بالأزلام والمحاسبي والموظفين والأقارب ألم يكفكم هذا؟

أردتم أيضاً التطاول رغم هذا كله على حقوق الطائفة الأرمنية؟

دولة الرئيس،

لا تبنى الأوطان بهكذا سياسة، ولا يكون الوفاق الوطني بهكذا سياسة متعومدة متجنية، فأي صورة للوفاق تريدون؟ وعن اي وفاق تتكلمون؟ وأي مصالحة وطنية ترغبون؟ إنها سياسة التنكيل بعينها، إنها سياسة التطاول على الطوائف جميعها، إنها سياسة ما هو لي، لي لوحدي، وما هو لغيري له ولي؟ ألم تكن التجارب السابقة والسنوات السابقة كافية لأخذ العبر؟ ألم تتعظوا من الأخطاء السابق؟ أم أن السلطة تعمي البصر والبصيرة وتجعلكم تسيرون على غير هداية؟

دولة الرئيس،

إن حكومة تشكل بعد الانتخابات مباشرة وتضم أكثر من 40% من وزرائها من خارج المجلس، هي طعن غير مباشر بنتائج الانتخابات، وهي طعن بمصداقية هذا المجلس المنتخب، وهي طعن بمصداقية هذا المجلس المنتخب، وهي تسليم ضمني بالتشكيك المراد حول هذا المجلس، وهي تجاوز لتعرف سائد بتشكيل حكومات برلمانية صرفة بعد كل

انتخابات، وربما لأن رئيسها يريد التغيير ولم يستطع ذلك لا في الوجوه ولا في بعض الحقائب، فأضفي جود التغيير التشكيك بمصداقية المجلس وبصحة الانتخابات الأخيرة فكان له في هذا الطعن 12 وزيراً من خارج المجلس.

هذه الحكومة لن تحظى بفترة سماح، أولاً لأن الأزمات خانقة والمواطن لا يستطيع الانتظار أكثر، وثانياً لأن اغلب عناصرها قد تمرسوا لا بل قد تسببوا بجزء كبير من هذه المشاكل، إذ لا فترة سماح ولا تصديق لو عود ربيعية، فأما أن تباشروا بالإنتاجية وإلا سيكون الفشل مدوياً.

ومن أولويات الحكومة أعطاء قضية المهجرين اهتماماً خاصاً، هذه القضية الوطنية التي كان يجب أن تنتهي منذ زمن بعيد وأيام حكومات الحريري السابقة، وإن طالت واستمرت لغاية اليوم وربضت بظلها على صدور المواطنين والمهجرين فذلك بسبب جميع الحكومات ومن شارك فيها من وزراء طيلة السنوات العشر الماضية، والتي شغل منها رئيس الحكومة الحالي أكثر من سبع سنوات وأربع حكومات، فكانت قضية المهجرين وكما يحددها البيان الوزاري لهذه الحكومة أيضاً، جزء من الأولويات لكننا بتنا جميعاً نعرف أن الأولويات لدى هكذا حكومات، دائماً هي أولويات متعددة وافقية، وتيسر بكاملها بشكل متواز، فلا تأخذ منها أية أولية أولوية التقدم على أخرى، وتبقى جميعها بنفس المكان، ليبقى هناك حاجة لنفس الأشخاص، وليبقوا ضرورات وطنية.

ويطالعنا البيان الوزاري بسيادة القانون وحماية المواطن وبأن الحكومة سوف تضع نصب عينيها العمل على تحقيق دولة يخضع الجميع فيها حكاماً ومواطنين في تصرفاتهم وأعمالهم لقواعد تراعي حقوق الإنسان الأساسية وتحترمها.

فجوابنا بسيط جداً وهو أننا اختبرناكم في الأمس القريب، وسمعنا أقوالكم وفرحنا، لكننا عندما رأينا أفعالكم حزنا، وكم هو مثالي هذا الكلام، وخوفنا أن هذه المثالية تخفي عجزاً حقيقياً تثبته الوقائع اليومية. وهل أن فقط الضابطة العدلية وبعض القضاة هم المسيئون للحرية الفردية وللحريات الشخصية وهم وحدهم الممارسون للتوقيفات؟ لتطلبوا من المجلس إقرار مشروع القانون يحدد حالات التوقيف الاحتياطي، أم أن من يجرؤ الآن التعرض للحريات الفردية وممارسة تنكيله بالأفراد والجماعات يأبه للقوانين وللأنظمة، وكأن العلة في القانون وليس في الممارسة وفي القرار السياسي الحامي لهذه الممارسات.

هناك دول عدة تقوم على العرف وليس فيها قانون مدون وتحترم بشكل صارم الحريات وحقوق الإنسان، بينما هناك دول تتمتع بأفضل النصوص وتفتقد لأبسط قواعد الديمقراطية، فالأمر أيها السادة مرتبط بالممارسة وبالقرار السياسي وجميع التعويضات التي سيقرها مشروع قانونكم لن تعوض ذرة كرامة لمن تعرض لهكذا تجربة.

ولم يكن حبر بيانكم الوزاري يكاد يجف حتى صفعتم ممن في يده ورقة القرار وعلت أخبار التوقيفات.

والبيان الوزاري يتعرف بأن من التحديات الكبرى الوضع الاقتصادي ويقترح المباشرة بالخصخصة، لكن حذار من الخصخصة المشوهة التي تسلط الشركات الجديدة، وتسلط

اختارها وجشعها، وتمرر خدماتها ذات النوعية السيئة، والتي تتحكم بأسعار الخدمات ونوعيتها ولكن في مشاريع الـ B.O.T العائدة للخليوي صيت سيىء، حيث مكنتم شركتي الخليوي من رقاب المشتركين والمواطنين وفوتم على الخزينة مداخيل جمعة، وعريتم الدولة من كل نقاط قوتها في عقود أذعان، وها هي شركتنا الخليوي وبعد هذه الأساليب المشوهة تتراقص فرحاً وزهواً بموقعها التفاوضي الأفضل بوجه الدولة والمجتمع اللبناني.

كما أنه لكم في خرق الدستور وخرق المادة 89 من صولات وجولات، امتياز Liban Plst إلا شهادة تبقى وصمة في احترامكم للمؤسسات الدستورية إلا إذا عدتم خطأكم، والعودة عن الخطأ فضيلة، وعرضتم العقد مع Liban Plst على مجلسنا ليخرج بقانون.

إضافة إلى الخصخصة المدروسة والمبرمجة والقائمة على الأساليب العلمية يجب أن يحتل الإصلاح الإداري ومحاربة الفساد أولوية متوازية مع الخصخصة لأنه دون إدارة عصرية ونظيفة وكفوءة يبقى الهدر والتسيب والفساد سيد الموقف.

كما أنه هناك تدبير غير شعبي لكنه ضروري لجانب الخصخصة والإصلاح الإداري، لتخفيض الدين العام ولتخفيض خدمات هذا الدين، وهو بيع احتياط مصرف لبنان من الذهب، هذا الذهب الذي يفقد شيئاً فشيئاً قيمته ويتدني سعره، وأصبح في اقتصاديات الدول الراقية غير ذات جدوى، أصبح كاحتياطي غير ضروري ويكبد الخزينة خسائر ويمكنه أن يؤمن حوالي 4 مليارات دولار تضاف إلى حوالي 4 مليارات دولار أخرى من بعض مشاريع الخصخصة لإيفاء الدين العام وليس للمشاريع.

صحيح أن الوضع الاقتصادي هو من التحديات الكبرى لكنه مرتبط وبشكل أساسي مع المسألة الوطنية ومسألة الوفاق والوطني، فلا جدوى اقتصادية من كل هذه التوجهات الاقتصادية والوفاق الوطني مختل وغير سليم، ولا اقتصاد سليم في ظل اختلال وطني ووفاقي، فاللبنانيون انتظروا أن تأتي الحكومة صورة لوفاق وطني حقيقي، وسماها الرئيس الحريري خطأ حكومي وفاق ونمو وكان حرياً به أن يسميها حكومة وفاق أعرج ونمو وهمي.

فاللبناني الذي أعتمد الطائف سقفاً سياسياً نراه يكفر بالحياة السياسية مع التطبيق الاستنسابي والمزاجي لبعض بنود الطائف واللبناني الذي اعتمد الطائف اتفاقاً متكاملاً، بنوده متكاملة متراصة مكملة لبعضها البعض، يرى اليوم ما ينفذ وما لا ينفذ، ويرى ولادة حكمة وفاق المتفقين المستظلين سقفاً واحداً مفروضاً قسراً، ورغم تهاني الرئيس شيراك والتي يوزعها يمنة ويساراً بمناسبة وبلا مناسبة، ورغم تهاني الوزيرة أولبرايت وسفيرها البارع في الوعود والفاشل في الإيفاء بها، ورغم عواطف السعودية وبعض دول الخليج المتأثرة بحماوة رمال الصحراء، فاللبناني يعرف أن الحكومة التي كان مفترضاً أن توجه رسالة ثقة إلى العالم بمستقبل لبنان الواحد، ليشجع على التوظيف في مرافقه، وعلى الاستثمار في قطاعاته، وعلى المراهنة على مستقبلة كوطن حر سيد صاحب قرار، أعطت هذه الحكومة ونقلت إلى العالم صورة طبق الأصل وواقعية عن الحال المزرية التي لا يزال لبنان يتخبط فيها لأكثر من عقد ونيف والمنتظر تفاقمها مع الوقت سياسياً واقتصادياً، واجتماعياً وأمنياً.

أما النمو الذي أعطى الحكومة نصف اسمها فإنه أول ما يتطلب أن يضخ اللبنانيون في الداخل

وفي الشتات أموالهم في شرايين اقتصاد الوطن، ولكنهم، ولأنهم بما، وبمن يمثلهم في لبنان مستبعدون، فلن يثقوا ولن يغامروا بإرسال تلك الأموال لتصرف بإشراف سلطة هم عنها مغيبون، وهم فيها مقهورون ومشكوك بلبنانيتهم وبإخلاصهم إلى هذا المواطن.

والاستثمارات الأجنبية التي يعول عليها البيان الوزاري فإن أوضاع المنطقة غيرت وجهتها لن رأس المال يتطلع إلى الاستقرار السياسي والأمني والمنطقة بكاملها على فوهة بركان.

والمساعدات العربية القديمة منسية والجديدة لها أولويات غير لبنان، لذلك يبقى الوفاق الوطني حجر الزاوية في المعالجة الاقتصادية وكل كلام البيان الوزاري ليس إلا ترداداً لكلام سابق طرحته حكومات عديدة لكنه لم يبصر النور وبقى حبراً على ورق، لذلك لما نفع الحريري إن كسب العالم وخسر الداخل واللبنانيين، فالمطلوب من الحكومة رعاية مشروع وفاق وطني حقيقي يكون القاعدة والأساس لحلو اقتصادية جذرية.

دولة الرئيس.

المؤتمرات الإقليمية والدولية ليست للراحة أو للاستجمام أو للقاء من يمكن رؤيته في لبنان أو يمكن الاتصال به من لبنان، إنما هي مناسبة على الرؤساء والوزراء والوفود الخاصة أن تغتنمها لتبقى قضية لبنان في دائرة الحدث وفي دائرة الضوء، وكل كلام حول المفاجأة، والطلبات المفاجئة، وبأن لبنان لم يكن يريد مخاطبة هذا المؤتمر أو ذاك، وبأن لبنان لم يكن لديه مطالب خاصة، وكلمات خاصة، وتوجهات خاصة، ليست إلا هذا الاستمرار في ذوبان الخاصية اللبنانية، وهذا التخلي عن الدور الطبيعي لدولة حرة سيدة مستقلة.

دولة الرئيس،

منذ فترة ونحن نخاف على الحريات العامة والخاصة ونراقب بعين قلقة التطاول عليها والمس بها، لكننا اليوم بتنا نخاف أكثر وخاصة على الإعلام الحر، وذلك لأنه اجتمعت في هذه الحكومة سلطتان، سلطة الزجر والإرهاب والتسبيح الدائم مع سلطة المال والمتملكة لوسائل الإعلام، فإذا كانت شكوانا سابقاً من جهة واحدة، أصبح اليوم مضاعفة مع اجتماع السلطتين معاً، لذلك كل الحريات وحرية الإعلام في خطر حقيقي وجدين وعلى كل وطني حقيقي أن يشحذ المهم للتصدي لهذا الخطر وليواجه السلطة والمال المجتمعين في هكذا حكومة قبل أن نردد: "وتصبحون على وطن".

انسجاماً مع طروحي ونظرتي للأمور، وضمن هذا السياق الذي أوردت، واحتراماً لهذا الوطن، ولشعب هذا الوطن "أعلن حجبي للثقة".

Appendix 5.12

George Kassarji – 27 March 2001

Deputy George Kassarji's proposed law for the Army Draft.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2001): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 27 March 2001.

اقتراح قانون معجل مكرر لتعديل قانون خدمة العلم

في الأسباب الموجبة:

يتمنع العديد من أبناء بلدنا المهاجرين من العودة إلى ديارهم خوفاً من خدمة العلم، ويرفض الكثير من الطلاب المتخصصين الكفوئيين والذين يحتاجهم لبنان من وضع أنفسهم وطاقاتهم وخبرتهم وعلمهم في خدمة بلدهم خوفاً من تدابير هذه الخدمة، وتتردد بعض رؤوس الأموال المملوكة من لبنانيين من الاستثمار في وطننا بسبب عدم قدرة أصحابها وأبنائهم من مراقبتها وإدارتها توجيهها المباشر.

لذلك

نرجو الزملاء الكرام إقرار اقتراح القانون المعجل المكرر التالي المعدل لقانون خدمة العلم:

- مادة وحيدة:

"خلافاً لأي نص آخر، يعفى كل لبناني مقيماً خارج لبنان منذ ثلاث سنوات متواصلة من خدمة العلم شرط أن يسدد للخزينة العامة ثلاثة ملايين ليرة لبنانية. يعمل به فور نشره في الجريدة الرسمية "

النائب جورج قصارجي

بيروت في 13 شباط 2001

Appendix 5.13

George Kassarji – 25 July 2001

Deputy George Kassarji' speech criticizing the policies of the Rafik El Hariri Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2001): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 25 July 2001.

جورج قصارجي:

دولة الرئيس

حكومة العجز المطلق، وحكومة الوعود "العرقوبية" متى سترحل؟ الحكومة الحالية الفضفاضة عاجزة عن كل شيء، حتى عن تنفيذ أبسط ما وعت به في بيانها الوزاري، وأبسط ما تعهد به رئيسها.

الحكومة عاجزة عن إيقاف سرقة التخابر الدوي وتخفيض التعرفة الدولية، واستلام نظام الخليوي مع انتهاء مدة الإنذار، ينتهي الإنذار ولا نستطيع أن نستلم الخليوي، دولة الرئيس، في 15/12/ ينتهي لا نستطيع أن نستلم نحن سيكملون هم ذاتهم وسيكلمون بذات التعرفة وسيظلون مكملين ومن الممكن أن تذهب سنوات بالاسم فسخ العقد وجباية سندات التحصيل من شركات الخليوي.

الحكومة عاجزة عن إنصاف الأسرى المحررين

الحكومة عاجزة عن السير بالخصخصة

الحكومة عاجزة عن الإصلاح الإداري وتصحيح وضع المؤسسات والمرافق العامة والقيام بالنهوض الاقتصادي وتحفيز النمو الصناعي والتجاري والخدماتي،

وتخفيض الفوائد، ووقف الهدر والتسيب والمزاريب

الحكومة عاجزة عن الإنماء المتوازن للمناطق،

ووضع تصور لاستراتيجية اقتصادية طويلة الأمد،

وضبضبة خلافاتها الداخلية وعدم نشر غسيلها علناً،

الحكومة عاجزة عن تأمين الزراعات البديلة وبالتالي منع الممنوعات.

الحكومة عاجزة عن جباية رسومها وفواتيرها وضرائبها وما لها، ومقاومة ضغوطات ومتطلبات الترويكا

الحكومة عاجزة عن السير بأبسط أمور الحوار وتنفيذ وثيقة الوفاق الوطني

الحكومة عاجزة عن رد الحيف عن الطوائف الأرمنية وتسمية وزير أرمني ثاني،

وتنفيذ وعود رئيس البلاد بتسمية وزير أرمني ثان.

وهنا أتمنى على دولة رئيس الحكومة الإجابة وبصراحة ماذا سيفعل بهذا الموضوع

لقد أمهلنا ولكن لن نهمل هكذا حكومة لا يجب أن تبقى للحظة واحدة، هكذا حكومة لم تقم الا بتوزيع الوعود والتي لا تستطيع أن تنفيذ منها شيئاً،

ما عليها إلا أن ترحل غير مأسوف عليها

لهذا كله أطلب من حكومة المحاصصة المجمعة المركبة أن تستقيل وبذلك تستريح وتريح

أخيراً: إننا نريد حكومة منسجمة مع بعضها وبما أن نظامنا لتأليف الحكومات هي أولاً استشارات فخامة الرئيس وبناءً على طلب أكثرية النواب يعين رئيس الحكومة.

وهنا أشدد على الرئيس المكلف أن يعين وحده أسماء الوزراء لكي يتحمل مسئولية كل وزير وحده بعكس ما يحصل عادة بأن الرئيس المكلف يأتي على حكومة مؤلفة وجاهزة مسبقاً ويكون عنده 30 وزيراً بثلاثين مرجعية مختلفة وتقضي الوقت بالمصالحة بينهم، وشكراً.

Appendix 5.14

George Kassarji – 13 August 2001

Deputy George Kassarji's speech criticizing the Hariri Government on 13 August 2001.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2001): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 13 August 2001.

جورج قصارجي:

دولة الرئيس

ليس المطلوب من المسئول الشيعي أن يتكلم شيعياً لينتهي في النبطية، وليس المطلوب من رجل الدولة السني أن يتكلم سنياً ليتوقع في حي "اللجا" والطريق الجديدة، وليس المطلوب من المسئول الأرمني أن يتكلم أرمنياً "ليتبغدد" في أراكس وانطلياس وبرج حمود، وغير مطلوب أيضاً من الماروني أن يتكلم مارونياً ليكسب "زاروبا" ولينتهي في كسروان.

وأن فعل أي واحد ذلك سنكون له بالمرصاد، ولكن المطلوب أن يكون ابن العصر، وأن يصبح من هذه الانسانية، وأن يصبح مدنياً ليس فقط بالشكل، وإنما أساساً بالفكر والمنطق والروح والتوجه، وأن يدرك حقوق الانسان وشرعتها ومبادئ الأمم المتحدة، وأن يتشرب الروح الديموقراطية رغم أن البعض انفطر طيلة سنوات عمره على عكسها، وأن يعشق الحريات ويذوق طعمها الحلو والمر، وأن يعرف أن الدستور أعطاه صلاحيات إنما خصص غيره أيضاً بالكثير منهان وأن يفقه أن الديموقراطية تجيز لغيره بعضاً من الصلاحيات والمسئوليات، وأن دولة القانون تبدأ في حكم المؤسسات، وأن المؤسسة هي الوحيدة التي تخرج كل حاكم من زاروبه الضيق، وليس الزاروب فقط هو الزاروب الطائفي إنما هناك راروب المحسوبية وزاروب قلة العمل وقلة الاطلاع والمناقشة مقابل كثرة التسلية والتبجح وهناك زاروب مؤلم جداً إلا وهو زاروب الذاتية والشخصانية الضيقة والتي تصبح خطرة جداً لدى صاحبها إذ كان في سدة المسئولية.

لا ندعو أحداً ليتزعم شارعاً هنا أو هناك لا بل سنكون أول المتصدين لمن يريد أن يكون بطلاً على هذا النحو، لكننا نريد أن نذكر أن لا أحد البتة يتذكر اسم ذلك الوزير الذي عطل وأوقف مسرحية "هاملت" لأنه انتهى في غياهب مرذولة، إنما جميعنا نقر ببقاء ونضارة المسرحية عبر القرون، وجميعنا نعرف كاتبها ومؤلفها شكسبير.

لرئيس شهاب رحمه الله، سيذكره التاريخ بأنه مؤسس الحداثة في دولة لبنان المستقل، وله في كل ما نجده جيداً يد ناصعة، لكن ونحن نمجد أعماله نرفق بعدها تلك الـ "لكن" اللعينة،

التي نغصت عليه مجد الذكرى، والتي سمحت للأجهزة من اختلاق الروايات وتضخيم القصص وتحريفها، واختراع المؤامرات غير الموجودة إلا في مخيلة أقبية الظلام وأوكارها والتي تتحول وغب الطلب من ولاء لآخر. لذلك ما النفع إذا ربح المسئول معركته لكنه خسر نفسه.

دولة الرئيس،

نطالب فوراً بالإفراج عن جميع المعتقلين دون استثناء، ودون تفرقة بينهم، لأن المؤامرة غير موجودة إلا في مخيلة صانعيها، والبدء بمحاسبة جزاري الديموقراطية ومحاكمة ناحري الحريات، الذين طعنوا الدستور وخرقوا القانون وعبثوا بالبلد وباقتصاده وبسياحته، وبصورته بالداخل والخارج، وشجعوا على هجرة أبنائه.

ونطالب الحكومة بأن تطبق الدستور وخاصة منه المادة 65 التي تنص على أنه تناط بمجلس الوزراء "الأشراف على أعمال كل أجهزة الدولة من إدارات ومؤسسات مدنية وعسكرية وأمنية بلا استثناء".

وبأن لا تعطل الحكومة أحكام الدستور، والإصلاحات الدستورية، وتعديلات الطائف، ومبدأ المشاركة، ومبدأ أن السلطة التنفيذية هي في مجلس الوزراء مجتمعاً، بإجراء تسوية من هنا وتسوية من هناك وتحت ضغط شعور غير صحيح حول ضعف القوى التي تضمها الحكومة والتي يمكنها أن تفعل الكثير لحماية الدستور والحريات والديموقراطية وتحت شعار غير صحيح أيضاً ومفاده "لا حول ولا قوة"، وذلك لأن في معركة الحريات، وفي معركة تثبيت الحكم المدني، كل البلد بجميع فئاته، وبجميع انتماءاته، وبشيبه وبشبابه، ملتف حول كل صوت حر شريف مدافع عن الحريات في أي موقع كان.

دولة الرئيس

لا يعتبرون أحد أنه بمنأى من خطر هذا "الغول" الآتي، فاليوم هذه وغداً الـ "N.B.N" و "المستقبل" والـ "ال بيس ي" وغيرهن، ولن تستطيع أية محطة مهما تعملقت أن تتصدى لوحدها، اليوم هذه الصحيفة وغدا "النهار" و "الديار" و "المستقبل" و "السفير" وغيرهن، لن تستطيع أية صحيفة مهما علت أن تقاوم لوحدها، اليوم هذا الحزب وهذا التنظيم وغداً جميع الأحزاب والجمعيات والنوادي، اليوم المظاهرة واللافتة وغداً كل أشكال الحريات التي كفلها الدستور، اليوم خرق لمبادئ ولقانون أصول المحاكمات الجزائية وغداً تعليق لكل القوانين ولكل المبادئ ولجميع الأصول.

دولة الرئيس،

فالغول الهاجم بشراسة وتحت ستار محاربة الفساد، والإصلاح، وتخليص البلد من الطبقة السياسية الفاسدة، واجتراح العجائب الاقتصادية، وتحت وعود "ديماغوجية" كاذبة ستحاول استغلال ضيق الناس، هذا الغول دولة الرئيس، أيابه موجعة ولا تعرف أن تفرق بين المواطن وبين لحمكم، إما أن تتصدى جميعاً لهذا الغول المفترس الكاسر وإما ستكونون دولة الرئيس

أيضاً من ضحاياه، نحن مستعدون لذلك، ومستعدون لتغليب المصلحة العليا ومصلحة البلد بالحريات والديموقراطية بإسقاط معارضتنا للحكومة بهذا الشعار أو ذاك.

Appendix 5.15

George Kassarji – 29 April 2003

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations over the Ministerial Statement of the Rafik El Hariri's 66th Lebanese Government before casting a No-Confidence Vote.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2003): 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 April 2003.

جورج قصارجي:

دولة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء الكرام،

حكومة "هجينة" تبرأ منها الجميع فور ولادتها، فرئيسها أخذ منها مسافة، وتنصل من تأليفها، وصرح بأنها فرضت عليه فرضاً، وها هي كتلته النيابية تغز سكاكينها في تشكيلة يتيمة لا أب ولا أم لها، وها هم نواب العاصمة يفجعون بالتمثيل الناقص لبيروت وبالهدر الفاضح لكرامة بيروت، وهم بين مطرقة عدم منح الثقة وبين سندان تشكيلة تنتقص من كرامة بيروت، ولا تعبر عن سنة بيروت، ولا عن شيعة بيروت، ولا عن أرثوذكس بيروت ولا عن كاثوليك بيروت، ناهيك عن أرمن بيروت.

وتبرأ منها وزراؤها وأهلها أيضاً، ففي جلستها الأولى لعلع رصاص الخلافات داخل مجلس الوزراء، ويسمع دوي انفجارات تلك الخلافات في وسائل الإعلام، وفتحت معركة رئاسة الجمهورية على مصراعيها، وتنصل بعض أهل الحكم من حصصهم ومن حاصصتهم ورددوا بأنهم قبلوا فقط ما عرض عليهم ليس إلا، وعبروا عن انسحابهم من تحمل مسئولية تأليفها.

وما القول بأنها من "تلحين وتأليف لبناني" إلا للدلالة على أنها ناقصة الرعاية الإقليمية، بعد أن أتت غير متجانسة سياسياً، وغير مكتملة التمثيل وطنياًن وغير معبرة عن التوازن بين المناطق والأحزاب والقوى السياسية والوطنية.

فهذه الحكومة الهجينة اللقيطة التي قيل عنها بأنها "حركة تصحيحية"، بينما هي حكومة الوجوه القديمة، وحكومة السياسة القديمة، لن تقوم بأي أداء مهما كان بسيطاً، ولن تصل إلى أي حل مهما كان متواضعاًن ولن تخرج الاقتصاد اللبناني من ركوده، ولن تعيد الحوار الوطني إلى مساره، ولن تجد الحلول المناسبة للأزمة المالية والنقدية، وتسطيح هذه الحكومة ببعض إيجابيات مؤتمر باريس (2)، وستعمد إلى مفاقمة الأزمات الواحدة تلو الأخرى، ولن تقدم على خصخصة أي مرفق، ولن تتوصل إلى حل نهائي مرض لمشكلة الخليوي الدائمة،

ولن تقوى على تعيينات إدارية بعيدة عن المحاصصة وحماية الفساد الإداري، ولن تستطيع تمرير التشكيلات الدبلوماسية دن إرضاءات للترويكا، ولن تستطيع حتى شق طريق أو تزفيت أوتوستراد دون إرضاء للحاشية وللمحسوبين ولأهل الحكم، لذلك لن ينفع معها إلا الدعاء بتقصير عمرهان والدعاء برحيلها المبكر.

دولة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء،

أريد بحكومة "السينيغاليين" هذه وقف حالة الحوار الوطني التي كانت سائدة لأشهر عدة، وأريد منها تدمير ما كان يجري بناؤه بدأب وبجهد متواصل منذ أشهر عدة، أريد منها إنهاء حالة الحوار، وحالة التواصل، وحالة الوقوف على آراء جميع أبناء هذا البلد، اريد منها إغلاق دائرة الحوار مع بكركي ومع جميع العاقلين في مجتمعنا.

لذلك، هي حكومة تشجيع التطرق وتجيع "العزل"، وهي حكومة التشدد وقهر اللبنانيين، وحكومة المزيد من ضرب الحريات العامة والخاصة، وحكومة المزيد من تشويه مفاهيم الديمقراطية، وحكومة اللون السياسي الواحد، وحكومة "الاقطاع – الجدي" الذي حل محل الاقطاع التقليدي والذي نشأ في رحم الميشيات، وهي حكومة الكراسي المحجوزة مسبقاً للمحاسيب وللأزلام وللمطبلين والمزمرين وللمسبحين، إنها حكومة "خطف " اللبنانيين وأخذهم "رهائن" للمشاريع السياسية المشبوهة والبعيدة عن مركزية الصراع العربي – الإسرائيلي، وإنها حكومة رفض تعبئة أغلبية الشعب اللبناني في معركة المواجهة ضد التهديدات الأميركية، إنها حكومة الاتكال على أقلية لبنانية بدلاً من أغلبية وطنية عريضة، إنها حكومة تشتيت الشمل، والتفرقة الوطنية، والنظرة الضيقة، إنها حكومة المتاريس الإضافية، وحكومة الزواريب بامتياز.

وفهم من سرعة استقالة الحكومة السابقة، ومن سرعة تأليف الحكومة الحالية، ومن شكلها ووزرائها، بأنه من الممكن تقديمها كقربان على مذبح تسوية ما في لحظة احتدام إقليمية، وبأنه أتت على هذا الشكل ليتم فيما بعد تقديمها كتنازل، فأعطى تأليفها للعالم إشارة ارتباك سياسي، بدل أن يعطي إشارة تماسك ووحدة وقوة. وتنبأ لها الجميع .

دولة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء،

ما زال تأليف الحكومات في لبنان يتم على أساس طائفي، وتراعي خلاله التوازنات المذهبية، ولم نصل بعد في لبنان إلى مرحلة تشكيل حكومة أساسها التمثيل الحزبي وترك الحرية لكل حزب ليسمي من يريد لتمثيله، ومازلنا نختار الوزراء بناء لطوائفهم وليس نسبة لأحزابهم.

ونحن اللبنانيون من أصل أرمني لا نمانع من تطوير النظام التمثيلي ليصبح على أساس حزبي، لكن شرط أن يعمم المبدأ على الجميع وبعد القطع والانتهاء من التمثيل الطائفي.

ونحن اللبنانيون من أصل أرمني البتة في توزير جميع الأحزاب، لأننا أساساً ضد سياسة العزل وضد سياسة الحجر "الكرنتينا" ولكنا دائماً من أنظار سياسة الانفتاح على جميع الأحزاب والقوى السياسية، وضد الاستئثار والتشفي والاقتصاص من أحد.

ومن هذا المنطلق لا نمانع لا بل نؤيد توزير كتائبي أو قواتي أو عوني أو اشتراكي أو شيوعي أو أي حزبي إلى أي مقعد وزاري، ونحن عندما نعرض قناعتنا هذه، علينا أن نؤكد أن توزير ممثل لحزب الكتائب – الذي من حقه ان يتمثل – لا يجب أن يكون على حساب الطوائف الأرمنية، ولا يجب أن ينتقص من التمثيل الأرمني في الحكومة، ولا يجب أن يكرس سابقة ظهرت في الحكومة السابقة عندما أعطى الموقع الأرمني الثاني إلى باسل فليحان بحجة تمثيل الأقليات، بينما كان ذلك حقيقة قنص سياسي، ومحاصصة سياسية، على حساب حقوق الأرمن، وضرباً للعرف السائد بمنحهم مقعدين وزاريين في الوزارات الموسعة.

ونحن اللبنانيون من أصل أرمني لا نمانع أن يكون الأستاذ كريم بقرادوني الوزير الممثل لحزب الكتائب لا بل نعتبر ذلك وجهاً من وجوه الرقي والتطور أن يتبوء أرمني سدة رئاسة حزب ماروني عريق، وخاصة أ الأستاذ كريم بقرادوني يعلن بأنه يمثل في هذه الحكومة حزبه، وهو المعروف عنه بأنه لا يمثل الأرمن، وبأنه غير مرتبط بأي طائفية روحية أرمنية، وهو المنقطع عن زيارة البطريرك الأرمني، ولا يرغب أن يحسبه أحد على أية مرجعية أرمنية روحية.

لكن، ونحن نعلن عدم معارضتنا لتمثيل حزب الكتائب بأرمني، نطلب عدم توزير أي أرمني كممثل لأي حزب إلا بعد ضمان مقعدين للأرمن في الحكومات الموسعةن وبعد أن تتم تسميتها بالتشاور وبالتوافق مع المرجعيات الروحية والحزبية الأرمنية كافة، بدلاً من البحث حول أسمائهم في العتمة ووراء الكواليس المظلمة.

ونحن اللبنانيون من أصل أرمني لا ننظر بعين الارتياح إلى كل من سهل اقتناص الموقع الأرمني الثاني – سواء في الحكومة السابقة، أو في الحكومة الحالية وهم كثر، ولا سيما منهم بعض أبناء طائفتنا الذي بشكل أو آخر ساهموا، وشاركوا، وصمتوا، وتمنعوا عن القيام بخطوات تصعيدية لمواجهة عملية الاستيلاء والقنص هذه مفضلين حماية مصالحهم الخاصة على حساب مصلحة اللبنانيين من أصل أرمني.

أيها الزملاء الكرام

خلال الزلزال العراقي وقف اللبناني متألماً لمعاناة الشعب العراقي، ودمي قلبه، ودمعت عيناه، لهول المأساة التي عاشها هذ الشعب الشقيق، ورفض الشعب اللبناني بكامله حرب الولايات المتحدة الأميركية على الشعب العراقي.

وكان لبنان شعباً وحكومة لسنوات خلت، قد رفض وبشدة احتلال صدام حسين لدولة الكويت الشقيق، واغتاظ لما فعله صدام حسين في دولة الكويت، ولما سببه من قتلى وجرحي وخراب ودمار واسع في دولة عربية مجاورة للعراق وعضو في الجامعة العربية، ولها الحق الكامل بالاستقلال وبالحرية وبالسيادة.

وتألم الشعب اللبناني لما أحله صدام حسين بالكويت من سلب واستيلاء على الأرشيف والمفروشات، ومن نهب للقصور وللدوائر الرسمية، ومن تفجير للبنية التحتية ولنفط الكويت ومن نهب للثروات الرسمية والفردية في الكويت الشقيق، وما زال الشعب اللبناني ولغاية هذه اللحظة يتضامن مع الشعب الكويتي الشقيق الذي يسعى لاستعادة أبنائه الأسرى من زنزانات

نظام البطش والإرهاب والتعذيب.

وبالقدر ذاته وأكثر نقف شعب لبنان اليوم بكل فئاته وطوائفه ومذاهبه، صفاً واحداً متراصاً، رافضاً تطاول الولايات المتحدة على الشعب العربي السوري الشقيق، ومستنكراً الهجمة الأميركية الشرسة على سنوريا، ومينا ومحاولات لصق التهم جزافاً بهذه الدولة الجارية الشقيقة التي تربطنا وإياها وحدة التاريخ والجغرافيا، ومعيباً على الإدارة الأميركية سيطرة التطرف على قرارتها، وفقدانها لوعيها واتزانها، وتوزيعها التهم يمنه وشمالاً.

وإزاء الهجمة الشرسة الإسرائيلية – الأمريكية على لبنان، نرفع الصوت عالياً مستنكرين المخططات الهادفة إلى النيل من أي طرف لبنان وخاصة حزب الله، ونعلن وقوفنا صداً منيعاً بوجه الحملات المسمومة، ونتمسك اليوم أكثر من الأمس بالمقاومة وبالمقاومين، وبكل من رفع يوماً راية تحرير الأرض وبكل من قدم يوماً نقطة دم خضبت وزرعت أرض الوطن تحريراً وكرامة وعنفواناً.

ونعلن أيضاً وبالفم الملآن أن صدر كل لبناني، مسيحي ومسلم، سيتحول إلى متراس ليحمي أبناءه المستهدفين، وبأنا لمراهنات الخاسرة حول إمكانية التفكك الداخلي وحول انخراط أي فئة لبنانية بالمخططات المطروحة والتي تستهدف هذا الطرف أو ذاك، ستسقط على عتبة الوحدة الوطنية التي تجلت بأبهى صورها عند المفاصل الرئيسية.

ولتعلم أميركا قبل غيرها، بأن مسيحي لبنان هم عرب بامتياز، ويتحسسون قضايا العرب، وهم جزء من نبض الشارع العربي، ومسيحيو لبنان هم الذين حموا العروبة من محاولات التتريك. ومسيحيو لبنان علموا اللغة العربية وساهموا بنشرها، ومسيحيو لبنان كانوا باعثي فكرة القومية العربية.

ونلفت نظر أميركا لأكثر من ذلك بأن مشكلة المسيحيين ليست مع قوميتهم التي يفتخرون بالانتماء إليها، وإنما مشكلة المسيحيين هي ما أميركا، أميركا الدولة التي تدعم الأنظمة غير الديمقراطية في شتى أنحاء المعمورة وخاصة في الوطن العربي، أميركا التي تحمي الأنظمة البائدة والمعادية لشعوبها، أميركا التي تساهم بضرب الحريات في العالم العربي، أميركا التي تشجع التوتاليتارية والأنظمة الشمولية في البلاد العربية تأميناً لمصالحها، أميركا التي تصمت عن التنكيل العربي الرسمي اليومي بالديمقراطية، وتشجع استمرار الحكام المتخاذلين ولو لعشرات السنين على حساب مبدأ تداول السلطة الديمقراطي، أميركا التي تتوطأ مع الحكام العرب وتقتسم وإياهم ثورات المنطقة، أميركا التي توحي وتسهل باحتلال بلد عربي آخر. أميركا التي تسلح الجيوش العربية لضرب الشعوب العربية بدلاً من الدفاع عن تراب وأرض العرب، أميركا المرتاحة مع كل نظام عربي بهذا القدر او ذاك أو التي تشجعه وبوسائل مختلفة على خدمة مصالحها أميركا التي طلعت منذ ما اعتمدت كلمة "براغماتيكية" مبادئ الحرية والمساواة وحق الشعوب بالسيادة والاستقلال تقرير المصير وأحلت محلها مصالحها الذاتية، أميركا التي تسء فهم الدين والارتباط بالله، ودور الدين في تحرير الشعوب المغلوب على أمرها من حكامها المدعومين من أميركا وتعمم بعد ذلك وصفات الإرهاب وما شابه، أميركا التي توجد وتشجع الإرهاب حين يخم مصالحها لتعود تستعمله شعاراً ووقوداً في تطويعها العالم.

فلكل هذا، تضحى مشكلة المسيحيين اللبنانيين ليست مع قوميتهم العربية التي يفتخرون بها، وإنما أساساً مشكلتهم هي مع "أم المشاكل" و "أم المتاعب"، أميركا الدولة، وأميركا الدور، وأميركا الفكر والاستراتيجيان وأميركا المفقودة عالمياً الثقة بها وخاصة لدى مسيحي لبنان.

وبالقدر ذاته لا بل أكثر، ننظر غلى الأنظمة العربية الظلامية المتخلفة المتواطئة المتخاذلة والمعادية لشعوبها، ونردد مع الشاعر ما قاله يومأن وما يصلح لكل يومك

أمتي كم صنم مجدته

لم يكن يحمل طهر الصنم

لا يلام الذئب في عدوانه

أن يكن الراعي عدو الغنم

ومن الطبيعي ونتيجة لتحسسنا بأخطار وبدقة المرحلة القادمة، أن نقف بمعارضة هذه الحكومة الناقصة التمثيل، والناقصة الثقة، والتي لا تعرب عن الوحدة الوطنية، والتي لا تعبر عن الوفاق الوطني، والتي لا تعكس أوسع التمثيل الشعبي، والتي أتى فيها الطبيب غلى حقيبة الزراعة، والمهندس الزراعي إلى الصناعة والقانوني إلى التربية، السياسي إلى البيئة، والإعلامي إلى الاقتصاد والاقتصادي إلى الإعلام، والديبلوماسي إلى الدفاع فكانت عن حق، حكومة الوزير الخطأ في الحقيبة الخطأ.

وكيف يمكننا أن نثق بهكذا حكومة وببيانها الوزاري الذي هو "اسطوانة مللنا سماعها، والذي قد سقط في الجلسة الأولى لمجلس الوزراء، حيث تبين في أول اجتماع للحكومة أن المشكلة ليست في "الثوابت" وإنما بالتفاصيل حيث الشيطان يسكن، فالتقى الوزراء وأهل الحكم على الثوابت لكنهم اختلفوا على الخصومات الشخصية، فسقطت معهم مرة جديدة وثيقة الوفاق الوطني بعد أن أظهروا وبشكل واضح بأن الاستشارات الملزمة ليست إلا حركة فولكلورية، وليست غلا شكلاً فارغاً من دون مضمون ومن دون محتوىز

لذلك، ونتيجة لهذا التعليب المرفوض، ونتيجة لعدم الثقة في هكذا حكومة، والتي لات ستطيع الإتيان بأي عمل أو قرار، سواء على مستوى الداخل أو على مستوى المنطقة، ونتيجة لخلاف أهل الحكم المستمر على أكثر من صعيد، ونتيجة لشلل الحكومة الظاهر منذ اليوم الأول لتأليفها ونتيجة للتشويهات التي تعتريها أقرر الأمرين التاليين:

الأمر الأول: أعلن انسحابي النهائي من اللقاء التشاوري الذي تم تجاوزه في هذه التركيبة، وحيث تم تكريم من رفض الانتساب إليه، ومن طعن به، بجعله وزيراً في أول حكومة.

الأمر الثاني: أقرر عدم منح هذه الحكومة الثقة، أملاً أن يكون عمرها قصيراً جداً وشكراً.

Appendix 5.16

George Kassarji – 5 April 2004

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the 2004 State Budget.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2004): 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 5 April 2004.

جورج قصارجي:

دولة الرئيس،

قدمت الحكومة ورقة فارغة من أي مضمون إصلاحي، وخالية من أي برنامج لمعالجة مشكلة الدين العام، وبعيدة كل البعد عن أي مشروع عملي لمحاربة تنامي هذا الدين ولوقف تفاقم خدمته.

وحملت الحكومة هذه الورقة بعض التكرار، والمزيد من الضرائب، وسمتها بالموازنة!

بينما يصح أن يطلق على هذه الموازنة تسمية ورقة كتاب الاستقالة من تحمل مسؤولية الشأن العام، أو ورقة نعي لطموح الشعب اللبناني، حيث تدفع الحكومة بالمواطن ليكفر بالوطن بعد أن كفر بالحكم وبالسلطة وبالقيمين على شؤونه.

طالعتنا الحكومة بهذا الخطاب البلاغي الخالي من محتوى جذاب، ومن سياسة تغييرية، لأنها حكومة محاصصة بامتياز، وحكومة المتاريس القائمة في داخلها، وحكومة حيطان الاسمنت المسلح المبنية بين وزرائها، حكومة ما صنعه الحداد، حكومة الخلافات والمنازعات والتجاذبات المريضة، حكومة أصدقاء المصلحة وأعداء المصلحة، حكومة العجز المطلق وحكومة الخطين والخطابين والرأيين والموقفين والنهجين والرأسين.

دولة الرئيس،

رأينا العجز في هذه الحكومة منذ اليوم الأول لتشكيلها، وأصبنا عندما قلنا بأنها عاجزة حتى عن إدارة مدرسة ابتدائية لأن المهمة شبه مستحيلة في ظل غياب سياسة تغييرية وغياب رجل دولة ورجل تغيير، ولأنها حكومة الماضي الذي حدد الحاضر ورسم معالمه والذي سيلقي بظلاله على المستقبل، وما الحاضر إلا نتاج للماضي. ولأن رئيسها هو من صنع الماضي بديونه الباهظة، وبفوائده العالية، وبمشاريعه الفضفاضة، وبمناطقيته الممقوتة، وبتعنته المشهور وبعدم تقبله للرأي الآخر.

بينما التغير يحتاج لكي ينجح، تغيير الأشخاص، وتغيير النهج، وتغيير العقلية. هذا، ورئيس الحكومة يريدنا أن نقول له رغم كل ما حصل، احتفظ بالسلطة وبالحكم ونحن نؤيدك ونوقع لك على بياض!

في وقت يكبر فيه الخطر الحقيقي على قضايا الشعب، خاصة، مع الحالة التي يضع فيها النائب في سلطة الرقابة والمحاسبة والمساءلة نفسه جسراً لعبور الحكومة إلى ضفة نسيان قضايا الناس وهمومهم ومشاكلهم وأوجاعهم وأوضاعهم، حتى بات بعضنا لا يرتدع أن ينشد بأن «جفنه علم الغزل».

أيها الزملاء،

لا يحمل رئيس الحكومة أية خطة لمعالجة الدين العام، وما أفكاره إلا عناوين عامة سقطت مع سقوط باريس ـ 2 وسقوط الخصخصة المشوهة التي أراد من خلالها بيع القطاع العام بالرخص ومجاناً وكرمى لعيون المحاسيب والأزلام والأقارب.

ومن أبرز الدلالات على عقم سياسة الحريري ما قاله دولة الرئيس عصام فارس عندما وضع إصبعه على الجرح، وأشار بجرأة عالية المستوى إلى الوعود المضخمة غير الواقعية التي قطعها رئيس الحكومة أثناء مؤتمر باريس ـ 2 والتي لا يمكن للبنان نظراً لأوضاعه ولظروفه الموضوعية تلبيتها والالتزام بها.

وليس عند رئيس الحكومة أجندة لإطفاء هذا الدين، ومن يعرف غير ذلك فليتفضل ويشرح مشروع دولته الإصلاحي وهو الآن في عامه العاشر من الحكم.

أما أن نسمع دائماً الأسطوانة الممجوجة والمكررة لشعارات ديماغوجية فارغة، منها:

ـ «اتركوا الحريري يعمل».

ـ «الحريري صاحب أفكار ومشاريع في ما لو طبقت ستنهض بالبلد إلى مصاف الدول المتقدمة».

ـ «المشكلة تكمن في من يعرقل الحريري».

ـ «الحريري مشغول بالمعارك الكبيرة الخارجية التي ترد عن البلد تدميره وخرابه».

فنجيب بأن المواطن ضاق ذرعاً بهذه الحجج الواهية، وبهذه الأضاليل، وبهذه الوعود العرقوبية المتمادية والمستمرة منذ العام 92، وضاق المواطن ذرعاً من الخلافات التي يسببها الحريري يوماً بعد يوم، ولم يعد المواطن يرغب بسماع روائح الرشاوى والفساد والسرقات ونهب المال العام. وضجر المواطن من حماية الصناديق والمجالس والمحاسيب والأزلام. واكتوى المواطن من الأنباء التي تبشره بانفجارات مجلس الوزراء، ولم يعد يرغب بملاحقة خلافات الخليوي، ومنازعات المسلخ، ومكبات النفايات، والكسارات وأرصفة السوليدير وحصار فندق السان جورج ومشروع صنين، وأبراج السمرلند وخطط مجلس الإنماء

والإعمار، ويقرف المواطن ويشمئز من ما يسمى مسلسل وضع الكراسي والبروتوكول في صالون الشرف في مطار بيروت عند كل استقبال لزيارة دولية.

جل ما يريده المواطن ببساطة كلية:

ـ كهرباء سليمة بعد أن تحمل كلفتها الباهظة بحيث تجاوزت أكثر من عشرة مليارات دولار.

ـ مياه شفة صالحة تصل إلى كل مدينة وقرية وحي، في بلد غني بلد غني بالمياه يهدرها دون جدوى.

ـ استشفاء كريم لجميع أبنائه دون استثناء، ودون منّة، ودون واسطة، ودون استنسابية جارحة.

ـ توزيع عادل لأدوية الأمراض الخبيثة والمزمنة.

ـ تأمين فرص عمل تخفف عن الشباب الواعد هم البطالة، وتبعد شبح الهجرة.

ـ تحسين مستوى الأجور المجمدة منذ العام 96 رغم الغلاء الفاحش وتدني القدرة الشرائية للمواطن.

ـ تجميد زيادة الضرائب على أنواعها، وإلغاء الغرامات الباهظة لمخالفات ضريبة القيمة المضافة.

ـ توزيع ما يصرف على الإنماء على جميع المناطق اللبنانية بدلاً من حصرها في بيروت فقط.

ـ فصل العام عن الخاص وتطبيق قوانين الإثراء غير المشروع والكسب بلا سبب ومحاربة الفساد.

ـ إرساء الديمقراطية وما تقتضيه من تداول على السلطة عبر إقرار قانون انتخاب عصري يؤمن صحة التمثيل والمساواة بين الدوائر، والمساواة بقيمة الصوت المقترع.

هل هذا بكثير على الشعب اللبناني؟

دولة الرئيس،

شهد لبنان مؤخراً إنهاء لاحتكار شركتي الخليوي بعد أن ربضت على صدر المستهلك والمواطن طيلة عشر سنوات متواصلة، فتميزت بالجشع والنهب والتعدي على المال العام والتطاول على مال الخزينة.

واستطاع لبنان بجدارة أن ينهي سيطرة هاتين الشركتين، وأن يبعدهما عن الاستئثار بقطاع عام، وبهذا المرفق العام والحيوي للمواطن كما للخزينة.

ولم يكن لتتحقق هذه الخطوة الهائلة والمفرحة، لولا رفعنا للصوت عالياً منذ العام 94 ولغاية هذه اللحظة، ولولا حزم المعنيين واتخاذهم لقرار استرداد هذا القطاع مهما كان الثمن.

لكن طيلة العشر سنوات الفائتة كانت شركات الخليوي تشكل دولة ضمن الدولة، لا بل كانت دولتها أقوى من الدولة، وذلك بفضل الحماية السياسية التي تأمنت لها خلال الحكومات المتعاقبة.

ورافق هذه الحماية السياسية حملة تشويش وإشاعات واتهامات هائلة طالت أكثر من مسؤول وأكثر من جهة واحدة، بينما ثبت بعد حين عدم صحة الإشاعات، وبانت غاياتها المشبوهة والمدسوسة.

ومن ما جرى تعميمه وتسريبه في وسائل الإعلام، ما يلي:

ـ «وزارة الاتصالات تسير دون دراية بما يدور حولها».

ـ المناقصة المطروحة ستلبي مصالح البعض، وستأخذ بمصالحهم، ولا علاقة لها بالشفافية».

ـ «هناك من سيشتري دفاتر الشروط، لكن ليس هناك من يتقدم للمشاركة بالمناقصة».

ـ «ستشهد المناقصة نقل نفوذ من يد إلى أخرى ومن عائلة إلى أخرى».

ـ «سيتم توفير بضعة ملايين ولكن الكارثة ستقع».

ـ تم اللجوء إلى مناقصة جديدة لأن المناقصة القديمة لم تلب مصالح البعض».

ـ «أظهرت أرقام وبيانات وإحصاءات السنيورة عدم تحقيق وزارة الاتصالات وفراً للخزينة العامة».

ـ احتساب الفوائد على مبلغ التعويض لا يدل إلا على تحقيق وفر بسيط».

ـ «مصلحة الدولة تكمن باستمرار وبقاء شركتي سيليس وليبانسيل».

ـ «تكاد كلفة التشغيل أن تحقق أرباحاً للشركات، والشركتان مظلومتان مع الدولة».

ـ «يتمتع المجلس الأعلى للخصخصة بالاستقلالية التامة، وهو جهاز حريص على المال العام، وأثبت شفافيته وصحة تصرفاته وقراراته».

ـ «شركة الخليوي في جنوب أفريقيا لا تصنف شركة داتاكوم الألمانية كمشغل وإنما كمستشاري».

لكن وبالرغم من هذا الكم الهائل من الإشاعات والأكاذيب المضللة، والتي ربطت بين الشركة الفائدة بالمناقصة والشركة الملتزمة لفحص الميكانيك، حيناً للتطاول على وزير الداخلية، وحيناً آخر للتهجم على موقع ودور رئاسة الجمهورية، تبقى حقيقة واحدة لا تقبل الجدل وهي

ارتباط الشركات السابقة برئيس الحكومة وبأقاربه وبأزلامه ومحاسيبه، وببعض وزراء البلاط المحظوظين، ومن «كان بيته من زجاج لا يستطيع التراشق بالحجارة».

من هنا يشعر المواطن براحة لاستعادة قطاع الخليوي، ولعودة الثقة العالمية بالدولة ومناقصاتها بعد إزاحة المتطاولين على المال العام، لكن علينا أن لا نستبدل احتكار الشركات باحتكار الدولة، ويجب على وزارة الاتصالات ونتيجة للوفر الحاصل أن تخفض رسم الاشتراك الشهري على الهاتف الخليوي كما على الهاتف الثابت لا بل أن تلغيه، وأن تقدم أغلب الخدمات مجاناً، وأن تفكر ملياً بكيفية استعادة رسم الربط الذي دفعه المشترك من الشركات والذي بلغ حينها 50 دولار فضلاً عن العمل الدؤوب لاستعادة أموال الخزينة المنهوبة وتحصيل سندات أوامر القبض التي كلفت الشركتين بها، وكيفية ربح دعاوى التحكيم.

دولة الرئيس،

نبحث بموازنة غير متوازنة أصلاً، ولن تكون متوازنة طيلة العام الحالي، بفعل السياسات المالية والاقتصادية للحكومة.

إنها موازنة الإفلاس، إفلاس الحكومة من أية رؤية، ومن أي بديل ومن أي نهج تغييري، لأن الموازنة لا تتضمن أي بند إصلاحي، لا بل أتت موازنة العام 2004 لتتجاهل كل البنود والتوجهات الإصلاحية التي تضمنتها موازنة العام 2003.

أنا منذ العام 1992 لا أعطيكم الثقة بشيء لا للحكومات ولا للموازنات.

ولا مرة أخذتم صوتي ولن تأخذوه.

لقد قدرت الموازنة العجز بحوالي 33%، في حين أن ا لعجز المقدر في موازنة العام 2003 كان بحدود 26% وقدرت كلفة خدمة الدين لهذا العام بحوالي 4300 مليار للعام الفائت، مما يعني السماح للحكومة بالمزيد من الاستدانة، ويعني أيضاً منافسة القطاع العام للقطاع الخاص على الرساميل المتوفرة بالبلد، ويعني أيضاً وأيضاً العودة لارتفاع وللبطالة وللهجرة.

لقد تخلّت الحكومة ـ عمداً وقصداً وبقرار تخريبي ـ عن استراتيجية الإصلاحات التي يمكن أن تعزز النمو وتقلص حجم الإنفاق غير المجدي.

وغفلت الحكومة نهائياً عن حاجة البلد لسياسة الإصلاح المالي والنقدي، وذلك لأسباب سياسية واضحة تتعلق بالاستحقاقات القادمة، وخاصة منها انتخابات رئاسة الجمهورية.

ألم يحن الأوان للقيمين على مقاليد الحكومة أن يعوا الفصل ما بين مصالحهم السياسية وما بين المواطن واستمرار البلد؟

ألا تشعر الحكومة بضرورة الفصل بين لقمة العيش وضرورة استمرار لبنان وما بين مصالح بعض أقطابها السياسية الخاصة؟

وبما أن الإجابات على هذه التساؤلات ستكون حتماً سلبية، لذلك لا بد من تغيير هذه الحكومة المتواطئة بأقصى سرعة ممكنة لتجنب البلد مآسيها، ولحماية المواطن من تداعيات سياساتها، خاصة وأن المفلس لا يمكنه أن يتولى إدارة طابق التفليسة.

فلتذهب الحكومة المفلسة هذه دون رجعة، وليكن هناك حكومة تغييريين وإصلاحيين وشكراً.

Appendix 5.17

George Kassarji – 4 November 2004

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement presented by Prime Minister Omar Karami.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2004): 3rd meeting of the 2nd ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 4 November 2004.

جورج قصارجي: دولة الرئيس،

ولدت الحكومة بعد مخاض دام سبعة أسابيع متواصلة، وعمرها لن يتجاوز السبعة أشهر، والمحاصصة موزعة فيها على سبع جهات، وكأنها على اتفاق مع الرقم سبعة، فأرجو الله من باب الحرص عليها وعلى عناصرها، ألا ترتكب كما يقول المثل الشعبي "السبعة ودمتها".

دولة الرئيس،

إعادة هذه الحكومة للبنانيين من أصل أرمني ما اقر لهم اتفاق ومثلتهم بوزيرين كفؤين ومحترمين، وأنهت ما كان يصيب الطوائف الأرمنية من غبن، وتمثيل مشوه على يد الحكومات السابقة.

كما تضم الحكومة وزراء أجلهم واحترمهم، وأصحاب كفاءات ومهارات عالية وموصوفة، شاركتهم مدينة زحلة رغم توقعها تمثيلها بوزيرين على الأقل.

فأتت الوزارة من هذه الناحية متوازنة، طائفياً، ومناطقياً وتوزيعاً للحقائب.

وضمنت بيانها الوزاري ما نصبوا إلى تنفيذه خلال هذه المرحلة القصيرة.

لذلك، وبعد تأمين الحكومة الجديدة لهذه المتطلبات المتوخاة، وأهليتها للثقة، أعلن صراحة منحى لها ثقتي

دولة الرئيس،

لكن منحى للحكومة الثقة لا يعني البتة توقيعي شيكاً على بياض، ولا يعني التخلي عن الدور البديهي بالمحاسبة وبالمساءلة

وأول ما أنبه الحكومة عليه، مغبة التعرض للحياة الديموقراطية في البلد، والانتقاص من الحريات الاشخاص والعامة، والسعي بأي شكل من الأشكال، وتحت أية حجة كانت، للنيل

من وسائل الإعلام المكتوبة والمرئية والمسموعة.

فالديموقراطية والحريات ووسائل الإعلام من جهة، ولبنان ككيان من جهة أخرى، صنوان لا يفترقان، ووحدة كاملة لا تتجزأ. والأمر الثاني المكمل والمرتبط بالديموقراطية والحريات، هو قانون عصري ومتقدم وحضاري للانتخابات، يحفظ قيمة الصوت المنتخب، ولا يهدر حقوق أي كان، والقائم على التمثيل الحقيقي للشعب، والذي يمنع ذوبان المجموعات ضمن مجموعات أخرى، ولعل ما أقصد في هذا المجال، يترجم في البقاع ببقاء زحلة ومنطقة البقاع الأوسط كدائرة مستقلة قائمة بذاتها، بعيدة عن ضمها مع أي دائرة مجاورة شمالاً أو جنوباً أو غرباً.

والناحية الثالثة التي سأتوقف عندها، متعلقة بحياة المواطن اليومية، وتأمين حياة كريمة لهذا الشعب الصبور، عبر تأمين الكهرباء والماء والنفط والغاز والهاتف وضرورات الحياة البديهية.

فعلى الحكومة الماثلة أمام مجلسنا أن توضح لماذا يجري الأخفاق تلو الأخفاق في تأمين الكهرباء 24/24 يومياً، ولماذا يختفي النفط والمازوت من الأسواق، ومن هو المسئول عن كل هذا وكيف ستتم محاسبته، وكيف يمكن لاقتصادنا أن ينمو أو أن ينافس من دون كهرباء دائمة، أو مع كهرباء ثمنها باهظ جداً؟

ولنتصارح، ونقول لكم إذا رادتم الخصخصة في الكهرباء من أجل الخصخصة، دون دراسة الهدف المتوخى من ذلك ودون دراسة الهدف المتوخى من ذلك ودون دراسة لاجدوى الاقتصادية من هذا التدبير، وعلى طريقة خصخصة الإدارة المكلفة، والتي تأتي على حساب المستهلك المال العام، كما جرى لغاية اليوم في الهاتف الخليوي، تكون حكومتكم حينها قد خانت الثقة الممنوحة لها.

والقضية الرابعة المرتبطة بهذا الواقع والتي أتوقف عندها، هي مسألة الفساد والهدر.

فلا يكفي القول بمحاربة الفساد، وتكرار العناوين العريضة الممجوجة حول الفساد المستفحل، وإنما يجب الافصاح عن الجدول الزمني، وكيف وأين وبأية طريقة ستحارب الحكومة هذا الفساد المزمن الذي أصبح صفة ملازمة للبنان، ومضرب مثل في أرجاء المعمورة كافة. وهل يمكن محاربة الفساد المستشري، والحكومات المتعاقبة لا تفرق ولا تميز بين المال العام والمال الخاص، ولا تحاسب ولا تجد حرامياً واحداً رغم كثرة السرقات، ولا تسأل أحداً "من أي لك هذا؟".

فإذا كنتم تخططون لإصلاح على هذه الشاكلة وعلى هذا المنوال، فإن الكتاب يقرأ من عنوانه، وتعليقنا بسيط جداً، وهو : بئس هكذا إصلاح، وإذا أردتم وقف الهدر، فما عليكم إلا البدء بإلغاء عقود الهدر الموصوفة التي أجراها وزير الاتصالات مع شركة ليبان بوست لتوزيع نسخ عن فواتير الهاتف، والتي لا حاجة لها سوى رميها بسلة المهملات، والتي تنوي شركة البريد تعميمها لتشمل فوايتر الكهرباء والمياه وتكاليف البلديات والجامعة اللبنانية وغيرها.

وإذا رغبتم بالإصلاح الإداري، فما عليكم إلا البدء بملء الشوغر الإدارية بالمديرين العامين

المودعين لغاية الآن بتصرف رئيس الحكومة فمنهم تكون البداية.

أما الفائض المكدس في الإدارة، فمن واجبكم أن تعرضوا عليه الإغراءات والحوافز المحفزة لتقديم الاستقالات وإلا أن تقدموا على إجراء الإصلاح بتدابير بديلة.

دولة الرئيس،

نحن نتكلم عن الكهرباء وأن فيها هدراً بلغ خلال 10 سنوات 12 مليار دولار ولكن لا أحد يعرف أن في قطاع الاتصالات هدراً بلغ أيضاً 12 مليار دولار خلال 12 سنة الماضية ولكن لا أحد يتكلم به لأنه قطاع منتج ويدر أموالاً للدولة. وكدليل بسيط أورده الآن ونواب عالية يعرفون ذلك جيداً، لقد تم تركيب سنترال في عاليه عام 94 أو 95 يشمل 25 ألف خط وقد قامت بالتركيب شركة "سيمنز" جاءت شركة "الكاتيل" وقامت بتغيير السنترال وقد فككوا المعدات التي كانت موضوعة وفككوا السنترال الذي كان مركباً وجاهزاً ورموا معداته، الأقنية والقساطل والكابلات لا تزال موجودة في الأرض حى اليوم. غذا عملنا حساباتنا نصل إلى 12 مليار دولار ولدى إثباتات على ذلك.

أما الآن فهناك شيء جديد وهو الفاتورة التي تأتينا من "ليبان بوست" وهي تذهب للرمي ونحن ندفع ثمنها مليارات الليرات، مؤخراً لدينا أيضاً 10 ملايين دولار هدراً هل ترى هذا الاعلان يا دولة الرئيس أنه تغيير اسم "أللوغو" الخاص بشركة "سيليس" وهو يحتل صفحة كاملة. سيصرف من الـ 10 ملايين دولار 2 مليون و 250 ألف دولار فقط من أجل إعلان تغيير الأسماء والقبعات والأقلام ولباس الذين يعملون في الشركات، وحملة تلفزيونية تكلف 250 ألف دولار فقط من أجل أن يقولا لنا أن الـ "سيليس" أصبحت (MJS) الاثنان سيتغيران وكلفتهما من خلال الدعاية في اتلفزيونات مع أن الناس يكفرون من الخليوي وفواتيره، كلفتهما 10 ملايين دولار. أتمنى على الرئيس كرامي إيقاف هذا الأمر فوراً لأنه غير منطقي وغير معقول، هل يعقل أن يوضع إعلان في صفحة كاملة وفي كل الصحف لقد شبعنا دعايات وإعلانات.

دولة الرئيس،

من يسعى ويحاول له أجر، لكن من يعمل ويطبق وينفذ له أجران، فنحن بانتظار أفعال الحكومة وليس فقط أقوالها، وحتى التأكد من الممارسة الفعلية والعملية للحكومة، لكم مني الثقة المشروطة، وإلا لنا عودة لمناقشتكم ولمساءلتكم ولمحاسبتكم، وإن غداً لناظره قريب.

وشكراً.

Appendix 5.18

George Kassarji – 28 July 2005

Deputy George Kassarji's speech during the deliberations on the 2005 Ministerial Statement presented by P.M. Fouad El Siniora, before casting a No-Confidence Vote.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2005): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 28 July 2005.

جورج قصارجي:

دولة الرئيس، أيها الزملاء،

تطلق الحكومة الماثلة أمامنا على نفسها اسم حكومة «الإصلاح والنهوض» بينما نراها نحن حكومة البديل لتهرب الأصيل، وحكومة الرديف لتردد الأصيل ويمكننا بكل بساطة تسميتها بحكومة البدل عن الضائع .«

أطلقنا عليها تسمية حكومة «البدل عن ضايع» لأنها حكومة الأمور الملتبسة، فالفؤاد يترأسها شكلا وهو ليس برئيسها الفعلي، ودولته مكلف بإعلان القرار وليس باتخاذه، ومهمة دولته تنفيذ التوجهات بدلا من صنعها، ومطبخ حكومته تجمعهم المحاصصة بدلا من أن يوثق الوفاق الوطني عراهم وتضامنهم. وبيان حكومته ملتبس في أغلب نقاطه الرئيسية بدلا من أن يكون واضح الخطوات التنفيذية .

دولة الرئيس،

تلتبس الأمور على حكومة «البدل عن ضايع»، حتى في حدود لبنان الجغرافية التي ذكرها الدستور، فالحكومة تعتبر أن حدود لبنان تنتهي عند ضهر البيدر، ولا مكان زحلة والبقاع الأوسط في قاموسها .

ومرد إغفال زحلة والبقاع الأوسط في هذه الحكومة الانتقامية يعود إلى الانتخابات الأخيرة حيث قام دولة الرئيس شخصيا بالمرابطة في أوتيل مسابكي ظنا منه أن باستطاعته وتياره مصادرة قرار اللبنانيين جميعا، بما فيهم أهل زحلة الأبطال، وأن باستطاعته مع هؤلاء المتدخلين الجدد في شؤون زحلة أن يحلوا محل الأجهزة البائدة التي كنا نعاني منها .

وشراء ضمائر المقترعين تحت غطاء التبرع للنوادي وللمؤسسات الخيرية .

وقام سعيدو الحظ ومعهم دولته، بفتح مصارفهم نهارا وليلا .

جورج قصارجي: بقينا عشرة أيام نأكل العصي وكل الناس يعدونها. حاولوا المستحيل كي يطيرونا ولم يوفقوا، الآن دورنا في الكلام فليتحملونا 4 سنوات، نحن حملناهم كثيرا. لم يبقوا أمرا لم يقوموا به .

الرئيس: أيها الزميل يا أستاذ جورج أن اللغة العربية واسعة وبالتالي بإمكانك أن تستعمل تعابير أخرى ...

جورج قصارجي: وصدحت أبواقهم بشعارات التحريض الطائفي البغيض غير آبهين لتداعيات ولنتائج هذا الشحن، معتقدين بأن الغاية تبرر الوسيلة، وبأنه يحق لهم ما لا يحق لغيرهم، وذلك كله تلطيا بشعارات حق أريد بها الباطل .

لكن أظهرت نتائج انتخابات زحلة والبقاع الأوسط زيف هذه الشعارات، وكذب وديماغوجية مطلقيها الذين تحالفوا مع أعتى عتاة رموز الحقبة السابقة، لا بل مع عمدائها الأساسيين وأكثرهم فسادا وتطاولا على المال العام، وأشدهم ارتباطا واستفادة من سلطة الباطل طيلة خمس عشر عاما من دون توقف، وأكثرهم اشتراكا في الحكومات المتعاقبة، حتى إن بعضهم كان من الثوابت الأمنية والعائلية بحيث لم تتشكل حكومة حريرية واحدة إلا وكانوا من عدادها .

وما قامت به زحلة ومنطقة البقاع الأوسط بتأديب المتدخلين والمتطاولين والطارقين على حياتها السياسية عبر إسقاط اللائحة التي سعوا إلى تشكيلها، ما هو إلا الرد الطبيعي المنطقي الذي تقوم به أية دائرة انتخابية لها كرامتها وقرارها المستقبل .

لكن هذه المرة، مضافا إليه في منطقتنا نكهة زحلاوية خاصة، حيث أدركت هذه المدينة كيفية الحفاظ على كرامتها واستقلالها ووجودها وعلى حرية قرارها، وعرفت كيف تنتفض بوجه من حاول التطاول عليها ومن جرب أن يجتاحها بالمال السياسي العفن، وبالبترودولار النتن، فثارت لحرية قرارها المستقل، ولصحة تمثيلها، ولمفهومها للعيش المشترك ولاستقرار ولهدوء البقاع، ولوحدة أبنائه .

انتفضت زحلة ومنطقة البقاع الأوسط بوجه قرارات الوصاية الجديدة التي تم استيرادها من خارجها بخفة متناهية، مترحمة على ذاك «العاقل» الذي كان يعرف الحدود فيتوقف عندها، والذي كان يبقي في قراراته مكانا للعقل وللاعتدال فيمنع أصحاب المصالح الضيقة والمشبوهة من جره إلى الأخطاء فيضع حدا لمحاولات الاحتواء والوصاية والمصادرة .

من جراء نتائج هذه الانتخابات المشرفة، حيث قامت زحلة من خلالها بتلقين كل من أراد استباحتها وإلباسها الطرابيش المستوردة من الخارج الهابطة بالبراشوت، قرر مطبخ دولته معاقبة زحلة وقرر الانتقام من زحلة وقرر منعها من حقها الطبيعي في أن تتمثل بحكومة البدل عن ضائع .

دولة الرئيس،

زحلة عاصمة الكثلكة في الشرق الأوسط، وتتجسد وتتمركز هذه الطائفة الكريمة فيها، وعدم القيام بتمثيل زحلة في حكومة الاستمرار بالخطأ وبعدم الرجوع عنه، يعني انتكاسة للوفاق الوطني وللعيش المشترك، ويعني خرقا لأحكام الفقرة «ياء» من مقدمة الدستور التي تنص على أن «لا شرعية لأي سلطة تناقض ميثاق العيش المشترك» ومما يعني أيضا وأيضا، بأن الحكومة الماثلة أمامنا تريد وعن سابق تصور وتصميم أن تضرب التوازنات الطائفية، وأن تزيد من انحرافات تطبيق اتفاق الطائف وأن تبدأ ولايتها بالانقلاب على ميثاق العيش المشترك وبمجافاة الدستور. عبر تقصدها تهميش زحلة عاصمة الكثلكة في لبنان والشرق الأوسط.

لكننا وإن كنا نوجه هذا التهميش المتعمد لممثلي زحلة لم ندعو إلى اللجوء إلى الشارع أو إلى السلبية، فإننا ننبه حكومتكم ونحرها بأن أية محاولة من قبلها لإخراج زحلة وحرمانها ومنطقة البقاع الأوسط من الإنماء ومن الإعمار المتوازن، سنواجهها بالخطوات الشعبية السلبية المتصاعدة وصولا إلى إقفال المنطقة برمتها بوجه حكومة الانحراف هذه.

كيف يمكن لهكذا حكومة تتضمن أغلب وجوه الحقبة السابقة السوداء المرتبطة بالفساد، وبالهدر، وبالإنماء غير المتوازن والإثراء غير المشروع، وباستغلال السلطة وبتمرير المشاريع المشبوهة، واستغلال الصناديق والمؤسسات والمال العام، أن تدلي بالإصلاح والنهوض.

إن حكومة بهكذا تركيبة وتدعي في الوقت عينه هكذا عنوان هي حكومة ساقطة بذهن الناس، وساقطة لدى العائلات اللبنانية وإن حازت على ثقة المجلس 6 نواب للبقاع الغربي ولا يوجد وزير لهم.

جورج قصارجي: وبما أنني مرتبط بنبض اللبنانيين الحريصين على مستقبل أبنائهم وبلدهم، ولأن الحكومة تحتاج إلى الكثير من الجهد اليومي لتقنع شعبنا بما تدعيه، أحجب الثقة عن هذه الحكومة.

وإذا أراد دولة الرئيس الرد علينا فإني سأحتفظ بالرد فيما بعد لأنه يمكن أن يرد علي ويقول بأننا لم نود أن نشترك بالحكومة إذا قال هذا الكلام فأنا سأحتفظ بالرد.

Appendix 5.19

George Kassarji – 5 October 2005

Deputy George Kassarji's speech on the occasion of the attempted assassination of May Chidiac.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2005): 8th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 5 October 2005.

جورج قصارجي:

دولة الرئيس،

يضرب الإرهاب بلدنا مرة تلوى مرة وآخرها كانت الحادثة الرابعة عشرة على التوالي. ويعمد هذا الإرهاب بشكل مركز، وبتخريب مدروس، علاى انتقاء أهدافه بعناية تامة مستهدفا النيل من وحدة لبنان ومن العيش المشترك.

وكنتيجة لهذه الاستهدافات الإرهابية نؤكد بداية للقاصي وللداني، بأننا كما في السابق كذلك، الآن، نؤازر وندعم شعار تقوية السلطة المركزية، ومشروع الدولة الأمنية، بوجه خطين يسيران بشكل متواز، وهما بالحصيلة وجهان لمشروع واحد يتمثل إما بإبقاء الدولة الأمنية رازحة على رقاب مواطنينا وتتحكم بمفاصل حياتنا اليومية، أو بسعي هذا الإرهاب الدؤوب لجر البلد مرة جديدة إلى أتون الحرب الأهلية الممقوتة وذلك عبر سعيه الحثيث لإجبار القوى السياسية اللجوء إلى حماية أمنها بقدراتها الذاتية.

لكننا، ونحن نوصف الغايات الدنيئة لهذه الممارسات الإرهابية الشائنة، نود أن نشير إلى أن هذه الحكومة عاجزة عن التصدي لهذه الأعمال الإرهابية، والحكومة عاجزة عن وضع خطة لمواجهتها، وذلك أولا لأن بعض القوى المتمثلة فيها تستفيد من فلتان الأمن لتستمر بحملتها السياسية الهادفة إلى تصفية الحسابات السياسية والإطاحة ببعض المواقع الدستورية، وثانيا لأن التركيبة الحكومية لا يمكنها أن تتفق على التشخيص الأمني ومن أية جهة تأتي المخاطر الأمنية، وإن توصلت فرضا إلى تحديد الجهد التي تفتعل هذه الأعمال الدنيئة، لا يمكن لهكذا تركيبة حكومية أن تتفق على خطة معينة للتصدي لهذه الجهة المفتعلة لهذه الحوادث الخطيرة على السلم والأمن الأهلي، وإن فرضنا أيضا أن مجلس الوزراء وضع تصورا معينا للتصدي فهذه الحكومة عاجزة عن تنفيذه.

إن العلة ليست موجودة فقط بالإرهاب الضارب دون حدود في المكان والزمان وفي حجم الخسائر البشرية والمادية، وإنما تتمثل المشكلة أيضا بتركيبة الحكومة الموصوفة بتقصيرها عن تشخيص الجهة الفاعلة وبانكفائها عن وضع خطة للتصدي لهذه الجهة المتورطة.

لذلك أنجع الحلول هو ذهاب الحكومة لتحل محلها حكومة وفاق وطني حقيقي تتمثل فيها كل القوى الحية في البلد من دون أي استثناء، ومن دون ممارسة الفيتو من أحد على أحد ومن أية جهة سياسية على جهة سياسية أخرى. ألا نتوقع لهذه الحكومة السقوط المريع أمام ضربات الإرهاب القاضية التي ستمتد، عاجلا أم آجلا شئنا أم أبينا، لتشمل مناطق جديدة لها حيثيتها السياسية، ولتفرض هذه الضربات الأليمة على المواطنين وعلى الرأي العام التخلي عن مطلبه بمعرفة كامل حقيقة الجهة التي تقف وراء الاغتيالات والتفجيرات.

والحكومة تستطيع المساعدة في هذا المجال وفي كشف الحقيقة، باستقالتها الفورية من أجل قيام حكومة وحدة وطنية جديدة وشكرا.

Appendix 6

Hagop Choukhadarian

Appendix 6.1

Hagop Choukhadarian – 5 January 1993

Speech by Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian during a General Discussion Session in the presence of the President of the Republic Elias El Hrawi.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1993): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 January 1993.

اغوب جوخادريان: دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

لا بد لي في بادىء ذي بدء من توجيه كلمة شكر الى الحكومة لما قامت به في مجال الامن، اذ أن الشعب يشكرها كثيرا في هذا المجال. كما بدا لي من تهنئتها على الموقف القيم الذي اتخذته فيما يتعلق بموضوع المبعدين، والشعب أيضا يشكرها على هذا الموقف الذي اتخذته.

أما فيما يتعلق بهذه الجلسة فأقول: في الحقيقة هذه الجلسة ليست جلسة مناقشة، ولكنها جلسة ملاحظات وتوضيحات، لانه بعد مضي شهرين فقط على تشكيل هذه الوزارة لا يمكننا مناقشتها في هذا المجال، وهنا لا بد لي من تأييد وتكرار ما سبق وقاله الزملاء الكرام في مجالات عديدة وأتبنى منها كل ما قيل فيما يتعلق بوحدة لبنان، لجهة الارض والشعب، والاستقلال، والحرية، والنظافة، ولجهة تحرير الجنوب والبقاع الغربي، وهذا الموضوع مهم.

وأيضا ما قيل عن الغلاء وضرورة مراقبة التجار وعن الادارة العامة وضرورة تطهيرها، وتعيين الموظفين من الفئة الاولى، وهنا أقول: يجب الا يطول التطهير العناصر الكفوءة في الادارة. لان الشعب يخاف من قيام الحكومة بتطهير من هي بحاجة اليهم. وأخيرا، لا بد لي من أن أقول كلمة حول قانون الجنسية:

نحن أيضا نصر على اصدار قانون الجنسية، لان هناك فئات كبيرة من الارمن الذين ولدوا في لبنان وحتى الان لا يحملون أية جنسية سواء كانت قيد الدرس أو غيرها.

ولذلك فاني أصر على هذا الموضوع وعلى اعطائه الاهمية اللازمة.

- فيما يتعلق بالخدمات: لا مجال للبحث في هذا الموضوع لاننا جميعنا تكلمنا عنه، وكلنا متفقون على ضرورة هذه الخدمات لانها صورة الحكومة، فاذا كانت الخدمات مؤمنة من كهرباء ومياه فان الشعب يكون راضيا عن الحكومة، واذا لم تكن مؤمنة فالشعب لا يكون راضيا، لذلك يجب أن تنتبه الحكومة الى هذه الناحية، وأن تعطيها الاهمية اللازمة، هذه المواضيع كلكم تكلمتم عنها، ولكن هناك مواضيع ثلاثة سأكون المتخصص بها:

الموضوع الاول- موضوع البيئة:

تعلمون جميعا انني مارست مسؤولية وزارة البيئة طوال سنة ونصف السنة، انطلقنا من لا شيء وجعلنا من البيئة موضوعا مهما.

البيئة والانسان يتكاملان، البيئة بدون انسان ليست بيئة، والانسان بدون بيئة ليس إنسانا، فعلينا ألاسراع في تفعيل واحداث وزارة البيئة. هذا الشيء مهم جدا، وهنا أسأل الحكومة:

- أين هو مشروع قانون البيئة؟

لدي ملاحظة أخوية، وزير البيئة الحالي - ويا ليته كان هنا- اتخذ من مكتبه الخاص مقرا لوزارة البيئة، مع العلم أنه يوجد مقر لوزارة البيئة، فلماذا فعل هذا؟ وهل يجوز لوزير الكهرباء، أو لوزير الاشغال، أن يتخذ من مكتبه الخاص مقرا لوزارته؟

عندما يوجد مقر لوزارة البيئة يجب ان يكون وزير البيئة في هذا المقر وليس في مكتبه الخاص، وهذه الملاحظة ليست مني ولكنها من جمعيات البيئة التي كانت على اتصال دائم بي. فهي كلها مستاءة من هذا التصرف، لماذا؟ لانه عندما يذهب أعضاء جمعيات البيئة الى وزير البيئة في مكتبه الخاص، فهم يعتبرون أنفسهم غرباء، لانهم ليسوا في مقر الوزارة وانما هم في مكتب الوزير الخاص وهذا خطأ جسيم، وعندما كانوا يذهبون الى الوزارة في أيام وزارتي السابقة فانهم كانوا يعتبرون مقرها منزلا لهم يستقبلون فيه برحابة صدر، اما الان فهم يرفضون الذهاب الى وزير البيئة. هذه الملاحظة أخوية وعليكم الاخذ بها.

أما فيما يتعلق بمواضيع البيئة فهي عديدة ويجب ان نعطيها الاهمية اللازمة، أين هي معامل المحارق التي تحرق النفايات؟ هذه المحارق لو وجدت لازيلت عدة أسباب للتلوث ومنها: تلويث الجو والتربة والبحر، وبايجاد هذه المعامل الحارقة فقط تستبعدون القسم الاكبر من التلوث الموجود في البلد.

اذا، هناك موضوع معامل النفايات، وموضوع تلوث مياه الشفة وهذا الموضوع مهم جدا، ما هو سبب تلوث مياه الشفة؟

السبب هو بناء الابنية في أعالي الجبال، وعدم الزامها بانشاء حفر تتجمع فيها المياه المبتذلة، واذا كان التنظيم المدني يراقب هذه الناحية عندما يعطي رخصة الاسكان فان التلوث لا يحصل في مياه الشفة، فيجب على التنظيم المدني مراقبة جميع رخص البناء بشدة وعدم اعطاء رخص الاسكان قبل التثبت من وجود الحفر الصحية في كل بناية، وعندئذ لن يحصل أي تلوث في مياه الشفة وتكون مياهنا صافية ونشربها بكل فخر.

- بالنسبة للحرائق، أي حرائق الاشجار:

تعلمون جيدا انه يحصل في كل موسم العديد من الحرائق، فمن واجب وزارة الداخلية التشدد والانتباه الى هذه الناحية، لان قطع الاشجار او التسبب في الحرائق يلحق ضررا جسيما بالبيئة ولذلك فيجب الانتباه الى هذه الناحية واعطائها الاهمية اللازمة. أخيرا، أوجدت الوزارة

السابقة محميتين في الشمال هما: محمية حرج اهدن ومحمية جزيرة النخل، وحتى الان لم تعين اللجنة التي يجب أن تشرف على كل من المحميتين، لماذا؟ هذا أمر بسيط جدا، وعليكم ايجاد هذه اللجنة للاشراف عليها.

وهناك موضوع مطار بيروت الدولي:

هذا المطار مخالف لجميع مطارات العالم، عندما يحضر الشخص الذي سيسافر مع أقاربه أين ينزل؟ في بداية نفق يبعد حوالي 200 متر عن بناء المطار، الصديق الذي يأتي مع المسافر ينزل هناك، ويضطر الى وضع سيارته في الموقف ويختفي، يذهب المسافر وينجز معاملاته وبعد ربع ساعة يكون قد انتهى من ذلك، فماذا يفعل؟ قد ينتظر ساعة ونصف الساعة وأحيانا ساعتين حتى اقلاع الطائرة. في جميع مطارات العالم عندما ينتهي المسافر من انجاز معاملاته يبقى مع أقاربه وأصدقائه ساعة على الاقل، وحتى قبل موعد اقلاع الطائرة بنصف ساعة، فلماذا تمنعون المسافرين من البقاء مع أقاربهم حوالي ساعة ونصف الساعة، خلافا لكل المطارات؟ هذا لا يجوز وأطلب من الحكومة أن تأخذ هذا الامر بعين الاعتبار.

وأخيرا هناك نقطة ثالثة موجزة جدا وهي تتعلق بالحفر.. طبعا ان التزفيت واجب في كل الطرق، وهذا شيء ضروري، ولكني سأقول شيئا يهم عددا كبيرا من النواب الذين يقيمون في المنطقة الشرقية، فعندما نأتي عن طريق أوتوستراد شارل حلو أو طريق الجميزة أو البرج تغرق سياراتنا في حفر لها اول وليس لها آخر، هذا لا يجوز فكيف تريدوننا أن نأتي الى مجلس النواب والحفر موجودة في طرقاتنا؟ أرجو أن تأخذوا هذا الامر بعين الاعتبار لانه يلحق بنا ضررا كبيرا. وشكرا لكم جميعا.

Appendix 6.2

Hagop Choukhadarian – 11 February 1993

Remarks by Deputy Hagop Choukhadarians on the infringements on the "El Bus" properties in Tyre (Sour) that belng to the Armenian Community.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1993): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 11 February 1993.

اغوب جوخداريان: دولة الرئيس،

منذ اسبوع استجد لدي حدثان :

الحدث الاول: نلاحظ أن هناك تعديات على الاملاك العامة والخاصة فماذا تفعل الدولة للحد من هذه التعديات؟

منذ أيام حصلت تعديات على املاك طائفة الارمن الكاثوليك في صور وتحديدا في منطقة "البص" حيث يقوم بعض المحتلين بتشييد ابنية على عقارات الوقف ورغم اننا تقدمنا بشكاوى تتعلق بهذا الموضوع الا أن التعديات لا تزال قائمة .

نرجو الدولة أن تتخذ الاجراءات اللازمة للحد من هذه التعديات .

الحدث الثاني: يتعلق بموضوع التلوث في منطقة شكا .

فقد جاءني وفد من أهالي هذه المنطقة يتذمر من أن الشركة الوطنية للترابة قد استوردت مادة "البتروكوك" وهي الغبار المستخلص من الفحم الحجري، وعند تفريغ الباخرة انتشر الغبار في أجواء المنطقة بكاملها، ولوثها فقامت الشركة بدفع تعويضات الى بعض العائلات بمعدل 500 ألف ليرة لكل عائلة وهذا الامر يثبت مسؤوليتها عن هذا التفريغ. والسؤال موجه الى وزارة الصناعة أو الى وزارة الموارد المائية والكهربائية التي تشرف على تفريغ البواخر عن ضرورة اتخاذ الاجراءات اللازمة لالزام هذه البواخر بوضع "شفاطات" تسحب الغبار بدلا من تفريغها بواسطة "الونشات" وشكرا.

Appendix 6.3

Hagop Choukhadarian – 13 July 1993

Speech by Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian on the Lebanese Foreign Policy and the democratic values that the Lebanese enjoy.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1993): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 13 July 1993.

جوخادريان: دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

يسعدني ان اتكلم اليوم امام مجلسكم الكريم بمناسبة المناقشة العامة التي نحن بصددها بادىء ذي بدء، ولا يسعني سوى التوقف امام هذا الصرح الديموقراطي الكبير الذي يمثله مجلسنا النيابي في هذه الظروف التي تمر بها المنطقة العربية ولبناننا العزيز لما يشكل من منبر مفتوح لممارسة الديموقراطية الحقيقية القائمة على تبادل للآراء المختلفة بين جميع ممثلي الشعب والحكومة من اجل دعم واستمرار مسيرة الوفاق واعادة اعمار الوطن .

دولة الرئيس، حضرة الزملاء الكرام،

ولكن اذا كانت السياسة الخارجية تشكل محورا رئيسيا من سياسة لبنان اليوم في الظروف التي نعرفها ومع الموافقة على ما سبق وتقدم به زميلي معالي الاستاذ خاتشيك بابكيان فلا شك ان تدعيم مستقبل وطننا يكمن في وضع وتنفيذ البرامج الخاصة بالانماء واعادة الاعمار، اننا نعتبر ان هذا العمل هو المدخل الحقيقي لضمان مستقبل لبنان، واننا نرى ايضا في تصويب الامور في هذا المجال خدمة كبيرة للوطن فقبل كل شيء يقتضي وضع الملفات الخاصة بالانماء واعادة الاعمار على اسس علمية معروفة ومتفق عليها دوليا، ان المال والتمويل هما نتيجة التخطيط وليس العكس صحيحا فعندما تحدد حاجاتنا الحقيقية وبرمجة الخطوات التنفيذية يقتضي علينا ايجاد أنسب السبل للاستفادة من وسائل التمويل الممكنة اليوم، ان بواسطة المؤسسات الدولية التابعة للامم المتحدة ام بواسطة الدول الشقيقة والصديقة .

واذا رغبنا في التكلم قبل كل شيء عن هذه السياسة الخاصة بالانماء واعادة الاعمار فالسبب يعود الى قناعاتنا الراسخة الى ان الاولوية اليوم هي في محاربة البطالة والبطالة المقنعة، ان مسؤوليتنا التاريخية تكمن في ضرورة ايجاد سبل العمل والانتاج لاولادنا ولاجيالنا الصاعدة ولكننا نعلم ان الاهداف الرئيسية للسياسات الاقتصادية الحالية في العالم تنحصر في ضرورة محاربة البطالة وتوفير مراكز العمل، ونحن نعلم ان ايجاد فرص العمل المناسبة هي احدى المعضلات الاجتماعية والسياسية والمالية التي يعاني منها الشباب اللبناني، كما اننا نعلم جيدا ان توفير فرص العمل يتأمن من خلال تنفيذ مشاريع كبرى من شأنها الدفع بالاقتصاد الوطني والبنية التحتية الى الامام .

ان تنفيذ سياسة المشاريع الكبرى هذه هي بنظرنا الخطوة اللازمة للحكومة اللبنانية من اجل ادخال لبنان في العام 2000 اننا نعتبر انه يجب اعادة النظر بكامل البنية التحتية مع الاخذ بعين الاعتبار للسياسة الاجتماعية والتربوية والعلمية، فسياسة المشاريع الكبرى تبدأ من هذا المنطلق، واننا نحث الحكومة على مجابهة هذا التحدي المصيري بشجاعة وانتظام فمن خلال سياسة المشاريع الكبرى هذه يمكننا تعزيز قطاع الخدمات وتأمين المتطلبات في هذا المجال، فتعزيز انتاج الطاقة الكهربائية وتأهيل مشاريع مياه الشفة والمواصلات السلكية واللاسلكية تدخل في نطاق هذا التوجه واذا كنا نصر على معالجة هذه القضية بطريقة اكثر شمولية، فلان هذه النظرة تساعد على المدى المتوسط في حل بعض المعضلات، ليس فقط بالتوظيف ومحاربة البطالة بل ايضا في السياسة الاجتماعية والتربوية والعلمية .

فعلى المستوى الاجتماعي ان رفع المستوى الاقتصادي للمواطن وتحسين اداء قطاع الخدمات من شأنهما تعزيز جو التفاؤل والتضامن الاجتماعي بين المواطنين فكلنا نعرف ان السنة الحالية هي سنة بالغة الصعوبة في العالم نظرا للانكماش الاقتصادي السائد وبما ان العبرة هي دائما للانسان، فعلى القطاعات الاقتصادية ان تحسن وضع المواطن للسماح له بتجاوز الاهتمام في الامور اليومية ورفع انتاجيته في العمل، لذلك نؤيد ونشجع الحكومة على المضي سريعا في تجديد وتأهيل قطاعات الخدمات وفقا للحاجات والامكانيات .

ومن جهة اخرى، اننا نطلب المثابرة في التنبه الى ضرورات المستقبل ان العالم يتقدم بسرعة ويجب علينا مواكبة هذا التطور الحضاري، ومن ابرز مظاهر عالم الغد دور البحث العلمي النظري والتطبيقي فالجامعات ومراكز البحوث اصبحت اليوم مراكز للقرار على مختلف المستويات وكلنا نعرف ان لبنان يتمتع ببنية جامعية وعلمية مهمة تأسست منذ القرن التاسع عشر وكبرت وتعززت خلال القرن العشرين بالرغم من الحرب اللبنانية واننا اذ ندخل اليوم مرحلة اعادة اعمار لبنان، نرى لزوما علينا رعاية هذا القطاع بالقدر اللازم، ونخص بالذكر المجلس الوطني للبحوث العلمية الذي يقتضي ان يصبح مع الايام المرجع العلمي الرئيسي والاول لكل ما يحتاجه لبنان في المجال العلمي .

وانطلاقا من الاخذ بالمعطيات العالمية الحديثة، نرى ضرورة في استعادة لبنان دوره المعروف في جميع المنظمات الدولية وتشجيع هذه الاخيرة الى العودة الى بيروت للاستفادة من مركزه كنقطة انطلاق لنشاطاتها، فمن خلال هذا الامر يمكننا خلق التلاحم اللازم لاغناء واقعنا الجامعي والعلمي، واننا نعتبر ان خطوة الحكومة في مجال تشجيع المؤسسات الدولية على العودة الى لبنان هي بالغة الاهمية والايجابية ويقتضي متابعتها .

ومن القضايا البارزة حاليا للسماح للبنان بولوج عالم الغد قضية الاصلاح الاداري الذي نتكلم عنه دائما والذي نصبو اليه جميعا، ان تقرير انشاء دولة وادارة المؤسسات ينبغي ان يعالج بصورة مستمرة بطريقة علمية ومنهجية واضحة، ان عملية الاصلاح الاداري لا تتوقف واننا على يقين بالصعوبات الجمة التي تعترض مراحل الاصلاح الاداري الحقيقي الذي سوف يسمح لادارتنا بأن تؤمن للمواطن الخدمات اللازمة بسرعة ودقة ومع موافقتنا الحكومة على ان هذه القضية هي من القضايا المستمرة المتلازمة مع العمل السياسي اليومي، لا يسعنا سوى التأكيد على ضرورة تسريع خطوات هذا الاصلاح الاداري لجعل المواطن في مأمن

من الرشوة والتلكؤ والتأخير في المعاملات ودفع القطاع الخاص الى تأمين الاستثمارات اللازمة لاعادة اعمار الوطن .

وعلي الاشارة هنا الى ما حصل في التعيينات الاخيرة التي لم تراع فيها حقوق الطائفة الارمنية واننا على موعد مع ما سبق وتعهدت به تجاهنا السلطات العامة من احقاق الحق سريعا وقريبا في هذا المجال .

واننا على يقين ايضا بأن مستقبل لبنان الزاهر هو في مستوى تطلعاته الى معالجة قضايا العصر ومنها تلك التي تتعلق بالبنية التي سبق لي وتشرفت بتبؤ مسؤولياتها .

دولة الرئيس، ايها الزملاء الكرام،

ارجو منكم التبصر مليا في مجال البيئة، انها ليست بكلمة تقال لننساها في لحظة وليست مطالبة سياسية اضافية لتلك المطالب التي نعيشها يوميا، ان البيئة قضية حضارة ومصير، ان حياتنا وحياة اولادنا مرهونة بامكانياتنا وارادتنا الصلبة في ترتيب اوضاعنا البيئية وتنفيذ السياسات الصارمة وفرض العقوبات لان تلوث الهواء وتفشي الامراض وقطع الاشجار وتلويث المياه وغيرها من شأنها ان تجعل من لبنان بلدا بعيدا كل البعد عن امكانية ممارسة الحياة اليومية وهذا ما نرفضه وانني متأكد انكم ترفضونه معي، فعلينا التيقظ قبل فوات الاوان وقبل تحويل بلدنا المسمى بالاخضر الى تصحر مستمر مع كل ما نعرف من تأثيرات سلبية في هذا المجال .

ومن قضايا البيئة الواجب معالجتها تلك التي تتعلق بضواحي بيروت التي من الواجب على الحكومة ان تتطلع الى تبديل اوضاعها بصورة جذرية واسمحوا لي في هذا المضمار ان اشير الى وجوب ضم منطقة برج حمود الى هذا المخطط التنظيمي العام المنوي تنفيذه لان مشاكل وقضايا هذه المنطقة ليست اقل ولا اسهل من تلك التي هي مطروحة في سائر المناطق المحيطة ببيروت .

انكم تعلمون ان مستوى الخدمات في برج حمود متدن على مختلف المستويات من مواصلات وكهرباء ومياه ومجارير وغيره، كما سبق وتبين لفريق من الوزراء الذين قاموا بزيارة المنطقة منذ شهرين تقريبا وانني اغتنم الكلام عن ترتيب الضواحي للتأكيد مجددا للحكومة على رغبتنا في قيامها بتزفيت الطرقات وتسهيل المواصلات في مختلف المناطق اللبنانية، اما حان الوقت لنا بان يتم وضع مخطط تفصيلي حديث لشبكة المواصلات اللبنانية لتجنب ما يتحمله المواطن يوميا من انزعاج وضرر وارهاق في تنقلاته، علما باننا نعرف جميعا ان الميزة الظاهرة للدول المعاصرة تكمن في وجود شبكات حديثة ومتطورة للمواصلات بين مختلف المناطق .

اضافة الى ذلك لا يسعنا سوى الاشارة الى ان قضية غلاء المعيشة تزداد صعوبة فالمواطن يجتاز هذه السنة مرحلة عصيبة للغاية وعلينا قدر المستطاع احياء الوسائل الكفيلة بتخفيف الاعباء المتراكمة عليه وابرزها تلك التي تتعلق بحياته اليومية وتربية الاولاد وتأمين الاستشفاء .

دولة الرئيس، ايها الزملاء الكرام،

لا شك انكم تشعرون معي بأهمية وضخامة القضايا المطروحة في لبناننا اليوم، فاضافة الى المشاكل المتعلقة بالسياسة الخارجية والمنعطفات المنتظرة في الشرق الاوسط، علينا السير قدما في وضع وتنفيذ سياسة مبرمجة وطنية تؤمن للمواطن سبل العيش والامل، وانني اقول الامل لاننا نعلم جميعا من خلال قراءة التاريخ ان حياة الشعوب تقوم على الحكم والامل، فعلينا جعل الحلم حقيقة لكي لا نفقد معه مستلزمات الغد، ولكي يجعل من الامل سياسة تصبو اليها الاجيال الصاعدة في ساعاتها الحالكة ونحن على عتبة من اشراقة عالم جديد في الشرق الاوسط وشكرا.

Appendix 6.4

Hagop Choukhadarian – 20 January 1994

Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the deliberations on the State Budget on 20 January 1994.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1994): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 20 January 1994.

أغوب جوخادريان: دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

لابد لي في بادئ ذي بدء من توجيه كلمة شكر إلى الحكومة لما قامت به في مجال الأمن، إذ أن الشعب يشكرها كثيراً في هذا المجال. كما بدا من تهنئتها على الموقف القيم الذي اتخذته فيما يتعلق بموضوع المبعدين، والشعب أيضاً يشكرها على هذا الموقف الذي اتخذته.

أما فيما يتعلق بهذه الجلسة فأقول: في الحقيقة هذه الجلسة ليست جلسة مناقشة، ولكنها جلسة ملاحظات وتوضيحات، لأنه بعد مضي شهرين فقط على تشكيل هذه الوزارة لا يمكننا مناقشتها في هذا المجال، وهنا لابد لي من تأييد وتكرار ما سبق وقاله الزملاء الكرام في مجالات عديدة وأتبنى منها كل ما قيم فيما يتعلق بوحدة لبنان، لجهة الأرض والشعب، والاستقلال، والحرية, والنظافة، ولجهة تحرير الجنوب والبقاع الغربي، وهذا الموضوع مهم.

وأيضاً ما قيل عن الغلاء وضرورة مراقبة التجار وعن الإدارة العامة وضرورة تطهيرها، وتعيين الموظفين من الفئة الأولى، وهنا أقول: يجب ألا يطول التطهير العناصر الكفوءة في الإدارة. لأن الشعب يخاف من قيام الحكومة بتطهير من هي بحاجة إليهم. وأخيراً، لابد لي من أن أقول كلمة حول قانون الجنسية:

نحن أيضاً نصر على إصدار قانون الجنسية، لأن هناك فئات كبيرة من الأرمن الذين ولدوا في لبنان وحتى الآن لا يحملون أية جنسية سواء كانت قيد الدرس أو غيرها.

ولذلك فإني أصر على هذا الموضوع وعلى إعطائه الأهمية اللازمة.

فيما يتعلق بالخدمات: لا مجال للبحث في هذا الموضوع لأننا جميعنا تكلمنا عنه، وكلنا متفقون على ضرورة هذه الخدمات لأنها صورة الحكومة، فإذا كانت الخدمات مؤمنة من كهرباء ومياه فإن الشعب يكون راضياً عن الحكومة، وإذا لم تكن مؤمنة فالشعب لا يكون راضياً، لذلك يجب أن تنتبه الحكومة إلى هذه الناحية، وأن تعطيها الأهمية اللازمة، هذه المواضيع كلكم تكلمتم عنها، ولكن هناك مواضيع ثلاثة سأكون المتخصص بها.

الموضوع الأول ـ موضوع البيئة:

تعلمون جميعاً أنني مارست مسؤولية وزارة البيئة طوال سنة ونصف السنة، انطلقنا من لا شيء وجعلنا من البيئة موضوعاً مهماً.

البيئة والإنسان يتكاملان، البيئة بدون إنسان ليست بيئة، والإنسان بدوره بيئة ليس إنساناً، فعلينا الإسراع في تفعيل وإحداث وزارة البيئة. هذا الشيء مهم جداً، وهنا أسأل الحكومة:

ـ أين هو مشروع قانون البيئة؟

لدى ملاحظة أخوية، وزير البيئة الحالي ـ ويا ليته كان هنا ـ من مكتبه الخاص مقراً لوزارة البيئة، مع العلم أنه يوجد مقر لوزارة البيئة، فلماذا فعل هذا؟ وهل يجوز لوزير الكهرباء، أو لوزير الأشغال، أن يتخذ من مكتبه الخاص مقراً لوزارته؟

عندما يوجد مقر لوزارة البيئة يجب أن يكون وزير البيئة في هذا المقر وليس في مكتبه الخاص، وهذه الملاحظة ليست مني ولكنها من جمعيات البيئة التي كانت على اتصال دائم بي. فهي كلها مستاءة من هذا التصرف، لماذا؟ لأنه عندما يذهب أعضاء جمعيات البيئة إلى وزير البيئة في مكتبه الخاص، فهم يعتبرون أنفسهم غرباء، لأنهم ليسوا في مقر الوزارة وإنما هم في مكتب الوزير الخاص وهذا خطأ جسيم، وعندما كانوا يذهبون إلى الوزارة في أيام وزارتي السابقة فإنهم كانوا يعتبرون مقرها منزلاً لهم يستقبلون فيه برحابة صدر، أما الآن فهم يرفضون الذهاب إلى وزير البيئة. هذه الملاحظة أخوية وعليكم الأخذ بها.

أما فيما يتعلق بمواضيع البيئة فهي عديدة ويجب أن نعطيها الأهمية اللازمة، أين هي معامل المحارق التي تحرق النفايات؟ هذه المحارق لو وجدت لأزيلت عدة أسباب للتلوث ومنها: تلويث الجو والتربة والبحر، وبإيجاد هذه المعامل الحارقة فقط تستبعدون القسم الأكبر من التلوث الموجود في البلد.

إذاً، هناك موضوع معامل النفايات، وموضوع تلوث مياه الشفة وهذا الموضوع مهم جداً، ما هو سبب تلوث مياه الشفة؟

السبب هو بناء الأبنية في أعالي الجبال، وعدم إلزامها بإنشاء حفر تتجمع فيها المياه المبتذلة، وإذا كان التنظيم المدني يراقب هذه الناحية عندما يعطي رخصة الإسكان فإن التلوث لا يحصل في مياه الشفة، فيجب على التنظيم المدني مراقبة جميع رخص البناء بشدة وعدم رخص الإسكان قبل التثبت من وجود الحفر الصحية في كل بناية، وعندئذ لن يحصل على تلوث في مياه الشفة وتكون مياهنا صافية ونشربها بكل فخر.

ـ بالنسبة للحرائق، أي حرائق الأشجار:

تعلمون جيداً أنه يحصل في كل موسم العديد من الحرائق، فمن واجب وزارة الداخلية التشدد والانتباه إلى هذه الناحية، لأن قطع الأشجار أو التسبب في الحرائق يلحق ضرراً جسيماً بالبنية ولذلك فيجب الانتباه إلى هذه الناحية وإعطائها الأهمية اللازمة. أخيراً، أوجدت الوزارة

السابقة محميتين في الشمال هما: محمية حرج أهدن ومحمية جزيرة النخل، وحتى الآن لم تعيين اللجنة التي يجب أن تشرف على كل من المحميتين، لماذا؟ هذا أمر بسيط جداً، وعليكم إيجاد هذه اللجنة للإشراف عليها.

وهناك موضوع مطار بيروت الدولي:

هذا المطار مخالف لجميع مطارات العالم، عندما يحضر الشخص الذي سيسافر مع أقاربه أين ينزل؟ في بداية نفق يبعد حوالي 200 متر عن بناء المطار، الصديق الذي يأتي مع المسافر ينزل هناك، ويضطر إلى وضع سيارته في الموقف ويختفي، يذهب المسافر وينجز معاملاته وبعد ربع ساعة يكون قد انتهى من ذلك، فماذا يفعل؟ قد ينتظر ساعة ونصف الساعة وأحياناً ساعتين حتى إقلاع الطائرة. في جميع مطارات العالم عندما ينتهي المسافر من إنجاز معاملاته يبقى مع أقاربه وأصدقائه ساعة على الأقل، وحتى قبل موعد إقلاع الطائرة بنصف ساعة، فلماذا تمنعون المسافرين من البقاء مع أقاربهم حوالي ساعة ونصف الساعة، خلافاً لكل المطارات؟ هذا لا يجوز وأطلب من الحكومة أن تأخذ هذا الأمر بعين الاعتبار.

وأخيراً هناك نقطة ثالثة موجزة جداً وهي تتعلق بالحفر.. طبعاً أن الترفيت واجب في كل الطرق، وهذا شيء ضروري، ولكني سأقول شيئاً يهم عدداً كبيراً من النواب الذين يقيمون في المنطقة الشرقية، فعندما نأتي عن طريق اوتوستراد شارل حلو أو طريق الجميزة أو البرج تغرق سياراتنا في حفر لها أول وليس لها آخر، هذا لا يجوز فكيف تريدوننا أن نأتي إلى مجلس النواب والحفر موجودة في طرقاتنا؟ أرجو أن تأخذوا هذا الأمر بعين الاعتبار لأنه يلحق بنا ضرراً كبيراً. وشكراً لكم جميعاً.

Appendix 6.5

Hagop Choukhadarian – 26 April 1994

Speech by Hagop Choukhadarian concerning, among other issues, the proposed Citizenship Law in Lebanon.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1994): 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 26 April 1994.

أغوب جوخادريان: دولة الرئيس،

لن أبحث في موضوع الحريات فقد أطال زملائي الكرام في هذا الموضوع ولكنني سأتناول بعض المواضيع المعيشية.

أولاً: لقد أثرت مراراً في هذا المجلس موضوع تزفيت شوارع بيروت في البدء كانت الحجة أنه ليست هناك موازنة فأقررنا الموازنة ومن ثم كانت الحجة أنه موسم الشتاء لا يسمح بذلك.

ورغم وجود الموازنة ورغم انقضاء فصل الشتاء فلا نزال في نفع في الحفر العديدة في شوارع بيروت وبالأخص في شوارع الإشرافية، هنالك حفر مشهورة مثل حفر طلعة العكاوي التي مر عليها أشهر وأشهر وجميع السيارات تقع فيها وتنكسر فلماذا لا تقوم الحكومة على الأقل بإقفال وتزفيت هذه الحفر وهناك حفر في شارع مستشفى الروم وفي الكرنتينا وغيرها وغيرها، قلت ذلك مراراً وتكرار ونطالب الحكومة مجدداً بالإسراع في إقفال تلك الحفر على الأقل لكي يتمكن الناس من المرور سالمين في تلك الشوارع.

الموضوع الثاني: هو موضوع مخالفات السير، فنحن نرى السيارات كثيراً وغالباً تتجه عكس السير على مرأى من رجال الشرطة، لماذا لا يقوم رجال الشرطة بمنع ذلك فأيام القبضايات قد ولت لماذا يسكت رجال الشرطة عن هذه المخالفات، فهي تسبب عرقلة في السير وتلاسنا بين السائقين ومشاجرات، ورغم ذلك فإننا نرى أن رجال الشرطة يسكتون عنها ونطلب من معالي وزير الداخلية الاهتمام بهذا الموضوع.

الموضوع الثالث وهو موضوع التجنيس أو التجنس أو منح الجنسية، وذيول تأخير هذا القانون هي الضرائب التي تفرض من أجل تجديد بطاقات قيد الدرس، هناك عائلات فقيرة لا تتمكن من دفع مليون ونصف مليون ليرة لتجديد خمس بطاقات قيد الدرس للعائلة فكيف يمكن ذلك، هؤلاء الناس طبعاً هم شبه لبنانيين ومن حقهم العيش في لبنان ولكن دفع مليون ونصف المليون ضريبة لتجديد البطاقات قيد الدرس، قيد غير مقبول ولذلك أطلب من الحكومة الاهتمام بهذه المواضيع الثلاثة وشكراً لكم.

Appendix 6.6

Hagop Choukhadarian – 5 June 1995

Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the discussion on Prime Minister Rafik El Hariri's 2nd Ministerial Statement (62nd Lebanese Government) on 5 June 1995.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1995): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 18th Parliament held on 5 June 1995.

أغوب جوخادريان: دولة الرئيس،

لن أطيل الكلام بعدما سمعتمه من كلمات قيمة على لسان زملائي الكرام، ولن أكرر مضمون نقدهم الموضوعي بل اكتفي بالقول أنني أتبناها، خاصة ما جاء على لسان دولة الرئيس الدكتور سليم الحص والأستاذ نسيب لحود وبدوري سأتطرق إلى موضوع أساسي بالنسبة لي وهو موضوع تغيب الطوائف المسيحية الصغيرة ممداً على المشاركة في الحكم، وثلاثة مواضيع أخرى لها علاقة بالبيئة والإصلاح الإداري، والسير، والطرقات.

بادئ ذي بدء اتساءل عن غيري من الناس عن سبب تغيب الطوائف المسيحية الصغيرة مدداً من المشاركة في الحكم كنت أود ألا أتكلم عن هذا الموضوع لولا نظامنا الطائفي. السائد في لبنان، أما وإن هذا النظام لا يزال قائماً فأرى نفسي مضطراً الإثارة موضوع التغيب هذا رغم جوانبه السلبية في فلسفة دولة المؤسسات.

في السنوات الأخيرة وفي حكومة دولة الرئيس عمر كرامي، المؤلفة من ثلاثين وزيراً كان لهذه الطائفة حقيبة وزارية كما كان يحصل في الماضي.

في حكومة دولة الرئيس رشيد الصلح والمؤلفة هذه المرة من أربعة وعشرين وزيراً فقط كانت حقيبة وزارية لطوائف الأقليات. ومنذ تولي دولة الرئيس رفيق الحريري مهام تأليف الحكومة فوجئنا في المرة الأولى بتغييب الطوائف المسيحية قليلة العدد عن المشاركة في الحكم. أبدينا ملاحظاتنا في حينه وسجلنا موقفاً آملين أن يصحح الخطأ في المرة التالية.

والآن وعند تأليف هذه الحكومة أبدينا ملاحظاتنا حول هذا الموضوع فكان من تفهم لأقوالنا ووعدنا خيراً، وإذا بنا وللمرة الثانية نفاجأ بتغييبنا دون وجه حق وخلافاً لمفهوم دستور الطائف الذي ينص على مشاركة جميع الطوائف في الحكم.

دولة الرئيس،

لبنان مؤلف من سبع عشرة طائفة، الحكومة الحالية تمثل سبع طوائف فقط، إذا هناك عشر طوائف غير ممثلة في الحكم، ألا ترون في ذلك إجحافاً بحق تلك الطوائف في المجلس اللبناني الحالي ثلاثة مقاعد نيابية للطوائف العشر المتبقية رغم أنه يحق لها أكثر بكثير من ثلاثة مقاعد، والجميع يعلم ذلك جيداً، ورغم ذلك فإذا قمنا بعملية حسابية بسيطة للاحظنا أن لبعض الطوائف الممثلة في الحكومة الحالية حقيبة وزارية لا قل من كل ثلاثة مقاعد نيابية، نعم لكل مقعدين ونصف أو مقعدين وثلاثة أرباع، فإن كان أساس التمثيل هذه النسبة نتساءل عندئذ كيف يجوز التغييب كلياً مقاعد نيابية تمثل شريحة كبيرة من الشعب اللبناني، بالإضافة إلى أنها تمثل عشر طوائف من أصل السبع عشرة طائفة المكون منها لبنان، هل لهذه الشريحة من الشعب فقط موجبات وليس من حقوق.

المبدأ العام هو أن على كل مواطن واجبات وحقوق، فلماذا هذه الشريحة من الشعب تحرم من حق المشاركة في الحكم، أين دستور الطائف الذي يقر بحق جميع الطوائف المشاركة في الحكم، أين المساواة؟ أين العدالة؟

نحن شريحة من هذا الشعب ساهمنا في بناء هذا الوطن، ساهمنا في نموه الاقتصادي والعلمي والفني، ساهمنا في رفع شأنه أينما وجدنا في الداخل والخارج، فلماذا تجاهلنا؟ هل هذا هو وحي الحق والإنصاف والعدالة؟ هل هذا هو التوازن المنشود؟ كنت أود أن لا أتكلم هذه اللغة الطائفية، إنما وبانتظار إلغاء الطائفية السياسية فلابد لي من التطرق لهذا الموضوع كي يحمي المواطن من تلك الطوائف الأقلية إنه مواطن من الدرجة الثانية، عليه فقط موجبات مهما كانت وبلغت إنما ليس له من حقوق كاملة كبقية المواطنين بانتظار تصحيح هذا الخطأ الفادح في المرات القادمة، آمال أن تكون مداخلتي هذه للمرة الأخيرة بهذا الموضوع لأنني قمت بها محرجاً ولا أرغب في إعادة إثارتها مرة أخرى.

أما الملاحظة الثانية بخصوص التمثيل فهو غياب التمثيل النيابي عن بيروت في الحكومة الحالية، فلمحافظة بيروت تسعة عشر نائباً، فقط واحد تم تعيينه في هذه الحكومة وهو المرحوم الأستاذ جوزف مغيزل، والآن قد رحل عنا رحمه الله لم يبق لمدينة بيروت أي نائب ممثل في الحكومة الحالية هذا التغييب؟ أليس هذا إجحافاً بحق بيروت؟ والإجحاف بحق بيروت لا ينحصر بالتمثيل فقط فهو يطال حالة الطرقات السيئة وأزمة السير فيها، فمنذ أكثر من سنة باستمرار بتزفيت جميع شوارع بيروت إذ أنها بحالة سيئة جداً ورغم مطالباتنا المتكررة لم نحصل سوى على تزفيت بعض الحفر الكبيرة التي كانت تسبب أزمة خانقة في السير، المطلوب تزفيت جميع شوارع العاصمة لكي تصبح لائقة بمدينة بيروت التي نحبها ونفتخر بها.

أما أسباب أزمة السير الخانقة فهي كثيرة، إنما يكفي زيادة عناصر الشرطة في الشوارع ومنعهم من تدخين السجائر أثناء قيامهم بواجبهم، وإعطاؤهم التعليمات والأوامر الصارمة وأطلب منهم تطبيق القوانين على جميع المواطنين دون خوف أو تمييز وخصوصاً لجهة إنزال أقصى العقوبات بحق من يسلك طريقاً عكس السير، وكل هذا ريثما يتسنى للدولة بناء الجسور اللازمة في التقاطعات الحساسة من أجل المساهمة في حل أزمة السير.

أما لجهة الإصلاح الإداري فإنني أطالب بإنشاء محكمة استئنافية لقرارات المجلس التأديبي لأنه لا يعقل أن يتمكن من صرف من الخدمة الرجوع إليها بفضل حكم قضائي ويستحيل ذلك على من صدر بحقه قرار من المجلس التأديبي بصرفه من الخدمة. المعروف أن الذين صرفوا من الخدمة بالتطهير الإداري هم أخطر بكثير من الذين أحيلوا على المجلس التأديبي، فكيف يجوز للفئة الأولى العودة للعمل بحكم قضائي ولا يجوز ذلك للفئة الثانية وهي أقل ضرراً من الفئة الأولى؟ لذلك أطالب بإصرار بإنشاء محكمة استئنافية للمجلس التأديبي يكون لها حق إعادة النظر في قرارات هذا المجلس. أخيراً اسمحوا لي أن اختم كلامي بملاحظة بيئية حول محمية جزيرة النخل أو الأرانب في طرابلس، إذ نستغرب الأصوات التي تنادي بتعديل القانون الذي أعلنت بموجبه الجزر الثلاث محمية طبيعية، والمطالبة اليوم هي حجة للإفساح في المجال للمواطنين للسباحة والتمتع بشاطئ ومياه ورمال هذه الجزيرة لبعدها عن التلوث والأوساخ.

أن الحل يكون بالمطالبة بتأمين نظافة وسلامة الشاطئ برمته وإزالة التلوث بمعالجة النفايات الصلبة والسائلة بذلك يفسح المجال لكافة المواطنين بارتياد الشاطئ دون حذر أو تردد عوض السعي لإباحة الجزيرة المحمية.

دولة الرئيس،

البارحة عند تلاوة دولة رئيس الحكومة بيانه الوزاري لفت نظري إلى إضافة كلمة "بعض نتائجها" في السطر الثالث من الصفحة السابعة من البيان الوزاري حيث كان يتكلم عن قطاعات الكهرباء والماء والهاتف والتي ينتظر أن يلمس المواطنون نتائجها مع حلول نهاية هذا العام، فهل إضافة كلمة "بعض" قبل كلمة "نتائجها" بداية تراجع عن التعهد بتحسين الوضع مع حلول نهاية هذا العام، علما أن كلمة "بعض" لم تكن مطبوعة في نسخة البيان الوزاري الذي تم توزيعه علينا.

أخيراً وبعد هذه الملاحظات الأخوية، ورغم أن عمر هذه الحكومة محدد بالاستحقاق الرئاسي ورغم قناعتنا بأنه ليس بمقدور هذه الحكومة أن تفعل أكثر مما فعلته خلال السنتين ونصف السنة المنصرمتين فإننا نتمنى لها الصدق والإخلاص تجاه الشعب وأن تعمل لتحسين وضعه المعيشي لأن الإنسان هو الغاية ومن أجله يجب أن تسخر كل الأشياء. وفي النهاية وتضامناً مع كتلتي أمنح الثقة وشكراً لإصغائكم.

Appendix 6.7

Hagop Choukhadarian – 19 November 1996

Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of P.M. Rafik El Hariri's Government on 19 November 1996.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1996): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 November 1996.

آغوب جو خدريان: دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

لن أطيل الكلام بعد ما سمعته من كلمات قيمة على لساني زملائي الكرام، ولن أكرر مضمون تحاليلهم العميقة وآرائهم النيرة وأقوالهم الخيرة، فجميع ما قيل حول بناء دولة المؤسسات، وتحرير أرض لبنان من الاحتلال الإسرائيلي، وشجب الاعتداءات الغادرة للعدو الصهيوني، والوقوف إلى جانب المقاولة في أعمالها البطولية ودعمها وتأمين كل مساعدة لها، والحفاظ على الحريات العامة على كافة أنواعها، ومحاربة الرشوة، والفساد المستشرية في الإدارة العامة خاصة بعد ما سمعناه وقرأنا عنه في الآونة الأخيرة، وتطهير الإدارة من العناصر الفاسدة وذلك برفع الحصانة عن الموظفين وإعطاء الحصانة لمؤسسات الدولة المعروفة بأجهزة المراقبة من خدمة مدنية وهيئة تفتيش وديوان محاسبة ومجلس تأديبي، ومن تحديد جدول الأولويات في المشاريع، والتضامن الكلي مع الشقيقة سوريا في مسار المفاوضات الواحد والتنسيق معها في جميع الأمور المصيرية التي تخص البلدين.

فجميع هذه المواضيع التي استفاض فيها زملائي الكرام فإنني أتبناها ولن أغوص فيها لتوفير وقتكم الثمين.

إنما يا دولة الرئيس، ونحن أمام بيان وزاري نناقشه، ورغم أننا من أعضاء كتلة قرار بيروت، ورغم تضامننا الكلي مع هذه الكتلة ورئيسها، فلا بد لنا من بعض الملاحظات حول بعض الأمور.

صحيح أنه من الناحية المبدئية، هذه حكومة جديدة وبالتالي فهي غير مسؤولة عن أعمال الحكومات السابقة، إنما بسبب التعديل الطفيف في التركيبة الحكومية فالخوف هو الإبقاء على ذات نهج الحكومات السابقة أي سياسية الاستقراض وسياسة الهدر وسياسة زيادة الضرائب على الشعب.

واضح من البيان الوزاري أنه بيان وزاري تقليدي فيه الوعود الكثيرة قد يصلح برنامجاً للمعارضة، إنما العبرة للتنفيذ وليس للوعود.

أن أية خطة قد تلجأ إليها الحكومة لابد أن تأتي من منطقة العقل ومنطلق الشعب وواقعة المعيشي وتراعي أوضاعه وظروفه ومشاكله حتى لا تأتي قاسية وجافة في طياتها أية لمسة إنسانية، وبذلك تبدو كأنها سيف مسلط على رقاب المواطنين.

دولة الرئيس،

إن الإنسان هو الغاية، ومن أجله يجب أن تسخر كل الأشياء، المواطن يريد أن يعمل وبالتالي على الحكومة تأمين فرص العمل، المواطن يريد أن يكافأ براتب محترم يكفيه له ولعائلته وبالتالي على الحكومة أن تكون واقعية في تحديد الحد الأدنى للراتب وأن لا تتجاهل مطالب العمال، المواطن يريد أن يشبع ويعلم أولاده ويطيبهم وبالتالي على الحكومات مراقبة أسعار للسلع وتأمين التعليم الابتدائي المجاني وتأمين الطبابة والاستشفاء لمن يلجأ إليها، المواطن يريد ضمانات وتأمينات ومستوى معيشة لائق، لقد شبع المواطن من الخطط والبرامج والوعود، أنه يطلب شيئاً ملموساً، يريد أن يتحرر من عقدة الحرمان، ومن واجب الحكومة مساعدة المواطن في تحقيق أمنيته هذه.

دولة الرئيس،

لابد لي أيضاً أن اتطرق للتشكيلة الحكومية، فقد قرأنا كثيراً في الآونة الأخيرة عن ضرورة تشكيل حكومة متجانسة ومتوازنة، وإذ بنا أمام حكومة غير متجانسة وغير متوازية.

قد سبق لي ومن على هذا المنبر أن اعترضت على تغييب شريحة كبيرة من المواطنين في المشاركة في الحكم، لقد سبق لي وشرحت لأمام أعضاء المجلس النيابي السابق والكثير منهم في عداد المجلس الحالي أنه جرت العادة في كل حكومة موسعة من أربعة وعشرين عضواً وما فوق أن تتمثل فيها طائفة الأرمن الكاثوليك بمقعد وزاري، وهذه القاعدة أصبحت عرفاً على مدى السنين، والعرف يصبح قانوناً بالمفهوم الدولي والقانوني، إنما في الحكومات الثلاث الأخيرة فوجئنا كل مرة ورغم الوعود والإقرار بصوابية مطالبنا، فوجئنا بتغييب هذه الطائفة العريقة الموجودة في لبنان منذ مائتين وخمسين سنة وأكثر، فهل هذا التغييب لأن حائطنا مكسر عصا.

كيف يحق للحكومة والسلطات تجاهل وجود هذه الطائفة التي لها تاريخ مجيد في لبنان عبر الشخصيات الكبيرة التي أعطتها من دينية وسياسية وأدبية وفنية ورياضية، كيف يجوز تجاهل هذه الشريحة من الشعب وهي التي تؤدي واجباتها على أكمل وجه، فهل المطلوب من هذه الشريحة تأدية واجباتها الوطنية كاملة دون أن يكون لها حق المطالبة بحقوقها أسوة ببقية المواطنين، أين روح المساواة والعدالة بين المواطنين؟

هذا البلد دستورنا مؤلف من ثمانية عشر طائفة، والحكومة الحالية تمثل فقط سبع طوائف، فأين حقوق بقية الطوائف الصغيرة العدد في التمثيل الحكومي، كيف يحق لبعض الطوائف الممثلة في الحكومة بمقعد وزاري لقاء كل مقعدين ونصف نيابيين في حين أن الطوائف المسيحية الصغيرة العدد ولها ثلاث مقاعد نيابية ليست ممثلة بأي مقعد وزاري، لماذا هذا التمييز في المعاملة؟ وتريدون أن تكون هذه الحكومة متوازنة، أين التوازن فيها؟ أفليس من حقنا أن نكون محبطين أخيراً لابد من كلمة حول موضوع مكتب برج حمود، كلنا نتكلم عن

ضرورة الاهتمام بالمواضيع البيئية، عن ضرورة إيجاد حلول للمقالع، والكسارات، عن ضرورة معالجة المياه المبتذلة، عن ضرورة إنشاء معامل تكرير لها، عن ضرورة إيجاد طرق ووسائل للتخلص من النفايات المنزلية، الحلول كثير إنما المباشرة بتنفيذها عسير، كذلك بالنسبة لمكتب برج حمود، هذا المكتب الذي أصبح جبلاً عند مدخل بيروت، هذا المكب الذي أصبح كارثة بيئية يشوه وجه لبنان أمام كل سائغ يغط في مطار بيروت، هذا المكب الذي يسبب الروائح الكريهة ويبث السموم في هواء بيروت وضواحيها يكبر يوماً بعد يوم دون أن نرى في الأفق أي حل له، لقد سبق وأنذرنا السلطات بضرورة إيجاد حل لهذا المكب، بضرورة إيجاد مكان بديل لهذا المكب، وكانت دائماً الوعود بالحل القريب إنما لا تنفيذ على الأرض، وتابعت الحالة بالتفاقم من سيء إلى أسوأ. هذا الموضوع مرفوض كلياً ولا يمكن السكوت عنه، نحن نواجه الصعوبات الجسيمة في ضبط نفوس سكان المنطقة، وسوف يتعذر علينا ذلك إذا لم تقدم الحكومة على معالجة هذه القضية بأسرع وقت ممكن، الشعب يريد إيقاف هذا المكب حتى لو اضطر لاستعمال القوة والعنف.

وأخيراً كلمة وجيزة عن ضرورة شراء طائرات لإطفاء الحرائق، لقد سبق لي وطالبت بهذا الأمر لضرورته الماسة من أجل المحافظة على إحراج لبنان.

إن كنتم تريدون الإبقاء على لبنان الأخضر والتغني به فليس أمامنا سوى هذا المحل، شراء أو استئجار هذه الطائرات اليوم قبل الغد. وعليه أطالب الحكومة بنقلة نوعية، أي الانتقال من الوعود إلى التنفيذ، وسوف نحاسبها على أفعالها وليس على وعودها وشكراً.

Appendix 6.8

Hagop Choukhadarian – 19 February 1997

Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's short speech on environmental issues during the legislative session on 19 February 1997.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1997): 2nd Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 19 February 1997.

آغوب جو خدريان: دولة الرئيس،

كلمتي تتعلق فقط بمواضيع البيئة.

لابد لي في البداية من كلمة تقدير وشكر لمعالي وزير البيئة الذي يقوم بجهود كبيرة من أجل تحسين وضع البيئة في لبنان فكما تعلمون جميعا لقد قام بحل موضوع مكب برج حمود واليوم بالذات يتوقف رمي الردميات في المكب المذكور.

وأملنا كبير انه من الآن وحتى نهاية شهر أيار سوف تتم معالجة موضوع النفايات وبالتالي نتخلص كليا من موضوع مكب برج حمود.

وثانيا فقد قام مؤخرا بتوقيع اتفاقية من اجل اعادة ترحيل مستوعبات المواد البلاستيكية الملوثة وهنا ايضا لا بد من كلمة شكر لمعالي الوزير لقيامه بهذا العمل الجبار.

أخيراً وليس آخراً. موضوع الكسارات، تعلمون جميعا مدى الأذى الذي يلحق بجبال لبنان بسبب الكسارات علمنا مؤخرا ان هناك أيضا حلولا لهذا الموضوع واليوم بالذات سمعنا رسالة من الاستاذ عبد الله زخيا بهذا الموضوع الذي يعاني من كسارات نهر ابراهيم، الرجاء من الحكومة ان تقوم بالدراسة اللازمة لنتخلص من هذه المشكلة الكبيرة التي تمس الكسارات. هذه كلها مواضيع نشكر الحكومة على انها قامت بها انما هناك موضوع حتى تاريخه الحكومة لم تعطه الاهمية اللازمة وهو موضوع شراء الطائرات لاطفاء الحرائق ومعالجة هذا الموضوع تتم الآن ونحن في فصل الشتاء لانه بعد ستة اشهر سيكون فصل الصيف وستكون الحرائق عندئذ سيكون الوقت متأخرا، لذلك اطالب كما سبق لي وطالبت مرارا وتكرارا في هذا الموضوع بوجوب شراء طائرات لاطفاء الحرائق لانه لولا هذه الطائرات لاحترقت جميع جبال لبنان ولما بقي أي اخضرار فيها. وشكرا.

Appendix 6.9

Hagop Choukhadarian – 7 July 1997

Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during a General Discussion Session of the Parliament touching upon the Foreign Policy of the Hariri Government. Choukhadarian also criticized the government for not resolving the Bourj Hammoud landfill.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1997): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 7 July 1997.

آغوب جاك جو خدريان: دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

لن أطيل الكلام بعدما تطرق زملائي الكرام إلى جميع المواضيع الشائكة وقيد التداول على الساحة المحلية في أيامنا هذه. ولن أكرر مجمل ما قيل في عدة مواضيع، إذ أنني أتبنى غالبيتها، وبالتالي لا جدوى من التكرار. إنما لابد لي أن أفصل بين أعمال الحكومة الإيجابية وأعمالها السلبية.

فالحكومة نجحت في عدة ميادين. أولها: العلاقات الخارجية. لمسنا بإعجاب مدى نجاح زيارة قداسة الباب إلى لبنان. لمسنا بإعجاب كيف كانت هذه الزيارة محط إعجاب وتقدير من قبل جميع بلدان العالم. لمسنا كيف أن لبنان استعاد ثقة العالم فيه. ولمسنا ذات الشيء عندما زارنا سمو الأمير عبدالله بن عبدالعزيز ولي العهد السعودي، وكذلك لدى زيارة رئيس وزارة ماليزيا ورئيس الصندوق الدولي. كما لمسنا أخيراً لمسنا نجاح زيارة دولة الرئيس الحريري والوفد المرافق إلى المغرب. جميع هذه التطورات الإيجابية حسنت مكانة لبنان في العالم، وبالتالي أعطت صورة جديدة للبنان في الخارج. فأظهرت أن لبنان استعاد عافيته، وأن الأمن يسود فيه، وبالتالي لم يعد بلد الإرهاب كما يحاول تصويره البعض لإلحاق الضرر فيه.

والحكومة نجحت أيضاً في متابعة تنفيذ مشاريع البنى التحتية، ومشاريع الطرقات والاتوسترادات والمدينة الرياضية، وشبكات المياه والكهرباء والهاتف، وهي تقوم بعدة مشاريع لتحسين الوضع القائم في لبنان هذه النواحي الإيجابية تصب في خانة نجاحات الحكومية. ولابد لنا من الاعتراف بحصولها وبالتالي الوقوف بجانبها طالما هي تعمل لمصلحة البلد وتحسين وضع المواطنين.

إنما إذا اعترفنا لها بحسن عملها في تطوير العلاقات الخارجية وقيامها بمشاريع عمرانية ضخمة، فهذا لا يعني إنها لم تقصر في ميادين أخرى عديدة. أولها الأزمة الاجتماعية الحادة التي تعيشها الطبقة الفقيرة في البلد. فالضيقة الاجتماعية باعتراف دولة رئيس الحكومة بالذات قد وصلت إلى شفير الهاوية. فالناس جياع. لم يعد بإمكان رب العائلة تأمين مستلزمات الحياة

الضرورية لعائلته. البعض لا يمكن له تأمين لقمة العيش لأولاده. وعندما يتعذر عليه تأمين لقمة العيش فكيف يمكنه تأمين مصاريف المدارس والاستشفاء وغيره. البطالة بازدياد كل يوم. نرى العاطلين عن العمل يطرقون أبوابنا بحزن وألم وخجل ويطلبون تأمين أي عمل لهم لكي يوفروا لعيالهم العيش الكريم. هذه وقائع أليمة نلمسها كل يوم ولا يمكن لأحد نكرانها. إذا كانت بعض المطاعم تغص بالناس فهذا لا يعني أن الناس بألف خير. فالكثير منهم ينامون جياعاً لأنهم لا يعلمون ولا دخل لهم، وبالتالي لا لقمة عيش لهم. هذه أزمة اجتماعية حقيقة. على الحكومة التصدي لها وإعطاؤها الأولوية. إنما هذه الأزمة لا تبرر إطلاقاً ما حصل في اليوم الرابع من تموز. ولا مبرر إطلاقاً لموقف الحكومة تجاه المظاهرات التي حصلت في ذلك اليوم. لا يحق للحكومة أن تتصرف بمعيارين ومكيالين. تمنع التظاهر تارة وتسمح به طورا. أما أن التظاهر مسموح للكل انطلاقاً من مبدأ المساواة، وإما أنه ممنوع على الكل انطلاقاً من ذات مبدأ المساواة. المساواة أساس العدالة الاجتماعية في كل بلد. وأن انحرفنا عنها نفقد مصداقيتنا. لذلك تصرف الحكومة يوم الرابع من تموز كان خاطئاً. ونسجل عليها تخاذلها في تطبيق ذات القانون على كافة الأراضي اللبنانية.

ولابد لنا من التطرق سريعاً لبعض المواضيع. في أيامنا هذه نسمع كثيراً عن مكب برج حمود. بالواقع هو مكب لبنان إذ أنه عار لكل لبنان. فكل من يطل على لبنان بحراً أو جواً يرى هذا الجبل من النفايات على ساحل بيروت والمتن. فيتساءل ما هذا؟ وعند أخذه الجواب هو عار للبنان ويجب أن نزيله بأسرع وقت ممكن إن كنا نريد فعلاً إعادة السياحة والازدهار إلى لبنان. كم من مرة تم الوعد بإقفاله. كم من مرة أعطيت وحددت تواريخ لإقفاله. وعبثاً انتظرنا وانتظرنا ولا زال المكب في موقعه، ولازالت الشاحنات تصب سمومها فيه. لقد طفح الكيل. لم يعد بإمكان سكان بيروت وساحل المتن السكوت عن هذا الأمر. لذا وبعد التداول قرر نواب بيروت وساحل المتن الإضراب السلمي لساعة واحدة يوم غد الأربعاء الساعة الثانية عشرة ظهراً للتعبير عن مدى استيائهم لعدم مبالاة السلطة في معالجة هذه القضية الحيوية. كفانا سموماً في الهواء الملوث الذي نتنشقه ويدخل إلى روايانا. كفانا أمراضاً تعبث في حصتنا. كفانا موتاً بطيئاً على يد لا مبالاة السلطة. إننا لا ننكر جهود معالي وزير البيئة للتخلص من هذه الآفة المسمة، ونشكر له تأكيده بأن المكب سيقفل حتماً في العشرين من تموز الجاري، إنما لا بد لنا ودعماً لقرار معالي وزير البيئة وموقف دولة نائب رئيس المجلس من اللجوء إلى هذه الخطوات الضاغطة للوصول إلى مطلبنا المحق والمشروع. فنداؤنا لجميع زملائنا الكرام التضامن معنا يوم غد ظهراً للتعبير عن مدى قدسية هذا الطلب المحق.

أما موضوع استقلالية القضاء لن أغوص فيه بعد أن بحثه العديد من زملائي الكرام. إنما لابد لي من التوقف عند عدم تقيد السلطة بقرارات مجلس الشورى وهذا غير مقبول إطلاقاً. عندما يصدر مجلس الشورى قراراً ملزماً للإدارة فعليها التقيد به حتى ولو كان مخطئاً أو مخالفاً لمصلحتها. إنما ومع الأسف نرى عكس ذلك. وهذا مرفوض ويجب تصحيح هذا الخلل.

ولابد لي من كلمة حول المجلس الدستوري. إذ علينا تعزيز هذا المجلس وتأمين استقلاليته التامة. وحدها استقلالية وسلطة المجلس الدستوري الضمانة المنشودة لقيام لبنان الجديد. علينا

تحصين هذا المجلس وعدم التدخل في شؤونه إن كان فعلاً نريد حسماً قضائياً ينظر بكل علم وتجرد ونزاهة في دستورية قوانيننا.

وهنا لابد من كلمة حول موضوع تقنين الكهرباء المتزايد في هذه الأيام. كنا نأمل وفقاً للوعود المعطاة أن تكون عندنا الكهرباء مدار 24 ساعة كل يوم. وهذه الوعود أعطيت لنا مراراً وتكراراً. وإذ نفاجأ هذه الأيام بانقطاع التيار الكهربائي مراراً كل يوم وفي ساعات العمل أحياناً.

هذا الأمر يلحق أضراراً جسيمة بالمؤسسات والمنازل. فما هو سبب ذلك؟ وكذلك بالنسبة للمياه حيث انقطاع المياه أصبح القاعدة وتأمين المياه أصبح الاستثناء. فهل هذا مقبول في بلد الحضارة لبنان.

وأخيراً وليس آخراً سبق لي وحذرت مراراً بوجوب شراء أو استئجار طائرات خاصة بإطفاء الحرائق. قلت ذلك عمداً في بداية موسم الشتاء حرصاً على إعطاء الوقت الكافي للحكومة لإجراء الاتصالات والمفاوضات اللازمة من أجل تأمين هذه الطائرات قبل موسم الصيف ولكن رغم نداءاتي المتكررة فلم تفعل الحكومة شيئاً بهذا الخصوص وسمعنا البارحة بالذات بعدد هائل من الحرائق من مناطق عديدة من لبنان التهمت إحراجاً هي ثروة لبنان وأساس جماله وإخضراره. فلماذا هذا الإهمال الفادح في تأمين هذه الطائرات. ألم يكن من الأفضل اختصار بعض الطرقات أو المشاريع الثانوية من أجل شراء أو استئجار هذه الطائرات. هل المقصود إزالة إحراج لبنان وتشجيع التصحر. هل الدولة اللبنانية تتعثر أمام عشرين مليون دولار لشراء هكذا طائرة وهي التي تصرف مئات ملايين الدولارات من مشاريع أخرى. ألا يدخل هكذا مشروع من ضمن الأولويات التي دائماً نطالب بتحديدها. لقد دخلنا في موسم الصيف والحرارة سوف تلتهم كل يوم بعض الإحراج هل هذا المقصود؟

وأخيراً لابد لي من كلمة عن حقوق الطائفة الأرمينية في التعيينات نرى هذه الأيام تعيينات فتعيينات، إنما لا وجود لأي اسم أرمني فيها. لماذا هذا الإجحاف بحقوق الطائفة. تسمع من الجميع أننا مواطنون مثاليون، نتقيد بالقوانين، ندفع الضرائب، لا نشاغب، نعطي المثل الصالح وغيرها من العبارات الجميلة والمحقة إنما رغم كل هذا المديح فلا حصة لنا في التعيينات. فما هو السبب؟ أن جمعنا عدد أعضاء مجالس إدارة المؤسسات العامة لوصل العدد إلى المئات. فهل لا يحق لنا ضمن هذه المئات من عضوية بعض الأعضاء. صحيح أنه ضمن أي مجلس مؤلف من عشرة أيضاً لا يحق لنا نسبياً بمقعد واحد. إنما إذا جمعنا العشرات في المجالس العديدة لأصبح العدد مئات ويكون لنا عندئذ حق مشروع في بعض المجالس المذكورة. وعليه لا يمكن لنا السكوت عن هذ الخلل ويقتص تصحيحه وإعطاء الطائفة الأرمينية حقوقها المشروعة. في تعيينات الفئة الأولى ومجالس المؤسسات العامة.

ختاماً يا دولة رئيس الحكومة مع تقديرنا للجهود التي تبذلونها من أجل تحسين وضع لبنان المواطن لابد لكم من الإقرار عن وجود خلل ما في سياسة الحكومة تجاه الأزمة الاجتماعية السائدة في لبنان. تمنياتنا هي في إيلائكم هذه الناحية والاهتمام اللازم لمساعدة المواطن في التصدي لهذه الأزمة ومقاومتها وذلك عن طريق تخفيف وطأة الضرائب المتزايدة على ذوي الدخل المحدود.

آمال المواطنين كبيرة وأحلامهم كثيرة فلا تخيبوا آمالهم وتقتلوا أحلامهم. وشكراً.

Appendix 6.10

Hagop Choukhadarian – 20 January 1998

Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech on 20 January 1998 concerning the political rights of the Lebanese-Armenian community in Lebanon, especially those related to grade one public servant appointments.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1998): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 20 January 1998.

آغوب جو خدريان: دولة الرئيس، الزملاء الكرام،

لن أطيل الكلام عليكم بعد ما سمعناه جميعاً من كلمات قيمة ورصينة وعميقة. واكتفى بتبني معظمها لما فيها من تفكير سليم، ورؤيا واضحة، وصدق في القول الجريء.

كان بودي اليوم أن أقف لأمدح الحكومة على تقيدها موازنة عام 1997 لجهة عدم تجاوزها العجز المرتقب والمحدد في حينه بـ37% إنما عندما نسمع جميعاً أن عجز الموازنة لعام 1997 بلغ في شهر أيلول الماضي نسبة 55% فلا يسعني إلا أن أتوقف قليلاً وأفكر جدياً حول هذا الموضوع.

كنت انتظر موازنة عامة ترتقب توازناً بين الداخل والإنفاق العام وتعطي زخماً أكثر للإنتاج. إنما من قراءة فذلكة الموازنة وكيفية توزيعها وكيفية توزيعها نرى أن إجمالي نفقات الخزينة المقدرة يبللغ 7920 مليار ليرة لبنانية منه 2492 مليار للأجور والرواتب أي 32% تقريباً و 3200 مليار للفوائد أي خدمة الدين أي 41% تقريباً و 703 مليار فقط لنفقات رأسمالية وهي للإنتاج أي 9% تقريباً.

هذا الخل الفادح في الموازنة يجعلني أتردد. أرقام كبيرة تؤشر لعجز في التسديد وبالعكس فلا موازنة للإنتاج.

من يقرأ الفذلكة وكيفية توزيعها يلمس عمق الألم الذي نشعر به الآن. فأمام هذه الموازنة التي تعكس احتمالات تزايد الدين العام كيف يمكننا مواجهة متطلبات الشعب الأساسية. صحيح أنه تم تخفيض موازنات جميع الوزارات والمؤسسات العامة بنسبة 15% تقريباً، إنما هل هذا كاف لإزالة عدم التوازن بين الدخل والإنفاق العام. هل هذا كاف لوقف الهدر في الإنفاق. كلنا يعلم أن الأساس هو وقف الهدر بدر من فرض ضرائب جديدة على الشعب، إنما بما نراه ونلمسه يومياً فالواقع يختلف تماماً، وكأن لا حياة لمن تنادي.

دولة الرئيس،

الجميع يطالب بدولة المؤسسات والقانون. فهل نحن فعلاً في دولة المؤسسات والقانون. الشعب يطالب المساواة والعدالة بالإضافة طبعاً إلى لقمة العيش والحريات. فهل الدولة تؤمن له المساواة والعدالة ولقمة العيش والحريات؟ إنني لا أشك في حسن نوايا الحكومة بهذا الخصوص، إنما المطلوب هو حكم ساهر على مصلحة الشعب، يسعى إلى تأمين متطلباته، ويبذل كل جهده لرفع الحرمان عنه. الحكومة تحاول بما عندها من إمكانيات لتحقيق أمنيات الشعب، إنما غالباً ما تفشل في محاولاتها. الفشل ليس عيب، إنما العيب هو عدم المحاولة لتحسين وضع الشعب. كل الناس تخطئ وجل من لا يخطئ. الوحيد الذي لا يخطئ هو الذي لا يفعل حصول الخطأ دليل على حصول الفعل. ولولا الفعل لما وجد الخطأ. إذا الحكومة تحاول، ولابد لنا من كلمة شكر لها محاولات، وحتى إن لم تثمر. المهم حسن النوايا، مع الأمل بنجاح تنفيذ هذه النوايا. فأمام محاولات الحكومة ورئيسها بتحسين وضع المواطن لابد لنا من الاعتراف بنجاحاتها، لكي يحق لنا من توجيه بعض الملاحظات وربما الانتقادات لها.

فمن الإيجابيات التي لابد من الاعتراف بها هي أولاً السياسة الخارجية، حيث استعاد لبنان مكانته الدولية بفضل جهود الحكومة الحثيثة والحكيمة. وبفضل علاقات وصداقات رئيسها الحميدة. أن زيارات رؤساء الدول ومسؤوليها إلى لبنان دليل ساطع لاستعادة لبنان ثقة العالم فيه، كما هي شهادة لاستعادة لبنان عافيته، وأن الأمن يسود فيه، وأنه لم يعد بلد الإرهاب، وأكبر دليل على ذلك هو قرار الولايات المتحدة برفع الحظر عن مجيء الأميركيين إلى لبنان، وهذا القرار هو انتصار كبير للبنان وحكومته والحكومة نجحت أيضاً في سياستها الإعمارية حيث تقوم على أكمل وجه بتنفيذ مشاريع البنى التحتية، كما تقوم بشق الاوتوسترادات والطرقات والأنفاق والجسور، وتتابع أشغال تجهيز المدينة الرياضية. وهي قامت وتقوم بمد شبكات المياه والكهرباء، ولا اعتقد أن أحداً ينكر للحكومة هذه الإيجابيات. فالتحسين ملموس في تأمين التيار الكهربائي، وتلبية طلبات الهاتف، وتحسين تأمين مياه الشفه إلى المنازل. هذه الإيجابيات لابد من الاعتراف بها أكنا موالين أو معارضين.

إنما اعترافنا للحكومة بالكثير من الإيجابيات لا يعني أنها لم تقصر في ميادين أخرى. خاصة وأن رئيس الحكومة أقر في بعض تصاريحه بصوابية بعض الانتقادات. المأخذ الأول والأساسي هو تفاقم الأزمة المعيشية والصراع الأليم الذي تتخبط فيه الطبقات الشعبية في البلد. فالقضية الاجتماعية باعتراف الجميع قد وصلت إلى شفير الهاوية. فغالبية الناس جياع. نعم جياع والعديد منهم يبحثون عن الغذاء في براميل النفايات. وهذا ما نراه غالباً عندما نكون في سياراتنا. هذه المشاهد مؤلمة إنما لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله. أرباب عائلات كثر لم يعد بإمكانهم تأمين مستلزمات الحياة الضرورية من مأكل ومدارس وتطبيب، أما الاستشفاء فحدث ولا حرج حيث البعض يموتون لتعذر تأمين هذه الحاجة.

وما القول عن البطالة المستشرية في البلد، العاطلون عن العمل كثر وطالبوا الوظيفة أكثر. العديد من الشبان يهاجرون بعد طوال البحث عن عمل ضمن اختصاصهم ومن ثم خارج اختصاصهم فقط للعمل، ولكن بعد بحث طويل دون جدوى يضطرون للهجرة لتأمين العيش اللائق والكريم. فماذا فعلت الحكومة لجلب الاستثمارات؟ ماذا فعلت الحكومة لزيادة فرص العمل؟ ماذا فعلت الحكومة للحد من الهجرة؟ ماذا فعلت الحكومة لتشجيع المدرسة الرسمية لكي يتمكن من يريد من الشعب تسجيل أولاده فيها؟ ماذا فعلت الحكومة لتأمين الاستشفاء

لأكبر شريعة من الشعب؟ هذه جزء من أسئلة عديدة حساسة تبقى دون جواب. هذه الملاحظات وليس الانتقادات نرفعها بحسن نية للفت نظر الحكومة بضرورة إعطائها الاهتمام اللازم لرفع الحرمان عن قسم كبير من الشعب. نعم الشعب يتعذر، الشعب يتألم، الشعب يجوع، الشعب يصرخ، وعلى المسؤولين إيلائه القسم الأوفر من وقتهم وجهدهم لتحسين وضعه الإنساني والاجتماعي قبل أن تنفجر هذه القنبلة الموقوتة وهي صبر المواطن الفقير.

ولابد لي من التطرق سريعاً لبعض المواضيع:

أولاً: لابد من لفتة لوضع الإدارة السيء ووجوب تحسينها وإنصاف الموظفين بالتصديق على سلسلة الرتب والرواتب لتمكينهم من العيش الكريم وتحريرهم من الفقر والعوز والحاجة، وإبعادهم بالتالي عن الرشة والانحراف.

ثانياً: بالنسبة لرسوم الميكانيك لابد من تعديل في الجدول رقم 9. إذ لا يجوز المساواة بين الغنى والفقر. فرسم الميكانيك على سيارة الفقير أي سيارة قديمة العهد لا يعقل أن تكون بذات نسبة سيارة الغني أي حديثة العهد. المواطن الذي يتقاضى الحد الأدنى من الراتب أو ما يقاربه لا يمكن دفع رسم ميكانيك دفعة واحدة بما يفوق راتبه. في حين أن الغني يمكنه دفع هذا الرسم مهما بلغ دون أن يتأثر وضعه المعيشي إطلاقاً.

ثالثاً: بالنسبة لمطار بيروت، سبق لي وأثرت موضوع انقطاع المسافر عن إعادة رؤية أقربائه أو مودعيه بعد تسليم حقائبه إلى شركة الطيران. في جميع مطارات العالم دون استثناء يقوم المسافر بتسليم حقائبه لشركة الطيران ويستلم بطاقة الطائرة ومن ثم يعود ويجتمع مع مودعيه لحين قبل عشرين دقيقة من موعد الإقلاع. أما في مطار بيروت فعكس ذلك، حيث أن المسافر محذور عليه إعادة الاجتماع بمودعيه مما يضطره أحياناً للانتظار لوحده مدة ساعة أو ساعتين لحين إقلاع الطائرة. هذا لا يجوز. وليس من أسباب أمنية في ذلك لأن المسافر لم يمر بعد من حاجز الأمن العام، وبالتالي يبقى خاضعاً للتفتيش عند مروره من حاجز الأمن العام، ولا اعتقد أن الدول الغربية أقل اهتماماً بأمنها من لبنان. لذلك ونحن على مشارف تدشين البناء الجديد للمطار، لابد لنا من الاهتمام بهذا الموضوع لتأمين راحة المسافر مثل بقية مطارات العالم.

رابعاً: بالنسبة لخدمة العلم. سبق للحكومة أن تقدمت بمشروع قانون إعفاء لمواليد عام 1975. وهذا المشروع لا يزال قيد الدرس أمام لجنة الدفاع. وقد أدلى رئيس لجنة الدفاع في كلمته منذ يومين أن فرنسا استبدلت خدمة العلم بخدمة مدنية. لماذا لا نحذو مثل فرنسا بخطوة مشابهة.

خامساً: وأخيراً لابد لي من إثارة بعض المواضيع البيئية. سبق لي مراراً أن أثرت موضوع وجوب شراء أو استئجار طائرات خاصة لإطفاء الحرائق. ولكن رغم نداءاتي المتكررة لم تقدم الحكومة على أية خطوة بهذا الاتجاه ورأينا في الصيف السابق عدة حرائق إحراج في عدة مناطق لبنانية. فلو كانت عندنا الطائرات المطلوبة لكنا حاربنا هذه الحرائق ومنعناها من الانتشار الواسع. ولكنا حافظنا على ثورة لبنان الحرجية. فالمطلوب شراء أو استئجار هذه الطائرات قبل تفاقم الوضع الحرجي في لبنان.

كما سبق لي وآثرت موضوع ضرورة إجراء حملات تشجير جدية وليس فولكلورية في جميع مناطق لبنان إذ علينا إعادة تشجير لبنان وزيادة مساحاته الحرجية بحيث تبلغ تدريجياً العشرين بالمئة من مساحة لبنان. وأخيراً أين أصبحت محطات تكرير المياه المبتذلة؟ فالشاطئ اللبناني مكب للمياه المبتذلة، وبالتالي ملوث، وجميع بلدان الأبيض المتوسط تعترض على ذلك في المحافل الدولية. وعليه يجب الإسراع في إنشاء محطات التكرير هذه.

سادسا: وختاماً لابد لي من إعادة إثارة موضوع حقوق الطائفة الأرمنية. فكما تعلمون أن اتفاق الطائف كرس الطائفة الأرمنية ككل إحدى الطوائف الأساسية السبعة في لبنان. وعليه لها من حقوق وعليها من موجبات كبقية الطوائف الأساسية اللبنانية. إنما عند التعيينات بتجاهلها المسؤولون. ورغم مراجعاتنا المتكررة ورغم الوعود المتكررة نفاجأ في كل مرة باستغيابنا وكأننا غير موجودون. لماذا هذا الإجحاف بحق الطائفة الأرمينية. هل المطلوب أن نتقيد بموجباتنا دون أن نصل إلى حقوقنا. لماذا لا يتم تعيين عضو أرمني في أي مجلس إدارة لأية مؤسسة عامة أو خاصة أو شبه رسمية؟ إذا جمعنا عدد أعضاء مجالس الإدارة القائمة حالية في لبنان لزاد العدد على ثلاثمائة أربعمائة عضو. وإذا دققنا في الأسماء، فلا نجد أي ارم ارمني. ولا يمكن لنا السكوت وغض النظر على هذا الواقع الأليم. يقتضي تصحيح هذا الخلل وإعطاء الطائفة الأرمنية حقوقها المشروعة في تعيينات الفئة الأولى ومجالس المؤسسات العامة.

وعليه أتمنى على الحكومة أن تستجيب سريعاً لهذه المطالب المحقة حفاظاً على وحدة لبنان وديمومته .

وشكراً.

Appendix 6.11

Hagop Choukhadarian – 14 December 1998

Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of P.M. Saleem El Hoss on 14 December 1998.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1998): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 14 December 1998.

اغوب جو خدريان: دولة الرئيس،

الزملاء الكرام،

من الطبيعي ان يستوحي بيان الحكومة بخطاب القسم لفخامة رئيس الجمهورية العماد اميل لحود. ومن غير الطبيعي الا يأتي التمييز ما بين ما عكسه هذا الخطاب من مشاعر لبنانية ترسم وضع الدولة وما تريده ان تكون عليه وما بين المتطلبات لارضاء اللبنانيين واشباع طموحهم.

فاذا ما اعتبرنا ان بيان الحكومة يعكس هذه التوجهات ويمرحلها ويمنهجها، نجد انه لزاما علينا ان نشيد بالمضمون الايجابي لخطاب القسم لفخامة رئيس الجمهورية مثلما نرحب ببيان هذه الحكومة على قاعدة التغيير.

ان التغيير في مفهومنا يتناول الاسلوب والاشخاص والاهداف على قاعدة الاحتفاظ بما هو جيد في هذه الدولة والطموح في احلال ما يريده اللبنانيون يدل ما كان يشوب مؤسسات الدولة من اخطاء وثغرات، لكن اذا كان لا بد من تظهير النيات الايجابية من سيد العهد وحكومته، اننا نرى ان الواجب يدعونا الى لفت انتباه هذه الحكومة الى انها صرفت انظارها عن الواقع الديموغرافي للطوائف المتنامية في لبنان، بحيث اتت هذه التشكيلة بلا استيحاء للواقع الديموغرافي كما هو في الاطار الميداني، وهذا ما اشعر هذه الطوائف ورموزها بشيء من التجاهل لدورها في بناء لبنان وتنميته. وكنا نود لو ان هذه الحكومة لم تتضمن مثل هذه الملاحظة، انصافا للحق.

تصوروا ان في الدستور اللبناني ثماني عشرة طائفة وفقط سبع طوائف ممثلة في هذه الحكومة، أي ان احدى عشرة طائفة كأنها ليست أي شريحة لبنانية في لبنان ولا يحق لها ان تشارك في الحكم وانصافا للحق ابدأ مداخلتي من حيث بدأ البيان الوزاري الى الاشارة بأن العهد المنصرم انتهى الى كثير من الشكوى والتظلم وعلى خلفية قاتمة من الاخطاء والخطايا نعم هذا ما ورد في البيان الوزاري للقول بأن في هذا الكلام الكثير من التجني والتظلم، ذلك ان العهد المنصرم، على الرغم من كل الشوائب التي اعترضته قد حقق للبنان انجازات مهمة وجمة لم تتوقف عند

حدود اطلاق حركة اعمار واسعة كما ورد في البيان الوزاري انما تعداها الى ابعد من ذلك وبكثير، وعليه فانني اتوقف عند بعض من عناوين الاطار العام للاهداف الوطنية التي تضمنها بيان حكومتكم الكريم موضوع مناقشتنا له.

فانطلاقا من العنوان الاول والمتعلق بتعزيز التحالف القومي مع سوريا، حق علينا ان نعترف للرئيس الحريري بما حقق من اهداف لتعزيز هذا التحالف، فهو لم يألُ جهدا في تأكيد وحدة الشعبين ووحدة المسارين في مواجهة الاطماع الاسرائيلية، وفي قطع اشواط متقدمة في تفعيل معاهدة الاخوة والتعاون والتنسيق مع الشقيقة سوريا. كما هو حق علينا ان نقر بالانجازات الجبارة التي حققها على صعيد مقاومة الاحتلال، ان في دعم المقاومة وان في الافراج عن اشلاء الشهداء وبعض المعتقلين. فجميعنا يعلم انه لولا سعيه الحثيث لما استعاد لبنان شهادته الى ارض الوطن. وعليه، حرام علينا ان ننسى كافة تحركاته الدولية وتسخيره علاقاته وامكاناته في سبيل وقف المجازر التي ارتكبت بحق شعبنا في الجنوب ابان مجزرة قانا.

اما بما خص العنوان الثامن والمتعلق بملف المهجرين، فلا بد من الاشارة الى ان هذا الملف - وعلى الرغم من كل الضجة التي اثيرت حوله - قد استحوذ على اهتمام استثنائي عند الرئيس الحريري حيث طوي الجزء الاكبر منه وفي كثير من الاحيان بمبادرات خاصة منه.

وبالعودة الى مضمون البيان الوزاري والنقاط الواردة فيه، ومما لا شك فيه ان الجنوب اللبناني يحظى بالقسط الاوفر من اهتمامنا سواء بفعل تنامي عمل المقاومة او بفعل استمرار الاحتلال الاسرائيلي لاجزاء غالية من الاراضي اللبنانية في الجنوب والبقاع الغربي. ونشعر انه من الواجب - انصافا للحقيقة - ان ندعو هذه الحكومة الى القيام بالمزيد من سبل دعم صمود اهلنا في الجنوب ودعم المقاومة على قاعدة تحرير هذه الاجزاء الغالية من ارضنا اللبنانية.

والالتفات الى الجنوب والبقاع الغربي لا يمكن فصله عن تحصين الوضع الداخلي، اقتصاديا سياسيا وامنيا، ولعلنا نكون مع انفسنا، مثلما نكون مع العهد وسيده، حين تعطى الاولوية للاصلاح الاداري، فليس في لبنان من لا يريد ادارة محصنة بالقيم الاخلاقية وبالكفاءة وبروح المسؤولية، علما من شروط ذلك هو تحصين الحياة الاقتصادية لموظفي القطاع العام.

ومن اولويات هذا التحصين، ليس رفع سلم الرواتب او زيادة الرواتب، بل ايجاد الوسائل الكفيلة في خفض غلاء المعيشة الذي يتكبده اللبنانيون جميعا وليس الموظفين فحسب. ان مثل هذا التوجه عكس تطلعا مسؤولا نحو عدم الاسهام في التضخم الاقتصادي السائد في لبنان راهنا مثلما ان اعادة النظر في الفوائد المالية على سندات الخزينة لجهة خفضها ورفع نسبة ما يتعين على المصارف دفعه للبنك المركزي على الاموال المودعة في هذه المصارف، يسهمان في تنمية واردات الدولة، اضافة الى استعادتها لبعض القطاعات الاخرى.

في هذا الاطار، وعلى خلفية مثل هذا التوجه، يمكن ارتقاب سياسة مالية تحد نسبة التضخم العام وتساعد على تحريك الاقتصاد الوطني اذ بها، وبها فقط يمكن للقطاع الاقتصادي الاقتصادي ان يستلف من المصارف بفائدة مقبولة ومعقولة بما يحقق الاهداف المرجوة من انعاش الدورة الاقتصادية كاملة بالطبع اقول هذا الى جانب تشجيعنا على ما ورد في البيان الوزاري في هذا الخصوص مع ابداء ملاحظة - ونرجو اخذها بعين الاعتبار - لما هو متعلق

بالسياسة النقدية، اذ اننا في هذا الخصوص نأمل في ان تحافظ السياسة النقدية على السرية المصرفية انطلاقا من كون هذه السرية تشكل عامل اجتذاب للرأسمال الاجنبي والمحلي على السواء.

اما بالنسبة لدمج الوزارات على خلفية خفض الانفاق العام، فانني اود ان الفت انتباه السادة النواب والحكومة الى افضلية تعزيز وزارة البيئة بحد ذاتها لا دمجها مع وزارة اخرى، ذلك ان البيئة في لبنان بحاجة اليوم وفي اكثر من أي وقت مضى، الى هيكلية قائمة بذاتها وصلاحيات اوسع واشمل تسمح للقيمين عليها بتحسين اوضاعها، ذلك ان البيئة الطبيعية وكيفية المحافظة عليها هي الانطلاق لتأمين وتوفير بيئة سياسية سليمة في البلد.

كما وادعو لانشاء وزارة للتخطيط والانماء من اجل وضع حد للهدر القائم بسبب عدم التنسيق بين الوزارات والمؤسسات العامة.

كما وادعو الحكومة الى توفير وسائل مكافحة الحرائق الحديثة والمتطورة سبق لي وطالبت بهذا الموضوع بجلسات متعددة ودائما نسمع بضرورة ووجوب شراء الطائرات المخصصة لاطفاء الحرائق وحتى تاريخه لم نحصل على شيء، علما ان غدا الساعة الثانية عشرة هناك في المون لاسال الطائرة

المذكورة سوف تقوم بالعمل المناسب،

اذا أطالب بالطائرات المخصصة لاطفاء الحرائق في اطار حماية البيئة اللبنانية والمحافظة على الغابات والاحراج في لبنان بهدف تنمية الثروة الحرجية، كما ادعو لتعزيز القطاع الزراعي وتفعيله من خلال وضع حد لاسباب الحرائق ومن ثم وضع المخططات التوجيهية لدعم هذا القطاع الذي كان يشكل مصدرا هاما للمواطن ولخزينة الدولة على

حد سواء.

اما ملاحظاتي الاخرى على العناوين الواردة في البيان الوزاري فاني الخصها على النحو التالي:

اولا: فيما خص وضع مشروع قانون جديد للانتخابات، نأمل ان يطبق هذا القانون على كافة الاراضي اللبنانية بحيث يستبعد وقوع صيف وشتاء تحت سقف واحد. انطلاقا من مساواة جميع المواطنين فيه.

ثانيا: مع كل دعمنا لايلاء الجامعة اللبنانية اهتماما، نأمل ان يلقى طلابها الدعم والتسهيلات اللازمة لهم وفي كافة المناطق اللبنانية.

ثالثا: بما يتعلق بتوجيهات رئيسية في سياسة الحكومة في موضوع القضاء، فاننا في الوقت الذي نؤيد فيه ما جاء في هذا الخصوص، نطالب بضرورة تحسين الوضع المالي للقضاء الى جانب تطبيق قانون محاسبة القاضي عند مخالفته النصوص القانونية حفاظا على سمعة ورفعة القضاء اللبناني.

رابعا: في الاصلاح الاداري: اننا مع ما سبق واشار اليه البيان الوزاري لكنني اسجل ملاحظة حول ما ورد في موضوع وقف التعيين بالغاء كلمة القصوى ليصبح النص على النحو التالي: وقف التعيين الا في حالات الضرورة، وعلى اساس الجدارة والاستحقاق، الى جانب اجراء مناقلات في الادارات المتخمة الى الادارات التي تعاني نقصا في مراكز معينة، انطلاقا من الجدارة والاستحقاق.

خامسا: في الاغتراب والمغتربين: اني مع كل ما سبق واستعرضه البيان الوزاري لجهة تمتين العلاقة ما بين لبنان المقيم ولبنان المغترب واجتذاب الرساميل اللبنانية المهاجرة للتثمير في الوطن، اجد انه لا بد من اعادة تحريك منح المغترب والمتحدر من اصل لبناني الجنسية اللبنانية لمنحه ثقة الانتماء الوطني وتشجيعه على اداء دوره الفاعل في مسيرة اعمار الوطن.

سادسا: في الاعلام وتنظيم الاعلام، ألفت الى ضرورة اضافة العامل التقني الى العاملين الموضوعي والقانوني في معالجة بعض الثغرات في هذا الملف. عند حدود هذه الملاحظات اتوقف لانوه بما تضمنه البيان الحكومي من نقاط ان في الاطار العام للاهداف الوطنية وان في معالجة الاختلالات الاقتصادية والمالية وان في التوجهات الرئيسية في سياسة الحكومة املا في ان تحقق حكومتكم الماثلة اليوم امامنا طلبا للثقة ما جاء على متن بيانها الوزاري، جميعنا يعلم ان المشكلات الكبيرة التي تتخبط فيها البلاد بحاجة الى تضافر الجهود، وجميعنا يعلم انكم لا تملكون عصا سحرية لحل هذه المشاكل، لكننا بالمقابل ندرك جيدا انه انطلاقا من ايماننا بلبنان المعافى والسليم والمزدهر نبلغه بتعاوننا وتضافر جهودنا على المستوى الرسمي والشعبي وبتعاون السلطات ما بينها لتحقيق الاهداف المرجوة.

وعليه نتمنى لحكومتكم الكريمة هذه التي تمنح اليوم ثقتنا ان تحقق ولو بعض ما جاء في بيانها الوزاري خصوصا وان الآمال المعقودة عليها كبيرة آمال شعب تواق الى التغيير وبانتظار ما ستحققه حكومتكم هذه، اختم مداخلتي باثارة مطلب محق الا وهو حقوق الطائفة الارمنية في لبنان. واذ يؤسفني ان اثير هذا الموضوع في هذه الجلسة بالذات وعلى الرغم من محاولتي الابتعاد قدر الامكان عن التطرق الى لغة الطائفية، اجد لزاما ان ألفت نظر المسؤولين ان للطائفة الارمنية في لبنان حقوقا وطنية هي لليوم لم تحصل عليها، كتمثيلها ومشاركتها في الوظائف والادارات والمؤسسات العامة ذلك ان طائفتنا لليوم مغيبة في هذه الوظائف وعليه، فان مطالبنا هذه ستكون نواة مذكرة نعدها لنرفعها الى فخامة الرئيس العماد اميل لحود والى دولة رئيس الحكومة الدكتور سليم الحص للتأكيد على صحة وجدية وأحقية مطالبنا هذه انطلاقا من انتمائنا الوطني الوثيق بهذه الارض.

وبانتظار مراقبة افعالكم والحكم عليها واتخاذ الموقف المناسب بخصوصها، نعلن منحنا الثقة لحكومتكم الكريمة، ونتمنى لها النجاح في مهمتها الصعبة، لما فيه مصلحة الشعب والوطن. وشكرا.

Appendix 6.12

Hagop Choukhadarian – 16 March 1999

For the full Arabic text of Hagop Chaoukhadarian's speech in connection with the apprehension of former Minister Shahe Barsoumian.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1999): 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 16 March 1999.

اغوب جو خادريان: دولة الرئيس،

بادئ ذي بدء لا بد من تهنئة قلبية للبنان بفوز فريق الحكمة الرائع ليل امس. انه دليل قاطع على الروح القتالية العالية التي حولت الخسارة في الشوط الاول الى انتصار ولا اجمل في نهاية الشوط الثاني هنيئا بهذا الانتصار، واملنا ان ينتصر لبنان في جميع المجالات السياسية والمقاومتية والامنية والاقتصادية.

دولة الرئيس،

ان ما يحدث هذه الايام من تصعيد في الجنوب والبقاع الغربي مقلق ومخيف، ولا يمكن السكوت عنه. ان ما يخطط له العدو الاسرائيلي يفرض على الدولة اللبنانية مجابهته بكل حذر وتيقظ . لنا كامل الثقة بجيشنا الباسل وبالمقاومة اللبنانية المستقلة. املنا كبير ان تتوقف هذه الاعتداءات الغاشمة، وان يتم تنفيذ القرار 425 دون قيد او شرط. ونحن متضامنون مع الجنوب ومقاومته كل التضامن وحتى تحرير كامل ارض الوطن.

دولة الرئيس،

في الفترة الاخيرة كلام كثير عن فتح ملفات قريبة. وقد سبب ملف النفط توقيف وزير سابق كان ولا يزال صديقا للكثيرين في هذا المجلس. ربما يكون هذا الوزير قد اخطأ، وهذا الامر متروك للقضاء للبت به. ونحن نكن للقضاء كامل الثقة، وواثقون من حسن تطبيق العدالة. انما ما لا نقبل به هو التوقف عند هذا الحد من التحقيق وعدم متابعته في العمق كجلاء كل الحقيقة مهما كانت جارحة او فاضحة. نطالب في اطار محاربة الفساد والرشوة والهدر والصفقات فتح جميع الملفات التي سبق لبعض المسؤولين ان تراشقوا الاتهامات بخصوصها . الشعب كله يتكلم عن هذه الملفات، والاشاعات تملأ جميع الصالونات، وهي لا تخلوا من التفاصيل الدقيقة التي يجب على الدولة التحقيق فيها لتكذيبها او لاعلان صحتها . من حق الشعب معرفة الحقيقة ووضع حد للاقاويل والتسريبات التي من شأنها الحاق الضرر الجسيم بمصداقية البلد واقتصاده المهزوز . يجب تطبيق ما قيل البارحة عن لسان فخامة الرئيس ان

لا احد فوق القانون، وبالتالي يجب تطبيق القانون على الجميع دون استثناء، ومهما علا شأنهم.

دولة الرئيس،

لا بد لي من المطالبة باعطاء الطائفة الارمنية حقوقها المشروعة في تعيينات الفئة الاولى. انتظرنا طويلا في كل مرة ولكن عبثا. قريبا سوف يعلن عن تعيينات جديدة، نأمل ان لا تكون حصتنا في سلة المهملات. عندنا الكفاءات اللازمة والمطلوبة. نحن مستعدون لخدمة هذا الوطن، وبالتالي نطالب ان نكون موجودين بحجم حقوقنا وقدراتنا.

اخيرا لا بد لي من التذكير والسؤال عن مصير قرار شراء طائرة او اكثر لاطفاء الحرائق. نحن قادمون على ابواب الصيف وسوف تبدأ الحرائق كالعادة وتلتهم احراجنا الخضراء. فهل المسؤولون يفكرون جديا بوضع حد لهذه الحرائق الموسمية التي تدخل نظرية لبنان الاخضر.

وشكرا

Appendix 6.13

Hagop Choukhadarian – 12 July 1999

Speech by Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian during the deliberations on the State Budget during Saleem El Hoss's Government in 1999.

Official Minutes of the Chamber o Deputies (1999): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 12 July 1999.

اغوب جوخداريان: دولة الرئيس، ايها الزملاء،

قبل ان ابدأ بمناقشة مشروع قانون الموازنة اود ان احيي صمود اللبنانين عامة وموقفهم الشجاع المشرف الموحد تجاه الاعتداءات الاسرائيلية الاجرامية الغاشمة خاصة الاخيرة منها التي تستهدف الابرياء والمدنيين والبنى التحتية، واحيي تلاحم الشعب والجيش الوطني والمقاومة في مجابهة العدو الذي لن يستطيع النيل من صمودنا مهما حاول ومهما استعمل من وسائل حربه الاجرامية البشعة.

كما اود ان الفت الى موضوع هام هو موضوع التصريح المنسوب الى مصادر وزارية، الذي تناول شخص الرئيس السابق للحكومة. فان ما جاء في هذا التصريح لامر مؤسف، ونستنكره اشد الاستنكار، خاصة انه ينسب الكلام الى مصدر لا يسميه او يحدد هويته او شخصيته، في الوقت الذي كان فيه فخامة الرئيس رفض ويرفض باستمرار التصريحات المنسوبة الى مصادر قريبة منه باعتبار انه لا يقبل اي كلام صادر عنه او منه الا مقرونا باسمه او معطى منه شخصيا ليتحمل مسؤولية كلامه وموقفه وذلك لما عرف عنه من جرأة الكلمة وشجاعة الموقف لا التلطي والاختباء وراء اسماء وهمية ومصادر مزعومة، وهذا ما كان يفترض بالحكومة استلهامه والتمثل به والتعاطي بروحه.

وهنا اود كذلك ان احيي هذا العهد ونهجه وفخامة الرئيس العماد اميل لحود - هذا الرجل الفعال - الذي اعاد الامور الوطنية الى نصابها، واصلح الخلل الذي كانت تعانيه بعض شؤوننا الاقتصادية والادارية والاجتماعية والسياسية. انه قائد وطني بكل ما تعنيه هذه الكلمة لما يتحلى به من صفات عالية تتطلبها القيادة الوطنية والسياسية، فكما كان لجيشنا رمزا وقدوة ومثالا، فهو لكل وطننا رمز وقدوة ومثال، يجب ان نحتذي به ونسير على نهجه العامل على انتشال لبنان من ازماته المتنوعة والتي كانت حربنا الاهلية الطويلة وحروب الاخرين على ارضنا هي العوامل الاساسية في خلقها وفيما تفجر في بلدنا من محن ومصائب وويلات.

انه وضع يده على الجرح واوقف النزف ويعمل على تعويض ما خسرناه ليعيد البلد الى حالة الصحة والعافية والى اجواء الامن والاستقرار والاطمئنان.

وهنا نشكر الله على الانسجام القائم بين فخامة الرئيس والحكومة، ان هذه الحكومة تتجاوب مع نهج رئيس البلاد وتعمل على تنفيذ توجيهاته وتوصياته وان لنا بين اعضائها اصدقاء اكفاء مخلصون لوطنهم وقضايا شعبهم يعملون كل ما في وسعهم لتخليص الوطن من مشكلاته الكثيرة التي تراكمت مع الزمن.

واما فيما نحن نناقشه من بنود الموازنة وخلفياتها واهدافها القريبة والبعيدة، فلا شك، انها موازنة الامر الواقع والظروف الراهنة وقد فرضت ارقامها عوامل الوضع الاقتصادي المتدهور والازمة المالية وحالة العجز والمديونية وكلفة خدمتها.

اننا نقدر الظرف الذي وضعه فيه مشروع قانون الموازنة لضبط المديونة ولجم خدمة الدين العام والسيطرة على العجز ومنع تفاقمه حفاظا على استقرار النقد الوطني وصيانة للمالية العامة للدولة ووقفا للاهدار.

ونثمن عاليا الخطوات التي اتخذت لاكمال مسيرة البناء والاعمار التي كانت بدأت مع الحكومات السابقة، والتي لا يمكن لاي كان انكار نتائجها الملموسة المفيدة للبلد.

ان مشروع الموازنة، الذي يفرض حالة من التقشف وبعض الضرائب والرسوم، والحمد لله، انها لن تطال الفئات الفقيرة والمتوسطة لان مجلسنا اعاد النظر ببعض هذه الضرائب والرسوم التي تمس الفئات غير القادرة والتي تعاني حياتيا ومعيشيا من الازمة الاقتصادية القاتمة.

ان مشروع الموازنة لا شك يحاول انعاش الدورة الاقتصادية ومساعدة القوى والقطاعات الانتاجية وتأمين الضمانات الاجتماعية ومستلزمات العيش الكريم اللائق وتوفير فرص العمل للشباب اللبناني منعا للهجرة وتخفيفا منها. الا انه بالرغم من كل ذلك، تشوبه شوائب وتنقصه امورا ضرورية جدا حياتية وانسانية.

فمن الرجوع الى فذلكة الموازنة نرى انها حددت النفقات بعد تخفيضها بمبلغ 8360 مليار ليرة لبنانية، كما انها قدرت الواردات لعام 1999 بمبلغ 4990 مليار ليرة لبنانية. وبالتالي سوف يكون العجز 3370 مليار ليرة لبنانية لعام 1999. هذه الارقام غير مقنعة ومنها على سبيل المثال ان مجموع المبالغ المحصلة حتى نهاية شهر حزيران 1999 اي عن ستة اشهر بلغت 2045 مليار ليرة حسب ما افادنا به رئيس لجنة المال بعد اتصاله بوزير المال، وبالتالي فان مجموع الواردات لن يتعدى ال 4100 مليار ليرة في نهاية 1999 . كما ان النفقات لن تتوقف عند سقف 8360 مليار ليرة بل ستفوق ال 9000 مليار ليرة. وهنا اطرح صراحة سؤالين على دولة رئيس مجلس الوزراء.

هل الحكومة واثقة انها ستنجح في تحصيل 4990 مليار ليرة؟

وهل الحكومة واثقة انها لن تنفق اكثر من 8360 مليار ليرة؟

انني واثق ان عجز الموازنة سيزيد عن 50% ولن يتوقف عند حدود 40% كما هو وارد في الفذلكة.

من جهة ثانية لقد اجمعت الهيئات الاقتصادية ونقابات المهن الحرة على معارضة هذه الموازنة بسبب الرسوم الضرائب الجديدة المفروضة. ونحن نعتقد ان مجموع الواردات لن يتعدى هذا العام مجموع واردات عام 1998 لان زيادة بعض الرسوم سوف يسبب انخفاضا في الاستيراد وبالتالي انخفاضا في الواردات رغم زيادة الرسوم والضرائب مما سيلحق ضررا اكيدا في الطبقة المتوسطة.

ومن جهة اخرى اين الاعتمادات المخصصة لمدينة بيروت، وهل لا يحق لعاصمة لبنان ان تستفيد من الانماء المتوازن؟ وهنا يمكننا القول ان الانماء اصبح متوازنا في لبنان بعد ان غاب بصورة متوازنة عن جميع مناطق لبنان.

ومن ثم فروقات رواتب الموظفين والمتقاعدين وكل العاملين في خدمة الدولة عن الفترة بين اول كانون الثاني 1996 واخر كانون الاول 1998؟ انهم عانوا الامرين في انتظارها. لماذا لم يلحظها مشروع الموازنة لتصل بالسرعة المرجوة الي جيوب مستحقيها خاصة انهم في امس الحاجة اليها وخاصة، انها حقوق ثابتة لهم بعد ان اقر مجلسنا الكريم القانون القاضي بصرفها؟

لماذا تؤجل هذه الفروقات الى مشروع الرؤية الاقتصادية الخمسية.

لماذا لا تدفع هذه الفروقات التي بالتأكيد ستساهم في تحريك العجلة الاقتصادية المجمدة منذ عدة سنوات.

ان هذا الموضوع الحساس الخطير كان يجب ان يأتي على رأس اولويات مشروع الموازنة وان يدخل في صلبها وبما انه لم يحصل ذلك فاننا نطالب ونصر ونلح على ان يكون اولوية الاولويات في مشروع الرؤية الخمسية ودون ابطاء او تأخير او ممطالة او تسويف.

اننا على ثقة ويقين بان قلة قليلة من الموظفين ستبقى منحرفة بعد قبض هذه الفروقات. اما في ظل الوضع السائد فلن تنفع العصا ولا القانون ولا التأديب ولا التطهير.

دولة الرئيس،

مع الجوع والحاجة والفقر والعوز والمرض لا توجد حرية، لا توجد ديمقراطية، تبقى هذه شعارات فارغة فقط لا محتوى حقيقي لها.

وموضوع اخر: لماذا لا تعطى تعاونية موظفي الدولة حقها من مشروع الموازنة؟ ان ملف التعاونية يجب ان يفتح على مصراعيه.

ان حالة التعاونية اليوم هي حالة طبيب «يوصف» الاسبرين او البانادول لمريض حالته ثقيلة. لذلك نتمنى ان يعالج موضوع التعاونية بجدية تامة في الرؤية الاقتصادية الخمسية.

دولة الرئيس،

المأخذ الاول والاساسي على هذه الحكومة هو تفاقم الازمة المعيشية منذ توليها الحكم. المواطنون يجمعون على القول ان لازمة المعيشية في ظل الحكومات السابقة كانت اقل حدة من اليوم. فالضيقة الاجتماعية باعتراف الجميع قد تضاعفت الى درجة مخيفة ومرفوضة. غالبية الناس جياع. المحلات لا تستفتح. المصانع تقفل ابوابها وتصرف موظفيها، الشركات تصرف العديد من العاملين لديها لتخفيف مصاريفها. ارباب العائلات المتوسطة وكيف بالاحرى الفقيرة منها لم يعد بامكانهم تأمين حاجات الحياة الضرورية من مأكل وملبس وتدريس وتطبيب. اما الاستشفاء فاصبح رفاهية مستحيلة لقسم كبير من الشعب. وما القول عن البطالة فحدث ولا حرج. العاطلون عن العمل يزداد عددهم بسرعة صاروخية. والباحثون عن عمل، واي عمل كان، فكثيرون. يطلبون اي عمل لتأمين لقمة العيش لعيالهم. لا يتطلبون الوظيفة عملا بشهاداتهم او مؤهلاتهم. بل يطلبون فقط اي عمل للخروج من حالة الاستعطاء والمحافظة على كرامتهم. العديد من الشباب يهاجرون. البلد يفرغ من القوى المنتجة والتي هو بحاجة اليها. البلد يفرغ من الادمغة. كثير من الشبان المثقفين عادوا الى وطنهم، وبعد بحث طويل عن عمل بمنزلة علمهم بقوا عاطلين عن العمل ولمدة طويلة، فاضطروا مجددا الى الهجرة حفاظا على عزتهم وكرامتهم. ماذا فعلت الحكومة لجلب الاستثمارات؟ ماذا فعلت الحكومة لزيادة فرص العمل؟ ماذا فعلت الحكومة للحد من الهجرة؟ ماذا فعلت الحكومة للحد من تفاقم الازمة المعيشية؟ هذه اسئلة عن السنة جميع الناس وهي تبقى دون جواب. الشعب يتعذب، الشعب يتألم، الشعب يجوع، الشعب يصرخ، انما دون جدوى.

والله يعلم الى متى، صبر المواطن قنبلة موقوتة، على المسؤولين ايلاء كل وقتهم وجهدهم وعلمهم وخبرتهم لنشل المواطن من وضعه الاجتماعي اليائس قبل انفجار القنبلة الموقوتة.

واخيرا لا بد لي من التطرق سريعا لبعض المواضيع المختلفة.

اولا: ان الادارة لا تزال فاسدة. والرشوة في الادارات الرسمية لا تزال مستشرية وشرسة اكثر واكثر، فاين الاصلاح الاداري؟ وما هي الخطوات التي تنوي الحكومة اتخاذها لوضع حد لهذا الفساد والرشوة.

ثانيا: اين قرارات السلطة بشأن منع استعمال الجهاز الخليوي من قبل سائق السيارة. الا تكفي حوادث السير التي تؤدي الى مزيد من الضحايا كل يوم؟

ثالثا: اين صارت قضية شراء طائرة لاطفاء الحرائق؟ اليست هذه الطائرة حاجة وطنية لاطفاء حرائق الاحراج والغابات ومؤخرا محطات الجمهور وبصاليم؟ واين اصبحت محطات تكرير المياه المبتذلة التي سوق تعطي للبنان وجهه الحضاري وتلبي بالتالي طلبات بلدان البحر الابيض المتوسط.

رابعا: اين اصبحت تعيينات الفئة الاولى في الادارات والمؤسسات العامة لكي نرى ان كانت الحكومة الحالية ستعطي الطائفة الارمنية حقها المشروع في التعيينات عملا بالوعود المعطاة واحتراما لدستور الطائف.

خامسا: اين قانون الانتخاب الذي ننتظره بفارغ الصبر والذي نطالب ان يحترم مبدأ المساواة بين المواطنين.

سادسا: اين نحن من فكرة دمج الوزارات. املنا ان يصار الى صرف النظر نهائيا عن فكرة دمج وزارة البيئة بوزارة اخرى، اذ بالعكس فاننا نطالب بتعزيز صلاحياتها نظرا لاهميتها في لبنان، ولاهمية وجودها بالنسبة للعالم.

سابعا: اين نحن في تعزيز دور التفتيش القضائي الذي عليه التحقيق واتخاذ الاجراءات التأديبية المناسبة وليس الاكتفاء باستلام الشكوى والسكوت عنها فيما بعد.

ثامنا: اين نحن من انشاء وزارة للتصميم والتخطيط والانماء من اجل وضع حد للهدر القائم لانتفاء التنسيق بين الوزارات والمؤسسات العامة.

تاسعا: لماذا لا يكون ديوان المحاسبة مرتبطا مباشرة بمجلس النواب طالما ان دوره مراقبة الانفاق في ادارات الدولة، ودور مجلس النواب هو مراقبة اعمال السلطة التنفيذية وبربط ديوان المحاسبة بمجلس النواب نكون قد اعطينا لهذا الاخير دوره الكامل في المراقبة.

عاشرا: بالنسبة لخدمة العلم. اكثرية الناس تطالب بالغائها اسوة بفرنسا. وفي لبنان لم تعط النتائج المرجوة. ان كانت الفكرة الاساسية التوفير على خزينة الدولة فهل فكرنا كم هي مضرة لميزانية العائلة؟ وكم هي السبب لعدم عودة الكثير من الشبان الى وطنهم لبنان؟

دولة الرئيس،

ختاما اناشد الحكومة ايلاء هذه المطالب الاولوية القصوى لانها ضمانة ديمومة لبنان، كما ارجو الا يستمر التقشف طويلا وان كان الوحيد الكفيل بانتشال البلد من ازمته الاقتصادية الراهنة، وان نعود الى ما كنا فيه من عز وبحبوحة ورفاه.

اننا نعيش في جنة طبيعية نحسد عليها رغم ما يشوبها من بعض التلوث، انما نعيش ايضا في جحيم اقتصادي اجتماعي نغرق فيه، فعسى ان يوفقنا الله الى تحويل جحيمنا الى جنة ونعيم والسلام عليكم.

Appendix 6.14

Hagop Choukhadarian – 1 February 2000

Deputy Hagop Choukhadarian's speech during a discussion on the State Budget on 1 February 2000, proposing that April 24 be declared as an official holiday in Lebanon.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2000): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 1 February 2000.

اغوب جوخادريان: دولة الرئيس، الزملاء الكرام،

نحتار من اين نبدأ. من البديهيات في مدح حكومة اعضاؤها يتحلون بنظافة الكف والكفاءة او نبدأ من المعاناة العامة عند اللبنانيين بالمقارنة مع ما تنطوي عليه موازنة الحكومة لعام 2000 .

الخلاصة السريعة تشير الى ان هذه الموازنة العادية جدا لا تساعد اطلاقا على تحريك الاوضاع الاقتصادية في لبنان فالتقشف ليس بعصر النفقات فقط، بل هو صرف مدروس لخفض الانفاق العام. هذه المسألة البديهية لا نرى حكومتنا الموقرة تعيرها ادنى اهتمام كان المطلوب ان يبقى المواطن يرزح تحت اعباء غلاء المعيشة المستفحلة، ويعاني البطالة ويذهب الى حد تقديم الرجاء للمسؤولين للحصول على بطاقة استشفائية مثلا .

دولة الرئيس،

نسمع الكثير عن فضائح في الضمان الصحي مثلا، لكن لا نعرف كيف جرت التحقيقات وكيف انتهت والى ماذا انتهت. هل استرد الضمان الصحي الاموال من ذمة مرتكبي التزويرات؟ كنا نامل ان تتحول هذه القضايا الى امثولات وطنية رادعة، فهل لدى المسؤولين الجواب الشافي عن ذلك؟

بالطبع، لم نكن لنرغب في اثارة مثل هذه المسألة لو لم تتقاطع مع غيرها من الفضائح التي جرى الكشف عنها والتي لا نعرف بالضبط الى ماذا انتهت هل استردت الدولة اموالها؟

دولة الرئيس،

البلد، لم يعد يتحمل المزيد من الركود الاقتصادي: البطالة فيه مستفحلة ومعلمو المدارس المؤتمنون على اولادنا ما زالو في حركة كفاح مستمرة لنيل حقوقهم، فيما نحن كنا نستبشر خيرا في كل مدة كان وزير التربية يعلن عن حلول لهذا القطاع، غير اننا لا نلبث ان نتفاجأ بان الحلول لا تعدو كونها حبر على ورق، فتتكرر مأساة المدرسين ويتكرر معها تشريد

التلامذة في الطرقات السنا على ابواب اضراب جديد للمدرسين في المدارس الرسمية؟ فماذا كانت الحكومة جادة في معالجة هذه القضية، فاين الاعتمادات المضافة والمرصودة في هذه الموازنة للمدرسين الرسمين؟

وما دمنا نشير الى ذلك، فلا بد من لفت الانتباه ايضا الى حقوق الاساتذة الجامعيين. اليس معيبا ان يبقى هذا القطاع ايضا من دون حلول ناجعة؟ وهل لدى الوزير المختص الجواب الشافي عن ذلك؟

دولة الرئيس،

اننا، وفي ظل الكلام عن اوضاع الاساتذة في لبنان، يصح ان نفتح الباب ايضا على اوضاع الموظفين في القطاع العام الذين وللاسف يعيشون حالة من الذعر وعدم الاستقرار للمصير المجهول الذي ينتظرهم، كموظفو تلفزيون لبنان، التلفزيون الرسمي للدولة مثلا .

كنت اتمنى عدم اثارة هذا الموضوع بالتحديد، الا ان ما يشهده اعلامنا الرسمي يدفعنا الى التساؤل: الى متى سيبقى موظفو تلفزيون لبنان قابعون في الخوف من المصير المجهول الذي ينتظرهم. استبشرنا خيرا منذ عام تقريبا ان ترتيبا جذريا لهذه المؤسسة سيحصل وانه ستستقيم الامور وبالتالي اوضاع العاملين فيه، فاذا بنا اليوم نشهد وللاسف ترتيب على مستوى مجلس الادارة فيما الحلول بالنسبة للموظفين مؤجلة. وبالمقابل، تتنامى الينا من هنا وهناك دراسات حلول تحمل في طيها اجحافا بحق المواطنين وليس حقا وانصافا. نسمع كلاما للمسؤولين مليء بالامل لكننا سرعان ما نتعجب عندما نرى تحركا مطلبيا للموظفين يطالب ليس بانصافهم انما بدفع رواتبهم. فيا للعجب لحلول نسمع بها منصفة ونكتشف بعد حين انها مجحفة .

ان مثل هذه النظرة، تحملنا الى التعمق في اوضاع اللبنانيين الاقتصادية والاجتماعية. ولا بد من توجيه كلمة شكر للمؤسسات الاجتماعية على مساعداتها لغير الميسورين، هي التي اخذت دور الدولة في مساندة المعوز والمحتاج. لكن السؤال: هل ان الوزارة المختصة تحققت من وضع الجمعيات الخيرية والاجتماعية العاملة ميدانيا من تلك التي لا وجود لها الا في اطار العلم والخبر؟

دولة الرئيس،

اللبنانيون، يراقبون اداء النواب اذا ما كان يتناسب مع مضمون خطاب القسم لسيد العهد، وهو القائد الوطني المناسب في الوقت المناسب، وهو الرمز والقدوة والمثال. وعليه ونحن علينا ان نراقب مدى جدية والتزام اعضاء الحكومة سواء بمضمون خطاب القسم او بالبيان الوزاري الذى نالت عليه هذه الحكومة ثقة مجلسنا الموقر .

اقول، وهذا من باب لفت الانتباه، الى ما يتردد على السنة اللبنانيين في ان هذه الحكومة لم تستطع ترجمة خطاب القسم ميدانيا. فعندما كشف عن فضائح فرح اللبنانيون، لكنهم الان يتسألون الى ماذا انتهت، ونحن نرفع هذا السؤال معهم فهل من مجيب؟

من هذا الواقع ننطلق الى لفت الانتباه الى ملف المهجرين، فنسأل: متى سيقفل هذا الملف بعودة المهجرين الى منازلهم، مع ما يعنيه ذلك من استنهاض لاوضاع المناطق التي شهدت التهجير. فعشر سنوات مرت على اتفاق الطائف وبدء مسيرة السلم الاهلي ولم يقف هذا الملف ولم نستشعر بتوجه جدي عند الحكومة يحدد لنا موعدا ثابتا ونهائيا لعودة جميع المهجرين في المناطق الداخلية على الاقل.

هذه الفجوة في الموقف الرسمي تحملنا على التساؤل ايضا عن توجه نحو اقامة وتحقيق الانماء المتوازن في المناطق اللبنانية، اذ بدلا من ذلك نرى الفلاحين والمزارعين يعانون تارة من عوامل الطبيعة وطورا من ارتفاع اسعار المواد الزراعية الاولية والادوية الخاصة بمكافحة الاوبئة، فضلا عن معاناة مستمرة من انتفاء الاهتمام الرسمي بتصريف الانتاج الزراعي، فيما المستهلك اللبناني يدفع اضعاف اضعاف اثمان الانتاج الزراعي عندما يصل اليه، ورغم ذلك فلم نسمع عن معالجة جدية في هذه المسألة، واننا اذا ما سمعنا بمعالجة، فهي من باب الخجل ورفع العتب بعدما يكون المزارع قد رمى نتاج ارضه من الكساد.

دولة الرئيس،

ان معالجة المشاكل الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والمالية في لبنان، آن اوان خروجها من اطار النظريات والدراسات البعيدة عن ارض الواقع. الجوع الكافر المطبق على المواطنين لا يشبعه ويروي غليله دراسات ومحاضرات تفند التركة الثقيلة. البطون الجائعة نشتهي لقمة الخبز. هي شبعت من اسطوانة التركة الثقيلة وتفتش عن البديل، هو البديل السريع المتحرك الذي يعيد الشبع الى البطون لتنصرف العقول الى الانتاج المجدي.

دولة الرئيس،

ما نفع ان يكون لدينا حكومة نظيفة تصل النظافة معها الى حدود غياب الحلول الانية والخطط المرحلية لاستنهاض الوضع الاقتصادي او اقله وقفه عند الحدود التي بلغها.

دولة الرئيس،

كان بودي ان اناقش الموازنة العامة بندا بندا بعد مناقشة فذلكتها، ولكت الواقع المر الذي يعاني منه اللبناني جعلني افضل مطالبة الحكومة بفرض الشفافية على: فواتير الكهرباء والماء والهاتف وما الى هنالك من فواتير ورسوم تسلخ جلد المواطنين، اذ لا يعقل وسط هذا الركود الاقتصادي ان نضيف الاعباء العشوائية على اللبنانيين، ذلك انه عندما تسلم سيد العهد مهامه استبشروا خيرا، وكل ما نرجوه الا تخيب هذه الحكومة في اعمالها امالهم وان لا تغرق بنقطة ماء كما حصل معها ابان العاصفة الطبيعية التي اضرت بالحجر كما بالبشر.

دولة الرئيس،

امام هذه الموازنة التي جاءت اقل من عادية، لا يسعني الا المطالبة بالاهتمام ب-«الانسان اللبناني»، الذي يشكل ثروة الوطن في النتيجة الاخيرة.

وما من شك في ان ايلاء اللبناني الاهتمام والرعاية اللذان يستحقهما في اي منطقة من المناطق اللبنانية، يشكل المدخل الاساسي لانعاش الوطن ولقطع دابر القوى الخارجية التي تحول الارهاب وتغذية في التغلغل الى الوسط اللبناني. فلو كنا كذلك، لما كان حدث ما حدث في الضنية، علما بانه لولا الجيش اللبناني وحسمه الوضع بسرعة قصوى، لكانت الخسائر افداح في مختلف المجالات.

وللمناسبة، اراني انوه بدور جيشنا الباسل مع من نوه بهذا الدور الرائد، فهو عماد السلم الاهلي وعنوان الوفاق الوطني، سواء ادى دوره في الضنية او ادى دوره في الجنوب في المناطق المتاخمة للاحتلال الاسرائيلي.

بالطبع، مثل هذه الالتفاتة، لا بد ان تاخذ في الاعتبار دور المقاومة في الحاق الخسائر بالعدو وحفزه على الانسحاب من لبنان، الامر الذي يجعلنا نكرر تاييدنا لها في دورها الرائد الى جانب الجيش اللبناني.

دولة الرئيس، لم نفاجأ في المواقف الاسرائيلية التي تحاول تاليب مسار تفاوضي على اخر، فهذه عادتها وهذا هو اسلوبها التفاوضي، مثلما لم نتفاجأ بالموقف السوري الصلب والشجاع في تحميل اسرائيل مسؤولية وقف المفاوضات على خلفية عدم امتثالها للحقوق السورية في استرداد الجولان كاملا حتى خط الرابع من حزيران من عام 1967.

ونحن، اذ ننوه بهذا الدور الرائد لسوريا الاسد، فاننا نعتبر ان نجاح المفاوضات على المسار السوري الاسرائيلي يصب في مصلحة العرب والعروبة. كما يقود الى نجاح على المسار اللبناني. ولذلك، فمن مصلحة لبنان ان يكرر التلازم في المسارين والا يتخلى عن المطالبة بتطبيق قرار مجلس الامن الدولي الرقم 425 باعتباره يكفل انسحاب اسرائيل من الاراضي اللبنانية، مثلما يكفل عدم وقوع المفاوض اللبناني في شرك المفاوض الاسرائيلي الذي لن يألو جهدا في المطالبة باعادة ترسيم الحدود ما بين اسرائيل ولبنان، والاحتفاظ بالاراضي البنانية التي ضمها الى اسرائيل في مرحلة ما بعد العام 1978 تحت عنوان «تجميل الحدود مع لبنان» كما سيحاول الاستيلاء على مياهنا وفرض التوطين الذي نرفضه بالاجماع.

دولة الرئيس، اننا في ظل دخول المنطقة مرحلة المفاوضات، حيث يتحدد مصيرها، ينبغي علينا تحصين الساحة الداخلية، والتحصين يبدأ بتفعيل الاوضاع الاقتصادية والانتاجية والانمائية والاجتماعية كي لا تفوت علينا فرصة العودة الى العمل الانتاجي وتثبيت الهوية اللبنانية على الخريطة العالمية.

دولة الرئيس،

واخيرا لا بد لي من التطرق سريعا لبعض المواضيع المختلفة:

اولا: رغم انقضاء اكثر من سنة على تولي هذه الحكومة مقاليد الحكم، فالفساد في الادارة لا زال موجودا، لا بل تفاقم الى اقصى الحدود. وبعض الموظفين اصبحوا دون حياء، يفرضون رسمهم الخاص على كل معاملة ولا يخجلون. المواطن اصبح تحت رحمتهم والا نامت معاملته او الزم بدفع اضعاف اضعاف الرسوم او الضرائب العادلة. فاين الاصلاح الاداري.

ثانيا: اين صارت قضية شراء طائرة لاطفاء الحرائق. نطالب بها منذ امد بعيد وعدة مرات وفي كل مناسبة لما فيه من ضرورة من اجل حماية الغابات والبيئة في لبنان. الاموال تحضر فورا لمشاريع اقل اهمية، اما بالنسبة لهذا الموضوع فلا حياة لمن تنادي .

ثالثا: ننوه بجهود لجنة البيئة برئاسة صديقنا الاستاذ اكرم شهيب الذي نجح في ايجاد حل تدريجي للسيارات المزودة بمحرك ديازل على المازوت. فلولا هذه التوصية الجريئة التي سوف تقترن باقتراح قانون لكان تلوث الهواء في لبنان يصل الى مشارف الخطر المحتم .

رابعا: ان الاضرار اللاحقة بالمواطنين بسبب هطول الامطار الغزيرة في المدة الاخيرة، لا بد ان يتم التعويض عنها، لان بعض المواطنين فقدوا كل شيء حتى فراشهم ولم يعودوا يملكون شيئا. فاي ضمير حي يقبل بذلك؟

خامسا: كما سبق وقلنا فان الازمة الاقتصادية تلحق اضرارا جسيمة بالمؤسسات الصناعية والتجارية وذلك منذ عدة سنوات. ورغم ذلك نرى دوائر ضريبة الدخل تفرض على تلك المؤسسات ضرائب فاحشة بعيدة كل البعد عن الواقع الاليم. فتكلف تلك المؤسسات بضرائب استنسابية يتعذر على المؤسسة دفعها، وبالتالي تتعثر اية معاملة مالية تلاحقها تلك المؤسسات. لذلك نطالب دوائر ضريبة الدخل ان تكون اكثر واقعية واقل استنسابية واكثر تحسسا مع تدهور الوضع الاقتصادي .

سادسا: العديد من المؤسسات الصناعية والتجارية تصرف موظفيها وعمالها بسبب الركود الاقتصادي. وهذا يسبب البطالة يجب ردع تلك المؤسسات عن الصرف الجماعي اذ ان الطبقة العاملة ستبقى عاطلة عن العمل في وقت هي بامس الحاجة للعمل من اجل تامين العيش الكريم .

سابعا: اخيرا مثل كل مرة لا بد لي من التطرق لحقوق الطائفة الارمنية. فرغم ان دستور الطائف اقر لها بحقوق معينة، ورغم مطالباتنا المتكررة، فلا نرى ان الحكومة تستجيب لمطالبنا المحقة. فلا زلنا محرومين من حصتنا في وظائف الفئة الاولى، والفئة الثانية، وغيرها من الفئات الادارية. الى متى سنظل نطالب بهذه الحقوق المشروعة؟ الى متى سنظل نحس اننا مواطنون من الفئة الثانية، رغم اننا ولدنا في هذا الوطن واعطيناه كل شيء ولا نزال نعطيه وسنعطيه دائما .

ومن ثم لماذا لا يخصص يوما للتعطيل الرسمي بمناسبة ذكرى شهداء الارمن في 24 نيسان مثلا لكي يشعر الارمن ان جميع اللبنانيين يشاركونهم في هذه الذكرى الاليمة .

واخيرا لماذا لا تكرس اللغة الارمنية في مناهج التعليم الثانوي بمثابة لغة ثالثة مثل اللغات الاسبانية او الروسية او الالمانية او غيرها .

دولة الرئيس،

ختاما اناشد الحكومة اعطاء اذان صاغية لجميع هذه المطالب المحقة انصافا للشعب ولجميع فئاته. الشعب يامل، الشعب يصبر، الشعب ينتظر نتائج ملموسة وليس نظريات ودراسات، للشعب حق العيش وعلى الدولة تامين العيش الكريم له بكل معنى الكلمة والسلام عليكم.

Appendix 7

Yeghia Jeredjian

Appendix 7.1

Yeghia Jeredjian – 2 November 2000

Speech given by Deputy Yeghia Jeredjian during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Rafik El Hariri's 65th Government, before abstaining from voting.

Official Minutes (2000): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 2 November 2000.

يغي جرجيان: دولة الرئيس،

زملائي الكرام،

يعقد مجلسنا النيابي الكريم جلسته المخصصة لمناقشة البيان الحكومي، في مرحلة يمر فيها لبنان من أدق المراحل في تاريخه المعاصر، ومن الطبيعي أن تفرض خصوصيات هذه المرحلة نفسها بقوة على البيان الوزاري وعلى جلساتنا المخصصة لمناقشته، وقبل الدخول في مناقشة البيان الحكومي، أجد نفسي ملزماً بتسجيل ملاحظة هامة جداً بنظري وهي: عدم تطرق البيان الوزاري إلى الحكومة السابقة الذي كان في ثلثه انتقادات واتهامات موجهة إلى الحكومة التي سبقتها، وكان أعضاء هذه الحكومة مؤرخون ونقاد وليسوا بسلطة تنفيذية تتبنى خطة عمل مستقبلية لانقاذ الوطن والمواطن من الأزمات والمصاعب التي يعيش فيها، وعلى صعيد الممارسة أيضاً، التزمت الحكومة بهذا الخط.

كان الشعب يطالب بتأمين العمل، كنا نسمع كلاماً عن "التركة الثقيلة"، كان الشعب يطالب بالخبز، كنا نسمع كلاماً عن التركة الثقيلة حتى أصبحت عبارة "التركة الثقيلة" بمثابة "نكتة" على لسان المواطنين، هذا في الوقت التي تناست فيه هذه الحكومة السابقة أنه منذ الاستقلال حتى اليوم لم ترث أية حكومة متعاقبة من سابقتها "جنة عدن"، أما في البيان الوزاري الحالي، فإني أجد نظرة مستقبلية مميزة، متمنياً أن يقترن هذا الموقف الايجابي بترجمة حقيقية في ممارستها اليومية.

وبعد هذه الملاحظة، أرى بأن خصوصيات المرحلة تنقسم إلى شقين: الشق الإقليمي والشق المحلي، في عملية مترابطة بينهما.

فقد تطرق البيان الحكومي في شقه السياسي كلياً إلى معالجة الوضع الاقليمي ومتفرعاته من مختلف جوانبه، مركزاً بعمق على مخاطره وتحدياته في سبيل الوصول إلى السلام العادل والشامل والدائم، كهدف استراتيجي.

وعلى هذا الأساس، نجد من بين العناوين الرئيسية ما يلي:

1. الحفاظ على إنجاز المقاومة في تحرير الأرض والعمل على تثميره في كل المجالات.

2. استكمال تحرير الأرض حتى آخر شبر منها.

3. تحرير جميع الأسرى والمعتقلين في السجون الاسرائيلية ألفت نظر الحكومة إلى أنني لم أجد في البيان الوزاري أي إشارة إلى ضرورة تأمين حياة كريمة للأسرى والمحررين الأبطال، لأن ذلك من أولى واجباتنا تجاههم.

4. معالجة قضية الوجود الفلسطيني في لبنان لجهة تثبيت مبدأ رفض التوطين باسم أي حجة وتحت أي شكل، وتكريس حق العودة إلى وطنهم فلسطين.

5. وقوف الحكومة من وراء الشعب الفلسطيني في انتفاضته من أجل تحرير أرضه واستعادة سيادته ووحدته وإقامة دولته المستقلة وعاصمتها القدس.

6. تأكيد الحكومة على مبدأ وحدة المسار والمصير التي تربط لبنان وسوريا في إطار استقلال وسيادة كل منهما، واعتبر أن الانتصار العظيم في الجنوب وهزيمة إسرائيل بهذه الصورة هو ثمرة نضال وصمود لبناني سوريا مشترك ، وصولاً إلى تحرير الجولان.

انطلاقاً من هذه الثوابت المبدئية، أعلن موافقتي المطلقة على سياسة الحكومة وإستراتيجيتها في سبيل سلام دائم وعادل وشامل.

أما على الصعيد الداخلي، أكدت الحكومة سعيها إلى تعزيز ثقة المواطن بالدولة وبالنظام السياسي، من خلال ارتكازها على بعض المبادئ والسياسات والممارسات.

وإنني أرى أن معظم هذه المبادئ والسياسات والممارسات جاءت في مكانها الصحيح، وتسعى إلى معالجة المشاكل الأساسية في البلدن ولكن، لدي بعض الملاحظات التي أريد تسجيلها وفقاً لتسلسلها في البيان الحكومي.

أولاً- الوفاق الوطني واستكمال عودة المهجرين: إنني أؤيد تأييداً مطلقاً إعطاء قضية المهجرين الأولوية القصوى، معتبراً أن هذه القضية ليست قضية اجتماعية فقط، بل هي قضية سياسية وطنية في الدرجة الأولى. متمنياً في الوقت نفسه أن تحل في أسرع وقت وأن لا يبقى مهجر واحد في وطنه، على أن تكون وزارة المهجرين لآخر مرة يسمع بها المواطن في لبنان، بعد أن ينتفي مبرر وجودها،

أما فيما يتعلق بقانون الانتخابات، فإنني أتوقع من الحكومة مشروع قانون انتخابات جديد، أكثر تطوراً وأكثر حداثة، يأخذ بعين الاعتبار سن الاقتراع (18 سنة)، ويعيد بيروت إلى حالتها الطبيعية كدائرة انتخابية واحدة.

ثانياً- سيادة القانون وحماية المواطن: إنني أوافق الحكومة على مبدأ "أن المرء بريء حتى

ثبوت إدانته"، كما أوافق الحكومة على مبدأ احترام استقلالية القضاءي، وهنا أتساءل: على أي أساس تمت استدعاءات بعض السياسيين؟ وهل كانت أسبابها سياسية؟ منتظراً الجواب على هذا السؤال ألفت نظر الحكومة إلى نقطة ثانية مهمة، ألا وهي ضرورة تسريع العمليات القضائية التي يشكو منها المواطن، بالإضافة إلى ضرورة تحسين وضع السجون والنظارات فيما يتعلق بتأمين الحد الأدنى من المستوى الصحي.

ثالثاً: الإعلام والحريات: أوافق الحكومة في اعتبارها أن الحرية والديموقراطية هما أساس نظامنا السياسي، ولكني أطالبها بضرورة اعتماد مبدأ حياد وسائل الاعلام الرسمي في القضايا الداخلية، وعدما لانحياز لطرف على حساب طرف آخر في معرض الموالاة والمعارضة، كما حصل في تلفزيون لبنان الرسمي أثناء الانتخابات النيابية الأخيرةن حيث شكل موقفه هذا إساءة لصورتنا ولمفهومنا في الديموقراطية التي نفتخر بها، ليس تجاه الرأي العام اللبناني فحسب، بل وتجاه الرأي العام العربي والدولي أيضاً.

رابعاً- الاهتمام بالشباب: إني أوافق الحكومة على سياستها في إعطاء الاهتمام لدور الشباب والرياضة، مع العلم أني كنت من الداعين إلى ضرورة استحداث وزارة الشباب ورياضة في لبنان، ولكني أريد أن أسجل خشيتي هنا من أن تصبح الأندية والاتحادات الرياضية والشبابية أسيرة لهذه الوزارة من خلال مختلف إجراءاتها وقوانينها الإدارية، فتفقد عندها هذه الأندية استقلاليتها وجزءاً هاماً من نشاطاتها، والجدير بالذكر أن معظم النوادي الرياضية تعغاني من أزمات مادية ، وإنني أردى أن من أولى واجبات الوزارة أن تقدم الدعم اللازم لهذه الأندية تشجيعاً للحياة الرياضية والشبابية في البلاد.

أما على الصعيد الاقتصادي، تعتزم الحكومة تفعيل الحركة الاقتصادية وتحفيز النمو، وكذلك المحافظة علىمستوى التقديمات الاجتماعية، دون أن يتطلب زيادة في معدلات الضرائب والرسوم، وذلك من خلال جملة من السياسات تتمثل في نقاطها الإحدى عشر الواردة في البيان.

فمن خلال قراءتي لهذه النقاط، لفت انتباهي ما يتعلق بالنقطتين الرابعة والخامسة حول السياسة الجمركية المرتبطة مباشرة بتشجيع الصناعة الوطنية وتشجيع الاستثمارات في لبنان، ذلك أن تسهيل الحصول على إجازات الدخول إلى لبنان واتخاذ الاجراءات الآيلة غلى خفض الحواجز الجمركية وإزالة العوائق غير الجمركية، وتبسيط الإجراءات الإدارية وتسريع إنجاز المعاملات وتفادي الروتين الإداري، كلها من الضروريات الأساسية لتشجيع الاستثمار ودعم الصناعة الوطنية.

أما على صعيد مواجهة الأزمة الاقتصادية والاجتماعية وتجاوزها، فإن الحكومة تقترح سياسة تقوم على أربعة عشر بنداً، وبشكل عام، أنا موافق على هذه السياسة، ولكني أسجل بعض الملاحظات على بعض البنود منها:

البند الثالث، حول الخصخصة، لا اريد أن أناقش هذا الموضوع من منطلق أيديولوجي بل سأطالب الحكومة باعتماد الشفافية وكل الشفافية في سياستها أثناء أية عملية تتعلق بموضوع الخصخصة، حتى تزول اية شكوك تقلق بال المواطن، بشأن المصلحة العليا للدولة.

أما في البند الرابع، تلفت الحكومة إلى أهمية الدعم للمؤسسات المتوسطة والصغيرة، هنا يجدر القول بأن الطبقة المتوسطة كانت بمثابة العمود الفقري للاقتصاد اللبناني، لكنها اليوم قد زالت من الوجود، واصبح هناك أغنياء وفقراء فقط، لذلك يجب العمل على إعادة خلق الطبقة المتوسطة.

أما في البند الخامس المتعلق بمشكلة الإدارة، فإن الحكومة تدق الشاكوش على رأس المسمار، إذ أنها تعد باقتراح مشاريع قوانين لتنظيم الإدارة وتحديثها، تشكل نقلة نوعية في هذا الإطار، خصوصاً على صعيد تبسيط وتسريع المعاملات الإدارية، التي تؤدي بدورها إلى تحرير المواطن من سلطة السماسرة والروتين الإداري.

أما على صعيد السياسة الاسكانية في البند السابع، غنني أرى بأن المشكلة السكانية، إلى جانب البطالة، هي أكبر دوافع الهجرة إلى الخارج، ومعالجتها هي بحد ذاتها معالجة لقضية وطنية كبيرة تستحق كل اهتمام.

أما في البند الثالث عشر حول الصناعة، فإننا نرى أن للاعلام دوراً أساسياً في تسويق المنتوجات الصناعية، وخصوصاً للشركات الأجنبية التي تمتلك إمكانات هائلة في استغلال هذه الوسيلة، لذلك أقترح على الحكومة أن تبادر إلى انتهاج خطة إعلامية تساهم في تسويق منتوجاتنا الوطنية.

وقبل أن أختم ملاحظاتي حول السياسة الاقتصادية أود أن أشير إلى أن موضوع السرية المصرفية قد غاب عن البيان الوزاري، أتمنى من دولة الرئيس أن يلتفت إلى هذه النقطة أثناء جواب الحكمة على مداخلات النواب.

وقبل أن أختم كلمتي هذه، أود الإشارة إلى موضوع هام غاب عن البيان الحكومي كلياً، وهو موضوع إلغاء الطائفية، ففي أية مناسبة يحي فيها عن الطائفية، ياقل "بالطائفية السياسية" وكان الطائفية تنحصر في الجانب السياسي فقط، ولا وجود لها في مجالات أخرى، بينما العكس هو الصحيح، ووجودها منتشر ومتغلغل كالفطر في كل المجالات، لذلك فإني أطلق عليها اسم "العقلية الطائفية" وليس الطائفية السياسية فقط.

إن الحرب الأهلية التي شهدها لبنان ودفع ثمنها غالياً جداًن كانت لها أسبابها الداخلية، والخارجية أما من الأسباب الداخلية، تبرز "العقلية الطائفية" فيها بشكل واضح لا مجال لنكرانه.

ونحن اليوم نبذل كل الجهود لبناء لاوطن، دون أن نعمل بموازاتها للقضاء على الأسباب الجوهرية للحروب المستقبلية ، هذا وإن بدء الغاء العقلية الطائفية فيجب أن يكون في النفوس وفي النصوص معاً، ومع إيماننا بأن هذا الموضوع لا يحل بين ليلة وضحاها، غلا أن المهم هو العمل في هذا لاسبيل، بدون توقف، انطلاقاً من ضرورة التمسك بروح الدستور اللبناني، الذي يشكل وحدة متماسكة باعتبار أنه لا يجوز التمسك ببعض مواده، والتخلي عن مواد أخرى فيه "مثلاً المادة 95 منه).

دولة الرئيس،

إنني أرى أن العقلية الطائفية تفرض نفسها بقوة، حتى اثناء طرح الموضوعات ذات الطابع الوطني، فعند التطرق إلى موضوع التوطين الفلسطيني في لبنان مثلاً، نسمع كلاماً من نوع، إن عدم حل هذه القضية بشكل عادل يؤدي إلى خلل في التوازن الطائفي، وكأن هذه القضية ليست بقضية وطنية إنسانية، بل تنحصر ببعد طائفي لها فقط، أو عندما نطرح مشكلة الهجرة، نسمع أسئلة من نوع: ماذا تشكل نسبة المسيحيين أو المسلمين من هذه الهجرة؟ وكأن هذه القضية ليست بقضية وطنية اجتماعية، بل تنحصر ببعد طائفي لها فقط، وعندما نطرح موضوع قانون انتخاب متطور، نسمع كلاماً عن عدد النواب المسيحيين المنتخبين بأصوات إسلامية، وعدد النواب المسلمين المنتخبين بأصوات مسيحية وكأن هذه القضية ليست بقضية وطنية سياسية، بل تنحصر ببعد طائفي لها فقط.

أكثر من ذلك، أني أتذكر قبل سنوات أثناء انتخابات اتحاد كرة القدم، كل ناديان عريقان في لعبة الكرة اللبنانية وهما الهومنمن لدى كل منهما مرشحه، وبعد مداولات وتدخلات عدة سمعت كلاماً يقول بأنه من المستبعد أن يكون شخصان من الطائفة الأرمنية في الاتحاد، وأنني أقول بأننا إذا استمرينا في اتباع هذه العقلية، سنصل إلى يوم نحد فيه "منتخبنا الوطني"، موزع على حصص طائفية، أي حارس المرمى من طائفة كذا، وخط الدفاع من طائفة كذا والهجوم من طائفة أخرى، ولا أعرف عندها إذ سيكون للطائفة الأرمنية والطائفة العلوية الكريمة مكان لهما على مقعد الاحتياط ، لكي ينتسبوا إلى الفريق الأساسي حينما تدعو الحاجة؟ إنها يا دولة الرئيس مشكلة فعلية تتطلب جهداً وإرادة كبيرين للحل، ويجب العمل في هذا السبيل.

دولة الرئيس،

لم أتخذ أي موقف في أي زمان من منطلقات طائفية، بل كانت مواقفي من قناعات سياسية فقط، وانطلاقاً من هذه المبادئ كنت أهيئ نفسي لمنح الثقة لهذه الحكومة، وترسخت هذه القناعة حين سمعت البارحة تقييم دولة الرئيس رفيق الحريري حول الوضع الاقليمي والوجود السوري في لبنان، ولكننا، وللأسف نعيش في نظام طائفي تفرض فيه المعادلات الطائفية نفسها، إن الإجحاف الذي حصل بحق الطائفة الأرمنية أثناء تشكيل هذه الحكومة كان بمثابة صدمة قوية لها، لم نكن نتوقع ضربة من هذا النوع، لا أسمح لنفسي ومن هذا المنبر المسئول بالذات أن أتغاضى عن الدفاع عن حقوق الطائفية الأرمنية، إن الطئافية الأرمنية هي في وضع ترقب ومن الطبيعي أن يكونوا نواب هذه الطائفة في بلد ونظام طائفي في وضع متوتر.

وأخيراً أنني أرى أن البيان الحكومي هذا، هو بيان واقعي، بعيد عن الوعود الوردية، ويؤسس لنظرة مستقبلية للبنان الوطن والمواطن، في بلد يستحق المستقبل الزاهر والحياة الكريمة.

Appendix 8

Abraham Dedeyan

Appendix 8.1

Abraham Dedeyan – 20 January 1998

Deputy Abraham Dedeyan's speech during the discussion on the State Budget on 20 January 1998.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1998): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 20 January 1998.

ابراهام دده يان: دولة الرئيس، حضرة السادة الوزراء، حضرة زملائي النواب..

في هذه الجلسة التاريخية التي تحمل هموم الوطن والمواطن، أسمحوا لي أن أعلن موقفي بصراحة، وبدون مجاملات:

أولاً: أنني مع التقشف في الموازنة، وصرف كل مبلغ منها في مكانه الصحيح والمناسب، شرط أن لا يتعدى الإنفاق سقف هذه الموازنة، كل لا تقع في عجز جديد نحن بغنى عنه، مع تشديدنا على أهمية الأولويات في المشاريع المنوي تنفيذها... وفي كل المناطق اللبنانية دون استثناء، ودون تمييز بين منطقة وأخرى، ولأن لبنان للجميع والجميع للبنان.

ثانياً: ولأن الموازنة مرتبطة أولاً وأخيراً بالإنسان المواطن، ويفترض أن تكون في سبيل بقائه وكرامته، لا على حسابه، فإنني أشعر بمعاناة الشعب وآلامه وأدعو على رفع ثقل الضرائب المرهقة عن كاهله، كما أطالب الحكومة ـ وخصوصاً وزارة التربية الوطنية ـ وضع حداً للأقساط الفاحشة في المدارس الخاصة، وتطبيق القرار الذي تتخذه بهذا الخصوص كي لا يبقى حبراً على ورق، مع ضرورة الاهتمام بوضع المدرسة الرسمية ورفع مستواها من جميع النواحي. وفي هذا الإطار اتساءل: أين أصبح موضوع مكتب الدواء؟

ثانياً: أني أحترم كل الطوائف في لبنان، لكني أعارض الطائفة والطائفتين، لأنهما مرض خبيث يفتك بالوطن والمواطن، ويساهم في تعميق الهوة وزرع الخلافات والحساسيات بين أبناء خلق الله الواحد في الوطن الواحد. آملاً أن تجري الانتخابات البلدية والاختيارية، بعد أشهر، في جو وطني صحيح، بعيداً عن التلوث الطائفي والبيئي.

رابعاً: أعلن تأييدي الكامل للمقاومة الوطنية ضد العدو الصهيوني المحتل لجزء من أرضنا، والمغتصب لجزء من حقوقنا، واحيي المقاومين الإبطال، وافتخر بالشهداء الذين هم عنوان الحق والكرامة والشرف، في وجه الباطل وأنصاره. كما أحيي المعتقلين الأبطال في سجون الاحتلال الإسرائيلي وعملائه، وأدعو إلى بذل الجهود لتحريرهم وتكريمهم، وتقديم كل المساعدات الإنسانية والحياتية لهم، لاسيما: العمل والاستشفاء والمدارس. وأتمنى أن تصبح المقاومة "خزانا وطنياً حقيقياً" تذوب فيه الطوائف اللبنانية على اختلافها، وتقرب المسافات

المتباعدة بين اللبنانيين، فيتوحدون في النظرة والموقف والموقع.. عندها يأخذ هذا العمل طابعه الوطني الصحيح، تماماً كما حدث بعد مجزرة قانا في نيسان 1996.. ونحن اليوم بأشد الحاجة إلى ذلك، مع ضرورة إقامة الملاجئ لأهلنا في الجنوب، لكي تساهم في تشبث المواطن الجنوبي بأرضه وحقوقه وكرامته..

خامساً: ولأن الموازنة مرتبطة أيضاً بالأرض والمصير، فإنني أعلن في هذه المرحلة المصيرية، موقفي المؤيد لضرورة الوجود العسكري السوري في لبنان، كما أعلن رفضي المطلق "المساواة" هذا الوجود مع الاحتلال الإسرائيلي لأرضنا، "والموازنة" مع هذا الاحتلال.. كما أشدد في هذا الإطار "وحدة المسار" ـ اللبناني، وليس "وحدة المسارين" باعتبار أننا شعب واحد، وانسانيتنا واحدة، وقضيتنا واحدة، ومصيرنا واحد، كما أن عدونا واحد ومشترك أيضاً.

سادساً: أعلن موقفي الرافض لكل اتفاق تركي ـ إسرائيلي، لأنه لا يعني إلا المزيد من العدوان والعداء والعنصرية، والمزيد من الاغتصاب والدم، كما لن ينتج عن أي اتفاق تركي ـ إسرائيلي إلا المناورات (الشبيهة بتلك التي جرت في بداية شهر كانون الثاني 1998، والمرجح استمرارها وتوسيعها في الصيف القادم) وكذلك ينتج الحروب والكوارث الكبيرة المدمرة التي لا تقتصر إضرارها على العرب فقط، بل تتجاوزهم إلى شعوب وبلدان كثيرة في اليونان وأرمينيا وبلغاريا وقبرص، وإلى الإنسانية جمعاء.. كما أدعو في هذا الإطار إلى ضرورة توحيد الرؤية والموقف والجهود إزاء الأخطار المحتملة والمتوقعة عن هذه الاتفاقات.. فالوقت وقت عمل وجهود وتضحية، ولا ينفع التفرج على ما يجري، لأن مستقبلنا ومصيرنا على المحك.

Appendix 8.2

Abraham Dedeyan – 12 July 1999

Deputy Abraham Dedeyan's speech during the deliberations on the State Budget during Saleem El Hoss's Government in 1999.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1999): 1st Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 12 July 1999.

ابراهام دده يان: دولة الرئيس،

الوطن أكبر من القيادات والأشخاص، والمصلحة الوطنية العليا هي فوق كل مصلحة، وعلى مذبح الوطن ترخص تضحيات المواطنين ومن هذا المنطلق، يهمني أن أشير إلى بعض الثوابت التي أراها مبدئية وأساسية، ومنها ما يلي:

أولاً: أن لبنان هو لجميع أبنائه، ويجب أن يكون جميع أبناء لبنان للبنان، وأن تحصين الجبهة الداخلية، والوحدة الوطنية، واجب وطني كبير يجب تأديته في وجه الإخطار المحدقة بلبنان.

ثانياً: أن الاحتلال الإسرائيلي للجنوب والبقاع الغربي هو احتلال للأرض والإنسان، لذلك فإن مقاومة الإنسان للاحتلال هي مقاومة مشروعة لإعادة السيادة للأرض والكرامة لإنسانها.

حيث أن أول حق من حقوق الشعوب في ظل الاحتلال هو مقاومة الاحتلال ودحره، وقد أثبتت المقاومة الوطنية للاحتلال الإسرائيلي فعلها، بشرف وكرامة وفداء، فاستحقت التقدير والاحترام من أهل الاحترام والتقدير، في الوقت الذي أصبحت فيه كابوساً مخيفاً وهاجساً مقلقاً لأعداء لبنان والعرب والإنسانية، وأصبح رأسها مطلوباً كبند أول في رأس اللائحة الإسرائيلية المليء بالأهداف المطلوب ضربها وتصفيتها.

ثالثاً: أن وحدة المسار والمصير بين سوريا ولبنان هي أحد الثوابت الوطنية والقومية والأخوية التي يستحيل التفريط بها، والفصل بينها باعتبارنا من المؤمنين بأن السلام العادل والشامل هو الهدف المرجو الذي نسعى له جميعاً.

رابعاً: يجب التحضير وإعداد العدة، بحكمة وتعقل وكفاءة وصبر في الامتحان المرتقب إزاء سياسة أيهود باراك الذي يعمل على تتويج حياته العسكرية والسياسية بوسام السلام الإسرائيلي كوريث شرعي لكل رؤساء الحكومة الإسرائيلية منذ تأسيس الكيان حتى اليوم.

خامساً: لا دولة حقيقية بدون شعب معافى، والشعب المرهق ضرائبياً ومعيشياً وصحياً يفقد أي دولة مبرر وجودها وبقائها.. فلنبن المواطن الصحيح لكي تكون صحة الدولة سليمة.. ولنطمئنه على حياته ومستقبله ليكون مثالاً للمواطن الصالح..

سادساً: بما أن موضوع الموازنة، في أية دولة من دول العالم، ومنها لبنان بالطبع، ليس أرقاماً فحسب، ولا عملية حسابية فقط، بل هو حاضر الوطن ومستقبل الشعب ومصيره في الوقت نفسه، فإنه يصبح في هذه الحالة قضية شعبية ووطنية وإنسانية، باعتبارها تتعلق بالإنسان المواطن أولاً وقبل كل شيء.. لذلك فأنا أحبذ الموازنة بما يخدم هذا التوجه والهدف.

وبالنظر إلى ارتباط الدولة بمواطنيها، وارتباط المواطنين بدولتهم، فإن الدولة بحاجة إلى واردات، وليس على ديون وهبات، وعلى هذا الأساس فإني أرى في مناقشة موضوع الموازنة ما يلي:

1- أن أرضنا اللبنانية حبلى بالثروات الخيرات التي تنتظر (القابلة القانونية) لولادتها لأن هذه الثروات الدفينة تمثل أهم الموارد لدعم الموازنة، وسد العجز والديون والفوائد المترتبة على خزينة الدولة .فكما في أعمال النفوس البشرية تكمن الكنوز والقيم، كذلك في أعماق الأرض والبحار والمحيطات تكمن الثروات النفطية والمعدنية التي تفقد قيمتها الحقيقية إذا بقيت مدفونة في هذه الأعماق، دون اكتشافها من قبل الإنسان، واستخراجها وتحويلها لصالح المجتمع الذي يعيش فيه، أو لخدمة الإنسانية جمعاء.. وبما أن "الإنسان عدو لما يجهل" فإن إنساننا اللبناني سيبقى عدو لأعماق أرضه ومياهه طالما هو جاهل لما في باطنها من ثروات دفينة.

2- إذا كان معروف بأن لبنان هو "خزان ماء" بالنسبة إلى الدول العربية فلماذا الاستغراب في أن يكون لبنان "خزاناً نفطياً ومعدنياً" أيضاً؟ أليس البقاع اللبناني امتداداً للأرض السورية مثلاً؟ وقد وجدت فيها حقول نفطية وغازية ومعدنية هائلة شكلت مورداً هاماً لسوريا اقتصادياً وتجارياً وسياسياً وتنموياً كما شكلت سلاحاً فعالاً بيدها إزاء كل الضغوط والابتزازات والتهديدات التي تعرضت لها ولا تزال، ومهما يكن من أمر فإن الحدود السياسية والفواصل الجغرافية بين البلدين الشقيقين فوق الأرض، تعجز عن أن تفصل الثروات الدفينة تحت الأرض الواحدة وتعزلها، لأن "قانون الجاذبية الطبيعي" يختلف عن "قانون الجاذبية السياسي".. لذلك يجب أن تتوفر الإرادة المصممة على الاستفادة من هذه الثروات الدفينة في أرضنا، خصوصاً وأن سوريا الأسد أبدت استعدادها مرات عديدة لمساعدتنا في هذا المجال عبر خبرتها وخبرائها.. وقد أكد ذلك أيضاً وزير النفط السوري السيد ماهر جمال أثناء لقائه وزير النفط اللبناني السيد سليمان طرابلسي في 13 نيسان 1999 (النهار 14/4/1999).

3- أن التقارير الجيولوجية التي قدمها خبراء دوليون من أمثال: أوتوهاس وجورج صباغ وبالدلفورد عام 1966 – 1967 (ومن قبلهم شركات وخبراء كثيرون) أكدت وجود النفط في مناطق كثيرة من لبنان (وهذا ما يؤكده تقرير السيد ريتشارد شاهين (صاحب الامتياز عام 1966) إلى مديرية الاستثمار في وزارة الموارد المائية والكهربائية). وهذا ما يتوافق بشكل أساسي مع تقرير الخبير الدولي في الأمم المتحدة، مسيو برجيه (BERGER)

في 10 نيسان 1961، الذي ذكر في صفحات أن "البترول هو أمل لبنان" كما أكد في تقريره هذا وجود المعادن في مختلف الأراضي اللبنانية تشكل ثروة هامة من ثروات لبنان في حال استخراجها، والاستفادة منها.

4- يؤكد النابغة اللبناني الدكتور غسان قانصوه (الذي فاز بلقب رجل العام 1998 من معهد كامبردج البريطاني، ورجل العام 1999 من معهد نورث كارولينا في الولايات المتحدة، كما حاز على أوسمة ذهبية وشهادات تقدير عالمية من أميركا وبريطانيا وروسيا ويوغوسلافيا بأن في لبنان حقولاً بترولية واسعة، وثروة هائلة من الغاز والمعادن، في مختلف المناطق اللبنانية، تساهم في حال استخدامها في دعم الموازنة وتسديد الديون المترتبة على الخزينة وتحريك عجلة الاقتصاد اللبناني والاستثمار، والقضاء على الفقر والبطالة، وتخفيض الضرائب عن كاهل الشعب الذي لم يعد قادراً على تحمل أبية ضريبة مهما كانت.. لا كما تنشط التنمية والأعمار.

على ضوء ذلك، فإني أجد نفسي أمام بعض الاقتراحات والحلول، ومنها مثلاً:

أولاً: بما أننا نعيش أزمة ديون خانقة، والمشاكل كثيرة على أساسها، ولكن لا مشكلة بلا حل كما يقال لذلك فأنى أرى أن عملية استخراج الثروة النفطية والمعدنية في باطن الأرض اللبنانية والمياه الإقليمية، هي من أهم الحلو المتوفرة حالياً، كما أنها تشكل بارقة أمل الكبيرة في هذا المجال لدعم الموازنة وتسديد الديون...

ثانياً: هناك شركات بترولية دولية ذات شهرة وخبرة ورأسمال تنافست فيما بينها عام 1974 (أي قبل اندلاع الحرب في لبنان عام 1975 بسنة واحدة) للحصول على امتياز البحث والتنقيب عن البترول في المياه الإقليمية اللبنانية، وفي البر اللبناني، وكان من بين هذه الشركات، شركتا AGIP و TOTAL .

ثالثاً: أن الدولة لا تحتمل أعباء مالية أو تكاليف كبيرة أو خسائر في مضمار البحث والتنقيب عن النفط والثروة المعدنية في البر اللبناني ومياهنا الإقليمية، وكل ذلك يقع على عاتق الشركات التي تمنح الامتياز..

فلتصدر الحكومة قرارها بهذا الشأن، وعقد العزم، وتتوكل على الله.. ومن يتكل على الله غير الذي يتكل على ديون الدول الكبرى. فلا تضيعوا الفرصة، ولا تفقدوا الأمل..

وشكراً.

Appendix 8.3

Abraham Dedeyan – 1 February 2000

Speech by Deputy Abraham Dedeyan during the deliberations on the State Budget.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2000): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 1 February 2000.

ابراهام دده يان: دولة الرئيس، حضرات الزملاء،

يعيش لبنان اليوم مرحلة دقيقة وصعبة وخطيرة في الوقت نفسه. إلا أن لبنان الوطن والشعب تعود على أصحاب الامتحانات وأخطر المراحل، وخرج منها منتصراً وموحداً متوحداً ومتحدياً كل المخاطر والصعوبات، بفضل إرادة أبنائه المصممة على وحدة البقاء في الوطن الواحد الموحد.

وانطلاقاً من هذا المبدأ، وفي جلسة الموازنة هذا للعام 2000 ، يهمني تسجيل النقاط التالية:

أولاً: أن الموازنة ليست مالاً وأرقاماً فحسب، بل هي الإنسان المواطن أولاً وقبل كل شيء. إذ لا موازنة وطنية بلا دولة، ولا دولة بلا شعب ومواطن.. ولا مواطن مسؤول في ظل غياب حريته وكرامته وشعوره بالمواطنية الصحيحة، والواجبات الكبرى تجاه دولته ووطنه. كذلك هي واجبات الدولة تجاه المواطن في معرض التلازم بين الجزء والكل، وبالعكس.

ثانياً: لقد تطرقت في جلسة الموازنة لعام 1999 إلى موضوع النفط والثروة المعدنية في لبنان، وقلت بأن أرضنا اللبنانية حبلى بهذه الثروات والخيرات الدفينة، والتي تمثل أهم الموارد لدعم الموازنة، وسد العجز والديون والفوائد المترتبة على خزينة الدولة. كما شددت على ضرورة الاستفادة من النابغة اللبناني الدكتور غسان قانصوه في هذا المجال، بمعنى ضرورة الاستفادة من الثروة البشرية والثروة الطبيعية معاً على طريق الخدمة الوطنية الكبرى، مع العلم أن هناك شركات نفط دولية مستعدة لاستخراج هذه الثروة دون أن تتحمل الدولة اللبنانية وحكومتها أية أعباء أو تكاليف، ويعود إليها الربح الأكبر في هذا المجال. واني أنتهز هذه الفرصة لأكرر رأيي هذا بكل قوة داعياً إلى إعطاء الموضوع حقه من الاهتمام والعناية، وكذلك الاهتمام والاستفادة من نابغتنا اللبناني الدكتور غسان قانصوه الذي نذر نفسه للوطن دون أي أجر أو أجرة. مع العلم أنه في الأشهر القليلة الماضية، تناقلت وسائل الإعلام أخبار الاكتشافات التي لا مثيل لها من النفط والغاز في البحر المتوسط في كل من مصر وغزة، والتي هلل لها المصريون والفلسطينيون باعتبارها مورداً هاماً في كل المجالات.

ثالثاً: إضافة إلى ضرورة الاهتمام بموضوع الثروة النفطية والمعدنية في لبنان فإني أنبه أيضاً إلى ضرورة إيلاء "الآثار اللبنانية" الأهمية البالغة، وضرورة المطالبة باسترداد آثارها المنهوبة والمباعة، والتي يثبت وجودها في أي دولة في العالم، أو في حوزة بعض تجار الآثار في الداخل والخارج واقترح أن يكون هذا الموضوع بنداً رئيسياً في جدول المفاوضات مع الإسرائيليين، حيث نهب العدو الإسرائيلي أثناء اجتياحه للبنان في عامي 1978 و 1982 ، كميات نفسية من الآثار ـ وبشكل منظم ـ من مختلف المدن الجنوبية وقراها. وذلك لأن الآثار هي الوجه الحضاري المشرق للوطن، وثروة وطنية وإنسانية وحضارية كبيرة، إذا استخدمت في الاتجاه الصحيح. كما يجب الاهتمام بالمعالم الأثرية اللبنانية وتصنيف بعض المدن والقرى اللبنانية، ذات التاريخ الحضاري والأثري العريق، كمعالم أثرية مهمة يستفاد منها وطنياً وسياحياً وتراثياً وحضارياً، تشكل مورداً للخزينة وتساهم في سد العجز والدين، مع التركيز الدائم على هذا الموضوع وتخصيص حملات مكثفة بشأنه، وهذا ما يستدعي، بنظري، استحداث "وزارة خاصة بالآثار" تأخذ على عاتقها هذه المسؤولية الوطنية الكبرى.

رابعاً: أننا نريد موازنة شريفة، وتسديداً للدين والعجز بكرامة وشرف.. لذلك فإننا نرفض كل المشاريع المشبوهة حتى ولو كانت كفيلة بتسديد العجز والدين، ومنها بالطبع "مشروع التوطين".. الذي هو كارثة كبرى مستقبلاً، باعتباره مشروع فتنة، ومشروع حرب مفتوحة على مختلف الاحتمالات الصعبة والخطيرة أيضاً، ذلك لأن لبنان له كل الحق بالمطالبة بعودة اللاجئين الفلسطينيين إلى ديارهم وفلسطينهم، تماماً كحقه بالمطالبة بالانسحاب الإسرائيلي الكامل من أراضيه، دون أن يعني ذلك تفسيراً من غير موضعه الإنساني الصحيح. هذا من جهة، ومن جهة أخرى، فإن القبول بالتوطين يضفي شرعية على اغتصاب فلسطين، ويبرز كل المجازر والجرائم التي ارتكبها اليهود بحق الفلسطينيين والعرب، كما يعني "شرعية التهويد" وتصفية القضية برمتها، وشطب "حق العودة"، وهذا ما يخالف وكل مبدأ إنساني شامل... ولا نرضى بقبول أبداً...

خامساً: نتيجة لحالة الانكماش الاقتصادي في البلد، والتي أدت بدورها إلى فقر وأزمة معيشية خانقة، وهجرة شبابية كبيرة، لذلك نجد من الضرورة الاهتمام "بلبنان المغترب" وتشجيعه على الاستثمار في لبنان، وتقديم مختلف التسهيلات له، على طريق بناء المعامل والمصانع والمؤسسات وتشغيل آلاف العمال فيها وإعالة مئات العائلات الفقيرة والمحتاجة، وبالتالي مساعد الدولة والخزينة في الوقت نفسه... وبمعنى أوضح، ضرورة وضع خطة "استقطابية" تشجيعية لجذب الأثرياء من أبناء الوطن المغتربين لتشغيل رأسمالهم في الوطن وإعادة دولته وأبنائه، فضلاً عن خطة تشجيعية مماثلة للمستثمرين اللبنانيين المقيمين والعرب والأجانب..

سادساً: ضرورة الاهتمام بالوضع التربوي والتعليمي للمواطن، وتشجيع الجامعة اللبنانية وإعطائها الأهمية القصوى في الاهتمام الوطني، وكذلك للمعلمين والأساتذة ليشعروا بالراحة والأمان والاستقرار النفسي، خصوصاً في "دولة القانون والمؤسسات".

سابعاً: إنني أكرر رأيي الذي طرحته في مناقشة موازنة العام 1998 وأشدد عليه أيضاً والقاضي بضرورة إلغاء الطائفية السياسية وتشكيل الهيئة الوطنية لإلغاء الطائفية حسب ما نص عليه الدستور اللبناني، لأن التقاعس عن تحقيق هذا المطلب الوطني العام هو خرق للدستور وإهانة للمواطن على السواء.

دولة الرئيس،

انطلاقاً من الوفاء والتقدير للمقاومة الوطنية والإسلامية ضد العدو الصهيوني، اقترح إقامة "المتحف المقاوم"، ومسلة الشهداء، يدون عليها أسماء أبطال الجيش اللبناني والمقاومين والاستشهاديين في الجنوب والبقاع الغربي، تقديراً ووفاء لهم في سبيل الكرامة الوطنية والمقاومة الإنسانية.

وكما هو حال جاندارك في فرنسا، وشوشانيك في أرمينيا، وانجيلا ديفيس في أميركا، وجميلة أبو حيرد في الجزائر، ودلال المغربي وليلى خالد في فلسطين، كذلك هو حال بطلاتنا اللبنانيات المقاومات ضد العدو الصهيوني ك: سناء محيدلي، ولولا عبود، وابتسام حرب، وسهى بشارة وغيرها كثيرات... يجب تكريمهن بنصب تذكاري يحمل ذكراهن وأسماءهن على الدوام، عبرة ودرساً للمرأة اللبنانية ودورها في سبيل كرامة الوطن وحريته واستقلاله. وكذلك الحال بالنسبة للأسرى والمعتقلين، المحررين وغير المحررين، يجب الاهتمام بقضيتهم وتأمين كل مقومات الحياة الكريمة لهم ولعائلاتهم. كما اقترح إطلاق أسم "عميد الأسرى اللبنانيين" البطل سمير القنطار على ثانوية من ثانويات كل محافظة من محافظات لبنان، تقديراً واحتراماً لوطنيته.

من جهة أخرى، مهما يكن من أمر المفاوضات مع "إسرائيل" ينبغي رفض أي تعديل في الخارطة الجغرافية والتاريخية والمستقبلية للبنان، لأن سيادة لبنان هو فوق كل شيء، وقبل كل شيء، وفق الدستور ووفق القسم.. كما ينبغي رفض الدخول في أية منظمة إقليمية مع دولة العدو، تكون بديلاً لجامعة الدول العربية وإلغاء لها. وعدم التنازل عن أية كمية من مياهنا لهذا العدو.. ولسنا مسؤولين بالتالي عن "أمنة" و "أمانة"، كما عن "التطبيع" معه في مختلف المجالات... وأن حقنا وأرضنا وثرواتنا وسيادتنا واضحة وضوح الشمس.. ولا تفريط مطلقاً في هذه الحقوق والكرامة..

وأن أي اتفاق مع "إسرائيل" لا يسقط حقنا التاريخي والجغرافي والحضاري في أرضنا ومياهنا وثرواتنا وجغرافيتنا، إذا لم يكن متضمناً هذا الحق ـ ولن يكون ـ لأن الحق أقوى من كل الاتفاقات غير المحقة.. باعتبار أن أي اتفاق ليس اتفاق سلام، بل تسوية مؤقتة.. وما تهديد إيهود باراك الأخير للبنان إلا من هذا القبيل..

وأخيراً، نتمنى أن لا تعمد الحكومة ـ وتحت أية ذرائع ومبررات ـ إلى اختيار أعضاء الوفد اللبناني إلى المفاوضات، عن طريق "المحاصصة" (خاصة الطائفية منها)، حتى لا تخسر حصة لبنان في حقه وكرامته ووجوده ومستقبله، باعتبار أن لبنان زاخر بالكفاءات والكفوئين في هذا المضمار من مختلف الاختصاصات..

لذلك، إيماناً من "بدولة القانون والمؤسسات"، وضرورة الموازنة للدولة وفق القانون وفي سبيل بناء المؤسسات وتعزيزها، أعلن موافقتي على ذلك، متمنياً العزة للوطن والنجاح للحكومة والطمأنينة للمواطن والتوفيق والحرية للأسرى والمعتقلين.

Appendix 9

Jean Ogassapian

Appendix 9.1

Jean Ogassapian – 2 November 2000

Speech given by Deputy Jean Ogassapian during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Rafik El Hariri's 65th Government, before abstaining from voting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2000): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th parliament held on 2 November 2000.

جان أوغاسيبيان: دولة الرئيس،

أصحاب المعالي والسيادة،

يخطو لبنان خطوته الأولى على طريق الألفية الثالثة مثقلاً بالتحديات والأزمات التي تراكمت وقادت البلاد إلى جمود حقيقي وانهيار اقتصادي خطير فتفاقمت معه المشاكل وصعبت الحلول وكان المواطن اللبناني الضحية الوحيدة مع زيادة أعبائه المالية وتراجع موارده وبات قسم كبير من اللبنانيين يعيشون تحت خط الفقر واليوم وضعوا كل آمالهم في "حكومة الوفاق والنمو" آملين في أن تصبح الشعارات والخطط والدراسات حيز التنفيذ.

لذا يتطلب من الحكومة أن تكون منسجمة مع طبيعة مجتمعها غير منفصلة عنه ولا مستقوية عليه ترعى صيغة العيش المشترك وتصون وحدة أبنائه ووفاق عائلاته، وأن تكون ديموقراطية تتسع للتحولات والتطورات الحاصلة في المجتمع وتؤمن أوسع مشاركة في القرار السياسي والاقتصادي والتنموي وتعمل على استرجاع ثقة اللبنانيين بوطنهم .

أيها السادة،

يواجه لبنان اليوم تحديات كبيرة تشكل الامتحان الأساسي للحكومة الجديدة أهمها:

أولاً- الأزمة الاقتصادية المستفحلة التي أدت إلى إقفال العديد من المؤسسات وما رافق ذلك من تسريح أعداد هائلة من العمال والموظفين، إن تحسين هذا الوضع يتطلب جذب الاستثمارات التي تبقى الحافز الرئيسي لعودة الحركة الاقتصادية ولخفض العجز والحد من الديون، فلا بد أن تفتح الأبواب للمستثمرين وأن تلغى القيود من خلال تعديل التشريعات وثباتها لجعلها أكثر شفافية وأكثر مرونة في التطبيق.

كما يجب علينا الإقرار أن الإدارة عاجزة، ووسائل عملها بدائية والمطلوب إصلاح وتحديث إداري عبر المكننة وتفعيل برامج المعلوماتية، والاستعانة بالخبرات والكفاءات والقضاء على آفة الفساد الإداري بشتى الوسائل القانونية والتنظيمية.

وفي هذا المجال، لا بد من الاستعانة بالشباب اللبناني الذي يعيش اليوم في غربة داخلية تولدها البطالة، والتعطيل والقيام بأعمال مشتتة ليست على مستوى مؤهلاتهم، وما يستتبع ذلك من إحباطات نفسية واجتماعية واقتصادية لذا هناك ضرورة ملحة لخلق فرص عمل لوقف نزف الهجرة وتكييف التعليم والتدريب لتحضير القوى البشرية بشكل مناسب لمتطلبات التنمية والتحولات الاقتصادية.

ثانياً- قضية الوفاق الوطني غير المكتمل، والذي برز من خلال رفع وتبيرة الخطاب الطائفي في الآونة الأخيرة، أن نجاح أي خطة انقاذية ينتفي معناه في ظل انعدام الشعور بالاستقرار السياسي والاجتماعي الداخلي، ووحده الحوار الوطني بين الدولة والمجتمع وعلى مستوى قوى المجتمع الأهلي هو صمام أمان لتلازم السيادة والاستقلال مع الوحدة التي تتحقق ضمن تسوية مبنية على التوازن بين اللبنانيين جميعاً تحت سقف الطائف من الضروري في هذا المجال أيضاً استكمال عودة المهجرين وصون المصالحات التي تمت ومتابعتها.

ثالثاً- الوضع الاقليمي غير المستقر حيث ترفض اسرائيل السلام وتسعى إلى خلق حالة عدم الاستقرار والتوتر في المنطقة في ظل ما تعانيه اليوم من حالة ضياع وانقسامات حادة في الداخل إن العدو الصهيوني لا يزال يراهن على النيل من لبنان انتقاماً من الانتصار الكبير الذي تحقق بإخراجه من لبنان دون أي اتفاق بفعل بطولات المقاومين.

وفي هذا الموضوع، نؤيد قرار الدولة اللبنانية بعدم نشر الجيش اللبناني على الحدود بمحاذات الخط الأزرق لأن لبنان غير مسئولة عن حماية الحدود الشمالية لاسرائيل، ويرفض زج الجيش في صدامات خطيرة، لا سيما وأن إسرائيل ما زالت حتى يومنا هذا تنتهك القرار 425 إن الاستقرار النهائي على الحدود لا يتحقق بفعل وجود الجيش فحسب بل نتيجة لتحقيق السلام الكامل والشامل في المنطقة، ولا بد لنا هنا أن نثني على الأداء المميز للجيش اللبناني وتفانيه في صيانة حرية المواطنين وإرساء شعور الطمأنينة ولا بد لنا هنا أن نثني على الأداء المميز للجيش اللبناني وتفانيه في صيانة حرية المواطنين وإرساء شعور الطمأنينة في نفوسهم في كافة الأراضي اللبنانية.

يجب مواجهة هذا التحدي الإقليمي، عبر توافق وطني شامل واعتماد قرارات شجاعة تمكننا من ردع اسرائيل وتحرير مزارع شبعا، ومن اطلاق جميع الأسرى اللبنانيين في السجون الإسرائيلية، والحصول على تعويضات عن الأضرار الناتجة عن الاعتداءات الإسرائيلية ورفض كل ما يحاك على مستوى التوطين والعمل على عودة اللاجئين الفلسطينيين إلى ديارهم.

كما نحرص على الالتزام الكامل بوحدة المصير والمسار مع الشقيقة سوريا مع اعتماد إستراتيجية السلام العادل والشامل في المنطقة.

إننا ندعو الحكومة إلى الاستفادة القصوى من القدرات السياسية والاقتصادية والاعلامية للبنانيين المغتربين ومنهم الجالي الأرمنية الموجودة في دول الانتشار وخاصة في الولايات المتحدة وأوروبا لدعم الموقف اللبناني والعربي ولاستعادة كافة الحقوق العربية.

أيها السادة،-

إن كل ما تقدم من اقتراحات ومشاريع حلول في البيان الوزاري، يحتاج تطبيقه إلى تفاهم تام بين الحكومة وأعضاء المجلس النيابي فتتفاعل الحكومة مع ما يدور في المجلس من نقاشات وترسم سياستها في ضوء التوجهات التي تصدر عنه، فتأتي الحلول المرجوة وليدة هذا التعاون بين المؤسستين.

أما في شأن التمثيل الأرمني في الحكومة فنعبر عن كل ثقتنا بفخامة رئيس الجمهورية ودولة رئيس مجلس الوزراء بإيجاد الحل المناسب تجاه الأجحاف الحاصل نتيجة تعيين وزير واحد من الطائفة الأرمنية الأرثوذكسية.

وختاماً أننا نرى يا دولة الرئيس، وبعد قراءة معمقة للبيان الوزاري، أن هذه الحكومة تجدد أمال اللبنانيين بلبنان القوى والمستقر والسيد في محيطه العربي وفي المجتمع الدولي، ونتمنى لها كل التوفيق.

وشكراً.

Appendix 9.2

Jean Ogassapian – 29 May 2001

Deputy Jean Ogassapian's speech during the deliberation on the 2001 State Budget presented by the Hariri Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2001): 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 May 2001.

جان أوغاسبيان:

دولة الرئيس السادة الزملاء

إن الموازنة هي تعبير عن برنامج عمل الدولة وسياستها المالية والإنمائية والاجتماعية، وهي تتأثر بالأوضاع الاقتصادية والمالية وتؤثر بدورها على تلك الأوضاع، ومن هذا المنطلق يتوجب علينا، وبصفتها ممثلين عن الشعب اللبناني، أن نقيم مواقفنا طبقاً للواقع والحقيقة، لا سيما بعد عقود من الحروب المدمرة، كانت نتيجتها دخول الدولة في دوامة من المديونية بلغت حصيلتها قرابة الـ 25 مليار دولار. إلا أن الدين لا يعتبر مشكلة بحد ذاته، بل فحسب الأجواء المحيطة في المنطقة والأوضاع الميدانية المتفرجة والمندفعة بقوة نحو التصعيد، وتزايد الخلافات الداخلية وتشنج المواقف السياسية، وسعي جهات سياسية إلى إعاقة العجلة الاقتصادية تحت ذريعة أولوية الوفاق الوطني.

هذا الواقع يدفعنا أن نطالب الحكومة بإنجاز المشروعات والأعمال التي قدرت لها أرقام موازنة هذا العام التي ينبغي أن تكون حلقة من سلسلة الموازنات اللاحقة تباعاً بحيث تكتمل البنية التحتية والأساسية المادية والبشرية، وذلك عملاً بالحقيقة المعروفة وهي أن كل وزارة هي امتداد لسابقتها مع اختلاف في الأسلوب وتمسك بالأهداف تحقيقاً لخطة تكاملية يحقق الوطن بواسطتها نمواً مطرداً وصولاً إلى اقتصاد مستقر تقوى به العمل الوطنية، يدعم القوة الشرائية ويرفع مستوى المعيشة.

إننا نعبر عن إيماننا وتأييدنا لخطة الحكومة ونعتبرها الطريق الصحيح لبلوغ الأهداف المرجوة، بشهادة الأشقاء والأصدقاء والدول الكبرى على رأسها الولايات المتحدة وفرنسا، فقد اتخذت الحكومة عدة إجراءات مصيرية لتحريك العجلة الاقتصادية، أهمها مؤخراً تعديل نظام منطقة الوسط التجاري في بيروت (سوليدير) وترتيبها وتعديل المخطط التفصيلي العائد إليها، مما ينعكس إيجاباً وبفعالية على مجمل الوضع الاستثماري في البلاد. كما نشاطرها رأيها في اعتماد خيار الخصخصة كأساس للخروج من الأزمة، فهي عنصر مساعد في خفض للمديونية، وسبيل للخلاص من نظام الروتين الإداري والبيروقراطية توصلاً إلى سرعة التنفيذ وتجنباً لهدر الأموال، ومنعاً للتدخل الطبقة السياسية في مسألة التوظيف، علماً

بأن الخصخصة لا تعني بالضرورة بيع أصول الدولة بالكامل أو التفريط بها لصالح القطاع الخاص.

ومن منطلق حرصنا على المصلحة العامة وعلى مسيرة الحكومة ونجاح نهجها، لا بد أن نلفت الانتباه إلى عدة أمور أساسية وهي:

أولاً: أن التعاون بين الدول والقطاع الخاص يقتضي تحديد دور الدولة بما يتناسب مع المتغيرات المحلية والاقليمية والدولية، وإعادة النظر في بنية القطاع العام وأنظمته عن طريق تفعيله وتجهيزه بالوسائل والتقنيات الحديثة، لكن مع تقليص دور هذا القطاع، وخفض الأنفاق عليه وتحويل هذه الأموال إلى المشاريع المثمرة لتعزيز النمو والانفاق الاستثماري.

كما يجب تفعيل عمل القطاع الخاص لزيادة انتاجيته، وإراحته وطمأنته، وغلغاء النظرة البوليسية وطريقة توجيه الاتهامات عبر خلق حواجز وتعقيدات إدارية، واستكمال الإجراءات التي باشرت الحكومة بتطبيقها ومنها تنظيم المؤسسة العامة لتشجيع الاستثمارات وتخفيض الرسوم الجمركية وخفض اشتراكات الضمان الاجتماعي، وإقرار قانون جديد لتملك غير اللبنانيين، إضافة إلى توفير القروض الميسرة لفترات طويلة عبر مصرف لبنان حتى 15 مليار ليرة لبنانية للمقترض وعبر شركة "كفالات" التي تضمن القروض حتى مبلغ ثلاثماية مليون ليرة، وعبر عدد من المؤسسات الدولية منها البنك الدولي للاستثمار وصندوق النقد العالمي والبنك السعودي.

لكن ذلك يتطلب ألية سريعة وواضحة للبدء بعملية الاصلاح الإداري توصلاً إلى إدارة شفافة مسئولة وفاعلة، قادرة على تلبية طموحات المواطنين ومتطلبات التنمية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية، وهنا يجدر بنا التنويه بالخطوات الجريئة التي اتخذت في وزارة الاعلام وملحقاتها على أمل تنفيذ القرار المتخذ بشأن خفض الفائض في شركة طيران الشرق الأوسط واتباع هذه السياسة في كافة إدارات الدولة.

ثانياً- في موضوع النهوض الاقتصادي والاصلاح المالي:

1. نؤيد خطوات الحكومة الآيلة إلى تخفيض كلفه الدين العام وتحسين المستوى الانتمائي للدولة من خلال استبدال الدين الداخلي بالليرة اللبنانية والقصير الأجل بديون خارجية طويلة الأجل بفوائد منخفضة لأن ذلك يسهم في تعزيز الاستثمار وإنتاجية الانفاق.

2. نطالب الحكومة بتحريك المشاريع المختلفة المتوقفة منذ سنتين، بسبب حالة الإرباك التي كانت سائدة في مجلس الإنماء والإعمار وفي بعض الوزارات، واليوم بعد دمج المجالس، لا بد من الاستفادة من القروض الميسرة التي تبلغ حوالي ملياري دولار، بالإضافة إلى المبالغ المرصودة في الموازنة الحالية لعدد من الوزارات للمباشرة في تنفيذ المشاريع المدروسة والجاهزة التي حددت لها هذه المبالغ، وإيقاف عمولة الارتباط التي نتكبدها من جراء عدم استخدامها.

3. الإسراع في دخول لبنان دائرة الاتفاقات والتجمعات الاقتصادية العالمية، وأهمها الورشة القانونية بمنظمة التجارة العالمية وعقد اتفاق الشراكة الأوروبية، والاتفاقات التجارية

والاقتصادية الثنائية والمتعددة الأطراف، والسعي إلى استكمال إنشاء منطقة التجارة الحرة العربية.

ثالثاً- إن بيروت عاصمة لبنان السياسة وملتقى جميع اللبنانيين تنتظر التفاتة الحكومة إليها، ولا يظن أحد أن بيروت هي فقط شارع الحمراء، ورأس بيروت، والروشة وفردان بل هي الأوزاعي والكرنتينا والمسلخ والبدوي وزقاق البلاط وخندق الغميق وصبرا وكرم الزيتون وغيرها من المناطق المحرومة، والتي هي بحاجة ماسة إلى عناية كبيرة، وغلى اتخاذ إجراءات طال الزمن على انتظارها ومنها إطلاق العلم في مستشفى بيروت الحكومي، وزيادة عدد المدارس الرسمية وتحديث الموجودة حالياً من حيث الإنشاءات والتجهيزات إضافة إلى تسوية أوضاع المهجرين.

رابعاً- لا يجوز للبنان أن يفشل في الإنماء بعد ما انتصر في معركة التحرير، فزوال الاحتلال زاد من الحاجات الخدماتية في المناطق المحررة التي عادت منهكة إلى ربوع الوطن، محرومة من المساعدات وخالية من الحياة وتتطلب من الحكومة تنمية شاملة على المستويات كافة وخاصة من ناحية البنى التحتية والحاجات اليومية وفرص العمل. كما أن المصدر الأساسي للمعيشة وهو القطاع الزراعي، أصبح محفوفاً بالأخطار مع انتشار الألغام التي خلفها العدو الإسرائيلي داخل الأراضي الزراعية والطرقات وفي جوار المنازل المأهولة.

إن الألغام الأرضية تشكل خطراً على الحياة اليومية وستستمر تقتل وتشوه الكثيرين لسنوات عدة، لذا يجب اتخاذ عدة خطوات جريئة لحماية المدنيين أهمها العمل على إدراج مهمة نزع الألغام لغايات إنسانية وتنموية ضمن مهام القوة الدولية، وتوسيع إطار القوى الدولية المشاركة بنزع الألغام وزيادة عديدها والطلب من الأمم المتحدة الضغط على إسرائيل لتسليم خرائط الألغام كاملة.

خامساً: في موضوع البيئة التي تهدد حياة المواطنين وصحتهم، وتؤثر على السياحة في لبنان، نؤيد قرار منع السيارات المخالفة العاملة على المازوت وندعم ونستعجل تنفيذ الاتفاقيات الأخيرة التي وقعت بين لبنان وسوريا ومصر الاستيراد الغاز ليحل تدريجياً مكان أنواع الطاقة الملوثة للهواء.

أما النفايات فتنطوي الطرق المعتمدة لمعالجتها مثل الحرق والرمي العشوائي على الكثير من المخاطر البيئية. وبالتالي يجب إقرار خطة شاملة لتجميع النفايات، وإنشاء المصانع الخاصة بها.

وتمثل المياه المبتذلة المصدر الأهم لمشكلة تلوث المياه في لبنان، فلا بد من إنشاء عدد من محطات التكرير الخاصة بمعالجتها في المدن الكبرى وللحؤول دون تلويثها للشواطئ والأنهار التي تعتمد كمصادر لمياه الشفة، ونذكر أن أكثرية المناطق، وخاصة الريفية تفتقر إلى شبكات مجارير وإن وجدت يكون الصدأ والعمر قد تآكلها لانعدام أعمال الصيانة عليها.

دولة الرئيس،

السادة الزملاء،

في ختام كلمتي لا بد من التأكيد أنه في ظل هذه المرحلة الدقيقة والخطيرة التي يمر بها لبنان اقتصادياً لجهة الأزمة المعيشية الخانقة، وإقليمياً في ظل التهديدات اليومية المتكررة للعدو الصهيوني، يتوجب علينا دعم الحكومة في مشروعها السياسي والاقتصادي عن طريق التماسك الداخلي والتعاون والتضامن والحوار عبر المؤسسات الدستورية. إذ لن تكتمل من دون ذلك فرحة الانتصار الكبير الذي احتفلنا بذكراه الأولى منذ أيام، والذي نهنئ جميع اللبنانيين به، فلبنان أصبح يشكل اليوم مثلاً يحتذى به في المنطقة، لدحره الجيش الاسرائيلي ولإعادة الحرية والكرامة لشعبه.

وشكراً.

Appendix 9.3

Jean Ogassapian – 27 January 2002

Deputy Jean Ogassapian's speech during the deliberations on the 2002 State Budget.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2002): 1st Meeting of the 1st Extraordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 27 January 2002.

جان أوغاسبيان:

دولة الرئيس، السادة الزملاء

يأتي مشروع موازنة 2002 وسط ما يشهده لبنان من ضغوط دولية ومشاحنات سياسية متفاوتة الحدة، ليحول الأنظار إلى الاتجاه الذي يجب أن تصب فيه، وهو ضرورة التصدي للأزمة الاقتصادية الصعبة التي تمر بها البلاد.

ولعل موازنة 2002 هي من أكثر الموازنات واقعية وانسجاماً مع متطلبات المرحلة، وتمتاز أيضاً بأنها أصابت في احترامها المهل الدستورية، وفي فتحها الباب أمام تحديث النظام الضريبي وفي خفضها حجم الانفاق للمرة الأولى منذ عام 1993 مما يعكس وعي الحكومة الثقل الهم الاقتصادي، ولضرورة ترشيد الإنفاق ولجم الهدر، ودون المس بالخدمات والتقديمات الاجتماعية.

إننا نقر بأن الحكومة الحالية اتخذت تدابير إيجابية عدة، أدت إلى تعزيز الثقة بالاقتصاد الوطني وإعادة الزخم الاقتصادي المطلوب لتطبيق برنامج الإصلاح والنمو، حققت إنجازات استثنائية أهمها:

1- توقيع اتفاق الشراكة الأوروبية الذي يشكل علامة فارقة في تاريخ لبنان الحديث، لأنه ينقله إلى مصاف الدول المشاركة في المجتمع الدولي والعاملة على تطوير اقتصادها، كما لتوقيع الاتفاق مدلول سياسي يتجلى في تقريب وجهة النظر الأوروبية من الموقف اللبناني وجعلها أكثر تفهماً لقضاياه الوطنية وأكثر ميلاً للوقوف إلى جانبه في الخارجية.

2- الانعقاد المرتقب لمؤتمر باريس 2 الذي يؤكد إلى أنه ليس في النية تطبيق إجراءات مالية أو اقتصادية ضد لبنان، بل إن القرار لمساعدته اتخذ والتأجيل الحاصل حالياً ليس إلى نتيجة ضغوط اللوبي اليهودي على الإدارة الأميركية.

3- الحصول على ثقة مؤسسات التصنيف الدولية التي لا تزال تعتبر أن لبنان يملك

قدرة كبيرة على جذب رؤوس الأموال نظراً إلى أهمية احتياطاته بالعملات والسيولة التي يتمتع بها القطاع المصرفي.

4- تحديث قانون التملك العقاري للأجانب.

5- دعم القطاع الخاص عبر تخفيض كلفة الضمان الاجتماعي على المؤسسات الانتاجية وتقديم القروض عبر مؤسسة كفالات.

6- قرار الضريبة على القيمة المضافة لأنها أنجح الحلول وأقلها وطأة على الطبقات العاملة والأقل دخلاً وسيكون لها الأثر الكبير في تحسين الإيرادات وخفض النفقات وإدارة الدين العام وستساهم في تعزيز الاستقرار المالي وتدفق الرساميل الخاصة والتعويض عن الإيرادات الجمركية التي خسرتها الخزينة أثر خفض الرسوم الجمركية ولكن كنا نتمنى لو أدرجت هذه الضريبة في إطار برنامج إصحي طويل المدى يعد بإدخال التصحيحات المطلوبة إلى بنية النظام الضريبي ككل تمهيداً لتطويره وتحقيقاً لقدر أكبر من الفاعلية والعدالة.

ورغم كل هذه التدابير الجريئة التي اتخذتها الحكومة لم تظهر النتائج المرجوة سوى أنها تركت بعض الارتياح في الأسواق لكنها من جهة أخرى أخفقت في مسائل عدة أهمها:

1- معالجة الأوضاع المعيشية ووقف الهجرة وإيجاد مزيد من فرص عمل للبنانيين كما ساهمت في فقدان الثقة عند جزء كبير من اللبنانيين بمستقبل بلادهم من جراء المناكفات السياسية والاعتقالات الغير مبررة والمس بالحريات العامة وبأسس النظام الديموقراطي.

2- على مستوى الاصلاح الإداري، إن سياسة خفض النفقات وفق ما تلحظه الموازنة الجديدة لا تنطوي على آفاق واعدة في حال بقيت أوضاع الإدارات العامة على حالها، فالحكومة سقطت في مسألة التعيينات والآلية المتفق عليها لم تنفذ إلا شكلياً كما استمرت مشكلة الفائض بسبب حشر الأزلام في الإدارة وتنامت ظاهرة الرشوة كما غابت الرقابة والمحاسبة واستحكم الروتين القاتل والبيروقراطية في إدارات الدولة.

3- التباطؤ في خصخصة قطاعي الكهرباء والاتصالات رغم ما لهذه العملية من فائدة لخزينة الدولة ولتخفيف جزء من الدين العام وتأمين خدمة أفضل للمواطن كما تشكل عمليات التخصيص عامل إغراء مهم في تحريك الاستثمارات الأجنبية ونسأل الحكومة عن المحاذير التي تحوط هذه العملية وخصوصاً من ناحية الأعباء المترتبة على مؤسسة كهرباء لبنان والتزاماتها المستقبلية وديونها المقدرة بحوالي 700 مليار ليرة والتي لا نعلم طريقة استيفائها أم إذا كان سيتم إلغاؤها.

4- لقد امتنعت الحكومة عن تطبيق قانون تلوث الهواء والقرار المتعلق بالكسارات والمقالع وأخفقت في ضبط التخابر الدولي وفي العناية بالشأن الاجتماعي وخاصة في التقديمات الصحية.

دولة الرئيس،

إن المشكلة الاقتصادية والمالية القائمة وخطورة تنامي الدين العام وضرورة لجمة ولجم الأعباء المترتبة على خدمته تتطلب إجراءات عدة أبرزها:

1- تأكيد الاستمرار في سياسة الاستقرار النقدي مع ما يتطلبه ذلك من وسائل لحماية الليرة والحفاظ على استقرارها ويتم ذلك عبر مصادر تمويل جديدة في ظل تخوف المصارف من استمرار تمويل عجز الدولة وخصوصاً أن الحكومة طلبت م مجلس النواب أن يجيز لها في سنة 2002 الاستدانة من الاسواق الخارجية بنحو 3 مليارات دولار.

2- ضرورة وقف التمادي في الاستدانة على أن تترافق السياسات الاقتصادية الحكومية مع محاولة زيادة المدخول وخفض الانفاق تدريجياً على القطاع العام.

3- إصلاح النظام النقدي من حيث القضاء على الانتاجية الباهظة الكلفة مع ازدياد الفوائد بشكل غير منطقي على الليرة في ظل نظام ثبات سعر الصرف مما يؤثر سلباً على عمليات الاستثمار.

4- زيادة القدرة الانتاجية والتنافسية لمواجهة غزو السلع الأجنبية الصناعية والزراعية.

5- استيفاء رسوم المخالفات على الأملاك البحرية.

6- استثمار المواد البشرية اللبنانية محلياً بدلاً من تشجيع غير مباشر لهجرة الكفاءات لأن ثروة لبنان هي موارده البشرية ويجب الاحتفاظ بها وجعل لبنان مركز تفوق علمي وتكنولوجي.

7- حفز النمو عبر تعزيز دور القطاع وإنماء مناخات الاستثمار والأعمال بما في ذلك الحوافز الضريبية وبناء وتطوير البنية التحتية وتثبيت سعر صرف العملة الوطنية.

8- الافادة مما يحدث عالمياً لتوجيه أنظار العالم إلى الاستثمار في لبنان وجعله مركز جذب لمزيد من الودائع العربية.

9- حث الفعاليات السياسية والاقتصادية على التوقف ع إعلان التصريحات التشاؤمية التي تصدر عن أحقاد سياسية أو خصومات شخصية تنعى لبنان وتوحي أنه على شفير الهاوية.

دولة الرئيس،

لقد مر عقد كامل على انتهاء الحرب ولم يبدأ لبنان بعد تحديد هويته الاقتصادية الجديدة لمواجهة تحديات العولمة، بل إنه فقد قسطاً كبيراً من ميزاته التفاضلية وقدراته على التنافس وأضحت المديونية حقيقية بنيوية في المشهد المالي اللبناني، لقد حذرت الحكومة في العام الماضي من أن الوضع المالي لا يحتمل المراوغة والتساهل والتجاذبات والخلافات. كما نبهت مراراً من تنامي الدين العام وارتفاع خدمته، لكن وبالرغم من ذلك استمر التعاطي مع الأخطار والتهديدات المالية بخفة وعدم جدية واستمرت مزاريب الهدر وتعمقت التجاذبات والخلافات وحماية مصالح الطوائف والأشخاص.

يبدو واضحاً بعد أحداث 11 أيلول أن لبنان يخوض سباقاً مريراً مع الوقت ومع الضغوط الدولية المختلفة وما نخشاه أن يساهم الضغط الديبلوماسي على لبنان في إضفاء نوع من العقوبات غير المعلنة رسمياً عليه وان يؤدي إلى مزيد من دفع الأوضاع الاقتصادية فيه إلى متاهة مخيفة من التدهور خاصة وأن مواجهة الإرهاب ستفرض تغييرات غير عادية في الأنظمة المالية والمصرفية انسجاماً مع المعايير الدولية المكافحة تبييض الأموال التي يعتبرها المجتمع الدولي النافذة الأكثر رواجاً لتمويل العمليات الإرهابية.

واليوم مرة أخرى تدق الحكومة ناقوس الخطر وتنبه من خلال هذه الموازنة أن البلد لا يتحمل المراوغة وإضاعة الوقت لذا فإنه من الضروري وضع جميع الخلافات السياسية والمصالح الشخصية جانباً وتصحيح الاختلالات المالية والخروج من الحلقة المفرغة التي دخل فيها الوضع المالي اللبناني عبر اتخاذ إجراءات استثنائية وجريئة إضافة إلى الإسهام في حث المواطنين نحو نمط استهلاكي يتناسب مع ظروف المرحلة وذلك بدل اعتماد خطاب سياسي شعبوي على حساب المصلحة العامة.

وشكراً.

Appendix 9.4

Jean Ogassapian – 5 April 2004

Deputy Jean Ogassapian's speech during the Budget Discussion in the Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2004): 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 5 April 2004.

جان أوغاسبيان:

دولة الرئيس

الزملاء الكرام،

لقد اختبر لبنان في تاريخه منذ الاستقلال وإبان الأحداث الداخلية الأليمة خياري المراوحة والانزلاق فوجد أن كلاهما مر وبعد العام 1990 جرب خياري السلم الأهلي والتنمية الشاملة المستدامة، وهما خياران لم يكن من السهل تصورهما لولا فضل بعض القيادات والقوى السياسية الذين جعلوا من قدرات اللبنانيين وسيلة للتفاعل والتكامل وبناء الوطن لجميع أبنائه واليوم بالرغم من الخلافات الداخلية على غير مستوى، فإن وجود نخبة سياسية متنوعة ومجتمعة في المجلس النيابي لي سوى شاهد على إمكانية تغليب خيار الانقاذ والتنمية، لهذه الأسباب وغيرها ونحن شركاء في مصير هذا الوطن نجد أنفسنا ملزمين بمواجهة الواقع والمشاركة في المسئولية والإشارة إلى الصعوبات والمحاذير المستقبلية.

فإذا كنا فعلاً نتوخى النجاح في عالم متغير وأردنا التكيف مع المستجدات العالمية والإقليمية إننا مدعوون إلى تركيز جهودنا لتحصين الوحدة الداخلية وانتهاج مشروع اقتصادي فعال وقادر على التكيف ما حاجات الوطن والمواطن.

دولة الرئيس،

من الواضح أن موازنة عام 2004 لم تحقق النتائج حيث لا تظهر صورة واضحة لاتجاهات العناوين الاصلاحية الأساسية ولم تحمل أي معالم لتشجيع الاستثمارات وجذب الأموال إلى لبنان، وكان البعض بات متفقاً على أن السنة الحالية هي سنة استحقاقات وتصفية حسابات، وليست سنة إصلاحات مالية ونمو ورخاء اقتصادي أو سنة جهوزية للاستحقاقات الداهمة إقليمياً ومحلياً، وهذا الفريق لا يعمل أن الإصلاحات إذا لم تحدث اليوم فإنها حاصلة غداً لا محالة، ولكن بكلفة أكبر وبعد غد بكلفة أكبر وأكبر، وكأن المشكلة تزول لمجرد أننا نقوم بالتغاضي عنها ونقول إن الوقت كفيل بحلها، والحقيقة إن الوقت لا يحل هذه المشاكل بل إنها

ستتفاقم سنة بعد سنة.

إن هذه الموازنة لن تشكل مقدمة إيجابية لحركة النهوض الاقتصادي، بل إنها ستضع لبنان في حالة حرج كبير أمام الهيئات والمؤسسات الدولية التي منحته ثقتها، خصوصاً وانها أسقطت كل التزاماته حيال مؤتمر باريس 2، وكأنها محاولة لامتصاص كل المفاعيل الإيجابية التي نتجت عنه. غن بعض أصحاب القرار في لبنان على اختلاف اتجاهاتهم ومصالحهم الذاتية فوتوا فرصة لا تعوض كون هذه التظاهرة أعادت الثقة المفقودة بالاقتصاد اللبناني وسمحت بفتح أبواب الأسواق المالية الدولية مجدداً أمامه، وكان لا بد من متابعة سلسلة الخطوات الإصلاحية في التشريعات وفي الإدارة، وتخفيض كلفة القطاع العام وتفعيل القطاع الخاص إضافة إلى اعتماد مبدأ الخصخصة الذي يبدو أمراً غير متوفر حتى الآن في ظل الظروف السياسية القائمة حيث تم استبداله باعتماد مبدأ إدارة القطاعات الذي لا يحقق المداخيل المطلوبة لإطفاء أجزاء من الدين العام وكلفته المستمرة بالارتفاع والتي تشكل عبء كبير على الاقتصاد اللبناني، ومن المؤكد أن للظروف المالية العامة المتعثرة ارتدادات ومضاعفات سلبية على سائر القطاعات الإنتاجية والتجارية.

أيها السـادة،

نتساءل وبعد مضي ستين عاماً على الاستقلال وأربع عشرة سنة على اتفاق الطائف، هل نجحنا في توحيد اللبنانيين حول مفاهيم الكيان اللبناني والديمقراطية والعدالة والحرية؟ هل قمنا يوماً بنقد ذاتي لمعرفة مكامن الخلل؟ هل من تخطيط للمستقبل أم أننا اعتمدنا مبدأ "فالج لا تعالج" وارتمينا في منطق الياس الذي يؤدي إلى الخمول والقبول بالواقع؟

إن الواقع السياسي والطائفي هو الذي يؤدي في النهاية غلى جعل البلد يواجه عواصف مالية ومعيشية تنطوي على أخطار هائلة، ليس بسبب نتائجه الكارثية على النسيج الاجتماعي فحسب بل بسبب تأثيره السلبي على المؤسسات الرسمية ونوعية إدارة الشأن العام الذي يزيد من حدة الأزمات ويقوض إمكانات النهوض في المستقبل.

كما نتساءل هل نجحت الدولة في التعامل مع المعارضة ككل ليس من منطق علاقة القوة أو العزلة بل بمنطق الحوار وبإرادة المضي قدماً في إرساء دينامية للتعاون والانفتاح والمشاركة؟ وهل يمنع النظام الديمقراطي وجود معارضة تؤمن بلبنان الوطن وتلتزم تطبيق وثيقة الوفاق الوطني وتشارك فعلياً في الحياة السياسية اللبنانية تحت سقف الدستور والقوانين؟ أليس من الأجدى إعادة ثقة اللبنانيين بوطنهم وتخطي الحواجز الطائفية والمناطقية والتأسيس لوحدة وطنية ثابتة.

واليوم نحن على أبواب الاستحقاق البلدي نؤيد الصيغة التي اعتمدت عام 1998 في بيروت، والتي تبقى الضامن الوحيد للتوازن والتوافق بين جميع شرائح المجتمع البيروتي، ونرى أن لدى أعضاء المجلس البلدي الحالي الكفاءة والقدرة على متابعة مسيرة الانجازات على غير مستوى، ونقول لمن يسعى إلى تسييس الانتخابات في بيروت من أجل تصفية حسابات خسارته عام 2000 فإن الرد سوف يأتيهم من قبل أبناء العاصمة الشرفاء بالتأكيد مرة أخرى بالمحافظة على ثبات خياراتهم، وفي سياق الموضوع البلدي نطالب بتأمين الحاجات الإنمائية

للعاصمة ومنها إنجاز مشاريع البنى التحتية من مجاري الصرف الصحي ومياه الأمطار، وتزفيت الشوارع وإضاءتها وبناء الأرصفة وإنشاء المدارس وفقاً لخطة مجلس الإنماء والأعمار إضافة إلى بدء العمل في مستشفى بيروت الحكومي، كما ندعو إلى إخراج هذه المشاريع الإنمائية والحياتية من دائرة الخلافات والتجاذبات السياسية.

أيها السادة،

إن لبنان القوى بوحدة أبنائه لديها لقدرة والجهوزية للتصدي إلى الكم الهائل من التحولات والتحديات التي تواجه مجمل البنيان العربي وأولوياته وقضاياه وخارطته السياسية منذ أحداث 11 أيلول وبعد الاجتياح الأميركي للعراق لقد خلفت نكبة العراق وضعاً مشابهاً لا يقل خطورة عما تلا نكبة فلسطين ابتداء من العام 1948 من اضطرابات وعدم استقرار في المنطقة، لا سيما أن الوضع في العراق انزلق إلى حروب وتراكمات داخلية قد تؤدي إلى التقسيم إلى كيانات طائفية وعرقية، والواضح أن التداعيات لن تنحصر في نطاق الساحة العراقية إنما ستتجاوزها إلى دول الجوار وستعرض المصالح العربية للخطر، لا سيما وأنه بعد انهيار عملية السلام التي أطلقها مؤتمر مدريد، استغلت إسرائيل الوضع الدولي الناشئ لربط حربها على الفلسطينيين بالحرب الأمريكية على الإرهاب وتمرير مشروع ترانسفير جديد وحمل بنان وسوريا عبر ضغوط وتهديدات على تقديم تنازلات والموافقة على السلام بالشروط الإسرائيلية، لكن رغم كل الظروف والضغوط فإن الاستراتيجية السورية اللبنانية المشتركة ثابتة في اعتماد خيار المواجهة حتى قيام السلام العادل والشامل، وأمام هذه المرحلة المحفوفة بالمخاطر، وفي وقت لا نتوقع فيه إنجازات ملموسة خلال الفترة المتبقية من العهد، يتوجب علينا على الأقل حماية أسس الاستقرار السياسي والمشاركة الوطنية.

ايها السادة،

إن الوضع في لبنان يحتاج إلى إصلاحات في الرؤية وفي الذهنية وفي السياسة المنتهجة، ومجلس النواب رغم الحملات التي يتعرض لها، مدعو للعب دور في إرساء سياسات تصحيحية مطلوبة لمواجهة المخاطر، بما أنه شريك أساسي في إدارة البلاد وقادر على التغيير وعلى إرساء الحيوية إلى الحياة السياسية وتفعيل العمل المؤسساتي وكل يوم نضيعه هو إضاعة لفرصة لا تتكرر، وشكراً.

Appendix 9.5

Jean Ogassapian – 5 July 2011

Deputy Jean Ogassapian's speech during the deliberations on Premier Najeeb Miqati's Ministerial Statement before casting a No-Confidence Vote on 5 July 2011.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2011): 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 5 July 2011.

جان أوغاسبيان:

دولة الرئيس،

يشرفني العودة غلى صفوف الزملاء النواب بعد غياب ست سنوات في الأداء الوزاري

الرئيس: أهلاً وسهلاً فيك على طول إن شاء الله

جان أوغاسبيان: أستأذن من دولتكم وأريد أن أعول على رحابة صدر الرئيس ميقاتي والزملاء الكرام الذين أكن لهم كل احترام ولكن اليوم نحن بصدد بحث مسائل وطنية في غاية الأهمية.

إننا في صدد مناقشة بيان وزاري لحكومة ترمي بنفسها في أحضان واقع سياسي نافر ترسخ في الأونة الأخيرة وبات محط اتهام أكثر من نصف اللبنانيين، أنه واقع "ثقافة السلاح"

واقع يمتد بانعكاساته الخطرة، ليجعل من هذه الحكومة، حكومة إسقاط العدالة والحقيقة في لبنان وحكومة الإمعان في مواجهة المجتمع الدولي وأخذ البلاد إلى مزيد من الانقسامات الداخلية وتعريض لبنان لكل أنواع المخاطر.

في الواقع، كان على هذه الحكومة أن تستقيل منذ أن عجزت وفشلت وامتنعت عن الالتزام الواضح بالمحكمة الدولية وبكل الإجراءات القضائية ذات الصلة فمن يتحمل يا دولة رئيس الحكومة تبعات أي قرارات أو تدابير أو عقوبات دولية؟ إذا كنتم تدركون عواقب هذه الأمور مصيبة وإن كنتم لا تدركون ففي الأمر كارثة.

نعم يا دولة الرئيس، إننا الآن أمام مرحلة مصيرية في لبنان، للمرة الأولى بعد أكثر من 270 اغتيالاً سياسياً في لبنان وبعد كل جرائم الحروب على أرض وطننا الحبيب، للمرة الأولى ينتصر موقف العدالة أمام منطق الجريمة ومنطق المحاسبة أمام ما بات قاعدة للإفلات من العقاب.

إن المحكمة ليست عدوة أحد ونحن لسنا هواة انتقام وثأر بل نؤمن بالشراكة الكاملة بين مختلف الأطياف اللبنانية ونؤمن بالحوار الوطني على قاعدة المصارحة والمسامحة والمصالحة ونريد للبنان السلام والازدهار.

دولة الرئيس،

إن الحكام الذين يعملون على الاستعاضة عن وجههم الحقيقي بأقنعة زائفة ويبحثون عن مصادر القوة عند غيرهم، يأخذون البلاد إلى الانفجار الحقيقي خصوصاً في هذا الزمن من التحولات الكبيرة في عالمنا العربي الشديد الغليان، وأملنا في لبنان أن تعفينا التجارب من هذا النموذج من الحكام وإلا يكون رئيس الحكومة قد وقع في هذه الأوهام.

فالشعور السائد حالياً أن العمل السياسي في لبنان تحول إلى مسرح لحكومة دمى متحركة سهل التلاعب بها وسهل تبديل موقفها، وهذا الأمر يجري تداوله في وسائل الاعلام وفي الجالس الخاصة والعامة وهو موضع تهكم غالبية المواطنين.

وأنا يا دولة الرئيس لست ممن يجدون غرابة في التشكيلة العجيبة لهذه الحكومة فهي نتيجة طبيعية لواقع غير طبيعي في نظامنا السياسي وهي كائن يستحل إلا أن يكون على صورة جمهورية السلاح الذي ولدت فيه.

لقد ولدت حكومة الرئيس ميقاتي على واقع متغيرات سياسية ومخالفات ميثاقية ووضعت البلاد في مهب سجالات سياسية عنيفة وفي مواجهة تحديات وضغوط خارجية لن تنتهي عند مواجهة القرار 1757. وتهد لبنان بان يكون في عداد الدولة المارقة، فالحكومة هي محصلة لتلك المخالفات الجسيمة وهي بهذا المعنى لن تكون محل ثقتنا.

وموقفنا ناشئ عن قناعة تامة بوجوب إسقاط الحكومة وبأهمية رفع الصوت عالياً حالياً حيال ما يهدد النظام الديمقراطي في لبنان.

دولة الرئيس،

لقد وقع النظام السياسي في قبضة السلاح منذ اللحظة الأولى التي تم فيها تكليف الرئيس ميقاتي، وقناعتنا الناتجة عن تجاربنا الطويلة تؤك أن لبنان سوف يدفع، بشعبه وأرضه ومستقبله وحريته، الأثمان الباهظة لتلك اللحظة الأليمة.

إن الدولة اليوم بغالبية مقدراتها السياسية والدبلوماسية والعسكرية باتت في كنف ثقافة سلاح الحزب الواحد، هذه الثقافة التي نجحت في التموضع في المراكز الحساسة التي تمكنها من إدارة الدولة بشكل كامل، إضافة إلى اعتماد استراتيجيات شراء الأراضي في المناطق اللبنانية كافة بطريقة تعكس خطة شاملة لوصل مناطق النفوذ ببعضها البعض من جهة وإحداث تغيير مبرمج في ديمغرافية المناطق من جهة أخرى.

نعم، إن هذه الثقافة أتت بهذه الحكومة فأمام أي لبنان نحن؟

وهنا اسال رئيس الحكومة كلنا لأي وطن؟ لأي وطن ستعمل وكيف؟

دولة الرئيس، الزملاء الكرام، أبناء الوطن الرسالة

أرجوكم ألا تنظروا غلى هذه الحقائق بعين الاستخفاف أو بكلام من أجل الاستثمار السياسي الضيق نحن اليوم عبر هذه الحكومة وقنا فعلاً في عهة ثقافة السلاح ونحن اليوم نصرخ من شدة الألم ومعنى كل اللبنانيين الذين يشعرون بإخطار محاصرة النظام الديمقراطي والحريات ومخاوف إسقاط الطائف ودستوره وتفريغ المؤسسات من مضمونها.

دولة الرئيس،

اسمح لي أن أنحني إجلالاً وتقديراً لكل شهداء لبنان وتحديداً شهداء ثورة الأرز وشهداء الجيش اللبناني الذي كان لي الشرف أن أكون في عداده لمدة 25 سنة وشهداء المقاومة الذين حرروا لبنان واستعادوا كرامة اللبنانيين، ولكن يا دولة الرئيس بقدر احترامي لهذا السلاح الموجه ضد إسرائيل أرفض بقوة توجيه هذا السلاح إلى صدور اللبنانيين، وأرفض بقوة أن يكون هذا السلاح أداة ضاغطة في الحياة السياسية وأرفض بقوة أن يحكم هذا السلاح لبنان، وآن الأوان لأن يكون هذا السلاح تحت سيطرة الدولة.

نحن اليوم نخاف من فرض ثقافة حياة تتعارض مع ثقافات وأديان الآخرين نخاف على حرية الرأي والمعتقد وثقافة التنوع والتعددية.

نحن اليوم نخاف على مستقبل هوية لبنان، هل أنتم مطمئنون فعلاً إلى سلامة النظام الديمقراطي؟

دولة الرئيس،

أن الهدف الأساسي للحوار الوطني الذي دعا إليه فخامة رئيس الجمهورية في القصر الرئاسي هو تأمين التزامات لبنان في تنفيذ القرار /1701/ وخصوصاً تأمين عملية الانتقال من وقف الأعمال العسكرية إلى وقف إطلاق النار المنصوص عنه في الفقرة الثامنة من هذا القرار، ولكن مع الأسف ومنذ ثلاث سنوات لم يقدم هذا الحوار ما هو مطلوب منه لبنانياً ودولياً، ولم يتخذ هذا الحوار أي إجراءات تساعد على تقدم في عملية بسط سيادة الدولة أو حتى في اتباع استراتيجية دفاعية تؤمن حماية لبنان من جهة وتؤمن سيادة الدولة على أرضها وعلى قرارات الأمن والدفاع من جهة ثانية.

لا بد أن نذكر أن الدعم الدولي للبنان عند صدور القرار /1701/ تمثل في تأمين قوة ولية معززة قوامها خمسة عشر ألف جندي لمساعدة الدولة على بسط سيادتها وسيطرتها على أرضها. إن هذا الالتزام الدولي بمساعدة لبنان من خلال قوة دولية بهذا الحجم وبهذه الموازنة لن يستمر لفترة زمنية مفتوحة بل هو التزام مرتبط بمدى التقدم بعملية تنفيذ القرار /1701/ وعندما يشعر المجتمع الدولي أن العملية تتراجع أو يصيبها الوهن فإنه هو أضاً سوف يتراجع، من هنا نحذر مشاركتها بدءاً من ألمانيا وانتهاء بإيطاليا وهي بذلك تعطي إشارة واضحة للبنان بضرورة تحديد فترة أو مهلة زمنية لنهوض الدولة بمسئولياتها وغلا سنجد أنفسنا أمام نفس السيناريو السابق الذي شهدناه بين عامي 1987 ، 1982 لقد ساعد المجتمع الدولي لبنان إصدار القرار /425/ وتأمين قوة دولية لمساعدة الدولة اللبنانية على بسط

سيطرتها على أراضيها ولكن عملية تراجع تنفيذ القرار أدت لاحقاً إلى اجتياح أكثر تدميراً ووحشية.

جان أوغسابيان: اسمح لي يا دولة الرئيس لأن لدي بعض التوضيح على الكلام الذي تفضلت به.

لقد كان هناك توافق دولي عند صدور القرار /1701/ منذ ست سنوات على جعل مسألة سلاح حزب الله من مسئولية الدولة اللبنانية، وأن يقوم الحوار الوطني بمهمة إيجاد الحلول المناسبة لجعل هذا السلاح ضمن مرجعية الدولة، وبالتالي تنفيذ لبنان لما يتوجب عليه تجاه استكمال سيادته وتجاه تأمين الدعم العربي والدولي ونزع كل الذرائع التي تستعملها إسرائيل للقيام بعمليات عدوان واسعة ومدمرة على لبنان.

دولة الرئيس،

في 28 شباط عام 2005 وقف رجل احترمه وأقدره ابن بيت سياسي عريق أنه دولة الرئيس عمر كرامي الذي أعلن عن استقالة حكومته نظراً لضخامة جريمة اغتيال الرئيس الشهيد رفيق الحريري، واليوم المشهد يتكرر تحت قبة هذا البرلمان، الرئيس ميقاتي أمام التجربة ذاتها، وأمام احتمالين: أما أن يقدم استقالته وينصفه التاريخ وتتكلم الأجيال عن جرأته وحرصه على انقاذ لبنان الرسالة، أو أنه يبقى في الحكم من أجل السلطة ومن أجل طموحات واهية ويأخذ البلاد إلى المخاطر الكبيرة، لا يا دولة الرئيس ميقاتي ليس هكذا تحترم الشهداء وترد الوفاء لصديقك رفيق الحريري والتاريخ لن يرحمك، كنا نقول في أدبياتنا السياسية أن المحكمة آتية والعدالة سوف تأتي حكماً فلا يغرق البعض في الأوهام وشكراً.

Appendix 10

Hagop Kassardjian

Appendix 10.1

Hagop Kassardjian – 2 November 2000

Speech given by Deputy Hagop Kassardjian during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Rafik El Hariri's 65th Government before abstaining from voting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2000): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th parliament held on 2 November 2000.

أكوب قصارجيان: دول الرئيس حضرات الزملاء،

لليوم الخامس على التوالي والبيان الوزاري للحكومة أمام مد وجزر إن داخل المجلس الكريم أو خارجه، ففي داخل المجلس طرف ينتقده وآخر يشيد به، أما في خارج المجلس طرف يصف البيان وكأنه قطعة من السماء وطرف آخر يعتبره ناقصاً وبحاجة إلى تعديل وأغفل العديد من القضايا الحساسة.

واللافت أيها الزملاء أنهم قاموا بتكريره حبة حبة، فلم يعمدوا إلى تقييمه من حيث المضمون فحسب، بل عمدوا أيضاً إلى تكييله بعدد كلماته وحتى أحرفه.

هذا في الخارج، أما تحت قبة البرلمان فنواب وصحافة أذهانها وعيوبها مسمرة على كل شاردة وواردة لحظها البيان الوزاري أو لم يلحظها، ناهيك عن أي ردة فعل نجمت أو قد تنجم للتعليق عليها، برأيكم يا دولة الرئيس، ألا تجدون قاسماً مشتركاً بين الاثنين وهو أن هناك عيوناً جاحظة وأقلاماً مسلطة هدفها فقط نبش ثغرة ما والانقضاض عليها وكل مجتمع تواق للحرية والعيش الكريم؟

يا دولة الرئيس أنتم أمام مفترق حساس للغاية، فالبلاد كما تعلمون تحتضر، وكل ما تقى من قطاعات ومؤسسات فيها يحتضر، وعندما تصل البلاد إلى هذه المرحلة فمن الصعب جداً الإمساك بزمام الأمور، ولكنا يعلم النتائج التي قد تنجم إذا استمر الوضع على هذه الحال، وأحدده بكلمة واحدة هي: الانهيار.

إذا الحكومة أمام مفترق خطير والانهيار سيطالها عند ارتكاب أي خطوة من دون حساب، فالمطلوب كثير والتنفيذ كبير، ومهما قيل ويقال فعمر هذه الحكومة مرهون بأفعالها وهي تحت المجهر.

يا دولة الرئيس أنا لست من المشككين بالنيات الحسنة التي تتميز بها عناصر هذه الحكومة، كما لست من المشككين بمستقبل هذا الوطن الذي اعتبر نفسي جزءاً لا يتجزأ منه وإن الحالة

التي نشهدها من تقويم للبيان الوزاري، ما هي إلا تعبير عن الخوف على مستقبل أجيالنا، ولذا أجد فيها الكثير من المنط والديموقراطية، وهذه الحالة تشجع ولا تخيف وتقوي ولا تضعف لأن هدفها واحد وهو الأفضل، هذا ما ميز لبنان عن باقي البلدان وهذا ما جعل لبنان يستمر حتى يومنا هذا لذا علينا أن نحافظ ونحترم كافة آراء الأطراف وأن نتجاوب معها، لأنها موجودة شئنا أم أبينا.

أقول هذا الكلام أمامكم لأنني لامسته عندما أجحف التمثيل الأرمني في هذه الحكومة، وهذا الإجحاف لم يطاول أشخاصاً فحسب بل طائفة بأكملها لها ما لها من وجود كمي ونوعي، ولها ما لها من معاناة ومواقف معبرة على مر التاريخ إن في لبنان أو في بلاد الانتشار.

كلنا يعلم أيها الزملاء كم لهذه الطائفة من طاقات غنية إن على الصعيد الثقافي أو الاقتصادي.

إن التمثيل الأرمني الذي نطالب به هو حق لنا، وهذا الحق كرسه اتفاق الطائف وعملت به الحكومات التي أعقبت هذا الاتفاق، إذاً هذا حقنا ولن نسكت عنه حتى تحقيقه.

واللافت يا إخوان، إن الاجحاف هذا جاء في وقت مميز جداً وهو عندما عمدنا إلى إطلاق شعار التعايش والانفتاح على كافة شرائح المجتمع اللبناني، والذي لاقى ترحيباً وتشجيعاً من كافة الطوائف من دون استثناء ويا ليتكم تعلمون مدى قيمة إعلان هذا الشعار الذي تبنيته لدى الطوائف التي تتمسك بحاضرتها وثقافتها ومقدساتها، إنه فعلاً لخطوة شجاعة عمدنا إلى إطلاقها، وما كانت النتيجة؟ أن تكافأ الطائفية الأرمنية بمقعد واحد، أهذا هو ثمن التعايش والانفتاح؟

من هنا أحمل أمامكم المسئولية كافة الاطراف التي ساهمت في اتخاذ هذا القرار، والتي لم تستجب مع ندائنا الانفتاحي، ووضعونا في موقف حرج أمام طائفتنا، كما أطالبهم بتصحيح هذا الخلل والعودة عنه، وخاصة أن كلنا يعلم ما تحتاجه هذه المرحلة من تضامن في سبيل القيام بهذا الوطن.

وأضع هذا المطلب بعهدة كافة المسئولين وخاصة فخامة رئيس الجمهورية ودولة رئيس مجلس الوزراء اللذين لدينا ملء الثقة بهما.

والآن ولكي أكون منصفاً تجاه نفسي وتجاه غيري رأيت أنه من الضروري أن أتطرق ولو قليلاً إلى موضوع الشباب في بناء الأوطان وتحديد هوية هذه الأوطان.

ألا ترون أن هناك العديد العديد من الشباب مفتت ومهمش ومهمول على الرغم من أنهم يملكون ما يكفي من طاقات فكرية غنية، ألا ترون أن هؤلاء الشباب أصبح هاجسهم الوحيد التفتيش عن دور لهم ولو خارج اختصاصهم وماهية هذا الاختصاص، أن في لبنان أو خارجه من أجل التخفيف عن كاهل أهلهم هؤلاء الأهل الذي عانوا الأمرين لكي يأتي اليوم الذي تتم فيه عملية التسلم والتسليم.

يا دولة الرئيس تكلمنا الكثير وأطلقنا العديد من الوعود الفضفاضة ولم يطبق أو ينفذ منها شيء والدليل على ذلك عدم إدراج موضوع خفض سن الاقتراع في البيان الوزاري، وكان

الأجدر بنا أيها الزملاء أن لا نطلق الوعود إلى شبابنا لكي يبقى وقعها أقل إيلاماً تجاه مشاعرهمز

أما بالنسبة للمراة هذه المرأة التي لم يتوقف دورها النضالي لا في السلم ولا في الحرب، ففي السلم مشاركة وفي الحرب مشاركة،

"في السلم ربت

وفي الحرب ربت

وفي السلم وهبت

وفي الحرب وهبت

في السلم نورت

وفي الحرب نورت"

باختصار أنها الشعلة التي لا تعرف العتمة، وأمام هذه الصفات كما نحن مقصرين.

بصراحة تأخرنا كثيراً في إشراك المرأة في العمل السياسي، وخاصة أن لاسياسة في هذه الأيام بحاجة إلى بعض هذه الصفات لكي تتميز بالمصداقية.

أخيراً لا بد لنا من أن نشيد بالمقاومة الباسلة التي أعادت للبنان عزته وكرامته وعبر دحر العدو الاسرائيل خارج الأراضي اللبنانية، كما ندعمها في تحرير ما تبقى من أراض محتلة، وننوه بدور رئيس الجمهورية والمؤسسة العسكرية ودعمهما في تحقيق هذا الانتصار.

عشتم وعاش لبنان

Appendix 10.2

Hagop Kassardjian – 29 May 2001

Deputy Hagop Kassardjian's speech during the deliberation on the 2001 State Budget.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2001): 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 May 2001.

أكوب قصارجيان: دولة الرئيس، السادة النواب،

إذا كانت مناقشة مشروع موازنة العام 2001 تعتبر ظاهرة عادية من واجبات الحكومة أن تعدها، ومن واجبات مجلس النواب دراستها ومناقشتها، فإن هذه العملية التي يقوم بها المجلس مرة كل عام تمتاز هذا العام بحالة على درجة كبيرة من الأهمية.

ذلك أننا داخلياً نواجه عدواً لا يزال يحتل جزءاً من أرضنا في مزارع شبعا ولا يزال يوجه إلينا التهديد تلو التهديد بالعدوان. وداخلياً أيضاً نواجه تراكمات من الصعوبات الاقتصادية المترتبة عن آثار الحرب – الفتنة التي عصفت بناء، ذلك أن الآثار الاجتماعية لهذه الصعوبات بلغت حدوداً يفترض معالجتها بأقصى درجات الوعي الوطني والحكمة السياسية والتخطيط الاقتصادي، أما إقليمياً فإن المنطقة تواجها خطاراً وتحديات نتيجة لسياسة غطرسة القوة التي تمارسها إسرائيل، ولتراجعها عن مسيرة التسوية السياسية العادلة.

دولة الرئيس،

لا نستطيع، بل لا يجوز لنا أن نطلب من غيرنا ما لا نعطيه نحن لأنفسنا، أن أساس أي نهوض اقتصادي هو الثقة ثقة اللبنانيين بمستقبل وطنهم، وبمقومات نهوضه، وبقدرته على استخدام هذه المقومات بشكل بناء وإيجابي ومثمر، وثقة خارجية تدعم لبنان وتواكبه وتوفر له المساعدات التي تمكنه من الخروج من المصاعب الاقتصادية.

وفي يقيننا أن ما تقوم به الحكومة لجهة تعزيز الثقة ببعديها الداخلي والخارجي هو المفتاح الأساس للمستقبل الأفضل الذي ننشده جميعاً. من هنا، وقبل الدخول في أرقام الموازنة التي أفاض فيها الزملاء الكرام، لا بد من التأكيد على أمر أساسي ومبدأي، وهو أن التجاذب السياسي، وأكان مظهراً من مظاهر المجتمع المتنوع في ظل نظام ديموقراطي حر، فلا يجوز له أن يرهن خطة النهوض الاقتصادي في حساباته المعقدة.

لذلك ندعو إلى اعتماد خطاب وطني يعبر بمسئولية عن الخلافات السياسية، كما ندعو إلى فك الارتباط غير الصحي بين التجاذب السياسي ومعالجة المشاكل الاقتصادية التي يعاني

منها كل اللبنانيين في كل مناطقهم وطوائفهم فالعملة الوطنية هي عملة كل اللبنانيين ورأسمالهم وبالتالي فإن في حمايتها والدفاع عنها حماية ودفاعاً عن مصالح الجميع.

دولة الرئيس،

إننا، من أجل ذلك، نؤيد بحرارة سياسة الحكومة الداعمة للعملة الوطنية، كما نؤيد سياستها في معالجة مشكلة الدين العام، أكان لجهة تخفيض قيمته وقيمة خدمته أو لجهة تطويل آجال استحقاقه، والجهود التي يقوم بها رئيس الحكومة في هذا المجال، يجب أن تحظى بالدعم والتشجيع لأن فيها مصلحة عليا يجب أن ترتفع فوق كل المصالح الأخرى.

إلا أن ذلك لا يمنعنا من التساؤل لماذا لم تصرف أموال بعض القروض الدولية على المشاريع الانمائية المخصصة بها؟ ولماذا تلكأت بعض الوزارات عن الإفادة من هذه القروض التي كانت الدولة تسدد عمولة الارتباط بها سنة بعد سنة؟

نحن نحتاج إلى هذه المشاريع التنموية في بيروت كما في المناطق الأخرى من لبنان، ففي بيروت، هناك نقص فادح في عدد المدارس الحكومية بالنسبة لعدد السكان ثم إلى متى يبقى إنجاز المستشفى الجامعي الحكومي متعثراً؟ وإلى متى يبقى هذا النقص في المساحة الخضراء وسط التلوث البيئي الذي يزداد سوءاً يوماً بعد يوم؟

دولة الرئيس،

على الرغم من وجود تفاهم داخل مجلس الوزراء حول العديد من الأمور نطالب بتغليب الروح التوافقية بين أعضاء الحكومة ليس على الصعيد السياسي فحسب إنما على الصعيد الاقتصادي أيضاً لأن ذلك من شأنه تعجيل الحلول، ولأن روح التوافق والتضامن على كل الأصعدة كفيل بتبديد كل الصعوبات التي تواجهنا.

لقد تفاءلنا خيراً بقرار مجلس الوزراء حول العديد من الأمور نطالب بتغليب الروح التوافقية بين أعضاء الحكومة ليس على لاصعيد السياسي فحسب إنما على الصعيد الاقتصادي أيضاً، لأن ذلك من شأنه تعجيل الحلول ولأن روح التوافق والتضامن على كل الأصعدة كفيل بتبديد كل الصعوبات التي تواجهنا.

لقد تفاءلنا خيراً بقرار مجلس الوزراء إطلاق ورشة العمل في الوسط التجاري من العاصمة بعد طول انتظار، ونأمل الآن أن يؤدي ذلك إلى تحريك عجلة الاقتصاد وإلى تشجيعه الاستثمار، وإضافة إلى ذلك كله إلى إنصاف أهل العاصمة بيروت الذين يريدون لمدينتهم أن تلعب دورها الوطني الرائد، حاضنة للوحدة الوطنية مجسدة لها وخصوصاً في وسطها التجاري.

وفي يقيننا أن المردود الاقتصادي لإطلاق ورشة سوليدير سوف يعم لبنان، إلا أن ذلك لا يعني أننا كنواب للعاصمة نقلل من أهمية الاهتمام بمشاريع المناطق، بل على العكس فإن الوحدة الوطنية والسلم الأهلي والاستقرار الاجتماعي تحتم علينا احترام الإنماء المتوازن، وإيلاء المناطق المحرومة الأولوية في العناية والاهتمام.

ولا شك في أن من هذه الأولويات: إنماء الجنوب الذي حوله العدو الاسرائيلي طوال سنوات احتلاله إلى أرض محروقة، فالتحرير يتكامل مع التنمية، ومن واجبنا أن نكافئ أهلنا الذين صمدوا في وجه العدو بإنماء مناطقهم زراعياً وصناعياً وتنموياً.

دولة الرئيس،

إن لبنان بحاجة اليوم أكثر من أي وقت مضى إلى تضامن وطني حقيقي وشامل النهوض الاقتصادي التي تقدمت بها الحكومة في مشروع موازنة العام 2001، لذلك ندعو مجدداً إلى نبذ الخلافات وغلى الارتفاع فوق الحساسيات والخلافات الضيقة وغلى التخلي عن لغة الطعن أو التجريح بهذه الفئة أو تلك. فكلنا أبناء هذا الوطن ولا فضل لشخص على آخر، ولا لفئة على أخرى غلا بمقدار ما تقدمه للوطن من تفان وولاء وتضحيات.

لذلك ندعو إلى تضامن شعبي مع الحكومة كالتضامن الذي تجلى منذ عام ونيف، وأدى إلى تحرير الجنوب والبقاع الغربي من الاحتلال الإسرائيل لأن التضامن مع الحكومة سيعطي حتماً نتائج على الصعيد الاقتصادي شبيهة بنتائج تحرير الجنوب.

ولقد حان الوقت الذي يفترض بنا جميعاً أن نتحدث لغة واحدة في مواجهة العدو الإسرائيلي الذي يتربص بنا والذي يكيد لنا ولوحدتنا كل المكائد.

إن ثقتنا بالحكومة وبرئيسها تشكل لنا الحافز القوي لتأييد مخطط النهوض الاقتصادي الذي يتضمنه مشروع الموازنة وخصوصاً لجهة ترشيد إنفاق الدولة، وتشجيع الاستثمار وإطلاق حرية المبادرة الفردية وتعزيز الثقة بالاقتصاد الوطني.

دولة الرئيس، حضرات الزملاء،

في ختام كلمتي لا بد من التذكير بالوعود التي قطعت على الطائفة الأرمنية مراراً وتكراراً من قبل رئيس الجمهورية ومجلس الوزراء في شأن إنصاف الطائفة على المستوى التمثيل الوزاري، إلا أن الأولويات بدءاً من معالجة الشأن الاقتصادي وصولاً إلى غيرها من الأمور حالت كما يبدو حتى الآن دون تحقيق هذه الوعود، لكننا على يقين ونأمل بأن هذه المسألة ستحل بعد الانتهاء من عملية إقرار الموازنة مع العلم أن مشكلة مماثلة لو حصلت مع طائفة أخرى لكانت وجدت طريقه إلى الحل من دون مماطلة أو تأجيل.

وشكراً.

Appendix 10.3

Hagop Kassardjian – 28 July 2005

Deputy Hagop Kassardjian speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of Prime Minister Fouad El Siniora's Government before casting a Confidence Vote on 28 July 2005.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies(2005): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 28 July 2005.

أغوب قصارجيان:

دولة الرئيس،

الزميلات والزملاء الكرام،

ابدأ كلمتي بإعلاني منح ثقتي لحكومة شباب لبنان الذي سنسعى، نواباً ووزراء، إلى أن لا نخيب آماله التي رسمها إطاراً للحياة في انتفاضة الاستقلال في 14 اذار 2005 .

وإعلاني منح حكومة "من كان يجب أن يكون اليوم أمامنا" أي الرئيس الشهيد رفيق الحرير، كما أعلن في مقدمة البيان، نابع من القناعات الآتية:

في الإصلاحات:

تمكنت "حكومة الإصلاح والنهوض" التي يترأسها رئيسها فؤاد السنيورة والمنبعثة من انتخابات نيابية تميزت بديموقراطية الانتخاب والتمثيل، من تحديد سلة من الأولويات الإصلاحية التي سيعمل أعضاؤها الـ 24 ، بالتعاون مع مجلس النواب، على طي صفحة الماضي البغيض وذلك عبر إنجاز:

الإصلاحات السياسية:

نرى أن الوقت أن للعودة عن الانقلاب الذي حصل على اتفاق الطائف قبل 15 عاماً عندما اغتيل الرئيس الشهيد رينيه معوض، وبعدما استبدل النظام الديموقراطي المدني بأخر أمنياً استمر أعواماً طويلة إلى أن كان الزلزال الكبير في بيروت في 14 شباط 2005 باغتيال الرئيس الشهيد رفيق الحريري والنائب الشهيد باسل فليحان ورفاقهما وكانت سبقت ذلك محاولة بائسة لاغتيال الوزير والنائب مروان حمادة وتلاه اغتيال للصحافي سمير قصير والمناضل جورج حاوي ومحاولة لاغتيال وزير الدفاع نائب رئيس الحكومة الياس المر.

ولأن لبنان لا يعيش إلا في واحة حقيقية لا مزيفة من الديموقراطية، كان لا بد من أن تتضافر الجهود الصادقة، من مختلف المشارب والتوجهات اللبنانية الممثلة في الحكومة، للوصول إلى قناعة بأنه لا بد من العودة إلى دستور الطائف وتطبيق سيادة القانون فتتحقق المصالحة الحقيقية، ولا سيما بعد عودة العماد ميشال عون والإفراج عن الدكتور سمير جعجع، وتعود إلى لبنان الحياة المدنية فلا يخرج "التصرف الأمني"، وهي عبارة وردت في البيان الوزاري، عن الأصول الديموقراطية، وذلك احتراماً للمواطنين وحرياتهم ولتتحقق العدالة وحقوق الإنسان.

وإن الثقة ممنوحة للحكومة في هذا السياق على أساس أنها التزمت في بيانها الوزاري وضع قانون عصري للانتخاب في مدة حددتها بخمسة أشهر، يرافقه تحقيق اللامركزية الإدارية ووضع قانون جديد للأحزاب وهنان الفت النواب الكرام والرئاسة الكريمة إلى أن هيئة تحديث القوانين واشتراعها أنهت وضع صيغة قانونية للأحزاب السياسية الغت فيها قانون الجمعيات الصادر عن النظام العثماني عام 1909 ، وعلمنا أن الرئاسة الكريمة عهدت إلى أحد النواب تبني هذه الصيغة القانونية حتى نتمكن من درسه وإقراره بما يؤدي إلى تشكيل أحزاب عصرية تتجاوز معها العصبيات الطائفية، وعلمنا أيضاً أن الرئاسة سلمت رئيس لجنة الإدارة والعدل النائب روبير غانم هذه الصيغة فنسأل مباشرة درسها في اللجنة المذكورة.

أغوب قصارجيان في الإصلاحات الأمنية والقضائية:

لأن وثيقة الوفاق الوطني نصت على أن يعاد تنظيم نظام مخابرات القوات المسلحة لخدمة الأغراض العسكرية دون سواها وأن تستخدم القوات المسلحة في مساندة قوى الأمن الداخلي للمحافظة على الأمن في الظروف التي يقررها مجلس الوزراء، ولأن الحكومة التزمت العودة إلى الطائف، كان لا بد للحكومة تالياً من أن تلتزم إخضاع القوى الأمنية للمبادئ المنصوص عليها في الطائف ولا سيما لجهة تحديد صلاحيات الأمن العسكري.

وإننا إذ نرحب بالخطوات الأمنية التي تراها الحكومة ضرورية للحؤول دون وقوع اغتيالات أو تفجيرات مستقبلاً نأسف لأن يكون "الإرهاب" بات مستخدماً في لبنان كتوصيف لهذه العمليات الآثمة، غلا أننا في المقابل نطالب بأن لا تدخر الحكومة جهداً ووسيلة للحد من انتشار هذه الآفة التي تضرب العالم في الألفية الثالثة.

أما بالنسبة إلى القضاء، فنسأل مجلس النواب أين بات اقتراح تحقيق السلطة القضائية المستقلة ولا سيما أن الحكومة أشارت إلى وجوب تحقيق هذه الاستقلالية؟ وهنا نسجل موافقتنا سلفاً على تعديل قانوني التنصت والمحاكمات الجزائية فوراً بما يكفل تحرير السياسيين والمواطنين من قبضة المبتزين.

في الإصلاحات الإعلامية والتربوية:

ليس هناك من ينكر أن ثمة مشكلة تطال ليس الإعلام فقط في موضوع الفائض إنما إدارات الدولة كلها، وإن كلام الحكومة على ضرورة معالجة هذه المشكلة يدفعنا إلى سؤالها عن كيفية تصورها فعل ذلك وما سيكون مصير وزارة الإعلام. هل يمكن القول أن الوزارة هي في صدد التصفية؟ أننا إذ نصر على وجوب التعامل بإنسانية مع هذه الملفات، نرى أن يطرح

للمناقشة جدياً موضوع إلغاء وزارة الإعلام والذي نراه أمراً صحياً وعصرياً، كما هو معمول به في الأنظمة الديموقراطية شرط تعزيز صلاحيات المجلس الوطني للإعلام المرئيس والمسموع بتحولها من استشارية إلى تقريرية، ونسأل الحكومة في معرض كلامها على المجلس الوطني، كيف ستعيد النظر في صلاحياته وطريقة تشكيله، وما سيكون تالياً مصير العاملين فيه راهناً؟

وإننا في السياق الإعلامي، نحيي رغبة الحكومة والمجلس على السواء في إخراج تلفزيون MTV من سجنه الطويل نسبياً.

أما تربوياً، فنطالب الحكومة بوجوب إعادة النظر بالتعليم الرسمي لجهة تنظيم توزيع الأساتذة بحيث تعالج قضية الفائضين منهم، على أن يكون السعي دائماً وجدياً إلى المحافظة على المستوى الراقي للجامعات بحيث تعطي الجامعة الكفؤة الإذن بالتعليم، ويسحب الترخيص من الجامعات التي نسميها الطفيليات في بلد النور والإشعاع.

في الاقتصاد.

ولأن الأمن والسياسة والاقتصاد عناصر متلازمة فإننا نرحب بالسياسة الاقتصادية التي التزمت الحكومة وضعها لجنة السير قدماً في الخصخصة مما يوقف الإهدار المالي والبشري في إدارات الدولة ويرشد الانفاق، وأيضاً لجهة تحديث النظام الضريبي.

وفي هذه المسألة نلفت الحكومة الكريمة إلى وجوب أن تعتمد نظاماً ضريبياً متصاعداً يشرك المتمولين في دفع مستحاقتهم الضريبة للدولة، فلا تلقى على عاتق الفقير أو الموظف ضرائب إضافية لن يكون في إمكانه حتماً إيفاءها. ولأن الجباية أمر حيوي بالنسبة إلى خزينة الدولة، فإن إنعاشها من خلال جباية الأموال يكون بأن تتساوى المناطق في الدفع، فلا يكون هناك صيف وشتاء على سطح واحد.

وفي الباب الاقتصادي نفسه، نقول بوجوب إيجاد حل جذري ونهائي لمعضلة الضمان الاجتماعي بحيث لا يعود رازحاً تحت عجزه عن توفير خدماته للمشتركين والمضمونين فيه.

وهنا، نرى أنه لا بد من إعلان حال طوارئ لهذه المؤسسة بسد مزاريب الإهدار فيها، كما في بقية إدارات الدولة ومؤسساتها فيحقق لبنان ما يتوجب عليه في مكافحة الفساد الإداري والمالي على السواء.

ونرحب بإرادة الحكومة أن تفتح واسعاً باب الاستثمار أمام الشباب من خلال الاهتمام بقطاعات الشباب ما من شأنه أن يحقق نسباً مرتفعة من النمو الاقتصاد الجديد والعمالة الجديدة ويؤدي إلى اعتماد الانتاج الفكري مصدراً للدخل والثروة الوطنية.

ونرحب أيضاً بالسياسة الاقتصادية الشبابية التي ستعتمدها الحكومة في دفع الشباب صوب الانخراط في المؤسسات الناشئة لترسيخ بقائهم في الوطن.

في السياسة الخارجية:

ننوع بملامسة الحكومة في سياستها الخارجية موضوع "حزب الله" على أساس أن سلاحه شأن داخلي على اللبنانيين أن يحلوه بأنفسهم من خلال الحوار والمناقشة، على أساس احتضان المقاومة التي ساهمت مساهمة فاعلة وكبيرة في تحرير الأرض.

وفي هذا السياق، نطلب إلى الحكومة الكريمة أن تفتح حواراً مع المعنيين لمناقشة مصير سلاح الحزب للوصول إلى القرار الصائب والحكيم في هذا الشأن.

وفي المقابل، نعلن موافقتنا الى التزام الحكومة قرارات الشرعية الدولية ولا سيما في ما يختص بالصراع العربي الإسرائيلي.

دولة الرئيس،

الزميلات والزملاء الكرام،

قبل أن أنهي مداختلي، أود أن ألفتكم إلى أمرين أساسيين لا بل حيويين في حياتنا السياسية والاجتماعية على السواء:

أولاً- يكثر الحديث في الآونة الأخيرة خصوصاً على أن الطائفة الأرمنية في لبنان ليست ممثلة لا في مجلس النواب ولا في الحكومة أيضاً. وقبل أن استرسل في شرح هذه المغالطة المنشورة ربما عن قصد في الأوساط السياسية والإعلامية وتالياً في المجتمع اللبناني، أرغب في أن أسأل حضراتكم من يكون الوزير جان أوغاسبيان؟ ومن يكون النواب الأرمن في "تيار المستقبل"؟ السنا وزراء ونواباً أرمناً في الحكومة؟ ألسنا بصفتنا الأرمنية نمثل الناخبين اللبنانيين عموماً والأرمن منهم خصوصاً؟ أقول: ثمة من يحاول يائساً أن يفصل النواب الأرمن عن قاعدتهم الشعبية، وأن يحصر تلك القاعدة بفئة معينة وكان لا خيار أمام الأرمن، كل الأرمن، سوى أن يكونوا منضوين تحت جناح تلك الفئة أو موالين لها، ليثبتوا أنهم أرمن. وإذا اختاروا أن لا يكونوا تابعين لتلك الفئة السياسية أو الحزبية، تكون لعنة الله نزلت عليهم، وتخلع عنهم صفتهم الأرمنية التي لهم الفخر بأن يحملوها، يحاول هؤلاء فعل ذلك بكل الوسائل المعنوية والسياسية وحتى الإعلامية.

ولأن الشفافية أساس في تواصلنا وناخبينا، نقول أن تلك المحاولات البائسة واليائسة لتشويه الحقيقة جاءت نتيجة لأغراض انتخابية ضيقة ولتحالفات سياسية معينة، فالمهم برأينا أن يقولوا أن حزب "الطاشناق" هو الذي ليس ممثلاً في الحكومة لا أن يشيعوا أن الطائفة الأرمنية كلها غير ممثلة إذ يجب التفريق لنكون موضوعيين ودقيقين في خطابنا السياسي، بين تمثيل حزب معين في الحكومة وفي مجلس النواب أو تمثيل الطائفة الأرمنية بكاملها في هاتين المؤسستين الكريمتين.

لذا، أتوجه من هذا المنبر إلى الرأي العام اللبناني لأوضح له أنني لبناني من أصل أرمني ولكن من الحزب الديموقراطي الليبرالي "الرامغافار" اللبناني، وأقول أن يغيا جرجيان هو لبناني من أصل أرمني من حزب الهنشاك وأن جان أوغاسبيان وسيرج طورسركيسيان هما لبنانيان مستقلان من أصل أرمني.

وأسأل: أليس حزباً "الرامغافار" والهنشاك العريقان والمتحالفان مع تيار المستقبل هما من الأرمن؟ هل هما يمثلان الأتراك ؟ سئمنا الإشاعات التي يزرعها من خسر الاحتكار الأرمني ليبرر من خلالها أسباب فشله في الاستمرار في سياسة الاحتكار. وهنا أسأل أليس الاحتكار نفسه هو الذي أدى إلى ذاك الفشل؟

سئمنا الإشاعات نفسها تتكرر منذ أن انكسر طوق ذاك الاحتكار وبرزت قوى أرمنية أخرى كان مغلوباً على أمرها، وتقول تلك الإشاعات أن القاعدة الشعبية الأرمنية غير ممثلة.

حقاً، سئمنا تلك الأحادية في القرار، والتمثيل وأقول أن الديموقراطية تحققت عملياً وفعلياً منذ عام 2000، عندما أخذ الرئيس الشهيد رفيق الحريري، رحمه الله القرار بأن تتمثل حقيقة الشرائح الأرمنية كلها في مجلس النواب، فتكون الشرعية في التمثيل الحقيقي قد تحققت.

وهنا أصل إلى النقطة الثانية في هذا الباب

دولة الرئيس،

الزميلات والزملاء الكرام،

ثانياً- عام الفين خضنا الانتخابات النيابية مع الرئيس الشهيد الكبير رفيق الحريري وكان شعارنا الانتخابي وبرنامجنا أننا لبنانيون من أصل أرمني، وقد عملنا في السنوات الخمس الماضية، ولا نزال نعمل على تكريس هذا المفهوم الذي لا ينتقص من كرامة الأرمن ولا يلغي هويتهم كطائفة تتفاعل تفاعلاً إيجابياً وبناءً مع النسيج اللبناني المتلون بطوائفه الكثيرة.

ولأن الواقع يقول أن في لبنان 18 طائفة منها الطائفة الأرمنية، فإننا نستغرب أن تكون هناك في المجلس كتلة نيابية تطلق على نفسها تسمية كتلة نواب الأرمن، فكان هناك في المقابل كتلة نواب الموارنة وكتلة نواب الشيعة وكتلة نواب الكاثوليك وكتلة نواب السنة وغيرهم، فإذا أراد حزب معين أن يشكل كتلة نيابية، نجد أن عليه أن يطلق على هذه الكتلة التسمية الخاصة به، كأن نقول كتلة حزب "الطاشناق" أو كتلة حزب "الرامغافار" أو كتلة حزب "الهنشاك" مثلها مثل بقية الكتل الحزبية في المجلس.

لذان نناشدك يا دولة الرئيس أن تصحح هذا الخطأ الشائع في التسميات لأننا بلد يسعى إلى الخروج من الآفة الطائفية، ولأننا أناس غير طائفيين، فتلغي من القاموس السياسي تسمية كتلة نواب الأرمن وتضع قصر بعبدا في حقيقة هذا الأمر، فلا يعود ملتبساً عليه ذلك ولا سيما لدى إجراء الاستشارات النيابية، شكراً، عشتم وعاش لبنان.

Appendix 11
Serge Toursarkissian

Appendix 11.1

Serge Toursarkissian – 2 November 2000

Speech given by Deputy Serge Toursarkissian during the discussion of the Ministerial Statement on 2 November 2000 before abstaining from voting.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2000): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 20th parliament held on 2 November 2000.

سيرج طورسركيسيان: دولة الرئيس،

حضرات الزملاء الكرام،

أعجب ما أعجبني وأدهش ما أدهشني بعد تأليف الوزارة، البسمة والفرحة التي ارتسمت على أكثرية وجوه الوزراء المعينين وخاصة وزراء الدولة، وهم يأخذون الصور التذكارية ويتقبلون التهاني من الأقارب والأصحاب وقد امتلأت جيوبهم بالأرز وبقايا الورود والزهور.

وما أدهشني أكثر فأكثر.

إن من تم توزيره في مثل هذه الظروف العصبية التي يمر بها الوطن، كان يجب أن يشعر بالخوف والرهبة والجمود لأن المسئوليات الملقاة على عاتقه هي كبيرة وكبيرة جداً لا سيما وأن لبنان يعيش في وضع مأساوي لم يسبق له مثيل والعدو جاثم ينتظر الفرص للانقضاض على المقاومة والوطن.

مع ذلك أحد في بسمة الوزراء الكرام ملامح الأمل والثقة بالمستقبل، فلبنان لم يعد يتحمل التجارب الوزارية فإن هذه الحكومة هي فعلاً آخر خشبة خلاص لهذه الأمة ولبنائها فعليكم التمسك بها جيداً

إن لأملنا كبير بدور دولة رئيس مجلس الوزراء الشيخ رفيق الحريري الذي بمجرد تكليفه أعاد الثقة إلى المواطن اللبناني وإلى المستثمرين الأجانب والمغتربين حيثما وجدوا،

دولة الرئيس،

حضرة الزملاء الكرام

لن أغوص في مناقشة البيان الوزاري بل لدي بعض التمنيات على الوزراء الكرام:

أولاً- دعم المرأة في جميع المجالات الاجتماعية والسياسية والاقتصادية وخاصة إلغاء المواد القانونية التي تميز بصورة واضحة بين الرجل والمرأة.

ثانياً- دعم القطاع الزراعي علماً أن نسبة كبيرة من المجتمع اللبناني يعتمد في معيشته على الزراعة وهي مورد رزقه الأساسي، وأساس كل مجتمع منتج وطامح نحو النحو الكامل ويتحقق هذا الأمر حسب رأيي:

- بفتح أسواق خارجية لتصريف وتأمين بيع المنتوجات الزراعية اللبنانية.
- بفرض رسوم على كافة المنتجات المستوردة والتي تزاحم المنتجات المحلية.

ثالثاً- تفعيل دور المدرسة الرسمية ورفع مستواها بالكوادر وبالتجهيزات الضرورية لتضاهي المدارس الخاصة وتفعيلها في المناطق النائية، غذ من حق كل لبناني وطالب علم أن ينال قسطه من التعليم الجيد خاصة أن لبنان قادم على انفتاح اقتصادي واجتماعي مما يستوجب التحضير لذلك منذ الآن.

رابعاً- تحسين صورة لبنان الوطن الأم لدى كافة بلدان الاغتراب، ليس فقط من أجل عودة المغترب اليه والإقامة أو الاستثمار فيه، بل أيضاً تفعيل دور لبنان كبلد سياحي للمغترب مما يؤمن دعماً إضافياً مادياً ومعنوياً، وارتباطاً وثيقاً بينه وبين لبنان.

خامساً- فيما يتعلق بالسلطة القضائية، فإن استقلال القضاء التام أمر يطمح وطمح إليه كافة اللبنانيين منذ زمن الاستقلال وحتى تاريخه، ولنكون صريحين مع أنفسنا، فإن الطموح شيء والواقع شيء آخر، فأبعاد القضاء من دائرة التجاذبات السياسية أمر لا بد منه ولك تحقيقه صعب جداً فالذي اقترحه بكل بساطة كخطوة أولى، نحو الاستقلالية، تحسين وضع القضاء والقضاة مادياً لكي يتفرغوا لعملهم كقضاة.

سادساً- لا بد لنا من الإشارة في معرض تشكيل الحكومة بأنه لحق بالطائفة الأرمنية إجحافاً من ناحية عدد ممثليها داخل الوزارة، وأننا على ثقة بأن فخامة رئيس الجمهوري ودولة رئيس مجلس الوزراء سيأخذان بعين الاعتبار مواقف الطائفة الأرمنية وأحزابها وممثليها مصححين الخلل الفاضح والواضح بتمثيلها لدى هذه الوزارة بوزيرين على الأقل.

سابعاً- تفعيل دور العاصمة بيروت إذ رغم كل ما يقال أو قيل بأن بيروت قد نالت الحصة الكبرى بالإنماء والاستثمار على كافة الصعد فإن العاصمة تظل بحاجة لدعمنا المستمر خاصة أنها تمثل وجه لبنان الحضاري والثقافي والإنمائي.

ثامناً- دعم أهلنا بالجنوب، أهلنا الذين صمدوا وضحوا وقاوموا من أجل خلاص لبنان، آملين من الحكومة توفير الوسائل الممكنة لتأمين العيش الكريم لهم.

دولة الرئيس،

زملائي الكرام،

طموحنا أن تكون الحكومة حكومة متماسكة متجانسة متفاهمة شفافة تتميز بالمصداقية والصدقية والواقعية، همها الأول والأخير لبنان وشعبه.

وفقكم الله بالمهمة الصعبة الموكلة إليكم، متمنين التوفيق والنجاح لهذه الحكومة.

Appendix 11.2

Serge Toursarkissian – 29 May 2001

Deputy Serge Toursarkissian's speech during the deliberation over the 2001 State Budget presented by the Hariri Government.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2001): 4th Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 20th Parliament held on 29 May 2001.

سيرج طورسيركيسيان:

دولة الرئيس .

حضرات الزملاء الكرام.

دهشت بهذه الحكومة وببسمة وابتسامة وزرائها عند تأليفها، وإنني مندهش اليوم حيث أرى الابتسامة تعلو وجوه بعض من هؤلاء الوزراء فقط، باستثناء رئيسها، الذي رغم الصعوبات المختلفة يظل مبتسماً متفائلاً دائماً، إيماناً منه بأن شعبنا هو شعب مناضل مقاوم ويستحق التضحية من أجله.

ولكني مندهش أكثر وأكثر بالمنطق السائد بأن مسئولية الحكم تقع على بعض من الوزراء فقط، والصحيح هو أن المسئولية هي مسئولية كل واحد منهم أكانوا معارضين أو موالين، مبتسمين أو شاحبين.

إن الظروف الراهنة لا تتحمل أية معارضة، وحسب رأيي يجب أن تكون تسمية هذه الحكومة "الحكومة المقاومة"، لعلها تحظى على الدعم الازم مثلما حصلت مقاومتنا على الدعم ولا تزال.

إن هذه الحكومة هي فعلاً ألحكومة المقاومة وستظل تعمل وتقاوم رغم كافة الصعاب والأجواء السائدة لأنها تمثل إرادة الشعب الذي يتطلع ويعيش بأمل أن يرجع لبنان كما كان.

دولة الرئيس،

حضرة الزملاء الكرام،

لن أغوص في مناقشة الموازنة وأرقامها وقانونها بل لدي بعض التمنيات على الوزراء الكرام، لأنه حسبما لاحظت ليس لدينا سوى التمني:

1. الاهتمام أكثر بتحسين صورة لبنان الوطن الأم لدى كافة بلدان الاغتراب، ليس فقط من أجل عودة المغترب إليه والإقامة أو الاستثمار فيه، بل أيضاً تفعيل دور لبنان كبلد سياحي للمغترب مما يؤمن دعماً إضافياً مادياً ومعنوياً، وارتباطاً وثيقاً بينه وبين لبنان.

2. يتكلم الجميع أن بيروت قد حصلت ونالت حصة الأسد، وبكل بساطة هل يجوز لعاصمة بلد ما أن تفتقد حتى إلى أبسط الأبنية الصالحة لتستوعب الطلبة وطالبي العلم، خاصة أن ثلثي الشعب اللبناني مقيم فيها وفي ظل الوعود بتعزيز المدرسة الرسمية؟

3. لن أتكلم عن المقعد الوزاري الثاني العائد للطائفة الأرمنية لأن هنالك حسب ما قيل لنا وعد بمرسوم أو مرسوم بوعد، وأننا نحترم هذا الوعد أياً كان، ولكن خوفنا أن يطبق المثل اللبناني الشائع: "على الوعد يا كمون".

4. كما هو معروف أن لبنان هو بلد ديموقراطي ويتمتع بنظام يسمح للجميع مؤسسات وأفراداً بإبداء الرأي، لكن المؤسسات تنظمها القوانين والقوانين هي مسئولية السلطة التشريعية الممثلة بالمجلس النيابي.

فهل يجوز للمؤسسة العسكرية التي نحترم ونجل وندافع عنها أن تضع بموجب تصريح أو بيان حداً للتداول بموضوع خدمة العلم.

5. إنني مع قانون إيجارات حديث يحرر عقود الإيجار على مراحل زمنية ويضع حد لكافة الخلافات التاريخية ما بين المالك والمستأجر ويحرر الاثنين معاً، لكن شرط أن يوضع أيضاً مشروع إسكاني يسهل على كافة المستأجرين الاستحصال على قروض ميسرة تسهل عليهم شراء الشقق البديلة، وهنا أحث الحكومة على اتخاذ هكذا إجراء.

6. إن على الحكومة تفعيل الخصخصة في كافة القطاعات، إذ بهذه الخطوة سنضع حداً أولاً للهدر الحاصل في إدارات الدولة وسنعمد ثانياً إلى تطبيق مبدأ المساواة الذي نتكلم عنه دائماً إذ لا يجوز أن يدفع أشخاص مثلاً فاتورة الكهرباء على سنين وباستمرار ويصار إلى قطع التيار عنهم في حال التأخر عن الدفع. وأشخاص آخرون لا يدفعون شيئاً على الاطلاق ولا تقطع عنهم الكهرباء.

7- أما فيما يتعلق بالعمل الحكومي لا أحد على الاطلاق يمكنه أن ينكر الانجازات التي حققتها الحكومة الحاضرة خلال فترة وجيزة وبمواضيع حساسة وصعبة، ونتمنى أن يستمر الأعضاء المنتجين فيها عملهم الدؤوب، مطالبين الحكومة الاسراع بتنفيذ المشاريع واستعمال القروض الموجودة عبر مجلس الإنماء والإعمار لأنها موزعة بالتساوي ما بين كافة المناطق دون استثناء.

دولة الرئيس،

زملائي الكرام،

إصراري هو إصرار كل لبناني مؤمن ببلده وبمستقبله وطموحي هو طموح كل لبناني في حكومة نشيطة متماسكة متجانسة متفاهمة شفافة تتميز بالمصداقية والصدقية والواقعية، همها الأول والأخير لبنان وشعبه.

Appendix 11.3

Serge Toursarkissian – 5 October 2005

Deputy Serge Toursarkissian's speech on the occasion of the attempted assassination of anchorwoman May Chidiac.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2005): 8th Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 5 October 2005.

سيرج طورسركيسيان: دولة الرئيس

ما يدور اليوم في لبنان لم نر مثيلاً له خلال كافة الحقبات الدامية التي مر بها لبنان واصبحت العمليات الإرهابية تطال كل مواطن دون استثناء، ولا يمكنني سوى إبداء بعض الملاحظات المختصرة، إذ أن الفترة الحالية هي من أجل الأفعال وليست من أجل الكلام.

إن محاولة اغتيال مي شدياق صاحبة المبادئ، المدافعة عن الحرية والفكر الحر هي ضربة لحرية الرأي الذي يتميز به كل صحافي وكل وسيلة إعلامي لا بل كل لبناني يؤمن بوطنه.

1- وزير العدل:

توجهت إلى وزير العدل بكلام اعتبرته قاسياً فيما بعد لكن طوقي إلى عدم المس بالتحقيق هو الذي دفعني إلى هذا الأمر. وكان لإحدى المؤسسات الدستورية وزير سميته آنذاك عازف الكمان في الوقت الضائع وهو زير التنمية الإدارية السابق، واليوم وفي الوقت الضائع الحالي تقمصت هذه الشخصية وزير العدل، فيا عازف الكمان، يا وزير العدل ابتعد عن كل ما يتعلق بالتحقيق مباشرة أو غير مباشرة لأن لا أحد يعلم ماذا يحتوي هذا التحقيق أصلاً، وابتعد أيضاً عن الطقم القديم من القضاة الذين كانوا موجودين في الحقبة العضومية.

2- التفجيرات والاغتيالات:

هي كلها أعمال إرهابية تعتمد طرق عديدة متطورة تجهلها السلطات المسئولية عن الأمن، لذلك يتوجب علينا اعتماد سياسات وأساليب وتقنيات جديدة من أجل وضع حد لها.

ونظراً الخطورة الجرائم المتتالية في لبنان منذ سنة بهدف زعزعة الأمن فيه وإضعاف معنويات المواطنين، وهي من الجرائم الإرهابية التي يعود للمجتمع الدولي المساعدة للتصدي لها خاصة بعد أن أعلن المسئولون في لبنان افتقار الدولة الى الوسائل الكفيلة لمكافحة مثل هذه الجرائم.

ونظراً إلى فعالية ومستوى التحقيق الدولي الجاري باغتيال الرئيس الشهيد الحريري، فإن

من مصلحة لبنان ومن واجب الدولة تجاه المواطنين، أن تطلب مساعدة الأسرة الدولية في هذا المجال حفاظاً على أمن البلاد وسلامة أبنائه بعد أن طالت الجرائم دون أي رادع شرائح المجتمع المختلفة واللافت في أي من هذه التفجيرات والاغتيالات عدم تبني أي مجموعة لها.

- تحميل المسئولية لشخص واحد دون غيره، يكون في محله عندما يكون هذا الشخص يتمتع بفريق عمل متماسك وتابع له وليس بوجود داخل إدارة معينة إدارات متعددة غير متماسكة.

- غياب الإجماع السياسي حول دعم وزير الداخلية وتداخل بعض خفافيش الليل المخضرمين ضمن عمل وزارته بشتى الطرق.

- كل ذلك اعتقاداً من البعض أن كل استهداف لوزير الداخلية يكون استهدافاً لرئيس الحكومة وبالتالي يتحمل تيار المستقبل مسئولية كل ما يحصل في البلد.

أنا أفتخر بالوعي والاقتناع الموجودين عند كافة المواطنين أياً كان انتماؤهم المذهبي والطائفي والحزبي والفكري، بأن ما يجري في لبنان اليوم، من أعمال إرهابية من أعمال أشخاص لا طائفة لهم وأن الاتحاد والانصهار الذي تم في 14 آذار لا رجوع عنه أبداً وشكراً.

Appendix 12
Hagop Pakradounian

Appendix 12.1

Hagop Pakradounian – 28 July 2005

Deputy Hagop Pakradounian's speech during the deliberations on P.M. Fouad El Siniora's Ministerial Statement before casting a No-Confidence Vote.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2005): 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Extraordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 28 July 2005.

أغوب بقرادونيان:

دولة الرئيس،

حضرات النواب زملائي الكرام،

في هذه المرحلة العصيبة التي يمر بها لبنان وبعد أن استنهض الشعب اللبناني بكل أطيافه وشرائحه ويناضل من أجل مستقبل أفضل له وللأجيال القادمة كانت ولادة هذه الحكومة، حكومة الإصلاح والنهوض وبيانها الوزاري الذي ينطلق من ألم عميق ويبعث الأمل الكبير، أمل لكل اللبنانيين في الداخل والخارج أمل الشباب، أمل كل من ضحى وأعطى لهذا الوطن.

أمنيتنا إلى تنجح هذه الحكومة، أمنيتنا أن تتمكن من تحقيق ولو الجزء البسيط من كل ورد فيه من تمنيات وشعارات وأحلام ومشاريع مستقبلية هي اليوم في عهدة شعب شبع الوعود والمتاجرة والنزاعات الضيقة والخطاب السياسي العنيف، والمحاصصة والفساد.

إن مقدمة هذا البيان تصلح أن تكون برنامج عمل لكل مواطن، أنه بيان محاسبة الذات والمصالحة مع النفس والوطن، إنه فعل الندامة على أخطاء الماضي والوعد لعدم تكرارها لأن العفو عن الماضي ربما ممكن ألا أن المستقبل لن يسامحنا هذه المرة.

نعم، هذا البيان هو لوطن مثالي كلنا نناضل لأجله، وطن حيث الولاء للبنان ولا لمناطق حيث الوفاء للشرعية ولا لأشخاص حيث المواطنية شرف وليس عبء أو وسيلة للاسترزاق فقط، نناضل من أجل وطن سيد حر مستقل يؤمن مشاركة الجميع ولا يلغي أحد، إن زمن الحروب العسكرية قد ولى دون عودة وقد برهنت هذه الحرب إنه من غير المسموح تهميش أو إلغاء الآخر، واليوم في زمن السلم الذي نريد أن يكون أبدياً سرمدياً علينا أن نجذر منطق قبول الآخر واحترام الذات قبل احترام الآخر.

ربما كانت لتأليف هذه الحكومة ظروفها القاسية فمثلما جاء في مقدمة البيان وبعد تلاقي ساحات الديمقراطية والعفو والمصالحة والتسامح وطي صفحة الانتخابات والانفتاح على

جميع اللبنانيين، ينتابني سؤال، على أن أسال يا دولة الرئيس بكل محبة وصدق: هل بذلتم كل الجهود لتشكيل حكومة وحدة وطنية ووفاق وطني كنا من أوائل المطالبين بها حتى قبل الزلزال الذي ضرب لبنان واللبنانيين، هل الأهم في هذه الظروف الصعبة لعبة الأكثرية والاقلية والتحالفات النيابية، أم مشاركة كل القوى الحية الأساسية التي حازت على شرعية شعبية واسعة؟ إن الأكثريات أو الأقليات تتغير مع التحالفات إلا أن الشرعية الشعبية تبقى وتتسع وهي التي تعطي الزخم الضروري للعمل الحكومي.

واسمحوا لي أن أسجل بعض الملاحظات على مختلف بنود هذا البيان

كنا نتمنى كمبدأ عام أن يترجم هذا البيان الطموح في جداول زمنية محددة، كلنا نتذكر بيانات مختلفة في عهود سبقت ووعود قطعت وآمال أعطيت ومشاريع تم وضعها ثم وقف العمل بها في منتصف الطريق ودفع المواطن من إيمانه وطموحه وماله وآماله.

ففي إصلاح النظام الانتخابي نرحب بالرؤية الإيجابية للحكومة ونتمنى أن تكون العبرة في إقرار هذا القانون الذي سيلبي طموحات جميع اللبنانيين، فعلى الهيئة الوطنية المنوي تشكيلها من كل الأطراف حسب وعود الحكومة عليها أن تحدد مهلة زمنية واضحة تنجز من خلالها قانوناً عادلاً آخذة بعين الاعتبار خصوصات المجتمع اللبناني.

في العلاقات العربية والدولية نشاطر ما ورد في البيان ولكننا نرى بعض الغموض وربما الخوف في إبداء الرأي أو أخذ الموقف من القرار 1559 ، كما ننتظر موقفاً واضحاً بهذا الموضوع الذي بات الشغل الشاغل لكل اللبنانيين ومصدر قلقهم في الوقت ذاته.

أما في ما يتعلق بإعادة بناء المؤسسات الأمنية ننتظر مع كل اللبنانيين من هذه الحكومة سياسة أمنية واضحة تتصدى بقوة للمحاولات الهادفة إلى زعزعة الأمن والنيل من الاستقرار الداخلي، فبعيداً عن المزايدات ومع احترامنا للمؤسسات الأمنية، نرى ضرورة لإعادة هيكلة القوى الامنية والابتعاد عن تسييس هذا الموضوع، فعلينا أن لا ننسى مسئولية الجميع في تقسيم الجيش في الماضي أو إنشاء فصائل ووحدات ومديريات إرضاء لزعامات طائفية أو مناطقية أو لحسابات المحاصصة، فلا مستقبل للاستقرار في لبنان دون أجهزة أمنية حضارية هدفها احترام المواطن وأمنه بالدرجة الأولى.

وفي هذا الإطار أيضاً نتطرق إلى القضاء الذي نريده نزيها وعادلاً بعيداً عن التدخلات السياسية وتدخلات السياسيين، كل السياسيين فالقاضي نزيه ويعرف واجباته تمام المعرفة إذا لنمنع التدخلات بدلاً من أن نرجم القضاة بالحجر.

أما في ما يتعلق بالإعلام، الذي هو دائماً في قفص الاتهام الاعلام وسيلة ديمقراطية لبلد نناضل فيه من أجل ديمقراطية أعمق وأرقى فأي مسئولية الاعلام عندما نحن نتراشق الشتائم ونحرض بروح طائفية وندق ناقوس الخطر عن انهيار لبنان؟ لقد وصلنا في خطابنا السياسي إلى مرحلة كان للاعلام دوره في إخماد نارها، فإذا نريد إعلاماً مسئولاً علينا معاملة الناس في خطابنا بمسئولية أكبر.

من جهة ثانية، نتمنى أن تنظر الحكومة في ضرورة إيجاد صيغة ملائمة لتحفيز الوسائل

الاعلامية على إنتاج برامج تراعي نسيج المجتمع اللبناني من تقاليد وعادات ومعتقدات تساعد على تنشئة الأجيال الصاعدة وتحافظ على هذه الإيجابيات.

في الشأن الاجتماعي استوقفتني فقرة الحد من اظاهرة الفقر، أملي أن تكون هذه الفقرة نابعة عن إصرا رفي التطبيق وليس لرش الغبار في أعين الكادحين بقي الأمل فقط ثروتهم الوحيدة.

في التربية والتعليم وانطلاقاً من مبدأ المتوازن، على الحكومة إعادة هيكلة شبكة المدارس في كل لبنان، التعليم حق مقدس لكل طفل، حق علينا المحافظة عليه ولو على حساب مشاريع أخرى نرضى بتأجيلها، فمن غير المسموح أن تبقى مدارس دون معلمين أو يتعلم التلميذ في غرف أطلقنا عليها اسم مدرسة، إن المدرسة الرسمية هي أساس الدولة وعلينا بذل الجهود الكبيرة لإيجاد الإمكانيات الضرورية لتطويرها مادياً ومعنوياً، بالإضافة إلى تنظيم دورات تأهيلية للهيئات التعليمية التي بكل تأكيد تقوم بدورها على أحسن وجه وتنتظر مواكبة وزارة التربية بالحاجات الجديدة الناتجة عن تطور وتقدم العلم على كل المستويات.

أما الجامعات ومن أجل طلابنا وشبابنا، نرجو من الحكومة اتخاذ الإجراءات اللازمة للحد من انتشار الجامعات والذي يؤدي إلى انهيار مستوى التعليم وتخريج طلاب عاطلين عن العمل يتوجهون فور حيازتهم على الشهادة إلى السفارات طالبين الشفقة قبل التأشيرة، شبابنا ذخيرة الغد وليس فقط ذخيرة مظاهرات أو مواكب وللأسف لم أر خطة شاملة واقعية لأجل الشباب ولأجل مستقبلهمز

وفي هذا الموضوع على الحكومة أيضاً النظر في ضرورة المحافظة على صحة وسلامة الشباب وإبعادهم عن أفخاخ تنصب ضدهم ولا سيما موضوع المخدرات، فبمشاركة الجمعيات الأهلية، على الحكومة أن تضع سياسة لمكافحة انتشار المخدرات والحد من انهيار الشباب وأسرهم وبالتالي المجتمع اللبناني ككل.

دولة الرئيس،

لي الشرف أن أمثل منطقة هي من أجمل المناطق اللبنانية والتي تعتبر رمز الصمود والعنفوان والتي تقف دائماً إلى جانب دولة القانون والمؤسسات منطقة المتن الشمالي، لا بد أن أحدث بألم عن الإهمال المتراكم في هذه المنطقة بدءاً من حدود بيروت وصولاً إلى القرى العالية، إننا نعيش في منطقة محرومة تبدأ من الضاحية الشمالية حتى القمم، فلا مشاريع إنمائية وشبكات الطرق تعود غلى ثلاثين سنة ولا تأهيل لهذه الشبكات، ولا مستشفيات حكومية تلبي حاجات المنطقة، ومراكز لمؤسسات الدولة عسكرية كانت أم اجتماعية بحاجة الى إعادة تأهيل.

ولا بد أن أتوقف أيضاً عند ساحل المتن الشمالي من نهر الموت إلى حدود بيروت حيث "حدث ولا حرج" جبل النفايات ومشروع تكرير أكبر مركز للمياه المبتذلة معمل النفايات، مسلخ وروائح كريهة وغازات سامة وكل هذا في منطقة هي من أكثر المناطق كثافة بالسكان، تعيش يومياً أوضاعاً صحية متردية بسبب الإهمال.

أهذه هي الضريبة التي على المواطن الصالح أن يدفعها ؟

دولة الرئيس،

تنتظر الكثير من هذه الحكومة ولنا أصدقاء كثر من بين الوزراء نسعى إلى صداقة الوزراء الجدد، كنا نسعى إلى تخفيف من مسئوليتكم والمشاركة في تحمل العبء، معكم، ولكن وبالأسف اخترتم السير من دون أن تأخذوا بعين الاعتبار الشريحة الكبيرة التي نمثلها.

Appendix 12.2

Hagop Pakradounian – 8 August 2008

Deputy Hagop Pakradounian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement of P.M. Fouad Siniora's "National Unity Government" on 8 August 2008 before casting a Confidence Vote.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2008): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 21st Parliament held on 8 August 2008.

هاغوب بقرادونيان:

دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام

في جلسة مناقشة البيان الوزاري للحكومة السابقة، نهار 30 تموز 2005 طرحت سؤالاً على دولة الرئيس فؤاد السنيورة

وقلت: هل بذلتم كل الجهود لتشكيل حكومة وحدة وطنية ووفاق وطني كنا من أوائل المطالبين بها؟ هل الأهم في هذه الظروف الصعبة لعبة الأكثرية والأقلية والتحالفات الانتخابية، أم مشاركة كل القوى الحية الأساسية التي حازت على شرعية شعبية واسعة؟

فكان الجواب، السنوات الثلاث الماضية من الانقسام الداخلي الحاد إلى الخطاب السياسي العنيف إلى حملات التخوين فاللجوء إلى الشارع وتكديس السلاح ومزيد من الشهداء الإبطال من القوى المسلحة والمواطنين الذين سقطوا اما برصاص الإرهاب أو برصاص مواطن آخر شريك في هذا الوطن.

وبعد معاناة أليمة وأمام شفير الحرب الأهلية والانهيار الكامل، كانت أعجوبة العودة إلى الضمير والمسئولية والاقتناع بضرورة قبول الغير والكف عن منطق إلغاء الآخر واستعمال سلاح الحوار كالسلاح الأوحد والوحيد لحل المشاكل المطروحة على الساحة اللبنانية.

فاجتزنا الاستحقاقات وأصبح لدينا "رئيس توافقي" وحكومة وحدة وطنية وقريباً جداً "قانون انتخابي" حسب ما نص عليه اتفاق الدوحة.

وهنا السؤال الأهم هل كنا بحاجة إلى ثلاث سنوات ودماء شهداء وانهيار أكبر للاقتصاد وهجرة متزايدة لشباب لبنان وانقسام عميق بين أبناء الوطن وتدخلات خارجية ليست بالضرورة لمساعدة لبنان لا بل لتغذية مصالح تلك الدول، هل كنا بحاجة لكل هذه الأمور لنصل إلى قناعة الحوار وأهمية حكومة الوحدة الوطنية؟

واليوم أمام هذه الصورة، صورة الشراكة والوفاق هل بإمكاننا أن نحافظ عليها بقناعة ذاتية ضمن إطار النظام الديمقراطي التوافقي ورفض العودة رفضاً قاطعاً إلى منطق إلغاء الآخر والهيمنة والاستكبار.

فمن هذه النقطة ينطلق العمل المشترك لإصلاح ما تهدم في النفوس والعقول ومن هنا نبدأ الورشة الكاملة لتخفيف حدة الخوف والهواجس وبلسمة الجراح وتنقية الأجواء والجلوس حول طاولة واحدة والتفتيش عن حلول جذرية لكل المسائل العالقة بصراحة وشفافية كاملتين دون الاستعاونة بقواميس اللغة العربية الغنية بالمفردات والمصطلحات لا بل بتسمية الاشياء بأسمائها قاطعاً الطريق على الغموض والاجتهادات السياسية وغير السياسية في المستقبل.

امنيتنا أن تنجح هذه الحكومة ولو أنها تحكم لفترة زمنية محدودة، أمنيتنا أن تنجح التجربة، تجربة الوحدة الوطنية، وأن تتمكن من تحقيق ولو الجزء البسيط من كل ما ورد فيه من تمنيات وشعارات الأحلام ومشاريع مستقبلية هي اليوم في عهدة الشعب الذي شبع الوعود والمتاجرة والنزاعات الضيقة والخطاب السياسي العنيف والمحاصصة والفساد والهدر.

إن بيان هذه الحكومة هو لوطن مثالي كلنا نناضل لأجله وطن حيث الولاء للبنان وليس للطوائف أو المناطق حيث الوفاء للشرعية وليس لأشخاص حيث المواطنية شرف وليست عبئاً او وسيلة للاسترزاق فقط حيث الدولة ترعى شئون المواطن دون منة من أحد تحترم حق المواطن وكرامته وحقه في الممارسة الديمقراطية على أساس المساواة والعدل.

دولة الرئيس،

اسمحوا لي أن أسجل بعض الملاحظات حول بنود البيان الوزاري:

كنا نتمنى كمبدأ عام أن يترجم هذا البيان الطموح في جداول زمنية محددة لا نريد أن تتكرر أخطاء الماضي عندما قطعت الوعود وأعطيت الأمال ووضعت مشاريع وثم تم وقف العمل بها في منتصف الطريق فدفع المواطن من إيمانه وطموحه وماله وآماله.

فبعد إقرار قانون الانتخاب المتفق عليه في الدوحة ومناقشة وإقرار الاصلاحات الانتخابية لا بد للحكومة أن تشرف على الاانتخابات النيابية بكل جدية وشفافية ونزاهة، فثقتنا كبيرة بشخص معالي وزير الداخلية الذي أصبح اليوم محط أنظار كل الذين يأملون بانتخابات ديموقراطية ونزيهة.

كلنا نعرف مدى معاناة أبناء الشعب اللبناني من الظروف الاقتصادية والغلاء الفاحش والوضع الاجتماعي الدقيق. فلا أرقام المالية العامة ولا البيانات المالية أو المقابلات الاعلامية أو الحديث عن الدين العام واستحالة سدها، ولا التفسيرات عن ارتفاع الأسعار في الخارج ولا اتهام البعض حول من يتحمل المسئولية تنفع.

فقد وصلنا إلى عتبة الفقر فالبنود حول الشأن الاجتماعي هي في الأساس تصلح لترميم ما تهدم ولو بصورة جزئية وهي تشكل بعض الأمل للمواطنين ولكن الأمل لن يطعم خبزاً، فمطلبي أن تكون هذه الفقرة نابعة عن إصرار في التطبيق وليس لرش الغبار في أعين

الكادحين بقي الأمل فقط ثروتهم الوحيدة، وذلك يترجمها بإعادة النظر في زيادات سلسلة الرتب والرواتب في كل المجالات.

في التربية والتعليم فإن صاحبة المعالي بما لها من خبرة في هذا المجال والمام في التربية والتعليم تعطي الثقة بأن طموح الحكومة في البيان تنفذ، فيكون لنا إعادة هيكلة شبكة المدارس في كل لبنان، فحق التعليم حق مقدس للجميع لا تنازل فيه، علينا المحافظة على هذا الحق ولو على حساب مشاريع أخرى نرضى بتأجيلها، فمن غير المسموح أن تبقى مدارس دون معلمين أو يتعلم التلميذ في غرف أطلقنا عليها اسم مدرسة.

وفي الموضوع الثقافي مع تقديرنا للانجازات السابقة نتمنى على الحكومة ضمن إطار فكرة الإنماء المتازن تشجيع الثقافة على كل الأراضي اللبنانية ليس فقط بدعم المهرجانات لا بل وأيضاً بالعمل لدعم الوجوه الشابة في ميدان الثقافة ونشر أفكارهم وإنجازاتهم في مختلف المجالات داخلياً وعربياً، وفي الإطار نفسه نرى من مسئولية وزارات الثقافة والإعلام والتربية أن يتم النظر في صيغة ملائمة لتحفيز الوسائل الإعلامية على إنتاج برامج تراعي نسيج المجتمع اللبناني من تقاليد وعادات ومعتقدات تساعد على تنشئة الأجيال الصاعدة وتحافظ على هذه الإيجابيات وتعطي المشاهد حق الاختيار الصحيح.

أما في موضوع الشباب، أقترح على الحكومة النظر في ضرورة المحافظة على صحة وسلامة الشباب وإبعادهم عن أفخاخ تنصب ضدهم ولا سيما منعهم من خطر المخدرات، فبمشاركة الجمعيات الأهلية والمؤسسات المختصة على الحكومة أن تضع سياسة هادفة لمكافحة انتشار المخدرات والحد من انهيار الشباب وأسرهم وبالتالي المجتمع اللبناني ككل.

أعرف جيداً أن عدداً كبيراً من زملائي النواب والوزراء يسلكون يومياً طريق الساحل في المتن الشمالي أو الطريق البحري الممتد من الكرنتينا إلى نهر الموت، وهم يشاهدون جبل النفايات ويشتمون الروائح الكريهة الناتجة من الغازات السامة ومعمل النفايات والمسلخ وذلك في منطقة هي من أكثر المناطق كثافة بالسكان تعيش يومياً أوضاعاً صحية متردية بسبب الاهمال فبالله هل أنتم بحاجة لدعوة إقامة في هذه المنطقة للاستجمام ولو لبضع ساعات حتى تأخذ الحكومة المبادرة لحل هذه المشاكل التي لا تصيب منطقة واحدة فقط بل كل المناطق المجاورة من بيروت إلى جونيه وأعالي الجبال.

دولة الرئيس،

المواطن ينتظر الكثير من هذه الحكومة، إنها حكومة الشراكة، حكومة كل لبنان

فلننطلق من هذه القناعة ونعطي للمواطن بريق الأمل، ربما يتم إصلاح ما تهدم في السنوات الماضية، ويكون لدينا الجواب الشافي لأسئلة الأجيال التي تقول ماذا فعلتم بلبنان؟ وشكراً.

Appendix 12.3

Hagop Pakradounian – 2 November 2011

Deputy Hagop Pakradounian's speech during the legislative session of the Parliament on the skirmishes between the local Lebanese-Armenians and the Kurdish refugees in Bourj Hammoud.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2011): 2nd meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 2 November 2011.

أغوب بقرادونيان

دولة الرئيس ،

هناك ضجيج صاخب حول موضوع يتعلق بمنطقة برج حمود حيث تناقلت بعض وسائل الاعلام معلومات مغلوطة تطرق اليها الزملاء النواب وجهات سياسية بمواقف غير دقيقة حول قرار بلدية برج حمود لتنظيم عقود الايجار وضبط المخالفات في المنطقة ، فأخذت القضية أبعاداً سياسية تم خلالها توجيه الاتهامات لمواطنين ولحزب ولمؤسسات الدولة وصلت الى خارج الحدود اللبنانية ، وكل ما في الأمر لا يتعدى إلا تنظيم المخالفات ومنع التعديات والممارسات المخالفة للآداب العامة والأخلاق من لبنانيين وغير لبنانيين، وذلك بالتنسيق مع الأجهزة الأمنية من قوى أمن داخلي وجيش.

أريد أن أؤكد قطعاً أن ليس هناك أي خلفية سياسية لهذه الخطوات وأطالب بعدم الاستثمار أو عدم الاستغلال فالحديث عن طرد أكراد إخوان لنا سوريين أو لبنانيين من هذه المنطقة هو محاولة لضرب التعايش في برج حمود ولضرب التاريخ المشترك والمصير الواحد بين

الشعبين الكردي والأرمني تعرضنا لمجازر ومعاناة واحدة على يد جلاد واحد.

إني أتمنى على الجميع عدم استغلال موضوع قانوني تنظيمي لأهداف سياسية داخلية أو خارجية نحن بعيدين عنها كل البعد ، وشكراً.

Appendix 13

Sebouh Kalpakian

Appendix 13.1

Sebouh Kalpakian – 8 December 2009

Deputy Sebouh Kalpakian's speech during the deliberations on the Ministerial Statement presented by Prime Minister Sa'ad El Hariri before casting a Confidence Vote on 8 December 2009.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2009): 3rd Meeting of the 2nd Ordinary Session of the 22nd Parliament held on 8 December 2009.

سيبوه قلبكيان:

دولة الرئيس، زملائي الكرام،

لا نكشف سراً عندما نقول أن الناس يريدون من هذه الحكومة أمرين أساسيين: الحفاظ على السلم الأهلي والاستقرار، والاهتمام بأوضاعهم الاقتصادية والاجتماعية.

يريد الناس أن يذهبوا إلى أعمالهم صباحاً، مطمئنين إلى عودتهم مساء. وفي هذا شق أمني وآخر سياسي فالتوتر الكلامي ينعكس توتراً في الشارع وإنني أتمنى أن يكون لحكومة تجمع كل الأطراف من المعارض والموالاة حسنة واحدة على الأقل وهي الامتناع عن التصعيد الكلامي وتوتير الأجواء السياسية.

إن الناس يهتمون للإستراتيجية الدفاعية كلها لا تأتي في أولويات حياتهم اليومية.

وفي هذا المجال لابد من تسجيل نقطة مهمة لا يوجد في لبنان اليوم من لا يعتبر إسرائيل عدواً. وهذا إجماع أساسي، لا يوجد من لا يريد تحرير كل شبر من أرض لبنان لكن الاختلاف هو على الأسلوب بالديبلوماسية أو بالمقاومة. نحن لا نرى تناقضاً في هذا الكلام وأن رئيس الجمهورية بوعيه وحكمته سحب هذه الورقة من المزايدات الكلامية ليضعها على طاولة الحوار فتناقش بهدوء ومسؤولية وطنية.

وفي المناسبة أود أن ألفت النظر إلى ضرورة الأخذ بعين الاعتبار نتائج الانتخابات النيابية ما خص التمثيل على طاولة الحوار المفترض إعادة انطلاقها لاسيما موضوع التمثيل الأرمني.

لدق ورد في متن البيان الوزاري أن هذه الحكومة تضع في أولوياتها "مكافحة الفقر وتقليص التفاوت الاقتصادي والاجتماعي بين اللبنانيين، مع الحرص على إعادة تكوين الطبقة الوسطى التي تشكل دعامة أساسية من دعائم الاستقرار في لبنان".

إن هذا التعهد يفترض سلسلة خطوات لابد للحكومة من القيام بها للوصول إلى تحقيقه ونحن لنا كامل الثقة برئيس الحكومة الشاب الذي يحمل هموم الناس ويتحسسها.

والناس يبحثون عن العلم لأولادهم والعمل لشبابهم والطبابة لمرضاهم والضمان لشيخوختهم وفي الإطار نفسه لم يعد لائقاً ولا مسموحاً أن يبقى لبنان الذي يعيش كما يقال على بركة ماء عطشانا، ولا أن نعيش أزمة كهرباء وتقنين متواصلة بعد المبالغ الطائلة التي دفعت على هذا القطاع.

وإنني هنا أتوقف عند تاريخين حددهما البيان الوزاري الأول يتعلق بالكهرباء والثاني بقانون الانتخاب.

فقد تعهد البيان الوزاري بزيادة القدرة الإنتاجية بما لا يقل عن 600 ميغاوات في شكل سريع وطارئ في فترة لا تتعدى نهاية 2010 ونحن نقول للحكومة أننا نقبل بزيادة 300 ميغاوت ولكن نريد أن نرى شيئاً ملموساً.

كذلك أكد البيان الوزاري أن الحكومة ستعمل على إعادة النظر في قانون للانتخابات النيابية خلال ثمانية عشر شهراً ونحن نقول لها نعطيك 24 شهراً شرط أن نخرج بقانون انتخاب عصري يلتقي مع ما تعهدت به الحكومة أي قانون "يراعي القواعد التي تضمن العيش المشترك بين اللبنانيين وتؤمن صحة التمثيل السياسي لدى فئات الشعب وأجياله وفاعلية هذا التمثيل ويعتمد النهج الإصلاحي على صعيد تنظيم الانتخاب والإشراف عليها".

أما في موضوع الخصخصة المطروح فأنا الآتي من حزب اشتراكي ديموقراطي عمره 122 سنة، تتناقض الخصخصة مع عقيدته ومفاهيمه، أقول بإصرار أن عقيدتنا تتناقض أيضاً مع الهدر والفساد والتلكؤ في العمل والتراخي في المحاسبة وتقاضي الرواتب من دون إنتاج لذا فإننا نطمح اليوم إلى تفعيل القطاعات المنتجة وتحسين أدائها لتصبح قطاعات مربحة للدولة ولسنا ضد الخصخصة بالمطلق حين تكون مدخلاً للحل يتم بعد دراسة معمقة وبإشراف الدولة ومراقبتها.

تبقى الإشارة إلى نقطة أخيرة وهي علاقة لبنان بسوريا، وقد تحولت إلى مادة يومية للنقاش والتعليقات. أن أي علاقة بين دولتين يفترض أن تنطلق من مبدأ احترام سيادة كل دولة على أراضيها وعدم التدخل في شؤون الأخرى. وبعد التأكيد على هذا المبدأ بين لبنان وسوريا لابد من العمل على تعزيز الروابط الكثيرة التي تجمعها والسعي لتطويرها لمصلحة البلدين. ويفترض أن تأتي زيارة الرئيس الحريري إلى سوريا في هذا الإطار خصوصاً بعد أن أصبح رئيساً لحكومة لبنان يتحدث باسمه ويزور ويفاوض باسم لبنان وشعبه.

الأرجح أن هذه الحكومة التي يرأسها الرئيس سعد رفيق الحريري ستنال ثقة عالية من هذا المجلس، ونحن نراهن أن الرئيس الشاب سيواصل السير على النهج الذي أرساه الشهيد الكبير رفيق الحريري. نهج الاعتدال والانفتاح والحداثة. نهج رؤيوي طموح لدور لبنان وإمكاناته ونحن بدورنا نضم صوتنا إلى مانحي الحكومة لثقة لأننا نأمل أن تتاح لها فرصة

تحقيق ما تعهدت به أي بناء الدولة وتجديد الثقة بها، متخطية الانقسامات الطائفية والسياسية.
وشكراً.

Appendix 14
Resolution Re: UNSC 425

Appendix 14.1

Resolution Re: UNSC 425 – 27 April 1078

Resolution that was adopted by the 14th Parliament at the conclusion of a secret session on 27 April 1978 concerning United Nations Security Council Resolution 425.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1978): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 14th Parliament held on 27 April 1978.

الصيغة التي اقرتها الهيئة الممثلة لجميع الكتل الاتجاهات النيابية في 23-25 نيسان 1978.

انطلاقا من الايمان الثابت بوجوب الحفاظ على وحدة لبنان، وسيادته، وامنه، وسلامة اراضيه ونظامه الديموقراطي البرلماني.

وانسجاما مع المواقف التي التزم بها لبنان في تأييد القضايا العربية، ولا سيما قضية الشعب الفلسطيني وحقه في استعادة ارضه وممارسة جميع حقوقه الوطنية، والسياسية فوق هذه الارض.

وبناء على مقررات مؤتمري القمة في الرياض والقاهرة، ومنها: "جمع الاسلحة".

وبما ان وحدة لبنان، واستقلاله، وسيادته وامنه، وسلامة اراضيه، مسلمات يجمع عليها اللبنانيون على اختلاف فئاتهم وارائهم.

وبما ان ممثلي الشعب الفلسطيني اعلنوا في البيان الصادر عن القمة العربية السداسية في الرياض وفي قرار الدورة الاستثنائية لمؤتمر القمة العربي في القاهرة، موافقتهم على اشراف الدولة على جمع الاسلحة الثقيلة وازالة جميع المظاهر المسلحة.

وبما ان قرار مجلس الامن الدولي الرقم 425 الذي اعلنت جميع الاطراف التزامها باحكامه قد قضى بوضع قوات دولية في منطقة لبنان الجنوبي (للتثبت من انسحاب القوات الاسرائيلية وتثبت السلام والامن الدوليين، ومساعدة حكومة لبنان على تأمين عودة سلطتها الى المنطقة).

ولما كان القرار رقم 425 الذي قبلت به كل الاطراف يفرض تثبيت السلام والامن الدوليين فضلا عما يفرضه من وجوب عودة السلطة اللبنانية الى منطقة لبنان الجنوبي.

واستنادا الى ان من اولى مهام قوات الامن العربية تنفيذ مقررات مؤتمري الرياض والقاهرة ومساندة السلطات اللبنانية في فرض الامن وضمانة السلامة لكل مقيم على ارض لبنان.

لذلك نعلن ما يلي:

اولا - وجوب تنفيذ قرار مجلس الامن الدولي 425 القاضي:

أ- بالاحترام الدقيق لسلامة اراضي لبنان وسيادته واستقلاله السياسي ضمن الحدود الدولية المعترف بها.

ب- بانسحاب القوات الاسرائيلية دون ابطاء من جميع الاراضي اللبنانية.

ج- وبتأمين عودة سلطة الدولة الفعلية الى منطقة لبنان الجنوبي.

ثانيا - وقف العمل المسلح الفلسطيني وغير الفلسطيني في جميع الاراضي اللبنانية.

ثالثا - منع أي وجود مسلح لغير قوى السلطة الشرعية وتطبيق القوانين والانظمة اللبنانية على جميع اللبنانيين وجميع المتواجدين على ارض لبنان دون استثناء.

رابعا - بناء الجيش اللبناني على اسس وطنية سليمة وصحيحة ليكون قادرا على الاضطلاع بمسؤولياته والقيام بالمهام الموكولة اليها.

خامسا - اتباع سياسة انمائية اقتصادية في اطار النظام الاقتصادي الحر بمفهومه الحديث تقوم على استثماره جميع الموارد الطبيعية في البلاد مما يؤدي الى توفير تكافؤ الفرص امام جميع المواطنين وفي تحقيق العدالة الاجتماعية الصحيحة في جميع المناطق اللبنانية وبين جميع افراد الشعب.

سادسا - الطلب الى السلطات المختصة وضع هذه المقررات موضع التنفيذ.

بيروت يوم الاحد الموافق 23 نيسان 78.

صائب سلام، عادل عسيران، كميل شمعون،
بيار الجميل، مجيد ارسلان، رشيد الصلح،
امين الحافظ، نصري المعلوف، كاظم الخليل،
بشير الاعور، بهيج تقي الدين، خاتشيك بابكيان،
عثمان الدنا، مخايل الضاهر، كامل الاسعد،
البير مخيبر، سليمان العلي، اميل روحانا صقر،
زكي مزبودي، حسن الرفاعي، فؤاد نفاع،
عبدو عويدات، اوغست باخوس، ميشال معلولي،
ملكون ابلغتيان، سليم المعلوف، بطرس حرب.

Appendix 15

Resolution by Lebanese-Armenians

Appendix 15.1

Resolution by Lebanese-Armenian Leadership

7 October 1983[1]

مقررات تجمع الطوائف الأرمينية

تجمع الطوائف الأرمنية في لبنان عقد اجتماعاً بوم الجمعة في 7-10-1983 في كاثوليكوسية الأرمن في انطلياس ضم الرؤساء الروحيين للطوائف الأرمنية الثلاث: الأرثوذكسية والكاثوليكية والبروتستانية. والنواب الأرمن ومندوبي الهيئات وممثلي أحزاب الطاشناق والهنشاق والرمغافار. وهنا نص المقررات:

1- نحمد الرب عز وجل لكون لبنان بقي صامداً مؤمناً بمستقبله على رغم الأحداث المتتالية التي هزت كيانه منذ 1975. وقد كان ذلك بفضل إرادة شعبه وتعلقه بأرضه وحرياته.

2- وطننا لبنان جبلنا فيه حياتنا وغرسنا في أرضه إيماننا وتقاليد أجدادنا. وقدمنا كل مؤهلاتنا ومكانتنا من أجل إعماره وازدهاره.

3- لبنان كان ولا يزال مركز إشعاع ليس للطوائف الأرمنية في لبنان فقط بل لعموم الأرمن في العالم. وهم اعتبروا دائماً هذا البلد مصدر إيمان ونور وأمل.

4- خلال سنوات المحنة التسع المنصرمة. أعلنت الطوائف الأرمنية تمسكها المطلق بمبدأ الحوار والتفاهم المتبادل وسيلة لتخفيف حدة الخلافات ولحل الأزمة واليوم يتأكد أكثر فأكثر أن في الحوار والتفاهم المتبادل طريق الخلاص وتكريس الوحدة الوطنية. وإن الطوائف الأرمنية تعتزم كما في السابق، وضع كل إمكاناتها في سبيل إنقاذ لبنان واعماره وذلك سواء على صعيد تحمل المسئوليات أم في اتخاذ المواقف المناسبة.

5- في هذه الأيام العصيبة المصيرية ترى الطوائف الأرمنية أن لا تكتفي بالتوقف عند وحدة الوطن وسيادته ودعم شرعيته، بل أنها تطلب أيضاً إشراكها فعلياً وعملياً مع

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[1] George Basheer, Philip Abi Akl & Fawzi Mubarak, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef: Min Geneva Ila Lauzanne, [Arabic: The Emirs of the Religious Sects: From Geneva to Lausanne]*, (Beirut: Wakalet El-Anba' El-Markaziyyeh, 1984), p.334.

سائر الطوائف اللبنانية في كل المراحل وعلى كل المستويات في الجهود التي تبذل لتركيز الوطن على أسس سليمة.

6- يحز في النفس ما نراه اليوم من أحوال المهجرين المأسوية ولذا نوجه نداء إلى اللبنانيين عموماً وغلى الهيئات الخيرية الأرمينة وعموم الأرمن خصوصاً، طالبين من الجميع وضع ما في إمكانهم وبذلك ما في وسعهم لتخفيف آلام المهجرين وعذابهم وإيجاد الظروف الملائمة لعودتهم إلى ديارهم.

7- نرى أن من صميم واجب كل مواطن المساهمة في تقوية الدولة انتشار سلطاتها على كل أراضي الوطن ولا يتحقق ذلك إلا بإبعاد جميع القوى الغريبة وتعزيز الجيش اللبناني العمود الفقري للوطن ورمز وحدته.

8- نؤمن بأن التعايش السلمي بين اللبنانيين وتفاهمهم وتعاملهم الأخوي هي الأساس الصحيح لضمان حرية الأفراد وضمان حقوق الطوائف. وهي، إلى ذلك، الأساس الذي يجب توفيره لبناء مجتمع تسوده روح المساواة والعدالة الاجتماعية في وطن واحد موحد".

Appendix 15.2

Lebanese-Armenian Proposal at the Lausanne Conference[1]

12 March 1984

المشروع الإصلاحي لكتلة نواب الأرمن

طروحات في الإصلاحات السياسية والإدارية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية إلى هيئة الحوار الوطني

المنعقد في لوزان في 12 آذار 1984

أولاً: إن كتلة نواب الأرمن تنطلق من اقتناعها بأن لبنان بلد له طابع ذاتي خاص به وفريد في صيغته وتكوينه. إنه بلد التعايش المشترك لمختلف الطوائف والملل تكونت عبر العصور من الجماعات التي لاقت ملجأ وملاذاً فيه. هرباً من الاضطهاد وشتى أنواع الحرمان (الدينية – السياسية – الاجتماعية - والعنصرية).

وعلى رغم إيماننا بأن الصيغة العلمانية هي من السمات الرئيسية وأبرز الصفات للدول المتطورة. فمع هذا. نجد أن اللبنانيين ملزمون البقاء تحت تأثير ماضيهم ومتقيدون به وذلك حتى يتسنى للبنان تحقيق المجتمع العلماني الصحيح، بعيداً عن الروابط الطائفية أو الدينية، وإنما الحقيقة أن كل فئة في المجتمع اللبناني مرتبطة ارتباطاً وثيقاً إلى ذاتيتها وهويتها الخاصة بها، وهي حذرة ومحترزة وتتخوف من تجربة ومحاولات الاندماج في مجتمعات جامعة أكبر منها، وأنه من هذا المنطلق يجب في هذه المرحلة، الحفاظ على الصيغة الطائفية المتوازنة.

إن أي مشروع في الإصلاح السياسي. أو بعبارة بسيطة. أي نظام سياسي لا يأخذ في الاعتبار هذه الحقيقة والواقع اللبناني السائد، يعتبره اللبنانيون حالياً. تدخلاً سافراً يمس حرياتهم الأساسية. هذه الحريات التي هي جذور لبنان نفسه وتبرر حقه في الوجود. ومن دونها لا معنى لكيانه ووجوده.

[1] George Basheer, Philip Abi Akl & Fawzi Mubarak, *Oumara' Al-Tawa'ef: Min Geneva Ila Lauzanne, [Arabic: The Emirs of the Religious Sects: From Geneva to Lausanne]*, (Beirut: Wakalet El-Anba' El-Markaziyyeh, 1984), pp.338-340.

وأنه مما تقدم يمكن التأكيد أن المجتمع اللبناني هو مجتمع تتعدى وبالتالي لا يمكن أي نظام سياسي حالياً أن يجمعه وندمجه جميعاً شاملاً ودمجاً كاملاً إذا لم يستند هذا النظام ويقوم على معطيات ومبادئ المجتمع التعددي ويجتمع التعايش المشترك الحديث.

ثانياً: إنه على رغم الأحداث الدموية في السنوات الأخيرة، قد زادت التناقضات بين جهات لبنانية عدة وعمقت الهوة بينها. ألا إنه ما لا شك فيه. أن الأزمة قد كرست أيضاً، في الواقع وعلى نحو جلي اتحاداً واتفاقاً في الرأي بين الأكثرية من اللبنانيين تتلخص في الإجماع على أنه من الضروري بقاء لبنان واحداً موحداً ووطناً لجميع أبنائه.

إن أي مشروع في الإصلاح يجب أن ينطلق من هذه القاعدة ومن هذا المبدأ الأساسي. وملزم أن يبرز في هذه الإرادة والرغبة المشتركة في العيش بكل وضوح وجلاء.

ثالثاً: إن الوضع الاجتماعي لا ينقصم ولا يفصل عن الوضع السياسي، إن في المجتمع اللبناني الكثير من اللامساواة، وظواهر شقة التفاوت واضحة وعميقة فيه لا تتناسب مع المبادئ والقواعد للمساواة المعمول بها في المجتمعات الحديثة، بل تخالفها.

إن شقة التفاوت التي تبعد اللبنانيين بعضهم عن البعض الآخر تزداد اتساعاً وعمقاً، وذلك عندما يمتد إطارها، أحيانا، ليمس الحدود الطائفية ويشملها ومن هذا المنطلق، أن أي مشروع في الإصلاح السياسي لا يكون شاملاً وكاملاً. وإذا لم تكن طروحاته الأساسية تركز إلى منح الجميع من دون تمييز واستثناء، حقوقاً متساوية، وجعل تكافؤ الفرص وإمكانات التطور والازدهار سواسية بين الجميع وخصوصاً أننا نعرف، أن استغلال مذهب الحرية ومبادئ الديموقراطية في المجتمع اللبناني، يؤدي في غالبية الأحيان، غلى إخضاع الضعيف للقوى وتسلطه.

رابعاً: إن كل إصلاح سياسي غايته إقامة العدالة الاجتماعية، يجب أن يهدف أولاً إلى إقامة سلطة قوية ثابتة الأسس والركائز، حتى تتمكن هذه السلطة من الدفاع عن الحريات الكاملة للبنانيين من حرية الفكر إلى كل وسائل التعبير والدفاع عن حياتهم وممتلكاتهم، بفرضها القانون على الجميع، هذا القانون الذي يجب أن يكون وليد إرادة اللبنانيين، يعبرون عنه من خلال المؤسسات الديموقراطية المناسبة.

إن لبنان يجب أن يكون قوياً بجدارة جميع أبنائه وفي الوطن وفي المهجر وقدرتهم أن الطائفة الأرمينية هي إحدى دعائم لبنان، وليس ذلك بمؤسساتها وهيئاتها ومقدرة أبنائها في الخلق والإبداع في لبنان فحسب، بل في كل أنحاء العالم، لما لهم من طاقات وقدرات وبما يتمتعون به من مكانة مرموقة في عالم الإشعاع والنبوغ، إن الطائفة الأرمنية في لبنان لها صلاتها وعلاقاتها الوثيقة مع العديد من بلدان الشرق والغرب. ولها تأثيرها المباشر في كثر من الأحيان عن طريق أحزابها السياسية أو بواسطة جمعياتها الرياضية والثقافية والخيرية، وكذلك بفضل ما لها من مركزين دينيين عالميين وهم:

1- بطريركية الأرمن الكاثوليك المتأسسة والعاملة في لبنان منذ 1949
2- كاثوليكوسية بيت كليكيا للأرمن الأرثوذكس ومركزها في أنطياس منذ العام 1923.

إن لبنان الغد يجب أن يجند جميع أبنائه وجميع طاقاته وإمكاناته من أجل السلام والإزدهار والتقدم، ومما لا شك فيه أنه سيخصص للطائف الأرمنية التي هي إحدى الطوائف السبع الكبرى، دوراً فاعلاً ومكانة خاصة في بيئة الدولة اللبنانية الحديثة ومؤسساتها.

وانطلاقاً من هذه المبادئ والمسميات والاعتبارات، يتقدم بالمشروع الإصلاحي الآتي:

الإصلاحات السياسية والإدارية

1- الحفاظ على هوية لبنان المميزة وترسيخها، وكذلك الحفاظ على علاقاته الدولية وتوطيدها ولا سيما منها علاقاته الوثيقة المنسجمة مع الدول العربية على أساس الاحترام الكامل غير المنقوص لاستقلاله وسيادته ونظامه، وذلك ضمن ميثاق الأمم المتحدة وفي إطار ميثاق جامعة الدول العربية.

2- الحفاظ على الصيغة الطائفية التي لا يزال لها دورها الحيوي في هذه المرحلة إلا أنه يجب أن تقوم على أساس الاحترام والاعتراف المتبادلين بين جميع الطوائف ، وأن تكون العلاقات والتعامل في ما بينها وثيقة وضميمة وثابتة ومخلصة وكذلك جعل الحقوق والواجبات سواسية في توزيع عادل ومتوازن.

3- الحفاظ على النظام الديموقراطي البرلماني، واستحداث مؤسسة مجلس الشيوخ تتمثل فيه جميع الطوائف وذلك من أجل أن تكون مشاركة الطوائف اللبنانية في الحكم على أعلى مستوى ولحفظ التوازن فيما بينها.

4- على صعيد السلطة الاشتراعية: زيادة عدد النواب وتبني مبدأ المناصفة في توزيع المقاعد بين المسلمين والمسيحيين.

5- نظراً إلى أن الصيغة الطائفية لا تزال قائمة ويعمل بها، نقترح تكريس الانتماء الطائفي دستورياً لرئاسة الجمهورية، ولرئاسة مجلس الوزراء ونائب رئيس الوزراء، ولرئاسة مجلس النواب ونائب مجلس النواب وكذلك لرئيس مجلس الشيوخ ونائبه، وكل ذلك بموجب مادة دستورية واضحة.

6- انتخاب رئيس مجلس الوزراء في مجلس النواب، والأخذ في الاعتبار تمثيل الطوائف السبع الكبرى في أثناء تأليف التشكيلات الوزارية.

7- إحياء المجلس الأعلى وإعطائه صلاحياته ودوره كما ينص عليها الدستور.

8- إحياء طريقة تعيين الأمين العام للوزارة في بعض الوزارات بغية البرمجة والتنسيق.

9- إلغاء طائفية الوظيفية المعمول بها حالياً في كل مرافق الوظائف الحكومية ما عدا الوظائف المعروفة بالفئة الأولى، على أن تتم التعيينات على مبدأ التوازن الطائفي.

10- تحقيق اللامركزية الإدارية مرتبطة بمركزية عليا للمشاريع الكبرى والإزدهار، أنه أمر ملح لا مفر منه ولا يقبل التأجيل وإعطاء صلاحيات واسعة للسلطات الإدارية والبلديات التي بارتباطها واتصالاتها الدائمة مع الإداريات والهيئات المركزية ستتمكن من أن تستدرج وتخطط وتنسق وتأمر وتراقب وتحقق.

11- الإصلاح والتنظيم لكل الدوائر والمؤسسات في الدولة في صورة أساسية وجذرية وذلك بتوظيف أصحاب الكفاية والجدارة من المتخصصين في الأعمال الإدارية الحديثة الذين يتمتعون بالاستعداد الكامل للعمل الدؤوب والتضحية.

12- إنشاء مجلس اجتماعي تطبيقاً عادلاً.
13- تأمين مبدأ التعددية الثقافية للطوائف اللبنانية واحترامه وضمان حقها في حرية العمل لإحياء تراثها الثقافي وازدهاره وذلك من أجل الحفاظ على لبنان وطن التعددية الحضارية.
14- تنظيم الجيش، لأن لبنان القوي القادر يعني بالتالي جيشاً وطنياً قوياً، ويجب أن يتألف الجيش في غالبيته من العناصر التي تؤدي خدمة العلم، ويجب أن يفتح لهم مجال اختبار العمل في الخدمات الاجتماعية في أثناء تأديتهم الخدمة الإجبارية. أما في خصوص الاحتياط فيجب العمل بطريقة الدورات الاختبارية لحفظ الخبرة والقدرة والطاقات للمشتركين وزيادتها.

في الإصلاحات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية

1- الحفاظ على صيغة الاقتصاد القائمة على المبادرات الفردية بشرط برمجتها ومراقبتها على يد الدولة، ومكافحة كل أنواع الاحتكارات الاقتصادية.
2- تحقيق وتوزيع الضرائب توزيعاً عادلاً والسعي إلى تحصيلها.
3- درس برنامج عام للإقتصاد الوطني وتنفيذه والاهتمام خصوصاً بالمناطق المختلفة لتنميتها وازدهارها والأخذ في الاعتبار الأوضاع والإمكانات المحلية والإقليمية.
4- إقرار طريقة تأمين العمل للعمال وإقرار الضمان ضد البطالة والضمان التقاعدي.
5- تأمين التعليم الإلزامي والمجاني في المرحلة الابتدائية على الأقل، وذلك عن طريق المؤسسات التربوية الرسمية والخاصة.
6- تطوير شبكة التعاونيات وتوسيعها.
7- تقوية النقابات المبنية التي عليها أن تهدف إلى تأمين العمل والدفاع عن المصالح العادل للطبقات العاملة.
8- مكافحة الهجرة وذلك بفتح مجالات جديدة للعمل وإفساح طريق العمل أمام الشباب الأخصائيين، وكذلك إنشاء مؤسسات مهنية ومؤسسات للتعليم العالي وتسهيل الانتساب إليها.
9- إعادة النظر دورياً في الحد الأدنى للأجور وتحديده استناداً إلى تطور مقتضيات المعيشة.
10- مراقبة أسعار المواد الاستهلاكية الأولية، وعند الضرورة القصوى توفير هذه المواد الضرورية عن طريق الحكومة.
11- وضع سياسة إسكانية خاصة لتأمين المسكن الملائم لجميع فئات الشعب ونجاحه وبخاصة الطبقة العاملة والموظفين وأصاب الرواتب.
12- توسيع شبكة المستشفيات والمستوصفات الرسمية بترتيب جغرافي خاص.
13- تشجيع مشاركة المرأة اللبنانية مشاركة فاعلة في كل مجالات الحياة العامة بحقوق وموجبات متساوية.

Appendix 15.3

The Lebanese Peace Initiative – 16 March 1986

المبادرة اللبنانية للسلام

الورقة الإصلاحية التي وضعها الأحزاب والتنظيمات السياسية الآتية:

1- تجمع الموارنة المستقلين .
2- كتلة نواب الأرمن اللبنانية .
3- حزب الكتائب اللبنانية .
4- حزب الوطنيين الأحرار .
5- القوات اللبنانية.
6- أعضاء لجنة الصياغة.

المقدمة

اقتناعا منا بعبثية هذه الحرب وبطلان الحلول العسكرية ، وبضرورة اعتماد التجاور والتفاوض والاتفاق لحل النزاعات بين اللبنانيين توصلا الى السلام العادل والدائم،

وسعياً منا للخروج من الأزمة الراهنة التي طالت وتعقدت وتداخلت فيه مختلف العوامل ، المحلية والخارجية، الإقليمية والدولية ، الدينية ، والسياسية ، الاقتصادية والاجتماعية ، التاريخية والحضارية ، بحيث أمست أزمة لبنان مركبة وبالتالي تتطلب حلولاً ملحة وشاملة وفاعلة ولعل الحل الأمثل الذي نتوف إليه هو إقامة نظام علماني كامل لو ان هذا الواقع التاريخي يسمح بتحقيق العلمنة الشاملة ولا يسما في وضع يشهد ردة دينية متزمتة يحتم اعتماد نظام توافقي طوائفي يؤمن المشاركة العملية ويجعل كل مجموعة تمارس حقاها الطبيعي وتجسد شخصيتها الحرة والمميزة ،

وبغية أن يعالج الحل عمق هذه الأزمة بتأمين المساواة التامة بين اللبنانيين أفراداً وجماعات ، وتحقيق العدالة الاجتماعية وتكافؤ الفرص للجميع ، والمشاركة الكاملة لكل الطوائف ، يقتضي بث روح التطوير في مؤسسات الدولة على مختلف مستوياتها ومهماتها واعتماد التجديد والتغيير تلبية لأماني اللبنانيين وتطلعاتهم المستقبلية.

ومن أجل أن يأتي الحل موضوعياً يجب أن ينطلق من خصوصية لبنان البشرية وبنية المجتمعية المتميزة بالتنوع ، ومن خصوصيته التاريخية التي تجعل منه وطناً للحرية وللإنسان ، ودولة ديمقراطية حرة مستقلة وسيدة ذات مؤسسات تضمن حقوق المجموعات كلها وخصائصها واعترافها بعضها ببعض وتفاعلها فيما بينها وتزل أسباب القهر والقمع والهيمنة والحرمان واحتمالاتها ،

وفي سبيل إيجاد حل وطني يقتضي استلهام إرادة اللبنانيين ، مسلمين ومسيحيين ، في العيش المشترك ، لتحقيق الوحدة الداخلية والمصلحة اللبنانية توصلاً إلى تفاهم يضمن المساواة والتوازن على الصعيد الداخلي والحياد والابتعاد عن سياسية الانحياز على الصعيد الخارجي ،

وكي نخطو خطوة عملية باتجاه السلام ، وحرصاً على عدم هدر الوقت الذي يستنزف الإنسان والوطن والأرض والاقتصاد والمجتمع ، يجب إعلان إنهاء حالة الحرب فوراً ونهائياً ، والدعوة إلى مؤتمر وطني يتمثل في مختلف الأحزاب والتنظيمات والقوى والشخصيات لإقرار المسلمات اللبنانية التي تشكل ميثاقاً وطنياً مكتوباً ، والاتفاق على الإصلاحات السياسية لصياغة دستور جديد ،على أن يتم ذلك عبر المؤسسات الشرعية والدستورية من هذا الهدف والمحتوى تنطلق مبادرتنا للسلام وتعتبرها مادة صالحة للمناقشة.

الفصل الأول

المبادئ العامة

1- لبنان وطن نهائي ، حر ، سيد ، مستقل في حدوده المنصوص عنها في الدستور والمعترف بها دوليا.
2- لنبان دولة عربية عضو كامل ومؤسس في جامعة الدول العربية وفي هيئة الأمم المتحدة وملتزم ميثاقهما.
3- لبنان جمهورية ديمقراطية برمانية تقوم على احترام الحريات العامة وبخاصة حرية الرأي والمعتقد ، وعلى مبدأ فصل السلطات والمساواة في الحقوق والواجبات والعادلة الاجتماعية بين جميع المواطنين .
4- لبنان ملتقى للحضارات والأديان يكرس حرية الإنسان والمعتقدات ضمن وحدة الوطن التي تبنى على أساس التكافل والتوازن لا على أساس عنصرية دينية أو عرقية تؤدي لإلى فرز الشعب والأرض . وللطوائف في لبنان وجودها وتعدديتها وحقها أن تكون مختلفة عن غيرها مما يؤهلها أكثر للتفاعل ف بإطار العيش المشترك المتوازن والعادل والكريم.
5- التمسك بوحدة لبنان ورفض كل مشاريع التقسيم والتوطين .
6- العمل على تحرير الأراضي اللبنانية كاملة واستعادة سيادة لبنان على كل أراضيه وضمان سلامتها وتنفيذ قرارات الأمم المتحدة ولا سيما القرار 425 وتكريس لإلغاء اتفاق القاهرة.
7- الالتزام الوطني الشامل بوضع اتفاق إنهاء حالة الحرب في لبنان والعمل على تنفيذه في شكل نهائي ، وإعادة بسط سيادة الدولة وسلطة القانون بالأداة الأمنية الشعرة اللبنانية وعودة المهجرين اللبنانيين وإطلاق المخطوفين فوراً .
8- إن لبنان في كونه بلداً للأقليات وتفاعل الحضارات تقوم تركيبته على التوازن العادل بين طوائفه وان أي تغيير يناقض المقاييس والثوابت التاريخية التي يقوم عليها بشكل تهديداً لكيان ووحدته وحدوده ونظامه الديمقراطي وبنية الدولة وهيكلتها فانطلاقاً من هذا الواقع يقتضي تطوير الصيغة السياسية الحالية لتعزيز المشاركة وإزالة أي شعور بالغبن والخوف والحرمان بفعل ضوابط جدية تحول دول أن تلغي طائفة أخرى أو أن تحرمها من أدوارها

وحقوقها في حياة البلاد ، على أن يتم هذا التطوير عبر المؤسسات الشرعية ووفقاً لأحكام الدستور.

9- إن الحل الحقيقي للازمة اللبنانية هو في ترسيخ وفاق وطني ودائم ينطلق من حوار حر مباشر بين اللبنانيين.

10- اعتماد اللامركزية الإدارة الموسعة وتحديث المؤسسات وتعزيز المراقبة على الإدارات وإتباع سياسة الثواب والعقاب.

11- التمسك بالنظام الاقتصادي الحر المبني على المبادرة الفردية مع التأكيد على دور الدولة في التنظيم والمراقبة وعلى ضرورة اعتماد التخطيط الإنمائي الشامل لأعمار لبنان وتثمير قدراته الإنتاجية وتنمية بنيته الاقتصادية والاجتماعية .

12- المحافظة على النظام التربوي الحر والمنفتح على كل الحضارات والثقافات في العالم مع ضرورة دعم التعليم الرسمي وجعله مجانياً وشاملاً وتعزي التعليم المهني وتطوير البرامج والمناهج التربوية لتنمية الروح الوطنية والمواطنية بين الأجيال الطالعة.

13- توطيد العلائق وتطويرها في ما بين اللبنانيين المقيمين واللبنانيين المغتربين لما للانتشار اللبناني من أهمية وفاعلية وطنياً وإنسانياً واقتصادياً واجتماعياً.

14- ابتعاد لبنان عن سياسة المحاول ، وانفتاحه على جميع دول العالم على أساس التعاون والصداقة ضمن لإطار الحفاظ على سيادته وإعلان حياده مع استمرار التزامه ميثاق جامعة الدول العربية القضايا العربية وميثاق الأمم المتحدة.

15- لأن بين لبنان وسوريا علاقات وثيقة وصلات خاصة ومصالح مشتركو فإنه يقتضي تنظيمها وتطويرها بين الدولتين وفقاً للأصول المتعبة لديهما على أن ترعى مبادئ السيادة والاستقلال والاعتراف المتبادل وخصوصية كل بلد .

الفصل الثاني

إنهاء حالة الحرب

تحدد مرحلة إنهاء حالة الحرب في لبنان بستة أشهر تبدأ بتشكيل حكومة اتحاد وطني، ويتم خلال هذه الفترة تطبيق آلية إنهاء الحرب وفق القواعد والمبادئ الآتية :

1- وقف إطلاق نار شامل وفوري وإنهاء الاقتتال في الأراضي اللبنانية من قبل جميع الأطراف وبصورة نهائية.

2- إطلاق سراح جميع المخطوفين دون أي قيد أو شرط .

3- تشكيل لجنة أمنية جديدة تضم كل الأطراف والقوى المعنية الفاعلة وتشمل صلاحياتها كامل الأراضي اللبنانية لتنفيذ خطة أمنية تقرها الحكومة.

4- تقوية الجيش وقوى الأمن الداخلي والأمن العام وفتح باب التطوع فيها وتسليم الجيش وقوى الأمن الداخلي مهمة حفظ الأمن في جميع المناطق اللبنانية لبسط سلطة الدولة عليها دون استثناء.

5- يتم انصهار الميليشيات والتنظيمات العسكرية وشبه العسكرية اللبنانية على مختلف أنواعها في مؤسسات الوطن بعد تأهيل عناصرها وفقاً لشروط قانونية تحدد لاحقاً على أن يسبق ذلك حل جميع الميليشيات والتنظيمات العسكرية وشبه العسكرية غير اللبنانية على أنواعها.

6- جمع الأسلحة من الافرقاء اللبنانية وعير اللبنانيين دون استثناء وفق جدول زمني يجرى تنظيمه من قبل قيادة الجيش اللبناني .
7- تأمين حرية انتقال اللبنانيين وعملهم وإقامتهم في جميع المناطق اللبنانية.
8- عودة المهجرين اللبنانيين وإقرار حق كل مهجر لبناني بالعودة إلى أرضه وبيته مالكاً أو مستأجراً ووضع التشريعات اللازمة التي تعزز وتكفل ضمان هذا الحق ، وتأمين الظروف الأمنية الملائمة لعودتهم والوسائل الضرورية لإعادة تعمير القرى والبيوت وترميمها ، على أن تبدأ المرحلة التنفيذية فوراً وتنتهي تدريجياً خلال ستة أشهر.

الفصل الثالث

الإصلاح السياسي

من أجل ترسيخ الانتماء الوطني والعمل الديمقراطي وتحقيق الحرية والمساواة والعدالة الاجتماعية وتكافؤ الفرص والإنماء والأمن يقتضي تطوير الصيغة اللبنانية عن طريف مشاركة أفعل وتمثيل أوسع تعبيراً عن تطلعات الشعب وطموحاته باعتماد الأسس الآتية:

1- تكريس العرف في توزيع الرئاسات الثلاث : رئاسة الجهورية لماروني ورئاسة مجلس النواب لشيعي ورئاسة الوزراء لسني .
2- توزيع القاعد النيابية والوزارية بالتساوي بين المسلمين والمسيحيين ونسبياً ضمن كل مجموعة .
3- اعتماد المناصفة في الوظائف العامة والمؤسسات العامة والجيش وقوى الأمن والحرص على تطبيق مبدأ الكفاية العلمية لاختيار الموظفين.

البند الأول : في السلطة الإجرائية:

أولاً : رئاسة الجمهورية

يرأس السلطة الإجرائية رئيس الجمهورية ويمارسها بمشاركة رئيس الوزراء والوزراء وفقاً للنصوص الدستورية المعتمدة ولا يتحمل تبعة ممارسة سلطاته الا في الحالات المنصوص عنها في الدستور.

1- انتخاب الرئيس
يعتمد في انتخاب رئيس الجمهورية غالبية الثلثين في الدورة الأولى وأكثرية ال 55 في المائة من العدد القانوني لمجلس النواب في الدورات التي تلي الدورة الأولى.
2- صلاحيات الرئيس
تدخل على صلاحيات رئيس الجمهورية المحددة في الدستور التعديلات الآتية :
أ- يعتبر رئيس الجمهورية رأسا للدولة ورمزا لوحدة الوطن ويتولى السهر على احترام الدستور والمحافظة على استقلال لبنان ووحدته الوطنية وسلامة أراضيه ويؤدي رئيس الجمهورية اليمين الدستورية ويرأس مجلس الوزراء وتناط به السلطة الإجرائية بمشاركة مجلس الوزراء.
ب- يعتبر رئيس الجمهورية القائد الأعلى للجيش ورئيس مجلس الدفاع الأعلى.

ج- يوقع رئيس الجمهورية المراسيم ويصدر القوانين ويحيل مشاريع القوانين ضمن المهل المحددة بعد توقيعها ممن قبل رئيس الوزارة والوزير المختص .
د- يصدر رئيس الجمهورية مرسوما بتكليف رئيس الحكومة المنتخب من مجلس النواب تشكيل الحكومة ويقبل استقالته ويصدر مرسوم قبول استقالة الحكومة أما بالنسبة إلى قبول استقالة أي من الوزراء فيصدر المرسوم بعد موافقة رئيس الوزراء.

ثانياً : رئاسة الجمهورية

1- من أجل مشاركة أشمل في الحكم يستحث منصب نائب رئيس للجمهورية يتولاه ستة أشخاص يتمثلون الطوائف الكبرى في لبنان عدا طائفة رئيس الجمهورية .
2- يؤلف نواب الرئيس مجلسا استشارياً لرئيس الجمهورية يتولون مهمات تمثيلية في الداخل والخارج يكلفهم بها رئيس الجمهورية .
3- يحل نواب الرئيس مجتمعي محل الرئيس عند غيابه وتناط بهم مجتمعين السلطة الإجرائية في حال خلو سدة الرئاسة لأي سبب كان.

ثالثاً : رئيس الوزراء

1- انتخاب رئيس الوزراء

يتم انتخاب رئيس الوزراء من قبل مجلس النواب بأكثرية 55% على الأقل من عدد الأعضاء الذين يتألف منهم قانوناً.

2- صلاحيات رئيس الوزراء :

يقوم رئيس الوزراء بما يأتي

أ- يشكل رئيس الوزراء المنتخب الحكومة وفق المادة الرابعة اللاحقة
ب- يترأس المجالس الوزارية
ج- يتقبل استقالة وزير أو أكثر ويرفع المرسوم لرئيس الجمهورية
د- يوقع مع رئيس الجمهورية مرسوم استقالة الوزراء وإقالتهم .
ه- يوقع المراسيم ومشاريع القوانين مع رئيس الجمهورية باستثناء مرسوم تكليف رئيس الوزراء وقبول استقالته واستقالة الحكومة
و- يكون نائباً لرئيس مجلس الدفاع الأعلى .
ز- بشرف على تنفيذ قرارات مجلس الوزراء ويتابع أعمال الوزارات والإدارات .

رابعاً : مجلس الوزراء

1- تشكيل الحكومة

أ- يجري رئيس الحكومة المنتخب استشارات نيابية يصار على ضوئها إلى تشكيل الحكومة بالاتفاق مع رئيس الجمهورية وعندها تصدر المراسيم اللازمة لهذه الغاية .
ب- في حال عدم التوافق بين رئيس الجمهورية ورئيس الحكومة على لائحة الوزراء وامتناع رئيس الجمهورية عن توقيع مرسوم تشكيل الحكومة خلال مهلة أسبوعين من عرض اللائحة عليه ، يعود رئيس الحكومة المنتخب إلى مجلس النواب فإذا نالت وجهة نظرة أغلبية

ال 55 في المائة من أعضاء مجلس النواب فعلى رئيس الجمهورية توقيع المرسوم أما إذا لم تنل التشكيلة الحكومية الأغلبية النيابية المحددة أعلاه فيعتبر رئيس الحكومة معتذراً ويعاد انتخاب رئيس جديد للحكومة .

ج- في حال امتناع رئيس الوزراء عن عرض لائحة حكومته على رئيس الجمهورية خلال مهلة شهر من انتخابه يعتبر ذلك بمثابة اعتذار عن التشكيل ويعاد انتخاب رئيس جديد للحكومة .

د- بعد صدور مراسيم تعيين الحكومة تمثل أمام مجلس النواب لتال الثقة

ه- على الحكومة أن تقدم استقالتها فور انتخاب رئيس جديد للجمهورية

2- صلاحيات مجلس الوزراء

يمارس مجلس الوزراء الصلاحيات التنفيذية والإدارية ومنها :

أ- وضع السياسية العامة للدولة في المجالات السياسية والاقتصادية والدفاعية والمالية والإنمائية والتربوية والاجتماعية وفي غير ذلك المجالات .

ب- وضع مشاريع القوانين والمراسيم واتخاذ القرارات اللازمة لتنفيذ سياسة الدولة وإضفاء المعجل والمعجل المكرر على مشاريع القوانين عندنا يرى ذلك ضرورياً.

ج- السهر على تنفيذ القوانين والأنظمة ومراقبة عمل أجهزة الدولة ومؤسساتها.

د- إقرار حالة الطوارئ وإلغاؤها وإعلان الحرب والتعبئة العامة وعقد الاتفاقات والمعدات الدولية مع مراعاة صلاحيات السلطة التشريعية .

ه- توجيه مشروع الموازنة العامة ، ووضع الخطط الإنمائية الشاملة والطويلة فيما بينها

و- تنظيم مشروع الموازنة العامة ووضع الخطط الإنمائية الشاملة والطويلة المدى .

ز- حل مجلس النواب بناء على اقتراح رئيس الجمهورية وبقرار معلل.

ح- تعيين موظفي الفئة الأولى أو ما يعادلها وإقالتهم أو قبول استقالتهم وفقاً للأصول القانونية.

ط- تحدد مهلة ثلاثين يوماً لتوقيع مشاريع المراسيم إحالة القوانين المقررة في مجلس الوراء من قبل رئيس الجمهورية او ردها خلال هذه المدة لأسباب معللة ويبدأ مفعول المهلة منذ تاريخ إيداع المشاريع لدى المديرية العامة لرئاسة الجمهورية وعند انقضاء المهلة دون توقيع أو رد معلل يصبح المرسوم نافذاً حكماً . أما إذا رده فيصار إلى عرضة على مجلس الوزراء مجدداً وان أصر مجلس الوزراء على قراره مرة ثانية فعلى رئيس الجمهورية توقيع المرسوم.

تنطبق هذه المهلة أيضاً على المراسيم العادية ففي حال وقوع خلاف بين رئيس الوزراء والوزير المختص وإذا أصر كلاهما على موقفهما يحال الاختلاف إلى مجلس الوزراء للبت به وتحدد لرئيس الوزراء المهلة لتوقيع من تاريخ إيداع المشاريع لدى أمانته العامة أما بالنسبة للقوانين التي يقرها مجلس النواب فتبق على مهل نشرها المادة 56/ من الدستور الحالي .

3- استقالة الحكومة

تعتبر الوزارة مستقبلية في الحالات الآتية :

أ- إذا استقال رئيسها

ب- إذا حجب المجلس النيابي عنها الثقة

ج- إذا استقال نصف أعضائها
ولا يحل مرسوم قبول الاستقالة إلا توقيع رئيس الجمهورية

البند الثاني : في السلطة التشريعية :

بالإضافة إلى الأسس والصلاحيات الواردة في الدستور والمتعلقة بالسلطة التشريعية تطبق القواعد الآتية:

1- يعتمد مبدأ انتخاب أعضاء السلطة التشريعية على أساس قانون جديد يحقق صحة التمثيل الشعبي وعدالته في إطار المناصفة بين المسيحيين والمسلمين
2- يرفع عدد النواب إلى 108 تحقيقاً لتمثيل أوسع ضمن إطار المساواة بين المسيحيين والمسلمين
3- ينتخب رئيس مجلس النواب ونائبة وأعضاء مكتب المجلس لمدة سنتين قابلتين للتجديد
4- تكرس صلاحيات المجلس النيابي وفقاً لأحكام الدستور الحالي.

البند الثالث : في السلطة القضائية

1- تتخذ الإجراءات الضرورية لتحقيق مبدأ استقلالية السلطة القضائية
2- تنشأ محكمة دستورية لمراقبة دستورية القوانين والبت في كل النزاعات والطعون الناشئة عن الانتخابات الرئاسية والنيابية إضافة إلى النزاعات التي قد تنشأ بين الإدارة المركزية والإدارات اللامركزية
3- يصار إلى تأليف مجلس أعلى لمحاكمة الرؤساء ونوابهم والوزراء المنصوص عنه في الدستور
4- يصار إلى وضع تشريع اختياري للأحوال الشخصية المدنية المن يرغب اعتماده من اللبنانيين

البند الرابع : في اللامركزية الإدارية :

إعادة النظر في التنظيم الإداري المنصوص عنه في المرسوم الاشتراعي رقم /116/ تاريخ 1959/6/12 في اتجاه تعزيز اللامركزية الإدارية وفق المبادئ الآتية :

1. 1- زيادة وإعادة توزيع المحافظات بشكل يؤمن مصالح المواطن
2. تعزيز المجالس المحلية والاتحادات البلدية والمحافظات وتوسيع صلاحياتها المالية والإدارية والتنظيمية والإنمائية .
3. اعتماد التمثيل الشعبي في مجالس المحافظات بغية تحقيق مشاركة أفعل للمواطنين.
4. تحويل أوفر المهام والمسئوليات الإدارية من السلطة المركزية الى السلطة اللامركزية

البند الخامس : في السياسية الدفاعية والأمنية :

1- وضع سياسة دفاعية بما ستلاءم وضرورات الأمن القومي اللبناني بحيث يكون الجيش مسئولاً عن أمن الوطن والدولة وحماية الحدود ، وتكون قوى الأمن الداخلي مسؤولة عن حفظ النظام العام وأمن المواطن مع إمكان استعانتها بالجيش لمؤازرتها في مواجهة الأحداث الأمنية الكبيرة.

2- تعزيز الجيش وقوى الأمن الداخلي والأمن العام والآمن القومي عدة وعدداً مع إعادة تنظيم أجهزتها المركزية وسراياها الإقليمية وجعلها أكثر فعالية .

3- تحديث القوانين والأنظمة المتعلقة بهذه المؤسسات.

4- تنفيذ قانون خدمة العلم الاجتماعية والإنمائية.

البند السادس : في السياسة الاقتصادية والاجتماعية :

1- نظام لبنان الاقتصادي الحر يضمن المبادرة الفردية ويحافظ على الملكية الخاصة ويلي شروط الفعالية الاقتصادية ومتطلبات العدالة الاجتماعية وتقوم الدولة في إطاره بدور المنسق في هذا المجال ويتجسد ذلك في المجالات النقدية والمالية والإنتاجية والإسكانية والحماية الاجتماعية بما فيه تعميم الضمان الاجتماعي وضمان الشيخوخة ومجانية التطبيب والاستشفاء واستيعاب البطالة .

2- وضع خطة إنمائية وإعمارية شاملة لكل لبنان وبالأخص للمناطق التي طاولتها الحرب والتي تشكو الحرمان مع ما يستتبع ذلك من إيجاد الإدارات والمؤسسات المركزية والإقليمية اللازمة .

3- إنشاء مجلس اقتصادي اجتماعي تتمثل فيه الفعاليات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والنقابية والعلمية على أن تحدد مجالات اختصاصه بقانون.

البند السابع : في السياسة التربوية :

1- التأكيد على حرية التعليم ونظام التعليم الخاص والتنوع التربوي ودعم التعليم الرسمي بما يخدم تطلعت جميع اللبنانيين في إطار وحدة الوطن وثروته وتنمية روح المبادرة والخلق فيه.

2- تطوير التعليم بما يؤدي إلى تعميمه ومجانيته وإلزاميته وشموليته وتحديث البرامج التربوية ، وتعزيز التربية المدنية والوطنية.

3- التركيز على دور التعليم المهني والتقني لجهة إعطائه الأولية وربطه بالخطة الإنمائية الشاملة .

4- دعم التعليم العالي وإعطاء الجامعة اللبنانية والجامعات الخاصة دورها ضمن الخطة الإنمائية بكل أبعادها وبشكل خاص إيلاء الجامعة اللبنانية وكلياتها التطبيقية الاهتمام اللازم .

5- تعزيز الأبحاث العلمية والدراسات التقويمية عبر توفير الدعم للمؤسسات العامة والخاصة في هذا الحقل .

6- إنشاء مجلس أعلى للثقافة ومساعدة المجالس الثقافية في المناطق كافة لإغناء الثقافة العامة في صفوف المواطنين وإبراز التراث الوطني وحمايته والعمل على بلورة القدرات الإبداعية وتشجيعها في مختلف المجالات.

الموقعون :

- عن تجمع الموازنة المستقلين : بطرس حرب وجيران طوق.
- عن كتلة نواب الأرمن اللبنانيين : ملكون أبلغتيان وخاتشيك بابكيان.
- عن حزب الكتائب : جورج سعاده وجوزيف هاشم
- عن حزب الوطنيين الأحرار : ميشال ساسين ونبيل كرم.
- عن القوات اللبنانية : كريم بقرادوني وجورج عدوان وإميل رحمة.

عن لجنة الصياغة : جبران تويني

Appendix 16
The Armenian Genocide

Appendix 16.1

Armenian Genocide – 2 April 1997

Proposal adopted by the 19th Parliament concerning the pain and suffering of the Lebanese-Armenians in 1915.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (1997): 1st Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 2 April 1997.

الرئيس: هناك توصية تتعلق بالتضامن مع الشعب الأرمني.

تتلى التوصية.

تليت التوصية الآتي نصها:

أن المجلس النيابي اللبناني

تحسساً منه بالآلام والمعاناة التي عاشها اللبناني الأرمني بين عامي 1915 و 1923 الشبيهة بمعاناة الشعب اللبناني وشعوب المنطقة والمستمرة حتى اليوم جراء عمليات الإبادة المنظمة ضد شعوبنا على يد المستعمر مطلع هذا القرن.

وبما أن 24 نيسان من كل عام يشكل مناسبة لإحياء هذه الكارثة المتمثلة بالمجازر المرتكبة ضد الشعب الأرمني.

فإن المجلس النيابي يدعو الشعب اللبناني إلى إعلان تضامنه مع الشعب الأرمني في هذا اليوم.

الرئيس: الموافقة على التوصية كما تليت برفع الأيدي.

- إجماع -

الرئيس: صدقت.

Appendix 16.2

Armenian Genocide – 9 May 2000

Proposal to accept the Armenian Genocide by the Lebanese Parliament.

Official Minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (2000): 3rd Meeting of the 1st Ordinary Session of the 19th Parliament held on 9 May 2000.

التوصية التي أقرها مجلس النواب

في جلسته المنعقدة أيام الثلاثاء والأربعاء والخميس

في 9 و 10 و 11 ايار 2000

إن مجلس النواب اللبناني بمناسبة الذكرى الخامسة والثمانين للمجازر المرتكبة من السلطات العثمانية عام 1915 وكان ضحيتها مليون ونصف مليون أرمني، يدين الإبادة الجماعية بحق الشعب الأرمني، ويعرب عن تأييده المطلق لمطالب مواطنيه الأرمن ويعتبر أن الاعتراف الدولي بهذه الإبادة شرط أساسي لمنع جرائم مماثلة قد تحصل مستقبلاً.

Appendix 17
Letter to the Speaker

Appendix 17.1

Letter from current and former members of Parliament

to Speaker Berri - 20 February 2006[1]

[Original: Arabic]

Beirut, 20 February 2006

His Excellency the Speaker of the Parliament, the Honourable Mr. Nabih Berri,

Salutations,

The undersigned current and former members of Parliament have the honour to inform you of the following:

In view of the fact that we were subjected to pressures and threats from the Syrian and Lebanese security services to compel us to ratify the draft law extending the term of the President of the Republic, Emil Lahoud,

And in view of the fact that our vote was thus tarnished by a basic lack of free will that renders not only it but the entire voting process with respect to the constitutional amendment extending the term of the President of the Republic null and void,

We officially inform you by this letter that we were opposed to the draft law extending the term of the President of the Republic Emil Lahoud, which was passed by Parliament on 3 September 2004, and that we were subjected to unbearable pressures and threats to induce us to agree to it under duress. This renders our vote null and void, as if it had never taken place, and consequently invalidates Law No. 585/2004 of 4 September 2004 by virtue of it not having received the constitutionally mandated two-thirds majority vote. We request that Your Excellency take our

[1] The letter was attached as Annex II to Secretary General's Report on the implementation of the UNDC Res. 1559 to the UN Security Council dated 18 April 2006. UN Security Council Official Doc. No. S/2006/248. *[Last accessed on 22 July 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2006/248.

position into consideration and take the necessary constitutional measures to deal with the invalid outcome resulting from it.

With respect,

(Signed)

Mohammed Ali El-Mais	Waleed Eido
Michel Pharaon	Nicolas Fattoush
Nabeel de Freige	Yeghia Jeredjian
Bahiyeh El Hariri	Ghenwa Jalloul
Muhammad Qabbani	Hagop Kassardjian
Atef Majdalani	Fareed Makari
Jean Ogassapian	Serge Toursarkissian

Appendix 18
The Doha Agreement

Appendix 18.1

The Doha Agreement – 21 May 2008[1]

Under the generous sponsorship of His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar;

In continuation of the efforts of the Arab Ministerial Committee on the Lebanese crisis under the leadership of His Excellency Shaikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar and of Mr. Amre Moussa, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, and Their Excellencies the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, the Kingdom of Bahrain, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, the Republic of Djibouti, the Sultanate of Oman, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Republic of Yemen;

On the basis of the Arab Initiative on containing the Lebanese crisis;

And in implementation of the agreement concluded in Beirut among the Lebanese parties under the aegis of the Arab Ministerial Committee on 15 May 2008 (annexed), which is an integral part of the present declaration;

A meeting of the Lebanese National Dialogue was held in Doha from 16 to 21 May 2008, with the participation of the Lebanese political leaders who are members of the Lebanese National Dialogue, who affirmed their desire to rescue Lebanon from the current political crisis with its dire implications for communal existence and civil peace among Lebanese, and their commitment to the principles of the Lebanese Constitution and the Taif Accords. As a result of the proceedings of the meeting and of bilateral and group consultations conducted with the participants by the Chairman and members of the Arab Ministerial Committee, Agreement was reached on the following:

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[1] A copy of the Doha Agreement signed by the participants and its English Translation was lodged with the United Nations Security Council by Ambassador Yahia Mahmassani, the Permanent Observer of the league of Arab States to the UN on 22 May 2008. UNSC Official Document No. S/2008/392. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2008/392. *[Last accessed 25 July 2016]*.

I. The parties agreed that the Speaker of Parliament will call on the Lebanese Parliament to convene in accordance with established rules within 24 hours to elect the consensus candidate General Michel Sleiman as President of the Republic, this being the best way from a constitutional point of view to elect the President under these extraordinary circumstances.

II. A Government of national unity will be formed with 30 ministers to be allocated as follows: 16 to the majority, 11 to the opposition, and three to the President. All parties pledge by virtue of this Agreement not to resign or obstruct the work of the Government.

III. In accordance with the electoral law of 1960, the district (qada') will be adopted as the electoral constituency in Lebanon, and the two districts of Marj `Uyun-Hasbayya will remain a single electoral constituency, as will Baalbek-Hirmil and Western Bekaa-Rashayya.

Beirut will be divided as follows:

i. First Constituency: al-Ashrafiyya — al-Rumayl — al-Sayfi;
ii. Second Constituency: al-Bashurah — al-Mudawwar — al-Marfa';
iii. Third Constituency: Mina' al-Husn — `Ayn al-Muraysah — al-Mazra`ah — al-Musaytibah — Ra's Beirut — Zuqaq al-Balat.

It was agreed to refer the reform clauses contained in the draft law submitted to Parliament, drafted by the National Electoral Law Drafting Commission under the chairmanship of Minister Fuad Butros, for debate and consideration in accordance with established procedures.

IV. The above-referenced agreement concluded in Beirut will be implemented, and in particular paragraphs 4 and 5 thereof, which state that:

> "4. The parties pledge to refrain from a return to the use of weapons or violence for the purpose of achieving political gain. 5. Dialogue will be launched to strengthen the authority of the Lebanese State over all its territory, and its relations with the various organizations in the

> Lebanese arena to ensure the security of the State and its citizens ..."

Accordingly, dialogue was launched in Doha on strengthening the authority of the State in accordance with paragraph 5 of the Beirut agreement, and agreement was reached on the following:

> • Resort to the use of weapons or violence to resolve differences of any kind under any circumstances is prohibited, in order to ensure that there is no violation of the national contract of partnership based on the determination of the Lebanese to coexist within a democratic system. Security and military authority over Lebanese nationals and residents is reserved to the State, to guarantee continued communal existence and civil peace for all Lebanese. The parties pledge to this.
>
> • The law is to be applied and the sovereignty of the State honoured in all Lebanese regions. There will be no regions in which fugitives from justice may take refuge, out of respect for the rule of law, and anyone who commits crimes or violations will be brought before the Lebanese justice system.

This dialogue will be resumed under the leadership of the President of the Republic immediately upon his election and a national unity Government will be formed, with the participation of the League of Arab States, with a view to strengthening confidence among Lebanese.

V. The Lebanese political leaders reaffirm their commitment to stop using the language of treason and political and sectarian incitement immediately.

The Arab Ministerial Committee undertakes to deposit this Agreement with the Secretariat of the League of Arab States upon its signature.

This Agreement was signed in the city of Doha on 21 May 2008 by the Lebanese political leaders who took part in the meeting.

(Signed)

His Excellency Speaker Nabih Berri;
His Excellency Prime Minister Fouad Siniora;
Sheikh Ameen Gemayel
General Michel Aoun Member of Parliament;
Michel Murr Member of the Parliament;
Sheikh Sa'ad El Hariri Member of the Parliament;
Waleed Jumblatt Member of Parliament
Boutros Harb Member of Parliament
Elias Skaff Member of Parliament
Ghassan Tueini Member of Parliament
Muhammad El Safadi Member of Parliament;
Muhammad Ra'ad Member of Parliament
Hagop Pakradounian Member of Parliament
Sameer Geagea

Witnessed by:

His Excellency Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jaber Al-Thani Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar, Chairman of the Arab Ministerial Committee
Amr Moussa Secretary-General of the League of Arab States

Appendix 19
The Ba'abda Declaration

Appendix 19.1

The Ba'abda Declaration - 11 June 2012[1]

Ba'abda Declaration issued by the National Dialogue Committee on 11 June 2012

At the invitation of the President of the Republic of Lebanon, Michel Sleiman, the National Dialogue Committee met on Monday, 11 June 2012, at the residence of the President of the Republic in Baabda. The meeting was chaired by the President and attended by the dialogue teams. Mr. Sa'ad Hariri and Mr. Sameer Geagea were absent. The minister Muhammad al-Safadi was absent owing to illness.

A minute's silence was held in honour of the late Ghassan Tueni, a former member of the Committee. The President of the Republic then opened the session, highlighting the pressing circumstances that had led him to invite the Committee to resume its work. Tragic events had unfolded, particularly in the north of the country, bringing negative economic and social repercussions at a time when Lebanon was preparing for the summer holiday season and the visit of His Holiness the Pope in September 2012. The Lebanese people must safeguard their country as a symbol of freedom, coexistence and dialogue.

The President recalled the positive aspects of the Committee's work in the previous sessions, particularly in accompanying the achievements of the previous four years in a calm and democratic environment. He then outlined the considerations that had led it to suspend its work, stressing that the Committee must overcome the obstacles to the implementation of its previous resolutions and work in a stable and systematic manner in order fully to realize its objectives for the nation.

In that context, he drew attention to recent events and domestic, regional and international developments that had taken place since the suspension of the Committee's work. A general discussion ensued

[1] The "Ba'abda Declaration" as agreed by all parties became an official document and was dispatched to the League of Arab States and the Secretary General of the United Nations. UNSC Official Document No. S/2012/477 as well as UNGA Official Document No. A/66/849. *[Last accessed 3 August 2016]*. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2012/477.

concerning the agenda items proposed by the President. The Committee heard the views and positions of the dialogue teams regarding various urgent topics requiring immediate attention and response. The discussions resulted in consensus on the following points and decisions:

1. The path of dialogue should be adopted, and security, political and media issues should be approached in a spirit of serenity. The focus should be on commonalities and consensus on fixed points.

2. Parties should commit to laying the foundations of stability; safeguarding public order; preventing violence and the country's descent into strife; and intensifying the search for the political means to secure those objectives.

3. Citizens of all allegiances should be urged to cherish the conviction that any resort to weapons and violence, whatever the fears and tensions, is inevitably a blow and a loss for all parties; it endangers the people's livelihoods, their future and the future of the next generations.

4. Action should be taken to strengthen State institutions, encourage a culture of reliance on the law and legitimate institutions for the resolution of any contention or urgent issue.

5. Because the Army upholds civil peace and embodies national unity, it deserves moral and material support. Efforts should be made to enable it and the other legitimate security forces to respond to urgent security situations according to a deployment plan aimed at imposing State authority, security and stability.

6. The judicial power also deserved support in imposing the law with justice and without discrimination.

7. The implementation of a socioeconomic development plan throughout Lebanon should be encouraged.

8. All political forces and intellectuals and opinion leaders should be encouraged to avoid inflammatory political and media discourse and anything that could spark conflict, disturbances, sectarian confessional strife. That approach would consolidate national unity and promote internal cohesion in confronting external threats, particularly that posed by the Israeli enemy. Such action would have positive implications for public opinion, the economy, tourism and the social situation.

9. It is important to reaffirm the need to comply with the code of honour previously formulated by the National Dialogue Committee with a view to ensuring restraint in political and media discourse, contributing to the creation of a serene environment and making Lebanon a centre for the dialogue of civilizations, religions and cultures.

10. Trust in coexistence and in Lebanon as the unequivocal homeland should be reaffirmed, as should the need to comply with the principles contained in the Preamble to the Constitution, which are fixed founding principles.

11. The Taif accords must be respected, and parties must continue to implement all of its provisions.

12. Lebanon should eschew block politics and regional and international conflicts. It should seek to avoid the negative repercussions of regional tensions and crises in order to preserve its own paramount interest, national unity and civil peace, except where the matter concerns resolutions of international legitimacy, Arab consensus or the rightful Palestinian cause, including the right of Palestinian refugees return to their land and homes rather than being integrated.

13. Measures should then be taken to control the situation on the Lebanese-Syrian border. The establishment of a buffer zone in Lebanon should not be permitted. The country cannot be used as a base, corridor or starting point to smuggle weapons and combatants. At the same time, the right to humanitarian solidarity and political and media expression is guaranteed under the Constitution and the law.

14. International resolutions, including Security Council resolution 1701 (2006), should be respected.

15. It is important to continue examining ways to put in place strategies to implement the resolutions agreed by the National Dialogue Committee.

16. The next session of the Committee will take place on Monday, 25 June 2012 at 11 a.m. The Committee will resume consideration of its agenda, particularly the national defence strategy.

This statement shall be termed "the Baabda Declaration" and shall be respected by all parties. Copies shall be transmitted to the League of Arab States and the United Nations

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